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Edges of the Mediterranean Romanesque: 11th-century religious architecture in the Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties

Dora Sesar

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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

Edges of the Mediterranean Romanesque:

11th-century religious architecture in the Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties

Dora Sesar

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1. Introduction

The beginning of the new millennium and the 11th century brought many changes to medieval society, politics, religion, and this period's art and architecture. The boundary between the early Middle Ages and the completely formed Middle Ages is often placed at this juncture because changes and improvements started to be visible. These advancements had already begun before, with the Frankish Empire and Charlemagne, who, with his *renovatio imperii*, had the idea of restoring the former Roman Empire. Thus, two territories were found under his authority, which are the topic of this dissertation: the Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties. To rule his big empire more successfully, one of the main piers of Charlemagne's policy was Christianity and the Christianization of the conquered people. By the 11th century, the situation in Europe was more stable than in previous centuries. Most of the continent shared the same religion, there were no invasions, and political units and the borders of Europe began to resemble for the first time what we know today.

The turn of the century brought the culmination of all the advancements that began in previous centuries. Trade started to improve, travel between remote regions increased, the first urban settlements were founded, the first educational institutions were opened, and improvements in agriculture and climate, among other factors, led to an increase in the population. Furthermore, important events occurred in the Church in the 11th century: the Gregorian Reform, the Schism, and the Crusades. Moreover, over the course of the 11th century, a large number of Benedictine monasteries were built throughout Europe.

The 11th century brought the beginnings of Romanesque architecture, which is often referred to as the first “international” style in Western European architecture since

Antiquity. However, it is important to emphasize the risks of defining a particular artistic phenomenon with a single term, such as "First Romanesque," as proposed by Josep Puig i Cadafalch, and these issues will also be addressed in this dissertation. Nevertheless, the architecture of the 11th century is specific and brought certain innovations to the architecture of the Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties, although in most cases, it includes the reuse of architectural elements that had already been used in Early Christian, Byzantine, or Carolingian architecture.

The main hypothesis of this work is that the architecture of the 11th century developed precisely due to the contacts established in this political-religious atmosphere. First of all, there was an expansion of Benedictine monasteries, which made it easier to establish contacts and facilitate cultural and artistic exchange. Furthermore, ecclesiastical and aristocratic individuals had important roles. In this dissertation, we will examine how individuals such as Archbishop Lawrence of Split and Bishop John of Trogir, kings Petar Krešimir and Dmitar Zvonimir, and the aristocratic Madi family could have influenced the development of architecture in the Kingdom of Croatia in the 11th century. On the other side of the Mediterranean, we will discuss bishops Oliba and Ermengol, as well as the role of women in patronage, with emphasis on Countess Ermesinde. Is it possible that they, within their regional and international social networks, where ecclesiastical and aristocratic circles interlaced, exchanged patterns and set norms for the Romanesque architecture of the 11th century?

There is a large number of studies devoted to Romanesque architecture and its beginnings in Europe; however, comparative studies should be more widely adopted by European art historians. Scholars often rely on outdated sources in their country’s art history, which can make it hard to find new perspectives. That is why comparative research can be important: it can show us the practices of other countries, the way other

researchers think, and the problems they have solved or are trying to solve. Therefore, this dissertation will have an important role in this field, as it is the first work to thoroughly compare the beginnings and development of 11th-century Romanesque architecture in Croatia and Catalonia. Moreover, by being written in English, the "lingua franca" of the 21st century, it also offers the perspective about this architecture to other researchers that may not be familiar with these constructions due to the language barrier. The dissertation will address the classic set of arguments central in the art history of 11th-century architecture, including the fear of the 1000th year, the supposed architectural renewal, and the notion of the "art of the Gregorian reform." Furthermore, it will deal with the idea of peripheral art production, the widely debated subject of the supposed "Lombard architecture," and the suitability of rigid terms applied to early medieval and 11th-century architecture, such as Puig i Cadafalch's "First Romanesque". This thesis will explore these topics by reviewing how art historians interpreted them in the past while also reevaluating these concepts in light of contemporary scholarship, either assigning them new meanings or, where appropriate, discarding them from the framework of analysis. Moreover, the dissertation will deal with a variety of thematic groups: from the Carolingian period, when these two territories were already neighbors under a powerful ruler, to the process of Christianization, the "mini Renaissance" of the 11th century, social and religious changes, religious architecture and its different characteristics and expressions, powerful ecclesiastical and secular donors, all the way to more modern times, specifically the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries, where we will see how and why Romanesque art often played a role as a symbol of national identity. This comparative study of these two territories and their architecture, along with the broader cultural and political situation, will hopefully open questions and space for further investigations and bring some new conclusions that could clarify the complex picture of

the beginnings of Romanesque architecture and the art production in this time, not only in Croatia and Catalonia, but also in Europe in general.

***

In this introductory part, I will shortly address the names of the churches in the Croatian and Catalan territories mentioned in the dissertation. I use the English names of the Croatian churches (such as Holy Domenica, St. John the Evangelist, etc.) for easier understanding by non-Croatian speakers, as the Croatian names can sometimes be quite different from the English ones (the previously mentioned churches would be "Sv. Nediljica" and "Sv. Ivan Evanđelist"). However, the Catalan churches are kept in the Catalan language. This is firstly because Catalan shares more similarities with English in terms of names, and secondly, the names of Catalan churches often include the preposition "de," such as in Santa Maria de Ripoll and Sant Miquel de Cuixà, which I did not want to exclude as it is somehow an integral part of the church's name.

Another remark that I would like to make before we delve into the following pages is that in this dissertation we will deal with the architecture of the historical territories and not countries with the contemporary borders. The borders in the 11th century often changed, but the territory of the Kingdom of Croatia considered in this study excluded territories that today are inside the Croatian borders, such as Istria and the southern region around the city of Dubrovnik. Also, it included parts of today's neighboring country Bosnia and Herzegovina. The same applies to Catalonia. In the 11th century, the region was divided into counties, known as *Catalunya Vella*, and it is this area that has been chosen for the architecture analysis in this work. On the other hand, the Llobregat river was the border between *Catalunya Vella* and *Catalunya Nova*, the latter governed by

Muslims and including the cities of Tarragona, Lleida, and Tortosa, which will not be considered in this study.

1.1. Work plan

Although this thesis mainly focuses on the 11th century in the Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties, its chapters will not be confined only to this period. Following this introductory chapter, which consists of a work plan and methodology, a chapter named "A Brief Introduction to Croatia's and Catalonia's Early Medieval History: Frankish Rule and Marca Hispanica" will provide an overview of the history of these areas from Roman times to the Carolingian Empire. It will show how the rich Roman heritage of both regions provided an ideal background for Charlemagne's plans of *renovatio imperii*. With the advent of the Carolingian Empire, both Croatian and Catalan territories experienced prosperity in various spheres, culminating in the formation of political entities that formed the nucleus of future independent duchies and counties. Furthermore, this chapter will delve into the significance that the process of Christianization had in Carolingian politics and its role in unifying the continent under one religion, thus laying the groundwork for future artistic and architectural developments, including Romanesque architecture.

Chapter three will continue the examination of historical events that were of great importance for the subjects included in the continuation of the dissertation. The 11th-century architecture can be largely understood as a product of historical, political, ecclesiastical, and social events at the turn of the millennium. In this context, themes such as the so-called “mini Renaissance” of the 11th century will be discussed, along with common subjects that are often mentioned in the interpretation of the artworks and architecture of this period. For example, we will mention the fear of the 11th century, which was often present in scholarly work but is now considered outdated in architectural

interpretation. The Gregorian Reforms will also be discussed, as scholars are divided on whether this ecclesiastical movement influenced art and architecture. While this set of reforms did not directly dictate architectural standards, they indirectly influenced 11th-century architectural production by fostering increased interactions between ecclesiastical figures across European territories.

The following chapter, "Romanesque Art," will start by clarifying the background and characteristics of Romanesque art and architecture, including the term's origins and etymology. Furthermore, it will examine the architectural production of the Kingdom of Croatia, starting with the "Old Croatian" architecture spanning from the 9th to the 11th century, followed by a discussion of 11th-century Croatian architecture, including its origins, main characteristics, and Miljenko Jurković's classification into "international" and "regional" groups. The discussion will then shift to the Catalan Counties, exploring pre-Romanesque precedents before delving into the main features of 11th-century Catalan architecture.

Once this historical and artistic background is established, we will move on to what may be considered the core of this thesis. Specifically, the fifth chapter, "Art, Church, and State: The Question of Patronage in the Development of 11th Century Early Romanesque Architecture," has considerable importance. In the 11th century, along with the positive advancements, such as the establishment of urban centers, religious reforms, etc., we witness the ascendance of ecclesiastical and aristocratic figures and their connections, which facilitated a cross-regional exchange of architectural styles and ideas. Previously, it was widely accepted that it was traveling artist groups that were responsible for the spread of Romanesque architecture; however, a more likely explanation contends that it was mostly facilitated by traveling clergymen and aristocrats. In addition, there were strong ties between these different social groups at this time, with rulers and

aristocracy working closely with Church authorities. In this framework, we will explore the potential influences on the formation of 11th-century architecture by individuals like the bishops Lawrence of Split and John of Trogir, kings Petar Krešimir and Dmitar Zvonimir, and influential noble families like the well-known Madi family of Zadar. In the Catalan territory, we will look at the roles of bishops Oliba and Ermengol and Countess Ermesinde of Carcassonne. By studying their social connections, their patronage activities, and their involvement in church construction projects, we will see how they helped create an environment that encouraged the exchange of architectural ideas. This sharing happened not only on a regional level but also through travel to other places, like the Italian Peninsula, and through social interactions with significant figures from abroad.

The next chapter, titled "Exterior Influences on the Art of the Periphery," will look into art production of the Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties in the sense of peripheral regions of 11th-century Europe. In this part, we will try to determine whether the geographical location influenced the architectural output in these areas. Furthermore, we will examine how the historical background and contemporary political connections are related to the architecture of these territories. Influences from Italian, Byzantine, Carolingian, and Early Christian architecture, which can be found in 11th-century Early Romanesque Croatian and Catalan architecture, will be mentioned.

Finally, in the seventh chapter, "Romanesque Art as a Symbol of National Identity," the discussion will move to more recent times, mainly focusing on the 19th century, with references to the 20th and 21st centuries. This chapter will explore why Romanesque art and architecture frequently represented symbols of national identity for intellectuals in the 19th century, a time when national movements were growing across

Europe. It will also consider whether this symbolic role has continued into the 20th and 21st centuries in Croatia and Catalonia or if it has faded into history.

The thesis will conclude with a bibliography of sources used, a corpus of 11th-century churches in the Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties, and a set of accompanying photographs.

1.2. Methodology

To undertake this project, which includes a big number of historical sites in both the Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties, it was important to set up a clear plan and divide the work into separate sections.

First of all, it was necessary to create a corpus of 11th-century religious architecture in the Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties by listing all churches and monasteries built in these areas during the first century after the turn of the millennium.

Once the corpus was complete, the next step was to collect photographic material and floor plans. These resources would facilitate the analysis of the monuments and help in understanding the broader architectural context of the 11th century. This would also allow a closer examination of the initial hypothesis: that the new architectural style in the 11th century was shaped by the social connections of religious leaders, rulers, and nobles.

The next step was to consult the existing bibliography and collect information about the monuments. This process involved finding out details about the time of construction and consecration (if possible), historical background, available records, potential patrons, key features and style, and the current condition of the monuments.

After gathering all this information, including the corpus, key information about the monuments, photographic material, and floor plans, it was time to consult academic writings.

The “old Croatian art,” a term often used in Croatian art history to refer to pre-Romanesque and Romanesque art and architecture from the 9th to the end of the 11th century, has for a long time been of interest to art historians, historians, and archaeologists, starting from the early foreign researchers, such as Rudolf Eitelberger, Josef Strzygowski, or Ejnar Dyggve, to the important Croatian art historians of the 20th century, such as Ljubo Karaman, Milan Prelog, or Ivo Petricioli. They all made significant contributions to the understanding of Croatian pre-Romanesque and Romanesque art and architecture.

However, the first to directly and exclusively study the 11th-century architecture in Croatia was Miljenko Jurković. His works address a broad range of subjects relevant to this dissertation, such as the emergence of the Croatian Early Romanesque architecture, the ecclesiastical reforms and their repercussions, and the role of ecclesiastical figures in reform implementation and architectural context. My research aims to build upon Jurković’s scholarship and will hopefully open some new questions and contribute to the field.

Vladimir Gvozdanović, who published in English as Vladimir Goss, made the Croatian pre-Romanesque and Romanesque accessible to the broader and English-speaking audience. His work is therefore important for expanding the visibility of this period among foreign scholars. Similarly, my thesis seeks to contribute to this area through an English-language study.

Moreover, this dissertation is the first study that applies the comparative approach to the Croatian and Catalan architecture of the 11th century and the Early Romanesque. There are virtually no studies in art history that directly put these two territories together; however, one such example is the doctoral dissertation by Jelena Behaim, defended as well at the Autonomous University of Barcelona in 2021, in which Behaim studied the

architectural landscape in the Croatian historical territory and Marca Hispanica as peripheral regions of the Carolingian Empire. Therefore, my dissertation is, in a way, a continuation of Behaim's work and comparative approach, but focusing on a later period, that of the 11th century. The comparison between the Croatian and Catalan art production in medieval times is a subject that can offer new responses and bring new perspectives, as even though these two territories are found on two different ends of the Mediterranean, they still share the Mediterranean substrate and a rich heritage, starting from the Roman Empire to the Carolingian rule, upon which they built their own art expressions after the formation of independent political entities, the Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties.

Tomislav Marasović's *Dalmatia Praeromanica* is a work that serves as a good starting point for researching the architecture of this period. In addition to providing valuable historical background, it provides a detailed corpus of Croatian pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque architecture, along with floor plans and a compiled bibliography for each building.

Another author important for the study of 11th-century art and architecture in Croatia is Nikola Jakšić. His work focuses on both architecture and sculptural decoration, and it contributes greatly to understanding the general monumental landscape of the period. This study of both architecture and monumental sculpture is something that should be emphasized and encouraged in future research as well, as one cannot really be fully comprehended without the other. Consequently, in this work sculptural elements will frequently be addressed to help in contextualizing the 11th-century Croatian churches.

Magdalena Skoblar's recent publication, *Figural sculpture in eleventh-century Dalmatia and Croatia: Patronage, architectural context, history* (2021), is also highly

relevant for this research. While it primarily examines sculpture, it was of great significance for this work for several reasons. First of all, it explicitly focuses on 11th-century sculpture associated with the churches central to this dissertation. Additionally, it discusses the topic of patronage by influential civic and ecclesiastical figures. Published in English, Skoblar's work is accessible to a wide academic audience, encouraging broader scholarly engagement with Croatian 11th-century studies, which is, again, one of the aims of this thesis as well.

In Catalonia, the study of Romanesque architecture began in the 19th century, simultaneously with the national movements throughout Europe. In the 20th century, the basis for the field of Catalan Romanesque was established through documentation initiatives, such as the *Missió Arqueologica i Jurídica*.

One of the most influential researchers was Josep Puig i Cadafalch, whose studies and publications, such as *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* or *La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic*, still remain significant for Romanesque scholarship. However, some of Puig i Cadafalch's frameworks, such as his categorizations "First Romanesque" and "Second Romanesque," have recently been re-evaluated. In this dissertation, we will discuss the implications of these classifications and examine the risks of categorizing the art production in a certain territory over a span of a few centuries.

In recent decades, the old set of arguments used in the study of Romanesque was often re-examined. Xavier Barral i Altet, for example, raised critical questions. He challenged the nationalist perspectives in which the Catalan Romanesque was historically regarded. In his book *L'art romànic català a debat,* he explored why the Catalan Romanesque, despite its limited impact on later architectural developments, still had a privileged position within the Catalan cultural identity and questioned whether heavily

reconstructed churches, such as Santa Maria de Ripoll, should even be considered representative of Catalan Romanesque architecture.

Another scholar who revisits the old set of arguments and questions traditional categorizations in the study of the Catalan Romanesque is Eduardo Carrero Santamaria. His work focuses on the connections between architecture and liturgy and spatial organization, both in single monuments and in ecclesiastical complexes.

In the same line, Marc Sureda i Jubany made significant contributions through his studies on liturgical programs and their connections to 11th-century Catalan churches, often analyzing the role of patrons like Oliba and their theological and symbolic conceptions.

Joan Duran-Porta challenged another long-existing theory in the field: the influence of the "Lombard art" on Catalan architecture, supposedly introduced by traveling artists known as *magistri comacini*. Duran-Porta argues that the evolution of the architecture in Catalonia in the 11th century should not be connected to the arrival of these *magistri,* but that it rather happened due to the transmission of knowledge between the intellectual figures of the period.

In the context of patronage, the contributions of scholars like Manuel Castiñeiras Gonzáles are of great significance. Castiñeiras González examines not only patronage in the Romanesque period but also broader socio-political context and international connections, offering a view of how these dynamics shaped art and architecture. Similarly, Verónica Abenza Soria's research into female patronage in medieval Iberia and Jeffrey Alan Bowman's studies on patronage, from influential bishops to noblewomen, show how different patrons left their marks on Romanesque art.

In addition to these aforementioned contributions, foundational works and encyclopedias are a helpful resource in studying the Catalan Romanesque architecture.

Catalunya romànica, directed by Jordi Vigué and Antoni Pladevall and published in 27 volumes by Enciclopèdia Catalana from 1984 to 1998, offers detailed texts and floor plans of Catalan Romanesque monuments. It needs to be pointed out, though, that in this dissertation, references to *Catalunya romànica* are based on the online edition of the *Enciclopèdia Catalana*, which does not attribute individual authors. Similarly, the *Guies del Romànic Català*, a six-volume series organized by regions, offers a more concise but thorough guide to the Romanesque. The *Románico Digital* project by the Santa María la Real Foundation has also advanced the field by digitizing resources on Romanesque art across Spain.

After collecting information about the monuments, their floor plans and photographic material, and consulting the bibliography, the next phase involved organizing and writing the seven planned chapters of this dissertation. Given that this research includes two geographical regions—the Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties—and encompasses the entire 11th century, the scope of the study is both broad and complex. Rather than cataloguing each building, the aim is to address critical questions, engage with established arguments, and challenge paradigms such as the "art of the Gregorian reform," "First Romanesque," and "Lombard art." In the end, all of these inquiries will serve to examine how social dynamics influenced the formation of 11th-century architecture.

2. A brief introduction to Croatia and Catalonia's early medieval history. Frankish rule and Marca Hispanica.

2.1. A quick overview: from the Roman to the Carolingian Empire

In order to start this thesis, which has for its aim to compare the architectural landscape of two different territories during the 11th century, the Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties, it is important to quickly overview the history of what we today know as Croatia and Catalonia. We know that every artwork is a product of the historical, social, and economic surroundings of a certain area in a certain period, and as such, it is essential to get to know the backgrounds that the Croatian and Catalan territories had before the new millennium. Both territories of our interest had a rich history since the early centuries of the new era, as different cultures lived in these regions. They all, of course, left their marks on culture, society, history, and art. This long and varied historical and artistic heritage, and the cultural and social situation over the centuries before the 11th century, will help us to better understand how architecture developed on these two different edges of the Mediterranean.

In the first centuries of the new era, the territories now known as Croatia and Catalonia were part of the Roman Empire. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, a new period started on both ends of the Mediterranean Sea. While the Roman rule was marked by a more or less peaceful life in the provinces, a more turbulent period started after the fall of the Western Empire in 476.

Croatian historical territory was originally part of two Roman provinces: Dalmatia and Pannonia. After the division of the Roman Empire in 395, Dalmatia became part of the Western Empire. When the Western Empire fell in 476, Dalmatia came under the rule of the Ostrogothic Kingdom led by Theodoric the Great. However, the emperor Justinian

I took Dalmatia under Byzantine control in 535. Written sources such as *De administrando imperio* (10th century), *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* (12th century), and *Historia Salonitana* (13th century) report the arrival of the Avars in the 7th century and their destruction of Salona, a Roman metropolis. Probably later in the same century, the Croats settled in the Roman provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia, where they established their political entity—the Duchy of Croatia, which would be found under Frankish dominance already in the 8th century.

On the other side of the Mediterranean basin, today's Catalonia also has a turbulent and rich history behind it. This territory was as well populated by many cultures, foremost the Romans, and after the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century, the Visigoths. The Visigoth rule was marked by a significant number of internal conflicts between different clans, which served perfectly well for the Moors to use the unbalanced rule in order to conquer the territory, which they managed to do at the beginning of the 8th century. However, compared with the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, the Muslim reign in Catalonia was rather short and weak. After only two decades of Muslim presence, the Franks established their Hispanic March in this territory, which was meant to play the role of a tampon zone between the Frankish Empire and the Moors. Little by little, the Franks built their power and presence south of the Pyrenees, and their objective was to conquer Catalan centers and free the territory from Muslim rule. Counties that formed under the Frankish rule were the nucleus of what would later become the Principality of Catalonia.

The chapters that follow will be dedicated to the Frankish rule in both Croatian and Catalan territories, as this was the period when both of these remote Mediterranean areas were included under the rule that had the objective of unifying the European continent and re-establishing what was once the Roman Empire. It will be of great

importance for this work to examine the chain of events both in the east Adriatic and south of the Pyrenees in the centuries of Frankish rule, as it was during this time that they started their way towards the political, economic, intellectual, and, after all, artistic and architectonic renaissance, which will have its peak in the 11th century.

2.2. The Frankish rule in today's Croatia

Religion and culture were the most important elements of the Frankish expansion. As they took over new regions, the Franks introduced Christianity and Benedictine rule. This led to the need to build new churches and monasteries. What is more, Frankish rule brought about major scientific advances and intellectual movements in different European regions. In order to later understand how and if the Frankish presence influenced the Early Romanesque architecture of the 11th century, we will quickly review the historical events following the Frankish conquest, first on the Eastern Adriatic coast and then in the region south of the Pyrenees.

The geographical location of Croatia was always one of the most important elements of its development. Beginning in Antiquity, Croatian historical territory had the opportunity to interact with nearby civilizations, which were often far more advanced. The Frankish Empire was growing stronger over the 8th century. It was expanding its frontiers, and the bounds of the Empire reached the territory where Croats and Avars lived. The Franks conducted two wars against the Avars, and they managed to expel them. They also sought to conquer the coastal part of the Duchy of Croatia, controlled by the Byzantine Empire, which they achieved in 803. This event resulted in the Byzantine fleet entering the Adriatic Sea, ready to battle against the great Western power led by Charlemagne. The conflict ended with the Peace of Aachen, where it was decided that Byzantium, as a state that had a powerful navy, would keep the Adriatic archipelago and

cities with important ports, such as Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik, and Kotor. On the other hand, the area of the hinterland of the Adriatic cities and Istria belonged to the Frankish Empire.

After Charlemagne passed away, Louis the Pious succeeded to the throne. He was not a very strong leader, and thus the empire started to weaken considerably. This weakening favored the establishment of independence for different small countries in the empire's territory, which was also the aim of early medieval Croatia. Throughout the 9th century, Croatian historical territory was developing in the political, social, and cultural sense. The duke Branimir was recognized as an independent ruler in 879 by Pope John VIII. His successor, Muncimir, held the title of *princeps*, and this act of gaining sovereignty culminated in 925, when Tomislav was crowned *rex* and the Kingdom of Croatia was established.

With the rule of Charlemagne and the powerful Frankish Empire over this territory, major actions of Christianization had begun. As Klaić (1971, p. 206) states, the Christianization by itself was significant for the Croats, since it made it possible for this new nation to become a part of the big Christian community, which was promising cultural and political improvement. After the mass Christianization, there was a need for the construction of new religious buildings (V. Goss, 1996, p. 24), and this is how a period of big artistic activity started and took place in the first three centuries of Croatian history in the newly inhabited territory (800-1100). When Croats arrived in their new territory, they encountered Roman, Early Christian, and Byzantine buildings, which were later used as models for new constructions (V. Goss, 1996).

To conclude this review of Frankish dominion in Croatian territory, it is important to note that their cultural and societal influence persisted long after their political presence ended. Throughout history, the Croatian lands were in contact with various more developed civilizations, but during the Early Middle Ages, the two most significant

influences came from the Franks and the Byzantine Empire. Although Byzantine power was present for a longer period, from the 6th to the 12th century, it fluctuated and was not always potent. In contrast, the Frankish Empire had a much shorter presence, yet it left a much stronger impact. This influence is vividly felt and seen in the political and cultural changes, the spread of Christianization, and in pre-Romanesque art and architecture, as well as in the later development of the new Early Romanesque architectural style.

2.3. Marca Hispanica

When the Moors were defeated in the battle of Poitiers in 732 during their attempts to enter the Frankish Empire from the Iberian Peninsula, Franks established the Hispanic March in the area of today's Catalonia. It included the area between the river Ebro and Conflent, and it had the role of acting as a buffer zone, protecting the Frankish Empire from further Muslim attacks.

Generally, Carolingians divided their territories into counties and bishoprics. Thus, they did the same with the Hispanic March, where they imported their political system. As mentioned, the 8th century was quite turbulent for the Catalan historical territory. The Muslims were penetrating the peninsula and, by the year 711, were installed there with a new religion—Islam. By 714 they had already managed to conquer the cities of Tarragona, Barcelona, Girona, and Lleida.

During the first Frankish expedition south of the Pyrenees, they passed through one part of the territory that today belongs to northern Catalonia. There, they found allies among the *Hispani*—the Hispanic-Gothic population. After Charlemagne had been defeated in the battle of Zaragoza in 778, some *Hispani* that felt endangered fled to take refuge in the border region of Septimania. There they obtained land and public goods for use, Charlemagne exempted them from the duty of paying taxes, and the only thing that

he asked in return was to serve him in defense of his territory. During Charlemagne's first expedition, even though he managed to set Carolingian influence, no city or territory was taken permanently by Franks. However, over the next couple of decades, some cities, such as Girona and Urgell, submitted to the Carolingians, which probably happened due to good relationships that he had previously established with the *Hispani*.

Even if they had the cities of Girona and Urgell, Barcelona was still regarded as the most important and influential city of the Hispanic March. As a result, Louis the Pious led a campaign to take over Barcelona. While he was unsuccessful at first, he eventually entered Barcelona on Easter Sunday of the year 801. After the Franks had conquered Barcelona, this city was the southernmost point of the Hispanic March. However, the Franks did not intend to stop here, and they planned to also conquer the territory of Tarragona and Tortosa. As far as we know, they led three expeditions there, but none of them succeeded.

In the early period of Frankish domination in the Hispanic March, the Franks appointed counts, who were their own descendants. However, 100 years after Charlemagne's expedition, Charles "the Bald" appointed the local aristocrat Wilfred "the Hairy" (840-897) as the most powerful count in the region. Wilfred's influence continued to increase under the rule of Louis "the Stammerer" and persisted through the rules of his descendants, who were pushing the frontier southward into the Muslim territories.

While Wilfred "the Hairy" was in charge, Frankish kings were beginning to lose their authority over the Hispanic March. Around the year 890, Wilfred and his brothers controlled almost all the counties of the Carolingian buffer zone. Moreover, he was the first count to pass his holdings to his descendants without asking the permission of the Carolingian king, at that time Odo (888-898). For these reasons, Wilfred "the Hairy" is often regarded as a symbolic founder of Catalonia.

As the foundations of the Catalan dynasty gradually took shape, Franks started to have significant problems. Four emperors died in the course of only 11 years: Charles the Bald (877), Louis the Stammerer (879), Carloman II (884), and finally, Charles the Fat (888). With all these concerns, it became nearly impossible for them to maintain control over distant territories like the Hispanic March.

Wilfred II of Besalú (927-957) was the last count to swear fidelity to the Franks. Finally, the decisive turning point was Al-Mansur's attack on Barcelona. Catalan count Borrell II (947-993) asked Frankish emperors for assistance to defend Barcelona and its citizens, but he received no response. This event marked the end of the Frankish influence in the Hispanic March. From that point onward, the 11th and 12th centuries saw the Catalan Counties united under the rule of the counts of Barcelona. However, it is important to say that the independence from the Franks was only official with the *Treaty of Corbeil* (1258), when the French king recognized Catalonia as an independent state.

Just as we saw in the example of Croatia, in the Catalan territory, the Frankish rule as well meant incorporation into the larger European community and intellectual, artistic, and cultural evolution. While the rest of the Iberian Peninsula for the time that followed persisted with Hispanic liturgy and Visigoth heritage, Catalonia became closer to other European regions by implementing the Benedictine rule, having Carolingian monasteries as centers of culture and education, and receiving models for art and architecture that will slowly but surely make their way to the pre-Romanesque and, in the end, the Romanesque architecture.

The two remote regions on both sides of the Mediterranean were brought closer by Frankish rule in this way: despite their distance and differences, they shared a political system, a common religion with the majority of Europe, an intellectual upsurge, and an impulse to build new churches. The end of Frankish rule in both territories led to the

creation of the first sovereign states in the East and West Mediterranean, and the architectural models acquired during this time served as the prototype for the "mini Renaissance" that would occur in the 11th century with the Early Romanesque churches.

2.4. Christianization as a form of unifying the European continent

The Christianization of Europe in the early medieval period was a process that had an important role in unifying regions that were previously diverse in cultural, political, and religious senses. In the Carolingian Empire, Christianization was not only a process of implementing a new religion but also a strategic instrument when it came to establishing and maintaining power throughout a vast and heterogeneous territory. In the following few pages, we will see how the Christianization under the Frankish rule impacted the architectural development on the two peripheries of the Carolingian Empire: in the Croatian and Catalan territories.

As the Carolingian Empire included a vast territory with people of different cultural and social backgrounds, Charlemagne needed one element that would bind the whole large empire together and that would make it easier to rule (Jong de, 1995). Christianity was a tool to do that, and that is why one of the main aims of the Frankish expansion was to convert the conquered people to the Christian faith. In addition, Charlemagne promoted educational, social, and clerical reforms, and the new churches and monasteries constructed throughout the whole empire served as markers of his power (McKitterick, 2008, p. 215). Emperors used monasteries, which favoured the Benedictine rule, in order to establish contacts with the local society. Moreover, the concept of "spiritual patronage" was extremely significant—people believed that if they helped monasteries and churches, they would receive benefits for their souls.

