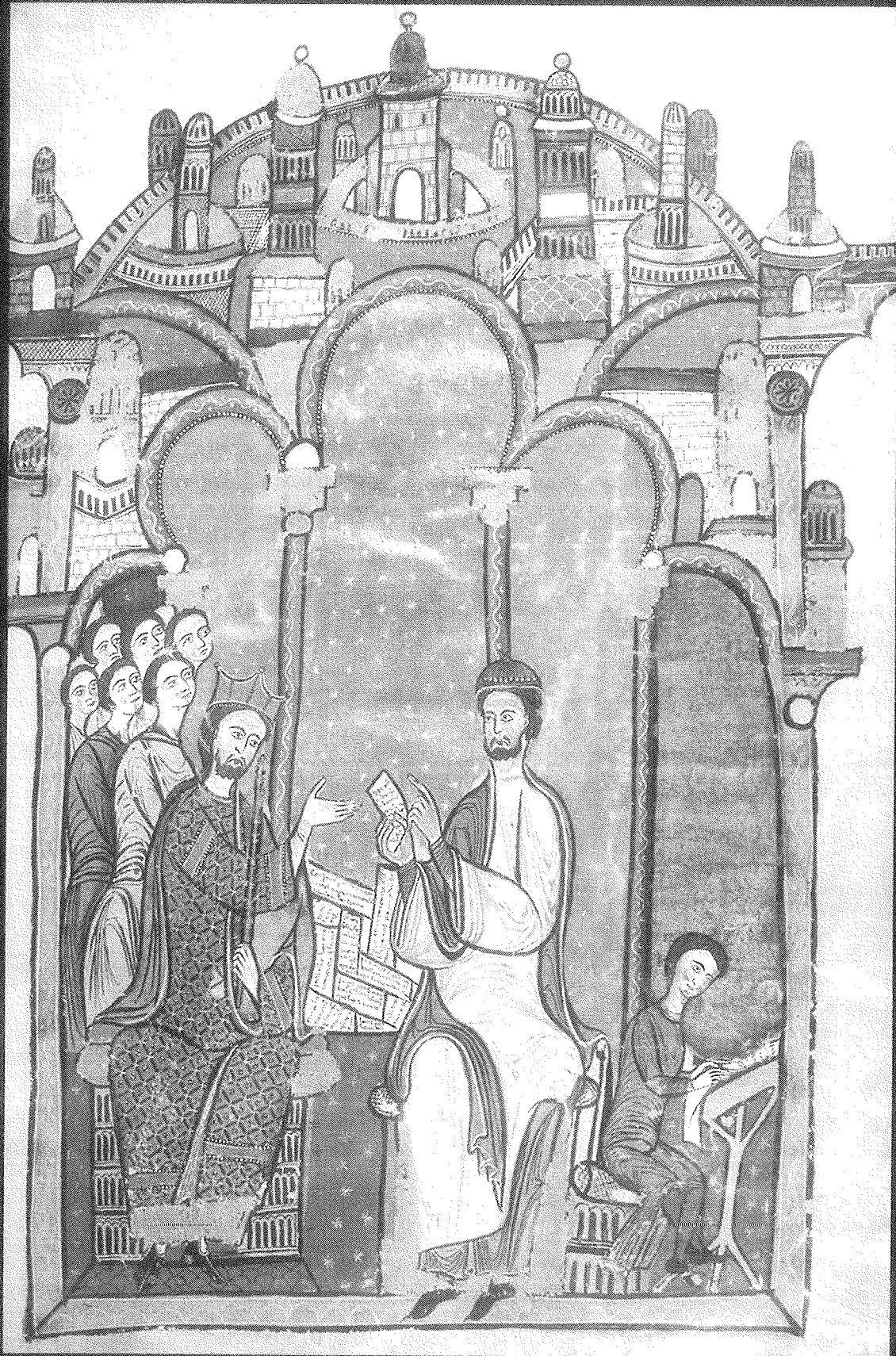


ROMANESQUE PATRONS AND PROCESSES

ROUTLEDGE



Edited by Jordi Camps, Manuel Castiñeiras,
John McNeill and Richard Plant

**ROMANESQUE PATRONS AND
PROCESSES**
**Design and Instrumentality in the Art
and Architecture of Romanesque
Europe**

Edited by
**Jordi Camps, Manuel Castiñeiras,
John McNeill and Richard Plant**

BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
2018

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2018
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2018 British Archaeological Association

