Romanesque Cathedrals in Mediterranean Europe

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Architecture, Ritual and Urban Context

Edited by

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BREPOLS

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Balance and Perspectives

Gerardo Boto Varela & Justin E.A. Kroesen

Within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, a cathedral is the principal church of a diocese. The term 'cathedral' is derived from *cathedra*, a Greek word designating the seat (or 'see') of a bishop, which stands as a *pars pro toto* for the entire church building. In France and Castile, respectively, the terms 'cathédrale' and 'catedral' became the most widespread names to signify the bishop's church, while Portugal, Catalonia and Aragon in turn employed the words 'sé' (catedral), 'seu' and 'seo', indicating the bishop's seat. In Italian, the term 'duomo' became common, corresponding to the German 'Dom', which is believed to be an abbreviation of *domus* ('house'), being that of God or of the bishop (or both). In everyday speech, the term 'cathedral' is nowadays often more loosely used to designate large church buildings in general, including churches that never housed the see of a bishop. Moreover, 'cathedral' in a more metaphorical sense may even be used to describe imposing structures *per se*, including those with non-ecclesiastical functions; football stadiums, for example, are sometimes called 'cathedrals of soccer' and museums 'cathedrals of culture', while train stations and airports have been described as 'cathedrals of modernity'. As such, the debased meaning has come to stretch far beyond the ecclesiastical category to effectively become the epitome of power, of technical wonder and of civic pride.

The articles in this volume have grown out of two conferences held at the University of Girona (Spain) organized within the framework of *Templa. Taller*

d'Estudis Medievals, an international research group comprised of scholars from Spain and several other European countries focusing on Medieval church architecture in Catalonia and beyond.[1] *Templa* members who have contributed to the present volume are Gerardo Boto, José Luís Hernando Garrido, Justin Kroesen, Esther Lozano, Marta Serrano and Marc Sureda. The research group aims at understanding the overall complexity of Medieval cathedrals starting from the geology of building materials down to the visual discourse of iconographies and the intricacies of the liturgical life that once filled their interiors. Cathedrals are approached as multi-faceted stages with both tangible and intangible characteristics, including architectural particularities, church furnishings, visual landscapes, the presence of relics, iconographic programs, ritual patterns, social and economic hierarchies, etc. This integrated and comprehensive approach attempts to surpass traditional cathedral research which was organized along disciplinary lines, such as history of art and architecture, liturgical studies and social and economic history, and which often resulted in either/or answers based on arguments from engineering to stylistic vocabularies and scholastic discourses.

The centuries studied in this volume correspond roughly to the Romanesque style period, from the turn of the millennium through to the thirteenth century. Examples of Romanesque architecture can be found across the continent, making it the first

pan-European architectural style since late Antiquity. The Romanesque style period represented an age of expansion and consolidation of Christian Europe. It was characterized by increasing urbanization and witnessed remarkable technical and intellectual innovations, including many monumental and indeed emblematic ecclesiastical building projects. This building hausse was accompanied by large-scale structural reforms of the church organization as well as the meticulous codification of many aspects of religious life, from canonical law to the liturgical ritual. This is the time in which Georges Duby's 'L'Europe des cathédrales' ('The Europe of the Cathedrals') took shape, with bishops' churches coming to dominate the skyline of many towns and cities across the continent. The geographical focus of the studies collected in this volume is on the western Mediterranean countries, including the Iberian Peninsula, southern France, and Italy. The northern borders of the area studied are rather fluid, since some attention is also paid to cathedrals in northern France and the Germanic parts of the Holy Roman Empire, in view of the many political and cultural contacts which tied north and south together.

Most of the case studies collected in this volume have remained unpublished to date — at least in English. Together they offer many new and in-depth insights into the nature of cathedrals in southern Europe and of cathedrals as such. Medieval architecture is often the result of an ages-long process of building and rebuilding. In most of the articles, cathedrals are not approached as isolated buildings, but rather as parts of complexes, including many subsidiary spaces, such as the cloister, chapter house, housing for the clergy and the bishop's palace. Many contributions also address the location of cathedrals in the urban fabric, in an area that was often called the 'canonical quarter'. Much attention is paid to the interiors of cathedrals as functional spaces: cathedrals served as ritual stages, not only for the sacred liturgy and the veneration of relics, but also for many other ceremonies. Another focus well represented in this volume is on cathedrals as bearers of imagery, including first and foremost sculptured portals and the capitals found in their interiors and in cloisters. A number of studies deal with Romanesque cathedrals as 'messengers' of the ideas, claims and ambitions held by those who built, furnished and used them. In this manner, this book reaches beyond the state-of-the-art

research concerning the individual monuments into the underlying cultural realm of the cathedral as a cultural *topos* and an identity marker both for local communities and indeed for Europe as a whole.

As monuments of art and architecture, many cathedrals clearly express their status as the primary church of the diocese. The pursuit of a representative building to serve as *primas* to the entire bishopric could materialize into a single monumental building towering over all other churches and incorporating the latest building techniques. At the same time, in many Romanesque cathedrals, attempts were made to incorporate the oldest local layers of Christianity, which in southern Europe generally reach back into late Antiquity. The original texture of the late Antique cathedrals is preserved only by way of exception, however, with rare sixth-century examples found in Poreč/Parenzo and Grado (see Beat Brenk, in this volume). In other cases, the Ancient legacy becomes manifest in the outline and shape of Romanesque church buildings, such as in Tarragona, where the Roman *temenos* has determined much of the ground plan of the late-Romanesque cathedral and cloister, as is shown by Gerardo Boto Varela, or in the form of *spolia*, i.e., deliberately reused parts of predecessor-buildings, as is the case in Modena, for example. Saverio Lomartire points out that, more than caused by a lack of funding or technical abilities, the maintenance of Ancient buildings and building parts forged ties to a remote past and kept the memory of the diocesan community alive. This memory was often closely bound up with the presence of relics, the possession of which could lead to fierce competition between dioceses. In his article, Jorge Rodrigues describes several cases of such relic rivalry in the Iberian Peninsula.

Competition and emulation vis-à-vis the churches of the monastic orders and the parish churches of the increasingly self-conscious townspeople resulted in many Romanesque cathedrals being almost constantly altered, expanded and sometimes even rebuilt. Nearly all cathedrals therefore manifest a complex and fundamentally layered character. Matthias Untermann studies the many cathedral (re)constructions that took place in the Holy Roman Empire between *c.* 980 and *c.* 1050, often remarkably monumental with west transepts and double choirs. Saverio Lomartire examines the wave of cathedral renovations that swept across northern Italy during

the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In addition, Beat Brenk asserts that the chancels of Romanesque cathedrals in Italy and their furnishings are almost never preserved in their original form as the result of later changes and replacements. In Venice, as Xavier Barral i Altet demonstrates, the bishop's church of San Pietro di Castello on the islet of Olivolo did not succeed in asserting itself architecturally as the primary church of the city since it was fully dwarfed by Saint Mark's basilica at the palace of the Doge. For the twelfth-century rebuilding of Venice's cathedral, a particular style idiom was adopted that was unfamiliar to the lagoon city, but deliberately connected the building to the Romanesque in the Venetian hinterland, the powerhouse for the local bishop in his struggle against the city's ruler.

In some instances, the Romanesque period saw the creation of coherent masterpieces in the round-arched style that would remain points of reference throughout architectural history. One such case is the cathedral of Jaca in northern Aragon studied by Javier Martínez de Aguirre, an ambitious and perfectly designed three-aisled building in which the pursuit of the Gregorian Reform and the ambitions of a monarchy in an age of expansion were combined. The issue of patronage is addressed in a number of articles in this volume. Saverio Lomartire states that the bishop is — mistakenly — often regarded as the sole patron and the only 'engine' behind the rebuilding or renovation of cathedrals. In many instances, however, the chapter of canons also played a decisive role, as well as persons of political power, including kings, dukes and counts. In Modena, for example, the large-scale rebuilding of the cathedral took place precisely during a period when the bishop was absent and the canons regarded the cathedral as their own. José Luís Hernando Garrido explores the architecture and sculpture of Salamanca and Zamora Cathedrals which cannot be understood without the intervention of the Leonese kings Fernando II and Alfonso IX, who employed professionals who had previously worked on the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Matthias Untermann analyzes the cathedral at Speyer, whose monumental features were not the result of a high ecclesiastical rank, but from royal patronage by Kings Conrad II and Henry III.

Since the architecture of many Romanesque cathedrals displays a complex and layered character, the successive periods have, like earth strata, all left their mark on the buildings. It is the task of the researcher to peel these layers off and reconstruct the cathedral in its different stages and as a mirror of local history. Saverio Lomartire states that this requires the joint efforts of archaeologists, historians of art and architecture and historians of liturgy and palaeography. Such research projects should reach beyond the cathedral proper into the urban environment in which the building is situated. Quitterie Cazes describes how a true 'cathedral quarter' developed during the eleventh century at the eastern city gates of Toulouse. Jean-Pierre Caillet and Matthias Untermann highlight a number of cases where the special status of the cathedral was not expressed in a single building, but rather in complex and multiple 'church families' consisting of a number of separate cultic buildings, of which Lyon provided a representative illustration. At many cathedrals in Italy the baptistery was maintained as a separate building throughout the Romanesque period because — as Beat Brenk shows — it had gradually changed into a parish church for the daily Mass and was used for the cult of the deceased. Cases such as these remind us of the fundamentally plural character of many cathedrals being all too often overlooked, obscured as it often was by later urban planning. Caillet points out that a better recognition of the spatial dissemination of different components of such church families or groups may help to understand the functional fabric of the large single-body church that became common in the thirteenth century.

Many Romanesque cathedrals displayed a wide range of imagery in the form of sculptures, paintings and stained glass. According to the often-repeated Medieval *adagium*, images would have served as *Biblia pauperum* ('books of the illiterate'). Nevertheless, images never speak for themselves, but always in conjunction with other forms of communication including ritual activity and the written or spoken word. Where the images show a certain degree of internal coherence, in the form of thematic clusters or narrative series, we may speak of 'iconographical programs' or 'pictorial narrativity'. A number of articles in this volume focus on the figurative sculptures found on capitals, which were particularly common in the Iberian Peninsula and southwestern France. Francesc Fité i Llevot recognizes a true iconographical programme in the imagery found on sculptured capitals in the chancel and transepts of Lleida

Cathedral, the so-called *Seu Vella*. He notes that the presbytery is dedicated to Christological themes with a primordial role for the Virgin Mary, while the side chapels display hagiographic topics. The transepts and crossing, which were constructed at a slightly later date, treat Christ's Second Coming accompanied by angels announcing the Final Judgement. As such, the entire History of Salvation is narrated and made present at significant locations inside the church building.

Marta Serrano and Esther Lozano are less assertive about the presence of a coherent programme in the processional space of the Romanesque cloister at the cathedral of La Seu d'Urgell. Rather than one unifying pattern, the authors believe that the sculptor of the capitals deliberately situated certain eye-catching compositions in relation to others without following one linear narrative, turning the cloister into a 'mnemonic device'. Sculptures would evoke certain passages from the Bible, especially the book of Psalms, in the onlooker — being a cleric or a layman — invoking, reminding and admonishing him toward good behaviour. Peter Klein studies the richly sculptured capitals of the cloister at Girona (Gerona) in the light of a possible explanation pertaining to the ritual functions of this space. He comes to the conclusion that a one-to-one correspondence between image and ritual was never developed in Romanesque art. Rather, the biblical cycles on the capitals resonate with general iconographical concepts that were also found in the naves of the churches and the portal sculptures on the exterior. The choice for certain motifs and subjects, according to Klein, seems to have derived mainly from prevailing artistic traditions and trends. However, the strong concentration of figurative decorations in the walk adjacent to the church and the presence of certain motifs including the Foot Washing (*mandatum*) and the head shaving (*rasura*) may be related to the functions of the cloister.

The primary function of each cathedral was, naturally, to provide space for the celebration of everyday liturgy — the celebration of Mass and the singing of the *Officium* by the canons — which means that cathedrals should first and foremost be defined as *churches*. Beat Brenk warns against the treatment of cathedrals as a category *sui generis*; bishops' churches did not fundamentally differ from other church types functionally, and Sunday Mass, baptisms, feasts and solemn processions could just as well be celebrated in 'ordinary' parish churches. Marc Sureda eloquently calls the cathedral a 'celebrating machine', with the episcopal liturgy being the primary reason for its very existence, and it is Mauro Cortelazzo and Renato Perinetti who show that the renewal of Aosta Cathedral in the eleventh century was primarily steered by the increase of private masses and orations. However, the study of cathedrals as stages for liturgical (and para-liturgical) ritual is rather recent. Fortunately, the last decades have seen a continual *rapprochement* between art history and liturgical studies, and many of the articles in this volume pay considerable attention to the liturgical use of Romanesque cathedrals. In spite of the many changes from the later Middle Ages and afterwards, almost all cathedrals studied are still in use, which means that the liturgy is one of our most direct connections to the past. It is the conservative nature of rituals that has helped to preserve large parts of their original fabric, although many choir partitions have lamentably fallen victim to such modern pursuits as 'transparency'.

Saverio Lomartire describes how architecture and liturgy constantly and mutually influenced each other. Renovations and restorations of Romanesque cathedrals in northern Italy were at the same time answers to new liturgical requirements and restricted the extent to which these could be adapted. The complex nature of cathedrals corresponds to the plural and stratified nature of the community of users being the bishop, the canons, the minor clergy (priests and chaplains), and the lay people. On the one hand, different clerics and the populace often competed over access to the salvation offered by the liturgy. At the same time, they all shared the same concern, namely the preservation of the memory of the patron saint(s) as protectors of the entire city. The community-building aspect of churches, and cathedrals in particular, is pointed out by Michele Bacci, who notes that they played a prominent role in reinforcing the community's solidarity around certain symbols by means of a shared behavioural code. Upon entering the building, individuals become part of both the local congregation and of the wider Christian community: the *ecclesia*, metaphorically understood as the Body of Christ. Compared to other churches, cathedrals served an additional function, namely that of manifesting the moral and political authority of the bishop and his secular clergy. This authority was often underpinned by the presence of

relics in underground or semi-elevated crypts under the main altar where the bishop would celebrate.

Important sources for the reconstruction of the liturgical use of Medieval churches are, in addition to written sources such as *Libri Ordinarii*, the furnishings installed in their interiors that may be interpreted as the silent witnesses to a ritual carried out in a distant past, and which has undergone numerous subsequent alterations. Furnishings from the Romanesque period only seldom survive, since most were replaced by later fittings. In her chapter, Elisabetta Scirocco focuses on a specific category of church furnishing, the ambo. She analyzes how in the cathedrals of Campania the use of two ambos had become an established praxis by the mid-thirteenth century, following an artistic model which originated in the cathedral of Salerno toward the end of the twelfth century. Marc Sureda studies the development of three Romanesque cathedral complexes in Catalonia (Vic, Girona and Tarragona) in the light of the liturgical use of their interiors, with special attention paid to the location of altars. He shows how the liturgical topography of Girona and Vic Cathedrals made deliberate references to both Jerusalem (the Holy Sepulchre) and Rome (Saint Peter's). The wide transept of the cathedral at Tarragona, which is studied by Marc Sureda and Gerardo Boto, was equipped with five apses in a row in response to the need to house five altars. Apparently, the planners of this great archdiocesan church wished to emulate the architecture and liturgy of eleventh-century suffragan cathedrals of Vic, Girona and Urgell; the same would recur in Lleida when its 'Seu Vella' was planned around the turn of the thirteenth century (see Fité i Llevot).

This last-mentioned aspect leads us to the cathedral as an expression of power, pride and status. Gerardo Boto Varela demonstrates how the imposing architectural features of the cathedral of Tarragona were intended to express the new status of the diocese gained under Pope Urban II. Its dimensions even surpassed those of the mosque-cathedral of Toledo and the Romanesque pilgrims' cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. This clearly brings to expression the desire to counter the primacy of Toledo over the entire peninsula and to strengthen the archbishop's power over the city. In some instances, architectural grandeur served to compensate for the lack of important relics. In Rome, for example, as highlighted by Michele Bacci in his article, the cathedral church of

Saint John Lateran, contrary to many other Roman churches, did not mark a holy burial site and, as a result, could not boast any important role as a destination for pilgrims. Here, deliberate attemps were made to transform the building itself and its furnishings into cult-objects. Beat Brenk describes how the authority of this imposing basilica relied on the association with the Pope's residence and the related legends describing the origins of Papal power in connection to the alleged *Donatio Constantini*. Quitterie Cazes analyses how successive archbishops and canons of Toulouse felt that their claim to hold the oldest Christian settlement in the city, which goes back to the fourth century, was not enough to counter the fame of the nearby basilica of Saint-Sernin. A number of changes made to the architecture by innovative and able artists proved effective in this competition.

As in Toulouse, many cathedrals laid a claim — and often rightly so — to the oldest Christian roots in the area, turning these buildings into important *lieux de mémoire* for local and regional communities; according to Irenaeus of Lyon, only the bishop, as a successor to the apostles, possessed the necessary *auctoritas*. Quitterie Cazes shows how the imagery of the cloister of Toulouse Cathedral reaffirmed the apostolic origins of the church and positioned the bishop as the successor of Saints Saturninus and Exuperius. The article of Jorge Rodrigues clarifies how the building of Romanesque cathedrals in Braga, Coimbra and Lisbon served as landmarks of the *reconquista* of Portuguese territories from Islam, both by adopting a castle-like fortified architecture and by reconnecting to the underlying Christian layer. Beat Brenk describes the cathedral as the ultimate place where the sacred history of a city is remembered and represented, and where communal myths and ideologies are forged. All these aspects together turn cathedrals into eminent monuments of civic pride that served as identity markers to local communities. Indeed, the network of Romanesque cathedrals that originated between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries reveals much about the mentalities of Europeans at the time: cathedrals served as showcases for the technical abilities of clerical and urban communities, expressed their self-image, which was made up of age-long traditions and historical claims, and at the same time functioned as ritual stages where their beliefs and convictions were constantly experienced and reaffirmed.

NOTES

I

Shaping Cathedrals in the Pre-Romanesque Era

The Cathedrals of Early Medieval Italy
The Impact of the Cult of the Saints
and the Liturgy on Italian Cathedrals from 300 to 1200[*]

BEAT BRENK

Abstract

Research has not yet made it possible to summarize the fundamental factors that conditioned the general development of Italian cathedrals between 300 and 1200. Therefore, this paper focuses on function and meaning rather than typological and formal criteria, in the following sections: (1) cathedrals of the fourth century without relics, tombs, and mausolea; (2) the introduction of relics, tombs, and mausolea; (3) the invention of the crypt around 600; and (4) the privatization of the liturgy from the seventh and eighth centuries onwards. The cathedrals' raison d'être emerges from their continuously changing functions that evolved over the centuries, particularly with regard to the apse around the altar, the choir enclosure and the baptistery. Other functions became manifest in the auxiliary liturgical side rooms and chapels, as well as in the narthex and/or in the atrium. It should be noted that not a single cathedral built between the fourth and twelfth centuries is preserved in more or less its original shape. Therefore, what we see today is always the result of more recent developments.

Introduction

Studying the development of cathedrals in Italy from Constantine to the end of Norman rule is extremely complicated. Rather than analyzing typological and formal criteria, this current contribution focuses on the function and meaning of cathedral churches. A chronological arrangement of the material following the political history of the territory will necessarily degenerate into a tiresome listing of rulers, bishops, buildings, and themes; the topographical aspect concerning the siting of a cathedral in the centre, at the perimeter, or on the outside of a city has been explored by Testini, Cantino Wataghin, and Pani Ermini.[1] Another motivation for highlighting function and meaning in the study of early Medieval cathedrals in Italy is that the typological and formal arrangement of church plans is often well represented in the handbooks; a formal evolution is outlined based on architectural characteristics. But what does it contribute to our understanding of Medieval cathedrals that certain churches have three or five aisles and were built with or without a transept? Jean-Pierre Sodini, during the congress of Lyon in 1886, observed: 'the bishops' churches are not distinguishable from other churches'.[2] Cathedrals never generated functions or rituals that were only practicable in bishop's churches proper. The Sunday liturgy, baptisms, the great feasts and solemn processions for the saints could just as well be celebrated in funerary and parochial churches. Therefore, the cathedral as a category of its own should not be overvalued.

Before developing new criteria, one basic problem should be addressed: whoever wishes to assess a cathedral from the early Christian period must accept never encountering an original monument in its entirety. The present state of early churches is always the result of a long history of alterations. Over

the centuries, bishops have constantly changed or replaced liturgical furnishings, eliminating what they considered unnecessary without too many scruples. Altars were replaced or destroyed, as were bishops' thrones, pulpits, choir stalls, choir screens, private chapels, tombs, images, sculptures and so forth. Much of what had remained intact was subsequently altered by the *Soprintendenti* of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who often wanted to reconstruct a fictional state of authenticity. To this should be added the effects of wars, revolutions, and natural disasters. Although liturgical furnishings certainly contribute to our understanding of cathedrals, I shall return to them only occasionally in this article.

The research deficit to date concerning the early Christian and early Medieval cathedrals of Italy may be summarized in the following way. In order to understand the history of cathedrals in Italy, the archives of each cathedral should be carefully investigated, as these often hold historical drawings and etchings, plans and records of the archbishops' pastoral visits before and after the Council of Trent. In rare cases, we are informed by a *Liber Ordinarius* about local liturgical habits and customs.[3]

How can we define a cathedral? It is the principal church of a diocese where the bishop has his throne and where the Sunday liturgy is celebrated. The space reserved for the clerics and for the bishop is strictly separated from the space of the lay people. As head of the diocesan community, the bishop is responsible for baptizing the newly converted, which is performed in the baptistery. This chapel belongs to the immediate sphere of the cathedral and offers a testament to the outside world of the conversion of neophytes enacted by the bishop. The bishop administrates the cathedral properties and believers' gifts, and lives together with the staff in a palace next to the cathedral.

A cathedral always consists of legal, architectural, economic, and ideological components. Often, the cathedral clergy made the claim to be the heirs of the local origins of Christianity, which often amounted to the period of the apostles, martyrs, and the holy patrons. Although not necessarily visible, it was made sure that believers knew about these remote origins. The cathedral is thus a place where the sacred history of a city is remembered and represented; at the same time, it is also a place where sacred and communal myths and ideologies emerge.

This current contribution argues that the very rapid development of the cults of relics and saints in the early Middle Ages had a decisive impact on the texture of cathedrals, resulting in fundamental changes to their architecture. At the same time, aesthetic developments also developed independently; for example, the hallmark of the so-called Romanesque style is its remarkably formal originality, and its manifold aesthetics are certainly not entirely bound up with the liturgy and the cult of the saints. In fact, clear-cut borders between liturgical and devotional changes on the one side and creative artistic innovations on the other are often very difficult to draw. As was said before, we should not treat the cathedral as a category *sui generis* since these buildings never developed independently from processes that took place in other church categories.

The argument in this contribution on cathedrals in Italy between 300 and 1200 will be organized along the following rubrics:

1. Fourth-century cathedrals without relics, mausoleums or tombs
2. The cessation of the ancient Roman funerary legislation and the introduction of relics, tombs, and mausoleums *intra muros* in cathedrals and baptisteries from the late fourth century on
3. The invention of the crypt around 600 and the cult of martyrs sometimes developing into a cult of the bishops
4. The privatization of the liturgy from the seventh to eighth centuries onwards and the diffusion and multiplication of private ex-voto altars

Fourth-Century Cathedrals without Relics, Mausoleums, or Tombs

It is very difficult to define cathedrals in Italy during the fourth century because not a single one survives in its entirety, with the possible exception of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome, whose Constantinian walls are still fairly intact (Fig. 1). All other fourth-century Italian cathedrals are known only from texts and excavations. All evidence seems to indicate that relics and saints' tombs are absent from the Lateran church because Roman funeral law prohibited burials *intra muros*.[4] The Lateran church was originally called *Basilica Constantiniana* after its founder,[5] and, after 600,
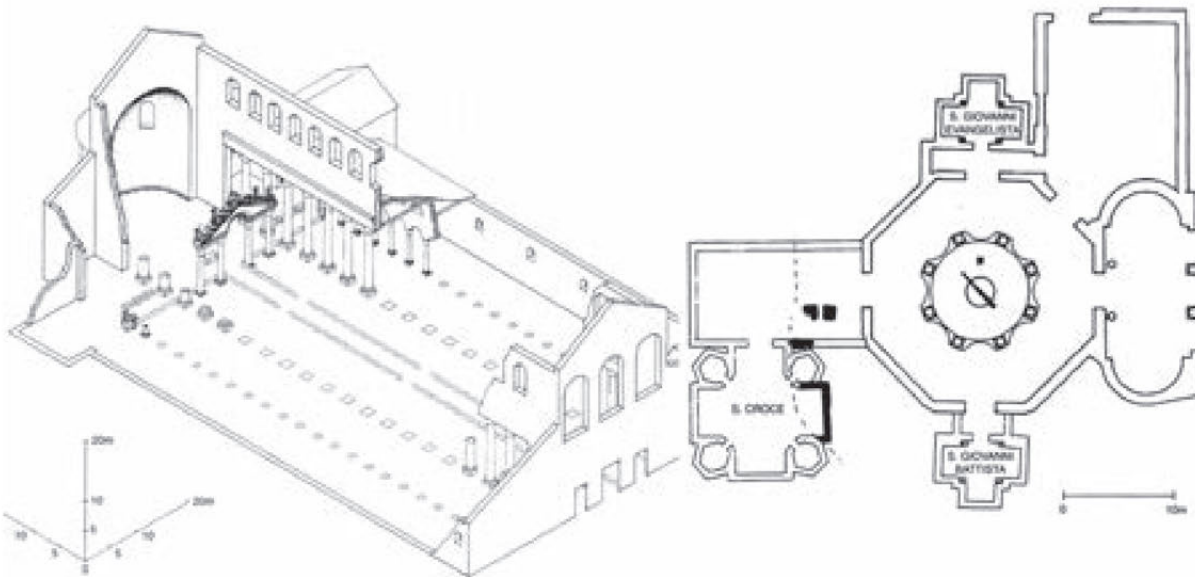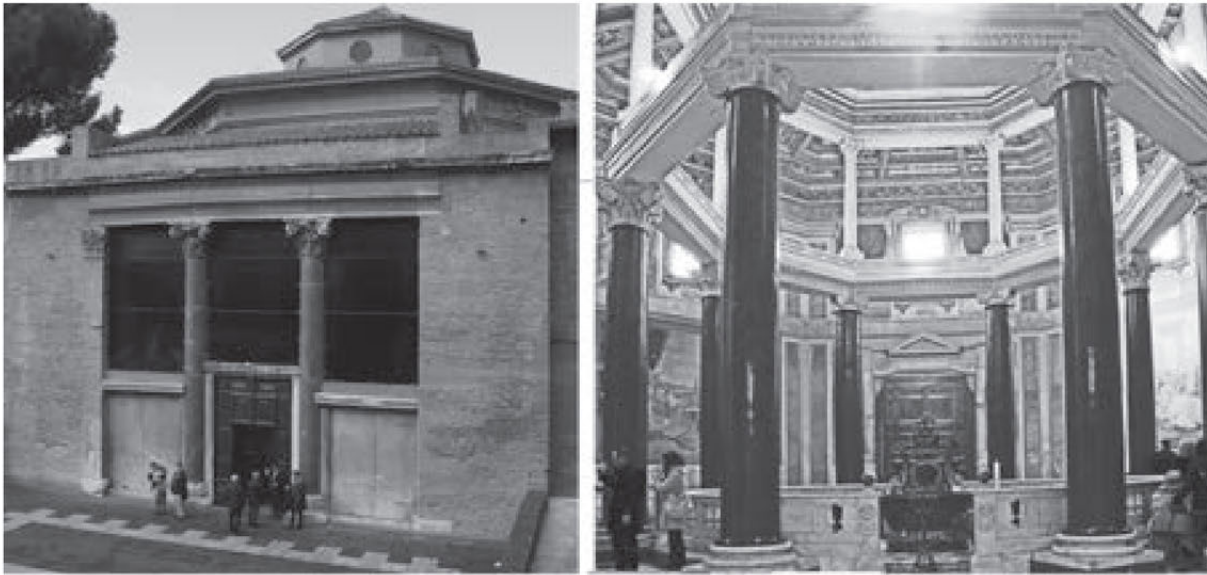
Fig. 1.   Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano: cathedral and baptistery; ground plans of the *Basilica Constantiniana* and the baptistery (photos author, ground plans Sible DE BLAAUW)

Basilica Salvatoris (Church of the Saviour).[6] The systemic difficulty encountered when trying to demonstrate the absence of relics here and at other cathedrals is naturally due to the traditional historian methodology only allowing positive proofs.

The recently excavated *Basilica Constantiniana* of Ostia[7] was situated *intra muros* and showed no saint's tomb or relics despite the *Liber pontificalis* naming the church *basilica sanctorum Petri, Pauli et Ioannis Baptistae*. This name could suggest the presence of relics were it not for its being mentioned in an edition of the *Liber pontificalis* dating from no earlier than the sixth century. The three-aisled cathedral possessed just one apse and a baptistery. The same is true of the *Basilica Ursiana* in Ravenna (Fig. 2), which was named after its founder-bishop Ursus; built around 400, it possessed no relics, and we may assume that the so-called double basilicas of northern Italy from before 380, such as that at Aquileia, had no relics, either.
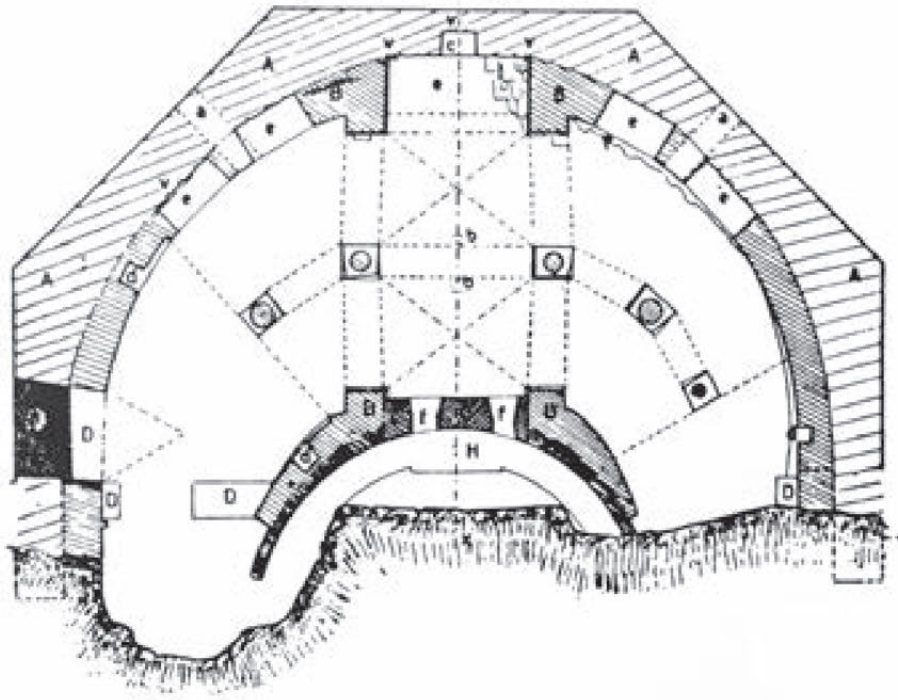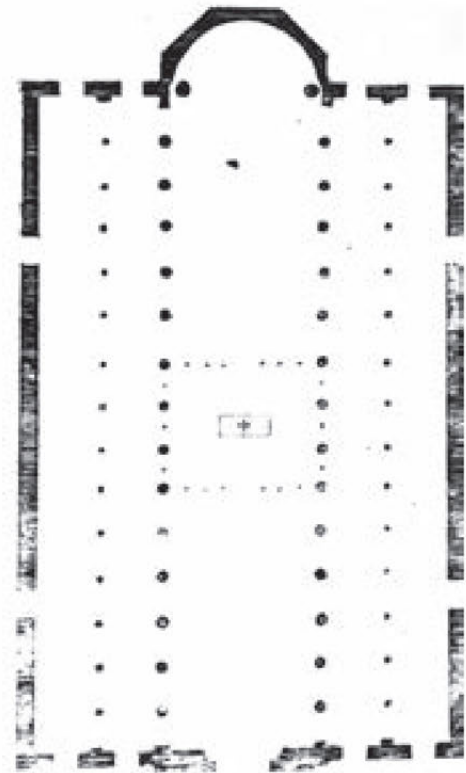
Fig. 2.   Ravenna, cathedral (*Basilica Ursiana*): ambo, ground plan, crypt (photos author, ground plans Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann)

Cathedrals from the fourth and fifth centuries had only one altar and a single apse; the location of the altar, however, is anything but certain.[8] The bishop and the clerics had their seating bench in the apse.[9] The only known liturgical furnishings in the Lateran church (Fig. 1) are seven silver altars where the faithful could make offerings, the so-called *solea*, and the *fastigium*, which was erected on high columns between the central nave and the apse. Half of the silver statues placed on top of the *fastigium* were visible from the nave; the other half could only be seen by the clerics and the bishop from the apse. As the main altar is not mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis*, it was most probably made of wood.[10] Sible de Blaauw describes the function of the Lateran church as follows: 'The Lateran basilica was destined for the liturgy of the bishop of Rome, the only collective liturgy of the city's Christian community'.[11] The *Basilica Constantiniana*, 'originally did not offer collective liturgical celebrations on the feasts of the saints',[12] and, 'was used in the fourth century for numerous Eucharistic celebrations with the participation of a great number of the faithful'.[13]

The architectural program of the Lateran church included a baptistery constructed by Constantine (Fig. 1) that was subsequently altered and renovated by Pope Sixtus III (432–40). Christianity was not the only religion to only admit new believers after a consecration ceremony; however, of all the religions in the Mediterranean World, it was the only one to have developed a specific, recognizable building type for the conversion of neophytes. The first freestanding baptistery, a centralized building with a diameter of nearly twenty metres and with a water basin in the centre decorated with silver statues, was constructed by Constantine at the same time as the Lateran church. The Lateran baptistery was an *incunabulum* that prompted continuous and rich architectural development until around 1300.

The five-aisled cathedral of Milan[14] and its baptistery constructed in the late fourth century by Saint Ambrose both follow and modify the model provided by the Lateran church. The octagonal baptistery of Milan served as a model for many others in northern Italy, including those at Ravenna, Novara, and Albenga. If the cathedral of Milan had been dedicated to a saint, Saint Ambrose would not have called it *basilica nova quae maior est* ('The new basilica which is the greater').[15] This building certainly had no relics, and its dedication to Saint Thecla only occurred much later.

The double basilica constructed in Aquileia (Fig. 3) by Bishop Theodore[16] in 315 probably had only a wooden altar and certainly no relics.[17] It was only during the late fourth century that a marble altar on four columns was erected in the presbytery, although we do not know whether it contained relics. I have deliberately avoided a detailed discussion of the so-called double basilicas because the results reached hitherto are not conclusive.[18] To conclude, it would appear that up to about 380–90, nowhere in Italy had anyone thought of depositing relics or installing a tomb inside a cathedral church. The only liturgical furnishings were an altar, which was generally of wood or sometimes marble, the bishop's throne, the semi-circular clerics' bench in the apse, and the so-called *solea*[19] in the nave, which served as a corridor for the clerics to make their solemn entrance into the presbytery. The *fastigium* in the Lateran church seems to be an exception.

The Cessation of the Ancient Roman Funerary Legislation and the Introduction of Relics, Tombs, and Mausoleums intra muros in Cathedrals and Baptisteries from the late Fourth Century on

(A) When Constantine constructed various churches[20] above and next to the martyrs' tombs outside the walls of Rome, he did so in accordance with the ancient Roman funerary laws. The Constantinian church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, however, and the mausoleum of Constantine in Constantinople[21] were built inside the walls and thus helped to weaken the ancient Roman custom, legally renewed by Diocletian and Maximian, of not burying the deceased within a city. Elsewhere, bishops were responsible for the erection of martyrs' churches *extra muros*, for example in Milan, Ravenna, Novara, Spoleto, and Cimitile.[22] Diocesan community churches and martyrs' churches, both for pagan and Christian Romans, were strictly separate early Christian-period categories.[23] The primary aim of martyrs' churches was to promote the veneration of the saints as a special form of a broader cult for the deceased in the cemeteries *extra muros*.[24] Besides serving the cult of the saints, these sanctuaries also provided burial space for privileged believers.[25]

The enormous success of the martyrs' churches outside Rome, however, prompted Roman believers to rethink the laws. Everywhere, martyrs' churches
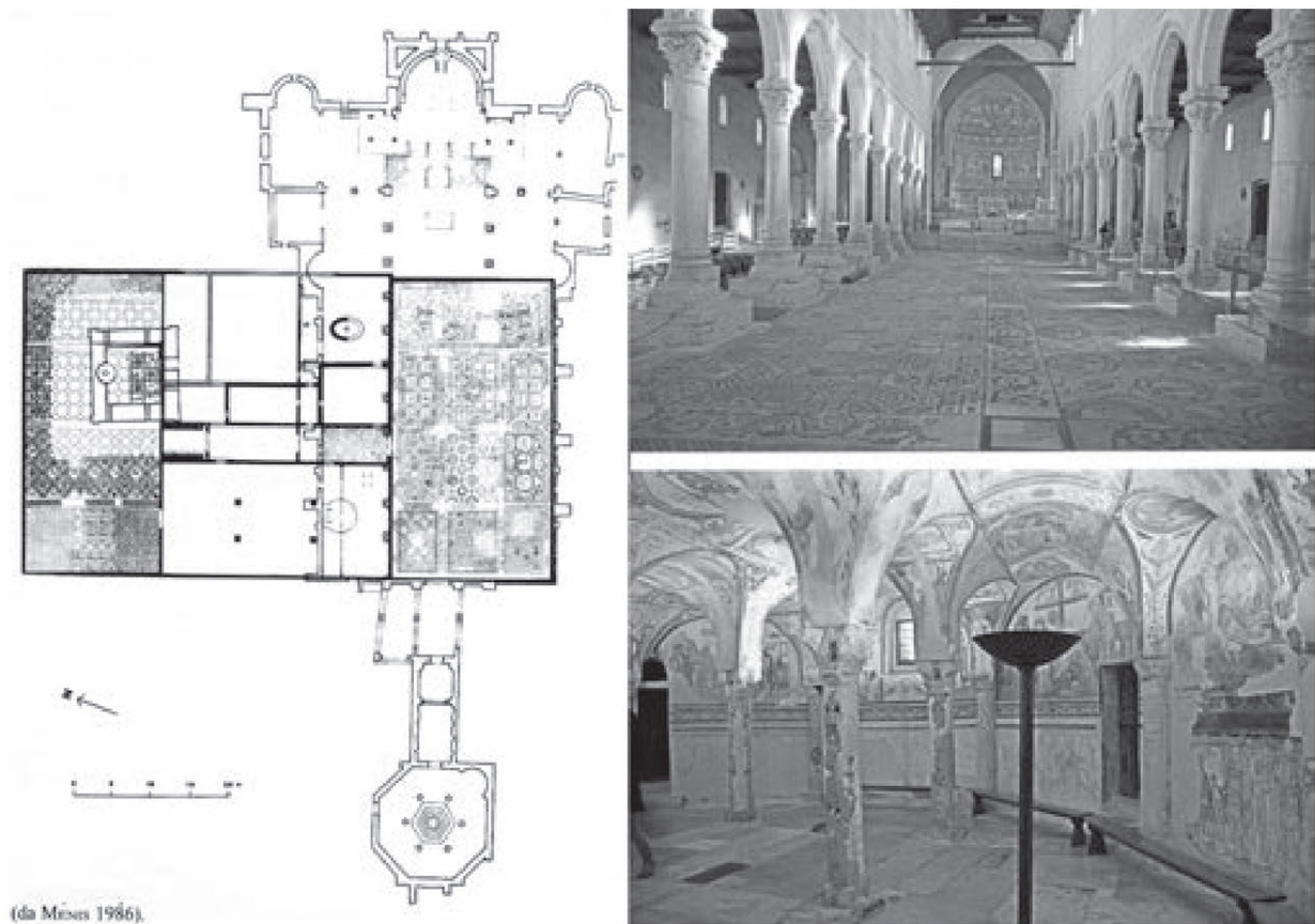
Fig. 3.   Aquileia, cathedral: ground plans of the early Christian and the Medieval complex; interior of the Medieval basilica and its crypt (photos author, ground plans Gian Carlo MENIS)

were constructed *extra muros* along Roman roads. The Vatican church of Saint Peter was constructed on a Roman cemetery because its apostolic tomb attracted many more pilgrims than the Lateran cathedral of Rome, which suffered, so to speak, from a deficit of relics. The cathedral of Milan, too, like many other Italian cities, possessed no apostolic tomb. Contemporary sources suggest that this absence of a famous venerated tomb was deeply regretted by many. Bishop Ambrose lamented the absence of Milanese martyrs in his cathedral, calling it *sterilem martyribus ecclesiam Mediolanensem* ('the Milanese church devoid of martyrs').[26] Tombs of martyrs were discovered in Milan only towards the end of the fourth century, thanks to Saint Ambrose who describes his findings in his letter no. 22.[27] However, Ambrose deposited relics only in martyrs' churches *extra muros* and never in the cathedral of Milan.[28]

Altars in Early Christian diocesan community churches also remained without saints' relics.[29] Towards the end of the fourth century, the distinction between churches for local pastoral care and martyrs' churches became increasingly blurred, which in turn meant that the ancient Roman burial laws were gradually disregarded.[30] The *Liber pontificalis* says of Pope Damasus: *hic multa corpora sanctorum requisivit et invenit, quorum etiam versibus declaravit* ('He searched for and discovered the bodies of many saints, and also proclaimed their acts in verses'),[31] but he never transferred relics to the Lateran church or to other urban churches. Instead, Pope Damasus is significant because he legitimized the cult of the saints and the martyrs and brought it to the attention of the Roman Christian community.[32] The first private church in Rome, a so-called *titulus*, to contain relics was San Vitale. Pope Innocent I (401–17) dedicated

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this church with relics of the Milanese saints Gervasius and Protasius.

The first known Italian cathedral to be dedicated to a martyr was that of Vercelli, which is situated outside the city walls. Bishop Eusebius of Vercelli dedicated it to the martyr Theonestus around 400,[33] when relics were being discovered everywhere. In 401, a synod was held in Carthage to deal with the question of how to distinguish true relics.[34]

The absence of relics in the Lateran church was remedied by Pope Hilarus (461–68) who attached chapels to the Lateran baptistery dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, Saint John the Evangelist, and the holy cross.[35] The altars described by the *Liber pontificalis* were decorated with golden crosses and with a silver *confession*, indicating the presence of relics. The case of Saint John Lateran is the first known example where the number of altars was increased. We do not know whether these altars served for private prayers or for the celebration of the Eucharist. In any case, it is noteworthy that Pope Hilarus chose the baptistery rather than the cathedral for the deposition of relics. By doing this, he effectively separated the cult of relics from the Sunday liturgy celebration.

(B) From the sixth century on, certain cathedrals in the Near East, and a few exceptional examples in the West, were built with three apses, though not necessarily inclusive of altars. The first Italian cathedrals with three apses are those of Parenzo (now Poreč in Croatia) and Pesaro. The cathedral of Parenzo (Fig. 4), which belonged to the diocese of Aquileia and was constructed by Bishop Euphrasius around 550 to replace an earlier church, is the best preserved early Christian cathedral complex in that it includes not only a three-aisle basilica with an atrium and baptistery, but also the bishop's palace and various auxiliary rooms, such as a feretory. The apse inscription tells us that Bishop Euphrasius consecrated the church in the name of Christ.[36] It was thus a Christchurch, although the apse mosaic represents the Virgin with the Child. This mosaic may have been venerated, but it had no function in the liturgy. The marble altar imported from the island of Prokonnesos in the Sea of Marmara carries an inscription of Bishop Euphrasius, and its lower section has a rectangular opening for relics — a *fenestella confessionis*.[37]

The two lateral apses probably served as liturgical rooms and were closed off by means of wooden doors or curtains. The terms *prothesis* and *diaconicon* do not apply to these rooms because the word *prothesis* was used for the rite of offering bread and wine and not as a liturgical space. This rite was often performed in a space to the left of the central apse.[38] One of the very few spaces where the offerings of bread and wine were placed on a table is the left lateral room at Santa Maria in Grado.[39] At Parenzo, the bishop's throne and the clerics' marble benches in the apse is the best preserved ensemble of liturgical furnishings in an early Christian cathedral, although it was slightly altered by bishops in the thirteenth century.[40] Here again, the name of Bishop Euphrasius is mentioned in the *opus sectile* decoration. The trefoil choir with its own narthex at the northeastern end of the left aisle initially stood isolated from the church; its presence indicates a typical change in sixth-century cathedrals. It does not seem to have served as a memorial chapel, but rather as a mausoleum. The tiny rectangular windows, characteristic of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, also support this conclusion. The square tower over the crossing is another feature typical of mausoleums,[41] lending credence that it was the mausoleum of Bishop Euphrasius himself, although this must remain a hypothesis.

Besides Parenzo, in Italy there is only one other cathedral that is nearly equally well preserved, namely Sant'Eufemia in Grado[42] (Fig. 5), erected by Bishop Elias (571–86).[43] Here again, a trefoil feretory was added to the left aisle during the late sixth century. Traditionally, it is thought to have housed the relics of the martyrs Fortunatus, Hermagoras, and Marcus, although neither archaeological nor epigraphic proof for such a hypothesis exists. The southern aisle ends in a rectangular space with an apse that initially served as a *diaconicon* and later became the mausoleum of Bishop Marcianus, who died in Grado in 578,[44] as is testified by the inscription. It may also have been the mausoleum of Bishop Elias. It is a typical mausoleum for a privileged individual, located next to the relics of Sant'Eufemia, which were added *ex posteriori*. Such mausoleums were not restricted to cathedrals, but were also added to diocesan community and funerary churches, for example Santa Giustina in Padova. Although it is beyond doubt that private mausoleums were not often added to cathedrals in Italy, reasons for exploring this remain. One of the very rare Medieval examples of this custom is preserved on the south side of the Norman cathedral of Canosa di Puglia, where Boemund of
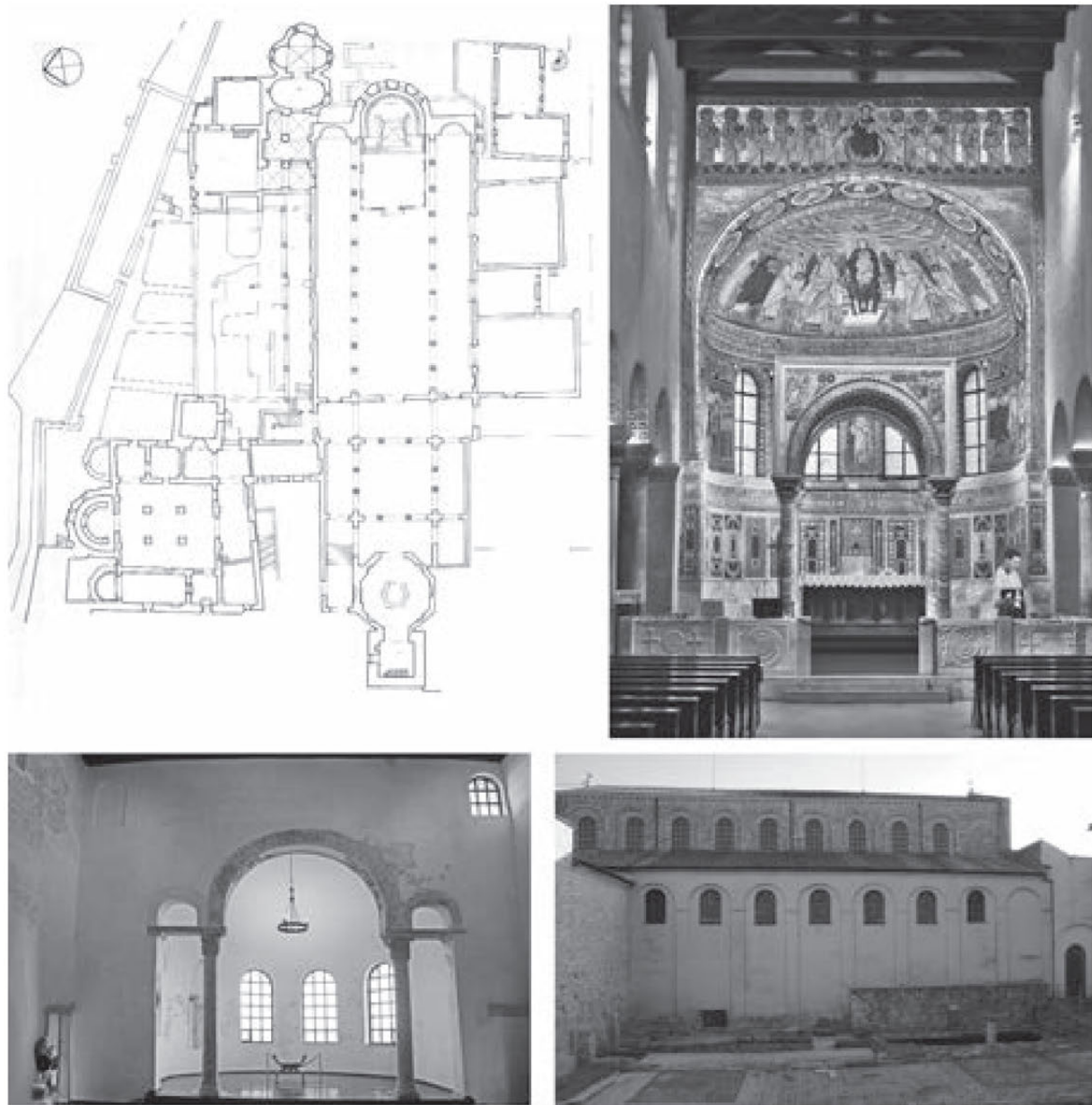
Fig. 4.   Parenzo/Poreč (Croatia), cathedral: ground plan, interior, bishop's palace, north side (photos author, ground plan Ivan Matejčić)

Antiochia was buried in an elaborate mausoleum between 1111 and 1118.[45]

Cathedral presbyteries are almost never preserved in their original form. An important innovation is the erection of a *ciborium*, or canopy, over the altar, which made its first appearance in northern Italy during the fifth century (Grado). This device remained in vogue until well into the thirteenth century, not only in cathedrals, but in diocesan community churches

as well. This is also true of the ambo, which was imported into Italy from the quarries of Prokonnesos from the sixth century onwards. One of the best preserved examples is the Bishop Agnellus ambo in Ravenna cathedral (Fig. 2).[46] Ambos, however, are in no sense exclusive to cathedrals. At Ravenna, there is an ambo of Prokonnesian marble in the royal palace chapel of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo,[47] and the most lavishly sculpted specimens are preserved in
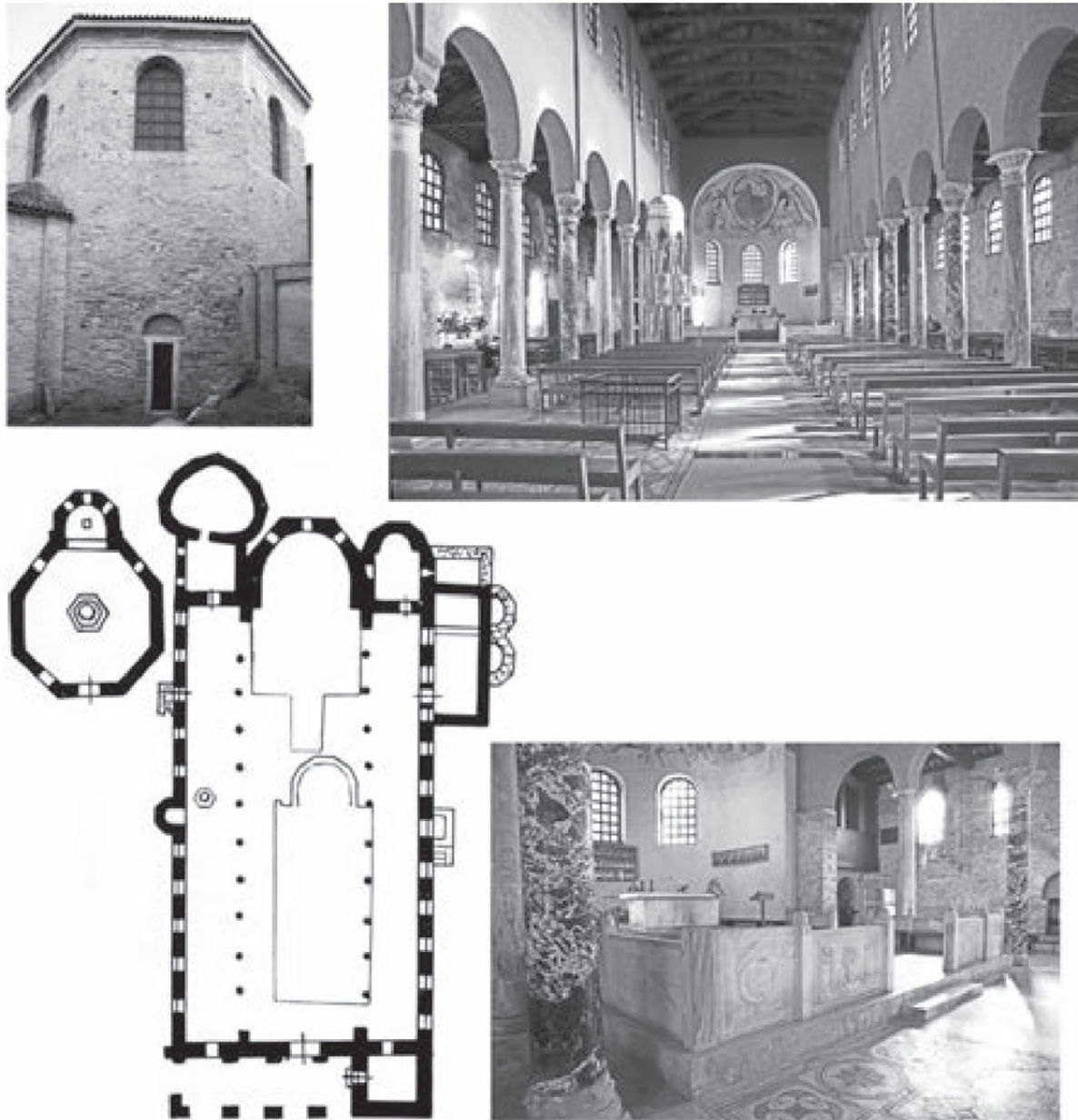
Fig. 5.   Grado, Sant'Eufemia Cathedral: interior, presbytery and baptistery (photos author, ground plan Mario
MIRABELLA ROBERTI)

parish churches and baptisteries from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Tuscany and elsewhere.

An early example of a rectangular *chorus psallentium* (as it is described by the council of Tours in 567 *pars quae a cancellis versus altare dividitur*) is partially preserved in Sant'Adriano in Rome (625–38), where it extended almost to the middle of the central nave.[48] Whereas in the Early Christian period the choir screen was low so that the clerics were visible, higher choir screens, the so-called 'pergulae' with curtains,[49] were introduced from the early medieval period on, thus preventing lay people from disturbing the canons. From the eleventh century on the screen took on the shape of a wall, which in the case of Salerno Cathedral reached a height of 2.15 m.[50] In southern Italy, monumental candelabras in marble started to appear from the eleventh century on and were used in celebrating

the liturgy of *Exultet* on the Saturday night before Easter, favoured particularly in the diocese of Benevento. The deacon read the text from an illustrated scroll hanging over the ambo.

(C) From the sixth century onward, baptisteries adopted functions that had earlier been reserved for cathedrals and martyrs' churches *extra muros*, namely the deposition of relics and the construction of privileged individuals' tombs. A famous and impressive example is the baptistery in the cathedral of Albenga, with a sixth-century mosaic inscription referring to saints whose relics were probably preserved under the altar (Saint Stephen, Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Laurentius, Saint Navoris, Saint Felix, Saint Gervasius, and Saint Protasius).[51] During the Carolingian period — but possibly even earlier — tombs were constructed in arcosolia. Tombs of privileged individuals were installed in Italian baptisteries from the tenth and eleventh centuries on, for example in the baptistery of Santo Stefano *ad fontes* in Milan,[52] where Bishop Warimbertus was buried in 921.[53] Another example is the baptistery of the cathedral of Florence where Bishop Rainiero's tomb from 1113 is still preserved (Fig. 6). Thus, the baptistery was also used for the cult of the deceased. At the same time, cathedrals started to serve for the burials of bishops and clerics. In Milan, the first archbishop to be buried in the cathedral (*ecclesia yemali*) was Angilbertus I (d. 823). Only from the tenth century onwards was it usual for archbishops to be buried inside cathedrals. From Aicho (915) to Gotofredo (979), seven archbishops were buried in the cathedral of Santa Maria.

The reason for the remarkable monumentality of baptisteries in northern Italy was not only the highly developed sense of communal identity, but also that the baptistery had gradually changed into a *de facto* parish church for the daily Mass, and housed a clergy independent from the cathedral clergy. Some baptisteries were thus furnished with their own choir stalls, as is shown in a drawing of the baptistery of Florence by Bernardo Buontalenti (Fig. 6). The cathedral was only used by the bishop for the solemn Sunday liturgy and for the Saints' feasts, while the baptistery was the stage for the community's daily liturgy. In the baptistery of Florence, the feast of the patron saint, Saint John the Baptist, was celebrated with processions[54] of the guilds and fraternities accompanied by music. The *carroccio* with the flags of the Florentines was preserved here, and it provided burial space for

privileged individuals. All this explains the presence of three large portals serving the various groups within the community of the town.

Three or four portals are also found in the baptisteries at Pisa and Parma. The baptistery of Pisa is one of the rare examples possessing a pulpit, which proves that not only was Mass celebrated here, but that sermons were also delivered. Clearly, all baptisteries primarily served for baptisms, but from the eleventh century onwards, baptisteries in northern Italy were increasingly used for daily Mass, for communal representation, and for housing the tombs of the privileged. The baptistery at Parma also served to exhibit the *carroccio*, the very symbol of the municipality's political power.[55]

The Invention of the Crypt around 600 and the Cult of Martyrs sometimes Developing into a Cult of the Bishops

The crypt as a stage for venerating saints and propagating their cult remains one of the most original architectural creations of the first millennium. In its early phase, the crypt allowed only a few privileged believers to gain access to the tomb of a martyr or his or her relics. Over time, crypts changed into places for the veneration of local bishops, and multifunctional spaces for prayers and burials, for Requiem Masses, and for private devotion. Crypts were often — but not exclusively — installed in cathedrals, and belong to a period when the veneration of relics had long since been accepted inside cities without objection. Whereas crypts were built in the eastern part of the Mediterranean from the fourth century onwards, their development in the West was slower and much more varied than in the East. Crypts as spaces for the propagation of cults were never prescribed by theologians or church councils; neither did they grow out of the needs of clerics. Conspicuously, the *Liber pontificalis* does not testify to the presence of a semicircular crypt under the apse of Saint Peter's in Rome, and only states of Pope Gregory that *fecit ut super corpus beati Petri missas celebrarentur* ('he brought it about that Mass could be celebrated above Saint Peter's body').[56] This innovation occurred in Rome, but Bishop Ambrose[57] had earlier deposited the relics of Saint Vitalis and Saint Agricola under the altar of his *basilica ambrosiana*, which was constructed *extra muros* in Milan. He had his own tomb built under the same altar together with the relics of Saint Gervasius and Saint Protasius, thereby guaranteeing himself the status of a saint.[58]
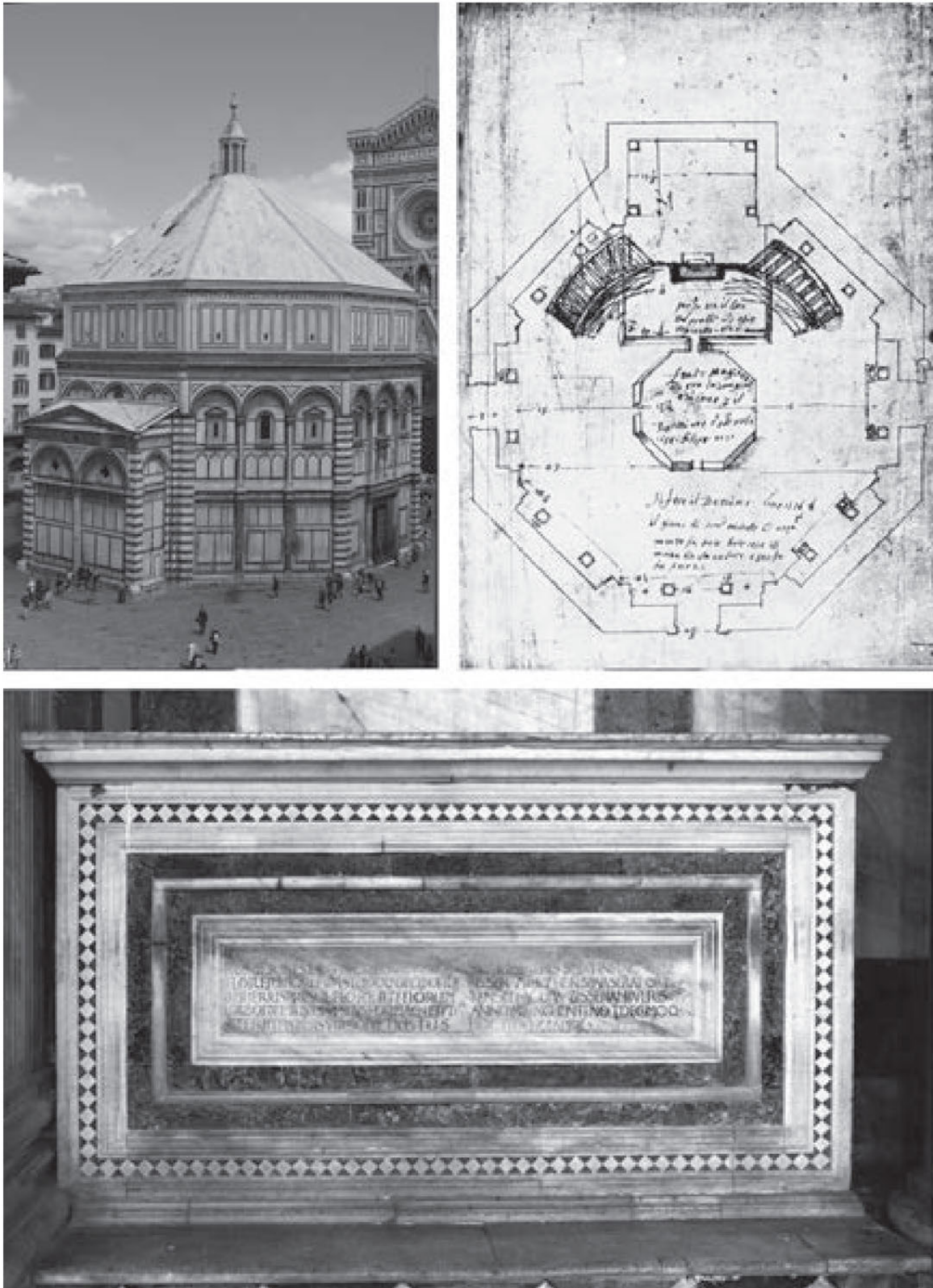
Fig. 6.   Florence, baptistery of S. Giovanni Battista: drawing by Buontalenti, sarcophagus of Bishop Rainiero
(photos author, drawing from *Rivista d'arte* 1909)

Gregory of Tours[59] described the specific situation of Saint Peter's as follows: *hoc enim sepulchrum sub altare collocatum, valde rarum habetur* ('And here the tomb is placed under the altar, as is very seldom seen'). Gregory's surprise is understandable when we recall that in Gaul, relics were rarely deposited under the altar in the presbytery, but rather behind it.[60] Most scholars agree that it was Pope Gregory the Great who had a semi-circular crypt with two entrances built under the apse of Saint Peter's. This important innovation was imitated in Rome and also north of the Alps during the Carolingian period.[61]

I know of only three Italian cathedrals in which the semi-circular crypt of Saint Peter's was imitated. The Carolingian cathedral of Santa Maria in Vescovio in Sabina (Fig. 7) possesses a semi-circular crypt, which was subsequently enlarged into a hall crypt during the eleventh century.[62] The *confessio*-altar at the end of the east-west corridor had a *fenestella confessionis* and was visible from the nave. It remains difficult, however, to explain the function of a second altar in the crypt — was it a private altar?

A semi-circular crypt was also added to the afore-mentioned *Basilica Ursiana* in Ravenna in 974 (Fig. 2)[63] during a period when the hall crypt had become more popular elsewhere. The spread of the hall crypt was not due to any official decree; rather its popularity came from the important advantages conferred by its spacious form with several bays of equal height and width. It was indeed an appropriate innovation by clerics whose responsibilities by the eleventh century had expanded from solely taking care of the relics to attending to the burial of privileged ecclesiastical officials inside the crypt. Of course, the veneration of a saint's tomb always remained the uppermost concern. This is quite visible in the ninth-century crypt of San Marco in Venice, which housed the tomb of the Evangelist Mark (Fig. 8), and in the large hall crypt under the apse of the cathedral of Salerno, where the relics of the Apostle Matthew were found in 1080[64] and then placed under the altar.[65]

In the crypt of Ivrea Cathedral,[66] the relics of the saints Bessus, Sabinus, Tegulus, and Dalmatus were deposited in a reused, second-century sarcophagus. The builder of this cathedral was Bishop Warmundus (969–1005). A marble inscription reads: *CONDIDIT HOC DOMINO PRAESUL WARMUNDUS AB IMO* ('Here the bishop Warmundus founded [and dedicated a church] to our Lord'). Only the

ambulatory, the apse flanked by two towers, and the crypt are preserved from his time. The ambulatory runs on two levels: one on the level of the presbytery, the other at crypt-level, where it extends into a hall crypt.[67] The solution involving a two-storied ambulatory is particularly original. The Roman sarcophagus containing the relics was flanked by two altars, perhaps intended for private Masses. The two towers indicate the spiritual and historical importance of this new building, and their shape seems to hark back to Ottonian architecture in Germany. Although crypts had become widely adopted by the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there are notable exceptions where saints were never buried in a crypt. One example regarding a saint of utmost importance is Saint Benedict, whose remains were never placed in a crypt; instead, his tomb was venerated in the presbytery of the abbey at Montecassino. Likewise, the Norman cathedrals at Cefalù and Monreale in Sicily also possessed no crypts.

Certain particularly venerated sovereigns and bishops were buried in the crypts of Carolingian and Romanesque Cathedrals. When Emperor Louis II died in 875 near Brescia, he was buried in the Carolingian crypt of San Filastro under the Rotunda of Santa Maria in Brescia, then the cathedral.[68] Interestingly, the forerunner of the rotunda, Santa Maria del Dom, was a funerary church where Bishop Benedict was buried *ante regiam Sanctae Mariae* ('he was buried in front of the main door of the chancel') and Bishop Ardingo was also buried in 922 *ante pusterlam Sanctae Mariae Maioris* ('in front of the side door of the church of Sancta Maria Maior').

It is impossible to describe every detail in the transformation from annular to hall crypt in a single article. However, one essential aspect is that the cult of the deceased overlapped with the cult of the saints,[69] a change that in Italy took place during the eleventh century. Enormous vaulted crypts with many columns were built under the cathedrals at Aosta, Ivrea, Aqui, Venice (Fig. 8), Brescia, Salerno, and Gerace to enable large communities of believers to pray or assist at funeral services. In the earliest stages of this development, crypts were installed only below the middle apse; however, they soon became much larger and were built under the entire presbytery and underneath the transept as well, thus necessitating dozens of columns and capitals. It is for this reason that the late eleventh-century crypts of the cathedrals
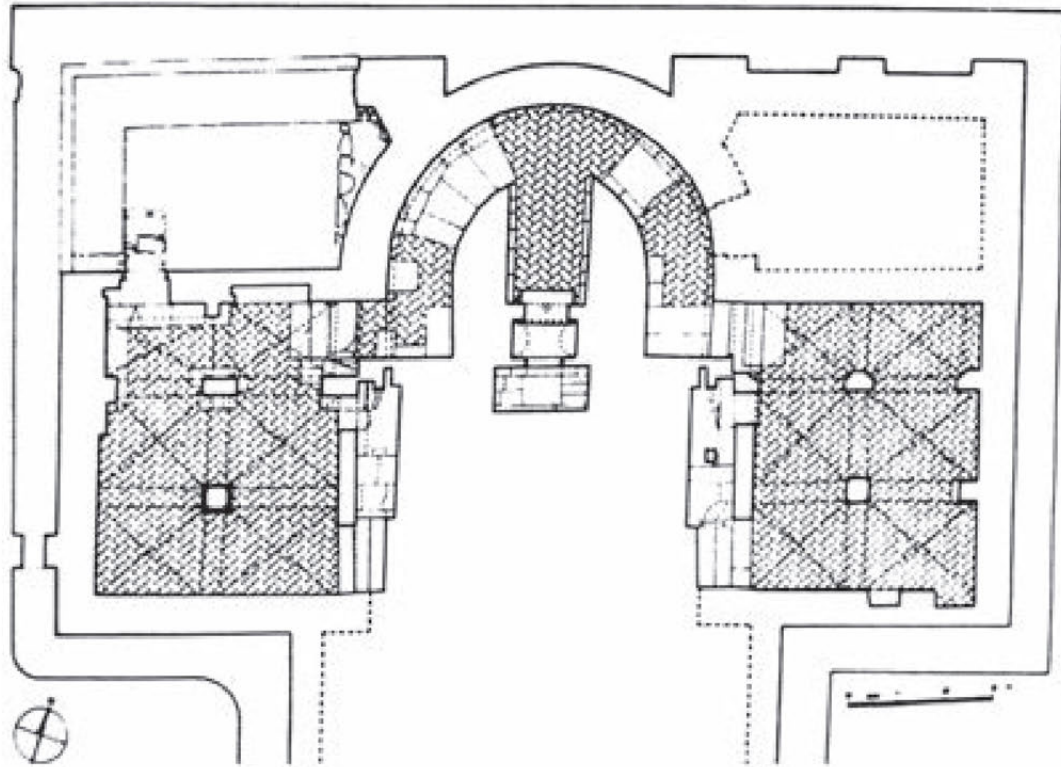
Fig. 7.   Sabina, Santa Maria in Vescovio Cathedral: ground plan and interior of the crypt (photos author, ground plan S.B.B.A. del Lazio)
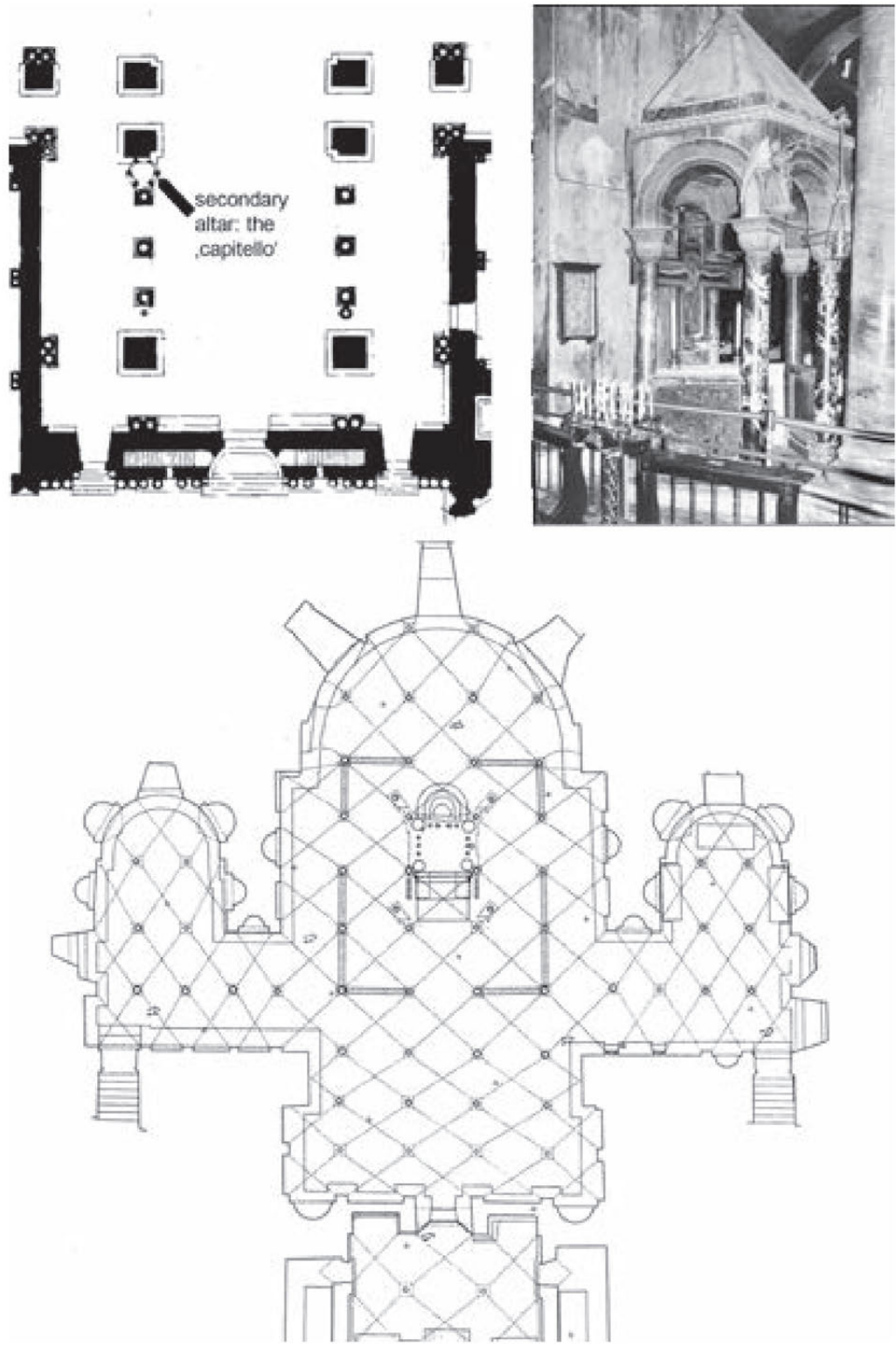
Fig. 8.   Venice, Basilica of San Marco: ground plans of the nave and the crypt, the so-called 'capitello' (photo and ground plans author after Otto Demus)

of Gerace and Modena (Fig. 9) possess no fewer than nine aisles; the same tendency is also found in an even more monumental and grandiose manner north of the Alps, for example, in the crypt of the cathedral at Speyer, built by Emperor Conrad II in 1030–35.

In the crypt of the cathedral of Modena, an altar was installed to venerate the city's patron saint, the late fourth-century bishop Saint Geminianus (Fig. 9).[70] A further development can be seen in the cathedral of Parma,[71] where the renowned bishop and builder, Bernardo degli Uberti (d. 1133), was buried in the eastern part of the crypt. A biography celebrating his merits was published in 1139 to promote his canonization and to propagate him as the city's patron. Also, much earlier evidence of the cult of the local bishop can be found in the eighth century, for example, at Ravenna.[72]

The Privatization of the Liturgy from the Seventh to Eighth Centuries onwards and the Diffusion and Multiplication of Private ex-voto Altars

The private Mass,[73] called a *missa quam sacerdos pro semetipso debet canere* ('a Mass which the priest should read to himself') is not celebrated for and in front of a community, but by a priest on his own at a secondary altar.[74] It is difficult to know where exactly these private Masses were read, but side aisles and crypts would seem to have been convenient places. In cathedrals, public liturgy was celebrated on Sundays, and on the rare occasions of saints' birthdays or burial days. When he was preaching, the bishop sat on the cathedra in the apse or stood on the ambo in the nave. In the Early Christian period, on the other hand, churches had had only one altar,[75] and this changed only gradually from the seventh to eighth centuries onwards as a result of the rise of private Masses. Well-to-do believers paid for private votive masses, the so-called *vota*, to serve special purposes, such as praying for the deceased. The best preserved documentation of secondary altars before the eighth century is found not in a cathedral, but in two diocesan community churches in Rome, namely Old Saint Peter's and Santa Maria Antiqua.[76] Here, frescoes depicting the Virgin and Child or the Crucifixion and *ex-voto* frescoes decorate the walls and piers above the altar. It seems that such images above the secondary altars favoured the veneration of images long before large panels were installed above the main altars during the twelfth century.

Votive Masses are well documented in the third book (c. 24–106) of the so-called *Gelasianum*, where illnesses, threats, marriage, sterility, birthdays, and Masses for the deceased are listed.[77] The real heyday of the votive Masses was the Carolingian period, when Alcuin[78] composed the *Liber sacramentorum*[79] especially for these *missae votivae*. In the cathedrals, some priests celebrated Mass as often as three times a day, and the number of altars also multiplied in monasteries. Whereas it is easy to find secondary altars in monastic churches,[80] it is nearly impossible to find archaeological proof of a secondary altar in medieval Italian cathedrals because they have so often been replaced.

The most eloquent secondary altar is the *altare del crocifisso* in San Marco in Venice (Fig. 8), which is attached to the left pier of the crossing and sheltered by a ciborium.[81] Other examples are present in the eleventh-century baptistery of San Vincenzo at Galliano south of Como, where two secondary altars are preserved in the galleries and a third one on the ground floor. These were surely altars for the celebration of private Masses. In the cathedral of Novara,[82] which was dedicated in 1132, the *ordo* shows that twenty-two altars were distributed throughout the naves, galleries, the baptistery, and even in the campanile, and that they were visited by the faithful during processions.

Epilogue

In contrast to other Mediterranean countries, a great number of cathedrals in Italy stand out for their longevity. Apart from the cathedral of Parenzo (Fig. 4), however, only one Early Christian cathedral is preserved in its integrity from the sixth century due to its remote position on an island far away from traffic, namely the cathedral of Sant'Eufemia built in Grado in 579 (Fig. 5). The church has been constantly repaired and restored from the sixth century to the present. Most early Christian cathedrals were replaced by new buildings during the Carolingian or, more often, the Romanesque period.[83] Of particular interest is the cathedral of San Giusto in Trieste which stands on a first-century Roman building plot with important religious and civic constructions.[84] At the beginning of the twelfth century, the cathedral was partially reconstructed so that the apse received a mosaic of high quality showing the Virgin and the
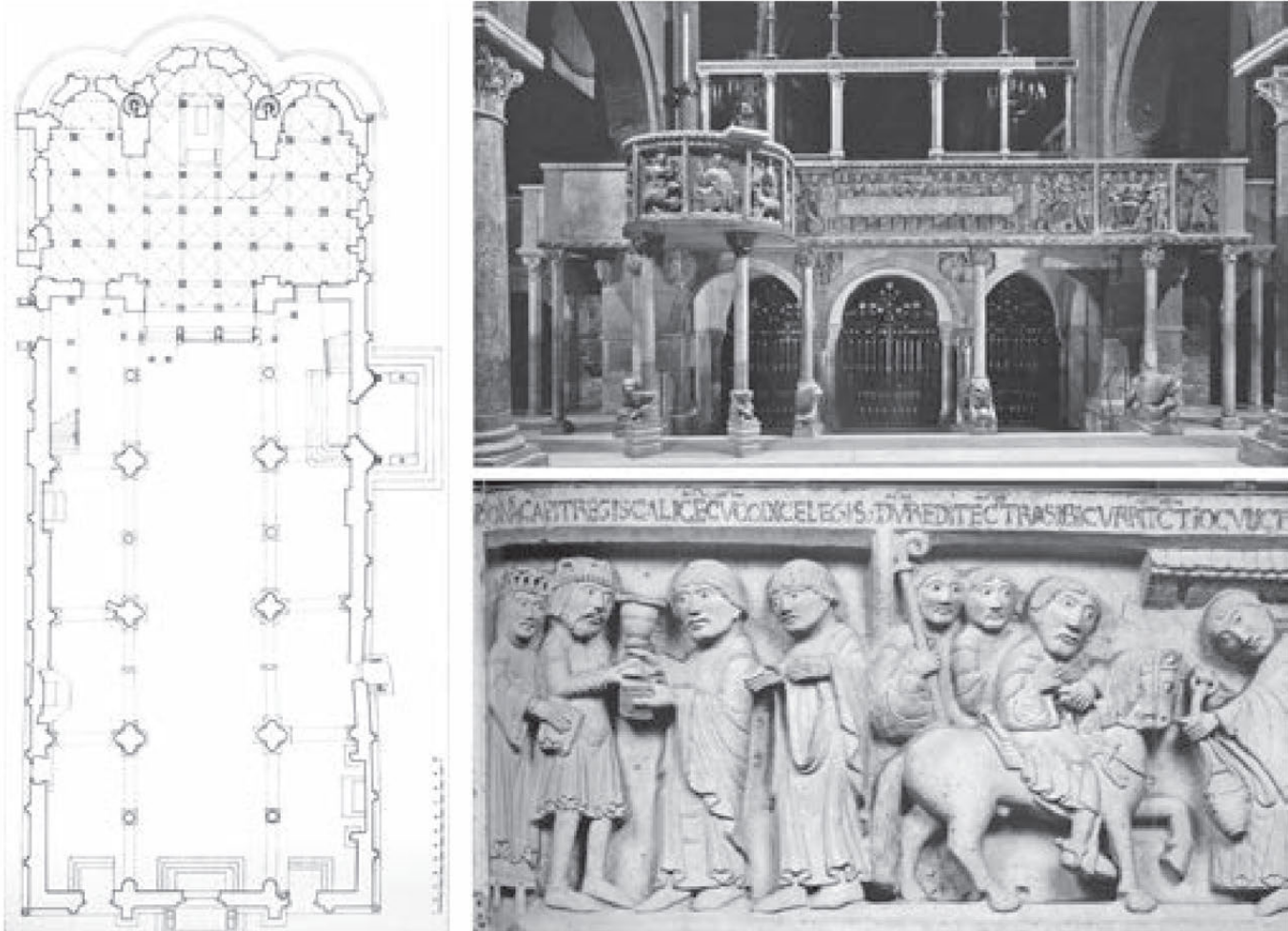
Fig. 9.   Modena, San Geminiano Cathedral: ground plan, 'pontile', ambo and Geminianus scenes on the so-called doorway of the Princes (photos and ground plan Chiara Frugoni)

Twelve Apostles and the remains of the Roman *propylon* were incorporated into the campanile.

The cathedral of Aquileia[85] (Fig. 3) was also erected during the early fourth century on a Roman building plot with private houses. In the first half of the eleventh century under Emperor Conrad II and the Patriarch Poppo (1019–42), the cathedral was extensively enlarged and furnished with prestigious monuments, thus making it the largest eleventh-century cathedral in northern Italy. After the collapse of the nave during the earthquake of 1348, the entire clerestory was reconstructed from the capitals up to the roof. Nearly all the eleventh-century columns and capitals were reused in the new nave. As such, this was an exemplary and successful late Medieval restoration that greatly respected the old structure, in contrast to the earlier building phase in the first half of the eleventh century.

In Apulia, many twelfth-century cathedrals are constructed over early Christian foundations; however, we do not always know whether the early Christian building survived until the Romanesque reconstruction or whether the latter was built over ruins. Under the cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore in Barletta, a three-nave basilica with one apse was excavated and dated to the period of Bishop Sabinus of Canosa (514–66). Much later, this church became the seat of the Bishop of Barletta and was thoroughly reconstructed in the twelfth century with three naves and a gallery.[86] At the other end of the spectrum is the cathedral of Santa Restituta in Naples,[87] which has a Theodosian baptistery that escaped the radical renovations of the later Middle Ages. With its mosaics, it represents a jewel of early Christian architecture among the monumental late Trecento constructions,

and its survival was only made possible because of the baptistery's very solid architecture.

The list of early Christian cathedrals reconstructed during the Romanesque period in Italy, be it over ruins or after the demolition of an ancient building, is extremely long when compared to any other Mediterranean country. In other words, the reconstruction of Romanesque cathedrals built over early Christian antecedents is key to our understanding of Italian Medieval church architecture. It is evidence of an outstanding tradition of Christian faith and also points to an important economic and social revival after the turn of the millennium. As early as the eleventh century, however, the Normans were induced by political reasons to establish new bishoprics in Sicily, resulting in the erection of new large cathedrals first at Catania and Mazara del Vallo and then in the twelfth century at Cefalù and Palermo.[88]

NOTES

[*] I wish to thank Sible de Blaauw and Carlo Tosco for their precious advice.

[1] Pasquale TESTINI, Gisella CANTINO WATAGHIN & Letizia PANI ERMINI, 'La Cattedrale in Italia', in *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*, ed. Noël DUVAL, Françoise BARITEL & Philippe PERGOLA, vol. 1, Vatican City 1989, pp. 5–229.

[2] Jean Pierre SODINI, 'Les groupes épiscopaux de Turquie, à l'exception de la Cilicie', in *Actes du XIe congrès*, 1, p. 419; Noël DUVAL, 'L'Évêque et la cathédrale en Afrique du nord', in *Actes du XIe congrès*, 1, p. 381.

[3] Werner JACOBSEN, 'Probleme der Liber Ordinarius-Forschung für die Bau- und Kunstgeschichte. Methodische Vorbemerkungen zu einem neuen Forschungsgebiet', in *Heilige, Liturgie, Raum. Beiträge zur Hagiographie*, ed. Dieter R. BAUER et al., Stuttgart 2010, pp. 175–82.

[4] Philipp HOFMEISTER, 'Das Gotteshaus als Begräbnisstätte', in *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, 111, 1931, pp. 450–87.

[5] Alfons Maria SCHNEIDER, 'Die altchristliche Bischofs- und Gemeindekirche und ihre Benennung', in *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 7, 1952; Thomas MICHELS, 'Dedicatio und Consecratio in frührömischer Liturgie', in *Enkainia. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 800-jährigen Weihegedächtnis der Abteikirche Maria Laach*, Düsseldorf, 1956, pp. 58–61.

[6] Sible DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et Decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, vol. 1, Vatican City, 1991, pp. 119–331.

[7] *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis DUCHESNE, Paris, 1892, p. 173: *Eodem tempore fecit Constantinus Augustus basilicam in civitate Hostia, iuxta portum urbis Romae, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et Iohannis Baptistae.*

[8] Otto NUSSBAUM, *Der Standort des Liturgen am christlichen Altar vor dem Jahre 1000. Eine archäologische und liturgiegeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Bonn, 1965.

[9] EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica* X, 4, 44; *Constitutiones apostolorum* II, 57, 3–5; *Testamentum Domini* I, 19.

[10] Joseph BRAUN, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Munich 1924, pp. 65–71 and 107; DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et Decor*, 1, pp. 119–331.

[11] DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et Decor*, 1, p. 112: 'La basilica Lateranense era destinata alla liturgia del vescovo di Roma, l'unica liturgia collettiva della comunità cristiana cittadina […]'.

[12] *Ibidem*, p. 139: 'non ebbe originariamente delle celebrazioni liturgiche collettive per le feste dei santi'.

[13] *Ibidem*, p. 140: 'Era nel quarto secolo destinata a numerose celebrazioni eucaristiche con la partecipazione di un gran numero di fedeli'.

[14] Mario MIRABELLA ROBERTI, 'La posizione dell'altare nelle più antiche basiliche di Aquileia e di Parenzo', in *Rivista di archeologia Cristiana*, 26, 1950, pp. 181–94; Giovanni BRUSIN, 'Il posto dell'altare in chiese paleocristiane del Veneto e del Norico', in *Festschrift für Rudolf Egger*, vol. 1, Klagenfurt, 1952, pp. 212–35.

[15] *Ambrogio*, ep. 22 ad sororem; Marco ROSSI, 'Le cattedrali perdute: il caso di Milano', in *Medioevo: L'Europa delle cattedrali. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi: Parma, 19–23 settembre 2006*, ed. Arturo Carlo QUINTAVALLE, Parma, 2007, pp. 228–36; Paolo PIVA, 'Edilizia di culto cristiano a Milano, Aquileia e nell'Italia settentrionale fra IV e VI secolo', in *Storia dell'architettura italiana. Da Costantino a Carlo Magno*, ed. Sible DE BLAAUW, Milan, 2010, pp. 98–102.

[16] Giuseppe CUSCITO, 'Vescovo e cattedrale nella documentazione epigrafica in occidente', in *Actes du XIe congrès*, 1, Vatican City, 1989, pp. 735–78.

[17] Alan THACKER, 'Popes, Patriarchs and Archbishops and the Origins of the Cult of the Martyrs in Northern Italy', in *Saints and Sanctity*, ed. Peter CLARKE & Tony CLAYDON (Studies in Church History, 47), 2011, pp. 51–79.

[18] See Paolo PIVA, 'Edilizia di culto cristiano a Milano, Aquileia e nell'Italia settentrionale fra IV e VI secolo', in *Storia dell'architettura italiana*, pp. 125–37; Hugo BRANDENBURG, 'La basilica doppia in Aquileia e la cosidetta tipologia delle chiese doppie dell'architettura tardoantica. Il ruolo di fondazioni e donazioni nello sviluppo dei centri ecclesiastici dal IV al VI secolo', in *La Basilica di Aquileia. Storia, archeologia ed arte*, ed. Giuseppe CUSCITO & Thomas LEHMANN (Antichità altoadriatiche, 69), Trieste, 2010, pp. 285–322.

[19] *Solea* is a Greek term which was never used within the Latin realm. See: Sible DE BLAAUW, 'Origins and Early Developments of the Choir', in *La place du Choeur. Architecture et liturgie du Moyen Âge aux temps modernes*, ed. Sabine FROMMEL & Laurent LECONTE, Paris, 2012, pp. 25–32.

[20] S. Peter, S. Agnese, SS. Marcellino Pietro, S. Lorenzo and the *Basilica Apostolorum*.

[21] Cyril MANGO, 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the translation of relics', in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 83, 1990, pp. 51–61; Cyril MANGO, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople*, Paris, 1985, pp. 35–35.

[22] Paola DE SANCTIS, 'Aedificare, novare, sacrare. Luoghi di culto dei martiri nelle iscrizioni di committenza episcopale', in *Vetera Christianorum*, 48, 2011, pp. 225–42.

[23] Franz WIELAND, *Altar und Altargrab der christlichen Kunst im 4. Jahrhundert: Neue Studien über den Altar der christlichen Liturgie*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 80.

[24] Vincenzo FIOCCHI NICOLAI, *Strutture funerarie ed edifici di culto paleocristiani di Roma dal IV al VI secolo*, Vaticano, 2001.

[25] WIELAND, *Altar und Altargrab*, p. 130.

[26] Ambrosius, ep. 77.

[27] *Ibidem*.

[28] Jean-Charles PICARD, *Le souvenir des évêques. Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au X* siècle, Rome, 1988, pp. 17–108.

[29] WIELAND, *Altar und Altargrab*, p. 43.

[30] *Ibidem*, p. 144.

[31] *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 212.

[32] FIOCCHI NICOLAI, *Strutture funerarie*, p. 9.

[33] WIELAND, *Altar und Altargrab*, p. 92; see also: PAULINUS OF MILAN, *Vita Ambrosii, c.* 29.

[34] Johannes Dominicus MANSI, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collection, vol. 3, Florence, 1754, p. 971, c. 14: [...] *nulla memoria martyrum probabiliter accepetur, nisi aut ibi corpus, aut aliquae reliquiae certae sint; [...] nam quae per somnia et per inanes quasi revelationes quorumlibet hominum ubique constituuntur, altaria, omniumode reprobentur.*

[35] *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 242: *Hic fecit oraturia III in baptisterio basilicae Constantinianae, sancti Iohannis Baptistae et sancti Iohanni Evangelistae et sanctae crucis, omnia ex argento et lapidibus pretiosis*; Franz Alto BAUER, 'Überlegungen zur liturgischen Parzellierung des Kirchenraums im frühen Mittelalter', in *Bildlichkeit und Bildorte von Liturgie*, ed. Rainer WARLAND, Wiesbaden, 2002, pp. 75–103.

[36] Giuseppe CUSCITO, 'Iscrizioni di committenza ecclesiastica nell'alto adriato orientale', in *Ideologia e cultura artistica tra Adriatico e Mediterraneo orientale (IV–X secolo). Il ruolo dell'autorità ecclesiastica alla luce di nuovi scavi e ricerche. Atti del convegno internazionale, Bologna-Ravenna, 26–29 novembre 2007*, ed. Raffaella FARIOLI CAMPANATI & Clementina RIZZARDI, Bologna, 2009, pp. 394–98.

[37] Eugenio RUSSO, *Sculture del complesso eufrasiano di Parenzo*, Naples & Rome, 1991, pp. 92–98; Urs PESCHLOW, 'Altar und Reliquien. Form und Nutzung des frühbyzantinischen Reliquienaltares in Konstantinopel', in *Architektur und Liturgie. Akten des Kolloquiums vom 25. bis 27. Juli 2003 in Greifswald*, ed. Michael ALTRIPP & Claudia NAUERT, Wiesbaden, 2006, pp. 193–94. The earliest evidence for a ciborium in northern Italy was observed in the small basilica under the cathedral of Santa Eufemia (mid-fifth century). Mario MIRABELLA ROBERTI, 'La più antica basilica di Grado', in *Atti e memorie della società istriana di archeologia e storia patria*, 27–28, 1979–1980, p. 336; Federico GUIDOBALDI, 'I cyboria d'altare a Roma fino al IX secolo', in *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, 59, 2000, pp. 55–69.

[38] Thomas MATHEWS, 'Private Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Toward a Re-Appraisal', in *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 30, 1982, p. 125; Georges DESCOEUDRES, *Die Pastophorien im syrobyzantinischen Osten. Eine Untersuchung zu architektur-und liturgiegeschichtlichen Problemen*, Wiesbaden, 1983; Robert TAFT, *The*

Great Entrance, Rome, 1978; Robert TAFT, *The Pre-communion Rites*, Rome, 2000.

[39] Monica CORTELLETTI, 'Nuove indagini sulla chiesa di S. Maria delle Grazie di Grado: analisi stratigrafica degli elevati', *Archeologia dell'Architettura*, 8, 2003, pp. 181–207.

[40] Bruno MOLAJOLI, *La basilica eufrasiana di Parenzo*, Padova, 1943, p. 30; CUSCITO, 'Vescovo e cattedrale nella documentazione epigrafica in occidente', p. 749.

[41] Ann TERRY, 'The Conservation History of Mosaic Pavements at the Cathedral Site in Poreč: 1862–1990', in *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 1, 1995, p. 178.

[42] Jean-Pierre CAILLET, *L'evergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges: d'après l'épigraphie des pavements de mosaïque (IVᵉ–VIIᵉ s.)*, Rome, 1993, pp. 218–57; Giuseppe CUSCITO, 'Iscrizioni di committenza ecclesiastica', pp. 398–401.

[43] The dedication took place on 3 November 579.

[44] Mario MIRABELLA ROBERTI, 'Il Mausoleo di Elia nel Duomo di Grado', *Atti e memorie della società istriana di archeologia e storia patria*, 27–28, 1979–1980, pp. 347–56; PICARD, *Le souvenir des évêques*, p. 350.

[45] Marina FALLA CASTELFRANCHI, 'Il mausoleo di Boemondo a Canosa', in *I Normanni, popolo d'Europa 1030–1200* (ed. Mario D'ONOFRIO), Venice 1994, pp. 327–30; *Atti del Convegno di Studio su Boemondo da Taranto ad Antiochia a Canosa, Storia di un Principe Normanno, Taranto, Canosa, maggio-novembre 1998*, ed. Franco CARDINI, Nunzio LOZITO & Benedetto VETERE, Gelatina, 2003.

[46] Raffaella FARIOLI CAMPANATI, 'Per la datazione della cattedra di Massimiano e dell'ambone di Agnello', in *Studi in memoria di Patrizia Angiolini Martinelli*, ed. Silvia PASI, Bologna, 2005, pp. 165–68; Laura NAZZI, *Amboni nell'area altoadriatica tra VI e XIII secolo*, Pasian di Prato, 2009.

[47] NAZZI, *Amboni*, p. 101.

[48] Peter Cornelius CLAUSSEN, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter (1050–1300)*, vol. 1, Stuttgart, 2002, 21–23; Paolo PIVA, 'Lo "spazio liturgico": architettura, arredo, iconografia (sec. IV–XII)', in *L'Arte medievale nel contesto, 300–1300. Funzioni, iconografie, tecniche*, ed. Paolo PIVA, Milan, 2006, p. 139.

[49] Paolo PIVA, 'L'ambulacro e i "tragitti" di pellegrinaggio nelle chiese d'Occidente (secoli X–XIII)', in *Arte medievale. Le vie dello spazio liturgico*, ed. Paolo PIVA, Milan, 2012, pp. 81–145.

[50] Antonio BRACA, *Il Duomo di Salerno. Architettura e culture artistiche del Medioevo e dell'Età Moderna*, Salerno, 2003, p. 151; see also: Francesco ACETO, 'Peritia greca e arte della riforma: una proposta per il coro della cattedrale di Capua', in *Medioevo mediterraneo: L'occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 21–25 settembre 2004*, ed. Arturo Carlo QUINTAVALLE, Milan, 2007, pp. 627–35.

[51] Tiziano MANNONI & Aurora CAGNANA, 'Archeologia dei Monumenti. L'Analisi stratigrafica del battistero paleocristiano di Albenga', *Archeologia dell'architettura*, 1, 1996, pp. 83–100.

[52] PICARD, *Le souvenir des évêques*, p. 104.

[53] *Ibidem*, p. 102.

[54] Girolamo MANCINI, 'Il bel s. Giovanni e le feste patronali di Firenze descritte nel 1475 da Piero Cannini', in *Rivista d'arte*, 6, 1909, pp. 185–220.

[55] Arturo Carlo QUINTAVALLE, *Battistero di Parma. Il cielo e la terra*, Parma, 1989, p. 81: *carocium Parme ductum fuit Parmam com magno honore per populum Parme, Regij et Mutine et guber-*

natum in Batisterio parmensi (according to the description of the *chronicon* of 1270).

[56] *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 312.

[57] Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii, c.* 29; Walter CUPPERI, "'Regia Purpureo Marmore Crusta Tegit": Il sarcofago reimpiegato per la sepoltura di Sant'Ambrogio e la tradizione dell'antico nella basilica ambrosiana a Milano', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Quaderni*, 14, 2002, pp. 141–75; Paola DE SANCTIS, 'Aedificare, novare, sacrare', pp. 225–29.

[58] Jean-Michel SPIESER, 'Ambrose's Foundations at Milan and the question of martyria', in *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium*, Aldershot, 2001.

[59] Gregorius of Tours, *De gloria martyrum, c.* 27.

[60] John CROOK, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300-c. 1200*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 69–75; Werner JACOBSEN, 'Saint's Tombs in Frankish Church Architecture', in *Approaches to Early Medieval Art*, ed. Lawrence NEES, Cambridge MA, 1998 pp. 149–85.

[61] *Ibidem*, pp. 80–106.

[62] Fabio BETTI, 'La cattedrale di Vescovio in Sabina e l'architettura carolingia nel ducato di Spoleto', in *Medioevo: Arte Lombarda. atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 26–29 settembre 2001*, ed. Arturo Carlo QUINTAVALLE, Milan, 2004, pp. 500–10.

[63] Jens REICHE, 'Anmerkungen zur Datierung früh- und hochmittelalterlicher Architektur, am Beispiel der italienischen Kirchenbauten zwischen 870 und 1030', in *Bischöfliches Bauen im 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jörg JARNUT, Ansgar KÖB & Matthias WEMHOFF, Munich, 2009, p. 63; see also: Silvia LUSARDI SIENA, 'La cattedrale S. Maria', in *Luni, guida archeologica*, Sarzana, 1985, pp. 121–30.

[64] Antonio BRACA, *Il Duomo di Salerno. Architettura e culture artistiche del Medioevo e dell'Età Moderna*, Salerno, 2003, p. 221; Mario D'ONOFRIO, 'Alfano, i Carmina e la Cattedrale di Salerno', in *Medioevo: L'Europa delle cattedrali*, p. 180.

[65] Domenico Fontana transformed the crypt at the end of the sixteenth century.

[66] Adriano PERONI, 'Il ruolo della committenza vescovile alle soglie del Mille: il caso di Warmondo di Ivrea', in *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale: 4–10 aprile 1991*, ed. Ovidio CAPITANI (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 39), vol. 1, Spoleto 1992, pp. 243–71; Carlo TOSCO, 'La committenza vescovile nell'XI secolo nel romanico lombardo', in *Bischöfliches Bauen*, pp. 7–9.

[67] Adriano PERONI, 'Il ruolo della committenza vescovile alle soglie del Mille', p. 266; Samuel RUTISHAUSER, 'Genèse et développement de la crypte à salle en Europe du Sud', in *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa*, 24, 1993, pp. 37–52; Luca FABBRI, *Cripte. Diffusione e tipologia nell'Italia nordorientale tra IX e XII secolo*, Sommacampagna, 2009.

[68] Marco ROSSI, 'Interpretazioni della Rotonda di Brescia: problemi storiografici e critici', in *Medioevo: Arte Lombarda*, pp. 104–12; FIOCCHI NICOLAI, *Strutture funerarie*, p. 134, 136 and fig. 89.

[69] One of the earliest hall crypts in Italy is preserved under the Roman church of S. Maria in Cosmedin: Franz Alto BAUER, 'Papst Hadrian I. und die Krypta von S. Maria in Cosmedin', in *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 32, 1997/1998, 2002, pp. 135–78.

[70] Albert DIETL, *Defensor Civitatis. Der Stadtpatron in romanischen Reliefzyklen Oberitaliens*, Munich, 1998.

[71] Manfred LUCHTERHANDT, *Die Kathedrale von Parma. Architektur und Skulptur im Zeitalter von Reichskirche und Kommunebildung*, Munich, 2009, pp. 386–87.

[72] PICARD, *Le souvenir des évêques*, p. 699.

[73] Joseph Andreas JUNGMANN, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1958, p. 272; Otto NUSSBAUM, *Kloster, Priestermönch und Privatmesse*, Bonn, 1961, p. 136; Arnold ANGENENDT, 'Missa Specialis. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen', in *Jahrbuch für Frühmittelalterforschung*, 17, 1983, pp. 152–221; Arnold ANGENENDT, *Offertorium. Das mittelalterliche Messopfer*, Münster, 2013, pp. 104–13.

[74] NUSSBAUM, *Der Standort des Liturgen*, pp. 269–83.

[75] JUNGMANN, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 1, p. 281.

[76] Franz Alto BAUER, 'La frammentazione liturgica nella chiesa romana del primo medioevo', in *Rivista di archeologia Cristiana*, 75, 1999, pp. 385–446.

[77] NUSSBAUM, *Kloster, Priestermönch und Privatmesse*, p. 157.

[78] *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 101, col. 445–66.

[79] JUNGMANN, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 1, p. 280.

[80] The *Regula Benedicti* c. 60 does not mention private Masses. A multiplication of altars is observed from the eighth century on. The monastic church of Centula (798) possessed eleven altars. On the parchment plan of Saint Gall (820/830), seventeen altars are indicated. The monk-priest often celebrated *missae privatae*, see: NUSSBAUM, *Kloster, Priestermönch und Privatmesse*, p. 195; ANGENENDT, 'Missa Specialis', pp. 189–91.

[81] Beat BRENK, 'Il ciborio esagonale di San Marco a Venezia', in *L'arte di Bisanzio e l'Italia al tempo dei Paleologi 1261–1453*, ed. Antonio IACOBINI & Mauro DELLA VALLE, Rome, 1999, pp. 143–51.

[82] Carlo TOSCO, 'La cattedrale di Novara nell'età romanica. Architettura e liturgia', in *Medioevo: L'Europa delle cattedrali*, p. 280.

[83] Enrico CASTELNUOVO & Adriano PERONI, *Il Duomo di Trento. Architettura e scultura*, vol. 1, Trento, 1992, p. 56, fig. 16 and 25.

[84] Mario MIRABELLA ROBERTI, 'L'edificio romano di San Giusto', *Atti e memorie della società istriana di archeologia e storia patria*, 26–28, 1979–1980, pp. 87–104; Mario MIRABELLA ROBERTI, 'La basilica paleocristiana di San Giusto a Trieste', *Atti e memorie della società istriana di archeologia e storia patria*, 27–28, 1979–1980, pp. 105–21; Monica VERZAR-BASS, 'Trieste romana: l'estensione del tessuto urbano e l'area capitolina. Riflessioni su alcuni questioni', *Archeografo Triestino*, vol. 59/1 (1999), pp. 161–94.

[85] Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, 'La basilica patriarcale di Aquileia: un grande monumento romanico del primo XI secolo', *Arte Medievale*, 2, 2007, pp. 29–57.

[86] Pasquale FAVIA & Roberta GIULIANI, 'Preesistenze sacre nel sottosuolo della cattedrale di Barletta. Prime note sulle indagini archeologiche', *Vetera Christianorum*, 34, 1997, pp. 329–65.

[87] Carlo EBANISTA, 'L'atrio dell'*Insula episcopalis* di Napoli. Problemi di architettura e topografia paleocristiana e altomedievale', in *Tardo antico e alto medioevo. Filologia, storia, archeologia, arte*, ed. Mario ROTILI, Naples, 2006, pp. 307–67.

[88] Francesco GANDOLFO, 'Le cattedrali siciliane', in *Medioevo: L'Europa delle cattedrali*, pp. 191–207.

French Cathedrals around the Year 1000
Forms and Functions, Antecedents, and Future[*]

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Abstract

This panoramic survey builds on existing publications on the monumental landscape in the Kingdom of France around the year 1000. These publications include studies on the early Medieval Christian topography of the diocesan cities, reports of recent excavations, and thematic studies focusing on aspects of individual monuments. An overriding conclusion that emerges from all this material is the prevalence of the so-called 'cathedral group' formula. This article centres on several unanswered questions regarding the function of the various building units. For example: How do these functions relate in cases where more than one unit appears to have served the same purpose? For how long did separate baptisteries continue to be used as such? Where and when did further utilitarian units emerge? Structures and devices of early Christian (or at least early Medieval) origin were often deliberately maintained and preserved — although not necessarily in a functional sense. However, the status quo never remained fixed, since such anchorings in the past did not prevent significant modifications from being made; this helped pave the way for developments in the late Romanesque and Gothic periods. In these adaptations, cathedrals sometimes profited from solutions that were previously achieved in monastic contexts.

Evoking the French cathedrals of the tenth and eleventh centuries such that their main morphological and functional aspects are described is a difficult task because, as in several other Western countries, most buildings of this period gave way to Gothic constructions. This was the particular case in France, insofar as it was in the Capetian State's true heart that the *Ars Nova* to build emerged, and that the general will to assert royal power under Saint Louis led to the diffusion of this 'style' (and to the rebuildings at once implied), finally reaching the southernmost territories that were still attached to their former traditions. Moreover, it should well be recognized that in spite of important recent archaeological research — here we may recall the particularly detailed excavations directed by Jacques Le Maho in Rouen, Jean-François Reynaud in Lyon, Charles Bonnet and Christian

Sapin in Nevers, Robert Neiss and Walter Berry in Rheims, Walter Berry then associated with Sylvie Balcon in Autun, and Brigitte Boissavit-Camus in Poitiers — this kind of approach merits further development in order to be comprehensive enough of the French cathedral establishments preceding the Gothic era.

On the other hand, however, one can make use of the major corpus of documentation — and reflection — on a national level, which has also been accomplished in these last thirty years. Here, it is necessary to return to the project coordinated by Xavier Barral i Altet which, with the participation of many specialists across numerous regions, resulted in the first assessment of the French territory's monumental panorama at the turn of the millennium.[1] We also have at our disposal — to our immense advantage — the

fifteen volumes of the *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule*, an investigation instigated by Noël Duval, Paul-Albert Février, and Charles Pietri, and carried out under the direction of Nancy Gauthier and Jean-Charles Picard, and lately taken up by Brigitte Beaujard and Françoise Prévot.[2] The title of the collection indicates that only the pre-Carolingian period is addressed, but both because the textual data gathered there also cover later centuries and because — as we shall verify — many buildings belonging to this first flowering were almost totally (or at least largely) standing around the year 1000, this bulk of information appears to be crucial.

The achievements of the new *corpus* of the fourth- to tenth-century religious buildings, coordinated by Miljenko Jurković at European level and Pascale Chevalier and Christian Sapin within France,[3] will undoubtedly provide much new data. But, awaiting its publication, the already substantial contributions just mentioned will remain the basis of our argument; besides, we will also add some thematic studies such as those carried out by Noël Duval and myself (with later remarks by Jean Guyon and Marc Heijmans, then ultimately by Christian Sapin and Brigitte Boissavit-Camus) on 'twin', or multiple, churches,[4] by Christian Sapin on the *Westwerke* and associated structures,[5] by Yves Esquieu then Jean-Charles Picard on the canons' quarters,[6] and by Sylvie Balcon, François Baratte, Dany Sandron, and myself about the transition from *domus ecclesiae* to episcopal palaces.[7]

Before embarking on this presentation, we must first attend to demarcating its limits. Geographically speaking, and with a need for historical coherence, we will remain roughly within the bounds of the contemporaneous Capetian kingdom, that is, modern France minus its eastern third (but including Lyon due to its immediate proximity and its 'academic case' character, though excluding lands to the east of the Rhône, the Saône and the Meuse, essentially). As for the chronological limits, in order to better account for the state of architecture in the tenth and eleventh centuries, we will of course often be forced to examine earlier periods.

The 'Episcopal Group': Overall Outline

The primary characteristic of our panorama is the relative frequency of the 'episcopal group' formula, which is made up by at least two (and often three,

sometimes even more) distinct architectural units. It is certainly not specific to our territory; and it is well known that Italy provided the earliest examples and then maintained the concept until the High Middle Ages. But Merovingian and Carolingian Gaul, then proto-Romanesque France, which largely assumed the heritage of these earlier phases, also offer a number of examples. It was Jean Hubert who, in 1963, investigated them as a true pioneer and who, according to the preserved ancient fabric of certain standing monuments as well as information on eighteenth-century renovations from contemporary documents, in addition to the results of some partial excavations, drew up a list of about thirty cases within our present territorial limits;[8] even with their partial, necessary revaluation — leading to certain additions, because of the advances made by research — we still are left with a *corpus* of numerically the same order. Practicality requires restricting ourselves to mentioning only those for which our knowledge is at present the least lacunar and which, typologically speaking, seem to be representative of the main solutions then in use.

The complex of Lyon (Figs 1 & 2) is recommended for the excellent testimony that it offers of a plan comprising three houses of worship laid out side by side, particularly as it still clearly appears on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scenographic representations. As was confirmed by Jean-François Reynaud's excavations of the 1970s and 1980s, this formula takes us back to a very early point in time.[9] The actual cathedral of Saint-Jean-Baptiste, a Gothic building spanning from *c.* 1170–80 to the end of the fourteenth century, succeeded a basilica of the fifth century of which a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris gives us a poetic description: according to it, an open air *atrium* surrounded by porticoes led to the main body of the church, subdivided into at least three naves, with a semi-circular apse at its eastern end (recently revealed in the Gothic transept crossing). Reworking of the outer walls' masonry was possibly carried out during Merovingian, and then Carolingian, times. But it is especially a text of Bishop Leidrade, towards 809–12, which reveals a building restoration: a poem relating to the initiatives of Bishop Agobard (titular of the seat from 816–40) indicates that this work then had to be completed with the setting of a mosaic (probably in the apsidal conch) depicting Christ between the evangelists and the apostles, and the establishment of a new (?) altar dedicated to Saint John the Baptist — indeed, it is from the ninth century that his

Fig. 1.   Lyon, episcopal group, scenographic view between 1545 and 1553 (anonymous, Lyons, Archives Municipales)

name is attested for this church. Insofar as it was only in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that new installations were created (with, in particular, the establishment of a choir raised above a crypt and on one level with the nave, and the setting of a presbytery bench against the apse wall), can one thus see how, in its broad outlines at least, the complex around the year 1000 was not so dissimilar to the original design of the early Christian period.

The second unit, immediately to the north, was originally a baptistery whose octagonal font has been excavated; its eastern apse dates from only a little later. Around 800, Bishop Leidrade rebuilt this unit according to a plan which we are unfortunately no longer able to reconstruct: at least one knows, thanks to a document issued by the same prelate towards 830, that this baptistery then became the church of Saint-Étienne, assigned to the canons. During the Romanesque period, this church included a transept on which were grafted, on both sides of the principal apse (that is, the original baptistery's apse), two eastern apsed chapels;

toward the west was a short nave preceded by a porch (other modifications, besides, would have occurred in this part between twelfth and fifteenth centuries, and the building in its entirety was to disappear in 1792).

Lastly, north of the church of Saint-Étienne stood the church of Sainte-Croix, whose Romanesque state included a tripartite nave with a semi-circular apse attached; we do not know the earlier plan, but archaeological remains at least allow us to think of a building of a similar format; and it seems correct in any case to date the original building back to the early Middle Ages, since a twelfth-century episcopal list assigns its foundation to Bishop Arigius shortly after 600. As for the name Sainte-Croix, it is surely not attested before the eleventh century but, as was suggested by Jean-François Reynaud, it is possible that the introduction of the True Cross relics took place there rather early (through the transfer of some fragments from the neighbouring city of Vienne, where there is mention of them in 514).
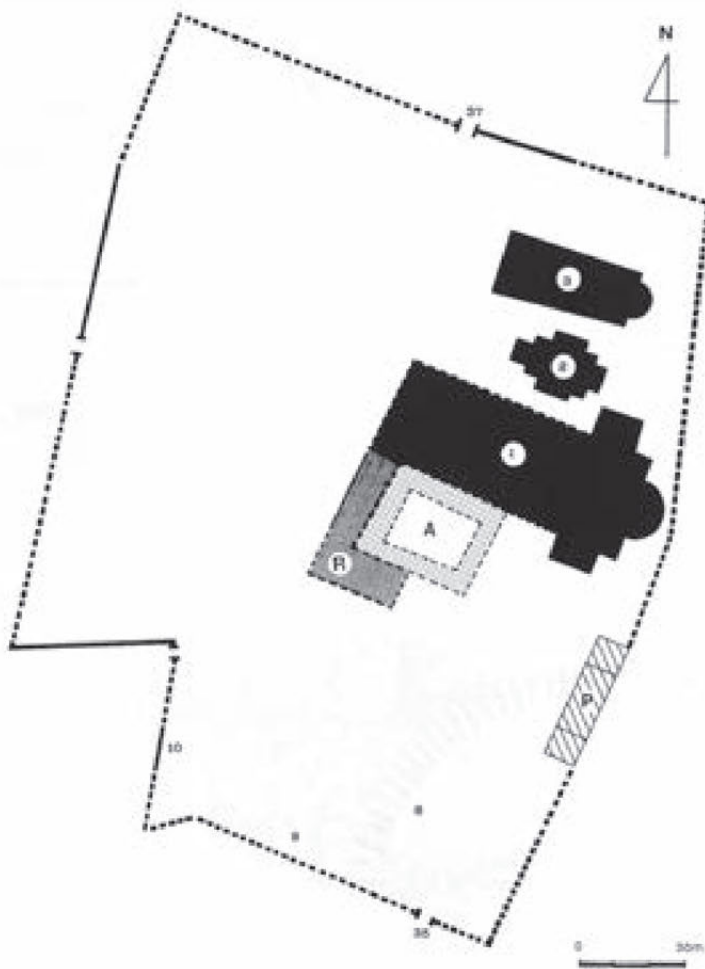
Fig. 2.   Lyon, episcopal group in the twelfth century: (1) Saint-Jean-Baptiste, (2) baptistery, then Saint-Étienne, (3) Sainte-Croix, (A) cloister, (R) refectory, (P) episcopal residence (after Olivier JUFFARD & Jean-François REYNAUD)

Furthermore, we may note the presence, within the framework of the same complex, of an episcopal residence which originally seems to have consisted of two buildings. Towards 800, Bishop Leidrade restored one of them (the other was already completely in ruins), by enlarging it and creating a *solarium*, that is, a terrace on the upper floor. This construction would still have been standing around the year 1000, but it was replaced during the eleventh century by a new palace established on the banks of the Saône, about thirty metres southeast of the church of Saint-Jean-Baptiste. Before 1076 and on the initiative of Archbishop Humbert I, this new palace was equipped with two towers (a post-Medieval drawing provides us with an illustration).

Lastly, the creation of a canonical corps in Carolingian times resulted, again on the initiative of Bishop Leidrade, in the erection of a cloister with a communal housing unit. Perhaps this cloister was laid out to the south of the church of Saint-Jean-Baptiste, where the Romanesque cloister was built after 1106; we do not have any certainty in this regard. The remains of a structure dated (by archeomagnetism) to between 730 and 850, at the corner of the Romanesque cloister and contiguous with the *manécanterie* of the end of the fourteenth century, could have belonged to this primitive cloister — but this remains very hypothetical.

We have described the example of Lyon because of the rather exceptional documentation available. Now we will mention more briefly examples that, in one aspect or another, appear to be of similar design. It is thus in Rouen[10] (Fig. 3), Auxerre,[11] and probably also Tours,[12] Le Mans[13] and Amiens,[14] as well as, perhaps, Chartres,[15] that the cult buildings were similarly laid out side by side. It should be said, nevertheless, that some differences are attested. This is especially the case at Nevers (Fig. 4), where excavations carried out after the (wartime) destruction of the Gothic choir revealed the existence of a chapel that had undergone several states between the fifth-sixth and the twelfth centuries and which, with a shift towards the south (whereas, symmetrically, the baptistery is somewhat towards the north), is located in the main church's eastern prolongation.[16] Again, a plan comprising two buildings on the same longitudinal axis could have occurred in Paris, even if based on the scanty excavations of the mid-nineteenth century:[17] it seems that here there is evidence for a church of Saint-Étienne (the name is attested at the end of the seventh century; this building was destroyed at the time of the establishment of the Gothic cathedral) and, more towards the east, a church of Notre-Dame (which the texts mention as existing from the ninth century, and which also preceded the actual cathedral). The baptistery, whose existence goes back to the sixth century at least, and was later known under the denomination of Saint-Jean-le-Rond, was established north of the axis of the churches, near the apse of Saint-Étienne, and was demolished as late as 1748; according to the graphic documentation of this time, it had lost — at an unfortunately unknown date — its original configuration and existed as a rectangular building.

We should note at least that, independent of these alternatives, we apparently always deal with buildings

of early Christian (or at least early Medieval) foundations, which have often been the object of refittings or rebuilding but were maintained as distinct units until proto-Romanesque times (or even later). As for their specific functions, information is unfortunately very scarce. Thus, it is mainly for Le Mans[18] and Poitiers[19] that, as with Lyon, we know thanks to a textual source that one of the churches was especially assigned to the canons from Carolingian times (or undoubtedly shortly after); it is, however, probable that, after Bishop Chrodegang of Metz created the cathedral chapters in the mid-eighth century, this stated purpose also prevailed in several others of our complexes. Otherwise, it is obviously the dedications, as well as the attestation of the presence of certain relics, which provide some indications of these sanctuaries' precise uses: one must indeed be prudent with respect to Jean Hubert's proposal that the church dedicated to a martyr (often Saint Stephen) was the primitive cathedral to which would have been associated a second church (often dedicated to the Virgin, from Carolingian times especially) that the bishop would have reserved for delivering sacraments. No text, in any case, confirms it within the territorial bounds and for the period that are taken into account here.

Undoubtedly, one can, however, evoke some examples for which the special veneration for a saint could well have induced, in the building dedicated to him, special worship and devotional uses: such was the case in Amiens,[20] where a charter of 850 clearly distinguishes the church of Sainte-Marie (corresponding to the actual Gothic Notre-Dame) and the church sheltering the remains of Saint Firmin (local proto-bishop and martyr) that, apparently, stood north of the latter church until its destruction and rebuilding on a different spot in the thirteenth century (this in relation, precisely, with the Gothic reconstruction of the Marian sanctuary on a much vaster scale). In the same way, we will here note the case of Chartres,[21] where the Marian church (already mentioned under this dedication in the ninth century) that was rebuilt by Bishop Fulbert at the beginning of the eleventh century, included in its crypt a place of devotion to the Virgin (still attested by the presence of a wall painting under the Gothic cathedral). In addition, the church immediately to the north, Saint-Serge-et-Saint-Bache, known under this dedication in the eleventh century, could well have been the place of
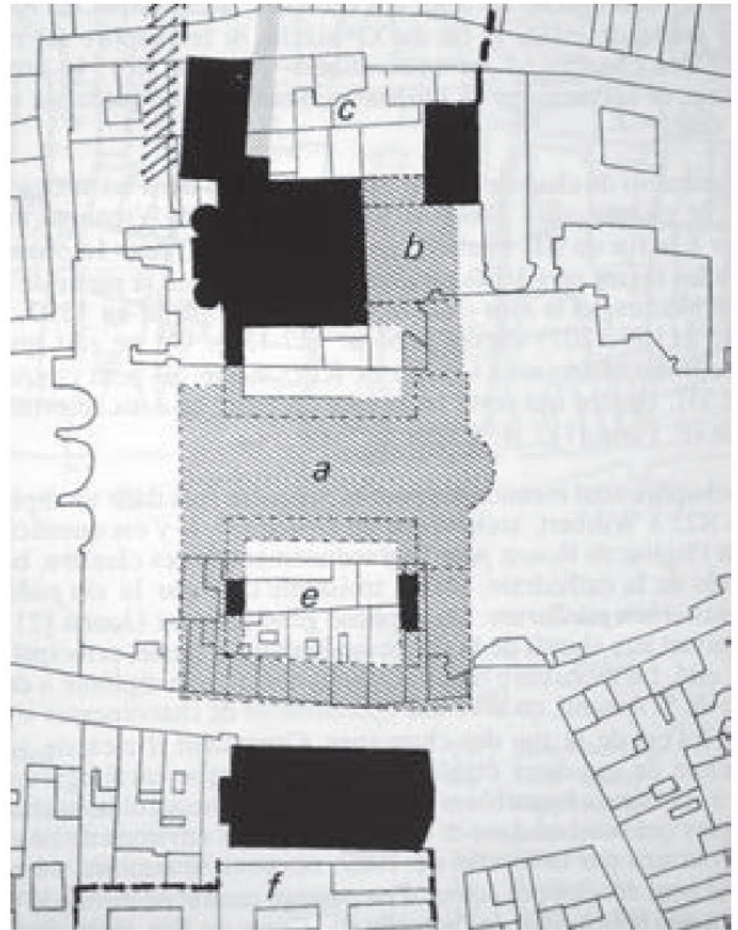
Fig. 3.   Rouen, episcopal group during Carolingian times: (a) Notre-Dame, (b) Saint-Étienne, (c) Canons' court and buildings, (d) Court and buildings of the episcopal residence (after Bernard Gauthiez & Jacques Le Maho)

a particular veneration of these two martyrs (the date of the introduction of whose relics at Chartres remains a mystery); that, we should well note, without this specific devotion being the only function of the building (and so it was for the Marian pilgrimage in the main church located close by). But let us add, all the same, that the assumption of such a major purpose for one of the components of an episcopal group may well be supported by the example of Autun (Fig. 5) in the first half of the twelfth century:[22] there, indeed, the new church of Saint-Lazare was expressly built to accommodate what passed for the body of the eponymous saint and to arrange there, under the main altar, a passage for the pilgrims; it is thus permissible to suggest that this kind of use was inspired by what was
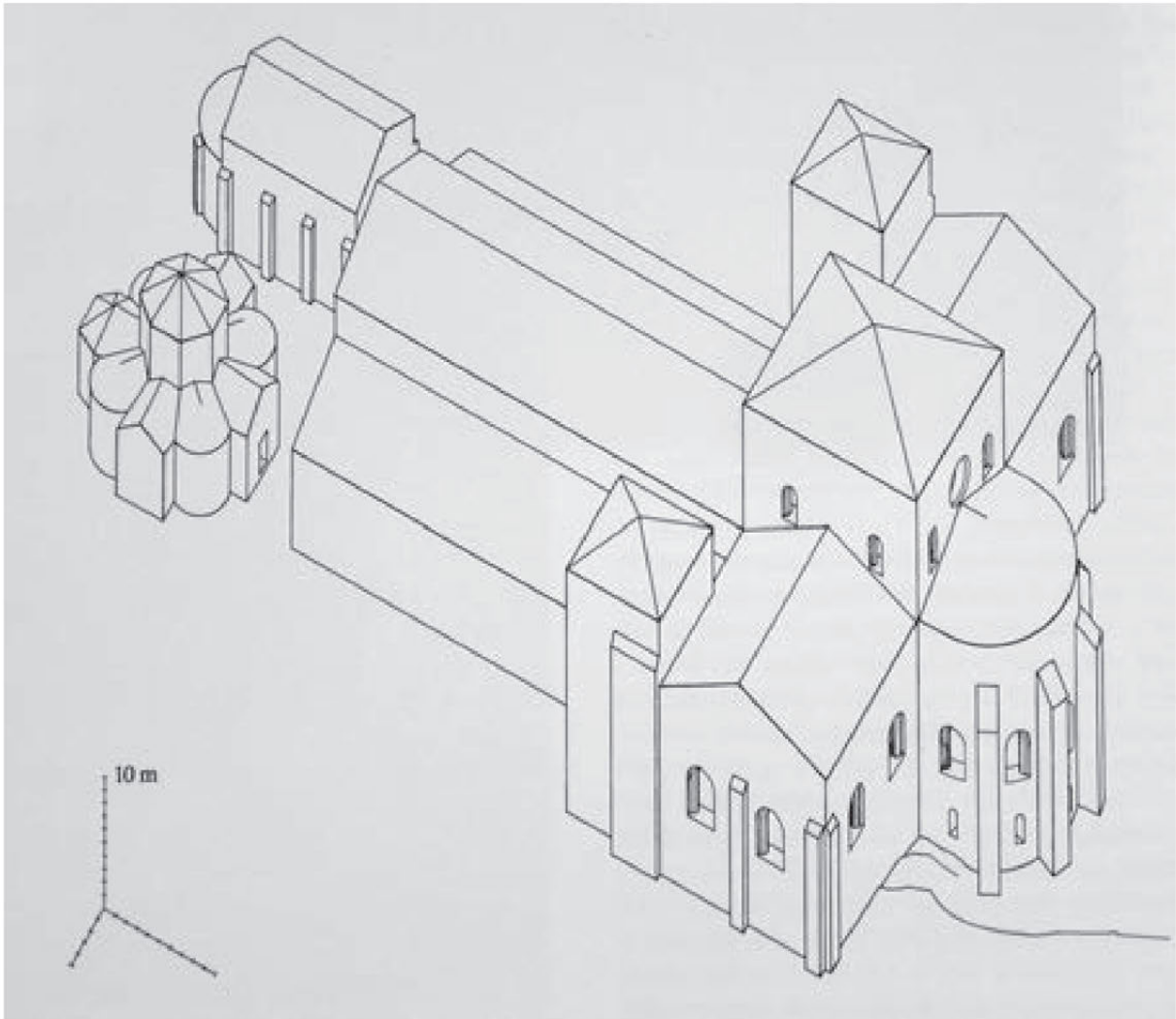
Fig. 4.   Nevers, episcopal group in the eleventh century (after Gérard DEUBER & Christian SAPIN)

practised in certain cathedral groups in former centuries. Finally, to close the examination of these respective functions of the two churches, let us remark that, contrary to what is attested in northern Italy, for the French cases we do not have any evidence for the seasonal alternation of liturgical use.

Continuity of a Separate Baptismal Building?

Another important aspect evoked by the Lyon example is the presence of a separate baptismal building — but also the problem of the rather late continuity of its assignment to this same use (this, while knowing, moreover, that these baptisteries could have been equipped with an altar and thus also have served as chapels, as had occurred in the early Christian period). We will approach this point by also taking into account the cathedral groups' baptisteries, which, like those of Rheims or of Le Puy, were apparently associated with only one church: the problems here are exactly those as in the case of more complex groups. In Rheims[23] (Fig. 6), as in Lyon, it is clear that the baptismal building had disappeared by the Carolingian period: excavations by Robert Neiss and Walter Berry have established that it had been destroyed in the first half of the ninth century, with the erection of a *Westwerk* before the nave of the church of Sainte-Marie. The remains of this old baptistery were then hidden under the *Westwerk* in question;
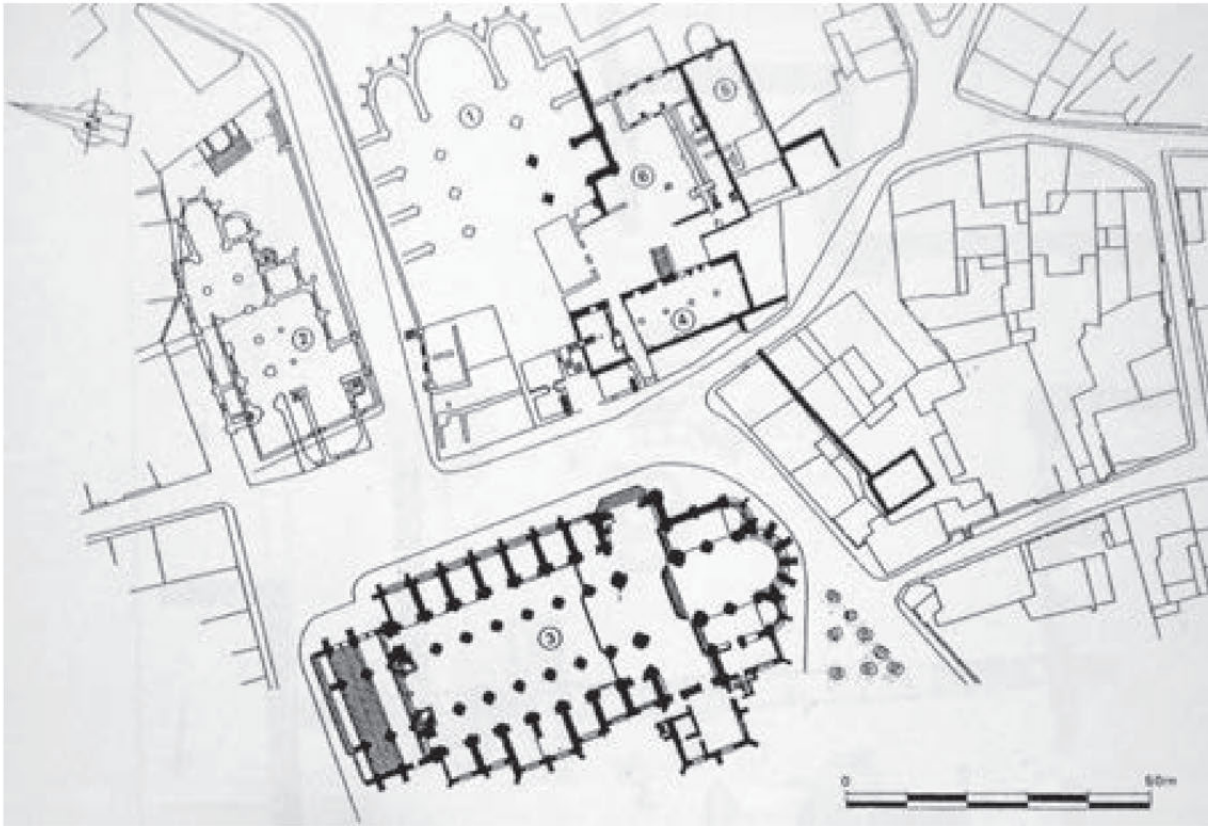
Fig. 5.   Autun, episcopal group during the Romanesque period: (1) Saint-Nazaire, (2) Notre-Dame, (3) Saint-Lazare, (4) *cellarium*, (5) refectory, (6) cloister (after Gilles Fèvre, Sylvie Balcon, Walter Berry and Christian Sapin)

but according to textual testimonies, we know that a new baptismal device was installed in the upper floor of the latter, and probably was maintained at least until the reorganization of this section of the building a little before the year 1000. In Poitiers also,[24] Brigitte Boissavit-Camus has provided good evidence that the early Christian baptistery, still substantially well preserved, had been converted into a chapel, with important plan modifications during the seventh century and assigned to the canons between the ninth and eleventh centuries; however, we do not know exactly when the baptistery was abandoned and where baptism was carried out in the later centuries. But in this case, and in Lyon and Rheims likewise, it is quite reasonable to argue that with the general introduction of child baptism through simple effusion before the Carolingian period, one could resort to a font of smaller dimensions placed on a support and carry out the rite elsewhere (eventually in the main church).