Along with the importance of the monasteries, powerful civic and ecclesiastical figures also played a significant role in the ruling scheme, as they were crucial for the

integration of secular and ecclesiastical matters in the Empire. The most influential figures were obviously the counts, who were given this role by Frankish emperors and were Frankish descendants. After them, an important role was played by the *missi dominici*—royal immunities whose task was to visit Carolingian territories that were far away and make sure that the counts were doing their job respectfully.

The Christianization of a society is, however, a rather slow process. In the first place, rulers and their closest family members are converted, and only over the following years does the new faith spread among the population. Therefore, Christianization in the Croatian historical territory was neither immediate nor simple; it lasted throughout the major part of the early medieval period. Archaeological findings of the funeral customs show that, until the end of the 9th century, different objects related to pagan religions could be found in the tombs (Goldstein, 1995, pp. 227–241). It is generally considered that the process of Christianization was complete with the establishment of the ecclesiastical province in Split in 928.

Christianization among Croats did not come only from one source. The Frankish Empire, Byzantium, and Rome all had a significant role in this process, though the Franks were particularly influential. Evidence of their efforts includes the large number of Frankish priests and missionaries active in the area. When the Franks set their dominion in the Duchy of Croatia, they began the period of systematic Christianization. This process was facilitated by the presence of surviving Christian churches from 5th and 6th centuries, built before the incursions of Avars, who eradicated Christian religion in this area and allowed pagan practices to take over. However, the surviving Early Christian churches could be easily renovated during the 9th century (Jakšić, 2008; Basić, 2015, p. 435).

Christianization had many benefits for the Croats. It made it possible for the newly established Croatian political entity to form part of the big Christian community, and it promised cultural and political advancement (Klaić, 1971, p. 206). Soon afterward, the first pre-Romanesque churches were built.

Similarly, the Christianization in Catalonia also took a few centuries. Here the Christian faith was introduced in the 3rd century, but even in the 8th century it was only related to the bigger urban centers and villages. The Christianization of the most rural part of today's Catalonia took place from the 8th until the 10th century. Nevertheless, the Muslim conquest of Catalonia in the first half of the 8th century made the Christianization process rather difficult. Consequently, adoptism, a doctrine that considered that Jesus Christ was adopted to be God's son with his baptism, his resurrection, and his ascension, was put in place. This doctrine was adopted in order to combat the danger of the newly arrived religion and to protect the Christian dogma. It is possible that even its aim was to win over the newly arrived to the Christian religion. By making Jesus Christ more "human," the unity of the people and the Holy Trinity was more accentuated (Salrach, 2016, pp. 225, 226).

Besides being a tool to unify the European continent in the same religion, beliefs, and culture, having the same faith in common resulted in a rich architectural and artistic production, and that can be especially said for our areas of interest. As Behaim (2021, p. 45) observed in her doctoral thesis, Charlemagne's idea of *renovatio imperii* found a flourishing ground on both ends of the Mediterranean, and this heritage resulted in a rich architectural production in the early medieval period.

On the whole, we can say that the process of Christianization was rather long on both ends of the Mediterranean, but by adopting the Christian religion, both Croatia and Catalonia got their place in the evolving European cultural and political context. This

integration into the artistic, political, and religious European context will be a base upon which the later developments will be continued and which will lead to the “unified” architectural productions across different European regions.

3. 11th century—Century of changes in Europe

Because many major advancements occurred in the centuries preceding and culminating around the turn of the millennium, medieval historians normally contend that the "border" between the Early Middle Ages and the fully formed Middle Ages can be placed around the year 1000. Toward the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, Europe was, for the first time since the second half of the 4th century, free of intrusions, thus resulting in a rather calm existence for European regions. Moreover, the warming of the climate from the 8th century onwards contributed to the improvement in agriculture and the economy. Approaching the turn of the millennium, Europe was getting ready for economic and social processes, such as the strengthening of feudal structures. It is also important to keep in mind that the Roman culture kept influencing Europe up until the end of the 9th century. Nevertheless, in the 10th century, after the disintegration of the Frankish Empire, there was the first instance of "individualization" of European culture. Geographically, we may say that about the year 1000, when the process of assimilating the majority of the European continent into the European civilization came to a conclusion, Europe started to resemble what it does now. This integration into one European community became possible because of the new shared religion, as the major part of Europe was Christianized by the year 1000 (Strzelczyk, 2001, pp. 41–44). These economic, political, geographical, and religious developments permitted the revival of culture, art, and architecture. The "unification" and, at the same time, "individualization" of newly formed European political entities brought about the creation of the first "universal," but still regionally specific style—the Romanesque.

3.1. The terror of the year 1000: a myth

The art history of 11th-century Romanesque art and architecture was often a place of historiographical misinterpretations and arguments used to explain the period's artistic developments. One of these arguments, traditionally rooted in the art history practice, was that the increased construction of churches in the 11th century was a response to surviving the turn of the millennium, the long-anticipated and feared moment. However, where did this theory originate?

Origins of the theory about the terror of the year 1000

Both Judaism and Christianity recognized and mentioned the 1000-year period, but not in the sense of the apocalyptic fears, but rather in the context of worshipping God (Peters, 2002, p. 9) and emphasizing timelessness.[1] Nevertheless, Christianity and Judaism differ in the fact that Christianity anticipates the second coming of Christ. Early Christian writers often mentioned this subject of the end of the world, with the most famous text being Saint John's *Apocalypse*, the last book of the Bible.[2]

Despite these writings about the coming of the apocalypse, Church fathers, like Saint Augustine, started criticizing these apprehensions as early as in the 3rd and 4th centuries. In *The City of God*, Saint Augustine, often recognized as the first medieval

[1] Different psalms demonstrate this: Psalm 89(90):4: "For a thousand years in your sight are like yesterday, when it is past, or like a watch in the night; 2 Peter 3:8:But do not ignore this fact, beloved, that with the Lord one day is like a thousand years and a thousand years like one day."

[2] John 20:7: "And when the thousand years shall be finished, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison and shall go forth and seduce the nations which are over the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, and shall gather them together to battle, the number of whom is as the sand of the sea."

philosopher, reinterpreted parts of *Apocalypse* and reassured Christians that the end is not so close and that the year 1000 is used only in a symbolic way.

Contemporary authors and their writings around the turn of the millennium

Several authors wrote about the millennial terrors at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century. One of them was Abbo de Fleury, who, in his book *Liber Apologeticus,* informed that in his youth, around the year 960, he heard from someone that the Antichrist would come in the year 1000 and that soon after this event would be followed by the last judgement. Another author active at the time, and probably the most cited one by historians who believed that the dread of the end of time in the year 1000 existed, was Raoul Glaber. He was a monk who decided to chronicle his era through writing. In his series of works, *Histoires*, he collected five books. At the end of the second book, he cites the lines from Saint John's Apocalypse—this was his inspiration and his source. Last but not least, Adémar de Chabannes (989-1034) was another monk whose writings included interpretation of certain signals that he interpreted as a potential end of the world in the year 10000.

Curiously, some significant figures of the period, such as Gerbert of Aurillac, who would later become Pope Sylvester, make no mention of apocalyptic terrors. Possibly Christian leaders of the time did not want to fuel these anxieties, or, a more plausible explanation is that these fears were not so pervasive as later interpretations suggest.

Historiographical debates

The theory about the fear of the turn of the millennium emerged centuries after the events it describes. Georges Duby traces its origins to the end of the 15th century and the rise of humanism, when the Middle Ages were viewed as a dark and superstitious

period (Duby, 1993). Jules Michelet, a 19th-century romantic historian, was the one to popularize these beliefs, claiming that people in early medieval times universally believed that the world would end in the year 1000 (Michelet, 1883–1844/1998).

While early 19th-century historians agreed with Michelet's theories, skepticism grew by the end of the century (Frassetto, 2001, p. 242). Contemporary scholarship is nowadays generally rejecting the theory about the fear of the year 1000.

Evidence from art and architecture

In the end, when looking at this subject from the art historian's point of view, one can often read that building activity stopped in the second half of the 10th century while people were anticipating the end of the world and that only when the year 1000 passed did the building resume. The historians and the historians of art who are in favor of this interpretation often quote the well-known passage from Raoul Glaber's *Les cinq livres de histoires* (900 - 1044):

"Comme la troisième année après l'an mille était sur le point de commencer, on se mit par toute la terre, et particulièrement en Gaule et en Italie, à reconstruire les bâtiments des églises. Bien que la plupart fort bien édifiées n'en n'eussent nul besoin, une véritable émulation poussait chaque communauté chrétienne à en avoir une plus somptueuse. On eut dit que le monde lui même se secouait pour dépouiller sa vétusté et se revêtait partout d'un blanc manteau d'églises."

However, the truth is that there was a continuity in the building activity in Europe in the late 10th century and in the beginning of the 11th century. The cathedral in Clermont (946), Cluny (955-981), Saint-Cyriaque de Gernrode in Saxe (961-982), the cathedral in Toul (963-994), St. Maria im Kapitol and Saint Pantaleon's Church in Cologne (965), the cathedral in Mainz (975), and transformations on the cathedral in

Reims (976) are only some examples (Riché, 1998, pp. 51–52). The same can be stated for the Catalan region, where there was a lot of construction activity in the second part of the 10th century, which can be confirmed due to numerous documents that inform about the construction or the renovation of the Catalan architectonic complexes. Some examples of the churches built in the late 10th and early 11th centuries are Sant Benet de Bages (between 951-972), both consecrations of Cuixà (953, and 974 by abbot Gari), Llaers (consecrated in 961), Sant Miquel del Fai (997), Sant Martí del Canigó (1001), etc. (Carbonell i Esteller, 2013a, p. 109). On the other hand, in Croatia, we cannot be sure about the number of buildings constructed around the year 1000. The issue is that there is little evidence, making it difficult to date many of the Croatian pre-Romanesque churches. But there are a few structures and artifacts that we can definitely date to the late 10th century: epitaph of the queen Helen (976)—*terminus ante quem* of the construction or renovation of the church of St. Stephen in Solin; two panels of the ambons' access staircase found in the church of St. Bartholomew in Kapitul near Knin, which have the inscription with the name of count Držislav that leads us to the last quarter of the 10th century (T. Marasović, 2008, pp. 385–386). Finally, an anonymous writer from Dubrovnik mentions the year 972 as the year of construction of the church of St. Blaise. With the analysis of the archaeological findings, this thesis was confirmed (Peković, 1994, p. 43).

Taking all this into account and looking from an art historian's point of view, there is absolutely no confirmation in architecture to the theory of the terror of the year 1000. The theory that the apocalyptic fears impulsed the architectural boom in the 11th century holds no foundation and has no evidence and is a thing of the past. The increased church construction after the turn of the millennium is a product of societal and economic recovery, as the invasions have stopped, which brought more stability, and Christianity

was spread to new territories, and therefore there was a necessity for new religious infrastructure. In the following chapter, we will analyze other societal, political, cultural, and technological progress that brought about the so-called “mini Renaissance” of the 11th century.

3.2. European 11th-Century “mini Renaissance”

As we saw in the previous chapters, the historians who support the thesis of the “terror of the year 1000” believe that the 11th-century “mini Renaissance” was a consequence of the survival of the year that the Christians feared so much. However, this big revival after the “dark period” of history happened due to factors such as economic and territorial growth, population increase and urban development, the rise of national identity, the Crusades, the strengthening of the papal authority, and the founding of the first universities (Barzun et al., 2023) that took place during the 11th century.

The concepts of profit and commerce were unknown to people up until the 11th century. People exchanged their commodities only when the situation called for them; they were not professional traders. Consequently, important agglomerations could not develop from this type of agrarian population. In the 10th and 11th centuries, with the rise of trade and renewal of urban life, the merchants founded settlements. First settlements established in the 10th century were multiplied and enlarged in the following century. The cities were now inhabited by immigrants, and commerce replaced the traditional agrarian life. In this context, the coastal cities with the seaports were the ones that grew most rapidly (Pirenne, 1958, pp. 215–230).

Of course, with the expansion of towns, commerce, and long-distance exchanges, strong population growth took place between the 10th and the 12th centuries. It is assumed that in the course of these centuries the European population increased by up to three times (Wickham, 2016, p. 121). Furthermore, throughout the 11th and 12th

centuries, intellectual activity heightened to the degree that this period is sometimes referred to as an "intellectual revival." This led to the establishment of the first schools and universities (Brooke, 2000, p. 1).

Finally, it is important to remark on the religious revival as well, which included the reforms, crusades, and pilgrimages. With all the developments noted above, the 11th century came in with a lot of construction activity. It was this time when most monasteries were founded and built across Europe. The 11th century was indeed “an extraordinary period of church-building, the point of departure of the great school of Western architecture, which hitherto had always been dominated by Byzantium and Ravenna” (Pirenne, 1958, p. 171).

3.3. ”Mini Renaissance” in the 11th century in the Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties?

The 11th century in Europe saw advancements in agriculture, trade, and economy, all of which contributed to better living conditions and population growth. Additionally, the first universities and schools were opening, ecclesiastical reforms were rewriting the history of the Church in the now united Christian continent, and architecture and art were flourishing in such an environment. Did the Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties also experience the so-called 11th-century mini Renaissance?

Regarding the Kingdom of Croatia, it is very hard to make a statement about whether there was a “Renaissance” of different cultural and societal aspects, since there is basically no research conducted on this subject. However, what we can confirm is that the number of inhabitants grew during the 11th century, especially in the coastal area. As well, an economic revival can be noted, along with the first signs of feudalization and the first cities being organized as communes (Goldstein, 1995, p. 338). Moreover, when it comes to architecture and art, the 11th century was a period when a significant number

of new monasteries and churches were built, with the 1960s being the most productive decade. On top of that, during the 11th century, two sculpture workshops, the so-called "Zadar-Split" and "Zadar-Knin," were particularly active. The newly adopted Early Romanesque style may be seen in these recently constructed churches and the sculptural ornamentation that adorned both their interiors and exteriors.

On the other side of the Mediterranean basin, there is more information about the 11th century. The volume of production was increased, and nuclear families were organized to produce small amounts for their needs. The increase of cereal production made the food available to more people, and consequently, there was an increment of natality. Craft and commercial activities were also living through their Renaissance, and urban centers were starting to be formed and represent the core of the dynamic economy (Marés, 2015, pp. 44–45). Furthermore, in this period, Catalan Counties became an essential part of the big European commerce, as they represented the connecting link between Muslim Spain and the Christian West. This economic growth supported the demographic increase as well. Monasteries and cathedrals, like Cuixà, Ripoll, Seu d'Urgell, Barcelona, Girona, and Vic, became centers of culture. For instance, in Ripoll, it was possible to learn about mathematics, geometry, astronomy, music, and other sciences, and its library held around 240 books in 1029 (Sobreques i Callicó, 2008, p. 11). This was certainly an exceptional number of written resources for the period we are talking about. The great economic, commercial, and cultural progress was followed by the big constructive impulse as well. During the 11th century in Catalan Counties, many new churches, monasteries, and fortifications were built, both in the urban centers and in the rural areas. Moreover, old churches were reformed and rebuilt, while some of the most important monasteries of the time were modernized, such as is the case with Santa Maria de Ripoll and Sant Miquel de Cuixà.

3.4. The Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties in the 11th century: Historical outlook

3.4.1. The 11th century in the Kingdom of Croatia

As we could conclude in the previous chapters, Croatian and Catalan historical territories throughout the 11th century went through several changes, as the rest of the European continent did. This was a time of intellectual, cultural, political, artistic, and economic developments. In this chapter, we will shortly discuss the historical context of both the Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties, which will help us to better understand the architectural production of this century.

When Pope John VIII confirmed Duke Branimir's autonomous control of his land in 879, the Croats had their first independent country and had freed themselves from the influence of the Franks and the Byzantines. The Duchy of Croatia was expanding its frontiers during the beginning of the 10th century, had a big military force, and therefore, gained more influence. Due to this, Tomislav (about 910–928) was crowned king in 925 with Pope John X's blessing. In this way, the Kingdom of Croatia was formed.

Tomislav's successors, Trpimir (928-935) and Krešimir I (935-945), continued with a more or less peaceful rule of the powerful Kingdom of Croatia. Nonetheless, during Miroslav's leadership (945-949), a war for succession broke out. This event weakened the kingdom, halved its military forces, caused the loss of some territories, and resulted in Dalmatian cities starting to seek Byzantine guidance once again. Krešimir II (949-969) was able to regain control and calm the situation. While the inner struggle is characteristic of the greater part of the 10th century in Croatian history, the peace between the Kingdom of Croatia and Venice allowed for the development of commerce.

However, the year 1000 and the turn of the millennium brought a big political and economic setback for the Kingdom of Croatia. Pietro Orseolo, the doge of Venice, seized

the coastal part of the kingdom and proclaimed himself “duke of Dalmatia.” This meant that the Kingdom of Croatia was cut off from the sea, which was bad for the commerce that they were cultivating during the 10th century. The beginning of the 11th century was marked by the Venetian-Byzantine conflicts for power over the Dalmatian cities. The first to begin regaining control in the former lost cities was King Stjepan I (1035–1058), who also succeeded in regaining control over the Dalmatian region. His son Petar Krešimir IV (1058–1075) succeeded him in restoring the Kingdom of Croatia's unity.

Petar Krešimir IV is famous for having contributed to the development of Croatian cities and for having endowed churches and monasteries. Due to the division of the functioning society into several social groupings, the process of feudalization was accelerated and became more obvious. Nevertheless, the peaceful rule that Stjepan I and Petar Krešimir IV cultivated was ruined when, at the end of Krešimir’s life in 1074, Normans attacked the Croatian coast and took over the cities of Nin, Biograd, Zadar, Trogir, and Split. The Normans were expelled from the region by Venetian armies already in the next year.

Dmitar Zvonimir (1075–1089) used the circumstances present in church circles to his advantage when he started his rule. At this time, the bishops were assisting in the reforms' territorial propagation. Dmitar Zvonimir understood that the bishop of Trogir and the archbishop of Split were both active in the reforms, making them allies of the pope and Rome and enemies of the Venetians. For this reason, Dmitar Zvonimir utilized them to establish a personal rapport with the pope and win his support for the rule. As soon as the following year, in 1076, papal legates arrived in Solin, where Zvonimir was crowned (Stipišić, 1997). He bore the title “king of Croatia and Dalmatia”, thereby regaining control of the Dalmatian cities and uniting them with the rest of the Croatian

territory. The Croatian ruler agreed to assist the pope to spread the reforms in his country and gift churches and monasteries in exchange for protection of his country.

Finally, we can say that the 11th century was rather diverse in the Kingdom of Croatia. Periods of calm and growth coexisted with the periods of war and battle. Another conflict arrived after Zvonimir's rule, which ended in his death without an heir. His wife, Helen, was a sister of the Hungarian king Ladislav. Due to this, Hungarians sought to take over the rule of the Kingdom of Croatia. In the end, they managed to do so in 1102. This is how the Kingdom of Croatia entered the personal union with Hungary and lost the independence that they had built and protected during the previous two centuries. This also had repercussions when talking about identity, culture, and art from the 12th century on, as Croatians lost their distinct identity in the European context.

Last but not least, it is important to remember that the 10th and 11th centuries were chaotic in terms of establishing the borders of the Croatian state, which often changed and expanded, sometimes even covering parts of what is today Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is important to keep in mind since, throughout the period of our interest, Croatia's boundaries were very different from what we know today.

3.4.2. The 11th century in Catalan Counties

In the Catalan historical territory, the 11th century was also marked by different turbulent events. Going back once more to the Frankish rule and Hispanic March, we need to remember that the first Catalan Counties were formed in this period. According to Abadal y Vinyals (1958, pp. 239–240), Catalan society was on its "march towards sovereignty" (*la marxa dels comtes catalans cap a la sobirania*) throughout the 10th century. During this time, Catalan Counties expanded, and the County of Barcelona consolidated over the others.

At the beginning of the 11th century, however, the territory was divided between what we know as Catalunya Vella, the territory of the counties, and Catalunya Nova, which was governed by Muslims. The Llobregat River defined the boundary between these two territories. At the beginning of the 11th century, Catalunya Vella had eight counties: Barcelona, Urgell, Cerdanya, Besalú, Empúries, Roselló, Pallars, and Ribagorça. Although these counties' borders were less rigid than those with Muslim territory, they did clearly delineate each county's sphere of influence. To the south and east of the previously mentioned border of the river Llobregat, Al-Andalus had its territory, which included the cities of Tarragona, Lleida, and Tortosa. At the beginning of the 11th century, these lands were still under the power of the Caliphate of Cordoba, but between 1010 and 1046, the Caliphate was fragmented into *taifas.*[3] The Caliphate's disintegration paved the way for Catalan military forces to rule. Following the wars between Muslims and Ramon Borrell around the turn of the century, Catalan counts even sent expeditions to deal with the internal issues of Muslims. Ramon Borell and Ermengol I d'Urgell led one of these journeys in 1010 and a second one in 1017. After the second time, Ramon Borrell passed away, leaving his wife, Ermesinde, and their 11-year-old son, Berenguer Ramon I, in charge of the County of Barcelona.

Ermesinde is an important figure in Catalan history. She was a strong countess and was an important figure in Oliba's rise as a bishop and abbot of Vic, Cuixà, and Ripoll. Oliba made many positive impacts on the Catalan society of the 11th century; he introduced the Peace and Truce of God[4], and he helped to improve culture in different

[3] The taifas were independent Muslim principalities or kingdoms on the Iberian Peninsula that were formed after the decomposition of the Caliphate of Cordoba during the 11th century.

[4] The Peace and Truce of God included setting up councils to promote peace. Oliba presided over the first council in Catalonia, which took place at Toluges, Rosellón, in 1027. The results included, among other

ways: he played a role in the introduction of Romanesque art, the construction of new monasteries, and the development of scriptoriums. As he cultivated good relations with Countess Ermesinde, he also supported the County of Barcelona.

Berenguer Ramon began to rule independently in 1023. Although the borders did not expand significantly during his rule, he is known for keeping the peace in the territory, which allowed the increase of population and advancements in trade. However, when he passed away in 1035, leaving the counties to his young sons, Ermesinde again took over until Berenguer Ramon's sons were ready to rule.

Around the middle of the 11th century, some territories were freed from the Muslim power: Tamarit was liberated in 1050, Granyena in 1054, and Tàrrega in 1057. One of the successors, Ramon Berenguer, assisted in the repopulation of several areas during this time. He also purchased every castle he could, especially those along the border, to defend his domain from Muslim incursions. In 1058 the cathedral of Barcelona was consecrated, and Ramon Berenguer was proclaimed *primus inter pares* by all present ecclesiastical figures and nobles, and the county of Barcelona was proclaimed as the supreme county. As Ramon Berenguer had great confidence in the nobles, the period of feudalization started. Little by little, the aristocracy was created. and the nobles started to build castles in the territory of peasants. Soon after, in the decade of the 60s, the counties of Urgell, Besalú, and Empúries signed the pact of vassalage with Ramon Berenguer I.

During the rule of Ramon Berenguer I and his sons Ramon Berenguer II and Berenguer Ramon II, the system of *pàries* was implemented—it meant that the *taifas* had

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things, that it was forbidden to have conflicts from Saturday until Monday, have confrontations with monks and clerks, have conflicts in "sagreras"—the area around the Church property—and it was condemned to commit any type of invasion on the possessions of the Church. Excommunication from the Church was the penalty for breaking any of these regulations.

to pay in order to maintain their integrity. The gold achieved from *pàries* helped a lot with the Catalan economy, and moreover, they were able to buy two counties in Llenguadoc—the county of Carcassonne and el Rasés; however, they lost both counties very soon. The end of the century was once more marked by conflicts with Muslims. However, in 1091 the aim to reconquer Tarragona and re-establish the metropolitan seat there was achieved. Even though the city was still in ruins and did not serve as a significant urban center, it signified the division of Narbonne and the restoration of the Tarragona archbishopric, which meant that the Catalans also achieved religious independence, in addition to political independence, at the end of the 11th century.

3.5. The Gregorian reform

In Charlemagne and Otto the Great's Empire, the Church had an important role. During the 7th and 8th centuries, Europe had various Benedictine monasteries. Charlemagne assisted them and consolidated ties between the nation and the Church. However, when Charlemagne passed away and the Carolingian Empire fell, the Benedictine monasteries became places of theft, and the rich people treated them as their own properties. They often chose the abbots themselves and took use of the monasteries to make profit for their families. What made the situation even more difficult was the fact that this was the time when various robberies by Normans, Saracens, and Hungarians were happening. All these events nearly led to the extinction of the monasteries. Nevertheless, there was a small place in Burgundy that survived the intrusions—the monastery of Cluny.

The monastery of Cluny was founded by William the Pious, duke of Aquitaine. He dedicated the lands of Cluny to the apostles Peter and Paul and protected the Abbey against the power of the bishop and the local landowners. There were no influences from regional bishops on the Cluniac monks because their governance was based only on papal

authority. A reform movement that would significantly alter Church history began at this monastery in the 10th century. According to Christian history, the monasteries were initially constructed with the aim of safeguarding the Apostles from exterior influences. Cluny was the first place where this concept was intended to be recreated. Indeed, Cluny is the starting point for understanding the reformation movement, which is the subject of this part of the chapter.

As mentioned before, during the Carolingian epoch the bishops were treated almost as royal officials. In Germany they were even made princes. Now, the reforms wanted to change exactly this. The Church had to separate itself from the concerns of the world and devote itself to the redemption of the soul, which was something that could only be done by the priests. As they believed that the Church was a bridge between people and God, the reform's main aims were to give the Church full liberty and independence from the state's interventions and to put an end to nicolaism (marriage of priests) and to simony (selling of Church offices).

This set of reforms, which originated in the Cluny Abbey, continued into what would later be known as the Gregorian reforms and expanded to the rest of the European continent during the 11th century. Despite being named after Pope Gregory VII, the reforms actually span a considerably longer time period than his pontificate. The initial concepts took place in the first quarter of the 11th century, and they continued their development until their consolidation at the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century.[5]

The Gregorian reforms were spreading fast across Europe. In Croatia, the reforms arrived relatively early, at the beginning of the 11th century. On the other hand, in

[5] For more on the different periods in which the reforms were inaugurated, check Sot, Michel, 2010. 'La Réforme Grégorienne: Une Introduction.' *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France*, 5–10.

Catalonia, the reforms could be felt in the 11th century but were not completely crystallized until the 12th century. With the spread of the reformist ideas, better relations between Rome and the periphery were possible, and these connections enhanced communication and monastic interchange between different European regions (Marqués Planagumà, 2014, p. 585).

3.5.1. The Gregorian Reform in Croatia

The reforms began to spread throughout the Croatian territory already in the first half of the 11th century. The Camaldolese Benedictines, the monastic order created by Saint Romuald in 1027, who lived hermetically in Lim Bay, brought the reformist ideas from the West to the East Adriatic. Saint Romuald informed Bishop Gaudentius in Osor about the reforms. During Gaudentius' pontificate, the city of Osor became an important point of meeting for bishops, abbots, innovators, builders, and reformers. Gaudentius also founded the abbey of Saint Peter in Osor, which later developed into the key location for reforms on the East Adriatic coast.[6] On the façade of this church there was a sculptural decoration made of shallow vegetal reliefs, reminiscent of Venetian churches or the church of Pomposa. This appearance of the sculpture on the exterior façade is one of the

[6] Dedications to the cult of St. Peter can be found in Croatian territory from late antiquity, and they persisted into the Early Medieval period. By the 11th century, the popularity of the cult of St. Peter had only increased, which can be connected to the emergence of the ecclesiastical reforms that emphasized privileging the priesthood (*sacerdotium*) over the kingdom (*regnum*). According to Pope Gregory VII, the "primacy of Peter" was based on the principle that Christ entrusted supreme power to Peter by ordering him to establish the Roman Church so that it would be impeccable, thereby making Peter's successors impeccable as well. As the reform movements took off from the northern part of the eastern Adriatic, it is not surprising that Benedictine abbeys and their churches dedicated to St. Peter arose precisely here (Jakšić, 2009a).

novelties of Croatian 11th-century architecture. Afterwards, Saint Romuald's pupils constructed the church of Saint Michael in Lim Bay in honor of their teacher (Jurković, 1996, p. 329).

The synod in Split that took place in 1060 was an important moment in the context of the spread of the reforms on the East Adriatic. There it was decided that the citizens and the priests of every city would choose their bishop and archbishop. Furthermore, the married priests were heavily accused, and the liturgy in Slavic languages was prohibited. After two centuries of mass in these languages, these extreme actions against the liturgy were not easily accepted. In certain areas, particularly in North Dalmatia, the Slavic liturgy was, however, maintained. Nevertheless, there was no question that the reformist ideas prevailed. The Croatian ruler of the time, Petar Krešimir IV (1058-1074), supported the Church in the Dalmatian cities and contributed to the construction of two Benedictine monasteries. As Klaić (1971, p. 386) explains, the implementation of the Gregorian reform was not as easy in the East Adriatic as it was on the West Coast, as the priests were used to the practices of the Eastern Church and could not readily adopt reformation ideas. Two major reformists were Bishop John in Trogir and Archbishop Lawrence in Split. After they arrived in the Dalmatian region from Osor, where the Camaldolese, the reformed monks, had been living for decades, the consequences of the reform started to become apparent (Jurković, 1990, p. 196).

When Petar Krešimir's successor, Dmitar Zvonimir, saw the bad political situation in Byzantium, he decided to make a pact with the pope in order to strengthen the position of his own country. He gave the pope the power to appoint kings, and in that sense, he gave the Church bigger importance over worldly power. Moreover, this way he agreed to help spread the reformation ideas in his territory. On the other side, the Church, as a favor in return, promised to protect Zvonimir's country. We can say that because of

this agreement, the relationship between Zvonimir and Gregory VII was beneficial to both of them (Šanjek, 1993, p. 84). In that regard, the Gregorian reform in Croatia went hand in hand with the political formation of the country, similar to what happened on the other side of the Mediterranean Sea—in Catalonia.