The right of Jordi Camps, Manuel Castiñeiras, John McNeill, and Richard Plant to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Disclaimer Statements in the volume reflect the views of the authors, and not necessarily those of the Association, editors or publisher.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

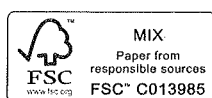
A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-138-47704-9 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-47703-2 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-351-10560-6 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Apex CoVantage, LLC



Printed in the United Kingdom
by Henry Ling Limited

CONTENTS

Advisory panel	vii
Notes on contributors	viii
Preface	xii
Chapter abstracts	xiii
Colour plates	xxi
Function, condition and process in eleventh-century Anglo-Norman church architecture Richard Gem	1
Matilda and the cities of the Gregorian Reform Arturo Carlo Quintavalle	15
Romanesque Cathedrals in Northern Italy – building processes between bishop and commune Bruno Klein	31
Episcopal patronage in the reform of Catalan Cathedral canonries during the first Romanesque period: A new approach Eduardo Carrero Santamaria	39
The role of kings and bishops in the introduction of Romanesque art in Navarre and Aragon Javier Martínez de Aguirre	47
From Peláez to Gelmírez: the problem of art patronage at the Romanesque Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela Jens Rueffer	63
Patronage, Romanesque architecture and the Languedoc Eric Fernie	73
The Armenian Cathedral of Saints James in Jerusalem: Melisende and the question of exchange between East And West Armen Kazaryan	83
Grandmont and the English Kings: An example of patronage in the context of an ascetic architectural trend Claude Andrault-Schmitt	93
The Hospital, England and Sigena: A footnote Neil Stratford	109
Henry of Blois, St Hugh and Henry II: The Winchester Bible reconsidered Christopher Norton	117
Patrons, institutions and public in the making of Catalan Romanesque art during the Comital period (1000–1137) Manuel Castiñeiras	143
The artistic patronage of Abbot Gregorius at Cuixà: Models and tributes Anna Orriols	159

A Limousin ciborium in medieval Catalonia Joan Duran-Porta	175
The Jaca ivories: Towards a revaluation of eleventh-century female artistic patronage in the Kingdom of Aragon Verónica C. Abenza Soria	183
The Aemilian casket reliquary: A product of institutional patronage Melanie Hanan	195
Patronage at the Cathedral of Tarragona: Cult and residential space Esther Lozano-López & Marta Serrano-Coll	205
An Anglo-Norman at Terrassa? Augustinian Canons and Thomas Becket at the end of the twelfth century Carles Sánchez Márquez	219
Agency and the re-invention of slab relief sculpture at San Isidoro de León c. 1100 Rose Walker	235
Patron and liturgy: The liturgical setting of the Cathedral Church of San Martino in Lucca after 1070 and the Gregorian Reform Carlotta Taddei	251
The 'Literate' lay donor: Textuality and the Romanesque patron Robert A. Maxwell	259
Remarks on patron inscriptions with restricted presence Wilfried E. Keil	279
The twelfth-century patrons of the Bridekirk font Hugh Doherty	291
The scope of competence of the painter and the patron in mural painting in the Romanesque period Anne Leturque	313
The death of the patron: Agency, style and the making of the <i>Liber Feudorum Maior</i> of Barcelona Shannon L. Wearing	327
Index	337

PATRONAGE AT THE CATHEDRAL OF TARRAGONA: CULT AND RESIDENTIAL SPACE¹

Esther Lozano-López & Marta Serrano-Coll

THE MATERIALITY: WORDS AND IMAGES TO EVOKE MEMORY

On the wall of the cloister, near to the entrance connecting it to the church, there are three inscriptions that serve as our starting point (Figure 17.1). The oldest and largest, in the centre, is a Roman plaque whose meaning suggests it was intended to preserve the memory of the dead and to protect their property.