In fact, we should not seek a single interpretation for this period: given the many apparent differences

that arise through examining other examples, we should be careful in drawing single conclusions. Thus in Rouen[25] (Fig. 3), in 1078, a text of Orderic Vitalis clearly mentions a burial in the *baptisterium*, the latter at this time being located in the northern arm of the transept of the church of Notre-Dame rebuilt shortly after the year 1000 and constituting the original complex's southern component enlargement; following Jacques Le Maho, the eleventh-century baptistery's location in the northern axis of the galleried court placed initially between the two parallel churches could indicate the continuity of the baptismal site from early Christian times until well into the Romanesque period.

Two other cases are rather complicated. At Nevers[26] (Fig. 4), the disappearance of the baptismal building was caused by erecting a Gothic counter-choir at the Romanesque cathedral, and we are uncertain of how long this building served for baptism: after a first reconstruction (around 600, according to Charles Bonnet) when this function was maintained, a final
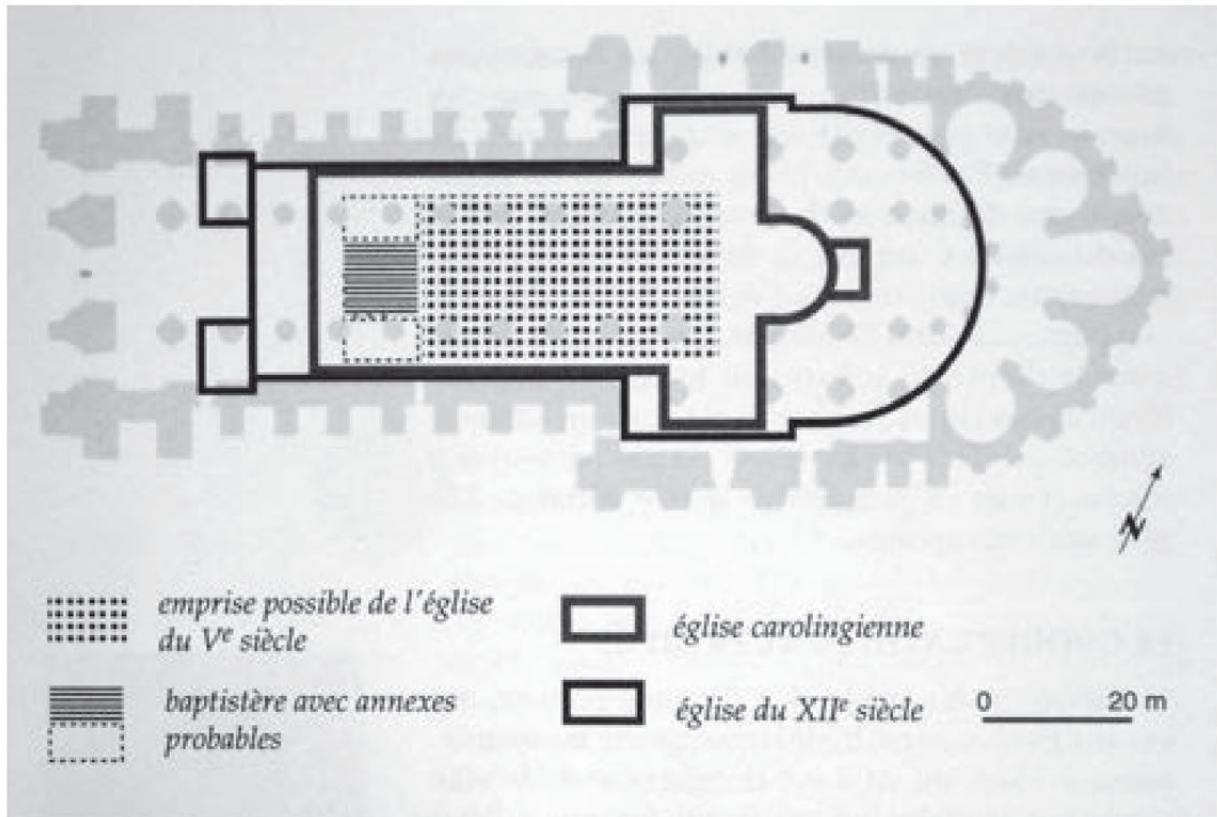
Fig. 6.   Rheims, cathedral church from the seventh to twelfth centuries. Key clockwise from left: *possible outline of the fifth-century church / Carolingian church / twelfth-century church / baptistery, probably with annexes* (after Robert Neiss & Walter Berry)

phase involved a conspicuous raising of soil in the building's immediate vicinity and creating a staircase to descend into it; also, the font was filled in and was replaced by a low octagonal wall, perhaps supporting a device for simple partial immersion (or infusion?). Given the evidence, one can only tentatively suggest that this final phase dates to just before or after the year 1000. In the second case, that of Le Puy,[27] the upper part of the present structure dates to a rebuilding of around 1100 (according to Marcel Durliat). Its baptismal function is well attested by documentary sources from the early thirteenth century onwards. The lower parts of the perimetric walls — which, as in the next phase, delimit a short nave to which an apse is attached — clearly have far earlier origins. But we must await the publication of the current excavations to refine the building's early chronology, as well as to be sure that a font was established there from the start. We may have here, then, another testimony of functional continuity in the same place — and this time in the same autonomous building — with only

the substitution of the initial phase font (undoubtedly sunk into the floor itself) with a font of different type (that is, on a pedestal). So, given these various cases, we are faced with a rather complex panorama with — as was already suggested, regarding the specific destination of each particular church in the most developed complexes — various likely solutions from one site to another. Indeed, this is hardly surprising, since, in spite of successive efforts by ecclesiastical authorities to standardize the liturgical functions, it is well proven that applying such decisions often posed problems.

The Episcopal Residence. The Hospital/Guest-House ('Xenodochium')

Our Lyon 'reference case' was also characterized by the presence of an episcopal residence — of real pageantry, since the text which mentions its repair in Carolingian times states that Bishop Leidrade wished the building to merit receiving and accommodating the Emperor on

the occasion of one of his visits. The recent conference held in Autun endeavoured to present an accurate statement of the transition from the early Christian *domus ecclesiae* to the episcopal palaces of the High Middle Ages.[28] Despite the undeniable scientific advances, this process was not so easy to reconstruct: indeed, even though we quite often have textual evidence for the early episcopal residences, their exact nature — and location with respect to other units of the cathedral group — were generally overlooked. Furthermore, there have been few opportunities to carry out large-scale excavations within Medieval (or often post-Medieval) episcopal palaces in order to establish the sequence and details of the initial and later architectural phases. Here we will simply summarize what, on some sites, could be verified — or at least plausibly conjectured. In Tours, for example,[29] the *domus ecclesiae* is clearly mentioned by the texts of second half of the sixth century, where an oratory is attested, associated with the housing of relics inside the altar and its dedication to the Holy Cross. As for the site of this *domus ecclesiae*, it seems to coincide with that of the archiepiscopal palace built during the twelfth century (and later altered, today housing the Museum of Fine Arts), just southeast of the Gothic cathedral (which itself was established on the spot of the early Christian episcopal group's main component): it would seem that vestiges of the bishop's old oratory were until recently still visible in a room of the modern palace.

In Rheims also,[30] texts from the sixth and seventh centuries mention an episcopal residence in which another ninth-century source indicates the presence of an oratory. The site of this *domus ecclesiae* also seems to have been maintained, since monumental arcades from the Carolingian period, undoubtedly corresponding to a rebuilding, have been found under the Tau Palace, the post-Medieval archiepiscopal residence established on the same location — that is, on the south side of the Gothic cathedral (itself built on the site of the early Christian, Carolingian, proto-Romanesque, and Romanesque cathedrals) (Fig. 6). We should note here that the archiepiscopal chapel of the thirteenth century (still standing and built onto the Tau Palace) also perpetuated the principle of the original oratory in this component of the group.

In the case of Rouen[31] (Fig. 3), south of the southernmost church of the pre-Gothic cathedral group, the remains of two galleries of north-south circulation have been discovered delimiting a court with a square

tower in one of its corners; in addition, the eastern gallery served a room paved with *opus sectile* and decorated with historiated stained-glass windows, while another room, with the same type of decoration, was served by the western gallery. All these structures, attributed to the Carolingian period by Jacques Le Maho, superimpose remains which are thought to correspond to those of the *domus ecclesiae* of the end of the sixth century. They were probably still in use during our period and offer the rare opportunity to gain an impression (partial, at least) of the articulation of a probable episcopal residence of the end of Late Antiquity.

We may continue with the case of Rouen, given that Jacques Le Maho — quite hypothetically, it must be said — proposed to interpret the room next to the western gallery as a *xenodochium*; as such, it would be quite near the entry of the southern church of the cathedral group. One knows, indeed, that arranging a space especially devoted to the poor within the bishop's residence initially constituted, for the prelate, a fundamental mission. Alain Saint-Denis also pointed out that in 816, the rule of Aachen emphasized the need to establish a building for receiving the poor.[32] But it is quite difficult today to determine where such a building (or function) was located in the complexes of the tenth and eleventh centuries. In fact, the only indications one has — and there are very few instances, moreover — are those relative to their destruction. Thus in Paris,[33] a charter of 1208 announces that the establishment of the new cathedral's frontage, set up on the initiative of Bishop Maurice de Sully in 1163, involved demolishing the hospice which rose just to the west (*ante portas ecclesiae*) and which, probably, was the one mentioned as early as 829.

In Chartres also,[34] the construction of the Gothic cathedral's western front, in about the mid-twelfth century, was related to the destruction by fire, in 1134, of the hospice established on the site at an (unfortunately) imprecise earlier date. But one should not infer only from these examples that a hospice was always located next to the cathedral church. For example, in Laon[35] it appears that it was initially located close to the abbey Sainte-Marie-Saint-Jean, in the southern part of the city; and according to the textual sources studied by Alain Saint-Denis, it was only around 1160–70 that the hospice was relocated, with construction of a new *ad hoc* building, by the southwest corner of the Gothic cathedral (itself then in mid-construction).

The Canons' Buildings

The case of Lyon has finally led us, always within the subject of the components of the episcopal complex, to the buildings established for the canons' chapters founded in Carolingian times.[36] Again, unfortunately, one usually has insufficient data to reconstruct the nature of these units prior to the Late Romanesque period (or sometimes the Gothic period). Besides, it is quite possible that, in spite of the arrangements adopted as early as the eighth-ninth centuries, these were not translated into actual buildings until much later. In Narbonne, for example,[37] although a canonic corps seems attested by the textual sources as early as 885, the first precise mention of a structure for their community life appears only in 1095: this was a building that undoubtedly combined a dormitory and refectory, located north of the contemporary cathedral, and it remained standing until its demolition in 1271, when it gave way to the new Gothic cathedral.

In other cases, however, it seems that one can recognize establishments of this type at a much earlier period. In Rouen (Fig. 3) in particular,[38] recent excavations revealed the presence of structures probably going back to the seventh century located around a court to the north of the cathedral group's northernmost church. Following several modifications, undoubtedly related to a concession of land by Emperor Louis the Pious, plus the rebuilding following the mid-ninth-century Viking raids, the state of the complex in the decades around the year 1000 consists of a court on the northern side of the northern church, flanked by two buildings with small outhouses (the latter probably housing latrines); the canons who lived there had, in addition, direct access to the northern church, at the end of the north wall of the latter.

But the most spectacular results have been achieved in Autun[39] (Fig. 5) where, on the southern side of the southernmost church (Saint-Nazaire), Sylvie Balcon and Walter Berry have been able to recognize a true cloister with galleries, undoubtedly established as early as the first half of the ninth century, serving a series of buildings probably identifiable as a chapter room (with a dormitory above?) in the east, a refectory to the south, and a storeroom to the west, being all built of stone (with reuse of much Roman material, the Roman city being particularly rich). At the beginning of the eleventh century, this cloister was subject to a major rebuilding that essentially addressed the vaulting in stone of the galleries that were hitherto covered in wood; according to the excavators, this increased 'monumentalization' would have rendered greater status to the canonic chapter.

Shapes and Specific Functions of the Church Building

After this panorama of the various complex units, we must now return briefly to the church building itself. Indeed, as was stressed by Dany Sandron in particular,[40] the period that concerns us here proves to be marked by certain morphological options — and functional uses, also — sometimes key in the evolution of church architecture in a cathedral context.

We will start this overview, however, with a rather atypical building, *a priori* without a successor in the case of its principal characteristics, but whose relatively good state of preservation — rather exceptional for the French cathedrals of the time — and, precisely, its originality, do not permit us to overlook it. It is the major component of the episcopal group of Nevers[41] (Fig. 4) which, according to Christian Sapin's reassessment, was rebuilt from the year 1015 onwards. Here we have, quite surprisingly for this time, a church with a western apse attached to a protruding transept equipped, in addition, with chapels installed into the lower sections of two turrets; a tower (lantern tower, undoubtedly) rose over the transept crossing. The altar of the main apse was dedicated to Saint Cyr (one of whose arms had probably been donated by King Charles the Bald), and a Marian altar stood in the subjacent crypt. The eastern transept chapels also housed altars dedicated to various saints (possibly related to local cults dating back to the Early Middle Ages). The building's western orientation might well indicate, as in the Carolingian period in certain well-known cases, a reference to Saint Peter of Rome; but, in addition, the formal characteristics correspond well to those of large Ottonian and Salian buildings, whose echo can also be perceived in such Gothic cathedrals as that in Laon, with its axial lantern tower and its transept side towers.[42]

The rebuilding of Sainte-Croix in Orléans (Fig. 7) on the initiative of Bishop Arnoul after a fire in 989[43] also represents a major step toward the format of Gothic cathedrals. The scale of the building is the

first point to note here: with a length of about ninety metres, the building indeed singularly announces the gigantism of the northern French achievements during the second half of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries; further, as Alain Villes has underlined, we should probably relate this to the royal residence status that Orléans held around the year 1000, and with the ceremonies that implied the presence, even, of the first Capetians in the cathedral. Other features, such as the establishment of higher galleries in the transept (and probably above the collaterals of the nave) and of an ambulatory with radiating chapels around the apse, were to be found also in several Gothic-era cathedrals.

It should be stressed that other cathedrals that were rebuilt during our period contributed to the diffusion of the 'ambulatory with radiating chapels formula': this can be said of the cathedral in Clermont-Ferrand, erected towards the mid-tenth century (apparently),[44] and of those in Chartres and Rouen (Fig. 8) in the immediate decades after the year 1000.[45] In each of these cases, the design is nowadays only attestable at the level of the crypt, but one can reasonably conjecture that the same applied above, on the ground level; the circulation of the pilgrims — but also of the clerks for particular celebrations — towards the altars associated with various relics is clearly present, as in many contemporary monastic churches, and marks the reason for adopting this formula. Let us also note that, independent of these peripheral circulations, certain crypts present at their centre a hall-like structure, comprising several longitudinal naves (there is such a structure under the western apse of the cathedral of Nevers,[46] and also in one of the cathedrals of Auxerre, the southern component of the complex of the time, rebuilt by Bishop Hugues de Châlon around 1030);[47] this feature is thus a secondary sanctuary.

As for the evolution of the eastern parts of the church, one can, in addition, consider the case of the cathedral of Nantes.[48] There, it appears that a fair part of the early Christian building was still standing around the year 1000. However, Viking raids necessitated certain repairs, in particular toward 900, including a lengthening of the choir: this probably reflected the chapter canons' need for sufficient space — and that also was a prelude to what was to become of rule in the Gothic-era cathedrals.
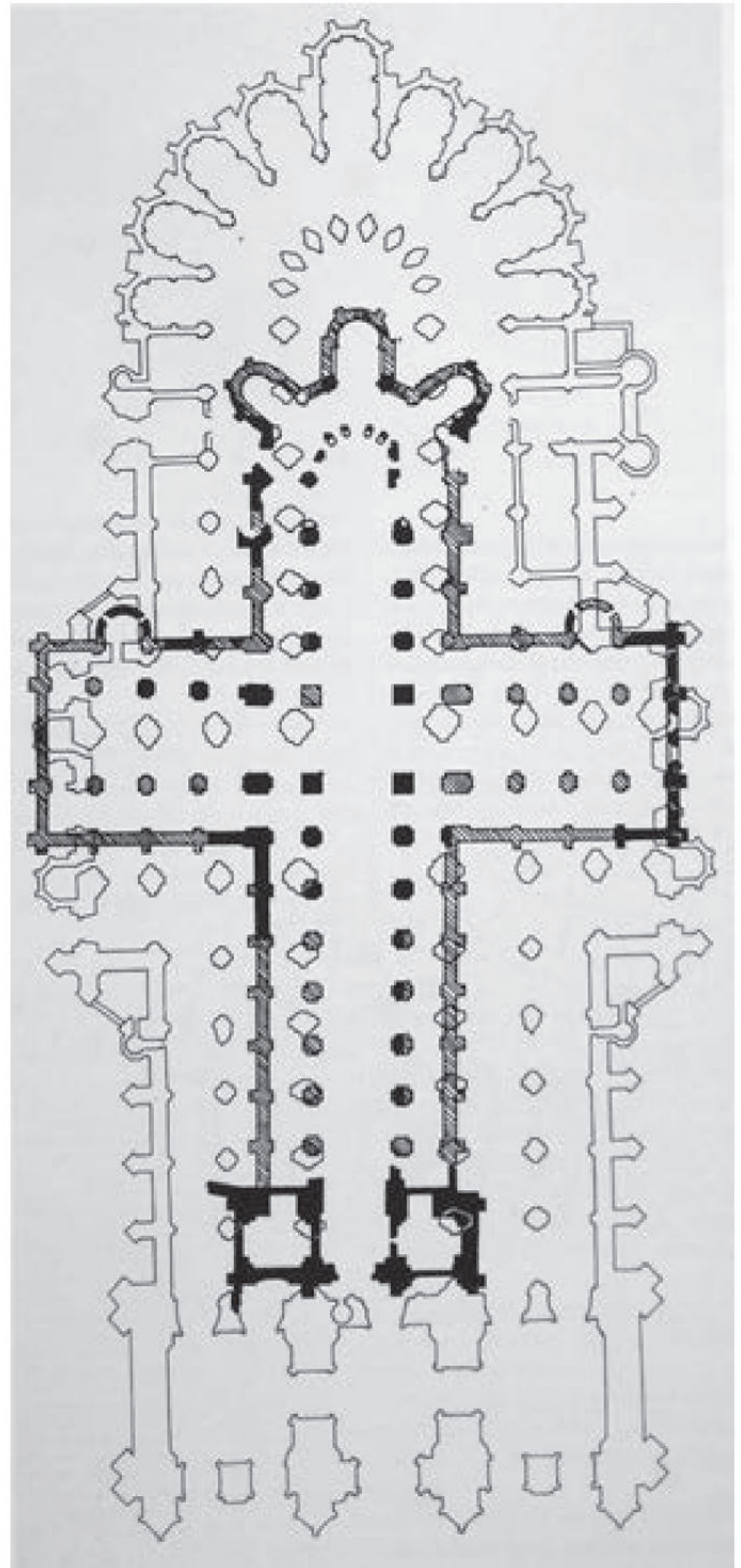
Fig. 7. Orléans, Sainte-Croix (after Pierre-Marie Brun & Alain Villes)
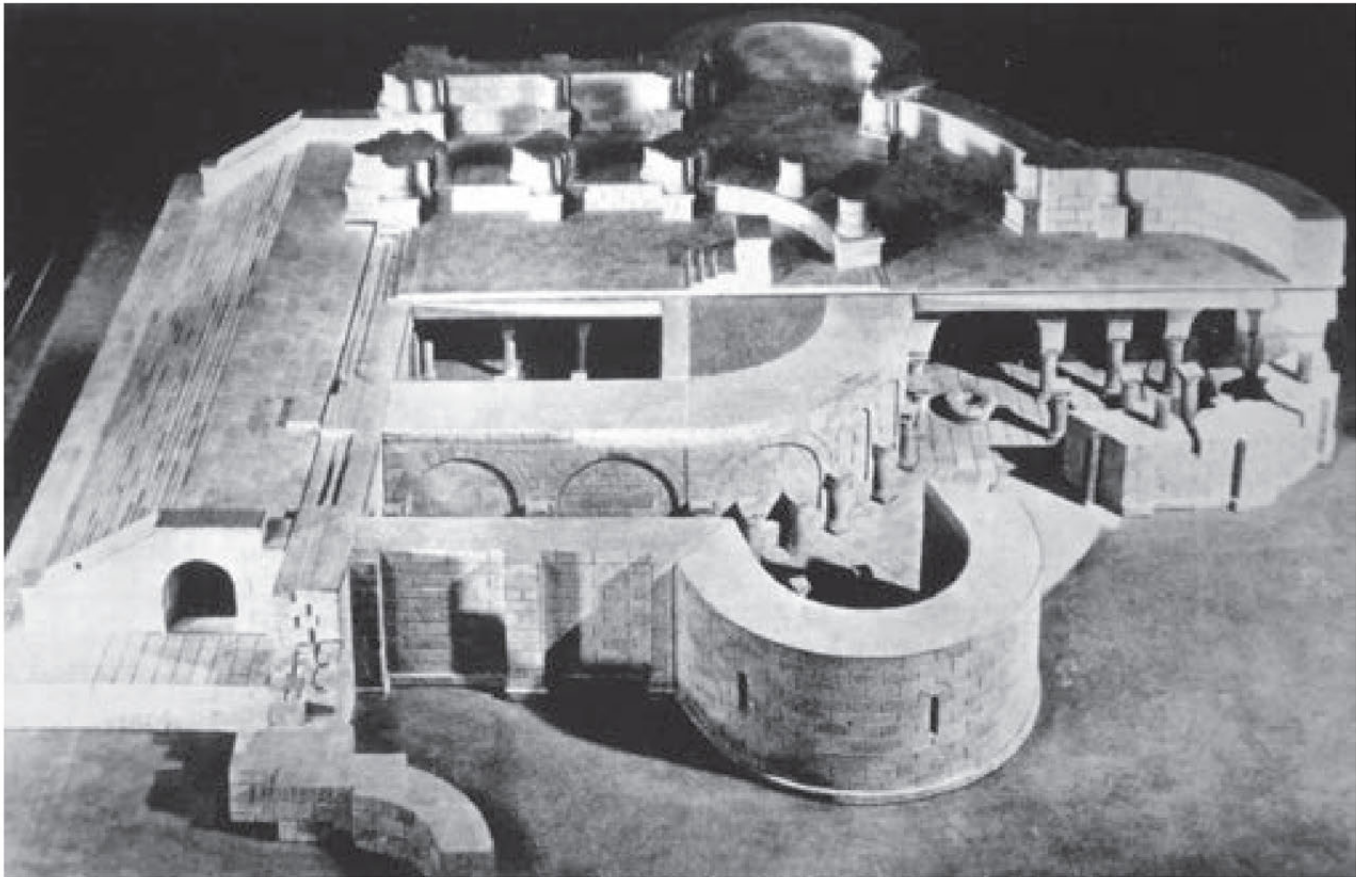
Fig. 8. Rouen, crypt with ambulatory of Notre-Dame (model after restitution by Georges Lanfry)

The western parts of the church building have also been, as it is now well known, of more or less importance over time. And, even if there has been, to our mind, too much stress on this 'stage' in the progression,[49] it remains true that certain Carolingian buildings already showed a tendency to adopt a marked western accentuation. That can also be supported, within the framework which concerns us here, by the deployment of iconographic programs: the *Gesta* of the prelates of Auxerre thus indicates that, toward the mid-tenth century, Bishop Guy ordered the decoration of his cathedral's western parts with a pictorial composition evoking the Last Judgement, directly visible to those entering the building.[50]

It is the architectural devices used that are particularly striking here. In Rouen[51] (Fig. 3), it well seems that around the year 1000, each of the two cathedral group churches constituted a true *Westwerk*. According to the stratigraphic data of the excavation directed by Jacques Le Maho, that of the northern church (Saint-Étienne) dates back to first half of the ninth century,

and included two semi-circular turrets with, almost certainly, staircases leading to a high room above the porch — undoubtedly, this room constituted an oratory, with direct access to housing units of the canons mentioned above immediately to the north. As for the southern church (Notre-Dame) of the same complex, the textual data inform us that, on the initiative of the Norman duke Richard I a little before the year 1000, a kind of *Westwerk* provided with a high chapel was built, which seems to correspond to the one mentioned by a 1069 documentary source. This document reveals that the chapel in question had two superimposed lines of windows (and thus a rather considerable elevation), and that it is there that, each year, four canons greeted by their singing the passage of the Palm Sunday procession; however, other evidence (particularly the dedication of the Gothic cathedral's central portal, which supplanted this one) suggests that this same chapel was mainly an oratory devoted to Saint Romain, former bishop and patron of the city.

One can mention, in addition, because of its partial conservation, the *Westwerk* of the cathedral of Mâcon[52] (Fig. 9), whose two octagonal turrets, dating to between 1019 and 1030, are presently standing before an ante-nave of the twelfth century, but which had originally served a sanctuary above a porch. The case of Rheims[53] (Fig. 6) would seem to have marked a hesitation in this process of generalisation of these kinds of frontage: a text of the local monk Richer indeed states that a little before the year 1000 Bishop Adalbéron ordered the destruction of the *arcuatum opus* (that is, the 'vaulted structure') that had been established at this end of the building by his predecessor, Ebbo, around 830; as a result, we do not know what happened to the altar of Christ and the baptismal font which had been installed on this structure's upper floor.

At any rate, one should hardly infer too much from this last, isolated example. Independently of the various establishments of this type mentioned above, a few later attestations help to confirm the predilection for this formula. Thus in Normandy, at Coutances,[54] which was raised to the status of episcopal see in 1024, where the cathedral built toward the mid-eleventh century also presents — in quite a recognizable way, under the Gothic modifications — a western front with two turrets whose staircases serve an upper room surmounting the porch; as for the original function of this room, one does not have any data, unfortunately. But, as Valérie Chaix has proposed and has, justifiably, applied to other cases, the need to demonstrate 'prestige' undoubtedly played a part in adopting such an appearance-magnifying solution: in fact, Coutances incorporates an inscription exalting the initiative, at the time of Bishop Robert, of the countess whose subsidies (with addition of those of the barons her vassals, and of those of various faithful) had allowed the erection of the whole building. We can thus easily project ourselves toward the time of large Gothic frontages with a royal gallery, where we can also recognize, and through the means of an Old Testament iconography, eventually, the manifestation of the sovereign.[55]

Conclusion: The Diachronic Perspective

These final statements lead us to the conviction that certain trends existed that, at the turn of the millennium, were truly decisive for the future of cathedral
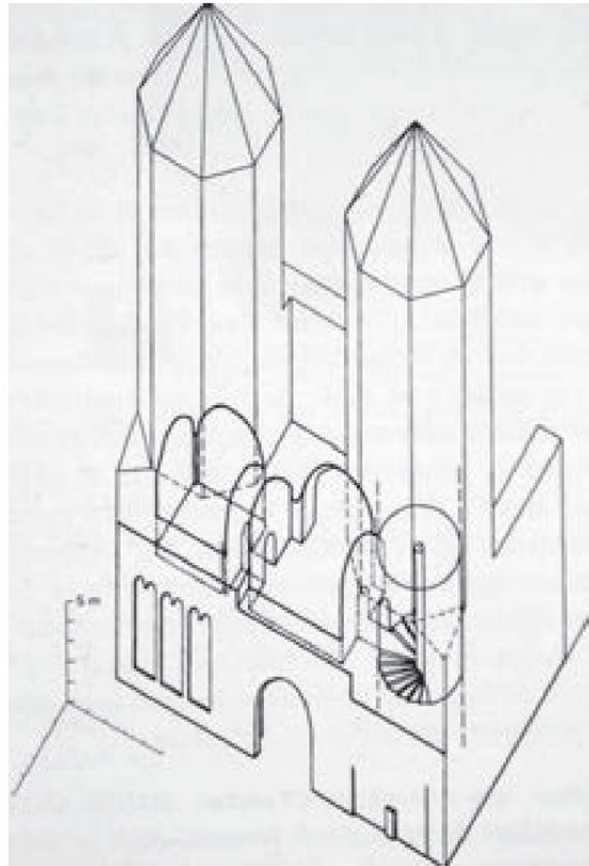
Fig. 9.   Mâcon, Saint-Vincent, *Westwerk* of the eleventh century (after Olivier JUFFARD & Christian SAPIN)

architecture. Of course, one must admit that the features taken into account do not constitute, at the time in question, genuine innovations: ambulatories around the apse, crypts, and western fronts are attested as early as the Carolingian period and even before then, with often-functional objectives of the same order as those considered here, and in both monastic — more so, even — and episcopal contexts. But that undoubtedly does not minimize the importance of the phase to which we confined ourselves; because, precisely, one can recognize that this period marked a turning point in the adoption, for cathedral sanctuaries, of solutions that heretofore had been primarily manifest in abbeys or great priories, and which were going later to assert themselves during the rebuilding projects embarked on by the prelates and the canonic chapters of the Gothic era.

But this projection toward the future should not lead us to forget that during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the kingdom of France's episcopal

architecture bears witness to very strong ties with what preceded it in the early Christian and early Medieval periods: all that we have said about the organization of the complexes was intended to make this clear. So, it is the plural character of the 'cathedral groups', and the complementarity of their components, which prove to be the essential data of this panorama. Whereas today, after multiple post-Medieval replannings of the urban entities, the cathedrals too often seem isolated units, the perception of this original plurality becomes extremely necessary to understand the true purpose of buildings thus artificially forsaken. It is known that the large Gothic cathedrals themselves were still accompanied by components — episcopal palace, hospital, cloister, and canons' quarter — of which we tried here to specify the antecedents. On the other hand, one must remain aware of the diversity of worship and devotional uses for which the proper Gothic cathedral building was intended; a better recognition of their spatial 'dissemination' in the past is a major help when attempting to sense the exact concept of what constitutes, functionally speaking, the large single church of the thirteenth century.

NOTES

* I greatly thank Professor Paul Reynolds for reviewing this text.
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[26] Jean-Charles PICARD, notice in GAUTHIER & PICARD, *Topographie chrétienne*, 8, 1992, pp. 146–48; SAPIN, BONNET, OUDET, PICARD & REYNAUD, *La cathédrale de Nevers* (and review by DUVAL, 'Architecture et liturgie', pp. 143–57).

[27] Anne COURTILLÉ, notice in BARRAL I ALTET, *Le paysage monumental*, pp. 183–84; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, notice in GAUTHIER & PICARD, *Topographie chrétienne*, 6, 1989, p. 91; Marcel DURLIAT, 'Le baptistère Saint-Jean [de la cathédrale du Puy]', in *Société française d'archéologie. Congrès archéologique de France, 133e session, 1975: Velay*, Paris, 1976, pp. 213–29; see also: Sophie LIÉGARD & Alain FOURVEL, 'Les données archéologiques récentes', in *La cathédrale du Puy-en-Velay*, ed. Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, Paris, 2000, pp. 56–57, and 'Résultats des interventions archéologiques menées de 1992 à 1995 dans la cathédrale du Puy-en-Velay (Haute-Loire)', in *Archéologie médiévale*, XXIX, 2000, pp. 115–44, who assert that the baptistery was already existing in this building in the sixth century.

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[33] Noël DUVAL, Patrick PÉRIN & Jean-Charles PICARD, notice in GAUTHIER & PICARD, *Topographie chrétienne*, 8, 1992, pp. 109–14; and, for the oldest mention of a *xenodochium* which we evoke hereafter, André FÉLIBIEN & Guy-Alexis LOBINEAU, *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, vol. 1, Paris, 1725, p. 77.

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[47] Christian SAPIN, notice in BARRAL I ALTET, *Le paysage monumental*, pp. 208–09.

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II

BUILDING ROMANESQUE CATHEDRALS ON OLDER SUBSTRATES

Between 'Church Families' and Monumental Architecture
German Eleventh-Century Cathedrals
and Mediterranean Traditions

Matthias Untermann

Abstract

Following a period of little building activity, from around the year 1000 to the middle of eleventh century nearly all German Empire cathedrals underwent large-scale reconstructions, most of them in modern and monumental designs. This paper focuses on the formation of new cathedral types and their links to the tradition, and the new settings of the traditional 'church families' in the periphery of the cathedrals. In spite of these cathedrals' monumental size, the late Antique double cathedrals and the early Medieval church families did not simply disappear, but instead were transformed into hierarchically composed groups of churches and chapels surrounding the cathedral, both in an inner circle adjoining the cathedral itself and its cloister, and in an outer circle extending into the town and its outskirts.

In the history of church architecture in the Medieval German Empire, the year 1000 was less of a break than Radulphus Glaber claimed with his famous phrase of the subsequent new 'white mantle of churches'.[1] Well known are important and inventive monastic buildings constructed in the tenth century at Trier, Cologne, Gernrode, Memleben, etc., yet the church of Saint Michael in Hildesheim, an eminent example of the new 'High Romanesque' style, continued traditional architectural structures and liturgical dispositions.[2] These observations, however, are not valid with regard to cathedrals; we only scarcely hear about new constructions until the 980s.[3] From then until the middle of eleventh century nearly all German sees reconstructed their cathedrals, most of them in a modern and monumental design.[4] This paper will discuss two issues: first, the formation of new cathedral types and their links to the tradition, and second, the new settings of the traditional 'church families' in the periphery of the cathedrals. Since 1980, investigations into cathedrals of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries have advanced considerably

as a result of modern excavation techniques and more precise building documentation. The cathedrals of Paderborn and Verdun revealed an intricate building history and a nearly complete condition, respectively. New discoveries and investigations in the cathedrals of Augsburg, Bamberg, Cologne, Hildesheim, Liège, Mayence, Merseburg, Minden, Speyer, Strasbourg and Würzburg have changed the state of research. This contribution is based on the latest views.

Paderborn Cathedral

The actual cathedral of Paderborn in Westphalia presents an early Gothic nave with a monumental west tower in late Romanesque forms of the thirteenth century, originally as a bipolar liturgical structure with altars in the east and west ends.[5] High-quality excavations carried out in 1978–80 and 1983 have been extensively published.[6] Adjacent to the cathedral are the royal and episcopal palaces from the late

eighth to the early eleventh century.[7] The numerous complementary building campaigns of the cathedral complex can be dated and explained by a great number of written sources. The first Carolingian cathedral was a huge basilica of three naves, consecrated in 799 by Pope Leo IX in the presence of the Emperor Charlemagne. To house the relic of Saint Libor, which was translated from Le Mans in Western France in 836, a western transept with crypt and apse was built following the model of Old Saint Peter's basilica in Rome. In the year 983, a fire prompted a reconstruction. Bishop Rethar (983–1009), who had ascended to the see shortly before, started rebuilding, but seventeen years later another fire occurred, and Rethar had to start anew. His successor, Bishop Meinwerk (1009–36) ordered to stop the works only three days after his inauguration, because he considered the structure to be a 'modest work' (*opere modico*) and 'carelessly assembled' (*neglegenter comsummato*). The walls built to the height of the lateral windows were torn down, and Meinwerk started an entirely new building 'from the groundworks on' (*a fundamentis*), which was erected very fast and with zeal (*alacriter*).[8] Only six years later, in 1015, Meinwerk consecrated his new cathedral (Figs 1 & 2).

Here we find one of the rare examples of contemporaneous judgements concerning old and new architectural styles shortly after the year 1000. But what does 'modest style' mean for the old, unfinished building, and what are the improvements made in the new one? Archaeological evidence demonstrates that Rethar abandoned the bipolar liturgy and relocated the venerated relics of Saint Libor. His cathedral obtained a hall crypt at the eastern end, with a new apse, in order to link the canons' choir and the high altar closer to the tomb of the saint. In the place of the western apse and crypt, he ordered a new west end with the main entrance to be built, flanked by two stair towers, with a vaulted hall on ground level, and above a western choir. This meant a total change of all liturgical acts and processions. This type of west end is known from Carolingian churches, e.g., Rheims Cathedral and the abbey of Saint-Germain at Auxerre;[9] in Saxony, it was adopted in the late ninth century at the Benedictine abbey of Corvey,[10] as well as at Halberstadt Cathedral, which was rebuilt after a collapse in 965 and consecrated in 992,[11] and even later than in Paderborn at Minden Cathedral in 1062–71.[12] The nave of Rethar's cathedral remains unknown; its width retained the older dimensions and was not altered later on. It opened onto the west transept which would also keep its Carolingian shape. We do not know if Rethar had projected to use columns or pillars as supports in the nave.

The new project of Bishop Meinwerk did not recur to the older bipolar liturgy. He retained the crypt at the east end, as well as the foundations of the nave, but now also reconstructed the transept in the east, which served as an entrance for the chapter, from the north, and for the bishop, from his new adjoining chapel on the south side. Instead of the multipartite west end, he ordered the erection of a huge western entrance tower flanked by two stair towers. Liturgically and architectonically, this design was a clear reduction of the additive, 'post-Carolingian' conglomerate structure of Rethar, which had combined traditional and outdated elements without any attempt at a comprehensive concept. By contrast, the new cathedral had a clear overall design, modern with regard to later eleventh-century architecture. New liturgical demands could prompt Rethar's rebuilding, but Meinwerk was responsive in equal measure to new aesthetic demands of that time; contrary to the story of his biographer, he had to constrain his plan to the east and west end. Meinwerk left the former royal palace north of the cathedral, building a new one for King Henry II, and a second episcopal palace located southwest of his church.

In 1058, a fire destroyed Meinwerk's cathedral. The new concept returned to the bipolar scheme: Bishop Imad (1051–76) reconstructed the building with two transepts, and choirs in the west and east, the western one with an apse, the eastern with a new crypt. Saint Libor's relics were now displayed in a new golden *chasse*. The return to the former, pre-Rethar liturgical order is obvious, as Imad chose his burial place and *memoria* in the western choir, and there again were kept Saint Libor's relics.

Verdun, Cologne and Liège Cathedrals

Due to Gothic reconstructions, Meinwerk's cathedral at Paderborn is known mainly from its excavated ground plan. At Verdun in Lorraine, formerly a see of the German Empire, however, the eleventh-century cathedral stands up to the eaves. In spite of the disastrous German attacks during the First World War, the upper town of Verdun remained partly intact.
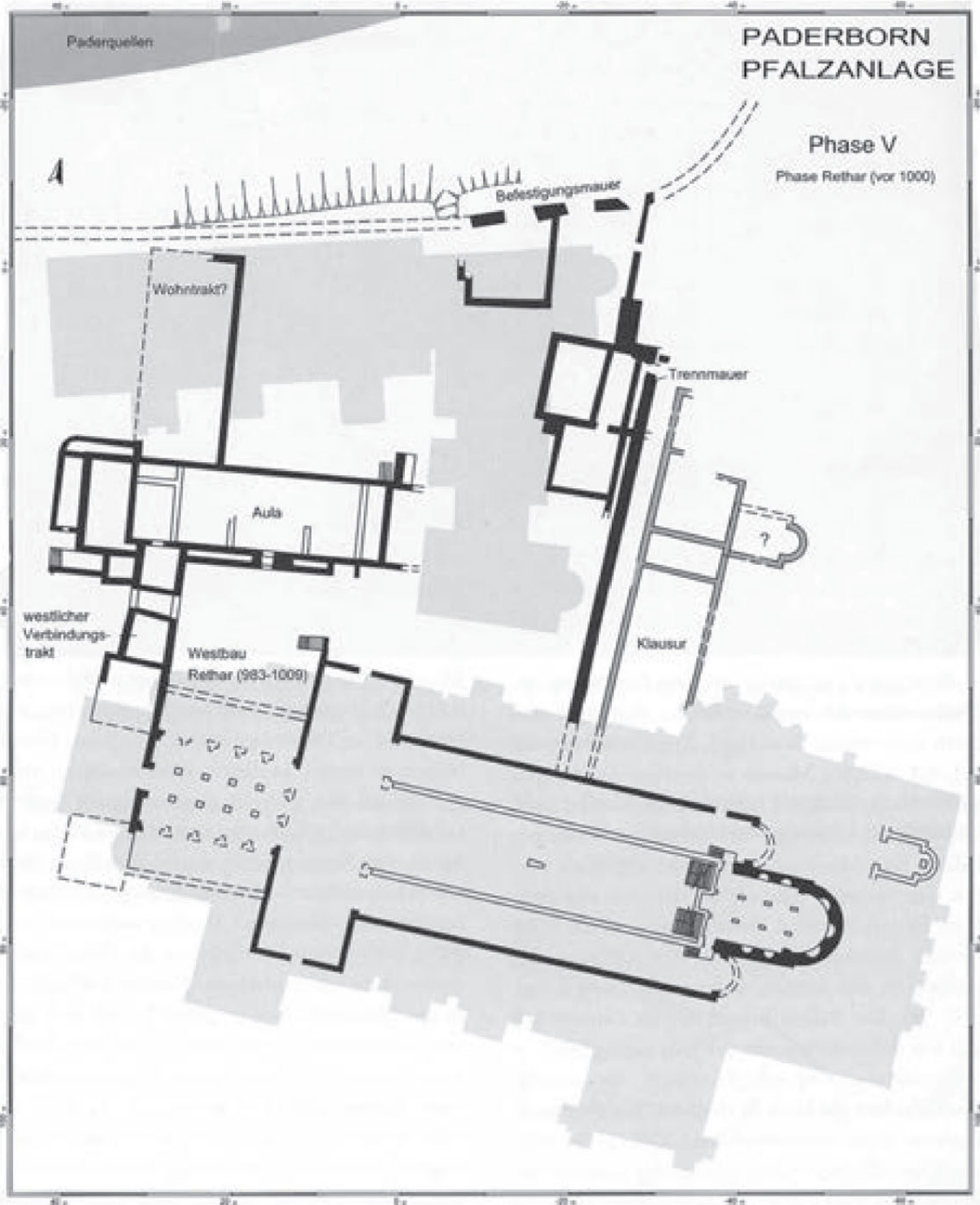
Fig. 1.   Paderborn Cathedral, Carolingian basilica with western transept, additions by Bishop Rethar: canon's choir to the east, western choir with two towers and entrance hall (reconstruction Uwe LOBBEDEY)
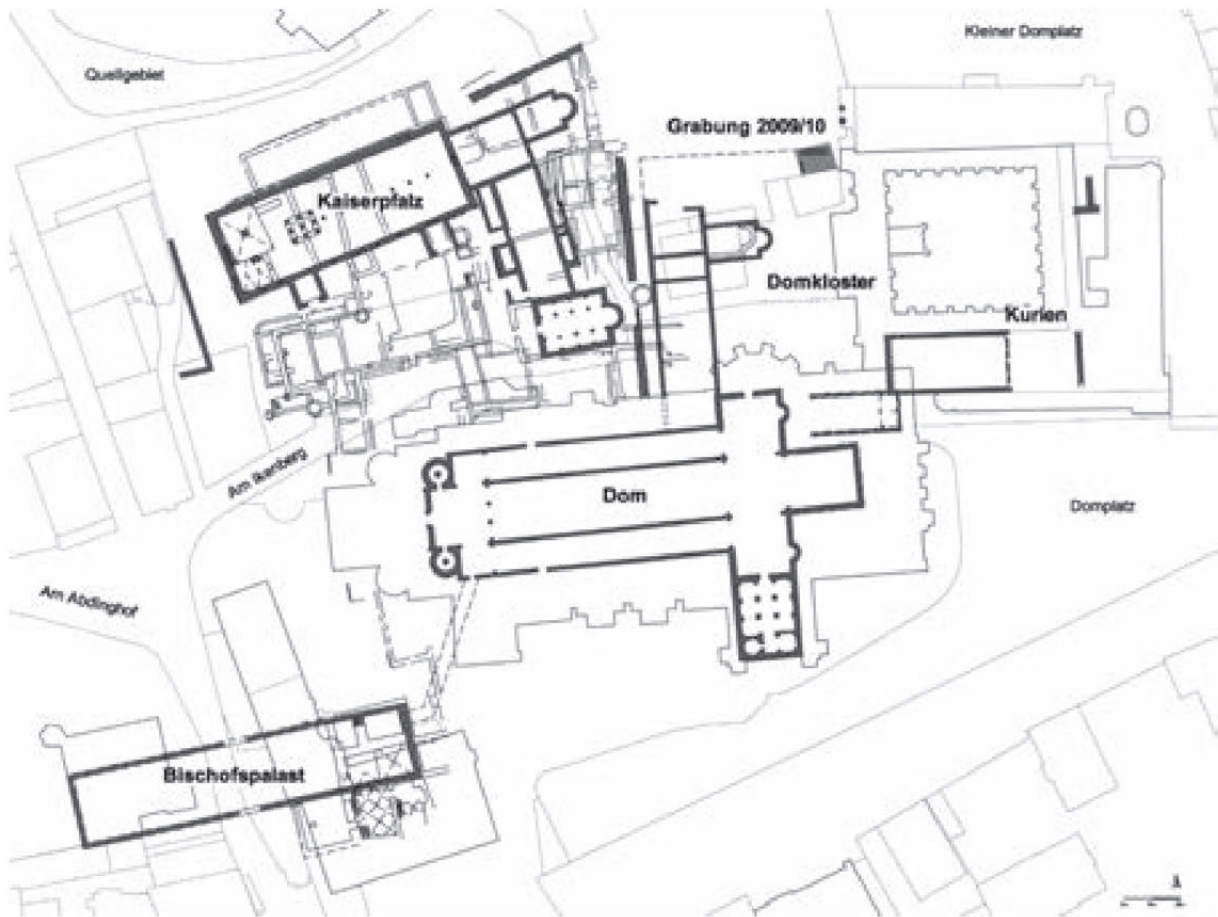
Fig. 2. Paderborn Cathedral rebuilt by Bishop Meinwerk (reconstruction Uwe LOBBEDEY)

Today the cathedral appears as a Neoclassical or late Baroque building with a late Romanesque apse and Medieval towers[13] (Figs 3 & 4). When seen closely, the Neoclassical nave ornaments appear to have been carved into Medieval pillars and walls; the original windows, blocked by the later vaults, can be seen from outside, surrounded by attractive ornamental masonry. Apart from the east end, most parts of the masonry belong to the cathedral built by order of Bishop Haymo (990–1024); its construction started in 990, immediately after his inauguration, as is reported by a contemporaneous chronicle.[14] The eastern apse was consecrated in 1147, while chapels and the cloister were added in the early sixteenth century.

Surrounded by these later additions, the early Medieval cathedral remains impressive: the original overall length was nearly 100 m, with transepts in the east and west, a remarkably wide and high nave (11:19 m) with aisles. The west apse is flanked by two towers, in one of which a wooden lintel was dated dendrochronologically to 998; obviously this belonged to the cathedral of Bishop Haymo, and it was built very fast (Figs 5 & 6). Unfortunately, Medieval liturgical texts from Verdun no longer exist, so we cannot explain its complex, bipolar liturgical layout. In contrast to Paderborn, the bipolar structure with apses in the east and west does not seem to be the result of the *translatio* of important relics. Rather, it is an element of an elaborate episcopal liturgy: the Bamberg ordinary, written around 1190 for the eleventh-century cathedral, illustrates that the canons used the two choirs and the two main altars alternatively, in a strict but not wholly logical order.[15] Former hypotheses of a 'king's choir' opposite the 'bishop's choir' are outdated. Around the year 1000, the city of Verdun was an important merchants' centre, but not of outstanding size or wealth, and the same was true of its diocese.[16]

Few other German cathedrals had two transepts. The best known is old Cologne Cathedral, which was

Fig. 3.   Verdun Cathedral, seen from the northwest (photo Fab5669 / Wikimedia commons)

Fig. 4.   Verdun Cathedral, nave (photo Marc Ryckaert / Wikimedia commons)

BAU I 990 - 1024
BAU II 1040 - 1089
BAU III 1136 1160
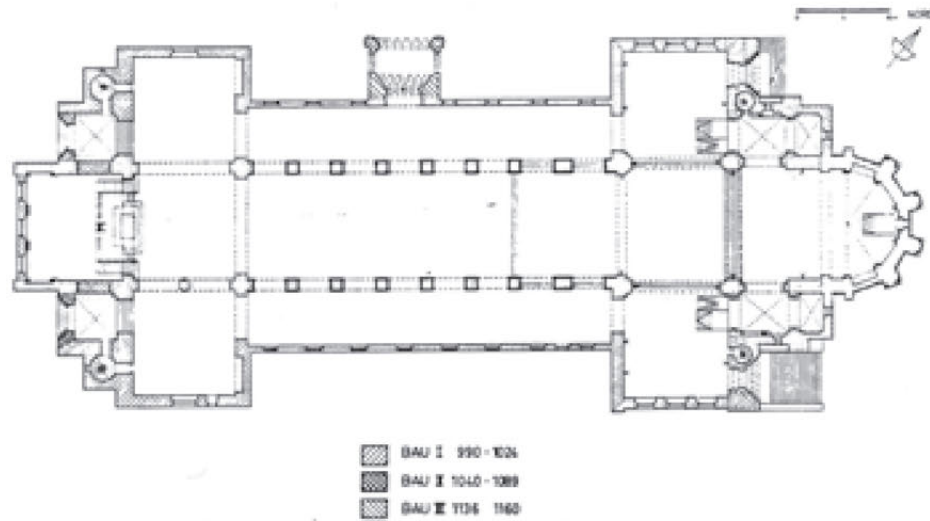
Fig. 5.   Verdun Cathedral, ground plan, *c.* 1200 (reconstruction Hans-Günther Marschall)

Fig. 6.   Verdun Cathedral, original nave (reconstruction Hans-Günther MARSCHALL)

substituted from 1248 onwards by the monumental and famous Gothic cathedral. Archbishop Konrad and his chapter in 1247 decided to dismantle the early Medieval building, a basilica of five naves with two transepts, two apses and two crypts.[17] Important remains of this church were excavated and can be seen approximately two metres below the actual floor level. Archaeological evidence indicates two main building phases, with the outer aisles being added during the second phase (Fig. 7). Until recently, the dating of these phases was controversial, with the original cathedral being dated between 800 and 960, and the outer aisles between 960 and 1030.[18] Observations of chisel techniques, masonry and architectural

sculpture suggest an early start of works around the year 800,[19] contemporaneous to the famous Palatine chapel at Aachen, which was recently dated by dendrochronology between c. 793 (foundation post) and c. 813 (circular beam of the dome).[20] Therefore, the symmetrical design of two transepts and two apses dates back to the reign of Charlemagne, and continues to be exemplary at least for two centuries. To the west, an atrium connected the cathedral to the bishop's palace, located to the west of the church.

The Cologne Cathedral model was adopted by three late-tenth-century bishops, at Verdun, Liège and Bremen, and somewhat earlier by King Otto II for the new Benedictine abbey of Memleben.[21]

Fig. 7.   Cologne Cathedral, pre-1248 ground plan (reconstruction Willy WEYRES & Arnold WOLFF)

At Liège, Bishop Notker (972–1008) started his reign by reorganizing the cathedral chapter (Fig. 8). In the year 978, its size was set to sixty canons. At the same time he started the construction of the Carolingian cathedral. The new building followed rather quickly, and Notker celebrated the consecration in 1015. Following the French Revolution, the later Gothic cathedral was demolished in 1794–1829, and its site converted into an urban sq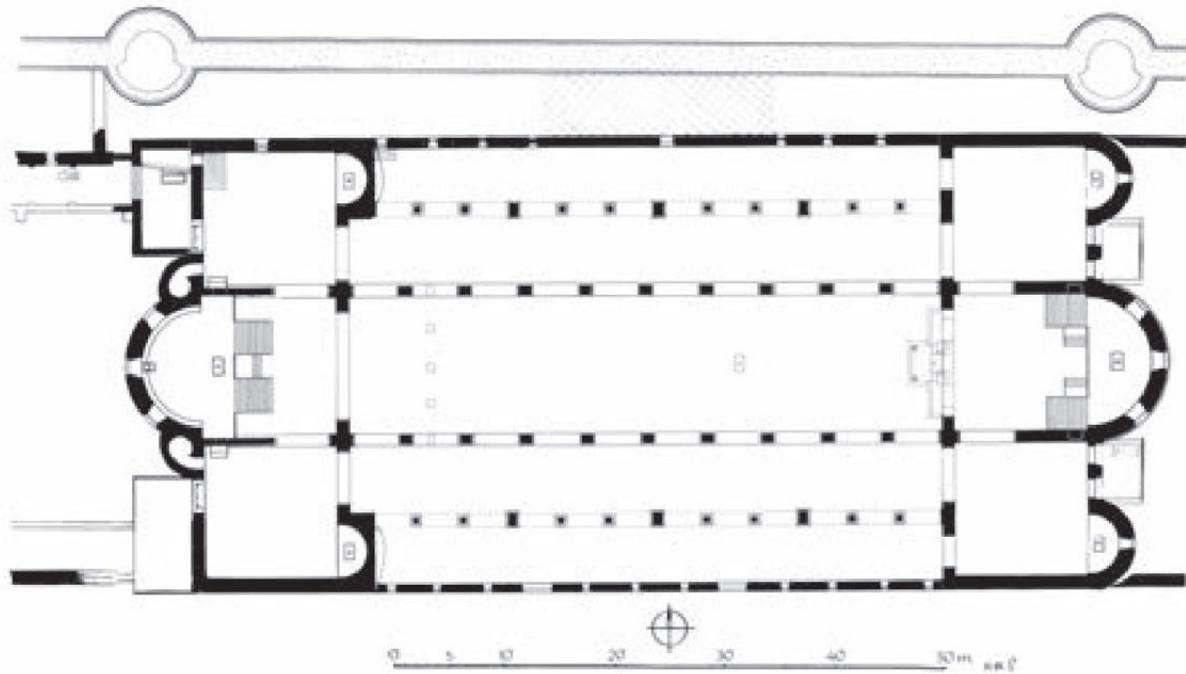uare. Due to the planning of an underground parking lot, long-term excavations were started that led to the installation of a site museum (Archéoforum).[22] Notkers' cathedral was approximately 112 metres long, with two transepts and two aisles on each side, corresponding to the second phase of Cologne Cathedral. The west end was square, and it remains doubtful whether the vaulted ground-floor room served as a crypt or as an entrance. The east apse was flanked by an eastern atrium. The obvious imitation, two centuries later, of Cologne Cathedral stimulated numerous studies.[23] Due to the lack of written sources, both for the liturgical dispositions and for Notker's politics, they did not reach conclusive results; conspicuously, the very similar cathedral at Verdun was ignored.

Bremen, Magdeburg and Trier Cathedrals

The reconstruction of Bremen Cathedral followed more than half a century later. Adam of Bremen, a contemporary annalist, records that Bishop Bezelin Alebrand (1035–43), who reformed the canons' discipline, first had to rebuild the cathedral of his see after the union with Hamburg. In Bremen, works started, as was so often the case, after a disastrous fire in 1041 set by two hostile canons. Bezelin took the measure of length and the form (*forma*) for his new cathedral, and presumably also the ground plan, from Cologne Cathedral. His successor Bishop Adalbert (1043–72) saw 'that the huge work of the newly inchoated *basilica* needed major support' and he is said to have changed the plans following the model of Benevento Cathedral in Italy. The eastern high altar was consecrated in 1049, and the western crypt in 1066.[24] Excavations in the existing Gothic building were of moderate quality, and the results were only published in preliminary reports.[25] The early Romanesque cathedral did not have two transepts but only one at the east end[26] (Fig. 9). Moreover, for technical and stylistic reasons, this building should not be attributed to Bezelin and Adalbert, but instead to Archbishop Liemar (1072–1101).[27]
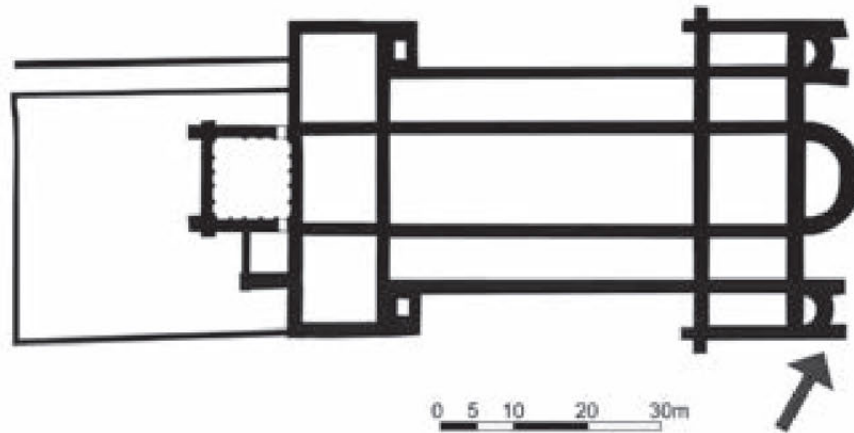
Fig. 8.   Liège Cathedral, ground plan (reconstruction Marcel OTTE et al.)
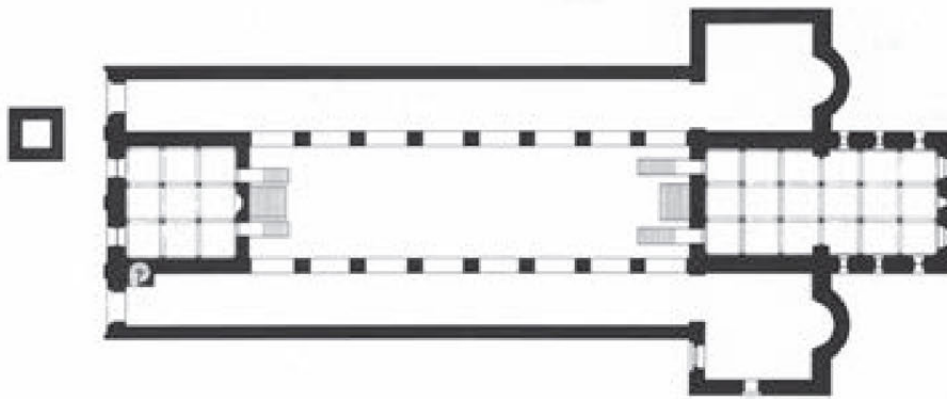
Fig. 9.   Bremen Cathedral as erected by Bishop Liemar (reconstruction Uwe LOBBEDEY)

Architectural historians are tempted to reframe Adam's story: more important than measurements and ground plans was the liturgical disposition with an altar of Saint Peter's at the western end, equal to Cologne. I am not convinced, however, that the trustworthiness of Adam should be reduced to such an extent. The late Carolingian cathedral of Bremen was quite small, and presumably not bipolar. That background given, the increase of dimensions and liturgical complexity could well be compared with Cologne, even if the new Bremen Cathedral needed rebuilding only a few decades later. More doubtful is the comparison to Benevento Cathedral;[28] neither Bishop Adalbert nor the chronicler Adam saw it, at least as far as we know, and its west transept was not copied at Bremen.

Magdeburg Cathedral is likely to have been the most ambitious royal project of the tenth century: in the important castle at the eastern border of his kingdom, Otto I created a new archdiocese in 968. History and the building of Magdeburg Cathedral precinct remain disputed, in spite of (and partly due to) recent major excavations. The published reconstruction of a dual transept church was purely hypothetical and is proven to be false.[29] The latest preliminary reports on the earlier buildings excavated in the huge Gothic cathedral still do not supply sufficient information.[30] At Salzburg and Regensburg Cathedrals, new west ends were constructed under the reign of Bishops Hartwik (991–1023) and Gebhard I (994–1023), respectively. Both additions adopted the
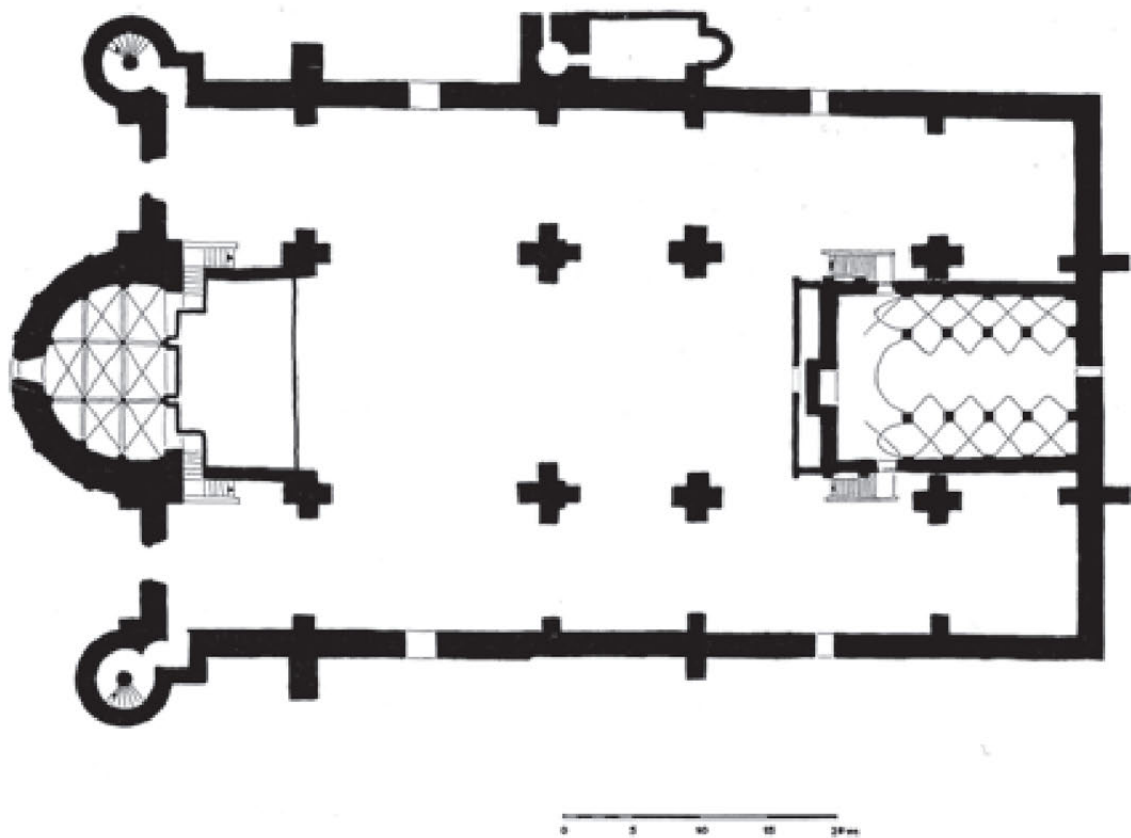
Fig. 10.   Trier Cathedral, ground plan, *c.* 1060 (reconstruction Franz Ronig)

width of the nave, and are combined with two front towers, but it is doubtful if there were ever west transepts or entrance halls divided by columns or pillars, as in Paderborn and Halberstadt.[31]

A special case is the cathedral of Trier, the most important Roman city in the Medieval German Empire. In Carolingian times, the extended late Antique cathedral complex was reduced to the northeast building, and a monumental square church (41.5 × 41.5 m) with a cruciform interior. Its crossing (16 × 16 m) was supported by giant monolithic columns, which were encased by masonry pillars since the tenth century. The late Antique brick walls remain standing to a height of approximately 30 m.[32] Partial renovations took place under the reign of Archbishop Egbert (977–93), well known as a patron of book illumination and goldsmith's works. Archbishop Poppo (1016–47) started to enlarge his cathedral towards the west,[33] and ordered the building of a second transept followed by a normal bay, which continued in dimensions and form the late,

albeit altered, Antique body (Figs 10, 11 & 12). The new part ends with a giant western apse of fourteen metres in diameter, appropriate to the late Antique nave, the largest apse in Medieval architecture. It is flanked by two towers dendrochronologically dated to 1040–46. Thus Trier Cathedral retained and renewed its unique Roman form and dimensions, constitutive for the predominant role of the oldest see of the Empire,[34] and now it was possible to celebrate the then usual bipolar episcopal liturgy.

More common than cathedrals with two transepts were those with only one. Nevertheless, most were bipolar, as were the already-mentioned cathedrals at Paderborn and Bremen. Two groups existed: sees of greater importance were equipped with a western transept, following the Roman model of the episcopal (i.e. papal) Lateran basilica, while in others the common alignment to the east was observed. The western transept as a place of important relics, as in Old Saint Peter's basilica in Rome, determined the design only in Paderborn and some monastic churches,

Fig. 11. Trier Cathedral, nave seen to the west, *c.* 1060
(reconstruction Friedrich KRAUSE)
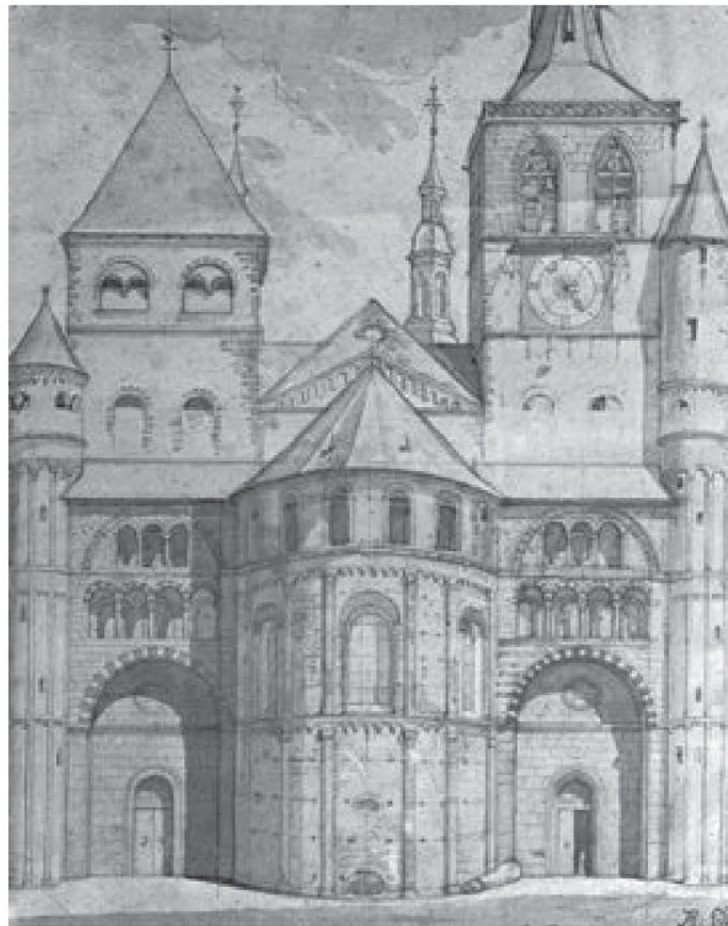
Fig. 12. Trier Cathedral, western apse (watercolor by
Anton RAMBOUX, 1828)

not in other cathedrals of the Ottonian period. At
Halberstadt Cathedral, Bishop Bruno (923–68) order-
ed a multi-storey western choir to be built in order
to house the relics of Saint Sixtus and his own burial
place.[35] Western transepts are known at Mayence,
Augsburg, Bamberg and Hildesheim Cathedrals.

Mayence, Bamberg and Augsburg Cathedrals

Highest in rank after Trier, and in permanent
rivalry to Cologne, was the see of Mayence (Mainz).
Archbishop Willigis (975–1011) did not rebuild the
Merovingian cathedral but started his project nearby
in an undeveloped area. In 1009, on the evening
before the consecration, the building burned down;
rebuilding would last until 1036. Two stair towers and
the northern wall of the transept are preserved in the

actual cathedral, which dates from the late eleventh
to the thirteenth century.[36] Statical enhancement of
the foundations took place in the 1920s using tunnel
excavation techniques, almost without any documen-
tation of archaeological remains or architectural fea-
tures. The foundation walls of the nave were drawn
from below.[37] Therefore, only the main dimensions of
Willigis' cathedral are known, and at least the mul-
ti-storey lesene pattern of the towers, as well as the
width of three lower windows of the transept's front
(Fig. 13). The west end remains wholly unknown, and
the east end is difficult to understand: nave and aisle
foundations continue to the east, ending in a tran-
sept with an apse. It remains controversial whether
these foundations provide evidence for an adjoining
atrium or for a second church: the collegiate church
Saint Maria ad Gradus, which was later reconstruc-
ted and consecrated in 1069.[38] This 'church family'
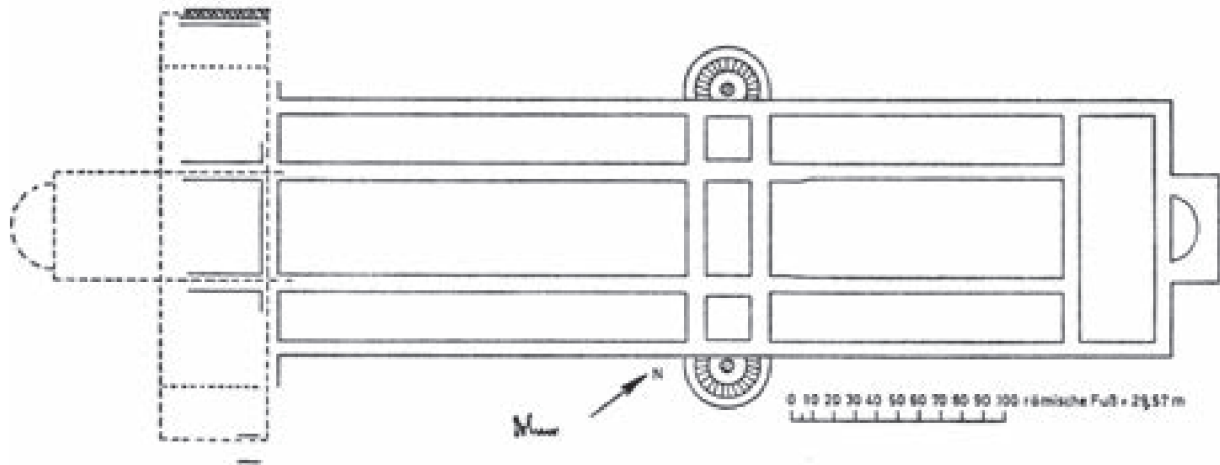
Fig. 13.   Mayence (Mainz), cathedral of Archbishop Willigis, ground plan (reconstruction Karl Heinz ESSER)

will be discussed later in this paper. The original position of the unique bronze doors of Willigis, which were cast by Berengarius, as the inscription says, remains unknown. These doors were the first to be cast after Charlemagne,[39] who had provided his Palatine Chapel in Aachen with five bronze doors.[40]

The reconstruction of the cathedral of Mayence adjacent to the old see is not a unique case; other examples include Hildesheim and perhaps also Speyer. In most cities, no sufficiently large, undeveloped areas were available within the cathedral precinct. The preceding Merovingian bipolar cathedral of Mayence was transformed into a collegiate church and still exists, altered in the ninth, eleventh and fifteenth centuries, partly destroyed in eighteenth-century wars and during the Second World War, and moreover — alas — by new architectural concepts applied during the 1950s reconstruction. Partly reusing a fifth-century building, the Merovingian cathedral, with a very short nave, unsymmetrical projecting walls, weak foundations, and deviations of the main axis, likewise was a 'modest work'. And still it was useable for a collegiate chapter, and firm enough for the bombs of the Second World War: as with Paderborn, aesthetic, as opposed to functional, arguments were crucial for the reconstruction.

Quite recently, the Ottonian parts of the cathedral of Augsburg in Swabia were precisely recorded.[41] Its east end today is a Gothic choir, and the aisles are replaced by late Gothic double aisles (Fig. 14). The two stair towers with their decoration of lesenes and blind arcades as well as the upper part of the nave, with its blocked windows above the Gothic vaults

and the walls and gables of the western transept, are all well preserved. Remnants of the scaffolding beams of the gables are dendrochronogically dated to the winter of 999–1000. Contemporary Augsburg annals note the start of works in 995 after a collapse of the Carolingian cathedral, during the reign of Bishop Ludolf (988–96), who was the first bishop buried in Augsburg Cathedral. In 1006, the works were nearly finished, as the tombs of three former bishops and the viscera of King Otto III († 1002) were transferred to the new building. The canons' choir stalls were placed in the western crossing, on a lower level than the high altar and the eleventh-century bishop's throne in the apse. The new bronze door was recently attributed to the Ottonian cathedral.[42] Prior research had erroneously assigned the building initiative to Bishop Bruno (1006–29), the brother of King Henry II, or to Bishop Henry II (1047–63), and associated it with the act of consecration, which is reported for 1065. During the twelfth century, construction continued with the important stained glass windows of the nave, the elevation of the canons' choir and new roofs, which are dendrochronologically dated to 1176.[43]

Almost contemporary with Augsburg Cathedral is the cathedral of Bamberg. It was designed *ex novo*, after a new diocese had been created by King Henry II in 1007. Work started by order of the king already in 1003, two years after his election and three years before the papal confirmation. The new cathedral was placed inside the Babenberg castle, and the act of consecration in 1012 was an event of the highest
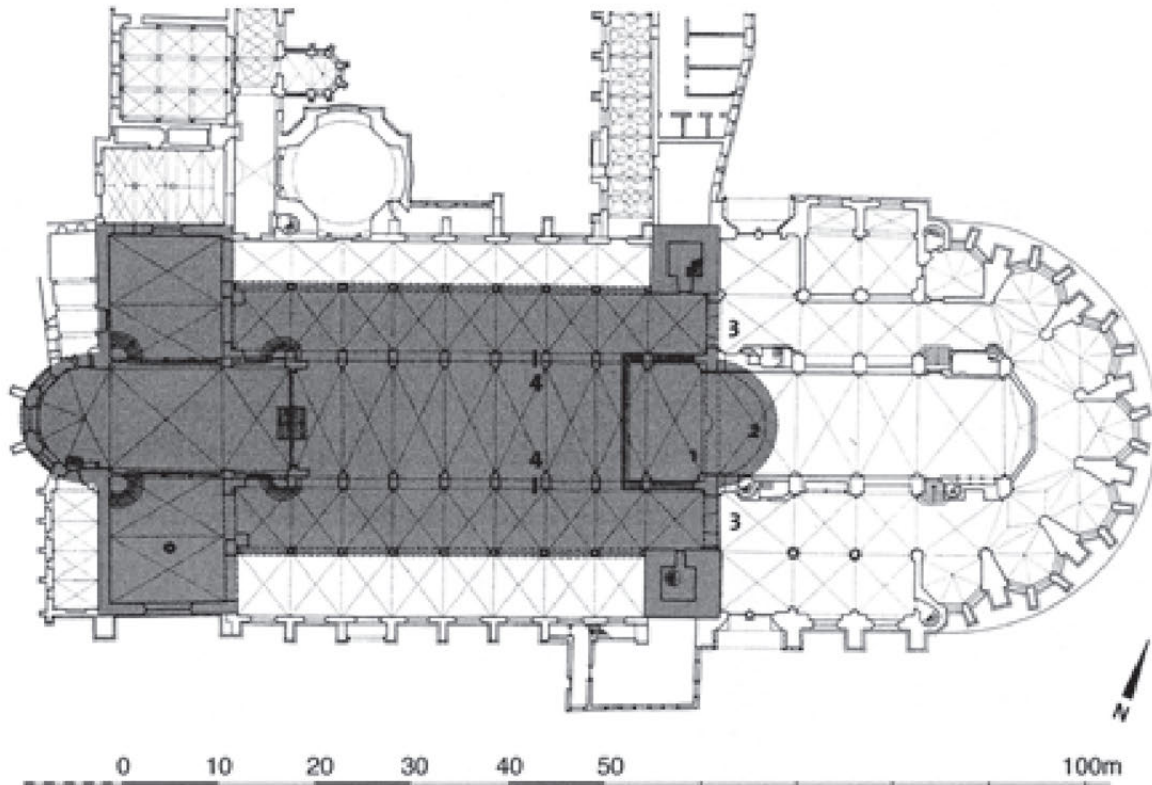
Fig. 14. Augsburg Cathedral, ground plan, in grey: the Ottonian cathedral *c.* 1030 (reconstruction Hildegard SAHLER & Reinhold WINKLER)

rank: the king and forty-five bishops met at Bamberg, including almost all archbishops of the Empire. No other consecration is recorded with such an illustrious group of participants attending. It was the project of the king and his wife Kunigunde, who were both buried at Bamberg and later venerated as saints. In the last decades of the twelfth century, the cathedral of Henry II was reconstructed; the new late Romanesque building exceeded its predecessor not by size, but by its rich sculpture and architectonical abundance.

The eleventh-century cathedral is known by partial excavations and by the mentioned ordinary[44] (Fig. 15). It was bipolar, with the transept and the main choir turned to the west. Both choirs in the west and east were raised over crypts. The more important choir at Bamberg in the west end was on the same level with the western high altar. At the east end, the second canons' choir was located in the nave; Bishop Otto I (1102–39) ordered to raise this choir by extending the eastern crypt. We do not know if the ground plan and liturgical structure of Mayence Cathedral served as a

model for Bamberg; in Mayence there is no evidence for such an arrangement of the west choir. At any rate, Henry II's new cathedral was planned to be one of the important church buildings of its time.

Hildesheim, Worms and Strasbourg Cathedrals

The Carolingian cathedral at Hildesheim, which had been altered only by the construction of a new west end in the first decades of eleventh century, was destroyed by a fire in 1046. Bishop Azelin (1044–54) then decided to build the new greater cathedral, turned to the west, on a new site located further west. His successor Hezilo (1054–79) abandoned these important yet unfinished works and ordered to rebuild the Carolingian structure.[45] As in Paderborn, contemporary annalists report the arguments retrospectively:[46] Azelin started his ambitious project (*maiori ambitione*), although the Carolingian building could still be repaired, and he ordered the nave destroyed (*inconsulte deiecit*).[47] The new nave with its huge columns and two aisles

Fig. 15.   Bamberg, cathedral of King Henry II, ground plan (reconstruction Walter SAGE)

used the former west towers as its east entrance. To the west, Azelin constructed a transept and a choir, which was raised above an extended hall crypt. Considerable remains of this church are preserved as cellars of the bishop's palace and the actual diocesan administration.[48]

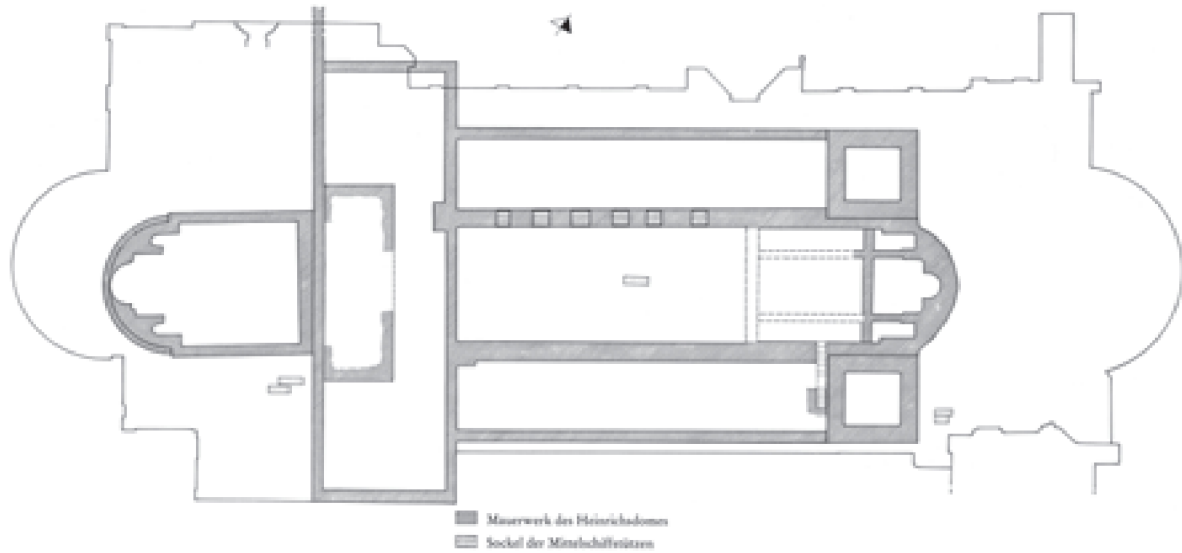There is no evidence that the new building was weak, and the columns and walls threatened to collapse (*nunc alicubi cadente, nunc casum minante*), as is reported by the chroniclers, who simultaneously criticized the severe decline of obedience to the Augustinian rule in the canons' life and work. Rebuilding the cathedral at its former site meant reinstituting the former discipline. Afterwards, Hezilo, 'inspired by God', consistently repaired the Carolingian apse and transept, with select walls, doorways and windows still being visible. The crypt supporting the canons' choir was now extended into the crossing, adopting Azelin's concept. The dismantled nave needed to be entirely rebuilt.[49] Partially destroyed in the Second World War, the nave and west towers were rebuilt.

In most Empire cathedrals, the high altar and transept were (and continued to be) located to the east; usually, west entrances were situated in a huge tower or were flanked by stair towers. At some important cathedrals from the Ottonian period, two stair towers formerly flanking the west apse are partially preserved; the stair newels feature the first known imperial mason marks.[50]

Similarly narrow is the archaeological base for a reconstruction of Strasbourg Cathedral, rebuilt by Bishop Wernher (1001–28) from 1015 onwards after a collapse in 1007.[51] The huge nave was nearly fifteen metres wide, the same as in the actual Gothic building, and the total length was more than one hundred metres. The width exceeds the dimensions of the nave of Mayence Cathedral and is surpassed only by the late Roman cathedral at Trier. Bishop Wernher presumably cognate to the early Habsburg family, became an influential politician and diplomat at the royal court after 1007, although his wealthy diocese was of lesser importance. Neither the chapter nor its liturgy needed a church of this size.

Other Cathedrals

Early eleventh-century Constance Cathedral was partially reconstructed by order of Bishop Lambert (995?–1018) above the Carolingian crypt,[52] but replaced after a collapse of the nave in 1054. New works for the well-preserved actual cathedral started in 1054, of which the consecration took place in 1089.[53] A huge nave with monolithic columns and distinctive octagonal capitals is joined to the eastern transept, which is dendrochronologically dated to around the year 1000, and three rectangular apses that retain the Carolingian ground plan.
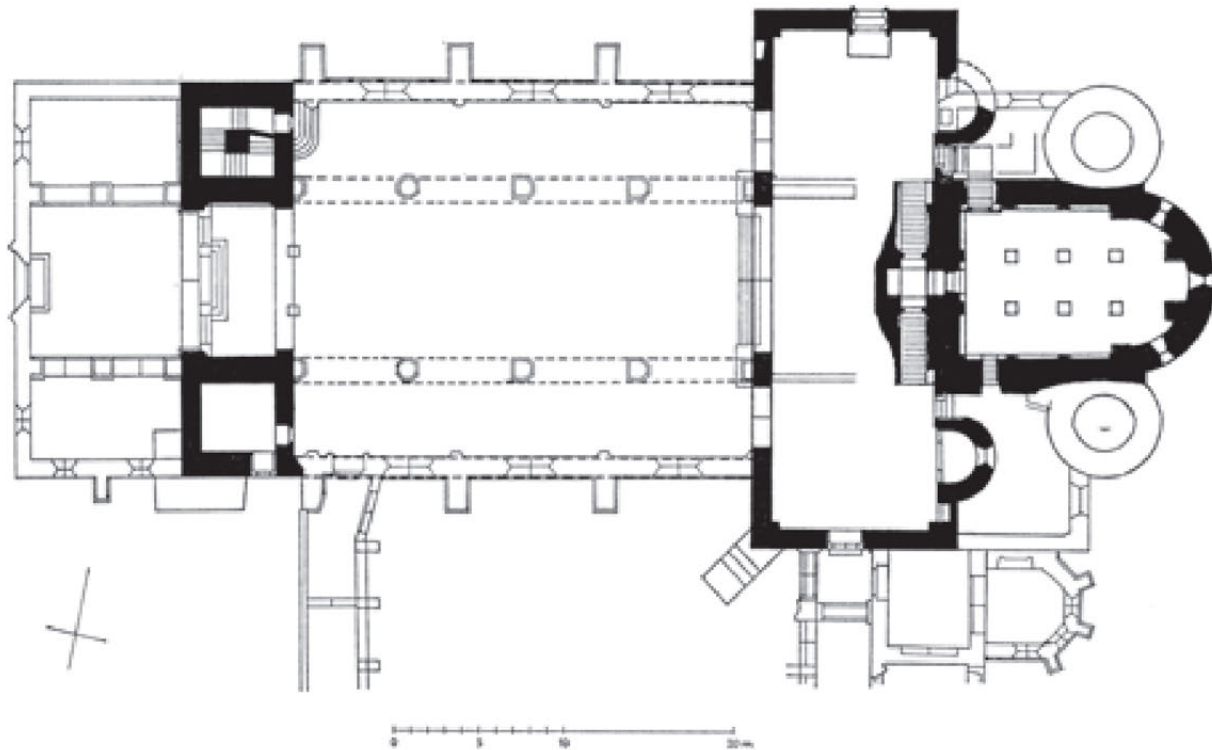
Fig. 16. Merseburg Cathedral, ground plan, *c.* 1050 (reconstruction Friedrich HAESLER)

Würzburg Cathedral exceeds the length of most other cathedrals in the Empire. Work started under the reign of Bishop Bruno (1034–45) after the Carolingian cathedral burned down in 1040. The crypt was consecrated already in 1045 because Bruno died and was to be buried there; in 1075, the solemn consecration was celebrated. Due to Gothic vaulting and Baroque remodelling, archaeological excavation and documentation of the masonry took place during rebuilding the cathedral ruins after the Second World War.[54]

Of similar design, albeit much smaller, was the cathedral at Merseburg, a contested diocese existing from 968 to 981, and reinstalled in 1004. The new cathedral with an eastern transept and two western towers was initiated in 1015 by Bishop Thietmar, who is known to be a biased chronicler, and consecrated in 1021 (Fig. 16). Due to statical problems, a new apse was built onto the east, flanked by two stair towers, consecrated in 1042.[55]

In a small number of sees of the Empire, the Carolingian cathedrals were not or were only partially replaced by new buildings during the eleventh century. Already mentioned are the cathedrals at Regensburg and Salzburg. Recently, this was archaeologically proven also for Münster and Osnabrück Cathedrals; in Münster rebuilding started in the late eleventh century, and the new cathedral was consecrated in 1090; in Osnabrück only a transept and rectangular eastern apse were rebuilt during the eleventh century.[56]

To conclude: around the year 980, an impressive series of cathedral rebuilding campaigns started, which continued for more than four decades. We see the application of new aesthetic rules: precisely measured, rectangular ground plans, wide transepts and naves, huge apses, flanking pairs of stair towers, as well as square pillars, huge windows and flat ceilings. In contrast to contemporaneous Romanesque churches in France, no part of these buildings was ever vaulted, apart from apses, entrance halls and crypts. The additive 'Pre-Romanesque' design is substituted by this new, consistent architectonic style. The liturgical use of the new bipolar cathedrals remains largely unclear; an early *liber ordinarius* survives in Metz only, and neither the building erected under the reign of Bishop Dietrich I (964–84) nor the new cathedral built in 1014–40 by order of Dietrich II (1005–46) are known by excavations.[57]
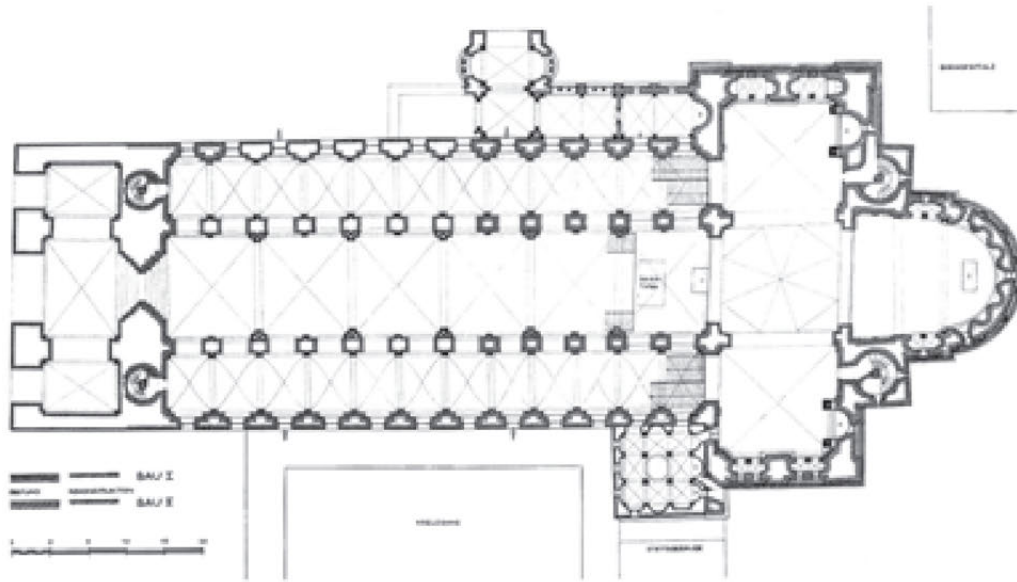
Fig. 17.   Speyer Cathedral, ground plan, *c.* 1130 (reconstruction Hans Erich KUBACH & Walter HAAS)

Speyer Cathedral

One more see of special importance should be discussed, namely Speyer. The place and form of the Carolingian cathedral are unknown. In 1025, half a year after his election, King Conrad II (1024–39) surprisingly ordered reconstructing Speyer Cathedral, a see of minor importance. Presumably, he was searching for an adequate burial place. His predecessor Henry II had built Bamberg Cathedral and was buried there, and Otto I (†965) had been buried in Magdeburg Cathedral. In 1025, the nearby cathedrals of Mayence, Worms and Strasbourg were recently rebuilt, and more or less finished. In Speyer, plans changed several times; finally a state-of-the-art cathedral was erected, technically and aesthetically one of the most important architectural creations of its time in Europe. Exemplary documentation, as well as technical and art historical studies, were comprehensively published in 1972;[58] only few later studies have added new considerations concerning the first Romanesque cathedral[59] (Figs 17–22).

In 1039, King Conrad II was buried in his unfinished cathedral at the east end of the nave, not in the canons' choir or near the high altar; by his side, his wife Gisela was buried in 1043. Before 1039, Bishop Reginald (1033–39) had donated a gilded wheel chandelier to the new choir. Works had to continue, and scaffolding beams in the nave are dated dendrochronologically to 1045. Conrad's son and successor Henry III (1039–56) during the first years of his reign promoted a new collegiate church at Goslar, but was buried in 1056 side by side to his parents in Speyer.[60] The guardians of his minor son Henry IV (born in 1050) did not care for Speyer Cathedral, and works had to come to an end only in 1061, when the cathedral was consecrated. Twenty years later, Henry IV restarted the works with the rebuilding of the apse and transept, and, by vaulting the unfinished nave, making it anew into the most splendid architecture of its time.[61] Its current state results from an early (Baroque) heritage conservation (1772–78), carried out after the fire of 1689, and the neo-Romanesque rebuilding of the west end 1854–58 by order of the Bavarian King Ludwig I.

The first building phase, an apse with a crypt, was quite modest. This changed soon: the eastern transept was also provided with a hall crypt with six more altar locations (Fig. 18). It is the first transept crypt to be created north of the Alps. The transepts and crossing are divided by huge pillars; four columns in each compartment support the groin vaults. A short, tripartite western arm extended the crypt into the

Fig. 18.   Speyer Cathedral, building phase Ic, *c.* 1040 (reconstruction Hans Erich Kubach & Walter Haas)

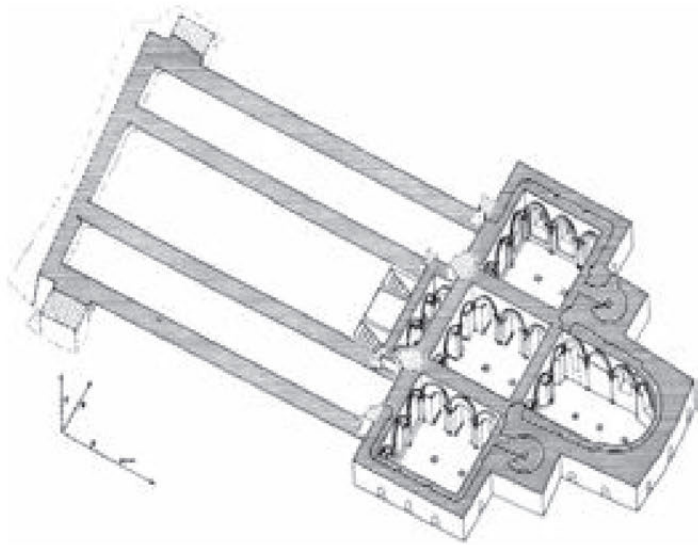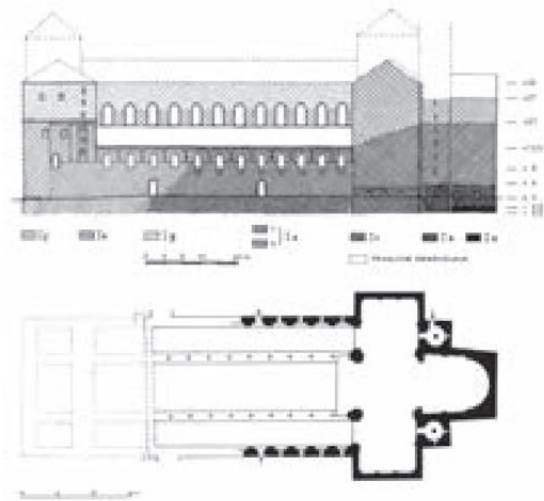Fig. 19.   Speyer Cathedral, building phases *c.* 1025–70 (reconstruction Hans Erich Kubach & Walter Haas)
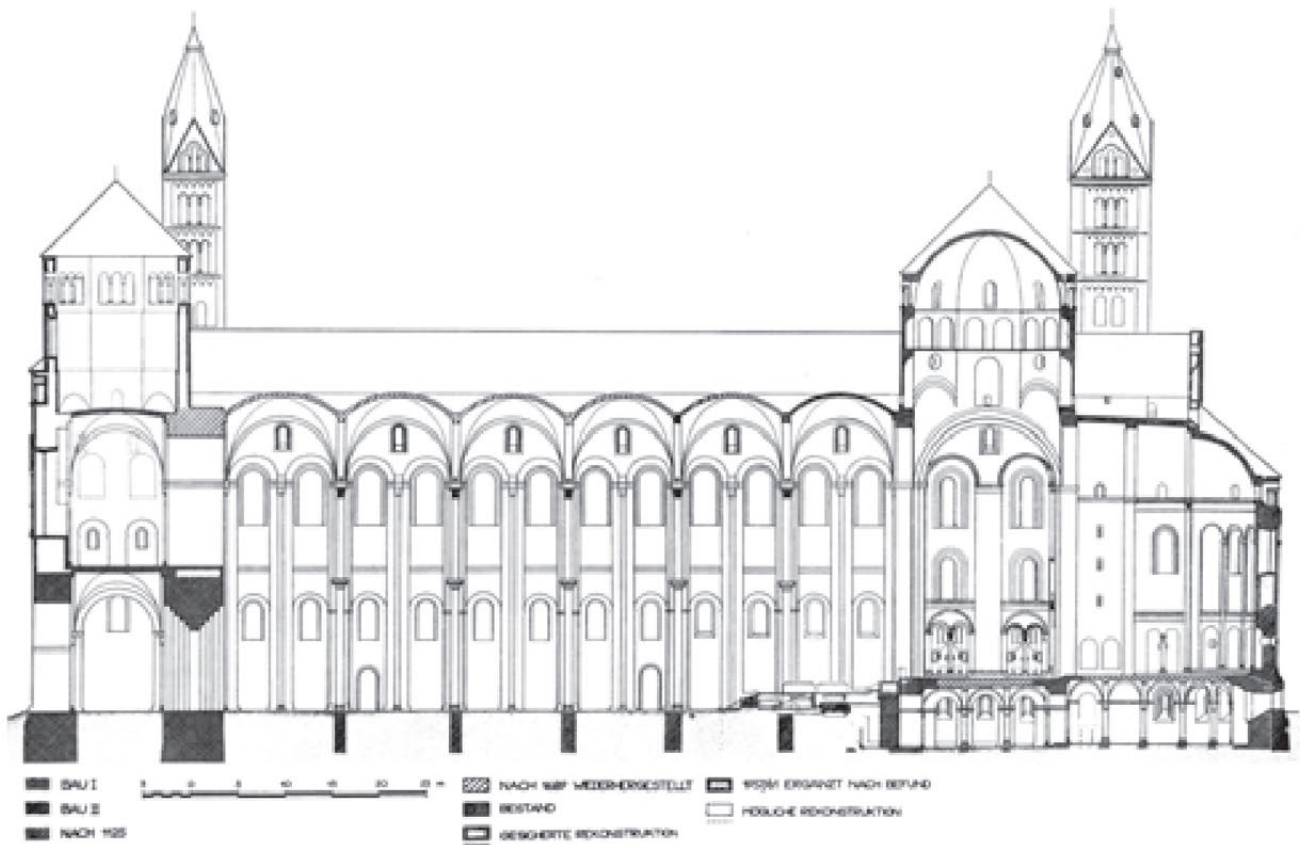

Fig. 20.   Speyer Cathedral, longitudinal section, *c.* 1130 (reconstruction Hans Erich Kubach & Walter Haas)
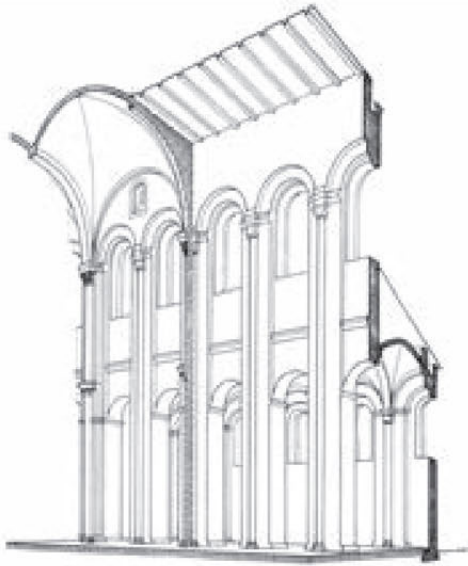
Fig. 21.   Speyer Cathedral, nave, *c*. 1070 and
c. 1110 (reconstruction Hans Erich KUBACH &
Walter HAAS)

nave. Even more impressive is the sixteen metre-wide, barrel-vaulted sanctuary between the crossing and apse, flanked by two stair towers; for centuries this remained the widest post-Antique vaulted bay. In the crossing, four twelve to fourteen metre-wide, twenty-five metre-high arches support the (later finished) octagonal crossing tower. These dimensions equal and excel the then-largest cathedrals in the Empire, Mayence and Strasbourg. Moreover, the nave exceeded all previous Romanesque buildings in the Empire. Slender half-columns were applied to the square pillars both in the nave and the aisles (Fig. 21). Pillars and half-columns rise up to the window zone and support blind arches framing the unusual huge windows. This architectural design projects a Roman façade articulation to the interior of a church. Similarly Roman-inspired and unprecedented in the Empire are the groin vaults over the aisles. The nave remained without vaulting until the end of the century. Recently, it was reasonably argued that the unusual thickness of the foundations and the walls, and particularly the articulation of the nave, would suggest that a huge barrel vault was planned[62] (Fig. 22).

This plan would have surpassed all then existing Medieval buildings, and was modelled on Roman monuments. To the west, an entrance hall with an upper storey were englobed in a large cube. The interior wall between the entrance hall and nave was no less than six metres thick and housed the two spiral stairs; a monumental stepped doorway was the main entrance to the cathedral.

Strikingly, the explicitly Roman *habitus* of Speyer Cathedral is not related to contemporary church architecture in Italy or Southern France, but created *ex novo*.[63] Only the type of the hall crypt which extends to the transept is known in Italy, but not the tripartite design with heavy pillars and compact columns, nor the blind arches that articulate the interior walls. No barrel vaults spanning fourteen metres are known in the Medieval architecture of the Mediterranean countries; nevertheless, it is reasonable that workers from the south would have been involved.[64] Therefore, Speyer Cathedral was denominated as the 'Kaiserdom' (Imperial Cathedral) for a long time; the bishops who reigned the see during the eleventh century were of lesser importance.[65] The works were initiated and promoted only by the German king. The new elaborate and extensive architecture of Speyer Cathedral was not emulated until *c*. 1090 in the new cathedral of Mayence, which was likewise promoted by King Henry IV.

Eleventh-Century Cathedrals in Other European Countries

The eleventh-century German Empire cathedrals are considered a particular group of huge sizes and characteristic monumental designs due to the bishops' involvement in organizing and governing the reign ('Reichsepiskopat'). Moreover, their concern was to build cathedrals and reorganize cities.[66] That they would have been educated as 'architects', and able to design buildings or to engineer difficult vaults, is presumed by many German scholars to date, who take such phrases of Medieval chroniclers literally.[67] At any rate, bishops were accustomed to funding and organizing such works, and they used their networks and expeditions in royal service to engage specialists. The attendance of the king and his court as well as many of their episcopal colleagues make explicit that these new cathedrals not only served as places of liturgy, but also as stages of imperial manifestations. The latter

likely determines the difference to Mediterranean cathedrals, which were created in very different systems of government.

In Lombardy, Languedoc and Catalonia, comparatively few eleventh-century cathedrals are known,[68] with most being smaller and less elaborate in their liturgical design. Aosta Cathedral was rebuilt in the reign of Bishop Anselm (994–1026) and finished *c.* 1031; a new west end was added *c.* 1060–70.[69] Instead of a transept, two pairs of two chapels with apses flanked the choir, which was raised above an extended crypt. On the exterior, two towers framed the main apse. The new west end extended the nave and added a western apse (dismantled in the eighteenth century), flanked by two more towers. In contrast to what we know about cathedrals in the Empire, the nave was adorned with murals depicting scenes from the Old and New Testament and the life of Saint Eustace. The upper row showed 'portraits' of the ancestors of Christ and a remarkable cycle of clerics from the eleventh century, presumably the canons of the cathedral chapter.[70] The *vita communis* was important to this chapter, which was joined at the time with the chapter of the nearby church of Saint Orso; cloister and monastery were situated north to the cathedral. The renouncing of a transept in favour of lateral chapels also characterizes Acqui Cathedral, consecrated in 1067, with an extended crypt under the eastern part of the church.[71] This cathedral was adorned not only with murals, but preserved an important eleventh-century floor mosaic.

In the counties of Arles and Toulouse, no early eleventh-century cathedral is known in its building structure. The later cathedrals of Vaison, Arles and Elne are comparably small churches,[72] commensurate with the Lombard examples cited. The same is true of the early cathedrals in the county of Barcelona. Girona Cathedral, rebuilt 1015–38, was a cruciform church with a tripartite west end and a lateral tower.[73] The liturgical use of this west end resembles that of collegiate churches in the Empire, rather than that of cathedrals.[74] In the short-lived diocese of Roda de Isábena, the second cathedral is a basilica of three barrel-vaulted naves, with a crypt and three apses.[75] Presumably a first four-bay-plan was reduced during its construction, which took place under the reign of Bishop Arnulfo (1027–64). A small cloister is situated to the north.

Fig. 22.   Speyer Cathedral, barrel-vaulted nave, not executed (reconstruction Hauke HORN)

At La Seu d'Urgell, Bishop Ermengol (1010–35) ordered the building of a new cathedral group consisting of three churches:[76] the small church of Saint Michael to the north of the cathedral, 1021/23–33, the Cathedral Saint Mary, consecrated in 1040, and Saint Eulalia, consecrated before 1036. This 'family' was completed by the church of the Saint Sepulchre in 1045, the reconstruction of Saint Peter after 1055, and a new west end of the cathedral called *Galilea*, donated in 1084.[77] According to the testament of Ermengol, the chapter was obliged to live a common life, and they were called Augustinian canons in 1095. The monastery was situated in between the cathedral and Saint Peter's church. Not the bishop, but the abbot was the principal of the canons, and his church was Saint Michael. The huge transept of the new cathedral with its two towers outmatches all known Mediterranean cathedrals of its time; it not only emulated the partial reconstruction of the east end of the abbey church of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa

under the reign of Abbot Oliba (1008–40),[78] but also Aosta Cathedral and other cathedrals of the same standard.

In Vic, Abbot Oliba, who was appointed bishop there in 1017, rebuilt the cathedral of Saint Peter with a single nave, transept, crypt, and five apses, and with the cloister to the south; its consecration took place in 1038.[79] In front of the cathedral stood the round church of Saint Mary, built under the reign of Oliba and reconstructed in the twelfth century.[80] The third church of Saint Michael, consecrated by Bishop Guadamir (948–57), is known only through written documents. The famous cathedral group of Terrassa dates back to early Christian times, and the ninth-century buildings were partly rebuilt not before early twelfth century.[81]

This eleventh-century cathedral group of La Seu d'Urgell was recently called 'the last church family',[82] and it extended the liturgy not only to minor precinct churches, but to the city. Without doubt, all Mediterranean cathedrals discussed here belonged to liturgical sites, normally arranged around a cloister. Only a meticulous study of liturgical sources will show a wider context spreading into the episcopal city and their outskirts — and yet such documents are missing for many sees.

In spite of the monumental size of cathedrals in the Empire, the late Antique double cathedrals and the early Medieval church families[83] did not simply disappear in the eleventh century, but were transformed into and continued by hierarchically composed groups of churches and chapels surrounding the cathedral, in an inner circle adjoining it and its cloister, and an outer circle extending into the town and its outskirts.[84] For nearly all sees of the Empire, studies have tried to demonstrate, over the last thirty years, that the bishops of the late tenth to the mid-eleventh centuries sought to design a cross form with the position of new collegiate or monastic churches, or to copy Rome by choosing appropriate patrons or founding a church across the local river — thereby imitating Saint Peter's church *trans Tiberem*, or copying at least partially the group of holy sites at Jerusalem.[85] Thus the episcopal sees were transformed into holy places, culminating in the title *Sancta Colonia* in the seal and coin legends issued by the Archbishop of Cologne.[86] In most cases, such 'urbanistic' theories remain rather

hypothetical, and only selected points are valid.[87] Significant liturgical sources are only seldom available. In addition, the topic of the cathedral cloisters and its chapels needs to be studied further. Although many of these sites were destroyed after the Reformation, the French Revolution and secularization, others exist to date or were rediscovered by excavations.

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Aosta Cathedral from Bishop Anselm's Project to the Romanesque Church, 998–1200

Mauro Cortelazzo & Renato Perinetti

Abstract

The cathedral of Bishop Anselm in the city of Aosta in northwestern Italy was the result of a number of developments emerging from a kinship-defined cultural network that led to the spread of closely related church buildings over a large area from the Rhine and Rhone basins to the Po valley. With its iconographic scheme and elevation on various levels, the cathedral in Aosta seems very similar to Ottonian models found north of the Alps. However, several particularities should also be highlighted that ally it with examples in the so-called 'bernulfiani' group. The cathedral in Aosta became a point of reference for technical and architectural innovations that played a key role in the growth and development of the diocese.

The Origins and Evolution of the First Christian Liturgical Centre in the Aosta Valley

Research carried out on the cathedral complex in Aosta began as far back as 1976 with an in-depth study of the masonry found in the crypt.[1] This first approach prompted reconsiderations of the entire construction dynamics vis-à-vis the architectural structure. In turn, this led to a decade-long campaign of archaeological investigations that always accorded with liturgical requirements since, in this place of worship, all functions pertaining to a bishop's see had to be continually fulfilled. At first the excavations concerned the entire church surface area, with the nave and aisles being analysed separately. Subsequent work addressed the adjacent outdoor areas, and comprised seventeen campaigns in all. Over the last decade, the redevelopment project regarding the square that is currently the parvis of the cathedral has been the subject of another six archaeological campaigns[2] that have shed new light on the radical transformations that occurred in this part of the city, so closely connected to the religious building.

At the cathedral's origins is an early Christian complex located close to the most important public area of the Roman city *Augusta Prætoria* — the forum (Fig. 1). The first settlement of Christianity in the Aosta valley thus occupied an important location in urban space due to both its position within the town layout and the monumental character of the public buildings surrounding it at the time. The early Christian complex,[3] which soon became an episcopal see, made use of constructions that had been part of a rich and important *domus* built near the eastern gallery of the old forum crypto-portico.[4] Archaeological investigations have demonstrated that before becoming a place of worship, the *domus* was entirely rebuilt between the end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries. Reconstruction and extension work followed around the middle of the fourth century.
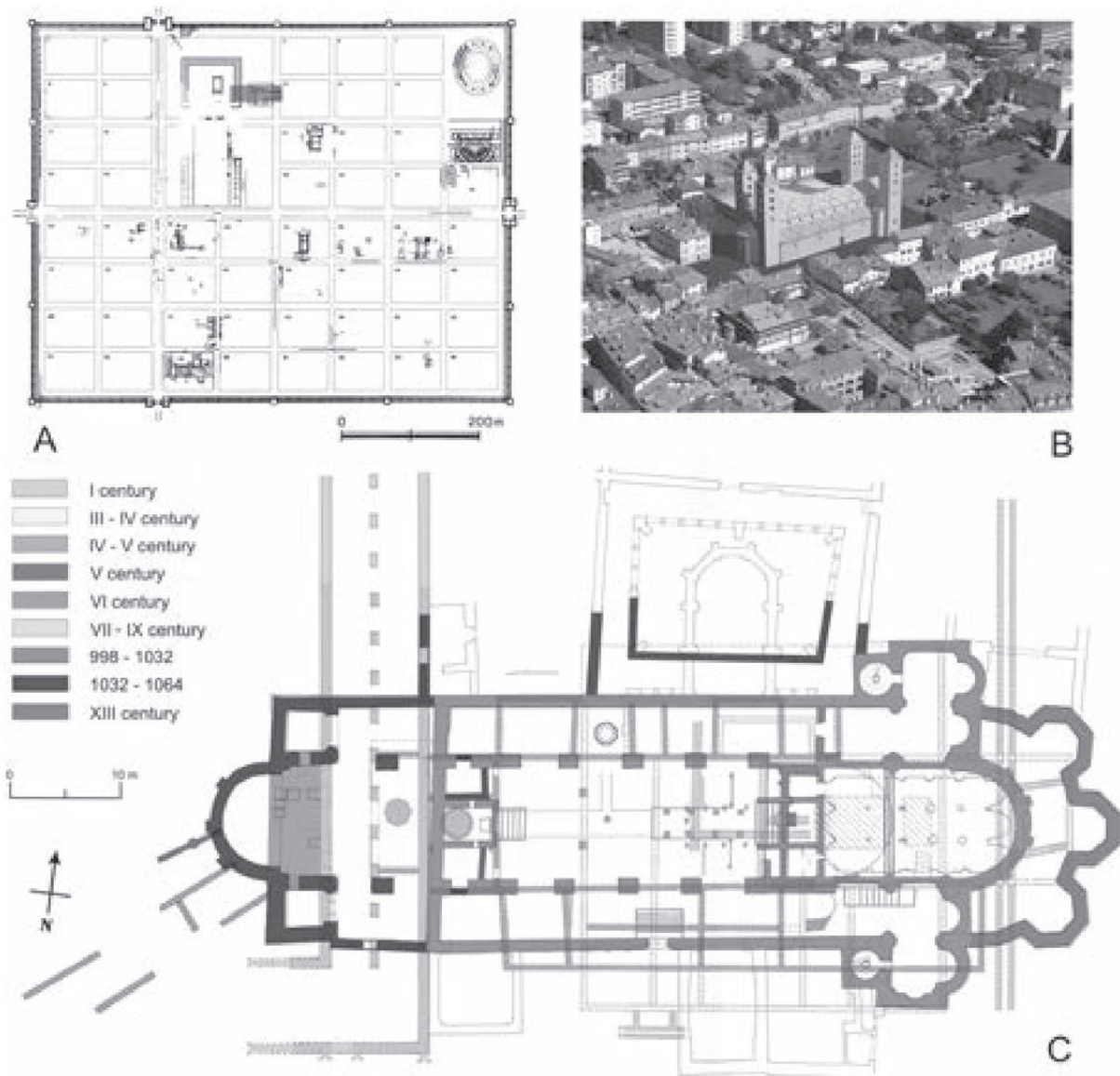
Fig. 1.   Aosta Cathedral, A — plan of the Roman town showing the site of the cathedral in grey, B — 3D reconstruction of the cathedral around 1064 as it appears in the present day city layout, C — ground plan of the building phases, first to thirteenth centuries (drawings Mauro CORTELAZZO & Renato PERINETTI, photo CORTELAZZO) (Plate 1)

The creation of the *domus ecclesiae*, the first building dedicated to Christian worship in the city, must be linked to this last reorganization. This first liturgical centre also included a baptistery, of which traces were brought to light inside one of two galleries, the eastern one, at the southern end of the crypto-portico.[5] The importance of this new religious site meant that by the end of the fourth century the entire *domus* had evolved into an episcopal complex.

The investigations have revealed the cathedral church, the two baptisteries, and some minor chambers belonging to this new, large complex.[6] The existence of a *c.* sixth-century funerary chapel that backed onto the crypto-portico wall and was aligned with the cathedral itself bears testimony to the progression of the centre's function as a catalyst for religious life, not only for the town, but also for the whole diocese. The chapel and the various constructions annexed to it occupied different positions in relation to all the preceding buildings and were located in an area of the forum plaza in front of the temples standing on an imperial Roman podium.[7] The extension of the liturgical space together

with the complete reconstruction of the presbytery confirms that this ecclesiastical centre continued its functions throughout the High Middle Ages. This reorganization together with the use of the upper part of the Roman portico provided an impulse for what later would become the western liturgical centre.[8] This change had most probably already been outlined by the presence of the sixth-century chapel. Foundations for a new era of economic and political growth were laid by the appearance of Bishop Anselm (994–1025) in the Aosta valley around the year 1000. It was he who launched the important project of reconstructing the entire cathedral complex which, even if it was created *ex novo*, respected and maintained the century-old testimonies of Christianity by adapting the new liturgical spaces to them.

The Political Mosaic in the Aosta Valley around the Year 1000

The dramatic peaks that delimit the Aosta valley have only relatively recently acted as a real natural border. The principal European cultural and political currents, in addition to important figures who determined choices and outcomes, all passed through the region thanks to both the conformity of the valley and the Little and Great Saint Bernard passes that define the area. The road network that determined its formation thus often linked its destiny with the political vicissitudes of the surrounding territories. As a result, the enclave nowadays known as the Valle d'Aosta has over time become a connecting element between multiple sociocultural circles, even though it is often characterized as being geopolitically peripheral.

The political mosaic in which the Aosta valley was inserted between the tenth and eleventh centuries made the valley part of a complex geographic and economic transit system, turning it into a nerve centre of thoroughly interwoven artistic trends. Political and religious power influenced the claims made by the local dynasties to the sovereign authority to receive nominations and official positions that carefully marked out family ramifications, all within an economic context in which the Kingdom of Burgundy saw the Rudolphian dynasty give way to the Germanic influences spread by the Ottonian emperors. The construction and complete architectural development of the cathedral in Aosta took place as this situation

evolved, particularly during the transition period between one empire and another. As was already said, Bishop Anselm was the originator of the project which led to the erection of the city's greatest monument. Anselm was a half-brother to Burchard II who was in turn half-brother to King Rudolph III.[9] During his episcopacy, the Aosta valley was part of the second Kingdom of Burgundy. Emperor Conrad of Germany succeeded King Rudolph III upon the latter's death in 1032. Humbert I, Count of Maurienne and Savoy, a vassal of Conrad II, distinguished himself during the delicate transition period and attained control of the important Great Saint Bernard pass and the area south of the Alps which now constitutes the Aosta valley.

At the end of the eighth century, the diocese of Aosta, together with those in Sion and Maurienne, had already formed the religious province of Tarentaise. In the year 867, the archdiocese was put under the supreme jurisdiction of the archbishop of Vienne.[10] Rudolph III, the last king of Burgundy, whilst maintaining firm power over the great abbeys, particularly Saint-Maurice d'Agaune as it was closely linked to his lineage, tended to favour bishops who had been chosen from his near family members: Burchard II, abbot of Saint-Maurice, was to become archbishop of Lyon (978–1033); Anselm was to become bishop of Aosta (994–1025) and archpriest of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune; and his brother Burchard would be archbishop of Vienne (1011–29/30). In doing so, Rudolph III created a perfectly integrated civil and religious family system. The architecture of the early Romanesque cathedral was most certainly influenced by Aosta and the surrounding territory's reliance on the archdiocese and kingdoms beyond the Alps. The models that inspired the imposing basilica-like structure must be sought amongst the architectural trends that were setting in and expanding in transalpine territories, partly in central Europe, under the Ottonian dynasty.

Anselm's Cathedral

Reconstruction of the cathedral began towards the end of the tenth century (Fig. 2), but only came to an end in the second half of the eleventh when the western massif ('massiccio occidentale') was completed.[11] The building work's being prolonged over fifty years can probably be attributed to both the
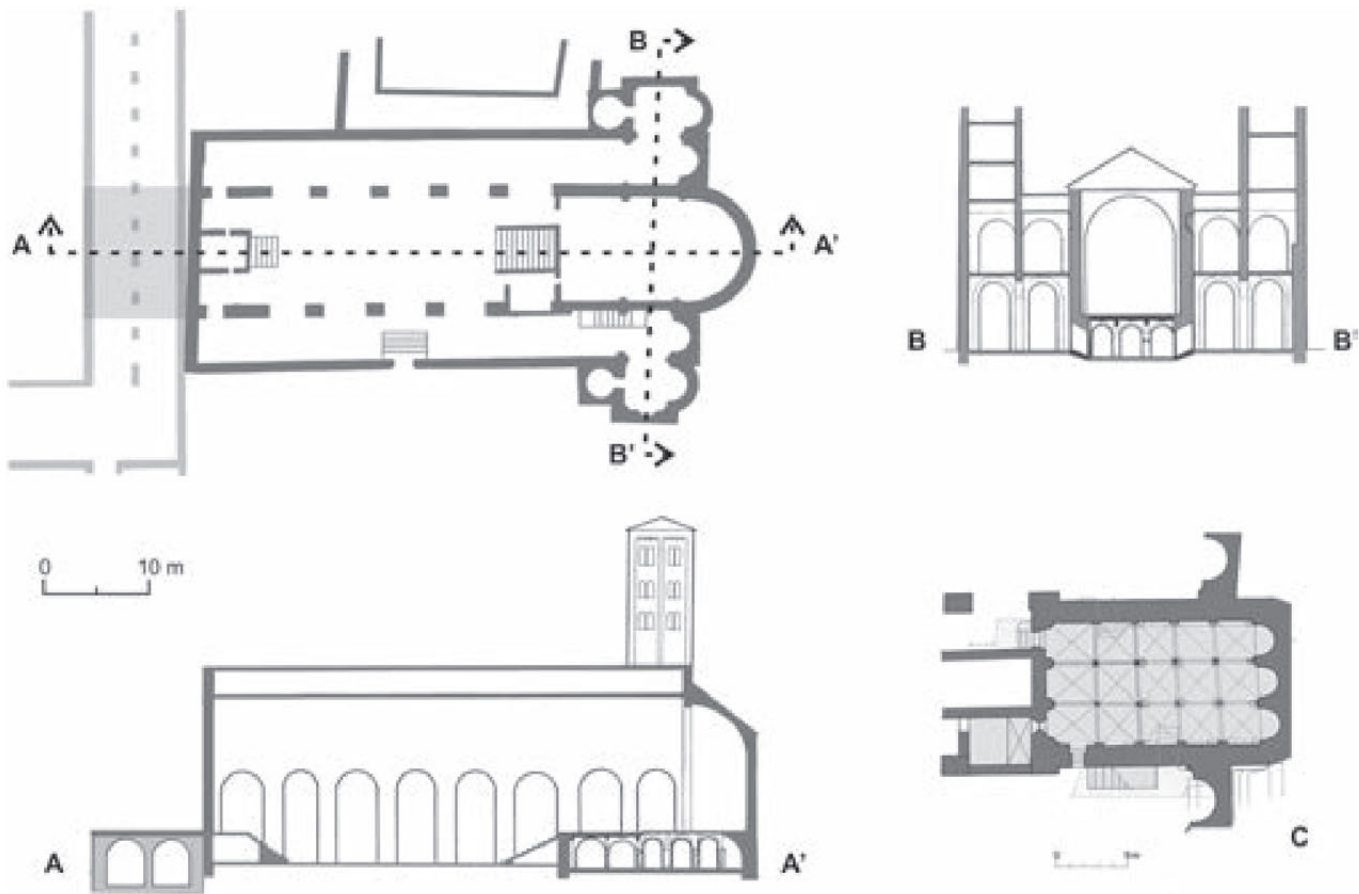
Fig. 2.   Aosta Cathedral in 1031: plan, sections and plan of the crypt (C) (drawings Mauro CORTELAZZO & Renato PERINETTI) (Plate 2)

political events that consolidated Humbert's power in the Aosta valley, and the inability of suspending the religious functions completely. Economic difficulties could also have caused delays in the work, as is understood from a letter written around 1062-63 to Countess Adelaide of Turin by Saint Peter Damian, which states: [...] *praeter Augustensem duntaxat episcopum, qui tamen non a te sibi de suis aliquid imminutum, sed conquestus est potius Ecclesiae suae nihil ex tua liberalitate collatum* [...] ('besides the bishop of Aosta, who, however, did not report any bad influence from you on his things, but rather of having not had any help for his church from your generosity'). It is for these same reasons that a temporary façade was juxtaposed with the crypto-portico wall with the clear aim of permitting and guaranteeing activities in the high Medieval western choir reserved for the liturgy of the clergymen. It is believed that this area played an important role during the High Middle Ages as it had to take advantage of part of the framework pertaining

to the colonnade that overlooked the crypto-portico. The architectural work carried out on the western massif, and particularly the destruction of the crypto-portico vaults and the erection of the present-day fired-brick façade in and around the 1720s, heavily transformed what still existed of the ancient construction. Both the structural setup and planimetrical layout of this space remain difficult to define to this day.

The cathedral that Bishop Anselm promoted, once finished, was a majestic construction with paired apses measuring 74 m in length and a nave rising to a height of 15.2 m (Fig. 3). Large parts of the original construction are still visible today, both on the peripheral walls and in the interior architectural design, even though they are concealed by structural and decorative additions that were inevitably added on during more than a millennium. However, a meticulous interpretation of the remains have enabled us to identify the structural framework and offer a plausible architectural reconstruction based on objective findings.[12]
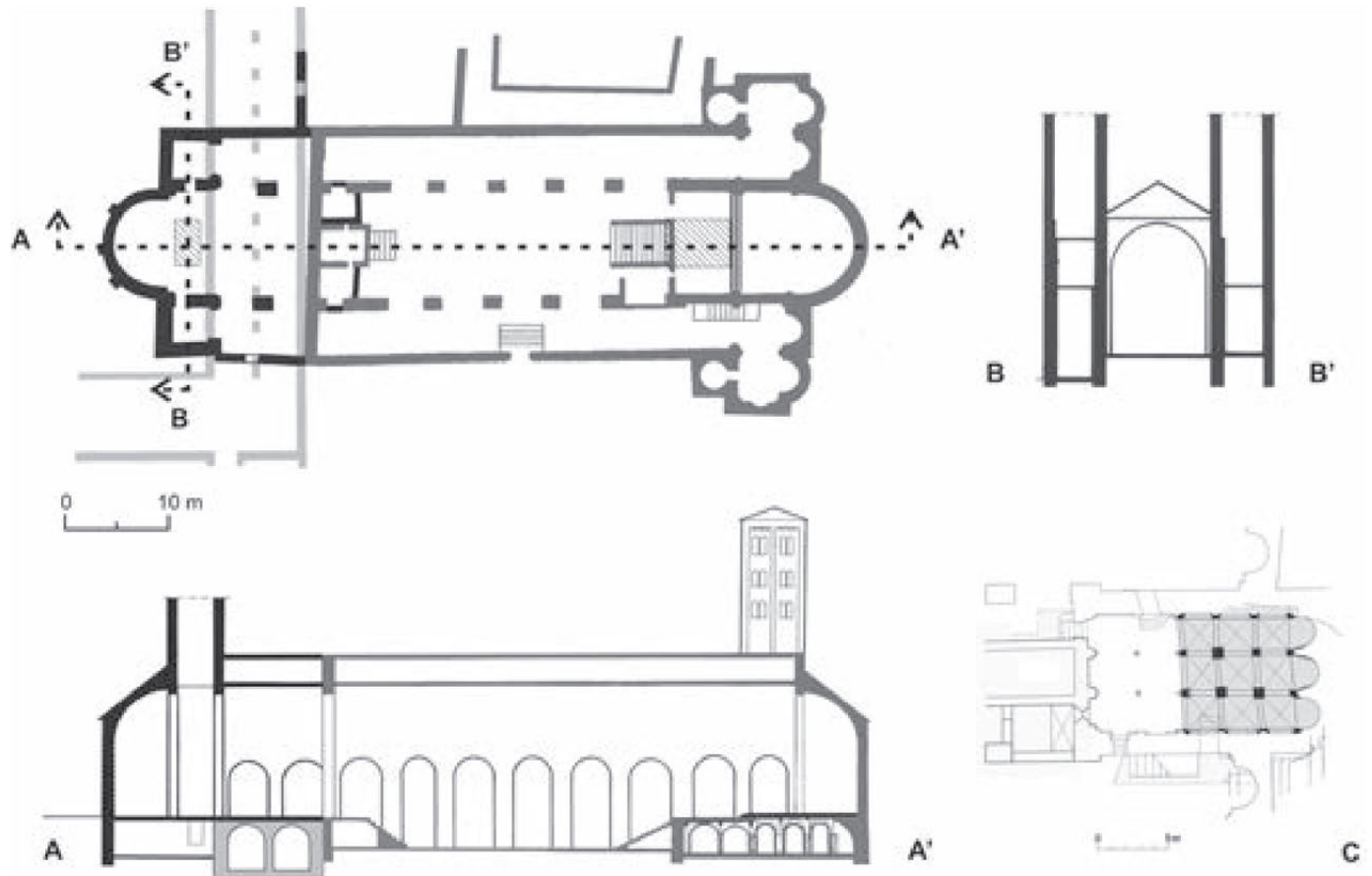
Fig. 3. Aosta Cathedral in 1064: plan, sections and plan of the crypt (C) (drawings Mauro CORTELAZZO & Renato PERINETTI) (Plate 3)

The interior liturgical space was divided into a nave and two aisles separated by six pairs of quadrangular pillars without capitals and one pair of quatrefoiled ones positioned at the entrance to the eastern sanctuary. The eastern and western ends were closed by buttresses or pilasters flanked by bell towers that formed two distinct paired *chevets harmoniques* ('harmonious chevets'). These spaces presented two raised choirs, both of which were decorated in the twelfth century with polychrome floor mosaics[13] and had underlying crypts. The eastern choir, as well as the remaining portion, including the bell towers and part of the nave, were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, whilst the western choir, with its two bell towers which were truncated and now stand to half of their original height, together with the remaining parts of the building, were dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. Thus, as is also shown in many later documentary records, two churches had emerged: the eastern one, destined for episcopal and canonical practices, and the western one, which served as parish church.[14] The primary entrance to the cathedral had already been envisaged in the original plan and was situated in the centre of the south wall. From the very start, the architectural composition of this side of the building was conceived as having a main aperture positioned at the centre of a long façade embellished with small blind arches linked by pilasters and defined at the ends by the verticality of the bell towers pertaining to the two massifs, one to the east and one to the west.

The Eastern Choir

The presbytery was situated above an ample crypt and extended from the two eastern bays of the nave into the apse hemicycle (Fig. 4). This liturgical space contained both the clergymen's choir and the sanctuary with the main altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The presbytery area was flanked, at the height of the

Fig. 4.   Aosta Cathedral, 3D reconstruction of the eastern choir (Saint Mary's church) (drawing Russell TRESCA, Mauro CORTELAZZO & Renato PERINETTI) (Plate 4)

aisle floor, by four perfectly aligned apsidal chapels. This design was replicated on the floor above with the superimposition of four chapels with an identical layout. The chapels can be accessed by means of a 'viret', a cylindrical stairway positioned in the intersection between the aisle and the western side of the bell towers. The chapels located at the far north and south ends are part of the structural body of the bell towers and make up one of the storeys (Figs 5 & 6). The building part comprising the chapels seems to form, on a planimetrical level, a type of narrow transept which, however, is distributed at irregular heights.

The need to have this many chapels at hand, all endued with altars, is conceivably linked to the necessity of creating space within the cathedral for celebrating private Masses and orations. Nevertheless, it must not be neglected that various liturgical practices

that were generally concentrated in the western ends of churches during the High Middle Ages became increasingly concentrated in the eastern ends. No records prior to the thirteenth century are available regarding the dedications of the various chapels. The *Liber Reddituum Capituli Auguste*, a document dating back to the beginning of the fourteenth century,[15] seems to suggest that these were dedicated to Saint Peter, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Theodule, even if at present there does not seem to be any indication of the dedications concerning the elevated chapels.