3.5.2. The Gregorian Reform in Catalonia

The monastery of Cluny was directly connected with the expansion of the Camino de Santiago, and in this way, the introduction of the Gregorian reform to the Iberian Peninsula was easily achieved. However, the situation in Catalonia was way different, as the Catalan area had begun to integrate into the wider European setting a few centuries earlier under the Frankish rule. While Portugal, for instance, accepted the rule of Saint Benedict in the 11th century, Catalan territory had already been using it for two centuries at this point (Barral i Altet, 1994, p. 927).

With the start of the Gregorian reforms in the 11th century, Catalonia was probably the most troublesome region of Europe when we talk about the objectives of the reform. Simony, one of the elements that the Gregorian reform was accusing the most, was flourishing in Catalan Counties (Southern, 1992, p. 118). Catalan counts were continuing with the tradition started in the Carolingian period, where the rulers were directly connected with the Church and were able to control it as part of their political system. By choosing bishops from their own families, Catalan counts effectively managed to establish their own Church (Marqués Planagumà, 2014, p. 587).[7]

[7] For example, Guifré (988-1035), the count of Cerdanya, bought the archbishopric of Narbona for his son Guifré (1019-1079) in 1019. Guifré's brother, Guillem (1041-1075), bought the bishopric of Urgell in 1041. Another brother, Berenguer Guifré, was a bishop of Girona (1051-1093), while another brother was bishop of Elna. Even as late in the century as 1067, Ramon Berenguer I bought the bishopric of Carcassona and

The clergy of the 11th and 12th centuries in Catalonia had other issues in addition to the simony. For instance, they had to share with nobles the territory's ownership and the surplus of the agriculture. To save the Church's spiritual purpose and free it from the "temporary power," a group of ecclesiastical leaders made the decision to spread the Gregorian reform in Catalonia. Officially, there were two synods that introduced the reforms to the Catalan area: the first one in Besalú in 1077 and the second one in Girona in 1086. Moreover, the popes sent delegates to the Catalan Counties in order to preside over synods, promote reform, try to suppress nicolaism and simony, and ensure that everything would function in the Holy See's best interests (Rucquoi, 2010). However, even decades before the Gregorian reforms, there were significant changes in the Catalan monasteries. Already at the beginning of the 11th century, we can trace the intent of renovation of the apostolic life. As the most significant examples, we can cite bishops Aeci de Barcelona, Pere de Girona, or Ermengol de Urgell, who all tried to reestablish the communitarian life in their Sees. This intent of reestablishing the communitarian life inside the monasteries included the construction of common spaces for the clergymen. All of this was probably a response to the progressive laxity that was happening in the Hispanic Sees over time (Carrero Santamaría, 2004, pp. 192–193).

Although the Gregorian reform was introduced in Catalonia in the second half of the 11th century, the process was rather long, and it continued into the 12th century (Linehan, 2002, pp. 303–331). This was because the proposed changes and reforms for sure caused major disruption to the pre-existing order, in which the power of counts and ecclesiastical figures, such as abbots and bishops, was so closely related. The new rules brought by the Gregorian reform that accused simony and fought for the Church's liberty

thus made sure that he would be able to participate in the election of bishops and take part of ecclesiastical properties.

from worldly power, for sure, were not easily accepted in this setting (Novokhatko, 2021, p. 40). Moreover, the period of introduction of the Gregorian reform to Catalonia coincided with other important social and political changes in the Catalan Counties of the 11th century. Some of these changes refer to the feudal revolution, the conquest of Tarragona, and the independence of the Catalan Church from the archbishopric of Narbona. We could therefore say that the creation of the Catalan national territory and ecclesiastical structure was happening simultaneously with the reform movement (Abe, 2006, p. 11).

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The East-West Schism is another event that happened in the 11th century and that also contributed to the change in politics, society, and culture. It took place in 1054, and it is regarded as an event that definitely separated the Church of Rome and the Church of Constantinople.

Pope Leo IX (1048-1054) was a big supporter of the Gregorian reform. In this context, he organized several synods where priest marriage, simony, and the state's interventions in Church matters were discussed. His insistence on promoting these new ideas brought up a conflict with Constantinople's patriarch, Michal I Cerularius (1043-1058). Their dispute resulted in the East-West schism in 1054, or the division of the Church into the West (Catholic) and East (Orthodox).

After this incident, Europe was split into two parts: the Western, Catholic Europe and the Eastern, Orthodox Europe. While Catalonia was firmly in the Western part and did not witness many consequences on its society following the Schism, the Kingdom of Croatia found itself exactly between the West and the East. In this territory, the Western and the Eastern influences coexisted for centuries. Because of this, the papacy wanted to increase their authority and the power of Rome in the Kingdom of Croatia (Goldstein,

1997, p. 366), and that is the reason why the East Adriatic coast was more significantly impacted by the Gregorian reforms than other regions in Europe. This coexistence of Western and Eastern influences is also visible in several 11th-century architecture examples, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

3.5.3. "Art of the Gregorian reform"—another myth of art history?

The term "art of the Gregorian reform" can often be found in scholarly papers, but can such a designation really encapsulate the artistic production of a specific period? The concept of the "art of the Gregorian reform" typically refers to the painting, sculpture, and architecture created during the 11th and 12th centuries (Barral i Altet, 2010, p. 78). Werner Weisbach first introduced the term and theory back in 1945, and subsequent decades saw different authors explore this subject. Initial studies focused on Rome and the abbey of Montecassino, emphasizing their role in the genesis of the "reformed art". Later, discussions extended to other geographical areas (Castiñeiras González, 1996; Franzé, 2013; Glass, 2010; V. P. Goss, 1990; Quintavalle, 1985).

Arturo Quintavalle emerged as one of the prominent advocates for the "art of the Gregorian reform." He argued that the Gregorian reform is deeply connected with artistic, figural, and architectonic expression and that the Church built its discourse through artistic and monumental expression. According to Quintavalle, the Romanesque was a complex project, programmed and disseminated by the ecclesiastics during the reformist movement (Quintavalle, 2015, pp. 35–37). This perspective, however, offers a centralized vision of a much more complex situation and reinforces the ideological and institutional authority of the Church, not only in ecclesiastic matters but also in the sphere of art production.

This theory has significant limitations, as attributing the artistic output of two centuries across different parts of Europe to a single ecclesiastical movement is

problematic. The Gregorian reform's primary goal was to revitalize the Church and to take the authority, and not to foster artistic expression. There is no textual evidence suggesting that ecclesiastics aimed to standardize art and architecture during this period. For instance, some scholars have posited that papal reforms influenced church design by prioritizing inclusivity for the faithful. Yet, historical evidence shows otherwise: none of the most common orders of the period changed their statutes regarding this issue. In fact, they often emphasized the separation of the clergy and laity (Carrero Santamaría, 2012, p. 63).[8] This misconception stands as an example of the dangers of generalizing architectural or artistic developments as direct outcomes of the reform. Another common argument is that the return to Antiquity and the desire to construct *ecclesia primitive formae* was a central point of what was termed "art of the Gregorian reform" and the Romanesque period. However, it is very important to keep in mind that the revival of Antiquity was something present over most of the Middle Ages, already evident during Charlemagne's era, and not only in the 11th century and Romanesque period (Barral i Altet, 2015; Pace, 2000; Romano, 2000; Romano & Enckell, 2007).

While the term "art of the Gregorian reform" might seem convenient, it risks the simplification of a much more complex reality. As discussed earlier, the implementation of the Gregorian reform varied across regions, with differing timelines and impacts.

[8] See more about the commonplaces in the art history of the medieval architecture, such as "double cathedrals" or "pilgrimage churches," in Carrero Santamaría, Eduardo (2012). "Comulgar con ruedas de molino. Arquitectura y liturgia medievales o los itinerarios de un desencuentro." *Medievalia* 15: 61–66.; Carrero Santamaría, Eduardo (2013). "Cathedral and Liturgy in the Middle Ages: the Functional Definition of Space and its Uses." *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 19: 403–16.; Santamaría, Eduardo Carrero (Carrero Santamaría, 2011) "Retrocapillas, Trasaltares y Girolas. Liturgia, Reliquias y Enterramientos de Prestigio En La Arquitectura Medieval." *Imágenes Del Poder En La Edad Media. Estudios in Memoria Del Prof. Dr. Fernando Galván Freile* II (2011): 65–83.

Therefore, artistic production and possible influences of the reform should be analyzed within the context of each particular case (Walker, 2015), as establishing a connection between any artwork or monument and the reformist movement requires more than mere chronological coincidence. A more reliable method for identifying links between the art production and the reformist movements would be to examine the identity and motivations of patrons (García García, 2018, pp. 67–69).

The Gregorian reforms did not dictate the stylistic characteristics of art and architecture; however, they did influence artistic production in another way: through the social ties that they facilitated. Even decades before the Gregorian reform, Clunian clerics traveled across Europe with the aim of implementing their reformist ideas, and in this way, they started to form social connections between different monastic communities. This activity only intensified with the Gregorian reforms and the social nucleus that started to be formed around popes, especially Gregory VII. From the 11th century onward, bishops were required to travel to Rome in person to receive the "pallium" for their role, and in this way, they had the opportunity to see the Roman architecture, largely influenced by Antiquity (Barral i Altet, 2015, p. 46). Additionally, popes sent legates to help implement reforms across different European regions, further reinforcing these social ties. All of this contributed to improved social interactions, which were key drivers of artistic production of the time (Franzé, 2024, p. 436).

If we apply what we discussed above to the territories of the Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties, we will see that the situation is indeed complex considering the different geographical areas in Europe. The Gregorian Reform in these two territories had completely distinct courses of events in terms of chronology, implementation, and overall impact. This once again confirms the argument that the artistic production of an entire

century, across different regions of Europe, cannot and should not be strictly linked to a single ecclesiastical event.

Speaking of Croatian territory, the reforms arrived quite early, already in the first half of the 11th century. Several ecclesiastical personalities played important roles in implementing the reformist ideas, primarily Saint Romuald, who came from Italy to the East Adriatic coast. Through his connections with Bishop Gaudentius of Osor, he contributed to the influence of the reforms in this part of the Adriatic. As a result of this relationship, Osor developed into an important center of the reform, leading to the construction of the church of St. Peter in Osor. This church features sculptural decoration on the portal, similar to the examples from northern Italy of the same period. Since portal sculpture was a novelty in the architecture of the 11th century on the Eastern Adriatic coast, this example demonstrates how the social contacts coming from the reforms contributed to the implementation of novelties in art and architecture production.

These innovations, which we will further discuss in the following chapters, spread from Osor and its surroundings to the Kingdom of Croatia. The Synod of Split, held in 1060, resulted in different changes in ecclesiastical practices, and Croatian kings, such as Petar Krešimir, started supporting the construction of Benedictine monasteries. Papal legates also had an important role in establishing connections between Rome and the Kingdom of Croatia, particularly Gebizzo, who participated in church consecrations and significant events, such as the coronation of the king Dmitar Zvonimir.

In Catalan Counties the situation is quite different. The Gregorian reforms were implemented in this territory much later, only at the end of the 11th century. However, the influence of Cluny and Cluniac reforms in Catalonia was already present from the beginning of the century. Throughout the 11th century there were numerous Benedictine monasteries that were established, and the renovation of apostolic life took place in

important centers. Furthermore, the connections with Rome were strong; apart from papal legates arriving in Catalonia, many Catalan ecclesiastical and political figures regularly traveled to Rome.

By comparing these two different geographical territories, we see that the theory of the "art of the Gregorian reform" is highly problematic. The reforms and their connections with artistic production represent a complex subject that manifested differently in different parts of Europe. Therefore, the 11th-century architecture cannot and should not be directly linked to the Gregorian reforms. Instead, the eventual impact of the reforms on a particular church should be studied within its specific social, political, and ideological framework, considering the identity of the patrons as well as their ideologies and intentions, rather than viewing the entire architecture of the 11th century through the lens of a single ecclesiastical event.

4. Romanesque art and architecture

4.1. Origins and elements of the so-called “first international style” since the Roman Empire.

Romanesque art is often referred to as the first universal style in Europe since Antiquity. While Romanesque art and architecture indeed share similar elements across different European regions, they still had certain distinct forms in different territories. Over a long period, art historians could not agree on the origins of Romanesque art, the time when it first appeared, or the place from where this style originated.

First and foremost, while discussing Romanesque art—or any art style—it is crucial to recognize the limitations of terminology used to describe the artistic output of a certain era. Definitions like “Romanesque,” which gather art and architecture with certain elements in common, were coined by art historians. While they do help us organize and relate to specific historical periods, analyzing art only on its forms can be problematic. Instead, we should approach our analysis with interdisciplinarity, considering works of art and architecture from different points of view, especially within their societal context (Rico Camps, 2014, pp. 215–220).

So, why do we refer to the architecture from approximately the 11th and 12th centuries as “Romanesque”? The term “Romanesque” originally referred to the Romance languages—those formed from Latin, which were considered its corrupted version. However, it was only in 1819 that William Gunn first applied the term "Romanesque" to architecture. He used it to describe buildings in Western Europe built between the fall of the Roman Empire and the Gothic period. To explain the connection between the linguistic and artistic uses of the term, he stated that “Romano” referred to a Roman citizen, while “Romanesco” described someone whose origins were unclear. Thus,

"Romanesque" was intended to mean not absolutely Roman but rather "Roman-ish" (Fernie, 2006, p. 295), reflecting the mistaken belief that the Romanesque directly developed from Roman architecture.

However, the definition as we use it today was developed in France in the 19th century. It applies only to the latter two or three centuries of the broader time frame that was initially proposed by Gunn. While Gunn saw Romanesque architecture as a direct continuation of the Roman world, we now know that it is not directly connected, although it keeps a strong connection with the Roman heritage (Fernie, 2006, p. 295). Alongside Roman influences, elements from Byzantine, Islamic, and German traditions, among others, can be found, depending on the region.

The term "Romanesque" marks a shift in the classification of Western art history: before it, all the terms for style were based on dynastic or ethnic distinctions (Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Merovingian, Carolingian), with the only exceptions being the terms "Antique" and "Classical" styles (Fernie, 1995, p. 2). In this sense, "Romanesque" again appears as the first instance of "internationalization" of the art and architecture in Western Europe.

A persistent and unresolved issue in art history is the geographic origin of Romanesque art. While we can without doubt say that the Gothic is a French product, we cannot claim something similar for its precursor. Proposed places of the origin of Romanesque art and architecture include Lombardy, Saxony, and the Loire Valley (Fernie, 2006, p. 295). Moreover, the date of the beginning of the Romanesque is also a question of discussion. Some early scholars viewed it as a direct continuation of Roman art, while others argued that it started in the 9th century, with no clear distinction between Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque. Still, other scholars place its beginnings in the second half of the 10th century or the 11th century.

The lack of consensus has led some authors, such as Fernie (2006, p. 296), to question whether Romanesque is really "a convincing historical phenomenon or merely the result of an academic exercise." For instance, T. G. Jackson (1913) considered that the decay of Roman art produced the birth of a new art style: the Byzantine, which, by being mixed with Roman elements in the Lombard kingdom, became Romanesque. K. J. Conant (1990) also placed the beginning of Romanesque art and architecture around the year 800 in Lombardy, from where he considered that this style spread to other regions of Europe, such as Dalmatia, Catalonia, and southern France. On the other hand, Fernie (2006, p. 296) links the advent of Romanesque art to the Carolingian Empire, whose goal was to restore the Western Roman Empire following the Islamic invasions that occurred in the seventh and eighth centuries. Fernie points out the significant advancements made in the economy, technology, and arts during the Carolingian period and believes that without these advancements, Romanesque art would not exist and that the two periods should not be separated.

It is true that the elements used in Romanesque architecture were already present in earlier centuries. However, the Romanesque brought these elements in new ways. The key innovations of Romanesque architecture include the reappearance of monumental sculpture on church façades, the multiplication of lateral apses, and the use of vaulting systems in basilicas. While these elements can be found in Greek or Roman architecture or the Early Christian or early medieval periods, [9] we cannot find them all together in one edifice, as is the case in the Romanesque (Rico Camps, 2014, p. 218).

We can explain these three main innovations of the Romanesque architecture in light of the political and ecclesiastical situation of the 11th and 12th centuries. In the first

[9] Jean-Pierre Caillet, in his article *Le mythe du renouveau architectural roman* (2000) (2000), discusses the continuity of different elements that were used in Romanesque since Antiquity.

place, the reappearance of the monumental sculpture on the façades of the churches can be understood as the church's will to take a place and be present in the society and to communicate its messages. The stone barrel vaults covering the whole basilica can be regarded in the sense of the search for security, as in the preceding centuries, during the intrusions, it was easy to destroy the churches that had a wooden roof. The multiplication of the apses is a result of the lust to place multiple altars in the sanctuary and give them an architectural frame (Rico Camps, 2014, pp. 222–225).

In this environment of increased communication and cultural exchange, existing architectural elements from various periods and regions combined to form what we now call Romanesque. Along with the innovations mentioned above, Romanesque buildings generally feature massive walls, round arches on doors and windows, and windows of small dimensions. However, this study focuses on Early Romanesque architecture—the architecture of the 11th century—which Puig i Cadafalch termed "First-Romanesque" (Puig i Cadafalch, 1928). According to Puig i Cadafalch, the elements that bound these Early Romanesque buildings are exterior wall decorations in repetitive patterns of blind arches and wall strips (lesenes), barrel vaults, and doors and windows with mushroom-like shapes.

However, even though this Early Romanesque and Romanesque art and architecture are often referred to as the first "universal" style since Antiquity in Western Europe, in the following chapters we will see through the examples of the Croatian and Catalan 11th-century edifices that it is genuinely hard to categorize the entire architectural output of all European territories in this period under one term. Although the Early Romanesque does share certain elements in common, we will see that these two regions on both edges of the Mediterranean reveal instances of different expressions.

4.2. 11th-century architecture in Croatia

4.2.1. "Old Croatian architecture." 9th–11th century.

After the mass Christianization of the Croats, there was a necessity for building new religious buildings. This was the beginning of an era of intense artistic production that lasted for the following three centuries (800–1100). This whole period from the 9th until the end of the 11th century in Croatian art history is referred to as the "Old Croatian period". These three centuries encompass the pre-Romanesque (9th and 10th centuries) and Early Romanesque art and architecture (11th century).

To understand the Croatian pre-Romanesque architecture, we shall go back to the times when Croats first settled in the region and encountered Roman, Early Christian, and Byzantine architectural models. These precedents later served as inspiration for their own constructions. The pre-Romanesque period was thus characterized by experimentation and the search for suitable architectural models (V. Goss, 1996). The Frankish influence is also evident in several constructions, with the Saint Donatus Rotunda in Zadar serving as the clearest example. Most pre-Romanesque edifices were constructed on the sites of older constructions from Late Antiquity or in their close vicinity. In addition to erecting new churches, donors of this time also gifted different parts of liturgical furnishings, often decorated with pre-Romanesque sculptural ornaments and bearing dedicatory inscriptions (Delonga, 1996).

Focusing on the period of our interest, Jurković (1990) categorized 11th-century churches into two groups: the international and the regional. The international group includes monumental three-nave basilicas, whereas the regional group mostly maintained the traditional pre-Romanesque floor plans while simultaneously implementing the innovations of 11th-century architecture.

4.2.2. New elements in the Croatian 11th-century architecture

The end of the 10th century marked the start of the new, modern Europe in a demographic, economic, social and political sense (Erlande Brandenburg, 1999, p. 149). Since art and architecture are products of a social, political and ecclesiastical context, the events that took place during the 11th century, which we discussed earlier, influenced the construction in the Kingdom of Croatia.

Along with the implementation of the reforms in the ecclesiastical and social environment, certain art characteristics were brought through the contacts with the Italian models, such as the disposition of spacious three-nave basilicas or sculpture on the church portals. During the 11th century, approximately 50 new churches were built in the Croatian territory—a significant number considering the relatively small size of the region.

Several key innovations characterized Croatian architecture of this period. These include the appearance of exterior sculpture, the reemergence of figurative sculpture and narrative scenes, the harmonization of exterior and interior spaces through lesenes corresponding to the bays, and symmetrical wall decoration in the form of blind arches and lesenes (Jurković & Marić, 2012, p. 173). In basilicas, the proportions of the naves were reduced in comparison with Early Christian examples, and the use of wooden roofs reappeared (Loinjak, 2019, p. 172). Additionally, there was a liturgical shift—while in the pre-Romanesque the liturgy was processional, the 11th-century churches placed the liturgical focus within the sanctuary (Jurković, 1996, p. 326).

As previously mentioned, Jurković (1990) classified the 11th-century churches into two groups. The international group consists of large, spacious three-nave basilicas, often adorned with lesenes and blind arches on the lateral walls and apses. A key characteristic of these churches is the harmony between exterior and interior, with lesenes

corresponding to the bays. The interior spaces are generally more unified compared with pre-Romanesque examples, and some churches in this group had sculptural decoration on their façades.

Overall, these constructions resemble basilicas built around the same time in northern Italy, particularly in the region surrounding Camaldoli. Most of these large three-nave churches were constructed in what is now northern Croatia, a logical development due to its geographical proximity to northern Italy. From there, these architectural forms quickly reached the southward parts of the Kingdom of Croatia. Notable examples include the churches of St. Peter in Osor, St. Peter in Supetarska Draga, St. Andrew in Rab, St. Thomas and St. John the Evangelist in Biograd, St. Mary in Zadar, St. Mary in Nin, and St. Euphemia in Split, which we will discuss in detail in the following chapters.

On the other hand, several 11th-century churches adopted simpler floor plans, borrowed from the local pre-Romanesque architecture. Traditional features such as adaptations of westworks, axial towers, domes above the central bay, barrel vaults, etc., are some of the elements seen in these examples (Fig. 2). However, even though these churches followed traditional layouts, they also incorporated innovations of the new 11th-century style. These include lesenes and blind arches on exterior walls, the correspondence of lesenes to interior bays, and the emergence of sculpture on the façade (Jurković, 1990, p. 205). Examples include Saint Lawrence in Zadar (Fig. 3, Fig. 4), St. Barbara in Trogir (Fig. 5, 6, 7), St. Nicholas in Split (Fig. 8, Fig. 9), St. Peter in Priko near Omiš (Fig. 12, 13), and St. Peter and Moses in Solin (Fig 32, Fig 33).

4.3.1. Path to the Catalan 11th-century architecture

During the Early Middle Ages, Catalonia followed a different trajectory than the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. While other regions of northern Spain preserved the traditions of the anterior Visigothic Kingdom, Catalonia approached Europe and went

after innovations (Klein, 1993, p. 185). This “internationalization” of Catalonia, visible in art, culture, and religion, was mostly due to the Carolingian Empire, of which Catalan territory had been a part (Duran-Porta, 2015, p. 88). Even after Catalan Counties gained independence from the Carolingian rule in the 10th century, they maintained contacts with Carolingian territories but also with southern France, Al-Andalus, other Christian kingdoms of the peninsula, Lombardy, and Rome (Carbonell i Esteller, 2013, p. 108).

While not a lot of documentation is conserved about the Catalan pre-Romanesque architecture, we do know that the churches constructed throughout the 9th and the first half of the 10th century were mainly built *ex luto et lapidibus*, of mud and stone (Carbonell i Esteller, 2013, p. 112). They usually had a single nave with one rectangular apse, though sometimes the apse was square or trapezoidal. The nave was typically covered with a wooden ceiling, while the apse was vaulted (Carbonell i Esteller, 1999, p. 209). There was in general only one door to the temple, which was also the main source of light, as the windows were of small dimensions (Barral i Altet, 1981, p. 94). Unfortunately, most of these churches have not survived, and therefore, we do not have a complete picture of this period and cannot precisely know to what extent this architecture influenced later Early Romanesque production. What is certain, however, is that the transition from pre-Romanesque to Romanesque was gradual. Continuity is evident in structures like Sant Marcel de Flaçà, where the Pre-Romanesque layout consisting of a single nave and a rectangular apse was retained, but with added Lombard blind arches on the apse (Barral i Altet, 1981, p. 106). Moreover, much of the Romanesque infrastructure of the 11th and 12th centuries was already established before the turn of the millennium, guided by the Church’s systematic planning and organization of the Sees, clergy houses, and bishoprics, as well as the expansion of monasteries, particularly those of the Benedictine order (Dalmases et al., 1986, p. 65).

The second half of the 10th and the first half of the 11th century saw great economic, commercial, and demographic growth in Catalonia (Barral i Altet, 1997b, p. 133). These developments also included the increased number of new constructions, which led some scholars, such as M. Zimmerman (2003), to refer to this period (950-1050) as the "Catalan mini Renaissance." New churches, monasteries, and fortifications were built, and older structures were renovated and modernized (Barral i Altet, 1997, p. 133). The new architecture, which had its beginnings in the second half of the 10th century, achieved its full potential during the 11th century.

During the 11th century, the Catalan Counties were a connection between East and West (Klein, 1993, p. 85), as they were found between the Muslim territories of the peninsula and European regions. Catalan counts took the best out of this situation. On one hand, they took advantage of *pàries*, which permitted economic improvement in the counties. On the other hand, Catalans started turning more and more to Rome, seeking help to establish their own independence and strengthen their authority (Boto Varela, 2007, p. 281).

While the Cluniac monastic movement influenced Catalan ecclesiastical life, its architectural impact is virtually invisible. Instead, Rome played a decisive role in this context. It is known that Oliba, a Catalan bishop, abbot and architectural promoter, traveled several times to Rome and upon his return, he promoted churches with Roman references (Ripoll with its transept with several apses—a reference to Saint Peter in Rome, or the circular church devoted to the Virgin Mary in Vic—inspired by what was once the Roman Pantheon and later the church of the Virgin Mary) (Fig. 14) (Barral i Altet, 2011b, p. 37).

Liturgy is another important element to consider. While other Hispanic kingdoms still maintained Hispanic or Mozarabic rites until the end of the 11th century, Catalonia

had already adopted the Roman liturgy under the Carolingians (Castiñeiras, 2011, p. 48), which further brought it closer to the broader European context.

In conclusion, we can say that Carolingian heritage, Gallo-Roman liturgy, religious reforms and social and monastic connections (Klein, 1993, p. 185) led Catalan Counties to a new architectural expression in the 11th century. The new Romanesque style was not merely imported to Catalan Counties; they played a significant role in its creation. Due to the integration into the European context two centuries ago, Catalan territory received models, examples, and influences and crafted them in their own way, adapting them to the context of their newly formed independent political entity of the 11th century.

4.3.2. Characteristics of the Catalan 11th-century architecture

The architecture of 11th-century Catalan Counties is quite heterogeneous, including a wide variety of floor plans and dispositions. What we could mention as characteristics in common would be the use of small quarry-stone masonry, stone barrel vaults, tall bell towers, simplicity, minimal ornamentation visible mainly in symmetrical blind arches, lesenes and cornices on lateral walls, apses, or façades, and a lack of human figures and narrative scenes, which appear only later in a more mature Romanesque period, defined by Puig i Cadafalch as the "Second-Romanesque" (Puig i Cadafalch, 1920, p. 24).

For a long time, the emergence of this "Romanesque style" of construction was attributed to the Lombard *magistri comacini*. G. Teresio Rivoira (1901), an Italian art historian, was the first one to start the theory about the Lombard origin of the European Romanesque with his book *Le origini della architettura lombarda e delle sue principali derivazioni nei paesi d'oltr'Alpe*, published in 1901. Puig i Cadafalch soon accepted this idea and wrote about the Lombard masters who exported their style to Catalonia, while

he named the Catalan architecture of the 11th century "Lombard Romanesque" (Puig i Cadafalch, 1907). However, soon after, he rejected this denomination and replaced it with "First Romanesque" (1920, p. 24). Puig i Cadafalch, an architect but also a politician and president of *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* from 1917 until 1924, often analyzed Catalan architecture through the political prism. In this sense, he pushed the theories about the Catalan Romanesque and its origins towards Northern Italy and Europe, with the aim to distance it from the architectural heritage in the rest of Spain (Barral i Altet, 2000, p. 139).

Numerous new churches were built throughout the 11th century, both in urban and in rural areas. Ecclesiastically, the Catalan Counties were divided into bishoprics, each containing a cathedral, monastic complexes, and parish churches. Monumental basilicas and monasteries in the cities were important cultural centers, often patronized by prominent ecclesiastical and civic figures. Urban churches, obviously, tend to be of greater dimensions and are mostly basilicas, with examples such as Santa Maria de Ripoll, Sant Vicenç de Roda (Fig. 15), or Sant Vicenç de Cardona (Fig. 16). However, many of these structures underwent significant modifications over time. For instance, the monumental five-nave basilica of Santa Maria in Ripoll, with a transept, apse and six apsidioles, is often considered the most significant example of 11th-century Catalan architecture. Nevertheless, due to a major 19th-century reconstruction by Elies Rogent, little of its original structure remains.

Smaller monasteries outside the main urban centers also played a vital role in defining the architectural landscape of 11th-century Catalonia. Moreover, their importance is in the fact that they tend to be better preserved than the big urban constructions, as they often did not go through heavy renovations. As a result, they provide crucial insights into the original construction trends of the period. One such

example is the monastery of Sant Pere de Casserres (Fig. 17, 18, 19), one of the best-preserved examples of the monastic architecture from this time.

Same applies to parish churches. Often located in rural areas, they generally have simpler floor plans, usually consisting of a single nave with a semicircular apse. Over 50 churches of this type from the 11th century are conserved. While the single-nave plan is the most common, variations in dispositions exist. Some churches feature a single nave with a transept and three apses, while others display more unusual configurations, such as two asymmetrical apses (Fig. 20) or triconch ground plans (Fig. 21). Additionally, there are several churches that feature a circular floor plan (Fig. 22), and they often served as chapels to larger religious structures. One particularly distinctive example is Santa Maria or Mercè de Planès, which has a rare triangular floor plan (Fig. 23). Finally, there are a few 11th-century churches that adopted a Latin cross layout (Fig. 24).