Leaving to one side the importance of relocating a marble plaque in the cloister,² what interests us here is the inscription's emphasis on remembering the dead.³ Publius Rufius Flavius erected a monument, according to the epigraph, to the perpetual memory and honour of his wife Antonia Clementina. The clergy of Tarragona in the 12th century shared with the ancient Romans a desire to honour the memory of their dead companions because, for both parties, obscurity meant oblivion. On either side of the plaque to Clementina are two inscriptions from a stone necrology which would have been seen on a daily basis by the members of the religious community. On the west side, carved lettering invokes the memory of 'Raimundus de Karotitulo [. . .] presbiter et canonicus ac sacrista', who died in 1185⁴ and, on the east side, another inscription commemorates the death in 1193 of 'Raimundus bone memorie [. . .] prepositus', who held the most important office in the chapter and whose existence is recorded from 1164 onwards.⁵ Thus two clerics who died at the end of the 12th century flank a Roman inscription in a manner that illustrates the Tarragonan dignitaries' pre-occupations regarding the Church's property. There is a reference to the *liberti* donation which was intended to turn them into heirs and carers of their tomb in perpetuity and meant in turn that they were required to pass this obligation onto their freemen and their descendants to ensure that the tomb should never fall into unwarranted hands.⁶ Moreover, the structure of the Roman text follows a regulated testamentary format that expressly disallows any kind of interference⁷ and is thus in keeping with the Order of Saint Rufus, well known for its emphasis on the study of law and for its clerical jurists, such as Oleguer (1118–37), who had trained at the Abbey of Saint Ruf before

becoming archbishop of Tarragona.⁸ These experts would have had an important role in promoting the preservation of Church property following the restoration of the metropolitan see after Tarragona was conquered by the Christians in 1129. In this regard, the episcopal documentation tells of a hard struggle over a period of decades to prevent the Church's property from falling into alien hands.⁹

The medieval inscriptions are thus inextricably linked to the engraved Roman stone, which must have been put in place when the wall was initially built given that its height follows that of the coursing of the rest of the stonework and that the size of the joints and the dressing of the stone are in keeping with the rest of the ashlar masonry.

The two people recorded on the walls of the cloister are probably the first Augustinian Canons Regular to live according to the rule of Saint Ruf.¹⁰ Of particular note is 'Raimundus bone memorie [. . .] prepositus',¹¹ who we can identify as the *pavorde* (provost) Raimundus de Bages and whose death coincides with the epigraph.¹² His importance lies in the fact that he held the dignity of *post pontificalem* and thus governed the diocese *in sede vacante* and administered the community's property.¹³ From among his properties, in 1169 the Archbishop Hug de Cervelló (1164–71) gave him lordship over La Selva del Camp, a position which was also held by his successors.¹⁴ His importance is also attested in the documentation: in 1172 Alexander III sent a letter to him and to the chapter to confirm the religious community.¹⁵ His role as a patron cannot be ascertained, but given his importance, his financial and administrative power and the information contained in the subsequent documentary records, it may be reckoned that he took an active part in the works, especially the chapter house, which had been in process since at least 1154.¹⁶ There is also a document from several decades later, in 1214, which states that another provost, Raimundus de Sancto Laurentio, raised the vaults of the cloister at his own expense.¹⁷

Of Raimundus de Karotitulo¹⁸ we know very little except that he was a presbyter, canon and sacristan, the latter position being instituted as a dignitary after his death during the ministry of Archbishop Berenguer de Vilademuls (1174–94). Of particular note is that his inscription is set at the same level as that of the provost,

Aspàrec de la Barca (1215–33), although it may already have occurred during the time of Guillem de Torroja: Morera, *Tarragona Cristiana* (as n. 16), 596–597. See also D. Cazes, 'L'art dans les pays de Toulouse, Comminges et Foix au temps de la bataille de Muret', J. Le Pottier, J. Poumarède, C. Marquez, R. Souriac (eds.), *Le temps de la bataille de Muret. 12 septembre 1213* (Montréjeau 2014), 443–458.

¹⁰³ E. Lozano and M. Serrano, *Los capiteles historiados del claustro de la catedral de Tarragona* (Tarragona 2010).