The presbytery, which is 2.8 m above the nave, can be reached by a broad central staircase flanked by a funerary chapel that is visible from the crypt and whose ceiling extends the choir, along the south side, over the entire length of the room. Towards the second half of the eleventh century, the sanctuary

Fig. 5.   Aosta Cathedral, remains of the elevated chapel in the northern bell tower (photo Mauro Cortelazzo)

was raised by 50 cm and connected to the choir by three steps after part of the crypt probably collapsed and was consequently rebuilt. At the start of the twelfth century, after the cloister had been erected along the northern wall, it became necessary to close off the northern aisle where the western wall of the crypt stood so as to isolate the passageways that led from the church to the rooms reserved for the clergy.

During the second half of the thirteenth century, further construction work saw the entire pavement in both the nave and side aisles raised and an ambulatory built. This phase came to an end with the extension of the choir to the west and the addition of a rood screen that was accessible by means of narrow lateral stairways positioned between the fifth and sixth pairs of pillars. These changes resulted in the creation of two new side entrances to the crypt that replaced the original ones.

The oratory-style crypt consisted of three aisles demarcated by four pairs of white marble columns topped by carved capitals. The space was entirely covered with cross-vaults with marked edges and separated from each other by rounded arches. The archaeological excavations have unveiled the remains of an altar only in the northern apse whilst a pastoral visit in 1416 mentions one dedicated to Saint Maurice in the centre and others dedicated to Saint Andrew and Saint Augustine to the sides, all dating back to the thirteenth century. The crypt was completed by a funerary space situated to the south of the stairway which gave access to the choir and which was visible through a *fenestella*. This space was almost completely destroyed when the rood screen was erected, but several elements uncovered during the excavations revealed an *arcosolium*, built with a simple cross-vault over a burial place. Since

Fig. 6. Aosta Cathedral, the elevated chapel of the southern bell tower, seen from the exterior (photo Renato PERINETTI)

this space was presumably used as a burial chamber for the Aosta bishops, it is therefore no coincidence that the excavation carried out in the area surrounding the position of the *Tumulus Dominorum Episcoporum* revealed various tombs dating from between the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The crypt could be accessed through two entrances, one situated in the western wall to the side of the northern flank of the choir stairway and the other situated at the far end of the southern wall. Several steps were placed at the entrances to overcome the 90 cm height difference between the aisles and the crypt. As was mentioned earlier, the collapse of the vaults in the western bays of the crypt during the second half of the eleventh century was probably caused by the weight of the altar above together with the slightness

of the marble columns that should support the whole. This led to the vaults being rebuilt using stone columns taken from nearby Roman monuments.

The Nave and Aisles

The nave and aisles are characterized by a marked verticality accentuated by a total absence of cornices and by the junction of the pillars to the walls, which does not allow for the inclusion of capitals. The nave rises to a height of 15.2 m, from the floor to the lower surface of the roof beaming, whereas the aisles measure 9.4 m in height. The height/width ratio in the nave (15.2/10.1) is 1/5; the same ratio can be found in many Ottonian churches.[16] The nave and aisles had no vaults

Fig. 7. Aosta Cathedral, fresco cycle on the south wall: the story of Moses in Exodus, detail of the staff turning into a serpent (photo Renato PERINETTI) (Plate 6)

and were covered by a simple slated roof with visible framing and wooden trusses. The pavement 'recovered' most of the previous floor, which was mainly concrete with a few fragments of bricks incorporated.

The nave walls were entirely frescoed with pictorial scenes on various levels; the decoration continued on the pillars with a faux marbling embellishment and palmette capitals. Most of the last level is still preserved on the northern wall where the life and martyrdom of Saint Eustace is depicted. The frescoes are topped by a frieze where lunettes portraying Christ's ancestors, animals, and objects alternate. Various scenes taken from Exodus are depicted on the southern wall (Fig. 7). Lastly, ecclesiastics, alternating with animals and objects, are portrayed in the cornice above the frescoes. The clergymen depicted are almost

certainly bishops from the diocese of Aosta.[17] Building on the stratigraphic relationships and absolute dates obtained by dendrometric analysis, the frescoes could be dated to the fourth decade of the eleventh century.[18]

The Western Choir

The origins of the western centre of worship (Fig. 8) are very remote. Both planimetrically and liturgically part of the crypto-portico, it was closely connected to the ancient *domus ecclesiae* from the second half of the fourth century and to the early Christian church dating from the end of fourth century, with some areas reserved for baptisms. Stone slabs, which were part of the basic structure of a chapel, have been uncovered.

Fig. 8.   Aosta Cathedral, 3D reconstruction of the western choir (Saint John the Baptist's church) (drawing Russell Tresca, Mauro Cortelazzo & Renato Perinetti) (Plate 5)

This chapel, which backed onto the crypto-portico wall and was aligned with the cathedral itself, was probably used for funerary services during the sixth and seventh centuries. The architectural dynamics of the cathedral seem to point to the existence of a high Medieval choir-cum-sanctuary, which was possibly already dedicated to Saint John the Baptist and situated above the crypto-portico vaults, which remained in use throughout the erection of the cathedral itself. It is probably within reason that the ecclesiastics were named *Chanonici Sancti Iohannis* until the 1040s when work on the nave, aisles, and eastern massif was brought to an end; shortly after, they were denominated *Canonici ecclesie S. Marie* or *Canonici S. Marie*. It must also be noted that the masonry structure built backing onto the crypto-portico wall, closing off the nave and aisles to the west, could not have been a façade as it would have been largely concealed by the imposing size of the Roman monument that was still standing to its full height.

The western massif, which according to dendrochronological analysis was finished in 1064, consisted of a semi-circular apse flanked by two bell towers that formed a new *chevet harmonique*, opposing and at the same time mirroring the eastern one. The lower space in the towers hosted two side chapels. It is not known to which saints these were originally dedicated. The presbytery opened out here and, taking advantage of the vault surface, was superimposed on a part of the eastern colonnaded wing in the crypto-portico as far as the wall that originally 'closed' the nave to the west. This new liturgical space must have extended over two floor levels connected by three steps that separated the choir area from the actual sanctuary. Archaeological investigations regarding the height of the side walls of the choir seem to suggest the

Fig. 9.   Aosta Cathedral, western triumphal arch tympanum with frescoes of the two angels, second half of eleventh century (photos Renato Perinetti) (Plate 7)

existence of some kind of transept during a first phase, which was later reduced and contained within the nave and aisles.

Recent excavations carried out on the cathedral parvis have brought part of the western apse to light. The outer wall surface was decorated with blind arches, and the excavations have also confirmed the existence of a crypt consecrated to Saint Bernard; the dedication was deduced from late Medieval records.[19] The crypt could be entered from the north through a sole door opened in a wall pertaining to the northern bell tower. Partly because of this particular entryway, the possibility that this was not an actual crypt but simply a funerary area cannot be excluded.

The choir could be reached from the nave using the central stairway, similar to the eastern one, but running more towards the east into a small room that held the early Christian baptismal font closed by means of a large stone slab, which might have been topped by a reliquary. The entire area was visible from two *fenestellae* situated in the side walls. In the twelfth century, this room was flanked by two smaller ones that had hydraulic lime and 'cocciopesto' flooring. They may have been used to administer the sacrament of Baptism. The only details of the pictorial decorations which have been preserved, are two angels facing each other in the apse tympanum (Fig. 9). Visitors can admire the frescoes from the walkways that have been set up in the clerestory.

Conclusion

The iconographic scheme together with the development in height on various levels seems to raise the impression that the cathedral in Aosta is similar to Ottonian or rather transalpine examples. However, we must point out the presence of several particularities compared to 'bernulfiani' examples which have been indicated in recent interpretations; Paolo Piva believes that, 'if Aosta picks up characteristics of Ottonian architecture (such as the harmonious twin towers), it is evident that is does so with much liberty and tact'.[20] In this respect, the situation of the eastern presbytery is emblematic, as the chapels which are juxtaposed to the central apse are at a much lower height compared to the choir-cum-sanctuary whose emerging volume interrupts the transept's spatial continuity. This situation influenced the development and perhaps also the liturgical function of the chapels, since their floor heights cannot be matched with either that of the choir or the underlying crypt. Moreover, the elevated chapels, generally completely 'open' towards the presbytery, are simply connected by means of a single-lancet window positioned at a height of 8 m in Aosta and seem not to have been able to hold small groups of choristers. The canons' choir was spread out in the various high chapels on several occasions. As a result of these brief considerations, we deem the presence of the multi-floored chapels, which flanked the choir/sanctuary, to be linked to the necessity of having more than one altar for private Masses and orations.

Contrary to transalpine churches, the western choir did not have a multi-level design with chapels and galleries. Archaeological investigations have excluded the existence of stairways. The fact that the main entrance was placed in the middle of the southern wall front from the very start and built during the

first phases of construction confirms that the body of the cathedral in Aosta was rather uncharacteristic. Even if it may be recalling transalpine models, the erection of the western centre of worship seems to have been motivated by the need of having a space dedicated to the care of souls inside the cathedral itself in spatial continuity with what had existed there since the sixth and seventh centuries when the funerary chapel was built with its back to the crypto-portico wall. The presence of two churches inside the same building with two different religious functions may have had a precedent in the ancient episcopal complex which had been characterized by a single liturgical space, quite contrary to what was commonplace in northern Italy and in Gaul with its *cathédrales doubles* ('double cathedrals').

Compared to transalpine examples, the local variables could also have been the result of the particular territorial situation in the Aosta region as an important Alpine crossroads connecting the Rhône, Rhine, and Po valleys. We must also remember that the Kingdom of Burgundy, which had come into being thanks to progressive territorial acquisitions, never sufficiently integrated its various territorial entities in the decades around the year 1000, with the Aosta valley finding itself in a peripheral position.

Taking all the above into consideration, we believe it appropriate to narrow the field of comparison down solely to the Tarentaise archdiocese, and to the cathedral of Saint-Pierre in Moûtiers in particular, which displays roughly the same construction dynamics as Aosta.[21] The eastern *chevet harmonique*, dated to around 1020, consisted of a semicircular apse flanked by bell towers that held three superimposed chapels — one on the level of the crypt, one on choir level and on an elevated level. The western façade featured an axial entrance flanked by two bell towers that most probably also hosted multi-level chapels. Belonging to the same cultural environment are the church of Saint-Martin in Aime (excavated by E. L. Borrel in 1868-79),[22] the ancient Aisme in the Tarentaise Valley, and the abbey of Saint-Chef-en-Dauphiné,[23] situated halfway between Annecy and Lyon, because of their preserved *chevets harmoniques*. The abbey church of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, whose western apse was still visible in the first decades of the eleventh century, remembering that Bishop Anselm and his immediate successor Burchard were respectively provost and abbot of this important and prestigious abbey, also deserves to be mentioned.

The cathedral of Bishop Anselm in Aosta was the result of a number of developments emerging from a kinship-defined cultural network that led to the spread of closely related church buildings over a large area from the Rhine and Rhone basins to the Po valley. The cathedral thus became a point of reference for the transmission of new technical and architectural elements that defined the growth and further implementation of the diocese of Aosta. It was within these developments that construction techniques together with the available financial resources gave rise to the creation of a liturgical centre which, perfectly in line with European trends, played a key role in the cultural history of the Aosta valley.

NOTES

[1] Charles BONNET & Renato PERINETTI, *Remarques sur la crypte de la cathédrale d'Aoste*, Aosta, 1977, pp. 1-47.
[2] Mauro CORTELAZZO, 'Le contexte stratigraphique de l'aire du Temple', in Patrizia FRAMARIN & Mauro CORTELAZZO, 'Fouilles dans l'aire sacree du forum d'Augusta Praetoria', in *Bollettino della Soprintendenza per i Beni Culturali*, 2, 2005, pp. 139-43; Patrizia FRAMARIN & Mauro CORTELAZZO, 'Il complesso forense di Augusta Praetoria: rapporto preliminare sull'avanzamento delle ricerche', in *Bollettino della Soprintendenza per i Beni Culturali*, 5, 2009, pp. 35-52.
[3] Charles BONNET & Renato PERINETTI, *Aoste aux premiers temps chrétiens*, Quart-Aosta, 1986, pp. 3-32; Charles BONNET & Renato PERINETTI, *Aosta: i primi monumenti cristiani*, Aosta, 1987, pp. 3-32.
[4] Renato PERINETTI, 'Il potere vescovile. Architettura e sepolture dal 4 all' 11 secolo', in *Bulletin d'Études Préhistoriques et Archéologiques alpines*, 21, 2010, pp. 141-53.
[5] Charles BONNET & Renato PERINETTI, 'I battisteri della cattedrale di Aosta', in *Albenga città episcopale*, 2, 2007, pp. 821-37.
[6] Charles BONNET & Renato PERINETTI, *Aoste aux premiers temps*; BONNET & PERINETTI, *Aosta. I primi monumenti*, pp. 13-32.
[7] Renato PERINETTI, 'La cattedrale di Aosta, aggiornamento sulle ultime ricerche', in *Architecture, décor, organisation de l'espace. Les enjeux de l'archéologie médiévale. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge offerts à Jean-Francois Reynaud*, ed. Charlotte GAILLARD, Olivia PUEL & Nicolas REVEYRON (Documents d'Archéologie en Rhône-Alpes et en Auvergne, 38), Lyon, 2013, pp. 71-75, 266.
[8] Renato PERINETTI, 'Valle d'Aosta — Le chiese altomedievali', in *Alle origini del romanico*, ed. Renata SALVARANI; Giancarlo ANDENNA; Gian Pietro BROGIOLO (Studi e documenti [CESIMB], 3), Milan & Brescia, 2005, pp. 149-64.

[9] André Zanotto & Daniela Ferrero Formento, *Storia della Valle d'Aosta*, Aosta, 1979; François Demotz, 'La Transjurane de l'an Mil: la transition post-carolingienne', in *Le royaume de Bourgogne autour de l'an mil*, ed. Christian Guilleré, Jean-Michel Poisson, Laurent Ripart & Cyrille Ducourthial, Chambéry, 2008, pp. 27-59; Giuseppe Sergi, 'L'unione delle tre corone teutonica, italica e borgognona e gli effetti sulla valle d'Aosta', in *Bolletino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino*, 103, 2005, pp. 4-37.

[10] Amato Prieto Frutaz, *Le fonti per la storia della Valle d'Aosta*, Rome, 1966, pp. 3-10.

[11] All absolute dating was obtained by dendrochronological analysis of 164 wood samples, carried out at the Laboratoire Romand de dendrochronologie at Moudon (Switzerland), see: Alain Orcel, Christian Orcel & Jean Tercier, 'Synthèse dendrochronologique relative au bois de la cathédrale d'Aoste', in *Medioevo Aostano. 1, Atti del convegno internazionale: (Aosta, 15-16 maggio 1992)*, ed. Sandra Barberi (Documento, 6), Turin, 2000, pp. 47-58.

[12] Renato Perinetti, 'La cattedrale medievale di Aosta', in *Medioevo Aostano*, pp. 23-34, 79-81; Edoardo Brunod, *La cattedrale di Aosta*, Aosta, 1975; Bruno Orlandoni, *Architettura in Valle d'Aosta. Il romanico e il gotico*, Ivrea, 1995-1996, pp. 23-35.

[13] Renato Perinetti, 'I mosaici medievali di Aosta', in *AISCOM. Atti del VI Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico. Venezia, 20-23 gennaio 1999*, Ravenna, 2000, pp. 161-74.

[14] Joseph-Gabriel Rivolin, *Le principali chiese aostane nei secoli XI e XII*, in *Medioevo Aostano*, pp. 19-29.

[15] *Liber reddituum capituli auguste*, ed. by A.M. Patrone.

[16] Louis Grodecki, *L'architecture ottonienne: au seuil de l'art roman*, Paris, 1958, p. 278.

[17] Hans Peter & Beate Autenrieth, 'Die Wandmalerei des 11. Jahrhunderts in der Kathedrale zu Aosta', in *Medioevo Aostano*, pp. 59-136; Costanza Segre Montel, 'Committenza e programma iconografico nei due cicli pittorici di Sant'Orso e della cattedrale di Aosta', in *Medioevo Aostano*, pp. 137-83.

[18] The fresco plastering was superimposed on a previous plaster covered by a white patina (*scialbatura*) which in turn was superimposed on the wooden roof beams dated 1031-32 (dating obtained by dendrometrical analysis). Considering the relative chronology of the three artifacts, the frescoes must be dated between 1040 and 1050.

[19] Lin Colliard, *Vecchia Aosta*, Aosta, 1986, pp. 99-100.

[20] 'Se Aosta rielabora spunti dell'architettura ottoniana (come la doppia torre armonica) è evidente che lo fa con molta libertà e discrezione', cit Paolo Piva, *Chiese ad absidi opposte nell'Italia medievale (secoli XI-XII)*, Mantova, 2013, p. 48; Paolo Piva, 'Edifici di culto e committenti "imperiali" nell'XI secolo: il caso bresciano', in *Medioevo: la chiesa e il palazzo: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 20-24 settembre 2005*, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Convegni di Parma, 8), Milan, 2007, p. 67.

[21] Isabelle Parron-Kontis, Bénédicte Palazzo-Bertholon & Gabrielle Michaux, *La cathédrale Saint-Pierre en Tarentaise et le groupe épiscopal de Maurienne*, Lyon, 2002, pp. 35-57.

[22] *Ibidem*, p. 26.

[23] Barbara Franzé, *La pierre et l'image. L'église de Saint-Chef-en-Dauphiné*, Paris, 2011, pp. 93-104.

Inter primas Hispaniarum urbes, Tarraconensis sedis insignissima
Morphogenesis and Spatial Organization
of Tarragona Cathedral (1150–1225)*

GERARDO BOTO VARELA

Abstract

The cathedral of Tarragona represents the culmination of a long process in the conception, design, and execution of cathedral churches in the area south of the Pyrenees. The city's awe-inspiring Roman heritage attracted the metropolitan archbishops and conditioned their building projects in that the cathedral was adapted to the physical limits and the axiality of the Roman *temenos*. An analysis of the structure and of the project plan reveals that from the outset the building was laid out and used in the manner with which we are familiar today. The cathedral came to be larger than any other in the Iberian Peninsula, both extant or under construction at that point in history. At the time it was built, the bishops were bidding to have Tarragona recognized as the preeminent diocese in the whole of Spain and the cathedral's architecture thus became the physical manifestation of and setting for these political and institutional pretensions.

Tarragona's Romanesque Cathedral

Since the sixteenth century, numerous studies have analysed the institutions, town planning, and buildings of the diocese of Tarragona in southern Catalonia. Significantly fewer, however, have scrutinized the architectural morphogenesis, functional requirements, and parameters of ecclesiastical topography that currently characterize the city's cathedral complex. The following pages propose an interpretation regarding the order and layout of each of these aspects of the complex, as well as its spatial projection, and its scenographic configuration.

Embarking upon such an analysis necessitates reviewing other studies that have been carried out in a similar vein. Whereas some pre-twentieth century authors, such as Henrique Flórez and Jaime Villanueva, focussed on dissecting the diocese's institutional history with extreme rigour and erudition, others, including Lluis Pons de Icart, Pau Piferrer, and the meticulous Emili Morera, preferred to situate the long trajectory of the see in its local context. Comparative studies of the monument were carried out by Vicente Lampérez and Josep Puig i Cadafalch, and more recent interpretations have been offered by Emma Liaño and Eduardo Carrero. Archaeological understanding of the complex was first gained by Joan Serra Vilaró and then expanded upon by José Sánchez Real, before Theodor Hauschild offered his rigorous and intuitive account of how the complex relates to precedents from the Roman and Late Antique periods. The archaeological substrate has also been exhumed and interpreted by Ricardo Mar, Joaquín Ruiz de Arbulo, and Patrizio Pensabene; furthermore, the team consisting of Josep Macias, Joan Menchón, Andreu Muñoz, and Imma Teixell specifically addressed the cathedral. Joan Figuerola and his team of architects and experts have substantially advanced our understanding of the church and cloistral area's structure. As a result, a great deal about

the cathedral of Tarragona is known to date; I hope this article may further increase our understanding of the phases, chronologies, and individuals involved in the building process and their relationship with the liturgical uses of the complex's cloister and apse. Furthermore, it is useful to rethink the understated role played by the Catalan cathedrals regarding Romanesque architecture, its innovations, and redundancies, in the Iberian Peninsula, around the Mediterranean, and even Europe as a whole. In my opinion, Romanesque cathedral architecture has too often been regarded as second to monastic architecture, which is routinely considered to be more innovative, international, and comprehensive.

Putting Tarragona's Medieval cathedral in context requires examining the urban fabric that surrounded it and in which it was built.[1] Above all, three historical and political points should be borne in mind: 1) Tarragona's primordial position in the Mediterranean since Antiquity as capital of *Hispania Citerior*; 2) the importance of the city in the political and military expansion of the County of Barcelona, which enabled it to break away from the archdiocese of Narbonne; and 3) the diocese's attempts, after it was re-established, to reclaim its Ancient primacy among all Spanish cathedrals. A symptom and eloquent synthesis of these factors is that once the Christian Reconquest of Tarragona had been completed in 1129, Ramon Berenguer III gave control of the city to its first archbishop *de facto et de iure*, Oleguer Bonestruga (1117–37). From 1129, Oleguer was forced to share power with the Prince of Tarragona, who was known as either Robert Bordet or d'Aguiló.[2] Oleguer and his successors took possession of the highest terrace in the old Roman precinct, home to the porticoed plaza built in the first century for the purpose of a *temenos*. Archaeological research carried out in recent decades has shown that the wall and *exedras* of the terrace were still intact at the start of the twelfth century, that its portico was in poor condition or had even been dismantled, and that the Augustan temple had been in ruins by the end of the fifth century, but also that the other Roman building, known as the 'axial room' because it was on the cardinal axis, was still standing and in use.[3] This 'axial room' and the Augustan temple were aligned on exactly the same axis, despite the time which separated the construction of both buildings (Fig. 1).[4]

Conception and Execution of the Cloistral Patio and the First Canonical Offices

From the moment Bishop Berenguer Sunifré de Lluçà was formally appointed Archbishop of Tarragona in 1089 (*Berengarium in restaurationem Tarraconensis Ecclesiae adjuvetis*),[5] the prelates tried to ensure that the future canonical chapter adopted the spiritual and domestic rule of Saint Augustine. Clearly, this involved designing and building community living quarters joined to or at least close to the area of worship. There is no record of any attempt to build (or rather rebuild) the cathedral prior to 1131. In that same year, Archbishop Oleguer obtained the Pope's support when asking his suffragan bishops to contribute financially to the works carried out on the church.[6] In 1144, Archbishop Gregorio (1143–46) obtained a new papal bull to support the start of work on buildings destined for episcopal and canonical use, although it is impossible to determine whether the community mentioned therein had already been established and whether some of these buildings were already being built.[7]

Finally, in 1154, Archbishop Bernat Tort (1146–63) established the ordinances that would regulate the lives of his canons (*ordinatio te vita regulari in ecclesia Tarraconensi* [*sic*]). He detailed the buildings, enclosures, and circuits that would make up the cathedral complex:

> ego Bernardus Terracon[ensis] Archiepiscopus, atque dono ipsam fortitudinem seu monitionem, quam ibi edif-fico, ad manendum et habitandum in perpetuum, ut ibi sint tuti ipsi et res eorum ab exercitu navali navigan-tium Sarracenorum; et ut ibidem habeant suas officinas inferius et superius, subtus cellaria sua et orrea, supra vero refectorium, et dormitorium, coquinam et capitu-lum, sicut distinctum est. Dono item praeffatis canonicis ipsam cappellam inferius et superius, quae contigua est ipsi fortitudini.[8]

Although there is no unequivocal documentary evidence, historiography has generally assumed that the community accommodation to which Tort referred and which he promoted was provisional until the moment work began on the ambitious project of a rigorously organized cathedral complex made up of the church, the cloister, and the canonical offices. Some historiographers believe that Tort's words allude to an initial

Fig. 1.   The former Roman *aedes*, Tarragona's first cathedral after the Reconquest, in function between *c.* 1140 and *c.* 1185 (photo Marta SERRANO COLL)

canonical building with two floors;[9] others believe that there may have been at least two separate buildings located at two different levels within the precinct.[10] The last mentioned interpretation is, in my opinion, more consistent with the canonical buildings' organization.

The document from 1154 states that the building containing the refectory, dormitory, and chapter house formed a single unit along with the kitchen. Abutting the external wall of the Roman wall on the northwest side (N),[11] we can still find a kitchen, which was accessed from the refectory after one of the *fenestrae* was converted into a doorway. The refectory occupies little more than half of a single nave with a pointed barrel vault, hearth, and three large windows sharply inclined to the northeast (E) (also visible from the cloister and each with latticework subsequently added), and another two other openings to the southwest (W). The other half of the building was

occupied by the chapel of the Holy Sacrament from the seventeenth century onwards, although we can be certain that it was always functionally separate from the refectory as each had its own doors and walkways. This second half of the building lacked any windows to the northeast (E), but did have them to the southeast (S), along with a single door to the heart of the cloister. The masonry in the refectory area is fully visible due to the absence of any form of covering. There is no indication of a wooden floor being used to divide the building vertically. This building as a whole, with its two spatially and functionally distinct parts, its abutment to the Roman wall, and its connection to the kitchen, is the structure that Bernat Tort ordered to be built to satisfy the community's needs for a space to eat, sleep, and meet. The areas used as tithe barns and granaries were in a nearby but separate part and at a lower height.[12] All of this suggests that the

layout and designated uses of the cathedral cloister's spaces were established and operating by 1154. There is no convincing evidence to support the assumption that it was one single building with two levels. An analysis of the archaeology, history, and structure of Tarragona's cloistral complex compels one to take the opposing view.

Tort's building was not provisional, but this does apply to its use for certain domestic activities by the religious community. Each building segment was functionally distinct, although their uses were physically combined in a singular building of large dimensions. The impressive construction erected in the southwest sector (W) of the cloister provided a permanent home for the refectory. In contrast, its use as a dormitory by the canons regular lasted only until the new dormitory was built outside the northeast wall (E) of the *temenos*; the door needed for this room was obtained by the transformation of a *fenestra*. The daily chapter meetings were also held for decades in Tort's building.[13] A purpose-built chapter house was subsequently built on the southeast side (S) of the cloister.

The fort alluded to in Archbishop Tort's document (*ipsam fortitudinem seu monitionem*)[14] was not, in my opinion, an independently built and short-lived castle, but rather the walled precinct of the *temenos*, and was therefore owned by the diocese and used for religious purposes. Contiguous with the northwest wall of this bastion (N) was the chapel used by the canons, which had two levels, although it is difficult to state whether these were added later.

The terms used in the 1154 document show that these structures had been completed by that year. This clearly means that the cloistral area's topographical organization and the canonical offices' construction were planned shortly before the mid-twelfth century at the start of Tort's prelature (1146–63). Given the explicit desire to organize the cloister around a regular square, the delineation of three of its sides necessarily implies that a fourth was built regardless of when this may have taken place. Thus, the mind and will of Bernat Tort can claim responsibility for conceiving and delineating the cloistral precinct and for constructing its earliest offices. However, he cannot be credited with the form, dimensions, and strict coordinates of the cathedral, as this was conceived during a subsequent building phase that had nothing to do with Tort. In this regard, it is highly revealing that the

multi-purpose building (refectory, first canon dormitory, and first chapter house) should have a window in the upper part of the southeast wall (S) that would be blocked if one day a church were to be built on the other side, as indeed happened when the northwest (N) transept was erected. This problem was not avoided because it had yet to be taken into account. In other words, Tort's building programme was not bothered with how work might unfold south of the cloistral precinct that he himself had outlined and planned; it did not stipulate the nature of the church that would substitute for the one that he had put in place provisionally.

The same document from 1154 states that by then there was a cathedral church in existence, dedicated to Saint Thecla.[15] It is not easy to say where this early and temporary cathedral church was located. Nevertheless, given that archaeological findings demonstrate that the Roman Augustan temple was in ruins by the end of the fifth century and that no other construction has been found in the strata between it and the current church, this mid-twelfth century cathedral must have been located elsewhere. The most likely option is the curia hall, or Roman axial *aedes* (Fig. 1).[16] The record of church dedications helps to clarify this issue: the cathedral's high altar was dedicated to Saint Thecla, a status that had previously been awarded to the church alluded to by Tort. Once the altar had been moved and consecrated, the cathedral that we know today became known as *the New* Saint Thecla and, consequently, the previous space of worship was referred to as *the Old* Saint Thecla.[17] This building continued to be referred to in this way, even after the altar had been moved.[18] In other words, during Tort's prelature the cathedral was almost without doubt situated in the Roman 'axial hall', whose internal space could be divided and reorganized over the centuries.[19]

This church was in use between *c.* 1140 and *c.* 1185, and was the see and property of both the archbishop and the canons. One only has to look at the cathedral chapter members' tombstones on the lateral northeast wall (N) of the high imperial curia, the first cathedral of Saint Thecla, and on the exterior of the central apse of the future *New* Saint Thecla.[20] In fact, Bernat Tort took particular care to specify which houses were destined for use by the canons, even before specifying his own.

Fig. 2a.   Monumental marble doorway connecting the church and cloister, *c.* 1175: interior view (photo Roberto Chaverri Bergué & Elena Aranda Vázquez)

Fig. 2b.   Monumental marble doorway connecting the church and cloister, *c.* 1175: exterior view (photo Roberto Chaverri Bergué & Elena Aranda Vázquez)

This awareness and expression of shared property between the archbishop and the chapter continued into the prelatures of Hugo de Cervelló and Berenguer de Vilademuls with the erection of a monumental connecting doorway between the church and cloister that provided an entrance and exit for important ceremonies from *c.* 1175 onwards (Fig. 2a-2b). Under no circumstances may it be regarded as a doorway exclusively reserved for the archbishop, who indeed has no such door in any part of the cathedral, unless one were to interpret the building's main west entrance as such. Paradoxically, the most important and exceptional aspect of this diocese is that its prelate is a metropolitan.

Architecture of Prestige: The Conclusion of the Cloistral Area and the Design of the Great Cathedral Church

A document shows that, a decade after the work carried out by Tort, further work was being conducted on the cathedral church of Saint Thecla, although it is unclear whether the document is referring to modifications to the reused Roman building or to preparatory work on the church that has survived down to present times.[21]

Subsequently, in 1171, Archbishop Hugo de Cervelló made a donation in his will under the following terms:

> Praeterea mandavit, quod mille m° quos tradiderat Poncio de Barberano, iturus Romam, ad opus ecclesiae incipiendum, et ad officinas canonicae faciendas, in eodem opere, sicuti tunc ordinaverat expenderentur; D. videlicet in opere ecclesiae, et D. in officinis canonicae.[22]

Villanueva believes that the words *ad opus ecclesiae incipiendum,* 'have been completely misinterpreted if they are not understood to refer exclusively to the cathedral church'.[23] In contrast with many others, I agree with his opinion. It was Hugo de Cervelló (1163–71) who oversaw the conception and design of the cathedral church and, with the cult space, also the canonical buildings that were planimetrically and physically connected to it, namely the sacristy and treasury. The area where the new and final chapter house would later be built was not part of this building phase.[24]

This building project, which was independent of and complementary to the work carried out by Bernat Tort, definitively established the wall plan and cloister functions. It should be recalled that two sides of the square were delineated by the Roman wall, and a third side by the transversal wall carried out by Tort. The northwest (N) transept of the church, the wall of the north apse, the sacristy, and the treasury marked the fourth side. The exact location of this flank was predetermined, as has been said, by the desire to create a regular square: the distance between the eastern Roman wall and the building containing the refectory, the first dormitory, and the first chapter house therefore dictated the distance between the southern Roman wall and the monumental marble entrance, the apse, sacristy, and treasury. This distance is exactly the same as that between the mullion in the marble entrance and the inner face of the southeast (S) wall of the southern transept. This mullion provides the symmetrical axis of the ceremonial entrance and is also one of the axes of the cathedral complex, unifying the church and the cloister (Fig. 3).

The refectory building was placed at a strict 90° corner to the Roman wall. This respect for the principle of orthogonality ran throughout the entire cathedral project with the exception of the south side of the cloister, whose southern corner (SW), containing the marble entrance between the church and the cloister, is 92.5 degrees, while the eastern corner (SE) measures, correspondingly, 87.5 degrees (Fig. 3). A careful analysis of the building shows that, firstly, the door that connects the cloister and the north apse was designed specifically for the place it occupies and was not taken from somewhere else;[25] secondly, the cloistral wall was erected from the marble entrance to the sacristy and the treasury and, at its furthest point, to the area which would much later be occupied by the chapter house. Therefore, this wall was built from the southwest (W) to the northeast (E), with no interruption in the first two courses above the stone bench, but with a slight variance after the vertical gap. This allowed the inner side of the wall to be continued, a clever solution which was implemented by the master stonemason to prevent the wall from collapsing in the event of uneven settlement or loading since it did not compromise the complex's layout.[26] The northeast end (E) of this wall was built in such a manner that it did not obstruct the dormitory entrance, which was built adjoining the Roman
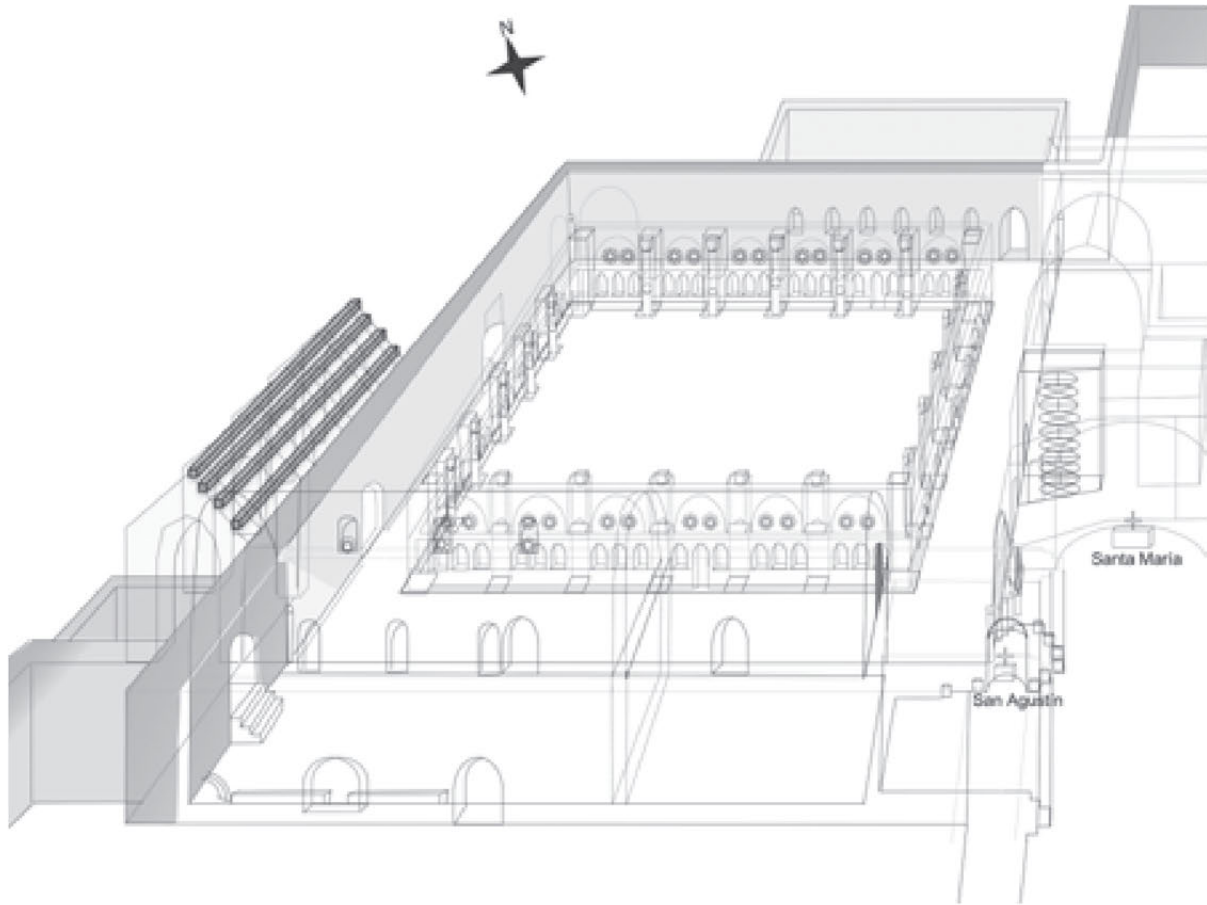
Fig. 3.   Design of the cloister (in deep grey, Roman walls), with corrections for the sake of orthogonality, and surrounding functional spaces: refectory, dormitory, second dormitory or *schola puerorum* (with wooden roof), and chapter house, *c.* 1154–*c.* 1200 (drawing author) (Plate 8)

wall's external face. Such a finding demonstrates that this door, and obviously the dormitory, too, were built before the church and its adjoining offices. It goes without saying that this dormitory corresponds in some way to the one mentioned by Tort, because it does not form a single unit with the refectory and the first chapter house. It may be concluded, therefore, that the dormitory on the outside of the east Roman wall was built after the building work undertaken by Bernat Tort (1154) and before the plan by Hugo de Cervelló (in 1171 and subsequent years).[27] Given that the northeast (E) end of the cloister's south wall could not be built any further because it would otherwise have blocked the dormitory door and been uneven with respect to the cloister's other axis, why then was the southwest (W) end of the cloister — the ceremonial marble entrance — not located a metre

back from where it currently stands in order ensure right angles at both corners of the cloister's wall?[28]

The thickness of the door and the wall in which it is situated enabled two cavities to be recessed into the building; one was a little sacristy on the northeast side (N) of the north apse, devoted to Saint Mary of the Tailors ('Santa María dels Sastres'), and the other, more importantly, was a space in the northeast (E) wall of the left transept and in part of the corner pillar between the apse of the Tailors and the same transept. This cavity contained an unusual miniature apse devoted to Saint Augustine (Fig. 4), which would subsequently be redesigned with Gothic profiles. The outline that the square cloister should have followed (which had been disregarded during its construction) passes through the back of the small sacristy of the Tailors (Sastres), the mullion of the marble entrance,

Fig. 4.   North transept and northern lateral apse (Santa María dels Sastres), with double columns on each pillar, *c.* 1175–90, and miniature apse devoted to Saint Augustine (photo Marta SERRANO COLL)

and through the axis of the miniature apse. If the pillar and the east wall of the transept had been narrower and if the front of the marble entrance had been situated on the correct line, it would not have been possible to open up the stonework and create this miniature apse. It was inconceivable that the convex cylinder of the apse (analogous with that of the southeast [S] transept) should be built in the gallery because this would obstruct half of the ceremonial entrance that connects the cloister and the church. The apse chapel that was built where the east wall and corner pillar meet responded to a liturgical requirement and, at the same time, provided a counterpoint to the apse situated on the northeast (E) wall of the south transept. In this manner, an east ending was created with five staggered altars and apses, which

were evenly distributed, although not symmetrically as the pre-existing cloister made this impossible.

Consequently, there was no other option but to skew the southeast (S) wall of the cloister. If the builders had attempted to maintain the 90° angle, the width of the marble entrance would not have allowed the positioning of the corner pillar or, therefore, the concavity of the apse. At this point it is important to emphasize that both sides of the marble entrance, the north side of the apse of the Tailors (Fig. 4), the corner pillar of the miniature apse and both sides of the east wall of the north transept present a clear structural unity with no alterations or repairs made to the stonework (apart from the Gothic restorations in the miniature apse) and with the same mason's marks.

However, the previous point does not explain why the plan for the entire cathedral church was not moved a couple of metres to the south. We can recognize in the cathedral planners a desire to meet a second requirement, which is to adopt and reproduce the axiality of the pre-existing Roman complex. Thus, the axis of the cathedral is situated exactly over the axis of the Roman temple and, therefore, is aligned with the axis of the 'axial room', that is, the imperial *curia*.[29] The church plan designers took into account the principles of orthogonality and axiality, established the proportions, and accepted the topographical constraints. Together, these limitations prompted them to insert a miniature apse into the stonework between a pillar and a wall.

It is beyond doubt that the plan for the cathedral church was designed and implemented in its entirety from the outset, with no intermediate stages featuring a church with a single apse or with only three apses. The whole building was based on a single and coherent geometric design *ad triangulum* (Fig. 5).[30] The vertex of the exedra of the main presbytery, the corners of both transepts, and the external limits of the naves and the gable are connected by a network of diagonal lines that also indicates the position of the pillars and the apse chapels. For its part, the internal dimensions are based on the surface area of the crossing so that the church's floor plan extends out in all four directions in multiples thereof (2 towards the apse, 1.5 towards each of the two transepts and 3.5 towards the entrance). Furthermore, each bay of the nave corresponds to half the area of the crossing, excluding the axes of the pillars, and the aisles measure one quarter of the area of the crossing, also discounting the axes of the pillars and the transversal ribs.

In addition to being conditioned by the axis of the Roman buildings, the implementation of this complex design was predetermined by Bernat Tort's multi-functional building, which prevented the north transept from obtaining the same dimensions as the south transept. This asymmetry was accentuated by the need to increase the thickness of the wall and thus accommodate the aforementioned miniature apse. As a result, rather than using a conventional rib vault to cover the north transept, as in the south transept, a barrel vault with decreasing radial segments was used to provide an unusual and attractive telescopic solution. The axis of the transept perfectly fits in with the diagonal lines, as is also the case

with the other vectors in the complex. We can state, therefore, without a shadow of doubt, that the layout and uses of the church were determined from the outset and underwent no further additions, alterations, or improvisations. This conclusion also means that the plan was traced out on the ground on one specific occasion, which in turn meant that the builders could begin construction on any part of the church, aware of how it would develop during future building phases. The building started with the lateral apse of Saint Mary of the Tailors, the north transept, and the main presbytery, each of which was given a cloister access point.[31] The construction and materials used in this part of the church are the same as those used in the canonical offices of the sacristy and the treasury, the stairs up to their top floor, and the area that would in time become the chapter house. The overall nature of the complex, its physical coherence, and the interlinking characteristics of the aforementioned parts (which may be corroborated point by point on the walls) together imply that they were all built during the same phase. Their relative chronology (they were built after the refectory-multi-purpose room and the final dormitory) can be given a specific date in light of the aforementioned document from 1171. The conclusion is that Hugo de Cervelló was responsible for undertaking and implementing the whole of the great cathedral church of Tarragona, that is, *the New* Saint Thecla (Fig. 6).

This grand project adopted very well-established formulas from the architectural repertoire of southern Europe: an apse with five staggered altars (planimetrically and orthographically heterogeneous in Tarragona), a strongly developed transept (in this case asymmetric in plan and height), and three naves with five sections separated by pillars with a double column on each side (Fig. 7). The latter feature is typically described as 'Hispano-Languedocien' and can be found in great contemporary churches such as those of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Sangüesa, Fitero, Valbuena, etc., though it also had a long tradition in Romanesque architecture, as is evidenced by the churches at San Pedro de Arlanza and Santo Domingo de Silos.[32]

The building project in Tarragona is alleged by some to have brought about few innovations to the architectural milieu of the time. According to Josep Puig i Cadafalch et al., the cathedral at Tarragona, along with that of Lérida (Lleida), is of a type that
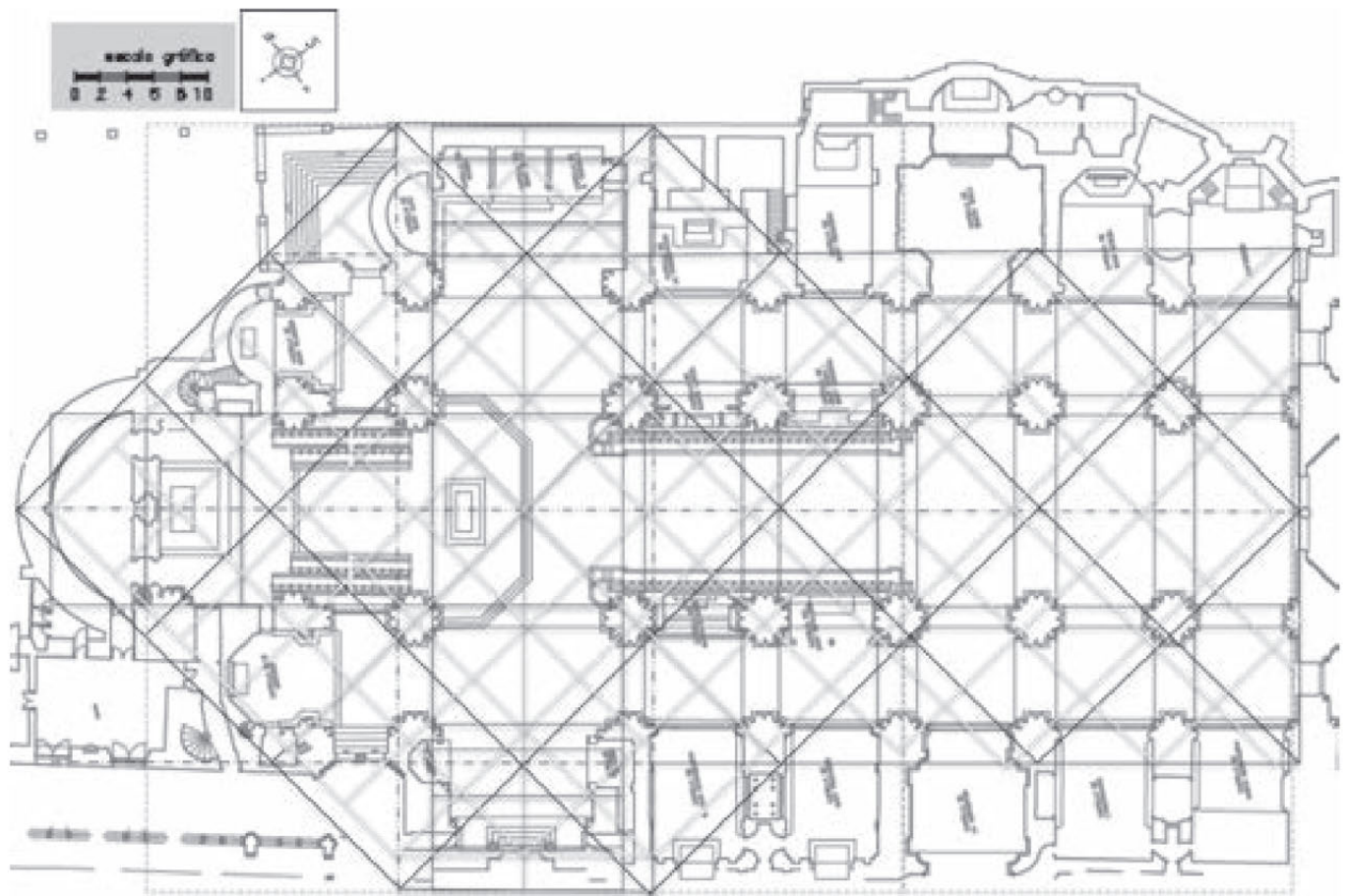
Fig. 5. Geometric design of Tarragona Cathedral, *ad triangulum, c.* 1165–70 (drawing Gerardo BOTO VARELA using underlying plan by Joan FIGUEROLA & Joan GAVALDÀ) (Plate 9)

was fairly widespread amongst Benedictine monastic communities[33] and is characterized by the use of large apses and a particularly wide transept. To this standard plan, they continue, the builders of the church in Tarragona superimposed pointed arches and rib vaults, thus replicating the tectonic solutions employed in the Cistercian churches. In this way, in the eyes of Puig i Cadafalch and of a fair number of subsequent authors, the church at Tarragona represents little more than a hybrid project that takes few risks and offers little in the way of new architectural solutions, and whose floor plan and height owe much to earlier monastic architecture.[34] This interpretation has proven a barrier to the recognition of Tarragona's church in international historiography. However, none of the analyses made to date have taken into account the project's overarching unity. Consequently, they have also failed to consider when

the plan of the whole complex was designed or when it started to be built. The parallels with the cathedral of Sigüenza have been indicated by historians, but should be further underlined. The planimetry of the east end of that church, with five staggered apses, bears features that were reproduced in the design then developed in Tarragona. Both cathedrals share the same unusual design *ad triangulum.*

Regardless of whether the anonymous architect in Tarragona made new breakthroughs in terms of spatial and tectonic solutions (we are after all in the same period when, for example, Master Mateo began his work on the crypt at the cathedral in Santiago de Compostela), the edifice is magnificent (in the words of Vicente Lampérez), solemn, and homogeneous. In my opinion, the patrons' uppermost concern was to emphasize these superlative qualities. The magnitude of the project demonstrates a desire to build a
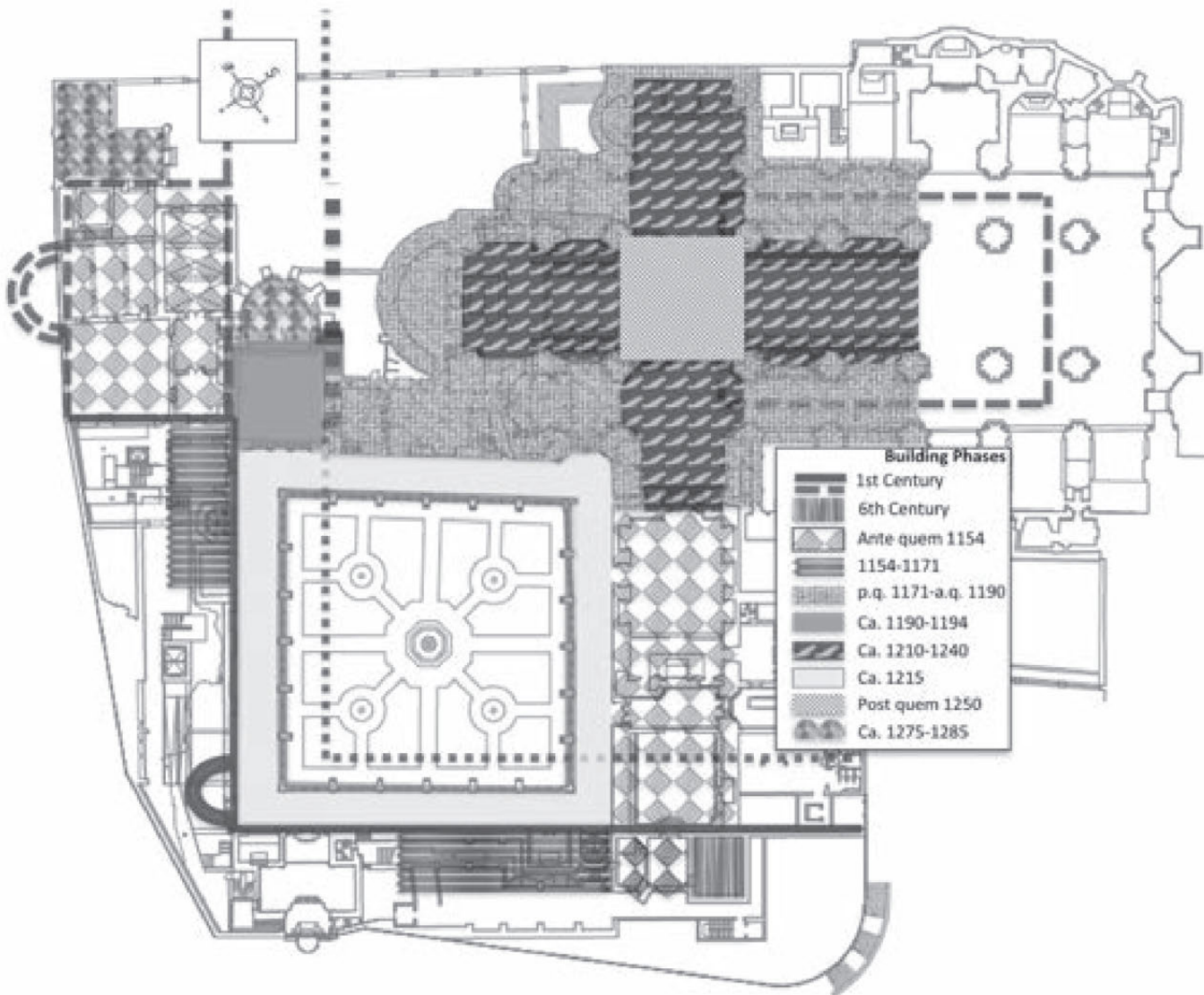
Fig. 6.   Diachronic evolution of building phases of Tarragona Cathedral, 1154–1285 (drawing Gerardo BOTO VARELA using underlying plan by Joan FIGUEROLA & Joan GAVALDÀ) (Plate 10)

physical monument whose grandeur would reflect the preeminent status of the diocese that Pope Urban II had bestowed, by means of the bull *Inter primas hispaniarum urbes*, on Berenguer Sunifré de Lluçà in 1091. By around 1170, the archbishop of Tarragona had commissioned or already possessed the plan for the church[35] because in that year the site had been marked out of what was to be for a time the largest church in the Iberian Peninsula. The actual construction work began in 1171 with the apse. The project, as an expression of the architecture of power, intentionally created a cathedral complex whose dimensions surpassed those of the mosque-cathedral of Toledo

and the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.[36] Here we can clearly see a desire to counter the ecclesiastic primacy of Toledo and to strengthen the archbishop's power over a city that he was still obliged to govern in conjunction with a military prince.

Modifications and Evolutions in the Construction of the Church and the Cloister

It seems that the construction of the cathedral had advanced significantly by 1184, if not before, because in that year an *operarius* or canon in charge of the

Fig. 7.   South transept and southern lateral apse, with double columns on each pillar, *c.* 1175–90 (photo Marta Serrano Coll)

masonry was administering the accounts that probably related to building work,[37] most likely that of the cathedral. Sometime after that, the design underwent significant changes. It has been said that these modifications altered the layout of the church and that only at this point would it have acquired a transept with parallel apses and three naves. Nevertheless, I have been unable to find any reflection of these changes in the construction of the interior walls, nor have I found any physical, morphological, or documentary evidence that would support this interpretation.[38] The layout of the cathedral of Tarragona, in accordance with its initial building plan, developed in a harmonious, homogenous, and uninterrupted manner from the very first courses of stonework to be laid out (except for occasional amendments to the exterior of the southern lateral apse) along the entire perimeter of the apse, the first sections of the naves, and, with a few holdups, the walls of the gable end at the building's entrance.

Nevertheless, the initial project was completely modified with regard to the volume, height, and structure of the vaults. The changes were decided upon when the exedra of the main presbytery had already been covered and when work was reaching its conclusion on the vaults of the intermediate lateral apses (Saint Mary of the Tailors and Saint John, later Saint Olegarius, probably already used for worship) and on the two first sections of the aisles.[39] The vaults of the intermediate lateral apses (and of the communicating door between the cloister and the church) are geometrically spherical on double circular transverse arches on both sides; in contrast, at the same moment, the two sections of the aisles were provided with vaulting using pointed arches with a prismatic profile and outer supporting arches on both sides. This ogival geometry was imposed as the only tectonic model after rethinking the architectural project. In order to girth the vaults of the intermediate lateral apses and the aforementioned sections of

the aisles, ribbed arches with simple cylindrical sections were used which were inserted in the fillings. Use of this type of ribbed arch with cylindrical vaults (lateral apses) and pointed vaults (lateral naves) is evidence that two vault designs were being used simultaneously.[40]

After the change in the project, the builders decided to use a cylindrical rib with a rectangular projection on the upper side. This formula confirms how the project was rethought. Ribbed arches with cylindrical sections and a rectangular projection were used in the vault of the main presbytery (Fig. 8), the vaults of the two transepts, and the five bays of the central nave up to the west façade. The use of this second type of rib indicates which sectors still lacked vaulting when the project was changed. The changes to the building's volume meant that the round arches were completely replaced by pointed arches, the semicircular rib vaults by pointed vaults, and the cylindrical diagonal ribs by ribs with mixed cylindrical and rectangular sections. Over a century was needed to complete the central nave roof and the process involved the same time-consuming system. The only possible explanation for such a decision is a desire for uniformity throughout the construction.[41] In contrast, the simple cylindrical ribs used to cover the first two bays of both lateral naves cannot be interpreted as an involution, but rather as evidence that they were constructed at the same as the lateral apses of Saint Olegarius and Saint Mary of the Tailors.

Patrons and constructors regarded the initial height proposed for the ribbed vault to be insufficient.[42] By the time the project needed to be changed, the northwest (N) and southeast (S) pillars and walls of the presbytery had already been completed to at least seven stone layers above the line of the capitals. Therefore, four windows on the north side were already built in the main apse, and the *oculus* and base of the bell tower on the south side. The desire to increase the height of the vaults necessitated building pillars and lateral stonework to support the roof over the two bays of the presbytery. This rectification raised the spring lines of the longitudinal arches and the vaults by some two and a half metres (which, due to their smaller size, is the same height as the seven courses on the south side). This increase was reflected in the wall above the round arch of the central exedra. On this wall the builders opened up a small and originally unintended oculus with a chequered pattern on

its central torus moulding. The modifications to the presbytery's lateral walls are also clear from the exterior on the northeast side buttresses (N).

In the transept, the change from the first project to the second can be observed in the break in the impost line that runs above the entrances of the intermediate side apses. The outline and dimensions of the tall window above the north apse chapel correspond exactly to those of the second project, as is evident in the way that the wall is constructed on both sides. From this viewpoint we can also clearly see that the vaults of the lateral apses and the walls of the central apse had been fully completed by the time the roof design was changed. As shown above, the location of the north apse and of the pillars that flank it have always been as we see them today, as has the corner pillar of the apse of the Tailors. To the left of this pillar and of the miniature apse dedicated to Saint Augustine, the wall continues to the end of the transept, on the corner of which is a door that was part of the original construction, although it was refurbished in the sixteenth century. On the cloister side, this wall runs from the right of the monumental marble entrance until it reaches the building that was used as a refectory, the initial dormitory, and the initial chapter house. Where these two structures run into each other can be clearly seen because of the manner in which their respective stonework layers are offset and the way in which uneven stones have been pressed into service to connect the two buildings to the right of the unobtrusive door that allows access to the corner of the transept.

The north corner of the transept represents the end of the cathedral church's first construction phase. The wall that runs from the miniature apse is not joined with the northwest (N) wall of the transept for the first four metres of its height. This makes perfect sense given that this stretch of the wall (which is crowned by a magnificent rose window) lines the outside of the southeast (S) wall of the first, multipurpose canonical building, which is now the chapel of the Holy Sacrament. By recovering the pre-existing wall, the builders closed off the window in its upper part. This, I am convinced, is unequivocal proof that when Bernat Tort constructed the multipurpose building (which limited the north transept's development), the church's topography still had to be decided upon. Whichever way one looks at it, one is forced to the same conclusion: the design and the execution of the cloistral area predate those of the cathedral (Fig. 9).

Fig. 8.   North transept, *c.* 1175–90, and vault of the main presbytery after modifications, *c.* 1200 (photo Marta Serrano Coll)

The cloister was finally closed off when the new chapter house was built on its eastern corner. The domestic rooms (refectory, choir room, dormitory) were united with the religious and functional spaces (chapter house, sacristy, and treasury room), and with a sacramental area; that is, the baptistery, located in the Roman exedra of the north corner next to a door giving direct access to the exterior.[43] The baptistery and marble entrance were located at opposite corners of the cloister and thus marked the furthest points of the processional circuit observed at Easter. To give protection to the patio's walkways, the screens of each gallery were built at the same time that the chapter house façade was being completed, around 1190–94,[44] beginning with the southeast (S) side and finishing with the southwest (W). The original, homogeneous project placed the capitals and cymatia in the order that we still see today. However, initially it was necessary to deal with the problem of the covering of the walkways. This challenge could only be achieved by rib vaulting due to the corner and

intermediate pillars. This was the solution that would be implemented at Fontfroide, Poblet, and Vallbona de les Monges. To support the ribs, the builders found themselves obliged to install corbels on the cloister's perimeter walls. The rib vaults are completely unrelated to the wall of Tort's multipurpose building, the offices of the sacristy, or the marble entrance. On the northeast (E) and northwest (N) sides, it was essential to cover the Roman walls (whose presence and dimensions compromised the cloistral project) with new Medieval walls, which allowed the corbels and longitudinal ribs to be inserted into the same wall and with the same dimensions as the course of stonework that held them. The construction of the vaults and their supports was begun at the southwest (W) gallery, continued along the southeast (S), and concluded with the remaining two galleries. The vault at the south (SW) corner needed to cover the full width of the marble entrance; however, it became clear that the initial location of the corner pillar of the galleries threatened to form a transverse rib that was set

Fig. 9.   Walkway in the cloister, with corner and intermediate pillars (*c.* 1190–95) and ribbed vaults on corbels (*c.* 1215) (photo Marta SERRANO COLL)

at too oblique an angle. To mitigate this threat, they dismantled and rebuilt the two sections of cloistral arches immediately adjacent to the corner.[45]

The year 1214 was crucial for the building work on the cloister. It is at this point that the *operi claustri Terrachonae* are mentioned again in a donation by Archbishop Ramon de Rocabertí, who bequeathed 1000 sueldos a year for the purpose. It is impossible to ignore the differences of interpretation surrounding this, including those regarding the works' funding. In my opinion, the design of the ribs and of the figures on the corbels corresponds to the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

To summarize, the cathedral of Tarragona, with its church, cloister, and offices is of the utmost importance both in terms of the development of the last phase of experimentation in Romanesque architecture and in terms of the organization and design of spaces for religious worship, liturgical perambulation, and clerical residence in Mediterranean cathedral complexes.

NOTES

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[1] Joan MENCHÓN, 'Tarragona, la antigua ciudad romana y la construcción de una ciudad medieval', in *El románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa. 1120–1180*, ed. Manuel CASTIÑEIRAS & Jordi CAMPS, Barcelona, 2008, pp. 47–53.

[2] Lawrence J. MCCRANK, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest: Robert Burdet and the Principality of Tarragona', in *Journal of Medieval History*, 7, 1981, pp. 67–82.

[3] The donation from 1117 mentions the level of destruction: *quae diu per multos annos sub destructione, et eremo absque cultore, et incolatu mansit*. Henrique FLÓREZ, *España Sagrada. Contiene las memorias antiguas eclesiásticas de la Santa Iglesia de Tarragona*, vol. 25, Madrid, 1770, p. 219; Lawrence J. MCCRANK, 'Tarragona

Medieval: reconquista y restauración', in *Butlletí Arqueològic*, 19–20, 1997–98, pp. 207–08. In 1118, a bull issued by Gelasius II evokes its former metropolitan status: '*Tarrachonensis Civitatis Ecclesiam insignem olim fuisse Metropolim*'. FLÓREZ, *España Sagrada*, vol. 25, p. 221. The latest excavations in the interior of the cathedral of Tarragona in 2010–11 show that the temple was at least 43 m long. Joaquín RUIZ DE ARBULO, 'El altar y el templo de Augusto en la Colonia Tarraco. Estado de la cuestión', in *Fora Hispaniae. Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*, ed. José Miguel NOGUERA, Murcia, 2009, pp. 155–89.

[4] Joan MENCHÓN, Josep M. MACIAS & Andreu MUÑOZ, 'Aproximació al procés transformador de la ciutat de *Tarraco*. Del Baix Imperi a l'Edat Mitjana', in *Pyrenae*, 25, 1994, pp. 225–43; Joan FIGUEROLA & Joan GAVALDÀ, 'Plan director de la catedral de Tarragona', in *Ars Sacra. Revista del Patrimonio cultural de la Iglesia*, 16, 2000, pp. 107–23; Joan GAVALDÀ, Joan MENCHÓN & Joan FIGUEROLA, 'La catedral de Tarragona. Obres de restauració i treball arqueològic', in *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval*, 14, 2002, pp. 75–107; Joan MENCHÓN, Inmaculada TEIXELL, Josep M. MACIAS & Andreu MUÑOZ, 'La catedral de Tarragona: trabajos arqueológicos derivados del Plan Director', in *Jornadas sobre Catedrales*, Alcalá de Henares, 2002; Josep M. MACIAS, Joan MENCHÓN, Andreu MUÑOZ & Immaculada TEIXELL, 'Excavaciones Arqueológicas en la catedral de Tarragona (2000–2002)', in *Arqueología de la Arquitectura*, 2, 2003, pp. 167–75; Francesc BOSCH et al., 'La transformació urbanística de l'acròpolis de Tarracona', in *VI Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica: les ciutats tardoantigues d'Hispania: cristianització i topografia: València, 8, 9 i 10 de maig de 2003*, ed. Josep M. GURT ESPARRAGUERA & Albert RIBERA LACOMBA, Barcelona, 2005, pp. 167–74; Joan FIGUEROLA et al., *La Catedral de Tarragona. In Sede, 10 anys del Pla Director de Restauració*, Tarragona, 2007; Josep M. MACIAS et al., *Praesidium, templum et ecclesia. Les intervencions arqueològiques a la catedral de Tarragona 2010–2011*, Tarragona, 2012. Josep M. MACIAS et al., 'La construcción del recinto imperial de Tarraco (provincia Hispania Citerior)', in *Butlletí Arqueològic*, V, 32, 2010, pp. 423–80, p. 440 suggested that the 'axial room' was the *aedes* where the provincial council or *Concilium Provinciae* held its meetings. A series of epigraphs were set into the sides of the Roman building and these were added to in the twelfth century when the lateral wall of the 'axial room' was converted for Christian use and adorned with the funerary epigraphs dedicated to the canons.

[5] Emili MORERA I LLAURADÓ, *Tarragona cristiana: historia del arzobispado de Tarragona y del territorio de su provincia (Cataluña la Nueva)*, vol. 1, Tarragona, 1867 (2nd ed. Tarragona, 1997), p. 355; FLÓREZ, *España Sagrada*, 26, pp. 213–14. It would be another thirty years before the city was finally reconquered. However, in 1086 Alfonso VI had made Bernardo de Sedirac the new archbishop of Toledo. It was Urban II who invested him in 1088 and returned Toledo to its status as the primary see in *Hispania*. The following year, the Pope bestowed the *pallium* to the archbishop of Tarragona, which would eventually enable that diocese to claim primacy. I believe that it is no coincidence that Bernardo de Sedirac, acting as papal legate, should have called the provinces of Tarragona and Narbonne to the council in 1097 in Girona, while Berenguer Sunifré was still alive. Toledo wished to impose its pri-

macy over the ambitious city of Tarragona, which by that time had not been reconquered.

⁶ According to Lluis Pons d'Icart, *Libro de las Grandezas y cosas memorables de la metropolitana, insigne y famosa ciudad de Tarragona*, Lérida, 1572–1573 (2ⁿᵈ ed. Tarragona, 1981), p. 150, Archbishop Olegario requested and obtained from Innocent II a bull that obliged all of the suffragans to contribute to the cost of the church works, which, as Pons stated, were instigated by Olegario. This requirement is also mentioned in Emili Morera i Llauradó, *Tarragona antigua y moderna. Descripción histórico-arqueológica de todos sus monumentos y edificios públicos civiles, eclesiásticos y militares y guía para su facil visita, examen é inspección*, Tarragona 1894, p. 64, and in Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Antoni Falguera & Josep Goday, *Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, vol. 3/1, Barcelona, 1918, p. 197.

⁷ The bull addressed to *Ecclesiae Tarraconensis episcopis suffraganeis scribit* states *pro ecclesia eius reedificanda eleemosynas det ac defensione Christianitates operam navet*. The *Índex Vell* (*Índex Vell. Índex dels documents de l'arxiu de l'Arquebisbe 1679. 1ª part*, ed. Salvador Ramón Vinyes & Francesc Xavier Ricomà Vendrell, Tarragona, 1997, doc. 430, p. 114) mentions a copy of the bull issued by Lucius II *ab que acomana la yglésia de Tarragona a don Gregori ab la forma de la precedent* and refers to the bull issued by Gelasius II to Oleguer on 21 March 1131. Morera, *Tarragona cristiana*, vol. 1, p. 565. I am unable to confirm the existence of this document.

⁸ Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, vol. 19, Madrid, 1851, p. 215.

⁹ Eduardo Carrero, 'La topografia claustral de las catedrales del Burgo de Osma, Sigüenza y Tarragona en el contexto del Tardorrománico Hispano', in *La cabecera de la Catedral calceatense y el Tardorrománico hispano*, Logroño, 2000, pp. 389–417, esp. p. 393.

¹⁰ Josep M. Macias, Joan J. Menchón, Andreu Muñoz & Immaculada Teixell, 'L'arqueologia de la catedral de Tarragona. La memòria de les pedres', in *La Catedral de Tarragona. In Sede, 10 anys del Pla Director de Restauració*, ed. Joan Figuerola Mestre, Joan C. Gavaldà Bordes, Josep M. Macias Solé, Joan J. Menchón Bes, Andreu Muñoz Melgar, Immaculada Teixell Navarro & Quim Vendrell Moreno, Tarragona, 2007, p. 204. Josep M. Macias, Joan J. Menchón, Andreu Muñoz & Immaculada Teixell, 'De seu del Concili Provincial a Seu Metropolitana. Treballs arqueològics a la Catedral de Tarragona (2000–2003)', in *Arqueologia Medieval. Revista catalana d'Arqueologia Medieval*, 3, 2007, p. 22.

¹¹ Tarragona's cathedral complex is not oriented in the standard manner, but rather offset 45 degrees to the south. Consequently, features that in most cathedrals would usually be found in the east can be found in the northeast in Tarragona. Likewise, the north in most other cathedrals corresponds to the northwest in Tarragona, the south to the southeast, and the apse of the church points to the northeast. Given the resulting difficulty when trying to work out the real cardinal points, I will indicate in parentheses the cardinal point used in most Medieval constructions, since these were also used by other writers who have discussed the complex.

¹² The joint construction in the same atrium of *orrea, cellaria, domus, domicilia* and *apoteca* or *abotecis* was a feature of monas-

tery building from the early Middle Ages. Perfecto Rodríguez Fernández, 'El hórreo en la diplomática medieval asturiana en latín (s. VIII–XII)', in *Aula Abierta*, 41–41, 1984, pp. 97–114. *Horrea* were to be found associated with buildings of worship during Late Antiquity. This is the interpretation given to the single-nave church with a cruciform baptismal pool (6ᵗʰ–7ᵗʰ centuries), located in El Saucedo (Talavera la Nueva, Toledo), see: Rafael Barroso, Jesús Carrobles & Jorge Morín, 'La articulación del territorio toledano entre la Antigüedad tardía y la Alta Edad Media (ss. IV al VIII d.C.)', in *Visigodos y Omeyas: El territorio*, ed. Luis Caballero, Pedro Mateos & Tomás Cordero, Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología, 61, Madrid, 2012, pp. 263–304. In the port of Tarraco during Late Antiquity, a residence was built close to some old imperial *horrea*. Ricardo Mar & José J. Guidi-Sánchez, 'Formación y usos del espacio urbano tardoantiguo en Tarraco', in *Actas del I Congreso Internacional Toledo. Espacios urbanos en el occidente Mediterráneo (s.VI–VII)*, ed. Alfonso García, Toledo, Madrid, 2010, pp. 173–82. The first to propose that provisions and associated equipment were stored at a lower level were Josep M. Macias, Joan J. Menchón, Andreu Muñoz & Immaculada Teixell, 'La arqueología de la catedral de Tarragona', p. 277.

¹³ On the side that looks onto the cloister, the multi-purpose building (now the chapel of the Holy Sacrament) shows no sign of ever having had a chapter house façade composed of a door flanked by windows such as that found in the tenth-century cloister at Ripoll, for example. The fact that the building in Tarragona never had such a façade indicates that its use as a chapter house was only intended to be temporary and would cease as soon as the chapter house proper was constructed.

¹⁴ This error comes down to us from the words of the humanist Icart: '[Tort] féu fer y edificar lo castell que-s diu ara del Archebisbe [...] y al peu del dit castell feu edificar una capella sots invocació de Sta. Maria, y en aquella los canonges tots dies feyen los officis divinals, y los diumenges y festes los feyen en la sglésia de Sta. Tecla la Vella' ('Tort had the castle built, which is now called the Archbishop's [...] and at the foot of this castle he had a chapel built and dedicated to Saint Mary, and in it the canons engage in the divine offices every day'). The archbishop's palace, also known as the Patriarch's castle, remained standing until at least 1813. This building was outside the cathedral to the south (SW). José Sánchez Real, 'El archiepiscopologio de Luis Pons de Icart', *Real Sociedad Arqueológica Tarraconense*, Tarragona, 1954, pp. 68–69. I am indebted to Esther Lozano for this reference and clarification. Regarding the terms, see: 'Fortia', in Carolo Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, vol. 3, Paris, 1844, p. 375; 'Munitio', in Carolo Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, vol. 5, Niort, 1885, p. 549.

¹⁵ Tort declared: *instituo iterum ut in omnibus diebus Dominicis et praecipuis festivitatibus majores missae, quae cantantur in hora diey tertia, in ecclesia, Sanctae Teclae celebrentur. Concilia quoque atque consacrationes Pontificum in eadem ecclesia Sanctae Teclae nichilominus celebrentur. Instituo iterum quod quandocunque Archiepiscopus in refectorio cum canonicis comedere voluerit, cum capellano suo tantum ingrediatur, atque apponatur ei soli de omnibus cibis quantum apponitur duobus canonicis*. Villanueva, *Viage literario*, vol. 19, pp. 215–16. María Marí, *Exposició cronologicohistòrica*

dels noms i dels fets dels arquebisbes de Tarragona: Llibre II, Tarragona 1999, pp. 118–20. The first mention of Saint Thecla appears in the papal bull of 1091, but the dedication of the church to this saint first occurs only in 1151. Meritxell PÉREZ MARTÍNEZ, 'La Invenció (*inventio*) del culte a Santa Tecla en la Tarragona d'època medieval', in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 50, 2006, pp. 21–58, esp. p. 43 and 54.

[16] In 1933, Serra Vilaró carried out various studies in the area of the axial room of the holy precinct in order to locate the Visigothic cathedral. Joan SERRA VILARÓ, *Santa Tecla la Vieja. La primitiva catedral de Tarragona*, Tarragona, 1960, p. 63 and passim. Theodor HAUSCHILD, 'La muralla y el recinto superior romano de Tarragona', in *Butlletí Arqueològic*, V, 4–5, 1983, pp. 101–39. Theodor HAUSCHILD, 'Algunas observaciones sobre la construcción de la sala-aula situada detrás de la Catedral de Tarragona', in *Tarraco. Construcció i arquitectura d'una capital provincial romana. Actes del congrés internacional en Homenatge a Theodor Hauschild*, ed. Jordi LÓPEZ & Óscar MARTÍN, vol. 1, Tarragona, 2009, pp. 313–44, supports Serra and believes that 'this place was [most likely] used as an episcopal basilica during the early Christian and Visigothic periods'. Ricardo MAR, Joaquin RUIZ DE ARBULO & David VIVÓ, 'Los genios de los *conventus iuridici* y el lugar de reuniones del *concilium provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*. ¿Una "curia" de uso provincial en Tarraco?', in *Anejos de Archivo español de arqueología*, 67, 2013, pp. 25–42.

[17] Ángel DEL ARCO, *La primitiva catedral de Tarragona. Santa Tecla la Vieja. Estudio Arqueológico*, Tarragona, 1914.

[18] From 1275 to 1285, Archbishop Bernat d'Olivella (1272–87) constructed the episcopal funerary chapel that is joined to the south wall of the axial room and which we now know by the name of *the Old* Saint Thecla. This building is, however, the most modern in the cathedral complex. The name can only be explained by the fact that this longitudinal construction created a funerary area juxtaposed to Bernat Tort's cathedral, since *the Old* Saint Thecla would only have been referred to in this manner once *the New* Saint Thecla was in existence. Subsequently, when the dilapidated Roman building consecrated as Saint Thecla was altered in the collective memory, the contiguous funerary chapel came to be called 'Santa Tecla la Vieja'. Emma LIAÑO, 'Tarragona. La catedral', in *Cataluña/1. La España gótica*, ed. Joan SUREDA, Madrid, 1987, p. 107 dates this building to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

[19] HAUSCHILD, 'Algunas observaciones sobre la construcción de la sala-aula', pp. 313–44.

[20] Marta SERRANO & Esther LOZANO, 'La catedral de Tarragona en el siglo XII. Espacios de memoria y audiencias', in *Materia y acción en las catedrales medievales (s. IX–XIII): construir, decorar, celebrar*, ed. Gerardo BOTO & César GARCÍA DE CASTRO (forthcoming).

[21] In 1167, Pere Queralt, brother-in-law of Bishop Hugo de Cervelló and monk of Poblet, donated *mille solitos ad ecclesiam Sancte Tecle faciendam*. MORERA I LLAURADÓ, *Tarragona cristiana*, vol. 1, p. 699 refers to the 'Codex Poblet', doc. CCXXXIV, fol. 152v (I follow the numeration used in the Cartulari de Poblet, edited by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in 1938; the document is kept in the Public Library of Tarragona). According to Morera 'en otros testamentos análogos constan legados de menos

importancia, hasta de 1 o 2 sueldos, y aún de 6 dineros, para contribuir a dichas obras' ('other similar testaments show smaller bequests of 1 or 2 sueldos, even of 6 dineros, to contribute to the works').

[22] Inexplicably, the terms of the will of Hugo de Cervelló were attributed to Bernat Tort in Gerardo BOTO & Esther LOZANO, 'Les lieux des images historiées aux galeries du cloître de la cathédrale de Tarragone', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 56, 2013, p. 340. A slight error affected note 9. The rectification is as follows: 'En 1171 un accord est signé entre Alphonse II et le chapitre cathédrale *ad opus canonice claustralis*: MORERA i LLAURADÓ, *Tarragona cristiana*, vol. 1, ap. 27 (2nd ed. 1981)'. This error, which is regretted, does not alter the article's thesis in any way.

[23] VILLANUEVA, *Viage literario*, vol. 19, p. 106 and 266. *Incipiendum* (future passive participle, so gerundive) means 'which is to be begun'; *faciendas* (also gerundive) means 'which is to be done or made'; that is, the work on the church should be initiated and canonical offices be made. The terminological difference is a hint: if the building of the church was already underway, this implies that the plan for a new cathedral had already been designed on parchment, or even on the ground; if the adjacent offices should still be built, this may mean that they had not yet been designed. Thus, the concept has taken shape *ante quem* 1171, during the prelature of Hugo de Cervelló. It was the archbishop who, ultimately, supervised and approved the design, along with the chapter dignitaries.

[24] An examination of the faces of the walls shows that the apse, sacristy, and treasury were built simultaneously. However, from the exterior (currently the new sacristy), it can clearly be seen that the southwest (W) chapter house wall was built after the southeast (S) treasury wall. We cannot rule out the possibility that for one or two decades this space may have been used to cross from the cloister to the axial room. In any case, it was certainly the axial room entrance portico and access point. I believe that it was used as a hall providing axial room access — the first cathedral of Saint Thecla (*the Old*) while this was in use between approximately 1150 and 1190. During this period, no work was carried out on either the design or construction of the chapter house. It is my conviction that the use of this space as a chapter house did not occur until later. Its façade was built at the same time as the cloister's arcades. This delay in establishing the space's intended use and the design employed in its entrance and roof may also be seen from the cloister's garden: the construction of the upper floor of the sacristy with its splayed windows is not consistent with the high walls of the chapter house, which emerge above the cloister's vaults. These walls and the pointed barrel vault roof that they support were built after the sacristy. Closing off this hall by building the façade of the chapter house (using a traditional composition) would also have closed off entrances to the now unused *Old* Saint Thecla. Thus, the construction of the northeast (E) wall of the definitive chapter house would have closed off one of the side doors of the 'axial room' (see HAUSCHILD, 'Algunas observaciones sobre la construcción de la sala-aula', p. 318).

[25] It can be stated, however, that the door's external right column and the corresponding section of the socle were moved to provide better support for the rib that rests on them, as well as that the doorway was not originally constructed with this in mind;

the capital and the cymatium of the external column were also substituted for the same reasons.

[26] The vertical gap is between the southwest (W) edge of the sacristy and the stonework that holds the stairwell. It is of the same height as the limit of the upper floor of the sacristy, which was accessed by a spiral staircase displaying excellent stereotomy and which stood in place of the current one, and the north corner of the straight section of the main presbytery, where a trimmed buttress is located.

[27] This room with diaphragm arches must have been constructed during this period; it was built adjoining the northwest Roman wall and has been interpreted as the choir room by Marta SERRANO, 'San Nicolás plural: el lugar del santo obispo en el claustro catedralicio de Tarragona', in *Codex Aquilarensis*, 30, 2014, pp. 225–58.

[28] I repeat that an examination of the door shows that it was not taken from another location, nor were materials from elsewhere reused, despite the assertions of some authors (Emma LIAÑO, 'Tarragona. La catedral', p. 111; Emma LIAÑO, *La portada principal de la catedral de Tarragona y su programa iconográfico*, Tarragona 1989, p. 44; Elizabeth VALDEZ DEL ÁLAMO, 'Tarragona: Lieu de mémoire', *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, Special Issue *Romanesque and the Past* [2013], pp. 143–55). The door shows no sign of having been improvised or adapted to the place that it occupies. The tympanum was sculpted specifically for the place it occupies and determined the light of the aperture, which by the same token is consistent with the architectural structure of the apse onto which the door opens. The door was installed as we see it today around 1175–80 because it is a central and inherent element of the construction of the cloistral offices built in accordance with the provisions of Hugo de Cervelló's will. In terms of their form, the capitals bear no relation to the Saint Thecla altar frontal. The stylistic links of this frontal are to be found in the capitals and cymatia of the galleries, as was argued by Esther Lozano and Marta Serrano. The corner columns of the marble entrance were moved a few centimetres during the first decades of the thirteenth century to support the transversal ribs. The clearly visible adjustment was necessary because the builders of the cloister's screens failed to take into account the demands that ribbed vaulting would make on the structure. The adjustment necessitated the execution of a capital and a polygonal cymatium on the left side and a polygonal cymatium on the right. The same type was also used in one of the capitals in the southwest (W) corner of the cloister. This corner was dismantled and reassembled at an angle to ensure that it would be able to support ribs which had not formed part of the original design when the screens were built. This is further demonstrated by the fact that the corbels are not contemporaneous with the capitals, but were added later. The modifications to the corner of the cloister gallery and the marble entrance were contemporaneous. This has been the only alteration made to the marble entrance throughout its history.

[29] Josep M. MACIAS et al., 'La construcción del recinto imperial de Tarraco', pp. 440–41 and 453. The authors also point out that this axiality enabled the catedral to take advantage of the Roman steps in front.

[30] Nancy Y. WU, *Ad Quadratum: The Practical Application of Geometry in Medieval Architecture*, Aldershot, 2002.

[31] The sacristy was accessed from the southeast (S) gallery of the cloister by a small and now blocked doorway to the left of the vertical gap. Three metres to the west there was a second door giving access via a turning passage to the main presbytery. This passage, which runs around the back of the apse of the Tailors, also forms part of the original building work, as can still be seen in the stonework of the walls, the mason's marks, the vault, and the archway (even though some of the ashlars and lintels have been cut away). The end of the passage splits off to allow access to the presbytery and the sacristy. The third opening in the wall is that of the marble entrance. Finally, in the southwest (W) wall of the cloister, the passage opens up the corner of the north transept. Each of the entrances was used for different purposes (respectively: A celebrants and acolytes to the main altar; B chapter members; C cathedral congregation from the apse of the Tailors; D celebrants and acolytes to Saint Augustine's altar) and different daily rituals, hence their location, dimensions, and uneven visual prominence. Unusually, there are no doors in the cathedral's transepts (although one was belatedly installed in the north transept). Nobody was to enter through there.

[32] Leopoldo TORRES BALBÁS, 'Iglesias del siglo XII al XIII con columnas gemelas en sus pilares', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 76, 1946; 2nd ed. in Leopoldo TORRES BALBÁS, *Obra dispersa. Estudios diversos sobre arquitectura y arqueología*, vol. 10, Madrid, 1985, pp. 81–123, esp. pp. 112–13.

[33] Puig i Cadafalch postulated a Norman genealogy for the floor plan, in the same vein as Piferrer and Morera. This was ruled out by Vicente LAMPÉREZ, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la Edad Media*, vol. 2, Madrid, 1909, p. 359.

[34] PUIG I CADAFALCH, FALGUERA & GODAY, *Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, 3/1, pp. 197–203.

[35] PUIG I CADAFALCH, FALGUERA & GODAY, *Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, vol. 3/1, p. 202 stated that work was initiated by Hugo de Cervelló, in line with Villanueva's thesis, which they do not cite. They assert that the initial cathedral project (with only one apse) began in 1171, LIAÑO, 'Tarragona. La catedral', p. 98; Emma LIAÑO, 'La catedral de Tarragona', in *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Arquitectura I*, Barcelona, 2002, p. 65. I agree with the view that work started in 1171, but I do not believe that the initial project lacked the lateral apses or crossing. Archaeological analysis and the identification of the church's geometric plan confirm that all these elements formed part of a single, overarching project.

[36] The cathedral of Tarragona is 98 metres long from the east end to the façade and 56 metres wide from one side of the transept to the other; Santiago de Compostela is 96.5 metres long, including the Pórtico de la Gloria, and 66 metres wide from one side of the transept to the other. The central nave at Tarragona is 26 metres high (not including the dome of 12 metres) and 16.5 metres wide. The lateral naves are 13 metres high and 8.25 metres wide.

[37] Bula de Lucio III. MORERA, *Tarragona cristiana*, vol. 1, pp. 603–04, 699. Laurence J. McCRANK, *Restoration and Reconquest in Medieval Catalonia: The Church and Principality of Tarragona, 971–1177*, doctoral thesis, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1974, p. 573.

[38] According to LIAÑO, 'La catedral de Tarragona', p. 66, these changes were caused by pressing social and financial problems.

Liaño points to a document from 1214 that indicates a legal dispute between the archbishop and the townspeople and that the donations given by the townspeople for the cathedral's construction were voluntary. The *Índex Vell* (*Índex Vell. Índex dels documents*, doc. 177, p. 49) mentions a lawsuit, dated 31 August 1214, in which the townspeople called for various things, including more places of worship. However, no mention is made of voluntary donations, although it does state: 'aquí se tracta de les scholes, de notaris, de batismes, dels mercats y de altres coses' ('here, the schools, notaries, baptisms, the markets and other things are dealt with').

[39] The change to the project may have occurred at the end of the twelfth century. It is more difficult to imagine, as is proposed by Morera, that the entire shell, including the façade walls and its side doors, had been built by the time of Archbishop Vilademuls' death in 1193. See the study by Marc Sureda in this volume.

[40] The chronological relationship between the walls of the main presbytery (and its immediately adjacent lateral apses) and the first sections of the lateral naves can also be clearly seen in the similarities between the sculpture on their respective capitals (which cannot be seen in other parts of the church).

[41] After the third section of the lateral naves, the builders used double torus ribbing on the corner profiles and a decorated frieze in the middle, in contrast to the vaults in the rest of the church and the cloister.

[42] Puig i Cadafalch, Falguera & Goday, *Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, vol. 3/1, p. 202 agree with Lampérez that a line of capitals over a double column and beneath a triangular pillar marks the height of the vaults in the initial plan and the point at which it was changed. In their opinion, the vaults in the presbytery and the transept date from the prelature of Rocabertí (1199–1215). Torres Balbás, 'Iglesias del siglo XII', p. 113 points out that under Rocabertí the volume of the church was changed

and raised and that the crossing would have been completed by the first third of the thirteenth century. Lampérez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana*, vol. 2, pp. 358–59 believes that by 1250 only the main presbytery had been built up to its transversal arches and that the crossing was roofed over in wood. He dates the naves to 1230–72 and asserts that they are deliberately archaic in order to ensure a uniform style. Puig specifies that ten vaults were executed before 1266, the year of Ramon de Milà's death. Archbishop Aragón consecrated the church in 1331. Puig details the construction of the naves throughout the thirteenth century, Liaño, 'Tarragona. La catedral', pp. 100–05.

[43] An explanation of this interpretation is given in Boto & Lozano, 'Les lieux des images historiées', pp. 355–64.

[44] Esther Lozano López & Marta Serrano Coll, 'Patronage in the cathedral of Tarragona: Cultural and Residential Spaces', in *Romanesque Art: Patronage and Processes*, British Archaeological Association (forthcoming) have shown that heraldry sited on several cymantiums could just be sculpted between 1193 and 1197. Consequently, arcades of cloister galleries began to be built around 1190.

[45] Villard de Honnecourt recorded in his celebrated portfolio (fol. 20) a practice that had been frequently seen in the construction of cloisters since the eleventh century, if not before: '[P]ar chu fait om on clostre autretant es voies com el prael' ('This is how a cloister is made. The galleries have the same area as the garth'). In the cloister at Tarragona, 50 per cent of the total area corresponds to some walkways that have exactly the same width as the marble entrance. When the cloister walls were built, the width of these walkways was reduced, so that the resulting proportions were 60 per cent garth and 40 per cent walkway. However, this reasonable decision skewed the lancet arches on the southeast and southwest corners due to the façade of the chapter house and, above all, the marble entrance.

III

Romanesque Cathedrals in Urban Contexts

The Cathedral of Toulouse (1070–1120)
An Ecclesiastical, Political, and Artistic Manifesto

Quitterie Cazes

Abstract

Since late Antiquity, Toulouse Cathedral has been situated next to the eastern city gate, which as such is overlooked and controlled by it. In 1073, when the cathedral chapter was reformed, Bishop Isarn undertook the church's reconstruction. The vestiges of this church still enable us to admire its scope. Furthermore, the bishop donated the means for their common life to the canons by starting to build the cloister and rooms for their use (dormitory, refectory, chapter house, school), all arranged in a specific quarter separate from the rest of the town. The architectural features of these buildings are based on well-known examples such as Saint-Sernin and Moissac, but their forms and dimensions are clearly defined by the existing topography. From what is known of the iconographic programme, the ambitions of their promoter, a fervent advocate of contemporaneous church reform, can be deferred. The choice of the sculptor Gilabertus also illuminates the radical changes that took place at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The Origins of Toulouse Cathedral

The cathedral of Saint-Étienne (Saint Stephen) in Toulouse, whose origins probably date back to the fourth century, was located inside the walls that had defined the Roman city, near the eastern gate. The exact origin of the episcopal complex remains unknown, but it is likely that there were two churches dedicated to Saint Stephen and Saint James, as mentioned in an 844 Charles the Bald charter. Thus, we can probably date the construction of these buildings to late Antiquity. In the same period, the church of La Daurade *intramuros* and the funeral basilicas of Saint-Sernin and Saint-Pierre-des-Cuisines *extramuros* reflect the Christianization of the city. Their construction is probably contemporary with the destruction of the city's main temple, the Capitol, which is dated to around 400 AD.[1] These four churches were decisive in the urbanization that occurred after the Roman

period. Jean Catalo has shown how Toulouse's Roman streets gradually disappeared in favour of axes that connected these three religious centres and the city gates.[2]

The appearance of the earliest cathedral is not known; we do know, however, that the church was altered by Carolingian liturgical developments, as is evidenced by four altar screen slab fragments now preserved in the Musée des Augustins.[3] The other church of the episcopal complex, dedicated to Saint James, was rebuilt during the early Middle Ages, with its foundations partly formed of 'large blocks of white marble still held together by clamps', according to Alexander du Mège, the archaeologist who witnessed its demolition in 1811. This is part of the evidence suggesting that an Antique temple podium was reused for this church's foundations. Moreover, during the demolition, the discovery of marble columns,[4] one of which still had its capital, suggested that the first

church from the fourth or fifth century AD had the form of a basilica with rows of columns. In addition, the building façade is partly preserved and shows various construction periods. The oldest vestiges, made of brick layers, are found on the southwest corner. These are intersected by a wall made of reused materials that can be dated to the early Middle Ages. Another section of masonry, made entirely of brick and including a window, is attributable to the twelfth or thirteenth century based on the form and design of the brickwork.[5]

The Romanesque Cathedral

From the second half of the eleventh century, Medieval Toulouse began to take shape as the capital of a vast territory ruled by a count who had been won over by the Gregorian Reform. From the first half of the twelfth century, the main city nodes became consolidated. The Château Narbonnais in the south, which had been the city gate in Antiquity, was the seat of the counts' power. Outside the town to the north, a Bourg had sprung up around the basilica of Saint-Sernin, which would be surrounded by several successive walls. Between the city and the Bourg stood the town hall, where the municipal magistrates or *consuls* of Toulouse would meet during the Middle Ages. Around Saint-Étienne was the bishop's and canons' district, which, at nearly ten acres, was rather large. Yet this quarter, whose boundaries are known from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century, remained separated from the rest of the city by a wall and did not affect city planning.

The 1070s saw the start of large-scale ecclesiastical construction projects, first and foremost of which were the basilica of Saint-Sernin and the cathedral of Saint-Étienne. Regarding the cathedral, we are unusually well informed about the chapter's reform, which Bishop Isarn introduced from 1073,

> with the consent and under the immunity of our glorious Count [...] of Toulouse, also with the counsel of Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, propagator of monastic discipline, and with the help and cooperation of venerable Hunaud, Abbot of Moissac, along with the willingness and spontaneous submission of certain clerics living here together.[6]

It is important to note here the very early date of the chapter's reform, the involvement of the count of Toulouse (who renounced the right to choose the bishop, whose election now devolved to the canons), as well as the presence of Hugh of Cluny, then legate to Pope Gregory VII. It should also be mentioned that certain canons 'spontaneously' agreed, which implies the categorical refusal of others. In the same text, Isarn deplored 'the ancient ruin of most of the walls [of this church]'. The precise state of the cathedral at that time is uncertain, but we do know that he then undertook to rebuild it completely.

The architecture of the cathedral today is rather disconcerting, because it contains the remnants of successive unfinished buildings (Fig. 1). To the west are three bays of a wide nave, with large intersecting rib vaults covering a single large span of about twenty metres, belonging to a church built in the first half of the thirteenth century. To the east, an immense choir fifty metres long was rebuilt from the year 1275, with architectural references borrowed from Northern Gothic.

The Gothic masonry was built on top of that of the Romanesque cathedral. To the west are the remnants of the towers that flanked the façade, as well as the beginnings of the nave whose walls included some oculi along the bottom (at least on the eastern side) and tall windows in the tribunes (upper stories over the aisles). The width of the Romanesque nave (twenty metres) suggests that it consisted of three aisles. To the east, the southern wall of the Gothic choir was built on top of the wall of the Romanesque nave, which is preserved to a height of almost seven metres. This wall shows the corbels of the Romanesque cloister roof and two doors that connected the interior of the church with the cloister gallery. Towards the west, there is a door that was rebuilt at least twice, and to the east, a door whose jambs were made of stone rather than brick. The space between these two doors probably marked the boundary between the choir and the nave.

We can therefore reconstitute a building about eighty-five metres long, without a transept; the form of the apse remains unknown. The two pieces of a wall discovered in 1983 and 1991 do not, in fact, enable a more precise reconstruction; the ensemble is difficult to date. Construction began both with the western façade, made of reused bricks, and the nave, with oculi made of alternating stone and brick (as at
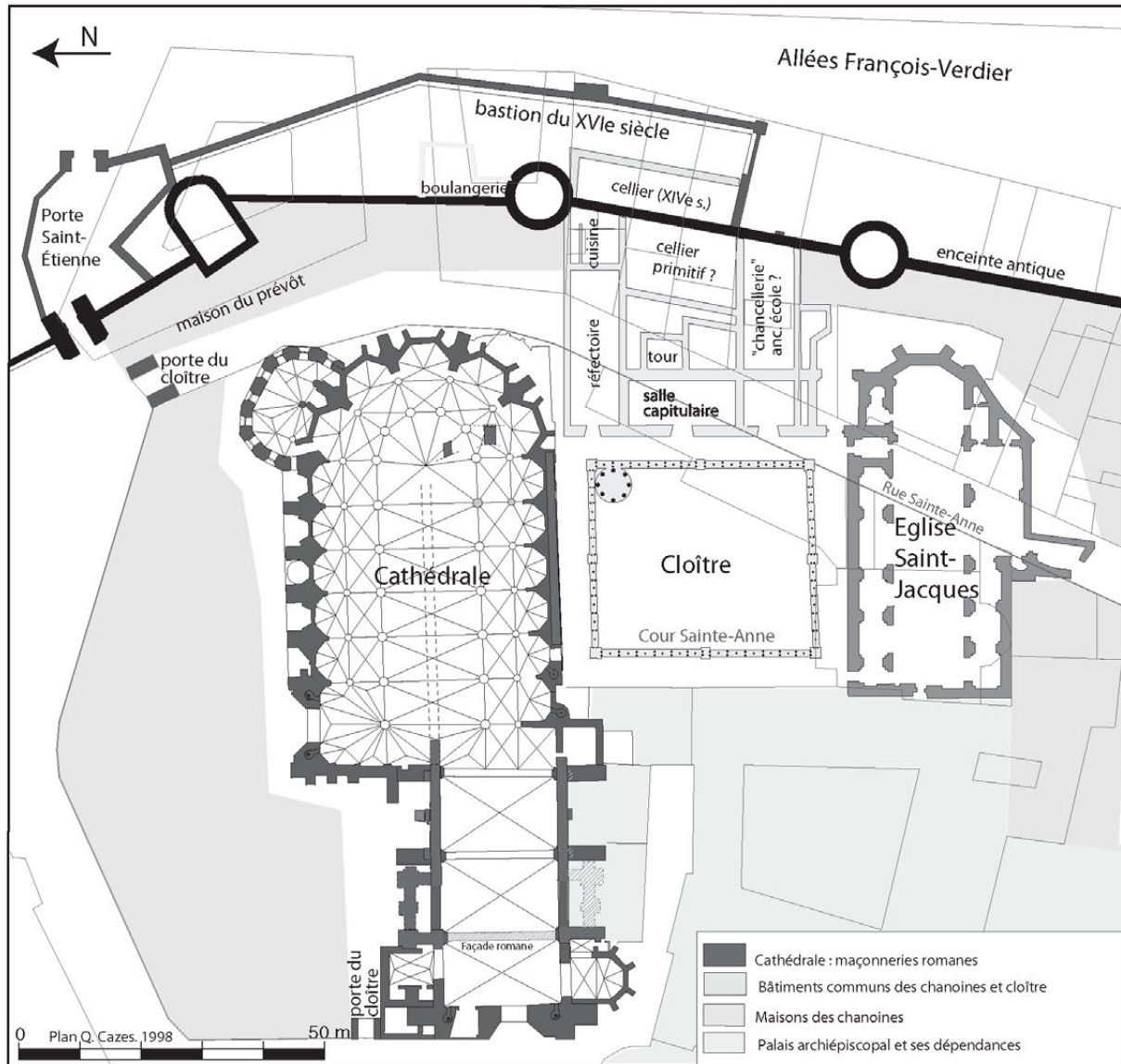
Fig. 1.   Map reconstructing the canons' quarter of Saint-Étienne Cathedral, Toulouse (drawing author) (Plate 11)

Saint-Sernin from the 1070s). At the same time, on the east, the apse and the choir bays were constructed. The first Gothic nave reused capitals from the Romanesque church, and date from the same time as the capitals in the nave at Saint-Sernin, between 1100 and 1110. It is also clear that construction was completed quickly, within half a century at most.

The Cathedral Cloister

In the text of the 1073 reform, Bishop Isarn imposed common life on his canons,

that any cleric who would now become a member of this church body recognize himself as subjected to the rigor of canonical life, that he own nothing of his own [...], that all clerics eat together, sleep together. That food and clothing be common to all, as prescribed by apostolic life [...]

This meant two things: first, that canons were given a chapter revenue independent of episcopal revenue; second, that construction of the buildings required for common life began.

The first building seems to have been the cloister, which was erected between the two churches of

Saint-Étienne and Saint-Jacques, thus determining its size. Measuring 45 × 41 m, the cloister is one of the largest in the south of France (greater than Moissac, which measures 41 × 37 m or Saint-Sernin, of 41 × 36 m). In any case, it had nothing in common with other major southern cloisters such as Arles, measuring 25 × 28 m, and it was double the size of the cloisters in Béziers, Lyon, Fréjus, and Narbonne.

The cloister was demolished in 1799, but we have a very precise plan from 1780:[7] it appears to be a copy of the cloister at Moissac, with pillars at the corners and the middle of each arcade and alternating single and double columns. Surveys conducted in 1991 and 1992 have verified this plan and have found the cloister's low wall in various places. Several stone fragments have also been discovered: marble columns, capitals, and curves of arches. The four cloister galleries were covered, as in Moissac, by a pent roof that rested on corbels inserted into the peripheral walls. We can thus approximately reconstruct its height and the distance between the columns from the curve of the arch elements found during excavations. The plan from 1780 indicated the position of a fountain and a partial excavation uncovered its foundations: two concentric circular walls, with a total width of about two metres, containing the space for a basin nearly four metres in diameter, with a base made of broken tile mortar. We know that a large marble basin held the water, thanks to the discovery of the imprint of the central pillar and the side pillars that supported it (the same system was employed when the basin was reused after being re-cut, then placed on the square outside the cathedral in the sixteenth century). The basin was protected by a small building consisting of eight marble columns supporting an entablature made of reused Antique marble, but we do not know the general shape of this small structure.[8]

The sculpture fragments discovered in 1991 greatly increased our knowledge of the cloister, as the Musée des Augustins possesses only five capitals of the ninety-six that existed. We now know that three workshops succeeded one another in the ornamentation of the cloister. The first originated from Moissac: the fragments of an abacus show obvious structural affinities, sometimes with inscriptions on the vertical bands within the decor of foliage or of birds. These capitals can therefore be dated to immediately after 1100. The subsequent workshop was rather similar in style to Saint-Sernin with the Porte Miègeville

or the western portal.[9] A capital with four lions has been reconstituted from over seventy fragments and shows the same sense of exacerbated volume. We can also compare the fragment of a hybrid being attacked by lions to some of the Saint-Sernin capitals, such as those of the crossbow-men in the nave, or characters from the western portal capitals. Another fragment of an abacus carved in the same block as the capital is comparable to other works in the cloister of Saint-Sernin. This second set can thus be dated to the first decade of the twelfth century.

The third workshop was that of Gilabertus, which created the famous capitals in the Musée des Augustins including that of Saint John the Baptist's martyrdom, as well as a head fragment of much larger dimensions that must have belonged to a pillar in the cloister. If we accept the early dating that I have proposed for the work of Gilabertus, this workshop would have been active around 1110–20.[10] Then came later works such as the capital of the Magi in the Musée des Augustins, which is datable to 1120–40.

The Chapter Buildings

The construction of the cloister was thus spread over several decades, a period during which the conventual buildings of the chapter were also built. They formed a compact group east of the cloister. Here, not much land was available because the canons' quarter was limited by the Roman walls. As a consequence, the buildings developed vertically. They were destroyed in 1811, but we have plans and descriptions that enable us to reconstruct a rough image of them (Fig. 2). This ensemble, facing the fountain, included a large refectory followed by a kitchen, a chapter house, an adjoining chapel and, turning back towards the east, what was probably the chapter school, which from the thirteenth century onward was called the Chancellerie ('Chancery' of the university). Against the wall were a cellar and the 'archive tower'.

A drawing of the city walls from 1780 shows the height of the Chancery building, the upper part of which had visibly been cut off (Fig. 3).[11] Above the Roman wall (with its parapet walkway and bricked-up windows), the top two levels of the building can be seen, with two narrow windows and a stone chamfered lintel, a semicircular arch, and above, a large recessed window. Thus, the building was probably fifteen metres high.
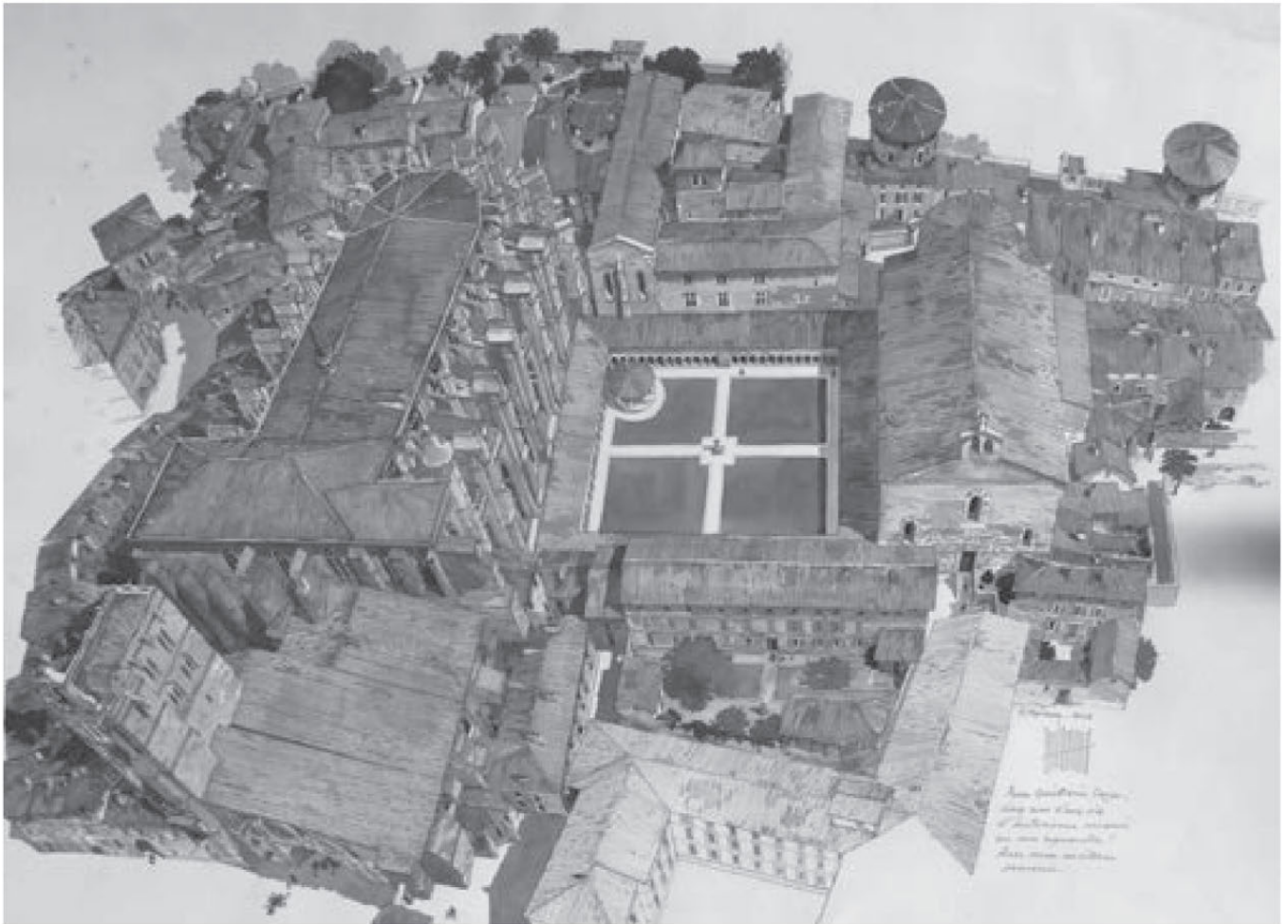
Fig. 2.   Reconstruction of the canons' quarter in eighteenth-century Toulouse (drawing Fabrice MOIREAU) (Plate 12)

A drawing from 1802 shows the front of the refectory, high and pierced with two long windows (Fig. 4); after that, three equal arches of the chapter house can be seen, which were visibly walled up. Since 1835, it has been assumed that the sculptures of the twelve apostles made by Gilabertus and his workshop were located on either side of the central arch. This main portal has been greatly debated; a survey at the site of the portal showed a very thick wall that could have contained the necessary splayed jambs. However, this survey, the plans, and historical descriptions cast doubt on whether there was a recess to hold these sculptures, as Linda Seidel suggested when she disputed the existence of this portal. It is also possible that these sculptures were arranged both in the recessed areas of the central portal (for the single apostles) and in the lateral bays (for the double apostles) (Fig. 5).[12] We will return to this point, since the apostles series shows considerable iconographic consistency with the pillars of the cloister.

The Iconographic Programme of the Cloister

The iconographic programme of the cloister cannot be fully reconstructed, but part of the capital programme is known. The five surviving capitals represent the death of Saint John the Baptist, the Wise and Foolish Virgins repeated twice (with variations), the Journey of the Magi and the story of Saint Mary of Egypt. Marcel Durliat understood them as a small cycle dedicated to the Virgin.[13] However, they can also be seen as a broader reflection on the Church. In the two capitals representing the Wise and Foolish Virgins, one small side features Christ and the Virgin.
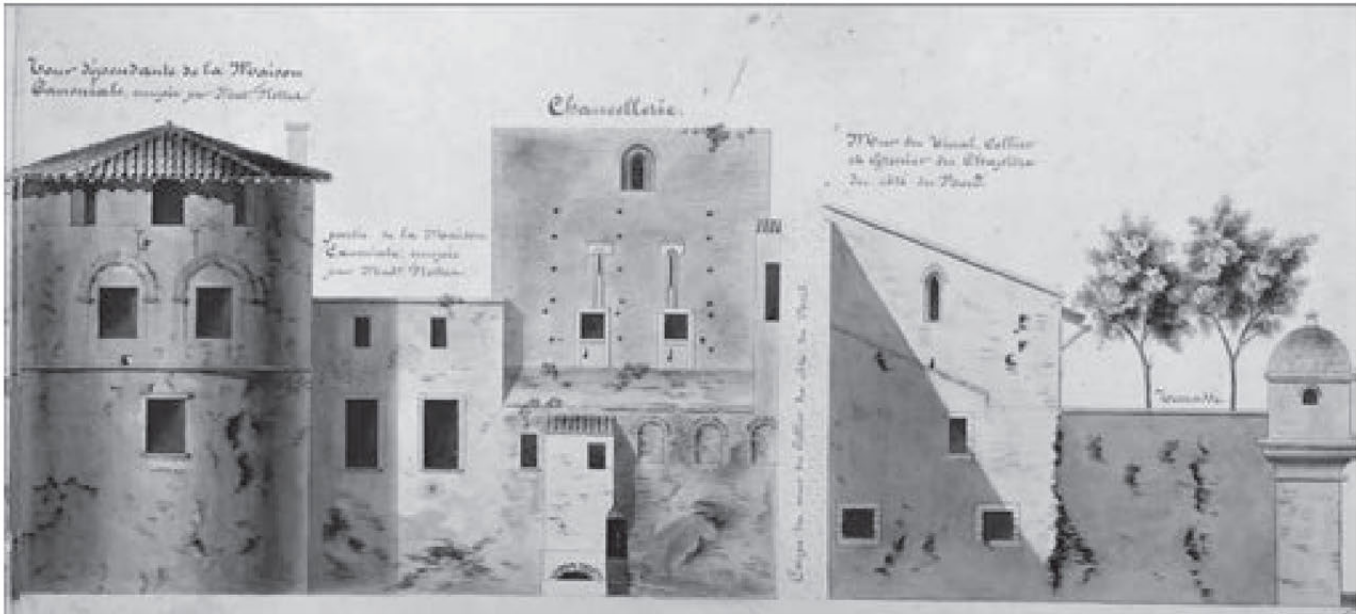
Fig. 3.   Drawing of the town and the Chancery building seen from the east, 1780, by Jacques-Pascal Virebent (courtesy of Musée Paul-Dupuy, Toulouse)
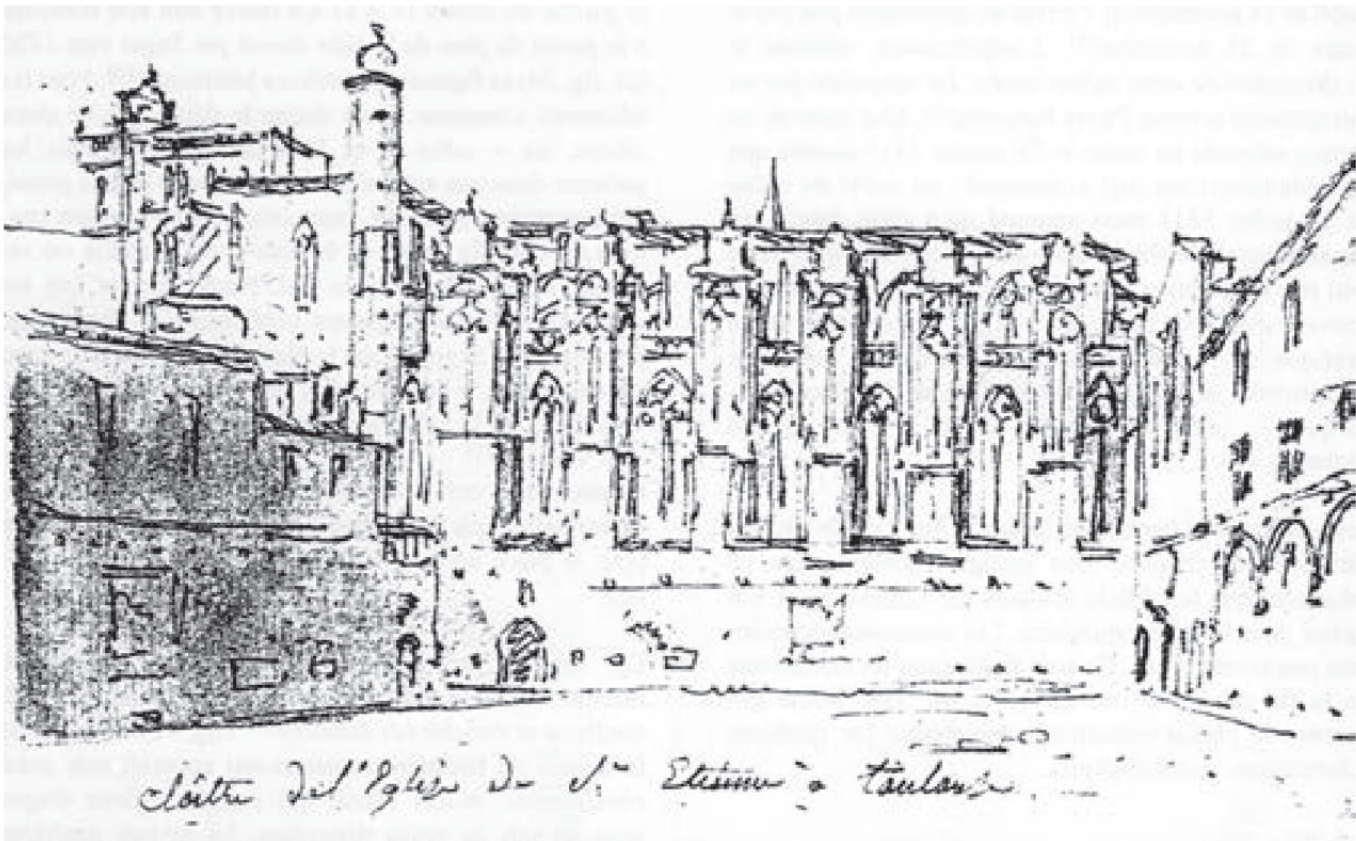

Fig. 4.   View of the south section of the cathedral in 1802 after the destruction of the cloister. On the right, the façade of the refectory and the chapter house with its three arches walled up (anonymous)
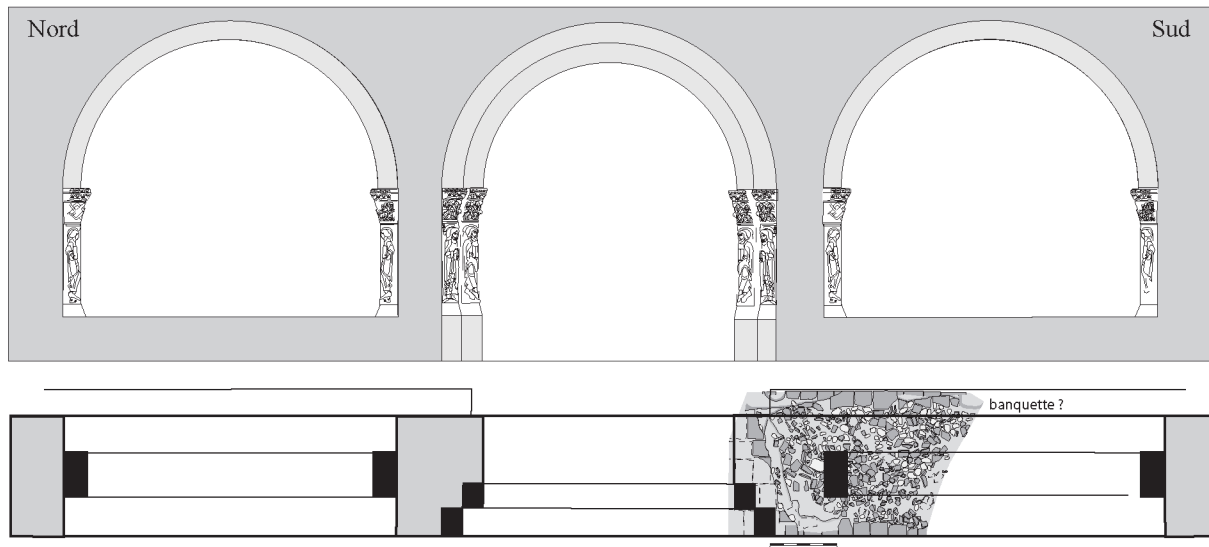
Fig. 5.   Suggested reconstruction of the chapter house façade (drawing author) (Plate 13)

In one, the Virgin bears a sceptre shaped like a lily, and in the other, a kind of chalice: this is the Virgin equated with the Church. 'At that time, the kingdom of heaven will be like ten virgins who took their lamps and went out to meet the bridegroom and the bride' (Matthew 25:1) and, as Saint Augustine stated, 'This parable [...] concerns the Church as a whole'. In his sermon 93, he asserted that the Kingdom of Heaven is prefigured by the Church, an idea that is represented in the capital dedicated to the Journey and the Adoration of the Magi when they arrive before the Virgin and Child. The latter figures are represented under an architecture of columns and capitals supporting a large arch topped by a crenelated wall. In the spandrels are the figures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, symbolizing the Church of Rome and of the Pope, which, in this period of Gregorian Reform, is not without significance.

In addition to the capitals, the cloister also had large sculpted slabs in the middle and at the corners of each gallery. Part of their decoration was known by authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who cite them when discussing the early days of Christianity in Toulouse.[14] Thus, we know that in the southern gallery, the middle pillar had a relief showing King David playing the harp.[15] Yet, in the north gallery adjoining the cathedral, the reliefs took on particular significance. On the northwest pillar were the figures of Saint Peter and Saint Saturninus, the first bishop of Toulouse, under arches with accompanying

inscriptions. For Peter, it says: 'Peter, blessing the Bishop, sent him to the city / To manage the people, [Peter] transferred his rights to him [the Bishop]'. With this inscription, among others, the church of Toulouse claimed the apostolic authority of its foundation: here the first bishop, Saturninus, received the right to administer the people from the apostle himself. Bishop Saturninus was represented with his crosier and an inscription explained its meaning: 'The curved part draws in those that the staff governs; the end pricks'. Here the aim was to insist on the bishop's spiritual, political and judicial powers.

At the other end of the gallery next to the cathedral, the northeast pillar bore the figures of Saint Exuperius and his deacon. Exuperius, who was bishop in the late fourth and early fifth century, had consecrated a great basilica over the tomb of Saint Saturninus and was also known for his great charity. Saint Jerome tells us how, in this country devastated by the Vandals, the bishop spent all the church wealth to help the poor, to the point that he 'bore the Body of Christ in a wicker basket and his blood in a glass vase'.[16] This is exactly what was represented in the programme, as evidenced by the inscription accompanying Exuperius: 'Here is a man, just in the eyes of God and caring for the poor'. The inscription accompanying the deacon reads: 'He prepares the holy Sacraments and presents them to the bishop. He offers a glass vase and a wicker basket'.[17]

Here, the references are local and probably invoked the difficult relations between the cathedral and the chapter at Saint-Sernin. The canons of Saint-Sernin had a clear ambition: the construction of the Romanesque church in the 1070s, very large for the standards of the time, with a perfect mastery of building techniques and of a monumentality unequalled in the region. From the outset, Bishop Isarn tried to gain control, if not of the construction, then at least of the taxes to be paid, by using a number of falsified documents. The bishop had expelled the canons of Saint-Sernin in 1082 and replaced them with monks from Moissac, but the canons appealed to the pope, who reinstated them. Furthermore, they had conceived an overall iconographic programme that was of a dogmatic character for the Porte Miègeville and hagiographic in the western portal. The most important for our purposes is the Porte Miègeville.[18]

The tympanum represents the Ascension of Christ, both as King and Son of God, acclaimed by four angels. The Body of Christ has more volume and relief than other figures, to the point that two angels have to lift him up into heaven, insisting on the fact that Christ is both human and divine, against the heretics who denied Christ's humanity. On the lintel are the twelve apostles and the two men dressed in white from the Acts of the Apostles, explaining the return of Christ at the end of time. Between these two registers is a vine scroll, an allegory of the Eucharist. In the spandrels are two large reliefs. On the right, St Peter is represented as the pope, with the gesture of blessing. Young and triumphant before the banner of the Church, he appears above the relief of Simon Magus, whom he conquered by the Word. In this relief, the vines start to grow, which then continue onto the left side of Peter. To the left, Saint James the Greater is framed by two trees from which plant life springs. He is represented above the image of Montanus and his two prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla. Thus, two of the apostles who, with the Transfiguration, were the first witnesses to Christ's nature as the Son of God, the two evangelists of the West, are opposed to two of the most vilified ancient heretics, if we may believe Eusebius, Saint Augustine and other Church Fathers. In this portal, the canons of Saint-Sernin use a high register of discourse, which is both eschatological and anti-heretical, directly related to events

in the church at that time (in Toulouse, four regional councils with a direct connection to the fight against heresy were held in the years 1050–60). The canons thus appropriated the ability and the authority for this level of discourse.

Therefore, the bishop must have felt threatened in his essential prerogatives: according to Irenaeus of Lyon, the bishop alone, possessing the necessary *auctoritas* as a successor to the apostles, had the authority to interpret the Scriptures. We do not know the content of the iconographic programme he chose for the portal of the cathedral, but it must have been symbolic of the position he wanted to take among the faithful of Toulouse. Whatever the case, in the cloister, the bishop reaffirmed the apostolic origins of the church in Toulouse and positioned himself as the successor of bishops Saturninus and Exuperius. The intention here was clearly political, directed at the chapter at Saint-Sernin. In addition, the apostles on the chapter house façade participated in this same positioning, as being the model for the common life of the canons.

Conclusion

In Toulouse, the cathedral of Saint-Étienne and the abbey church of Saint-Sernin were both situated in the same Gregorian Reform movement, but their artistic paths were different. From the beginning, Saint-Sernin chose to place its artistic works under the sign of a desired return to Antiquity, which was one way to bring back the *Vita Apostolica* advocated for reformed canons.[19] From the copies of Ancient capitals placed at the entrance to the ambulatory to the models chosen for the altar table (e.g., the composition of the main side reminiscent of pediments of Antique sarcophagi), or from the presence of the celestial god Caelus on the main face of the altar table and the river god on a capital of the Porte Miègeville, to the search for artistry and volume in the ambulatory or the Christ on the tympanum — everything reveals the underlying models of the best Graeco-Roman statuary.

In Saint-Étienne, as far as is known, the choices made were radically different. Inviting the Moissac workshop to work on the cloister of the cathedral was a sign that the art was intended to highlight

a certain continuity with the abbey of Moissac, which depended on Cluny, and thus the moral rigor that Cluny represented. Then, the bishop and canons called on Gilabertus for the capitals of the cloister and the reliefs that decorated the façade of the chapter house; in other words, they chose a contemporary artist who overturned tradition and inscribed his sculptures within the context of his time. Yet, Gilabertus did not work very long after the completion of the Porte Miègeville. Among the artisans who assisted him in making the chapter house reliefs, there was one who, obviously, had been trained by working on sculpture for the Porte Miègeville. For example, in the reliefs of Saint James the Lesser, Saint James the Greater, and Saint John,[20] some explicit references to the representation of Saint James the Greater on the Porte Miègeville can be found,[21] such as the position of the hands turned on the bust, and the twist of the wrist. The model for these motifs can be found in the figure of Saint Peter in the cloister at Moissac. Another comparison can be made between the gesture of the apostle holding the keys in the Moissac cloister and the gesture of Saint James the Lesser holding his patriarchal cross.

Gilabertus introduced an entirely new style to Toulousian sculpture by translating into art the new modes of behaviour promoted by the emerging courtly society, such as the refinement of postures and clothing and the humanity that emerges from the gestures as in the famous capital of the Feast of Herod — all bear the mark of Gilabertus. The cathedral, along with Gilabertus, thus promoted a new art, which was just as creative in its time as Bernard Gilduin had been with the altar table of Saint-Sernin, which he had the honour of signing with his name. Perhaps it is not by coincidence that Gilabertus was also able to sign his work on two reliefs representing the apostles Andrew and Thomas in the chapter house (unfortunately now lost). In their strategy to assert the primacy of the cathedral against an ever-encroaching Saint-Sernin, successive bishops and canons asserted their power through architecture. In so doing, they made images and the choices of artists into decisive weapons.

(Translated from the French by
Cynthia J. Johnson)

NOTES

[1] Jean-Charles ARRAMOND & Jean-Luc BOUDARTCHOUK, 'Le forum et le temple', in *Tolosa. Nouvelles recherches sur Toulouse et son territoire dans l'Antiquité*, 281, ed. Jean-Marie PAILLER, Rome, 2002, pp. 220–28.

[2] Jean CATALO, Quitterie CAZES et al., *Toulouse au Moyen Âge. Mille ans d'histoire urbaine*, Toulouse, 2010, pp. 30–36.

[3] One of these was discovered in 1916 during reconstruction on the north aisle of the cathedral. The other slabs were reused between 1251 and 1282 for the epitaphs of the canons buried in the cloister.

[4] These columns were also discovered by Du Mège and today are displayed in the courtyard of the Musée Saint-Raymond in Toulouse.

[5] Quitterie CAZES, *Le quartier canonial de la cathédrale Saint-Étienne de Toulouse*, Archéologie du Midi médiéval, supplement 2, Carcassonne, 1998, pp. 25–27.

[6] Élisabeth MAGNOU-NORTIER, *L'introduction de la réforme grégorienne à Toulouse (fin XIᵉ-début XIIᵉ siècle)*, Cahiers de l'Association Marc-Bloch de Toulouse. Études d'histoire méridionale, 3, Toulouse, 1958.

[7] Municipal Archives of Toulouse, 4D25.

[8] CAZES, *Le quartier canonial*, pp. 98–121.

[9] Relations with the sculpture of Santiago de Compostela suppose a dating of 1105–10, see: Quitterie & Daniel CAZES, *Saint-Sernin de Toulouse. De Saturnin au chef-d'œuvre de l'art roman*, Graulhet, p. 304 and 315–16.

[10] Quitterie CAZES, 'Vers une datation "haute" de l'œuvre du sculpteur Gilabertus à Toulouse?', in *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge, Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, Paris, pp. 508–13.

[11] 'Élévation des Tours et des Murs de clôture du Cloître St Etienne du côté de l'Esplanade servant de murs de Ville', by Pascal VIREBENT, City Architect, Musée Paul-Dupuy (Toulouse).

[12] Quitterie CAZES, 'Les façades des salles capitulaires', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XLV, 2014, pp. 131–44.

[13] Marcel DURLIAT, 'Autour de Gilabertus: le cycle marial de la cathédrale Saint-Étienne de Toulouse', in *Menestrel*, 30, 1983, pp. 4–9.

[14] The most important is Guillaume DE CATEL, *Mémoires de l'histoire du Languedoc*, Toulouse, 1633, p. 165.

[15] Alexandre-Paul FILÈRE, *Remarques sur les antiquités et autres singularités de Tholose* (early 17ᵗʰ c.), Toulouse, Bibliothèque du Patrimoine, ms. 694, fol. 5 vᵒ-6.

[16] Saint Jérôme, *Lettres*, ed. and transl. J. LACOURT, Paris, 1949–1963, VII, letter 125.20.

[17] Inscriptions translated by Robert FAVREAU, Jean MICHAUD & Bernadette LEPLANT, *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale. 7. Ville de Toulouse*, Paris, 1982, p. 12.

[18] CAZES & CAZES, *Saint-Sernin de Toulouse*, p. 225.

[19] Hélène TOUBERT, *Un art dirigé. Réforme grégorienne et iconographie*, Paris, 1990, especially p. 93 and following.

[20] Paul MESPLÉ, *Inventaire des collections publiques françaises. Nᵒ 5. Toulouse, Musée des Augustins*, Paris, 1961, MS 19 and MS 11.

[21] CAZES, 'Vers une datation "haute"'.

The Renovation of Northern Italian Cathedrals during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries
The State of Current Research and Some Unanswered Questions

Saverio Lomartire

Abstract

This article examines the current state of research on a selected number of Romanesque cathedrals in northern Italy. The cathedral of Modena in particular has been the subject of detailed studies because of its wealth of documentary evidence, including the names of the architect and main sculptor as well as of other artists active in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This article studies Modena Cathedral vis-à-vis its predecessors and the Medieval city planning, while some architectural features, including its Classical inspiration, are also analysed. Subsequently, several other cathedrals in Emilia Romagna, including Ferrara, Parma, and Reggio Emilia, are studied in light of recent investigations and new findings, and Cremona and Piacenza are analyzed in their mutual relationship. Finally, attention is paid to the cathedrals of Vercelli, Pavia, and Bergamo, which have preserved most of their pre-Romanesque structures, and which have been subject to only a few updates. The article ends with some comments on the prospects of a multidisciplinary approach to analysing such complex architectural monuments as Romanesque cathedrals.

Introduction

This contribution examines the current knowledge with regard to northern Italian cathedral renovation, much of which took place during the Romanesque period. I will confine myself to a small number of detailed recent case studies and will then evaluate some possible starting points for future research. In the field of Medieval architecture, many studies in Italy over the last twenty years have addressed important buildings, often in relation to current restorations, including a number of significant cathedral churches, resulting in extensive documentation. These studies have often been the fruit of close and unprecedented collaborations with archaeologists, historians of art and architecture, and historians of liturgy and palaeography.