In conclusion, 11th-century Catalan architecture is highly diverse, with more than 150 preserved churches showcasing a wide range of construction styles. These range from urban monumental basilicas with several naves and apses to smaller monastic complexes and rural parish churches, some of which feature distinctive floor plans. However, it is important to keep in mind that a big number of the 11th-century edifices have not survived or have been heavily modified; therefore, a gap in our knowledge of the monumental landscape from this time is unavoidable.

An often-overlooked aspect in the analysis of Romanesque architecture is the presence of polychromy—many of these edifices were originally painted, not only on the interior but also on the exterior. However, most of the surviving buildings have lost these painted surfaces, a consequence, in part, of the 19th- and 20th-century restorations, which favored the “purified” aesthetic and contributed to the prescription of Romanesque as stark monochromatic. In Catalonia, this impression was further intensified when the

frescoes were removed from church walls and relocated to the museums. While not all churches featured a rich polychromatic decoration on the exterior, it was common for façades to be covered with lime and whitewash.

In some cases, traces of the original polychromy have been preserved. At the church of Santa Maria de Ripoll, the restoration project that took place in 1971 and 1972, which had the objective of repairing the sculptural façade from the 12th century, revealed remnants of polychrome paint on Lombard arches from 1032. Specifically, the spandrels were adorned with depictions of quadrupeds and vegetal elements (Castiñeiras González, 2006, pp. 347–349).

5. Art, Church, and State. The question of patronage in the development of 11th-century architecture.

Most art historians agree that art is a product of its social context. Nevertheless, two main ideas persist. On one hand, art is seen as a product of social and economic situations; on the other hand, the creative process is taken into consideration. Such a dilemma is somewhat easier in the case of Romanesque art and medieval art in general. As Duby (1983) explained, changes in medieval art are social phenomena as much as they are artistic phenomena. Concerning the architecture of the 11th century, we need to bear in mind that this is the period when edifices were ordered, and masters working on them mostly worked in accordance with what was expected and followed the style, to a greater or lesser extent, that was present in their region. In that sense, it may be presumed that the Romanesque architecture is conditioned by the social situation, which included the bishops and abbots, Benedictine monasteries as the centers of the art and culture, counts, kings, and aristocratic families who donated and erected new churches, economic commercial, and intellectual development of the 11th century, etc.

When we find information in documents about the author of a certain Romanesque work, it often refers to the patron and not to the artist (Castiñeiras González, 2015, p. 60). In this sense, when studying Romanesque and medieval art and architecture in general, it is necessary to make a distinction between the *auctor intellectualis* (the patron, the one who is a central force for the development of the work of art or architecture) and the *auctor materialis* (the artist, the person who carries out the patron's idea) (Ricci, 2000, p. 112). This chapter will discuss the role of ecclesiastical, royal, and aristocratic figures in the formation of the new architectural style of the 11th century.

Before starting the discussion, a few annotations concerning the act of patronage need to be made. The use of the term "patronage" was not frequently used in the context of artistic commissions until the 16th century. The concept of patrons providing sponsorship to artists developed during the Renaissance period (Flora, 2012, p. 207). In the 19th century, this concept of patrons was an interesting subject for art historians. For instance, J. Burckhardt (1860) believed that patrons were even more influential in shaping Renaissance art than the artists themselves. In the 20th century, E. Gombrich (1971) continued to emphasize the importance of patrons, to the extent of discussing the "style" of Cosimo de' Medici. Could it be, then, that patrons were a driving force in shaping Romanesque art and architecture too?

Who were the patrons in the medieval period, and how can we discuss their importance in the formation of 11th-century architecture? In the medieval period, primary figures in this context were bishops or abbots. They were often participating in the art process and decision-making about the iconographic program. For example, an archetypal patron of the medieval world is often the abbot of St. Denis, Suger, who is considered a key figure in shaping Gothic art. Wealthy individuals also donated to works, but connecting these figures directly with the style requires caution, as they did not always have direct contact in hiring or supervising artists or planning the building and its decoration (Flora, 2012, p. 208).

Nonetheless, when discussing the broad subject of medieval patronage, there is one aspect that was often forgotten: the role played by elite women of the time. We know that women in this period were not only spectators; they actively participated in political and social life, taking on different roles (Martin, 2016, pp. 2, 24). Yet, many of these women were silenced in historiography. Their presence, however, is evident in contemporary documents (Vinyoles Vidal, 2003), and this is especially true for medieval

Iberia, where documents regarding the lives of men and women of the 10th and 11th centuries are more abundant than in other European regions. However, historical texts from the later centuries of the high Middle Ages often concentrated on powerful men, usually kings, and served political objectives: to claim a dynasty's, bishopric's, or monastery's possession over a certain territory. In this sense, chronicles were sometimes not created to preserve the past but to shape the present, which is in part how medieval women were excluded from historical narratives (Bowman, 2020).

When exploring the medieval patronage, it is important to understand it as a complex process, which could have had different aspirations. This complexity is visible in the diverse functions of the women who contributed to medieval art and architecture through donations, sponsorship, or facilitation. Due to their restricted influence in traditionally male-dominated areas like warfare and diplomacy, many women focused on the Church, where social and gender constraints were less limiting regarding artistic patronage (Abenza Soria, 2022, p. 18)

The connections between ecclesiastical and statal power in shaping 11th-century Romanesque architecture will be further examined in the following pages. The primary question that will be addressed by the end of this chapter is: How did the ecclesiastical and aristocratic elite play a role in shaping Early Romanesque architecture on both sides of the Mediterranean, in the Kingdom of Croatia and in the Catalan Counties?

5.1. Art, Church, and State in the Kingdom of Croatia

In the Kingdom of Croatia, the patrons of the 11th-century architecture included ecclesiastic, royal, and aristocratic figures. First of all, we will mention the ecclesiastic context, as for several centuries it played an important role in shaping Croatian art and architecture in general. In a way, the Church marked Croatian history from the beginning of the 9th century in terms of not only art but also society and politics. When the Croats were Christianized under the Frankish rule, this helped to approach this new political entity to other European regions and Christian communities. Along with this social benefit, Christianization also brought possibilities for cultural and political improvement. Also, there was a need for the construction of new religious buildings, and therefore, the period from the 9th to the 11th century, also known as the "Old Croatian period," saw a big impulse in construction.

When talking about the 11th century specifically and the new Early Romanesque architecture, the most important ecclesiastic figures in the art context were the bishops, and especially the Archbishop of Split, Lawrence, and the Bishop of Trogir, John. They had a dual role in establishing new monasteries across the Kingdom. On one hand, they directly founded monasteries: Lawrence established the monastery of St. Benedict in Split, while John founded the first female Benedictine monastery in Trogir. On the other hand, they maintained close relations with Croatian kings, and in this way, they encouraged royal donations for the construction of new monasteries.

Most of the newly constructed monasteries over the course of the 11th century were Benedictine monasteries.[10] Benedictines actually played a very important role in

[10] For more about early medieval Benedictine monasteries in Croatia, consult Uroda, N. (2024) Monastic Architecture from the Early Middle Ages to the 12th Century in Central Dalmatia. In S. Bully, M. Čaušević-

connecting the Croatian territory with the west European civilization circle during most of the early medieval period. From the middle of the 9th century, the Croatian rulers participated in the erection of Benedictine monasteries as their own endowments, while the monastic churches became court and sepulchral chapels. Further significance of the Benedictine order can be seen in the fact that Croatian bishops were most often elected from their ranks, and it is these Benedictine monks that were later becoming royal advisors and court chancellors (Delonga, 1996).

During the 11th century, influential figures from both ecclesiastical and royal spheres were alsoclosely connected with the Benedictine order. Archbishop Lawrence and Bishop John have both been Benedictine monks, and they were actually the main promoters of the Benedictine rule on the East Adriatic Coast (Ostojić, 1963). King Petar Krešimir IV established two Benedictine monasteries in Biograd: St. John the Evangelist and St. Thomas. Furthermore, nearly all documents that mention Petar Krešimir's connection with the Church refer specifically to the Benedictine order (Galović, 2020, p. 65).

Aristocratic figures were equally significant in this context, and the following pages will primarily focus on Čika, a woman from the influential Madi family, who established the female Benedictine monastery in Zadar. Importantly, these three levels of patronage—ecclesiastical, royal and aristocratic—were interconnected. Bishops were in close relations with kings, motivating them to establish and donate to monasteries. Aristocracy was closely associated with both ecclesiastic and royal figures. As bishops were chosen by clergy and the people (*clerus and populus*), aristocratic families strived to have their family members appointed, given the considerable social and political

Bully, & S. Gioanni (Eds.), *St Peter of Osor (Island of Cres) and Benedictine monasticism in the Adriatic area* (Publications de l'École française de Rome, pp. 43–56).

influence that the role of a bishop had in 11th-century society (Nikolić, 2005).[11] Moreover, aristocratic families were also frequently connected with royalty through marriages,[12] and often attended events together, such as church consecrations.

In this sense, in the following pages we will examine churches related to the Archbishop Lawrence of Split, Bishop John of Trogir, kings Petar Krešimir IV and Dmitar Zvonimir, and the Madi family. We will see how the connection of these figures in the social and political context could have influenced the architecture of the churches and monasteries they established.

5.1.1. Archbishop Lawrence of Split

As mentioned in the previous section, Archbishop Lawrence of Split held a significant position in both the ecclesiastical and political spheres, especially within the Dalmatian region. Before his tenure in Split, he was a Camaldolese Benedictine priest at the abbey of St. Peter in Osor (Ostojić, 1962, p. 55). As a young bishop, he participated in the Church council of 1060 in Split, where papal legate Maynard was also present. Following the departure of Archbishop John, Lawrence was unanimously chosen by the council to become the new archbishop. This event marked the start of his influential episcopate.

Remaining in Split until his death in 1099, Lawrence fostered close relations with Croatian kings Petar Krešimir IV and Dmitar Zvonimir, to whom he was advisor (Šišić, 1925/1990, p. 633), as well as with priests and aristocrats in the Dalmatian cities. He

[11] For instance, at the beginning of the 11th century, during the peak of the Madi family's power, Prestancius, the brother of Prior Madius II, was appointed bishop. Similarly, in 1066, when Čika founded the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar, Bishop Stephen was cited as one of her cousins and described as a *cooperatores* and *ordinatores* (Nikolić, 2005).

[12] Historians posit that Queen Helen, wife of Krešimir II, was a member of Zadar's Madi family.

actively participated in significant events, such as the coronation of Dmitar Zvonimir in 1076, a ceremony witnessed by Pope Gregory VII's legate Gebizzo, and took part in judicial matters, as evidenced by his participation in the court ruling of Neza in 1089 or early 1090, alongside the bishops of Zadar, Trogir, and Rab.

As a close ally of the Croatian kings Petar Krešimir IV and Dmitar Zvonimir, Lawrence encouraged them to establish and endow Benedictine monasteries. Furthermore, Croatian kings, including Petar Krešimir IV, Dmitar Zvonimir, and Stjepan II, endowed the Church of Split with lands and privileges (Ostojić, 1962, p. 55).

Lawrence himself established a monastery of St. Benedict in Split in 1068, showcasing his collaborative approach with clergy, laity, and aristocrats (Neralić, 2014, p. 93). What remains of the architecture of this monastery will be explored in the following paragraphs.

5.1.1.1. The monastery of St. Benedict in Split (St. Euphemia)

The female Benedictine monastery of St. Benedict was founded by Archbishop Lawrence in 1068, next to the pre-existing church dedicated to the same saint (*Diplomatički Zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije - Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae (Collected and Arranged by Stipišić Jakov and Šamšalović Miljen)*, 1967, p. 110). Upon its establishment, Lawrence endowed the new monastery with lands, vineyards, and books (Neralić, 2014, p. 100) and king Dmitar Zvonimir donated the land Pustica in Lažani. This donation was validated and confirmed

by his successor, Stephen II (Ostojić, 1962, p. 49). Although initially the monastery was dedicated to St. Benedict, later it also came to be known as St. Euphemia[13] and St. Arnir.[14]

Unfortunately, it is not known how the whole monastery complex originally looked. The monastery edifices were probably located beside the church and adjacent to the northern wall of Diocletian's palace, suggesting a trapezoidal cloister in the center (T. Marasović, 2011, p. 330). While the exact year of the monastery's foundation is known, the construction date of the church is uncertain, but probably it was constructed simultaneously with the monastic edifices. The Archbishop Lawrence and the king Petar Krešimir IV are mentioned on the transom from the church dating back to 1735, likely a reconstruction of the original early medieval transom that is not preserved: *DALMATICAS REGERET DUM CRESIMIRUS (H)ABENAS HOC TE LAURENTI PRAESULE SURGIT OPUS A. D. MLXIX* (While Krešimir governed Dalmatia, and you, Lawrence, were the bishop, this work arose in the year of our Lord 1069).

What remains of the 11th-century church are the lower parts of the walls, conserved after research in 1946 and 1947 (Fig. 24). The remains indicate that the church was a three-nave basilica with three semicircular apses on the east side (T. Marasović, 2011, p. 330). The church's interior, with three naves, was divided by two rows of columns. The lesenes decorating the exterior walls were aligned with the columns inside. It is supposed the church had a transept and a dome (J. Marasović & Marasović, 2009, p. 252) (Fig. 25).

[13] The church was known by multiple names. Due to the fact that it was located next to the walls of the Diocletian's palace, some of the denominations were also *spud muros*, *prope muros Spalatenses* or *extra muros civitatis* (Ostojić, 1962, p. 49).

[14] Arnir was a Benedictine monk and an archbishop of Split. He was buried in this church, and an altar was built in his honor.

The monastery was active until 1806, when it was dissolved by French authorities. The old church and part of the monastery's edifices were destroyed in a fire in 1877. The remains of the church were later used as a military hospital until 1944, when they were completely destroyed during bombing. In 1946 the entire monastery complex was demolished to provide an unobstructed view of Diocletian's Palace. The only remaining structures today are the Renaissance bell tower and the Gothic chapel of St. Arnir from 1444, attributed to Juraj Dalmatinac (Ostojić, 1962, pp. 49–50).

The monastery of St. Benedict is a great example of collaboration between the ecclesiastical, noble and royal figures during the 11th century. It was established in the 1060s, a period when numerous other Benedictine monasteries were built across the Kingdom of Croatia. Benedictine monasteries were central to the spread of the Gregorian Reforms, and the founder of the monastery of St. Benedict, Archbishop Lawrence, played a key role in the reformist movement on the East Adriatic coast. Moreover, the monastery was initially intended for noblewomen, as evidenced in its foundation act (e.g., *domna Chatena, nobilissima feminarum sua cum sorore Sana, domnaque Anna et domna Agapis, ac domna Vera*), it was established in consultation with the nobility (*communi cum consilio Valicae prioris cum suis nobilibus cunctis*) and with the consent of all nobles (*omnium nobilium voluntate*) (*Diplomatički Zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije - Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae (Collected and Arranged by Stipišić Jakov and Šamšalović Miljen)*, 1967, pp. 110–112). Its royal endowments further showcase how the ecclesiastical, noble, and royal societal layers intertwined in architectural and spiritual projects of the 11th century.

5.1.2. Bishop John of Trogir

John was the bishop of Trogir from 1064 to 1111. Before this role, he, like Lawrence, was a monk at the Camaldolese Benedictine monastery of St. Peter in Osor.[15] The details of Bishop John's life can be found in his biographies: one was written in 1150 and another in 1203. Throughout his life and career, Bishop John frequently interacted with key figures of the Croatian 11th century. For instance, in 1095, he attended a council in Zadar, during which the church of St. Mary in Zadar was granted exemption from city fees. The council included bishops from Zadar, Rab, and Krk. This event was also an opportunity for John to meet with Čika, a significant figure from the influential Madi family in Zadar, who established the female Benedictine monastery of St. Mary. Shortly after John's death, the citizens of Trogir initiated the process of canonization, which probably started in 1192 (Ivanišević, 1980, pp. 43–52).

In 1064, Bishop John founded the first female Benedictine monastery in Trogir and in Dalmatia in general (Neralić, 2014, p. 94). In the foundation act, we can find out about notable individuals of the era, including local aristocrats and civic authorities, who generously endowed the monastery with lands and vineyards. The monastery was initially dedicated to St. Domnius, but later the church and the monastery became known as St. Nicholas due to its proximity to the sea and many contributions from fishermen and sailors. The church was reconstructed in the 14th century as part of the city's renovation. Today it is a single-nave Baroque structure. Unfortunately, the original Romanesque

[15] In documents he often appeared as John “Orsini”. Because of this designation, there were speculations about his origins. One theory suggested that he came from a Roman Orsini family, while another proposed that the name derived from his earlier residence in Osor’s monastery (Ivanišević, 1980).

design from the 11th century is unknown (*The Benedictine Monastery of St. Nicholas*, n.d.).

It would definitely be interesting to analyze the original architectural layout, as it would give us more insight into what the architecture promoted by one of the two most important Croatian bishops of the 11th century looked like. However, there is nothing left from the Romanesque period of John's St. Nicholas monastery.

5.1.3. King Petar Krešimir IV

Petar Krešimir IV, often referred to as "the Great," ruled the Kingdom of Croatia from approximately 1058 until 1074. This era coincided with the pontificate of Pope Nicholas II, under whom the reform movement was gaining strength. In 1060, Pope Nicholas II sent his legate, Maynard, to the Kingdom of Croatia to investigate the death of Petar Krešimir's brother, for which the new king had been accused. Ultimately, Petar Krešimir IV was absolved of this accusation. However, Maynard also had another greater mission to do—to foster the spread of the Gregorian reforms on the East Adriatic coast.

Maynard started his journey to Split in 1060. On the way there he stopped in Biograd, where he was a witness to Petar Krešimir's issuance of a charter to establish the monastery of Saint John the Evangelist. In the presence of Maynard and Bishop Theodosius of Biograd, the king gave this monastery the *iura regalia*, a royal prerogative that meant that the monastery was exempt from different levies. This gesture is an example of the Gregorian reform's main objective—to separate the Church from secular influence (I. Fisković, 2001b, p. 163). It is possible that this privilege was influenced by Maynard's advice.

The cities of Nin and Biograd were Petar Krešimir's royal seats. Biograd, in particular, flourished during his reign, when the city experienced a renaissance of its own. The king established two Benedictine monasteries in this city—the Saint John the

Evangelist monastery and the female monastery of Saint Thomas. Furthermore, it is possible that due to the efforts of Petar Krešimir, the Glavica church in Biograd attained the status of a cathedral and new liturgical furnishings (I. Fisković, 2001b, p. 161). There is also a document that informs about Petar Krešimir's confirmation of the establishment of the monastery of St. Peter in Supetarska Draga on the island of Rab. However, the authenticity of this document is negated in newer Croatian historiography (Domijan, 2001, pp. 22–23). Remarkably, nearly all documents that mention Petar Krešimir's ecclesiastical connections are related to the Benedictine order (Galović, 2020, p. 65).

To further see the examples of Petar Krešimir's connections with the Church, we can look to Split, and two artifacts preserved there. The first is the transom of St. Benedict's church in Split (reconstruction of the original), mentioned in the preceding pages, which mentions Petar Krešimir IV along with Archbishop Lawrence: *DALMATICAS REGERET DUM CRESIMIRUS (H)ABENAS HOC TE LAURENTI PRAESULE SURGIT OPUS A. D. MLXIX*. The second is the relief in the Split baptistery, which depicts an emperor with *regnum* on one side and *sacerdotium* on the other, likely representing Petar Krešimir IV (Fig. 26). Possibly, the *sacerdotum* on this relief may depict Archbishop Lawrence. Whatever the case, this scene confirms a close connection between the king and significant churchmen, such as bishops, Benedictines, and papal legates.[16] To further explore this relationship, we will now examine the monasteries founded by Petar Krešimir.

[16] The interpretation of the relief has long been and continues to be a subject of debate among national and international historians and art historians. E. Dyggve (1951) suggested that the reliefs were created for the coronation of King Dmitar Zvonimir, proposing that the royal figure represented is Zvonimir. On the other hand, G. Novak (Novak, 1957, p. 437) argued that the figure depicted is Petar Krešimir IV. Over the years, numerous art historians have supported both theories, while others have suggested alternative

5.1.3.1. St. John the Evangelist in Biograd

Petar Krešimir IV established the monastery of St. John the Evangelist in 1060. Along with the monastery edifices, a monumental three-nave basilica was constructed. The king donated several pieces of land to the monastery, and he liberated it from both civil and ecclesiastical power and influences. The monastery was granted royal freedom; it was independent from any other Church authority and was directly under the protection of the pope, known as *protectio s. Petri*. This privilege was probably bestowed upon the monastery by Pope Gregory VII during the reign of Dmitar Zvonimir (Strika, 2010, p. 154).

The church of St. John the Evangelist is located in the historical part of the city of Biograd, in the northwest. Its construction likely started shortly before 1060. During its consecration in 1076, important figures were present, including the pope's legates Fulkoin and Gebizzo, Split's Archbishop Lawrence, and Prestancius, bishop of Biograd (Rački, 1877, pp. 108–109).

The church and the monastery were destroyed during a Venetian attack on the city in 1125 (Ostojić, 1960, p. 163). The remains are preserved in the form of the lower part of the walls, only revealing the floor plan (Fig. 27). The support system is unknown, as no remains were found. The columns probably aligned with the central apses, with possibly six columns on each side of the central nave. The church was a three-nave basilica with a separated forepart, measuring 29 meters in length and 12.5 meters in width (Belošević, 1970, p. 167) (Fig. 28). On the East side, there are three profound semicircular apses, with the central one being double the size of the lateral ones. The walls have a

interpretations. For instance, S. Radojčić (1973) saw the figure of Christ in this scene. However, Fisković (2001b, p. 50), who dedicated a significant portion of his research to this relief, maintains that the figure portrayed is Petar Krešimir, as the stylistic elements of the relief align with the era of his rule.

thickness of 55-60cm, constructed using the *opus incertum* technique, with bricks aligned in irregular rows and covered in mortar. All walls, except the apses, were decorated with lesenes on the exterior. Due to the relatively thin walls, it is presumed that the church was not vaulted but rather covered with a wooden roof. The primary entrance was on the West, with an additional door on the Southern wall, likely connecting the church to the monastery (T. Marasović, 2009, pp. 432–433).

5.1.3.2. St. Thomas in Biograd

In the cartulary of St. John the Evangelist, one can find information about Petar Krešimir's donation to the female Benedictine monastery of St. Thomas between 1060 and 1062 (Galović, 2010). In addition to endowing the monastery with lands in Rasohatica near Tinj, the king also exempted it from any fees. Consequently, it can be assumed that he also had an instrumental role in establishing this monastery as well (Ostojić, 1960). However, the exact date of the monastery's foundation remains unknown, as the foundation act is not preserved. The monastery and the church were located in the city center, northeast of the cathedral and east of St. John the Evangelist (Jelić, 1898, p. 56).

Unfortunately, today the church of St. Thomas exists only in scarce remains. In 2008, R. Jurić (2009) conducted archaeological excavations on the site, researching only a semicircular apse; that is the only thing that is left. Despite the limited information about the church, T. Marasović (2009, p. 436) categorizes it within the group of three-nave Early Romanesque basilicas (Fig. 29).

5.1.4. King Dmitar Zvonimir

Dmitar Zvonimir ruled the Kingdom of Croatia from 1075 until 1089. Along with Petar Krešimir IV, he is the most frequently mentioned king from the Kingdom’s history.

However, there are different mysteries that surround his life, including his origins and the circumstances of his death (Zekan, 1990, p. 9). While information about his lineage is scant, some historians suggest that he is connected to the Svetoslavići family. Zvonimir ascended to the throne after Petar Krešimir IV, a member of the Trpimirovići dynasty. Possibly to legitimize his rule, he sought papal support and aligned himself with Pope Gregory VII. The pope sent his legate Gebizzo to crown the king Dmitar Zvonimir in Solin, in the basilica of St. Peter and Moses (Klaić, 1971, pp. 386–387). This strategic alliance within the context of the reform movement allowed Gregory VII to leverage the practice of the pope selecting rulers (Birin, 2015, p. 64). This connection between the Croatian king and Pope Gregory VII opened the door to Europe for the Kingdom of Croatia (Goldstein, 1995, pp. 403–407). Additionally, the Pope promised to protect the Kingdom, which was crucial for this time, as the Kingdom faced several threats throughout the century.

In honor of the Pope, Zvonimir promised to make an annual contribution of 200 ducats, and he bestowed the monastery of St. Grgur in Vrana with all its properties upon the Papal See. Notable figures, including Archbishop Lawrence of Split and Bishop Teodosius of Zadar, attended Zvonimir's coronation, along with other Croatian bishops and aristocrats.

Similar to Petar Krešimir IV, Zvonimir donated to churches and monasteries. While his only known construction project was the new basilica of St. Mary in Biskupija near Knin, he also affirmed the privileges of the St. Mary monastery in Zadar, previously granted by Petar Krešimir IV. Additionally, Zvonimir gifted the St. Mary monastery in Otok near Solin to the Split Archbishopric, donated the land Pustica in Lažani to the female Benedictine monastery in Split (Ostojić, 1962, p. 49), and, as mentioned, during his coronation, he bestowed the monastery of St. Gregory in Vrana upon the Pope.

Notably, Zvonimir is commemorated in the Baška stone tablet (*Baščanska ploča*) from the island of Krk, where his donation of land to the local Benedictine monastery of St. Lucy is mentioned. This is the oldest known monument in which the word *Croatian* is written in the Croatian language (*Zv'nimirkral hrvatski* - Zvonimir, Croatian King) and moreover, in the Glagolitic Script.

Dmitar Zvonimir passed away in 1089. As his son Radovan had died before him, he did not have a successor, which marked the beginning of a complicated political period and the decline of the Kingdom.

The following paragraphs will talk about the church of St. Mary in Biskupija and its renovation during Dmitar Zvonimir's reign. The parallels with the renovation of the liturgical furnishings at the church of St. Bartholomew, at the locality of Kapitul, also near Biskupija, will be mentioned. Last but not least, the final pages of this part of the chapter dedicated to Dmitar Zvonimir will be about his coronation basilica: St. Peter and Moses in Solin. Even though this basilica cannot be directly connected with the king's donation or patronage, it is still interesting to analyze it, as it is the place chosen for the coronation of the king by the papal legate.

5.1.4.1. St. Mary in Crkvina at Biskupija by Knin

From the 9th century on, Knin was an important place for the Croatian dukes and later for Croatian kings. In the same way, from the 9th century it was the ecclesiastical center for Christianized Croats, while in the 11th century it became the seat of the Croatian Bishopric. Throughout the history of the Croatian state, Knin had an important role in Old Croatian art, sponsored by Croatian rulers and aristocrats (Jakšić, 1996, pp. 3, 11). However, the key point is the small village of Biskupija near Knin. The presence of five churches in this small area explains its significance.

Among the five churches located in Biskupija, the one that is of interest to us in this chapter is the church of St. Mary. Its history dates back to Early Christian times, when a necropolis was established at this site. During the 8th century, a mausoleum was constructed at the same location, featuring a simple rectangular structure divided into three parts, with sarcophagi in the lateral sections. The three-nave basilica of St. Mary was built at the beginning of the 9th century, preserving the mausoleum on its front façade. From the 9th until the 11th century, the church underwent four liturgical furnishing renovations. Moreover, during Zvonimir's reign, the church was renovated and reconsecrated, somewhere between 1076 and 1086. This event elevated it to the status of a cathedral of the Croatian bishopric, while the anterior imperial residential complex became the *episcopium* and the center of the bishopric chapter (Josipović, 2025).

Unfortunately, only the lower parts of the complex's walls have been preserved. The basilica of St. Mary featured three naves separated by piers and three rectangular apses inscribed in the east wall (Jakšić, 2000, p. 198). The mausoleum on the West façade is likely associated with the Trpimirović dynasty, as ten graves containing various tools belonging to the royal family were discovered. This mausoleum has the same width as the basilica, and it consists of two floors. The first floor served as a mausoleum, and the upper floor was a vestibule for the church of St. Mary. In the 11th century, the upper floor took on a new role as a westwork (T. Marasović, 2009, p. 549) (Fig. 30).

The interior of the church of St. Mary was richly decorated, which showed its role as a ruler's mausoleum, a royal and ecclesiastical residence, and the cathedral of the Diocese. Over the course of the 9th to the 11th century, the church underwent continuous changes in liturgical furnishings, adapting to contemporary styles. Over 100 fragments of liturgical furniture were found, including important sculptural decorations.

Two distinct sculptural workshops were active at this site: the *Zadar-Knin stonecutting workshop* and the *Romanesque stonecutting workshop from Knin*. The *Zadar-Knin stonecutting workshop* was first identified and named by Ivo Petricioli in 1960 (Petricioli, 1960, pp. 10–11, 37–47). Stylistically, it is closely related to the ivory reliefs produced at the same time in Western Europe, in artistic centers such as Metz or Trier (Jakšić & Hilje, 2008, p. 34; Jakšić, 2015, pp. 488–490). One of the significant works found here is the latticework, which depicts St. Mary, four evangelists, a saint, and a man dressed as an aristocrat with a sword, likely representing the donor figure (Fig. 31). The presence of a donor figure affirms the supposition that the church of St. Mary received numerous aristocratic donations during the early medieval period. In the end, its important role can be summarized by the fact that the church served as the final resting place for the Trpimirović dynasty, a royal palace from which the king governed the Kingdom, and a residence for the Croatian bishop.

Another workshop active at the same site was the *Romanesque stonecutting workshop from Knin*, identified and defined by Nikola Jakšić in 1981 (Jakšić, 1981, pp. 27–33, 2015, pp. 519–534). They were active either contemporaneously with or shortly after the *Zadar-Knin workshop*. Their sculptural works show a stronger Romanesque sensibility but are generally of lower craftsmanship. One of their works is a gable depicting *The Virgin Orans* (Fig. 32). Executed as a line drawing carved into stone, it is probably a direct imitation of the Byzantine stylistic and iconographic tradition.