¹⁰⁴ The loss of the chapter library prevents us from corroborating which books were owned by the chapter on this subject. However, the presence of the *Liber antiheresis* (1150–1250) [Biblioteca Pública de Tarragona, Ms. 28(2)] from Santes Creus suggests there was something similar at Tarragona because there is evidence of links between the two libraries; Ramón de Rocabertí, in his will, gave this monastery a *salterium meum*: Villanueva, *Viage* (as n. 9), appendix. 19, 267–274.

¹⁰⁵ Boto and Lozano, 'Lieux' (as n. 66), 337–364.

¹⁰⁶ Blanch, *Arxiepiscopologi* (as n. 9), 45. This preoccupation would increase during the following pontificate when the archbishop advised the king to banish the Waldensians (op. cit., 125), which led to their expulsion by royal edict in 1194; document in Sánchez, *Alfonso II* (as n. 30), doc. 621, 797–798. In 1198 Innocent III made it compulsory to help the papal legates of Provence in their fight against the heretics: M. Alvira, *Pedro el Católico, Rey de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona (1196–1213). Documentos, Testimonios y Memoria Histórica* (Zaragoza 2010), I, doc. 147, 293–295. This issue is also highlighted in the stone inscriptions at Tarragona: Serrano and Lozano, 'Espacios de memoria' (as n. 20).

¹⁰⁷ M. Serrano, 'San Nicolás plural: el ciclo del santo obispo en el claustro catedralicio de Tarragona. Saint Nicholas the multifaceted: the sculptural cycle of the holy bishop in the cathedral cloister of Tarragona', *Codex Aquilarensis*, 30 (2015), 225–257.

¹⁰⁸ See the bull issued by Lucius III in 1184 which mentions the school and the *scriptorium* (Morera, *Tarragona Cristiana* (as n. 16), 603–604), or the document recording the ordination of the archbishop in 1192 which mentions the student clerics: Blanch, *Arxiepiscopologi* (as n. 9), 112. This preoccupation also continued after Vilademuls' death; in 1194 *Iohannes de Sancto Baudilio* decreed that novitiates should spend a year living permanently in the cloister: Morera, *Tarragona Cristiana* (as n. 16), appendix 45. In 1197, his successor, Ramón de Castellterçol, instituted the position of *succentoria primera* (a form of choirmaster) in relation to the *scolares canonicos*: *Índex Vell* (as n. 9), doc. 537, 142.

¹⁰⁹ The pope accused ecclesiastics of participating in the murder, and, in a bull dated 16 June 1194, directed at the canons and chapter of Tarragona, states that those who 'dieron favor, ayuda y consejo al dicho Guillermo Ramón de Montcada, para hacer aquella muerte, sean privados de los beneficios, oficios y dignidades, toda apelación postpuesta y los echen por siempre de sus iglesias [gave approval, help and advice to Guillermo Ramón de Montcada in carrying out that murder must be deprived of their benefits, offices and dignities and forever banished from their churches]': Blanch, *Arxiepiscopologi* (as n. 9), 118–119.

¹¹⁰ *Índex Vell* (as n. 9), doc. 438, 116.

¹¹¹ For example the lawsuit that he launched against Alfonso II and the king's favourite Jiménez de Artusella after the former donated the port and municipality of Salou to the latter, or his initially poor relationship with Queen Sancha, which must have improved by 1194 because he is recorded as an executor of the king's will: Sánchez, *Alfonso II* (as n. 30), doc. 628, 808–820. By 1198 the tensions had been permanently resolved: Alvira, *Pedro* (as n. 106), doc. 139, 282–284.

¹¹² The executors were the archbishop of Tarragona, Gombaldo of Lleida, Ricardo of Huesca, the Grand Master of the Knights Templar and the abbot Pedro of Poblet, where the king was buried after his death: Sánchez, *Alfonso II* (as n. 30), doc. 628, 808–820.

¹¹³ Sobrequés, *Barons* (as n. 86), 38–41.