This resurgence of interest should not overshadow the early studies by Ferdinand De Dartein, Raffaele Cattaneo, Giovanni Teresio Rivoira, and Arthur Kingsley Porter,[1] followed to some degree by those of Pietro Toesca,[2] Paolo Verzone,[3] and Edoardo Arslan.[4] These very intrepid scholars and real pioneers in this field of research, who were often working alone, closely analysed the individual monuments and demonstrated great critical intelligence and a capacity to summarize within a broad context. Without this fundamental research, our knowledge of the Medieval artistic and architectural heritage of northern Italy would have been inconceivable. This legacy can always be compared with findings from other parts of Europe. Thanks to these important contributions, the field of studies is now far richer than it was just thirty years ago.[5]

However, except for some rare cases,[6] it has not been possible to produce critical editions comparable to brilliant studies such as that by Hans Erich Kubach and Water Haas from 1972 with regard to Speyer Cathedral.[7] Certainly, the production of such ambitious critical editions of monuments should no longer be postponed, given the current beneficial context of specialist European Medieval architecture research.

Modena Cathedral

Regarding Emilia, and in particular the city of Modena, it should be pointed out that the study of Speyer Cathedral was undoubtedly in the minds of at least some of the scholars who planned the two 1984 exhibitions dedicated to Modena Cathedral and its restoration. The catalogues for both exhibitions are still often used in Italy as a reference point for Medieval monumental complex monographs.[8] These publications should, however, serve as a starting point for further new studies, and not as a point of arrival intended only to offer definitive results.

The importance of Modena Cathedral, particularly for the history of European sculpture, had already inspired a significant body of writings.[9] Scholarly interest particularly focused on the work of Wiligelmus, the cathedral's main sculptor, to whom monographs were dedicated first by Géza De Francovich and then Roberto Salvini.[10] The research undertaken at the time of the 1984 exhibition especially highlighted the role played by the cathedral's first architect, Lanfranco.[11] These studies concerned the architecture and sculpture, the traces of paintings, the epigraphy, and the re-use of antique *spolia*, as well as the restoration history.

In the case of Modena cathedral, the expectation of producing something unique and extraordinary was certainly among the main aims at the time work started on the construction of a new cathedral, in June of 1099. This is confirmed by a number of sources, if we compare the various documents available for other buildings of the same period. At least two inscriptions recall the founding of the cathedral, recording the names of Lanfranco as the architect and Wiligelmus as sculptor. To these we can add the contemporary account *Relatio de innovatione ecclesie Santi Ieminiani*, which recounts the events during the first church construction stage.[12]

The cathedral (Fig. 1) was erected in the centre of the Medieval city, on a site that had probably been occupied from the late fourth century onwards by the *ad corpus* basilica, which contained the remains of the subsequently sanctified Bishop Geminianus (355–97). According to tradition, this edifice was constructed by his successor, Bishop Teodoro or Teodulo.[13] However, recent archaeological excavations have not unearthed any traces of such a building, and the earliest findings, consisting of various tombs, do not seem to date from before the sixth century. The layer relating to the Roman epoch is located about six metres below the current level and so it was not affected by any successive Medieval reconstructions.[14] Certain remains already discovered in excavations at the beginning of the 1900s, and about which recent archaeological investigations have added further data, suggest the presence of an early Medieval building, perhaps dating from the middle of the eighth century, aligned along the axis of the present construction. The discovery of a series of early Medieval church decoration fragments and a number of tombs, which were also found recently in the area of the crypt, confirm a similar dating.[15]

A wall that cuts across the main axis of the basilica, discovered during the 1913 excavations, very probably formed part of the façade of this building, while the remains of the original apse were found some years later close to the present presbytery.[16] The recent excavations have uncovered a section of a circular wall, which has been interpreted as a baptistery that was once connected to the early Medieval cathedral.[17] In 1913, the bases of rows of brick pillars were discovered, aligned differently than either the present building or that dating from the eighth century.[18] These were found in an area to the west of the present cathedral and they are the remains of clustered pillars belonging to a building that probably had five naves. The recent excavations to the north have revealed wall sections with a similar alignment. In this way, it is possible to envisage a building dating from the intermediate period and related to the rebuilding project undertaken by Bishop Eribertus toward the middle of the eleventh century.

The cathedral complex at Modena as we know it today is therefore made up of a number of layers, consisting of three distinct buildings that succeeded each other over the course of three hundred years. Apparently, all three different buildings were

Fig. 1. Modena Cathedral, façade (photo author)

constructed anew. One would be inclined to believe that the early Medieval church would be an adaptation of the *ad corpus* basilica from the fourth to fifth centuries, but this is contradicted by evidence confirmed by the recent excavations. These findings show that the structure was covered by thick alluvial deposits dating from the sixth to seventh centuries and that these also covered the early Medieval layer to the depth of over a metre. The disastrous floods documented by various sources must therefore have been the reason for the reconstruction of the ancient basilica in about the eighth century.[19] The pillared structure with a plan oriented to the southwest of the later construction dating from the middle or second half of the eleventh century was considered by several early twentieth century writers, particularly Paul Frankl in a study from 1927,[20] to have been a total reconstruction of the ancient cathedral. In fact, the absence of other structural elements prompted speculation that the remains must relate to a structure that had been added to the early Medieval façade, such as an atrium.[21]

The recent excavations in the area to the north of the cathedral[22] have revealed the remains of walls aligned in a similar way to those traces found in 1913. Therefore, if a new cathedral had been erected just a few decades prior to the present one, we have to ask ourselves for what reason they decided to reconstruct it so soon. Reflecting upon this issue, Francesco Gandolfo has already tried to explain this unusual situation in terms of the *damnatio memoriae* of the schismatic Bishop Eribert, one of the most vigorous supporters of the antipope Clement III.[23] This *damnatio* also seems to have involved the official acts that were signed by that bishop. Despite the fact that no document bears a date connecting this bishop to the building with clustered columns, these architectural remains could reasonably be associated with the period in which he ruled the bishopric (1056–95).

The fact that the church that preceded the present cathedral, or at least part of it, had been recently constructed is confirmed by the famous *Relatio*, which was alluded to previously. This text states that the previous building was in danger of collapsing right down to the foundations as a result of damage, despite the fact that the church had been *aucta et innovata crementis* ('recently enlarged and renovated').[24] This situation caused the cathedral clergy and the people of Modena, who were terrified at the prospect of collapse, to take the initiative and start the reconstruction.

However, even if we admit that the building preceding the present one had been completely constructed (something that I believe still awaits conclusive proof), or if we accept that with the foundation of the new cathedral in 1099 the recently renovated portions had to be demolished, we can still legitimately ask whether a desire to erase the memory of the schismatic bishop could have led to the demolition of the cathedral he built, which would seem too extreme. Considering that the early Medieval building and the one we think is associated with Bishop Eribert were both resting on the same patch of alluvial ground, it is plausible that the main reason for rebuilding was the subsidence discovered in the recently constructed edifice, a building that the *Relatio* does record as being damaged mainly at foundation level. In this way, we can also explain the present building's being aligned towards the north, in contrast to the preceding structures and the alignment of the early Medieval remains as the result of a search for a site that would offer more solid foundations.[25]

Another element seems to me to be important in this context. The position of the three original porch-portals to the cathedral (excluding the *Porta Regia* on the south side and the side portals in the façade; all three were added in the thirteenth century) is decidedly asymmetrical. There is no obvious explanation for this and it has led to the belief that the two side portals were originally in different positions.[26] In fact, these portals, all three of which are decorated with a two-storey porch, were originally designed in consideration of the church's position in relation to the Medieval town — which extended into the suburban zone to the west, the *Mutina* of the Roman period. The three original cathedral access porch-portals were positioned in line with some of the important streets in the city,[27] while taking account of the market area close to the parsonage building on the north side of the cathedral, as is the case with the entrance known as the 'Porta della Pescheria' ('Fishmarket Gate').

Finally, we need to consider the question of patronage: 1099, the year that construction of a new cathedral started, was the same year in which Bishop Dodo was appointed. We might therefore infer that it was this new bishop who set the construction in motion. However, as has been noted, Dodo was not well accepted at first, either by the clergy or by the people of Modena. Although he had been cited in previous acts, he was not able to take full possession

of the diocese until 1106, by which time the cathedral had been completely planned and was in an advanced stage of construction. In that year, the remains of the cathedral's patron saint, Geminianus, were moved from the old building to the new crypt, followed shortly by a consecration by Pope Pasquale II. Since, as is in fact recorded in the *Relatio*, the diocese of Modena was then *sine pastorali cura agebatur* ('directed without the care of a pastor'), the decision to build a new cathedral was therefore taken by the *ordo clericorum*, and by the *populus* and *milites* of Modena. Thus, in this case — the text of the *Relatio* is again very explicit — it fell to the important Modena *civitas* representatives to decide upon the reconstruction. This decision was finally supported by Countess Matilda of Canossa.

If we now put together the most important elements, that is to say: the presumed *damnatio* of the schismatic and pro-imperial Bishop Eribertus, the consent given by Matilda of Canossa, and the commencement of the work in the same year Bishop Dodo was appointed, we would apparently be led to conclude that the new cathedral was an embodiment in spatial and visual terms of the Gregorian Reform, as has already been stated on several occasions.[28] As for the role of Countess Matilda: even though she is explicitly mentioned in this context, a recent study by Paolo Piva plays down her contribution.[29]

It has to be admitted, in any case, that although it is perfectly possible that the new building was in some way symbolic of the values of the Reform (even if not as emphatically as is sometimes maintained),[30] it also seems evident that the decision made by the clergy and people of the town was already anticipating the idea of a city government, which led to the creation of the Modena *Comune* by the middle of the twelfth century. Significantly, this could only come about in 1135, the year following the death of Bishop Dodo. Therefore, the new cathedral rather seems to be the result of a series of expectations, not just by the clergy, but by the entire *populus* of Modena, as in fact the *Relatio* clearly leads us to believe.

Apart from this account, the oldest document that records the 1099 foundation is an inscription on the main apse, which opens with words of praise to a building: *marmoribus sculptis* [...] *micat undique puchris* ('shines with beautifully sculpted marble'). This inscription, though datable, like the *Relatio*, to the early thirteenth century, preserves a text coeval

with the founding of the cathedral.[31] It should be noted that in line four, immediately after a quotation from the patron saint Geminianus, the verse explicitly refers to *nos* [...] *ministri* ('we [...] the ministers'), thus confirming the reference in the *Relatio* to an initiative taken not by the bishop, who was not yet in full possession of his see, but by the cathedral clergy (i.e., the chapter of canons).

After recalling the virtues of Saint Geminianus and the miracles he bestowed on pilgrims, in lines seven and eight, there are two hexameters that extol the cathedral architect, Lanfranco. The verses closely resemble the text of the *Relatio*, which contains some very similar praise of the same architect.[32] The following text also explains Lanfranco's fundamental role during the various construction phases, and also vis-à-vis the patrons, including his presence at the ceremonies of transferring the saint's remains and the papal consecration, with which account the *Relatio* closes. The text includes two miniatures that record some of the most significant moments of the story narrated in the text, with four scenes in which Lanfranco is always present. The central role of the architect in these scenes conforms to the praises expressed in the *Relatio* and the inscription, and indeed intensifies them. Even in the thirteenth century, when the text was copied and the miniatures were executed, the great expertise of Lanfranco was therefore still widely recognized.[33]

The expertise, or — better still — the scholarship, of Lanfranco is shown in every aspect of the design, from the proportions of the building, which adopt the precepts of Vitruvius regarding the golden section,[34] to the joins between structures and walls, using stone on the outside and brick on the inside. In the system of spans, vaults were excluded (these were added only in the fifteenth century) and great pointed transverse arches were used instead, combined with wooden roofing. Adriano Peroni has recently suggested that this introduction of the column as a system, coordinated with a series of eight large neo-Corinthian capitals, was to some extent similar to a design in the cathedral at Pisa,[35] albeit with its own specific characteristics. It may suffice to conclude that Lanfranco's project was also concerned with all the details of sculptural additions, both inside and outside, beginning with the crypt, the first structure to be completed in the new building.[36] A complete and very detailed building project

was therefore in place right from the start, and was followed without any substantial changes other than variations in construction techniques or a turnover of stonemasons and sculptors, right up to the third decade of the twelfth century.

The relationship with Classical Antiquity can be explained by the architect's cultural knowledge, but it was certainly also encouraged by direct contact with Ancient artefacts that were brought to light by excavations already carried out since the start of building work in the area of the cathedral, which originally corresponded to the city's Roman necropolis.[37] The personality who stands out most at this stage is the sculptor Wiligelmus, whose name is recorded in an inscription on the façade.[38] This sculptor, who probably developed his craft while working with Lanfranco, progressed to coordinating a considerable workshop, which was responsible for the high-quality façade sculptures, as well as those on various other parts, both inside and outside the cathedral. Recent studies suggest that the sculptor was employed on the Modena site right from the initial stages and worked alongside other sculptors there until he eventually assumed overall leadership.[39] Wiligelmus probably spent a large part of his life in Modena, but the superb quality of his work was spread by the collaborating members of his workshop to other buildings, including the abbey of San Silvestro in Nonantola, and, above all, the cathedrals at Cremona and Piacenza, to which we shall return later.

Ferrara, Parma and Reggio Emilia Cathedrals

Conversely, the architecture of Modena Cathedral would be replicated more than thirty years later, shortly after 1135, in the cathedral of Ferrara (Fig. 2), in a monumental design with five naves possibly planned by Nicholaus, who in this way was consciously paying homage to the genius of Lanfranco. It is interesting that Ferrara cathedral was constructed not on the site of an older building, which was situated on the opposite bank of the River Po, but on land acquired from the Capitol and on virgin soil, where new town development had grown up on the left bank of the river. As a result, the project was not bound by any restrictions related to pre-existing buildings. It may have been these circumstances that allowed the architect, possibly the same Nicholaus, the freedom to choose such a prestigious design.[40]

The cathedral at Parma (Fig. 3) has also been the subject of a number of detailed studies, beginning with Arturo Carlo Quintavalle's numerous examinations of the structure and its decorative sculptures.[41] Quintavalle placed the whole building within the context of the Gregorian Reform and proposed a date between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, based on the consecration, in 1106, by Pope Pasquale II, who consecrated the altar at Modena Cathedral that very same year. In fact, the rebuilding of the cathedral, following a fire that destroyed the early Medieval structure in the mid-eleventh century, has been attributed to Bishop Càdalo, who was originally from Verona and was the bishop of Naumburg in Saxony before he ascended to the bishopric at Parma. Càdalo was made antipope under the name of Honorius II in 1061 and died in Parma in 1072, and it is very likely that the building was then largely incomplete. Càdalo's successor, Guibert, also became an antipope under the name of Clement III and, like many other cities of the time, Parma was decidedly pro-imperial.

In his extensive monograph on the cathedral, Manfred Luchterhandt has suggested that in the lower part of the of the east end cruciform section, in line with the crypt, we can recognize the remains of a building from the Ottonian period, similar to the layout of Speyer Cathedral and the abbey church of Limburg an der Haardt,[42] thus exhibiting its own 'imperial character'. This east section could have been incorporated, at least in terms of layout, into the new building, which Luchterhandt has dated to the time of Bishop Bernard degli Uberti (1106–33), who began reconstructing the cathedral after the great earthquake of 1117, when *maxima pars ecclesiae sanctae Mariae diruta fuit* ('the major part of the church of Saint Mary was destroyed').[43] Luchterhandt's study is very accurate with regard to the structural elements, as well as to the carved decoration: an impressive system of sculptures that the author recognizes as the result of different building and decorative campaigns, until the late twelfth century, with the arrival of Benedetto Antelami. In addition, based on his study of the fifteenth-century *Liber Ordinarius* in the cathedral, Luchterhandt suggests a new interpretation of the iconography of the capitals and explains their particular context within the edifice.[44] All these very precise observations allow us to form a chronology that places the construction of the cathedral at around 1030–50, with a rebuilding programme that

began after the earthquake and lasted until the time of Bishop Lanfranco (1136–62), a sequence of dates that contradicts previous hypotheses by other scholars. Luchterhandt's proposals completely change the status of our knowledge, and also open new prospects for study and review, including on the topic of the origins of the craftsmen.

A new finding in the context of Emilia's Medieval architecture has been provided by the recent restoration and excavation of the cathedral of Reggio Emilia. This building was transformed by building operations in the seventeenth century (Fig. 4) and the remains of the original fine mosaics can now be seen in the city museums. The current edifice has kept part of the external structure and sections of the old walls are still visible, but the rest of the original building can only be described approximately, at least for the moment.[45] The recent restoration and excavation work have revealed the remains of several late Antique mosaics under the crypt, as well as a circular structure near the façade that could have been a tower attached to the front — perhaps the one that documentary sources report to have collapsed in 1228. We know that an octagonal tower was built to replace it in the second half of the thirteenth century, and that the façade was also reconstructed and completely covered with frescoes. In addition, various probes into the masonry of the pillars have revealed sections of piers and capitals that can possibly be dated to the middle of the eleventh century, together with elements dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. These suggest a building subject to constant structural and decorative modification during the Middle Ages, including the work on the great painted façade that was completed towards the end of the thirteenth century.

An interesting aspect is the discovery of capitals and sections of painted mortar, which were perhaps associated with the windows of a gallery or *matroneum* in the side aisle, as well as many remnants of Medieval painted mortars above the later vaults, the crypt, and other parts of the building.[46] Besides all this, it is still difficult to discern the original plan, which seems to date from the eleventh century but which was certainly subject to modifications from the twelfth century on.[47] Further studies informed by recent post-restoration investigations will enable a better understanding of this building that, until now, has been relegated to the sidelines in the story of Medieval architecture.
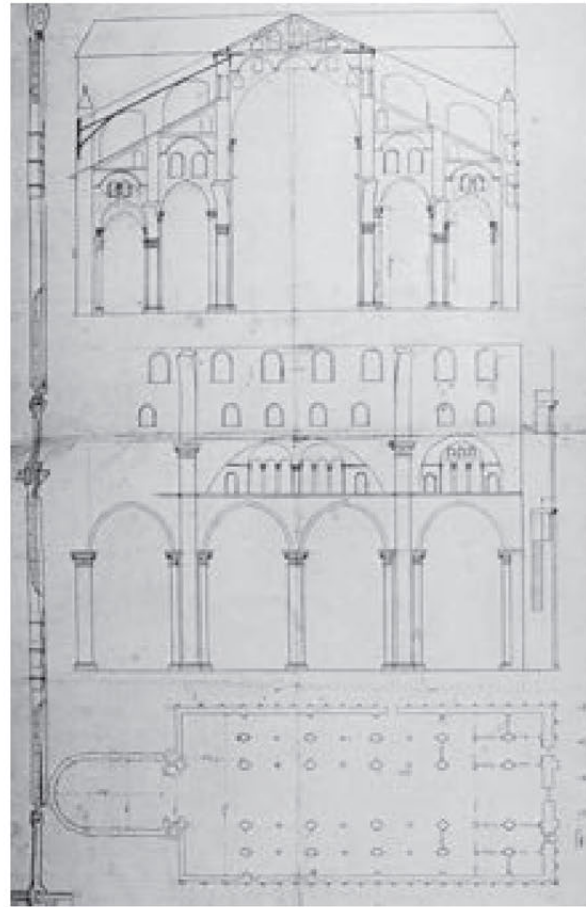
Fig. 2. Ferrara Cathedral, sixteenth-century drawing of the interior before the Baroque transformation (courtesy of the Biblioteca Ariostea, Ferrara)

Cremona Cathedral and Related Monuments

Among the important buildings to have benefited from the legacy of Modena, the cathedral at Cremona particularly stands out (Fig. 5). This is especially true of its sculptural elements, starting from the marble slab commemorating the building's founding, which in fact refers directly to the similar inscription at Modena recalling the name of Wiligelmus. In Cremona, one might suspect a case of taking inspiration from an important model, but the sculpture's stylistic details and also the palaeographic data suggest the work of sculptors who came directly from the Modena workshop of Wiligelmus. Other sculptural elements, preserved in different parts of the building, confirm this hypothesis.[48] Interestingly, Cremona was the birthplace of Dodo, Bishop of Modena, and one
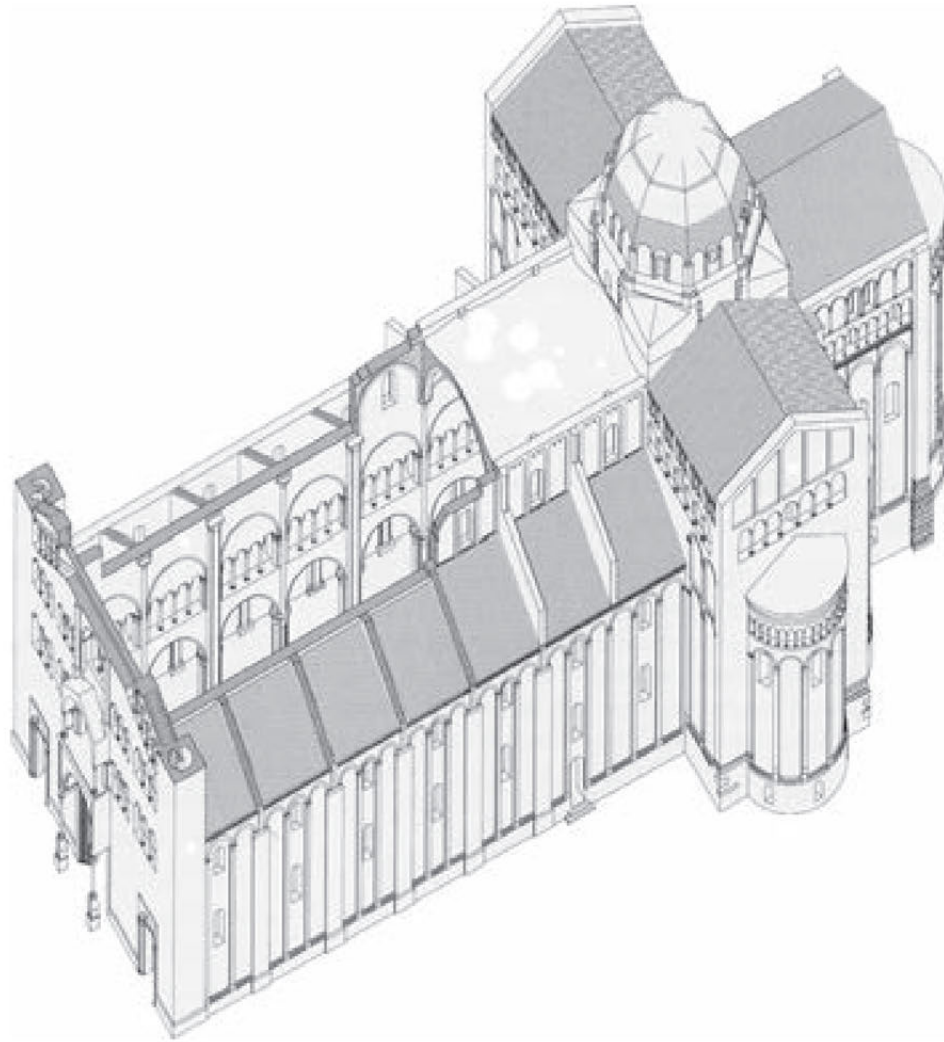
Fig. 3.   Parma Cathedral, the Romanesque building in the construction phase D (after Manfred Luchterhandt)

could therefore speculate that it was on his initiative that sculptors and stonemasons were sent to work on the new church.

Of the construction that began in 1107 nothing remains; records tell us that it collapsed during the great earthquake of 1117 and that, after various materials and relics were rescued from the rubble, work began on rebuilding the cathedral just twelve years later, during the episcopate of Oberto of Dovara.[49] During this phase, the direction of the building work was entrusted to that same Nicholaus who would later work at Ferrara and who was at that time engaged on the site of Piacenza cathedral. He would later also conduct the building and sculptural works in Verona, at the cathedral and the church of San Zeno.[50]

The relationship between the old building destroyed by the earthquake, which may or may not have been structurally related to the Modena design, and the new large cathedral, with its cruciform plan, is a much debated issue. Many scholars have made contributions, including recently Paolo Piva and Arturo Calzona,[51] who, from their different viewpoints, have interpreted the data in relation to the early situation of the episcopal buildings in Cremona. The problem of piecing together the events surrounding the construction is not just a matter of deciding what was built before or after the earthquake, but also of how one should, in this context, interpret the final verse of the foundation inscription, which includes the expression *que media videtur*. This obscure allusion relates to the time at the centre of the debate, at least according to

Fig. 4. Reggio Emilia Cathedral, view from the south (photo author)

Porter,[52] who has claimed (and Piva and Calzona are in agreement here) that it must refer to a new building erected between two older ones on the old baptistery site. After the earthquake, the new cathedral order would have eventually replaced the entire group of episcopal buildings; thus, we may consider the existence of a hypothetical previous double cathedral in Cremona. I must limit myself here on the theme of Lombardy double or 'twin' cathedrals, which has already been the subject of an extensive bibliography. It will be sufficient to recall that some recent studies have shown that the liturgy of the hours and the weekly liturgy more often took place in a church dedicated to the Virgin, while a church dedicated to a martyr, and generally located to the north of the other building, was used for the Sunday liturgy.[53]

At any rate, the incidence of the earthquake at Cremona, with the probable collapse or damage of the entire pre-existing group of episcopal buildings, together with the destruction of the new church begun in 1107, probably led to the planning of a cruciform church. This was a design well suited to incorporate in monumental form, with a basilica with accessible galleries and transept arms with three naves, all the functions of the hypothetical pre-existing double cathedral.

The presence of such a wide transept, which once tended to be regarded as a later addition, has been shown in recent studies (at least at its lower levels) to be perfectly consistent with the original plan.[54] The complex functions served by the new building seem to be indicated by the presence at the upper levels of the galleries of two apses, probably for liturgical use.

Fig. 5.   Cremona Cathedral, view of the façade and baptistery (photo author)

We also find some of these features in the cathedral at Novara, now destroyed (Fig. 6). This building, which was constructed during the episcopate of Litifredo (1123–51), maintained the Early Christian plan of the episcopal group, with the fifth-century baptistery separated by a four-sided portico. The new twelfth-century arrangement introduced some quite complex structures at higher levels in the buildings, which the *Liber Ordinarius* from the thirteenth century indicates to have been used for special liturgical ceremonies during the course of the year.[55]

The building that in many respects is most closely related to Cremona Cathedral is the cathedral at Piacenza (Fig. 7),[56] which began construction in 1122 according to an inscription (now a copy) positioned between two (original) sculpted figures depicting the prophets Enoch and Elijah, just as at Modena and

Cremona. But this in itself is not the most significant aspect: once again, at Piacenza, we find sculptors working, perhaps at the same time, who have travelled from the workshop of Wiligelmus in Modena and the workshop of Nicholaus. There are many clues to suggest that during the construction process, as at Cremona, it was again Nicholaus who directed the project and oversaw the work.[57] The cathedral at Piacenza took a long time to complete. Work concentrated initially on the façade and the area of the choir and the large crypt. It is probable that the cylindrical piers in the nave, which, as Angiola Maria Romanini has pointed out, resemble examples from across the Alps, especially in Normandy (Jumièges, for example), were constructed towards the middle of the twelfth century, and that the higher parts of the nave were only closed off at the beginning of the thirteenth
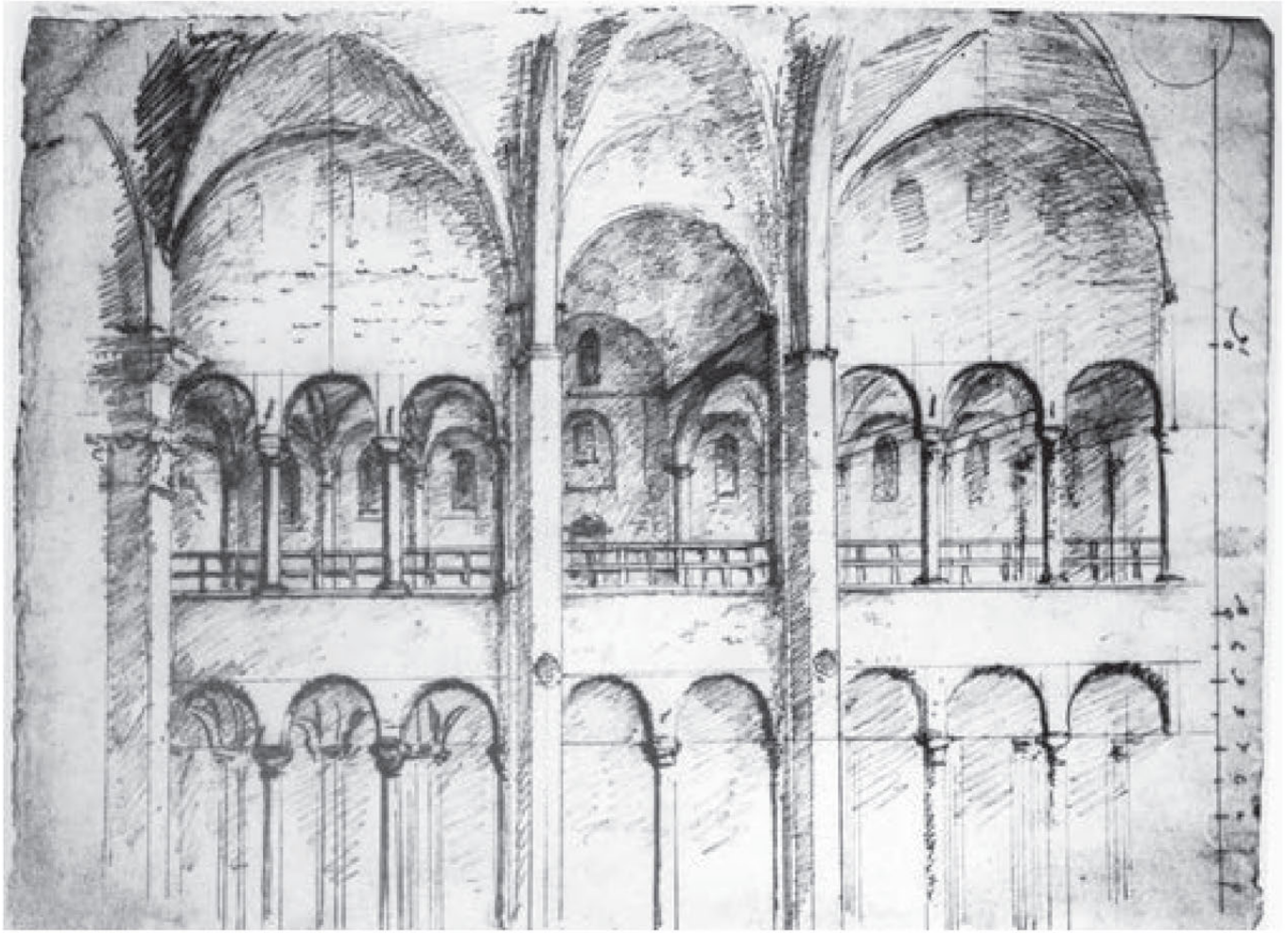
Fig. 6. Novara Cathedral, longitudinal section of the main aisle before the destruction in the nineteenth century, eighteenth-century drawing (after Giuseppe CARITÀ, courtesy of the Istituto di Belle Arti, Vercelli)

century, at the level of the clerestory and the six-sectioned vaults.[58] Despite this, the presence of a large transept with three naves should be considered not as an addition, but rather, as recent studies have shown, as belonging to the original project. Even if the situation with regard to the pre-existing episcopal group is not entirely clear due to a lack of data, it is nevertheless possible that at Piacenza as well, the new building was intended to carry out all the functions previously performed by two distinct edifices, as in Cremona. On the other hand, it has also been shown quite clearly, in my view, that building work was ongoing at both Piacenza and Cremona during the same period.

Returning again to the question of the double cathedrals, there are, however, also cases where the solutions adopted between the eleventh and twelfth centuries were very different from those that we have looked at so far. Leaving aside for now the Veneto area, for which one can refer to the useful study by Giovanna Valenzano,[59] I would like to finish by taking a brief look at the cases of Vercelli, Pavia, and Bergamo.

Vercelli, Pavia and Bergamo Cathedrals

At Vercelli, the ancient cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore was certainly reconstructed in the first half of the twelfth century, with the consecration taking place in 1148 in the presence of St Bernard of Clairvaux.[60] A few drawings made prior to its total destruction in the second half of the eighteenth century (Fig. 8) and a number of erratic fragments of mosaic pavement, masonry, and sculpture, are all that remain of the original building. No evidence has been discovered so
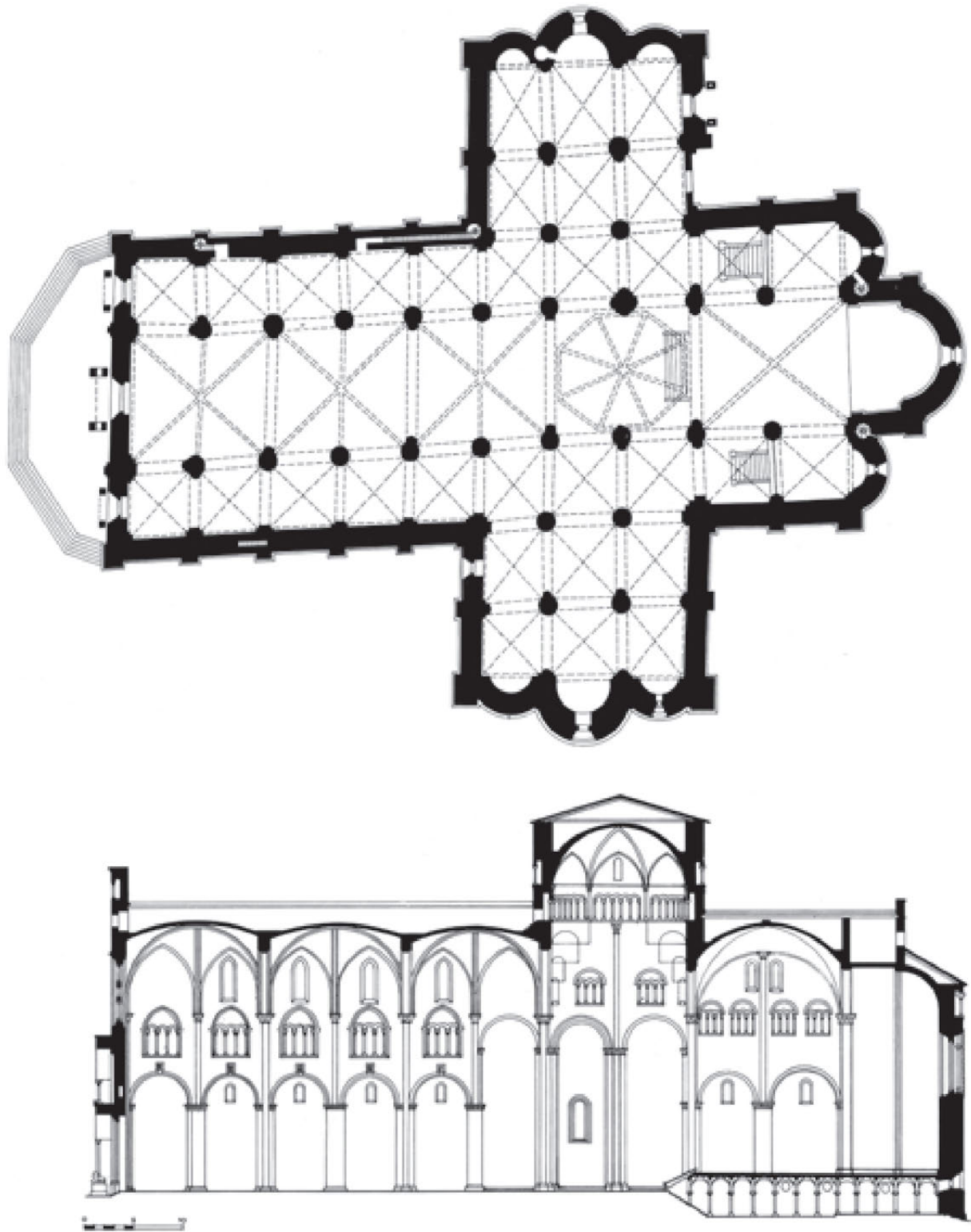
Fig. 7. Piacenza Cathedral, section and plan (after Anna SEGAGNI MALACART)
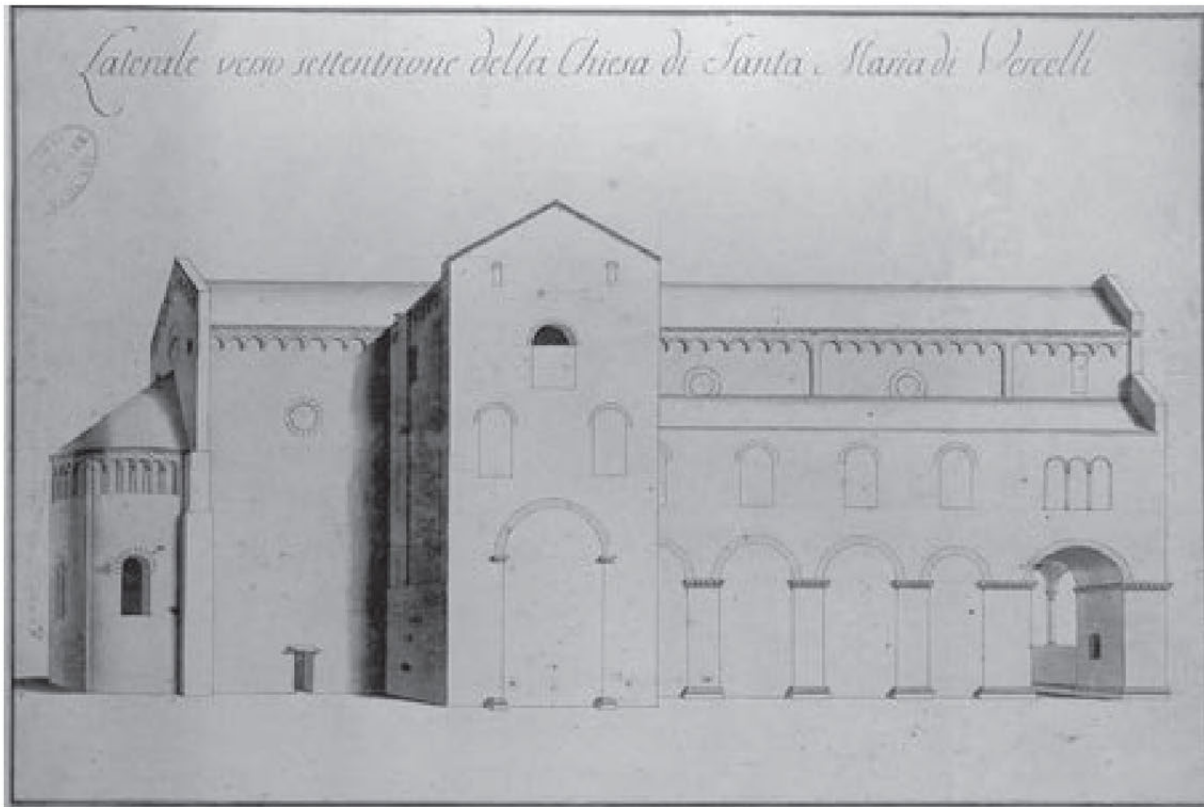
Fig. 8.   Vercelli, cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore, drawing of the north aisle and transept, eighteenth century (after Giuseppe CARITÀ, courtesy of the Istituto di Belle Arti, Vercelli)

far regarding the buildings that preceded the cathedral of Santa Maria, since a mansion was erected on the site of the church. To the side of the cathedral, towards the north, stood a church (also destroyed), with its east end in a 'triconchos' layout. This church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity and, according to Paolo Verzone, formed part of an episcopal group.[61]

As well as Santa Maria Maggiore, there was another church located in the centre of the city that performed the functions of a cathedral. This was the basilica outside the walls dedicated to St Eusebius, the fourth-century bishop of Vercelli, and constructed in the fifth century on the spot where Eusebius built an oratory in memory of his predecessor Theonestus.[62] This building, although totally rebuilt from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, is the present cathedral of Vercelli.

When, towards the end of the twelfth century, the bishop definitively established his residence at the basilica of Sant'Eusebio, he transferred most of the main functions to this cathedral. This building, with its plan of five naves on colonnades (Fig. 9), was

not subject to modification and kept its original fifth-century design substantially intact, but with the addition of a cycle of paintings, of which a copy remains dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century. In the late sixteenth century, the choir was rebuilt, but the ancient basilica was conserved until the time of its final demolition at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[63] This is clearly explicable in terms of veneration for such an ancient building, evidently regarded as a precious relic and a place that conserved the memory of the great Bishop Eusebius.

We find a similar case in Pavia, where the double cathedral dedicated to Saint Stephen (Santo Stefano, the 'summer' basilica, to the north), and to the Virgin Mary, Santa Maria del Popolo (the 'winter' basilica, to the south), is also destroyed today. It is, however, depicted in a famous drawing (Fig. 10) contained in the *Liber de laudibus civitatis Papie* by Opicinus de' Canistris, written in Avignon in the first half of the fourteenth century.

The construction of the current Renaissance cathedral on the same site in the second half of
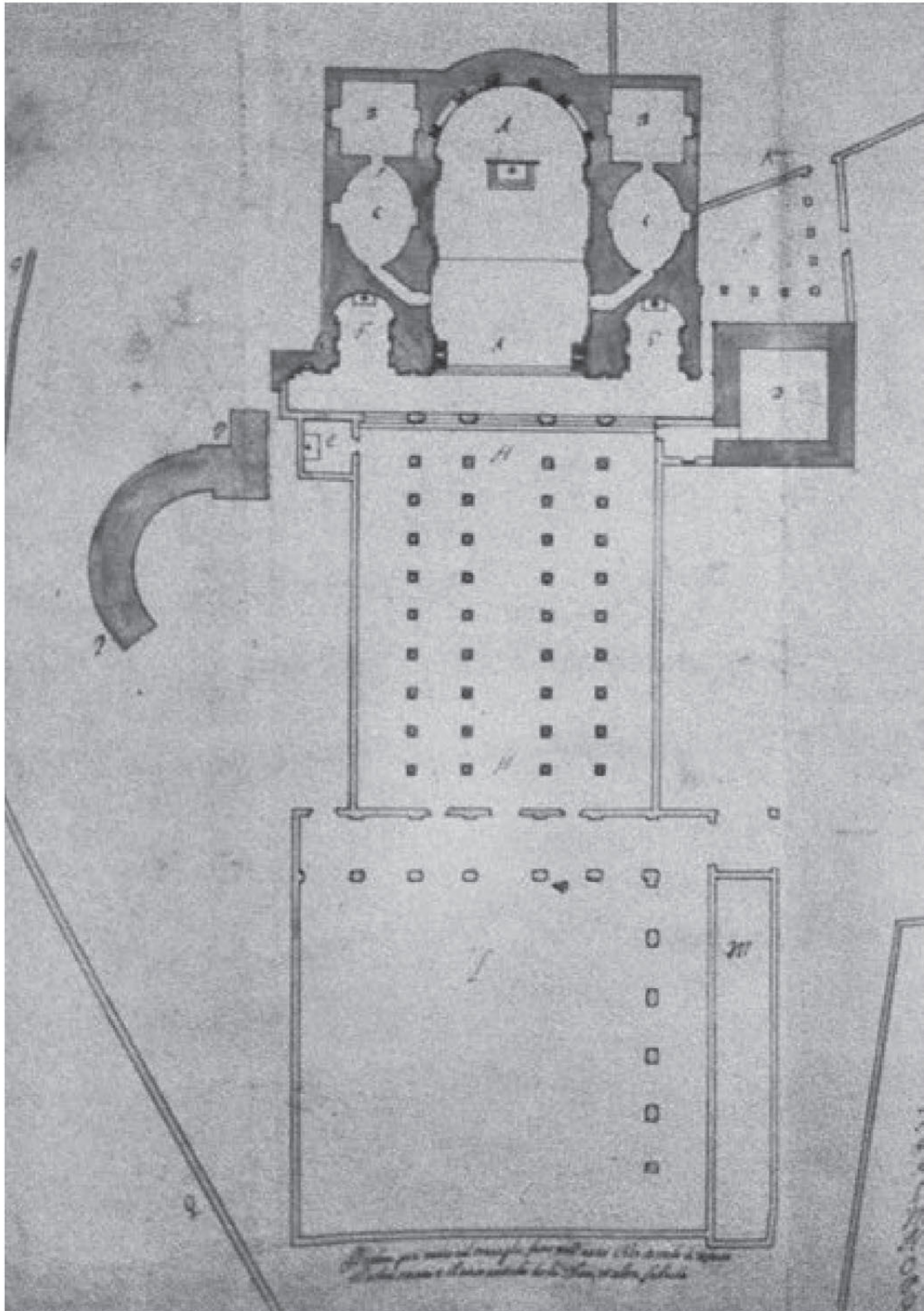
Fig. 9.   Vercelli, cathedral of Sant'Eusebio, plan of the ancient building before the destruction in the eighteenth century, preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Turin (photo courtesy of the Archivio Capitolare, Vercelli)
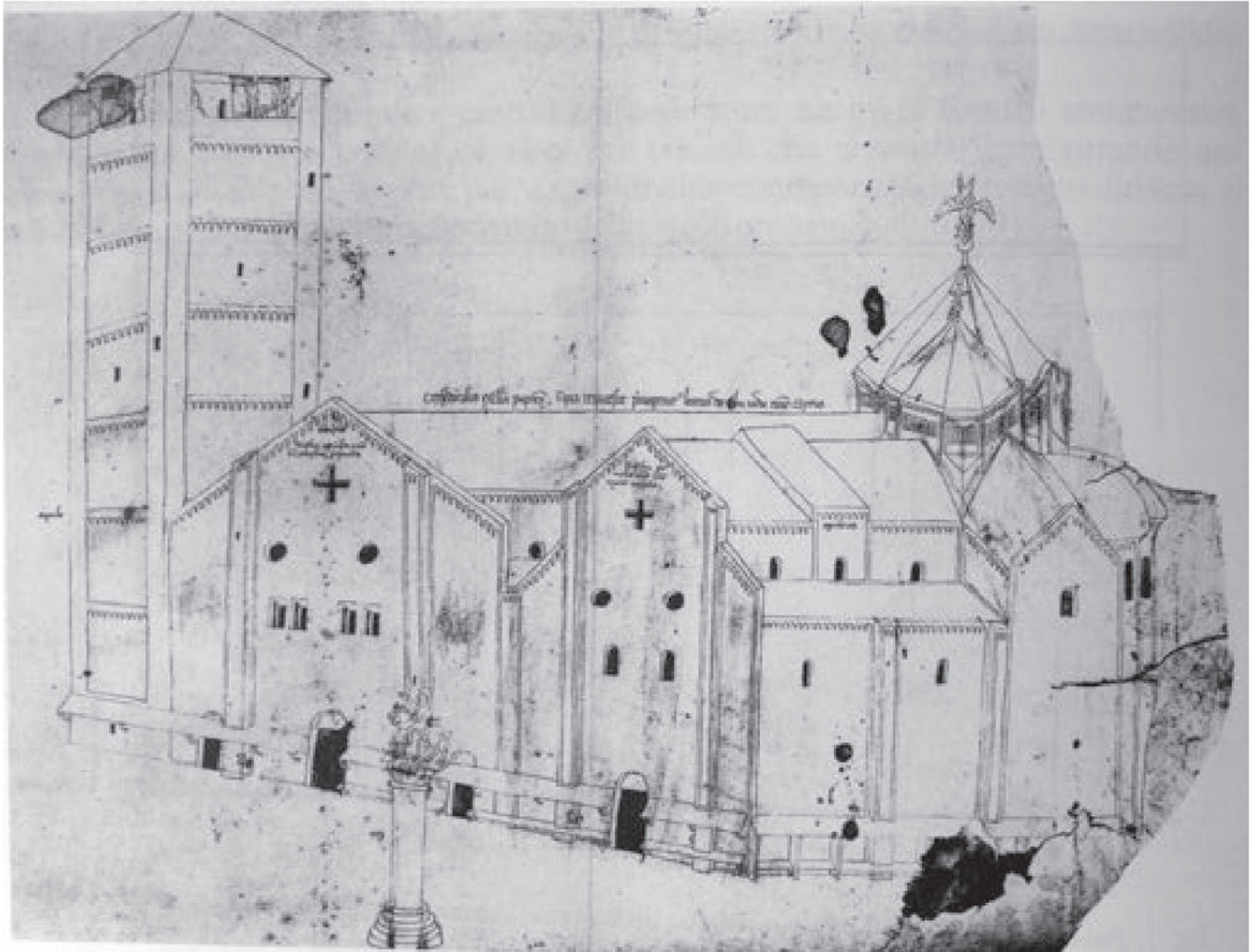
Fig. 10.   Pavia, twin cathedrals of Santo Stefano and Santa Maria del Popolo, drawing from *Liber de laudibus civitatis Papie*, by Opicinus de' Canistris, *c.* 1330, preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [cod. Pal. Lat. 1993, fol. 2v] (photo courtesy of the Musei Civici, Pavia)

the fifteenth century, based on a plan by Bramante, involved demolishing much of the apsidal area in the two pre-existing cathedrals. To complete the work, at the end of the nineteenth century the bodies of the two old churches were also demolished, with only some contemporaneous drawings and photographs remaining. Although this operation was certainly disastrous ('the eternal shame of the city of Pavia', as Arthur Kingsley Porter[64] described it), it did bring to light certain elements concealed over the centuries. From the remains of sculptures and mosaics housed in the Musei Civici of Pavia, one can infer that the church of the Virgin Mary (with its three naves and a complex structure featuring a nave transept, as at Novara, and a crypt, which is still partly preserved)

was the first of the churches to be constructed. It is also certain that this site had been used to erect a similar, early Medieval structure and that work on the church began in the second half of the eleventh century and was protracted until the start of the twelfth century.[65]

The reconstruction of the summer basilica of Saint Stephen must have started soon afterwards. This was a basilica with five naves, soaring in height and covered by groin vaults supported by rows of clustered columns. The demolition process revealed that the brick pillars contained the marble columns and re-used Roman capitals from the preceding early Medieval cathedral, which possibly dated from between the eighth and ninth centuries. Even today, through a crack in a brick

pillar with a simple sandstone capital, one can glimpse the ancient pillar at its core. In addition, a large part of the walls on the north side still preserve the early Medieval pattern of blind arches alternating with large windows. In this way, we can show that the early Medieval building enjoyed considerable continuity, undergoing a 'restyling' at the beginning of the twelfth century, when the structure was adapted to conform to the modern style of vaulted architecture.[66]

We could cite other cases similar to these, such as the new findings in the cathedral of Bergamo, a twelfth century 'restoration' of a fifth century basilica,[67] but we must conclude our review here.

Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to add some brief thoughts vis-à-vis some of the points that deserve further attention. If we limit ourselves to the few cases examined here, to which many more could be added in the Emilia-Lombardy area alone, we may note how the early twelfth-century construction date for Modena Cathedral is closely associated with that of other buildings. There seems to have been some sort of happy conjuncture that saw the revival of many cathedrals, and which evokes the 'white cloak of churches' described by Raoul Glaber many decades before.

This flowering of new buildings in northern Italy is often explained as the result of the damage caused by the earthquake of 1117. This is probably true for some buildings, but not for others, which remained standing even though of an earlier date. However, it is also possible, and indeed more likely, that this was a sign of renewal in civil society that would soon lead to the creation of autonomous city municipalities, the *comuni*, which viewed their cathedrals as a powerful symbol of identity. In the same way, the bishop's palace often became the seat for city assemblies and then a central part of the new town halls.[68]

The construction systems for these new cathedrals almost always involved, except in rare cases (Ferrara, Parma, or even Pisa, for example), a more or less direct relationship with pre-existing buildings. However, these were not always substituted, but sometimes just updated, by means of minor or more major work, as in the cases of Reggio Emilia, Pavia, and Bergamo; or even, as in the case

of Vercelli, they were simply kept intact. It would be very interesting to carry out further research into this topic. In the case of the re-use or simple updating of older buildings, it is hard to believe that this is only, or largely, a matter of choices dictated by limited financial options.

We also have to ask what symbolic importance was attached, on the one hand, to a restoration operation, and on the other, to the total reconstruction of a building. We sense that for the mental outlook and aesthetic taste of the time the two terms were probably synonymous, and that even rebuilding a *fundamentis* was seen as a *restauratio* and improvement of the old building. This is an attitude also found later in the history of architecture. The choice to keep alive an ancient edifice, in its material (and not just ideal) form, carried the real and precise significance of preserving the memory of the diocesan community intact.

However, being associated with a previous building, especially in the case of cathedral churches, was certainly not limited to interventions on the structure, the masonry, the decorations or even the furnishings. In this context, some historians have tended to load all the responsibility for representing the cultural and religious values of a particular society at a particular time onto its buildings and artistic creations, especially the figurative arts such as painting, sculpture, miniatures, textiles, and goldsmith's work.

The relationship of the new buildings (or indeed the renovation and restoration projects) to the pre-existing structures called into play customs, traditions, and cultural and liturgical needs, requirements that certainly lead to restoration or renovation programmes, but which are not produced by them. The architecture as a whole was, and had to continue to be, answerable to those needs that, in a cathedral church, are multiple and stratified, since the clergy to which they relate is also a multi-layered entity. In similar contexts, there is an inevitable meeting, and often a clash, between the requirements of the bishop, the canons (in their turn divided into major and minor canons), the needs related to the cure of souls, and very often also the preservation of the memory of the patron saint. Then there is the question of whose responsibility it is to embody the entire diocesan *populus*, together with the political implications that this can sometimes involve.

The *Libri Ordinarii*, which provide us with archive information from time to time, are a valuable tool for understanding these dynamics, besides helping us to reconstruct ancient liturgical and structural practices. However, these documents have only rarely been taken into consideration, although it should be acknowledged that we now have a better understanding of them than we did in the past.

Finally, I think we should correct our bad habit of regarding the bishop as the sole patron, the sole 'engine' behind the cathedral churches' rebuilding or renovation. It would be interesting to investigate systematically, case by case, the role really played by the chapter of canons in this type of operation, beyond the 'political' pre-eminence (so to say) of the bishop. In the case of Modena Cathedral, it almost seems that the canons, relying on the local citizens' support, had virtually profited from the bishop's absence in order to rebuild their cathedral. There is no doubt that in this case the canons in the chapter regarded the cathedral as their own church. Personally, I am convinced that such a situation also often existed in other cases. This would have an inevitable influence on our perception of the role of bishops' patronage, at least for certain cases and during certain periods.

The study of complex monuments such as cathedral churches will have to rely in the future on increasing cooperation between different fields of expertise and the coordination of different points of view: from archaeology to the history of monuments and art, and to the study of liturgy and economic history, with a host of promising, possible interpretations.

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[18] SANDONNINI, *Cronaca*, p. 112.

[19] MONTORSI, *Gli 'incunaboli'*.

²⁰ Paul FRANKL, 'Der Dom in Modena', in *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1927, pp. 39–54.

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³² *Relatio*, cod. O.II.11, fol. 3v. LOMARTIRE, 'Scripta manent', pp. 124–25.

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³⁹ For a brief summary of the literature on Wiligelmus, see: LOMARTIRE, '"Inter scultores"'.

⁴⁰ Guido CASTAGNOLI, *Il Duomo di Ferrara*, Ferrara, 1895; Francesco GANDOLFO, 'Il Romanico a Ferrara e nel territorio: momenti e aspetti per un essenziale itinerario architettonico e scultoreo', in *Storia di Ferrara, V. Il Basso Medioevo. XII–XIV*, Ferrara, 1987, pp. 324–73, 332–46.

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[52] PORTER, *Lombard architecture*, vol. II, p. 371; see now: PIVA, 'La cattedrale e il gruppo episcopale'; CALZONA, *Il cantiere medievale*.

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[61] VERZONE, *L'architettura religiosa*, pp. 58–59.

[62] Tatiana KIRILOVA KIROVA, 'Cenni sulle chiese paleocristiane di Vercelli con particolare riguardo a S. Eusebio', in *Antichità Altoadriatiche*, 6, 1974, pp. 323–32; Gisella CANTINO WATAGHIN, 'Appunti per una topografia cristiana: i centri episcopali piemontesi', in *Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Ancona 1983*, Ancona, 1986, pp. 91–112, 91.

[63] Federico ARBORIO MELLA, 'L'antica basilica Eusebiana. Indagini e studi. I', in *Archivio della Società Vercellese di Storia e d'Arte. Memorie e studi*, V, 1913, pp. 725–53; VERZONE, *L'architettura romanica nel vercellese*, pp. 70–75; Marco AIMONE, 'Ad exemplum basilicae veteris S. Petri Romae. Nuovi dati e nuove ipotesi sull'antica basilica di S. Eusebio a Vercelli', in *Bollettino Storico Vercellese*, 35, 2006, pp. 5–67; see also above, n. 62.

[64] PORTER, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. III, p. 192.

[65] *Ibidem*, pp. 185–96 (S. Maria del Popolo), pp. 231–36 (S. Stefano); Anna SEGAGNI MALACART, 'L'architettura romanica pavese', in *Storia di Pavia*, vol. III.3, Milan, 1996, pp. 115–227, 145–50.

[66] Saverio LOMARTIRE, 'Alcune chiese dell'Italia padana e la questione dell'originalità nell'architettura "romanica". Spunti per un riflessione', in *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge: commande, production et réception de l'œuvre d'art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, Paris, 2012, pp. 427–33.

[67] The remains of the Medieval cathedral are currently being studied, after the conclusion of the recent archaeological excavations and restorations. For the moment, see: Maria FORTUNATI & Angelo GHIROLDI, 'La Cattedrale di S. Alessandro Martire in Bergamo', in *Storia economica e sociale di Bergamo. I primi millenni. Dalla Preistoria al Medioevo*, vol. II, Bergamo, 2007, pp. 539–47; Fabio SCIREA, 'Il complesso cattedrale di Bergamo', in *Lombardia romanica. I grandi cantieri*, ed. Roberto CASSANELLI & Paolo PIVA, Milan, 2010, pp. 201–11, 201–06.

[68] Carlo TOSCO, 'Potere civile e architettura. La nascita dei *palazzi comunali* nell'Italia nord occidentale', in *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino*, 97, 1999, 2, pp. 513–45; Carlo TOSCO, 'I palazzi comunali nell'Italia nord-occidentale dalla pace di Costanza a Cortenuova', in *Cultura artistica, città e architettura nell'età federiciana, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi: Reggia di Caserta, Cappella Palatina 30 novembre-1 dicembre 1995*, Rome, 2000, pp. 395–422; Marina GARGIULO, 'Programmi politici dei palazzi comunali in Italia settentrionale', in *Medioevo: la chiesa e il palazzo, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 20–24 settembre 2005*, ed. Arturo Carlo QUINTAVALLE, Milan, 2007, pp. 350–56.

Medieval Cathedral Architecture as an Episcopal Instrument of Ideology and Urban Policy
The Example of Venice

Xavier Barral i Altet

Abstract

In Venice, the cathedral of San Pietro di Castello never became the most important church as in other Italian and European cities. Since the middle of the eleventh century or even since the early Middle Ages, there was another religious centre with much greater ideological, visual, and symbolic impact, located by the sea in the city's political and commercial heart, namely Saint Mark's Basilica. This was a palace chapel, rebuilt in 1063 and promoted by the Doge Domenico Contarini. In this paper, I set forth some conclusions concerning the genesis of Venice's Medieval cathedral, built on the islet of Olivolo, closed within an old quarter and situated on the outskirts of the city. I try to understand the architectural and ornamental *facies* that this building must have had in opposition to the magnificent basilica of Saint Mark, by reinterpreting *ex novo* the primary sources, both Medieval and modern, as well as examining the fossilized fragments that were preserved within the sixteenth-century church structure, and, finally, surveying the fifteenth-century graphic testimonies prior to the destruction of San Pietro di Castello.

Premise

In *The Stones of Venice*, a three-volume treatise dedicated to Venetian art and architecture first published in 1851–53, John Ruskin (1819–1900) stated that no other European city possessed a cathedral as unknown to travellers as Venice's cathedral of San Pietro di Castello. Such was the visual, monumental, ideological, and symbolical impact of the basilica of Saint Mark (San Marco), which did not become a cathedral until 1807, that many have considered — and still consider — this church to be the episcopal see of Medieval Venice.[1] When dealing with San Pietro di Castello in the appendix to the first volume, Ruskin stated:

> It is credibly reported to have been founded in the seventh century, and (with somewhat less of credibility) in a place where the Trojans, conducted by Antenor,

had, after the destruction of Troy, built 'un castello, chiamato prima Troja, poscia Olivolo, interpretato, luogo pieno'. It seems that St Peter appeared in person to the Bishop of Heraclea, and commanded him to found in his honour, a church in that spot of the rising city on the Rialto: 'ove avesse veduto una mandra di buoi e di pecore pascolare unitamente. Questa fu la prodigiosa origine della Chiesa di San Pietro, che poscia, o rinovata, o ristaurata, da Orso Participazio IV Vescovo Olivolense, divenne la Cattedrale della Nuova citta' (*Notizie Storiche delle Chiese e Monasteri di Venezia*, Padua, 1758). What there was so prodigious in oxen and sheep feeding together, we need St Peter, I think, to tell us. The title of Bishop of Castello was first taken in 1091: St Mark's was not made the cathedral church till 1807. It may be thought hardly fair to conclude the small importance of the old St Pietro di Castello from the appearance of the wretched modernisations of 1620. But these modernisations are spoken of as improvements; and I find no notice of peculiar beauties in the

older building, either in the work above quoted, or by Sansovino; who only says that when it was destroyed by fire (as everything in Venice was, I think, about three times in a century), in the reign of Vital Michele, it was rebuilt 'with good thick walls, maintaining, for all that, the order of its arrangement taken from the Greek mode of building'. This does not seem the description of a very enthusiastic effort to rebuild a highly ornate cathedral. The present church is among the least interesting in Venice; a wooden bridge, something like that of Battersea on a small scale, connects its island, now almost deserted, with a wretched suburb of the city behind the arsenal; and a blank level of lifeless grass, rotted away in places rather than trodden, is extended before its mildewed façade and solitary tower.[2]

A study of the Medieval cathedral of Venice, particularly during the Romanesque era, is a complicated historiographical venture because the old building, which in the Middle Ages assumed the role of episcopal see, no longer exists; further, the current building with this name is not Medieval, but a sixteenth-century structure. The project designed by Andrea Palladio in 1558 was never carried out, and the building was finished in a different manner in the seventeenth century (Fig. 1).[3] The construction of this building caused the total destruction of Venice's old Medieval episcopal see. As a result, the study of this church building means outlining a ghost building, an architecture that certainly existed for many centuries, yet was subsequently neglected due to changes in taste, and from which only scattered and fragmentary traces, either written or material, remain.

The example of Venice, the centre of a powerful independent duchy, is almost unique in the Western Christian world. Here, the cathedral never became the most important church as in other Italian and European cities, with the exception of some eastern German towns, such as in Lübeck and Brandenburg, as well as in Gniezno and Poznań in Poland.[4] Since the middle of the eleventh century, yet probably since the Early Middle Ages, the cathedral of Venice was entirely overshadowed by Saint Mark's Basilica, which was rebuilt in 1063 and promoted by the Doge Domenico Contarini (1042–71). Its monumental and superb design and form are still in part preserved;[5] Saint Mark's is a truly magnificent edifice that, with its splendour,[6] huge dome, and polychrome mosaics[7] reflecting light from the nearby basin flowing into the Grand Canal, focuses the attention by procuring for itself the role of

prince among all city churches, a right which was supposed to be assumed by the episcopal see.[8]

Venice's Medieval church landscape therefore featured two opposite poles: on the one hand, there was a chapel, San Marco, which may well be defined as private, constructed to express the uppermost degree of the Doge's power, located in the heart of the city, by the sea, and within the city's political and commercial centre; and, on the other hand, there was the cathedral, San Pietro di Castello, built on the islet of Olivolo, closed within an old quarter and situated on the outskirts of the city, representing a story of alternative political and economic survival of an urban landscape very different from that of the Piazza San Marco.[9]

In this paper, I subsequently elaborate some of the conclusions I have reached concerning the genesis of the Medieval cathedral of Venice, together with the architectural and ornamental *facies* that this building must have had in opposition to the magnificent basilica of San Marco. Three methods were followed to establish the *facies*: first, assessing both Medieval and modern primary sources, a documentation that, due to its incompleteness and the complexity of the manuscript tradition, I have had to reinterpret *ex novo*; second, documenting the few fragments preserved from the Medieval church, fossilized within the sixteenth-century structure, as well as comparing them with the remains from the sacred buildings of the Lagoon area; and third, surveying the fifteenth-century graphic testimonies prior to the destruction of the church.

The Cathedral of Venice through Sources and Documents

The ancient history of the San Pietro di Castello cathedral is closely bound to the history of the Olivolo diocese, which had been the titular see since its origins. However, the story is not easy to survey because the records and local chronicles do not always agree, especially since the evidence can be placed within two clearly separate traditions, making it necessary to contextualize their original environments.[10]

The first and most authoritative source on the history of Venice until the year 1000 is the so-called *Cronaca Veneziana*. Published for the first time in 1765 under the title *Chronicon Venetum vetustissimum*, and subsequently in 1846 in the *Monumenta Germaniae*

Fig. 1. Venice, the church of San Pietro di Castello, the ancient cathedral, today (photo author)

Historica, the Chronicle is attributed to a deacon named Giovanni, who, according to the sources, is known to have also been chaplain of the Doge Pietro II Orseolo (961–1009). On behalf of the Doge, Giovanni Deacon acquitted important diplomatic assignments close to the Emperors Otto III and Henry II.[11]

The Chronicle explains the main events of Venice from its origins until the early eleventh century, and it is an important source not only for the history of the duchy, but also for that of the German Empire as a whole. It is likely that the compiler had lists and primary sources at hand, preserved in the Doge's archive. Giovanni Deacon's source, identifiable and recognizable by the nature of the vocabulary and the sequence of information, can be considered as trustworthy. Moreover, as opposed to a work by a bishop patterned on the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*, or a work inserted in the *Gesta Episcoporum* or *Gesta Abbatum* genre, so diffused within the Carolingian European period, the Chronicle is a citizen's document in which the references to the episcopacy can only be found if they are closely related to the activity of the duke and not that of the bishop.

From Giovanni Deacon we know that, in the early 770s, the Duke of Venice, Maurizio, decided to found a new episcopate on the Venetian island of Olivolo, which, due to the presence of an Ancient *castrum*, was also known as the 'Castello'. The chronicler asserts the following: *undecimo sui ducatus anno, apud Olivolensem insulam, apostolica auctoritate, novum episcopatum fore decrevit, in quo quendam clericum, Obelliebatum nomine, episcopum ordinavit* ('On the eleventh year of his government, he decided that near the island of Olivolo, under the authority of the Pope, will be created a new episcopate, in which he consecrated a clergyman named Obelliebatum').[12] The news concerning the new episcopate is therefore explained exclusively considering the fact that Duke Maurizio founded it under *apostolica auctoritate*. This means that the founding of the Venice episcopate and

the ensuing construction of an episcopal see are presented as a direct result of the duchy, though with the consent and authority of the Pope of Rome; it is also clear that, due to the circumstances, a see was built or a pre-existing building was rearranged in order to become a cathedral.

Subsequently, Giovanni Deacon explains that around the year 820, the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunato, to whose authority the bishops of Olivolo belonged as suffragans, went to France, offering him the patriarchal vacant seat. The Venetians opposed him, naming Giovanni, the abbot of Saint Servolo (a monastery very close to San Pietro's cathedral) as patriarch instead. At the same time, the construction on Olivolo of a church dedicated to Saint Peter also began: *Circa haec tempora, apud Olivolensem insulam, Sancti Petri ecclesiam edificari incepta est* ('Around this time, at the island of Olivolo, a church of Saint Peter was started to be built'). After providing this news, Giovanni Deacon writes that the consecration of the church of San Pietro ad Olivolo, construction of which lasted nine years, occurred around the year 831. Giovanni Deacon is therefore the first reliable source who (twice) mentions the cathedral of Olivolo being dedicated to Saint Peter.[13]

We do not know whether the dedication to Saint Peter was conferred to the episcopal see in the previous century, when it had just been established. Given Giovanni Deacon's lack of attention concerning the construction of Lagoon-area religious buildings (another feature that significantly distinguishes his work from Carolingian Europe's *Gesta Episcoporum*), the data provided are significant and need to be explained in context. Based on the facts as determined, I am tempted to conclude that the first church dedicated to Saint Peter was built in the ninth century, given that a building to be used as an episcopal see was needed from the very moment of the foundation. I would also like to underscore that at the time when the work at the church consecrated in 831 started, Olivolo had experienced an important monastic colonization phenomenon, that is, the foundation of the monastery of Sant'Ilario, an enterprise promoted by the abbot of Saint Servolo, the same person who had been chosen as patriarch of Grado by the Duke of Venice.[14]

The information provided to us by Giovanni Deacon may, however, be correlated with two other sources. The first and most substantial is the will from the year 853 of Orso, Bishop of Olivolo, in which it is stated that he had built a church dedicated to Saint Peter the Apostle. In light of Orso having been elected bishop around the year 822, the unattributed consecration noted by Giovanni Deacon can reasonably be attributed to him.[15]

The second source consists of a series of historical texts designated as *Chronicon Altinate*, or *Origo Civitatum Italie seu Venetiarum*, transmitted in different versions, all from the thirteenth century. Currently, we do not know to what extent the later additions are interpolated within the original writing, which can probably be dated to the late twelfth century.[16] Within the *Chronicon Altinate*, we come across another tradition concerning the origin of the episcopate of Venice, one conceived in an environment quite different from that of the *Cronaca Veneziana*. In the *Origo*, the foundation of the Olivolo episcopate is attributed to the patriarch of Aquileia, Elias. This implies that the episcopate was founded by the determination of the Aquileia patriarchs together with the Torcello and Malamocco bishoprics, and not by ducal resolution. According to this source, the episcopate *Olivolensis* was named thusly due to the presence of a huge olive tree on the front door of the ancient church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus; summoned by the population of the parish, the patriarch then ordered that a church be built in honour of Saint Peter, and there he founded the bishopric.

Let us now analyse the data more closely. First, the attribution of the foundation of the Olivolo episcopate to Elias induces us to place the founding of the see already in the sixth century, almost a mythical time, since the habitability of Venice is not asserted until the end of the eighth century; second, a church being dedicated to two saints from Constantinople in this location is stated only by this source. Nevertheless, the source never asserts that the church of Saint Peter had replaced that of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, as has often been erroneously assumed in the historiography of the twentieth century concerning Venice's cathedral. Finally, the explanation that the episcopal church had been built on the spot where a huge olive tree rose is clearly an etiological myth, born in a time when people wished to recreate the ancient origins of the episcopate. Therefore, I think that we are facing an historical interpretation developed in a later age, less reliable than that of Giovanni Deacon, and chiefly generated within the context of an exaltation of the

patriarchate of Elias, to whom the foundation of the suffragan diocese of Venice should be assigned.

It should not be neglected, however, that Elias's becoming patriarch of Aquileia subsequent to the Lombard invasion prompted the patriarchal see's transfer to Grado, causing, as a result, the separation between the two patriarchates, a reality that would last far beyond the Middle Ages. Actually, in the year 579, Elias had convened a synod in Grado, where he lived for about ten years, and during the synod had founded *ex novo* six Lagoon-area dioceses, namely Torcello, Malamocco, Equilo, Eracliana, Caorle and, of course, Olivolo.[17] I believe that it is, as stated above, a mythical foundation, utterly implausible from an historical point of view, invented in order to legitimize the see of Grado vis-à-vis that of Aquileia, a legitimation justified moreover by another fact: in the *Origo*, Elias is described as the successor of Saint Mark, that is, the emissary of the Apostle Peter in Aquileia.

This evidence denotes that the attribution to Elias of the founding of the Olivolo diocese also implied the seal of Saint Peter, albeit indirectly. Not being able to absolutely suggest the Petrine origins of Olivolo, as other ancient episcopacies like Naples or Capua could do during the Middle Ages, the diocese sought a mid-term resolution in which the Venetians also benefited from Grado. The reference to Saint Peter is very important in my discourse and I will return to it below.

In 1044, moreover, Pope Boniface IX, in a letter to Orso Orseolo, who had been severely damaged by the then-current patriarch of Aquileia, Poppone, had comforted him by proclaiming the independence from Aquileia and ceding to him the control of all the territories within the Venetian duchy, that is, the Italic Reign and Istria. In 1073, Pope Gregory VII had also urged the Doge, Domenico Selvo, to support the patriarch of Grado, who now resided permanently in Venice. Furthermore, Pope Alexander III, who in 1177 lived in Venice due to the truce established with Frederick Barbarossa, also urged the Doge Sebastiano Ziani to transfer the patriarchy of Grado to the city, both from an authoritative and factual governmental point of view.[18]

However, the permanent establishment of a local patriarch, whose residence was located in the palace of San Silvestro in Rialto,[19] became a source of conflict as both the Metropolitan patriarch, that is, the patriarch of Grado, and the suffragan bishop, who resided in the cathedral of Olivolo, were gathered in the same

territory, namely Venice. The situation only changed in 1420, with the end of the patriarchal status of Aquileia and the annexation of Friuli to Venice.[20]

On 8 October 1451, Pope Nicholas V finally decreed a bull declaring the end of the Grado patriarchate and ceding its territory, assets, and title to the Venice patriarchate, which led to the cancellation of the Venetian episcopacy and its confluence with the patriarchy in that same year. When the patriarch of Grado died in 1451, Bishop Giustiniani of Castello Lorenzo was also nominated to replace him, initiating in this way the patriarchate of Venice, headquartered in the Castle.[21]

Archaeological Evidence and its Comparison with the Lagoon Area of the Eleventh Century

The story reconstructed on the basis of textual data has so far generated an interpretative confusion that has even impacted the cathedral's architectural history. From the early Medieval phase of the San Pietro Cathedral, which I will deem Carolingian for the sake of clarity, currently nothing remains, and any assumptions referring to its configuration would be useless, although we can ascribe to this construction phase a restored mosaic panel now preserved in the Cappella Lando of the current building, and perhaps previously a segment of a pavement.

We have evidence to suggest neither the configuration of Olivolo's first episcopal church, which I will agree to date based upon the assertions of Giovanni Deacon to the end of the eighth century, nor the structure of the church of Bishop Orso, which was probably built *ex novo* at the beginning of the ninth century. Nevertheless, by using both archaeological and modern graphic sources, we will define the *facies* of the cathedral of Venice in the Romanesque period.

In the current Cappella Lando, where the mosaic fragment which I maintain dates from the early Middle Ages is preserved,[22] there are two columns of medium height, with large acanthus capitals of pulvinus, decorated with Corinthian palms that clearly demonstrate their style (Fig. 2). This is a common decorative sculptural feature throughout the Lagoon. This strong taste for Antique traits is customary and allows us to date these capitals in the first half of the eleventh century by comparing them to those of the Aquileia patriarchal basilica, which are also

Fig. 2.   Venice, San Pietro di Castello, Capella Lando, eleventh-century capital (photo author)

characterized by an old-style taste wherein the sculptor imitated an Ancient capital model that was then placed together with the Romanesque ones. They can also be compared with the Romanesque-period capitals of Saint Nicholas al Lido, which are very similar.[23]

Their presence does not imply, however — and I want to state this for the sake of methodology — that in the early Medieval period, there was a misnomer 'proto-Romanesque' stage, because the capitals and columns may have belonged to a piece of liturgical furniture and not to a building structure with load-bearing function. These capitals can in fact be stylistically dated to the eleventh century, yet we must not infer that there was a simultaneous reconstruction of the cathedral: the date that these pieces suggest rather invites us to hypothesize the presence of at least a new

Romanesque phase. However, whether this stage was part of a new church or was adapted and integrated into an early Medieval church remains unknown.

Furthermore, if we compare these columns with a detailed design from the nineteenth century made by G. Casoni, in which he depicted 'l'antica edicola entro cui stava il Fonte Battesimale' ('the Ancient aedicule in which the Baptismal font was located'), that is, the baptistery, where a spring for baptism could be found, it can be observed that similar capitals could still be seen crowning the columns that supported the dome of the ciborium in the nineteenth century. Wladimiro Dorigo stated that the two columns of the Lando Chapel were probably originally placed within the walls at the corners of the side apses of the cathedral's original baptistery, from which we

can still recognize its topography in Casoni's design. Nevertheless, even if we would assume that the baptistery was rebuilt in the eleventh century and a new ciborium was arranged for the font, this does not imply that the main church of the episcopal complex had been entirely built.[24]

The textual sources are silent on this fact, yet in the aforementioned *Chronicon Altinate*, we read a significant datum, which I think is reliable and can provide a starting point for advancing the research: the anonymous author of the text writes that late on 17 December 1120, the day of the burial of Bishop Vitale Michael, the episcopal church of Saint Peter burned completely, together with the Bishop's palace and several neighbouring houses. Further, this happened on the day before Bonifacio Falier was consecrated as the new bishop of San Pietro di Castello:[25] Bonifacio Falier (bishop from 1120–33) was a well-known character, of whom the sources praise the nobility of birth, his great virtue and honesty, and above all, his bringing to Venice the remains of Saint Isidore from the island of Chios.[26]

The story provided by the *Chronicon Altinate* in this case is very precise and related to an event, namely the episcopal consecration of Falier, still fresh in the memory at the time when the text was written. The coincidence of the burning of the old church with the election of the new bishop questions whether the unfortunate circumstance had not been an excellent opportunity provided to this prestigious member of a powerful Venetian family, to rebuild the church under a new appearance, during a time when the new magnificent basilica of San Marco was raised in all its glory next to the ducal power base. It would certainly not have been the only case during the Middle Ages in which a fire provided the pretext to rebuild an old church, supplying the bishop commissioning the building with the opportunity to celebrate himself through a new monumental cathedral.

The Drawing by Jacopo de' Barbari and the Hypothesis of a Romanesque Cathedral of the Twelfth Century

Nonetheless, I do not wish the textual sources to assert what they do not say, and I have no other facts to support my hypothesis, that is, a reconstruction of the cathedral after 1120, a time when in Europe we witness a period of extraordinary architectural flowering. I would therefore like to survey a famous Venice cityscape drawn by Jacopo de' Barbari and printed in 1500 (there are now only eleven copies preserved),[27] representing the cathedral of San Pietro di Castello (Fig. 3).

In the landscape, a church of remarkable monumentality can be observed, which rises to a considerable height. It is divided into three naves, from which only the main and the right aisles can be discerned. Additionally, three tiered apses can be distinguished, as well as sixteen single-light windows in the clerestory, from which a double colonnade of at least eight barrel columns on each side may be assumed. I believe that what emerges from the plan is a close relationship between the church and the surrounding buildings of the episcopal complex, especially that of the bishop's palace. The portico of the building currently preserved (albeit in conditions of deplorable degradation) is characterized by its wide tile arches resting on columns of Istrian stone, which date back to the government of the patriarch Lorenzo Priuli (1537–1600), elected in 1591, whose coat of arms can still be seen on the front door (Fig. 4). The front of the building was then aligned with the façade of the new church to create a scenic backdrop matching the field that extended in front of the episcopal complex.

Concerning the aforementioned landscape, Wladimiro Dorigo stated that the building that can be distinguished next to the cathedral was a cortile, that is, a palace courtyard, in which an external stone staircase was placed leading up to the upper floor. Yet, if we survey the landscape closely, we can observe an original Romanesque cloister. It might have had a two-level structure, with a ground floor open to a central courtyard through a series of large arches, recalled with exactness on the engraving, yet drawn just to indicate that it was a two-level structure viewed from above, by oblique and not parallel axes. This process was not uncommon in the perspectives developed by De' Barbari, and can actually lead us to believe that we are placed on the front of an exterior staircase that gave access to the palace's first floor. We cannot exclude that the Romanesque cathedral built or rebuilt in 1120 also had a cloister; this was formed by overlapping columns, two of which came to rest on the right side of the church according to the most common Romanesque tradition on the south aisle. The four single-light windows are located here, as is shown in the engraving, which displays great monumentality.
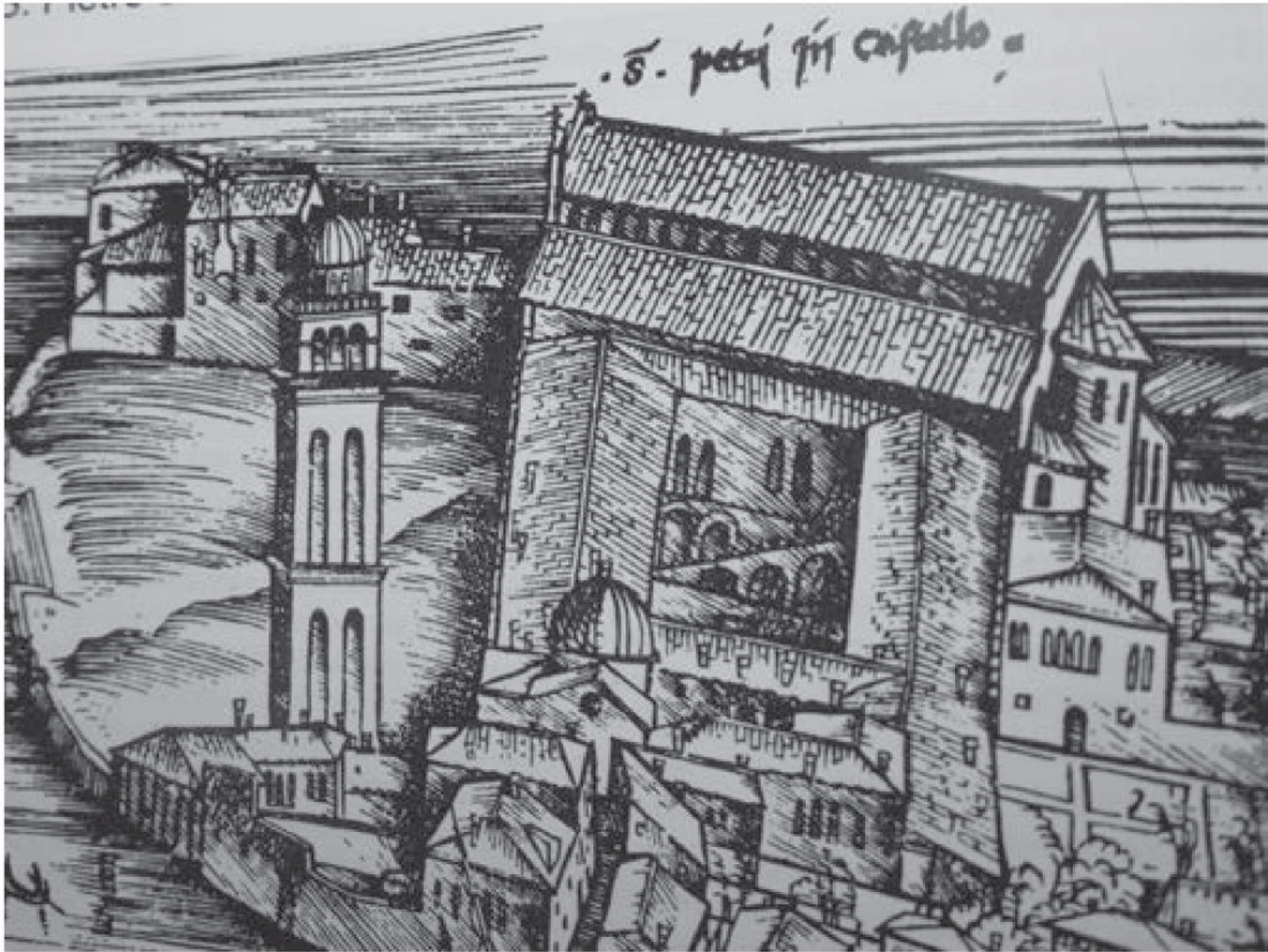
Fig. 3. Venice, San Pietro di Castello, the Romanesque cathedral before its destruction, detail from a woodcut by Jacopo de' Barbari, *c.* 1500 (photo author)

These observations also suggest that the cathedral of Saint Peter did not differ structurally from the great Romanesque Venetian Lagoon churches such as Santo Stefano at Caorle, Santa Maria at Torcello, or Santa Maria e San Donato at Murano (Fig. 5), among others, which were built according to an architectural formula that could already be found in Saint Nicholas al Lido, and which we will still find towards 1175 at San Crisogono at Zadar/Zara (Dalmatia).[28]

This architectural type is strictly opposed to the building structure which was chosen for the basilica of San Marco in 1063.[29] In 1120, when the cathedral of Olivolo/Castello was presumably rebuilt under the shape we can still distinguish within the aforementioned sixteenth-century drawing prior to the new Palladian building, the basilica of San Marco was

not yet finished, though it already displayed a very different structure compared to the Romanesque-style Lagoon-area churches. The fire of 1120 enabled differentiating the cathedral from the exuberant big enterprise that was taking place in the political city centre, formally opposing the Doge's preferred architectural style and proclaiming a sort of intrinsic Venetian Lagoon style, almost native, and explained by the desire of recovering an antiquated Romanesque model.

In the title of this article, the term 'ideology' is mentioned in order to generate an intellectual challenge. The new cathedral was built after 1120 in a style of which the plan, capitals, and probable cloister proved the bonds with the Lagoon's Romanesque tradition, displaying to those visiting Venice a tangible

Fig. 4.   Venice, San Pietro di Castello, modern court on the site of the Romanesque cloister of the cathedral (photo author)

difference: while the Doge's chapel was private and public at the same time, the cathedral was the head of the diocese. In my opinion, at a time which is not archaeologically demonstrable, the twelfth-century Venetian cathedral played a considerable role in defining a strictly local Romanesque architecture, far from the Byzantine models, and intentionally turned to look towards the Venetian hinterland. Furthermore, I will not exclude that it was this church — with its aisles, its presbytery's considerable height, the balance in formal and spatial terms — that provided the models for, for example, San Donato at Murano, which was perhaps built immediately after, as is evidenced by the date 1141 stated on the mosaic floor (Fig. 5). If we survey the facts from this new point of view, some of the certainties acquired at the

end of the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century in the Veneto can be overturned. The architecture of Saint Mark's appears as a *unicum*, unique and truly exceptional, whilst in the same region a local Romanesque architecture is developing, with all its local nuances and peculiarities.

This conclusion, founded on a documentary basis and which has its strong point in De'Barbari's perspective, along with the comparison with the other existing twelfth-century Lagoon churches, could be confirmed by the study of the so-called chair of Saint Peter, which is documented since the fourteenth century as being in the cathedral of Castello and is currently preserved there (Fig. 6). It is a marble throne incorporating a dossal made in sandstone, probably a funeral stela with Kufic inscriptions, dated by Islamic

Fig. 5.   Murano, San Donato, built around 1140 under the architectural influence of the Romanesque cathedral of San Pietro di Castello (photo author)

epigraphists in the Seljuk period,[30] that is, to the mid-eleventh century, though we do not know when or how it arrived in Venice.

Contrary to what modern Venetian sources report concerning this throne, its configuration shows an assembly of different parts, and its structure is characteristic of the Romanesque period. The chair surely was covered with fabrics and pillows, and undressed of these symbols of power and the episcopal rank when not needed. It is part of a long tradition of bishops' thrones that can be traced since Late Antiquity until the end of the Romanesque age in the Roman and Abruzzo milieu, following a continuous line, as André Grabar has already stated. The studies of Francesco Gandolfo have enlightened the symbolic value of the reuse of Antique pieces in papal

thrones of the twelfth century, still visible in various churches of Rome.[31]

In Venice, a sculptural erratic fragment, which was attributed to Antioch on the basis of its inscription, was assembled from marble pieces of various origin; however, the sculpture was mainly of an Eastern origin, confirming its belonging to Saint Peter Apostle. Consequently, I am inclined to assume that we are probably facing the only surviving element of the liturgical furniture preserved from the Romanesque cathedral of Venice built after the fire of 1120. It is not surprising that during the modern reconstruction of the building, this throne was preserved as a symbol of the origins of the Medieval episcopal complex. Subsequently, the fixture was always called the chair of Saint Peter, referring not to the cathedral church

Fig. 6.   Venice, San Pietro di Castello, episcopal chair from the Romanesque cathedral
            (photo author)

of San Pietro, but to Saint Peter the Apostle, additionally building a legend that it was the throne of Peter of Antioch prior to his arrival to Rome. These legends are sometimes invented in order to give credit to the antiquity of the local dioceses, which is greater than that of the Roman papacy. Although very rare, parallels are also found elsewhere in the Italian peninsula, as in the exemplary case of Naples. The genesis of the new Petrine foundation myths always occurred in a very crucial period involving the historical reconstruction of dioceses. Probably, the construction of a new building and the definition of its liturgy in relation to the new spaces of worship included the writing of new legends intended to be recited or sung during processions.

In the case of Venice, this issue remains to be investigated. But what could be visually stronger than a throne alluding to the figure and the role of the prince of the apostles in order to strengthen the authority of a great new Lagoon cathedral that symbolically contrasted episcopal power with the power of the Doge?

NOTES

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[2] John RUSKIN, *The Stones of Venice*, vol. 1. *The Foundations*, London, 1851, pp. 351–52.
[3] Gianmario GUIDARELLI, 'Venice's Cathedral of San Pietro di Castello 145–11630', in *Architecture, Art and Identity in Venice and its Territories. Essays in Honour of Deborah Howard, 1450–1750*, ed. Nebahat AVCIOGLU & Emma JONES, Farnham, 2013, pp. 185–201; IDEM, *I patriarchi di Venezia e l'architettura. La cattedrale di San Pietro di Castello nel Rinascimento*, coll. Ateneo IUAV. Saggi, Padova, 2015.
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[5] Frank BECKER, 'Tra basilica e palazzo: appunti sulla storia costruttiva di San Marco a Venezia', in *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'architettura*, 54, 2010, pp. 3–20.
[6] Henry MAGUIRE & Robert S. NELSON (ed.), *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, Dumbarton Oaks Symposia and Colloquia, Washington, 2010.
[7] Otto DEMUS, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, Chicago, 1984; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, *Les mosaïques de pavement médiévales de Venise*, Murano, Torcello & Paris, 1985.
[8] Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, 'La cathédrale Saint-Pierre contre la basilique Saint-Marc de Venise, ou les motivations politiques et religieuses d'un choix architectural au XIIe siècle', in *Materiam superabat opus: Hommage à Alain Erlande-Brandenburg*, ed. Agnès BOS & Xavier DECTOT, Paris, 2006, pp. 200–11; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, 'La cattedrale di Venezia del vescovo Bonifacio Fallier (1120–1133): alcune ipotesi', in *La cattedrale di Padova nel Medioevo europeo*, Colloquium at Università degli studi di Padova, 2009 (in press).
[9] Concerning the devotion to Saint Peter and Saint Mark in the Venetian territories, see: *San Pietro e San Marco: arte e iconografia in area adriatica*, ed. Letizia CASELLI, Rome, 2009.
[10] Luigi Andrea BERTO, *In Search of the First Venetians. Prosopography of Early Medieval Venice*, Turnhout, 2014.
[11] Giovanni MONTICOLO, *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, Rome, 1890, pp. 59171; Giovanni MONTICOLO, 'I manoscritti e le fonti della cronaca del diacono Giovanni', in *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano*, 9, 1890, pp. 37–328; Enrico BESTA, 'Sulla composizione della cronaca veneziana attribuita al diacono Giovanni', in *Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti. Atti. Classe di scienze morali e lettere*, 73/2, 1913–1914, pp. 775–802; Gina FASOLI, 'I fondamenti della storiografia veneziana', in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi*, ed. Agostino PERTUSI, Florence, 1970, pp. 1113; *La cronaca veneziana di Giovanni Diacono*, ed. Mario De BIASI, Venice, 1986, pp. 15–113; J. MELVILLE-JONES, in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. R. Graeme DUNPHY, Leiden & Boston, 2010, p. 944; Luigi Andrea BERTO, *The Political and Social Vocabulary of John the Deacon's 'Istoria Veneticorum'*, Turnhout, 2013.
[12] Giovanni MONTICOLO, *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, p. 98 and passim.
[13] MONTICOLO, *Cronache veneziane*, p. 110.
[14] Franco TONON & Antonio CARILE, *Le origini della Chiesa di Venezia*, Venice, 1987.
[15] Franco GAETA, *S. Lorenzo* (Fonti per la storia di Venezia, sez. II, Archivi ecclesiastici, Diocesi castellana, 1), Venice, 1959, pp. 5–12; Stefano GASPARRI, 'I testamenti nell'Italia settentrionale fra VIII e IX secolo', in *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer. Transmission du patrimoine et mémoire au haut Moyen Âge*, ed. François BOUGARD, Cristina LA ROCCA & Régine LE JAN, Rome, 2005, pp. 97–113.
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Chiesa di Venezia, ed. Antonio CARILE & Franco TONON, Venice, 1987, pp. 123–42; Antonio CARILE, *Il problema delle origini di Venezia*, in *Le origini della Chiesa*, pp. 77–119.

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[22] Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, *Les mosaïques de pavement*, p. 1317; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, *Le décor du pavement au Moyen Âge: les mosaïques de France et d'Italie* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 429), Rome, 2010.

[23] Hans H. BUCHWALD, 'Eleventh Century Corinthian-Palmette Capitals in the Region of Aquileia', in *The Art Bulletin*, 48, 1966, pp. 147–58.

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[25] MONTICOLO, *Cronache veneziane*. Concerning the destruction of the church, see: Rinaldo FULIN, 'Annali veneti brevi tratti da un codice vaticano', in *Archivio veneto*, XII, 1876, pp. 334–49, esp. p. 346; 'Per un elenco dei vescovi di Castello, oltre a F. Ughelli', *Italia sacra*, V, coll. 1134 and passim; Flaminio CORNER, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello*, Venice, 1758, pp. 6–16.

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[27] Simone FERRARI, *Jacopo de' Barbari: un protagonista del Rinascimento tra Venezia e Dürer*, Milan, 2006.

[28] Concerning these monuments, see: Fulvio ZULIANI, *Veneto romanico*, Milan, 2006.

[29] Ferdinando FORLATI, 'Influenza del primo S. Marco sulle chiese di Venezia e di Terraferma', in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie des Frühmittelalters. Akten zum VII. Internationalen Kongress für Frühmittelalterforschung (21–28 September 1958)*, ed. Hermann FILLITZ, Graz & Cologne, 1962, pp. 134–38.

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[31] Francesco GANDOLFO, 'Trono', in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, Rome, 2000; Francesco GANDOLFO, 'Reimpiego di sculture antiche nei troni papali del XII secolo', in *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia*, 47, 1974–1975, pp. 203–18; Francesco GANDOLFO, 'La cattedra papale in età federiciana', in *Federico II e l'arte del Duecento italiano. Atti della III Settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'Università di Roma, 15–20 maggio 1978*, ed. Angiola Maria ROMANINI, vol. 1, Galatina, 1980, pp. 339–66.

The Architecture of Jaca Cathedral
The Project and its Impact

Javier Martínez de Aguirre

Abstract

In recent decades, the architectural project of Jaca Cathedral, a crucial work of Spanish Romanesque, has not received the attention it deserves. The cathedral's architectural innovations prompted responses in Aragon, Navarre, Castile, and France. This article relies upon little-exploited documentation, reveals hitherto unknown building elements and draws its conclusions within the context of a hypothetical restoration of the cathedral around 1100, viewed in plan, elevation and longitudinal section. Examining the architectural composition supports reflecting on the process of construction and its chronology. The design and construction of the whole Romanesque fabric (except the addition of the tower portico) followed a consistent impulse that must have advanced during the 1080s and 1090s. The undertaking can be qualified as ambitious, refined, magnificent, and meaningful, and honours the creativity of the architect and the objectives of its patrons.

During the last fifty years, the sculpture of Jaca Cathedral has attracted the attention of art historians, especially as regards epigraphic and iconographic aspects of its famous west façade, and stylistic components of its capitals and corbels.[1] By contrast, the church's architecture, a crucial work of Spanish Romanesque art, has not attracted equal interest, in spite of the line of investigation opened by David L. Simon with his presentation of certain forms of construction as, 'the physical manifestation of Sancho Ramírez's political vision'.[2] It seems advisable to follow this line of research in greater depth because of its implications for the relationship between Romanesque art, the political context, and the Gregorian Reform. Also, exploring the architecture expands a debate too focused on the potential acceptance of Ubieto's arguments concerning the chronology of the church,[3] and on whether there was an initial project promoted by Ramiro I (1035–64) and carried out using First Romanesque formulas.[4]

One of the reasons for the paucity of studies on the cathedral's architecture may lie in the doubts about the original church project details. A fire in 1440 and the subsequent addition of chapels and vaults obscured key elements pertaining to the composition of the central apse and the original covering of the naves,[5] both of which are fundamental to establishing the filiation of the church vis-à-vis the major constructions of the period.

New arguments will permit significant advances based on little-exploited documentation and the investigation of hitherto unknown elements, such as the springing point of the naves' transverse arches, the high windows over the original choir, and the hidden corbels and putlog holes over the later vaults. For other architectural components, such as the western façade's intramural stairway or the particular distribution of windows and oculi, I will propose novel interpretations that address the planning and development of the work. My conclusions will take form by means of a

Fig. 1.   Jaca Cathedral, interior (photo author)

hypothetical restoration of the building around 1100, viewed in plan, elevation, and longitudinal section.[6]

The construction of Jaca Cathedral had an enormous impact on both sides of the Pyrenees because of its monumentality and perfection (Fig. 1), and also because of its departure from previous traditions and from the coeval canon. Contextualizing churches that demonstrate divergent responses to the architectural innovations at Jaca will help to resolve controversial issues.

Examining what has come down to us within the framework of European architecture of the second half of the eleventh century reveals the singular aspects of the most important church of what was then the capital of the emerging kingdom of Aragón. At the same time, it clarifies intentional connotations thanks to the discovery of new formal links to Italy. Finally, it emphasizes the continuity of the project, which, given its homogeneity, must have been built in less time than is traditionally assumed.[7]

This continuity does not conflict with the occurrence of successive campaigns, but rather with the drastic changes that some authors have attributed to the succession in the direction of the work by one or various architects whose approaches or techniques differ significantly from the original ones.

My proposal is necessarily a function of the lack of unanimity among scholars in establishing the construction process, both with regard to the strained parts of the building and to the chronology or the number of persons responsible for the work. Let us make an illustrative, if not exhaustive, review. Lampérez and Whitehill considered that there were three phases: apses and crossing before 1063; perimeter walls and beginning of the portico at the end of the eleventh century; and naves in the twelfth century.[8] Gómez Moreno distinguished four: first, the 'lateral portal with the apses and the lower fenestration'; a little later, the west portal, the arches of the crossing, and the piers, before 1063; later, perhaps after

the death of Ramiro I, the higher parts of the walls of the three naves and under the cupola; and 'much later', the continuation of the western portal and the cupola.[9] Íñiguez also assumed four stages: perimeter walls and the beginning of the portico before 1063; piers and doors before 1080; the high walls of the central nave, dome, and vaulting of the three naves; and the cloister.[10] Canellas and San Vicente opted for commencement in the apse and the west façade; then the lateral walls would have been erected with doors and windows, all before 1064; following that would be 'a restriction of the program [...] with the vaulting of the nave being abandoned'; and finally, 'a master knowledgeable about Hispano-Muslim techniques' would have completed the central nave and built the cupola. Durán Gudiol reinterpreted the documentation, situating the first stage around 1080, interrupted very soon, around 1082, and not resumed until the beginning of the twelfth century; the 'definitive impulse', including the cloister, would have taken place between 1110 and 1130.[11] Durliat also dated the beginning around 1080 and estimated the total duration of the work at about forty years with 'numerous successive interruptions', among which he pointed out two great campaigns: the initial one affecting the naves, and the subsequent, most important one, which included apse, portico, and the termination of the work.[12] Simon noted a first phase between the seventies and the nineties of the eleventh century, halted after the conquest of Huesca (1096) and resumed toward the second decade of the twelfth century.[13] His metrological studies led Esteban Lorente to postulate four architects: the first one would have begun the work in the mid-eleventh century; the second would have built the greater part of the edifice in the 1070s; the third would have finished the nave and the western portal around 1080; and the fourth, by then in the twelfth century, would have built the portico.[14]

In my opinion, it would be more accurate to reinterpret the changes in the proportions of the elements of construction, the differences in masonry, the selective appearance of stonemasons' marks, or the evolution of the ornamental ensemble as a normal consequence of developing a Medieval building of these dimensions, with the participation of more than one crew of stonemasons (of different construction traditions) and the well-known winter interruptions. I have not detected any significant alterations that might affect the main architectural composition outlines or any reasons to posit any abnormal building process delay.

The Plan

The basic features of the eleventh-century plan of Jaca Cathedral (Fig. 2) continue to define its present-day fabric. The addition of chapels during the sixteenth century and the substitution of the original central apse by one of greater depth, width, and height during the eighteenth century modified its Romanesque appearance, which was partly revived thanks to the clearing away of additions during restorations in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The principal dilemma arises when it comes to defining the layout of the original main apse. The plan drawn by Íñiguez (Fig. 3) in his c. 1933 attempt to reproduce the initial state of the church achieved international dissemination thanks to its publication by Gómez Moreno in 1934 and Whitehill in 1941.[15] Unfortunately, it contains a serious error. In order to determine the design of the no longer extant central apse, Íñiguez, applying a norm frequent in Romanesque buildings, supposed that the depth of its anteapse was proportional to its greater width with respect to the lateral chapels.[16] He thus imagined a main chapel that projected considerably more than the lesser apses. Nevertheless, recent discoveries of a plan earlier than the eighteenth-century reform of the east end of the church (Fig. 4) and vestiges of the original apse show us that the three anteapses were, in reality, identical in depth.[17]

Íñiguez's anteapse was an error, but a justifiable one. Not so is his representing as original the projecting spiral staircase beside the west portal, considering the present access as the original one, without considering the illogic and impracticality of the situation of its door at a height of 1.40 m. The spiral staircase connects with a Romanesque stepped passageway that ascends to the interior of the western façade, over the main door. The spiral segment at Jaca is not engaged with the wall, and the masonry differs clearly from the surrounding Romanesque stonework. Without doubt it was built in connection with the construction of the chapel of the Trinity at the end of the sixteenth century, which destroyed the prolongation of the Romanesque intramural stairway, still partially visible (one can see a narrowing in its descent, caused
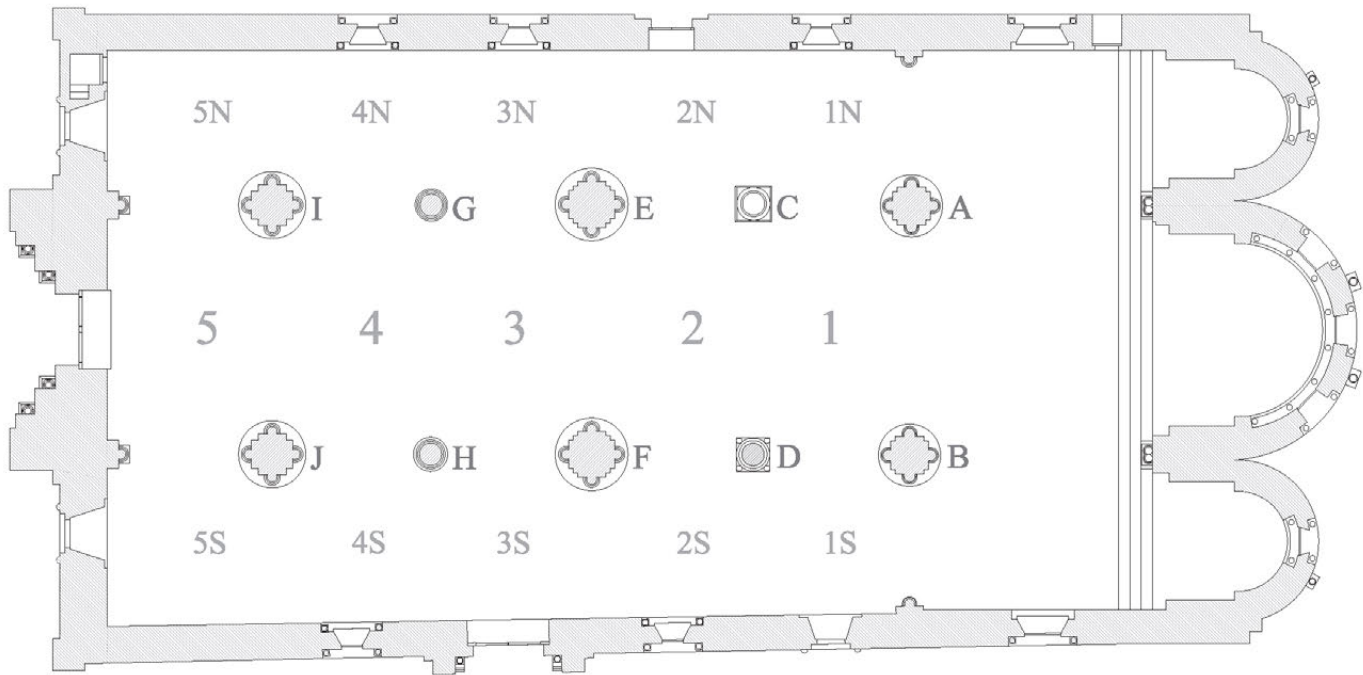
PLANTA

Fig. 2. Graphic reconstruction of Jaca Cathedral: plan around 1100 (proposal by author, drawn by Marina Martínez de Aguirre from plans designed by Ricardo Marco, Jesús marco, and Javier Ibargüen)
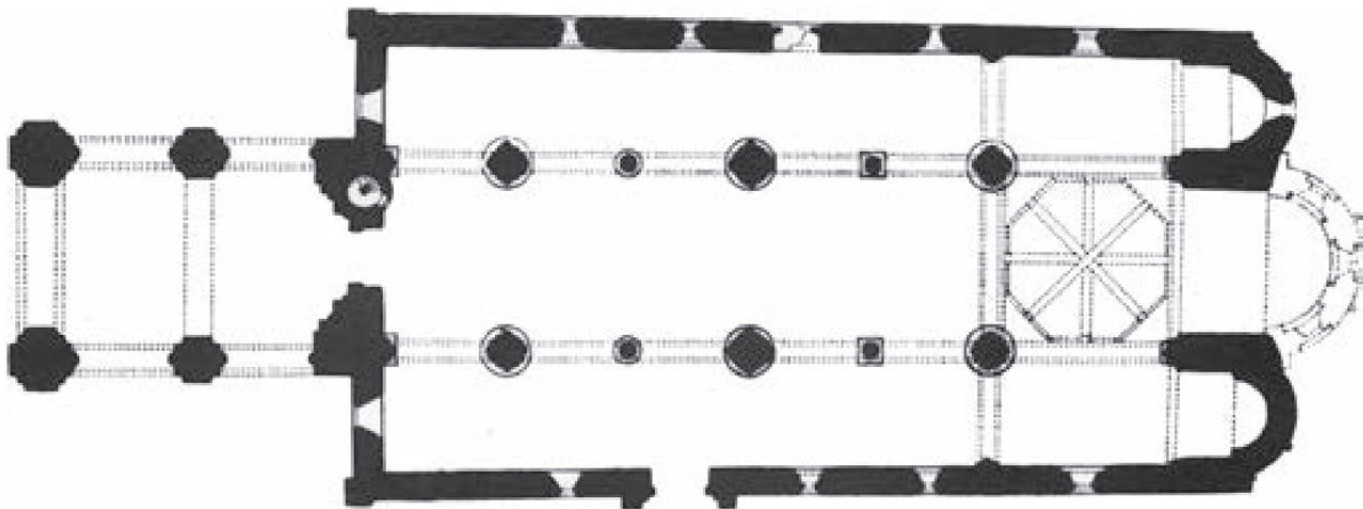

Fig. 3. Jaca Cathedral: plan drawn by Francisco Íñiguez around 1933 (published in Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture*, 1941)
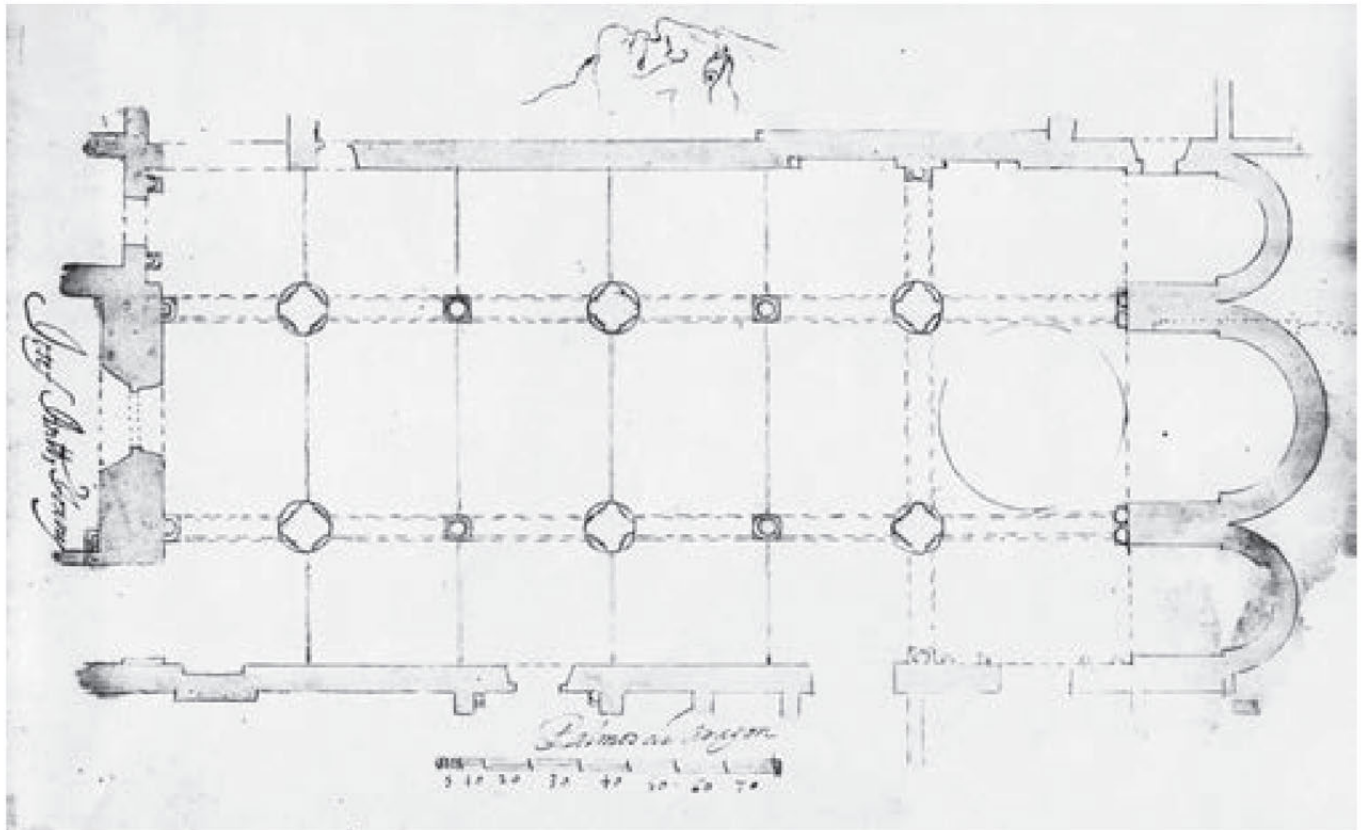
Fig. 4.   Jaca Cathedral: plan drawn before the eighteenth-century reform of the east end in the *Libro de trazas de la arquitectura jacetana* (preserved in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huesca, ES/AHPHU— F-000071, fol. 5r)

by its adaptation to a thinner wall). The stairway door is close to the northwest corner, where doors are also found in Castilian churches of the period, such as San Isidro in Dueñas, San Zoilo in Carrión de los Condes, and San Martín in Frómista, all with spiral stairways housed in towers. The one in Jaca did not originally communicate with a raised space at the west end of the church as it does in these Castilian churches, because the portico was added on.[18] It would have served as a service stairway, the only original one that led to the roof, which reinforces the hypothesis of a rapid advance of the edifice by means of building the whole perimeter.

Aside from this, Íñiguez's plan shows an intelligent interpretation of the Romanesque elements visible in the building. He restored the walls with uniform thickness where they had disappeared and drew windows where he was sure that there had been any. He identified the original cloister door as the linteled door that still exists today in the second bay of the north side aisle, counting from the transept,

and which led to the centre of the cloister's south gallery.[19] Íñiguez included the portico tower, which I have omitted in the restoration because it was not part of the original project.

The East End

Of the three Romanesque apses, only the southern one, with a semicircular interior and exterior, is completely visible. The disposition of only one column on its exterior has led some to think that there had been an identical one on the other side of the window, eliminated by the enlargement of the main apse. However, the billet moulding fragment on the north side is longer than the corresponding one on the south side. Furthermore, the projecting part of the base, which hypothetically would correspond to the second column, is actually almost in axial alignment with one of the window columns.[20] In San Millán in Segovia, a church directly inspired by Jaca Cathedral,[21]

there is also a single column in each minor apse. All this leads one to think that there was only one column in each side apse; thus, I consider Íñiguez's plan correct in this aspect, too. The north apse must have been identical, as it coincides in dimensions and in interior moulding distribution.

The interior mouldings of the south apse were chipped away; on the northern one, on the other hand, we see three on the wall surfaces not hidden by the altarpiece. The lowest one marks the windowsill, the intermediate one prolongs the abaci of the capitals of this window, and the highest corresponds to the vault impost. In these same places in the south apse can be seen rows of stone the size of a moulding with a rough surface.

Of the main apse, only its anteapse survives. No old plan shows its windows, hidden by the main altarpiece at least since the beginning of the seventeenth century. We must find reasons for one of two plausible solutions: one window like the one at Ujué (flanked on the inside by two small blind arches), or three, as in Santa María at Iguácel and San Millán in Segovia. These three buildings were dependent on Jaca Cathedral in their composition and ornament. The interior of the Ujué window is flanked by two blind arches; there are also blind arches between the windows at Iguácel. At San Millán, more distant in time and space, instead of blind arches there is a blind arcade along the base, extending to the anteapse (at Jaca the anteapse is unadorned). In general, the churches that adapt a model to lesser dimensions tend to simplify instead of embellishing it. This is what probably happened at Ujué, whose central apse is slightly more than five metres wide, compared with 7.12 m at Jaca, so that there was no room for three windows. I consider it possible that the main apse at Jaca would have had a lower level with a plain wall, given that that is how the anteapse is. The central level would have consisted of three windows alternating with at least two intermediate blind arches. In my opinion, it is probable that there were four blind arches (one between each pair of windows and one more at each end), as at Conques. The arcade would have had single capitals, as at Iguácel, or double ones, as at Ujué. In the reconstruction, I have opted for single ones. The interior elevation would have been articulated by means of three billet mouldings: the lowest under the window sills, the middle one at the height of the abaci of the capitals of these windows, and the highest marking the vault impost.

The exterior of the main chapel (Fig. 5) would have been defined by three windows with two columns between them, as Íñiguez drew them. The importance of the horizontal billet mouldings in the whole building leads one to think that they also articulated the exterior composition of the main apse. An option in line with Frómista would be to prolong the window capitals' abaci in the lateral apses to determine the sills of the main chapel openings. But if at the same time the cornice moulding in the lateral apses had been in line with the abaci of the central window capitals, the windows of the main apse would have been smaller than the lateral ones, which was infrequent in that epoch. I think that in one of the two mouldings, probably that that marked the window sills and came from the lateral apses' abaci, there was a break, a step down in order to make it possible for the main chapel windows to be at least at the same height as the lateral ones.[22] The break would be similar to those that we see inside the cathedral over the southern door and beside the western façade oculus. And it would have paralleled the double break that existed in both transept façades, as we can see today in the *secretum*, now part of the Jaca Diocesan Museum. In Simacourbe, a church in Béarn (France), whose architectural composition and sculptural ornamentation are very close to those of Jaca, the billet moulding also has a downward break precisely in the central wall of the apse. In the main apse at Jaca, the upper moulding at the level of the window capitals' abaci would correspond with the lateral apses' cornice (they are the only exterior cornices with billet mouldings in the whole building).

The Southern, Northern and Western Façades

Three principles characterize the perimeter walls' architectural composition: the combination of windows and oculi, the absence of buttresses, and the horizontal articulation using billet mouldings. Of the three lateral apse billet mouldings, the top ones are interrupted upon reaching the corner of the anteapse, and only the bottom one (altered by the construction of the sacristy of the San Miguel chapel) continues.

The southern façade today presents considerable differences with respect to the eleventh century, caused by the addition of the chapels of San Miguel and San Sebastián, with their respective sacristies, and of the Annunciation, as well as by the construction of the 'lonja
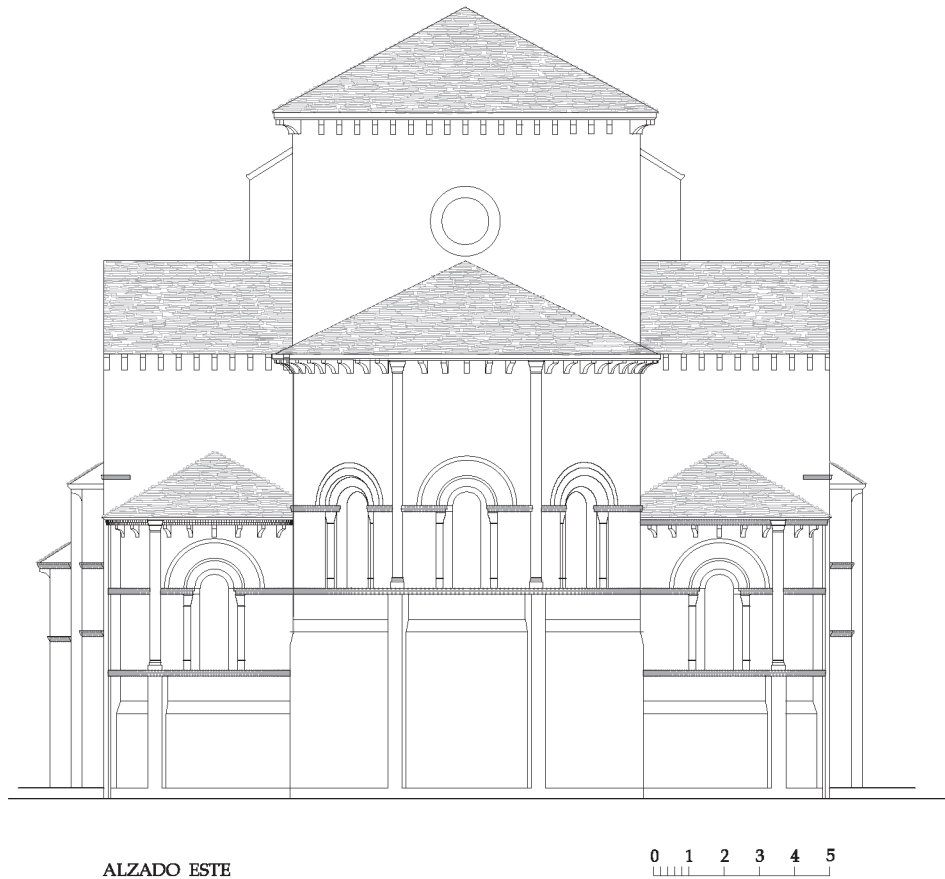
ALZADO ESTE

Fig. 5.   Graphic reconstruction of Jaca Cathedral: east end elevation around 1100 (proposal
by author, drawn by Marina MARTÍNEZ DE AGUIRRE from plans designed by Ricardo
MARCO, Jesús MARCO, and Javier IBARGÜEN)

chica' (the small loggia) and the extension of the sou-
thern nave wall. Originally, it consisted of three units:
the lateral apse (described above, with a brief anteapse),
the end wall of the transept, and the side aisle.

The transept façade, probably identical to the
better-conserved one on the north side, would have
been crowned by a large window, whose sill rested,
both inside and outside, on the billet mouldings that
extended to the nave windows' abaci. The inside
moulding that coincides with the large window arch
continues until it forms the impost of the transept
arms' barrel vault and the transverse arches' abaci.
The corresponding exterior moulding is interrupted
on the transept walls as it draws close to the roof.

The southern portal was centred on the nave wall
and was flanked by two windows. The double pro-
jection of the portal easily houses the columns and
archivolt that frame the opening. The billet moul-
ding of the window sills is cut off when it reaches

the projecting part of the portal. A bit lower, it gives
continuity to the frame of this portal. The top moul-
ding, on a level with the abaci of the windows, ran
along the whole wall and continued to the southwest
corner, under an oculus.

A doubt arises on analyzing the eastern bay of the
nave, next to the crossing, because the observable ves-
tiges above the chapel of San Sebastián's access arch
lead one to think that initially there was an oculus
there and not a window. I base this on two facts: first,
the arch segment visible today is clearly lower than the
windows of the same façade, and second, the moul-
ding that in the interior extends the abaci of the win-
dows breaks downward (beyond that its path is lost).
The combination window-oculus disposed longitudi-
nally seems strange at first. In the apse at Simacourbe,
windows are also combined with oculi longitudinally.
The oculus at Jaca would provide a refined visual
transition from the level of illumination of the aisle,

which is lower, to the great window of the transept. For some reason, the architect preferred not to provide windows in all the bays of the south nave, perhaps to emphasize the portal that opens onto the plaza.

In the interior, the billet moulding under the southern wall window sills changes its path in order to frame the door, using ninety-degree angles. The high parallel moulding, which follows the windows capitals' abaci, would continue along most of the wall. In the western bay of the south aisle, where there is no window, this high moulding is interrupted by a post-Medieval oculus. Originally it reached the corner without interruption.

The distribution of the north façade windows is more uniform. From the cloister, four can be seen situated at regular distances. In the interior, nothing interrupts this order. The western bay would have lacked an opening, the same as in the south aisle. The linteled door opens onto the centre of the cloister's south gallery.

The cathedral's west façade had an aspect very different from the present one (Fig. 6). With no portico tower, the salient portal was crowned by a small roof, as at Iguácel and Sasave. The presence of buttresses at the sides of the window over the door at Iguácel leads one to think that something at Jaca inspired this solution. Also, on the façade of San Millán in Segovia there are four buttresses. Those on the corners of the side aisles coincide with the one still extant on the southwest angle at Jaca. There must have been another one like it on the opposite corner. The south portal has a double projection, which makes us think that the west one also had this feature. It is very probable that in Jaca Cathedral two central buttresses would have coincided with the arches separating the central nave's aisles and lateral walls, and would have continued above the portal at the west end of the church, framing the window, as at Iguácel and Segovia. We have drawn it this way in the graphic reconstruction; its culmination would mark the beginning of the gable.

The west portal spandrels have a billet moulding that coincides with the one that extends from the abaci of the lateral wall windows. On axis with the door, in the upper part of the projection, there is an opening, now walled up, that gave access to the intramural stairway. This stairway ended at the upper south corner of the salient portal, from which point one could reach the roof by a passageway over the corbels.

Over the small roof is a large, little-ornamented window, now visible above the portico vault. Its stones

show unequivocal signs of fire, which coincide with the information provided by the chronicler Villacampa.

In the side aisles' western walls there were oculi that allowed for afternoon illumination of the aisles and produced an intentional visual effect. They further accentuated the chrismon that presided over the tympanum of the portal, a key element in the meaning of the sculptural program. At the same time, the conjunction of three circles reinforced the Trinitarian significance of the Jaca chrismon. The façade with oculi brings to mind the composition of Italian Romanesque basilicas such as Santa María Assunta at Lugnano in Teverina, San Pietro in Tuscania, Santa Maria Maggiore in Tuscania, the cathedral of Troia, etc.

The original culmination of the west façade is problematic. One can see the continuity of the masonry above the roof. It probably ended in a gable, very frequent in Romanesque basilicas with wooden roofing.[23]

The cathedral needed a belfry. In Romanesque churches in the western Pyrenees, it was customary to situate the bells in a tower attached to the eastern part of the north façade, as at Iguácel, Sasave, Lárrede, or Lasieso, or at the west façade of the church, as at Bagüés or Siresa. We do not find bell gables ('espadañas') in churches derived from Jaca, but it is possible that the original cathedral project included a tower beside the northern apse. At this location at Jaca Cathedral, after 1105, Count Sancho Ramírez (the illegitimate brother of King Sancho Ramírez) ordered the construction of a chapel dedicated to Saint Nicholas.[24] In the canonical church of San Pedro de Lasieso, property of the count, there is a chapel below the tower situated on the northeast corner. And in San Millán in Segovia, a tower is at the foot of the chapel parallel to the north apse.[25] The hypothetical projected north tower's lack of monumentality and the convenience of a spacious portico at the western end of the church for the inhospitable Pyrenean climate would, in a second phase, suffice for designing and initiating a larger tower with a greater bell capacity. This undertaking remained unfinished, as the so-called 'Documento del Mercado' states, which could have given rise to the strange solutions at Bagüés and Siresa.[26]

On the interior of the west wall, the high moulding continues uninterrupted as far as the pilaster separating the naves, where a ninety-degree bend allows it to gain height, turning toward the abaci of the capital. It continues over the door as far as the spiral stairway, which interrupts it brusquely (another

ALZADO OESTE

0 1 2 3 4 5

Fig. 6.   Graphic reconstruction of Jaca Cathedral: west façade elevation around 1100 (proposal by author, drawn by Marina MARTÍNEZ DE AGUIRRE from plans designed by Ricardo MARCO, Jesús MARCO, and Javier IBARGÜEN)

indication of the post-Medieval execution of the stairway). The northern section of the west wall was totally modified when the Trinity Chapel was built.

The Supports, Upper Windows and Roofing

Unusual, but not unique, is the interpretation of the alternation of piers and columns in Jaca Cathedral. Their rhythmic distribution does not form two or three complete sequences (pier-column-pier), as is frequent, but rather two and a half. The three compound piers differ in dimensions and section. The end ones have a cruciform section, with the smaller of the two being precisely the one we would expect

to be the larger in order to support the crossing's transverse arches. The section of the central pier has a double corner. Are the differences between the eastern and western piers evidence of different phases of construction? In my opinion, this is not the case. The capitals of the western piers take up again the motifs used in ornamenting the eastern ones, there being no radical difference in their treatment. To be sure, as Íñiguez pointed out, there are various capitals made up of two pieces (some added on top of the astragal and others under the abaci). But they are distributed throughout the church in no apparent order. In my opinion, this does not signify successive phases, a new architect, or late reutilizations. This is a technical resource of Romanesque stonemasons that we also

Fig. 7.   Jaca Cathedral, window over the modern vault of the north aisle (photo author)

find in capitals at places as distant from each other as Conques or Modena. Only in the double columns under the transverse arches could the correction of proportions be considered a motive. These peculiarities, as well as the selective appearance of masons' marks, are easily justified if we take into account the distribution of tasks among the workshops and the fact that winter interruptions were a habitual practice in the great Medieval edifices.

Another asymmetric feature can be seen in the direct illumination of the central nave. It received light from an oculus under the dome, from the great window of the west façade, from two windows on axis with columns G and H (Fig. 2), and from two others, unknown until now (Fig. 7), situated on axis over the second arch counting from the transept. All lack columns and archivolts, just as in the transept windows' interior face.[27]

Therefore, the particular distribution of the windows coincides with the atypical rhythm of the piers (Fig. 8). Both singularities could find their explanation in the arrangement of spaces in the cathedral

interior. The reorganization of the cathedral chapter by Bishop García, the brother of King Sancho Ramírez, introduced Canons Regular around 1076–79, following the norms of the Gregorian Reform.[28] The cathedral would have been built immediately after this reorganization, and, in my opinion, the need to reserve space for the chapter was seriously taken into account. The main apse, of little depth, did not provide the necessary conditions. In a study of the closings of Italian Romanesque choirs, Thomas Creissen has shown that they are found in various places of the church that do not coincide with the presbytery. In Lazio, they usually occupy the centre of the main nave. Furthermore, Creissen notes that the situation of the choir plays an important part in the internal rhythm of the building.[29] At Jaca, the double-cornered pier would mark the beginning of sections 1 and 2 of the central nave. From the cloister, this area was reached through the north aisle door (in bay 2).[30] One of the high windows seems to have been conceived in order to provide direct light.

To return to the piers, the central one, larger and more complex, breaks the alternating rhythm. The architect, so careful as regards the articulation of the building, would not have done this without a reason. It is clear that he availed himself of this distribution of piers and roofs to organize the space. To the east were the apses, vaulted and well illuminated, with the main apse more spacious and adorned. Following this came the crossing with its splendid cupola and the vaulted arms of the transept. Finally, to the west, came the naves, with the specific enclosure for the choir in the centre, which, according to the testimony of Villacampa in the early sixteenth century, rested on arches.[31]

The vestiges of the springer of an arch over the northern aisle vault at the height of the central pier, not photographed or described until now (Fig. 9), allow one to infer the existence of a great central nave transverse arch between pillars E and F. The width of the arch is 1 m, exactly the same as the front of the double-cornered pier. This pier supported arches that helped to hold up the roof, and they compartmentalized the space visually.