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The only two churches that are comparable to the church of St. Mary when talking about the number of changes in liturgical furnishings are the church of St. Bartholomew in Kapitul and the church in Plavno. Although the architecture of the church of St. Bartholomew that existed in the 11th century is unknown, as the new Romanesque

building was built in the 13th century, the sculptural pieces witness the existence of the church since the pre-Romanesque period. The architecture, therefore, cannot be analyzed in the context of this chapter, but still it is interesting to see the parallels with the church of St. Mary when it comes to liturgical furnishings.

Tonči Burić (1988) researched all pieces of the liturgical furnishings that were found in the locality of this church, and according to his analysis, out of 70 found pieces, 65 belong to the pre-Romanesque period, while only five have Early Romanesque characteristics. The early sculpture was dated to the time of the duke Trpimir, and the second phase was dated to the time of Držislav, that is, the third quarter of the 10th century. The last renovation happened at the end of the 11th century, and these Early Romanesque pieces show analogies with the sculpture by the *Romanesque stonecutting workshop from Knin* (Jakšić, 1981), which worked in the church of St. Mary in Biskupija and Plavno at the same time (Jurčević, 2020, p. 414). Both the church of St. Mary in Biskupija and St. Bartholomew were originally constructed on the royal land and for the use of the Trpimirović dynasty: St. Mary was a royal mausoleum, whereas at Kapitul there was a monastery in service of the royal court. It seems that the unknown church in Plavno could have also been royal, as it is the only one, along with Kapitul and Crkvina, that had several renovations of the liturgical furnishings from the 9th until the 11th century.

Finally, in the documents from the second half of the 11th century, abbots of the monastery of St. Bartholomew often appeared as members of the royal escort (Šišić, 1925/1990), meaning that they probably played an important role in the political life of the Kingdom of Croatia. In the *Chronicon breve Regni Croatiae* from the 16th century, it is also mentioned that King Dmitar Zvonimir was buried *in capitulo thininigensi in*

ecclesia sancti bartholomei (Tomašić, 1868), which would then make this church, more than the *monasterium regale*, a burial place of one of the last Croatian kings.

5.1.4.2. St. Peter and Moses in Solin

The church of St. Peter and Moses in Solin first appeared in historical documents in Petar Krešimir's charter from 1069. This church holds significant importance in the history of the Kingdom of Croatia, as it served as the site where Dmitar Zvonimir was crowned by the papal legate Gebizzo, dispatched by Pope Gregory VII. Some scholars, such as V. Goss (1996, p. 158) consider that it was probably the most majestic church in the Kingdom during the 11th century due to its selection for this important event.

Regrettably, like many previously mentioned examples, the church of St. Peter and Moses exists today only in the remnants of its walls, providing at least some insights into its floor plan, dimensions, and construction techniques (Fig. 33).

Archaeological investigations, led by Danish archaeologist E. Dyggve in the 1930s, unveiled the remains of an early medieval three-nave basilica constructed within the parameters of the older Early Christian church (Dyggve, 1951). The early medieval basilica, built around the middle of the 11th century, stands as an example of the blend of Croatian traditional pre-Romanesque elements (pre-Romanesque floor plan) and architectural innovations of the 11th century (well-crafted stone, regularly aligned bricks, a correlation between the exterior and interior space, and a unified spatial organization) (Jurković, 1992, p. 35). Along with the remains of the Early Christian and early medieval basilicas, pieces of sculptural decoration were also found. These fragments also illustrate a fusion of old and new artistic styles, as the pre-Romanesque geometric decorations combine with 11th-century motifs, such as human figures.

The basilica chosen for Dmitar Zvonimir's coronation is a three-nave structure measuring 26.3m in length and 13.6m in width. Its floor plan reflects a traditional pre-

Romanesque spirit. It has three apses inscribed in the wall: the central one is rectangular, and the two lateral apses are semicircular. Columns separate the three naves, and they are symmetrically aligned with the lesenes on the exterior walls. On the western side of the church stands a forepart structure, inherited from the pre-Romanesque period and the Carolingian westwork tradition. However, its form differs from earlier westworks: here, the forepart functions as an independent structure, separate from the rectangular floor plan of the church, and its design is closer to that of Romanesque tower-porticos (Jurković, 1995, p. 72). As these 11th-century foreparts in the Croatian architecture represent an adaptation of Carolingian westwork forms, possibly they also inherited their functional role: that of a space intended as the royal private chapel (Fig. 34).

The sculptural pieces found here belong to the *Zadar-Solin stonecutting workshop* (Petricioli, 1960, pp. 7, 15, 1983, p. 7). Notably, a relief depicting *regnum* and *sacerdotum* from the Split baptistery was originally located in the church of St. Peter and Moses (Fig. 26) (I. Fisković, 2001a), which further proves the connection that this church had with the royalty.

5.1.5. The Madi family

In general, there is little information available about aristocratic families in early medieval Croatia and Dalmatia. However, the Madis from Zadar are the most extensively documented family from this period. This family derives its name from the first family member mentioned in historical records, Madius. They were the most influential Dalmatian family at the end of the 10th and throughout the 11th century.

Most of the documents that reference the Madi family mention them in the context of donations and relationships with the Church, particularly the churches in Zadar, with a focus on the Benedictine monasteries of St. Chrysogonus and St. Mary. Madius appeared in historical records for the first time in 986, while he was a prior (a city mayor),

when he contributed money for the restoration of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus. His family members also held significant positions in the city. Madius II, probably his nephew, became a prior of Zadar. His brother, Prestancius, was appointed bishop and became one of the most significant ecclesiastical figures in Zadar at the time (*Diplomatički Zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije - Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae (Collected and Arranged by Stipišić Jakov and Šamšalović Miljen)*, 1967, p. 108).

During this time the Madis became connected to the royal Trpimirović dynasty through marriages. Historians speculate that King Krešimir II's wife, Jelena, was from the Madi family, but this is not confirmed. However, Madius II and his son Dobronja are described as *cognati* of King Krešimir III, who gifted them a piece of land (*Diplomatički Zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije - Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae (Collected and Arranged by Stipišić Jakov and Šamšalović Miljen)*, 1967, pp. 104–105). Later, when King Petar Krešimir IV granted royal privileges to the St. Mary monastery in Zadar, established by a female member of the Madi family, Čika, he referred to her as his sister.[17] However, this designation was probably rather spiritual than biological (Nikolić, 2005, p. 11).

The Madi family started to lose their influence in the second half of the 11th century. Although they reappeared on the scene through Čika, after 1095 they no longer appear in historical documents. Nevertheless, it is improbable that they completely lost their influence, as evidenced by King Coloman's support for the St. Mary monastery in

[17] *Ego Cresimir, rex Chroatie et Dalmatie … do regiam libertatem monasterio sancte Marie Iaderensis, quod soror mea Cicca fabricauit …* (*Diplomatički Zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije - Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae (Collected and Arranged by Stipišić Jakov and Šamšalović Miljen)*, 1967, p. 102)

Zadar, including financing the construction of a tower in the early 12th century (Nikolić, 2005, pp. 4–5).

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Madi family is often mentioned in documents in the context of their contributions to the Church. Notably, Madius's donation to St. Chrysogonus, and furthermore, Madius II and his brother, Bishop Prestancius, played instrumental roles in constructing the church of St. Michael on the island of Pašman. Čika, along with her daughter Domnana, established the St. Mary monastery in Zadar after Čika's husband's death. Following Čika's death, her daughter Vekenega assumed a leading role in the monastery. Consequently, the St. Mary monastery can be perceived as a familial foundation of the Madi family (Nikolić, 2005, pp. 17–18). Given this context, an analysis of the architecture of the St. Mary monastery is an interesting subject, as it can provide us with insights into the characteristics of a monastery founded by an aristocratic figure.

5.1.5.1. St. Mary in Zadar

Čika, along with her daughter Domnana, founded the female Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Zadar in 1066 after her husband's death. The church of St. Mary was constructed on the southwest side of the Roman forum, likely on the site of an earlier Early Christian basilica (Vežić, 2020, p. 123), and was probably consecrated in 1091. In the 16th century, the Romanesque church went through extensive renovations, which transformed it into a Renaissance basilica (Fig. 35).

The St. Mary monastery had a very important role, as it was one of the initial reformed Benedictine monasteries in Dalmatia, actively contributing to reformist initiatives led by Archbishop Lawrence and Bishop John (Marinković, 2002, p. 39). Moreover, it became a center for donations and connections with royalty.

Initially constructed as a Romanesque three-nave basilica in the second half of the 11th century, the church of St. Mary had several expansions over time. For instance, Čika's daughter Vekenega added a chapter hall to the church, and King Coloman erected a monumental tower at the beginning of the 12th century, characteristic of the high-Romanesque period. The Romanesque basilica nearly disappeared with the 16th-century reconstruction. During this time, the church was elongated to the west, which required the demolition of the Romanesque façade. Presumably, the new Renaissance church was taller, and the galleries were added during this intervention.

The original Romanesque façade typologically may have resembled the façade of St. Peter in Supetarska Draga on the island of Rab (Fig. 38, 39). The main nave in St. Mary's was probably covered with a double-pitched wooden roof, while the lateral two naves had single-pitched roofs (Jakšić, 2020, pp. 133–137). The columns dividing the three naves had Corinthian capitals with two rows of folded leaves, a characteristic that can be found in other 11th-century churches on the East Adriatic, particularly in Benedictine basilicas in Rab or Krk (Jakšić, 1983). The naves of the basilica ended in three semicircular apses.

The monastery of St. Mary in Zadar stands as a complex building reflecting the history of aristocratic donations and influences. Initially established by Čika, a member of the powerful Madi family, it obtained royal privileges from King Petar Krešimir IV. After Čika passed away, her daughter Vekenega assumed leadership, maintaining good relations with royalty, especially with Coloman. In 1105, when Coloman entered Zadar, he erected a bell tower, probably symbolizing his power and success. The tower's first floor served as a chapel, allowing him to attend Mass without direct contact with the nuns. This strategy of fostering connections with royalty proved mutually beneficial,

strengthening the Madi family's political influence in Zadar and enhancing the monastery's status by accumulating properties and support (Marinković, 2002, p. 58).

The importance of the tower constructed at the beginning of the 12th century lies in the fact that its first floor is vaulted with the oldest precisely dated ribbed vault in European architecture (Petricioli, 1968, p. 67) (Fig. 37). While there certainly are other early experiments with vaults featuring diagonal ribs, the one in St. Mary can be dated with precision, thanks to the Coloman's inscription on marble slabs, which mentions the year 1105 as the starting point of the bell tower's construction. The capitals on the four columns supporting the diagonal ribs have Coloman's name inscribed, with three letters on each one of them (R.CO - LLO - MAN - NVS) (Fig. 36). This room possibly served as a royal gallery (Marinković, 2004, pp. 53, 56–57), as suggested by its fine Romanesque sculpture, frescoes, and balcony, which opened to the chapter hall. The stylistic similarities and functional connection between the bell tower and the chapter hall indicate that they were probably built at the same time. Vekenega's epitaph in the chapter hall mentions the year 1111, therefore, it can be concluded that the bell tower room, connected to the chapter hall, was also completed by that date. The construction of the ribbed vault can therefore be precisely dated between 1105 and 1111.

5.1.5.2. The church of Holy Domenica (St. John the Baptist) in Zadar

The church of Holy Domenica (Fig. 44) was located within the medieval walls of the city of Zadar. Unfortunately, it was demolished in 1891. There was likely an Early Christian basilica on this site, as along with the Early Romanesque remains, the Early Christian ones were discovered. The church's dedication to St. John the Baptist further suggests a 5th-6th century origin, since he was among the most popular titular saints in Dalmatia at that time (Vežić, 1999, p. 9).

The state of the church in the 19th century was fortunately well documented by Charles Errard (Gayet & Errard, 1901) and Alois Hauser (Hauser, 1895, pp. 155–157), who measured and recorded the floor plan and the exterior of the church. These records show that the church was a short three-bay basilica, with two rows of columns dividing the naves. It had three apses: the central one was rectangular, while the two lateral apses were semicircular. All of them were inscribed in the wall and, therefore, not visible from the outside. Steps on the north side led to the terrace and the entrance to the church, while a bell tower was attached on the southern side (Hauser, 1895).

The exterior walls were decorated with lesenes and blind arches below the aisle roofs, indicating an 11th-century construction date. However, there was no accordance between the exterior and interior spatial division, which points to the persistence of pre-Romanesque traditions. Beneath the church there was a crypt with a cross-shaped floor plan, which contained tomb chambers in the corners (Brunelli, 1913). It represents a special characteristic and status of this church, as there were only two other churches in Zadar that had a crypt at this time: the cathedral and the 9th-century church of St. Anastasia, located outside the city walls.

Reexamining Hauser's drawings, Vežić found that they contained more information than previously thought. In the 19th century, Hauser recorded a "front" wall of the church of Holy Domenica, but it was only 15cm thick, which is far too thin for a basilica's façade. This suggests that the wall was probably a partition wall, added in the Renaissance or Baroque period, and it divided the original volume of the basilica into two spaces. As a result, instead of the three bays in its nave, the church originally was way larger and had a six-bay nave (Vežić, 1999, pp. 9–10).

During the 11th century, as we now know, the Madi family had a lot of power in Zadar. They were a family of priors and bishops who ruled the city and possibly aimed

to extend their influence over the whole of Dalmatia. They clearly had the resources to commission this church. Possibly they built Holy Domenica either to keep relics that Dobronja, the son of Prior Maius, brought back from Constantinople during one of his many trips to the imperial city, or for the family's funerary purposes (Skoblar, 2021, p. 34).

The two plutei conserved from this church belong to the *Zadar-Solin stonecutting workshop* (Fig. 45), the same workshop that was active at the church of St. Peter and Moses in Solin. Interestingly, these two churches share the same architectural characteristics: both belong to the regional group of architecture, which preserved features from the local tradition. Each was a three-nave basilica with identical length-to-width proportions, and they both had three apses inscribed in the wall, with the central one being rectangular and the lateral ones semicircular. One important difference is that the church in Solin was considerably larger (Vežić, 1999, pp. 11–13). Therefore, it is possible that the same builders may have been contracted for both projects, likely working in close collaboration with the stonecutters, or possibly even the same people undertook the entire construction themselves (Josipović, 2025, p. 187).

Just as the architecture of these churches inherited forms from the local pre-Romanesque tradition, their sculptural decoration can likewise be stylistically classified as late pre-Romanesque rather than Early Romanesque reliefs. The pieces of this workshop still show the use of geometric motifs, such as different types of interlace, which often adorn the cornices and borders of the plutei or ciborium arcades. A pre-Romanesque approach is also visible in the treatment of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures (oval-shaped heads, almond-shaped eyes, noses that widen at the base to accentuate the nostrils, mouths depicted by incising a straight line, etc). Only their iconographic component, along with the more anatomically realistic and proportionally

harmonious representations of human and animal figures, points out the fact that they were created on the threshold of the new, Romanesque period (Josipović, 2025, p. 187).

The *Zadar-Solin stonecutting workshop* was active in the second and third quarters of the 11th century. In Zadar, they are connected with the Madi family and the peak of their power, around the mid-1040s. In Solin, the workshop is linked to the beginning of the rule of Petar Krešimir IV (1058-1074) (Josipović, 2025, p. 188), who maintained close relations with influential ecclesiastical figures, such as the Abbot Mojsije, head of the royal Benedictine monastery of St. Peter and Moses, or Archbishop Lawrence. Given these connections, it is not surprising that the same workshop was commissioned at both of these two places, both closely tied to some of the most powerful civil and ecclesiastical figures of the period.

5.1.5.3. St. Lawrence in Zadar

The church of St. Lawrence is mentioned for the first time in the prior Andrew's testament from 918 (*Diplomatički Zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije - Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae (Collected and Arranged by Stipišić Jakov and Šamšalović Miljen)*, 1967, p. 26). However, the originality of this document, known in its later rewritten edition, is doubted. The church was constructed at the place where there was supposedly an older temple (Brunelli, 1913, p. 246), and some authors suggest that it was a private chapel of the Madi family (V. P. Goss, 2010, p. 39), who had two houses close to the church (V. P. Goss, 1987, p. 139).

Today the church is quite well conserved compared to other buildings of this period (Fig. 40). It is located at the *Narodni trg* square, and it is completely surrounded by more modern buildings.

The church of St. Lawrence is rooted in the local pre-Romanesque tradition in combination with new Early Romanesque elements. While the vaulting system and the

use of spolia connect this church with the pre-Romanesque period, the blind arches on the exterior walls, the concordance between the exterior lesenes and the interior space division, and the exterior sculpture on the portal connect the church of St. Lawrence with the newly emerged Early Romanesque style (Jurković, 1992, p. 39).

When looking at its floor plan, the church seems to be a three-nave structure, but however, it actually consists of one nave (Fig. 3, 41). The three bays are defined by four columns, which support the vaultings. The two columns closer to the sanctuary use the antique spolia, while the others are from the 11th century (Klaić & Petricioli, 1976, p. 140). The first and the third bays are covered with groin vaults, while the central bay is covered with the dome. The apse was rectangular and inscribed in the wall. The forepart was posteriorly added, but this addition must have happened soon after the church's construction, as the building technique and the vaults are the same as in the central nave. It consists of two floors that have the same floor plans. On the second floor, there is a rectangular window; however, it dates from posterior periods (Fig. 42). Above the forepart there was a tower, while in its western wall was an opening that led to some building located close to the church (V. P. Goss, 1987, p. 137). Nevertheless, on the western side of this forepart structure, there are modern buildings today, so it cannot be concluded if this opening led to some or which houses nearby (Klaić & Petricioli, 1976, p. 140).

The sculptures from the main, northern portal of the church are works of the *Zadar-Knin stonecutting workshop*. The depiction of the Annunciation scene on the portal jambs and the gable with the *Maiestas Domini* (Fig. 43) is an example of an important novelty in Early Romanesque art: the placement of sculpture on the exterior. It is one of the earliest examples in Western European art where the gradual and still symbolic formation of the Last Judgment scene can be observed, which would later become a

common Romanesque iconographic theme in the lunettes of main church portals (Josipović, 2025). Its significance, therefore, lies in being one of the first of many implementations of this type in the European Romanesque (Jakšić & Hilje, 2008, p. 148; Jakšić, 2015, p. 513). In the 1980s, American art historian Millard Fillmore Hearn described the portal of St. Lawrence as the earliest fully developed medieval doorway composition, yet he denied any direct influence on later Romanesque portals (Hearn, 1985, p. 30). Today, the portal of St. Lawrence can be seen in the Archaeological Museum of Zadar.

The similarity in architecture and sculpture can be seen with the church of Holy Domenica in Zadar (Petricioli, 1987, pp. 68–72). While the church of Holy Domenica, with its sculpture, should be dated to the fourth decade of the 11th century, St. Lawrence must have been somewhat later in the same decade or the following one (Petricioli, 1983). It shows important advancements toward the Early Romanesque expression compared to Holy Domenica, such as the correlation of the exterior and interior spatial division and the narrative sculptural scene on the church portal.

The local pre-Romanesque tradition, however, can still be seen in the use of elements of Byzantine or Carolingian architecture. For instance, St. Lawrence has a dome supported by four columns, a Byzantine reminiscence, which is also found in St. Nicholas in Split, a church also constructed in the 11th century that shares a similar floor plan (Vežić, 1998, p. 55). On the other hand, the forepart structure, developed from westworks and the axial tower, shows clear Carolingian influences (T. Marasović, 2009, p. 352).

The importance of the church in the political and social context in the city of Zadar in the 11th century is pointed out by P. Vežić (1996, p. 357), who explains that this church served as *ecclesia comunis Iadre*. The *Narodni Trg* in Zadar, where the church of St. Lawrence is located, was a space for civil power, constructed further away from the

ecclesiastical center (including the Cathedral and the Monastery of St. Mary, etc.). The city's prior, who was at the same time the judge, had to make decisions public in front of the citizens, and this square provided the setting for such events.

Given the fact that the church of St. Lawrence was built in the time of the big authority of the city priors from the Zadar Madi family, Goss's suggestion of it as a private chapel for the family members seems plausible; however, it stays as a supposition that is not confirmed. The presence of a westwork adaptation, which has an opening to nearby houses, combined with the fact that the Madis owned two houses close to the church, lends further support to this idea. Regardless of its precise function, there is a high chance that the Madis initiated its construction.

5.1.6. Conclusions

As seen in the preceding pages, the patrons of the 11th-century architecture in Croatia, including Archbishop Lawrence, Bishop John, Kings Petar Krešimir IV and Dmitar Zvonimir, and Čika from the Madi family, were all connected in a social and political sense. They closely collaborated within the political sphere and participated in the same events, including the consecrations of the churches they commissioned.

Notably, all the monasteries established by these figures belonged to the Benedictine order. Given that Lawrence and John, both affiliated with the Camaldolese Benedictine order, were influential proponents of reforms in the Eastern Adriatic, the establishment of Benedictine monasteries served as important centers for education and the dissemination of these reforms. The Benedictine missionaries were present in the Croatian territory already from the late 8th or early 9th centuries, and since then they influenced the artistic output, especially the sculpture (Josipović, 2024a). Their importance is, moreover, visible in the fact that they are considered the source of oral and written Croatian culture (Galović, 2017, p. 240). All Benedictine monasteries constructed

in Dalmatia were situated within city walls, except for St. Benedict in Split. This suggests that these monasteries were significant urban institutions, influencing not only religious but also social, economic, and political life (Ostojić, 1963, pp. 82–89).

5.2. Art, Church, and State in Catalan Counties

Just as it happened in the Kingdom of Croatia in the 11th century, in the Catalan Counties, the figures who promoted and donated for the construction of the new churches were from the ecclesiastical and statal spheres, and these were the bishops and comtal families. More specifically, in this chapter we will examine the architecture connected to the bishops Oliba and Ermengol and Countess Ermesinde.

Here as well, the ecclesiastical and the statal figures were often socially and politically connected. However, the situation in the Catalan Counties is somewhat more complicated and specific in the European context. As the control over the episcopal see held significant importance, since it directly influenced political power, the Catalan counts wanted to consolidate their authority by exerting control over bishoprics inside their territories. By the turn of the millennium, the transmission of the *episcopatus* right to their successors was established as a privilege of the counts of Barcelona. Furthermore, the close relationship between the counts and the Church is evident from the practice of appointing their children as abbots, abbesses, and bishops in various Catalan monasteries.

The system of tithes, inherited from the Carolingian period, was widely adopted in Catalonia, requiring a tenth of income to be given as support to the Church. In addition to tithes, Catalan counts and their families made donations of territories and resources for the construction of churches. This involvement of the counts in ecclesiastical affairs led to situations where one individual simultaneously held the positions of both bishop and count. Such was the case of Miró, the count of Besalú, who was also the bishop of Girona (Novokhatko, 2021, p. 37).

Throughout the whole 11th century, donations to the Church and participation in significant religious events served as symbols of power for the Catalan counts. Their

presence at the consecration of churches signified not only their importance as civil authorities but also played a role in their salvation beliefs. With time, this process started to be selective, and counts participated in the consecration of the churches that were considered of great importance (Cingolani, 2008, pp. 138–140). Furthermore, some noble families used the Church as a kind of repository for their own power and property. In return, the Church rewarded them with special offices and also income and lands (Lewis, 1965, p. 260).

After the turn of the millennium, a renovation of episcopal complexes started under the leadership of the bishops, particularly Oliba, Ermengol, and Pere de Girona (Carrero Santamaría, 2018, p. 39), and with the support of the noble elites, of whom they also formed part, as they came from comtal families. These renovations were often carried out on sites with structures from previous periods, and sometimes these older structures were reused in the renovations (Boto Varela & Sureda i Jubany, 2013, p. 75).

We do not know much about the artists in the medieval era; however, we do know about the patrons, although there are diverse hypotheses on their roles (Garland, 2012, p. 166). Notably, patrons such as Oliba, Ermengol, and the countess Ermesinde of Carcassonne played instrumental roles in the construction and enrichment of various churches and monasteries in Catalan Counties. Oliba, in particular, promoted the building of churches such as the Montserrat Monastery or Sant Miquel de Fluvià. He was directly involved in the new churches of Santa Maria of Ripoll, Santa Maria la Rodona in Vic, the reconstruction of the cathedral in Vic, and the monastery of Cuixà. Furthermore, Ermengol, who was a bishop of Urgell, seems to have started the construction of the new cathedral in Urgell in 1010. Some documents even show that he was interested in the construction of communication roads, and he donated for the construction of the bridge of Bar. The countess of Barcelona, Ermesinde of Carcassonne, was also known for her

donations, firstly to the cathedral of Girona, which is documented in the consecration act from 1038. She also donated for other constructions, and moreover, the ones outside the Catalan territory, such as the church of Saint-Paul-Serge in Narbonne, Saint-Gilles du Gard, Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, and Saint Peter in Rome. Finally, her son, Ramon Berenguer I, also count of Barcelona, seems to have had an important role in the construction of the Romanesque cathedral of Barcelona (Camps i Sòria & Lorés i Otzet, 2005, pp. 213–216).

Further than family relationships, all these personalities often shared the same interests and participated in the same events. They lived in places with active *scholae* and *scriptoria*, among which Ripoll was the most significant one, gradually becoming one of the most important cultural centers of Europe at the time. As a result, they had easy access to the newest models and forms. In the following part of the chapter, we will see in which way the dynamics of power and influence among the secular and ecclesiastical authorities shaped the new 11th-century architecture in the Catalan Counties.

5.2.1. Bishop Oliba

During the 10th and 11th centuries, Catalonia's ecclesiastical and political landscape saw the rise of important people who influenced the region's cultural and architectural development, and Oliba is certainly one of the most significant figures in this context. The goal of this chapter is to examine Oliba's accomplishments, including his functions as an abbot, bishop, patron, traveler, writer, and, most importantly, constructor.

Oliba was born around the year 971 into a distinguished family of the counts of Cerdanya-Besalú. His family was closely connected with secular and ecclesiastical power. Notably, Oliba was a son of Count Oliba Cabreta and a grandson of Wilfred the Hairy, who is frequently referred to as the “father” of the Catalan nation and is notable for founding practically independent counties and entrusting them to his sons.

The social landscape in Catalonia was undergoing transformative changes during Oliba’s lifetime. He was born in the time of the disintegration of the Carolingian power, when Catalan Counties were only starting their journey towards independence. However, when he died in Cuixà in 1046, he saw the conflicts for power between aristocrats and counts, which resulted in the forming of a feudal principality.

After his father retired to the monastery of Montecassino, Oliba took over the county of Berguedà and Ripollès. However, Oliba’s spiritual journey led him to the monastic life, a decision influenced by his desire to serve God fully, as he decided that he could not serve the two powers: God and the world. That is why he gave up on his statal power and became a Benedictine monk at the monastery of Ripoll. He was chosen as the abbot of Ripoll and Sant Miquel de Cuixà in 1008, and he also became abbot of Sant Pere de Fenollet and Santa Maria d’Arlès de Tec, reflecting the Cluny will to consolidate monasteries under a single abbot for efficient governance and to facilitate the reforms

(Barral i Altet, 1997b, p. 134). His commitment to the Church led him to become the bishop of Vic in 1017.

Except for an abbot and a bishop, Oliba also had an important role in construction. He was present in constructions in a few different ways: firstly, through direct personal involvement (like in the churches of Santa Maria de Ripoll, the cathedral in Vic, and Sant Miquel de Cuixà); secondly, through projects sponsored by others, but in which he was also indirectly involved (Santa Maria de Montserrat and Sant Miquel de Fluvià); and finally, in churches that he dedicated (Santa Maria de Catllar, Santa Maria de la Pinya, Santa Eulàlia de Riuprimer, etc.) (Sureda i Jubany, 2018a). It is also possible that Oliba's masters worked on the construction of Sant Vicenç de Cardona or Sant Pere de Casserres ('Sant Sepulcre de La Seu d'Urgell', n.d.). Oliba's constructions are rooted in models of Late Antiquity and early medieval art; these edifices attest to Oliba's interactions with important cultural centers of his era, his journeys to Italy, and his involvement in the scriptorium of Ripoll (Camps i Sòria & Lorés i Otzet, 2005, p. 213).

In Oliba's family, trips to Rome were a tradition that started as early as 951. Oliba himself made at least two trips to Rome, one in 1011 and another in 1016. Like all the other travelers of the period, he also visited Roman basilicas and was for sure impressed by them as well as by the Pantheon's form and structure (Barral i Altet, 2009a, p. 177). His encounters with other cultures broadened his horizons and influenced his approach to architectural and artistic endeavors. Oliba's connections extended beyond the Iberian Peninsula, fostering a trans-Pyrenean atmosphere that enriched his worldview (Junyent, 1972, p. 17).

Although Oliba played a significant role in 11th-century Catalan architecture, his figure is sometimes overstated, particularly in relation to the implementation of the Early Romanesque style in the Catalan Counties. While it is true that he implemented this new

architectural language in Ripoll, Cuixà and Vic, these are, in fact, the only constructions in which his direct involvement is clearly documented. Therefore, it is not accurate to consider him as the sole figure responsible for introducing the Early Romanesque to the Catalan Counties, nor is it appropriate to speak of an "Oliban style" in architecture. Furthermore, Oliba's contemporaries, like Ermengol d'Urgell, Pere de Girona, Berenguer d'Elna, or Guislabert de Barcelona, also impulsed important projects, but their contributions have often been overshadowed by the figure of Oliba in historiography, especially after the national movements of the 19th and 20th centuries, which elevated Oliba's role (Sureda i Jubany, 2018a, pp. 58–59, 62; M.-C. Zimmermann, 2009).

In the following chapter the focus will be on constructions commissioned by Oliba, which will give us insights into the intersection between architecture, power, and religion in the first half of the 11th century. However, an important remark to keep in mind is that most of the edifices Oliba commissioned are only partly preserved, heavily reconstructed, or completely lost. Therefore, our understanding of these churches is often conditioned by later interventions, which were often accompanied by ideological motivations.