¹¹⁴ In 1205, the pope, in an attempt to prevent discord between the king and the archbishop, requested that possessions which were *pro*

indiviso should be divided between the two parties: Alvira, *Pedro* (as n. 106), vol. 2, doc. 549, 657. These agreements were consolidated in 1209: op. cit., vol. 3, doc. 943, 1007–1008. In 1206 Peter II reminded Guillem Bordet of the oath of obedience that he had sworn to the archbishop: op. cit., vol. 1, doc. 637, 733–734. Marí extends this to all the soldiers and inhabitants of Tarragona and its territories, who were obliged to swear an oath of obedience and loyalty to the archbishop and his church: Marí, *Exposició* (as n. 16), 50. A bull dated 1207 confirmed the declaration of Peter II stipulating the need for royal consent before electing a new bishop: Blanch, *Arxiepiscopologi* (as n. 9), 129. A new example of these relations is the bull issued by Innocent III which allows the kings of Aragon to be crowned in Zaragoza by the archbishop of Tarragona: Alvira, *Pedro* (as n. 106), vol. 2, doc. 550, 657–658.

¹¹⁵ *Índex Vell* (as n. 9), doc. 177, 49.

¹¹⁶ Alvira, *Pedro* (as n. 106), vol. 2, doc. 767, 843–844 and doc. 856, 931–932.

¹¹⁷ The money came from the benefices of the cathedrals of Girona, Barcelona, Pamplona and Elna: Morera, *Tarragona Cristiana* (as n. 16), 542–543.

¹¹⁸ Hernández and Torres, *Indicador* (as n. 10), 55.

¹¹⁹ During the period under study two individuals named Ramón Guillem are recorded in the chapter. One was a simple canon from at least 1192 until he became *operarius* in 1198, after which he was made archdeacon in 1203, a post he held until 1214. The other was a simple canon from at least 1187 to 1205 and then chamberlain from 1208 to 1236, when he became prior: Ramon, 'Canonges' (as n. 5), 252, 259, 340, 344, 346, 351, and Gort, *Cambreteria* (as n. 13), 91–108.

¹²⁰ op. cit., 73–89.

¹²¹ 'a la primera dignidad [camarero] le habían sido encomendados los gastos del pórtico claustal, de manera que aquellos se satisfacían de las rentas de la Camarería desde que comenzó la obra [. . .] mas como a la fecha citada alegara el camarero que no poseía rentas suficientes para terminarlo, firmó una concordia con el Pavorde. [the first dignity [chamberlain] was charged with providing the funding for the cloister portico, and from the start of the work this was paid out of the revenue of the Camarería [. . .] however, because on the date mentioned the chamberlain alleged that he did not have sufficient funds to complete it, he signed an agreement with the provost]. Among the other donations mentioned are the usufruct of the parcel of land known as d'en Dalmau in the municipality of Codony, an annual pension of 200 *sueldos* from the revenue of the provostry, the provision of sustenance for the workers in the refectory while the work was carried out, and access rights to the quarries in order to source the stone; see Morera, *Tarragona antigua* (as n. 63), 110 and Gort, *Cambreteria* (as n. 13), 88, who refers to Capdevila, *Seu* (as n. 95), 76.

¹²² This is the document in which the grand master of the Order of Calatrava in Alcañiz, Martín Martínez, hands some land over to the king: Alvira, *Pedro* (as n. 106), vol. 2, doc. 889, 969–970.

¹²³ Blanch, *Arxiepiscopologi* (as n. 9), 129. This document does not appear in the full work: Alvira, *Pedro* (as n. 106).

¹²⁴ Morera, *Tarragona Cristiana* (as n. 16), 546, 699. During the *Cortes* of 21 April, Peter II brought the church works under his protection: Marí, *Exposició* (as n. 16), 52.

¹²⁵ Blanch, *Arxiepiscopologi* (as n. 9), 129.

¹²⁶ The record shows, for example, that all three took part in the Battle of Muret: tabla 7.9 'Orden de combate del ejército del rey de Aragón en la Batalla de Muret (1213)', in Alvira, *Pedro* (as n. 106), vol. 5, 2529.

¹²⁷ Villanueva, *Viage* (as n. 9), appendix 19, 267–274.

¹²⁸ In addition to the document from 1209 signed by Raimundus de Sancto Laurentio, *Terrachone ecclesie operarius*, we also have the confirmation of Aspàrec de la Barca, from 1214, signed by, among others, *Arnaldus Tarraconens ecclae operarius*: Villanueva, *Viage* (as n. 9), appendix 9, 224–226.