The faithful approached the main altar preferably by the Epistle aisle, where the market door is located. The oculus situated in the east wall under the dome, now blocked up by the enlarged main apse, would have been seen by the faithful just as they looked up to contemplate the capital of the Annunciation
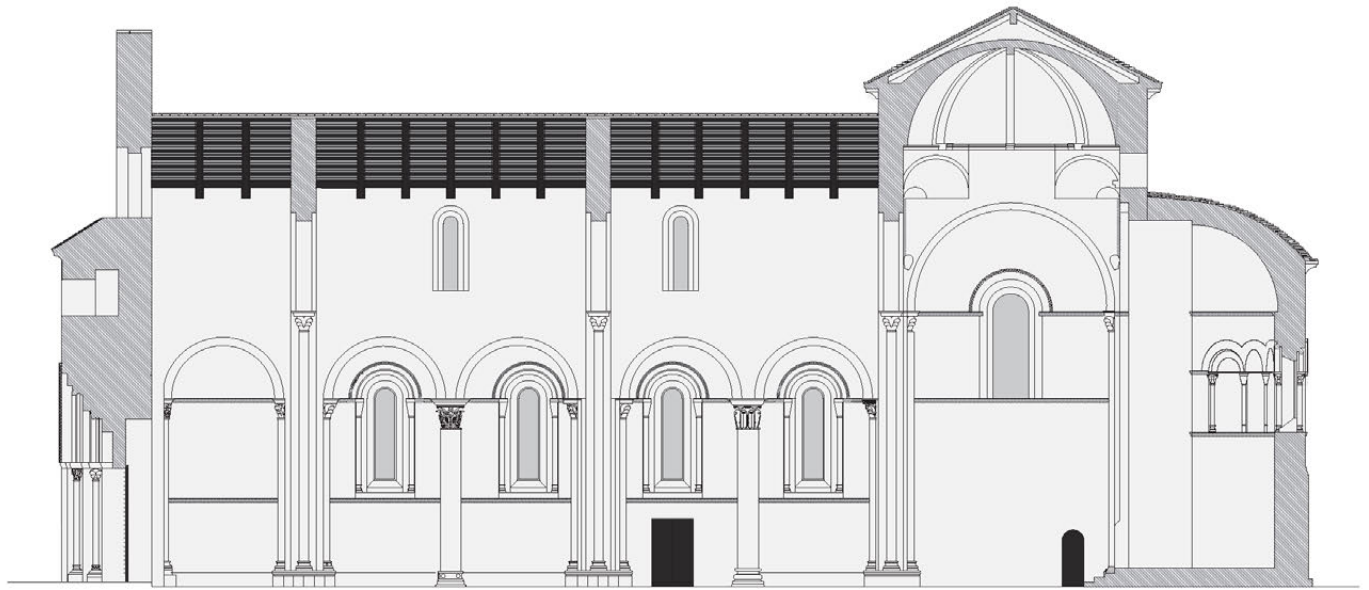
SECCIÓN LONGITUDINAL

Fig. 8.　Graphic reconstruction of Jaca Cathedral: longitudinal section around 1100 (proposal by author, drawn by Marina MARTÍNEZ DE AGUIRRE from plans designed by Ricardo MARCO, Jesús MARCO, and Javier IBARGÜEN)

Fig. 9.　Jaca Cathedral, springer of an arch over the modern vault of the north aisle (photo author)

on the southern face of pier B. The effect would have been produced approximately at the level of column D. The capital, now permanently in shadow, would enjoy a privileged morning illumination, as it would receive the light that entered by the great transept window. Both lighting effects would have been planned deliberately by the architect.

The so-called 'Documento del Mercado', whose assignment to the reign of Ramiro I was denied by Ubieto, created the mistaken idea that the original cathedral project planned for vaults in its three naves.[32] This document only proves that at some unknown moment, definitely later than the reign of Ramiro I, the total vaulting and the completion of the portico tower were considered.

Various documentary testimonies accredit the naves' not being vaulted until the sixteenth century. One need only analyse the original architectural project to conclude that at no time was Romanesque nave vaulting considered. The original height of the perimeter walls is incompatible with barrel vaults in the side aisles. Groined vaults would have partially hidden the western façade oculi. As for the central nave, the windows already known and those that we have just discovered would only be compatible with a vault having lunettes; but the syncopated rhythm of the windows vis-à-vis the supports is contrary to a regular distribution of lunettes. Further, a groined vault would not have saved the window on the west façade, nor the distribution of openings in the high walls. Thus the three naves were projected to have a wooden ceiling, unlike the transept arms, where a barrel vault covers each section, and the crossing with its excellently executed cupola on squinches.

No one has considered what the wooden roofing was like. The ceiling of the central nave could not obstruct the western window, which dispenses with the ideas of a flat ceiling or a bottom chord at the western end. The existence of diaphragm arches, unknown until now, has been proven, certain on the double-corner piers, and possible on those with a cruciform sections.

As Esteban Lorente, Galtier Martí, and García Guatas observed, the church at Bagüés, from the end of the eleventh century, constitutes a wise combination of local traditions and elements adopted from Jaca Cathedral.[33] It is covered by a wooden framework that, although not the original one, contains Medieval elements. It is formed of four sets of trusses with bottom chords, two at the ends and two intermediate ones, the latter situated where there had been arches on supporting corbels. Between them were distributed, two by two, trusses with reinforcing top chords and struts. A framework of this type, with no bottom chords at the ends, and with transverse arches and trusses with top chords and struts, would be ideal for the central nave at Jaca, because it would be consistent with the distribution of supports and would allow light to enter the western window.

The aisles would have had a sloping roof with transverse arches at the level of the piers, supported by corbels like those at Bagüés (which we suppose were hidden behind the vaulting). Both the south and north walls of the main nave have exterior corbels at almost regular distances (4.25, 4.36, 4.67, 4.07 m in the north wall; 3.71, 3.53, 3.58, 4.05 m in the south wall), all visible above the modern vault. They seem to have been designed for beams.

Impact and Chronology

This approximation of the original state of Jaca Cathedral offers us a picture of a building considerably different from the one we see today. The project had no precedents in the kingdoms of Pamplona and Aragón, neither in its architectural forms, nor in its dimensions, nor in the figurative program.

The historical context corroborates the proposal of David Simon, who saw, in the emphasis with which the architect resorted to elements characteristic of Early Christian basilicas, a proclamation of the link to Rome so coveted by King Sancho Ramírez (1064–94) and the Aragonese prelates of the period. The discovery of vestiges of transverse arches and the prominence of the oculi on the western façade reinforce the Italian connection and provide new arguments in the intense discussion about the relation between Romanesque art and Gregorian Reform, which, due to the limitations of space, I will have to treat elsewhere.

Jaca Cathedral had an enormous impact; to speak of 'Jaca billets' is a commonplace in Spanish historiography. Although not every billet moulding comes from Jaca, there is no doubt that the importance acquired by the mouldings with half-cylinders (two thick rows on horizontal spaces and three thinner ones on the curves), running along and ordering the entire perimeter, both interior and exterior,

revolutionized the manner of articulating walls in the neighbouring regions.

The billet design is only one of the elements that stimulated the creativity of the master builders of the north of the peninsula and the south of France. The alternation of windows and oculi (which in Toulouse and Santiago are combined following other criteria), the differentiation of spaces and accesses, the ornamental hierarchization of the openings, the masonry with combined courses, the composition of façades, and the rigor in the proportions, offered emulation possibilities that revitalized Spanish-Languedocian religious architecture. To have a true idea of Jaca Cathedral's impact, the well-known influence of its sculpture should always be analysed in conjunction with its architectural forms.

The first recorded influence was not long in appearing. Santa María at Ujué, which was under construction around 1089 on the initiative of King Sancho Ramírez, copies the east end of the Jaca church.[34] Reasons of space, dignity, and economy reduced the size of the apses. The artisans of Ujué simplified the Jaca model to the point of coarseness. They maintained the moulding under the windows, but omitted the exterior one at the level of the abaci, and they substituted pilasters for the exterior columns.[35]

After the death of Sancho Ramírez (1094), the church of Santa María at Iguácel was finished.[36] This priory of San Juan de la Peña reveals the impact of the Jaca innovations applied to a church with a single nave. The only moulding of its apse, which has no billeting, prolongs the abaci of the windows. The portal of the western façade is topped by a small roof. Above it, two pilasters flank a window like the one on the gable at Jaca. In the salient portal, at the middle of the spandrels, there is a moulding that does not continue to the nave walls in what seems to be a copy of the door at Jaca, but without understanding its compositional value. What is most curious is the ordering of the south façade. This door, near the apse, has no ornamentation. There are two windows halfway up. The abaci of the columns adorning the windows are connected by a plain horizontal moulding that is the beginning of a prolongation toward the ends of the façade, but it soon bends and ascends the wall for a few metres before changing direction in two successive ninety-degree angles, always going upwards; two courses below the cornice, the moulding extends horizontally in a very strange design that some have

interpreted as an 'alfiz'. In my opinion, we are dealing with a local builder's misunderstanding of one of Jaca Cathedral's defining elements: the bent mouldings, especially in the transept façades (as we can see today in the *secretum*). Here the builder experimented with the design without achieving compositional coherence, so that the logic of its application in Jaca becomes a mere whim in Iguácel.

The church at Bagüés, as we have seen, imitated the wooden roofing and the portico tower added to the Jaca façade. Poorly assimilated, the constructor opted for the strange solution of situating half of the tower outside and the other half inside the nave.

The west façade of San Adrián in Sasave, with its projecting portal, its small roof, and its upper window, is also inspired by Jaca.[37] This is also true of the lateral door's billet frame. By contrast, for the east end, the builders preferred, as at Bagüés, the ornamental effectiveness of small arches under the cornice, itself decorated with mouldings. They put in three windows, splayed both on the exterior and the interior, but with neither columns nor archivolts, and they limited the use of mouldings to the apse and anteapse imposts. The modesty of the project is not at odds with the care taken in the gradation of the openings. The main door is salient and is decorated with capitals, an archivolt with triple astragal, and a billet doorframe; the south door has only a billet doorframe and a plain impost. And the north door, which leads to the tower, is completely plain. The windows of the apse are splayed with the interior and exterior frames recessed; those of the southern wall are only splayed; and the window of the west portal is neither splayed nor recessed.

Among the repercussions on the other side of the Pyrenees, in Simacourbe we can observe an irrational use of billet moulding, which bends when it is least expected, and of the window-oculus combination. We find greater coherence at Saint-Pé-de-Bigorre, where the ordering of billet mouldings (of two and three rows, with ninety-degree angles), the placement of the stairway, the section of the archivolts, and the sculpture of some of the capitals lead one to think that one of the main Jaca constructors directed the work.

Away from the Pyrenees, our attention is inevitably drawn to the Jaca formulas followed in the church of San Millán in Segovia, with its three apses, vaulted transept, three naves with wooden roofing, and the composition of the west façade, similar to those of the Aragonese cathedral.

To sum up, the examination of the architectural composition offers a basis for reflection on the process of construction and its chronology. In my opinion, there is nothing to contradict the arguments for discarding the existence of a first project of Lombard tradition at the time of Ramiro I.[38] The design and construction of the whole Romanesque building except the tower portico followed a consistent impulse, with no changes other than the natural ones on returning to the construction work each spring after the harsh Pyrenean winter (which does not exclude a hypothetical change in the master builder, who would follow, with few modifications, the initial project). Considering that the east end of Jaca Cathedral inspired the construction at Ujué around 1089, the work on the cathedral must have advanced during the 1080s and 1090s, mainly during the reign of Sancho Ramírez (†1094).

The tower portico corresponds to a new project that did not conform to all the premises of the previous one. The desire to have a bell tower and a covered space before the main door of the church (remember its penitential function) would more than suffice to suppress the great west façade window. The unsatisfactory integration of the tower with the rest of the building could explain that in Alto Aragón (Upper Aragon) the churches that created something similar did not obtain a completely satisfactory result either. In Bagüés, the addition of the tower did away with part of the splendid pictorial cycle. At Siresa, the portico tower has prompted discussions regarding its form and function. The tower portico at Jaca was built, in my opinion, a short time after the Jaca naves and the Bagüés paintings, and before San Pedro de Siresa, a church probably begun in the second decade of the twelfth century.

Conclusion

In conclusion, a detailed analysis of the fabric and a comparative study reveal the subtle perfection of Jaca Cathedral. Graphic reconstructions support an undertaking that was meditated, refined, magnificent, charged with meaning, ambitious in its monumentality, rigorous in its proportions, and excellent in the execution of each and every one of its elements, from bases to roofs. The eloquence of its sculpture has led to numerous studies that in recent decades have unravelled a wealth of nuances. The architecture deserves a similar treatment that honours the creativity of the architect and the objectives of its patrons. With the echoing of Roman basilican forms amid vigorous Romanesque art, Jaca Cathedral was able to bring together apparently opposing interests: the ambition of an outstanding, self-made monarch; the commitment to the Reconquest by a kingdom in expansion; and the universal aspirations of the Gregorian Reform through the prism of the local clergy. It is not surprising that this should mark a border between periods in Spanish art, nor that it was copied in such varied ways, a paradoxical destiny for this indisputable masterpiece.

NOTES

[1] This research is part of the project 'Arte y reformas religiosas en la España medieval', financed by the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad (HAR2012–38037).
[2] David L. SIMON, *La catedral de Jaca y su escultura: ensayo*, Jaca, 1997, p. 9; David L. SIMON, 'Art for a New Monarchy: Aragon in the Late Eleventh Century', in *Alfonso VI y el arte de su época. Anales de Historia del Arte*, vol. extr. 2, 2011, pp. 367–90. About the cathedral and Sancho Ramírez also: Janice E. MANN, *Romanesque Architecture and its Sculptural Decoration in Christian Spain 1000–1120. Exploring Frontiers and Defining Identities*, Toronto, Buffalo & London, 2009, pp. 132–60, and Javier MARTÍNEZ DE AGUIRRE, 'Arquitectura y soberanía: la catedral de Jaca y otras empresas constructivas de Sancho Ramírez', in *Alfonso VI y el arte de su época*, pp. 181–249.
[3] Ubieto demonstrated that the documentation on which the early date was based is false: Antonio UBIETO ARTETA, 'La catedral románica de Jaca, problemas de cronología', in *Pirineos*, 59–66, 1961–1962, pp. 125–37; Antonio UBIETO ARTETA, 'El románico de la catedral jaquesa y su cronología', in *Príncipe de Viana*, XXV, 96–97, 1964, pp. 187–200. His proposal met with immediate rejection in Francisco ÍÑIGUEZ ALMECH, 'La catedral de Jaca y los orígenes del románico español', in *Pirineos*, 83–86, 1967, pp. 179–201, and Ángel CANELLAS-LÓPEZ & Ángel SAN VICENTE, *Aragon roman*, La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1971, pp. 151–62.
[4] About the project as within the Lombard tradition: Juan Francisco ESTEBAN LORENTE, 'La metrología de la catedral románica de Jaca: 2', in *Artigrama*, 15, 2000, pp. 231–58; Fernando GALTIER MARTÍ, 'La catedral de Jaca y el románico jaqués', en *Comarca de La Jacetania*, Zaragoza, 2004, pp. 131–42; and Bernabé CABAÑERO SUBIZA, 'Precedentes musulmanes y primer arte cristiano', in *Las Cinco Villas aragonesas en la Europa de los siglos XII y XIII*, ed. Esteban SARASA SÁNCHEZ, Zaragoza, 2007, pp. 231–39.
[5] Gabriel LLABRÉS Y QUINTANA, 'El Noticiario de Pedro Villacampa de Jaca (1350–1563)', in *Revista de Huesca*, I, 1903,

pp. 179–200. I would like to thank David Simon for letting me know about this article. Antonio Durán Gudiol, 'La catedral de Jaca en las memorias de Pero Villacampa', in *Aragón*, 263, 1963, p. 9 y 16. María Isabel Oliván Jarque, 'Obras y reformas arquitectónicas en la Catedral de Jaca en el siglo XVI', in *Homenaje a Federico Balaguer*, Huesca, 1987, pp. 167–83. Rafael Leante y García, *Culto de María en la diócesis de Jaca*, Lérida, 1889, pp. 7–33. Domingo J. Buesa Conde, 'La catedral de Jaca', in *Las catedrales de Aragón*, ed. Domingo J. Buesa Conde, Zaragoza, 1987, pp. 55–88. María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, *Catedral y Museo Diocesano de Jaca*, Zaragoza, 1993.

6 The graphic restorations are possible thanks to the excellent planimetric work carried out by the architects Ricardo Marco, Jesús Marco, and Javier Ibargüen in the Plan Director de la Catedral de Jaca ('Jaca Cathedral Master Plan'). I wish to express my thanks to these persons for facilitating my access to it. I also wish to thank Marina Martínez de Aguirre, who did the drawings based on these plans.

7 The decorative homogeneity had already been pointed out by Manuel Gómez Moreno, *El arte románico español. Esquema de un libro*, Madrid, 1934, p. 75, whom many authors have followed, among them Serafín Moralejo, 'La sculpture romane de la Cathédrale de Jaca. État des questions', in *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 10, 1979, pp. 79–106.

8 Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la Edad Media*, Madrid, 1908, pp. 674–77; Walter Muir Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century*, Oxford, 1941, pp. 235–39.

9 Gómez Moreno, *El arte románico*, pp. 75–76; Manuel Gómez Moreno, 'Sobre nuestro arte románico', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, XI, 1935, pp. 197–98.

10 Íñiguez, *La restauración*, pp. 99–101. Thirty years later, he reworked this hypothesis, bringing it closer to Gómez Moreno's: first, apses and perimeter of the church; then, perimeter walls concluding with the main door; later, 'another builder' (he distinguishes between builder and architect) would raise the piers of the central nave, adding capitals already carved; finally, 'another master' would conclude the central nave and build the cupola at a date close to the termination of the tower.

11 Antonio Durán Gudiol, *Arte altoaragonés de los siglos X y XI*, Sabiñánigo, 1973, pp. 45–52 y 208–15. Buesa, *Catedral de Jaca*, pp. 49–52, agrees with this chronology.

12 Marcel Durliat, 'La catedral de Jaca en el contexto del arte románico europeo', in *Signos. Arte y cultura en el Alto Aragón Medieval*, Jaca & Huesca, 1993, pp. 95–96.

13 Simon, *La catedral*, pp. 11–12.

14 Galtier and Cabañero also defend an initial project from the time of Ramiro I, the actual construction of which was barely begun and which was substantially modified under Sancho Ramírez, see: Galtier Martí, 'La catedral de Jaca' and Cabañero Subiza, 'Precedentes musulmanes'.

15 Gómez Moreno, *El arte románico, pp.* 68–69; Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque*, p. 237.

16 Salvador de Pruneda, 'La Catedral de Jaca', in *La Ilustración española y americana*, vol. V, 1905, p. 75, had previously published a partially regularized plan, redrawn by Lampérez, *Historia de la arquitectura, p. 348*.

17 The drawing is part of the *Libro de trazas de la arquitectura jacetana* book of designs of the Tornés family, master builders living in Jaca in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Natalia Juan García, 'Aproximación al estudio de un libro de trazas de los siglos XVII–XVIII: el manuscrito de la familia Tornés', in *Libros con arte. Arte con libros*, Cáceres, 2007, pp. 427–45.

18 José Luis Senra Gabriel y Galán, 'En torno a las estructuras occidentales de las iglesias románicas: formulación arquitectónica y funcional de las galileas (*c.* 1030–1150)', in *Espacios y estructuras singulares del edificio románico*, Aguilar de Campoo, 2008, pp. 121–55. It is important to point out the existence of a stairway in the opposite corner in Saint-Pé-de-Bigorre (120 km from Jaca), a church whose architectural composition and ornamental ensemble are related to Jaca.

19 Corroborating the placement is a sixteenth-century plan kept in the cathedral archives with the indication: 'This is the door that leads to the cloister'. The plan was part of the exhibition *En torno a la Catedral de Jaca. Planos y trazas arquitectónicas*, Zaragoza, 2004, 11. The plan in the *Libro de trazas* of the Tornés family situates the access to the cloister where it is at the present time, under the ogee arch of a former chapel.

20 The shallow arch visible in the southern apse interior in that precise place and the recess that can be seen in the photograph published by Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque*, p. 240, raise doubts about that element's original configuration.

21 José Miguel Merino de Cáceres, 'La iglesia de San Millán de Segovia y su parentesco con la catedral de Jaca', in *Estudios Segovianos*, 102, 2002, pp. 317–50.

22 I discard the type of composition used at Santillana del Mar, with abaci in the main apse windows at the level of the lateral apse cornices because of their incompatibility with the dome oculus.

23 The atypical solution of the gables of the Siresa transept could be explained as a reinterpretation of the west façade of Jaca, with its large window, gable, corner projections, and raised summit.

24 The will of the count in Ramón de Huesca, *Teatro histórico de las iglesias del reyno de Aragón. Tomo VIII. De la Santa Iglesia de Jaca*, Pamplona, 1802, pp. 449–52. Durán thought that the chapel of San Nicolás, for which the count left a testamentary provision, was the northern apse of the cathedral (Durán, *Arte altoaragonés*, pp. 50–51). Moralejo argued that this was impossible (Moralejo, *La sculpture*, p. 81). We know from Blasco that the count's funerary inscription was in an area beside the sacristy (Durán Gudiol, *Arte altoaragonés*, p. 51). This must be the present-day ante-sacristy, which includes the original space of the chapel plus a part of the original Romanesque chapter house.

25 José Miguel Merino de Cáceres, 'La torre de la iglesia de San Millán de Segovia y su construcción', in *Actas del Cuarto Congreso Nacional de Historia de la Construcción*, Cádiz, 2005, pp. 771–79.

26 The 'Documento del Mercado' is one of the false diplomas on which the early dating of Jaca was based, see: Ubieto, 'La catedral románica de Jaca'; Ubieto, 'El románico de la catedral jaquesa'; Íñiguez Almech, 'La catedral de Jaca', and Canellas-López & San Vicente, *Aragon roman*. On the tower of Siresa and its relation to Jaca and Bagüés, see: Javier Martínez de Aguirre, Esther Lozano López & Diana Lucía Gómez-Chacón, 'San Pedro de Siresa y Alfonso el Batallador', in *Monumentos singulares*

del románico. Nuevas lecturas sobre formas y usos, Aguilar de Campoo, 2012, pp. 160–62.

[27] The degree of ornamentation of the windows is not always due to a succession of phases. The churches at Iguácel and Sasave are very instructive on this point. For both, the choice for more or less ornamentation is not a consequence of successive architectural campaigns or of different architects, but rather is used to dignify certain spaces.

[28] Antonio Durán Gudiol, *La Iglesia de Aragón durante los reinados de Sancho Ramírez y Pedro I (1062?–1104)*, Rome, 1962, pp. 38–40.

[29] Thomas Creissen, 'Les clôtures de choeur des églises d'Italie à l'époque romane: état de la question et perspectives', in *Hortus artium medievalium*, 5, 1999, p. 177. I would like to thank Francisco de Asís García for bringing this article to my knowledge.

[30] Later the choir would be transferred to bays 3 and 4, as is shown in Lampérez's plan and Quadrado's engraving.

[31] 'The old choir of Jaca, which was in the middle, resting on twelve-span arches and was very large, was taken down': Durán Gudiol, 'La Catedral', p. 16. He adds that the choir 'was made by the sculptor Sancho Cañardo, of Jaca, in 1457'. Probably the arches of which he speaks were Romanesque and their capitals would be those that adorn the 'lonja chica': Francisco de Asís García García, 'Imágenes ejemplares para un cabildo: la historia de san Lorenzo en la catedral de Jaca', in *Codex Aquilarensis*, 29, 2013, pp. 135–51.

[32] On the dating of the document, see: Ubieto, 'La catedral románica de Jaca'; Ubieto, 'El románico de la catedral jaquesa'; Íñiguez Almech, 'La catedral de Jaca'; Canellas-López & San Vicente, *Aragon roman*.

[33] Juan Francisco Esteban Lorente, Fernando Galtier Martí & Manuel García Guatas, *El nacimiento del arte románico en Aragón. Arquitectura*, Zaragoza, 1982, p. 153; *Enciclopedia del Románico en Zaragoza*, Aguilar de Campoo, 2010, vol. I, p. 142.

[34] Javier Martínez de Aguirre, 'Arquitectura medieval', in *Santa María de Ujué*, Pamplona, 2011, pp. 56–117.

[35] On the sculpture of Ujué and Jaca, see: Marcel Durliat, *La sculpture romane de la route de Saint-Jacques. De Conques à Compostelle*, Mont-de-Marsan, 1990, pp. 259–60.

[36] On the chronology of Iguácel, see: Martínez de Aguirre, 'Arquitectura y soberanía', pp. 229–36.

[37] The relation of the sculpture at Sasave with Jaca was studied by David L. Simon, 'San Adrián de Sasave and Sculpture in Altoaragón', in *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, Woodbridge, 1987, pp. 179–84.

[38] Martínez de Aguirre, 'Arquitectura y soberanía', pp. 213–29.

The Portuguese Cathedrals and the Birth of a Kingdom
Braga, Oporto, Coimbra, and the Historical Arrival at Lisbon — Capital City and Shrine of St Vincent

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the rise of the kingdom of Portugal and the building of its first four cathedrals in the twelfth century following the military campaigns towards the Moorish south. This started with the restoring of the 'old' Suevic diocese of Braga, followed by a passage through Oporto (that would not assume full relevance before the end of the century) and the establishment of the first capital city of the new — but not yet fully recognized — kingdom and king in Coimbra, where a new cathedral was built side-by-side with the main house of the Augustinians, the monastery of Santa Cruz, burial site and 'place of memory' of the first two kings of Portugal. The goal of the pronouncement of the new kingdom would only be achieved with the conquest of Lisbon and the Tagus river line, where a new and definitive capital city would be asserted and a complex shrine would be built around the memory of the Three Holy Martyrs of Lisbon. Later, it would mainly centre on Saint Vincent, the new patron of the town and the first patron saint of the new kingdom of Portugal.

The Cathedral of Braga

The history of the most important Romanesque cathedrals in the kingdom of Portugal, which became effectively independent from the kingdom of Leon after the Treaty of Zamora in 1143, begins with the convoluted construction of Braga Cathedral in the area of the former Suevic capital. This was a history of rivalry with Santiago de Compostela that would witness a dramatic episode around 1102, when Diego Gelmírez embarked on the 'saint larceny', the theft of the relics of the most reputed saints from the diocese and the new kingdom — Victor, Susana, Cucufate, Silvestre, and Frutuoso — which were subsequently taken to Compostela. This theft compromized any possible religious competition between the two episcopal cities of the Iberian Peninsula's Northwest: the old one, Braga, and the 'newcomer', Compostela, the seat of the shrine of one of Christ's disciples, Saint James the Greater (San Tiago, in Spanish), a saint that would name the city soon to become the most important religious centre for Christian pilgrimage: Santiago de Compostela.

The construction of the new cathedral in Braga was directly linked to the 'restoration' of the diocese, undertaken by Bishop Dom Pedro between 1071[1] and 1091,[2] who carried out the first Romanesque construction works over what seems to have been a pre-Romanesque church of some importance, likely dating from the tenth century, whose archaeological remains were identified under the present building.[3] The new cathedral seems to have been a direct result of Dom Pedro's intention to confer to Braga not only the status and influence of the newly restored diocese, but also the magnificence of an architecture that he had already tested in other important places, including the nearby castle of Póvoa de Lanhoso.[4]

We know very little, all the same, about the extent of the work patronized by Dom Pedro in this period, besides the fact that the high altar was consecrated on 28 August 1089 in a ceremony presided over by the bishop of Toledo, and attended also by the bishops of Mondoñedo, Orense, and Tuy. The importance of this ceremony and the former relevance of Braga as one of the main spiritual centres of Early Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula — particularly the northwestern area[5] — makes us believe, following the proposal of Manuel Luis Real, that the church under construction in the last quarter of the eleventh century followed a much larger project, both artistically and politically, than the one that is usually credited to its patron,[6] preceding the arrival of the Bishop Gerald of Moissac and the influence of the Benedictines from Cluny around 1100.[7]

The arrival of Bishop Gerald in Braga suggests that the see tried to regain the importance it once had prior to the rising influence of Santiago de Compostela. The movement towards the creation of an important pilgrimage centre in the city seems to be somehow related to the construction of the chapel of Saint Nicholas[8] — a chapel that could also be found in pilgrimage churches like Tours, Jaca, Burgos, or in the very cathedral of Compostela[9] — which was associated to the welcoming and assistance of the pilgrims. This chapel would later be transformed into the mausoleum of Gerald, who died in 1108,[10] whose architectural structure would be first repaired and transformed in 1214, in a time when the cult of Saint Gerald was already stabilized, with the liturgical celebrations fully instituted by 1228.[11]

Was the main goal of Dom Pedro, first, and then Geraldo to *compete* with Santiago the Compostela for the role of the most important pilgrimage centre in the northwest of the Peninsula — with all the prestige and riches that were associated to it — or just to 'take advantage' of its religious tradition and strategic positioning on one of the main routes to Compostela in order to 'deflect' the pilgrims for a passage through the new and imposing cathedral and the consequent worship of the local saints?

Whatever the answer would be Diego Gelmírez did not wait for it, ravaging Braga, and taking the saint's treasured relics with him.[12] The fate of Braga seemed to be sealed from that time on, as it was unable to compete with the ever-growing influence of Compostela, in spite of some attempts of securing other relics to replace those stolen by Gelmírez.

First it was Dom Mauricio Burdino, at a time when he was still bishop of Coimbra[13] who, on his journey to the Holy Land, tried to bring a relic of the Holy Cross and the very head of Santiago, putting in question the proclaimed finding of the uncorrupted body of the saint in Compostela. The fear of action on the part of the Compostelans compelled Dom Mauricio to deposit the head in San Zoilo at Carrión de los Condes, from where Diego Gelmírez managed to take it to Compostela, with the permission of Queen Urraca, to complete the remains of the Apostle in its cathedral shrine. Another bishop of Braga, Dom Paio Mendes, later even tried to obtain the relics of Saint Vincent,[14] which — as we shall see — were disputed by several monasteries throughout Europe and that, in the kingdom of Portugal, would be at the centre of a quarrel between the Augustinians, in their new house in the new capital, Lisbon, and the first Portuguese king, that would take them to the newly built cathedral where the saint would find his permanent shrine.

The attack by Diego Gelmírez in 1102 caused a violent disruption of the Braga Cathedral construction works, whose original project is still an open field of discussion. A surviving side apse on the north side of the church seems to have been part of the original eleventh-century Romanesque construction, with its horseshoe arch; now isolated and open onto a small patio near the cloister, it could have been part of the original east end of the church, that, according to Manuel Luis Real, would probably have comprised a total of seven apses, three on each side of the presbytery. This programme would be reduced to only three apses during the subsequent reconstructions.[15] The reconstruction works were not fully undertaken immediately, though, and not without further conflicts and destructions, as a document dated from 29 October 1110, signed by countess Teresa, seems to confirm. The document details her request to bring reparation to the diocese for the crimes perpetrated against it in the conflict that opposed her to Dom Mauricio Burdino and the supporters of the cause of the succession to the throne of Leon by Queen Urraca, after the death of King Alfonso VI in 1109.[16]

It was only with Dom Paio Mendes that a new and decisive period of reconstruction started, although by 1128 the cathedral was not yet fit to stage the ceremony of consecration by the new bishop of Coimbra, Bernard, which had to be performed in the chapel of Saint Nicholas; three years later, on 22 April 1131, the

Fig. 1. Braga Cathedral, general view of the interior (photo Wikimedia commons)

new chancel seems to have been sufficiently suited for the cult. Only by 1135 do we finally get to know the name of the architect behind this second and more modest Romanesque project: Nuno Pais.[17] It was also Bishop Paio Mendes who was responsible for the construction of the Chapel of the Kings or Chapel of Saint Lucas, sometime between 1128 and his death in 1137, where the tombs of the count and countess of *Portucale* — Henry of Burgundy and Teresa of Leon — were placed, adjacent to the north side of the body of the church.[18]

The fate of Braga Cathedral would also be marked by other catastrophic events like the earthquake of 1135, whose impact was such that by 1268 the construction works were not yet finished. Braga, whose partially rebuilt cathedral was not consecrated before 1176 — with important donations with that purpose in mind by kings Afonso I (Afonso Henriques) and Sancho I documented in 1185 and 1210[19] — had lost any chance of competing with Santiago de Compostela as the

Iberian Peninsula's main Christian spiritual centre, a situation from which it would never fully recover on an international level, although it managed to regain some of its original importance within the growing kingdom of Portugal. Architectonically the cathedral still reveals today — even after the interventions of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries that tried to recover some of its former magnificence — its hybrid and partly unachieved character, as is evidenced by the fact that it is the only Portuguese Medieval cathedral whose main body was never vaulted (Fig. 1).

Santa Cruz and Coimbra Cathedral

The subsequent march towards the south would lead king Afonso Henriques to settle his new capital city in Coimbra, where a new cathedral was built in the twelfth century. Behind him were the territories

of the interior and the Douro River, where Oporto would stand out as the most important town, with a new cathedral also under construction. In 1113 the diocese was restored and Hugo of Compostela, a faithful clergyman of Diego Gelmírez, was appointed as the new bishop, with the political blessing of countess Teresa; two years later, the renewed diocese was exempted of any obedience to the metropolis of Braga, leading the bishop of Oporto to obtain from the pope the right of jurisdiction over the diocese of Lamego the year after.[20] The construction of the new cathedral in Coimbra must have started in the second quarter of the twelfth century,[21] but it would not be finished until the thirteenth century, after some hesitations and programme changes, at a time when Oporto would stand out in the kingdom to its full relevance.

Coimbra, the first capital city of the first Portuguese king, was elected as the place where he would set his court and choose his burial place, in the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz (the Holy Cross), which he had helped to found. On 9 December 1130 Afonso I donated the grounds where the new monastic house would be built, the construction of which started on 28 June 1131;[22] later, following the example of Ferdinand I and Alfonso VI of Leon and of several French noblemen, such as the Dukes of Burgundy, he would choose this monastery to lay down his body on its monumental galilee, preceded in 1157 by the burial of his first wife, Matilde.[23] The king's tomb and that of his son, Sancho I, would subsequently be placed after their deaths in 1185 and 1211 in the same crypt where Matilde was laid to rest, on the ground floor of the galilee, under a chapel dedicated to the cult of the dead, as was practice in other European monastic churches at the time.[24]

The choice for the Augustinians by King Afonso I seems to have been a cunning political and diplomatic measure to counterbalance the extreme prestige of the Benedictines of Cluny in the Iberian kingdoms, in particular in Leon and Castile, where monarchs like Alfonso VI and Alfonso VII were amongst the main benefactors of the Clunisians.[25] In fact, the Augustinian houses would spread throughout the country in numbers and relevance without parallel in any other Christian kingdom, being also more frequently allotted the condition of *nullius diocesis* — exempt from any bishopric authority and tithe — than the Benedictine ones.

The king's favour towards the Augustinians, which was not unconditional and which also knew some difficult times, seems to have been somewhat of a drawback for the patronage of the cathedral construction, which was only started after 1139, the crucial date of the Battle of Ourique.[26] The beginning of the construction, still under the ruling of Bishop Bernard, who died in 1146, was succeeded, with the support of Afonso I, by a more vigorous phase of the works under the supervision of Bishop Miguel Salomão, between 1162 and 1172, when the Romanesque fortified building was almost finished (Fig. 2). In 1182, the temple was already fit to receive the body of the successor of Miguel Salomão, Bishop Bernudos, and in 1185 King Sancho I was crowned here; the masters Robert — of French origin, whom we will meet again on the construction site of Lisbon Cathedral — and the Portuguese Soeiro — who we will encounter later further north — were the ones accountable for a project that was clearly inspired by French models.[27]

Lisbon Cathedral

The most important landmark of the *Reconquista*, that is, the regaining of the territories that had been occupied by the Moors for more than 400 years, would be the crossing of the river Tejo (Tagus), conquering Lisbon, Santarém, Sintra, Almada, and Palmela in 1147, Abrantes in 1148, and subsequently fortifying (or repairing the fortifications of) the towns mentioned, as well as of the banks of the Tejo in Almourol, Tomar, Vila Velha de Rodão, and Belver. Lisbon, the most important of the conquered towns, would now become the new capital of the kingdom, with a new cathedral hastily built — and consecrated — over the ruins of one of its mosques.

The process of legitimating the new cathedral first resorted to the three Holy Martyrs of Lisbon — Veríssimo, Máxima, and Júlia — but soon it became apparent that these were either not prestigious enough or lacked the actual tokens of their presence: their relics. Instead, a search for a saint that could encompass the importance of the new Christian capital was started. The choice fell upon Saint Vincent, whose relics were brought from Zaragoza, after a perilous adventure, to find their new and permanent shrine in Lisbon.

Fig. 2.   Coimbra Cathedral, exterior view (photo Wikimedia commons)

The city was conquered by Afonso Henriques on 25 October 1147,[28] with the help of the Crusaders that were passing by on their way to the Holy Land — English, Normans, Germans, Flemish — a conquest of which we have a precious account in the form of a letter written to Osberno (Osborne?) by a chaplain of the Crusader's armada.[29] Having conquered the town and beheaded the Mozarabic bishop 'against the divine and human right',[30] the 'Christian knights' engaged for five days in ferocious looting and plunder. Their main temple was subsequently established in a mosque, 'a temple sustained by seven orders of columns with as many entablatures',[31] consecrated as Christian cathedral on All-Saints Day, 1 November 1147. After it was ' purified [...] by the archbishop and four other bishops [...] the seat of the bishopric

was installed there'. Chosen as bishop of the restored diocese was, 'one of ours, Gilbert of Hastings, with the consent of the king, the archbishop, the clergymen and all the laymen';[32] Gilbert would be invested by the archbishop of Braga, Dom João Peculiar, and confirmed by Pope Eugene III before June 1148.[33]

The construction of the cathedral on sacred ground, where some authors have seen a Norman influence,[34] and others from the Languedoc[35] — in the same location where a Roman pagan temple, a Visigoth church, and a mosque of the Muslim Lisbon had been erected before[36] — had the double purpose of occupying a space that had been regarded as sacred long before the arrival of the Christian conquerors, and asserting the symbolic triumph of Christianity over Islam (Figs 3 & 4).[37]

Fig. 3.   Lisbon Cathedral, view from the west (photo author)

Fig. 4. Lisbon Cathedral, a carved Visigoth stone embedded in the twelfth-century building on the south side (photo author)

The building of the new temple must have started in the second half of the twelfth century, probably around 1160;[38] we know from the *Livro Preto* (Black Book) of Coimbra Cathedral that master Robert was named the one 'from Lisbon' who went to Coimbra four times during the bishopric of Dom Miguel Salomão before 1176,[39] to supervise the construction of its cathedral, very similar to the Lisboan one. The work was only completed at the beginning of the thirteenth century,[40] most likely after 1211, the year of the death of Sancho I.[41] The original east end of the building had an apse with two bays, the first rectangular and the second semi-circular, with two similar smaller round apses on both sides; the presbytery had the width of the central aisle, whilst the other two chapels were as wide as the collateral ones.[42]

The building still retains the original cruciform plan of three aisles with six bays (one longer than in Coimbra), with a higher central one covered by a barrel vault, whilst the collaterals are covered by groined vaults and a transept that rises to the same height of the central aisle.

It is, nevertheless, the main portal — set between the two imposing towers — and its decorated capitals that interest us the most, since their iconographic programme will help to consubstantiate an ideological statement about the *precedence* of the Holy Martyrs of Lisbon over the Islamic town, a statement that will prove to be of paramount importance for the future assertion of the city's see, of the restored diocese, and of Christian Lisbon (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5.   Lisbon Cathedral, general view of the main portal (photo author)

Fig. 6.   Lisbon Cathedral, main portal: Saint Michael and the Dragon (photo author)

Fig. 7.   Lisbon Cathedral, main portal: the fight between the Christian and Moorish knights (photo author)

The first author to pay some attention to the sculpture on these capitals was Gabriel Pereira (1847–1911) in the last years of the nineteenth century: 'a relic from the first (phase of) construction miraculously preserved'.[43] The same author had already underlined the dominance of the ornamentation of vegetable inspiration on the main portal of the cathedral, emphasizing, at the same time, the presence of two narrative capitals: one depicting warriors riding horses, 'symbolically', and another portraying 'perhaps the Saints of Lisbon, Veríssimo, Máxima e Júlia'.[44] Aarão de Lacerda would resume later the same interpretation of Gabriel Pereira for the capitals:

> The sculptor that carved Saint Michael defeating Lucifer [?],[45] the fight between two knights and the images that might very well be, as Gabriel Pereira assumed, the three Saints of Lisbon, Veríssimo, Máxima e Júlia, did it with an ornamental spirit very close to that of the artist or artists that decorated with miniatures the *Apocalypse* of Lorvão, with its slender figurines. In Portuguese Romanesque this set of miniatures is unique.[46]

When we first dealt with this sculptural programme, years ago, we pointed out that it was fundamental for the Christian conquerors of the city to build a cathedral in a fast and imposing way, so as to enhance unambiguously the domination of the victors — and of their religion — over the vanquished that were forced to witness the destruction of their mosque and the building of the new Christian cathedral on the same site. We also said then that the most important symbol of domination was the capital depicting the fight between two knights (Fig. 7): the first one, bearded and mounting what seems to be a lion invests against the other, beardless and mounting a bull (and dressed in such a fashion that his exogenous origin becomes immediately obvious). The first knight's mount is holding a horn from the bull with his left paw (as if it were a hand), thus submitting the mount of the second knight and overpowering him[47] in a fight between opposites in which the first embodies the solar might — the lion being one of the symbols of Christ — whilst the other personifies the lunar influence, an opposition that is also, metaphorically, the impersonation of the fight between Christians

Fig. 8.   Lisbon Cathedral, main portal: the Whore of Babylon (photo author)

Fig. 9.   Lisbon Cathedral, main portal: the three Holy Martyrs of Lisbon (photo author)

and Muslims, in which the first vanquishes and subdues the second.[48] Not by chance this capital is faced, on the opposite side of the portal, by another one representing the Whore of Babylon,[49] an apocalyptic reference that seems related to the former Islamic domination of the city, here associated to the biblical Babylon, the root of all sin (Fig. 8).[50]

The capital that interests us the most, however, is the one that is believed to represent the Holy Martyrs of Lisbon, whose presence in this programme must be understood in close connection to the spirit of crusade of the period (Fig. 9). When the Crusaders and the men of Afonso I conquered Lisbon, they imposed a heavy defeat upon the Muslims, reaching — as we have already seen — a border that was geographically well defined and much easier to defend than all the former ones, namely the river Tejo (Tagus). When the victors asserted the triumph of their faith, they did so in accordance with the words of Saint Isidore of Seville, quoted in the letter to Osberno:

The just war, as our Isidore says, is the one that is made to recover what is ours, or to ward off the enemies [...].

The one that kills the evil ones on what they are evil and does so with a just reason, is a minister of Our Lord.[51]

Besides the obvious spirit of crusade reflected in the concept of the 'just war',[52] the idea of 'recovering what is ours' is also of the utmost importance. The Holy Martyrs of Lisbon present an undisputed evidence that Lisbon had already been 'ours' — that is to say, Christian — as the letter to Osberno so eloquently states, by referring to them no fewer than two times:

Under the domination of the Christian kings, before the Moorish conquest [...] the memory of the three martyrs Veríssimo, Máxima and Júlia, virgin, was revered, of whose church, totally devastated by the Moors, are still left only three stones as a memory of its destruction, that nobody could ever remove. Some say they are altars; others, however, say they are tombstones [...]. In this very town it is a testimony of that [i.e., the previous presence of the Christians] the blood of the martyrs Máxima, Veríssimo and Júlia virgin, spilled in the name of Christ, at the time of Ageiano, Roman governor.[53]

These two references are very clear with regard to the symbolic importance of these martyrs of the first centuries of Christianity on the Iberian Peninsula. Seen as a subject of intense worship by the first Christian kings and suffering the subsequent Moorish ravage and destruction of their temple, unable nevertheless to erase their memory that survived in the altars or tombstones, these martyrs and their testimonies would thus materialize the connection between the first Christian evangelization — of which they are a valued *exemplum* — and the return of the Christian knights to the town to reclaim what had been *theirs*.

The three saints seem to have been three siblings martyred in Lisbon during the fourth century — on 1 or 2 October of the year 303 or 304 — during the reign of Emperor Diocletian and at the hands of the governor Ageiano or Daciano.[54] The documentary sources, which are varied and spread through time, are not particularly explicit about the different lives of the three saints, but repeat, instead, the tales concerning other martyrs, among whom the best known is Saint Vincent. In fact, the first references to the saints of Lisbon that we are aware of are those contained in the *Martyrology* by Usuardo, a work dating from about 875. Although the Holy Martyrs of Lisbon were already inscribed in the liturgical calendars since the sixth century, the researchers who have dealt with their story all agree on one subject: the martyrdom of the three saints of Lisbon is not spoken of before the ninth century.[55] The devotion rendered to these saints seems to have been preserved within the Mozarabic community of the city,[56] such that after the conquest King Afonso Henriques decided to build a temple dedicated to their memory — the church of the Martyrs of Lisbon — that is already documented in 1194, and that was subsequently donated to the Order of Santiago by Sancho I.[57]

When the cathedral was built, it was no more than natural that these martyrs, who were amongst the first Christian credentials of the town, would be evoked — and invoked — on that sacred spot. This also becomes obvious when we look at the first capital on the south side of the main portal, where the figure that seems to depict Veríssimo is seen in front of those of his sisters Máxima and Júlia, young maidens that are depicted on the sides of the same capital, in smaller scale because of the nature of the female body, and less exposed, in the background, for their own

protection and statement of 'modesty'. The simple difference between the corpulence of the masculine and feminine bodies can explain the different sizes of the figures carved in a soft limestone capital — 'lioz' found around Lisbon — damaged by erosion. The iconography of the three martyrs of Lisbon would subsequently change, but only in the seventeenth century, when they started being depicted as *romeiros* (originally those that made the pilgrimage to Rome, a designation later attributed to any pilgrim, even at a regional level), a depiction that seems to have been based on the legend widespread by Fray Luís dos Anjos, very common in Baroque engravings from the seventeenth century onwards.[58]

Despite the significance of the evocation of the Holy Martyrs of Lisbon, it became clear that the new cathedral, in the also-new capital city of the kingdom, needed real relics from a prestigious saint to assert itself as the new and most relevant point of religious reference in the kingdom of Portugal. Its aim was to establish a certain parallel with Santiago de Compostela, by then not only the undisputed main religious centre of all of the Iberian Peninsula, but also the most important pilgrimage goal across Europe. The object of the new king's quest would be the relics of Saint Vincent of Zaragoza.

Saint Vincent, the focus of the new shrine of the Lisbon see, is described in his hagiography as a former deacon of Valerio, Bishop of Zaragoza, one of the participants in the Council of Elvira that was held between 300 and 330; his legend was initially spread by the poet Prudencio (348–*c.* 415), in his *Crown of the Martyrs*, with the cult spreading throughout the Roman Empire since the time of Saint Augustine (354–430). Arrested by the Roman governor Daciano, Vincent would subsequently suffer torture and martyrdom, his body being abandoned on an isolated place to be devoured by beasts, an outcome that was miraculously avoided by the appearance of a crow that protected him from a wolf. Daciano then ordered that Vincent's body be thrown out into the sea, with a millstone around its neck, but it eventually washed ashore; relevant iconography includes depictions of the saint wearing the deacon's dalmatic, scenes from the martyrdom, the barge, and the crows.

The relics of Saint Vincent aroused the interest, from very early times, of several Christian courts, notably the French one, a fact recorded in the *Missal*

of Mateus, which was brought from Moissac to Braga at the beginning of the twelfth century and that '[...] includes his *sanctoral*, where he is particularly highlighted'.[59] In fact, since the time of Childebert, the saint was worshipped in Saint-Germain-des-Prés, in Paris, where the Merovingian monarch had managed to bring his stole.[60] When Usuardo made his trip to the Iberian Peninsula, passing the Pyrenees in 858,[61] his goal was to obtain and carry with him the body of Saint Vincent to the French abbey, a hypothesis that the *Translatio Beati Vincentii*, written by Aimoin in 869, entirely ignores.[62] What seems clear now is that when the Saint Vincent relics were finally retrieved by the men of Afonso I — after a first, partially unsuccessful, expedition that left them in Algarve, hence the name given to the Cabo São Vicente, the southwesternmost headland of mainland Portugal — they were not taken to the monastery of São Vicente 'de Fora' (that is, outside the city walls) as was the wish of the Augustinians,[63] but instead to the cathedral of Lisbon. There, following the express wishes of the king, they were deposited on 15 September 1173, thus transforming the Lisbon see into the main cultic focus of the Zaragozan saint relics, who would soon acquire the status of a patron saint to the city and, shortly after, to all the kingdom.[64]

By the second half of the twelfth century Lisbon was already a city bustling with commercial activity, which progressively became the scene of cohabitation between the victors and the vanquished. The local Mozarabic community, as we have seen, had already felt a special devotion for Saint Vincent,[65] around which a well-structured cult would soon develop. The choice of his relics over those of other saints, especially considering the number of martyrs already worshipped in the city — not only Veríssimo, Máxima, and Júlia, of whom we spoke before, but also Saints Just, Gens, Anastasius, Placid, Manços, Felix, Adrian, and Natalia — is not only related to the need of material evidence of the saints' remains, but is probably also connected to the strong French presence amongst the elites of the peninsular kingdoms and, in particular, the Portuguese ones, the first king being the grandson of the Duke of Burgundy.[66]

Among the main written records of the *translatio* of the relics of Saint Vincent to Lisbon, one is contemporary to the event and its author is the chanter of the cathedral, Master Estêvão (Stephen), whilst another must be dated between the years 1236 and 1248.[67] The manipulation of the description of the recovery of the body of Saint Vincent that, from 1190[68] on, is always iconographically associated with the black birds — the crows, usually two in number — implies a depiction that would subsequently associate the barge and the battered body of the martyr.[69] For instance, another seal from the Lisbon city council, dated 1223, shows the two crows standing on the barge,[70] the very same crows that prevented the devouring of the saint's body by the beasts.[71]

The main reason behind the wish to retrieve the relics of the saint now becomes clear: that of transforming Lisbon into a first-rate pilgrimage centre, at least on a peninsular level. This fact is enlightened by the synod of 1240, when the bishops of the kingdom decided to encourage the priests of their dioceses to urge their communities to visit the relics of Saint Vincent at least once every year. It is also clear that behind this enterprise — despite the known prosperity of a multicultural city[72] — the monarch and the clergy of the cathedral were in fact founding the renewed diocese of the new capital city *over* the relics of Saint Vincent (the main reason behind the refusal to hand them over to the Augustine monastery), marking, in a triumphal way, a point of no return on the assertion of the king, the kingdom, and the Christian 'national' Church that the monarch protects.

The parallels between the roles played by the two main patron saints in the peninsula seem obvious: Saint James the Greater with Alfonso II of Asturias in the ninth century and Saint Vincent with Afonso I of Portugal in the twelfth were both helping to consolidate the project of the new kingdoms; both were associated with the origins of Hispanic Christianity; both their remains — their 'relics' — had been forgotten, or lost, and appeared again, suddenly and miraculously, on a crucial political moment, allowing (in the Portuguese case) the young kingdom to create a new centre of worship and pilgrimage of utmost importance, which was directly related to the king's commitment to its formal establishment.[73]

The shrine of Saint Vincent was unfortunately destroyed by one of the many earthquakes that severely damaged the cathedral throughout the centuries, especially those of 1321, 1356 — razing the new presbytery of Afonso IV — 1404, and 1531, as well as the dramatic earthquake of 1755 that devastated most of the city of Lisbon: besides the shrine and all the oriental chapels, the four-storey-high

lantern tower, which was built over the crossing of the aisles and the transept, was lost as well. But we are fortunate to be able to recover what the shrine might have looked like, since it is depicted on two seals, dating from 1346 and 1352, celebrating the consecration of the new sanctuary as the chapel of the high altar, but also as the pantheon of Afonso IV and his wife. These seals show us the sarcophagus enclosing the saint's remains placed over four columns — with the two crows on top — before the king and an officiating bishop, in a context that Eduardo Carrero Santamaría has compared to that of the young Alfonso VII, at Compostela, with the bishop Diego Gelmírez.[74] Behind them, and on the reverse side, we see the Romanesque cathedral still intact, scenes depicting the saint praying — perhaps still as a deacon — and the arrival of his body to Lisbon, in the barge and always guarded by the two crows.[75]

The reputation of the miraculous powers of Saint Vincent, who could heal the sick — more and more frequent and celebrated — attracted an ever-growing number of believers to Lisbon, coming from places as far away as Guimarães or Lugo, Leon, Catalonia or from his 'homeland', Aragon.[76] All wished to get as close as possible to the relics of the saint, which sometimes even entailed night vigils beside his shrine, trying to touch his *sanctum* and begging for his aid, in a cult that was strictly codified and controlled by the ecclesiastical authorities that 'leaves very little to the spontaneity of the moment or of the individual'.[77]

Beginning in the twelfth century, and certainly because of the protection offered to those who sought comfort and cure next to the relics of Saint Vincent, Lisbon's cathedral started being chosen as a favourite burial place, initially *sub stillicidio* (under the roof gutter),[78] but mainly next to the facade, *ante limina ecclesiae*,[79] a fact verified by the discovery of a number of burials in front and around the church.[80] Later these burials would become more common, spreading to the chapels of the cloister and even to those surrounding the Gothic ambulatory that embraced the Gothic chancel where Afonso IV — as was said before — would erect, during the fourteenth century, his own *pantheon* as well as an altar celebrating Saint Vincent. Afonso IV would be the first Portuguese king to be effectively buried *ad Sanctos*, surrounded by all the paraphernalia related to his heroic participation in the Battle of Salado, in 1340, the last attempt of the Islamic Kings of Morocco and Granada to regain control of the peninsular territories. This made all the more sense since the cathedral, as was the case for all other cathedrals in the kingdom of Portugal, never had a crypt for privileged burials.

NOTES

[*] IHA/DHA, FSCH-Universidade Nova de Lisboa and Calouste Gulbenkian Museum.

[1] This is the date of the actual 'restoration', apparently at the initiative of Dom Pedro with the more or less reluctant cooperation of the bishops Vitrário of Lugo and Crescónio of Iria Flavia, as part of the Galician 'competition'.

[2] On this matter see in particular: Avelino de J. DA COSTA, *O Bispo D. Pedro e a organização da diocese de Braga*, vol. II, Coimbra, 1959, pp. 25–38, and Manuel L. REAL, 'O projecto da Catedral de Braga, nos finais do século XI, e as origens do românico português', in *Actas do Congresso Internacional da dedicação da Sé de Braga*, vol. I, Braga, 1990, pp. 435–511, in particular 435–37.

[3] REAL, 'O projecto da Catedral', pp. 438–45.

[4] *Ibidem*, pp. 446–54.

[5] With the neighbouring ancient diocese of Dume, the mausoleum of São Frutuoso de Montelios, the church of São Pedro de Rates and, of course, all the religious centres of nearby Galicia.

[6] The fate of Bishop Dom Pedro is directly connected to his choice of supporting the antipope Clemens III who, in 1091, made him Archbishop of Braga, with the dignity of metropolitan; he was subsequently deposed and locked up in a monastery by order of Urban II.

[7] REAL, 'O projecto da Catedral', p. 455 and passim.

[8] Probably sacred in the year of 1103, *Ibidem*, p. 475.

[9] *Ibidem*, pp. 466–67.

[10] Manuel d'A. BARREIROS, *A Cathedral de Santa Maria de Braga. Estudos críticos archeologico-artisticos*, Porto, 1922, p. 43, attributed to Gerald of Moissac the initiative of the construction of the chapel.

[11] Avelino d. J. DA COSTA, 'Geraldo, São', in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, ed. Joel SERRÃO, vol. II, Lisboa, 1971, pp. 340–41; Avelino d. J. DA COSTA, *A vacância da Sé de Braga e o episcopado de São Geraldo (1092–1108)*, Braga, 1991, p. 23: already present in the calendar of the *Missal de Mateus*, prior to 1176, and patron of a church in Loivos (Chaves), in 1224.

[12] Something that would be fairly accepted at the time, since the saints were *living creatures* and, therefore, their relics could not be moved without their consent; on this matter, see: Patrick J. GEARY, *Furta Sacra*, Princeton, 1990², pp. 108–14.

[13] He would replace Gerald in Braga after his death in 1108, see: Jorge RODRIGUES, 'O Mundo Românico', in *História da Arte Portuguesa*, ed. Paulo PEREIRA, vol. I, Lisbon, 1995, pp. 180–331, here p. 199.

[14] REAL, 'O projecto da Catedral', pp. 476–77.

[15] The discussion to whether this section of the cathedral corresponded to a body of three of five aisles is dealt with by *Ibidem*, p. 455 and passim.

[16] Real, 'O projecto da Catedral', p. 477 and passim.

[17] *Ibidem*, pp. 483–84.

[18] Jorge Rodrigues, *Galilea, locus e memória. Panteões, estruturas funerárias e espaços religiosos associados em Portugal, do início do século XII a meados do século XIV: da formação do Reino à vitória no Salado* (unpublished doctoral thesis FSCH/Universidade Nova de Lisboa), 2011, pp. 556–57: today the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Livramento, which was totally rebuilt — as the tombs — by Dom Lourenço Vicente in 1391, in a place allotted by tradition to the burial ground of the Suevic Kings.

[19] Real, 'O projecto da Catedral', p. 489; Rodrigues, 'O Mundo Românico', p. 231.

[20] António S. Rodrigues (ed.), *História de Portugal em datas*, Lisboa, 1994, p. 24.

[21] Manuel L. Real, 'O românico português na perspectiva das relações internacionais', in *Românico em Portugal e Galiza*, Lisbon & La Coruña, 2001, pp. 30–55, here 39.

[22] The land donated by Afonso Henriques had belonged to one of the most prominent Mozarabic families of Coimbra, the city where this cultural and religious tradition was more present than anywhere else in the kingdom, until the second half of the twelfth century; about the foundation and construction of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, see: António N. Gonçalves, 'Mosteiro de Santa Cruz', in *Estudos de História da Arte Medieval*, Coimbra, 1980, pp. 161–68, and Jorge Rodrigues, *Galilea, locus e memoria*, pp. 110–23, here 110.

[23] *Ibidem*, p. 114.

[24] *Ibidem*, pp. 121–22: after the first kings, many other persons of noble pedigree would also find their final resting place on this *galilee*, taking advantage of the prestigious 'company' of the bodies of the monarchs.

[25] Denise Riche, *L'Ordre de Cluny à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIIe–XVe siécles)*, Saint-Étienne, 2000, p. 89 and 40; Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure*, Paris, 1998, p. 69 and 247, referring to the liturgical celebrations by Hugo of Sémur and Peter the Venerable in honour of Alfonso VI of Leon, '[...] grand bienfaiteur du monastère, du vivant du roi, puis en sa mémoire [...] qui de son royaume terrestre a ainsi gagné le royaume éternel'.

[26] This victory on the battlefield was where Afonso I Henriques proved his valour in combat and where he might have been acclaimed king by his knights, following the Germanic practice of the warrior-monarchies, as well as of the ones previously instituted in Asturias, Aragon, and Navarre. Cf. José Mattoso, *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1992–1994, vol. II, p. 62; Lorenzo Arias Páramo, *Guía del Arte Prerrománico Asturiano*, Gijón, 1996[2], p. 44 and passim.

[27] Rodrigues, 'O mundo Românico', pp. 255–56.

[28] Ruy d'A. Torres, 'Lisboa, conquista de (1147)', in Serrão, *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, p. 756.

[29] *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*: part of the manuscript collection Cambridge University, Corpus Christi Library, Codex 470, see *Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros em 1147. Narração pelos cruzados Osberno e Arnulfo, testemunhas presenciais do cêrco*, (transl. from the Latin by José Augusto de Oliveira with a foreword by Augusto Vieira da Silva), Lisbon, 1936.

[30] Aires A. Nascimento (ed.), *[A] conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros. Relato de um cruzado*, introduction by Maria J. V. Branco, Lisbon, 2001, p. 139; in *Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros em 1147. Carta de um Cruzado inglês que participou nos acontecimentos*, Lisbon, 1989, p. 107, the justification for such a 'barbaric' act, criticized by the author, is, nevertheless, apparent in the very letter, as we can see in p. 51, when he mentions the 'collaborationist' with the infidels: 'Rise as good emulators the Church of Spain prostrated and humiliated [...] because — in the words of Saint Ambrose — the one that does not repel, when he can, the outrage made to its companions and brothers is as criminal as the one that perpetrates it'; words that can be related to the spirit of Crusade, punishing the Christian (Mozarabic) Bishop for his 'treason', by accepting to live amongst and 'cooperate' with the infidels.

[31] *Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros em 1147*, pp. 108–09; see also: Nascimento, *[A] conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros*, p. 141 where the entablatures are translated as 'vaults'.

[32] *Ibidem*, p. 109.

[33] Júlio de Castilho, *Lisboa Antiga*, vol. V, Lisbon, 1970[3] (revised and expanded ed. by the author, with notes by Augusto Vieira da Silva), pp. 140–41.

[34] *Ibidem*, pp. 135–36; Manuel L. Real, 'Perspectivas sobre a Flora Românica da 'Escola Lisbonense'. A propósito de dois capitéis desconhecidos de Sintra no Museu do Carmo', in *Sintria*, I–II (1), 1982–1983, pp. 529–60, here 535, and note 8; Manuel L. Real, 'O Convento Românico de S. Vicente de Fora', in *Monumentos*, 2, Lisbon, 1995, pp. 14–23, here 14; Carlos Alberto F. de Almeida, *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico*, vol. 3, Lisbon, 1986, p. 121 and Carlos Alberto F. de Almeida, *História da Arte em Portugal, I. O Românico*, Lisbon, 2001, p. 135.

[35] Reynaldo dos Santos, *O Românico em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1955, p. 46 and Rodrigues, 'O Mundo Românico', p. 257.

[36] Clementino Amaro, 'Presença muçulmana no Claustro da Sé Catedral — três contextos com cerâmica islâmica', in *Garb, Sítios Islâmicos do Sul Peninsular*, Lisbon, 2001, pp. 165–97; João V. Branco, 'Reis, bispos e cabidos: a diocese de Lisboa durante o primeiro século da sua restauração', in *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd series, no. 10, Lisboa, 1998, pp. 55–94, here 57–58 and note 7.

[37] See on this subject: Rodrigues, 'O Mundo Românico', p. 257.

[38] Santos, *O Românico em Portugal*, p. 43.

[39] *Ibidem*, p. 46; Almeida, *História da Arte em Portugal, I. O Românico*, p. 135.

[40] *Ibidem*, p. 135; Real, 'Perspectivas sobre a Flora Românica', p. 535.

[41] Santos, *O Românico em Portugal*, p. 43.

[42] Castilho, *Lisboa antiga*, V, p. 75.

[43] Gabriel Pereira, 'Capitéis da Sé de Lisboa', in *Estudos Diversos (Arqueologia. História. Arte. Etnografia)*, 1934 [originally published in 1895], pp. 334–35.

[44] *Ibidem*, p. 335.

[45] Which is really the *Dragon* from the *Apocalypse*, 12, 7–9.

[46] Aarão de Lacerda, *História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 1, Porto, 1942, p. 285.

[47] Jean Chevalier & Alain Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire des Symboles*, Paris 1982 (second revised and expanded ed.), p. 290, 575 and 931.

[48] Jorge Rodrigues, *Aspectos da ornamentação e representação na escultura do românico em Portugal*, (unpublished master thesis in History of Art), vol. 1, Lisbon, 1982, pp. 55–56.

[49] Paulo A. Fernandes, 'Iconografia do apocalipse: uma nova leitura do portal ocidental da Sé de Lisboa', in *Património estudos*, 7, Lisbon, 2004, pp. 91–100, here 93.

[50] *Apocalypse*, 17.

[51] *Conquista de Lisboa em 1147* (1936), p. 52; Nascimento, [A] *conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros*, p. 69.

[52] Concerning the question of *just war* and *holy war*, see John Gilchrist, 'The papacy and war against the "Sarracens"', 796–1216', in *The International History Review*, 10, 1988, pp. 173–97.

[53] *Conquista de Lisboa em 1147* (1936), p. 61 and 78; Nascimento, [A] *conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros*, p. 79, 95 and notes 96 and 116.

[54] Mário Martins, 'A legenda dos santos mártires Veríssimo, Máxima e Júlia, do cód. CV/I-₃ d., da Biblioteca de Évora', in *Revista Portuguesa de História*, VI, 1955, pp. 45–93, here 48–51; Miguel de Oliveira, *Lenda e História. Estudos hagiográficos*, Lisbon, 1964, pp. 149–50 and 155–56; Aires A. Nascimento, & Saúl A. Gomes, *S. Vicente de Lisboa e seus milagres medievais*, Lisbon, 1988, p. 9.

[55] Martins, 'A legenda dos santos mártires', pp. 45–46; Oliveira, *Lenda e Historia*, pp. 149–52.

[56] *Ibidem*, p. 47.

[57] Oliveira, *Lenda e Historia*, p. 159.

[58] *Ibidem*, p. 155 and 157.

[59] Nascimento & Gomes, *S. Vicente de Lisboa*, p. 9; Carla V. Fernandes, 'D. Afonso IV e a Sé de Lisboa. A escolha de um lugar de memória', in *Arqueologia & História*, 58–59, 2006/2007, 2010, pp. 143–66, here 158.

[60] Philippe Ariès, *L'Homme devant la Mort*, Paris, 1977, p. 43; Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 135.

[61] Martins, 'A legenda dos santos mártires', p. 45.

[62] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 61–62 and 135–38: the relics of the saint were also coveted by the monks of Conques, before securing (as an alternative) the remains of Sainte Foy.

[63] Nascimento & Gomes, *S. Vicente de Lisboa*, p. 10; Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, 'La catedral, el santo y el rey. Alfonso IV de Portugal, san Vicente mártir y la capilla mayor de la *sé* de Lisboa', in *Hagiografia peninsular en els segles medievals*, ed. Francesca Español & Francesc Fité, Lleida, 2008, pp. 73–92, here 78.

[64] Nascimento & Gomes, *S. Vicente de Lisboa*, pp. 9–11; Carrero Santamaría, 'La catedral, el santo y el rey', p. 76; Fernandes, 'D. Afonso IV e a Sé de Lisboa', pp. 146–47, who compares the patronage of Saint Vincent over the Portuguese kingdom with that of Saint Dionysius over the kingdom of France.

[65] Nascimento & Gomes, *S. Vicente de Lisboa*, p. 8.

[66] *Ibidem*, pp. 9–10.

[67] *Ibidem*, p. 10 and 18–24; Rodrigo da Cunha, *Historia ecclesiastica da Igreja de Lisboa: vida e acçoens de seus prelados, & varões eminentes em santidade, que nella florecerão*, Lisbon, 1642, fol. 79v–95v, quoted by Carrero Santamaría, 'La catedral, el santo y el rey', p. 77.

[68] An image first shown on a seal from the monastery of Saint Vincent of Lisbon dated from this year.

[69] Carrero Santamaría, 'La catedral, el santo y el rey', p. 77 and note 10: the crows appeared when the saint was approaching Lisbon, escorting the boat carrying the body of Saint Vincent until he reached the harbour, a theme that the author compares to the rooster and the hen of Santo Domingo de la Calzada.

[70] Nascimento & Gomes, *S. Vicente de Lisboa*, pp. 11–13, a depiction that is exclusive to the Portuguese iconography of the saint.

[71] Carrero Santamaría, 'La catedral, el santo y el rey', p. 76.

[72] Nascimento & Gomes, *S. Vicente de Lisboa*, p. 13.

[73] Carrero Santamaría, 'La catedral, el santo y el rey', p. 78.

[74] *Ibidem*, p. 86.

[75] For a detailed iconological interpretation of these seals (one lost, another in the collections of the National Archive of Torre do Tombo), see: Rodrigues, *Galilea, locus e memória*, pp. 529–40.

[76] Carrero Santamaría, 'La catedral, el santo y el rey', p. 80.

[77] Nascimento & Gomes, *S. Vicente de Lisboa*, pp. 14–17; Stephen Lamia, 'Souvenir, synaesthesia, and the *sepulcrum Domini*: sensory stimuli as memory stratagems', in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo & Carol Stamatis Pendergast, Farnham, 2000, pp. 19–41, here 22.

[78] António C. de Sousa, (2007 [1946]), *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, vol. I, Lisbon, 2007 [1946–1955], (*facsimile* of the 1946–1955 edition), pp. 14–16; Mário J. Barroca, *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862–1422)*, 3 vols in 4 tomes, Lisbon, 2000, here vol. II, tome I, pp. 577–78.

[79] Alain Dierkens, 'Avant-corps, galilées, massifs occidentaux: quelques remarques méthodologiques en guise de conclusions', in *Avant-nefs & espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IVᵉ et le XIIᵉ siècle*, ed. Christian Sapin, Paris, 2002, pp. 495–503, here 498.

[80] Castilho, *Lisboa antiga*, V, p. 34A [image and caption] and 38–39.

IV

Liturgical Layout and Spatial Organization

The Mise-en-Scène of the Holy in the Lateran Church
in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

Michele Bacci

Abstract

In the wake of the eleventh-century Gregorian Reform, the Pope's cathedral on the Lateran hill was increasingly glorified as the most important religious building in Rome and as a real 'Mother of all Churches'. However, the Lateran church possessed less authority *per se* than other major Roman basilicas, including Saint Peter's, since it was not built on the burial site of martyrs or other important Early Christians. The building was gradually transformed into a holy site with a legendary pedigree stressing the Lateran's role as a monumental Jerusalem temple reliquary, and later into a memorial site of a major event in church history, namely the first consecration of a building in honour of the Saviour, marked by the miraculous appearance of Christ's image in the main apse — a kind of *acheiropoieton* imprinted on the walls of the building itself. The shaping of the Lateran's cultic specificity took place during the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries and redefined ancient ritual usages such as the liturgical commemoration of the Beirut icon which had been stabbed with a knife on 9 November and the holy images and relics associated with this tradition.

Sacred spaces vs holy sites

In this article, Romanesque cathedrals will be approached from an essentially religious-phenomenological and religious-historical point of view. For rhetorical convenience, we will depart from a rather rough assumption, namely that ritual spaces and holy sites represent two distinct categories of religious materiality, implying different attitudes to and perceptions of the supernatural dimension they are meant to evoke. To put it in geometrical terms, holy sites are essentially deprived of any surface: they are perceived by believers as points or elements of the natural landscape that are invested with divine power and supposed to convey a privileged access to the celestial world. Although such sites are usually framed and emphasized by architectural structures, they can also consist of such inconsistent cult-objects as anonymous spots on the ground, caves, mountain peaks, trees, water wells and small burial sites, which can be worshipped even in an open-air environment. In the Christian context, 'holy places' are always site-specific and imbued with memorial qualities.[1]

The cathedral, on the other hand, is by definition a perfectly organized ritual space, but not obviously one that is considered to be holy. Given its role as stage for the performance of the liturgy, it needs to be organized spatially. If we accept the anthropologist Jonathan Z. Smith's assumption that, 'ritual is a means of performing the way things ought to be in conscious tension to the way things are', Christian churches can be easily viewed as congregational spaces the fundamental aim of which is to reinforce the community's interpersonal solidarity around shared symbols by means of a shared behavioural code.[2] Their walls demarcate experiential, rather than

geographic, boundaries: upon entering the church, individuals join in the wider Christian community — the *ecclesia* — and perceive themselves as parts of a superior, transpersonal entity, symbolized by Saint Paul's metaphoric interpretation of the body of Christ as the spiritual communion of all believers. Compared to normal churches, cathedrals are invested with an additional, and perhaps more prosaic, function, that is, manifesting the moral and political authority of the bishop and its secular clergy. This was frequently described in biblical terms in the wake of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Gregorian Reform by associating the episcopal and priestly office with the privileged status of the ancient Levites who served the Temple at Jerusalem.[3]

Biblical imagery obviously exerted a strong impact on the Medieval exegesis of ritual space. Indeed, the ideology of the Second Temple-period Yahwist priests had emphasized the principle that the House of God was to be conceived not only as the terrestrial residence of the Lord, but also as a congregational space meant for individual and collective ritual performance and, more specifically, animal sacrifice. The spatial and visual separation between *Sanctum* and *Sancta sanctorum*, described in the Holy Scriptures, corresponded very explicitly to the functional distinction between 'holy sites' and 'spaces', or, in other terms, of locative and ritual forms of religious experience. The dwelling of the Lord's presence (*shekinah*) resided in the *debir* ('elevated and restricted room') built around the holy rock of Mount Moriah, where the mythical Ark of the Covenant had originally served simultaneously as a reliquary for the Tables of the Law and a throne for God himself. Except on the day of Yom Kippur, nobody was allowed to enter or even to look at this holy site: it was uninterruptedly concealed by the veil known as *parokhet*. Before it, the priests officiating in the *sanctum* (*hekal* in Hebrew) performed their sacrifices as consecrated ministers who symbolically served their King, according to the ancient Near East imagery. In the rest of the Temple complex, many more ritual activities were performed for both groups and individuals in the courtyards reserved for laypeople, men, and women, according to a precise space purity hierarchy.[4]

The material juxtaposition of the divine abode with a number of congregational and 'operational' rooms ended with the historical process summarized by Guy Stroumsa as 'end of sacrifice', culminating with the Roman destruction of the Temple in the year 70 CE.[5] The bewilderment caused by this event led Jews to rethink their religious habits and to shift their attention from a basically locative and sacrificial approach to God, to an intellectual and ritual one. Christians, for their part, worked out the Pauline principle that there was no longer any divine abode on earth; on the contrary, the Resurrected body of the Son of God, which also worked as a metaphor for the community of believers, was to be regarded as the new and authentic Temple (John 2:21; Hebrews 8:2–5 and 9). Had this principle been adopted literally, there would have been no place regarded as holy in Christian history.

Yet emphasis on Christ's body paved the way for a somewhat unexpected development. During the age of persecutions and afterwards with the diffusion of the anchoretic lifestyle, Christians gradually came to admit that the bodies of fearless martyrs and rigorous hermits obtained, on account of their heroism and radical faith, the same status of perfection associated in the Holy Scriptures with the paradisiacal 'body of Resurrection' reserved for all right believers after the Final Judgment (I Corinthians 15:35–51).[6] If their soul could already enjoy the privilege of a beatific view of the Almighty before the end of times, their bodily remains could be considered to be involved in some way in this process of trans-humanization, given that the unity of the individual could not be really invalidated by death. If these bodies emanated supernatural energy, this could but permeate their burial sites, their sepulchres, and the objects associated with them. The holiness attributed to bodies, so to say, gave birth to new forms of locative experiences, associated this time not so much with the site-specific, endurable hierophanies underlying the principle of God's earthly house, as with tombs invested with memorial implications that were regarded as mystical thresholds between the saint's terrestrial and heavenly dimensions.

In late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the tombs of saints were increasingly perceived as legitimate objects of worship and came to play the role of identity markers for human groups. The widespread success of privileged graves and the working out of specific structures, mostly indebted to late Antique funerary architecture, that emphasized their cultic prominence probably stimulated the shaping of a topographical network for Christian worship

geared towards the prototype of all hallowed bodies, namely that of Christ himself, which was celebrated by his empty tomb in Jerusalem and by a number of tracks, footmarks, and memorial sites in Palestine. The buildings framing the tombs of saints tended to be regarded as distinct from those employed in the shaping and setting of Christian congregational spaces. Churches and *martyria* played different religious roles and their distinctiveness was frequently emphasized by the use of different architectural forms. Churches could be erected in the vicinity of a saint's tomb or directly over it: the two structures could be juxtaposed or superimposed, yet the functional distinction of each space remained constantly perceptible.[7] Although some exceptions to this rule are evident in early Medieval churches (such as in the case of some Merovingian saints' graves erected above ground in the vicinity of altars, a custom later condemned by the Carolingian church), the rule was not fundamentally infringed in contexts imitating the authoritative model of Rome.[8]

Congregational Spaces and Site-Specific Forms of Holiness during the Gregorian Reform

In comparison with late Antique martyrs' shrines and early Medieval monastic churches, cathedrals were less frequently turned into sites of a public cult associated with tombs. This principle is not contradicted by the fact that their treasuries were frequently filled with relics since body parts did not imply locative forms of worship, whereas they could be easily integrated in ritual practice on account of their status as objectified human remains. On the contrary, the integration of privileged graves in the cathedral would become quite widespread in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as the process of *inventio, translatio* and public display of the integral bodies of local confessors, apostolic envoys, and early bishops became instrumental in enhancing the political role of the secular clergy in the wake of the Gregorian Reform. The construction of underground or semi-elevated crypts under the main altar visualized the principle that the authority of the bishop and his canons was rooted in the apostolic era; to put it roughly, the holy site intended for the people's worship was visually and spatially subordinated to the ritual activities performed in the altar space above.

The vertical subordination of place and ritual space corresponds most notably to the tension between the holiness associated with a burial place and the temporally structured evocation of the over-temporal dimension operated by the liturgy. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, ritual space was often conceived as a rather sophisticated '*mise-en-scène*' of the major events of the Christian faith, deprived of their historical essence and transformed into sacramental actions that could be reiterated daily everywhere. In this period, the Latin church severally emphasized liturgical time mediated by the secular clergy as the proper way to reenact the Gospel events and appropriate their salvific power. At the same time, the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by Caliph al-Hakim in 1009, its partial reconstruction by Emperor Constantine Monomachos between 1042 and 1055 (or, as suggested by Martin Biddle, already on the initiative of Michael IV in 1034–41)[9] and, finally, the resetting of the holy site after the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 implied a rethinking of the role of site-oriented forms of religious feeling in Christian practice.[10]

The destruction by al-Hakim made clear that the major holy sites continued to be perceived as such even if their architectural frames were ruined or absent. The Count of Anjou, Folcus Nerra, who visited Jerusalem for a short time during the disorders of 1009, made all possible efforts to visit the few stones left of the Holy Sepulchre and to appropriate their supernatural power, namely by biting off a piece of marble, which had become miraculously soft as cream.[11] The site remained worthy of worship, even if no special structures were associated with it, and although the disappearance of the Constantinian five-aisled basilica, the so-called *Martyrium*, prevented Christians from performing liturgical rites there. Constantine Monomachos financed only the reconstruction of architectural frames around the tomb Aedicula, the Anastasis, and Golgotha, and only a small apsidal space was reserved for Masses. The reformulation of the whole site not only as a sumptuous *mise-en-scène* of the worship-worthy sites dotting its ground, but also as a perfectly functional ritual space, finally took place under the Crusaders' rule, in the first half of the twelfth century. The new Latin settlers transformed the pilgrimage church into their cathedral by erecting a dignified liturgical

structure, consecrated in 1149, in the previously empty, open-air space of the *Triporticum*. This involved creating an elevated altar space that also housed the Patriarch's throne and a separate choir for the regular canons of the Holy Sepulchre. The major pilgrim attractions, even though under the same roof, were located outside this basically liturgical space and could be involved in some specific rites, such as the performance of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in the Aedicula on Good Fridays or the Adoration of the Cross on Mount Golgotha on September 14.[12]

Indeed, places such as the Holy Sepulchre, the Nativity Basilica at Bethlehem, or even the Temple of the Lord (i.e., the Christianized Mosque of Omar in the Haram es-Sharif) offered extraordinary opportunities to combine the daily and yearly liturgical evocation of the major Gospel events with the experiential reenactment of the deeds of the Son of God associated with Holy Land pilgrimage. In the aftermath of the First Crusade in 1099, the newly established Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem did not hesitate to ground its authority in its topographic connection with Christ's body. For the regular canons, claiming spiritual primacy on account of their privilege to perform the Eucharist in the place where Jesus was crucified proved tempting. As an inscription displayed in the mosaics decorating the Chapel of Golgotha (Fig. 1) implied, the Holy Sepulchre derived its privileged status from its being consecrated not by a canonical rite of dedication, but by Christ's blood having poured out from his crucified body. The verses read:

> *Est locus iste sacer sacratus sanguine Christi;*
> *Per nostrum sacrare sacro nil additur isti,*
> *Sed domus, huic sacro circum superaedificata,*
> *Est quinta decima Quintilis luce sacrata.*

> *This holy site was consecrated with Christ's blood*
> *Our consecration rite does not add anything*
> *to this [site],*
> *Just the building, constructed around and over*
> *this holy place,*
> *Was consecrated on the 15th day of July [1149].*[13]

These words made a clear distinction between the holy site and its architectural frame. The dedication rite could only concern the walls encircling the holy ground, but the latter, in its turn, was a *locus sacer* by itself and needed no ritual consecration. The material traces of the sacrifice by the Son of God, such as

the deep fissure which was to be seen on the rock of Golgotha (Fig. 2), were attributed a sort of sacramental primacy. This more or less explicitly contradicted Rome's claims for universal authority, symbolized by the Pope's Cathedral, the Lateran *Ecclesia Salvatoris*, celebrated as the 'Mother of all Churches' (*mater omnium ecclesiarum*) and as a model for all cathedrals (Fig. 3)[14] — a title that the second Patriarch of Jerusalem, Daimbert of Pisa, had pretended to appropriate for his own church.[15]

The Use of Consecrating Churches and the Worship for the Holy Blood

Unlike Saint Peter's and many other important churches of Rome, the Lateran basilica did not mark any holy burial site and could not really boast any important role as a destination for pilgrims. Its authority relied on the association with the Pope's residence and the related legends describing the origins of papal power and the alleged donation of Constantine, described in the *Actus Silvestri* and a number of other texts. At the end of the eleventh century, an eminent representative of the Gregorian Reform, Bonizo of Sutri, made use of such traditions to trace back to Antiquity the practice of consecrating churches, which was viewed by church reformers as a papal privilege. Although previous sources had associated this rite with Pope Felix I (526–30), Bonizo stated that it had begun as early as Constantine's reign. Actually, because of persecutions, Early Christians had allegedly been unable to create permanent structures for performing the Eucharist until the promulgation of Constantine's edict in 313. In such circumstances, Saint Sylvester had solemnly consecrated the Lateran basilica, formerly a portion of the Emperor's residence, with the Baptistery of Saint John, which previously functioned as the ruler's personal *calidarium*. Thus the Roman people, who were accustomed to associating the apse space with the representation of Zeus within Pagan temples, could finally see the image of Christ in an analogous location.[16]

Such an emphasis on church consecrations was obviously instrumental for the secular clergy's irreplaceable mediatory role in the life of the church, but the regular canons of the Lateran also did not miss the opportunity to use it as an argument to describe their basilica as a memorial site worthy of worship, despite

Fig. 1.   Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre Church, chapel of Golgotha (photo author)

the fact that it lacked tombs and other site-specific cult-objects — even the most precious relics were kept in the Pope's private oratory of Saint Laurence, yet not inside the church.[17] Previously, it had been essentially viewed as a sumptuous setting for the most important liturgical feasts connected with the Saviour, namely the Easter cycle, commemorating Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, vividly evoked by the Papal ostension of a blood ampulla from the main altar on Maundy Thursdays, and the solemnity named in liturgical manuscripts as *Festum Salvatoris*, or *Passio imaginis Domini*, which took place on November 9.[18]

This was an old usage, probably dating back to the ninth century, and corresponding to the Byzantine 'Feast of Orthodoxy', which commemorated the restitution of image-worship and the re-consecration of churches after the Iconoclastic controversies by reading liturgical lectures about legendary and miraculous icons, with a great emphasis on the miracle of the image of Christ stabbed by the Jews of Beirut. In its Latin versions, included in a great many Italian, Catalan, German, and French passionaries from the tenth century onwards, this pious story traced back the use of consecrating altars and churches in honour of Christ to the bishop of Beirut, who filled several ampullas of the blood poured by the stabbed icon and sent them to many European churches for use as consecration relics for ritual spaces dedicated to the Holy Saviour.[19] Such ampullas were associated with a number of both abbey churches and cathedrals that, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, came to be perceived as important pilgrimage sites.
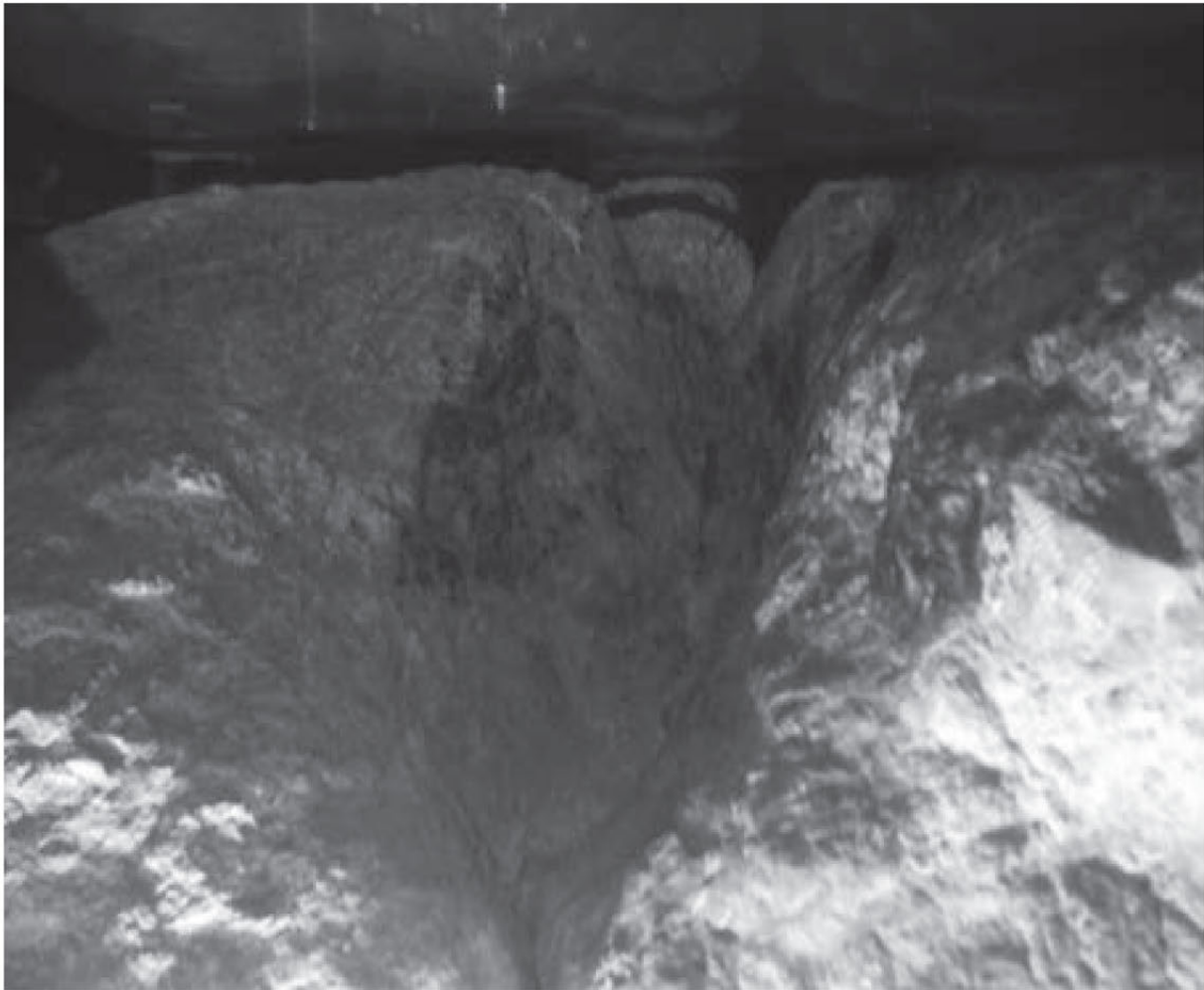
Fig. 2.   The fissure on the rock of Golgotha. Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre Church, chapel of Golgotha (photo author)

I will cite only two examples: the Cámara Santa in Oviedo, the altar of which, containing one such ampulla and several Christological relics, came, under Bishop Pelayo, to be described as an important cult-object itself, due to the twelve apostles' alleged craftsmanship; and the Volto Santo in San Martino in Lucca, which was originally nothing more than a carved crucifix involved in the performance of the *Passio Imaginis* office and was only gradually transformed into a cult-image, said to be the work of such an eyewitness of the Passion as the Pharisee Nicodemus. Nonetheless, it was consistently said to house a Beirut ampulla and its connection with the Holy Blood was publicly visualized, despite its later legendary transfigurations, by the *mise-en-scène* of a chalice under its right foot.[20]

In the same period, the Lateran, which probably served as a source of inspiration for many other Western European churches, experienced an analogous process of emancipation from the Byzantine legends evoked by the *Festum Salvatoris* and the blood relics associated with the dedication rites. This was not only instrumental in emphasizing the role of Rome and the papacy in the Latin church, but also in contrasting the claims of primacy more or less explicitly expressed by Jerusalem. Indeed, the popularity of the Beirut legend in Rome was connected with the harsh theological debate about the complex relationship between Christ's material blood and the sacramental blood mystically represented by the Eucharistic wine. Many theologians observed that Christ's blood *e latere* should have been involved in

Fig. 3.   Rome, Saint John Lateran church, view of the apse space (photo author)

the Resurrection of the Lord and therefore preferred to state that only ampullae of blood poured out of images were admissible in Christian worship.[21] The presence of a Beirut ampulla at the Lateran, which is confirmed by a number of sources between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, indicates that the Roman church initially embraced this tendency.[22] Indeed, the relic played the role of protagonist in the ceremony of Maundy Thursday and was certainly also used in the rites of November 9, which, according to the old liturgical books of the Lateran, were supposed to be celebrated as solemnly as Easter. Moreover, a story witnessed in the twelfth century attributed the same legendary characteristics as the Beirut image to a crucifix preserved in the Lateran palace which was even involved in the ceremony of Papal enthronization.[23]

Given that the Beirut tradition at the Lateran was deliberately cast into oblivion from the twelfth century onwards, we cannot know how the ritual was celebrated in the tenth or eleventh centuries. Yet, it is important to stress that it was already perceived as one of the major feasts, commemorating the consecration day of all churches dedicated to the Saviour and therefore also of the Lateran. Normally the dedication feast was associated with a more or less elaborated ostension of relics and was described in biblical terms as a Christian equivalent to the Jewish *Hanukkah*, the annual commemoration of the re-consecration of the Temple by Judas Maccabeus which, according to Gospel of John (10:22–28) had been observed by Jesus himself. The church, which was viewed both literally as a material building and metaphorically as clerical community, was the real protagonist of the event. The reference to the old Israelite temple served to stress the principle that the latter simply prefigured what was to be fulfilled in the Christian church, the place where the true Temple — the Body of Christ — was made present in the Eucharist.[24] Elaborate *mises-en-scène* emphasized this Temple symbolism: in Metz Cathedral, for example, the regular canons used to include the altar inside a baldachin, hinting at the biblical Tabernacle, wherein precious reliquaries and up to seven silver crosses were included to remind the beholder of the seven candlesticks of Solomon's 'House of God'.[25] In the churches dedicated to the Saviour, crosses and crucifixes were probably used as visual foci. The rites of November 9 actually took place in front of such objects: from the late 1337 ritual

of James III of Mallorca we learn that three crosses were located on the altar, which was thus transformed into an ideal Golgotha, and chalices were located at their feet, with a *mise-en-scène* recalling that of the Volto Santo in Lucca.[26]

The Lateran Church and the Legend of the First Consecrated Altar

Bonizo of Sutri was well aware of such symbolic connections and worked out the legend of Pope Sylvester's first consecrated church in order to depict the Lateran as the new Temple. This was made clear by his comparison of the altar with the Ark of the Covenant: he thought of it as an originally portable altar, which had been secretly used by the apostles and their successors before being fixed in the Lateran apse space by Pope Sylvester during the church's consecration rite. Bonizo also adds that the dedication to the Saviour was visualized by the mosaic image of Christ in the conch, which nobody had seen previously.[27]

Bonizo's arguments were instrumental to his interpretation of the Temple of Jerusalem as an imperfect anticipation of the Christian church, but they were wisely exploited by the regular canons of the Lateran, who were eager to corroborate the view of their church as the most ancient and authoritative in Christendom. They became immediately aware that the feast of November 9 should continue to be associated with that very day, given that it preceded the dedication feast of Saint Peter's by eight days: this implicitly confirmed that the Lateran was older. Then they decided to read Bonizo's arguments in a very literal way and at some point between 1106 and 1128 — as has been argued by Eivor Andersen Oftestad — they worked out a text, the *Descriptio Ecclesiae Lateranensis*, to assert that the true relics of the old Temple, including the menorah and the Ark of the Covenant, were preserved under the main altar. The relief on the Arch of Titus (Fig. 4) provided an excellent demonstration of the most important furnishings having been transferred from Jerusalem to Rome and this was interpreted as an obvious omen of the future fulfillment of God's house and the Jewish rites in Christian spaces and liturgy.[28] Accordingly, the liturgy of the dedication feast was reformulated through introducing continuous hints at the Temple symbolism.[29]

Fig. 4.   The troops of Titus and Vespasian bring the Menorah and other Temple furnishings to Rome, Roman relief on the Arch of Titus, Rome, 70 CE (photo author)

The text implied that the vertical arrangement of the Temple objects under the main altar of the 'Mother of all Churches' visualized the hierarchical subordination of the old to the new Temple. It was basically a rhetorical argument and did not correspond to any specific cultic arrangement. Visitors were only told that the altar space, with its marble ciborium decorated with images of Christ and angels, was not just an ordinary piece of furnishing; they should look at it and imagine that it marked the place where those unusual objects had been concealed in times past. Moreover, the text stated that the inaccessible underground place below the altar also housed a number of holy portraits of Christ, Mary, Saint John the Baptist, Saint John the Evangelist, Saint

Peter and Saint Paul, which had been hidden there by Emperor Constantine in order to prevent artists from making true-to-life pictures of the most important holy figures.[30] This odd idea was possibly introduced to harmonize the liturgical practice of November 9, which retained lectures about the Byzantine miraculous images, with the characterization of the Lateran Basilica as the New Temple.[31] In accordance with this interpretation, the altar housing the Ark of the Covenant should have been regarded as the Christian *debir*, the true *Sancta sanctorum* of the new alliance.

Yet, this perception was not shared by everybody at the Lateran. About 1145, the canon Nicolaus Maniacoria (also known as Maniacutius) wrote a sermon that was meant to be read publicly on the

occasion of the *Festum Salvatoris* in association with the canonical lectures about images. This text made efforts to shift the focus from the basilica to the papal oratory of Saint Laurence, where the most important Christological relics and the old processional icon of Christ known as the 'Acheropita' were preserved (Fig. 5). The chapel was renamed *Sancta sanctorum* and the author made several efforts to explain why the real successor to the ancient *debir* was there and not in the main church. He intentionally emphasized that the image had previously been concealed under the Lateran altar before being translated into the Pope's private oratory. This corresponded, in his view, to the final overcoming of the Old Testament model of divine presence: this was no longer associated with the visual inaccessibility marked by the veil of *parokhet* and by the luminous cloud of the Lord's glory (the biblical *kavod*). On the contrary, the holy portrait, exhibited permanently in its new setting, manifested the Incarnated presence of the Son of God in his new residence on earth. This attempt to emancipate the *Sancta sanctorum* from the association with the Lateran church probably bears testimony to the not always peaceful relationship of the papal curia with the regular canons ruling the Basilica.[32]

And indeed the Lateran canons reacted against Maniacoria by working out a new version of the *Descriptio*, signed by the Deacon John during the Pontificate of Alexander III (1159–81).[33] This author further developed Bonizo's arguments and once again shifted the focus from the Old Testament relics to the dedication feast. It was important to stress that the main attraction at the Lateran was not the alleged presence of the Ark of the Covenant and the menorah under the main altar, because this could be criticized as an excessive emphasis on cult-objects whose meaning had become of minor importance in the Age of Grace. Critics could be tempted to accuse the canons of reestablishing the Alliance of Moses by relying on the very fact that Roman Jews had started visiting the church as a pilgrimage site, as the Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela observed in the 1170s.[34] On such grounds, the Lateran canons were actually accused of promoting judaizing practices by Petrus Mallius, a canon of Saint Peter's and the author of a *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, in the 1140s.[35] Maniacoria's argument, that the image of the Saviour in the oratory of Saint Laurence manifested the overcoming of the biblical principle of God's visual inaccessibility in his

Holy of Holies, could only be rejected by declaring that Christ's true face was constantly visible in the Lateran apse and therefore that the latter was to be interpreted as the true Christian *Sancta sanctorum*. In John the Deacon's view, the old mosaic showing the image of Christ in the conch was not just a piece of work made on the initiative of Pope Sylvester, as implied by Bonizo's words, but rather a sort of hierophanic image, which should have appeared at the very moment of the church consecration.[36]

It is difficult to reconstruct how the apse mosaic may have appeared before the restoration by Iacopo Torriti and Iacopo da Camerino on the initiative of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291 (Fig. 6). We know that this new setting included a portion of the previous mosaic, the bust of Christ appearing in the clouds which is known to us only by the photograph made by the Englishman Henry Parker in 1870, just a few years before the mosaic was thoroughly remade by will of Pope Pius IX in 1875–77.[37] It is not clear if Torriti just renovated the original program or entirely reinvented it. Its *mise-en-scène* as a kind of figurative relic surely enhanced its perception as a supernatural, almost acheiropoietic image. A century earlier, as John the Deacon described it as the outcome of a miraculous apparition, it was not evident at all that it might be viewed as anything more than a piece of mural decoration. Unlike all other cult-images in Rome, the Lateran acheiropoieton was not a portable painted panel.[38] On the contrary, its being fixed to the walls bore material witness to the crucial event of the church's dedication.

The legend was later summarized in a now-lost mural, which was painted *c.* 1369–70 in the underground *confessio* built under Pope Urban V (1362–70) and is known only from a seventeenth-century sketch (Fig. 7).[39] This ostensibly represented the very moment the mosaic appeared in the conch and Pope Sylvester consecrated the main altar. The ampulla held by the Pontiff is probably to be identified with that used for the chrism, but the possibility that it also carries an implicit hint at the most important consecration relic of the Lateran altar, i.e., the blood of the Lord, cannot be excluded. The latter continued to be regarded as a key holy site element, but its identification with the Beirut blood tended to be nuanced. It was sufficient to name it 'the Lord's blood', without any specific reference to the Eastern legend. Yet the alleged use of the relic by Sylvester
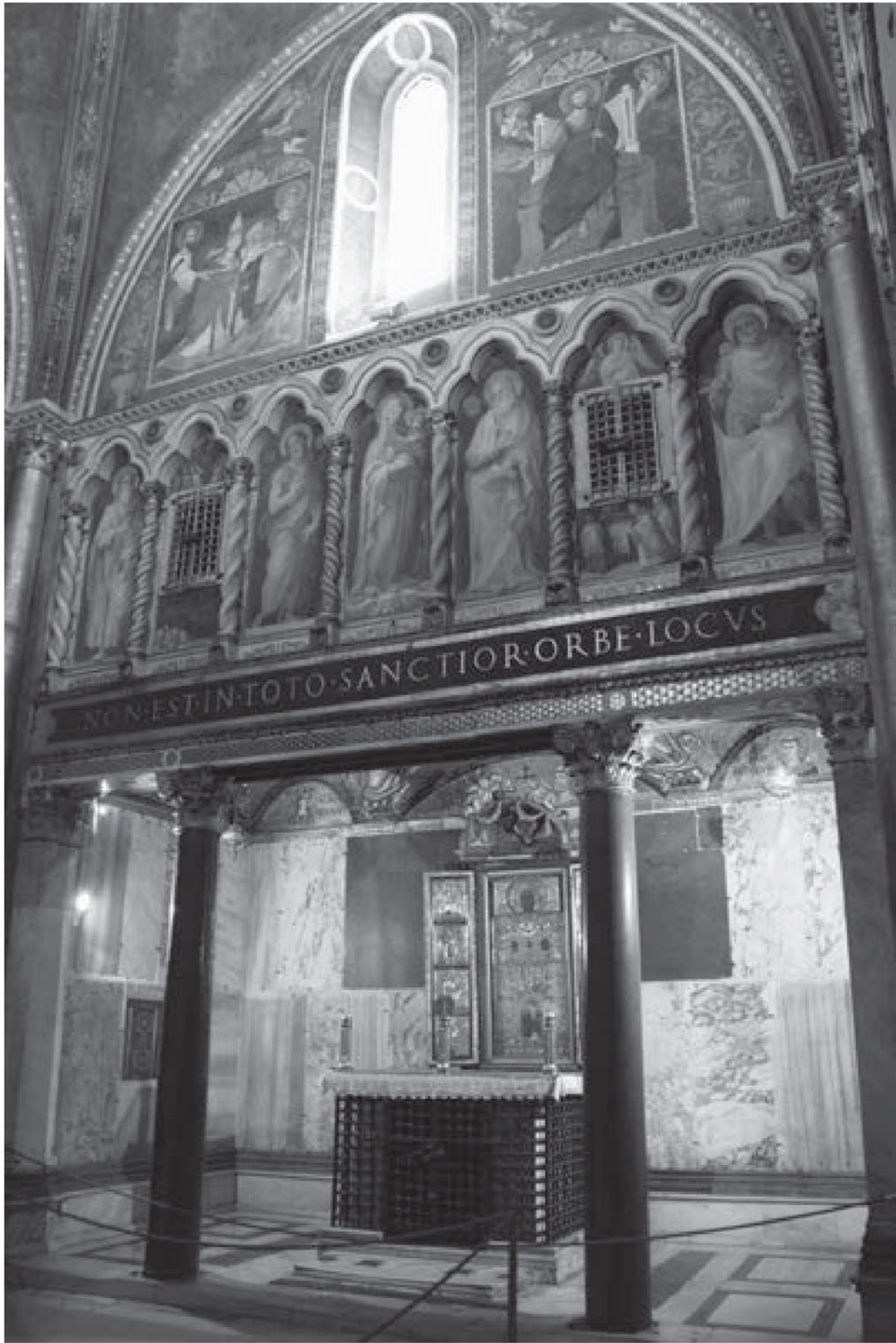
Fig. 5.   Altar of the *Acheropita* icon, Rome, Lateran palace, *Sancta sanctorum* (photo author)

Fig. 6.   Iacopo Torriti and Iacopo da Camerino, *the Virgin Mary presenting Pope Innocent III with Saint John the Baptist, the Apostles Peter, Paul, John the Evangelist and Andrew, and the new Franciscan Saints Francis and Anthony, before the Miraculous Mosaic Image of Christ.* Mosaic, Rome, Saint John Lateran church, 1291, thoroughly remade in 1875–77 (photo author)

made clear that it could not be really identified with one of the ampullae distributed by the Bishop of Beirut, given that, according to Western tradition, the latter lived much later than Sylvester, in the eighth century. It was transformed into the relic used to consecrate the Lateran altar to the Saviour, and so implicitly into blood *e latere* (from the side wound). This made the 'Mother of all Churches' at least as venerable as the Holy Golgotha, given that the latter merely bore the traces of the blood poured out by Christ's crucified body, whereas the Lateran had now a full bottle of that holy liquid. The identity of the relic as 'true' blood of the Son of God was then made explicit by the monumental church mosaic inscription exhibited by will of Nicholas IV and containing a full list of all the Lateran relics: the first to be mentioned were 'two ampullae of blood and water from Christ's side'.[40]

The blood evoked Christ's presence by synecdoche and made evident that the holiness of the Lateran was associated with His sacramental body, prefigured by the Old Testament Temple. The apparition of the Saviour's mosaic in the conch indicated that the dedication feast, though inspired by the biblical one, could not be observed in the same way as in the Age of Law. After the Incarnation, God's *shekinah* could no longer be considered to be concealed in the shining cloud of His *kavod*. The Son of God should now be distinctly perceptible within the cloud, as this was the fulfillment of what was obscurely indicated in the setting of the Jerusalem *debir*: more or less as in a miniature of the late eleventh-century Second Bible of Saint-Martial of Limoges, the bust of Christ appears within the *kavod* hovering over the Ark of the Covenant (Fig. 8).[41] 'Given that everything was shown [to the Jews] as an imperfect anticipation of

Fig. 7.   Gaspare Morone, copy of the now lost fourteenth-century fresco in the *Confessio* of Saint John Lateran church, representing the Consecration of the Lateran church by Saint Sylvester and the Miraculous Apparition of the Apse Mosaic, 1672. Rome, Vatican Library, MS Barb. Lat. 4423, fol. 5 (photo Courtesy of the Vatican Library, Rome)

the future events', Rabanus Maurus explained in his *De institutione clericorum*, 'and given that we contemplate the glory of the Lord in his incarnated face, we must observe all the more strictly and truly that ancient use transferred into our religious practice'.[42]

In this way, a monumental yet ordinary set of liturgical furnishings in the most authoritative cathedral of the Christian West was transformed into a cult-object, functioning as the main visual focus of a church space, which was described as a holy site, despite the absence of more distinguishable pilgrims' attractions. The tension between locative and ritual forms of religious experience became a distinctive marker of the holiness attributed to the 'Mother of all Churches', yet its fundamental ambiguity was never overcome, even when Pope Nicholas IV made efforts to manifest it more efficaciously in visual terms by encasing the miraculous mosaic in a sumptuous monumental frame.
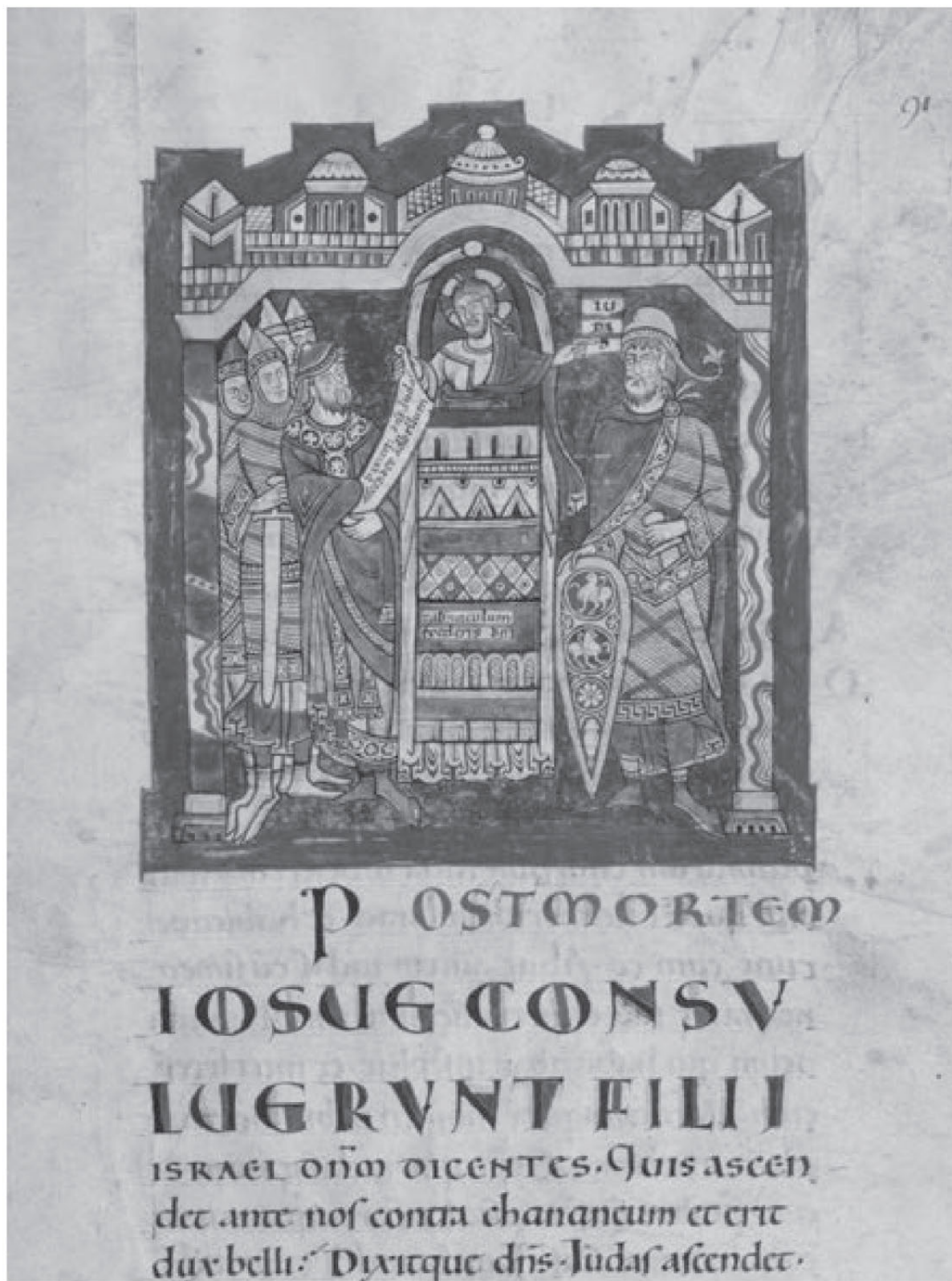
Fig. 8. Bust-length image of Christ in the *kavod* within the Old Testament Tabernacle, Miniature of the Bible of Saint-Martial of Limoges, late eleventh century. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Lat. 8, Volume 1, fol. 91 (photo Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

NOTES

[1] This was first stressed by Maurice HALBWACHS, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en Terre Sainte. Étude de mémoire collective*, Paris, 1941.

[2] Jonathan Z. SMITH, *To Take Place. Toward Theory in Ritual*, Chicago & London, 1987, p. 109.

[3] On Medieval Christian theories of consecrated space, see: Dominique IOGNA-PRAT, *La Maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l'Église au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2006.

[4] For a good synthesis of such topics, see: Oleg GRABAR & Benjamin Z. KEDAR, *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Austin, 2009. Cf. also Menahem HARAN, *Temple and Temple-Services in Ancient Israel*, Oxford, 1978.

[5] Guy STROUMSA, *La fin du sacrifice: les mutations religieuses de l'Antiquité tardive*, Paris, 2005.

[6] Carolyn WALKER BYNUM, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity (200–1336)*, New York, 1995.

[7] Ann Marie YASIN, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult and Community*, Cambridge, 2009.

[8] John CROOK, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300–1200*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 93–134.

[9] Martin BIDDLE, *The Tomb of Christ*, London 1999; Denys PRINGLE, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, vol. 3, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 6–72.

[10] On these events and their implications, see especially: Bianca KÜHNEL, 'Productive Destruction: The Holy Sepulchre After 1009', in *Konflikt und Bewältigung. Die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem im Jahre 1009*, ed. Thomas PRATSCH (Millennium-Studien, 32), Berlin, 2011, pp. 35–55.

[11] Bernard S. BACHRACH, *Fulk Nerra, the Neo-Roman Consul, 987–1040. A Political Biography of the Angevin Count*, Berkeley, 1993, pp. 101–02.

[12] Albert SCHÖNFELDER, 'Die Prozessionen der Lateiner in Jerusalem zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge', in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 32, 1911, pp. 578–99; Iris SHAGRIR, 'The Visitatio Sepulchri at the Latin Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem', in *Al-Masaq*, 22, 2010, pp. 57–77.

[13] The verses are recorded in John of Würzburg's *Peregrinatio* (c. 1160), in *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. Robert B. C. HUYGENS (Corpus christianorum continuatio mediaevalis, 139), Turnhout, 1994, p. 123; and in Theoderich's account of the Holy Places (c. 1172), *Ibidem*, p. 156. The same idea is expressed in more general terms by Hugues of Fleury, *Liber qui modernorum regum francorum continet actus*, ed. Jean-Paul MIGNE (*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, 163), Paris, 1854, col. 911.

[14] Eivor ANDERSEN OFTESTAD, *The House of God. The Translation of the Temple and the Interpretation of the Lateran Cathedral in the Twelfth Century*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oslo, 2010 (forthcoming as *The Lateran Ark of the Covenant. Twelfth Century Rome and Jerusalem*, Farnham); Eivor ANDERSEN OFTESTAD, 'Beyond the Veil: Roman Constructs of the New Temple in the Twelfth Century', in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca KÜHNEL, Galit NOGA-BANAI & Hanna VORHOLT, Turnhout, 2014, pp. 171–78. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Andersen Oftestad for allowing me to read her work before its publication. The interpretation of the Lateran basilica as 'Mother of all Churches'

is clearly formulated by Petrus Damiani in a work from 1057, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. Kurt REINDEL (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, 4), vol. 4/2, Munich, 1983–1993, pp. 55–57. See also: Francesco GANDOLFO, 'Assisi e il Laterano', in *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, 106, 1983, pp. 63–113, esp. pp. 77–81; Ingo HERKLOTZ, 'Der mittelalterliche Fassadenportikus der Lateranbasilika und seine Mosaiken. Kunst und Propaganda am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts', in *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 25, 1989, pp. 25–95; Sible DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale. Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri*, vol. 1, Vatican City, 1994, pp. 203–08.

[15] WILLIAM OF TYRUS, *Chronicon*, X, 4, 1, ed. Robert B. C. HUYGENS (Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis, 63–63A), vol. 1, Turnhout, 1986, pp. 456–68, quoting a letter of Daimbertus describing himself as *in eam, que omnium ecclesiarum singularis est mater et gentium domina, rectorem et patriarcham*. Alan V. MURRAY, 'Daimbert of Pisa, the *Domus Godefridi* and the Accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusade Societies 1095–1500. Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 10–13 July 1995*, ed. Alan V. MURRAY, Turnhout, 1998, pp. 81–102. On Daimbert and his politics, see: Klaus-Peter KIRSTEIN, *Die lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem. Von der Eroberung der Heiligen Stadt durch die Kreuzfahrer 1099 bis zum Ende der Kreuzfahrerstaaten 1291*, Berlin, 2002, pp. 129–79.

[16] Bonizo of Sutri, *Libellus de sacramentis*, in *Bonizo von Sutri: Leben und Werk*, ed. Walter BERSCHIN (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, 2), Berlin, 1972, p. 159. Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana*, IV, 98, ed. Ernst PERELS (Texte zur Geschichte des römischen und kanonischen Rechts im Mittelalter, 1), Berlin, 1930, p. 164. Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum sive de persecutione ecclesiae*, ed. Jean-Paul MIGNE, (*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, 150), 1854, p. 806. Michel LAUWERS, 'De l'église primitive aux lieux de culte. Autorité, lectures et usages du passé de l'Église dans l'Occident médiéval (IXᵉ–XIIIᵉ siècle)', in *L'autorité du passé dans les sociétés médiévales*, ed. Jean-Marie SANSTERRE, Brussels & Rome, 2004, pp. 297–323, esp. pp. 313–15. On Bonizo's ecclesiological and political views, see: Thomas FÖRSTER, *Bonizo von Sutri als gregorianischer Geschichtsschreiber*, Hannover, 2011.

[17] On the history of the Lateran Basilica see: Georges ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *Le Latran au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1877; Philippe LAUER, *Le Palais du Latran: Étude historique et archéologique*, Paris, 1911; Richard KRAUTHEIMER, Spencer CORBETT & Alfred K. FRAZER, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae*, vol. 5, Vatican City, 1980, pp. 1–96; Carlo PIETRANGELI, *San Giovanni in Laterano*, Florence, 1990; DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et decor*, pp. 109–331; Giuseppe DE SPIRITO, 'La basilica lateranense nel quadro delle vicende del Patriarchio nel secolo X: l'evidenza epigrafica', in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité*, 116/1, 2004, pp. 117–39; Maria ANDALORO, *La pittura medievale a Roma 312–1431. Atlante. Percorsi visivi. Volume I. Suburbio. Vaticano. Rione Monti*, Milano, 2006, pp. 191–250; Peter Cornelius CLAUSSEN, *S. Giovanni in Laterano* (Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050–1300, 2), Stuttgart, 2008.

[18] Sible DE BLAAUW, 'The solitary celebration of the supreme Pontiff. The Lateran basilica as the new temple in the Medieval

liturgy of Maundy Thursday', in *Omnes circumdastantes. Contributions towards a history of the role of the people in the liturgy*, ed. Charles CASPERS & Marc SCHNEIDERS, Kampen, 1990, pp. 120–43. DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et decor*, pp. 312–13; Pierre JOUNEL, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douxième siècle* Rome, 1977, pp. 305–07.

[19] Michele BACCI, '"Quel bello miracolo onde si fa la festa del santo Salvatore": studio sulle metamorfosi di una leggenda', in *Santa Croce e Santo Volto. Contributi allo studio dell'origine e della fortuna del culto del Salvatore (secoli IX–XV)*, ed. Gabriella ROSSETTI (Piccola Biblioteca Gisem, 17), Pisa, 2002, pp. 7–86.

[20] On the Beirut ampulla in Oviedo, see: Donatien DE BRUYNE, 'Le plus ancien catalogue des reliques d'Oviedo', in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 45, 1927, pp. 93–95. On the cult of the *Arca santa*, see especially: Maria Soledad SUÁREZ BELTRÁN, 'Los origenes y la expansión del culto a las reliquias de San Salvador de Oviedo', in *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela y San Salvador de Oviedo en la Edad Media*, ed. Juan Ignacio RUIZ DE LA PEÑA Y SOLAR, Oviedo, 1993, pp. 33–55. Raquel ALONSO ÁLVAREZ, '*Patria vallata asperitate moncium*: Pelayo de Oviedo, el "archa" de las reliquias y la creación de una topografia regia', in *Locus amoenus*, 9, 2007–2008, pp. 17–29. On the connections between the cult of the Volto Santo and the Beirut legend: Michele BACCI, 'Nicodemo e il Volto Santo', in *Il Volto Santo in Europa. Culto e immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo*, ed. Michele Camillo FERRARI & Andreas MEYER (Collana La balestra, 47), Lucca, 2005, pp. 15–40; IDEM, 'Le *Majestats*, il *Volto Santo* e il *Cristo di Beirut*: nuove riflessioni', *Iconographica* 13 (2014), pp. 45–66.

[21] Nicholas VINCENT, *The Holy Blood. King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 31–81; Caroline WALKER BYNUM, *Wonderful Blood. Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, Philadelphia, 2007, pp. 85–111.

[22] *Lectiones Bergenses*, ed. Paul DE RIANT, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, vol. 2, Geneva, 1877–1878, pp. 5–6; Jacobus de Varagine, *Chronica civitatis ianuensis ab origine urbis usque ad annum MCCXCVII*, in *Cronaca della città di Genova dalle origini al 1297*, ed. Stefania BERTINI GUIDETTI, Genoa, 1995, p. 451; Jacobus de Varagine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo MAGGIONI, Florence, 1998, pp. 934–35; Bartholomew of Trento, *Liber epilogorum in gesta sanctorum*, ed. Emore PAOLI, Florence, 2001, p. 335; Guillelmus Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (1286), ed. Anselmus DAVRIL & Thimothy M. THIBODEAU (Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis, 140), Turnhout, 1995, p. 64 (a variant included in a number of manuscripts).

[23] Albinus, *Gesta*, XI, 3, in *Le 'Liber Censuum' de l'Église romane*, ed. Paul FABRE & Louis DUCHESNE, vol. 2, Rome, 1905–1910, p. 123; Cencius Camerarius, *Ordo Romanus*, 58, *Ibidem*, p. 312. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma ecclesiastica*, I, 31, ed. J. S. BREWER, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera* (Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores, 21/2), London 1862, p. 103; Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, III, 25, in *Gervase of Tilbury, Otia Imperialia. Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. S. E. BANKS & J. W. BINNS, Oxford, 2002, pp. 605–06; Stefano PIOVANO, *Prolagho*, in *Capitoli della Compagnia della Madonna dell'Impruneta*, ed. Accademia della Crusca, Florence, 1866, p. 9.

[24] Cosimo Damiano FONSECA, 'La dedicazione di chiese e altari tra paradigmi ideologici e strutture istituzionali', in *Santi e demoni*

nell'Alto Medioevo occidentale (Settimane di studio del CISAM, 36), vol. 2, Spoleto, 1989, pp. 925–46. Catherine GAUTHIER, 'L'odeur et la lumière des dédicaces. L'encens et le luminaire dans le rituel de la dédicace au Haut Moyen Âge', in *Mises en scène et mémoires de la consécration de l'église dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Didier MÉHU, Turnhout, 2007, pp. 75–90. On the ideological and political dimension of the dedication rites for the Gregorian church, see: IOGNA-PRAT, *La Maison Dieu*, pp. 315–94. Louis I. HAMILTON, *A Sacred City. Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in Eleventh-Century Italy*, Manchester, 2010.

[25] *Liber de ordinatione et officio tocius anni in ecclesia Metensi* (*c.* 1105), in *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse. Von der Zeit Karls des Großen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Bernhard BISCHOFF, Munich, 1967, pp. 138–39.

[26] *Leges Palatinae, c.* 1337: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Iᵉʳ, MS Lat. 9169, facsimile edition by Joan DOMENGE I MESQUIDA, Bloomington, 1994, fol. 72v–73r. As witnessed by a fourteenth-century miniature (Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, MS Tucci-Tognetti) displaying the Volto Santo in its Medieval setting, a chalice was to be seen under Christ's right foot; the famous miracle of the minstrel was apparently worked out *a posteriori* to find an explanation for a detail which was no longer understood. Giuseppa ZANICHELLI, 'Leboinus (782?), *De inventione, revelatione et translatione sanctissimi Vultus. De miraculis* (Codice Tucci-Tognetti)', in *El Románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa, 1120–1180*, exhibition catalogue (Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 29 February-18 May 2008), ed. Manuel CASTIÑEIRAS & Jordi CAMPS, Barcelona, 2008, pp. 404–07.

[27] Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita Christiana*, IV, 98, p. 168: *Quam etiam prefatus papa publice consecravit V. Idus novembris, et est illa usque hodie celeberrima festivitas Rome, in qua prima ecclesia publice consecrata est et imago Salvatoris depicta parietibus primum visibilis omni populo Romano apparuit.*

[28] DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et decor*, vol. 1, pp. 233–47; ANDERSEN OFTESTAD, *The House of God*, pp. 35–60, 155–65. The different versions of the *Descriptio* have been first analysed and dated by Cyrille VOGEL, 'La *Descriptio ecclesiae Lateranensis* du Diacre Jean', in *Mélanges en honneur de Monseigneur Michel Andrieu*, Strasbourg, 1956, pp. 457–76. For Oftestad's new datation see her *The House of God*, pp. 29–35. also Tommaso MARANI, 'The Relics of the Lateran According to *Leidarvísir*, the *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae*, and the Inscription Outside the *Sancta Sanctorum*', in *Medium Aevum*, 81, 2012, pp. 271–88.

[29] Bernhardus, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiae Lateranensis*, ed. Ludwig FISCHER (Historische Forschungen und Quellen, 2/3), Munich & Freising, 1916, pp. 157–59. The Ordo dates from *c.* 1130–45; *Ibidem*, p. XIV.

[30] John the Deacon, *Descriptio Lateranensis ecclesiae*, in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. Roberto VALENTINI and Giuseppe ZUCCHETTI, vol. 3, Roma, 1940, p. 338: *Sub altari ipso sacrosancto, de quo in praesenti loquimur, est quaedam imago tota aurea Domino Jesu Christo dedicata, et beatae Mariae virginis; et sancti Johannis Baptistae, sanctorumque apostolorum Petri et Pauli, sancti Johannis Evangelistae imagines de electro aureae et argenteae, necnon aliorum apostolorum penitus argenteae, quas Constantinus imperator, Dei servus, qui easdem ad honorem Salvatoris Jesu Christi suorumque discipulorum imaginari studuit, sic in quodam geneceo molitus est recondere, quod nulli artifici*

per quodcumque ingenium licet accedere. A fourteenth-century description of the Lateran develops this story and states that the images were illuminated by the Old Testament menorah: LAUER, *Le Palais du Latran*, p. 408.

[31] On the liturgical lectures about images, included in Rome, Vatican Library, MS Lateranensis A 80 and other Roman manuscripts, see: Jean-Marie SANSTERRE, 'L'image blessée, l'image souffrante: quelques récits de miracles entre Orient et Occident (VIᵉ–XIIᵉ siècle)', in *Les images dans les sociétés médiévales: Pour une histoire comparée*, ed. Jean-Marie SANSTERRE and Jean-Claude SCHMITT, Brussels & Rome, 1999, pp. 113–30, esp. p. 119. BACCI, 'Quel bello miracolo', pp. 31–40. Michele BACCI, 'San Salvatore *prope Arcum Pietatis*', in *Giornate di studio in ricordo di Giovanni Previtali*, ed. Francesco CAGLIOTI (Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Quaderni, ser. IV, 9–10), Pisa, 2002, pp. 15–28; ANDERSEN OFTESTAD, *The House of God*, pp. 202–08.

[32] Maniacoria's text, included among the lessons for November 9 in the twelfth-century *Passionary of Sancta Maria ad Martyres*: Rome, Vatican Library, MS Vat. lat. 5696, fol. 31–34; is reproduced in Nicolaus MANIACUTIUS, *De sacra imagine Ss. Salvatoris in palatio Lateranensi*, Rome, 1709, and Gerhard WOLF, *Salus populi romani. Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter*, Weinheim, 1990, pp. 321–25. also *Ibidem*, p. 64, for Maniacoria's use of the expression *Sancta Sanctorum* for the Papal chapel of Saint Laurence.

[33] John the Deacon, *Descriptio Lateranensis ecclesiae*, pp. 319–73.

[34] Benjamin of Tudela, *Sèfer ham-massā'ôt*, ed. Juan de la Cruz ALLÍ ARANGUREN, Ricardo CIERBIDE & Mordechay MISHOR, Pamplona, 1994, pp. 162–63. Marie Thérèse CHAMPAGNE & Ra'anan S. BOUSTAN, 'Walking in the Shadows of the Past: The Jewish Experience of Rome in the Twelfth Century', in *Rome Re-Imagined: Twelfth-Century Jews, Christians and Muslims Encounter the Holy City*, ed. Louis I. HAMILTON & Stefano RICCIONI (special issue of *Medieval Encounters*, 17/4–5), Leiden & Boston, 2011, pp. 52–82.

[35] Michele MACCARRONE, 'La storia della cattedra', in *La Cattedra lignea di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. Michele MACCARRONE, Antonio FERRUA, Dante BALBONI (Atti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia, Serie III, Memorie, vol. X), Vatican City, 1971, pp. 3–70, esp. pp. 21–22.

[36] John the Deacon, *Descriptio Lateranensis ecclesiae*, pp. 332–33: *Quam postea aedificatam et consummatam beatus Silvester publice (quod non fiebat antea) sollempniter consecravit V. idus novembris; et est illa usque hodie celeberrima festivitas in Urbe, in qua prima ecclesia publice consecrata est. Et imago Salvatoris infixa parietibus, primum visibilis omni populo Romano apparuit. Inscribitur enim* DEDICATIO BASILICAE SALVATORIS. *Inde est quod quaecumque ecclesia per Urbem atque per orbem Salvatoris vocabulo specialiter intitulatur, in praefata die ipsius celebritatis memoriam recolit et veneratur; cuius dedicationis sollemnitatem octo diebus celebrandam apostolica sancivit auctoritas: quoniam X die a sollempnitate dedicationis istius dedicatae sunt postea basilicae apostolorum Petri et Pauli.* On the passage and its dating VOGEL, 'La *Descriptio*', p. 466, and ANDERSEN OFTESTAD, *The House of God*, pp. 220–23. The reference to the acheiropoietic qualities of the mosaic were absent in previous sources. Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de sacramentis*, p. 159, had stated that the image was painted

on the initiative of Sylvester I: *Postquam vero Constantinus christianae se subject religioni, in palatio suo Lateranensi ecclesiam in honore Salvatoris hedificavit et ut imago Salvatoris publice depingeretur in parietibus et ut imago Jovis ex alto deiceretur et ut templa clauderentur et ecclesiae publice hedificarentur, instituit.* In his later *Liber de vita christiana*, he had simply written that the image of Christ, on the occasion of the dedication rites, had been visible in the apse (Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana*, p. 168).

[37] On this image and Torriti's renovation, see: LAUER, *Le Palais*, pp. 214–28; Joseph WILPERT, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917, pp. 184–201; Godfried Johannes HOOGEWERFF, 'Il mosaico absidale di S. Giovanni in Laterano', in *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di archeologia: rendiconti*, 17/1–2, 1951–1952, pp. 297–326; Tilmann BUDDENSIEG, 'Le coffret d'ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre et le Latran', in *Cahiers archéologiques*, 10, 1959, pp. 157–95; Guglielmo MATTHIAE, *Mosaici medioevali delle chiese di Roma* Rome, 1967, pp. 347–54; Yves CHRISTE, 'À propos du décor absidal de Saint-Jean de Latran à Rome', in *Cahiers archéologiques*, 20, 1970, pp. 197–206; Rainer WARLAND, *Das Brustbild Christi. Studien zur spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Bildgeschichte*, Rome & Freiburg im Breisgau, 1986, pp. 31–41; Alessandro TOMEI, *Jacobus Torriti pictor: una vicenda figurativa del tardo Duecento romano,* Rome, 1990, pp. 77–93; Maria ANDALORO & Serena ROMANO, 'L'immagine nell'abside', in *Arte e iconografia a Roma da Costantino a Cola di Rienzo*, ed. Maria ANDALORO & Serena ROMANO, Milan, 2000, pp. 93–132, esp. pp. 100–02; Geraldine LEARDI, 'Il volto di Cristo nella perduta abside di San Giovanni in Laterano', in *L'orizzonte tardoantico e le nuove immagini 312–468*, ed. Maria ANDALORO (La pittura medievale a Roma 312–1431, 1), Milan, 2006, pp. 358–61; CLAUSSEN, *S. Giovanni*, pp. 104–13; Serena ROMANO, 'Rom und die Ikonen. Überlegungen zu Monument und Dokument im Mittelalter', in *Intellektualisierung und Mystifizierung mittelalterlicher Kunst. 'Kultbild': Revision eines Begriffs*, ed. Martin BÜCHSEL & Rebecca MÜLLER, Berlin, 2010, pp. 133–53.

[38] On the history of Roman icons, see: WOLF, *Salus populi Romani*, .

[39] Rome, Vatican Library, MS Barb. Lat. 4423, fol. 5, watercolour by Gaspare Morone, 1672. Stephan WAETZOLDT, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom*, Vienna & Munich, 1964, pp. 37–38, n. 165 and fig. 99; DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et decor*, p. 241; CLAUSSEN, *S. Giovanni*, p. 188.

[40] LAUER, *Le Palais du Latran*, pp. 294–95. After the fire of 1308, the ampulla of the Holy Blood was solemnly exhibited to the people, among many more relics, by the Archbishop of Pisa Giovanni Conti, as witnessed by a contemporary poem: Marco PETOLETTI, 'Il ritmo sull'incendio di San Giovanni in Laterano nel 1308', in *Aevum*, 77, 2003, pp. 379–401, esp. p. 391 and text at p. 401.

[41] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Lat. 8, volume 1, fol. 91. On this famous manuscript, see: Danielle GABORIT-CHOPIN, *La décoration des manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin du IXᵉ au XIIᵉ siècle*, Paris & Geneva, 1969, pp. 86–99 and 177–78.

[42] Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum*, 2, 45, ed. Detlev ZIMPEL (Fontes Christiani, 61/2), Turnhout, 2006, p. 384.

Liturgical Installations in the Cathedral of Salerno
The Double Ambo in its Regional Context
between Sicilian Models and Local Liturgy

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Abstract

From the last decades of the twelfth century, cathedrals in Campania were often equipped with two ambos. The first example appeared in the cathedral of San Matteo in Salerno: here, a new typology of church furnishing, which would later be of great regional influence, was elaborated between *c.* 1153 and 1180. Questions about the necessity of two ambos, compared with their iconography and some material peculiarities, raise doubts about the coherent genesis of this liturgical setting in Salerno. The aim of this paper is to analyze its origins. I will argue that the appearance of the two ambos at Salerno was neither coeval, nor foreseen, a theory that has been presented but not yet investigated. More than from an actual liturgical need, this peculiar solution may have originated from the independent desires of two powerful patrons who wished to link their names to a local translation of the kings of Sicily's artistic enterprises.