We will start this chapter with the analysis of the churches in whose construction Oliba was directly involved, after which we will also discuss the temples that he promoted and in whose construction he might have indirectly participated.

5.2.1.1. Santa Maria de Ripoll

The monastery of Santa Maria in Ripoll is a Benedictine monastery dating from the 9th century, when it was built at the initiative of the count Wilfred the Hairy and his wife, Guinedilda. In documents it is mentioned that the complex consisted of three churches: Santa Maria, Sant Pere, and Sant Joan (Carrero Santamaría, 2009, pp. 75–76). While there is no archaeological evidence of the church of Sant Joan, we know that the church of Santa Maria was used for Oliba's reconstruction of the 11th century. As well, Sant Pere was reconstructed in the 11th century, and it is a three-nave basilica with three apses, located to the northwest of the cloister of the basilica of Santa Maria.

As the monastery expanded, the original church of Santa Maria needed to be replaced in the 10th century. One of the most prominent abbots in the 10th century was Arnulf, who played a significant role in elevating the monastery's status to one of the most important medieval centers in Europe. In 951, he went to Rome and brought back various manuscripts to enrich the monastery's library. Nonetheless, the monastery reached its zenith during the pontificate of Oliba (1008–1046), who consecrated the new basilica in 1032 (*Romànic català. 2*, 2015, pp. 89–91). However, Oliba's basilica underwent different transformations over the centuries and was heavily reconstructed in the 19th century, which impedes us from fully knowing its original structure.

One of the first major transformations happened after the earthquake in 1428, in which the central nave's vault was lost and subsequently reconfigured with a Gothic vault system. At the beginning of the 19th century, the basilica was found in a deteriorating state, and an idea for its restoration surged. The restorations took off in the 1830s and were stopped a few times due to the lack of financial means. However, during this period the basilica gained the status of a "national monument" among people, which resulted even in numerous volunteers participating in restoration works.

The financial insecurity came to an end when José Morgades y Gili was appointed as the bishop of Vic. He was able to secure the financial means, and he took over the restoration of several monuments, such as Santa Maria de Ripoll, Sant Joan de les Abadesses, Santa Maria de l'Estany, and Santa Maria de Lluçà. Through his implications, the restoration of the architecture started to be closely implicated with the Catholic religion, and he undertook these works under the motto of *l'altar i la llar* (the altar and the home).

With the financial means secured, Elias Rogent worked on the restoration of the basilica from 1886 until 1893. Rogent was an architect and a restorer who was very much influenced by Viollet-le-Duc, and his main objective in restoration was to refind the original medieval form of the edifice. When he started the restoration works at Ripoll, what was left from the Romanesque structure were the exterior walls, the apses, the arches in the central nave, one tower, and a façade. However, there were also Gothic vaults and other major additions from the posterior centuries.

There are a few questions that arise regarding the credibility of Rogent's restoration; for instance, did the basilica in Ripoll originally have five apses? Which type of vaulting was originally used? Is Rogent's addition of the lantern tower justified? All in all, it could even be argued that Rogent did not restore the basilica but that he rather reconstructed it, based on the number of additions that were made. Hence, it is important to bear in mind that what we see today is a 19th-century reconstruction rather than Oliba's original 11th-century structure.

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The basilica of Santa Maria de Ripoll, as we see it today, is a spacious five-nave basilica (Fig. 14). The five naves culminate in a transept, which has seven semicircular apses: a central one and three apsidioles on each side. At the juncture of the central nave

and transept, there is a dome, which, on the exterior, takes on the form of a lantern. However, this addition was executed by Elies Rogent, who modeled it after the church of Sant Jaume de Frontanyà (‘Sant Sepulcre de La Seu d’Urgell’, n.d.) and it cannot be definitively confirmed whether the dome or lantern originally existed.

Turning our attention back to the naves, at the entrance the naves expand on both sides with two areas mirroring the dimensions of the collateral naves. These spaces serve as foundations for the two towers. Each of the five naves has distinct vaulting systems: the central nave is covered by a barrel vault, the first collateral naves have quarter-barrel vaults, while the final lateral naves are covered with barrel vaults. The naves consist of seven bays. The central nave is separated from the lateral ones by a series of piers, whereas the two lateral naves are demarcated by a combination of piers and columns. The practice of alternating piers with columns, employed by the author of the 19th-century restoration, is another element that has sparked much controversy, as this alternating pattern is not observed in any other known example of Catalan Romanesque architecture. At both sides of the transept are the tombs of Wilfred the Hairy and Ramon Berenguer III el Gran, as the Ripoll monastery served as a temple and worship place for the Catalan counts. The current façade of the church, as it stands today, was constructed in the 12th century. It is likely that the 11th-century basilica had a simple portal adorned with a semicircular arch. Additionally, there are two towers on each side, and, much like the rest of the basilica, they are decorated with Lombard blind arches (Fig. 46, fig. 47).

Although the façade with famous sculptural decoration was constructed in the 12th century, it is connected with the first half of the 11th century—a time of the greatest prosperity of the monastery, when Ripoll occupied a significant place as *ob reverentiam totius religionis et scientie*. Some of the sculptural scenes from the 12th century façade were faithfully copied from Bible miniatures calligraphed and ornamented in Ripoll after

the turn of the millennium (Rico Manrique, 1976, p. 17). Therefore, the beginning of the 11th century and its advancements continued to influence further Abbey's developments, even in the next century.

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Several symbolic interpretations have been proposed for the basilica of Santa Maria de Ripoll. For instance, the five-nave floor plan, reminiscent of St. Peter in the Vatican, has been interpreted as a reference to St. Peter as the "rock" and foundation of the Church. The same can be said about the sculptural decoration of the façade, where the sculptures of St. Peter and St. Paul are merged with columns at the entrance to the temple. Sculpted in this way, the sculptures as columns are a clear graphic translation of *you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church*. Therefore, the sculptural program on the façade is an homage to Rome's primacy (in that time, Rome was often designated as *limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli)* (Rico Manrique, 1976, pp. 18, 21). Furthermore, the number seven is abundant in the whole construction (Poch Gardella, n.d.). Along with the seven apses and seven transversal bays in the main nave, the seven altars in the transept have been associated with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the use of different altars for each day in a week with the idea of the passage of time (Sureda i Jubany, 2018b). Also, the façade features sculptural decoration organized in seven horizontal strips.

Oliba's basilica measured 40 by 60 meters, and even the 12th-century portal preserves this continuity by respecting the 2 to 3 ratio. This ratio is called *sesquialtera*, and it had a theological and cosmological value. It was considered as one of the principles present in the divine intelligence and therefore in shaping the universe. It also had a geometrical and a musical value, which all together lead to Boethius' doctrine, which was studied in the monastery of Ripoll (Rico Manrique, 1976, pp. 33–34).

While these interpretations offer valuable insights on the symbolism of the Ripoll basilica, further study of the monument is necessary, as the 19th-century reconstruction makes a full understanding of original architectural and symbolic intentions quite complicated.

5.2.1.2. The cathedral in Vic

The Cathedral of Sant Pere in Vic is another example of Oliba's patronage, in which he directly participated. Historical records indicate that by the mid-9th century, there were three churches in Vic: Sant Pere, Santa Maria, and Sant Miquel.[18] Just as in the architectural configuration in Terrassa and Seu d'Urgell, these three churches in Vic formed the episcopal complex of the city. Based on available documentation, it is supposed that the construction of Sant Pere started around the year 889, with subsequent total or partial reconstruction in 925, coinciding with a re-consecration event. However, a significant turning point happened in 1017 when Oliba became a bishop of the Vic diocese. Under his direction, the church of Sant Pere was renovated, Santa Maria was reformed, and Sant Miquel was removed.

Despite limited information regarding the specifics of the reconstruction of Sant Pere, historical records confirm its consecration on August 31, 1038. Important dignitaries, like Countess Ermesinde, her grandson Ramon Berenguer, and viscounts of Osona and Girona, were present at this event. By the date of the consecration, the church was probably finished in most parts, except for the tower, which was presumably finalized

[18] In a donation letter from 985, five churches in the Vic complex are mentioned. Along with Sant Pere, Santa Maria and Sant Miquel; Sant Joan Baptista and Sant Feliu are also mentioned. However, there is no archaeological evidence about them. Probably they were located inside the Sant Pere cathedral. The dedication of a chapel to Sant Joan Baptista can be linked to the baptistery, and Sant Feliu is probably related to the cult of martyrs (Carrero Santamaría, 2009, pp. 72–73).

around 1064 (‘Catedral de Vic’, n.d.). The tower of Vic shows similarities with the towers in Ripoll and Cuixà, and it is one of the best-preserved towers within the Catalan 11th-century architecture (Fig. 48). It includes six floors, with the final addition, which was constructed posteriorly, and it stands as an example of the technical finesse of the era. Moreover, it is unique because it is isolated from the building, while normally in most examples, the towers are united with the basilica. On the ground floor of the tower, a small apse was found; it is supposed that there was an altar, probably dedicated to St. Sepulchre (Sureda i Jubany, 2018a, p. 60).

Oliba’s cathedral of Sant Pere in Vic was a one-nave basilica of nearly 12 m in length, probably covered with a barrel vault, complemented by a wide transept and five semicircular apses, with the main one elevated above a crypt (Fig. 49).[19] The crypt has three naves, divided by six columns (Bango Torviso, 1996, p. 103). It covers not only the whole space below the presbytery but also enters one bay of the transept. While usually the crypts were constructed with a specific function in mind—funerary or martyrial—the crypt in Vic was built primarily because of the necessity to elevate the presbytery (Carrero Santamaria, 2014, p. 492).

In the second half of the 12th century, there were significant renovations in the cathedral, which included the enlargement of the crypt to the West (Barral i Altet, 1979, p. 97). However, this change was more related to the reorganization of the choir than to the crypt itself. This type of choir arrangement is referred to as an antechoir. It involves

[19] The question of the floor plan was for a long time a subject of discussions, but today it seems to be resolved, foremost thanks to the floor plans by Joseph Moretó (1780-1790), which were made before the construction of the new neoclassical temple (Adan & Soler, 1996). Later, the floor plan from 1633 was found in Archivo Municipal de Mataró (Adell & Pujades, 1995). Finally, excavations in the transept definitely confirmed this type of floor plan.

the spatial organization for the clergy inside the church, as the highest-ranking Church members were positioned in the presbytery, while lower-ranking priests had a designated space in front. This presbytery was elevated above the crypt, creating a distinct hierarchical separation (Carrero Santamaría, 2008). In this way, this elevated structure provided space for monumental sculpture and decoration, further enhancing the visual aspect of the church interior. References to the crypt persisted in historical documents until the 14th century, after which its prominence waned due to transformations in the transept and chancel.

There is not a lot of information known about the cloister; what can be confirmed is that during the 11th century, two galleries were finished, and they included piers and a cross vault and were lacking sculptural decoration. The only Romanesque construction conserved is a small room from the 11th century, from the east part of the cloister, but there is no information about the purpose it had (‘Catedral de Vic’, n.d.).

The Romanesque cathedral endured and remained in use until the end of the 18th century, when it was reconstructed. After the Civil War, it was necessary to undertake serious renovations (‘Catedral de Vic’, n.d.), therefore, the cathedral in Vic as we see it today is a completely reconstructed edifice.

The choice of a one-nave floor plan for the cathedral in Vic is particularly interesting, given that such layouts were most often connected with smaller, rural churches rather than major episcopal centers. In contrast with the simplicity of one nave, the chancel had a transept with five apses and an antechoir. A single-nave layout might have been implemented to emphasize unity and liturgical clarity, avoiding the spatial compartmentalization of large basilicas with multiple naves common in the period. However, the transept with multiple apses and an antechoir suggests a dynamic and hierarchical conception of architectural space.

As we can see, Oliba's constructions were not uniform, and in the following sections we will further see different spatial configurations of other edifices in whose construction he was involved.

5.2.1.3. Santa Maria la Rodona

The church of Santa Maria, also known as "La Rodona" (Fig. 50) for its circular layout, was probably constructed concurrently with the second consecration of the Vic cathedral. However, La Rodona is mentioned in documents as an independent church only after 952. During Oliba's reconstruction and consecration of Sant Pere in the first half of the 11th century, La Rodona also took part in the project. For reasons that are not entirely clear, both churches underwent further reconstructions in the 12th century (Subiranas, 2005).

La Rodona was again renovated throughout the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, and it was demolished at the end of the 18th century, coinciding with the beginning of the construction of the new cathedral of Sant Pere. Descriptions that have been preserved indicate that it had a circular layout, with a semicircular apse on the west, a feature not commonly found in Catalan Romanesque architecture but explicable due to its adjacency to the cathedral. Additionally, a monumental entrance was on the east, aligned with the cathedral of Sant Pere. The exterior walls were decorated with eight lesenes, mirrored by eight corresponding piers within the interior, which supported a dome with a tower ('Catedral de Vic', n.d.; Subiranas, 2009).

The arrangement of a basilica with a central church in front of it (Fig. 51) finds precedents in Early Christian monuments, and it persisted into the medieval era. Circular layout in itself has deep historical roots—from Antiquity to the Early Christian, Byzantine and Carolingian architecture to the Roman Pantheon (later a church dedicated to Santa Maria ad Martyres), which probably exerted the principal influence on Oliba's

construction. The origins of its influence can possibly be found in Oliba's political and Roman inclinations for the Catalan Church (Barral i Altet, 2004, p. 36, 2006, p. 64) and Oliba's trips to Rome, particularly the final one preceding his appointment as bishop of Vic in 1018. Other than the layout, they also share the dedication to the Marian cult.[20]

While it is not known how much Oliba's cathedral in Vic influenced other constructions of the time, La Rodona's impact is discernible. For instance, an abbot from Sant Joan de les Abadesses ordered the construction of a tower for his church in 1193, following the model of La Rodona in Vic. Furthermore, traces of La Rodona's influence are apparent in nearby rural churches, as exemplified by the church of Sant Esteve de Sallent ('Catedral de Vic', n.d.) (Fig. 75).[21]

The presence and the location of Santa Maria la Rodona in the episcopal complex in Vic suggest that its purpose extended beyond architectural experimentation. Unlike most of the other circular churches of the period, which were often independent structures, La Rodona was integrated within the episcopal complex of Vic, where it served a purpose in the liturgical program.

La Rodona certainly had a role in the stational liturgy, a practice inherited from Roman and Carolingian rites. Historical records indicate that in La Rodona, numerous processions took place, unrelated to its dedication but rather to its role as the only alternative liturgical hub within the complex. Moreover, several Marian feasts were

[20] Another example of Marian dedication in Oliba's constructions is the crypt dedicated to Mare de Déu del Pessebre in Cuixà.

[21] Among the 14 Romanesque circular churches in Catalonia, 11 have been preserved. Out of these, La Rodona is the one with the largest dimensions, with a diameter of 10.50 meters. Its only comparable counterpart is the chapel Trinitat in Cuixà (with a diameter of 9.65 meters) (Subiranas, 2005), also commissioned by Oliba. Other churches with this layout in Catalonia tend to be smaller rural chapels (Vigué, 1975).

celebrated there, which also involved the other altars in the cathedral. Some of the examples are the Christmas midnight Mass, which was celebrated at La Rodona, as well as the morning Mass of the Purification (Gros i Pujol, 1996, p. pieces 245, 295 and 497; Sureda Jubany, 2014). In addition to being the nucleus of the stational liturgy in the cathedral complex, La Rodona also served a parochial function and operated as a funerary church as well, surrounded by a cemetery (Carrero Santamaria, 2014, p. 496).

The presence of both a basilica and a circular church in the same episcopal precinct further demonstrates Oliba's innovative approach to church planning. Rather than adhering to a single architectural model, he introduced diverse spatial and functional spaces. This suggests that he was not only concerned with architectural solutions but was also actively planning the liturgical uses of the constructions. This interaction between architecture and function in La Rodona gives us an insight into Oliba's vision for ecclesiastical and liturgical organization, an aspect that will be explored further in the following examples.

5.2.1.4. Sant Miquel de Cuixà

The complex history and architectural transformations of the church of Sant Miquel de Cuixà have posed significant challenges in its interpretation (Puig i Cadafalch, 1909a, p. 174). Its origins trace back to the monastery of Sant Andreu d'Eixalada, established in 840-841, which was destroyed in an 878 flood. After this event, the monks relocated to Cuixà. Here, a new monastery was constructed in 879 around the existing church of Sant Germà. The first mention of the newly consecrated church of Sant Miquel under the governance of Count Sunifred dates to 953, where it was identified with the name of Sant Miquel i Sant Germà de Cuixà. Abbot Garí was an important figure in the monastery's history, as he closely collaborated with Cluny abbots Aimard and Maiol, and possibly he introduced Cluniac reforms. In 974, he presided over the reconsecration of

the church. Following Garí, Abbot Oliba (1008-1046) took over the monastery, maintained the Cluniac order, and reconstructed the church, respecting the previous Garí's construction (Boto Varela, 2007, p. 289).

The first half of the 12th century marked the zenith of this Benedictine monastery's prosperity, witnessed by the construction of a new cloister adorned with rich sculptural ornamentation.[22] However, the latter half of the 12th century presented a period of decline. Subsequent centuries brought significant alterations, accompanied by the division of lateral naves with chapels. The events of the French Revolution led to the monastery's nationalization, and the 19th century followed with a serious decline. A part of the cloister was transported to the USA, to The Cloister museums in New York, where it is still today.

However, the present state of the monastery predominantly reflects two key periods: the church consecrated in 974 and Oliba's efforts in the early 11th century. The 10th-century church, though subject to later modifications, manifests today as a three-nave structure with a transept, a rectangular main apse, and four small semicircular apses (Fig. 52). Oliba reconstructed the pre-Romanesque church and added two new constructions on the western side of the church: the crypt of Mare de Déu del Pessebre (Fig. 53) and the sanctuary of La Trinitat, which are superimposed.

[22] The similarity between sculptural fragments in Cuixà and the antechoir in Santa Maria de Serrabona has led some scholars to believe that in Cuixà an antechoir also existed, similar to the one that we previously mentioned in the Cathedral of Vic. However, there is no proof for its existence. It is more plausible that the Serrabona's antechoir was ordered from the same workshop that made the sculptural decoration in Cuixà during Abbot Gregorius's mandate (1137-1146). This would then show how in the 12th century the center and the big monasteries or cathedrals influenced the peripheral rural abbeys (Carrero Santamaría, 2008).

The crypt of Mare de Déu del Pessebre remains one of Oliba's best-preserved contributions, directly communicating with the lateral naves of the church. The sanctuary itself adopts a circular form and has only one column as a support in the center,[23] and it features a small semicircular apse. Oliba also added the rectangular deambulatory around the rectangular apse of the temple, which might have been inspired by the deambulatory of the church Sant Pere in Rodes. He further embellished the complex with two bell towers, one of which, though now lost, bore the Lombard decorative style. The surviving southern tower serves as a fine example of a Romanesque Lombard bell tower, fortified in the 19th century to ensure its preservation (Fig. 54).

The comprehensive account of Oliba's contributions to this monastery is chronicled in a document written by the monk Garsies around 1040. This detailed record encompasses every phase of Oliba's reconstruction efforts. According to this account, all the renovations were completed in the year 1040, culminating in the installation of a baldachin over the altar originally consecrated in 974. Regrettably, the baldachin has not survived to the present day.

Interestingly, in Sant Miquel de Cuixà we also encounter possible symbolic representations in the architecture. Firstly, after the reconsecration in 974, the Count-Bishop Miró wrote that the promoters of the edifice, along with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, constructed seven altars and gathered seven bishops for its consecration (Sureda i Jubany, 2016a). Oliba’s church from the 11th century also featured symbolic meanings: for instance, it had twelve doorways, which mirrors the twelve gates of the celestial Jerusalem described in the Book of Apocalypse. Furthermore, the placement of Santa Trinitat right above the Pessebre crypt could be strategic. The crypt, dedicated to

[23] Similar conception of a crypt is found in Sant Pere de Rodes. The oldest known example of this type of crypt is the church of St. Michael in Fulda (Bango Torviso, 1996, p. 104).

the Mare de Déu del Pessebre, references the Incarnation—Christ's birth and earthly presence—while the sanctuary above, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, symbolizes the ultimate divine reality. This spatial arrangement may have been designed to illustrate the relationship between the incarnation or humanization of God's son and the ultimate triumph of *Deus Trinus et Unus* at the culmination of time (Palazzo, 2009; 'Sant Miquel de Cuixà (Codalet)', n.d.).

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After having analyzed Oliba's constructions, in which he was involved directly and personally, in the following paragraphs we will look into another group of churches that he promoted. For example, in the church of Sant Vicenç de Cardona, he was not the main patron but was still an important figure in the project of the construction, as we will see in continuation. Moreover, he promoted the foundation of the church of Santa Maria de Montserrat and of Sant Miquel de Fluvià (Camps i Sòria & Lorés i Otzet, 2005, p. 213).

5.2.1.5. Santa Maria de Montserrat

In the preceding chapters, our focus was on the analysis of constructions directly associated with Oliba, specifically those spearheaded by the bishop abbot himself. Nonetheless, there are also a few churches that he promoted, although he was probably not directly involved in their construction. One of them is the church of Santa Maria de Montserrat.

At its beginnings, the Santa Maria monastery existed as a modest construction rooted in Visigothic tradition. Along with other churches located on the mountain of Montserrat—Sant Iscle, Sant Pere, and Sant Martí—it was under the possession of the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll. Ripoll's influence over these ecclesiastical entities was notably peripheral. Consequently, the church of Santa Cecília assumed preeminence,

and it became the primary place of worship for the local population, and therefore, it attracted the majority of donations. This relegated Santa Maria to a secondary status. Oliba undertook several overtures with the counts to rectify this situation, ultimately securing their support and effecting a revitalization of the Santa Maria monastery ('Santa Maria de Montserrat o Monestir de Montserrat', n.d.). Around 1036, a new Romanesque church, commanded by Oliba, was erected (Sánchez Márquez, 2024, p. 61).

The 1039 testament of Ingilberga de Balsareny records that she gave *ad Sancta Maria de Monte Serrad parilio I. de boves per opera*. Nevertheless, Oliba was likely the main promoter of the construction (Torralbo Salmón, 2014, p. 936). Puig i Cadafalch's archaeological investigations brought to light the remains of the Romanesque church of Santa Maria: a simple one-nave church covered with a barrel vault and with an apse. The only thing that is conserved from this church is the portal (Puig i Cadafalch, 1952, pp. 109–110). It contains sculpted capitals that depict the fall and redemption; the archivault was decorated with the cycle of the childhood of Christ, while on the tympanum, the *Maiestas Mariae* was represented, which is currently conserved at the Montserrat Museum (Sánchez Márquez, 2024, pp. 63–64). This portal probably dates from the end of the 12th century, which suggests a subsequent renovation of the 11th-century church.

By the end of the 11th century, numerous donations had been detected in the documentation, indicating the beginning of the worship cult to the Virgin Mary. However, it was in the second half of the 12th century that the pilgrimages to Montserrat started taking place. On the one hand, the pilgrims visited the sanctuary because of the Virgin Mary's miracles, and on the other hand, because the abbey was a part of the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela (Sánchez Márquez, 2024, p. 57).

A forepart was added next to the Romanesque portal, and although its construction date is not documented, it was possibly erected at the same time as the portal, that is,

during the last quarter of the 12th century (Sánchez Márquez, 2011a, p. 38). It served as a place of entrance and exit, but it also had a functional and funeral use (Sánchez Márquez, 2011b, p. 183). Possibly, the complex also included an inn to accommodate the growing number of pilgrims (Sánchez Márquez, 2024).

5.2.1.6. Sant Miquel de Fluvià

In 1011, during abbot Oliba's mandate, the monastery of Cuixà, owner of the land and an earlier church on the site, decided to establish an abbey in Fluvià. The monastery was founded, and the territory consecrated on 26th July of 1045, an act at which Oliba was present. While there is no written documentation that informs of Oliba's involvement in the construction of this church, his presence at the consecration of the territory suggests that he may have played a role, at least, in the initiation of the project. However, the monastery's history remains generally unknown since its archival records have been completely lost. The monastic basilica was completed and consecrated in 1066, and it received notable donations from the counts of Empúries, as well as Ermesinde and Ramon Berenguer ('Sant Miquel de Fluvià', n.d.). During the following centuries, the monastery complex was affected by different war conflicts that altered the building's physiognomy between the 14th and 15th centuries and which contributed to its current appearance as a 'fortification.' What's left from the old monastery is the church along with the bell tower, the perimeters of the cloister, and a part of the monastic dependencies (Camps i Sòria, 2024).

Although Sant Miquel de Fluvià often receives less scholarly attention than other 11th-century monastic churches, it is a significant achievement in Catalan Early Romanesque architecture. The basilical floor plan consists of three naves divided by piers, which support semicircular arcades, and a transept with three semicircular apses (Fig. 71). The main nave and transept are covered with a barrel vault, while the lateral naves feature quadrant vaults. A distinguishing feature of the complex is an independent bell tower, separate from the church. It was constructed posteriorly in the 12th century, and it is adorned with Lombard decoration. This ornamental decoration is also found on the exterior walls of the apses (Fig. 56). Regarding the façade, the original Romanesque

design remains unknown, as the present façade is a reconstruction from 1532 (Fig. 55) (Tremoleda, 2016, p. 59).

The floor plan of Sant Miquel de Fluvià closely parallels that of other 11th-century basilicas in Empordà, such as Santa Maria de Roses, Santa Maria de Vilabertran, or Sant Quirc de Colera (Ferrer Welsh & Tremoleda, 2012, p. 150). Nevertheless, the Sant Miquel church distinguishes itself through specific ornamental decoration. The sculpture is present on all the imposts and capitals of the church: both on the exterior of three windows of the apse and on the arches of the niches inside the same structure, as well as on the piers of the transept and the naves. The main apse is particularly interesting, with its blind Lombard arches adorned with figural sculptural decorations in the form of heads between each arch. Additionally, the apse windows are flanked by columns with sculpted capitals, an uncommon practice in Catalan Early Romanesque churches (Fig. 57, 58).

In general, the architectural landscape of Empordà and Rosselló in the 11th century includes a set of different artistic influences, setting them apart from other Catalan regions, and Sant Miquel de Fluvià is a good example of this. While Carolingian construction techniques left an enduring mark on local pre-Romanesque structures, increasing contact with Rome at the end of the 10th century introduced Italian influences, especially of a classical nature. In the early 11th century, the emergence of Lombard decorative elements—notably rhythmic blind arches and lesenes—became an important characteristic. However, in Empordà and Rosselló, these Lombard elements were adapted in distinct ways, still holding on to the robust execution, a tradition that remained from the earlier local construction techniques.

Sant Miquel de Fluvià stands as an example of the fusion of different architectural traditions, from pre-Romanesque to emerging architectural expressions of the 11th century. While it is uncertain whether Abbot Oliba was directly involved in the church's

construction or to what extent, Sant Miquel de Fluvià represents a specific case within 11th-century Catalan architecture. Its synthesis of earlier local traditions with the novel architectural idiom, along with its uncommon use of figural sculptural ornamentation, set it apart from other contemporary monastic churches of the period. These features, along with its connections to Cuixà and the Counts of Empúries, highlight Sant Miquel de Fluvià's significance within the Catalan 11th-century Early Romanesque construction.

5.2.1.7. Sant Vicenç de Cardona

The church of Sant Vicenç de Cardona, the chapel of the castle of this village, is often taken as an emblematic symbol of the Catalan "First Romanesque." It was founded in the 980s, but the construction of the new church was commanded by the viscount Bremon in the early 11th century. The restoration and submission of other churches to Sant Vicenç was done as a result of Oliba's advice. The new church was consecrated in 1040, and Oliba was present at this important event.

Over the centuries, the church went through continuous decline, especially during the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. In the 18th century, both the church and the castle were repurposed for military use, while the priests were transferred to Sant Miquel, the parish church of the village. Sant Vicenç went through severe transformations during this period, as well as in the 20th century, when restorer Alejandro Ferrant Vázquez carried out interventions on the construction. These interventions aimed to restore the medieval appearance of the church by removing later additions and reconstructing lost or severely altered elements (García Cuetos, 2015, p. 38).

Sant Vicenç de Cardona is a three-nave basilica with a transept. Above the transept, a lantern tower holds a dome on squinches. The central nave is notably wide, while the lateral two naves are significantly narrower, divided by monumental piers with a complicated cruciform plan. The main nave and transept are covered by barrel vaults,

while the lateral naves feature cross vaults. The church also has a porticoed atrium on the west side, with a tribune above, which served as an elevated space for the castle's inhabitants. The main entrance to the church was organized in the atrium, but there were also two smaller doors on the north and south sides ('Sant Vicenç de Cardona', n.d.) (Fig. 16, 67, 68, 69). In the sanctuary, there are three semicircular apses. The central apse, which is the largest, contains interior niches. Both the central apse and the chancel are elevated due to the position of a crypt beneath them, which was likely inspired by the crypt of the Cathedral in Vic (Fig. 70) (Duran-Porta, 2014, p. 837). As a result, the sanctuary is accessible via two staircases.

However, when analyzing the floor plan of this "symbol" of the Catalan 11th-century architecture, it is important to consider that the church underwent several changes due to restoration work. Notably, Ferrant Vázquez's restoration of the lantern tower replaced the original structure. The new lantern tower features windows on all sides except the west, where the window is significantly under the vaulting of the central nave and is only visible from the interior. This suggests that the height of the main nave was altered and raised, indicating that the upper section of the church was not completed in 1040. Therefore, the original nave was lower, which aligns more with the architectural forms of Catalan churches from this period. This interruption in construction may also explain why towers were never built on the façade and why the decorative program remained incomplete—without the characteristic lesenes and blind arches (Duran-Porta, 2014, p. 838). However, these decorative elements are present on apses, transepts, and lateral walls (Fig. 59).