Liturgical Installations in Salerno Cathedral and their Peculiarities[1]

The cathedral of San Matteo in Salerno (Fig. 1) has a basilical plan with a transept, is east-oriented, and is divided into three aisles supported by colonnades incorporating *spolia*. This church owes its fame to several factors: its ties with the Benedictine basilica of Abbot Desiderius at Montecassino; its preservation of the relics of the Evangelist Matthew; its being rebuilt after an initiative by two influential personalities, Robert Guiscard and Archbishop Alphanus of Salerno, and consecrated (1084–85) by Pope Gregorius VII, whose body and *cathedra* are preserved in the church; its hosting of a monumental object comprised of a famous series of ivory plaques; and its late Romanesque liturgical installations (Fig. 2a–2b).[2] The arrangement consists of a high (3.80 m) wall on the western front of the choir, two monumental ambos on columns facing each other

outside the choir partition on the north and south side of the nave (4.2 m and 5.10 m high, respectively), and a paschal *candelabrum* in the form of a column (5.20 m high). Every part is embellished with sculptural decoration and blazes with gold, enamels, and gilded or glazed *tesseræ*. Archbishop Romualdo II Guarna (1153–81) is mentioned in an inscription on the northern ambo, while the king of Sicily's vice-chancellor Matteo and the date (now corrupted) of 1180 are recorded on an arch that formerly crowned the choir entrance; the southern ambo bears no evidence of its commission, but material evidence suggests that it was also completed around 1180. This ensemble, of an unprecedented scale and complexity, appeared as a sensational innovation in Campania,[3] and served as a model for liturgical furnishings in the following period.[4] Even though the overall dimensions and the ambition of the whole complex would probably not be repeated outside of Salerno, other cathedrals adopted its artistic model

Fig. 1.   Salerno, cathedral, internal view towards the east (photo Luciano PEDICINI) (Plate 14)

Fig. 2a–2b.   Salerno, cathedral, northern ambo ('Guarna') and southern ambo (so-called 'Aiello'), with portions of the choir screen (photos Luciano PEDICINI) (Plates 15 and 16)
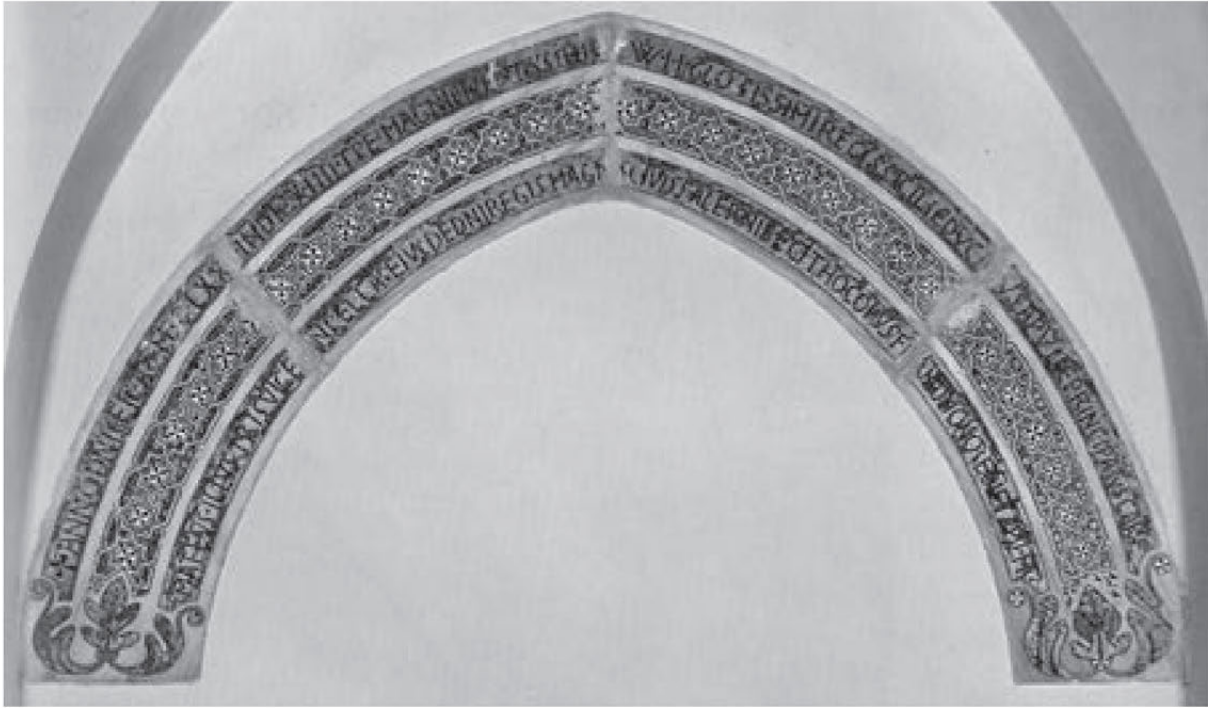
Fig. 3. Salerno, cathedral, southern wall of the transept. Arch from the western entrance to the choir bearing the name of Vice-Chancellor Matteo and the date 1180 (from: Arturo CARUCCI, *I mosaici salernitani nella storia e nell'arte*, Cava dei Tirreni, 1983) (Plate 17)

(square boxes on columns, with mosaics and sculptural embellishments), together with double-ambo choir arrangements. This was realized either through the coeval creation of two ambos, or by adding a second to an existing one.[5]

The choir of Salerno presents some peculiarities to investigate, however, namely, the screen's height and the two ambos' origin and function. High choir partitions were not unusual in the twelfth century, but the dimensions of the Salerno example were unprecedented. Choir precincts in the Italian peninsula were traditionally around 1.50 metres high. More elevated structures, documented in the eleventh century, are explained with reference to the reform movement within the Roman church, which required a stronger separation — both metaphorical and physical — between the clergy and laity.[6] A choir screen of *c.* 2.50 metres high made its appearance in Campania in the cathedral of Capua under Archbishop Erveo (1073–88).[7] In Salerno, too, the first Romanesque choir precinct of San Matteo, which was made between *c.* 1084–85 and 1137, reached two metres in height.[8] This screen was raised to 3.80 metres

by adding marble plaques decorated with micromosaics of glass and gold leaf in 1180, according to the aforementioned inscription on the marble arch that crowned the threshold of the choir until 1723 (Fig. 3):[9]

† *ANNO D(omi)NICE I(n)CAR(nationis) · M· C· LXX[X] · INDIC(tione) XIIII · T(empo)RE MAGNIF-ICENTISSIMI D(omi)[NI] W(ilelmi) ·I·I· GLO(rio)SISSIMI REGIS SICILIE DUC[AT]VS APVLIE PRINCIPATVS CAPVE / MATHEVS · ILLVSTRIS VICE[CA]NCELLAR(ius) EIVSDE(m) D(omi)NI REGIS MAGN[V]S CIVIS · SALERNI FECIT HOC OPVS F[IE]RI AD HONOREM D(ei) ET AP(osto)LI · M(a)TH(e)I.[10]*

The text, in black letters on a golden background, commemorates Matteo (†1193), William II's vice-chancellor and citizen of Salerno, who in literature is commonly referred to as 'Matteo d'Aiello'.[11] The decoration of the walls, mostly aniconic, includes a snake and a griffin at the two sides of a lotus ornamentation ('lotus lancéolé'), which is clearly inspired by Sicilian Norman monuments.[12] In 1723, the Medieval

choir screen's front wall was reduced to two lateral sections, leading to a rearrangement of its various elements, which must have been originally positioned to form a coherent decorative pattern.[13] The reasons for its unprecedented height and complexity are closely connected to the construction of the second ambo.

The liturgical setting with a double ambo was not so common in the Italian peninsula at this time. The readings required by the Liturgy of the Word (Epistle and Gospel) were traditionally proclaimed from the same podium, which was also used for preaching.[14] The first programmatic adoption of two ambos was set out at the beginning of the twelfth century in Roman churches linked to stational papal liturgy, and seems to have been a prerogative of these special buildings.[15] Their different functions, which are not mentioned in the Roman liturgical codifications, the *Ordines Romani*, are expressed by means of their form, dimension, and decoration. The Gospel ambo's pre-eminence is reflected in a bigger double-stair structure with a reading desk directed to the choir, while the Epistle ambo is a smaller platform with two opposite lecterns: for the reading of the Old Testament texts (towards the high altar), and for preaching (towards the lay nave). The Gospel ambo was further invested with Christological symbolism and was therefore at the centre of the Easter celebrations. For this reason, the paschal candlestick and the baptismal font were usually positioned nearby.

Before the Mendicant Orders' influence on thirteenth-century liturgical practice would bring about a multiplication of monumental and portable ambos and pulpits, both inside and outside churches, adopting separate reading platforms was a peculiar solution and remained mainly linked to the papal use or the papal direct influence. In southern Italy, the double-ambo setting seems to have been limited to the dioceses of Campania. Significantly, the activity of workshops specializing in 'Campanian ambos' outside this area did not coincide with the double-ambo liturgical arrangement's territorial diffusion.[16]

In Campanian examples later than Salerno's — in Capua, Amalfi, Caserta Vecchia, maybe in Sessa Aurunca and Teano, and probably also Teggiano, Naples, and later, Benevento — each of the two ambos was dedicated to one of the main readings in the Liturgy of the Word, as in Rome.[17] Their different function is recorded in modern sources and is confirmed by their architectural structure and iconographic programme. The Epistle (a selection drawn from the letters of Saint Paul or other apostles or from the Old Testament) is indicated by images of the prophets, whereas the Gospel is alluded to by the symbols of the Evangelists and by a reading desk which commonly features an eagle, and often a book inscribed with the first words of the Gospel of Saint John: *In principio erat verbum*, John 1:1. In addition, the Epistle ambo was usually smaller than the Gospel ambo.

The cathedral of Ravello has preserved its two ambos *in situ*. This case differs from the others, and shares similarities, in my opinion, with Salerno (Fig. 4). Here, a new Gospel ambo was commissioned to Nicola di Bartolomeo da Foggia by the Rufolos in 1272, for political-representative reasons as well as for matters of taste.[18] At that point, the church's previous ambo, a double-stair monument donated by Archbishop Costantino Rogadeo (1094–1150) was not dismantled, but instead was relegated to a subordinate position and used for the Epistle.[19] This change of purpose led to its movement from the southern to the northern side of the nave,[20] in order to allow the new Gospel ambo to respect the proper liturgical orientation that required, whenever possible, the proclamation of the Word of God towards the north, the side of darkness and evil.[21] The conservation of the older ambo at Ravello was probably due to the desire to preserve a glorious monument of that church's history. But it also confirms that by the mid-thirteenth century the liturgical usage of two ambos had become an established praxis in Campanian cathedrals. The double-ambo arrangement can thus be interpreted as the answer to an actual liturgical need, as a material witness of a ritual practice.

The same kind of coherent functional distinction between the Gospel and Epistle is lacking in the Salerno ambos, which raises questions with regard to their origin. Why then was the choir of Salerno Cathedral furnished with two ambos? Were they really foreseen, or were they rather the result of circumstances, as in Ravello? To my knowledge, only Mons. Arturo Capone (1929), Dorothy Glass (1987, 1991), and Laurence Aventin (2005) in their analyses have addressed the ambos in Salerno being conceived in the service of the liturgy;[22] their position, form, and iconography must consequently be approached in connection to ritual practice. Other than that, even though literature on the Salerno ambos exploded in the 1950s to the 1980s, the discussion has mainly remained focused on the stylistic aspect. In

Fig. 4.   Ravello, cathedral, internal view with the ambos donated by Costantino Rogadeo (north, on the left) and the Rufolo family (south, on the right) (photo Luciano Pedicini)

spite of almost perpetual disagreements on different aspects — matters of authorship, the development of a regional school, and its relationships with Sicily and/or Provence — the general tendency of scholarship is to consider the late Romanesque liturgical settings in Salerno as the coherent result of a project, an idea that was expressed by Émile Bertaux as early as 1905.[23] Bertaux stated that the sculptures and mosaics on the ambos and the choir in Salerno were all realized around 1180 by masons working in the cathedral of Monreale, after the initiative of Archbishop Romualdo II and Vice-Chancellor Matteo. His belief was supported by the general allure of the decoration and the use of mosaics, obviously originating from Sicily (although he disregarded chronological distinctions within this production), and because the Salerno patrons were both pre-eminent at the royal court in Palermo. Nevertheless, the supposed

coherence of the ensemble wavers in many respects, which not only has to do with their function, but also with typology, materials, decorations, and style.

The Ambos

The northern and smaller ambo (Fig. 2a), on the left side of the nave, has the form of a square box on arches and columns. The mosaic inscription that identifies it as a work commissioned by Archbishop Romualdo II Guarna is divided into two non-contiguous parts that were partially reintegrated over a number of restorations. The first, on the west side of the ambo, reads: *ROMOALD(us) SECVND(us) SALERNITAn(us) ARChI*. The second is now located on the balustrade of the passage that connects the ambo itself with the stairs behind the choir screen:

Fig. 5. Salerno, cathedral, Guarna ambo, south side (photo author) (Plate 18)

EPISCOPVS PRECEPIT FIERI HOC OP(us). Other incongruities in the assembly of the ambo clearly indicate that it was heavily changed. It was definitely dismantled and reassembled between 1723 and 1729.[24]

The Corinthian capitals of this northern ambo are decorated with human beings, tritons, mermaids, and animals with a Christological connotation such as lions, eagles, and an owl (Fig. 5). Above, two *telamons* characterized as pagans (one of them with Moorish features) are placed below the balcony, at the corners between the spandrels. Two of the spandrels feature the symbols of the Evangelists Matthew and John holding books, and two prophets with scrolls identified by inscriptions as *Ieremias* and *Ysayas*.[25] Three of them (Matthew, Jeremiah, and Isaiah) bear significant quotations, which will be analysed later. Given

the presence of the two Prophets (as a reference to the Epistle) and the two Evangelists (a reference to the Gospel), Romualdo II's ambo was well suited to host the entire liturgy of the Word during the Mass. The idea of Resurrection inherent in the Gospel is delivered by the depiction under the lectern of an old bearded man, the *Abyssus*, the place of the dead.[26]

Opposite, on the right side of the nave, stands a much larger rectangular ambo on a lintel supported by twelve columns without spandrels (Fig. 2b). The son of a certain Carlo d'Aiello is documented in 1567 as one of the *beneficiari* of the chapel of Saint Catherine located below this ambo, a clue in favour of the commission by a member of his family.[27] Archbishop Nicola (1181–1221), son of the aforementioned Vice-Chancellor Matteo, was buried

Fig. 6a–6b.   Salerno, cathedral, southern ambo, lecterns to the east (6a) and to the north (6b) (photo author) (Plates 19 and 20)

beneath a slab placed between this monument and the entrance to the choir, and is often identified with its presumed patron.[28] I am convinced instead that Nicola benefited from the memory of his father's lavishness to be buried in proximity to the ambo.[29] The lack of any inscription on the ambo mentioning the archbishop's commission seems rather unusual, especially in the context of Salerno Cathedral, and could speak for Matteo instead, who left a trace of his patronage on the choir screen to which the ambo has been coherently connected since its creation.[30]

Scholars have found the presence of two lecterns on this ambo striking, considering the absence of a similar utility on the other one (Fig. 6a–6b). A widely accepted idea is that one of the two lecterns on the so-called Aiello ambo would originally have

been carved for the other one.[31] Although I would be tempted, for stylistic reasons, to exclude the possibility of the removal of one of the lecterns from the Guarna ambo, it could have occurred at a time when the Aiello ambo was being completed. A monument with two lecterns is not unusual, as is testified by many examples across the Italian peninsula; significantly, however, these were used to differentiate the place for the readings (Gospel and Epistle) in churches with a single ambo. The two lecterns on the Aiello ambo follow this rule. The Gospel is expressed in the sculptural group on the north side (Fig. 6b), alluding to mankind (the man attacked by a snake) who is saved from sin by the Word of God (the eagle of Saint John the Evangelist, which supports the platform for the book).[32] The second lectern is, in its iconography and

EPISCOPVS PRECEPIT FIERI HOC OP.

ROMOALD. SECVND. SALERNITAn. ARChl

Fig. 7. Hypothetical reconstruction of the original orientation of the Guarna Ambo (drawing author)

original position, a translation of liturgical practice into sculpture: the two sub-deacons who hold up the book recall that it was their task to read the Epistle, and the orientation of this desk towards the main altar is liturgically correct (Fig. 6a).

Each of the two ambos therefore contains distinctive iconographic clues for the dual function of Epistle (prophets on the smaller one, sub-deacons on the larger one) and Gospel (Evangelists on the small one, lectern with the eagle on the larger one) readings. This highly unusual feature was pointed out by Capone and Aventin, who have consequently suggested that the second ambo was not planned and that it was added by Archbishop Nicola (d'Aiello), Romualdo II's successor.[33] Some elements partially confirm their hypothesis. Style and materials, above all, reveal a certain incoherence between the two monuments. An examination in detail of the Salerno sculptures and mosaics has already brought scholars to acknowledge that the so-called Aiello ambo was made by a different workshop from that of the Guarna ambo, and originated slightly later.[34]

They diverge also on typology. Square ambos on spandrels had already appeared in Campania around 1150 in the abbey church of Cava dei Tirreni, near Salerno, but the one donated by Romualdo II Guarna shows a more complex conceptual system in its embellishment.[35] The architectural solution and sculptural decoration inspired by ancient models were probably elaborated in Campania; the comparisons proposed by Dorothy Glass with Roman triumphal arches in the region and with the antiquities available in Salerno dispel any doubts on this point. The morphology of the so-called Aiello ambo, on the contrary, has no precedents in Campania, and exerted minor influence on later ambos. Furthermore, some of its capitals were carved in imitation of the Guarna ambo, and its mosaics follow a more repetitive design, devoid of the creative imagination of the masons working for the archbishop.[36]

If the Guarna ambo was originally conceived with a double function, its liturgical orientation in the current position presents an inconsistency that can only be explained with a change of plan. The requirement of proclaiming the Gospel towards the north can be satisfied only from the Aiello ambo's northern lectern. We should consider the hypothesis that Romualdo's monument was originally located opposite from where it has stood since around 1180, and that it was moved only after the appearance of the second ambo. Such a solution (on the nave's south side, with the lectern projecting into the choir, and hence toward the north) could also supply a satisfactory position for the inscription bearing the archbishop's name on two contiguous sides.[37] Measurements of the inscription's segments and of the box's lateral and back parapet coincide (192 cm; 195 cm), which allows for such a reconstruction (Fig. 7). The hypothesis could eventually be confirmed by further archaeological investigations.[38]

Iconography, Liturgy and Ritual

The iconography of one of the ambos offers other indications for its function. Dorothy Glass has pointed out the sources for the iconography of prophets in Salerno and on other Campanian pulpits in the fifth-century sermon *Contra Judaeos, paganos et Arianos sermo de symbolo*, which in the Middle Ages was thought to be written by Saint Augustine, and today is attributed to Bishop Quodvultdeus († *c.* 450).[39] The sermon and the liturgical drama drawn from it, the *Ordo prophetarum*, have proved to have iconographic ties with Romanesque sculpture in Italy and elsewhere, and were performed during Christmas time.[40] A text derived

from the *Contra Judaeos* was still in use in Salerno in the Christmas celebrations as late as 1594, following an ancient local tradition (*more Salernitano*), which suggests that this reading could have its roots at the time — if not even before — of Romualdo II.[41] As Glass has pointed out, the iconography of the Guarna ambo, 'is related to the thoughts embodied in *Contra Judaeos, paganos et Arianos*, but the program is clearly not derived specifically from that text'. Only Isaiah's words (Isaiah 7:14) can be related to the *Sermo*.[42] However, they share the allusion to the Incarnation of Christ with those on Jeremiah's scroll (Jeremiah 31:27).[43] Interestingly, it can be added that in Medieval use the last responsorial of Christmas matins was followed by a reading of the genealogy of Christ from the Gospel of Matthew, the 'Liber generationis' (Matthew 1:1–16), and *LIBER GENERATIONIS* is inscribed in the book held by the Angel on the northern spandrel in the Guarna ambo.[44] At this point, the Evangelist John not being related to a specific quotation could also be significant. His symbol, the eagle, grasps not a closed book, as is often thought; rather, in my opinion, it is represented in the act of opening it, with the first paragraphs of John's Gospel (John 1:1–14) proclaiming the Divinity and Incarnation of Christ and recalling Isaiah's prophecy (John 1:23) (Fig. 5). The evangelists Matthew and John, like the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, are especially related to the Incarnation, which confirms that Romualdo II Guarna organized the iconographic programme around this theme.[45] We can also infer that this ambo played a special role in the celebration of Christmas and that it was involved in the reading of Pseudo-Augustinus' sermon on Christmas eve. However, it could not have been used for the Gospel alluded to by Matthew and John because of its inappropriate liturgical orientation — at least not in its current position.

Besides material considerations, we can look for additional indications in the ritual usage of the ambos over the centuries. Although sources are not always eloquent, some clues suggest that the ambos' double function, as expressed in their iconography, was not planned from the outset. The church of Salerno has preserved its Medieval tradition in a series of liturgical texts dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. They consist of an *Exultet*, an *Evangelarium* (MS Capone n. 8), and an *Ordinarium* (MS Capone n. 7) of the thirteenth

century; a *Missalis Pontificalis* (MS Capone n. 5; which is in fact a Sacramentary) illuminated *c.* 1286–1321; a *Breviarium* (MS Capone n. 6); and two Missals (MSS Capone n. 3, 4) copied *c.* 1431–34.[46] An in-depth study of these texts by Thomas Forrest Kelly has shown that the liturgy content is mainly aligned with Roman rites and can be considered as having been celebrated in Salerno in the twelfth century.[47] Nevertheless, since the manuscripts were copied between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, the rubrics for the celebrations could have been updated gradually. The potential of these texts vis-à-vis the sacred space reconstruction has not yet been exploited. They clearly indicate that the bigger ambo was used during Holy Week celebrations, but carry only meagre instructions on the use of the ambos in different liturgical year moments. The Aiello ambo is addressed in the thirteenth-century *Ordinarium* as *maius pulpitum* (bigger ambo), in use for the litany on Palm Sunday (fol. 118r–v) and the Epistle on Good Friday (fol. 129r);[48] or it is called simply *pulpitum* in the celebration of Holy Saturday, when it was used for both the Epistle and Gospel readings and for the lighting of the candle.[49] This use is confirmed by the *Missalis* of 1431 (MS Capone n. 3),[50] and is also evident from the monument itself, because the candlestick has always been nearby.

Two of these texts (the thirteenth-century *Ordinarium* and the fifteenth-century *Breviarium*) claim to rely on a reform implemented by Romualdo II Guarna together with the chapter of Salerno.[51] As mentioned, Kelly's analysis of these manuscripts has stated that the archdiocese of Salerno participated in the general alignment to the Roman rite that was common in the Italian peninsula in the twelfth century. Might the appearance of a double ambo-liturgical system in Salerno then be explained with the pro-Roman liturgical reform carried out by this archbishop? The idea is intriguing, but the data at our disposal do not allow confirming this hypothesis. Interestingly, the *Breviarium* of Romualdo II Guarna copied in the fifteenth century lacks any allusion to the reading place, even during Easter time, as if there could have been no hesitation about which ambo to use. It was copied in 1434 by the same scribe of the *Missalis* MS Capone n. 3 (1431), and their rubrics do not coincide, because in the Missal only the *pulpitum maius* is mentioned for Easter celebrations.[52]

This could mean that the *Breviarium* rubrics were not updated when the manuscript was copied in the fifteenth century and, further, a minor hint that the ritual promulgated by Romualdo II Guarna involved a single ambo.[53]

Later sources of *c*. 1575, while the old *Officium Salernitanum* established by Romualdo II Guarna was still in use,[54] confirm that the ambos were used in the traditional alternation between Gospel (the bigger one, with correct liturgical orientation and facilities to perform Easter rites) and Epistle (the smaller one, on the northern side) during the liturgy of the Word in the Mass, according to their orientation and dimensional hierarchy.[55] In my opinion, this confirms that the ambos, although they probably maintained peculiar connotations for some ceremonies over the liturgical year, were forced into a common ritual practice, which allowed alternating Epistle and Gospel readings, in the same celebration, on different platforms.

In the last part of this article, I hope to provide the final elements to assert that, even though the two ambos at Salerno must have been used in the local ritual practice from the completion of the bigger ambo around 1180 onward, their commission occurred at two different moments.

Cives Salernitani at the Royal Court of Palermo

> L'archevêque Romoaldo et le chancelier Matteo ont envoyé de Sicilie en Italie une escouade d'ouvriers d'art, choisis parmi ceux qui travaillaient à la grande basilique de Monreale.[56]

Émile Bertaux's reference to Monreale is contained in a chapter entitled — significantly — *Les mosaïques arabo-siciliennes en Campanie*.[57] The idea has been expanded in art historical debate, in order to distinguish between the ambos in Salerno and the carved capitals in the cloister of the Sicilian abbey, whose construction and decoration are traditionally dated to between 1174 and 1189.[58] This interpretative scheme, based on the juxtaposition of regional areas typical of nineteenth-century historiography, and not devoid of chauvinism,[59] has been abandoned in favour of a Mediterranean perspective in which Campania and Sicily are seen as part of a same territory, after the Norman conquest.[60]

The fact that Romualdo II and Matteo lived during the same years and in the same courtly environment has led to the consideration that their patronage could necessarily have been conjoined. But what then was their relationship to Salerno? The archbishop, author of a chronicle, played a principal role in the kingdom's delicate diplomacy. Physician and advisor to William I, Romualdo assisted at his death and crowned the young William II in the cathedral of Palermo, in May 1166.[61] Matteo, who was originally from Salerno, soon moved to Palermo (Romualdo says he was *in aula regia a puero enutritus*, 'a child raised at the royal court'),[62] where he worked in the service of Roger II and William I. He is first documented in the Royal Chancellery in Palermo in 1154. During William II's minority (1166–71), Matteo, together with Romualdo and others, formed a council entrusted to assisting Margaret of Navarra in governing the Norman Empire. *Familiaris* of the king since 1162, he became vice-chancellor in 1169.[63] While Matteo spent almost his entire life away from Salerno, Romualdo made his career as a physician and cleric in the city, and must have been there around the time of his election in 1153. Especially from 1166 on, the events in Palermo kept the archbishop almost constantly in Sicily or involved in diplomatic missions, most famously to the Council of Venice in 1177. The ambo's commission, and maybe also the reform concerted with the cathedral's chapter mentioned in the liturgical manuscripts, were veritably accomplished in the first phase of his long rule of the church of Salerno (1153–81).

Extending the examination to the models offered by the Sicily royal church liturgical installations leads to a significant conclusion. In the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, the chancel is surrounded by a wall 183 cm high;[64] and the *opus sectile* decorations of the chapel are mentioned with admiration in Romualdo's chronicle.[65] This was probably the model the archbishop had in mind when he commissioned to a group of Campanian sculptors the ambo for his cathedral church in Salerno, which he wished to be embellished with 'Sicilian' mosaics.

New levels of grandeur were reached in the last great Norman foundation of Sicily, the Benedictine abbey at Monreale with its church dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin, founded by William II and consecrated in 1177.[66] A highly accurate reconstruction of this church's liturgical furnishings is
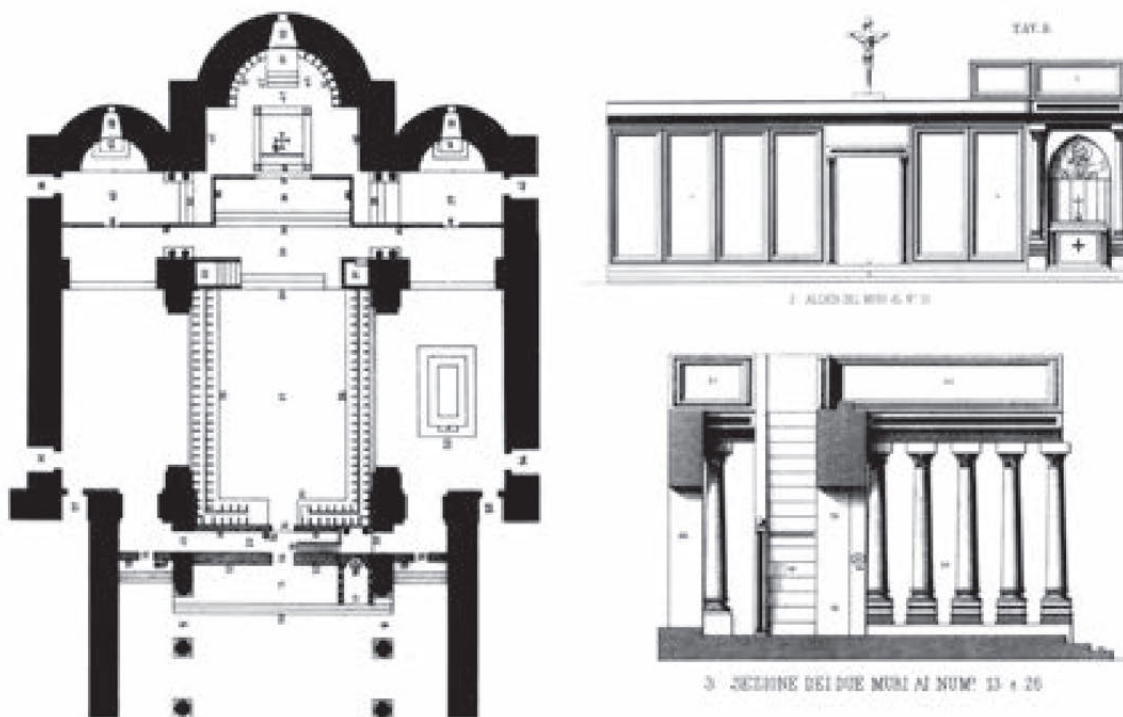
Fig. 8. Monreale, cathedral, reconstruction of the liturgical plan and of the choir screen with the ambo in the twelfth century (after: Domenico Benedetto GRAVINA, *Il Duomo di Monreale illustrato*, Palermo, 1859, vol. II, pl. 6)

possible by combining a description by Archbishop Luigi Torres, written in 1596, with an inventory of the *robba delle mura della madre chiesa* ('materials from the walls of the cathedral') of Monreale made in 1658, when the choir screen was dismantled, and published by Giovanni Gravina in 1859.[67] Gravina also produced a plausible reconstruction of Monreale's liturgical furnishings, which must have been accomplished around 1177, when the king was crowned in this church.[68] A careful cross-reading of these sources allows us to trust Gravina's reconstruction in its general outline, and to conveniently compare it with Salerno's choir screen (Fig. 8).[69]

The Monreale screen consisted of two juxtaposed walls carried out in white marble and porphyry decorated with mosaics. The western one, facing the lay nave, was *c.* 3.70 metres high and decorated with six slabs of porphyry measuring three metres by one, with a central door and a projecting ambo on the southern side. The ambo was built across the choir's wall and thus had two sections. The part projecting towards the nave, indicated as the Gospel ambo, was made of three panels of porphyry framed with mosaics and rested on ten porphyry columns. The 'pulpito dell'Epistola' was not an independent structure, but instead the eastern part of the same ambo. It ran contiguously to the other one, over the choir wall, and rested upon two 'cipollino' columns inside the choir. It was thus directed towards the main altar. Apart from the impressive use of porphyry, which was difficult to replicate outside the royal environment, the ambo at Monreale results to be the prototype of the bigger Salerno ambo, with a rectangular box, lintel, twelve columns, and two lecterns directed to the north and to the east.[70] The connection with the barrier is different, but the similar height,[71] which lacks a precedent in Sicily itself, and some similarities in the organization of the decoration[72] establish the link between Salerno and Monreale.

In addition, stylistic comparisons with the few sculptural decorations of the liturgical installations at Monreale confirm a direct transfer from the royal church to the other side of the Tyrrhenian Sea. The lion under the sub-deacons in the Aiello ambo resembles very closely one of the lions that crown Monreale's royal throne spandrel (Fig. 9a–9b).[73] The involvement in Salerno of sculptors coming from

Fig. 9a–9b. Salerno, cathedral, so-called Aiello ambo, eastern lectern, detail (9a) Monreale, cathedral, Royal throne, detail (9b) (photos author)

Monreale must be re-evaluated from this perspective, looking for comparisons also inside the church, apart from the cloister capitals.[74] The time frame for this model's transfer could be restricted to between 1177 — the consecration of the church at Monreale — and 1180 — the completion date of the choir screen at Salerno to which the ambo is attached. The echo of the extraordinary enterprise in Monreale, which was accomplished in a very short time with great magnificence,[75] did not take much time to resound to the Campanian coasts, also because William II had wanted the monks from the Cava dei Tirreni abbey to serve at Monreale.

These data speak in favour of the involvement of Matteo in the patronage of both the choir screen and the ambo around 1180, the date recorded on the mosaic arch at Salerno. This involvement clearly indicates the desire of the vice-chancellor to appropriate the last, exclusive model extant in the church of his king William II in order to reassert his hometown presence. The arch on the choir's door was thus only the final act, the signature of this enterprise promoted by Matteo, *gloriosissimi regis Sicilie illustris vicecancellarius* ('illustrious vice-chancellor of the magnificent king of Sicily') and *magnus civis Salernitanus* ('great citizen of

Salerno'), probably a necessary clarification because of his long absence from the city of Salerno. Such a project probably supported the family and political interests that enabled his son Nicola, then a member of the chapter, to control the archdiocese of Salerno in 1181.

A later, direct derivation from Monreale of the second ambo at Salerno could explain many problematic aspects of the liturgical installations at Salerno: 1) the presence of two ambos, both allegedly for the Epistle and the Gospel; 2) the unique presence in Campania of two lecterns on the so-called Aiello ambo; 3) the formal distance between the two monuments' sculptural and mosaic decorations; 4) the fact that the typology of the bigger ambo was far less successful. It remained a *hapax* in the regional landscape, distinct from the copies and reinterpretations of the model supplied by Romuald II, and elaborated upon local Classical sources. The latter model spoke a more understandable language to the workshops and patrons of the continent, who did not experience the deep immersion in Islamic culture that distinguished the tastes of the Palermo court shared by Matteo, and that is veritably behind the elaboration of the models chosen for the Aiello ambo.[76]

Conclusion

The genesis of the double-ambo liturgical system in Salerno cannot be reduced to the simple export of a Sicilian model, nor was it probably the expression of a specific artistic or liturgical pro-Roman programme. The ambos at Salerno maintain a common denominator that could be defined as Campanian-Sicilian syncretism, but they draw upon different figurative models and came from different craftsmen, at different moments, after the initiative of different patrons. The liturgical reform of Romualdo II is an undervalued source that deserves further investigation and a comparative analysis of the surviving texts, in order to clarify if it could have prompted the liturgical necessity of a second ambo. Other factors could have played a determining role in modelling the choir configuration, namely the independent initiative of the archbishop and vice-chancellor to link their names — for representative and political aspirations — to the most visible liturgical furnishing of the cathedral and to appropriate royal models.

After the choir screen was completed in Salerno in 1180, other regional dioceses adopted two ambos during the liturgy of the Word with differentiated functions, obviously responding to a liturgical need that had been established in the meantime, and translating the model of Salerno into the ritual tradition of reading the Epistle and Gospel separately, as in Roman papal churches. When, and how, the double-ambo setting was converted into a stable liturgical practice in Salerno still remains to be answered.

NOTES

[1] This article has been submitted in February 2014, before the publication of the book by Nino ZCHOMELIDSE, *Art, Ritual and Civic Identity in Medieval Southern Italy*, University Park PA, 2014. The author, who kindly discussed with me some of the issues treated here, is in favour of the unitary genesis of the double-ambo liturgical system at Salerno. The book by Zchomelidse makes a decisive contribution to the study of the twelfth-century liturgy at Salerno by publishing and analyzing, for the first time, the Easter and Christmas rituals contained in the manuscripts Capone 4 and Capone 6 of the Museo Diocesano in Salerno.

[2] Literature on the church and its works of art is extensive, see: Antonio BRACA, *Il Duomo di Salerno. Architettura e culture artistiche del medioevo e dell'età moderna*, Salerno, 2003, with previous bibliography. Later contributions on single themes cannot be mentioned here. On liturgical installations at Salerno, see also: Dorothy F. GLASS, 'The pulpits in the Cathedral at Salerno', in *Salerno nel XII secolo: istituzioni, società, cultura. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Rasito di Vietri sul Mare, 16–20 giugno 1999*, ed. Paolo DELOGU & Paolo PEDUTO, Salerno, 2004, pp. 213–37; Laurence AVENTIN, 'L'image au lieu de la liturgie: le décor du pupitre de l'Évangile de l'ambon d'Aiello dans la cathédrale de Salerne (Campanie, dernier quart du XIIᵉ siècle) et ses principales variantes', in *Vie active et vie contemplative au Moyen Âge et au seuil de la Renaissance, actes des rencontres internationales (Rome, 2005 & Tours, 2006)*, ed. Christian TROTTMANN, Rome, 2009, pp. 323–52; Elisabetta SCIROCCO, *Arredi liturgici dei secoli XI–XIII in Campania: le cattedrali di Salerno, Ravello, Amalfi, Caserta Vecchia, Capua*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, Naples, 2010; Ruggero LONGO & Elisabetta SCIROCCO, 'Sul contesto originario degli avori: gli arredi liturgici della cattedrale salernitana in epoca normanna', in *Gli avori medievali Amalfi e Salerno. Quaderni del Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana 8 — Opere e Territorio: Vademecum 1*, ed. Francesca DELL'ACQUA, Almerinda CUPOLO & Pietro PIRRONE, Amalfi, 2015, pp. 169–88; Ruggero LONGO & Elisabetta SCIROCCO, 'A Scenario for the Salerno Ivories: The Liturgical Furnishings in the Cathedral at Salerno', in *The Salerno Ivories: Material, History, Theology*, ed. Anthony CUTLER, Francesca DELL'ACQUA, Herbert L. KESSLER, Avinoam SHALEM & Gerhard WOLF (in press).

[3] 'Campania' is a modern definition that does not entirely coincide with the medieval boundaries of the region. See: Giuseppe GALASSO, 'Storicità della struttura regionale', in *Storia della Campania*, ed. Francesco BARBAGALLO, vol. I, Naples, 1978, pp. 7–25.

[4] Francesco ACETO, 'I pulpiti di Salerno e la scultura romanica della Costiera d'Amalfi', in *Napoli Nobilissima*, 18, 1979, pp. 169–94. Carving activity in Romanesque Campania was mostly concentrated in the production of liturgical furnishings. For the issues specifically treated here, see: Émile BERTAUX, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale. De la fin de l'Empire Romain à la Conquête de Charles d'Anjou*, vol. I, Paris & Rome, 1903, pp. 495–505; Lorenza COCHETTI PRATESI, 'Problemi della scultura romanica campana', in *Commentari*, 7, 1956, pp. 9–18; Lorenza COCHETTI PRATESI, 'In margine ad alcuni recenti studi sulla scultura medievale dell'Italia meridionale. Sui rapporti tra la scultura campana e quella siciliana, II', in *Commentari*, 20, 1968, 3, pp. 165–96; Lorenza COCHETTI PRATESI, 'In margine ad alcuni recenti studi sulla scultura medievale dell'Italia meridionale. Sui rapporti

tra la scultura campana e quella siciliana, III', in *Commentari*, 21, 1970, 4, pp. 255–90; *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale. Aggiornamento dell'opera di Emile Bertaux*, ed. Adriano PRANDI, Roma, 1978; Valentino PACE, 'Aspetti della scultura in Campania', in *Federico II e l'arte del Duecento italiano. Atti della III Settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'Università di Roma, 15–20 maggio 1978*, ed. Angiola Maria ROMANINI, Galatina, 1980, vol. 1, pp. 301–24; Dorothy F. GLASS, *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania. Patrons, Programs, and Style*, University Park PA, 1991; Francesco GANDOLFO, *La scultura normanno-sveva in Campania: botteghe e modelli*, Bari, 1999; Antonio BRACA, *Le culture artistiche del Medioevo in costa d'Amalfi*, Amalfi, 2003, pp. 103–77; Manuela GIANANDREA, *La scena del sacro. L'arredo liturgico nel basso Lazio tra XI e XIV secolo*, Rome, 2006.

[5] SCIROCCO, *Arredi liturgici dei secoli XI–XIII*.

[6] An overview of Italian choir screens is offered by Thomas CREISSEN, 'Les clôtures de chœur des églises d'Italie a l'époque romane: état de la question et perspectives', in *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 5, 1999, pp. 169–81. On Gregorian Reform and its supposed influence on art, a critical issue currently under revision, see: Elisabetta SCIROCCO, 'Gregorian Reform', in *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, ed. Colum P. HOURIHANE, Oxford, 2012, vol. II, pp. 223–24, with literature.

[7] Francesco ACETO, '"Peritia greca" ed arte della Riforma: una proposta per il coro della Cattedrale di Capua', in *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam* (acts of the Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Parma, 2004), ed. Arturo Carlo QUINTAVALLE, Milan, 2007, pp. 627–36.

[8] Antonio BRACA, 'Le lastre a mosaico medievali dal Duomo di Salerno', in *Rassegna Storica Salernitana*, 15, 1998, 30, pp. 51–66.

[9] Gaspare MOSCA, *De Salernitanæ Ecclesiæ episcopis et archiepiscopis catalogus*, Neapoli, 1594, p. 36; *Relatio ad limina* of Archbishop Bonaventura Poerio, 1697, in Archivio Diocesano di Salerno (hereafter ADS), *Capitolo Metropolitano*, cart. 190, fol. 3v. The missing letter of the date can be easily retrieved on the basis of the Byzantine indiction adopted in Southern Italy (XIV= 1 September 1180–31 August 1181).

[10] English translation: 'In the year of Lord's incarnation 1180, during the fourteenth indiction, in the time of the magnificent Lord William II, most glorious king of Sicily, (lord) of the Duchy of Apulia and of the Principality of Capua, Matthew, illustrious Vice-Chancellor of the same king, great citizen of Salerno, had this work made to the honour of God and of the Apostle Matthew'.

[11] Coeval sources allude to Matteo always as 'Mattheus notarius' and 'Mattheus, Salernitanus civis'. Matteo's son Riccardo received the County of Aiello in 1192, and his descendants began to use the name 'd'Aiello': Francesco PANARELLI, 'Matteo d'Aiello', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 72, 2008, pp. 212–16.

[12] On the lotus lancéolé, see: William TRONZO, *The Cultures of His Kingdom. Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, Princeton NJ, 1997, p. 46.

[13] The church underwent several transformations following an earthquake in 1688, see: BRACA, *Il Duomo di Salerno*, pp. 239–59.

[14] For an overview of Italian ambos, see: Antonio MILONE & Roberto Paolo NOVELLO, 'Il corpus italico degli amboni medievali', in *L'ambone: tavola della parola di Dio. Atti del III Convegno liturgico internazionale, Bose, 2–4 giugno 2005*, ed. Goffredo

BOSELLI, Bose, 2006, pp. 101–30; *Pulpiti medievali toscani: storia e restauri di micro-architetture. Atti della giornata di studio: Accademia delle arti del disegno: Firenze, 21 giugno 1996*, ed. Daniela LAMBERINI, Florence, 1999.

[15] Sible DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, Vatican City, 1994.

[16] GIANANDREA, *La scena del sacro*.

[17] GLASS, *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania*; SCIROCCO, *Arredi liturgici dei secoli XI–XIII*.

[18] Nino ZCHOMELIDSE, 'Amore Virginis und honore patriae: die Rufolo-Kanzel', in *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, 26, 1999, pp. 99–117; Jill CASKEY, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean. Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 135–52.

[19] This use is indicated in modern sources. The ambo donated by Costantino Rogadeo is the only extant example of a typology attested in Campania as early as in the ninth century, consisting of a rectangular double-stair structure decorated with scenes of Jonah and the sea monster, with allusion to Christ's death and resurrection. These ambos were conceived for both lectures (Epistle and Gospel), hence the choice of an Old Testament story with allusion to Salvation through God's Word and Christ's Sacrifice. On these monuments, see: Dorothy GLASS, 'Jonah in Campania: A Late Antique Revival', in *Commentari*, 27, 1976, pp. 179–93; Laurence AVENTIN, 'L'ambon, lieu liturgique de la proclamation de la Parole dans l'Italie du XIIᵉ et XIIIᵉ siècle', in *Prédication et liturgie au moyen âge*, ed. Nicole BÉRIOU & Franco MORENZONI, Turnhout, 2008, pp. 127–61; Elisabetta SCIROCCO, 'Jonah, the Whale and the Ambo. Image and Liturgy in Medieval Campania', in *The Antique Memory and the Middle Ages*, ed. Ivan FOLETTI & Zuzana FRANTOVÁ, Rome, 2015, pp. 87–123.

[20] See the essays in *La Cattedrale di Ravello*, ed. Ruggero MARTINES, Viterbo, 2001.

[21] Josef Andreas JUNGMANN, *Missarum sollemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, Vienna, 1948, and Turin, 1961, p. 334. This is clearly expressed in the Roman rite's codifications from the ninth century and is confirmed by the inverted Gospel ambo positions in churches with a different orientation, like San Clemente and Santa Maria in Cosmedin, see: DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et decor*, vol. I, pp. 90–91; Sible DE BLAAUW, 'Innovazioni nello spazio di culto fra basso Medioevo e Cinquecento: la perdita dell'orientamento liturgico e la liberazione della navata', in *Lo Spazio e il culto. Relazioni tra edificio ecclesiale e uso liturgico nel XV e XVI secolo. Atti delle Giornate di studio (Firenze, 27–28 marzo 2003)*, ed. Jörg STABENOW, Venice, 2006, pp. 25–51.

[22] Arturo CAPONE, *Il duomo di Salerno*, Salerno, 1927–29; AVENTIN, 'L'image au lieu de la liturgie'; GLASS, *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania*.

[23] BERTAUX, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 495–508.

[24] On the occasion of the choir screen modifications, the ambo, which was previously attached to it in a manner still to be clarified, was dismantled and remounted, fastened to one of the Baroque pillars. See: Antonio BRACA, 'Interventi nel Duomo di Salerno dopo il terremoto del 1688', in *Il Barocco a Salerno*, ed. Maria Cristina CIOFFI, Salerno, 1988, pp. 65–90, esp. 88–89. Arturo CARUCCI, *L'iconostasi nel Duomo di Salerno*, Salerno, 1971, attempted to make a graphic reconstruction of the choir screen *ante* 1723, which is acceptable on the whole, but questionable with regard to the ambos.

The reassembling has prompted different interpretations, producing confusion about the original configuration of this ambo. Ruggero Longo and I are currently carrying out further investigations and archaeological analysis on this topic. Our first results will be published in LONGO & SCIROCCO, 'A Scenario for the Salerno Ivories'.

[25] Saint Luke and Saint Mark could eventually have been represented on the arch in a symmetrical position now attached to the wall (PACE, 'Aspetti della scultura', p. 304); the fourth spandrel, on the east side, lacks any sculptural embellishment, and its mosaic decoration has been heavily restored.

[26] Wolfgang Fritz VOLBACH, 'Ein antikisierendes Bruchstück von einer Kampanischen Kanzel in Berlin', in *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, 53, 1932, pp. 183–97.

[27] *Visita pastorale* of Archbishop Gaspare Cervantes, 1567, in ADS, *Visite pastorali e arcivescovi salernitani*, cart. 4, fol. 34r.

[28] Antonio BALDUCCI, 'Prima visita pastorale dell'arciv. Marsili Colonna a Salerno nel 1575', in *Rassegna Storica Salernitana*, 24/25, 1963/1964, pp. 103–36, esp. 124–26; Antonio MAZZA, *Historiarum epitome de rebus Salernitanis*, Neapoli, 1681, p. 40; Gaspare MOSCA & Arturo CAPONE, *De Salernitanæ Ecclesiæ episcopis et archiepiscopis catalogus, auctore Gaspare Musca [...] nunc an Arturo Capone [...] vulgatus*, Sublaci, 1930, n. 2 p. 50. In favor of Nicola's patronage are CAPONE, *Il duomo di Salerno*, vol. 1, p. 89; BRACA, *Il Duomo di Salerno*; AVENTIN, 'L'image au lieu de la liturgie'; and others. GLASS, *Romanesque sculpture*, p. 84, has restricted the chronology for this hypothesis between 1181 and 1194.

[29] The inscription around his sepulchral slab insisted on his lineage, see: CAPONE, *Il duomo di Salerno*, vol. 1, pp. 89–90; vol. 2, p. 30.

[30] Two details confirm that this ambo is in its original position: its coherent connection with the portion of the choir's wall still *in situ* and the fact that one of its columns is encircled by one of the pillars made during the Baroque restoration in the late seventeenth century.

[31] In the reconstruction by CARUCCI, *L'iconostasi nel Duomo*, the lectern with two sub-deacons is placed on the Guarna Ambo.

[32] The lectern at Salerno provides a model for a series of derivations in Campania and southern Latium. For the genesis of this theme and its different interpretations, see: Manuela GIANANDREA, 'Genesi e sviluppo di un'iconografia di successo: l'uomo con l'aquila e il serpente', in *Arte Medievale*, 3, 2004, 1, pp. 49–58; AVENTIN, 'L'image au lieu de la liturgie', esp. 329–52.

[33] CAPONE, *Il duomo di Salerno*, vol. 1, pp. 77–78; AVENTIN, 'L'image au lieu de la liturgie', p. 328.

[34] COCHETTI PRATESI, 'In margine ad alcuni recenti studi'; GANDOLFO, *La scultura normanno-sveva*, p. 55; GLASS, *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania*, p. 84; BRACA, *Il Duomo di Salerno*, p. 176, 182.

[35] For the ambo at Cava dei Tirreni, see: Elisabetta SCIROCCO, 'L'arredo liturgico della Santissima Trinità di Cava tra XI e XII secolo', in *Riforma della Chiesa, esperienze monastiche e poteri locali. La Badia di Cava e le sue dipendenze nel Mezzogiorno nei secoli XI–XII. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi: Badia di Cava, 15–17 settembre 2011*, ed. Maria GALANTE, Giovanni VITOLO & Giusi ZANICHELLI, Florence 2014, pp. 289–302.

[36] GLASS, *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania*. A detailed study of the mosaics will be presented by Ruggero Longo in the aforementioned study in preparation (see: LONGO & SCIROCCO, 'A Scenario for the Salerno Ivories').

[37] The first section would have been towards the faithful in the nave, continuing on the back of the box and being visible from the southern aisle.

[38] See LONGO & SCIROCCO, 'A Scenario for the Salerno Ivories'.

[39] Dorothy F. GLASS, 'Pseudo-Augustine, Prophets, and Pulpits in Campania', in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49, 1987, pp. 215–26.

[40] GLASS, 'Pseudo-Augustine'; Dorothy F. GLASS, 'Liturgy and Drama in Romanesque Italy', in *Immagine e ideologia. Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle*, ed. Arturo CALZONA, Roberto CAMPARI & Massimo MUZZINI, Milan, 2007, pp. 267–72.

[41] Mario BOLOGNINO, *Officia propria festorum Salernitanae Ecclesiae*, Salerno, 1594, pp. 75–79: *In Nativitatis nocte, post primam missam legitur sermo sancti Augustini episcopi, more Salernitano* (p. 75). Young considered this text as a stage between the normal liturgical *lectio* and the fully dramatized *Ordo Prophetarum*, see: Karl YOUNG, 'Ordo prophetarum', in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, 20, 1922, pp. 1–82, esp. 24.

[42] *ECCE VIRGO CO(n)CIPI(et)* ('Behold a virgin shall conceive [and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel]').

[43] *ECCE DIES VENI(unt) DI(cit Dominus)*. Several passages in Jeremiah's book begin with these words, and thus interpretations diverge: Jeremiah 23:5 (CAPONE, *Il duomo di Salerno*, vol. 2, p. 58); Jeremiah 9:24 (GLASS, 'Pseudo-Augustine'). I suggest that the variety of creatures on the ambo's capitals allude to the passage in Jeremiah 31.27: *Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et seminabo domum Israel et domum Iudae semine hominum et semine iumentorum* ('Behold the days come, saith the Lord: and I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Juda with the seed of men, and with the seed of beasts').

[44] *Liber generationis Iesu Christi filii David, filii Abraham* ('The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham'), see YOUNG, 'Ordo prophetarum', n. 13 p. 23.

[45] I elaborated these observations after a suggestion kindly offered by Dorothy Glass.

[46] The codices are preserved in the Museo Diocesano di Salerno and classified according to CAPONE, *Il Duomo di Salerno*, vol. 2, pp. 241–85. For bibliography, see: Mario D'ELIA, *Uno scrigno sotto il moggio*, Salerno, 2012, pp. 88–122. I would like to thank Riccardo Prencipe for his help on the *Missalis Pontificalis*, and don Mario D'Elia and prof. Vincenzo Garzilli for granting me access to the manuscripts.

[47] Thomas Forrest KELLY, 'La musica, la liturgia e la tradizione nella Salerno del dodicesimo secolo', in *Salerno nel XII secolo: istituzioni, società, cultura. Atti del convegno internazionale: Raito di Vietri sul Mare, Auditorium di Villa Guariglia, 16/20 giugno 1999*, ed. Paolo DELOGU & Paolo PEDUTO, Salerno, 2004, pp. 188–211. On Campanian liturgical traditions and the changes between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see: Lucinia SPECIALE, *Montecassino e la Riforma Gregoriana. L'Exultet Vat. Barb. lat. 592*, Rome, 1991; Nino ZCHOMELIDSE, 'Der Osterleuchter im Dom von Capua: Kirchenmobiliar und Liturgie im lokalen Kontext', in *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, 55, 1996, pp. 18–43.

[48] MS Capone n. 7: *Sacerdos [...] ascendit maium pulpitum, ubi dicantur hec litanie (fol. 118r–v); subdiaconus procedat ad legendum in maiori pulpito, et non pronuntiet cuiuslibet sit lectio sed sic incipiat 'In tribulatione sua'* [Osea, 6:1] (fol. 129r).

[49] MS Capone n. 7, fol. 132bis v and 133v.

[50] MS Capone n. 3, fol. 127r–147r.

[51] *Incipit compendiosa pronuntiatio Officii Ecclesiastici, secundum usum Salernitanæ Ecclesiæ, quam dominus Romualdus venerabilis [Secundus], Salernitanus Archiepiscopus, cum voluntate sui Capituli ordinavit* (*Ordinarium*, MS Capone n. 7, fol. 1r); *Incipit Breviarium Officii ecclesiastici secundum usum sancte Salernitane Ecclesie, factum a domino Romoaldo venerabili Secundo, Salernitano archiepiscopo* (*Breviarium*, MS Capone n. 6, fol. 49r). In the *Ordinarium*, two drawings depict liturgical actions involving an ambo, without correspondence to the text (MS Capone n. 7, fol. 89v and 117r). Significant differences between the monuments represented could have been deduced by the ambos in the cathedral, but none of them can be considered an accurate reproduction. The drawings are rather a combination of elements taken from the two ambos.

[52] MS Capone n. 3, fol. 127r–147r.

[53] The smaller ambo (*minori pulpito*) appears in the rubrics of the *Missalis* MS Capone n. 4 (*c.* 1431–34) during the liturgical performance linked to Palm Sunday: *Deinde pueri stantes supra minori pulpito cantent versum 'Gloria, laus et honor'* (MS Capone n. 4, fol. 99r), whereas the thirteenth-century *Ordinarium* reads: *Deinde pueri stantes super numeri pulpito* (MS Capone n. 7, fol. 118v). I would like to thank Pascal Collomb for his most kind help in interpreting this passage of the *Ordinarium* and Elisa Brilli for her interest.

[54] It was abandoned in 1586 with the adoption of the Tridentine rite.

[55] In modern times, the Guarna ambo was reduced to the platform for the exhibition of relics on solemn festivities, but it is indicated as the previous *locus Epistole* ('the place for the Epistle') in 1579. Similarly, the bigger ambo is still called *ambone Evangelii* in 1615, see: BALDUCCI, 'Prima visita pastorale', pp. 108–10; Marco Antonio MARSILI COLONNA, *Constitutiones editæ [...] in Diocesana synodo*, Neapoli, 1580 p. 59; *Visita pastorale* of Archbishop Lucio Sanseverino, 1615, ADS, *Visite pastorali e arcivescovi salernitani*, cart. 23, fol. 7r. Later, with the adoption of the Tridentine rite, the smaller ambo was only connected with the relics, while the other one was used for both the Gospel and the Epistle in solemn celebrations. See the *Relatio ad limina* of Archbishop Alfonso Álvarez, 1679/80, copy of 1946 in: ADS, *Capitolo Metropolitano*, cart. 190, p. 3; MAZZA, *Historiarum epitome*, p. 40.

[56] English translation: 'The archbishop Romoaldo and Chancellor Matteo sent from Sicily in Italy a group of craftsmen chosen from amongst those who worked at the great basilica of Monreale'.

[57] BERTAUX, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 495–508; quotation on p. 505.

[58] For a summary of the debate, see: Dorothy GLASS, 'Romanesque Sculpture in Campania and Sicily: a Problem of Method', in *The Art Bulletin*, 56, 1974, pp. 315–24.

[59] Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, *Contre l'art roman? Essai sur un passé réinventé*, Paris, 2006. On Bertaux's ideological frame and methodological approach, see: Vinni LUCHERINI, *Bominaco e Roma: osservazioni sulle pitture di S. Pellegrino alla luce delle nuove scoperte dei Santi Quattro Coronati*, in *Il Molise medievale* (acts of the conference *Il Molise dai Normanni agli Aragonesi, arte e archeologia*, Isernia, 2008), ed. Carlo EBANISTA & Alessio MONCIATTI, Borgo San Lorenzo, 2010, pp. 259–70.

[60] GLASS, 'Romanesque Sculpture in Campania and Sicily'; GANDOLFO, *La scultura normanno-sveva*; GLASS, *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania*. Recent studies on the crossroads of mosaics workshops between Salerno and Sicily contribute to disperse the monolithic conception of the 'influence' of a 'style' from one area to the other: Ruggero LONGO, 'L'"opus sectile" nei cantieri normanni: una squadra di marmorari tra Salerno e Palermo', in *Medioevo: le officine. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 22–27 settembre 2009*, ed. Arturo Carlo QUINTAVALLE, Milan 2010, pp. 179–89.

[61] On Romualdo II Guarna, see: *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, ed. Carlo Alberto GARUFI, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores [...] Nuova edizione riveduta, ampliata e corretta con la direzione di Giosuè Carducci & Vittorio Fiorini*, vol. 7.1, Città di Castello, 1900, pp. III–XXXVI; the essays in Romualdo II GUARNA, *Chronicon*, ed. Cinzia BONETTI, Cava de' Tirreni, 2001; Massimo OLDONI, 'Guarna, Romualdo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Alberto M. GHISALBERTI, vol. 60, 2003, pp. 400–03.

[62] *Matheum civem Salerni, magistrum notarium, domni regis et familiarem [...]. Matheus homo erat sapiens et discretus, et in aula regia a puero enutritus, et in agendis regiis probate fidelitate inventus*, see: *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, p. 257.

[63] PANARELLI, 'Matteo d'Aiello'.

[64] TRONZO, *The Cultures of His Kingdom*, p. 47. On the liturgical installations in the Cappella Palatina, see: *La Cappella Palatina a Palermo*, ed. Beat BRENK, Modena 2010, pp. 466–70, 530–40 (texts by Francesco Gandolfo). The ambo in the Palatina is considered coeval (1170–90) to the Aiello ambo in Salerno, see also: TRONZO, *The Cultures of His Kingdom*, pp. 79–83. Like in the Cathedral of Cefalù, it was formed by a rectangular platform over a number of columns ranging from six to seven, located on the southern side of the nave. Recently, these monuments have been investigated by Francesco CAPITUMMINO, *Gli amboni della Cattedrale di Cefalù e della Cappella Palatina di Palermo. Ricomposizione e scomposizione: alla ricerca dell'unità* (MA thesis in Cultural Heritage, tutor Maria Andaloro, co-tutor Ruggero Longo, Viterbo, Università della Tuscia, 2012/2013). I thank Dr Capitummino for sharing with me the important results of his research. On liturgical installations in Sicily, see: Thomas CREISSEN, 'Une historiographie "passive": les clôtures de chœur dans les fondations royales de Sicile au XIIe siècle', in *Bulletin de l'Association de l'Historiens de l'art italien*, 8, 2001/2002, pp. 58–68; Vladimir ZORIĆ, 'L'arredo liturgico fisso nelle chiese di età normanna: un aspetto trascurato dalla storiografia architettonica', in *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del convegno internazionale, Palermo, 19–20 aprile 2007*, ed. Mario RE & Cristina ROGNONI, Palermo, 2009, pp. 85–124.

[65] *Cappellam Sancti Petri, que erat in Palatio, mirabili musivii fecit pictura depingi, et ejus parietes preciosi marmoris varietate vestivit et eam ornamentis aureis et argenteis et vestimentis preciosis ditavit plurimum et ornavit*, see: *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, p. 254. Romualdo is here referring to William I's munificence (1151–54 to 1166), but the *terminus ante quem* for this decoration is offered by a famous Philagato of Cerami ekphrasis (1153). See: Ruggero LONGO, 'The opus sectile Work of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo', in *Die Cappella Palatina in Palermo: Geschichte, Kunst, Funktionen. Forschungsergebnisse der Restaurierung*, ed. Thomas DITTELBACH, Künzelsau, 2011, pp. 491–198.

[66] The church became a cathedral in 1183.

[67] Domenico-Benedetto GRAVINA, *Il Duomo di Monreale illustrato e riportato in tavole cromo-litografiche*, vol. 1, Palermo, 1859, pp. 55–58; Torres's description was published under his secretary's name: Giovan Luigi LELLO, *Historia della chiesa di Monreale*, Rome, 1596, pp. 1–6.

[68] GRAVINA, *Il Duomo di Monreale*, vol. 2. For the date of construction and consecration of the church and the cloister, see Thomas DITTELBACH, *Rex imago Christi: der Dom von Monreale. Bildsprachen und Zeremoniell in Mosaikkunst und Architektur*, Wiesbaden, 2003, pp. 121–33.

[69] Gravina's reconstruction can be partly corrected on the basis of a plan of Monreale (1590) in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano published by Giuseppe SCHIRÒ, 'Il rilievo dell'abbazia del 1590', in *Il duomo di Monreale. Architettura di luce e icona*, ed. Aurelio Antonio BELFIORE, Palermo, 2009, pp. 231–41. On the choir screen and the ambo at Monreale, see also: ZORIĆ, 'L'arredo liturgico fisso', pp. 113–19, and DITTELBACH, *Rex imago Christi*, pp. 146–53.

[70] Two lecterns were necessary at Monreale because this was the only ambo in the church.

[71] The original height of the choir's wall at Salerno in 1180 (3.80 m) is fixed by the height of the connection with the Aiello ambo.

[72] I suggest that the rectangular empty frames in the upper section on the screen at Salerno originally hosted porphyry slabs.

[73] For the royal throne at Monreale, see: DITTELBACH, *Rex imago Christi*, pp. 142–46, 154–56. A stylistic comparison between the lion on the royal throne and the lions on the Guarna capital, less convincing in my opinion, has been proposed by Lorenza COCHETTI PRATESI, 'In margine ad alcuni recenti studi sulla scultura medievale dell'Italia meridionale. II. Sui rapporti tra la scultura campana e quella siciliana', in *Commentari*, 18, 1967, 2, pp. 126–50. For the different hypotheses on the sub-deacons group, connected to the capitals in the cloister of Monreale, Provençal sculpture, or one of the sculptors of the Guarna Ambo, see: BRACA, *Il Duomo di Salerno*, pp. 179–81.

[74] The capitals with cornucopias of the Aiello ambo could have been inspired by a similar Classical capital in the nave at Monreale, see: BRACA, *Il Duomo di Salerno*, p. 182. It is not known if the ambo at Monreale had sculpted reading desks; one can suppose that the Gospel lectern included an eagle, as in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo and in the cathedral of Cefalù.

[75] In a bull, Pope Lucius III mentioned the magnificence of the building and the rapidity in which the works were accomplished: *Brevi tempore Domino multum digna admiratione construxit* [...] *et sacris vestibus, et argento decoravit, et auro*; [...] *et tantum aedificiis, et rebus aliss extulis locum ipsum, ut simile opus per aliquem Regum factum non fuerit a diebus antiquis*, see: DITTELBACH, *Rex imago Christi*, pp. 126–27.

[76] I am currently investigating the relationships between the Sicilian typology of ambos and Islamic monuments such as the *dikkah*. The first results were presented at the 49th International Conference of Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo, 8–11 May 2014), together with a digital, three-dimensional reconstruction of the choir screen and the porphyry ambo at Monreale developed with the help of Andrea Romano, which partly emends Gravina's reconstruction.

Romanesque Cathedrals in Catalonia as Liturgical Systems
A Functional and Symbolical Approach to the Cathedrals of Vic, Girona, and Tarragona (Eleventh–Fourteenth centuries)*

Marc Sureda i Jubany

Abstract

The essential function of a church is to provide a physical setting for the liturgy. Starting from this basic premise, this article studies the original design of the principal churches in three Romanesque cathedral complexes of Catalonia, namely Vic, Girona, and Tarragona, vis-à-vis the liturgical uses of their spaces and different altars. The aim is to determine the extent to which both architectural design and liturgical regulations were present in the original conceptions of these places of episcopal, canonical, and parish worship.

Premise: The Cathedral as a 'Celebrating Machine'

As if acting in collective obedience to the celebrated words of Raoul Glaber, the overseers of the Old Catalonia cathedrals (Elne, Urgell, Vic, Girona, and Barcelona) and numerous regional monasteries and canon communities embarked on a renovation programme during the first half of the eleventh century, which led to the proliferation of an architectural style that Josep Puig i Cadafalch defined almost a century ago as the 'First Romanesque art' ('premier art roman'). Later, during the twelfth century, the main corpus of Urgell cathedral was rebuilt again, while in the New Catalonia dioceses that had been brought back into the Christian fold (Lleida, Tarragona, and Tortosa), new cathedral ensembles were erected that would be completed in a style known as 'transitional' (i.e., between Romanesque and Gothic). Today, the sees of Urgell, Elne, Tarragona, and Lleida preserve their Romanesque buildings; only parts are extant at Girona and Vic, while the original constructions in Barcelona and Tortosa were completely substituted during the late Middle Ages.[1]

In historiography much attention has been given to these Romanesque buildings, but only recently has a serious interest been taken in their liturgical functions.[2] Although not the only determinant factor vis-à-vis the form and uses of Medieval places of worship, celebration of liturgy on a daily basis is without doubt the primary reason for their very existence.[3] Thus, just as Le Corbusier described the house as primarily a 'machine à habiter' (although it can also reflect a particular social status and certain trends and modes in architecture and interior design), so too may a Medieval church be studied as a 'machine à prier' ('praying machine') or, better still, a 'machine à célébrer' ('celebrating machine').[4]

Usually Romanesque cathedrals have to be understood in the wider conceptual framework of 'Kirchenfamilien' ('church families').[5] Nevertheless, it is true that the multiplicity of places of worship in Western cathedral and monastic settlements was gradually reduced between the tenth and twelfth centuries, leading to one of the churches usually being increased in size and complexity.[6] The cathedral complex's main temple, housing the bishop's

throne and the canons' choir, was used for important episcopal celebrations, daily chapter worship, and for parish purposes as well. An increasing number of altars were to be found in its interior, some of which would have come from former buildings of the complex, which in turn converted the church into a synthesis of the 'Kirchenfamilie', able to represent key places in Christianity and different orders of saints as part of a metaphor for Heavenly Jerusalem.[7] The multiplicity of altars within one church is well attested in the West around the end of the eighth century in great Carolingian settlements such as the abbey of Centula or the plan of Saint Gall. However, whereas the altars in these places were distributed throughout the entire church, by the tenth century, the tendency was to reserve the nave for the faithful[8] and to concentrate the altars in specific locations such as crypts, rotundas, ambulatories, westworks, and in particular apses in the east wall of the transept, which were designed according to the number and distribution of the altars required in each project. Such solutions can be detected by the tenth century throughout Western Europe, for example, at Cluny II as well as at Sant Miquel de Cuixà (Saint-Michel de Cuxa), and became common in First Romanesque architecture, including that of Catalonia.[9]

Objectives, Methodology, and Sources

This article compares three Romanesque cathedrals in Catalonia, namely Girona, Vic, and Tarragona, particularly regarding the original building projects of their main buildings (the first two were conceived during the eleventh century, the third around 1200). Combining archaeological and architectural data and the available documentation, this study focuses on the symbolic attributions and liturgical uses that influenced the cathedrals' layout, and includes an analysis of certain modifications made to the original designs between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. We have no explicit descriptions of the symbolic programmes of these buildings,[10] but preserved customaries (*consueta*, *ordinarium*) tell us how these buildings were 'operated' by different users such as

the bishop, the canons, the minor clergy, and the parish folk. Although some of these customaries date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the conservative nature of liturgy enables us to use these sources, albeit cautiously, to determine the original functions of spaces.[11] In any case, the most frequently quoted sources are listed below in order to allow quick chronological verification:[12]

CV1 =   Customary from Vic Cathedral, 1216–1228: Vic, Arxiu Capitular, ms. 134, ed. Miquel dels S. Gros, 'El *Liber consuetudinum vicensis ecclesie* del canonge Andreu Salmúnia', in *Miscel·lània Litúrgica Catalana*, VII, 1996, pp. 175–294. The numbers after the initials refer to paragraphs of the edition.

CV2a =   Customary from Vic Cathedral, 1447, parchment: Vic, Arxiu Capitular ms. 31/18, unpublished; described in Antoni Pladevall & Josep M. Pons i Guri, 'Particularismes catalans en els costumaris dels segles XIII–XVIII', in *II Congrés Litúrgic de Montserrat (III. Secció d'Història)*, Montserrat, 1967, n. XVII, p. 145; José Janini, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de las bibliotecas de España. II. Aragón, Cataluña y Valencia*, Burgos, 1980, n. 873, and Marc Sureda, 'La catedral de Vic', in *Arquitectura y liturgia. El contexto artístico de las consuetas catedralicias en la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Eduardo Carrero, Palma de Mallorca, 2014, pp. 395–407. The numbers after the initials refer to pages from the manuscript.

CV2b =   Customary from Vic Cathedral, 1447, paper: Vic, Arxiu Capitular ms. 31/19, unpublished; described in Janini, *Manuscritos litúrgicos*, n. 873–74, and Sureda, 'La catedral de Vic'. The numbers after the initials refer to pages from the manuscript.

CG = *Consueta antiquissima Gerundensis sedis*, *c.* 1360: Girona, Arxiu Capitular, ms. 9, unpublished; described in Jaime VILLANUEVA, *Viage literario á las iglesias de España, XII (Viage á Urgel y á Gerona)*, Madrid, 1850, p. 209; PLADEVALL & PONS, 'Particularismes catalans', n. X, pp. 141–42; JANINI, *Manuscritos litúrgicos*, n. 486, and Marc SUREDA, 'La catedral de Girona', in *Arquitectura y liturgia*, ed. CARRERO, pp. 43–55. The numbers after the initials refer to pages from the manuscript.

CT1 = Parochial adaptation of a customary from Tarragona Cathedral, *c.* 1309: Barcelona, Arx. Cap., ms. 138, unpublished; described in JANINI, *Manuscritos litúrgicos*, n. 345, and Francesc MASSIP & Daniel RICO, 'La catedral de Tarragona a la luz de sus consuetas', in *Arquitectura y liturgia*, ed. CARRERO, pp. 301–21. The numbers after the initials refer to pages from the manuscript.

CT2 = Customary from Tarragona Cathedral, *c.* 1380: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 276, unpublished; described in Amadeo J. SOBERANAS LLEÓ, 'Un manuscrito Tarraconense: La Consueta del Arzobispo Ximeno de Luna (1317–1327)', *Biblioteconomía*, XVII, 51–52, 1960, pp. 37–41; PLADEVALL & PONS, 'Particularismes catalans', n. XI, p. 142 and JANINI, *Manuscritos litúrgicos*, n. 429, and MASSIP & RICO, 'La catedral de Tarragona'. The numbers after the initials refer to pages from the manuscript.

CT3 = *Consueta del Monjo Major de la Seu de Tarragona* (handbook of Tarragona Cathedral's main sacristy officer), 1369: ed. Andrés TOMÁS ÁVILA, *El culto y la liturgia en la catedral de Tarragona (1300–1700)*, Tarragona, 1963. The numbers after the initials refer to pages of the edition.

high altar or choral altar (plan, elevation)

secondary altar (usually accessible to laypeople)

parish altar

door

window

sacristy, treasury, *vestiarium*

important relics

bishop's throne

choir stalls and screen

baptismal font

circulation of clergy (same level / upstairs)

circulation of laypeople (same level / upstairs)

circulation of laypeople within liturgical context (same level / upstairs)

Legenda to ground plans 6–9, adapted from Clemens KOSCH (see also: plates section)

The final results have been reflected in simple recon-structed plans of the buildings as they may have appeared during the period under study. A graphic code adapted from works by Clemens Kosch[13] indi-cates the possible uses of the various spaces of worship as well as the possible circuits (ordinary and ritual) made by both clergy and laymen at different approxi-mate periods (cf. legenda to the groundplans). The altar dedications and other similar details appear in the corresponding legends.

Vic and Girona: Two Sister Cathedrals

An Overview of the Stational Systems

Although Girona and Vic were both episcopal sees, the difference in importance and antiquity between these two urban settlements is reflected in their res-pective sacred topography. As a Roman city founded in the first century BC, Girona had a notable col-lection of churches by the year 1000. In addition to the cathedral of Saint Mary, there was the church of the martyr Saint Felix (first built in the fourth cen-tury and possibly the first episcopal construction in the city), the monastery of Saint Peter of Galligants (documented before 950), its parish church of Saint Nicholas (dated to 1135, but with precedents from late Antiquity and structures from the eleventh cen-tury), and the church of Saint Martin Sacosta (first mentioned in 898 and converted into a collegiate church in 1064). There were yet more churches;[14] however, during the course of the cathedral liturgy, only these four were visited at least once a year, in the procession of the Minor Litanies (c. 1360: CG, 73r–v, 148v–149). Together, these churches may be said to have formed a stational system (Fig. 1).[15]

Vic, in contrast, started as a much smaller sett-lement. By the end of the ninth century, after the Carolingians had definitively retaken the city, a new cathedral ensemble was added to the existing small churches of Saint Eulalia and Saint Saturnin. In the tenth century, its double dedication to Saint Peter and Saint Mary corresponded to two separate places of worship, to which a church of Saint Michael, serving as an episcopal burial place, was added; however, only Peter and Mary were to be retained in the Romanesque reconstruction and up to the eighteenth century. These

two churches provided the only Medieval cathedral settings for stational liturgy in Vic (Fig. 2).[16]

Two (Very) Similar Architectural and Liturgical Designs

Despite these relatively different starting points, his-toriography has already highlighted the important similarities between the respective main Romanesque churches of Saint Mary in Girona and Saint Peter in Vic. Our knowledge of these buildings stems mainly from archaeology due to their being replaced by new churches in 1300–1700 for Girona, and around 1800 for Vic.[17] Both had a single nave of 11–12 m wide that opened onto a transept; the east end, with a main apse preceded by a large chancel bay, had four secondary apses in parallel, two in each transept arm.[18] In tech-nical and aesthetic terms they both can be related to First Romanesque architecture, as is shown by their remaining bell towers, both of which, incidentally, are set against the northern transept. Their elevations may also have shared many features, such as a system of structural arches on the interior face of the nave walls, documented in both buildings and designed to support their otherwise rather daring barrel vaults of around 10 m wide (Figs 3 & 5).[19]

Significant differences between the two projects were determined by factors such as the contrary direc-tion of the slope (falling to the east at Vic and to the west at Girona), the differing importance of prece-ding buildings (decisive at Girona, unknown at Vic), and, finally, the options taken in the final design. As a result, the building at Girona had an imposing two-le-velled westwork and a two-tower structured façade (Fig. 4), whereas at Vic a crypt was arranged beneath the main apse and, to the west, the separate church of Saint Mary the Round ('la Rodona') was erected. The two cathedrals were also built at a similar pace. Work at Girona may have begun around 1010, with the arri-val of Bishop Pere Roger, given that in 1015 there is a reference to standing walls and roofing. At Vic, work cannot have started before Oliba of Cerdanya was appointed bishop in February 1018. Both buildings were dedicated in 1038, on 31 August at Vic and on 21 September at Girona, although in both cases work continued throughout the eleventh century.

The documents also reveal significant similarities in terms of liturgical design. Both churches were designed to contain seven altars. The high altar was

Fig. 1.   The churches of Girona by the year 1000: 1) Saint Mary, 2) Saint Felix, 3) Saint Peter of Galligants, 4) Saint Nicholas, 5) Saint Martin, 6) Saint Mary Puellarum, 7) Saint Genesius. Light grey: not included in the stational liturgy (drawing author)
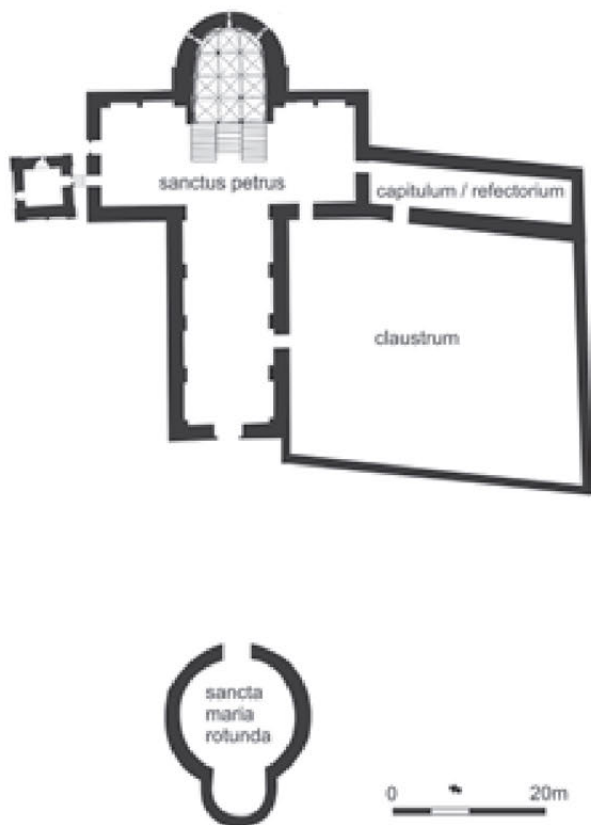
Fig. 2.   The episcopal ensemble of Vic by 1040 (drawing author)

Fig. 3.   Restituted plan of Saint Mary's in Girona. Grey: Gothic building. Dark Grey: Excavated structures. Light grey: restituted structures (drawing author) (Plate 21)

obviously placed in the main apse, with the bishop's throne at the back and the choir stalls immediately to the west, in the chancel bay.[20] Four secondary altars were located in the transept (two in each arm, probably housed within parallel apses) and a sixth was placed on the first floor in the bell tower. The seventh altar was to be found in the crypt at Vic, and in the elevated chapel of the westwork at Girona.

A new building was needed that could contain a number of different altars, primarily because several secondary altars had already existed in the previous churches; that is, those dedicated to Saint Michael (documented in 993) and Saint John (documented in 1008) in Girona, and to Saint John and Saint Felix (documented in 985) in Vic. In the cathedral of Vic, too, the reduction of the 'Kirchenfamilie' by the demolition of the church of Saint Michael (documented in 1009 as the burial place of bishops) also demanded the relocation of its altar within the new church of Saint Peter. Such dedications were very common throughout the Catalan and European High Middle Ages.[21]

On the basis of these precedents, new groups of dedications were created to complete the planned seven-altar design. The cathedral at Girona (Fig. 6), presided over by the main altar of Saint Mary, had the old altars of Saint John and Saint Michael in its south transept, whereas the north arm contained the new ones Saint Anastasia (documented in 1045) and Saint Andrew (documented in 1177). The bell tower held the altar of Saint Benedict (doc. 1170–77). The altar of the Holy Sepulchre, or the Holy Cross, was located in the westwork around 1100–06 at the latest; first mentioned in 1057, it is not impossible that it was first located in the bell tower chapel, before the westwork was fully completed. At Vic (Fig. 7), aside from the main altar of Saint Peter, the old altars of Saints Felix, Michael, and John were placed in the transept chapels, together with the new one of Saint Benedict (documented in 1032). The altar of the Holy Sepulchre (documented in 1090) was situated in the chapel of the bell tower before being moved in 1212 to a position near the west façade. Finally, the altar
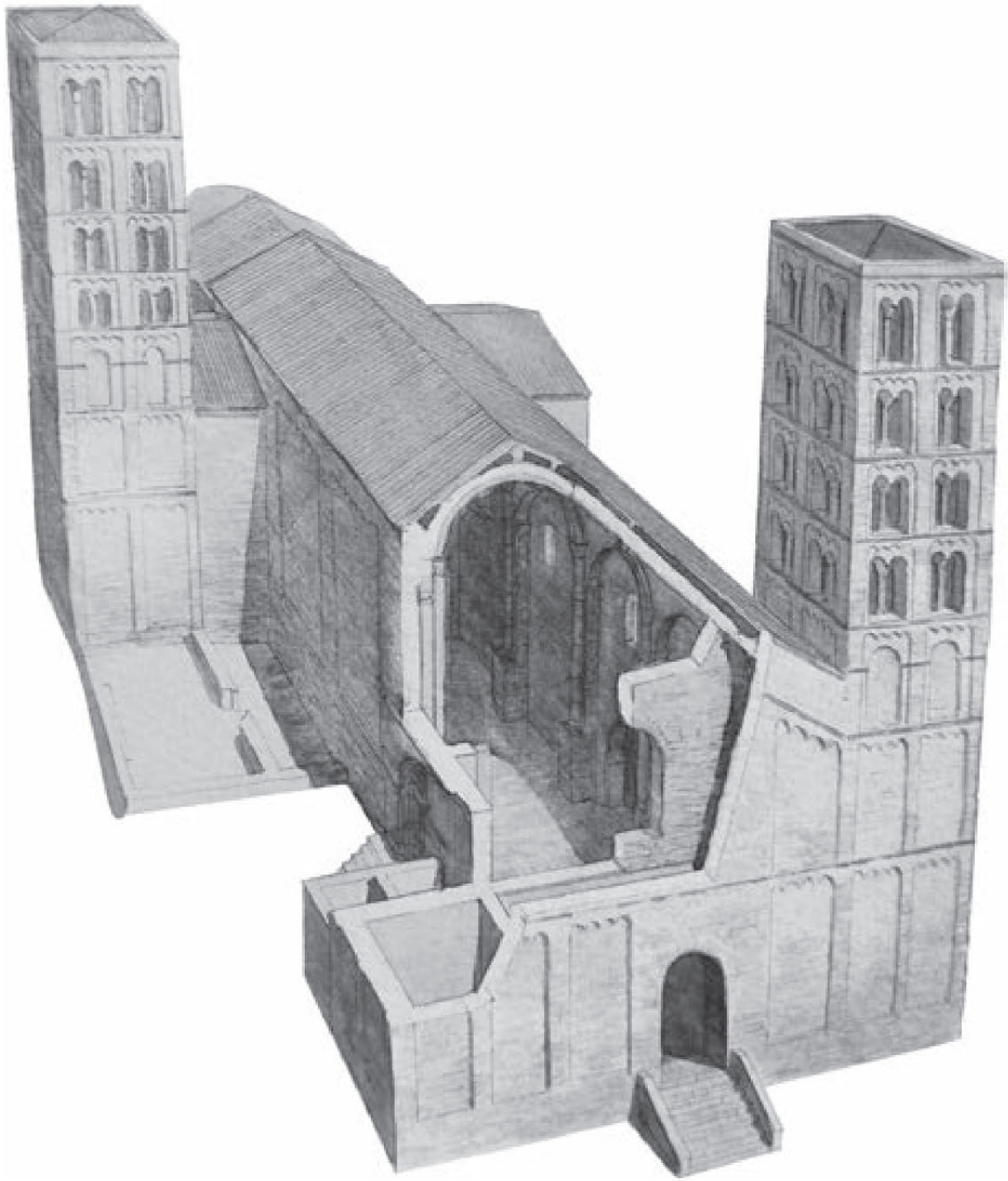
Fig. 4.   Restituted drawing of Saint Mary at Girona (drawing Jordi Sagrera)
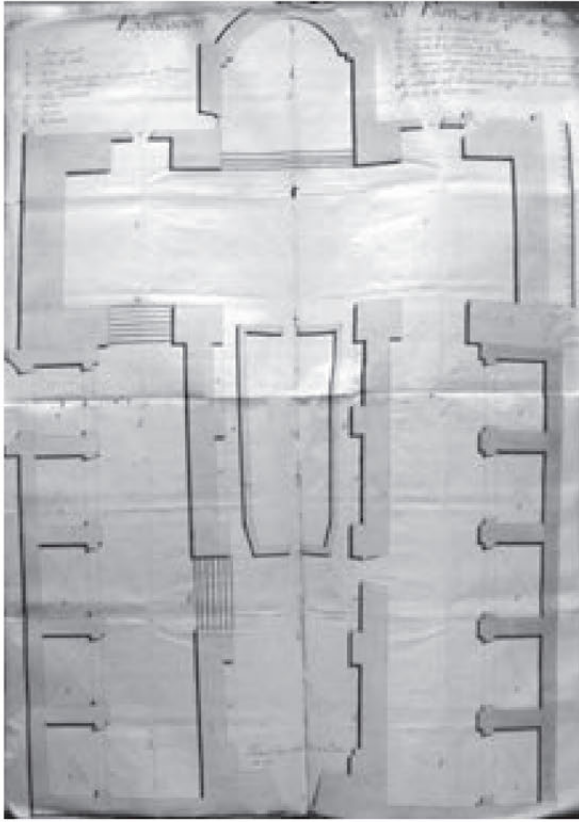
Fig. 5. Plan of Saint Peter at Vic, 1781, with projected new chapels (courtesy of the Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic)

of Saint Peter *in confessione* was placed in the crypt (documented in 1056). The dedication lists coincide almost exactly: only two altars differ, those of the Saints Peter and Felix in Vic, and Andrew and Anastasia in Girona. The choices in Girona, however, might have been motivated by a desire to coordinate the cathedral's internal sacred topography with the aforementioned urban stational system, which was richer than that of Vic and included other major churches dedicated to Saint Felix (the ancient *martyrium* of this saint) and Saint Peter (the monastery of Galligants). The designer of Girona cathedral may thus have chosen equivalent saints with the aim of avoiding reiteration and enriching the hagio-topography of the episcopal see.

Local Nuances and Operating Instructions

The strong similarities in the plans of both churches, however, did not lead to identical liturgical solutions, nor are the buildings fully identical. The analysis of the topological distribution of some key altars and the liturgical notices from the customaries reveals the particular hierarchy and relationships between the altars and the different nuances that characterized both projects; that is, their particular 'operating instructions'. At Vic, the alignment of Saint Peter's and Saint Mary's, which created the basis for this see's stational liturgy, had illustrious precedents in Carolingian architecture and significant parallels in other projects by the abbot-bishop Oliba.[22] But the most noteworthy feature of Oliba's reshaping is without doubt his desire to underline aspects of Roman liturgical topography. First of all, the main apse was designed to reproduce the essential layout of Saint Peter's in the Vatican, that is, a high altar over a crypt altar *in confessione*, both dedicated to Peter.[23] In the Vic crypt, the exceptional collection of relics sent to Oliba by Archbishop Raiambald of Arles on the occasion of the cathedral's consecration redressed the lack of any holy corpse.[24] It is also possible that the lower altar was used to read morning Mass for the faithful before the parish altar of Saint Nicholas was installed at the end of the nave around the year 1100.[25] Regarding the other main pole of the complex, Saint Mary 'la Rodona', it is important to relate it not only to the church of the Pantheon (or Saint Mary *ad Martyres*) due to its circular plan,[26] but also in liturgical terms to *Sancta Maria Maior* because, as the Vic customaries indicate, it played a prominent role on Christmas Eve (XII/25) and Candlemas (II/2) (CVI, 73 and 497) among other Marian feasts. Also, on Maundy Thursday, the Chrism was prepared and kept at the altar of Saint John (CVI, 261), almost certainly because in Rome this ritual was celebrated by the Pope in the Lateran Basilica, as is noted in the sacramentaries.[27] This secondary altar and those of Saints Felix and Benedict were all situated in the transept chapels and thus easily accessible to the faithful, who used them regularly for testamentary oaths throughout the eleventh century. The altar of the Holy Sepulchre may have had similar uses to those attested in Girona, particularly concerning the Easter drama, as we are about to see, although no direct proof of this has survived at Vic.

The westwork at Girona is clearly of Ottonian and Burgundian descent in architectural terms and retained a strong Carolingian inheritance in terms of the liturgy.[28] Its high chapel was dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre or Cross and, significantly, was used for the celebration of the Easter Sunday morning
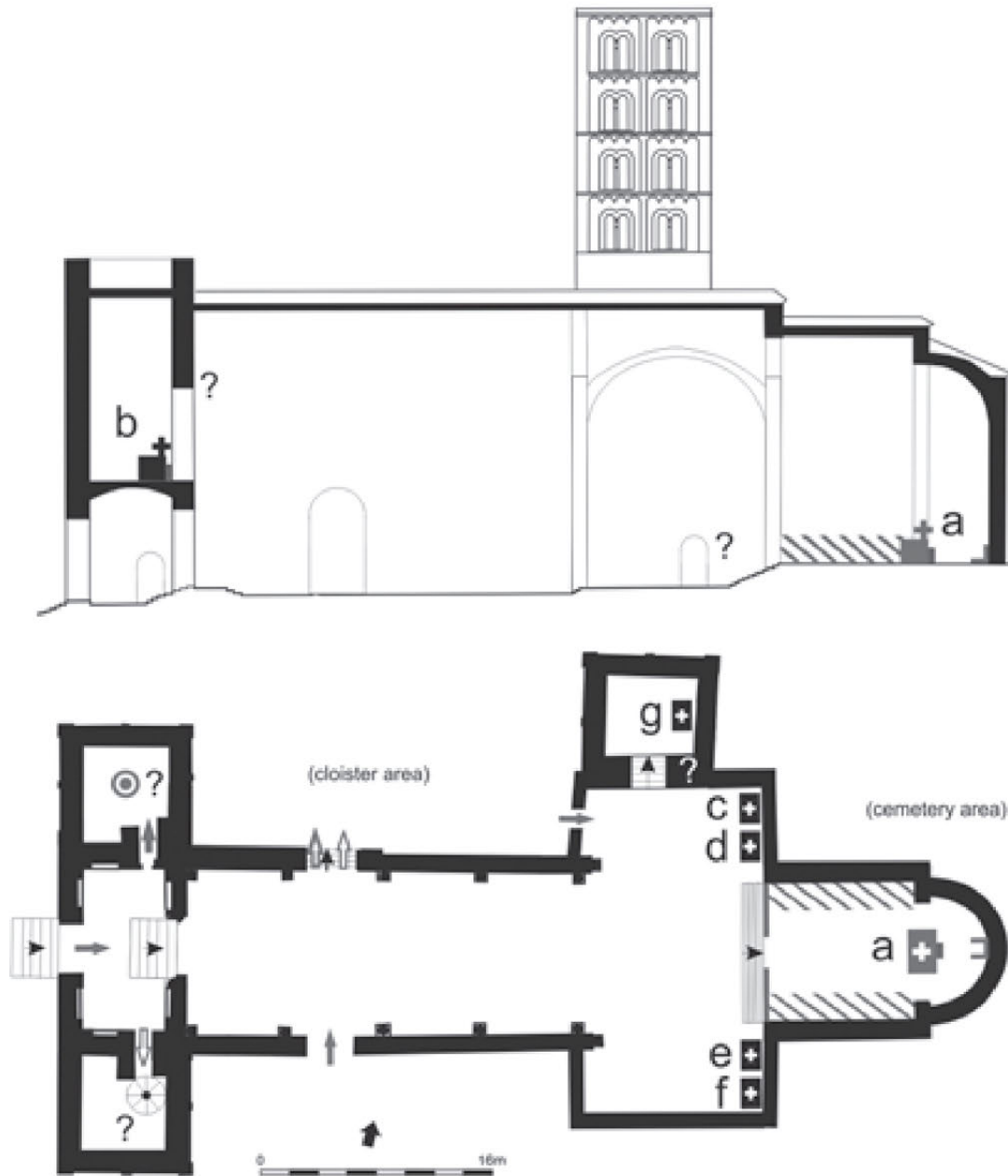
Fig. 6.   Dedications of altars in Saint Mary's at Girona by 1050–1170 (section and plan). a) Saint Mary, b) Holy Sepulchre, c) Saint Andrew, d) Saint Anastasia, e) Saint Michael, f) Saint John, g) Saint Benedict (drawing author) (Plate 22)

Mass and the other Sunday morning Masses during Eastertide.[29] Moreover, it may also have been used to stage the traditional Easter dramas that were enacted up to the fourteenth century.[30] The liturgical design of this place mainly invoked Jerusalem, but also made a clear nod in the direction of Rome, given that the morning Mass and solemn processions held there on

Laetare Sunday (CG, 43) correspond to the Roman station on that day at *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*.

Similar inferences can be taken from the choice of two different dedications from those at Vic. The virgin and martyr Saint Anastasia, despite being completely absent from local traditions, was present in the sacramentaries as a Roman station for the Dawn
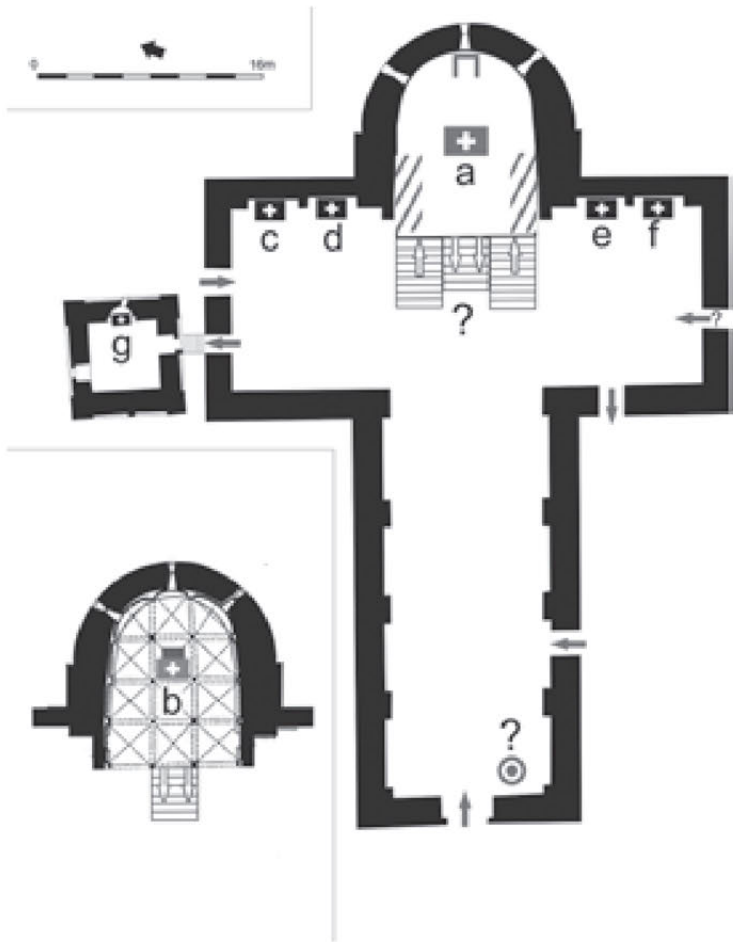
Fig. 7. Dedications of altars in Saint Peter at Vic by 1040–90. a) Saint Peter, b) Saint Peter in Confessione, c) Saint John, d) Saint Benedict, e) Saint Michael, f) Saint Felix, g) Holy Sepulchre (drawing author) (Plate 23)

Mass at Christmas. This provided a very good reason to celebrate this Mass on her altar, and also meant that Anastasia was a good alternative to the martyr Felix in that she had the additional virtue of evoking Rome. It is not unreasonable to suppose that adopting the apostle Saint Andrew was similarly motivated, given that his position became analogous to that of Saint Peter.

By 1360, on Maundy Thursday, the Chrism was kept at the Gothic chapel of Saint Martin (CG, 50v), close to the old location of the Romanesque apse of Saint John, from where it was still distributed by the head archdeacon in that late point in time;[31] this might have a common origin with the practice attested at Vic. Finally, at Girona, morning Mass on ferial days during Lent and Ordinary Time rotated

around the old secondary altars in the church; that is, Saint Michael on Monday, Saint Anastasia on Tuesday, Saint Andrew on Wednesday, Saint John on Thursday, Saint Benedict on Friday, and Saint Mary on Saturday and Sunday. These same old altars were the only ones to be specifically decorated during Lent, even around 1360, when many other altars already existed in the new Gothic east end of the church (CG, 39r–v; 81v–82, 84v–85; 243v). This practice may have originated from an attempt to imitate, again, the movement of the Roman stational liturgy during Lent,[32] and is also found in other places such as Hirsau and Cluny, in the eleventh century, or the Catalan monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès, around 1220. Furthermore, these Masses, normally celebrated by the *Sacrista secundus* or the *clavarius*, who were responsible for pastoral care in the cathedral, were probably intended for the laypeople, which implies that no particular altar was identified as the principal focus of parish worship.[33]

A Comparative Conclusion

In spite of the aforementioned particular features, the clear similarities between the original liturgical designs of Girona and Vic suggest that the same thought processes had been at work during their mutual conception. At first sight, both cathedrals seem to express the same elementary 'Kirchenfamilie' in which several orders of saints are represented: the Virgin Mary, of course, followed by the Apostles (Peter or Andrew), the Evangelists (John), the Martyrs (Felix or Anastasia, the latter adding the Virgins), the Angels (Michael), and the Confessors, Abbots, and Monks (Benedict). This seeming desire to evoke different types of saints is more than just a pleasing idea: the fourteenth-century customary at Girona contains an ancient habitude according to which morning Masses on the feasts of the Evangelists were to be celebrated at the altar of Saint John, while morning masses for Virgins should be said at the altar of Saint Anastasia (CG, 243v). In both places, moreover, the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem was evoked in an elevated space endowed with its own altar, which at Girona came to be reflected in a highly distinctive architectural iconography influenced by the Carolingian tradition. The other major reference point of Christian worship, the city of Rome, was richly represented through a multiplicity of resources, in the form of

altars (Peter, Anastasia), practices in accordance with the Roman stational liturgy (i.e., those carried out at the altars of John and the Sepulchre and the itinerant morning Masses in Girona), and, particularly in Vic, intentionally imitative architectural settings (the high chapel with its crypt and the 'Rodona' church). Both liturgical systems clearly share a common origin, although their different emphases determined the personality of each.

The presence of all these architectural and liturgical concepts in two different, but very closely related buildings can probably be attributed to the intellectual 'entourage' of Oliba of Vic, if not directly to Oliba himself. On the one hand, he was unquestionably responsible for reshaping Vic Cathedral; on the other, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he was charged with the design of the new cathedral at Girona some eight years before by Bishop Pere Roger and Countess Ermessenda, with whom he had lifelong close relationships, while he was still only the abbot of Ripoll and Cuixà.[34] We should not forget that the starting dates of both projects (*c.* 1010 and *c.* 1018) coincide with Oliba's two documented journeys to Rome. He doubtlessly returned from the second of these not only with a deeper knowledge of the pontifical liturgy and its formulae (which is demonstrated by the contemporary liturgical manuscripts he promoted), but also aware that he was soon to become the bishop of Vic.[35]

Epilogue: Later Modifications

These systems remained in place at both Vic and Girona for at least two centuries and served the needs of their users well. Modifications were made to each church at slightly different rates. At Girona, the proliferation after 1200 of private altars in different parts of the church, the high westwork chapel, and even the chapter house, had no effect on the locations of the seven old altars; however, overwhelmed by an increasing number of chaplaincies and new devotions, around 1300 the cathedral needed a new Gothic east end in which the altars could be properly relocated. Nevertheless, the roles played by the old seven altars in the public liturgy remained unchanged and were still clearly codified in the 1360 customary.[36]

At Vic, in contrast, more important renovations are recorded. Shortly before 1100, an altar dedicated to Saint Nicholas had been installed, probably by Bishop Berenguer Sunifred de Lluçà, at the east end of the nave, and became the ordinary place where morning or popular Masses were celebrated in turn by the two minor clerics or *hebdomadarii* responsible for pastoral care in the cathedral.[37] The altar came to be part of a wider complex with the expansion westwards of the elevated choir around 1140, in response to momentous chapter growth in terms of resources and, consequently, number of individuals. This complex of choir screen and parish altar, although very common in European Medieval church topography, has been rarely documented in Catalonia in a Romanesque context. In 1205, a further altar was added on the same axis between the high altar and that of Saint Nicholas. Dedicated to Saint Mary de Coro, thus duplicating the dedication to Mary at the 'Rodona', it probably played the role of a choral altar. It was soon designated with key functions in the cathedral's public liturgy (e.g., the blessing of the candles and morning Mass at Candlemas), which is no surprise if we recall that the new altar was commissioned by Canon Andreu Salmúnia, who compiled the Customary of Vic in 1215 (Fig. 8).[38]

In addition to these two important altars, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, an increasing number of chaplaincies were founded in both Vic and Girona; the corresponding new altars would be located in every available space in the transept and the nave. Oliba's system of dedications was significantly altered in 1212 when the altars of Saint Benedict and the Holy Sepulchre were moved to other church locations. A new altar dedicated to Saint Paul replaced that of the holy Abbot, which was moved to the south transept; while the bell tower chapel probably remained empty after the Sepulchre was relocated *supra majores januas* — perhaps to a western tribune or high chapel of which no further documentary record remains.[39] By 1300, with over twenty altars, the Romanesque cathedral retained its ancient hierarchy mostly as a consequence of preserving certain ancient liturgical traditions; and by 1400 Oliba's system had been thrown completely out of kilter by the reconstruction of the main apse and transept, the dismantling of the elevated choir, the removal of the crypt, and the more or less random relocation of the altars linked to these places, so that they become difficult to distinguish from those erected by private commissions.[40]
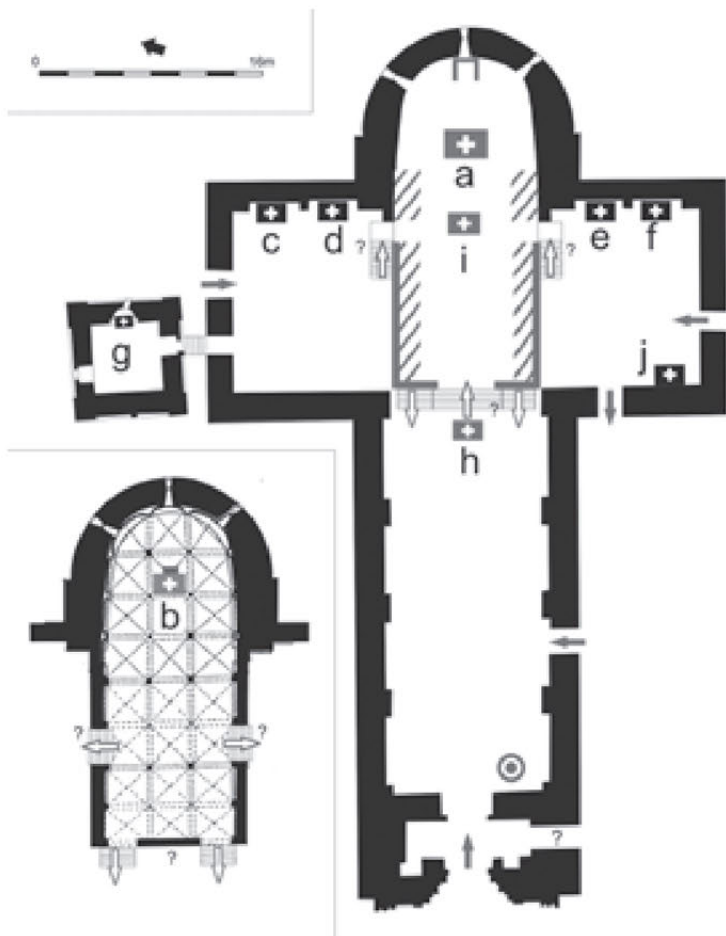
Fig. 8. Altar dedications in Saint Peter at Vic by 1220. a) Saint Peter, b) Saint Peter in Confessione, c) Saint John, d) Saint Benedict, e) Saint Michael, f) Saint Felix, g) Saint Sepulchre, h) Saint Nicholas, i) Saint Mary de Coro (drawing author) (Plate 24)

Tarragona: The Liturgical and Architectural Needs of a Primatial See

An Overview of the Stational System

As a Roman provincial capital, the city of Tarraco in Late Antiquity had a number of churches that appear to have been united in one liturgical procession by the year 700.[41] After more than four centuries of Moorish government, the return Christian rule by the twelfth century meant that the complex was completely reshaped and consisted of no fewer than seven churches (Saint Michael 'del Pla', Saint Salvator 'del Corral', Saint Lawrence, Saint Paul, Saint Fructuosus, Saint Mary 'del Miracle', and Saint Thecla 'la Vella'),[42] in addition to the new metropolitan cathedral, to

which we will now turn our attention. Of all these churches, however, only the last three were clearly integrated into Tarragona's stational system as it is described in the customaries and thus visited during the festivals of Palm Sunday, Purification, and the *Rogationes* (CT2, 55r–v; CT3, 206 and 211).

The Architectural and Liturgical Design of the Medieval Primatial See: 1171–c. 1220

The indisputable centre of this system was the cathedral of Saint Thecla, which was started two centuries after those of Girona and Vic once the archdiocese and the cathedral chapter had undergone a lengthy consolidation process. In 1154, Bernat Tort, archbishop of Tarragona and *Sacrista Major* of Girona cathedral, endowed the cathedral chapter with the necessary goods and had its basic buildings constructed on the northeast corner of the upper level of the old Roman provincial *forum*. At this early point, the bishop and community used the Roman complex's old axial room as the main church of Saint Thecla; for daily worship they used the chapel of Saint Mary, whose exact location has not been established (perhaps the east side of the cloister).[43] The successor to Bernat Tort, Archbishop Hug de Cervelló, made provisions in his will of 1171 for the construction of a new main church which was continued by his successors Guillem de Torroja (1171–75) and Berenguer de Vilademuls (1175–94).

The project's ambitious nature and dimensions were without doubt intended to reflect the prestige of the archdiocese. For a long time, the general consensus had been that the transept irregularities (above all, the smaller west arm and the unsuitable location of its apse chapel) indicated that the cathedral design was initially limited to three apses, and later increased to five. However, closer examination suggests that the original design already included the five altars; they had certainly not been intended when work started on the cloister, but were surely seen as desirable from the moment work started on the church.[44] Indeed, it is quite reasonable that the planners of this great archdiocesan church should have wished a transept with at least as many altars as the eleventh-century suffragan cathedrals of Vic, Girona, and Urgell; the same was to occur later at Lleida when its 'Seu Vella' was planned around the turn of the thirteenth century.[45]

Therefore, in functional terms the new cathedral was ready for archiepiscopal and canonical liturgy as soon as the five original altars could function. We know that they were dedicated, from west to east, to Saints Augustine, Mary, Thecla (the high altar), John, and Peter. The founding of two chaplaincies at the altar of Saint Augustine around 1215 suggests that installation had been fully completed by that time (Fig. 9).[46] During those same decades, the height of the roof over the chancel bay and the transept was raised, and the first bays of the naves were built, although no new structures were created for altars. Only two altars other than the five already listed are mentioned in a papal bull from 1259: that of Saint Fructuosus, within the area of the high altar, and that of Saint Elizabeth, apparently in the first bay of the west aisle.[47] Additional work continued into the second half of the thirteenth century, but the essential layout of the cathedral had been fixed by about 1200 and would hardly change, except for when the choir stalls were moved into the central nave in the fourteenth century. The other altars and chapels that were added over time were the result of private initiatives and therefore not necessarily related to the cathedral's essential topoliturgical functioning, but rather with the emergence of chaplaincies in a manner that occurred simultaneously throughout Europe.

The list of saints to whom the altars were dedicated is that of a very standard 'Kirchenfamilie' and demonstrates a certain lack of originality. In particular, dedications to Saints Mary, Peter, and John are present (we might even say 'de rigueur') in nearly any cathedral complex, and the choice of the other three at Tarragona can be easily explained: two of them (Thecla and Fructuosus) were martyrs related to the city, and the other (Augustine) was the spiritual father of the cathedral canons who followed his rule. Saint Peter, of course, represents both the apostles and Rome, and is thus a particularly important title in a metropolitan and primatial see.[48] Further, with the exception of Mary, Thecla, and Fructuosus, none of the dedications repeat those at other ancient churches in the city, perhaps out of a desire for symbolic harmony, at least during the initial design, as we have seen at Girona. The altar to Saint Mary, on the other hand, can be understood as a direct legacy of the first operating chapel, as confirmed in the document from 1154.
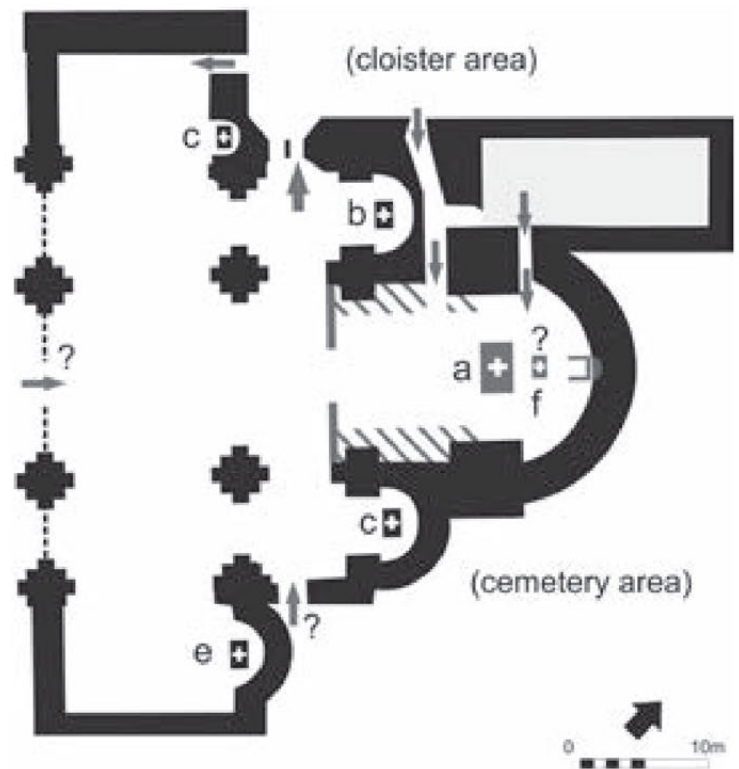
Fig. 9. Dedications of altars in Saint Thecla at Tarragona by 1220. a) Saint Thecla, b) Saint Mary, c) Saint John, d) Saint Augustine, e) Saint Peter, f) Saint Fructuosus (drawing author) (Plate 25)

A Coherent Operating System

The three customaries that survive from the fourteenth century confirm that only the five original altars were needed for the basic *cursus* of the liturgical year at Tarragona cathedral. An examination of the entrances and processions between church and cloister also reveals that cathedral worship could have taken place perfectly well in the structures designed and built before 1220, irrespective of the length of the naves or the number of new chapels that would be progressively installed along the sides of the aisles.

Invaluable data contained in the customaries attest to how these original altars and spaces cohered within an operating system. First of all, the records are clear regarding the general symbolic importance of the old five altars even into late Medieval times when several others existed in the cathedral; in 1369, the different ways in which they were illuminated reflected the hierarchy of the feasts, with all five decorated during the solemnities (in particular on Maundy Thursday),

but only the three central altars (the high altar, Saint Mary's, and Saint John's) illuminated during the lesser feasts (CT3, 204–05 for example; 208).[49]

The high altar, dedicated to Saint Thecla, was of course the main site for episcopal and canonical worship; indeed, in 1226 it was decreed that only the bishop and canons were permitted to worship there.[50] Nearby, in the apsidal end, was the bishop's throne, said to be that 'of Saint Fructuosus', which must have been located beneath the niche dug out of the centre of the wall where the relic of the Holy Thorn was almost certainly kept.[51] A narrow corridor from the sacristy leads directly to the space where these elements (main altar, throne, and reliquary) were located and must have been the normal entrance for the celebrant at the high altar and his assistant clerics. Further south, the long chancel bay (some 12 m long) could comfortably accommodate the canons, who numbered between twenty-five at the end of the twelfth century and thirty at the start of the thirteenth.[52] The canons could enter the choir from the cloister through a second, slightly wider, passage, directly located at the north end of the chancel bay and passing behind the apse of the chapel of Saint Mary.[53] The altar of Saint Fructuosus must have been located somewhere in this space between 1171 and 1259; by the mid-fourteenth century it was behind the then-existing reredos, in the area of the apsidal end (which was by this time of secondary importance) and in front of the bishop's throne.[54] There is no record, however, of its plausible use as a matutinal altar (as suggested by Carrero for the altar of Saint Mary in Barcelona Cathedral);[55] it is possible for it to have been a choral altar like the altar of Saint Mary *de Coro* in Vic, at least while the choir stalls remained in the chancel bay.

There are records of two secondary altars being used for different celebrations aimed principally at the faithful. The Christmas Dawn Mass, with general Communion, was celebrated at the altar of Saint Peter (CT2, 9v); and, in particular, the altar of Saint Mary was used for important popular celebrations such as Midnight Christmas Mass (CT1, 3v), Morning Mass on Easter Sunday with general Communion (CT1, 18v), the Mass on the *feria II in Rogationibus* (CT2, 35v), the blessing of the candles at Candlemas (CT2, 55), and the Adoration of the Cross by women on Good Friday (CT1, 15v; men did this before the high altar, CT2, 24v). It goes without saying that most of these

liturgical uses ran parallel to the Marian dedication of the altar, which itself was emphasized by other celebrations held there such as the Nativity of Mary (CT2, 73). None of the studied records, however, mentions it as a parish altar, which seems to indicate that, as in Girona, in Tarragona there was not a particular altar intended for the parish worship.[56] The magnificent cloister doorway, opening onto this chapel, may have been used for the most solemn of processions only; it served, therefore, as the main entrance to the church (an essential *statio* in most processions, e.g., that of the dominical aspersion), given that it was not until the end of the thirteenth century that the cathedral finally had a southern main entrance within a façade that accorded with its primatial status.[57]

We have only the scantest of records regarding the function of the two other old chapels. The chapel of Saint Augustine may have served as a place of prayer and devotion for the canons regular and the *scholares* who lived in the cathedral precinct, and was perhaps used at different times from those of the regular choir services because a passage seen in the original layout connected the east transept directly to the cloister, thus making it accessible at any time without the need to disturb occasional worship at other places. In any case, in 1369 the altar was the stage for the veneration of a crucifix or *vulp* (perhaps a *Veronica*)[58] from the evening of Maundy Thursday until Compline on Good Friday (CT3, 208–09).

Finally, regarding the altar of Saint John, other than the usual celebration of Morning Mass on the feast of the Beheading (VIII/29) (which incidentally proves that it was dedicated to the Baptist and not the Evangelist, at least by 1380 [CT2, 72]) we know only that it was the starting point for the procession to the baptismal font during the solemn Easter Vigil (CT1, 17–17v). By 1369, the baptistery was installed in a chapel opened on the east side aisle, beyond the entrance to the choir, which was in the middle of the nave (CT3, 210). However, the latest research suggests that during the first decades of the complex's existence the baptismal font was located in an old Roman exedra in the northeast corner of the cloister.[59] Given that the blessing of the font involved the use of Chrism, a good reason for starting this procession at the chapel of Saint John would have been that the oils were kept there. Indeed, according to the 1369 customary, on Maundy Thursday, the oils were distributed in an unspecified chapel protected with a screen ('capella

enreixada'), different from the high altar chapel or the sacristy, that could well have been that of Saint John (CT3, 208). Taken as a whole, this seems to reflect a Lateran orientation, albeit with a stronger baptismal emphasis, similar to that found at the cathedrals of Vic and Girona, designed two centuries earlier.

Conclusion

Despite their chronological differences, it is clear that the main buildings of the Romanesque cathedral complexes of Girona, Vic, and Tarragona can be understood as forms of 'Kirchenfamilien', or syntheses of the Heavenly Jerusalem. A series of saintly dedications was employed to symbolically represent important places in Christianity such as Rome and Jerusalem, and various orders of saints, beginning with Mary and continuing with the Apostles, Evangelists, martyrs, virgins, confessors, and angels, with a different emphasis at each cathedral. At first sight, therefore, although the buildings are located at different points in the chronology of Catalan Romanesque architecture, they can be clearly recognized as parts of the same liturgical, teleological, and constructive milieu that characterized both Catalonia and the rest of Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In general terms, this is no great surprise, for this was a normal aim of every Western church building in the Middle Ages. What is new in the present analysis of these monuments, however, is the study of their particular personalities and, as far as possible, the way this system made the altars work together in a coherent liturgical scheme.

At Girona and Vic, at the beginning of the eleventh century, additional altars were added to those already existing in order to arrive at the number of seven contemplated in the layout of the new main church of the cathedral ensemble. For this reason, it is clear that this decision must have been taken at the point when each building was conceived, and that it was also related to the specific place assigned to each altar and title. In keeping with contemporary preferences, both buildings incorporated different structures that were symbolically oriented in different manners. At Girona, the evocation of Jerusalem was located in the westwork and also had a liturgical character clearly reminiscent of Rome. In contrast, at Vic, the eastern and westernmost points evoked the Vatican and the

Esquiline Hill, whereas Jerusalem was most likely represented in the chapel in the north tower. Against these respective backdrops, the saintly dedications of the apse chapels in the transept represented the orders of saints. At Tarragona, almost two centuries later, the scope of the project remained essentially the same, albeit more limited in complexity; represented in the apse were Mary, the Martyrs, and Virgins, the Apostles, the Precursor, and the Father of the canons regular; perhaps for this reason there was less of an attempt to directly evoke Rome or Jerusalem.

It is true that the 1171 intellectual milieu of the archbishop and canons at Tarragona should not be compared to that of Ripoll and Vic in the late tenth and eleventh century, from which Oliba drew his architectural and liturgical designs. The political concerns were also different, and, in terms of the basic resemblance, it is easy to believe that what had been, in the eleventh century, innovative attempts and true elaborate designs, by 1200 had long since been simplified and adopted as standard practices when conceiving a cathedral church. Furthermore, by then these practices had to coexist with other contemporary trends and needs, such as the proliferation of private altars and chaplaincies. However, in each case, the surviving liturgical uses show us that the aforementioned symbolical attributions were not merely generic and abstract ideas, but rather brought to life during ritual practices. In the words of Carolyn Marino Malone, they established certain 'qualitative and symbolic relations between the liturgy and the spaces in which it was carried out'.[60] A feature probably common to all three projects, namely the altars dedicated to Saint John and their unequivocally Roman liturgical attributions, are good evidence of this.

The different projects also established specific relations between the main building's internal system and the surrounding ecclesiastical landscape. The desire for some sort of coherence in this sense, despite the differences in emphasis, is undeniable at least when the main church's initial liturgical design was established.[61] The building at Girona, whose evocations were rich enough in their own right, was linked to the other stational system churches with the principal aim of not repeating saintly dedications (Saints Felix and Peter). In Tarragona, despite repeating the altars of the most important local martyrs (Saints Thecla and Fructuosus), further dedications were added (Saints Peter, John, Augustine). In contrast,

at Vic, the tendency towards reduction left only a pair of churches, Saint Peter and Saint Mary, which together would constitute the town's only setting for cathedral stational liturgy until the late Middle Ages.

It is also interesting to note that, in all three cases, the main cathedral building's ground plan comprised an east end with five altars. Vic and Girona added more in additional structures (bell towers, westwork, crypt) up to a total of seven, but the ground plans of their transepts in effect contained five, which is the same number as in Tarragona. The 'Seu Vella' at Lleida was conceived in the same manner so that, according to the latest research, the eleventh-century church of Saint Mary in Urgell (the main building in the cathedral complex created by Bishop Ermengol) also had an east end of this type, complemented by a westwork and perhaps a crypt and a northern bell tower.[62] Clearly there were other cathedral projects with different original designs; leaving aside crypts and other additional structures, we can point to Elne, Roda de Isábena, and, it seems, Barcelona as buildings where a three-apsed east end was chosen, whereas the rebuilding of Urgell during the time of Saint Ot resulted in an alignment of seven altars (as at Saint Mary of Ripoll), if we count those installed on the transept towers' ground floor.[63] How these different models coexisted and what they ultimately signify remains to be studied. Regarding the cases studied here, although the number seven was preferred in many symbolical evocations of the period for its association with the gifts of the Holy Spirit,[64] it seems clear that a five-altar design was considered sufficient or desirable for a main cathedral building, even a primatial one. It is worth noting that, unlike in a monastery, the number of cathedral church altars did not reflect the needs of the community in terms of sacerdotal duties: many canons, particularly in secular chapters such as those at Girona and Vic, were not ordained priests, the ordinary Masses being said by the minor clergy.[65] Consequently, there can be scarcely any doubt that, particularly in a principal cathedral church, the number of altars and the choice of dedications has to be mostly related to the aforementioned symbolical and liturgical intentions.

Likewise, these three cathedrals, along with other comparable buildings, possessed the inner structures and fittings specifically needed by the different groups of users: namely the throne and high altar for the bishop, the choir stalls (and occasionally choir altars) for the canons, and the installations used by the faithful, which were the baptismal font and a range of altars for celebrating the morning Masses attended by them and the minor clergy. Only at Vic, around 1100, does a specific parish altar appear; in the other two places, ordinary worship was provided for by a plurality of altars used on different occasions. In a wider sense, in none of the cathedral complexes in question do we find a strict division of episcopal and parish functions between two different churches in the complex.[66]

Finally, it is clear that the systems described correspond to the basic functions of each cathedral in terms of public, episcopal, and canonical worship, which was concentrated on these old altars, some of which, occasionally, would be substituted (this was probably the case with the altar of Saint Martin at Girona around 1340, which may have replaced those of Saint John and the Holy Sepulchre for certain celebrations). Sometime after these liturgical programmes were materially and functionally determined, and particularly during the thirteenth century (and thus contemporaneous with Tarragona), the proliferation of chaplaincies and, consequently, of new altars began to obscure the operational systems embedded in the initial projects. If this can be seen in the internal evolution of Romanesque buildings that lasted for centuries (such as at Vic), it is, of course, even more noticeable in the cathedrals rebuilt around 1300 (Barcelona, Girona, Tortosa). Gothic architectural trends allowed for numerous chantry chapels to be built and tended to organize differently (if not dilute) the visual and spatial appearance of public cathedral worship. Nevertheless, the old liturgical practices, as codified in the customaries, managed to leave behind evidence of the preceding liturgical disposition by reserving certain functions for the old altars, even if these no longer played a central role in the new architectural organization. However, the deeper fragmentation of the liturgical space was by then unstoppable, and most of the old high Medieval uses, both liturgical and spatial, were to be erased after the Council of Trent. Yet the layout of the Mediterranean Gothic churches, indeed, is a faithful exponent of a quite different concept of liturgical space from that which prevailed when Raoul Glaber wrote about the white mantle of churches in the early eleventh century.

N OTES

* This study includes results from the research projects *Organización funcional de los espacios en sedes episcopales de la Cataluña Vieja (I): Seu d'Urgell, Girona y Vic (s. IX–XII). Análisis tecnológicos y documentales de arquitectura y programas visuales* (Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación. HAR2009–13211, subprograma ARTE) and *Catedrales románicas en la provincia eclesiástica tarraconense (s. XI–XIII): programas visuales, litúrgia y arquitectura en Tarragona, Roda de Isábena, Huesca, Zaragoza y Pamplona* (Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad. HAR2012–32763), both headed by Gerardo Boto at the University of Girona. This study has the support of the Research Team in *Buildings and Medieval Religious Stages in the Crown of Aragon* (ref. 2014 SGR 110, acknowledged by the Government of Catalonia), which is also headed by Gerardo Boto. I would like to express my gratitude to Miquel dels Sants Gros, Ramon Ordeig, Rafel Ginebra, Lluís Obiols, César García de Castro, and Gerardo Boto for their help and advice during the preparation of this article.

1 A recent approach, with bibliography, can be found in Gerardo BOTO & Marc SUREDA, 'Les cathédrales romanes catalanes: programmes, liturgie, architecture', in *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 44, 2013, pp. 75–89.

2 The first definition in liturgical terms of the westworks of several of these Catalan buildings can be found in Francesca ESPAÑOL, 'Massifs occidentaux dans l'architecture romane catalane', in *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXVII, 1996, pp. 57–77; also important are the more recent studies by Eduardo CARRERO, which will be cited frequently in the following and among which the most important, in terms of their discussion of Catalan cases, are: 'La arquitectura medieval al servicio de las necesidades litúrgicas. Los conjuntos de iglesias', in *Anales de Historia del Arte* (extraordinary issue), 2009, pp. 61–97; Eduardo CARRERO, 'La Seu d'Urgell, el último conjunto de iglesias. Liturgia, paisaje urbano y arquitectura', in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 40–1, 2010, p. 251–91; and, more generally, Eduardo CARRERO, 'Cathedral and Liturgy in the Middle Ages: the Functional Definition of Space and its Uses', in *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 19, 2013, pp. 403–16.

3 This obvious fact apparently needs no further explanation, but it has often not been given sufficient consideration. It does, however, feature in some syntheses and manuals, such as Hans Erich KUBACH, *Architettura romanica*, Milan, 1972, pp. 195–98; Isidro G. BANGO TORVISO, *Edificios e imágenes medievales. Historia y significado de las formas*, Madrid, 1995, pp. 24–42; Paolo PIVA, 'Lo "spazio liturgico": architettura, arredo, iconografia (secoli IV–XII)', in *L'arte medievale nel contesto*, Milan, 2006, pp. 141–80 (141–44); and CARRERO, 'Cathedral and Liturgy', pp. 406–07.

4 LE CORBUSIER, *Urbanisme*, Paris, 1925, p. 219; the application to Medieval churches was made in a popularizing manner by Gerardo Boto, see: Carles GORINI, 'Màquina de resar', in *Diari de Girona-Dominical*, 7 February 2010.

5 Edgar LEHMANN, 'Von der Kirchenfamilie zur Kathedrale. Bemerkungen zu einer Entwicklungslinie der mittelalterlichen Baukunst', in *Von der Kirchenfamilie zur Kathedrale und andere Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1999 [1962], pp. 21–39; recently with many Catalan examples: CARRERO, 'La arquitectura medieval' and CARRERO, 'La Seu d'Urgell', pp. 279–80.

6 This process has led to the popular and simplified notion of the cathedral as a solitary building. However, such a misconception is easily countered by complexes such as that at La Seu d'Urgell, where the number of churches actually increased over time, see: *ibidem*.

7 Günther BANDMANN, 'Früh- und hochmittelalterliche Altaranordnung als Darstellung', in *Das erste Jahrtausend*, vol. 1, Düsseldorf, 1962, pp. 400–01; Friedrich MÖBIUS, 'Die Chorpartie der westeuropäischen Klosterkirche zwischen 8. und 11. Jahrhundert: Kulturgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen, liturgischer Gebrauch, soziale Funktion', in *Architektur des Mittelalters. Funktion und Gestalt*, ed. Friedrich MÖBIUS & Ernst SCHUBERT, Weimar, 1984, pp. 9–41; CARRERO, 'La arquitectura medieval', esp. pp. 84–97.

8 Friedrich MÖBIUS & Helga SCIURIE, *Symbolwerte mittelalterlicher Kunst*, Leipzig, 1984, pp. 26–89.

9 For example, Carol HEITZ, *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne. Les formes et leurs fonctions*, Paris, 1980, p. 180; MÖBIUS, 'Die Chorpartie der westeuropäischen Klosterkirche', pp. 38–41; KUBACH, *Architettura romanica*, pp. 195–96; BANGO, *Edificios e imágenes medievales*, pp. 32–37; Anselme DAVRIL & Éric PALAZZO, *La vie des moines au temps des grandes abbayes*, Paris, 2000, pp. 217–31; regarding the spread of east ends with parallel apses, see: Isidro G. BANGO TORVISO, 'La part oriental dels temples de l'abat i bisbe Oliba', in *Quaderns d'estudis medievals*, 23–24, 1988, pp. 51–66.

10 Such as the homily composed by the monk Garsies around 1040 regarding the aforementioned abbey at Cuixà (Cuxa), which had just been rebuilt by the Abbot-Bishop Oliba with a quasi-ambulatory to the east and an imposing westwork. See: Eduard JUNYENT (ed.), *Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba*, Barcelona, 1992, pp. 369–86; for a topoliturgical interpretation of the chapel of the Trinity in the westwork according to this text, see: Daniel CODINA, 'La chapelle de la Trinité de Saint Michel de Cuixà (Cuxa). Conception théologique et symbolique d'une architecture singulière', in *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXXVI, 2005, pp. 81–88.

11 For example: Carol HEITZ, *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne*, Paris, 1963, pp. 55–59 and 189–200, and more recently: Jürgen BÄRSCH, 'Raum und Bewegung im mittelalterlichen Gottesdienst. Anmerkungen zur Prozessionsliturgie in der Essener Stiftskirche nach dem Zeugnis des *Liber ordinarius* vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts', in *Heiliger Raum. Architektur, Kunst und Liturgie in mittelalterlichen Kathedralen und Stiftskirchen*, ed. Franz KOHLSCHEIN & Peter WÜNSCHE, Münster, 1998, pp. 163–86.

12 Bibliography on the published manuscripts is omitted.

13 For example, Clemens KOSCH, *Kölns romanische Kirchen*, Regensburg, 2000.

14 Marc SUREDA, 'L'Església a la Girona medieval', in *Girona medieval. La clau del regne*, Girona, 2014, pp. 29–58.

15 As the term is used in John Francis BALDOVIN, S. J., *The Urban Character of Christian Liturgy*, Rome, 1987.

16 Marc SUREDA, 'Saint Pierre de Vic au XIᵉ siècle: la cathédrale de l'évêque Oliba', in *In Locis Competentibus*, ed. Nicolas REVEYRON & Stéphanie-D. DAUSSY, Paris, with bibliography (in press).