Although Sant Vicenç de Cardona is often regarded as the most significant architectural example of Catalan 11th-century architecture, its architectural solutions are not particularly unusual. Instead, its distinctiveness lies in its isolation from dominant

influences of the time and its limited repercussion on other constructions. Its architectural influence on other churches is primarily seen in isolated elements, such as the crypt, later reproduced in Sant Esteve d'Olius and Sant Celoni i Sant Ermenter de Cellers (Duran-Porta, 2014, p. 838).

On the other hand, the question of which buildings or architectural traditions influenced Sant Vicenç de Cardona has long been debated. The church is frequently linked to Lombard architecture, particularly to San Peragorio de Noli, due to shared elements like clustered pilasters, niches, and a crypt. Another church sometimes associated with Sant Vicenç is San Fruttuoso di Capodimonte (Fernie, 2000, p. 247). Fernie (2000) also proposed that the lantern tower might have been inspired by more distant examples of Byzantine architecture in Constantinople, particularly structures like Le Bodrum Camii Fenari and Isa Camii. Yet, this argument overlooks the fact that the lantern tower was reconstructed by Ferrant, making such distant influences highly improbable. The floor plan and the volumetric design of Sant Vicenç are closer to the Germanic imperial architecture, following a Carolingian heritage. Some elements suggesting this connection are the building's monumentality, its massive piers, the chancel with a square floor plan in front of the main apse, and the presence of a transept.

While it is known that the church of Sant Vicenç was built after Oliba's advice to Bermon, his specific influence on the church's architectural forms and construction is unclear. The consecration and donation letter provide no direct information about the architectural decisions made during the construction. However, it is evident that Oliba was present from the inception of the new church until its consecration. It is therefore possible that along with the initial advice on its construction, he may have had some influence on its architectural development.

All of this, nevertheless, remains hypothetical. Sant Vicenç was constructed during the period that we could call the golden age of the Catalan 11th-century architecture, when other major Oliba's constructions were underway. As we have seen, Oliba's architectural designs varied depending on factors such as location, prior structures, or functional and liturgical needs of each site. Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether some vestiges of his architectural ideas are present in Sant Vicenç de Cardona. Nevertheless, the floor plan and monumental character of this church resemble Sant Miquel de Fluvià, another church in whose construction Oliba might have participated, further suggesting potential links in their architectural development.

5.2.2. Bishop Ermengol

Ermengol was another significant figure in the Catalan 11th century. While he is not as extensively discussed in the bibliography as his contemporary Oliba, he still has a significant role in the political and artistic context. Just like Oliba, he was also from a comtal family but chose a life dedicated to the Church. Ermengol actively supported construction projects, advocated for ideas of the ecclesiastical reform, and sought to separate comtal authority from the Church.

Ermengol was born into the influential viscomtal family of Conflent, which had ties with Seu d'Urgell. The preceding bishop of Urgell, Salla, strategically ensured succession for his nephew Ermengol. Ermengol held the position of bishop of Urgell from 1010 to 1035. By the time of his passing, he had already gained a reputation as a saint among the citizens (Bowman, 2002, p. 2). Posthumously, this reverence for Ermengol only intensified, with the faithful establishing an altar in his honor by 1092 (Delcor, 1989, pp. 169, 174). He probably died while overseeing the construction work at the bridge of Bar. However, his biographer in his *Vita* stated that he died while building the bridge

himself.[24] The biographer likely made up the story about Ermengol's death at the bridge of Bar, but nevertheless, this falsification depicts in a way the importance and the role that the bishop must have had (Bowman, 2002).

Historical documents, including Ermengol's testament and his *Vita*, validate his involvement in various construction projects, such as roads and bridges connecting Seu d'Urgell to Cerdanya and other counties (Marqués i Sala, 2011). He also started work on the reconstruction of the cathedral complex in Urgell in 1010; however, the structure underwent replacement in the 12th century. While Ermengol's organizational skills were praised, the collapse of the bridge in Bar and the deteriorating state of the Urgell cathedral within only fifty years of its completion prompted questions. Because of this, some scholars believe that his architectural projects were not of great quality (Bowman, 2002). On the other hand, Junyent (1976, p. 74) believed that the bad state in which the church was found at the beginning of the 12th century was due to the fact that Ermengol's construction was similar to what Oliba did in Sant Miquel de Cuixà. That is, Ermengol probably only reconstructed the chevet and added the apses, while the naves were left from the previous structure. This would explain why these old naves were found in a bad state only 50 years after Ermengol's renovation.

Whatever the case, Ermengol's enduring legacy is characterized by his role as a "builder of churches, eager to expand the see's markets, vigilant and shrewd in defending the see's rights, committed to reclaiming and rechristianizing Muslim territory" (Bowman, 2002, p. 8). His efforts also extended to liberating the Urgell Church from the persistent control of the counts. He accomplished this through a falsification of a 9th-century consecration document, asserting the cathedral's direct ownership by the church of Santa Maria itself, rather than the counts (Vergés Pons, 2018).

[24] "Coepit ipse manibus propriis operando pontem construere" ('Vita S. Ermengaudi', p. 84, col. 1, par. 4).

Ermengol emerged as a key figure in the political and artistic 11th-century Catalan world, aligning him with figures like Oliba. Documents suggest that Ermengol also traveled twice to Italy, and the voyage in 1011 was in the company of Oliba. Ermengol's connections, however, extended beyond Oliba, encompassing another significant figure of the era, also a subject of our chapter, that is, the countess Ermesinde (Vergés Pons, 2018, p. 23).

Bishop Ermengol's contributions to 11th-century Catalonia were numerous, from his ecclesiastical duties to his significant influence in construction projects and political resistance. His legacy remains through his impact on the Urgell region and his role in shaping the socio-political landscape of the time. In the following pages, his work on the reconstruction of the Urgell's cathedral complex will be analyzed.

5.2.2.1. La Seu d'Urgell

The complex of La Seu d'Urgell has a complicated building history (Fig. 60). This construction process consisted of three phases. First, the constructions undertaken in the 9th century are denominated as Urgell I. Later, Ermengol's renovation of the complex in the first half of the 11th century is known as Urgell II. Lastly, in the 12th century, the cathedral was reconstructed, and the uses of other anterior edifices were redefined (Carrero Santamaría, 2010, p. 252).

Ermengol started his renovation of the complex at La Seu d'Urgell in 1010. He undertook the renovation of the cathedral dedicated to Santa Maria, but unfortunately Ermengol's project is unknown due to its complete renovation done by Saint Ot of Urgell at the beginning of the 12th century. Moreover, Ermengol had completely rebuilt the anterior church of Sant Miquel, which was unfortunately demolished in the 15th century, and in its place the church of Sant Domènec was constructed ('Santa Maria de La Seu d'Urgell', n.d.). The only structure of the cathedral's complex that is conserved from

Ermengol's time is the church originally known as Sant Pere but today referred to as Sant Miquel. The cathedral complex, moreover, included the churches of Santa Eulàlia and Sant Sepulcre.

It seems that all these churches functioned as an interconnected complex, linked by liturgical routes to the main church of Santa Maria. Additionally, their dedications are all linked to important European places of pilgrimage (St. Peter in Rome, Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Santa Eulalia in Barcelona, and St. Michael at Monte Gargano). In this way, Ermengol's project was similar to what Oliba was doing in his projects: the construction was undertaken in a symbolical way—the complex of La Seu d'Urgell functioned as a small *mappa mundi* of significant pilgrimage sites (Carrero Santamaría, 2018).

After Ermengol's death in 1035, his successor, Eriball, continued with the work on the reconstruction of the cathedral complex (*Romànic català. 2*, 2015, p. 12).

5.2.2.1.1. The Santa Maria de la Seu d'Urgell

Focusing on the cathedral of Santa Maria, it was finally consecrated in 1040, five years after Ermengol's death. However, the works continued until much later—for example, works on the Occidental structure of the edifice were documented as late as in 1084. Since the cathedral was again renovated in the 12th century, it is possible that Ermengol only reconstructed the cathedral's chevet, while he left the naves from the anterior structure, which was then, logically, in poor state by the start of the next century (Junyent, 1976, p. 74).

Through a ground-penetrating radar survey at the cathedral, it was possible to reconstruct the floor plan of the church consecrated in 1040. It was a three-nave basilica,

with the central nave significantly wider than the lateral ones and a developed transept, from which multiple apses, possibly five, could have been opened (Boto Varela, 2023).[25]

In the documents of the 11th century, various altars in the cathedral were mentioned. They had a role in legal affairs, like signing documents, opening testimonies, etc. This tradition was known throughout Europe in late antiquity (Angendt, 2002), but usually only one altar had legal purposes. Interestingly, in Urgell, there were at least ten altars that had this role (Carrero Santamaría, 2010, p. 257).

5.2.2.1.2. Sant Miquel

The only structure of the cathedral's complex that is conserved from Ermengol's time is the church originally known as Sant Pere but today known under the name of Sant Miquel (Fig. 61). However, it must be approached with caution, as it went through significant transformations and reconstructions between 1966 and 1977, when the southern façade was removed, the vaulting was modified, and the decoration on the apses was reconstructed (López Collado, 1976, pp. 206–207).

Sant Miquel is situated on the northern section of the complex, adjacent to the cathedral and the cloister. It is a single-nave structure with a transept from which three semicircular apses extend. It has two entrances: the main door on the south and one on the north, which possibly communicated with the cathedral in the 11th century. The bell tower was constructed much later than the church ('Sant Miquel de La Seu d'Urgell', n.d.).

[25] For a long time, there was no information about the 11th-century cathedral's original floor plan. One of the possibilities was that it even had a triconch plan, like the church of Sant Serni de Tavèrnoles, which would be a somewhat strange solution for a cathedral but would also be an exceptional case in the scope of Catalan architecture (Duran-Porta, 2024).

The interior of the church is quite plain and without sculptural decoration. The nave is covered with a wooden roof, supported by three-pointed diaphragm arches, probably a result of a Gothic renovation. However, before the 20th-century reconstructions, the church was covered with a barrel vault, probably the work of a later renovation, which concealed the Gothic ceiling (Puig i Cadafalch et al., 1918).

Conversely, as is common in most parts of the Catalan 11th-century churches, the exterior of the church features geometric repetitive designs in the form of Lombard blind arches and lesenes. The nave and the transept do not have any ornamentation, while the apses have decorative elements. The central apse displays symmetrical forms of a pair of arches and a lesene, while the two apsidioles have a series of three blind arches separated by a lesene. Nevertheless, as it stands as the sole structure preserved from Ermengol's renovations, it provides a valuable insight into what his construction efforts may have entailed. What is certain is that Ermengol, much like Oliba, drew inspiration from the newly introduced features of Romanesque architecture, as evidenced by the simple interior and the geometric Lombard decoration on the church walls.

5.2.3. Countess Ermesinde

Female patrons played a significant role in the formation of Catalan Romanesque art, with some of the most famous and important figures being Ermesinde of Carcassonne, Guisla de Lluçà, and Guisla of Cerdanya (Castiñeiras, 2018). In this chapter, Ermeside's relation with the 11th-century architecture is going to be analyzed. Ermesinde of Carcassonne (ca. 972-1058) held the title of countess of Barcelona, Girona, and Osona. She came from a comtal family; her father was Count Roger, and her mother was the Countess Adelaide of Carcassonne. She married Ramon Borrell, count of Barcelona, in 991. Over a span of three decades, the comtal couple engaged in a wide array of political, social, legal, artistic, and patronage matters. Following Ramon Borrell's death in 1017,

Ermesinde assumed governance of the county during her son Berenguer Ramon I's minority. Even after he reached majority, she continued to have influence in the ruling of the County, as was her husband's wish. Subsequently, after Berenguer Ramon I's demise, Ermesinde again took over the rule during her grandson Ramon Berenguer I's minority. Remarkably, she was very active across a diverse range of contexts. From the earliest record of her name in a document that dates from 991 (which references her donation to the Montserrat monastery) to her testament, she appears in 186 transactions spanning over 70 years (Bowman, 2002, p. 56).

Of particular interest in this study is Ermesinde's role in the ecclesiastical and artistic domain, where she stood as a prominent patron. Notably, she made substantial donations to the cathedrals of Barcelona, Vic, Girona, and Seu d'Urgell, as well as to both major and minor monasteries in the region. These included Sant Cugat del Vallès, Sant Daniel de Girona, Santa Cecília de Montserrat, Sant Feliu de Guíxols, and Sant Pere de les Puelles (Bowman, 2014, p. 56). She also donated to other churches outside the territory of Catalan Counties, such as the church of Saint-Paul-Serge in Narbonne, Saint-Gilles de Gard, Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, and Saint Peter in Rome (Camps i Sòria & Lorés i Otzet, 2005, p. 215). Moreover, Ermesinde not only acted as a patron but also played an integral part in the spiritual, political, and economic spheres of the institutions she supported.

Ermesinde's presence was most keenly felt in the cathedral of Girona. In the consecration act of the church, Ermesinde, Ramon Borrell, and Pere Roger are recognized as "true founders of this church and its staunch defenders at present"[26]. She undertook significant enhancements in the canonical house, orchestrated a complete renovation of the cathedral, and ordered a golden antependium. This dedication extended even to her

[26] "Verdaderos fundadores de esa iglesia y sus acérrimos defensores en el presente" (Martí, 1997, p. 224).

final testament, where she allocated funds for the continued support of this church and its community (Abenza Soria, 2020, p. 7). In the end, Ermesinde expressed her wish to be buried in the Girona cathedral (Bofarull, 1836, p. 53).

5.2.3.1. The Romanesque Cathedral in Girona

The cathedral of Santa Maria in Girona today stands as a Gothic church with a Baroque façade and with additions from the 20th century (Fig. 62). However, the initial cathedral was located at the same place and was probably established during the consolidation of the Girona diocese, but there is a lack of archaeological evidence to substantiate this claim. What can be affirmed is that the church definitely existed during the Visigothic era, as there is documented knowledge of its bishops and their successions dating back to the year 516 (‘La Catedral de Girona’, n.d.).

The first church for which there is historical and archaeological documentation is a Romanesque edifice from the early 11th century. Interestingly, the archaeological surveys have revealed that the form of the Romanesque edifice has been established by the use of the Roman substructures (probably from the 1st century AD) (Sureda Jubany, 2024). The first recorded reference to this church dates to the year 1015, when Bishop Pere Roger of Girona sold the church's holdings of Sant Daniel de Girona to his sister and her spouse, the counts of Barcelona, Ermesinde and Ramon Borrell. This transaction was carried out with the intention of obtaining the necessary funds for the restoration of the cathedral (‘La Catedral de Girona’, n.d.).

The former temple, likely a pre-Romanesque structure with a wooden roof (‘La Catedral de Girona’, n.d.), had deteriorated to such an extent that contemporary documents report that Mass could not be conducted during rainy days. During the consecration of the new cathedral on 21st September of 1038, noteworthy figures in attendance included Countess Ermesinde, the metropolitan of Narbonne, Wilfred, as well

as bishop Oliba, among others (D. J. Bassegoda, 1889, p. 20). The presence of these significant figures underscores the significance and prominence of this new Romanesque cathedral.

Despite the consecration of the cathedral in 1038, historical records indicate that construction efforts persisted well into the 11th century and beyond (Español, 2005, p. 213). The Romanesque cathedral remained in active use until 1312, when it was replaced by the newly erected Gothic structure. Some remnants of the Romanesque church endure and cohabit with the new Gothic cathedral, including the bell tower, a section of the cloister, and certain canonical rooms.

The Romanesque bell tower (Fig. 63), often referred to as Charlemagne's tower, exhibits typical features seen in other Catalan towers built in the early 11th century. It has a square floor plan and is divided into seven floors. The first two floors lack windows, yet they are divided by blind arches, a pattern that continues on upper levels where modest windows punctuate the robust walls. Charlemagne's tower was repurposed as a buttress for the new Gothic cathedral and continues to serve this function to the present day.

The cloister represents another section of the cathedral that has been preserved since the first half of the 11th century. It stands out as one of the largest cloisters in Catalan Romanesque architecture, with its longest side measuring 32 meters (D. J. Bassegoda, 1889, p. 21). Its floor plan is distinctive, taking on an irregular trapezoidal shape. This typology was necessary because of the constraints posed by the city's defensive walls (*Romànic català. 3*, 2015, p. 13). A few features from the 11th century still exist in the cloister, such as the four windows in the east and south wings. According to Villanueva (1821, p. 168) the construction of the cloister in Girona commenced around 1019, along with the adjoining canonical rooms, after having drawn inspiration from Barcelona’s cathedral, where the canonical life was restored. These 11th-century

cloisters, both in Girona and in Barcelona, were, it seems, closed spaces surrounded by stone walls, and they included common spaces inside, such as refectories, intended for the community life of the clergymen (Carrero Santamaría, 2004, p. 205).

Alongside the construction of the new Romanesque cathedral, the canonical residence, which had its origins in the 9th century, underwent a process of renovation. In a donation document from 1019, it is stipulated that Bishop Pere Roger, Countess Ermesinde, and her son Berenguer Ramon, along with five other bishops, seven abbots, and various assistants, initiated its construction ('La Catedral de Girona', n.d.). The east and north wings of the canonical residence are preserved as structures contemporaneous with the cloister. The east wing likely served as the former dormitory, featuring a barrel vault ceiling. Subsequently, it was repurposed as a chapel within the cathedral. The north wing encompasses a spacious chamber also covered by a barrel vault. Nonetheless, a thorough analysis of these segments of the canonical residence is challenging because of the subsequent renovations in the posterior centuries and the adaptation that was done for museum purposes ('La Catedral de Girona', n.d.).

According to archaeological findings, the Romanesque church had a width of 15 meters; therefore, it was smaller than the actual cathedral (*Romànic català. 3*, 2015, p. 9). The 11th-century cathedral was a one-nave basilica, probably with a transept. (Freixas i Camps, 2000) and one semicircular apse (Fig. 64). According to M. Sureda i Jubany (2004), the original Romanesque single nave was replaced by a three-nave Gothic layout due to the increasing number of altars being endowed to the church. This transition was facilitated by generous donations, enabling the construction of a new and larger cathedral. Additionally, historical documents suggest that the original Romanesque presbytery was replaced because it lacked the capacity to accommodate the growing number of faithful (Español, 2005, p. 213). Initially, only the old chevet was substituted with a new Gothic

one, inclusive of a deambulatory and nine chapels. The new chevet could accommodate ten to fifteen altars, whereas the old Romanesque one had a maximum capacity of eight altars. Only later was the old Romanesque nave gradually phased out and replaced by the new Gothic structure for similar reasons. The single-nave Romanesque design proved limiting for the addition of new altars, prompting its replacement with the three-nave Gothic configuration (Sureda i Jubany, 2004, p. 676).

The cathedrals in Girona and Vic share several significant characteristics in common: they both had a single nave of similar dimensions that opened to a transept. Moreover, they were built at a similar pace: the work at Girona probably started around 1010, while in Vic it couldn't have started before Oliba was appointed bishop in 1018. Both cathedrals were dedicated in 1038: the one in Vic on 31st August and the cathedral in Girona on 21st September. They also shared liturgical design, as they were both designed to include seven altars. These similarities can possibly be attributed to Oliba's social network. It is possible that he participated in some way in the design of the cathedral in Girona, as he for a long time had connections with Countess Ermesinde and her brother, Bishop Pere Roger. Moreover, both of his trips to Rome coincide with the starting dates of these two projects (Sureda i Jubany, 2016b).

5.2.4. On other important projects and continuity of patronage

Cathedrals were the most significant edifices when it came to the architectural implementation of the new style in the 11th century. That is why it is of utmost importance that we can, to a certain degree, analyze the Early Romanesque structures in Girona, Vic or Urgell. Nevertheless, before concluding this chapter, we will briefly mention two other cathedral projects: that of the cathedral in Barcelona and that in Elna.

In Barcelona, there was originally a Early Christian church on this site, which was later succeeded by a Visigothic structure. The Early Romanesque construction was started

by bishop Eaci, who initiated the restoration of the episcopal residence in 1009 and likely began the reconstruction of the old cathedral. His successors, bishops Deusdedit and Gusilabert, continued the work and consecrated the new cathedral on November 9th of 1058 (Dalmases et al., 1986, p. 80). It is supposed that the cathedral had a rich sculptural decoration, rare for the Catalan "First Romanesque." Unfortunately, there is almost nothing left from the 11th-century edifice, and moreover, there is very little documentation concerning this construction. The Early Romanesque cathedral was in use until the end of the 13th century, when it was replaced by the current Gothic cathedral.

Another significant 11th-century cathedral is that of St. Eulalia d'Elna. The history of the diocese of Elna reaches back to the Visigothic time. In the 9th century the old edifice was in ruins, so it was restored and reconsecrated in 917. However, this early church was replaced in the 1030s by a larger and more refined building. It seems that the initiator of the work was the bishop Berenguer (1031-1053), Oliba's brother, with support from the aristocracy, among whom there was Ermesinde, who donated 150 gold mancus coins for the finalization of the work on the new cathedral. The cathedral consisted of three naves covered with barrel vaults, divided by massive, monumental piers, and it had a chevet with three semicircular apses. The entrance was managed through a monumental façade, flanked by two towers, somehow reminiscent of Santa Maria de Ripoll. Next to the cathedral, there was a cloister. From the outside, the edifice appears quite monumental and rustic. Lombard blind arches adorn the façade and the apses, while a sculptural group above the portal depicts Christ surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists. Unlike in other Catalan churches of the period, figurative sculpture was relatively common in Rosselló (Whitehill, 1973, p. 33).

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The patronage is not something that was limited only to the 11th century. It was rather a concept that continued into the following centuries as well. Even though this dissertation is limited to the span of the first century after the turn of the millennium, here we will shortly address another important patron for the Catalan Romanesque art and architecture: Sant Ramon de Roda, who marked the beginning of the 12th century.

Ramon Guillem was born in Durban, in the area that today belongs to southern France. His story is, in a way, a continuation of Oliba's or Ermengol's heritage. His family also had other plans for him, as they pushed him towards a military career, but he decided to become a priest. Ramon Guillem became a canon of Saint-Sernin de Toulouse and later a bishop of Roda-Barbastre.

During his pontificate, he, just like other ecclesiastical patrons that we talked about, formed close connections with statal authorities. For instance, he was a confessor of the king of Aragon, and was also very close to the Erill family, who had possessions all over the Vall de Boí, Llevata, Sas, and Barravés. The Erills had participated in battles of the reconquest alongside the king, Alfonso I, and therefore, obtained significant benefits, including the money, from which they were able to finance the construction and decoration of many churches in their territory. Besides the benefits provided by the king, the close contact with the bishop Ramon was for sure another important impulse for the Erill family to promote new churches.

Bishop Ramon had contacts with significant artists of the time as well. His Occitan provenance, as well as his travels to the territories of today's France and Italy, helped him in achieving this (*Contexto histórico - Centre del Romànic de la Vall de Boí*, 2022). During his mandate as the bishop of Roda-Barbastre, he consecrated a great number of churches, such as Sant Climent and Santa Maria de Taüll, Sant Lliser al Coserans, etc.

Moreover, during this time, the reconstruction work on the Romanesque cathedral in Roda was started. The frescoes in the cloister of the cathedral in Roda stylistically remind us of the ones done by the Master of Santa Maria de Taüll (Vall Rimblas, 1984, p. 217), a fact that leads us to think that Ramon de Roda might have hired the same artist in both churches.

Bishop Ramon also consecrated Romanesque altars. For example, in 1113, he consecrated the altar dedicated to St. John the Baptist in the church in Alquézar (Buesa Conde, 2017), which marked the introduction of the most innovative Romanesque art of the moment. Ramon de Roda died in Huesca in 1126. His body lies in the sarcophagus located in the crypt of the cathedral of Roda, and it represents one of the most precious monuments in this temple. The sculpture on the sarcophagus includes the scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary and Jesus, from the Annunciation until the Adoration. On the left side of the sarcophagus, a bishop is represented among two deacons. Even his sarcophagus is a significant work of art, just like the ones he promoted and consecrated during his life. In his example, we see that the art promotion and the connections between the ecclesiastical and state authorities were not only a thing of the 11th century, but they were rather a practice that continued into the next centuries.

5.2.5. Conclusions

Similarly to what was observed in the patronage of churches within the Kingdom of Croatia, the principal patrons of Catalan Counties were also deeply interconnected in the social, political, and artistic spheres. The relationship between the church and the counts, while complex and at times conflicted, saw significant involvement and patronage from both parties. The act of donation to the church and participation in religious ceremonies became symbols of power for the Catalan counts, reinforcing the intertwining of secular and ecclesiastical authority. Bowman (2014, p. 62) explains that “aristocratic

men and women did more than just give generously. They assumed active roles in the management of the institutions they supported." The fact that the three most significant figures in the patronage of the new Romanesque style in architecture were present together at the consecrations of new churches suggests the possibility that they collaborated and shared ideas and thoughts on the planning of these structures.

The constructions that these patrons commissioned were of different floor plans (basilicas with different dispositions and central churches) and were often connected with the liturgy and veneration of saints. The cathedrals from the 11th century on tend to be much more complex, grouping more dedications and multiple altars into a unique building (Boto Varela & Sureda i Jubany, 2013, p. 89). This underscores the complexity of the architectural landscape in early 11th-century Catalonia, diverging from Puig i Cadafalch's characterization of "First Romanesque," as it seems that including this whole picture under one single term can lead to simplification. Ripoll, Girona, and Vic were important cultural centers of this time, and they offered a wide array of knowledge stored in their libraries (Castiñeiras, 2008; Junyent & Vich, 1992, pp. 343–355, 409). Along with these numerous written sources, patrons of the 11th-century Catalan architecture got to know about various architectural styles from Late Antiquity to the Ottonian period and territories such as Italy or France through their travels and pilgrimages. All of this notably influenced their church designs.

The close collaboration between church and state leaders defined the construction and expansion of monastic institutions during this period. Bishops were often advisors for the rulers; they motivated them to donate and build churches, they collaborated in different matters, and in general, they were closely connected. A notable parallel between Croatian and Catalan patronage is the consistent support for Benedictine monasteries. Throughout 11th-century Europe, these monasteries facilitated communication among

monastic communities and with Rome, fostering both artistic and intellectual exchange. Their scriptoriums and libraries became centers of knowledge dissemination, reinforcing the idea that architectural developments were not isolated but part of a broader European network of cultural and religious interaction.

Given this dynamic environment—where influential and educated leaders traveled, hosted papal legates, and wielded the financial power to construct monumental churches and monasteries—it is not surprising that artistic forms and ideas were actively exchanged. The so-called "Renaissance" of 11th-century architecture can thus be understood as a product of these interconnected relationships rather than a singularly ideological movement.

Furthermore, most of the sites that we discussed in this chapter were complexes consisting of multiple churches. For instance, in Santa Maria de Ripoll, three churches are mentioned as part of the pre-Romanesque complex; however, today only two structures remain from the 11th century: Oliba's basilica of Santa Maria and the church of Sant Pere. In Vic, the cathedral of Sant Pere was built as a monumental basilica with a circular church of Santa Maria la Rodona in front—resembling in disposition another of Oliba's projects in Sant Miquel de Cuixà, where the basilica is aligned with the chapel of Trinitat. Additionally, in Ermengol's Seu d'Urgell, the complex consisted of five churches. Finally, in Girona, there is also mention of the dedication to Sant Miquel inside the cathedral of Santa Maria (Carrero Santamaría, 2009, p. 74).

The dedications of these churches are all linked to important European places of pilgrimage (St. Peter in Rome, Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Santa Eulalia in Barcelona, Sant Michael at Monte Gargano) as well as to the Marian cult. Therefore, it seems plausible that the construction was undertaken with symbolic intent—the church complexes functioned as a kind of small-scale *mappa mundi* of major pilgrimage sites

(Carrero Santamaría, 2018). In this way, the churches within each complex served liturgical purposes while also allowing the faithful to somehow "visit" and experience the most important pilgrimage sites of the world, but within a single ecclesiastical setting.

To conclude, the architectural landscape of the 11th-century Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties was shaped by multiple factors: social, political, and religious. The primary catalysts for architectural innovation were the social networks created between the patrons, bishops, and civil leaders, through which the transmission of artistic and architectural ideas took place. This exchange showcases the broader European character of both Croatian and Catalan Early Romanesque architectures, and it situates them within a larger framework of medieval cultural and artistic interaction.

6. Exterior influences on the art of the European periphery

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, three main themes will be in focus. Initially, we will talk about the conceptualization of the term "periphery" within the context of medieval art and architecture and whether it is possible to characterize the 11th-century Croatian and Catalan architecture as "peripheral" due to their geographic location. This discourse will continue with the examination of influences that reached these two Mediterranean territories and their resultant impact on the formation of Early Romanesque architecture. In the Kingdom of Croatia, we will talk about Early Christian, Italian, local pre-Romanesque, Carolingian, and Byzantine traditions. Similarly, vestiges of Early Christian, Roman, Lombard, Carolingian, Visigothic, and Mozarab influences in the Catalan Counties will be contextualized. By the end of the chapter, we will direct our attention towards an examination of Puig i Cadafalch's term "First Romanesque." We will see whether such a categorization can adequately describe the multifaceted elements characteristic of 11th-century European architecture in its entirety.

6.2. Periphery

The Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties were, and still are, geographically on the peripheral locations of the Mediterranean Basin. However, despite their peripheral geographical location, they both actively participated in the creation of Romanesque architecture, integrating and transforming influences rather than passively receiving them.

To introduce this discussion, we will utilize the work of the Croatian art historian Ljubo Karaman. He mentioned the subject of the artistic periphery for the first time in his book *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti: Historijsko-umjetničke crtice o starohrvatskim*

spomenicima (1930), which was a response to the book *Forschungen zur Entwicklung der altkroatischen Kunst* by Joseg Strzygowski (1926). While Strzygowski claimed that the Croatian pre-Romanesque art has Barbarian origins, Karaman believed that this art is a result of the geographical situation of Dalmatia, where, through centuries, different cultures interlaced. On the other hand, Milan Prelog (1966) rejected this concept from Karaman's thesis and emphasized regional artistic agency. According to him, the whole East Adriatic cannot be regarded as a periphery of the Mediterranean or other European centers but as one whole territory that also has its centers and peripheries. For instance, that is easily proven with examples of cities such as Dubrovnik or Zadar, which were, through centuries, the cultural and artistic centers of the region. Moreover, not only did foreign artists influence and import new currents into Croatian art and architecture. There were also Croatian artists who influenced Western art, such as Juraj Dalmatinac, a Croatian sculptor and architect from the 15th century who, other than in the Croatian territory, worked in Italy. Therefore, it is clear that Croatia was not only a passive territory receiving influences from the West but also an active member of European art creation.