[17] The cathedral of Vic was excavated around 1940 by Eduard Junyent; the results were published posthumously by Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, *La catedral romànica de Vic*, Barcelona, 1979. The cathedral at Girona was excavated in 1998; see: Pere FREIXAS, Josep M. NOLLA, Lluís PALAHÍ, Jordi SAGRERA & Marc SUREDA, *Redescobrir la seu romànica. Els resultats de la recerca del projecte Progress*, Girona, 2000; Marc SUREDA, *Els precedents de la catedral de santa Maria de Girona. De la plaça religiosa del fòrum romà al conjunt arquitectònic de la seu romànica (segles I aC-XIV dC)* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Girona), esp. Ch. III; accessible at www.tdx.cat.

[18] Marc SUREDA & Pere FREIXAS, 'Esglésies de nau única en el primer romànic català. Continuïtats i ruptures en l'arquitectura meridional', in *Els Comacini i l'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, Girona & Barcelona, 2010, pp. 61–76.

[19] Marc SUREDA, 'Sobre les naus úniques de la catedral de Girona', in *El gòtic meridional català: cases, esglésies i palaus*, ed. Pilar GIRÁLDEZ & Màrius VENDRELL, Barcelona, 2009, pp. 103–39; Marc SUREDA, 'Cartographies d'une disparition. Plans anciens de la cathédrale romane de Vic', in *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge. Commande, production et réception de l'oeuvre d'art. Mélanges offerts à Xavier Barral i Altet*, Paris, 2012, pp. 384–93.

[20] Information regarding the bishop's thrones at Vic and Girona is provided in Francesca ESPAÑOL, 'L'àmbit presbiteral i el cor en els edificis romànics Catalans', in *Art i litúrgia a l'Occident medieval. VIII col·loqui i I col·loqui internacional*, Barcelona, 2008, pp. 31–34. However, we believe that the choir stalls in both buildings were more likely situated in the chancel bay, and not at the semi-circular section of the apse in the manner of an Eastern *synthronon*. In both buildings, by the end of the eleventh century, the clergy numbered little more than twenty individuals: SUREDA, *Els precedents*, pp. 534–35; Marc SUREDA, 'La catedral de Vic a les darreries del segle XIV. Edició i comentari de la visita pastoral de 1388', in *Miscellània Litúrgica Catalana*, 18, 2010, p. 334.

[21] For example, the clear funerary implications of the cult of Michael (Miquel dels S. GROS, 'La funcionalitat litúrgica de les esglèsies d'Egarà', in *Simposi Internacional sobre les Esglésies de Sant Pere de Terrassa*, Terrassa, 1992, p. 81), the presence of dedications such as John and Felix have led to speculations on the possible specific functions of these altars or spaces in the aforementioned pre-Romanesque ensembles (baptismal for Saint John, martyr's cult for Saint Felix, see: CARRERO, 'La arquitectura medieval', pp. 72–73), although we have not been able to find any conclusive evidence for this. In any case, in the new Romanesque buildings, these altars were relocated as simple secondary altars and, if endowed with specific functions, these were not the same as those proposed for the previous period, as we shall see below.

[22] For example, the Carolingian and Romanesque cathedrals of Cologne, although the positions are reversed, with Peter to the west and Mary to the east, see: KOSCH, *Kölns romanische Kirchen*, pp. 14–17.

[23] It should be borne in mind that the preference in other eleventh-century Catalan churches with crypts (Cardona, Olius, Àger) was for altars dedicated to different saints on each level. SUREDA, 'Saint Pierre de Vic au XIᵉ siècle ' (in press).

[24] JUNYENT (ed.), *Diplomatari i escrits literaris*, p. 222; Christian SAPIN, 'L'autel, son rôle et sa place dans la crypte', in *Espace ecclésial et liturgie au moyen âge*, ed. Anne BAUD, Lyon, 2010, pp. 331–46.

[25] A ferial Mass was also celebrated on the *confessio* altar at the Vatican in the eleventh century, although it was probably not intended for the faithful. Sible DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et Decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, Vatican City, 1994, pp. 592–94. See also: SUREDA, 'La catedral de Vic a les darreries', p. 344 and 355; SUREDA, 'Saint Pierre de Vic au XIᵉ siècle'; SUREDA, 'Clero, espacios y liturgia en la catedral de Vic: la iglesia de Sant Pere en los siglos XII y XIII', in *Medievalia*, 17, 2014, pp. 289–303.

[26] For example: Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, 'Du Panthéon de Rome à Sainte-Marie la Rotonde de Vic: la transmission d'un modèle d'architecture mariale au début du XIᵉ siècle et la politique "romaine" de l'abbé-évêque Oliba', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 37, 2006, pp. 63–75.

[27] Johann Peter KIRSCH, *Die Stationskirchen des Missale Romanum*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1926, p. 213; Sible DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et Decor*, p. 148 and 187; SUREDA, 'Saint Pierre de Vic au XIᵉ siècle' (in press).

[28] Studied for the first time in ESPAÑOL, 'Massifs occidentaux', pp. 72–77.

[29] SUREDA, *Els precedents*, pp. 239–86; Marc SUREDA, 'Architecture autour d'Oliba. Le massif occidental de la cathédrale romane de Gérone', in *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XL, 2009, pp. 221–36. This practice was held there until 1318.

[30] Marc SUREDA, 'Sobre el drama pasqual a la seu romànica de Girona. Arquitectura i litúrgia (ss. XI–XIV)', in *Miscel·lània Litúrgica Catalana*, XVI, 2008, pp. 105–30. Around 1360 the *sepulchrum* for the staging of these dramas had already moved to the Gothic chapel of Saint Martin, closer to the new high altar.

[31] Marc SUREDA, '*Ut corpus sit conformis novo capiti*. El pas de la capçalera a la nau en la construcció de la catedral gòtica de Girona', in *Studium Medievale*, III, 2010, pp. 284–88.

[32] KIRSCH, *Die Stationskirchen*, pp. 49–215; BALDOVIN, *The Urban Character*, pp. 161–64.

[33] Marc SUREDA, 'Arquitectura i litúrgia a la catedral romànica de Girona (ss. XI–XIV)', in *El Brodat de la Creació de Girona*, ed. Rebecca SWANSON & Carles MANCHO, Barcelona (in press); Marc SUREDA, 'The Sacred Topography of Girona Romanesque Cathedral (11ᵗʰ-12ᵗʰ centuries): Architectural Design, Saintly Dedications and Liturgical Functions', in *Materia y acción en las catedrales medievales (s. IX–XIII): construir, decorar, celebrar*, ed. Gerardo BOTO VARELA & César GARCÍA DE CASTRO, Oxford (in press). The movement at Sant Cugat (Efrem E. COMPTE, *El costumari del monestir de Sant Cugat del Vallès*, Barcelona, 2009, pp. 128–29) is cited along with that of Girona in Eduardo CARRERO, 'El altar mayor y el altar matinal en el presbiterio de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela. La instalación litúrgica para el culto a un apòstol', in *Territorio, Sociedad y Poder*, 8, 2013, p. 42.

[34] This hypothesis was formulated after studying the westwork at the cathedral of Girona: SUREDA, 'Architecture autour d'Oliba', pp. 235–36.

[35] Anselm M. ALBAREDA, *L'Abat Oliba, fundador de Montserrat*, Montserrat, 1931, pp. 103–12; Raimon D'ABADAL, *L'abat Oliba, bisbe de Vic, i la seva època*, Pamplona, 2003 [1948], pp. 73–85; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, 'Culture visuelle et réflexion archi-

tecturale au début du XIᵉ siècle: les voyages de l'abbé–évêque Oliba. 2e partie: les voyages à Rome et leurs conséquences', in *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XLI, 2010, pp. 211–26.

[36] Marc Sureda, 'Altars, beneficis i arquitectura a la seu de Girona (993–1312)', in *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 45, 2004, pp. 667–78; Sureda, '*Ut corpus sit conformis*', pp. 284–88.

[37] Attested, at least, in the fourteenth century, see: Sureda, 'La catedral de Vic a les darreries', p. 344 and 355.

[38] Sureda, 'Clero, espacios y liturgia', pp. 279–320.

[39] The existence of which is conjectured by Español in: 'Massifs occidentaux', pp. 70–72.

[40] Sureda, 'Clero, espacios y liturgia', pp. 309–14.

[41] Cristina Godoy & Miquel dels S. Gros, 'L'oracional hispànic de Verona i la topografia cristiana de *Tarraco* a l'Antiguitat Tardana: possibilitats i límits', in *Pyrenae*, 25, 1994, pp. 245–58.

[42] Salvador Ramon, 'Nova opinió sobre l'emplaçament de la primitiva catedral de Tarragona', in *Quaderns d'Història Tarraconense*, 4, 1984, p. 37; *Catalunya Romànica*, XXI, Barcelona, 1995, pp. 116–20.

[43] Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario á las iglesias de España*, vol. 19, Madrid, 1850, pp. 100–01; Sanç Capdevila, *La Seu de Tarragona*, Tarragona, 1935, p. 37; Eduardo Carrero, 'La topografía claustral de las catedrales del Burgo de Osma, Sigüenza y Tarragona en el contexto del Tardorrománico hispano', in *La cabecera de la catedral calceatense y el tardorrománico hispano*, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 2000, pp. 399–400.

[44] See the article by Gerardo Boto in this volume.

[45] The altars in the east end at Lleida were dedicated from north to south to Saint Antoninus, Saint James, Saint Mary (the high altar), Saint Peter, and Saint Michael. See: Montserrat Macià, 'Santa Maria de Lleida (la Seu Vella) [dades històriques]', in *Catalunya Romànica*, XXIV, 1997, pp. 144–47; Francesc Fité, 'Litúrgia i cultura a la Seu Vella de Lleida', in *Seu Vella, l'esplendor retrobada*, Lleida, 2003, pp. 99–100. The parish priest at Lleida cathedral was the first chaplain of Saint Peter's altar, at which he regularly celebrated — from at least 1372 — the morning or 'dawn' Mass for the people. *Ibidem*, p. 120, n. 157.

[46] Capdevila, *La Seu de Tarragona*, p. 13. This seems to coincide with Emili Morera's hypothesis (1904) that full worship began at the cathedral during the pontificate of Aspàreg de la Barca (1215–1234): *Catalunya Romànica*, XXI, pp. 122–23.

[47] Capdevila, *La Seu de Tarragona*, pp. 9–14.

[48] It is also worth noting that an ancient church dedicated to Saint Peter in Tarragona, long since fallen into disuse, is mentioned in a twelfth-century source: Godoy & Gros, 'L'oracional hispànic de Verona'. However, this seems not to have been a significant reason for the choice of this dedication in the new cathedral.

[49] As we have seen, a similar phenomenon is noticeable at Girona where in spite of the new Gothic architectural frame existing by 1360, the old altars retained their original dignity.

[50] Capdevila, *La Seu de Tarragona*, p. 14. It should be recalled that a similar prohibition was issued in Vic in 1388: Sureda, 'La catedral de Vic a les darreries', p. 354.

[51] According to the will of Archbishop Roderic Tello, recorded in 1303: Ramon, 'Nova opinió', pp. 40–41; Español, 'L'àmbit presbiteral', p. 32.

[52] Villanueva, *Viage literario*, 19, p. 80.

[53] See: Boto, in this volume.

[54] Capdevila, *La Seu de Tarragona*, pp. 40–41. As at Lleida, where the altar of Saint Anne was installed in the area converted into the sacristy: Macià, 'Santa Maria de Lleida', p. 147; Fité, 'Litúrgia i cultura', pp. 99–100; Eduardo Carrero, 'La sacristía catedralicia en los reinos hispanos. Evolución topográfica y tipo arquitectónico', in *Liño*, 11, 2005, pp. 50–51.

[55] Eduardo Carrero, 'La catedral de Barcelona y la liturgia', in *Arquitectura y liturgia*, ed. Carrero, pp. 19–20.

[56] The cathedral, in any case, was for a long time the only parish church of the city. We know that even in 1590 the only two perpetual curates in the city were clerics of the cathedral, although the source (that year's *ad limina* visit) does not specify if they were attached to any particular altar. The *ad limina* visits of all the Catalan dioceses have been transcribed by J. M. Marquès i Planagumà and can be accessed at http://www.arxiuadg.org [consulted 10-04-2014]. It is clear, however, that by then pastoral care of the parishioners took place inside the cathedral, because in 1572 part of the old refectory was turned into a new chapel (that of the Eucharist) so that laypeople did not have to enter the cathedral at night in search of the *viaticum* (Capdevila, *La Seu de Tarragona*, p. 56).

[57] The magnificent south entrance had long since been in place by 1369. It was decorated by Master Bartomeu and in front of it the sacrament of penance and reconciliation was administered by the bishop: CT3, 207.

[58] This has been recently and credibly proposed by Massip & Rico in 'La catedral de Tarragona', p. 314.

[59] Gerardo Boto & Esther Lozano, 'Les lieux des images historiées dans les galeries du cloître de la cathédrale de Tarragone. Une approche de la périodicité de l'espace et de la topographie du temps', in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 56, 2013, p. 363.

[60] Carolyn Marino Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon en l'an mil*, totius Galliae basilicis mirabilior. *Une interpretation politique, liturgique et théologique*, Turnhout, 2009, p. 147.

[61] Both in the cases studied here and in others, in Catalonia particularly that of Urgell as designed in the eleventh century: Carrero, 'La Seu d'Urgell', pp. 285–86.

[62] If this is the case, it would have followed a very similar pattern to that used at Vic and Girona and, therefore, the building work carried out by Oliba, see: Boto & Sureda, 'Les cathédrales romanes catalanes', pp. 83–84.

[63] In terms of numbers, the two altars at the base of the towers may have replaced those formerly located in two hypothetical structures of the eleventh-century building (westwork and crypt), but rejected for the twelfth-century reshaping. *Ibidem*, p. 84.

[64] Garsies de Cuixà explains that the church from 974 has seven altars corresponding to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. This has been emphasized by, among many others, Bango, 'La part oriental', p. 53.

[65] Carrero, 'La sacristía catedralicia', p. 50.

[66] Unlike Tarragona and Vic, at Girona, there were three churches with parochial functions, each serving its own parochial district (Saint Mary, Saint Felix, Saint Peter/Nicholas), see: Sureda, 'L'Església a la Girona medieval', pp. 49–51.

V

Visual Discourses and Iconogaphic Programmes

A New Interpretation of the Thirteenth-Century Capitals
of the Ancient Cathedral of Lleida ('Seu Vella')[*]

Francesc Fité i Llevot

Abstract

This article surveys whether the figurative capitals that decorate the Medieval cathedral of Lleida were part of an iconographic programme — Christological and/or hagiographic. Based on previous studies, our interpretation departs from viewing the programme as a whole that was perfectly organized in its initial stage, and subsequently altered throughout the lengthy building process that took place between the years 1203 and 1278. Furthermore, we underline the importance of the Marian tradition and the presence of some iconographic novelties such as the portrayal of the Second Coming of Christ, which heralds the forthcoming Gothic style.

Introduction

The construction of the Medieval cathedral ('Seu Vella')[1] of Lleida took place for almost a hundred years and involved a large series of capitals in which a perfectly developed iconographic programme can be clearly observed, at least in its first phase.[2] This article is based on prior studies, from the pioneering work by Joan Bergós[3] to the studies by Jacques Lacoste,[4] Francesca Español,[5] and Joaquín Yarza,[6] which focused mainly on the figurative capitals depicting religious subjects. Around fifteen capitals are dedicated to hagiographic topics: approximately twenty depict New Testament scenes and about ten represent Old Testament scenes (Fig. 1).

This interpretation must first consider the cathedral's long building process, which developed between the years 1203 and 1278, as well as the reasons behind the alterations to what must have originally been a carefully planned programme. While this is suggested by studying the full series of capitals, only those in the presbytery can be read with clarity.

Lacoste[7] suggested a programme emphasizing the martyrs and the raising of the saints, and carried explicit references to the most famous episodes in their legends, accompanied by some of the miracles of Christ who completes the triumphant image of the saints. Lacoste's dissertation originated a line of interpretation that was subsequently continued by Joaquín Yarza, which we aim to complete herein.

The capitals from the chapels of Saint James, Saint Peter, and Saint Antoninus located at the transept's side apsidioles display each of their corresponding dedications, with the exception of the Colom chapel — located in the transept's southern area and which features ornamental capitals with no figuration — whilst the capitals located in the presbytery and the crossing bay can be interpreted on the basis of the importance of their location within the central axis of the cathedral. The coherence of the initial programme can be traced on the transept portals, whilst it seems to disappear on the pillar capitals located on the aisles and transept. Within the latter, scenes from the Old and New Testaments are gathered without
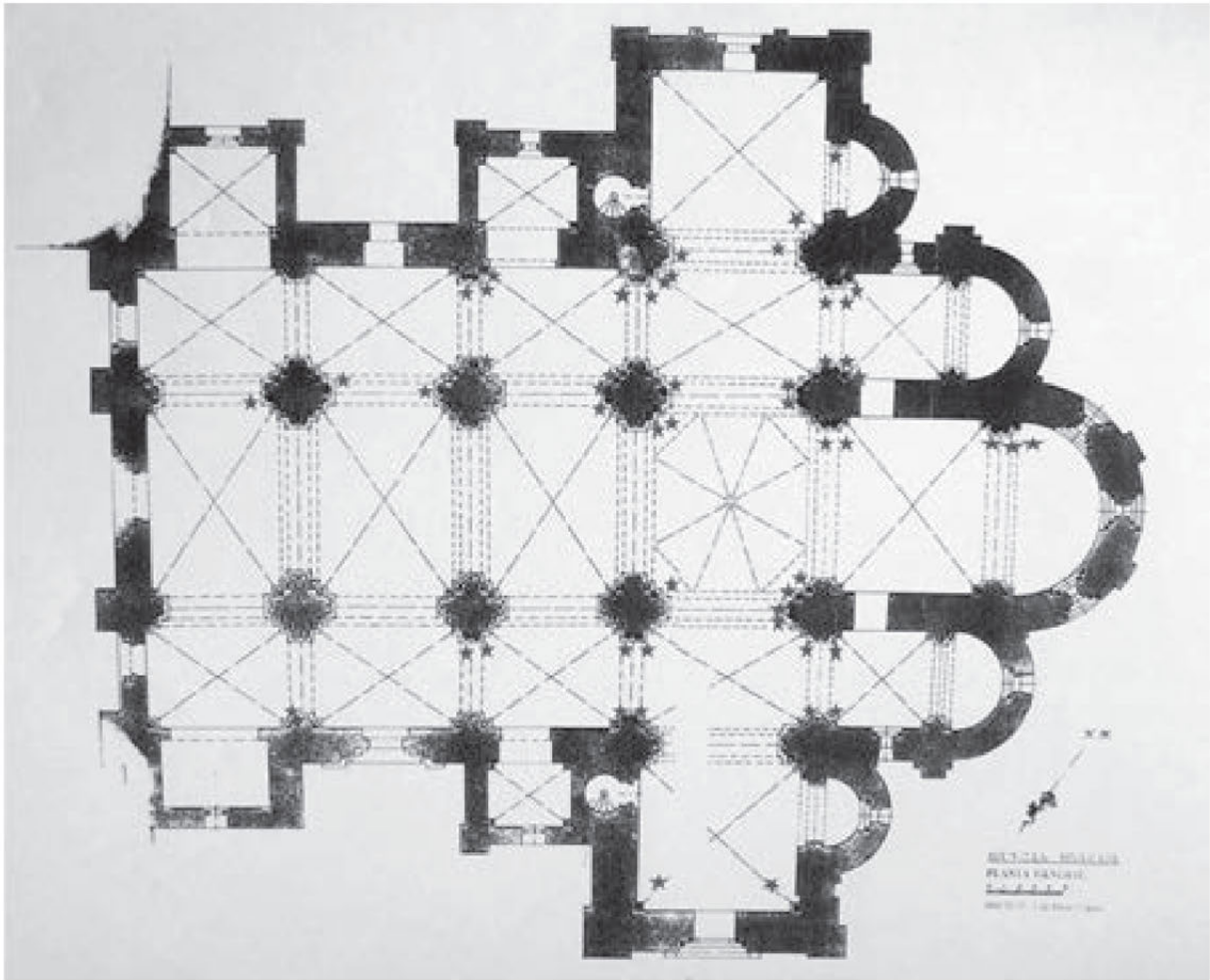
Fig. 1.   Plan of the Ancient Cathedral ('Seu Vella') of Lleida in the thirteenth century, indicating the position of the capitals (Plate 26)

any apparent coherence, except for the capitals depicting the Incarnation and Childhood of Christ from the aisle's first pillars, emphasizing the scenes of the Annunciation and Visitation (however, with reiterations), and the capitals of the first northern transept west wall pillar, which we will subsequently survey.

Apsidioles

The apsidioles, together with the presbytery, prove to be the most coherent part of the likely programme. The capitals of the arches' double columns accessing the chapels of Saint James, Saint Peter, and Saint Antoninus were carried out between 1210 and 1215 by a first workshop; those of the triumphal arch and those framing the apse were sculpted a little later, and

can be ascribed to a second workshop, active between 1215 and 1225. The sculptural programmes of the transept portals, which for some time functioned as the cathedral's main entrances, can also be attributed to the first workshop.[8]

Jacques Lacoste,[9] and subsequently Joaquín Yarza,[10] attributed to the first workshop the capitals of the Saint James and Saint Antoninus chapels, together with those of the chapel of Saint Peter, built later.[11] The chapel dedicated to Saint James and Saint Lazarus is mentioned before 1278 in the *Liber dignitatum ecclesiae ilerdensis* and in 1277 a benefice was founded emphasizing the chapel *sancti Iacobi*. Yet we have to wait until 1299 to document the founding of another benefice dedicated to Saint Lazarus *in capella sancti Iacobi in qua est capellania beatae Mariae ad Ninive nunc.*[12] This dedication is interesting as it stresses the devotion

to Saint James, which reinforces the importance of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in the thirteenth century.[13] Both the capitals on the right display the sentence and beheading of the saint, followed by his disciples transferring his body to Compostela guided by the Hand of God. The scene featuring the saint's body displayed for worship is represented on the capital's most visible face. According to Yarza, this is very uncommon in depictions of the *translatio sancti Iacobi*,[14] and was undoubtedly intended to emphasize the saint's devotion. We cannot agree with Lacoste's suggestion that the scene displays the moment of the discovery of the saint's remains.[15]

The capitals on the opposite side clearly represent the Raising of Lazarus (Fig. 2), together with one of Christ's miracles, which Yarza,[16] noting the confusion between the brother of Martha and Mary and poor Lazarus, has identified as the curing of the leper. Lacoste[17] suggested two miracles, either the curing of the centurion's servant or the blind man. On the neighbouring chapel, dedicated to Saint Antoninus, there is a single figurative capital showing the saint's martyrdom; he appears kneeling in front of his executioner who is about to cut his head off following the orders of Metope, who sits to one side. It is striking that this representation follows the same composition as the capital of the martyrdom of Saint James.[18]

The capitals in the chapel of Saint Peter, located on the right side of the presbytery, display scenes from the lives of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. These are only partially preserved as the outer ones were split in two due to the Gothic façade's addition during the fourteenth-century conversion into the Montcada chapel. The iconography suggests a double devotion from its origins.[19] The cycle dedicated to Saint Peter is represented by two scenes on the left-side capitals, that is, his martyrdom on the cross and the Fall of Simon Magus (or perhaps his rescue from prison by an angel, bearing in mind that the flying figure has wings). Peter appears crucified upside down, flanked by two figures interpreted as the executioners, together with the presence of another character on the outer face interpreted as the centurion. The cycle of Saint Paul is represented on the right-side capitals, depicting his martyrdom on the entire capital and the 'vocation of Peter' or the 'ship of the church' on the partial one, as stated by Yarza,[20] a scene described in a

homily by Saint Gregory the Great, which mentions Peter and his brother Andrew in a boat.

On the martyrdom capital, Saint Paul appears kneeling in the presence of the governor of Rome and is about to be decapitated, as in the above examples of Saint James and Saint Antoninus. He is flanked by three executioners, of whom two carry swords. This chapel, which was subsequently transformed into the Montcada chapel, eventually would comprise three altars for the worship of Saint Peter, Saint Paul, and Saint John the Baptist.[21]

The Presbytery

The capitals from the presbytery also allow for an overall assessment. The one located on the right pillar at the presbytery entrance is particularly interesting, since it displays the Annunciation and Visitation. Furthermore, we must highlight two capitals observed on the same arch's left pillar featuring the Incredulity of Saint Thomas (Fig. 5) together with three others located on the left pillar framing the apse, displaying the Raising of Lazarus and a triumphal Entry into Jerusalem.[22]

The Entry into Jerusalem is based on Early Christian models depicting Christ on horseback, as in an *Adventus*, yet he is riding a donkey as described in the gospels, maintaining the typical *Acclamatio* posture similar to the 'victorious knight' who accompanies the cycle of King David described below. We must additionally underline that this reading was challenged recently by Thomas Mathews,[23] who interprets the gesture of Christ as a blessing, not as an acclamation. This is underpinned by the analysis of a number of Early Christian sarcophagi that, in his opinion, support this iconographic tradition. The Entry into Jerusalem is displayed on one of the capitals, whilst the city can be observed on the other. Moreover, on the latter, the figure of the atlantes, represented as a humanoid or ape supporting the tower on the corner of Jerusalem's wall, has drawn our attention, together with the cock portrayed on the roof of the belfry, which can be interpreted as a positive symbol associated with Christ's saviour-significant Announcement, as stated by Prudentius in the *Cathemerinon*.[24] We can also observe the figure of Zacchaeus at the city's entrance.

Fig. 2.   Capital 1 — Lleida, Seu Vella, presbytery (N): the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem (photo author)

The representation of the Entry into Jerusalem displaying Jesus on a donkey corresponds with the image commonly used for the ordination of kings in King David's time; moreover, the passage from the Gospel of Saint Matthew (21:1–9) seems to highlight the fulfilment of Zachariah's prophecy:

Now when they drew near to Jerusalem and came to Bethphage, to the Mount of Olives, then Jesus sent two disciples, saying to them, 'Go into the village in front of you, and immediately you will find a donkey tied, and a colt with her. Untie them and bring them to me. If anyone says anything to you, you shall say, 'The Lord needs them', and he will send them at once'. This took place to fulfil what was spoken by the prophet [Zachariah 9,9], saying: Say to the daughter of Zion, 'Behold, your king is coming to you, humble,

and mounted on a donkey, on a colt, the foal of a beast of burden'. The disciples went and did as Jesus had directed them. They brought the donkey and the colt and put on them their cloaks, and he sat on them. Most of the crowd spread their cloaks on the road, and others cut branches from the trees and spread them on the road. And the crowds that went before him and that followed him were shouting, 'Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!'

The presence of Zacchaeus is explained by the Gospel according to Luke (19:1–10). However, the evocation of the royal notion originated by King David's lineage is interesting, as people understood Christ's entry into Jerusalem as a symbol of royalty, recalling the entrance of King Solomon.[25]

The Entry into Jerusalem is represented next to the Raising of Lazarus which, in this context, would seem to evoke the Resurrection of Christ, bearing in mind that the miracle was read in the Gospel of the fifth Sunday of Lent, just preceding the Easter cycle.[26] This should be understood as a pledge of his Resurrection and the basis of a hope which is no longer a utopian fact, nourished by Saint Luke's proclamation: "The Lord has risen indeed".[27] Furthermore, the precedent capital representing the Incredulity of Saint Thomas also refers explicitly to the Resurrection of Christ. We can observe how the saint appears holding up his arm, following an ancient established iconography that can already be traced at Santo Domingo de Silos. Saint Thomas puts his finger into Jesus' wound, that is, verifying the Resurrection, amid the apostles, among whom Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the Princes of the Apostles, are highlighted on the two capital corners — Peter displaying his attribute and Paul showing the codex of the New Law.[28]

Representing the miracle of the Raising of Lazarus next to the Incredulity of Saint Thomas was a suitable choice in order to ratify the Resurrection. We can state that this programme was conceived to highlight the Resurrection of Christ and his victory over death, a fundamental premise of Christian doctrine. This is reinforced by the scene of the Incarnation, represented on the capital from the other side of the aforementioned pillar, located at the presbytery entrance, and combined with the capitals facing the crossing that display a Davidic cycle (Figs 3 & 4). Additionally, we must underline King David's being proclaimed as Christ's royal ancestor, and that the Virgin acquires great significance within the Incarnation as the Mother of God, to whom the cathedral was dedicated. We will also observe this Mariological significance on the capitals located in the crossing, along with those from the aisles' first pillars.

The Transept Portals: Saint Berengar and the Annunciation

Prior to analyzing the figurative capitals from the crossing and the rest of the building, we must consider the two transept façade portals, given that these were performed during the first phase. Although they do not display a great figurative programme, they both emphasize the holiness of the temple as the House of God related with the inner programme of the church. In this context, it should be mentioned that Medieval church space was clearly sacredly structured, with holiness radiating from the main altar towards all other temple areas, which could additionally include the area immediately outside the building. Here, the *sagrera* — a parish's surrounding land measuring thirty paces in diameter originally designated for the dead — was established since the eleventh century or even earlier,[29] which encouraged the presence of *ad limina* burials beside the portals. In the case of Lleida, the entire space surrounding the cathedral became a cloister, as was asserted by Eduardo Carrero,[30] that is, a closed space ideal for burials; evidence includes the sepulchral tablets found beside the main apse and the aforementioned portals, both that of Saint Berengar and that of the Annunciation, which clearly corroborate such *ad limina* burials.[31]

Since portals were the main entrance to the House of God, they often stressed their sacred or soteriological character through images or inscriptions, frequently displaying the monogram of Christ, which, in Medieval times, was usually represented by the Trinitarian formula.[32] In Lleida, the oldest portal seems to be the northern one, named the Portal of San Berenguer (Saint Berengar), also known as the 'Palace Door', that was probably built before sculptors' workshops arrived. The portal consists of a simple voussoir arch[33] surmounted by a cornice with a monogram, following a formula widely used in churches in Aragon and documented in Catalan temples since the eleventh century, if we accept the monogram on the Saint-André-de-Sorède (Roussillon, France) tympanum as being from this century.[34] This portal was subsequently remodelled, sheltered by a major pointed arch opened on a rectangular protruding area of the wall, and crowned by a small roof sustained by corbels decorated with Toulousan ornamental sculptural motifs.[35]

The south transept portal, also named the 'Portal of the Annunciation', 'Portal of the Brides', or 'Portal of the Bishop', was clearly conceived to combine the above-mentioned Christological symbol with the Incarnation, due to the temple being dedicated to the Virgin Mary. As was stated by Joaquín Yarza,[36] the door itself has earlier origins than the other elements of the portal. Leaving aside the issue of a possible transfer and re-use, as was already suggested,[37] it is interesting to highlight that the iconographic Mariological programme was configured

Fig. 3.   Capital 2 — Lleida, Seu Vella, crossing (SE): Davidic cycle (detail) (photo author)

during the period that concerns us, that is, around 1214. There is a beautiful engraving above the door displaying an angelic greeting which is part of the group of the Annunciation, flanking the portal in niches, all revolving around Christ's monogram.[38] We believe it should be considered as a very coherent programme configured at a time when this portal functioned as the temple's main entrance. Additionally, it was the entrance used by the bishop, whilst brides also entered through it to be blessed once they had signed the marriage contract in front of this same portal.[39]

The Crossing

The building process continued with the crossing and the transept walls, along with the aisles which supported the nave. The iconographic and formal analysis of the crossing's figurative capitals, along with the ones located on the aisles and those of the transept, has revealed that they may have been performed by a third workshop, which continued the work of previous ones, and probably remained active until the mid-thirteenth century (1230–40).[40]

As was mentioned above, despite the redundancies, a clear lecture of the figurative capital series within these areas must be related to the Marian dedication of the cathedral, as well as to Christ's omnipotence, especially on the crossing pillar capitals, where his genealogy, the Incarnation, and his cosmic power as the King of Heaven are underscored. In this line, the Tree of Jesse (Fig. 6) is displayed on the southwest pillar;[41] facing this representation, on the southeast

Fig. 4.   Capital 3 — Lleida, Seu Vella, crossing (SE): Davidic cycle (detail) (photo author)

Fig. 5.   Capital 5 — Lleida, Seu Vella, presbytery (N): the Incredulity of Saint Thomas (photo author)

pillar, the above-mentioned cycle of King David[42] is depicted, which must be interpreted as a branch of Christ's lineage. These scenes are accompanied by the Annunciation and Visitation represented on the capital that faces the presbytery. The former is very interesting given the cross that is shown on the standard sustained by Gabriel.[43] Beside him there is another capital with an unclear image, interpreted by Joan Bergós[44] as the Betrothal of Joseph and Mary, with a central figure dressed as if he is officiating, flanked by two characters wrapped in mantles of whom at least one seems to be a male figure.

The Epiphany is represented on the opposite pillar located on the crossing's northwest corner (Fig. 7),[45] also accompanied by another Annunciation and Visitation, whilst the capitals of the northeast-corner pillar features the figure of Atlas sustaining a celestial sphere (Fig. 8), accompanied by signs of the Zodiac Mercury and Sagittarius, a common depiction of the cosmic vision of God's power, as the context also suggests.[46] Although dating from somewhat later, Christ further appears on the keystones of the crossing's

adjacent bays accompanied by an archangel, possibly Michael, as the King of Heaven.[47] In this context, the Epiphany can be interpreted in relation to the Incarnation, but also to the royalty of Christ.[48]

The Aisles and Transept

As was observed by Jacques Lacoste and Joaquín Yarza, the iconography suggests an image of God bonded to the Virgin as his Mother, reiterated on the capitals of the aisle pillars which stylistically feature the clear continuity of the first two workshops. The Birth of Christ is represented on the two capitals of the first south aisle pillar (south side), accompanied by a possible Adoration of the Shepherds[49] or the Flight to Egypt,[50] which is complemented by the pendant capital on the opposite side featuring pilgrims apparently on their way to Bethlehem.[51] The Annunciation and Visitation scenes are repeated on another capital of the second south aisle pillar (north side). Moreover, these scenes accompany the representation of the Birth of Christ and Joseph's Dream.[52] The scenes of the Annunciation and Visitation[53] are repeated on the capitals of the first north aisle pillar (south side), along with another capital of the second pillar.[54]

The remaining capitals do not allow for a clear interpretation. They include a number of themes from the Old Testament and more from the New Testament.

Fig. 6. Capital 4 — Lleida, Seu Vella, crossing (SW): the Tree of Jesse (photo author)

Fig. 7. Capital 7 — Lleida, Seu Vella, crossing (NW): the Epiphany (photo author)

The Apostolate[55] presided over by Jesus is displayed on the first north aisle capital, beside the above-mentioned Annunciation and Visitation, whilst

Daniel in the Lions' Den,[56] a traditional and very popular Early Christian image, is represented on the second south aisle pillar (north side) next to the above-mentioned scenes of the Nativity and Announcement to the shepherds. The capital of the second north aisle pillar (south side) displays a Christological subject, namely the disciple-pilgrims of Emmaus,[57] precisely adjacent to the above-mentioned capital representing the Annunciation and Visitation.

The capitals featuring the Raising of Lazarus and the Resurrection of Christ[58] can be observed on the same aisle (south side). The latter scene is represented by the Three Marys approaching the Tomb to embalm his Body, whilst the Raising of Lazarus follows the scheme already seen in a Saint James' chapel capital located in the presbytery; thus, in this case, the announcement of the Resurrection of Christ by the Raising of Lazarus is even more explicit.

According to Lacoste, the story of Jacob is represented on the capitals of the north aisle pillars (north side),[59] with the first capital depicting the blessing of Jacob by Isaac in Rebecca's presence; represented on the second is Esau's encounter with his brother Jacob, along with Rebecca who sends Jacob to Laban. These two capitals are much deteriorated, which makes their interpretation very difficult; Bergós suggested the story of Ishmael.[60] On the second pillar, three figurative capitals can be seen, one depicting a *Traditio legis*, another subject related to an Early Christian iconographic tradition,[61] next to a very curious capital depicting Alexander's flight into Heaven drawn by griffins.[62] The opposite-side capital depicts three kings, one of whom holds a sword, who are difficult to identify. Bergós sustains that they are the kings of Israel.[63]

Capitals depicting similar subjects can be found in the transept, with three Hebrews who refused to worship the idol of Nebuchadnezzar and were condemned to burn in the Fiery Furnace appearing, according to Bergós, on the east wall of the north transept.[64] However, this identification is not entirely clear, since adjacent to the three Hebrews a demoniac character sustaining a twisted sceptre is depicted, similar to the figure of Nebuchadnezzar. This detail is not included in the biblical passage, and can probably be identified as the Devil tempting the three young Israelites by his gesture.[65] On the same pillar, there is another capital featuring a hagiographic theme which Bergós identified as the martyrdom of Saint Julietta and Saint Quiricus.[66]

Furthermore, on the west wall of the north transept there is a capital in the centre displaying a *Maiestas Domini* flanked by a radiant Tetramorph.[67] The scene does not display the customary Romanesque Christ in Majesty, but rather that of the Christ of the Second Coming, triumphing over death and showing the stigmata of the Passion, accompanied by two angels blowing trumpets to announce the Last Judgement (Fig. 9).[68] Due to its location on the pillar in front of the Epiphany, this subject could have been chosen in relation to the crossing programme. From this point of view, the Epiphany appears as a depiction of Christ's First Coming to Earth, which can be interpreted as a pendant of the Second Coming which, as we shall see below, was reinforced with the images from the adjacent capitals.

Additionally, two capitals can be observed on the same pillar where aspects of the Second Coming are featured: one that displays three characters which Bergós[69] interprets as the imprisonment of an apostle, and another that represents the Preaching of Saint John the Baptist, both iconographically read as a whole, expanding and clarifying their own significance. The first capital depicts two haloed saints and an executioner bearing a sword, which may refer to the moment before the martyrdom of Saint John the Baptist, accompanied by Saint John the Evangelist. On the second capital, a saint is flanked by two musicians on the right and a female figure, who could be identified with Salome, on the left. Although the latter figure is not dancing, as is described in the Bible, we could interpret the scene as the announcement of the martyrdom of the Baptist.

These two latter scenes can be complemented with the representation observed on the crossing pillar's third capital, the one of the Epiphany, in which the above-mentioned scenes of the Annunciation and Visitation are combined with a depiction of Christ in the centre, flanked by the two Saint Johns (Fig. 10).[70] Thus, we can almost assure that this cycle is devoted to Saint John the Baptist, which would begin on this capital and culminate with those described on the other pillar, where the presence of Saint John the Evangelist is additionally attested.

Both the representations of Saint John (the Evangelist and the Baptist) situated next to the capitals displaying the Second Coming and the Epiphany (the two comings of Christ) can be undoubtedly interpreted, within this context, as the 'precursor'

Fig. 8.   Capital 6 — Lleida, Seu Vella, crossing (NE): Atlas holding the celestial globe (photo author)

Fig. 9.   Capital 8 — Lleida, Seu Vella, transept (N): Christ's Second Coming (photo author)

figures of Christ:[71] the figure of Saint John the Baptist, announcing his First Coming, whilst Saint John the Evangelist, author of the Apocalypse, can be interpreted as the announcer of Christ's Second Coming.[72]

Finally, there are yet two more southern transept figurative capitals that should be mentioned. The one in the southwest corner was interpreted by Bergós[73] as the Offering of Melchisedek, another scene with a clear Eucharistic connotation. The other capital,

Fig. 10.   Capital 9 — Lleida, Seu Vella, crossing (NW): both Saint Johns and Christ (photo author)

located in the southeast corner, is once more of difficult interpretation. The scene features two centre figures flanked by two characters. Bergós[74] states that the capital displays the prophets in holy conversation, although this interpretation is not entirely convincing. From a stylistic point of view, both capitals can clearly be ascribed either to the first or second workshop.[75]

Conclusion

Reviewing the series of figurative capitals displaying religious subjects confirms the presence of an initial programme that was altered repeatedly throughout the lengthy building process. We have determined how in the first chapels, hagiographic topics are evidenced, whilst a Christological discourse can be observed in the presbytery and the crossing, always closely bound to the Virgin Mary, as the titular temple saint. The lecture of this initial programme is reinforced by the capitals from the north transept's

first pillar, which were carried out later in time than those from the crossing. Finally, the significant representation of Christ's Second Coming located in the crossing, accompanied by angels announcing the Final Judgement, introduces the iconographical novelties of Gothic art, flanked by the cycles of both Saint Johns (the Baptist and the Evangelist), who announce both of Christ's Comings into the world.

(Translation: Chris Boswell)

NOTES

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[1] Concerning the construction of the Seu Vella, see: Francesc FITÉ, 'La Seu Vella de Lleida', in *Arrels cristianes: presència i significació del cristianisme en la història i la societat de Lleida. II, La Baixa Edat Mitjana: segles XIII–XV*, ed. Prim BERTRAN & Francesc FITÉ, Lleida, 2008, pp. 397–446.

[2] There are numerous studies of sculptural programmes on liturgical space reliefs and capitals, covering a wide chronological range between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Of growing importance are those studies on church interiors, involving capitals or liturgical furniture, as well as on the exterior of portals and cloisters. See: Marcello ANGHEBEN, 'Sculpture romane et liturgie', in *Art Médiéval. Les voies de l'espace litúrgique*, ed. Paolo PIVA, Paris, 2010, pp. 131–79; María Concepción COSME, 'Arte y litúrgia en Santa Marta de Tera', in *Astórica. Centro de Estudios Astorganos 'Marcelo Macias'*, 27, 2008, pp. 141–71; Gerado BOTO & Esther LOZANO, 'Les lieux des images historiés dans les galeries de cloître de la cathédrale de Tarragone. Une approche de la periodicité de l'espace et de la topographie du temps', in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 56, 2013, pp. 337–64. There are also numerous studies that analyze the pictorial programmes, see for example: Cécile VOYER & Érik APARHUBERT, *L'image médiévale: fonctions dans l'espace sacre et structuration de l'espace cultuel*, Turnhout, 2011; Jérôme BASCHET, 'Le décor peint des édifices romans: parcours narratifs et dynamique axiale de l'église', in *Art Médiéval*, pp. 181–219; Jérôme BASCHET, *L'iconographie médiévale*, Paris, 2008. Among the liturgical furniture examples, we must outline the work of José Luís HERNANDO GARRIDO, 'Las pilas bautismales románicas en Castilla y León: consideraciones sobre su iconografia', in *Mobiliario y ajuar litúrgico en las iglesias románicas*, ed. Pedro Luis HUERTA, Aguilar de Campoo, 2011, pp. 150–201.

[3] Joan BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella de Lleida*, Barcelona, 1935.

[4] Jacques LACOSTE, 'La cathédrale de Lleida: Le debut de la sculpture', in *Ilerda*, 40, 1979, pp. 167–92. Other earlier works

that must be cited are Jacques Lacoste, 'Découverte dans la cathédrale romane de Lérida', in *Bulletin Monumental*, 132, 1974, pp. 231–34; Jacques Lacoste, 'La cathédrale de Lérida: Les debuts de la sculpture', in *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 6, 1975, pp. 167–92. The text used here is the first of these.

5 Francesca Español carried out a never-published study concerning the '1200 style' in Lleida. The original paper was read by Joaquín Yarza, who quoted her work several times in his own publication. See: Joaquín Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura en la Seu Vella', in *Congrés de la Seu Vella de Lleida: Lleida, 6–9 març 1991*, ed. Frederic Vilà & Imma Lorés, Lleida, 1991, pp. 39–53.

6 Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', pp. 39–53.

7 Lacoste, 'La cathédrale de Lleida', p. 173.

8 Concerning the workshop's chronology, we follow the study of Joaquín Yarza. We must underline that both workshops are fully within the so-called 1200 style. So far, no general study of this style has been accomplished, and regarding the sculpture, the best study is still: Louis Grodecki, 'Le style 1200', in *Le Moyen Âge retrouvé*, ed. Louis Grodecki, Paris, 1986, pp. 385–431.

9 Lacoste, 'La cathédrale de Lleida', pp. 185–92.

10 Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', pp. 40–41.

11 Jacques Lacoste linked this first workshop to Benedetto Antelami, whilst Joaquín Yarza, following Francesca Español's study, considers it closer to Biduinus' workshop, who even he qualifies as the 'master of the masks', see: Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', pp. 39–41.

12 Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', p. 40. This chapel is also dedicated to the Virgin of the Snows. It had the same dedication in the sixteenth century. See: Francisco Abad Larroy, 'El culto divino de la Seo antigua de Lérida', in *Ilerda*, 40, 1979, pp. 28–29.

13 There is clear evidence of the worship of Saint James in Lleida as a place of passage for pilgrims, for example, in the chapel of the Peu del Romeu and some hospitals, like the Hospitals of En Serra or the Hospital General de Santa María. From the latter are preserved documentary evidences that in 1442, the City Council sent a proposal to Queen María de Luna to reform and extend the Plaça de Sant Joan (the city's main square) on the main axis of the high street, claiming that, among other reasons, it would contribute: '[...] per decoració i ennobliment de aquella [...] attès que en nengun altre loch es la ciutat, mes encara a totes gents passants e anants de Roma a Sant Jacme [...]' ('[...] to the decoration and ennoblement of the city [...] because in no other place of the city there are so many people coming and going from Rome to Saint James [...]'). See: France Fité, 'Sobre l'origen i la formació de les places, o mercadals, a la Catalunya medieval: alguns exemples de la Catalunya de Ponent', in *Gli spazi del potere nelle città del Mediterraneo (secoli XI–XV). Firenze 22–24 January 2009* (in press); the document is published in: *Pergamins. Catàleg de l'Arxiu Municipal de Lleida*, Lleida, 1998, pp. 30–31. See also: Gerardo Boto, 'Cartografía de la advocación jacobea en Cataluña (siglos X–XIV)', in *El Camí de Sant Jaume i Catalunya. Actes del Congrés Internacional celebrat a Barcelona, Cervera i Lleida, els dies 16, 17 i 18 d'octubre de 2003*, Barcelona, 2007, pp. 282–83.

14 Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', p. 41. See also: María Luisa Melero, 'Translatio Sancti Jacobi. Contribución al

estudio de su iconografía', in *Los caminos y el Arte, VI Congreso Español de Historia del Arte, Santiago de Compostela, 16–20 de junio, 1986*, vol. 3, Santiago de Compostela, 1989, p. 71 and passim. It should be underlined that there is no other representation such as that from Lleida except for a Tudela cloister capital, see: Jacques Lacoste, *Les maîtres de la sculpture romane dans l'Espagne du pèlerinage à Compostelle*, Bordeaux, 2006, p. 318; concerning the style, in relation with Silos, see also p. 243.

15 Cf. Lacoste, 'La cathédrale de Lleida', p. 174.

16 Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', pp. 41–42.

17 Lacoste, 'La cathédrale de Lleida', pp. 176–77.

18 Lacoste, 'La cathédrale de Lleida', p. 178; for the iconography of Saint Antoninus, see: Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', pp. 42–43.

19 This original double devotion is very clear due to, among other evidence, even the stained glass window above the chapel being dedicated to both saints, see: Francesc Fité, 'Els vitrallers de la Seu Vella de Lleida', in *Seu Vella: anuari d'història i cultura*, 2, 2000, p. 69.

20 Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', pp. 43–47.

21 Francesca Español, 'Los Montcada y sus panteones dinásticos: un espacio para la muerte noble', in *Els Montcada i Alfons de Borja a la Seu Vella de Lleida*, ed. Ximo Company, Lleida, 1991, pp. 65–67.

22 As mentioned, this second Roussillonese-style workshop should be dated to around 1220, see: Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', p. 49 and 53.

23 Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, Princeton NJ 1993, pp. 27–30.

24 Aurelio Prudencio, *Obras completas*, ed. Alfonso Ortega (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 427), Madrid, 1981, p. 10. However, concerning the iconography, see: Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', pp. 49–50.

25 In this sense, it must be added that the triumph of David over Goliath was also seen as a prefiguration of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, see: Gaston Duchet-Suchaux & Michel Pastoureau, *La Bible et les saints. Guide iconographique*, Paris, 1990, p. 118.

26 It is worth mentioning that the readings on the fifth Sunday of Lent are dedicated to Christ's power over death and, in this context, in the Byzantine *dodekaorton*, the Raising of Lazarus also figures before the Entry into Jerusalem, see: Henri Stern, *L'art byzantin*, Paris, 1982, pp. 86–87. This iconographic tradition is clear in the famous guide to the painting of Mount Athos, see: Pier Luigi Zoccatelli, *I segreti dell'iconografia bizantina. La 'Guida della pittura' da un antico manoscritto*, Rome, 2003, p. 134.

27 Luke 24:34. See: Louis Réau, *Iconografía del arte cristiano. Iconografía de la Biblia. Nuevo testamento*, vol. 1/2, Barcelona, 1996, pp. 404–07; Gaston Duchet-Sacaux & Michel Pastoureau, *La Bible et les Saints*, Paris, 1990, pp. 216–17.

28 This passage from the Gospels, which is also only told in John (20:24–29), has appeared since Early Christian times and follows the same formula described, however with a layout of the apostles that singularizes the depiction in Lleida, see: Réau, *Iconografía del arte cristiano*, 1/2, pp. 590–92.

29 Isidro G. Bango Torviso, 'El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española', in *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 4, 1992, pp. 93–132.

[30] See: Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, 'Sobre ámbitos arqui-tectónicos y vida reglar del clero. La canònica de la Seu Vella de Lleida', in *Seu Vella. Anuari d'història i cultura*, 3, 2001, pp. 159–60.

[31] See: Imma Lorés, *La Seu Vella i el turó*, Lleida, 2007, p. 31 and 127. Regarding the tombstones, on the right of the doorway of Saint Berengar, there is an undated one dedicated to Peter de Bonaventura which is believed to be from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, whilst on the right post of the doorway of the Annunciation, there is another dated on XI Kalendae of May 1215, and dedicated to Guillem de Rocas.

[32] Concerning the monogram of Christ, see: Francisco de Asis García, 'El Crismón', in *Revista Digital de Iconografía Medieval*, vol. II/3, 2010, pp. 21–31.

[33] Concerning the studies of thirteenth-century portals in wes-tern Catalonia, see: Francesc Fité, 'Model i evolució del portal en el romànic tardà de la Catalunya de Ponent, i la introduc-ció dels nous models gòtics (s. XIII–XIV)', in *Actes del congrés Internacional: Portalades gòtiques a la Corona d'Aragó (Barcelona 10–12 desembre 2012)*, (in press).

[34] Joan Badia Homs, 'Sant Andreu de Sureda', in *Catalunya Romànica. El Rosselló*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, vol. 14, Barcelona 1993, pp. 348–49.

[35] The possible remodeling proposed was stated by Yarza, 'Pri-meros talleres de escultura', pp. 39–40.

[36] Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', pp. 48–49.

[37] Fité, 'La Seu Vella de Lleida', pp. 413–16.

[38] Concerning this monogram, see: Meritxell Niñà, 'Maria com a idea de l'Encarnació. Aproximació al programa escultòric romànic de la Seu Vella de Lleida', in *Síntesi. Quaderns dels Seminaris de Besalú*, 1, 2013, pp. 76–78.

[39] As was mentioned above, this portal is also named the 'Brides' Gate', related to the sacrament of marriage. Since early ages, the church sought to control marriage by converting it into a holy act. There is evidence from the fourth century of priestly blessings, and, in Charlemagne's times, legislation that favoured matri-monial rites controlled by the ecclesiastical hierarchy, explicitly aiming them to be held publicly and before a priest. In fact, the sacramental marriage ceremony underwent several changes over the centuries. For example, in England and northern France, it was common to use the church doors to celebrate the first part of the marriage ritual. In the eleventh century in northern France, a new rite was performed in front of the doors of the church, just before the nuptial service. Although little information is avai-lable, the first rubrics indicating the need to hold the first part of the nuptial rites in the temple doorway date from the twelfth century. In Germany, the introduction of this new rite is exem-plified by the appearance of the 'brides' door' in cathedrals such as in Bamberg, Mainz and Braunschweig (Brunswick), similarly to Lleida cathedral. Furthermore, during the thirteenth century, the church made great efforts to eliminate clandestine weddings attempted *ante ostium templi* ('in front of the temple's door'). In England, this occurred a century later when Pope Alexander III (1159–81), on behalf of the English Ecclesiastical Authorities, warned that marriages should be performed *in facie ecclesie* ('in front of the church') in order to be considered legitimate, adding *pro ut moris est* ('according to custom'). Concerning these sub-jects, see: Carlos Sastre Vázquez, 'La portada de las Platerías

y la "mujer adúltera": una revisión", in *Archivo Español de Arte*, 79/314, 2006, pp. 180–81, who quotes numerous studies on the subject in relation to the European context.

[40] Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', pp. 49–52.

[41] The depiction of the Tree of Jesse is quite uncommon, emphasizing the Incarnation, which is presided over by a Virgin flanked by two angels, inspired by the prophecy of Isaiah (11:1–5): 'There shall come forth a Rod from the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots'. This text in Latin inspired the iconography of the tree, which also refer-red to the Virgin *et egredietur virga de radica Jesse, et flos de radica eius ascendetet* ('And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots'). Regarding this iconography, see: Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, 'La Vierge, l'arbre de Jessé et l'ordre Chrétien de la parenté', in *Marie: le culte de la Vierge dans la societé médiévale*, ed. Domi-nique Iogna-Prat, Eric Palazzo & Daniel Russo, Paris, 1996, pp. 137–70; Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, 'La Virgen rama y raíz: de nuevo con el árbol de Jesé de las Cantigas de Santa María', in *Scriptorium alfonsí, de los libros de astrología a las 'Cantigas de Santa María'*, ed. Ana Domínguez Rodrí-guez & Jesús Montoya Martínez, Madrid, 1999, pp. 173–214; Esther Lozano, 'Maestros innovadores para un escenario singular: la girola de Santo Domingo de la Calzada', in *Maestros del románico en el camino de Santiago*, ed. Pedro L. Huerta, Aguilar de Campoo, 2010, pp. 169–74; Niñà, 'Maria com a idea de l'Encarnació', pp. 83–84.

[42] Although doubts have been raised concerning whether this was a simple Davidic cycle, we believe it is. See: Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', p. 50; Carmen Berlabé, 'La iconografía del Caballero de la Seu Vella', in *Congrés de la Seu Vella*, pp. 69–71.

[43] Bergós, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, pp. 88–89.

[44] Bergós, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, pp. 87–88; Réau, *Icono-grafía del arte cristiano*, 1/2, pp. 178–80.

[45] Bergós, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, pp. 93–94. This depiction, although very simple, remains within the tradition that goes back to the Early Christian period, see: Rafael Garcia Mahíques, *La adoración de los Magos: imagen de la Epifanía en el Arte de la Antigüedad*, Vitoria/Gasteiz, 1992. Moreover, to reinforce the cycle of the Incarnation, the theme of the Annunciation and Visi-tation is repeated in the next capital.

[46] Yarza, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', pp. 50–51.

[47] See: Francesc Fité, 'La imatge arquetípica de Sant Miquel entre Orient i Occident i la seva incidència a Catalunya', in *El Mediterráneo y el Arte Español. XI Congreso del CEHA, Valencia, septiembre 1996*, ed. Joaquín Bérchez, Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozano & Amadeo Serra Desfilis, Valencia, 1998, pp. 19–26.

[48] For the iconological interpretation of the Magi as a symbol of royalty, see: Franco Cardini, *Los Reyes Magos. Historia y leyenda*, Barcelona, 2000.

[49] Bergós, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, pp. 90–92, and Lacoste, 'La cathédrale de Lleida', pp. 183–85.

[50] See: Carmen Berlabé, 'Iconografia del pelegrí a les terres de Lleida', in *El Camí de Sant Jaume i Catalunya*, p. 269.

[51] Berlabé, 'Iconografia del pelegrí', p. 269. It is worth mention-ing that Jacques Lacoste interpreted them as the disciples of Emmaus, see: Lacoste, 'La cathédrale de Lleida', p. 182.

[52] BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, pp. 90–92.

[53] BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, p. 95, fig. 71. Iconographically, they resemble the Annunciation and Visitation that accompany them on the capital of the Epiphany, although the style is different.

[54] BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, pp. 88–89. This capital shows no other changes concerning the previous one other than the framing by some sort of arcade.

[55] BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, p. 95. Christ presides the surrounding apostolate, without it being possible to make any specific reading of the passages of the Gospels.

[56] Whilst Bergós does not identify the subject (BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, p. 107), Jacques Lacoste interprets it as Daniel, see: LACOSTE, 'La cathédrale de Lleida', p. 182. He seems to confuse the theme with that of Gilgamesh or the tamer of animals, but we believe that what is depicted is Daniel in the Lion's Den, here a prefiguration of the Incarnation rather than of Salvation; Daniel's capital is near the image of Nativity, a clear depiction of the Incarnation. See: Francisco de Asis GARCÍA, 'Daniel en el foso de los leones', in *Revista Digital de Iconografía Medieval*, I/1, 2009, pp. 11–24.

[57] BERLABÉ, 'Iconografia del pelegrí', p. 269.

[58] BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, pp. 97–100. The resurrection of Christ is portrayed in the traditional way, with the Three Marys approaching the Holy Sepulchre to embalm Christ's Body, according to a formula clearly influenced by theatrical depictions, as was customary in the thirteenth century. See: RÉAU, *Iconografía del arte cristiano*, 1/2, p. 563; Daniel RICO, 'Un *Quem queritis* en Sahagún y la dramatización de la litúrgia', in *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval. Miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces*, Bellaterra, 2001, pp. 179–89 and also Imma LORÉS, 'L'escena de la Venda de perfums a la Visita de les Maries al Sepulcre i el drama litúrgic Pasqual', in *Lambard*, 2, 1986, pp. 129–38.

[59] LACOSTE, 'La cathédrale de Lleida', p. 182; YARZA, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', p. 47.

[60] BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, p. 77.

[61] It closely follows the Early Christian iconographic tradition, see: Manuel SOTOMAYOR, *San Pedro en la iconografía paleocristiana: testimonios de la tradición cristiana sobre San Pedro en los monumentos iconográficos anteriores al siglo sexto*, Granada, 1962, pp. 125–52. See also: Klaus BERGER, 'Der traditionsgeschichtliche Ursprung der "Traditio legis"' in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 27, 1973, pp. 104–22.

[62] Concerning this iconography, see: Francesca ESPAÑOL, 'El sometimiento de los animales al hombre como paradigma

moralizante de distinto signo: la "Ascensión de Alejandro" y el "Señor de los animales" en el románico español', in *V*^e. *Congrés espanyol d'història de l'art: Barcelona; 29 d'octubre al 3 de novembre de 1984*, ed. Francesca ESPAÑOL & Joaquín YARZA, vol. I, Barcelona, 1987, pp. 47–60.

[63] BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, pp. 80–81.

[64] BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, pp. 82–83.

[65] Joaquín Yarza notes the difficult interpretation of the demonic character in this context, see: YARZA, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', pp. 52–53.

[66] BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, p. 104.

[67] The composition of Christ within a mandorla shows the Tetramorph radiating from the four angles, corresponding to a scheme following models from the Near East which are first evidenced in the West by the seventh-century tomb of Saint Agilbertus of Jouarre, see: Jean HUBERT, *La Europa de las Invasiones*, Madrid, 1968, p. 77. For the *Maiestas Domini* and its interpretation inherited in the Romanesque iconography, see: Anne-Orange POILPRÉ, *Maiestas Domini: une image de l'Église en Occident, V*^e*–IX*^e *siècle*, Paris, 2005.

[68] This is undoubtedly a Gothic iconography, yet still influenced by the traditional Romanesque Parousiac representation. Paulino Rodríguez Barral states that this iconography does not appear in Catalan and Aragon environments until the fourteenth century, which should be corrected, since the Christ of the Judgement in this capital dates from *c.* 1240. See: Paulino RODRÍGUEZ BARRAL, *La justicia del más allá. Iconografía en la Corona de Aragón en la Baja Edad Media*, Valencia, 2007, pp. 35–38.

[69] BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, p. 94.

[70] Bergós interprets them as Jesus between the apostles Saint John and Saint James, see: BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, p. 93.

[71] See: Brunetto LATINI & Curt J. WITTLIN, *Llibre del tresor*, Barcelona, 1980, vol. I (translation by Guillem de Copons), p. 136; also Juan CARMONA, *Iconografía de los Santos*, Madrid, 2008, p. 240. Of interest for the iconography are themes proposed as represented in Pier Luigi ZOCCATELLI, *I segreti dell'iconografia*, pp. 216–19 and 121–22.

[72] See Brunetto LATINI, *Llibre del tresor*, vol. I, p. 138; CARMONA, *Iconografía de los Santos*, pp. 232–36.

[73] BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, pp. 78–79.

[74] BERGÓS, *L'escultura a la Seu Vella*, p. 82.

[75] This is also highlighted by Joaquín Yarza, see: YARZA, 'Primeros talleres de escultura', p. 47.

The Iconography of the Cloister of Gerona Cathedral and the Functionalist Interpretation of Romanesque Historiated Cloisters

Possibilities and Limitations[*]

Peter K. Klein

Abstract

In the past, research on the cloister at the cathedral of Gerona and on Romanesque cloisters in general has focused on style and iconography. More recent analysis has addressed functionalist aspects, i.e., liturgical and paraliturgical functions practised in these cloisters. This especially applies to the Gerona cloister whose gallery adjacent to the church is distinguished by rich iconography and ornamentation, corresponding to the prominence of this walk in processions and other practices (*mandatum, rasura*). However, the specific iconography of nearly all biblical or profane scenes and of the purely ornamental decoration of the Gerona cloister, as well as of Romanesque cloisters in general, have no relation to the various cloister functions. Except for some sporadic subjects referring to liturgical practices, a specific cloister iconography corresponding to the multiple liturgical and religious functions of this central space in monastic and canonical life was never developed in Romanesque art; moreover, in many parts of Europe, Romanesque historiated cloisters are completely lacking and there they probably never even existed.

Introduction

The late twelfth-century Romanesque cloister of Gerona cathedral is among the best preserved and richest art monuments in Catalonia. In the past, research has focused on its stylistic position and its iconography.[1] More recently, it was also analyzed functionally,[2] i.e., part of its iconography and ornamental decoration was related to its liturgical and paraliturgical functions according to the *Consueta* of 1360, the ordinal of Gerona Cathedral.[3] The aim of this paper is to study the possibilities and limitations of such a functionalist interpretation, not only of the Gerona cloister, but of Romanesque historiated cloisters in general.

The Genesis Cycle of the South Walk and Adjacent Areas

Due to the presence of earlier eleventh-century conventual buildings,[4] the Gerona cloister does not follow the usual rectangular plan, but a trapezoidal one. It was installed between the dormitory to the east, the refectory to the west, the Carolingian walls to the north and the chapter house and the early Romanesque church's transept tower to the south (Fig. 1). Moreover, the south gallery is emphasized by its proximity to the chapter house (which is normally to the east) and to the church, as well as by the two church entrances at the west and probably also at the south walk's east end.[5] Above all, the south gallery stands out by the iconography and decoration of its piers and capitals (Figs 2 & 3). Nearly all of the biblical representations are found in this gallery, notably a large Genesis cycle on the piers at the west and east ends (Fig. 2, nos I, III). This Genesis cycle extends from Adam and Eve (pier no. I, Figs 4 & 5) to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (pier III, cf. Fig. 8). The central pier (no. II) shows the Anastasis or Harrowing of Hell (Fig. 6), combined
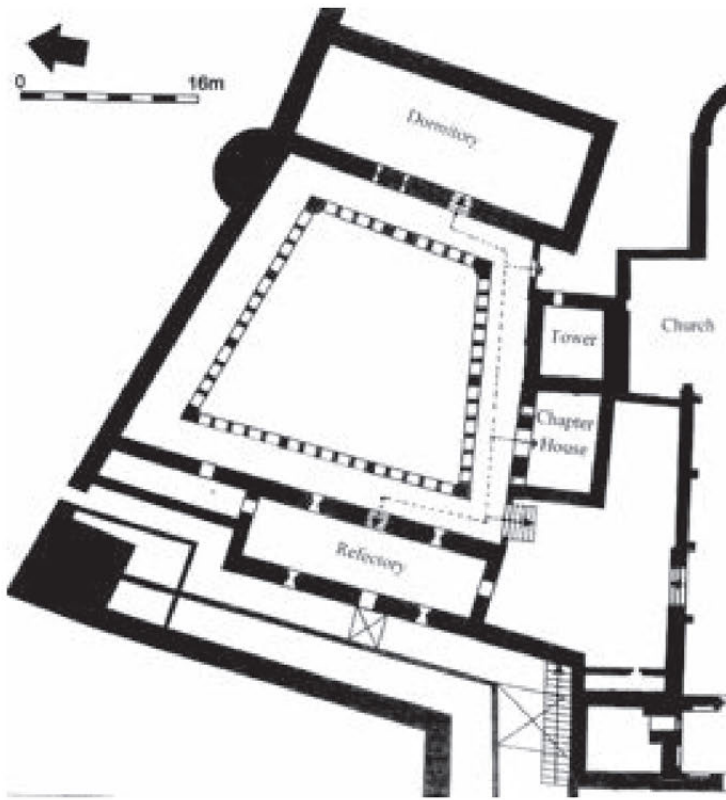
Fig. 1.   Gerona Cathedral cloister with adjacent buildings, reconstructed ground plan (after Marc SUREDA I JUBANY, with modifications)

with motifs of the Damned in Hell (Fig. 7). Since the Harrowing of Hell is a New Testament theme, it has been argued that its image would 'interrupt' the Old Testament cycle of this gallery.[6] However, in the Descent into Limbo, Christ not only broke down the gates of Hell, but also rescued Adam and Eve and the other Old Testament patriarchs.[7] Christ's Descent into Hell and his subsequent Ascent to Heaven signify in particular his resurrection and his victory over death and Satan. Thus, the Harrowing of Hell represents a culmination of the New Testament as well as the end of the Old Testament. Therefore, it fits very well into the cloister's south gallery iconography, representing a transition from the corner piers' Old Testament Genesis scenes (nos I, III) to the capitals' New Testament scenes (nos 3, 5, 7, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19). This New Testament cycle starts with the Annunciation, Nativity, and Epiphany (no. 18);[8] it ends with the Death of the Virgin (no. 17) and a subject with eschatological aspects, the parable of the *dives* (rich man) and Lazarus (no. 19). Both the Genesis

cycle on the piers and the New Testament cycle on the capitals start next to the original entrance to the cloister, at the actual chapel of the 'Mare de Déu de Bell-ull' (Fig. 2).

While nearly all the cloister's biblical images are found in the south gallery, the remaining biblical scenes are limited to the southern parts of the west and east walks (Fig. 2), parts of which were originally marked by the entrances to the refectory and dormitory (Fig. 1). These areas present extensions of the south gallery Genesis cycle, that is, capitals with scenes of Noah and Samson: the capital 73 of the west gallery, situated close to the Noah reliefs of the southwest pier (nos Ie, i), shows the drunkenness of Noah; and the capitals 21 and 25 of the east gallery represent scenes of the life of Samson. It seems significant that some of these capitals of the west and east walks include typological and Christological elements and, by implication, references to the south gallery Christ cycle. For instance, both the motif of the naked and drunken Noah, mocked by his son Cham, and the scene of Samson's blinding and mocking by the Philistines are 'types' of the Mocking of Christ in Medieval exegesis.[9] In a similar way, Medieval exegetes have interpreted the motif of Samson conquering the lion (capital no. 21 of the east gallery) as a 'figure' of the Harrowing of Hell,[10] i.e., of Christ breaking down the gates of Hell, the scene on the southern gallery's central pier (see above). Good examples of this iconographical analogy are two adjacent Klosterneuburg Altar enamel panels,[11] which, placed one above the other, bear inscriptions emphasizing the typological references: the *titulus* of the Harrowing of Hell reads *Ius domuit mortis tua Christe potencia fortis* ('Christ, your strong power has conquered the right of death'), while that of Samson conquering the lion reads *Vir gerit iste tuam leo mortis Christe figuram* ('Christ, this man follows your example; the lion represents death').[12] Though the Gerona cloister capitals and pier reliefs mentioned here are not located close to each other, we cannot exclude the possibility that the Noah and Samson capitals contain some Christological connotations, especially when we consider that these capitals mark the limits of the Old Testament cycle. Perhaps it is also not a coincidence that the pier in front of the original refectory entrance (cf. Fig. 1 and Fig. 2, nos XI, g, a) shows scenes of the construction of the cloister, in particular the bishop as a patron visiting the masons at work.[13]
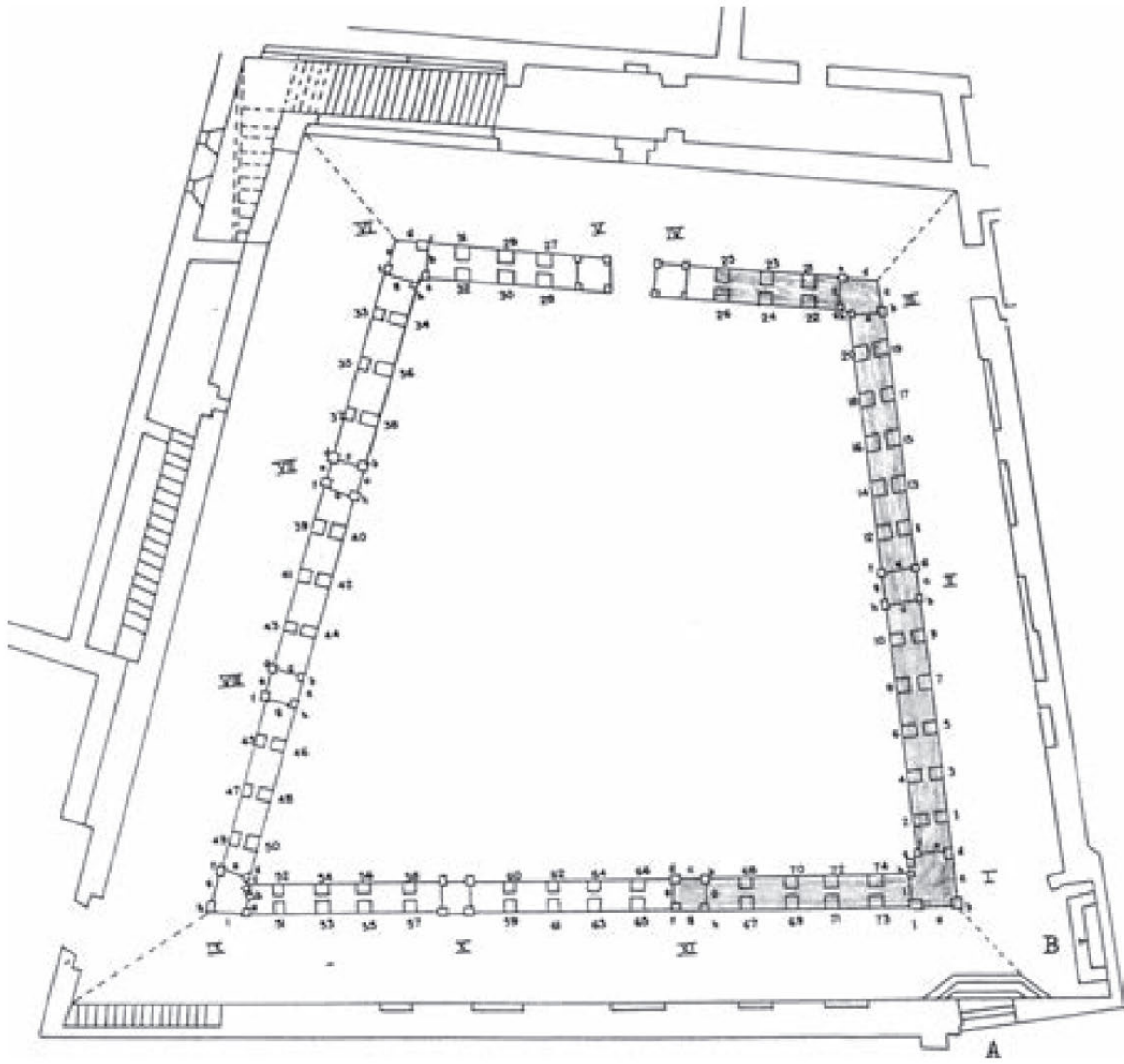
Fig. 2.   Gerona Cathedral cloister with indication of historiated capitals and pier reliefs (shaded areas), chapel of the Mare de Déu de Bell-ull (B) and modern entrance (A) (after *Catalunya Romànica*, with modifications)

Specific Architectural Ornament in the South Walk

In addition to its rich biblical imagery, the south gallery is also distinguished by its approach to architectural ornament, for the cloister arcade's bases, imposts, and blind arches are much more richly decorated than those in the other walks (Fig. 10).[14] Thus, in the south gallery, the plinths of the bases are often decorated with figures of animals, while in the other galleries they are only provided with simple angle spurs. Moreover, the imposts of the south walk capitals are alternately plain and decorated

with foliage scrolls, while in the other galleries they are always plain. Finally, the arcade blind arches are mostly supported by little atlas figures, whereas in the other galleries they are borne by colonnettes.

Uses of the South Walk and Adjacent Areas in Relation to the Imagery

Since the south gallery and parts of the southern areas of the west and east walks are distinguished by their biblical imagery and ornamental decoration, the

Fig. 3. Gerona Cathedral cloister, view of the south walk towards the east (photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

question arises as to the reasons, especially functional ones, for this emphasis. Of course, the main function of the cloister was to serve as a communication space between the church and the various conventual buildings. It is worth noting that the space of the Gerona cloister primarily used in the daily routine, the area connecting the entrances to the church with the most important communal buildings (chapter house, refectory, dormitory), was in the galleries set off by their biblical and ornamental decoration, i.e., the south walk and the southern parts of the west and east walks (cf. Fig. 2, the shaded areas). The parts north of this range only housed an access of secondary importance: a staircase in the northeast corner, leading to the storey above the north walk (Fig. 2).[15] This floor is a small hall, today called 'El Tinell'. Its original function is not documented; it later accommodated the dormitory and the library.[16]

Within the area most used in daily life, the space particularly important for its liturgical function was the south walk, adjacent to the cathedral and called 'first walk' (*primum claustrum*) in the *Consueta* of Gerona Cathedral.[17] On certain feast days, the processions made a single station in the south walk before returning directly to the cathedral, or before returning to the cathedral via the chapter house, as for instance on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary.[18] On the feast of the Annunciation,

the procession also made a single stop in the south walk, this time before the statue of the 'Virgin of the Cloister';[19] in the epoch of the *Consueta*, the procession stopped at a statue in the tympanum of the late thirteenth-century southwest corner portal, which was later transformed into the earlier mentioned chapel of the 'Mare de Déu de Bell-ull' (Fig. 2).[20]

The apparently old stone bench,[21] absent in the other galleries, is another aspect of the south walk possibly related to its frequent multiple use. Besides its practical function as a place of rest, this bench adjacent to the church was also destined for the liturgical *lectio* (or *collatio*) as well as for private reading, functions that are especially documented for Cistercian cloisters.[22] In the case of the Gerona cloister, this bench was probably also intended for certain liturgical and paraliturgical rites, in particular the washing of the feet of the poor (the *mandatum pauperum*). This monastic rite was also obligatory in cathedrals, which followed the rules of the Aachen reform,[23] as was probably the case in Gerona. Though in the Gerona *Consueta* the *mandatum pauperum* is not mentioned, it might still have been a daily practice, at least during the period of Lent.[24] Moreover, there is an iconographic argument which seems to indicate that the *mandatum pauperum* was indeed performed in the south gallery, possibly on its stone bench. A relief on the southeast pier represents the Washing of the Feet of the Three Angels by Abraham (Fig. 8). In the biblical story (Gen. 18:1–16), God appears to Abraham in the Trinitarian shape of three angels to announce the birth of his son Isaac. Together with the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Washing of the Angels' Feet represents one of the decisive moments in the life of the patriarch Abraham. In Christian exegesis, these two scenes had apparent Christological connotations, the Sacrifice of Isaac alluding to the Crucifixion and the Washing of the Angels' Feet being a prefiguration for the Washing of the Disciples' Feet by Christ.[25] Yet, while there are hundreds of images of the Sacrifice of Isaac, Medieval representations of the Washing of the Angels' Feet are rather rare, and this with good reason. In the biblical story, only a single verse describes the Washing of the Angels' Feet (Gen. 18:4), and it is the very angels who are washing their own feet, not Abraham! And what is still more important, in the story of the three angels other moments predominate: their appearance before Abraham — a kind of Trinitarian theophany —

Fig. 4.   Gerona Cathedral cloister, south walk, western pier (Ia): Creation and Fall of Adam and Eve (photo Heike HANSEN)

Fig. 5.   Gerona Cathedral cloister, south walk, western pier (Ic): Labour of Adam and Eve, story of Cain and Abel (photo Heike HANSEN)

and Abraham's hospitality, offering them food. These are also the subjects represented in the images since Early Christian times.[26] A famous example is found among the chancel mosaics of San Vitale at Ravenna, where the Sacrifice of Isaac is combined with Abraham's hospitality to the three angels, with some obvious Eucharistic motifs (the three consecrated wafers on the table and the small calf offered as food

by Abraham).[27] A similar combination of these two scenes recurs on a double capital in the Tarragona cathedral's late Romanesque cloister.[28] The Washing of the Angels' Feet, though, is lacking here as in all other Romanesque Genesis cycles in Catalonia.[29]

If the images of the Washing of the Angels' Feet are rather rare compared to the other moments of the Abraham story, it is still more significant that some

Fig. 6.   Gerona Cathedral cloister, south walk, central pier (IIa): Anastasis (photo Heike HANSEN)

Fig. 7.   Gerona Cathedral cloister, south walk, central pier (IIc): Anastasis (end) and Hell with Vices (photo Heike HANSEN)

Fig. 8.   Gerona Cathedral cloister, south walk, eastern pier (IIIa): Washing of the Angels' Feet by Abraham (photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

of these examples appear in a typological context. They are either combined with the Washing of the Disciples' Feet by Christ, as in a pair of stained glass choir windows at San Francesco in Assisi,[30] or even with an image of the *mandatum pauperum*, as in the English Peterborough Psalter (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9961/9962): here, the washing of the feet of three poor men is performed by Saint Benedict himself.[31] In view of all these facts, we can conclude that the exceptional scene of the Washing of the Three Angels' Feet in the south walk of the Gerona cloister refers to the rite of the *mandatum*, either the washing of the feet of the canons (*mandatum fratrum*) taking place in the nearby chapter house,[32] or of the poor (*mandatum pauperum*). The latter was probably practised in the adjacent south gallery, perhaps on its stone bench, since it can hardly be a coincidence that the three angels of the relief (Fig. 8) are sitting on a stone bench similar to the one in the south walk (Fig. 3). Likewise, it is certainly not by accident that the capital next to the relief of the Washing of the Angels' Feet (Fig. 2, nos IIIa and b) represents another scene related to a paraliturgical rite. In this case, the corresponding rite, the ritual shaving, is directly represented (Fig. 9): we notice two seated clerics, one shaving the other. Though the figure of the second cleric is not well preserved, the action of shaving by the left cleric can still be recognized. It is

Fig. 9. Gerona Cathedral cloister, south walk, eastern pier, capital (IIIb): Shaving of Two Clerics (photo Marc SUREDA I JUBANY)

the rite of the *rasura*, the shaving of a portion of the head to obtain the tonsure. This rite and the shaving of the beard were obligatory for both monks and canons.[33] Medieval customaries leave no doubts that these ritual shavings were practised in the cloister.[34] In the case of the Gerona cloister, we may assume that they took place close to the capital mentioned, especially since its gallery, the south walk, is the only one with a stone bench so that the canons could sit down 'against the wall', as one of the Cluny customaries prescribed.[35] Nevertheless, in the cloister of the Benedictine abbey of Sant Cugat del Vallès, which is stylistically and iconographically closely related to the Gerona cloister, the analogous capital with the ritual *rasura* scene is not located in the walk adjacent to the church but in the north gallery in front of the refectory, where, according to the customary of Sant Cugat, the ritual shaving rite took place.[36]

Iconographical and Functional Attributes of the Walk Adjacent to the Church in Cloisters other than Gerona

In any case, the clear iconographic and functional distinction of the walk adjacent to the church in the Gerona cloister is by no means an isolated case, but finds its analogy in a series of other Romanesque cloisters. Most comparable are those in which the walk adjacent to the church is iconographically set off, normally displaying an Old and New Testament cycle or a series of images from the life of Christ. For instance, one may mention the capitals in the north gallery of the cloister at the Catalan Augustinian church of Santa Maria de l'Estany, which narrate the history of Salvation from Adam and Eve until the end of time; comparable to the Gerona cloister, the biblical cycle at L'Estany starts next to the entrance to the church.[37] Similarly, the south walk of the Sant Cugat del Vallès cloister features a series of Old and New Testament capitals that also start next to the church portal; moreover, the south part of the east gallery in front of the chapter house displays a reduced cycle of the Infancy of Christ, which may generally be compared with the few biblical capitals in the southern parts of the east and west walks of the Gerona cloister.[38]

Less comparable in this regard are the cloisters at Aix-en-Provence and Estella. Though both emphasize the walk adjacent to the church by means of narrative capitals, the displayed iconography is different from the examples mentioned above. Thus, the capitals in the north gallery at Aix-en-Provence Cathedral are limited to a few scenes of the Infancy and Passion of Christ,[39] while the capitals of the north walk at the collegiate church of San Pedro de la Rúa in Estella represent instead hagiographic and Christological themes.[40] Nevertheless, similar to the cloisters at Gerona, L'Estany, and Sant Cugat, the capital cycles of the gallery adjacent to the church at Aix and Estella start next to the cloister portal. As to the iconography, other Romanesque monuments not only set off the walk next to the church but also another gallery, normally adjacent. Thus, the only Romanesque cloister galleries of the cathedral of Saint-Trophime at Arles are the north walk next to the church, and the east walk, and these are also the only ones with a coherent biblical cycle:[41] the piers of the north gallery are decorated with reliefs of an Easter cycle (from the Resurrection to the Ascension), while the
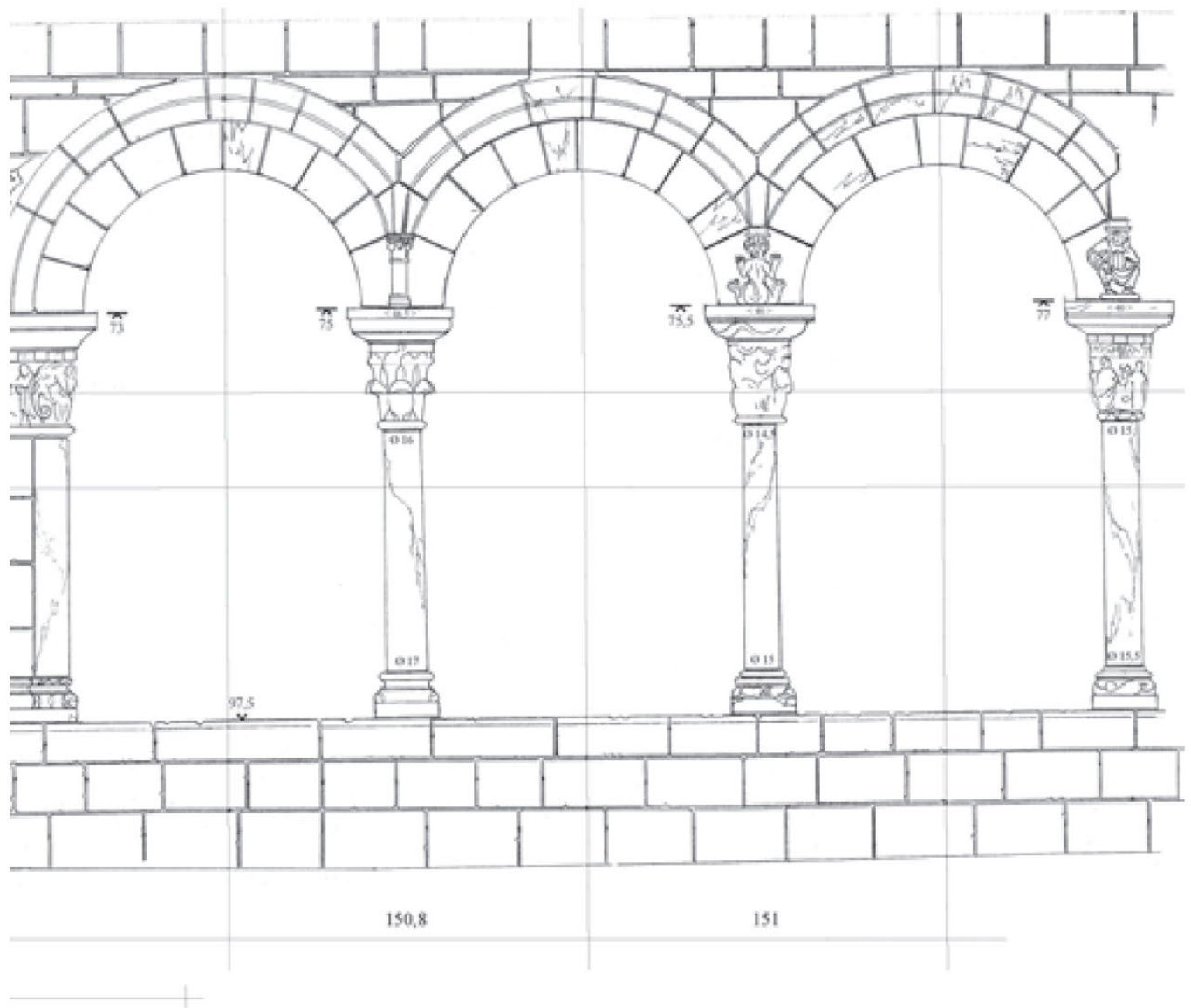
Fig. 10.   Gerona Cathedral cloister, drawing of south walk arcading (after Heike HANSEN)

capitals show typological scenes of the Old Testament. Further, the east walk piers and capitals present themes from the Infancy and Passion of Christ, which distantly recall the north gallery at Aix (see above). An artistic distinction of the walk adjacent to the church recurs in the cloister of the collegiate church of Großmünster at Zurich, which is nearly contemporary with the Gerona cloister. In the Zurich cloister, the south walk adjacent to the church and the west gallery are the only ones set off by their figurative capitals, although they are not narrative but present profane motifs (apes, centaurs, etc.) in the manner of the 'marginal images'.[42]

Limitations of the Functionalist Interpretation

The foregoing examples suggest that — analogous to the Gerona cloister — in a number of other Romanesque cloisters the gallery adjacent to the church is emphasized by its iconography. However, with regard to most of these, we do not know much about their liturgical and paraliturgical functions, be

it because the corresponding customaries and other relevant sources are lost, or because the preserved texts offer few pertinent details. Besides the cloister of Gerona cathedral, we know of only two Romanesque cloisters with historiated or at least figurative imagery for which customaries with detailed information on their liturgical functions are preserved: the Zurich *Liber Ordinarius* and the *Consueta* of the abbey of Sant Cugat del Vallès, both already dating from the thirteenth century.[43] According to the *Liber Ordinarius* of the Zurich Großmünster, the processions on feast days made only one station in the walk adjacent to the choir before returning to the church, either directly through the cloister portal to the choir or via an external detour.[44] On the contrary, following the indications of the *Consueta* of Sant Cugat, the feast day processions in the cloister of that abbey normally made stations in various galleries; however, they terminated in the south walk adjacent to the church, called 'the major' in the *Consueta*, where the monks chanted the antiphon *Gloriosus martir Cucuphas*, dedicated to the patron of the abbey; on other days, the processions made their only stop in this gallery.[45] Moreover, the capitals with ritual shaving representations and of the Washing of the Disciples' Feet in the north and east walks refer to the corresponding rituals which — according to the *Consueta* — took place next to these capitals.[46]

The problems and limitations of a functionalist interpretation of historiated Romanesque cloisters are various since, in most cases, the corresponding customaries are not preserved. A lack of local sources can be addressed by using the customaries or ordinaries of other comparable institutions, in particular of the same monastic or canonical order; for example, using the numerous customaries of Cluny itself has been proposed for a functionalist interpretation of the cloister of the Cluniac abbey of Moissac,[47] where liturgical sources are scarce. However, we can never be sure whether liturgical customs were always identical even within the same order. Another problem is that most of the preserved customaries and ordinaries in question are rather late, dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Confronted with this problem, it is often assumed that the liturgical practices generally remained the same over the centuries.[48] However, we know that sometimes the functions of certain conventual buildings changed, because of later transformations or new constructions. For instance, in the

time of the redaction of the Gerona *Consueta* of 1360, the dormitory was no longer in the building adjacent to the east walk (now converted into the sacristy) but located on the second floor of the north gallery.[49] While in this case the change seems to have only scarcely affected the liturgical functions, especially the processions, in other instances the changes could have had much more impact.

Other, more fundamental aspects limit functionalist interpretations of Romanesque historiated cloisters. Except for some sporadic subjects referring to liturgical practices (*mandatum*, *rasura*, *lectio*), the majority of the capitals and pier reliefs bear no relation to the various functions of the cloisters. This is most evident with regard to ornamental decoration, such as foliage scrolls inhabited by animals and men or different kinds of hybrids, as is often found in the non-biblical parts of the Gerona cloister.[50] The same applies to motifs of the so-called 'marginal images', as, for instance, a pair of wrestlers or the hunting of a wild boar on two capitals of the Gerona west walk (Fig. 2, nos 63, 65).[51] Whatever the specific meaning of this kind of imagery, there is no doubt that it is not related to the various Medieval cloister functions.

Still more important is that this functional disconnect also applies to nearly all the biblical cycles of the Romanesque cloisters, especially in the gallery adjacent to the churches. These cycles are conceived as simple narratives of the Fall and Redemption and correspond to a general concept, which also determined the mosaic and painted decoration in the naves of the churches[52] as well as many exterior portal sculptures: all are images for the lay public, which, according to the rules, was normally not admitted to the cloisters. Such a lack of functional relations can also be observed in the south walk of the Gerona cloister, adjacent to the church. Though, as already mentioned, both the Old and New Testament images of this gallery start in the proximity of the church's western entrance, the pier reliefs of the Old Testament cycle do not begin in front of the *original* entrance, the place of the actual chapel of the 'Mare de Déu de Bell-ull', but face the *modern* cloister portal (Fig. 2, no. Ia). This position corresponds to the procedure on the other south walk piers, their narrative always starting on the western side (Fig. 2, nos IIa, IIIa). Whereas this arrangement makes sense in the case of the central and eastern piers, whose western sides

were seen first by a spectator coming from the cloister entrance, this did not apply to the western pier: since a person entering the cloister by the original portal (where we now find the Chapel of the Virgin) first faced the south side of the western pier (Fig. 2, no. Ic), showing already the second phase of the life of Adam and Eve, their reproval and work, as well as the story of Cain and Abel (Fig. 5). On the contrary, the decisive moments of the Adam and Eve story — their creation and fall (Fig. 4) — were not visible from this angle, since they are represented on the west side of this pier (Fig. 2, no. Ia), today facing the modern entrance, but originally a bare wall.

The Anastasis or Harrowing of Hell (Fig. 6) on the south walk's central pier (Fig. 2, no. IIa) presents other problems. As was already mentioned, this subject — Christ's Descent into Limbo and the rescue of Adam and Eve and other patriarchs of the Old Testament — makes sense here, since it combines the Old and New Testament (comparable to the combination of the Old Testament pier reliefs and the New Testament capitals of this gallery); it refers to the elect of the Old Law as well as to the Resurrection of Christ. However, its composition here is not convincing in all respects and concedes much space to the three angels who accompany Christ without having a specific function; sometimes these angels help Christ to bind Satan,[53] but this is not the case here. Instead, we see the traditional motif of Christ reaching for the hand of Adam and Eve to rescue them from the Underworld, whose power is broken: the gates of Hell are destroyed and Christ is piercing Satan's naked body with a cruciform staff. In its basic motifs and composition, the Gerona relief corresponds to other examples of this subject, for instance, in the contemporary Luitold Gospels in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1244).[54] The Gerona Anastasis scene continues on the walk side of the pier (Fig. 2, no. IIc), showing further figures of the patriarchs and elect of the Old Testament, who raise their hands expecting their rescue (Fig. 7, left margin). This is a motif that recurs in other Anastasis images, for instance in an Ottonian Gospel book from Echternach (Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS b. 21).[55] However, surprisingly, on the right side of the patriarchs in Limbo, another scene begins, without a clear line of demarcation except for the joints of the stones (Fig. 7, centre). This scene is not part of Limbo, as one might at first suspect; we see the damned in Hell properly speaking.

More important than the rare combination of the Anastasis with a scene of Hell[56] is the unique feature of the majority of the damned, standing in the flames, referring to specific vices, in particular *avaritia* (a clothed man in the centre holds a moneybag with both hands), *discordia* (two naked men at the right stabbing each other with daggers), and *luxuria* (a naked woman at the right whose breasts are attacked by snakes). A more generic scene to the left of the vices shows two angels casting two figures of the damned into the fire. The east side of this pier (Fig. 2, no. IIe) continues the Hell motifs with two further *luxuria* women and other figures of the damned thrown by devils into a boiling cauldron.

It is evident that all these figures are not the damned of the Old Testament but those of contemporary times known from numerous images of the Last Judgement, which — of course — is not represented here; there is only an allusion to the divine judgement as a future threat. As already indicated, the specific vices emphasized here — Avarice, Lust, and Discord — are more important, since these subjects are normally represented in places accessible to the general public, in particular on exterior portals and porches.[57] There are many examples of the combination of *luxuria* and *avaritia*, in particular in French Romanesque, for instance, on the Porte des Comtes of Saint-Sernin at Toulouse and on the portals of the former abbeys of Moissac and Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne.[58] In some images of the Last Judgement, the central figures of the damned are also personifications of Lust and Avarice, as on the lintel of the Last Judgement portal of the cathedral of Saint-Lazare at Autun or in the portal tympanum of the Abbey of Conques.[59] The emphasis on these two vices in public images on exterior portals contrasts with the representations of the Last Judgement in illustrations of liturgical and exegetical manuscripts for clerical or monastic use: here, the representation of the damned does not differentiate between the specific vices, and the damned are mostly shown as a mass of naked figures. See, for instance, the illustrations of the Last Judgement in the Psalter of Marguerite de Bourgogne (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 1273) or — to mention a Spanish example — the representation of the same subject in the late twelfth-century Castilian Beatus codex in Manchester (The John Rylands Library, MS lat. 8).[60] Moreover, the third vice represented in the Gerona Hell scene (Fig. 7) — *discordia* — also recurs on the exterior portals and porches, as, for instance, in the

mid-eleventh-century tower porch of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire. On one of its capitals, two men are quarrelling about a woman, one disputant pulling the other's beard; next to them are some men being attacked by serpents, similar to the damned in Hell, and the adjacent capital shows a personification of Avarice, a miser with a big moneybag hanging from his neck.[61] Hence, as with the Hell pier of the Gerona cloister, discord and avarice are combined in the Saint-Benoît porch with a Hell scene. Still more important, representing vices on exterior portals and porches was typical and had the specific function of admonishing the entering faithful to abstain from certain vices associated with the laity by the Church. Seldom is this idea expressed so clearly as on a capital of the Porta dello Zodiaco of the abbey of Sagra di San Michele in northern Italy. Here, two fighting naked men are pulling each other's beards.[62] The accompanying inscription explains the meaning of the scene in this specific place: *Hic locus est pacis, causas deponite litium* ('This is a house of peace. Lay aside the reasons for quarrel').

If, therefore, it seems evident that the iconography of the Gerona cloister vices is typical for images at church entrances, intended for the general public, we have to ask why such a theme occurs in a cloister. At first sight one could think that the cloister was also frequented by members of the laity. However, according to the Gerona *Consueta*, their presence in the cloister was extremely rare,[63] restricted to the feasts of Christmas and Maundy Thursday (the day of the *mandatum pauperum*); further, in the few instances when the sources mention the presence of some members of the laity also at solemn acts or on the occasion of private donations, this takes place in the chapter house or in the refectory.[64] Thus, the appearance in the Gerona cloister of themes normally intended for the general public, as in the images of vices and Hell, cannot be explained by the presence of the laity, which was extremely rare. Instead, these themes are testimonies to the fact that cloister iconography rarely differed from the imagery found in church naves or on exterior portals.

Absence of a Relationship between Different Monastic and Canonical Rules and the Iconography of the Cloister

In conclusion, except for a few subjects with liturgical or paraliturgical connotations (such as the *mandatum* and the *rasura*), Romanesque cloister iconography generally shows no specific features related to the multiple functions of this central communal space. Moreover, as already noted, the cloisters' figurative and historiated decoration does not vary in accordance with the different monastic and canonical orders. This means that the rules and customaries of the individual orders, which determined the more or less communal life of the clerics and monks, had no specific impact on the cloisters' iconography. Thus, the iconography of cathedral cloisters does not differ from the Benedictine ones,[65] as demonstrated by the case of the related cloisters of Gerona cathedral and the Benedictine abbey of Sant Cugat del Vallès: both set off the walk adjacent to the church with a biblical cycle of the history of Salvation, with images of both the Old and New Testaments.

Absence of Historiated Cloisters in Many Parts of Europe

Still more significant in this regard: in many European regions — such as the Germanic countries and in large parts of Italy and England — there are no Romanesque historiated cloisters and there probably never have been. Even in a region as rich in figurative portals as Burgundy there do not seem to have existed any cloisters with narrative or figurative decorations, as with the cloister of the Cluniac abbey of Vézelay and the preserved fragments of the famous cloister of Cluny appear to demonstrate.[66] This apparent lack of figurative sculpture in the Romanesque cloisters in Burgundy not only contrasts with the extreme wealth of narrative iconography in Languedoc Cluniac cloisters, like those at Moissac and La Daurade in Toulouse, but it also contrasts with the abundance of figurative cloisters throughout southern France. Hence, the existence or lack of historiated cloisters did not derive from different religious concepts of the cloister, except for the aniconic Cistercian, Premonstratensian, and Carthusian cloisters. On the contrary, here the decisive factor must have been the different prevailing artistic traditions and trends. This is also confirmed by the fact, already noted by others,[67] that the historiated cloisters' evolution and diffusion was apparently not influenced by the various monastic and canonical reforms. Instead, this type of cloister

decoration did not become more widespread until the middle of the twelfth century, at a time when the canons' communal life was often already practised in a more or less lax form.[68]

Conclusion

Altogether, a functionalist interpretation of the Gerona cloister and other Romanesque historiated cloisters may explain certain limited aspects, like the concentration of most of the figurative decoration in the walk adjacent to the church and certain motifs with a liturgical or paraliturgical connotation. However, the totality of the figurative decoration and especially the *content* of its biblical imagery elude a functionalist interpretation. Though a strictly iconographic or iconological interpretation may be suitable for the majority of the figurative imagery, it cannot explain the entire decoration, since only a small percentage of Romanesque cloisters' decoration has a biblical or religious content (for instance, in the cathedral cloisters of Gerona and Tarragona only 10 per cent of the decoration falls into this category); the rest of the cloister decoration is purely ornamental or belongs to the so-called 'marginal images'.[69] This observation implies that there is no general idea or programme determining the entire decoration of the cloister.[70] Hence, it is certain that there are only partial programmes restricted to certain areas of the cloister, as can be seen in the Gerona cloister, or — to cite two other prominent examples — in the pier reliefs of the Moissac and Silos cloisters.[71]

The analysis of Romanesque historiated cloisters in a number of European countries may be summarized as follows: despite the cloister's fundamental function as a central space of communication, sojourn, and communal rites,[72] in many European regions it was not considered as deserving any figurative decoration. However, those Romanesque cloisters which contain some figurative or even narrative imagery are lacking an overall comprehensive programme embracing all parts of the decoration and expressing a general idea, for instance the ideals of a specific order and its rules. Instead, these partial programmes correspond to general dogmatic concepts known from the iconography characteristic of the interior and exterior of the churches, normally destined for the general public. Furthermore, analogous to other Romanesque cloisters, the shape and structure of the Gerona cloister images betray a certain lack of care. Finally, we have noticed, on the one hand, the absence of biblical and narrative images in the majority of the Romanesque cloisters, and, on the other hand, the lack of a comprehensive programme as well as the absence of a specific iconography pertaining to the multiple functions in those cloisters which dispose of a figurative decoration. All these aspects are rather astonishing considering that the cloister was the central and — with the exception of the church — the most important space in the life of the medieval monks and canons. Therefore, the case of the Romanesque cloisters' decoration should perhaps warn us not to overestimate the value of images in clerics' and monks' daily lives in the High Middle Ages.

NOTES

[*] I thank Eric Palazzo and Marc Sureda i Jubany for their useful information, and I am much obliged to John McNeil and Neil Stratford for their critical reading and linguistic modifications of my text.
[1] See, e.g: Carlos CID PRIEGO, 'La iconografía del claustro de la catedral de Gerona', in *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses*, 6, 1951, pp. 5–118; Eduard JUNYENT, *Catalogne romane*, vol. 2, La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1961, pp. 92–136; Immaculada LORÉS I OTZET, *L'escultura dels claustres de la catedral de Girona i del monestir de Sant Cugat del Vallès*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Universitat de Barcelona, 1990, pp. 24–230; Immaculada LORÉS I OTZET, 'El claustre', in *Catalunya romànica*, vol. 5: *Gironès, Selva, Pla de l'Estany*, Barcelona, 1991, pp. 119–31; Immaculada LORÉS I OTZET, 'Aportacions a la iconografia del Genesi del claustre de la catedral de Girona: El cicle d'Adam i Eva', in *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 38, 1996/97, pp. 1537–1553.
[2] Peter K. KLEIN, 'Le cloître de la cathédrale de Gérone: fonctions et programme iconographique', in *Patrimonio artístico de Galicia y otros estudios. Homenaje al Prof. Dr Serafín Moralejo Álvarez*, ed. Ángela FRANCO MATA, vol. 3, Santiago de Compostela, 2004, pp. 139–44; Peter K. KLEIN, 'Topographie, fonctions et programmes iconographiques des cloîtres', in *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang. Architektur, Funktion und Programm*, ed. Peter K. KLEIN, Regensburg, 2004, pp. 105–56, esp. 136–40; Marc SUREDA I JUBANY, *Els precedents de la catedral de Santa Maria de Girona*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Universitat de Girona, 2008, pp. 636–41, 649–58.
[3] *Consueta antiquissima huius sanctae ecclesiae*, Gerona, Archivo Capitular, MS 20.e.3. The text of this ordinal remains unpublished.
[4] See most recently: Pere FREIXAS et al., *La catedral de Girona. Redescobrir la seu romànica*, Girona, 2000, pp. 38–44; Eduardo CARRERO SANTAMARÍA, 'El claustro de la Seu de Girona. Orígenes arquitectónicos y modificaciones en su estructura', in *Annals de*

l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins, 45, 2004, pp. 189–214, esp. 194–207; SUREDA, *Els precedents de la catedral*, pp. 529–627; Heike HANSEN, 'L'approche archéologique du cloître cathédral et monastique dans le Sud de la France et le Nord d'Espagne: Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, Aix-en-Provence, Arles, Gérone, Sant-Cugat, Santo Domingo de Silos, Tarragone', in *Escenificar catedrales en la Edad Media: orden espacial, autoridad episcopal y discursos teológicos* (British Archaeological Reports. Serie Ibérica), ed. Gerardo BOTO VARELA & César GARCÍA DE CASTRO, Oxford, 2016 (in press).

5 For these original entrances of the cloister, see: Heike HANSEN, *Der Kreuzgang von Girona. Aufmaßkampagne März/April 2007* (DFG-Projekt Romanische Kreuzgänge in Südfrankreich u. Nordspanien, Universität Tübingen, unpublished manuscript), p. 6, 7; SUREDA, *Els precedents de la catedral*, p. 619, 627.

6 Joaquín YARZA LUACES, 'Iconografía del claustro románico', in *Claustros románicos hispanos*, ed. Joaquín YARZA LUACES & Gerardo BOTO VARELA, León, 2003, pp. 47–65, esp. p. 59.

7 Cf. Gertrud SCHILLER, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 3, Gütersloh, 1971, pp. 41–66; Anna D. KARTSONIS, *Anastasis. The Making of an Image*, Princeton NJ, 1986; Marc-Oliver LOERKE, *Höllenfahrt Christi und Anastasis. Ein Bildmotiv im Abendland und im christlichen Orient*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Universität Regensburg, 2003.

8 This capital is now misplaced at the east end of the south gallery and in particular on the garden side, where the Gerona cloister generally does not display narrative capitals. Originally, this capital must have been inserted on the walk side of this gallery's west end (no. 1), where, probably because of its partial erosion, it was later replaced by a Gothic ornamental capital.

9 Cf. Louis RÉAU, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. II, 1, Paris, 1956, p. 112, 114 ('Noah'), 236f., 245 ('Samson'); *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. IV, Freiburg, 1972, col. 445–46 ('Noe'), 611, 619 ('Samson'); Hans Martin VON ERFFA, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, vol. 1, Munich, 1989, pp. 498–500.

10 VON ERFFA, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, I, p. 206.

11 For the so-called 'Klosterneuburg Altar', originally an ambo completed in 1181 by Nicolas of Verdun, see: Floridus RÖHRIG, *Der Verduner Altar*, Vienna & Munich, 1955; Helmut BUSCHHAUSEN, *Der Verduner Altar*, Vienna, 1980; Friedrich DAHM, *Studien zur Ikonographie des Klosterneuburger Emailwerks des Nicolaus von Verdun*, Vienna, 1989.

12 RÖHRIG, *Der Verduner Altar*, p. 78 and pl. 36, 37; BUSCHHAUSEN, *Der Verduner Altar*, p. 64 and pl. 35, 36.

13 For this relief, see e.g.: María Luisa MELERO MONEO, 'Überlegungen zur Ikonographie des "Bildhauers" in der romanischen Kunst', in *Studien zur Geschichte der europäischen Skulptur*, ed. Herbert BECK et al., Frankfurt am Main, 1994, pp. 163–74, esp. 168f. and fig. 5–7.

14 Immaculada LORÉS I OTZET, 'Aspectes relatius a la construcció del claustre de la catedral de Girona', in *Annals del Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 33, 1994, pp. 275–89, esp. 287–88 and fig. 4; KLEIN, 'Le cloître de Gérone', p. 142 and fig. 7, 8.

15 Although the actual staircase dates from 1542 (SUREDA, *Els precedents de la catedral*, p. 613), there must already have been a staircase in the twelfth century in this place, though likely a smaller one (HANSEN, *Der Kreuzgang von Girona*, p. 10, 12).

16 Cf. SUREDA, *Els precedents de la catedral*, pp. 609–15.

17 This terminology recurs in an analogous form in the customary of Sant Cugat del Vallès and corresponds to that in the processional of Toulouse Cathedral; there, however, instead of *claustrum*, the terms *porticus* and *conventus* are used (KLEIN, 'Topographie, fonctions et programmes', p. 136 note 142).

18 *Consueta antiquissima*, fol. 131v.

19 *Ibidem*, fol. 139v–140r.

20 For this portal and its later transformation into a chapel, see: SUREDA, *Els precedents de la catedral*, pp. 617–24 — Though there are no traces of an earlier Romanesque portal in this place (HANSEN, *Der Kreuzgang von Girona*, p. 6), there are reasons for such an assumption.

21 Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 3 note 6.

22 KLEIN, 'Topographie, fonctions et programmes', pp. 123–24.

23 Cf. Thomas SCHÄFER, *Die Fußwaschung im monastischen Brauchtum und in der lateinischen Liturgie*, Texte u. Arbeiten der Erzabtei Beuron, 47, Beuron, 1956, p. 41.

24 *Ibidem*, p. 43, 53.

25 David LERCH, *Isaaks Opferung christlich gedeutet. Eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 12, Tübingen, 1950, pp. 27–155; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 1, 1968, col. 28–29 ('Abraham'); VON ERFFA, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, 2, p. 96, 99, 150–52, 155–57.

26 See e.g. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 1, col. 21–23 ('Abraham').

27 Cf. Carl-Otto NORDSTRÖM, *Ravennastudien*, Stockholm, 1953, pp. 94–119 and pl. 25; Friedrich Wilhelm DEICHMANN, *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des Abendlands*, vol. II, 2, Wiesbaden, 1976, pp. 143–47; Otto G. von SIMSON, *Sacred Fortress. Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*, Princeton NJ, 1987, pp. 24–27 and pl. 14.

28 Jordi CAMPS I SÒRIA, *El claustre de la catedral de Tarragona. Escultura de l'ala meridional*, Barcelona, 1988, pp. 43–47 and fig. 9, 10; Esther LOZANO LÓPEZ & Marta SERRANO COLL, *Els capitells historiats del claustre de la catedral de Tarragona*, Tarragona, 2010, p. 28, 30 and fig. p. 29, 31; Gerardo BOTO & Esther LOZANO, 'Les lieux des images historiées dans les galeries du cloître de la cathédrale de Tarragone', in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 56, 2013, pp. 337–64, esp. 347–49 and fig. 4 (2a and 2b).

29 Significantly, the corresponding capitals of the related cloisters of Sant Pere de Rodes and Sant Cugat del Vallès combine the Hospitality of Abraham with the Sacrifice of Isaac, but they do not include the Washing of the Angels' Feet. Instead, the prostrate Abraham is welcoming the Angels. Cf. Joan TORTOSA, *El claustre de Sant Cugat del Vallès*, Sabadell, 1998, pp. 193–94 and fig. p. 194; Immaculada LORÉS I OTZET, *El monestir de Sant Pere de Rodes*, Bellaterra, 2002, pp. 131–33 and fig. 40.

30 Reiner HAUSSHERR, 'Der typologische Zyklus der Chorfenster der Oberkirche von S. Francesco zu Assisi', in *Kunst als Bedeutungsträger. Gedenkschrift für Günter Bandmann*, Berlin, 1978, pp. 95–128, esp. 107 and passim and fig. 15; Frank MARTIN, *Die Apsisverglasung der Oberkirche von S. Francesco in Assisi*, Worms, 1993, p. 4 and fig. 31, 33.

31 Susan E. VON DAUM THOLL, 'Life According to the Rule: A Monastic Modification of Mandatum' Imagery in the Peterborough Psalter', in *Gesta*, 33, 1994, pp. 151–58, esp. 151, 155 and fig. 1, 4; KLEIN, 'Topographie, fonctions et programmes', p. 138 and fig. 40.

[32] *Consueta antiquissima*, fol. 51v–52r. — Cf. SUREDA, *Els precedents de la catedral*, p. 598f., 651f.

[33] P. Colomban BOCK, 'Tonsure monastique et tonsure cléricale', in *Revue de droit canonique*, 2, 1952, pp. 373–406; Giles CONSTABLE, 'Introduction on Beards in the Middle Ages', in *Burchardi apologia de barbis*, ed. Robert B. C. HUYGENS, Corpus Christianorum, cont. med., 62, Turnhout, 1985, pp. 47–130, esp. pp. 115–19.

[34] Anselm DAVRIL, 'Fonctions des cloîtres dans les monastères au Moyen Âge', in *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang*, pp. 22–26, esp. 25.

[35] UDALRICUS, *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*, in *Patrologia Latina* 159, col. 759f.

[36] Immaculada LORÉS I OTZET, 'La vida en el claustre: iconografía monàstica als capitels de Sant Cugat del Vallès i el costumari del monestir', in *Buttletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*, 6, 2002, pp. 35–46, esp. pp. 40–41, and fig. 6.

[37] KLEIN, 'Topographie, fonctions et programmes', pp. 145–51 and ground plan fig. 48. See also: Antoni PLADEVALL & Jordi VIGUÉ, *El monestir de Santa Maria de l'Estany*, Barcelona, 1978, pp. 345–422.

[38] KLEIN, 'Topographie, fonctions et programmes', pp. 140–45. See also: Immaculada LORÉS I OTZET, 'Sant Cugat del Vallès. L'escultura del claustre i de l'església', in *Catalunya Romànica*, vol. 18: *Vallès occidental, Vallès oriental*, Barcelona, 1991, pp. 169–82; TORTOSA, *Claustre de Sant Cugat*, pp. 182–211.

[39] Jacques THIRION, 'Le cloître de Saint-Sauveur d'Aix', in *Congrès Archéologique de France*, 143, 1988, pp. 65–90, esp. 83f.; KLEIN, 'Topographie, fonctions et programmes', p. 129f. and ground plan fig. 29.

[40] KLEIN, 'Topographie, fonctions et programmes', pp. 116–18 and ground plan fig. 14. See also: Esperanza ARAGONÉS ESTELLA, 'El claustro de San Pedro de la Rúa', in *Príncipe de Viana*, 57, 1996, pp. 455–83.

[41] KLEIN, 'Topographie, fonctions et programmes', pp. 126–29 and fig. 26 (scheme of iconography). See also: Jacques THIRION, 'Saint-Trophime d'Arles', in *Congrès Archéologique de France*, 134, 1979, pp. 360–497, esp. 402–45.

[42] KLEIN, 'Topographie, fonctions et programmes', p. 125f. and ground plan fig. 21. See also: Paul MICHEL, *Tiere als Symbol. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der ikonographischen Deutung, gezeigt am Beispiel des Zürcher Großmünsterkreuzgangs*, Wiesbaden, 1979, pp. 110–58.

[43] Ephrem Ernest COMPTE, *The Customary of Sant Cugat del Vallès. Study and Edition*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Princeton University, 1975; *Der Liber Ordinarius des Konrad von Mure. Die Gottesdienstordnung am Grossmünster in Zürich*, ed. Heidi LEUPI, Spicilegium Friburgense, 37, Fribourg, 1995.

[44] *Der Liber Ordinarius des Konrad von Mure*, p. 267 no. 625, 422 no. 1456–1459.

[45] COMPTE, *Customary of Sant Cugat*, p. 107, 115.

[46] *Ibidem*, p. 473, 732.

[47] KLEIN, 'Topographie, fonctions et programmes', pp. 107–10.

[48] See e.g. Edward B. FOLEY, *The First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of St.-Denis in France*, Spicilegium Friburgense, 32, Fribourg, 1990, p. 60, 264f.; Eric PALAZZO, *Le Moyen Âge: des origines au XIIIe siècle*, Histoire des livres liturgiques, Paris, 1993, p. 233; Eric PALAZZO, 'Exégèse, liturgie et politique dans l'iconographie du

cloître de Saint-Aubin d'Angers', in *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang*, pp. 220–40, esp. 227f.

[49] Marc SUREDA I JUBANY, 'El *dormitori nou* de la seu: noves dates per a la datació del claustre de la catedral de Girona', in *Annals del Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 45, 2004, pp. 679–85, esp. 680–82; SUREDA, *Els precedents de la catedral*, pp. 609–16.

[50] See: Gerardo BOTO VARELA, 'Seres teriomórficos en los claustros de Girona y Sant Cugat', in *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 33, 1994, pp. 291–320.

[51] For marginal motifs in the cloister, see: Peter K. KLEIN, 'La représentation du corps dans les marges au Moyen Âge', in *Studium Medievale*, 1, 2008, pp. 103–23, esp. 106–09 and fig. 10, 11, 17.

[52] In this regard, the parallel sequence of an Old and New Testament cycle at the Gerona south walk may be compared to the somewhat similar disposition of the nave paintings at a number of Romanesque churches (e.g., Sant'Angelo in Formis, San Giovanni a Porta Latina, San Pietro in Ferentillo and probably also Santa María de Tahull), a disposition that goes back to the church decoration of Early Christian basilicas. See, e.g.: Otto DEMUS, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, Munich, 1968, p. 57, 114–17, 123, 159; Marilyn ARONBERG LAVIN, *The Place of Narrative. Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431–1600*, Chicago & London, 1990, pp. 15–28.

[53] See for example a tenth-century ivory cup in St Petersburg, see: Adolph GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1918, p. 16 no. 3b.

[54] SCHILLER, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 3, fig. 138.

[55] *Ibidem*, fig. 137.

[56] This is a specific Western element (cf. LOERKE, *Höllenfahrt Christi*, p. 80, 204). It already occurs in the Anastasis illustration of the Beatus codex of 975 in Gerona (Museu de la Catedral), where this manuscript is documented since the eleventh century. However, its Anastasis iconography is otherwise completely different from the cloister relief (cf. John WILLIAMS, *The Illustrated Beatus. A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. 2, London, 1994, pl. 290). Hence, it can hardly have influenced the Anastasis and Hell relief in the Gerona cloister.

[57] See: Meyer SCHAPIRO, 'From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos', in *The Art Bulletin*, 21, 1939, pp. 312–74 (reprint in Meyer SCHAPIRO, *Romanesque Art. Selected Studies*, New York, 1977, pp. 28–101, esp. 36–38); Werner WEISBACH, *Religiöse Reform und mittelalterliche Kunst*, Einsiedeln & Zurich, 1945, pp. 79–85, 92; Adolf KATZENELLENBOGEN, *Allegory of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*, Toronto, 1989², p. 58f., 75–81.

[58] Cf. e.g. Bernhard RUPPRECHT, *Romanische Skulptur in Frankreich*, Munich, 1975², p. 78f., 84, 85 and pl. 15, 42, 45.

[59] *Ibidem*, p. 99, 113 and pl. 119, 173.

[60] Yves CHRISTE, *Jugements derniers* (Zodiaque, Les formes de la nuit, 12), La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1999, pl. 16, 58.

[61] Frère BERTRAND, *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire. Les chapiteaux de la tour-porche*, Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, 1980, fig. p. 66, 68; Éliane VERGNOLLE, *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et la sculpture du XIe siècle*, Paris, 1985, p. 89 and fig. 73; Peter K. KLEIN, 'Entre paradis présent et jugement dernier: Les programmes eschatologiques dans les porches du haut Moyen Âge', in *Avant-nefs & espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IVe et le XIIe siècle*, ed. Christian SAPIN, Paris, 2002, pp. 464–83, esp. 472 and fig. 11.

[62] Christine B. Verzar, 'Text und Bild in der norditalienischen Romanik: Skulptur, Inschriften, Betrachter', in *Geschichte der europäischen Skulptur*, pp. 495–504, esp. p. 459 and fig. 9; Joachim Poeschke, *Die Skulptur des Mittelalters in Italien: Romanik*, Munich, 1998, pp. 84–87 and fig. 38, 39.

[63] Of course, this applies still more to the monastic cloisters. See e.g.: Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic spaces and their Meaning. Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries*, Turnhout, 2001, p. 58; Peter K. Klein, 'Zur Einführung: Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang', in *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang*, pp. 9–21, esp. p. 14.

[64] Sureda, *Els precedents de la catedral*, p. 563, 581f., 597f., 651f.

[65] Cf. Xavier Barral i Altet, 'L'escultura romànica a les canòniques agustinianes', in *Lambard*, 12, 2000, pp. 55–63, esp. 56, 61f.; Gerardo Boto Varela, '*Nova et vetera* en las canónicas catalanas: agustianianos y aquisgranes', in *Claustros románicos hispanos*, ed. Yarza Luaces & Boto Varela, pp. 305–23, esp. 314, 320.

[66] See: Neil Stratford & Lydwine Saulnier, *La sculpture oubliée de Vézelay*, Paris, 1984, pp. 169–71 and fig. 235–41; Neil Stratford, 'Les bâtiments de l'abbaye de Cluny à l'époque médiévale. État des questions', in *Bulletin Monumental*, 150, 1992, pp. 383–411, esp. 390, 396f. and fig. 15–20; Neil Stratford, 'Vier Kapitelle des Kreuzgangs (von Cluny)', in *Canossa 1077. Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur am Aufgang der Romanik*, ed. Christoph Stiegemann & Matthias Wemhoff, vol. 2, Munich, 2006, p. 85f. no. 71.

[67] Boto, '*Nova et vetera*', p. 322.

[68] See: Yves Esquieu, *Quartier cathédral. Une cité dans la ville*, Paris, 1998, pp. 59–65; Boto, '*Nova et vetera*', p. 322f.

[69] For marginal images in general, see: Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art*, London, 1992; Nurith Kenaan Kedar, *Marginal Sculpture in Medieval France*, Aldershot, 1995; Jean Wirth, *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques (1250–1350)*, Geneva, 2008; Elaine C. Block et al. (ed.), *Profane Images in Marginal Arts of the Middle Ages*, Turnhout, 2009.

[70] As has sometimes been assumed for certain cloisters (see most recently: Chantal Fraïsse, 'Le cloître de Moissac a-t-il un programme?', in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 50, 2007, pp. 245–70; Boto & Lozano, 'Les lieux des images historiées', p. 347, 364). See, however: Meyer Schapiro, *The Romanesque Sculpture at Moissac*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1929, vol. 1, p. 60f. (this part remains unpublished); Éliane Vergnolle, *L'art roman en France*, Paris, 1994, p. 261; Yarza, 'Iconografía del claustro románico', p. 47; Klein, 'Zur Einführung: Der romanische Kreuzgang', p. 15.

[71] For Moissac, see: Régis de la Haye, 'Les apôtres de Moissac — sont-ils dans l'ordre?', in *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Tarn-et-Garonne*, 116, 1991, pp. 71–80; Thorsten Droste, *Die Skulpturen von Moissac*, Munich, 1996, pp. 61–64; Quitterie Cazes & Maurice Scellès, *Le cloître de Moissac*, Bordeaux, 2001, pp. 19–21. — For Silos, see: Otto Karl Werckmeister, 'The Emmaus and Thomas Pillar of the Cloister of Silos', in *El románico en Silos*, Studia Silensia-Series Maior, 1, Burgos, 1990, pp. 149–71, esp. 150–52; Gerardo Boto Varela, *Ornamento sin delito. Los seres imaginarios del claustro de Silos y sus ecos en la escultura románica peninsular*, Studia Silensia-Series Maior, 3, Silos, 2000, pp. 127–38; Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, *Palace of the Mind: The Cloister of Silos and Spanish Sculpture of the Twelfth Century*, Turnhout, 2012, pp. 97–136.

[72] See e.g.: Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meaning*, pp. 54–65, 71.

The Cloistral Sculpture at La Seu d'Urgell and the Problem of its Visual Repertoire[*]

Marta Serrano Coll & Esther Lozano López

Abstract

Romanesque cloisters in the countries surrounding the Mediterranean contain a great variety of iconographic programmes showing highly heterogeneous themes. Of particular interest is the mid-twelfth century cloister at the cathedral of Santa María in La Seu d'Urgell. The aim of this study is to examine its apparently unconnected visual structure. Despite certain methodological problems, an analysis of both the capitals and the documentary sources leads us to interpret a large part of the cloister's singular sculptural programme as visualized references to the Psalms.

The cathedral of La Seu d'Urgell (often abbrievated to 'La Seu') in northwestern Catalonia can be counted among the best preserved Romanesque churches on the Iberian Peninsula. One of its most outstanding features is the rich capital sculpture in its cloister. A search through documents from 1093–1200 published in *Urgellia*[1] reveals that a donation *ad claustrum* was made on only one occasion, in the 1135 will of Guillem Tebdall, who, in addition to donating to the altar, church, hospice and refectory, also bequeathed *II morabetinos* (an old Spanish coin) *et I orreum* (warehouse) to the cloister.[2] Although it is not specified whether this donation was intended for the construction works, two documents from the previous year mentioning donations *ad opus nostre canonice*[3] leads us to believe that building work was being carried out on the cloister at that time. The absence of the term *claustrum* prior to this date, the architectural analysis by Gerardo Boto Varela and an examination of the iconography all suggest that the sculptures date from the mid-twelfth century. As a result, we concur with those who believe that 1175, the date of Master Lambard's contract,[4] must be a *terminus ante quem*.

Although this cloister has been studied by various specialists since the nineteenth century, certain aspects still remain unanalyzed. The iconography has received little attention and several authors have asserted that the lack of precise information undermines any explanation. The general consensus is that the execution of the iconography possesses a certain unity,[5] as do the façades and the cloister; however, no convincing hypothesis regarding the iconographic models and their meaning has been put forward. The most recent publications have focused on stylistic affiliations which, in addition to influences from Roussillon, suggest contributions from Ripoll and possible relations with northern Italy. During the 1990s, further research was conducted into intermediate influence points and closer links with Hispano-Languedocian workshops were proposed. A historiographical review[6] shows that certain aspects regarding the programme's visual organization remain to be clarified, although the consensus is that the cloister of La Seu d'Urgell cannot be understood without considering the cloisters at Cuxa (Cuixà), Serrabone (Serrabona) and Ripoll, which show a

similar visual culture and share certain compositions, despite the singular connections and layouts of each building. The damage and changes made to the original location of the capitals in these ensembles obscure any comparison and further complicate their analysis.

Texts as a Source of Inspiration: The Legal Documentation and the Cathedral Chapter Library

To shed light on the symbolism inherent in the images on the capitals at La Seu (which abound in monsters, lions, and grotesque human and plant characters), we have studied the biblical, patristic and liturgical texts and the legal documents held at the cathedral, all of which make frequent mention of diabolical and cannibalistic beings. The legal documents show that from the start of his tenure in 1010, Bishop Ermengol (1010–35) was determined to restore a canonical institution that had been altered by 'diabolical men, above all certain princes [...] rapacious and insatiable as wolves'.[7] It is of little surprise that one of the most notable facets of his life was his defence of canonical and church rights and possessions against other ecclesiastics and members of the nobility, which, in a general context of conflict, led him to seek justice in the courts.[8] His will, from 1035, often refers to the devil and to sinners,[9] something that can also be observed in later documents from La Seu. For example, in 1106, Ramón Miró de Oliana plead to defrauding the community and incurring the wrath of God, for which he deserved the punishments of Hell and exclusion from Paradise.[10] Shortly after, in 1120, the oblate Pere Arnau confessed to having abandoned his spiritual vocation, allegedly after having dallied with the devil.[11] However, perhaps the most illuminating document is one issued by Bishop Ot (1095–1122), expressing his intention of saving the souls of his flock by reducing the level of corporal punishment by two thirds for those who, once they had confessed their sins and received their punishment, helped to restore the cathedral.[12]

The warnings against malign actions in these legal documents are clear, but in order to fully determine which sources and ideas inspired the sculptural repertoire of La Seu, we must also study the cathedral chapter library books that appear in an inventory dating from 1147.[13] Among the volumes describing hybrids, personifications of evil and other strange beings we find works by Classical authors including Virgil,[14] Horace,[15] Sallust, Lucan, Terence, Cicero, Persius, Arator and Homer. The library constitutes one of the most important collections of Classical authors in Catalonia, alongside the collections from Ripoll (1017), Vic (1085) and Tortosa (second half of the twelfth century). Furthermore, the cathedral possessed liturgical and patristic books (including texts by Ambrose of Milan,[16] Augustine of Hippo,[17] Pope Gregory I,[18] Origen, Jerome, the Venerable Bede and Isidore of Seville), two Bibles, the *Vitae Patrum*, a *Vita canonica*, copies of legal texts, canonical collections, some *Expositiones Psalterii Librum I*, and even, according to Miquel Gros, Jerome's *Commentary on the Psalms*.[19] This collection of works would have provided a complex repertoire of monstrous creatures that may well have inspired the patrons. We also believe it is significant that earlier inventories make no mention of psalters, whereas that of 1147 refers to three.[20] Thus, these books seem to have been purchased shortly before the inventory of 1147 was compiled.

Thematic Layout: Ellipses and Leaps and their Relationship to Routes of Circumambulation

Any visualization of the discourse that determined the layout of the capitals in the cloister of La Seu d'Urgell is hindered by the disconcerting nature of both the thematic composition and the randomness in its subject matter.[21] In this regard, on finding apparently disconnected compositions, we have tried to piece together ways in which visual thought was organized in an architectural space that can be understood as both discontinuous (with different entrances and exits) and heterogeneous in terms of how it was used and the rituals that were carried out there. We believe that some images were related to each other despite the physical spaces between them, whereas others encouraged a mnemonic process on the part of the observer. As Cassian writes in his *Conlationes*:

> For when the mind has taken in the meaning of a passage from any Psalm, this meaning then insensibly slips away from it, and ignorantly and thoughtlessly it passes on to a text from some other Scripture [...] and the soul always turns about from Psalm to Psalm and jumps [...] and so it wanders about vaguely and uncertainly through the

Fig. 1.   General panoramic view of the cloister of Santa María in La Seu d'Urgell from the north (photo authors)

whole body of the Scripture [...]. While it is praying, it is recalling some Psalm or passage of Scripture [...]. When it repeats a passage of Scripture, it is thinking about something that has to be done, or remembering something that has been done.[22]

It is possible, therefore, that the author of the discourse at La Seu, in keeping with the mental process described by Cassian, moved back and forth, deliberately situating certain eye-catching compositions in association with others, but disregarding any linear narrative.

As intended by Medieval exegesis, the 'unconnected' positioning of these images forces their reinterpretation. In this regard, some of the images are stimulating because, in the words of Mary Carruthers, 'experiencing them in itself routs the noonday devil, for the variety they produce relieves tedium and refreshes a wearied mind'.[23] Thanks to the works of Michael Camille and Frances Yates, we know that the basis for retaining any representation, word or idea

in the memory involved visualizing spaces and filling them with unusual and shocking images. According to Encarna Montero, a good memory depended on creating images that would evoke others due to their mentally stimulating positioning and arrangement within an appropriate space; that is, their content would provide a springboard to other knowledge-bearing images.[24] Thus, in our case, the sculptures would behave as authentic 'visual texts'[25] aimed at retrieving deeply stored memories. Indeed, in Medieval stories related to dreams and visions (especially those where evil takes centre stage), the apparitions were 'agent images', figures whose strong individuality left a deep imprint.[26] We believe that this was the intention at La Seu; i.e., the layout of the images was designed to evoke passages from the Psalms when the faithful gazed upon them.

In order to understand the ensemble as a whole and the possible coded iconographic associations, we look at the parts of the building that feature the three main thematic groups (Fig. 2). Unfortunately, the
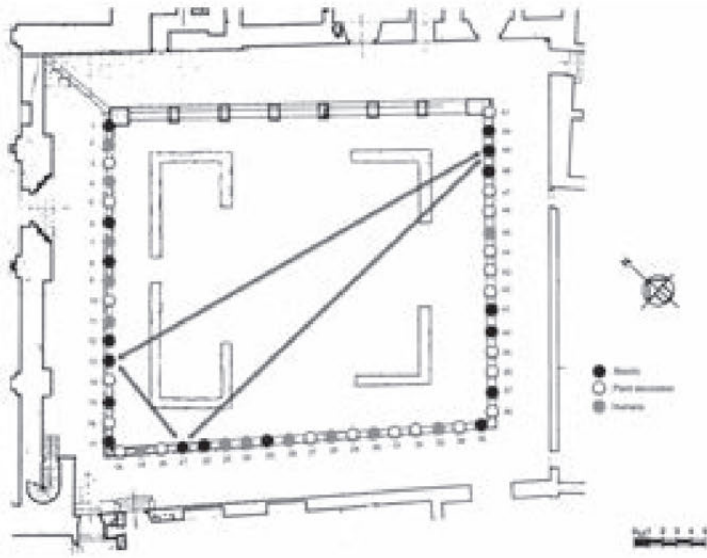
Fig. 2. Plan of the cloister, showing the numbering of the capitals and the iconographic groups in greyscale. The lines show the correlation between the apes (after *Catalunya romànica*, vol. 6, 1992, with modifications)

remodelling of the east side, where the chapter house was located, has obscured one of the most frequently trodden galleries in the cloister. This is where the clerics carried out their solemn ceremonies and observed the liturgy of the Hours, and where, according to the *Consueta*, they read the chapter's calendar, the lives of the saints and exemplary texts, and carried out the *mandatum*.[27] The loss of all the capitals from this gallery thus thwarts any full interpretation of the enclosure; consequently, our hypothesis can only be applied to three out of the four sides.

Nevertheless, on the three remaining sides, a series of compositions is repeated with few variations, and includes anthropomorphic hybrids (demons, apes with claws, gryphons and harpies), real animals (lions, eagles and snakes), indeterminate quadrupeds (dogs-dragons) and men (Fig. 3). Although humans are on occasion combined with fantastic or real creatures, on others there are only men, beasts or plants (compositions in which the foliage is associated with man or with masks that spit the foliage out or swallow it up). Missing are the frequent creatures tangled in the vegetation and the omnipresent confrontations between armed men and beasts, although animal attacks on humans are

commonplace. On the other hand, the sculptors seem to have enjoyed themselves with the *varietas* that can be seen in anecdotal details and that personalize one of the individuals or motifs that is repeated on the same capital.[28] Perhaps they did this to prevent the public from losing interest, a strategy that may also been seen in other unsettling compositions. For example, on some capitals it is at times difficult to make out from gestures and appearance whether an animal is becoming a human or a human is becoming an animal, whereas on other capitals it is impossible to distinguish to whom certain limbs belong.

Regarding the cloister's thematic layout and, above all, its visual perception, it is important to bear in mind the circumambulatory routes that would have been taken by the onlooker. It is worth emphasizing that on the north side we find two barriers that prevent access from the podium to the interior of the cloister: one is near the entrance to the church and the other is near the stairway of the east tower. The first of these barriers is flanked by polygonal shafts supporting capitals that feature scenes of punishment with either naked men who are squatting or on their backs being eaten by lions or clothed men either subjugating or being subjugated by lions.[29] The second barrier, now closed, takes the form of a plant-adorned capital and another in the corner that originally had four fronts decorated with two harpies, indicating that it was not intended to occupy its current setting. It is possible that the latter opening was the access to the lavatory which, as is usual, was close to the refectory. This gallery would have been the favoured location for burials and the most important one in liturgical terms, but it is worth noting that it also possesses the only entrances to the garden, and that similar galleries at other sites reflect this in their decoration; however, the gallery at La Seu is completely lacking any important iconographic features.

Hypothetical Interpretation: An Invocation of the Psalmody

Although it is difficult to discern the connections woven into the cloister ensemble, it cannot be disputed that evil is a dominant theme, as can be seen in

Fig. 3.   Selection of capitals with varied iconography (photos authors)

the unequivocal condemnation of the sinner and of the temptation that materializes from the terrifying visions caused by Medieval man's fear of violence and his respect for strong aggressors.[30] Despite the fact that the discourse at La Seu d'Urgell is neither narrative nor linear, we believe there is a theme that relates to one of the activities that were regularly carried out in the cloister, i.e., the reading of the Psalms, which were recited in the cloister galleries during certain ceremonies and throughout the day by those whose duty it was to learn them. Particularly important were those verses giving thanks and those that petitioned for divine assistance against evil (without doubt the principal theme in the cloister's compositions). Authors such as Cassian emphasize the need to recite these verses and advised the dutiful cleric to repeat

them 'as if he himself were their author [...] as if it was a personal prayer';[31] we believe that at La Seu this routine mental exercise would have been reinforced through contemplating these capitals.

The cloister has a certain alternating metre that can be more clearly seen when a letter is assigned to each thematic group.[32] A *chromo-cartographic* comparison reveals a metre in which monsters with an enormous force of attraction impose their own cadence. By analyzing the capital's various locations, we can discern different rhythms with parallels and repetitions that suggest both their integral and individual meanings. Nevertheless, although the original exegetic meaning has been lost, a closer inspection shows that some capitals are veritable clusters of iconographic intensity, whereas others have varying motifs

Fig. 4.   Naked, crouching apes, establishing a dialogue despite the distance between them (photos authors)

that are reflected at a distance in other similar images, albeit with variations (Fig. 4). A good illustration of this is the clawed apes that, on capitals 13, 21 and 49, appear face-on, squatting naked and making various ridiculous gestures. Most have their mouths open and are exposing themselves indecently, and thus reflect the verses from Isaiah:

> But you, come here, you children of a sorceress, you offspring of adulterers and prostitutes! Who are you mocking? At whom do you sneer and stick out your tongue? Are you not a brood of rebels, the offspring of liars? You burn with lust among the oaks and under every spreading tree.[33]

Such a message would have been both a warning to those who ridiculed the faithful and a condemnation of carnal sin, thus replicating that found in Psalm 50,

which David wrote after his seduction of Bathsheba. The three capitals are inhabited on various sides by these grotesque beings, who establish a dialogue in which they stick their tongues out at one another whilst also reminding the viewer of the need to control one's urges and, therefore, obey the rules.[34] Nevertheless, despite the relations that can be established between some of the images, the sculptural ensemble does not seem to possess any apparent discourse. Does this mean, then, that there was no rhyme or reason to the visual layout of one of the most important cloisters in the northern third of the Iberian Peninsula? Are we merely gazing upon a serious of disconnected images, or is this an explosive collection of moralizing and coercive thoughts?[35]

For decades historiographers have debated whether these kinds of images had any meaning or whether they were used strictly for decorative

purposes. The most traditionally minded studies are physiological and encyclopaedic treatises that explain each motif symbolically vis-à-vis the bestiaries, but the authors of these studies frequently overlook that most artists would have been unaware of these books.[36] Other writers accept such assertions, but also point out the diversity of the images;[37] yet other authors believe that the motifs are strictly ornamental, and therefore reject any attempts to attribute allegorical meanings to them.[38] Our view is that a particularly meticulous approach is required given the sculptures' ambiguous nature and that part of their meaning depends on where they are located.[39]

Although the aforementioned loss of other ensembles in their entirety prevents comparisons, the monstrous motifs take on supplementary readings and multivalent values. As we have stated earlier, certain subjects at La Seu, such as carnal aggression, must have acted as mnemonic stimuli for evoking the Psalms. Monsters and hybrids illustrate verses referring to a divine punishment that could only be avoided through speedy penitence, an idea found in the Augustinian definition of sin: *aversio a Deo* leading to *conversio ad creatures*. This thought was taken up by authors such as Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, who wrote that 'man has been created in the image of God, but through sin his soul has been miserably transformed to resemble that of senseless beasts'.[40] Terrifying creatures were eloquent agents of evil that inflicted physical chastisements on the guilty; such punishments are documented in the legal records at La Seu.[41] In fact, this form of punishment caused a great deal of concern to the monks and bolstered their fears of succumbing to the devil, the protagonist on the first capital on the south side. Consequently, in accordance with the rule at Compline on the first Saturday in Lent, they recited the epistle of Peter 'Be alert, be on watch! Your enemy, the Devil, roams around like a roaring lion, looking for someone to devour. Be firm in your faith and resist him'.[42]

Despite these considerations, although a patron may wish for a discourse to have a specific meaning, as Jérôme Baschet states, the viewer may well arrive at an entirely different interpretation.[43] In this regard, it is useful to recall Lina Bolzoni, who asserted that both the individual who creates the code and the one who deciphers it may discern various possible associations and combinations, with the result that the code as such may take on a creative role.[44] The same can be said for the ensemble at La Seu, where it is impossible to determine the precise meaning inherent in the ensemble, just as is it impossible to know how it was interpreted by subsequent viewers. However, we can say that the patron did not intend the discourse to be closed, fixed, explicit or unequivocal; rather, quite the contrary. This required the Medieval viewer to actively participate in imbuing the ensemble with its meanings, which in turn required an intellectual aptitude and certain cultural and mental tools to be able understand what is a seemingly disjointed succession of references for the modern spectator. In this way, both for the members of the religious community and, ultimately, for the faithful, these images would have been mnemonic because they were 'firm', that is, living and powerful, and consequently they would have stimulated the memory through 'emotion' (*imago agens*)[45] and brought to mind spiritual threats through their grotesque beings and anthropophagous leonine monsters. They would have had this effect because, according to the Bible, the Psalms and the liturgy, the lion is perverse and symbolizes the destruction of humanity, concepts that struck a deep chord in the minds of those who regularly recited such verses. In addition to the aforementioned epistle of Peter, at La Seu, on the third Saturday in Advent they said 'You will tread on the lion and the cobra; you will trample the great lion and the serpent'.[46] Lion, serpent and dragon all are used in the sculptures to refer to the devil. For his part, Saint Gregory the Great, an author whose work was present in the library at La Seu, explains that Satan was referred to as a lion because of his cruelty. Likewise, Saint Isidore of Seville refers to the devil as a despicable, terrifying being feared by non-believers as if he were a lion. As is well known, many exegetic writings compare these evil beings with the persecutors of the church, and it is indicative that this seems to have been a primary concern of Bishop Ermengol, who opposed the confiscation of ecclesiastical property by laymen who, as rapacious wolves, 'tore to shreds this holy institution'.[47] Likewise, Bishop Ot and his successor Pere Berenguer (1122–41) also took care of the church's affairs and struggled against the abuses of the nobility.[48] A short time later, these struggles with secular power came to a head when Bernat Sanç (1141–62) was taken prisoner by Count Ermengol VI and deposed from the bishopric under accusations of simony, although he would later be pardoned by the Pope.[49]

Fig. 5. Entrance to the church: detail of the little heads on the archivolts (photo authors)

Consequently, our hypothesis revolves around the idea that many of the representations may be deciphered through reference to the Psalms. In general, they provided stimuli that may or may not have functioned simultaneously and that resonated in the minds of the spectators. Their role would have been to awaken emotions (*compungitur, animatur, spe* and *formidine* in the words of Theophilus[50]) and to provide an *exemplum* in its broadest sense that would encourage the observer to reflect on and reform his life.[51] In effect, as was stated by David d'Avray,[52] an image can offer much more than a text because of its immediacy; all the elements and relations established between the images can be readily understood, whereas reading a text requires more time and effort. Images are agentive in the sense that they enable the believer (monk, novice or layman) to remember certain passages, most of which at La Seu d'Urgell are taken from the Psalms. Those who were aware of this mechanism would have understood how it was employed at La Seu and would have thus

interpreted representations of malign influences on the sinner as a reference to Psalm 32, 'many are the woes of the wicked',[53] or to Psalm 24, which the documents show was recited by the canons as they left the refectory, accompanied by the pealing of the bell for night prayers, to proceed into the church where they would begin the prayer *Gratias tibi ago, onmipotens Pater*.[54] Moreover, this verse explains the small heads and the verse featured on the door that connects the cloister with the church: 'Lift up your heads, you gates'[55] (Fig. 5). In this regard, we should highlight the living character of the stones used, which according to Jérôme Baschet, Jean-Claude Bonne and Olivier Dittmar, imbue its very materials with a spiritual quality.[56]

This quality may also be observed in the quadrangle, where certain images are in harmonious juxtaposition with architectural elements. This is the case with the heads on the abacuses of capitals 4, 9, 22, 25, 28 and 33; that is, the *capita* are situated on the *capitella*.[57] Likewise, plants would have invoked

Fig. 6.   Access to the courtyard (still open): details of the capitals (photos authors)

Paradise where evil first appeared, and the characters that emerge from enormous leaves, as on capitals 4, 26 and 30, alluded to the clean-living man who, as Psalm 1 puts it, 'is like a tree planted by streams of water, which yields its fruit in season and whose leaf does not wither'.[58] As such, they represent the original individuals to whom God gave dominion over his works[59] in a spacious place,[60] and evoke the righteous who will inherit the earth and who will dwell in it forever[61] (Fig. 6). The same concept is shared by those holding branches on capital 2 just after the winged demons: 'Blessed is the one who does not walk in step with the wicked [...] but whose delight is in the law of the Lord, and who meditates on his law day and night'.[62] These images were related to the naked female figures with male genitals on capital 7 who are holding thorns

and who allude to those mentioned in the rest of the Psalm, 'Not so the wicked! They are like chaff that the wind blows away. Therefore the wicked will not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the assembly of the righteous'.[63] These last verses explain the subsequent scene in which the same characters are eaten by lions.

The identification of lions with evil is so well established that it needs no further discussion; however, it is worth highlighting their importance in the Psalms, as is shown in 'Lest he tear my soul like a lion, rending it in pieces, while there is none to deliver',[64] a verse that, as with many others, was echoed on such capitals as 8, 9, 35 and 37. Part of the sculptural repertoire intimates phrases such as 'His eyes watch in secret for his victims; like a lion in cover he lies in wait. He lies in wait to catch the helpless';[65] which

Fig. 7. Capital 23 showing four musicians (photo authors)

is suggested on capital 4, or 'The wicked lie in wait for the righteous, intent on putting them to death'.[66] We also suggest that capitals 9, 11 and 35 refer to Psalm 22: 'Dogs surround me, a pack of villains encircles me; they pierce my hands and my feet'.[67] A considerable number of capitals feature individuals sticking out their tongues, in reference to the flattering mouths and boastful tongues of Psalms 64: 'He will turn their own tongues against them and bring them to ruin; all who see them will shake their heads in scorn',[68] and 39: 'Deliver me, O Lord, from lying lips, from a deceitful tongue'.[69] And some capitals, such as 19, 24 and 45, reproduce what the Bible refers to as the iniquities over the heads of sinners, which appear in the Psalms as 'my guilt has overwhelmed me like a burden too heavy to bear'[70] or 'Keep me safe from the traps set by evildoers, from the snares they have laid for me'.[71]

Within an ensemble filled with evil beings and plants, capital 23 stands out for its representation of four musicians (Fig. 7). Their meaning is ambiguous given that music was approved when used in liturgy, but was censured at other times for its connections with lechery and immorality. Here, given the lay spectators who would have passed through the cloister, it seems to make more sense to link the musicians with the profane. According to the liturgy of the Hours, during the commemoration of the Last Supper, the *mandatum* was celebrated in the chapter house, which meant that this part of the cloister was open to people who were not members of the religious community (except for the poor, for whom it was celebrated in the refectory).[72] By the same token, and in line with Carme Batlle, we should also consider another activity occurring in this place, namely almsgiving. This was encouraged by the most important men in the city through the act of giving bread to the poor; in fact, once the religious community ceased to live within the *claustrum* by the end of the twelfth century, the refectory became simply an almshouse.[73]

Conclusion

Our interpretation of the capitals in the cloister at La Seu d'Urgell is the first to assert that they can be understood as more than a form of incidental decoration. However, the disappearance or mutilation of other comparable ensembles pose serious difficulties to a comprehensive interpretation, and we must also recognize that the same iconographic motifs occur in other parts of the building as well, such as the church or the external gallery of the apse. Our analysis approaches the cloister as both a physical, identitygiving realm and a functional and processional space and thus contributes to the historiographical literature that discusses the difficulties inherent in determining the ornamental function and significance of iconographies. Our hypothesis accepts the multifaceted meaning of the monstrous images as well as the ambivalence of Medieval attitudes in the face of these creatures; in so doing, it points to their use as a mnemonic resource and admonishment, reminding the viewer to behave well at all times.

Although the sources are varied and the relationship between the visual signs and the texts is equivocal, we propose an interpretation based on the books held in the cathedral library and, above all, the Psalms that would have been recited by the members of the religious community. The apparently disorganized arrangement of the themes leads us to ask whether it is close to, or influenced by, certain metric and syntactic structures used in these texts. The non-linearity may be due to certain qualities found in this type of literature, which is elliptical by nature, expresses ideas in few words, and refuses to link concepts that would allow disconnected words to inspire in the listener that which the poet has not managed through the text. Indeed, we could extrapolate to the visual realm the following words of the exegetic scholar Hermann Gunkel: 'Longer poetic works would be easier to interpret because the individual passages could be explained in view of other passages'.[74] Those who entered the cloister and gazed upon the capitals were met by 'explosive visions' whose mostly perfidious creatures recalled, among other things, the influence of evil forces over the carnal. The violence of the beasts urged both the religious community and the laymen who occasionally entered the cloister to adopt good thoughts in the face of sinful imaginings, which were mostly illustrated by images of lechery that invoked a kind of *exemplum ex contrariis*. In this way, the sculptures fulfilled their purpose of acting as a mnemonic device that would remind the viewer of the potential of Afterlife, a theme that can also be found in the abundant documentation stored at this cathedral whose monumental cloister is without equal in Romanesque architecture around the Mediterranean.

NOTES

[1] *Urgellia. Anuari d'estudis històrics dels antics comtats de Cerdanya, Urgell i Pallars, d'Andorra i la Vall d'Aran*, vols IV, VIII, IX and X, La Seu d'Urgell, 1981, 1986–87, 1988–89 and 1990–91.

[2] *Urgellia*, IX, 1988–89, doc. 1445.

[3] *Urgellia*, IX, 1988–89, docs. 1437 and 1439.

[4] *Urgellia*, X, 1990–91, doc. 1690.

[5] The regular dimensions of the capitals and cymatia, 38–40 cm high by 40–42 cm wide, confirm their contemporaneousness.

[6] Of particular importance among the oldest works is Pascual SANZ, 'Monografía y Restauración de la catedral de la Seo de Urgel', in *Anuario de la Asociación de Arquitectos de Cataluña*, 1906–07, pp. 39–153. The year 1918 saw the publication of a study that would remain the classic reference work for many years: Josep PUIG I CADAFALCH, *Santa Maria de la Seu d'Urgell: Estudi monogràfic*, Barcelona, 1918, pp. 48–49, 73–95. The study mentions a gallery that preceded the southern lateral portal of the church, details the terms of the contract to renovate the east wing, highlights the reforms carried out in the second half of the thirteenth century and the fourteenth century, and shows that the capitals of Sant Sadurní de Tavèrnoles are analogous. For a short article that offers little in the way of fresh insights, see: Pedro PUJOL, 'La catedral de Seo de Urgel', in *Ilerda*, 8, 1947, pp. 43–48. For his part, Marcel Durliat located the origins of the sculptures in the orbit of Roussillon, which leads him to situate its chronology at the end of the twelfth century or even in the thirteenth: Marcel DURLIAT, *La sculpture romane en Rousillon. Les premiers essais du XIe siècle. Les ateliers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa et de Serrabone*, vol. I, Perpignan, 1948, p. 94. The Roussillon influence was noted in the same year in José GUDIOL RICART & Juan A.

GAYA NUÑO, *Arquitectura y escultura románicas. Ars Hispaniae*, vol. V, Madrid, 1948, p. 64, 73, 76, and further developed by Frederic-Pau VERRIÉ, 'L'arquitectura romànica', in *L'Art Català*, vol. I, Barcelona, 1957, pp. 164–65 and Joaquín YARZA, *Arte y arquitectura en España 500–1250*, Madrid, 1979, p. 296, 299, 304. Josep PUIG I CADAFALCH, in *L'escultura romànica a Catalunya*, 3 vols, Barcelona, 1949, contributes nothing new. The year 1961 saw the publication of Eduard JUNYENT, *Catalogne romane*, vol. II, La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1960–1961, pp. 37–46, which continues in the same vein as previous works. The connection with Ripoll is established in Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, 'La sculpture à Ripoll au XIIème siècle', in *Bulletin Monumental*, 131, 1973, pp. 311–50, and is further developed by authors such as Núria de DALMASES & Antoni J. PITARCH in *Els inicis i l'art romànic. Segles IX- XII*, Barcelona, 1986, pp. 111–12, 141–43 and 233 and Eduard JUNYENT in *Catalunya romànica. L'arquitectura del segle XII*, Montserrat, 1976, pp. 71–89. Joaquín YARZA, in 'Aproximació estilística i iconogràfica a la portada de Santa Maria de Covet', in *Quaderns d'estudis medievals*, 9, 1982, pp. 535–56, points to similarities with Covet whilst also proposing a date of between 1150 and 1160. Marcel DURLIAT in *El arte románico*, Madrid, 1982, pp. 509–10 emphasizes the Roussillon link and mentions continuity between the decoration of the cathedral and that of the cloister, which was built, according to him, at the end of the twelfth century. Fresh impetus is given to the idea that the cloistral ensemble and the altar were produced by the same workshop that worked on La Seu in Mathies DELCOR, 'Un monastère aux portes de la Seu d'Urgell: Sant Sadurní de Tabernoles', in *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 17, 1986, pp. 43–70. The cloister's Baroque project was discussed in 1990 by Juan BASSEGODA, 'Proyectos barrocos para la Seu d'Urgell', in *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 3, 1990, pp. 151–80. Pere BESERAN, in 'L'escultura de Santa Maria de la Seu d'Urgell', in *Catalunya romànica. L'Alt Urgell. Andorra*, vol. VI, Barcelona, 1992, pp. 334–50, insists on 1175 as the *terminus ante quem* and proposes 1150 for the construction of the cloister, this being the last undertaking of the sculptors who worked on the building. That study also describes for the first time the iconography of the capitals, whose distribution is shown in a plan and which are photographed in detail. The following year, two capitals from the Episcopal Palace in Barcelona were shown to contain compositions that refer to the cloister in Inmaculada LORÉS, 'L'escultura romànica del Palau Episcopal de Barcelona', in *D'Art*, 19, 1993, pp. 211–26. Francesca ESPAÑOL, in 'L'escultura romànica catalana en el marc dels intercanvis hispanollenguadocians', in *Gombau de Camporells, bisbe de Lleida. A l'alba del segle XIII*, Lleida, 1996, pp. 44–62 and 67–71, argues that everything at Urgell, apart from one capital that is connected to two pieces at Ripoll, is connected with Toulouse, although without specifying the exact influences, and that the work at Urgell shares the figurative culture and some of the same solutions of the master at Covet. She proposes 1175 as the *terminus ante quem* for the execution of the sculpture and downplays its connections with Italy whilst asserting that its sculptors were also responsible for the cloister of Tavèrnoles and for Santa Maria de Gerri, a work dated by its act of consecration in 1149. For his part, Pere Beseran published an article on sculpture that mainly discusses iconography from Toulouse and Italy: Pere BESERAN, 'Originalitat i tradició en l'escultura monumental de la catedral de la Seu d'Urgell', in *Lambard*, 9, 1996, pp. 49–73. His in-depth discussion of the problem of the Lombards in Catalonia concludes that La Seu demonstrates originality rather than a dependence on Roussillon. He points to Cuxa as the place to look for parallels, although he argues that the foreign component points to the Way of St James. Xavier BARRAL I ALTET in 'El segle XII i la renovació de l'escultura catalana', in *Art de Catalunya. Ars Cataloniae. Escultura antiga i medieval*, Barcelona, 1997, pp. 127–30, dates the sculpture to around 1160–70 on the basis of the subject matter and the position of the capitals in the tribune of the south gallery at Serrabona, and maintains that the iconography is from Roussillon with influences from Toulouse and repertoires from Ripoll. Various pages are devoted to the sculpture in the latest monograph on the cathedral by Joan-Albert ADELL, Pere BESERAN, Albert SIERRA & Albert VILLARÓ in *La catedral de la Seu d'Urgell*, Manresa, 2000, pp. 108–29, 313–50. The authors underline the aesthetic unity and plurality of the sites and suggest that by 1175 the sculptors may have abandoned the cathedral workshop or that they were working on the completion of the cloister, which would explain the lack of sculpture in the tallest parts of the building. They also believe that the north wing was built first and that the west and south wings were built by a second master related to Covet, which leads them to date the work to around 1165–75. They point to formal influences from the workshops of Roussillon and Toulouse, the occasional feature from Verona (although this is hotly contested), and analogies with pieces carried out in Compostela, León, Jaca, Loarre and Uncastillo; and they study the parallels with Gerri, San Sebastián dels Gorgs, San Martín Sarroca and point to the reappearance of these influences at Tavèrnoles and Tremp.

[7] *Urgellia*, IV, 1981, doc. 315.

[8] Prim BERTRAN, *Ermengol d'Urgell (1010–1035). L'obra d'un bisbe del segle XI*, Barcelona, 2010, p. 21.

[9] 'Ever since the Lord and our Saviour […] has wrested humankind from the power of the devil and from eternal death, and thus damned death itself, it has been a source of wonder that wretched men […] should spontaneously give themselves back to the devil and, finding themselves once more accompanied by death, subjugate themselves to its chains […]. He, who is good, compassionate, merciful and benevolent, willing to forgive, invites us to penitence and promises us that: "in the moment that the sinner converts and seeks forgiveness, I will forget all of his sins"'. Cit. Benigne MARQUÉS, 'El testament de sant Ermengol (14-XII-1033)', in *Església d'Urgell*, 55, 1977, pp. 11–12.

[10] *Urgellia*, III, 1980, doc. 1229.

[11] *Urgellia*, IX, 1988–89, doc. 1325.

[12] *Urgellia*, IX, 1988–89, doc. 1345.

[13] Miquel GROS, 'La biblioteca de la Catedral de la Seu d'Urgell als segles X–XII', in *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia*, 26, 2005, pp. 101–24. In 1937, the first list of the cathedral's *memoria librorum* was published in Pere PUJOL, 'De la cultura catalana medieval. Una biblioteca dels temps romànics', in *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 17, 1937, pp. 6–27. See also Anscari MUNDÓ, 'La cultura i els llibres a Catalunya, segles VIII a XII', in *Obres Completes*, vol. I, Barcelona & Montserrat, 1997, pp. 484–582.

[14] We know that a *Librum Virgilii Eneidum* remains, of which line 268, *Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram*, engenders an uneasiness that leads to a fear of the soon-to-be-revealed

unknown. Lines 273 to 281 are a catalogue of personifications of Pain, Worry, Diseases, Old Age, Fear, Hunger, Need, Death, Fatigue, Torpor and Guilty Pleasures of the Soul that occupy the threshold of the Fauces. The description of this entrance is completed with a succession of mythological monsters such as Centaurs, Chimeras, Gorgons and Harpies. Regarding the Classical tradition in Medieval Catalonia, see: Pere J. QUETGLAS, 'La tradició clàssica a l'edat mitjana als països de parla catalana', in *Ítaca. Quaderns Catalans de Cultura Clàssica*, 23, 2007, pp. 11–26.

[15] In his Letter to the Piso family, *De arte poetica*, Horace mentions the use of monsters by the artists, and alludes to terrible hybrids such as Scylla, Charybdis and the Cyclops.

[16] This may be the celebrated commentary *Super Lucam alium* or that of the Venerable Bede, used during matins: GROS, 'La biblioteca', p. 110.

[17] Examples would be the *Decadem*, the commentaries on the Psalms known as the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, or the copy of the *De Trinitate*. See: *Ibidem*, p. 107.

[18] The *Quarente*, which contains the forty homilies preached by the pope, according to *Ibidem*, p. 106. Also, in Gros's opinion, there was a *Regula Pastorali*, the *Dialogorum*, which was present in every cathedral and monastery library, the *Moralia in Job* and the *Libro de las Sentencias* by Tayon de Zaragoza, which summarizes his spiritual doctrine.

[19] GROS, 'La biblioteca', p. 109.

[20] *Ibidem*, p. 113.

[21] Regarding the relationship between images and their special setting, see: Luis MERINO, *Retórica y artes de memoria en el humanismo renacentista: Jorge de Trebisonda, Pedro de Ravena y Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas*, Cáceres, 2007, where he explains *logos et imagines* as a form of memorization writing in which *imagines* resemble letters and the *loci* resemble the wax on which they are printed.

[22] 'The Conferences of John Cassian', Conference 10, cap. XIV, in *Documenta Catholica Omnia*, official site of the *Cooperatorum Veritatis Societas*, http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu (consulted online in April 2014). Although there is no record of it in the cathedral chapter library at La Seu d'Urgell, it was known in Catalan lands by the tenth century: José RIUS, 'Noticia de una página del tratado de *Conlationes* de Casiano conservada en el Archivo Diocesano de Barcelona', in *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, XII, 1936, pp. 441–50.

[23] Mary CARRUTHERS, '*Varietas*: A world of many colors', in *Poetica: Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, 2009, pp. 33–54, here 39. See also: Paolo ROSSI, *Clavis Universalis. Arti della memoria e logica combinatoria da Lullo a Leibniz*, Milan & Naples, 1960; Mary CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 1990; Paolo ROSSI, *Il passato, la memoria, l'oblio. Sei saggi di storia delle idee*, Bologna, 1991; Mary CARRUTHERS, *The Craft of Thought. Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200*, Cambridge, 1998; Lina BOLZONI, 'The Play of Memory between Words and Images', in *Memory and Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIVth International Congress of the History of Art*, ed. Wessel REININK & Jeroen STUMPEL, Dordrecht, 1999, pp. 11–18; Lina BOLZONI, *La rete delle immagini. Predicazione in volgare dalle origini a Bernardino da Siena*, Turin, 2002; Mary CARRUTHERS & Jan M. ZIOLKOWSKI (ed.), *The*

Medieval Craft of Memory. An Anthology of Texts and Pictures, Philadelphia, 2002 and Frances A. YATES, *The Art of Memory*, Chicago, 1966.

[24] Encarna MONTERO, 'La puesta a punto del observatorio: visión, historia del arte medieval perceptualismo y semiótica', in *Ars longa: Cuadernos de arte*, 14–15, 2006, p. 52.

[25] According to the terms as used by Carmen GALÁN & Mª Isabel RODRÍGUEZ, 'Emblemas y arte de memoria en el Tesoro de Covarrubias: perspectivas semióticas', in *Revista Signa*, 22, 2013, pp. 311–12.

[26] Regarding Christian doctrine on dreams and visions, see: Jacques LE GOFF & Nicola TRUONG, *Une histoire du corps au Moyen Age*, Paris, 2003, pp. 69–75. Requesting *somnia et noctium phantasmata* to stay away is common in prayers at the end of the day, as can be seen in the lines by Ambrose in the Compline hymn.

[27] Miquel GROS, 'La consueta antiga de la Seu d'Urgell (Vic, Mus. Episc., MS 131)', in *Urgellia*, I, 1978, pp. 183–266.

[28] As can be seen on columns 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 13, 14, 23, 30, 33, 45 and 49.

[29] These differences can only be seen by moving around the capital.

[30] Meyer SHAPIRO, 'The Sculptures of Souillac', in *Romanesque Art*, 1, 1977 [1939], p. 123.

[31] 'With the deepest emotion of heart not as if they were the compositions of the Psalmist, but rather as if they were his own utterances and his very own prayer [...] and will recognize that their words were not only fulfilled formerly by or in the person of the prophet, but that they are fulfilled and carried out daily in his own case [...]', cit. from 'The Conferences of John Cassian', conference 10, cap. XI, in *Documenta Catholica Omnia*.

[32] That is, A: dominated by beasts, B: dominated by humans and C: dominated by plants. The reading may be as follows: on the north side: ABC BCA / BB–BCB–AA / CA CA; on the east side: CBCA / CB–BCB–CBC–BC / CBCA; on the south side: CB–CCA–CCC–CBC–CCA–AC.

[33] Isaiah 57:3–5.

[34] The apes at Silos have been read as images of the bad monk who disobeys the rules of his order; see: Justo PÉREZ DE URBEL, *El claustro de Silos*, Burgos, 1975, p. 172. The pejorative meaning attached to monks can be traced back to Church Fathers, who branded them as pagans and heretics. Well-known instances are the teachings of Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus, as well as Prudentius, Augustine and Isidore of Seville, some of whose writings are found in the cathedral library at La Seu d'Urgell.

[35] Some studies have confirmed that theriomorphic decoration was an essential tool for the ambit or image in which it is used. Boto Varela states that, on occasion, it reinforced doctrinal programmes, although for the most part aesthetic tastes were the primary cause behind these motifs' proliferation, see: Gerardo BOTO VARELA, *Ornamento sin delito. Los seres imaginarios del claustro de Silos y sus ecos en la escultura románica peninsular*, Silos, 2001, p. 38.

[36] Bestiaries were not used in the Iberian kingdoms to transmit zoological knowledge, as was the case on the other side of the Pyrenees, see: *Ibidem*, p. 103.

[37] Francis KLINGENDER, *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1971; Otto K. WERCKMEISTER, 'Jugglers in a Monastery', in *Oxford Art Journal*, 17, 1, 1994, pp. 60–64; Michael CAMILLE, 'How New York Stole the

Idea of Romanesque Art: Medieval, Modern and Postmodern in Meyer Shapiro', in *Ibidem*, pp. 65–75; Jan M. ZIOLKOWSKI, 'Literary Genre and Animal Symbolism', in *Animals and the Symbolic in Medieval Art and Literature*, 20, Groningen, 1997; Jacques VOISENET, *Bêtes et hommes dans le monde médiévale. Le bestiaire des clercs du Vᶜ au XIIᶜ siècle*, Turnhout, 2000; Thomas E. A. DALE, 'Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms in the Cloister of St-Michel-de-Cuixa', in *The Art Bulletin*, 83, 3, 2001, pp. 402–36; Elizabeth VALDEZ DEL ÁLAMO, *Palace of the Mind: The Cloister of Silos and Spanish Sculpture of the Twelfth Century*, Turnhout, 2012.

[38] Emile MÂLE, *Religious Art in France. The Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*, Princeton NJ, 1978, pp. 339–41; Meyer SHAPIRO, 'Sobre la actitud estética en el arte románico', in *Estudios sobre el románico*, Madrid, 1984 [1947], pp. 13–36.

[39] Since the appearance of Émile MÂLE's *Twelfth Century*, various authors have looked at the difficulties that arise when trying to determine the meaning of these types of image, see: Nurith KENAAN-KEDAR, *Marginal Sculpture in Medieval France: Towards the Deciphering of an Enigmatic Pictorial Language*, Aldershot, 1995; James TRILLING, 'Medieval Interlace Ornament: The Making of a Cross-Cultural Idiom', in *Arte Medievale*, II, 9, 1995, pp. 59–86; Thomas E. A. DALE, 'The monstrous', in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad RUDOLF, Oxford, 2006, pp. 255–58; Gerardo BOTO, 'Marginalia o la fecundación de los contornos vacíos: historiografía, método y escrutinio de los primeros márgenes hispanos (920–1150)', in *La miniatura medieval en la Península Ibérica*, Murcia, 2007, n. 4, p. 422; Inés RUIZ, 'Del mito al símbolo cristiano: el claustro de Silos', in *Anales de Historia del Arte*, nº Extra I, 2010, pp. 125–50 (although we do not agree with the latter's findings).

[40] *Bernardi Claraevallensis Abbatis, In annuntiatione B. Mariae Virginis sermo 1, 7, Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXIII, col. 389.

[41] Examples of this, which also cover a broad timeframe, are the aforementioned document by Bishop Ot dated to between 1095 and 1122, and the subsequent *examen candentis ferri illus censum* suffered by the inhabitants of Mas de Miró in 1196, see: *Urgellia*, VII, 1984–1985, doc. 1345 and *Urgellia*, XI, 1992–1993, doc. 1879.

[42] '[...] because you know that other believers throughout the world are going through the same kind of sufferings, I Peter 5, 8–9. These same verses were sung every night and at Compline by other communities such as that of Moissac.

[43] Jérôme BASCHET, 'Inventivité et sérialité des images médiévales. Pour une approche iconographique élargie', in *Annales HSS*, I, 1996, pp. 106–07.

[44] Lina BOLZONI, 'Emblemi e arte della memoria: alcune note su invenzione e ricezione', in *Florilegio de Estudios de Emblemática. A florilegium of studies on emblematics*, ed. Sagrario LÓPEZ, La Coruña, 2004, p. 20.

[45] See GALÁN & RODRÍGUEZ, 'Emblemas y arte de memoria', p. 296.

[46] Psalm 91, 13 in accordance with the Rule of Saint Benedict and the Liturgy of the Hours. Regarding the latter, see Miquel GROS, 'La consueta de la Seu d'Urgell', in *Urgellia*, I, 1978, p. 201, n. 78.

[47] *Urgellia*, IV, 1981, doc. 315, transcribed in Manuel RIU, 'Santa Maria de la Seu d'Urgell' in *Catalunya Romànica*, vol. 6, Barcelona, 1992, p. 322.

[48] An example can be found in *Urgellia*, IX, 1988–1989, doc. 1342.

[49] Jaime VILLANUEVA, *Viage literario à las iglesias de España. Viage a Urgel*, vol. XI, Madrid, 1850, p. 48; ap. doc. XI, pp. 201–02 (*Innocentii Papae II. Breve super electione episcop. Urgell., anno circiter MCXLII*).

[50] *Prologus librum tertrium di Theophili, qui et Rugerus, presbyteri et monachi, libri 3, de diversis artivus: seu Diversarum artium schedula*, transl. with notes by Robert HENDRIE, Toronto, 1901, p. 206.

[51] Regarding the different ways of interpreting the term *exemplum* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Jean-Claude SCHMITT, *Prêcher d'exemples. Récits de prédicateurs du Moyen Âge*, París, 1985, p. 10.

[52] David L. D'AVRAY, *The Preaching of the Friars. Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300*, Oxford, 1985, pp. 66–67, cited in Marie-Pierre GELIN, *Lumen ad revelationem gentium. Iconographie et liturgie à Christ Church, Canterbury 1175–1220*, Turnhout, 2006, p. 129, n. 67.

[53] Psalm 32:10.

[54] 'Unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul', Psalm 25:1. According to GROS, 'La consueta', p. 194, and Eduardo CARRERO, 'La seu d'Urgell. El último conjunto de iglesias. Liturgia, paisaje urbano y arquitectura', in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 40/1, 2010, p. 269.

[55] 'Be lifted up, you ancient doors, that the King of Glory may come in. [...] Lift up your heads, you gates; lift them up, you ancient doors, that the King of Glory may come in!', Psalm 24:7–9. Some versions of the Bible translate the word *caput* as *lintel*.

[56] Jérôme BASCHET, Jean-Claude BONNE & Olivier DITTMAR, '*Iter* et *locus*. Lieu rituel et agencement du décor sculpté dans les églises d'Auvergne', in *Images Re-vues, Hórs-série*, 3, 2012, online journal consulted at http://imagesrevues.org/1608, p. 9. See also: Jérôme BASCHET, Jean-Claude BONNE & Pierre-Olivier DITTMAR, *Le Monde Roman. Par-delà le bien et le mal*, Paris, 2012.

[57] BASCHET, BONNE & DITTMAR, *Le Monde Roman*, p. 127. According to Baschet, the heads that support the abacuses do not represent, but rather act, and are invisible forces. The presence of these creatures in the heart of the ecclesiastical building provides a *transitus* for moving up a level; *Anima vegetabilis* in the living world is the term used by BASCHET, BONNE & DITTMAR, *Le Monde Roman* p. 134.

[58] Psalm 1:3.

[59] Psalm 8:7.

[60] Psalm 31:8.

[61] Psalm 37:29; or Psalm 119:165.

[62] Psalm 1:1–2.

[63] Psalm 1:4–6.

[64] Psalm 7:3.

[65] Psalm 10:9.

[66] Psalm 37:32.

[67] Psalm 22:17.

[68] Psalm 64:9.

[69] Psalm 120:2–4; or Psalm 12:3–4: 'Everyone lies to their neighbour; they flatter with their lips but harbour deception in their hearts. May the Lord silence all flattering lips and every boastful tongue'. The Psalmody is extensive: Psalms 17, 31, 39, 52, and 64.

[70] Psalm 38:4.

[71] Psalm 141:9; Psalms 18, 119 and 140 are similar. We do not agree with Pere Beserán that this composite type, in which we can see ribbons above the heads, is a misinterpretation of individuals pulling their hair: BESERAN, 'L'escultura', pp. 335–36.

[72] As the *consueta* indicates, *Post hec fiat mandatum, primo pauperum in refectorio, deinde clericorum in capitulo, et cantetur antifone* 'cena facta' *et alie ad sufficiendum*: GROS, 'La consueta', p. 225. For more details on life in the chapter, see: Miquel GROS, 'Un fragment de l'antigua consueta de la Seu d'Urgell', in *Urgellia*, XV, 2002–2005, pp. 191–99; Francesc X. PARÉS, *L'Ordinari d'Urgell de 1536*, La Seu d'Urgell, 2002; Francesc X. ALTÉS, *El Processoner de la Seu d'Urgell imprès l'any 1527 (edició facsimilar monocroma)*, Barcelona, 2007; and the *consueta nova* dating from 1418, analyzed by Marc Sureda in an unpublished study. In this regard, it is no surprise that the relief set into the southeastern angle should have a face with branches emerging from its mouth. This typology can be linked to new life and as such is an appropriate meaning in the context of Easter liturgy.

[73] Carme BATLLE, 'Les institucions benèfiques de la Seu d'Urgell durant l'Edat Mitjana (segles XI–XV)', in *Urgellia*, VI, 1983, p. 293.

[74] Hermann GUNKEL, *An Introduction of the Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel*, Macon GA, 1998 [1933], p. 2.

Romanesque Sculpture in Zamora and Salamanca and its Connections to Santiago de Compostela

José Luis Hernando Garrido

Abstract

This article explores the relationship between Romanesque sculpture in and around Santiago de Compostela and the cathedrals of Salamanca and Zamora. The quality and texture of the sculpture in Zamora and Salamanca cannot be understood without taking into account the patronage by the Leonese kings Fernando II and Alfonso IX involving the workshops of Santiago de Compostela. This most important city on the pilgrim route to *finis terrae* supplied sculptors and builders to the various workshops of northwestern Spain, including Benavente, Zamora, Toro, and Salamanca during the last two decades of the twelfth and the first three decades of the thirteenth centuries.

Siempre la claridad viene del cielo;
es un don: no se halla entre las cosas
sino muy por encima, y las ocupa
haciendo de ello vida y labor propias.
Así amanece el día; así la noche
cierra el gran aposento de sus sombras.
Y esto es un don. ¿Quién hace menos creados
cada vez a los seres? ¿Qué alta bóveda
los contiene en su amor?
(Claudio Rodríguez, *Don de la ebriedad*)[1]

Eduardo Carrero once stated that the ecclesiastical topography of Iberian cathedrals has hitherto remained one of the great unknowns.[2] The work carried out during recent years by *Templa* research group researchers based at the University of Girona has significantly improved our understanding of cathedral complexes. One aspect is the use of cloisters and cemeteries for important burials, which was very common in Hispanic cathedrals from the thirteenth century onward and provided them with a meagre income.

Zamora Cathedral and Cloister

In the year 1135, Alfonso VII made a donation to the cathedral of the Saviour in Zamora in which he emphasized the need to construct a cloister with a refectory, a dormitory, and other canonical buildings. This was the same year in which Bernardo de Perigord, who had previously been a monk at Sahagún and archdeacon at Toledo, became bishop of the independent diocese of Salamanca. The Romanesque cathedral at Zamora had three semi-circular apses and was built over a high Medieval building on land that had been filled with clerical buildings in the old parish of the Saviour. The new building was erected between 1151 and 1174 by Bernardo's successor, Bishop Esteban, whose epitaph (restored in the seventeenth century) compares the Zamoran cathedral with the temple of Solomon.[3]

The high altar was dedicated to the Saviour (as were the cathedrals of Santiago de Compostela, Oviedo, and Ávila), and featured a wooden frontal

embossed with precious stones and enamelled and gilt silver dating from the mid-thirteenth century. This frontal depicted Christ in Majesty in a blessing gesture and holding a book, surrounded by the twenty-four Ancients from the Apocalypse, the Evangelists, and the Apostles. It was reminiscent of the frontal commissioned in gold and silver, 1105–06, by Archbishop Gelmírez for the cathedral in Santiago de Compostela and which may have inspired the central tympanum of that cathedral's Pórtico de la Gloria (Portal of Glory).

In the cathedral at Zamora, the altar of the epistle was dedicated to Saint Nicholas, and that of the gospel was dedicated to the Virgin Mary (*de la Majestad* or *de la Calva*), the latter being used to celebrate dawn Mass. The cathedral chancel must also have had choir stalls that closed off the sides of the high altar chapel. A document from 1265 refers to the bishop's seat being carved of stone and situated close to the northern nave chapel.

The first reference to the Zamora cathedral cloister dates from 1148, when María and Aurvinda Stephaniz sold a house in the cathedral's immediate vicinity to the archdeacon Stephano. From 1202 onward, various donations, including Alfonso IX's important gift of the village of Castrotorafe (on the route to Galicia via Portugal) and the villa of Gema, funded work on the cloister, which was most probably completed between 1215 and 1220, and, according to the German traveller Hieronymus Münzer in 1495, had wooden coffering, 'in the Spanish style'.

The Medieval cloister of Zamora Cathedral was never used regularly and was destroyed by the devastating fire of 1591. The modern cloister was based on a project by Juan de Ribero Rada from 1592 and built by the brothers Juan and García de la Vega, Juan Gil del Campo, and Juan and Hernando de Nates Naveda in 1603.

The chapel of Saint Michael has survived to the present day and can be accessed from the church between the transept and the northern nave. From 1209, the chapel was used to celebrate anniversary Masses in honour of Queen Urraca, the mother of Alfonso IX, and was donated to the canons by Bishop Martín Arias. Known as Martín I (1193–1217),[4] he was a native of Santiago de Compostela and enjoyed the protection of that city's archbishop, Pedro Suárez de Deza, who had previously been bishop of Salamanca from 1166 to 1173. He was a notable cleric who was involved in commissioning the above-mentioned

Pórtico de la Gloria and who was present at the collocation of its lintels on 1 April 1188. The chapel of Saint Michael and perhaps the 'Bishop's Façade' were probably completed under Martín Arias, before hostility from military orders forced him to renounce the Zamoran see.

The chapel of Saint James, which became a chapter house during the fourteenth century and later a vestry, is located on the southwest corner of the west side up against the imposing tower erected during the reign of Bishop Don Suero (1254–86). Among the cloister's other chapels were one dedicated to Saint Anne (on the east side, used as a chapter house in the thirteenth century and then for funerals), the adjacent 'private chapel' (a latrine), and the chapels of Saint Mary Magdalene and Saint Catherine, whose locations are unknown.[5]

The mention of cloistral 'cabins' alludes without doubt to the *arcosolia* that are installed there. Other records indicate the presence of images of the Virgin Mary, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Bartholomew, Saint James, and Saint Philip in a space that was regularly used for liturgical and funeral processions. In the cathedrals of Zamora and Salamanca, there are documentary references to Apostle series decorating the cloistral pillars between the arches.[6] We know that opposite the Salamanca chapter house were paintings of the Annunciation, and Simon and Judas on the south side, Matthew on the west side (opposite the now absent altar to Our Lady of the Star), and Saint James, Saint Philip, Saint Thomas the Apostle, Saint Nicholas, Saint Bartholomew, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul in other indeterminate locations.

The Bishop's Façade of Zamora Cathedral, so called because it is opposite the Puerta del Obispo ('Bishop's Gate') in the city walls, allowed access from the Roman bridge (destroyed around 1310) and the poor district of Olivares to the interior of the old walled enclosure (references to a door, sometimes called the Puerta Optima, date from 1168). Above the gate in the old walls we can still read the epigraph:

> In the year 1230, Alfonso, King of León, took Cáceres, Montánchez, Mérida, and Badajoz and vanquished Aben-Hut, king of the Moors, who had twenty thousand horsemen and sixty thousand men, and the Zamorans were victors in the first line of combat. The same year the king died on 24 September. He reigned for 42 years. The same year this door was made.[7]

Zamora's coat of arms seems to show an armoured arm brandishing a red sign at the hero of the Vettones, Viriathus (the eight red stripes represent his victories over the Roman legions). The fortified bridge is widely held to be that with which he crossed the Duero, although this interpretation is mistaken because it is in fact the bridge which spanned the river Guadiana in the city of Mérida.

In 1230, the Zamora city militia had collaborated with Alfonso IX (who contrived to represent both Moses and David by being an archetypal example of regal power with mythical precedents) in the reconquest of Mérida; a city that was described as a true oneiric horizon on an eschatological frontier and which was home to the oldest diocese in Hispania. Lucas de Tuy states that the night before the battle for Mérida, Saint Isidore himself appeared in a vision to some Zamorans to tell them that he and other saints would ensure a Leonese victory, as he had done in 1147 when he foretold the victory of Alfonso VII in Baeza.

It is impossible not to imagine the great impression that the cathedrals of Zamora and Salamanca must have made around the turn of the thirteenth century; anyone gazing upon their elegant defensive character from the Roman bridges over the Duero and the Tormes would have found them intimidating with their impressive south-facing façades of cathedral crosses and domes crowning the highest points of both cities. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the view from the Vía de la Plata had not yet become obscured by either the Bishop's palace in Zamora or the modern buildings next to the ecclesiastical heart of Salamanca.

Alfonso IX was born in Zamora and baptised in its Romanesque cathedral in 1171; he came to the throne in 1188 whilst in refuge in Portugal. He was responsible for the reconquest of Mérida and was described as corpulent, devout, benevolent, a lover of music and of troubadours, a womanizer, and a man of violent temper who could go from extreme anger to absolute clemency. He was appointed a knight by his cousin Alfonso VIII in June 1188 in a humiliating ceremony held in San Zoilo at Carrión de los Condes; further, he did not fight in the Battle of Alarcos, was absent from the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, and went as far as allying himself with the Almohads of Abu Yusuf to attack the *campi gothorum*, an alliance that led to his excommunication and to that of his lieutenant Pedro Fernández de

Castro who died in exile in Marrakesh. Surrounded by clerics and lay advisers, he embarked upon the Extremaduran campaign, creating the dioceses of Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo, Coria, and Mérida, and defied the Castilians of Plasencia by taking Cáceres, Montánchez, Talavera la Real, Badajoz, and Mérida with the help of Castilian and Gascon mercenaries and the military orders. He founded the 'General Study' (university) of Salamanca in 1218, a suffragan diocese of Compostela, where the highest posts were held by Compostelan clerics (in 1124, Pope Callixtus II had awarded the Metropolitan statute to the Galician city at the expense of Mérida, which would never again enjoy this privilege).[8] Bernardo II, Archbishop of Compostela, received the city of Mérida from Alfonso IX, who ceded half of it to the Order of Santiago.

The sublime Pórtico de la Gloria (Portal of Glory) was begun under Fernando II — Master Mateo placed the lintels on 1 April 1188 shortly after the king died on 22 January of that same year in Benavente, the town of his birth, on the way back from Compostela — and was completed under his son Alfonso IX before 1211.[9] As Manuel Núñez has pointed out, this richly sculpted portal followed the principles of confession and communion as they were determined by the Lateran Council in 1215, commandments which Alfonso IX followed when, during a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, he received extreme unction and died in Sarria on 24 September 1230.

By then Alfonso IX was 59 years old and he received a Christian burial in the chapel of the relics at the cathedral of Compostela alongside his progenitor Fernando II ('before the eclipsed sun', Alfonso IX would sleep alongside his father, hoping one day to return to life, *Sol eclypsim patitur ex mortis objectu* — just as Solomon, who reigned for forty years and was then buried in the city of his father David).[10] Reference has already been made to the relations between the Leonese monarchy and the cathedral, where Fernando II was compared with David and Alfonso IX with his son Solomon.

In addition to having been excommunicated for his Muslim military alliances, Alfonso IX faced considerable marital problems in that both of his marriages were annulled on the grounds of consanguinity (even so, he had three children with Teresa, daughter of Sancho of Portugal, and five, including his heir, Fernando III, with the Castilian queen, Berengaria,

daughter of Alfonso VIII and Leonor of Aquitaine, in addition to another eleven illegitimate children).

In 1204, Pope Innocent III instructed Martín López, Archbishop of Toledo, and the bishops Mauricio de Burgos and Martín I of Zamora, to absolve Berengaria, who was by then separated from Alfonso IX. Pedro Suárez de Deza, Archbishop of Compostela and previously a bishop at Salamanca, and the bishops Orderico de Palencia and Martín I de Zamora, were responsible for obtaining absolution for a king who would never marry again.

Could it be, as was suggested by Ávila de la Torre, that Urraca of Portugal (1151–88), the mother of Alfonso IX, occupies the tomb of the church of Santa María Magdalena at Zamora?[11] The excellent Bishop's Façade at Zamora Cathedral provides perfect clues to make comparisons to details of the notable tomb in that church (commonly known as La Magdalena) which is related to the Pórtico de la Gloria and the stone choir stalls of Master Mateo at Santiago de Compostela, and to Romanesque sculptures at Benavente and other pieces in Salamanca.

The Bishop's Façade that closes off the southern cathedral transept is built on a steep slope that overlooks the river Duero and features voussoirs that were later imitated in the churches of San Martín at Salamanca and São Pedro at Ferreira (Paços da Ferreira, Porto) and which are in perfect harmony with the ribs attached to the cathedral dome segments. It is a form of decoration that, with slight variations, can be seen reproduced in the Zamoran churches of Santiago del Burgo, San Ildefonso, Santa María de la Horta, and San Leonardo (and even in a rose window at Villamuriel de Cerrato), and it is a synthesis of the double entrance to the south transept of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. It may be assumed that the other two (now absent) Romanesque entrances of Zamora Cathedral (on the west and north sides) were similar to the Bishop's Façade in their general outline and organisation.

One is tempted to compare the Bishop's Façade's remarkably simple capitals and their plant motifs and their close relatives on the church of San Juan de Puerta Nueva's south façade with those of the Mezquita in Córdoba. They certainly share simplicity and elegance, both derived from Roman models, and it seems as if the sculptors who were working on the Zamoran façades may have drawn on such Islamic 'exoticism' (although no great physical distance

separated it from them) to produce military scenes that could transport them to the holy lands of Saladin and Richard the Lionheart.

Some of the plant motifs on the Zamora Cathedral capitals and those that flank the *Maiestas* of the Bishop's Façade, which themselves are related to San Vicente in Ávila, are reminiscent of certain capitals used in Saint Abraham's monastery in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Such typically Corinthian models can also be seen in the façade of the Bishop's palace in Zamora, an eighteenth-century building that may have reused Romanesque pieces retrieved from one of the cathedral's façades, although these pieces may also have been spolia from Mérida that were used in an attempt to impose order and emphasize prestige.

Urraca of Portugal, daughter of Alfonso I Enríquez and Mafalda of Savoy, became queen consort of Leon after her marriage to Fernando II in 1165.[12] Mother of Alfonso IX of Leon and grandmother of Fernando III, she received as a dower the towns of Gema, Castrotorafe, and Santa Clara de Avedillo. After Pope Alexander III annulled her marriage in 1171–72, she entered the order of Saint John of Jerusalem and retired to live in the Zamoran territories that her husband had given her. She died in 1188, the same year as her ex-husband Fernando II, shortly after attending the coronation of her son Alfonso IX, and was initially interred at the monastery of the Order of Saint John at Bamba. The exact date of her death is not clear because a *signum* kept in the Zamora cathedral archive and dating from 1204 indicates that Urraca gave the town of Gema to Bishop Martín Arias (the donation of the Figal de Castrotorafe mill to the chapel of San Miguel of the cathedral cloister dates from 1209, and that of the town of Castrotorafe from 1211).

The future king Alfonso IX was only a few months old when he came into the care of his Salamancan wet nurse María Ibáñez and under the tutelage of Adán Martínez and his wife. He was educated by Count Ermengol VII of Urgell (Lord of Valladolid and attendant to Fernando II of León) and by Juan Arias (who was related to the Traba family of Galicia). Lucas de Tuy tells us that as a child Alfonso suffered temporary blindness, but was miraculously cured by Saint Isidore as a result of his father Fernando II's devout supplication.

Did Alfonso IX commission a tomb for his mother in the city of Zamora? We have no monuments or documentary evidence indicating so, but we do know that in 1248 the temple of Saint Mary Magdalene passed into the hands of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, the same order that possessed the church of Santa María de la Horta in Zamora, San Nicolás (or San Juan) in Portomarín (province of Lugo), and San Juan de Duero in Soria. The latter church still possesses baldachins similar to those of the temple of La Magdalena in Zamora.

The noticeable curvature in the La Magdalena tomb crest indicates a double dome that may have cracked when the vault gave way and that emulated the Zamora Cathedral's magisterial dome.[13] It was an original closure redolent of the cosmos, Jerusalem, and the resurrection, and a most fitting crown for a prestigious funeral structure in a suffragan church of a military order dedicated to the mother of the king who retook Extremadura for León.

Salamanca Cathedral and Cloister

Work on Salamanca's Old Cathedral ('Catedral Vieja') began during the 1150s. Canon Vela's will, dating from 1163 during the reign of Fernando II of León, left instructions for the gilt 'ciborium' (that is, the crossing tower called 'Torre del Gallo'), although it would not be until the reign of Alfonso IX, from 1188, that work would begin on the second major building phase; that is, the ogival-arched vaults in the central aisle, a south transept whose southernmost rib is zig-zagged with a series of ringed threads in the Angevin style, and an impressive dome whose original profile must have been much more irregular before the restoration undertaken by Ricardo García Guereta in 1925. It was initially intended that the central part of the transept should be closed with a ribbed dome in the style of Saint-Aubin in Angers, Saint-Pierre in Aulnay, the tribune over the Pórtico de la Gloria, or the domes of Armentia (Basque Country) and Irache (Navarra). The three angels playing instruments (one is missing) allude to the Final Judgement depicted by Henri Pradelier and are situated on the dome's pendentives. They correspond to the sculptures on the ribbing of the cupola, which was never finished. Consequently they are attached to the wall and serve as a prolongation of it, rather than of the ribs, and remind us of

a practice common in southwest France during the Plantagenet era (compare, for example, Cambronne, Bury, Mouliherne, Notre-Dame de la Couture in Le Mans, and the façade at Loches).

As Margarita Ruiz Maldonado has indicated, the sculpture inside Salamanca Cathedral was absorbed by the powerful frame of the dome and the body of the building, and has been somewhat marginalized in studies on the late Spanish Romanesque. However, the solution of the rib sculptures would be repeated in the cathedral at Ciudad Real.[14]

On the transept's south side, the rib-statue of Saint Michael stabbing the dragon with a lance (highly retouched during the restoration in 1918) has anatomical similarities to the mythical animal on the Bishop's Façade and to the animal which is crushed beneath the paws of the lion on the relief from San Leonardo at Zamora (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, The Cloisters).[15]

Some of the capitals, of excellent execution, installed in the last section of Salamanca Old Cathedral were decorated with interesting fight scenes between harpies, gryphons, and men wielding maces or curved axes. The anthropomorphic figures wear dresses with fluted pleats that reappear in the central nave of the church of Santiago del Burgo in Zamora, and they are paired with little dragons with smooth intertwined necks. These dragons are also related to a capital in the large window of the Salamanca Cathedral's main apse and another in the tomb of La Magdalena in Zamora. If we look at the interior archivolt of the southern façade of Ourense Cathedral, we again encounter the same defender armed with an axe at the side of King Solomon and engaged in disputation with the Queen of Sheba. The Hebrew king and builder of the temple at Jerusalem, a model of justice and wisdom for the Medieval subject, prefigures Christ as the builder of the Church having erected a sumptuous throne to receive the image of the *Sedes Sapientiae* (precisely the image carved into the right-hand side of the Bishop's Façade at Zamora). However, Solomon also represented the monarchical ideals that emerged at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries; that is, of kings reborn in the light of Roman law, builders of new towns, promoters of new commercial relations and founders of cathedrals and universities in the bosom of a society that was rediscovering scholastic philosophy and reclaiming the science of Antiquity, a society which,

Fig. 1. Capitals from the west façade of the church of San Martiño de Nogueira de Ramuín, province of Ourense (photo author)

educated in Davidic veneration, monastic asceticism, and *chansons de geste*, was inevitably seduced by the *Song of Songs* and courtly love.[16]

Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras suggested that the people of Ourense could see the cathedral façade from the city's market and would thus have been able to relate the Biblical pairing of Solomon and Sheba to their own local context; that is, as an allusion to an emphatic Alfonso IX of León (with crossed legs) and his combative wife Berengaria of Castile, with the swarthy Marcolfo playing the role of a well-endowed Almohad negotiator and making fun of a marriage annulled on the grounds of consanguinity.[17] The neighbouring voussoirs show David (who is surrounded by the apostles in the external archivolt) fighting a lion and a bear.

The stylistic similarities once again recall the tomb of La Magdalena, whose trefoils next to the

cornice imitate the Celestial Jerusalem and carry the same sculptured balls that can be seen on the façade at Ourense. The style is also recognizable in the façade that serves as an entrance to the cloister in the Santa Cristina monastery at Ribas de Sil (province of Ourense) and the west façade of San Martiño in Nogueira de Ramuín (province of Ourense), whose sculptures bear the undeniable hallmark of Master Mateo (Fig. 1).[18] It is interesting to note the preference for the trefoil form, as it is used in the frame of the portrait of Raymond of Burgundy from *Tumbo A*, a motif that Serafín Moralejo believes to be derived from the decorative repertoires of the second phase of Compostela Cathedral (the external face of the wall and the windows of the ambulatory from the 1120s and the silver altarpiece from 1135), given that Raymond (great-grandfather to Alfonso IX) was interred in an arcosolium (*foris portas*) that was

Fig. 2.   Capital showing dragons with intertwined necks, south façade of the church of San Martín in Salamanca (photo author)

contiguous with the *Porta Francigena* and whose cist may have had a roof covered with scales of Aquitanian ancestry.[19]

At this point we may establish further connections with the west façade of San Martín in Salamanca (Fig. 2), because, in addition to the archivolts reminiscent of the Bishop's Façade and the south façade of the church of San Juan de Puerta Nueva in Zamora, the capitals featuring dragons with intertwined necks and tails indicate a direct link to the tomb of La Magdalena.

The first direct reference to the Salamanca cloister dates from 1178, when the priest Miguel de San Juan from Medina del Campo gave the cathedral chapter an estate *ad opus claustri* ('for the work on the cloister'). Almost all Medieval sections of the cloister

disappeared during the intervention by García de Quiñones and Ramón Calvo in 1785, three decades after the Lisbon earthquake in 1755. In 1902–03 Bishop Tomás Cámara and the architect Repullés y Vargas attempted to improve the radical transformations of the eighteenth century employing a certain archaeological rigour.[20] Recent research carried out by Gerardo Boto Varela relates the cloister at Mas del Vent in Palamós (Girona) with the old Romanesque cloister at the Salamanca Cathedral.[21]

During his restoration of the Baroque plasterwork from 1927 to 1929, García Guereta found the remains of the old cloistral trusses, namely four beams in the chapel of Santa Catalina that may have covered some of the cathedral bays during the first third of the thirteenth century.[22] The example that Ruiz

Maldonado catalogued as 'A' has reliefs on its ends showing dragons with intertwined necks (a similar motif appeared in a fragment of a painted beam found during the 2011 restoration of the roofs of the church of Santa María la Nueva in Zamora) and a hooded harpy among foliage. The corbels of beam 'B' show a boar hunt and a deer hunt with dogs, common motifs in the gallery of the ex-convent of Santa María de la Vega and the west gallery of the Santo Domingo de Silos cloister. They also show dragons and harpies similar to those featured on the capitals of the northern façade of San Martín in Salamanca (Fig. 2), an exterior capital in the main window of the high altar chapel of Salamanca Old Cathedral, the tomb of La Magdalena in Zamora, and on an external capital of the northern apse in the collegiate church of Santa María la Mayor in Toro. Were the makers of the beams inspired by the cloister's (now vanished) stone sculpture?

Foreign canons were commonplace in Salamanca, and included Petrus Francus, Wilelmus Envezath, the deacon Pedro Lambert (1183), the Portuguese *magister* Barrao, the Compostelan Monius *galilegus*, and the English brothers *Ricardus* and *Randulfus*, who have been identified by Manuel Gómez-Moreno and José María Martínez Frías as the architects of the church in Canterbury dedicated to Saint Thomas Becket (subsequently canonized by Pope Alexander III in 1173).[23] Randulf was one of the twenty-five who benefited when Fernando II gave permission for work on the cathedral to begin, and was also one of the first learned university masters, although the question remains: Was he a theologian, a naturalist, a scientist, or a man of medicine? His epitaph provides a magnificent poetic footnote, but fails to reveal his specialty:

> On the tenth day of March Randulf from the lower region left this world because the world could no longer keep him; the earthly returns to the earth, to heaven the heavenly. Radiant sun for the splendour of his virtues, flower without blemish, after his death only the poor suffered (reminiscent, albeit in the opposing sense, of the previously cited *planctus* of Fernando II). Randulf, profound knower of the nature of things, whose mind he understood well, whose language he taught, whose hand fashioned or created his words, was good, better, without equal; he died for the poor on earth, he lives on for them in heaven.

If we look closely at the capitals of the façade that allows access from the south transept to the cloister at the Old Cathedral of Salamanca, we can see singular parallels regarding the animals with intertwined necks on the tomb of La Magdalena, at the churches of Santiago del Burgo in Zamora and San Martín in Salamanca (Fig. 2), and on beam 'A' from the cathedral cloister. The lions clawing at the winged dragons follow the same parameters as those sculpted on the relief at San Leonardo in Zamora and in the illumination situated below the legs of Alfonso IX's horse on *Tumbo A*, lions which from 1216 inspired a *signum* in the Leonese royal chancery and that were described by Serafín Moralejo as having an expression of ferocity that was more human than animal.[24] In the Zamoran relief preserved at The Cloisters in New York, we find again an original example of harpies with intertwined necks beneath a trefoil that again suggests a domed roof for the tomb of La Magdalena (Fig. 3). They appear beneath the pair of pseudo-segmented domes traditionally related to the Bishop's Façade and bring to mind other connections with lesser-known pieces such as the tomb of Baldwin V in the Holy Land (where Saint Atilano went on pilgrimage after throwing his ring into the river Duero).

Winged dragons very similar to those of the church of La Magdalena in Zamora and to those of the choir stalls by Master Mateo can be seen on the Pórtico de la Gloria at Compostela, together with lush foliage that is also found on the lower crypt there, as well as on some of the capitals on the south side of the cloister at the Old Cathedral of Salamanca (and even in one of the capitals on the north entrance of the church of La Magdalena in Zamora). Other depictions worth mentioning include some of the characters rising above the succulent lettuces that appear on one of the lower capitals in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, an enigmatic capital in the Pórtico de la Gloria with a strong Galician flavour (supposedly from the pilgrim's hospice of Sant Nicolau near the convent of Sant Francesc in Barcelona, now kept in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya in that city), and on another capital in the entrance to the south transept of Ourense Cathedral, whose decorative work resembles that of the western entrance of San Martín in Salamanca; very clear connections can be observed in the extremely worn little arches and acanthus leaves of the archivolts. These are common

Fig. 3.   Harpies with intertwined necks, relief from the church of San Leonardo at Zamora, New York, The Cloisters (photo Florián FERRERO FERRERO)

formats in Santa María del Azogue and San Juan del Mercado in Benavente, which imitate the now-vanished west façade of the cathedral at Compostela and its voussoirs, but which have been preserved in the west façade of Ourense Cathedral, San Salvador de Camanzo (Pontevedra), San Fiz de Solivio (A Coruña), Santiago de Allariz (Ourense), Santa María in Vilanova de Allariz (Ourense), San Nicolás (San Juan) at Portomarín (Lugo), Santa María de Herbón (A Coruña), San Juan de Cova (A Coruña), San Juan de Santeles (Pontevedra), and the rose window in the monastery of Santa Cristina at Ribas de Sil (Ourense).

Some Sculptural Clues

A little door connects the main apse of Salamanca Old Cathedral with the chapel on the south side;

its archivolts recreate cylindrical and floral motifs that are visible in other windows in the apse and the south end of the transept. In its intrados, we can see a capital installed on a fluted pilaster adorned with a knight engaged in falconry (related to the victorious knight from the church at the monastery of Aguilar de Campoo). The knight is flanked by two male figures who appear to be shouting among the decorative swirls (Jesús María Caamaño has identified one of these as Late Gothic). Opposite is another capital decorated with a mask spewing plant stems among gryphons and lions locked in combat and which may have been produced by the sculptors who worked on the cloister's entrance.

Some years ago we compared the Salamanca cloister entrance capitals with Spanish miniatures from the same period (the Bible of Burgos, the *Homiliario de Esmaragdus* from the cathedral of

Fig. 4.　Capital with naked individuals among decorative swirls on the façade to the cloister of the Old Cathedral of Salamanca (photo author)

Toledo, the Bible from the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, and even the *Codex Calixtinus* from the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela). If we compare the Salamanca façade capitals with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre transept façade lintels (preserved in the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem), it seems perfectly plausible that the former were inspired by (if not a copy of) the latter (Figs 4 & 5). Whereas the left lintel shows half a dozen scenes from the life of Christ, the right one features luxuriant tendrils hosting birds and little human figures that have been attributed to an Islamic workshop based in Jerusalem and related to a sculptor who was inspired by a Roman or Early Christian sarcophagus and who worked on the façade of San Leonardo al Frigido in Massa (Tuscany).[25] The possibility of a direct connection is further heightened by the door that connects the Patio Chico outside Salamanca Cathedral with the east wall of the transept's south end being named the Puerta de Acre; the hospitallers of Almazán and Navarrete dedicated their houses to Saint John d'Acre (the town of Acre was besieged by Christian forces during the Third Crusade against the infidel in 1191).

The Salamanca cloistral façade is conceived of as a discourse based on the Ascension. It starts with the captive soul and concludes with sublime redemption, symbolized by the Torre del Gallo, the crossing tower of the Old Cathedral. The same process is seen in the Bishop's Façade in Zamora, where the imprisoned individual, threatened by evil, aspires to and longs for the redemption embodied by the *Maiestas* that have been carved pointing to the dome above.[26]

What better crowning glory for spiritual contemplation than a stone dome embodying the Jerusalem described by Saint John in the Book of Revelation! A city that does not need the sun or the moon to shine on it, and the Lamb is its lamp (Revelation 21:23), the most suitable of all symbols for an old cathedral chapter dedicated to the Saviour; it is found also in the keystone in the north façade of the church of San Claudio and in a relief that was reused in the Olivares mills, which also belonged to the cathedral chapter.

Crowning the domes of Zamora and Salamanca Cathedrals, as at the tower of Saint Isidore at Leon, were weather vanes in the form of cockerels, an ungainly bird whose call announced the arrival of a new day and therefore hope of Christ's victory over the kingdom of death. Segments, such as those in the aforementioned domes, were frequently used for decorating baptismal fonts, Eucharistic chalices, and certain fonts such as the Paradise Font in the *Porta Francigena* in Compostela, dedicated by the treasurer Bernardo in 1122, and described in the *Codex Calixtinus* and the *Historia Compostelana*. They served both as *fons vitae* and symbols of penitence: the exhausted pilgrims passed through here before finally arriving at the holy Compostelan tomb, on whose entrance they could see images of the Original Sin and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, one of whom would work the earth while the other would suckle Cain.[27] We may recall the obvious parallels that can be seen between the Zamora Cathedral dome and the baptismal font at Redecilla del Camino (province of Burgos), although, notwithstanding the forms and the natural inversions, the former is for channelling water away whereas the latter is naturally intended to retain water for blessing neophytes.

The same Ascension-based discourse, which seems to feature on the Zamora and Salamanca façades and domes, was identified by Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras

Fig. 5.   Lintel of the south façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (photo Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem)

on the wall of the north end of the transept in the cathedral at Ourense, where the learned Bishop Alfonso (1174–1213), a Benedictine monk trained at Sahagún, may have sponsored the design of a spiral covered in sculptures, 'a stone stage for the miraculous exorcisms that took place around the tomb of the holy saint (that is, of Saint Eufemia, located next to the altar)'. This spiral was intended to reflect the 'steps of humility' of monastic spirituality (in the style of the *Speculum Virginum* or the *Hortus Deliciarium*) and to be a figurative synecdoche of victory over the devil (a carved tympanum features Daniel in the Lion's Den, as well as various individuals fighting lions and harpies who look out and try to penetrate the metaphoric spiral that ascends to the towers and roofs of the cathedral).[28]

Some of the arcosolia in the east gallery of the Salamanca cloister have capitals with an unmistakeable Galician flavour that reappear in the south façade of the church of San Juan del Mercado in Benavente, the south and west façades of San Nicolás (San Juan) in Portomarín (whose dragons are biting their own feet and which owe much to the Pórtico de la Gloria), and the façade of San Esteban at Ribas de Miño (province of Lugo).

On another arcosolium located in the southeast corner of the Salamanca cloister, we can see features influenced by the monastery at Silos and very closely related to the façade of Abajas (province of Burgos). Its unusual pedigree remains an enigma. We know that towards the mid-thirteenth century, the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem had properties in Bureba (San Miguel del Pino), Torozos, Guareña, Ciudad Rodrigo, El Cerrato, and Población de Campos, but nothing else.[29]

In the south gallery, in addition to the 'Atlantic' plant-motif columns, we find more or less complete capitals with various types of decoration: the aforementioned individuals emerging from the foliage, some well-known minters making coins,[30] some people playing a board game, a scene depicting children receiving instruction, the Ascension of Alexander, a battle between knights and lions (which recalls certain capitals of the Pórtico del Paraíso in Ourense Cathedral), a scene which possibly depicts an exorcism, Samson killing the lion, a crippled or dying man, and various crowned harpies gilded during the modern era.

An epitaph on an arcosolium on the east side of the Salamanca cloister contains a curious carving that may be a rough depiction of the cloister as it was in 1185. It shows the funeral of an anonymous devout, faithful, simple and just man. The gallery has rounded arches supported on simple plant-motif capitals (impossible to assess if they were double), and smooth shafts and podia. The spandrels seem to be

decorated with other common motifs. Above the gallery, a second level is perforated by windows and crenellations, as can be observed to this day in certain parts of the cathedral itself.

It is still possible to read another epitaph from 1213 (*Phamvlvs dei Petrvs aqvensis*) carved over a yet more exotic façade (an arcosolium perhaps) in which there is a large central door within a horseshoe arch supported on plant-motif columns, augmented collars and flanked by two lateral windows in the form of stonework crosses. In the opening of the arch, another highly decorated cross with plant motifs can be seen; on the face of the arch is another epigraph reading *Petro qvi vocabatvr nom(en) e(i)v(s)*, who Villar and Macías identified as the master Pedro de Aix, perhaps the one recorded in 1182 as master of the cathedral works, although it is strange that such an Islamic arch should be chosen to house the remains of a Frenchman.[31]

Since Manuel Gómez Moreno, various authors have linked the vanished Salamanca cloister to that of Santa María de la Vega.[32] But what if it was related to what we now see in the monastery of San Esteban in Ribas de Sil (province of Lugo), San Salvador de Camanzo (Villa de Cruces, province of Pontevedra), the entrance to the cloister at Santa Cristina in Ribas de Sil (province of Lugo), the west entrance of San Martiño in Nogueira de Ramuín (province of Ourense) or the collegiate church of Santa María del Sar? Only one simple arch remains from the Medieval cloister of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (preserved in the local Museu das Peregrinacións) before Juan de Álava built the new cloister in the sixteenth century.

The excellent west façade of San Martiño de Nogueira de Ramuín (Fig. 1) deservedly attracts our attention. Its style is similar to that of Ourense Cathedral and other buildings in the Ribeira Sacra region, in Benavente, Zamora, and Salamanca. Unmistakable plant decorations in Toro's collegial church, archivolts with bullets in the church of La Magdalena in Zamora (also recognizable in Ourense Cathedral and Santa Cristina de Ribas de Sil) support those who see Master Mateo's style in San Juan del Mercado de Benavente (also in Santa Cristina de Ribas de Sil, San Nicolás [San Juan] at Portomarín, San Salvador de Camanzo and San Juan de Santeles) and in the fantastic animals with intertwined necks in San Martín at Salamanca, Santiago del Burgo, La

Magdalena, and San Leonardo of Zamora (Figs 1 & 3). The sandstone quarries in Zamora and Salamanca helped get the very best out of masters accustomed to sculpting in Atlantic granite.

It is impossible to acknowledge the quality and texture of the sculpture carried out at the cathedrals of Zamora and Salamanca without taking into account the patronage of the Leonese kings Fernando II and Alfonso IX involving the workshops of Santiago de Compostela. It was this most important city on the pilgrim route to *finis terrae* that supplied sculptors and builders to the various workshops of northwest Spain, including Benavente, Zamora, Toro, and Salamanca during the last two decades of the twelfth and the first three decades of the thirteenth centuries.

NOTES

[1] 'Clarity always comes from the sky; / it is a gift: it is not found among things / but very high up, and it occupies them / making that its own life and labours. / Thus day dawns; thus night / encloses the great dwelling of its shadows. / And this is a gift. Who makes beings / less created each time? What high vault / contains them in its love?', Claudio RODRÍGUEZ, *Collected Poems / Poesía completa 1953–1991*, ed. Luis INGELMO & Michael SMITH, Exeter, 2008, pp. 32–33.

[2] Eduardo CARRERO SANTAMARÍA, 'La *vita communis* en las catedrales peninsulares: del registro diplomático a la evidencia arquitectónica', in *Colóquio Internacional 'A igreja e o clero português no contexto europeo', Roma-Viterbo, 2004*, Lisbon, 2005, pp. 175–76.

[3] José NAVARRO TALEGÓN, 'La catedral de Zamora', in *Aquellas blancas catedrales. Catedrales de Castilla y León*, vol. 2, Valladolid, 1996, pp. 92–93.

[4] Martín Arias was a highly cultured man, reputed canonist, and ambassador for Alfonso IX at the Holy See. He ensured the annulment of the marriage between Fernando II of Leon and Urraca of Portugal by Pope Alexander III in 1171–72, reinforced episcopal authority through the management of its property and finances, and enforced the corresponding episcopal payments from the monasteries, the military orders of the Holy Sepulchre and the Knights Hospitaller, and the most affluent city parishes. His ouster by Pope Innocent III in 1212 (appearing before Honorius III in 1217) was punishment for allowing the temporal and spiritual collapse of an important frontier church such as that of Zamora and for failing to recoup church funds from procrastinating debtors, which ultimately prevented him from taking control of the diocese. He retired to his native Santiago de Compostela to found a hermitage, San Lorenzo de Trasouto, which became a Franciscan convent in the fourteenth century, and he died there in 1223.

[5] Eduardo CARRERO SANTAMARÍA, 'El claustro medieval de la catedral de Zamora', in *Anuario del Instituto de Estudios Zamoranos Florián de Ocampo*, 13, 1996, pp. 107–27; Eduardo CARRERO SANTAMARÍA, 'Arquitectura y espacio funerario entre los siglos XII y XVI: la catedral de Zamora', in *Anuario del Instituto de Estudios Zamoranos Florián de Ocampo*, 15, 1998, pp. 201–53.

[6] Eduardo CARRERO SANTAMARÍA, *La Catedral Vieja de Salamanca. Vida capitular y arquitectura en la Edad Media*, Murcia, 2004, pp. 42–44.

[7] *Era millesima ducentesima sexagesima octava. Alfonsus rex Legionis cepit Caceres et Montanches et Meritam et Badaioz et vicit Abenfuit regem maurorum, qui tenebat viginti milia equitum et sexaginta milia peditum, et zamorenses fuerunt victores in prima acie. Et eo anno ipse rex octavo kalendas octobris obiit et quadraginta duo annis regnavit. Et eo anno factum fuit hoc portale*, see: Maximino GUTIÉRREZ ÁLVAREZ, *Zamora. Colección Epigráfica I/1 (Corpus Inscriptionum Hispaniae Medievalium)*, ed. Vicente GARCÍA LOBO, Turnhout & Leon, 1997, n° 44.

[8] José-Luis MARTÍN, 'Alfonso IX y sus relaciones con Castilla', in *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie III, Hª Medieval*, 7, 1994, pp. 11–31.

[9] Mateo's Pórtico de la Gloria, that magnificent eschatological setting for regal entrances, features a sculpture of the Second Coming of Christ and the *dramatis personae* of the liturgical drama *Ordo Prophetarum* (with Sibyl, Virgil, and the Queen of Sheba), which was completed between 1188 and 1211 with a west-facing façade, a counter-façade and access via a staircase leading from the crypt (including keystones in the crypt featuring angels supporting the sun and the moon and the image of the *Agnus Dei* on the tribune), see: Serafín MORALEJO, 'El 1 de abril de 1188. Marco histórico y contexto litúrgico en la obra del Pórtico de la Gloria', in *El Pórtico de la Gloria: música, arte y pensamiento*, ed. Carlos VILLANUEVA & Sverre JENSEN, Santiago de Compostela, 1988 (see also in *Patrimonio artístico de Galicia y otros estudios. Homenaje al Prof. Dr Serafín Moralejo Álvarez*, ed. Ángela FRANCO MATA, vol. 2, Santiago de Compostela, 2004), p. 116.

[10] Manuel NÚÑEZ RODRÍGUEZ, 'La imagen epifánica del *rex gratia Dei* de Alfonso IX', in *Alfonso IX y su época. Pro utilitate regni mei*, La Coruña, 2008, pp. 371–83; Manuel NÚÑEZ RODRÍGUEZ, 'Reflexión sobre el Pórtico del Paraíso en concurrencia con el peregrinaje', in *Anuario Brigantino*, 31, 2008, pp. 301–16; Manuel NÚÑEZ RODRÍGUEZ, 'El espejo político moral del *Rex gratia dei* Alfonso IX', in *Temas Medievales*, 17, 2009, pp. 69–101.

[11] Álvaro ÁVILA DE LA TORRE, *Escultura románica en la ciudad de Zamora*, Zamora, 2000, p. 167. Kunz suggests the tomb of Magdalene to be that of a female relative of Bishop Esteban (1150–75) or his nephew Guillermo (1175–93), both of whom are perhaps represented in the voussoirs of the south façade (see: Tobias KUNZ, 'Aneignung hagiographischer Bildstrategien zur sepulkralen Selbstdarstellung: Einbeziehung des Betrachters bei figürlichen Grabmälern Nordspaniens um 1200', in *Grabkunst und Sepulkralkultur in Spanien und Portugal/Arte funerario y cultura sepulcral en España y Portugal*, ed. Barbara BORNGÄSSER, Henrik KARGE & Bruno KLEIN, Frankfurt am Main, 2006, pp. 111–30).

[12] Cf. Ángela FRANCO MATA, 'Iconografía gótica funeraria en Castilla y León (siglos XIII y XIV)', in *De Arte*, 2, 2003, p. 49; Rocío SÁNCHEZ AMEIJEIRAS, 'La memoria perdida de un rey victorioso: La Fiesta del Triunfo de la Santa Cruz y los sepulcros

medievales de Alfonso VIII en Las Huelgas', in *Grabkunst und Sepulkralskulptur*, pp. 50–52.

[13] See Pierre DUBOURG-NOVES, 'Des mausolées antiques aux cimborios romans d'Espagne', in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 23, 1980, pp. 346–59.

[14] Margarita RUIZ MALDONADO, 'La figura humana en la escultura monumental de la Catedral Vieja de Salamanca', in *La cabecera de la Catedral calceatense y el Tardorrománico hispano. Actas del Simposio en Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 1998*, Logroño, 2000, pp. 315–31.

[15] Regarding this expatriated Zamoran relief, see: Francesca ESPAÑOL, 'Santo Domingo de la Calzada: el cuerpo santo y los escenarios de su culto', in *La cabecera de la Catedral calceatense*, pp. 277–78; Florián FERRERO FERRERO, 'San Leonardo', in *Zamora. Año de 1850. Cuaderno de vistas de Zamora tomadas del natural y ejecutadas por Don José Mª Avrial y Flores*, ed. Sergio PÉREZ MARTÍN & Marco Antonio MARTÍN BAILÓN, Zamora, 2013, pp. 255–60.

[16] On this iconographic passage, see: Serafín MORALEJO, 'Marcolfo, el Espinario, Príapo: un testimonio iconográfico gallego', in *Primera Reunión Gallega de Estudios Clásicos, Santiago-Pontevedra, 1979. Ponencias y Comunicaciones*, Santiago de Compostela, 1981, pp. 331–55 (see also: *Patrimonio artístico de Galicia y otros estudios: homenaje al Prof. Dr Serafín Moralejo Álvarez*, ed. Serafín MORALEJO ÁLVAREZ & María Ángela FRANCO MATA, vol. 1, Santiago de Compostela, 2004) pp. 189–99); Serafín MORALEJO, 'Le rencontre de Salomon et la Reine de Saba: de la Bible de Roda aux portails gothiques', in *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 12, 1981, pp. 79–109 (see also: *Patrimonio artístico de Galicia*, vol. 1, pp. 214–15).

[17] Rocío SÁNCHEZ AMEIJEIRAS, 'El entorno imaginario del rey: cultura cortesana y/o cultura clerical en Galicia en tiempos de Alfonso IX', in *Alfonso IX y su época*, pp. 319–21.

[18] Regarding Master Mateo's sphere after the creation of the stone choir stalls in Compostela (*post* 1220–25), which surely took place during the prelature of Archbishop Juan Arias (*post* 1238) at the cathedral of Ourense, San Lorenzo de Carboeiro and San Juan (or San Nicolás) de Portomarín, see: Ramón YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, 'Arquitectura en el reino de León bajo Alfonso IX', in *Alfonso IX y su época*, pp. 332–33.

[19] Manuel Antonio CASTIÑEIRAS GÓNZÁLEZ, 'Poder, memoria y olvido: la galería de retratos regios en el *Tumbo A* de la catedral de Santiago (1129–1134)', in *Quintana*, 1, 2002, p. 193; Gerardo BOTO VARELA, 'Aposentos de la memoria dinástica. Mudanza y estabilidad en los panteones regios leoneses (1157–1230)', in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 42/2, 2012, pp. 545–46.

[20] See: José Ramón NIETO GONZÁLEZ, 'El conjunto catedralicio de Salamanca', in *Aquellas blancas catedrales*, pp. 65–66; Idem, 'El conjunto catedralicio de Salamanca. Intervenciones arquitectónicas: 1765–1936', in *Tempus edax, homo edacior. Catedrales de Castilla y León*, vol. 3, Valladolid, 1996, pp. 63–64.

[21] Gerardo BOTO VARELA, 'La organización de los claustros románicos peninsulares: proyectos germinales y retos funcionales', in *Encontro Internacional sobre claustros no mundo mediterrânico (séc. X–XVIII), Lisboa, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 20–22 de junio de 2013* (in press); see also: Gerardo BOTO VARELA, 'Du cloître roman au cloître romantique: démontages, reconstructions et inventions en Péninsule Ibérique (XVIIIᵉ, XIXᵉ et XXᵉ siècles)', in *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 46, 2015, p. 179–91.

²² Cf. Margarita Ruiz Maldonado, 'Vigas decoradas mudéjares de la Catedral Vieja de Salamanca', in *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología*, 55, 1989, pp. 392–98.

²³ José Luis Martín Martín, 'El archivo de la catedral y la historia de la Universidad de Salamanca', in *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca. IV. Vestigios y entramados*, Salamanca, 2009, pp. 22–23.

²⁴ Serafín Moralejo, 'La miniatura de los tumbos A y B', in *Los Tumbos de Compostela*, Madrid, 1985 (see also in *Patrimonio artístico de Galicia y otros estudios*, vol. I, p. 326).

²⁵ Cf. Alan Borg, 'Observations on the Historiated Lintel of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 32, 1969, pp. 25–40.

²⁶ Cf. Etelvina Fernández González, 'Hacia la renovación del lenguaje arquitectónico en torno al reinado de Alfonso IX', in *Alfonso IX y su época*, p. 367.

²⁷ The public penitential rite known as the *Veneranda Dies* and which began on Ash Wednesday was held opposite the *Porta Francigena* and led by Adam (cf. Serafín Moralejo, 'La imagen arquitectónica de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela', in *Atti del Convengo Internazionale di Studi: Il Pellegrinaggio a Santiago di Compostella e la Letteratura Jacopea*, Perugia, 1983 (see also: *Patrimonio artístico de Galicia y otros estudios*, vol. I), p. 246; Manuel Castiñeiras, 'La *Porta Francigena*: una encrucijada en el nacimiento del gran portal románico', in *Anales de Historia del Arte*, extraordinary vol. 2, *Alfonso VI y el arte de su época*, ed. Javier Martínez de Aguirre & Marta Poza Yagüe, 2011, pp. 95–103).

²⁸ Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'El entorno imaginario del rey', p. 318. The Easter Lamb, flanked by the four Evangelists, is represented on the keystone of the vault closest to the spiral at Ourense.

²⁹ Antonio Ledesma related the capitals of the arcosolia in the east gallery of the Salamanca cloister with those of the disappeared cloister of San Juan de Barbalos, of which some arches were standing in the garden of a property on Soria Street. These were transferred to the Linares Gallery in Madrid and returned to Salamanca in 1992. See: Antonio Ledesma, 'Apogeo tardorrománico en la orden del Hospital: el primitivo claustro de San Juan de Barbalos (Salamanca)', in *Codex Aquilarensis. Cuadernos de Investigación del Monasterio de Santa María la Real*, 30, 2014, pp. 177–224; the same author published a recent synthesis in 'La escultura de la Catedral Vieja de Salamanca: procesos de transformación, pérdidas y reposiciones', in *La Catedral de Salamanca. De fortis a magna*, ed. Mariano Casas Hernández, Salamanca, 2014, pp. 1799–1838.

³⁰ During the reigns of Fernando II and Alfonso IX, coins were minted from silver (silver-copper alloy) from 1167 and even from gold from 1186, a third of which were given to Bishop Vidal. Moralejo alludes to a maravedí of Alfonso IX almost certainly coined in Salamanca, whose obverse shows the royal head between a sword and a labarum, while its reverse shows a heraldic lion placed on five arches, an allusion to the bridge over the river Tormes (Serafín Moralejo, 'La iconografía regia en el Reino de León (1157–1230)', in *Actas del II Curso de Cultura Medieval. Alfonso VIII y su época, Aguilar de Campoo, 1990*, Madrid, 1992 (see also: *Patrimonio artístico de Galicia y otros estudios*, vol. II), pp. 170–71).

³¹ Carrero Santamaría, *La Catedral Vieja de Salamanca*, pp. 89–90.

³² A spandrel found during the archaeological surveys carried out on the patio of the current Neoclassical cloister at Salamanca Cathedral was decorated with carved plant motifs that were assimilated into those preserved at Santa María de la Vega (cf. Luis Caballero Zoreda & Manuel Retuerce Velasco, *Excavación arqueológica en el patio de la Catedral de Salamanca*, Madrid, 1998, p. 76. See also: José María Martínez Frías, 'Liturgia, vida capitular y memoria. Los espacios claustrales en la Catedral', in *La Catedral de Salamanca. Nueve siglos de Historia y Arte*, ed. Valentín Berriochoa Sánchez-Moreno & René Jesús Payo Hernanz, Burgos, 2012, pp. 151–52).

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The Apse, the Image and the Icon. An Historical Perspective of the Apse as a Space for Images (2010) and *The Christianization of the Late Roman World* (2011).

Jean-Pierre CAILLET is professor of art history at the Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense in Paris (F). A former curator of the Musée de Cluny – Musée national du Moyen Âge, his main fields of research include the architecture, monumental decoration, manuscript illumination, and other precious arts from late Antiquity to the proto-Romanesque period, with a special interest in the relations between Byzantium and the West.

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Mauro CORTELAZZO works as an archaeologist in Aosta (I), focusing on urban archaeology in Aosta, Turin, and Alba. He has carried out numerous archaeological excavations of religious buildings of Early Christian origins with later Romanesque transformations, and of castles and fortifications in the Italian regions Valle d'Aosta and Piedmont. He has also published a study of Medieval ceramic production in northwestern Italy.

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Renato PERINETTI was superintendent of cultural heritage in the region of Valle d'Aosta (I) from 1991 to 2003 and visiting professor at the Politecnico di Torino (I), the Università Cattolica in Milan (I), the École Polytechnique Fédérale in Lausanne (CH), and the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology in Rome (I). He has directed the archaeological excavation of approximately twenty early Christian and Medieval churches in and around Aosta.

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Marta SERRANO COLL teaches art history at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili in Tarragona (E) and specializes in Medieval architecture and sculpture, particularly in Catalonia. Her research interests include the display of power through artworks and royal patronage in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. In addition, she has published in the field of Romanesque sculpture and hagiographical studies.

Marc SUREDA I JUBANY received his PhD from the Universitat de Girona (E) in 2008 and is curator at the Museu Episcopal in Vic (E). He carries out

documentary and archaeological studies of Medieval church buildings, particularly cathedrals, focusing on their architecture, liturgical furnishings, and ritual usage. He has edited various liturgical sources and publishes on Medieval art, religious imagery, and the history of museums and collections.

Matthias **UNTERMANN** is professor of Medieval art history at the Universität Heidelberg (D). His research focuses on Medieval church architecture and furnishings, with special attention for cross-overs with archaeology, Medieval history, and liturgical studies. He has carried out extensive studies of Cistercian architecture, and urban archaeology and architecture of the high and late Middle Ages, particularly of cathedrals and monasteries in Germany.

Index of Monuments

Entries generally refer to buildings and building parts from the Romanesque period, including monuments that are no longer in existence.

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B

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III - IV century
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V century
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VII - IX century
998 - 1032
1032 - 1064
XIII century

C

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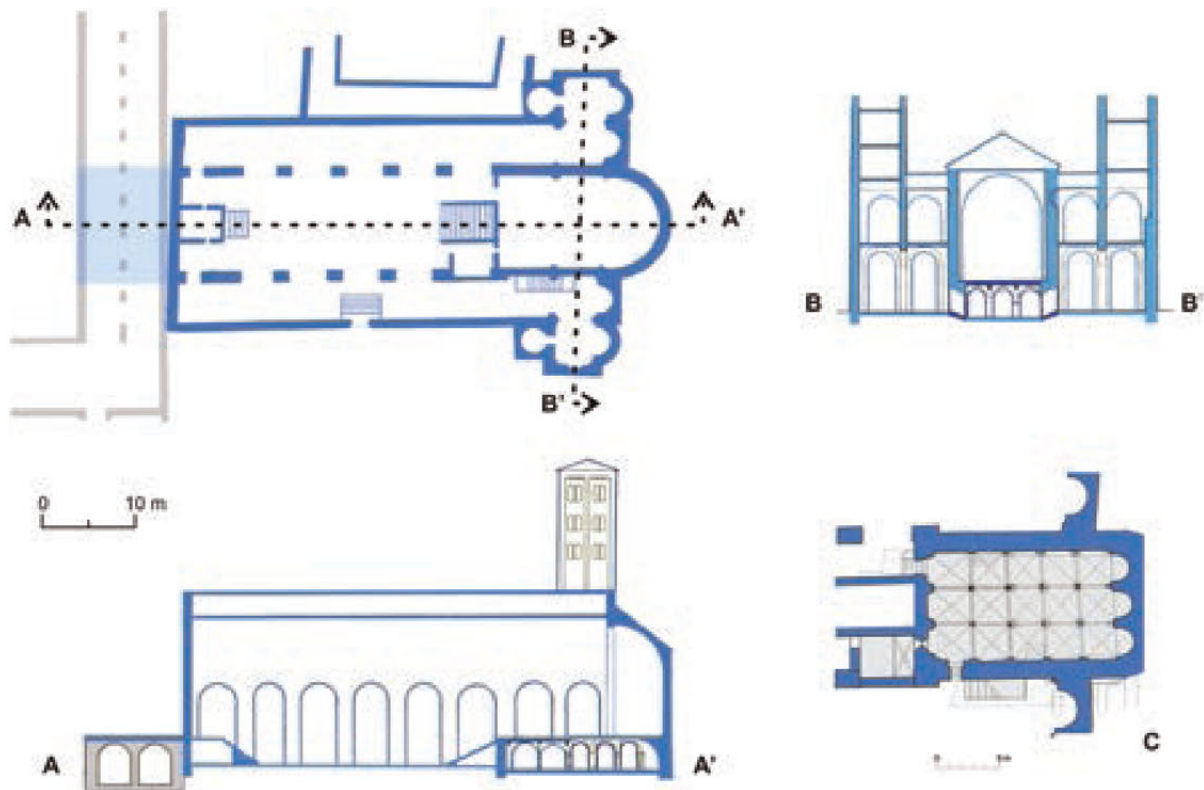
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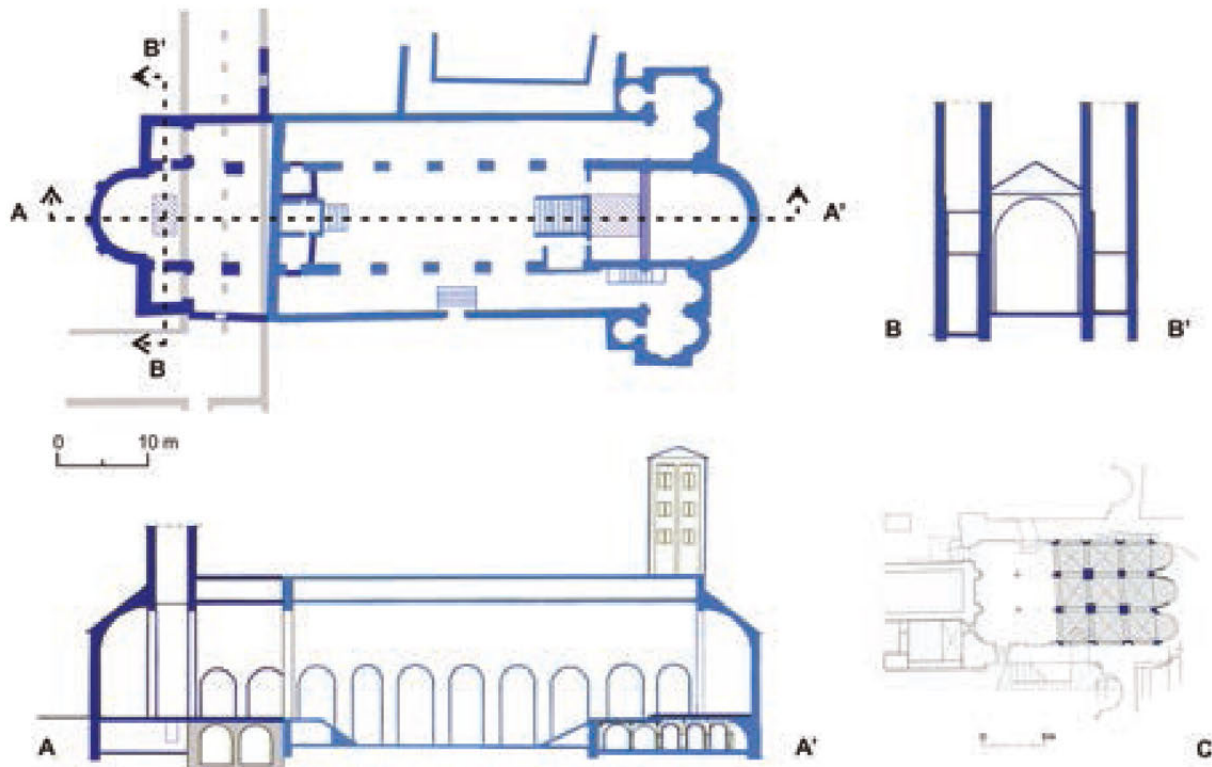
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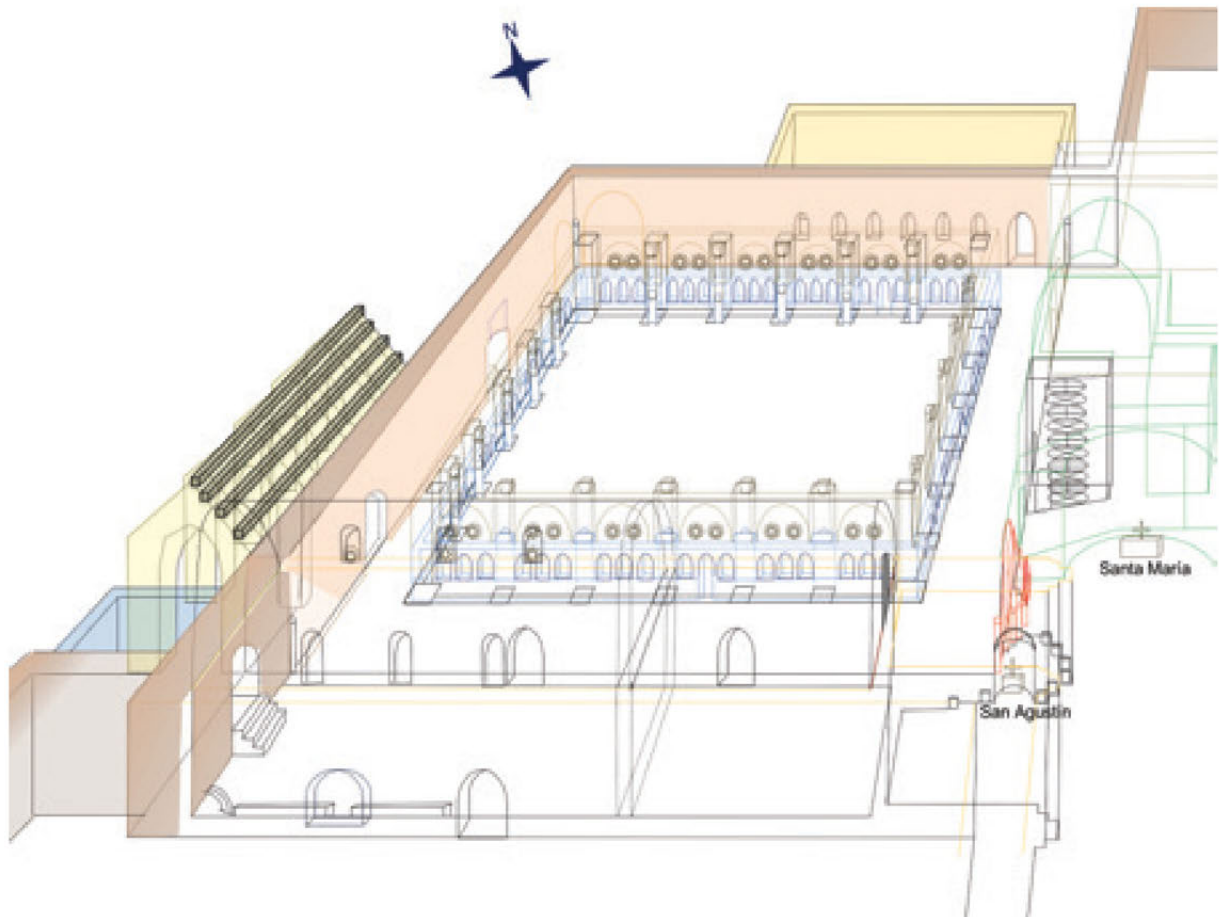
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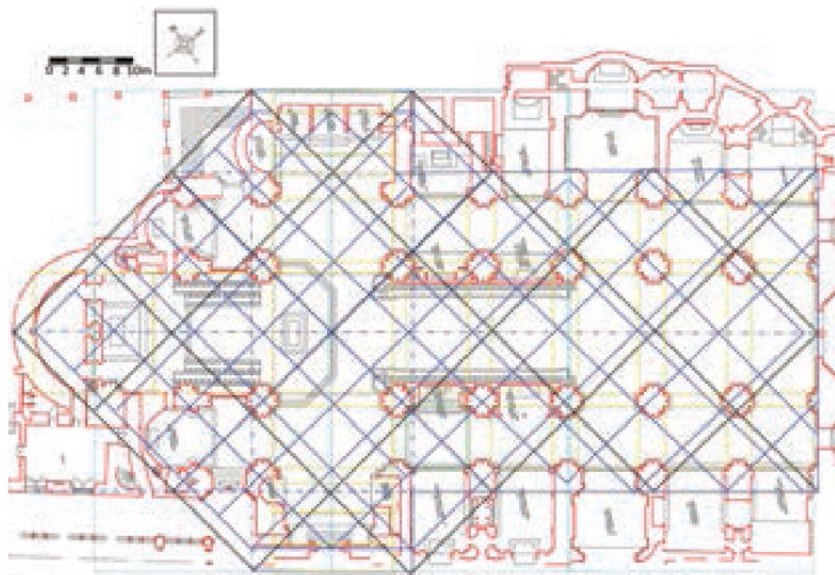

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Building Phases

- le. siècle
- ante quem 1154
- 1154-1171
- post quem 1171-ante quem 1190
- Ca. 1194
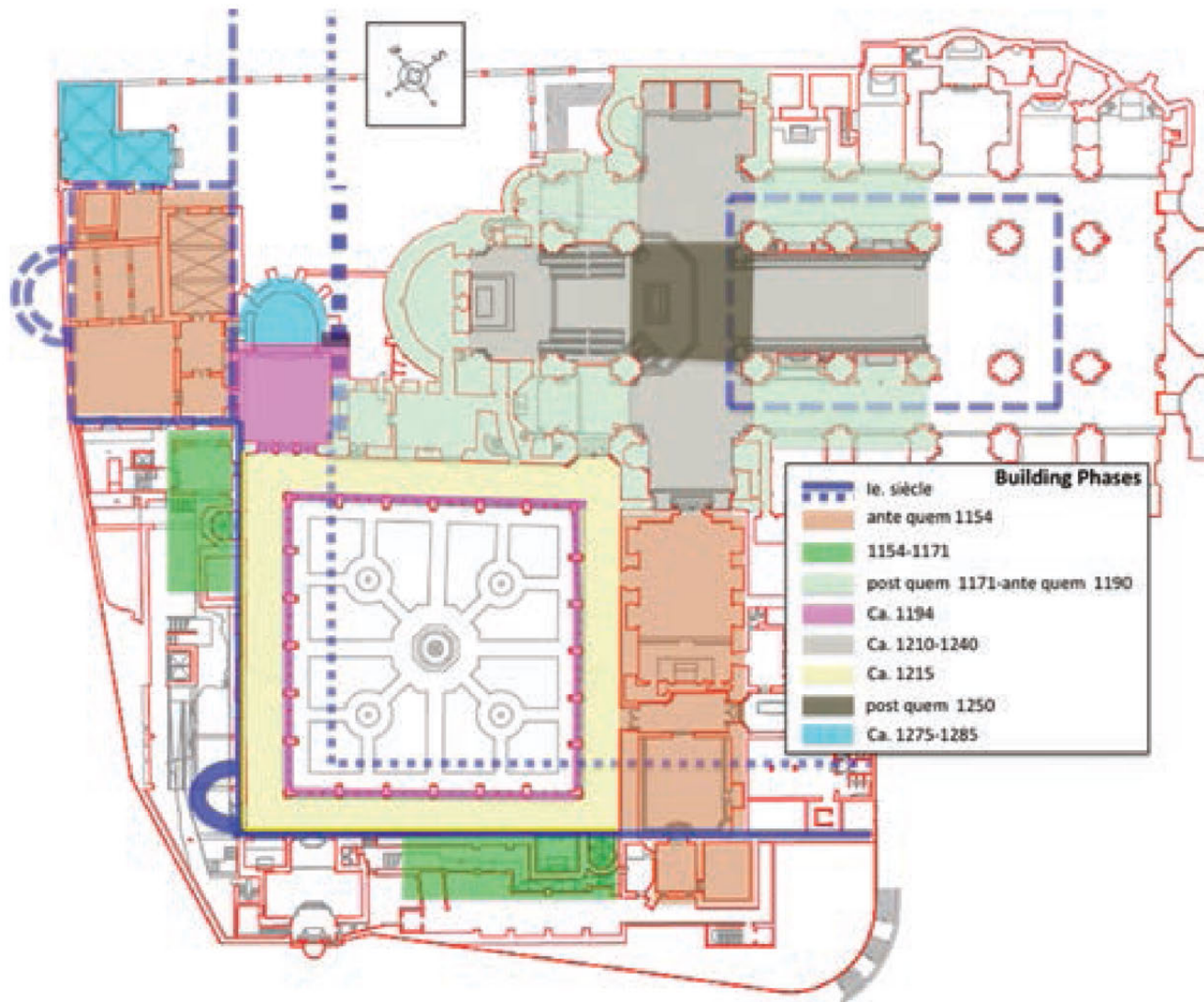- Ca. 1210-1240
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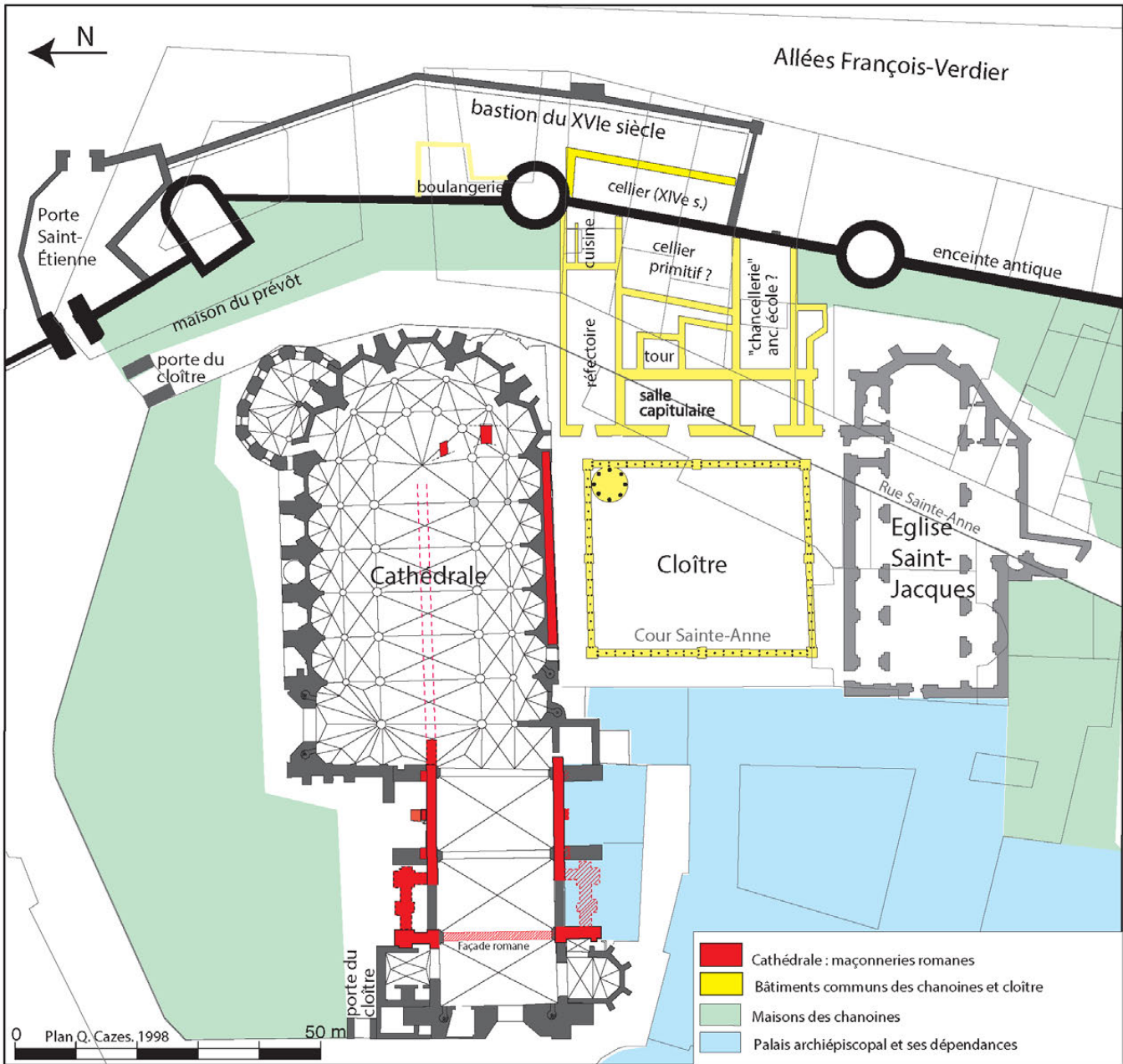
N

Allées François-Verdier

bastion du XVIe siècle

Porte
Saint-
Étienne

boulangerie

cellier (XIVe s.)

maison du prévôt

enceinte antique

cuisine

cellier
primitif ?

"chancellerie"
anc. école ?

porte du
cloître

réfectoire

tour

salle
capitulaire

Rue Sainte-Anne

Cathédrale

Cloître

Eglise
Saint-
Jacques

Cour Sainte-Anne

porte du
cloître

Façade romane

Cathédrale : maçonneries romanes

Bâtiments communs des chanoines et cloître

Maisons des chanoines

Palais archiépiscopal et ses dépendances

0   Plan Q. Cazes, 1998   50 m

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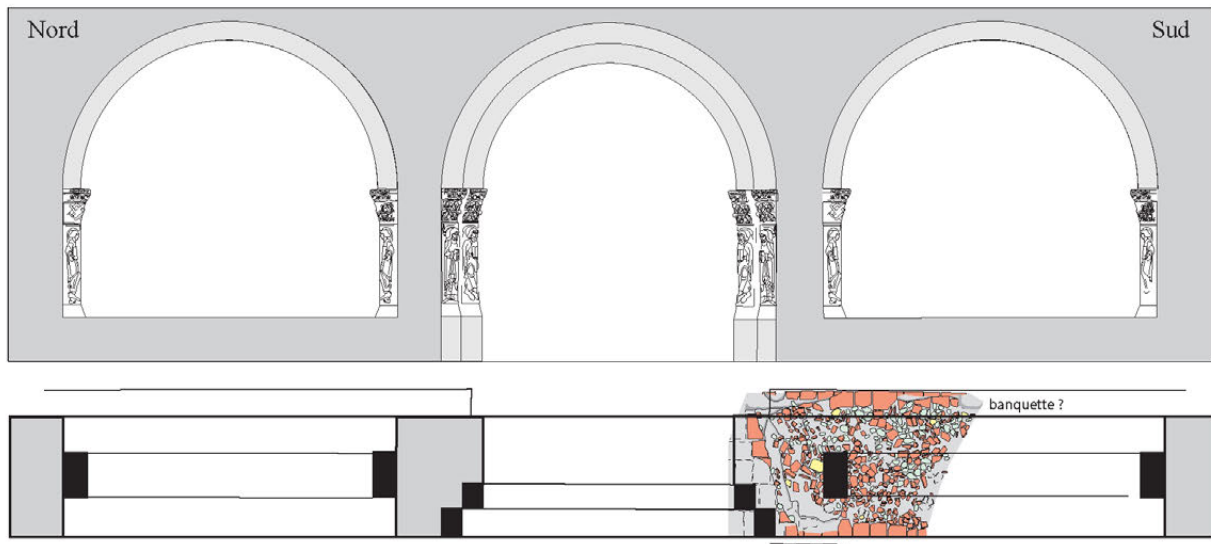
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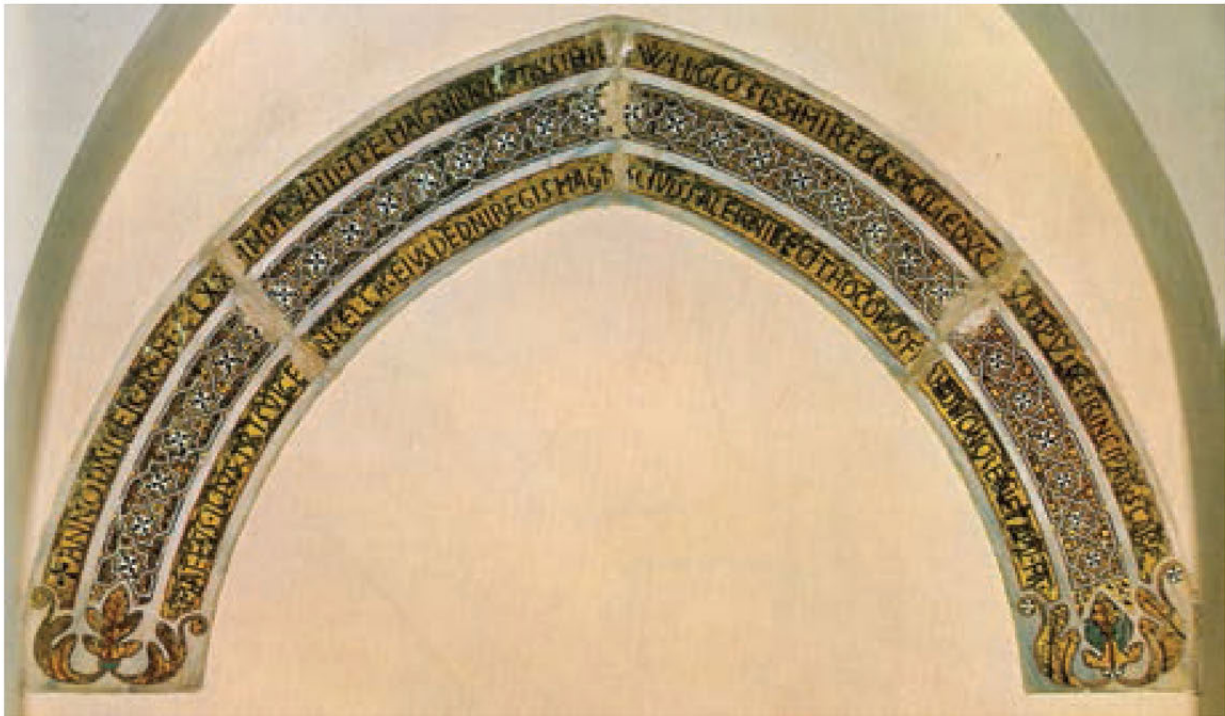Plate 15. Salerno (I), cathedral, northern ambo ('Guarna') with portions of the choir screen (photo Luciano PEDICINI)

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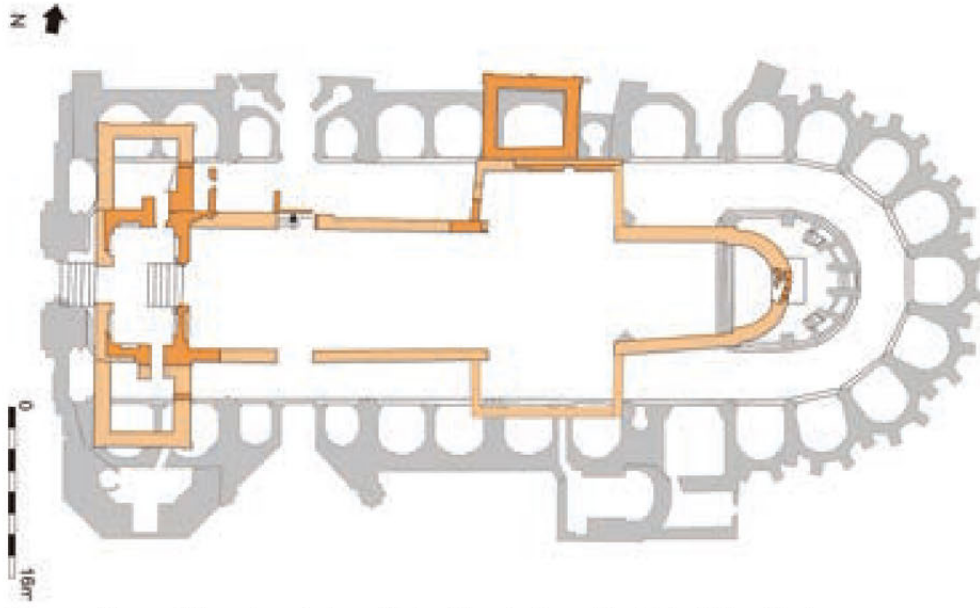Plate 20. Salerno (I), cathedral, southern ambo, lectern to the north (photo Elisabetta SCIROCCO)

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high altar or choral altar (plan, elevation)	bishop's throne
secondary altar (usually accessible to laypeople)	choir stalls and screen
parish altar	baptismal font
door	circulation of clergy (same level / upstairs)
window	circulation of laypeople (same level / upstairs)
sacristy, treasury, vestiarium	circulation of laypeople within liturgical context (same level / upstairs)
important relics	

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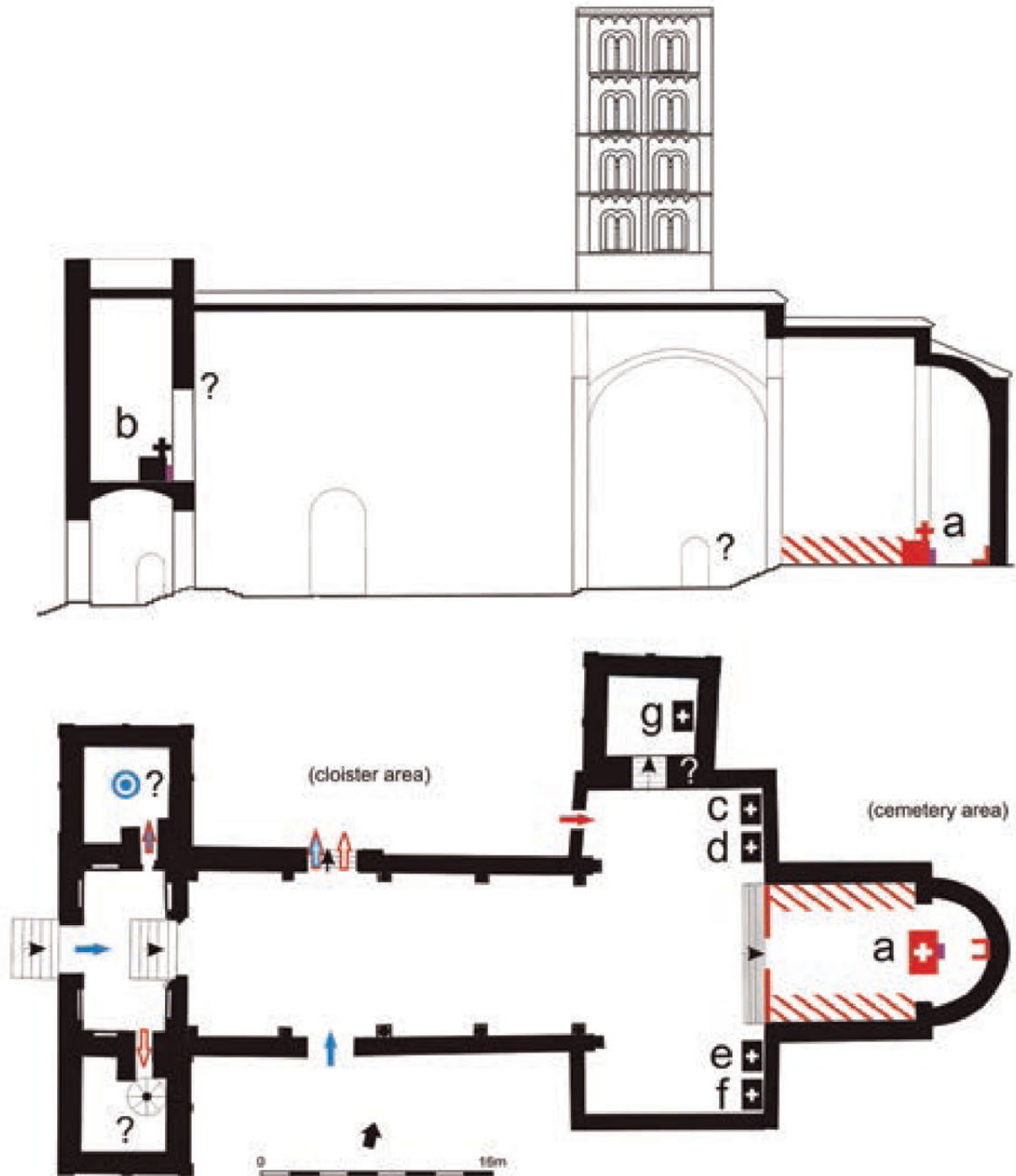
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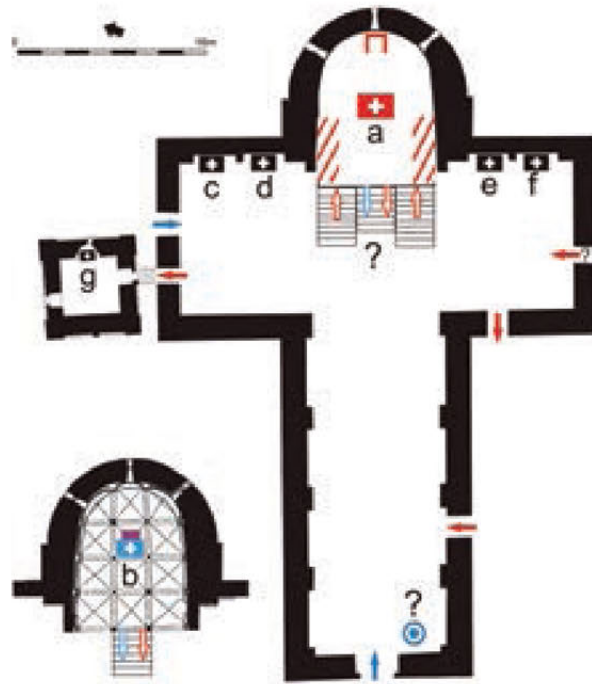
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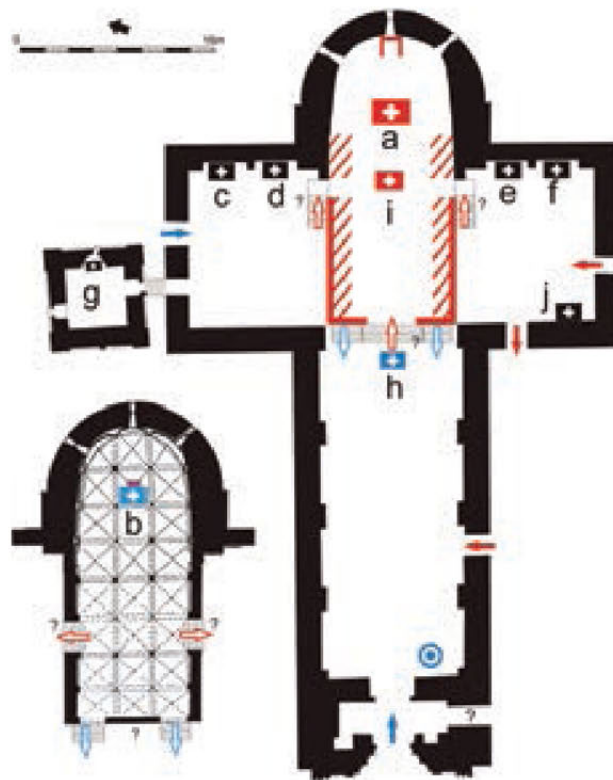

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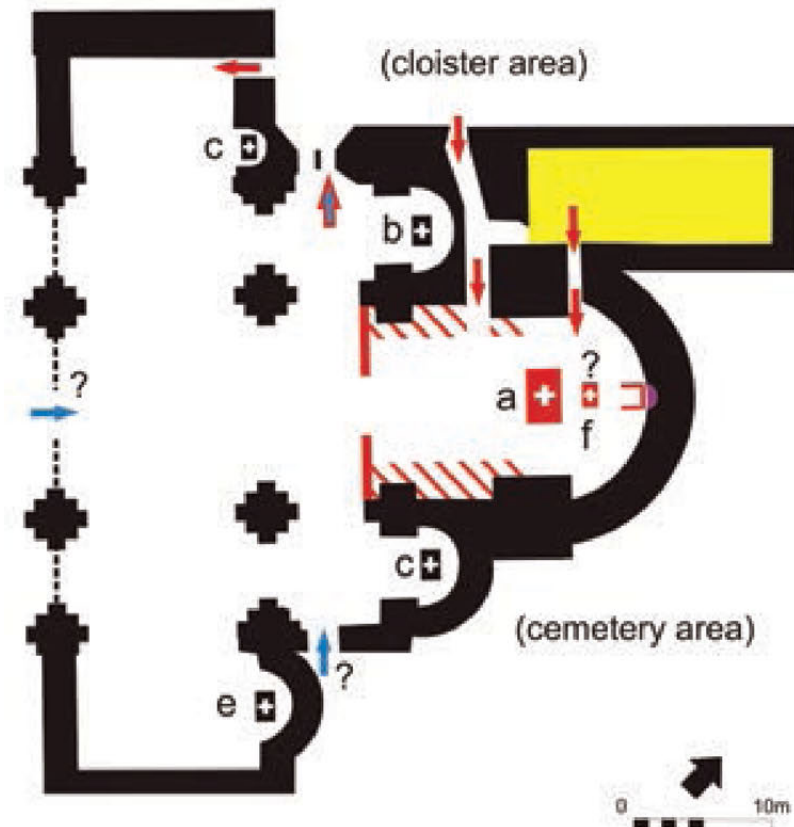
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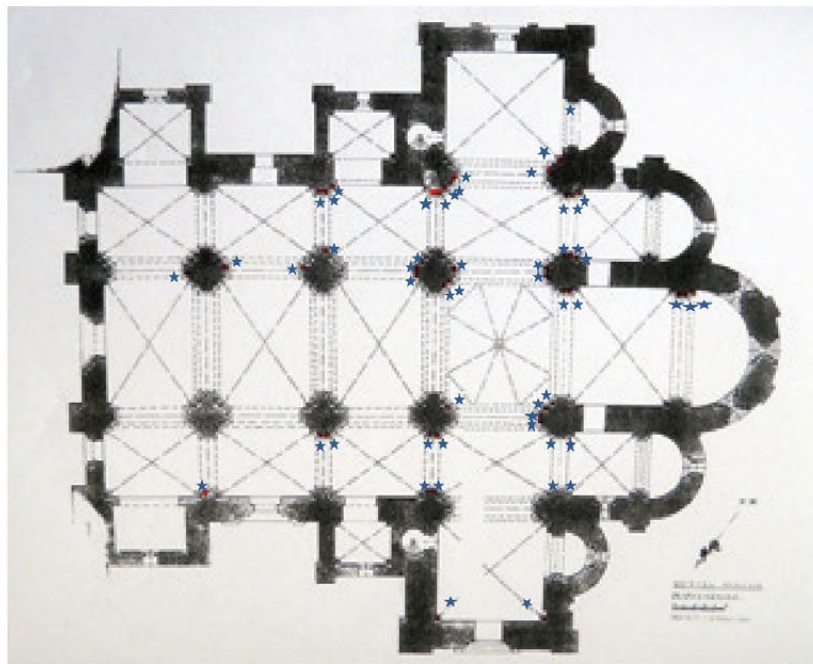

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