Karaman proposed three definitions to classify the art of a periphery:

1. provincialized art—the art of rural areas, places that are developed under the influences of bigger cultural centers. The structures built in these areas are simple, due to a worse economic situation, and make use of local materials. Moreover, the use of decorative motifs is often not functional and natural.
2. borderline art—the art produced between two different but strong art centers. This art is influenced by both.
3. peripheral art—the space that receives influences from more different centers, adopts them, and then turns them into their unique artistic

> expression. Here not only different influences are used, but also elements from different historical periods. In this sense, there are many retardations of styles; for example, when some elements are implemented, they tend to be used even after the arrival of newer styles (Karaman, 1963/2001, pp. 12, 13).

Karaman's ideas have undergone revisions and methodological reinventions since their inception, [27] yet they continue to influence contemporary approaches to art history, prompting us to reconsider whether their traditional geographic framework might limit the acceptance of alternative methodologies. Regardless of the shift towards contextualization and exploring the relationships between artwork, artist, and society in Croatian art history, the concepts of the peripheral or provincialized still play a significant role. Nevertheless, these narratives need to be further examined and repositioned within the broader context of evolving ideas in global art history (Borić, 2017).

As we delve deeper into the complexities of artistic production, it becomes evident that no single term can fully encapsulate the multifaceted nature of these architectural achievements. While these terms provide a useful starting point, they risk oversimplifying the dynamic interactions that shaped architectural landscapes. Indeed, the artistic expression is difficult to easily categorize. Therefore, it is important to approach the study

[27] Josipović, Ivan. (2024b) "Što Je Ostalo Od 'Kolijevke'? – Prilog Teorijskim Raspravama i Kontekstualizaciji Ranosrednjovjekovne Umjetnosti Na Istočnoj Obali Jadrana / What Has Remained of the 'Cradle'? A Contribution to Theoretical Discussions and to the Contextualisation of Early Medieval Art in the Eastern Adriatic." In *Ljubo Karaman Pedeset Godina Poslije. Zbornik Radova s Međunarodnog Znanstvenog Skupa Održanog u Splitu 23. i 24. Rujna 2021.*, edited by Radoslav Tomić, Ivan Basić, and Darka Bilić, 389–412. Književni krug Split, Institut za povijest umjetnosti.

of Early Romanesque architecture with an understanding of the socio-political, ecclesiastical, and cultural factors of the period. Rather than implementing rigid labels, we should accept the diversity of architectural forms and recognize the importance of local communities in forming their architectural landscapes. Therefore, no, we cannot consider the 11th-century architecture of the Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties as peripheral, despite their geographical location. Even though both of these architectures did use artistic elements from the past European cultures and new forms emerging in Europe throughout the 11th century, they were not passive recipients. Both the Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties were active participants in the formation of the Romanesque architecture, as the new style was formed and transmitted within the social contacts of the milieu.

While one might argue that Croatia and Catalonia merely adopted artistic trends from bigger centers like Italy or France, the architectural adaptations and designs in different churches suggest otherwise. For instance, let's take the church of St. Lawrence in Zadar. A church with a floor plan that is difficult to find in other places, with an adaptation of the Carolingian westwork, a dome, figurative decoration both on the exterior and interior, geometrical Lombard decoration on the exterior walls, etc. In this small church, which was probably related to the powerful Madi family, we see a wide range of elements originating from different cultural milieus: from local pre-Romanesque traditions as seen in the layout of the church to the use of the Carolingian westwork, the Byzantine dome, rhythmic Lombard blind arches related to the emergence of the new Early Romanesque style, and the implementation of the figurative narrative scene on the church portal, a practice that is only going to become one of the most important elements of mature Romanesque architecture. This is further exemplified in the fact that the bell

tower in the church of St. Mary in Zadar has the earliest precisely dated ribbed vault in Europe in general!

The same stands for the Catalan 11th-century architecture. Only to take one example, let's remember once more the church of Sant Miquel de Fluvià, which was discussed in the last chapter. This church as well exemplifies a fusion of different architectural traditions in a unique idiom. From pre-Romanesque local elements to emerging architectural expressions of the 11th century and a peculiar use of figurative sculptural ornamentation, it is another example of how different elements were used and implemented during the construction of the Early-Romanesque Croatian and Catalan architecture. The architecture of the 11th century is, therefore, once more, a product of social interactions and the adaptation of different models from different cultural milieus.

Rather than seeing the 11th-century Croatian and Catalan architecture as peripheral in relation to other major European centers of the time, we should recognize them as active contributors to the evolution of Romanesque architecture. While both territories integrated external influences, they did so through a process of selective adaptation and transformation, which brought about the shaping of distinct architectural identities. The fact that these constructions were often impulsed by powerful ecclesiastical and political patrons further demonstrates the active role in the creation and dissemination of new architectural idioms. Moreover, by comparing these two territories, we see a shared pattern: despite their peripheral geographical location at the edges of larger political and cultural spheres, both Croatia and Catalonia had their own centers that, in a way, influenced their peripheries. For instance, in the Kingdom of Croatia we have the city of Zadar, while in Catalan Counties we have major monastic and episcopal centers, such as Ripoll or Vic. This internal artistic hierarchy challenges the simple notion

of a fixed center-periphery and emphasizes the multidirectional sense of the formation of the architectural landscape.

By reassessing the theories about centers and peripheries, we move toward a more nuanced approach to the study of Romanesque architecture, which emphasizes the importance of local and social agency, cross-cultural interactions, and a multidirectional sense of artistic exchange. The Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties were not simply passive peripheries. Instead, they were integrated into the broader network of artistic production that defined the Romanesque period.

6.3. Influences in the 11th-century Croatian architecture

6.3.1. Early Christian influences

Although many Early Christian edifices in Croatia were destroyed during Barbarian incursions, some survived and became important reference points for later constructions. Croatian pre-Romanesque architecture was largely based on these surviving models. When the Croats arrived in this territory, they began constructing their first edifices, the pre-Romanesque churches, drawing on the models they encountered.

The Early Christian structures did not simply serve as models—many were actually reused and renovated throughout the 9th century. For example, the churches in Lepuri, Žažvić, and Koljane were renovated during the pre-Romanesque period, while others, such as those in Galovac and Nin, received new liturgical furnishings. In fact, some of these buildings gained more importance in the 9th century after their renovation than they had originally held in the 5th or 6th centuries (Jakšić, 2008).

Clearly there was a constant continuity in construction within Croatian territory. A notable example is the transformation of Early Christian narthexes into westworks in the 9th century. In the church of St. Martin in Lepuri, four pylons were added within the

narthex, dividing the space into three naves and two floors, and an axial tower was erected in front. A similar solution can be seen in the church at Žažvić (Jakšić, 2009b, pp. 19–20; Josipović, 2023, p. 33).

This tradition of adaptation extended into the 11th century. One of the principal models at this time, particularly for Benedictine basilicas, was the simple Early Christian basilica plan: three naves, two rows of columns with semicircular arches, three semicircular apses, and a wooden roof (Vežić, 2020, p. 131). Basilicas such as St. Mary in Nin and St. Mary in Zadar were built on the sites of Early Christian predecessors, as confirmed by their significantly wider main naves (in a ratio of 2.5 :1) (Vežić, 2005, pp. 72–73). By contrast, Early Romanesque basilicas tend to have a narrower main nave in relation to the lateral ones (approximately 2: 1) (Vežić, 2020, p. 115), like in the basilicas of St. Andrew in Rab and St. Petar in Supetarska Draga, both on the island of Rab.

These differences in spatial organization mark a gradual departure from Early Christian models toward Early Romanesque solutions but still preserve the earlier traditions.

6.3.2. Influences from the northern Italian peninsula

The architectural influences from the northern Italian peninsula on the Kingdom of Croatia during the 11th century are particularly evident in the churches classified by Jurković (1990) as part of the international architecture group. As discussed earlier, the Gregorian reforms were introduced to Croatian territory by the Camaldolese Benedictine order, founded in Italy by St. Romuald. Romuald’s acquaintance with Bishop Gaudentius of Osor facilitated the transfer of reformist ideas to the East Adriatic coast. During Gaudentius's pontificate, Osor became a significant place for meetings of ecclesiastical dignitaries. After he established the Abbey of St. Peter, Osor became a focal point for reforms in the Adriatic region. Therefore, it is no coincidence that some of the most

significant innovations of Early Romanesque architecture, such as exterior sculptures and friezes adorned with shallow vegetal reliefs similar to those of St. Mary in Pomposa and other Venetian churches, can be found exactly here (Jurković, 1996, p. 329).

The construction of expansive three-nave basilicas, particularly in northern Croatia due to its proximity to Italy, further demonstrates the strength of these artistic ties. However, significant examples also appear in the rest of the Kingdom. Notable constructions include the churches of St. Peter in Osor, St. Peter in Supetarska Draga, St. Andrew in Rab, St. Thomas and St. John the Evangelist in Biograd, St. Mary in Zadar, St. Mary in Nin, and St. Euphemia in Split.

The capitals and exterior sculpture of 11th-century Croatian churches also testify to the novel idioms introduced during the Early Romanesque period. Corinthian capitals with folded leaves, terracotta bricks decorated with continuous vine scrolls and animal and vegetal motifs, and symbolic imagery like crosses, griffins, and birds belong to a broader artistic phenomenon known as *ravennate lagunare*. This phenomenon extended along the northern Adriatic coast, connecting monasteries from Pomposa, Ravenna and the Venetian lagoon with those on the Croatian littoral (Riccioini, 2024). In Croatia, this influence can be primarily found in monasteries of St. Peter in Osor or St. Mary in Zadar.

Conservation works in St. Mary in Zadar uncovered original 11th-century capitals (Fig. 65), which, along with examples from Rab and Krk, reveal important similarities with sculptural production in Trieste, Aquileia, Caorle, and Venice at the time. Further evidence of these cross-Adriatic connections can be found in several terracotta reliefs from Croatian churches, [28] which contain Roman numerals, intended to facilitate their correct placement on the façades (Fig. 66). Unlike their Italian counterparts, which did

[28] Two from the Archaeological Museum in Zadar and one from Biograd, Nin, and the Archaeological Museum in Split.

not have similar numerals and were crafted on-site for immediate installation, these inscribed reliefs were probably imported from workshops on the western Adriatic coast. Notably, pieces from Biograd and Zadar have numerals exceeding 20 and 30, a fact that suggests that these reliefs spanned the entire length of the façade, just like it was the case in Pomposa (Jakšić, 2020).[29]

The transmission of architectural and artistic innovations across the Adriatic Basin was not a passive process. It was rather an active exchange led by key individuals. St. Romuald and Bishop Gaudentius of Osor, for instance, played central roles. Another interesting personality in this context was the Abbot Maynard of St. Mary in Pomposa, whose name is inscribed on the ground floor of the church's bell tower, and who assisted the coronation of the Croatian king Petar Krešimir IV in 1060.

More than isolated cases of artistic and architectural adaptation, these exchanges point to the shared artistic tradition that shaped the monumental landscape of both regions during the 11th century. The figures of St. Romuald, St. Gaudentius, and Abbot Maynard stand as an example of how social and ecclesiastical networks helped shape the artistic and architectural landscape during the first century of the new millennium.

[29] These similarities have also been found in the animal motifs on the reliefs from the church of Holy Domenica in Zadar and the reliefs from the façade of St. Mary in Pomposa (Jakšić & Hilje, 2008).

6.3.3. Byzantine influences

The churches built during the 11th century in the Kingdom of Croatia, which were classified by Jurković (1990) as the regional architectural group, had simpler floor plans and often incorporated elements from the local Croatian pre-Romanesque architecture, along with Byzantine and Carolingian influences.

Byzantine presence on the Eastern Adriatic coast lasted for centuries, especially after the fall of the Western Roman Empire. The cities on the coast and the islands became Byzantine enclaves, and from that moment on, and throughout the 11th century, there were visible Byzantine influences in Croatian art and architecture.

This influence is most visible in churches with central floor plans with a dome, often supported by four columns. This structure of four columns supporting the dome was named by K. J. Conant as *quincunx*, a term that was taken later by other scholars as well. However, while normally the *quincunx* has nine bays with a dome on four columns in the center and four other domes over the four bays in the angles, in the Kingdom of Croatia this structure is simplified, so Vežić (1998) denominated them *quincunx ridotto*.

The churches that include this architectural solution are St. Lawrence in Zadar (Fig. 3), St. Martin in Trogir (Fig. 6, 7) a church of a very similar floor plan to St. Lawrence, and St. Nicholas in Split (Fig. 8). It is also suspected from the documents that the church of St. Stephen in Trogir had the dome on four columns (C. Fisković, 1962, p. 40). Furthermore, the church of St. Peter in Priko near Omiš (Fig. 12, 13) also has a form of the "quincunx ridotto," but the dome is not supported by four columns but by four pilasters (Vežić, 1998, p. 56). Interestingly, the three-nave basilica of St. Euphemia in Split also featured a dome (Fig. 10, 11). These examples make it clear that Byzantine architectural elements were not merely adopted but actively adapted to the regional

context, resulting in distinct executions and integrations across diverse church floor plans in the 11th-century Kingdom of Croatia.

6.3.4. Carolingian influences

The Carolingian influence has been noted by Croatian historians and art historians for a long time in different spheres, such as in the process of Christianization, painting, sculpture, crafts, tools, etc. However, architecture was the last area of study in which the Carolingian influence was recognized (Jurković, 1995, p. 57).

Marasović (1958) was the first to point out that the axial towers in the Croatian pre-Romanesque churches were a result of Carolingian influence. Jurković (1995, p. 57), however, explains that while axial towers are not a Carolingian invention—having already existed in Late Antiquity—there is another element persistent in Croatian pre-Romanesque, and which will later be adapted in the Early Romanesque architecture as well, that can be considered purely Carolingian: the westwork.

The westwork is also known by other names in the art history bibliography, such as *antéglise* or *corps occidental*, among others. It is a structure positioned on the western façade of the church, opposite the sanctuary. The uses of a westwork were several, and they were well explained by F. Möbius (1968), who names four principal functions of a westwork: western choir (*Westchor*), parish church (*Pfarrkirche*), emperor's church (*Kaiserkirche*), and defense church (*Wehrkirche*). The westwork made its initial appearance at the end of the 8th century with Charlemagne; nevertheless, it gradually got reduced, and it eventually disappeared. Despite this, its presence persisted in later architecture, primarily because its evolution was evident in the three-tower façade of Ottonian architecture. Additionally, it played a role in the development of tower-porticos during the Romanesque period (Reinhardt & Fels, 1937, p. 331).

V. Goss (1975) was the first to employ the term "westwork" in Croatian writings and identify it in Croatian pre-Romanesque architecture. Prior to this, in Croatian art history bibliography, this space was referred to as narthex, endonarthex, atrium, triforium, or matroneum (Jurković, 1995, p. 57). The earliest example of westwork in Croatia can be found in the church in Lopuška Glavica and also in Lepuri and Žažvić, where Early Christian narthexes were readapted into westwork (Josipović, 2023).

Westwork serves specific functions within the church and in liturgical practices. Therefore, it did not merely result from Carolingian influence; rather, it was intentionally implemented by individuals who were knowledgeable about its functions and forms. In Croatian pre-Romanesque architecture, numerous connections exist with the Carolingian Empire, particularly with the Patriarchate of Aquileia, the source of arriving missionaries. The masters, soldiers, and monks who accompanied these missionaries were instrumental in introducing new architectural forms (Jurković & Milošević, 1999, p. 168).

As was mentioned earlier, the westwork persisted in the Croatian Romanesque architecture as well, where it was adapted. Two 11th-century churches have forepart structures, reductions of the Carolingian westworks: St. Peter and Moses in Solin (Fig. 33) and St. Lawrence in Zadar (Fig. 3). The forepart of the church of St. Peter and Moses exhibits a distinct structure and form, as it stands as an independent space outside the church rectangle, resembling in a way the Romanesque tower-porticos. Conversely, the forepart structure in St. Lawrence in Zadar is closer in disposition to the original Carolingian westworks (Jurković, 1995, pp. 70–72).

These spaces in the Kingdom of Croatia are associated with the presence of a ruler or aristocrat. This connection can be traced back to the significance of the Church-state relationship in the Carolingian Empire, characterized by the existence of royal monasteries, royal churches, and the interment of rulers in their monastic establishments.

The acceptance of the westwork confirms the incorporation of Carolingian liturgical rites, closely connected to the Carolingian court. In this regard, the organization of spiritual life in Croatia reflects the Carolingian model, as observed in rulers' donations to churches and mausoleums of emperors, among other aspects (Jurković & Milošević, 1999, p. 168). This Church-state nexus is evident not only in Croatian pre-Romanesque, but it persisted in the Early Romanesque period as well (Jurković, 1995, p. 73).

6.4. Influences in the 11th-century Catalan architecture

The question of the origins of Romanesque art and architecture in Catalonia was for a long time a subject of discussions between art historians. During the 19th century, Catalan art historians tried to tie the origins of Romanesque architecture with northern Italy. In the 20th century, Puig i Cadafalch wrote about the Lombard masters, who, according to this theory, exported their style to Catalonia. Soon Puig i Cadafalch rejected the definition of the "Lombard Romanesque," and he named this architecture "First Romanesque". However, the theory about the Lombard Romanesque persisted in art history circles (Duran-Porta, 2008, pp. 228–232).

Due to the diversity of solutions in the Catalan 11th-century architecture, which reflects the different functional or liturgical needs of every church, or even the personal or political wills of the patrons, it is impossible to relate the Catalan 11th-century architecture only with one source (Duran-Porta, 2009, p. 104). That is why we will analyze different possible influences in the following pages, such as Early Christian, Roman, Lombard, Carolingian, Visigothic, and Mozarab.

6.4.1. Early Christian influences

The earliest Christian congregations typically took place within domestic settings; they were often mere rooms within private residences, situated around an interior

courtyard, which provided a shield for the faithful from public view. However, following Constantine’s Edict of Milan, issued in 313, which granted religious tolerance to Christians, it was necessary to construct larger places for worship (Milburn, 1988, p. 85). It was within this context that monumental basilicas began to be erected. The basilica was an ideal solution, as its vast interior space could accommodate the growing number of Christian populations. At the same time, it symbolized the ascendant authority of the Christian faith. Clearly, the basilica was not a new architectural concept; it had already been extensively utilized by the Romans as part of their palatial complexes for civic gatherings.

The basilica is often regarded as the epitome of Early Christian architecture, as seen in structures such as the Old St. Peter's Basilica or St. Paul's Basilica in Rome. Referred to as the "T-type basilica," this architectural style is characterized by features including an atrium encircled by porticoes, naves separated by columns, a wooden roof, and a transept that ends in a semicircular apse (Krautheimer, 1942, p. 1). However, there is a variety of floor plans employed in other regions. For instance, in Milan there was an emergence of cross-shaped churches, while experimental double basilicas were constructed in Trier and Aquileia. Even in Rome, churches with varying layouts, such as circular ones like the church of S. Constanza, were erected, demonstrating the adaptation of classical architectural forms, such as imperial mausoleums, within the Christian context (Milburn, 1988, pp. 98, 105).

Venturing further afield to examine Early Christian architecture across the Mediterranean region, including Dalmatia, North Africa, Asia Minor, and the Near East, we can find a rich array of floor plans. These encompass basilicas without transepts but featuring three apses, basilicas with diminutive transepts, twin towers, pastophories,

galleries above aisles, piers instead of columns, and triconch endings (Krautheimer, 1942, p. 1).

Early Christian architecture in Catalonia, like the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, was directly connected to Roman architectural traditions but adapted to the needs of Early Christian communities. The most typical floor plan was the basilica. The buildings were ornamented with simple geometrical ornamentation, and in general, they presented Roman influences in construction techniques. Unfortunately, there is not much known about the episcopal complexes from this period, which makes it hard to reconstruct a clear picture of this architectural period. Nevertheless, Early Christian churches often remained in use in later periods, but with some modifications (Barral i Altet, 1997a, p. 68). In that way, they laid the foundation for later Visigothic and Romanesque developments, being in close correlation with both Mediterranean and local traditions.

The basilica floor plan was useful in the context of new liturgical practices of the 11th century, with the liturgy now centered in the sanctuary. During this century, over 30 basilicas were constructed in Catalonia, mainly monumental three-nave basilicas with three apses, although some featured additional naves and apses, such as Santa Maria in Ripoll or St. Miquel in Cuixà. When talking about the basilica of Santa Maria in Ripoll, it is often mentioned in the bibliography that it was influenced by Saint Peter in the Vatican. Its monumentality, basilical floor plan, transept, and apses remind us of the Early Christian basilicas from the 4th century. Same stands for Sant Miquel de Cuixà, which appears as proof of the will to renovate the Early Christian basilica with the use of piers that separate the naves, the wooden ceiling, and a transept with multiple apses (Barral i Altet, 1999, p. 252).

Moreover, the juxtaposition of central churches with basilicas, like in the example of the Cathedral in Vic and Santa Maria la Rodona, or St. Miquel de Cuixà and the Trinitat

chapel, echoes a disposition observed in Early Christian monuments, such as the S. Constanza in Rome, adjoined to the church of St. Agnese.

Furthermore, a notable floor plan seen in three 11th-century Catalan churches is the triconchal chevet, as evidenced in Sant Pere de Ponts, Sant Esteve de Castellet (Fig. 20), and Sant Serní de Tavèrnoles. Triconchal chevets were utilized in Early Christian churches across different territories, from today's Italy or Croatia to Egypt, etc.

Finally, while blind arches are typically associated with 11th-century and Early Romanesque architecture, they actually originate from Early Christian architecture. This decoration in the form of blind arches was taken from Early Christian basilicas, where this arcading system was used to strengthen the lateral walls (Puig i Cadafalch, 1928, pp. 140–143). One of the examples is the 4th-century Early Christian church of San Simpliciano in Milan, where blind arches cover the entire wall (Durliat, 1975, p. 108) According to Durliat (1975), the reduction of blind arches, as observed in 11th-century architecture, happened in Lombardy and Piedmont in the latter half of the 10th century, and then from there it entered again the sphere of architecture and became one of the symbols of Early Romanesque architecture.

6.4.2. Influences from the Italian Peninsula (Rome and Lombardy)

This chapter will examine the cultural and artistic influences of the Italian Peninsula on the Catalan Counties and their architecture. As this territory was politically fragmented in the 11th century, the term 'Italian' is here used strictly in a geographical sense, without implying political unity. The discussion will focus specifically on the Papal States and the city of Rome and Lombardy.

After achieving independence from the Carolingian Empire in the 10th century, the Catalan territory maintained its international paper through contacts with the Carolingians, Southern France, Al-Andalus, other Hispanic territories, Northern Italy and

Rome (Carbonell i Esteller, 2013b, p. 108). As the Counties broke away from the French domain, the attraction that Rome exerted on the Catalan nobles and prelates of that time intensified. With no recognized authority yet established within the country and the distant authority of the King of France fading away, Rome, the pope, and the spiritual authority emerged as a firm source of protection and order, like an ideal power under which it was advisable to seek refuge. In this atmosphere, pilgrimages to Rome became frequent (Soldevila, 1974, p. 56).

This connection between Catalonia and the Italian peninsula started in the year 950, when one of the monks from Cuixà visited Pope Agapito II in Rome. Other significant people who also traveled to the Italian peninsula were Atto, bishop of Vic (970-971), Bernat Tallaferro, count of Besalú (998), and Oliba (1011, 1016, 1032). Conversely, individuals from the Italian peninsula also traveled to Catalonia. For instance, in 978, Venetian Pietro Orseolo arrived with his family and monks at the monastery of Cuixà. They resided there for a decade, during which time they transformed Cuixà into one of the primary cultural centers of the region.

Hence, it can be asserted that from the latter half of the 10th century until the end of the 11th century, Rome and the papacy held considerable influence in Catalonia (Kehr, 1926, p. 9). Since 950, every year a delegate of Catalan counts and bishops visited Rome. Several phenomena from this period reflect the memory of Rome, such as the proliferation of pilgrimage routes and the establishment of numerous churches dedicated to St. Peter, and the absence of Cluny's influence in the Catalan Counties. Cluny's assistance proved less consequential in organizational matters as Catalan counts and the Church maintained direct communication with Rome (M. Zimmermann, 2000, p. 159). The Catalan counts were pioneers in Western Europe in forging such close ties with the papacy and seeking privileges from Rome (Novokhatko, 2021, p. 38).

Interactions with the Italian Peninsula and visits to Rome provided Catalans with firsthand exposure to the contemporary artistic heritage of this territory. Overall, the relationship between the Apennine Peninsula and Catalonia flourished due to their shared Mediterranean location, classical heritage, and profound cultural influence (Barral i Altet, 2017, p. 154).

In the subsequent discussion, we will examine some reminiscences of Roman architecture, and later, we will focus on the question of Lombard architecture.

6.4.3. Roman influences

Throughout the Middle Ages, the inspiration in the Roman architectural heritage was constantly present. Already Charlemagne kept the connections with the past through his ideas to restore the Roman Empire, both politically and also architecturally. Examples of this Roman inclination for architecture can be found in important abbeys of the 11th century. For instance, abbot Didac de Montecassino, after he disassembled the old church of Sant Benet and prepared the terrain for the new construction in 1066, went to Rome to buy materials from the old Roman buildings, such as columns, bases, capitals, and marbles of different colors. Later, abbot Sugar de Saint-Denis did the same thing. Considering the risk and difficulty of transporting these heavy and fragile materials from Rome, these efforts testify the importance and respect for Antiquity and Rome that was maintained during the medieval period (Barral i Altet, 2008, pp. 171–173).

It is generally believed in bibliography that the trips that important Catalan ecclesiastical and political figures of the 11th century made to Rome and the opportunity that they had to see the classical Roman monuments influenced the development of the Catalan 11th-century architecture. This is especially the case when we talk about Oliba. In Oliba's family, trips to Italy were a tradition that started as early as 951. Oliba himself made three trips to Rome. His father, Oliba Cabreta, traveled to Rome in 968; his uncle

Miró in 979; and his brother, Bernat Taillefer, in 998. On their way back, they had to cross Lombardy, Provence, and Narbonnaise, and probably their last stop was the monastery in Cuixà (Barral i Altet, 2009a, pp. 178–179).

While Oliba did not transport materials from Rome to Catalonia, he intelligently used the local materials and local masters to reconstruct Roman ideas. In Santa Maria de Ripoll in 1032, he constructed a chevet with seven apses, inspired by the basilica of St. Peter in Rome. While he basically took the layout and the model, the construction was done in the local tradition of the new, Early Romanesque (Barral i Altet, 2008, pp. 173–174). Furthermore, as we have seen before, the circular churches that were constructed in the Early Christian period were actually an adaptation of the Roman circular structures, like mausoleums. We already mentioned Oliba's preference for circular structures, such as those seen in Santa Maria la Rodona in Vic, inspired by what was once the Roman Pantheon, and the Trinitat chapel in Cuixà. Other circular constructions in the Catalan 11th century are Sant Esteve de Sallent (Fig. 73), Santa Cecília de Torreblanca, Sant Sepulcre d'Olèrdola, Sant Pere Gros de Cervera, Sant Jaume de Vilanova del pla in Bages, and Sant Miquel del Monestir.

The prestige of Rome stemmed not only from the Early Christian basilicas dating from the time of Constantine and the tombs of saints and martyrs but also from the Antiquity, the colossal architecture of the Pantheon and the Colosseum, and even more from the monuments that associated the symbols of history with the prestige of architectural and artistic creation: the Arch of Constantine and the historical columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius (Barral i Altet, 2011, p. 37).

Domes in the Catalan architecture of the 11th century can also be related to the Roman influence. A few basilicas from this time feature a dome. One example is the dome in St. Vicenç de Cardona (Fig. 66), which Puig i Cadafalch (1909b, p. 215) claimed

to be the first dome in Catalan 11th-century architecture. Other examples of basilicas that also host a dome are St. Miquel in Cruïlles (Fig. 72), Santa Maria de Gualter (Fig. 73), and Sant Quintí dels Banys d'Arles (Fig. 74).

6.4.4. Lombard influences

The Lombard influence and the supposed Lombard masters, or *magistri comacini*, have often been the subject of art history papers and discussions.[30] This interest dates back to the 18th century, when Ludovico Antonio Muratori published his book *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (1724). However, in the 19th century, there was a greater interest and focus on medieval art, notably when Ferdinand De Dartein published his *Étude sur l'Architecture Lombarde* (1865-1882). Interestingly, already in the title of this publication, it can be seen that the term "Lombard" does not only allude to geographical origins but is more like a cultural and stylistic adjective.

The 19th-century scholars studying Lombard art were predominantly Italian and were often influenced by nationalistic movements. In the pursuit of the national symbol, Giuseppe Merzario's book, *I maestri Comacini. Storia artistica di mille duecento anni (600-800)* (1893), was a culmination of studies of Lombard art. However, Merzario's focus was not on the monuments themselves but rather on the role of the *magistri comacini* in shaping Italian and European artistic and architectural heritage. His approach, nevertheless, was somewhat problematic, as he classified various constructors as "comacini" without evidence of their geographical origin (Lomartire, 2010, pp. 9–13).

A key figure in the dissemination of Lombard architectural theories was Giovanni Teresio Rivoira (1901), whose book *Le origini dell'architettura lombarda e le sue*

[30] In the bibliography, the adjectives maestri *comacini*, *antelami*, *campionesi* are also used (Lomartire, 2010, p. 17).

principali derivazioni nei paesi d'Oltr'Alpe challenged the term "Romanesque", claiming that it was too broad, and he instead proposed "Lombard" as a more precise stylistic term.

Puig i Cadafalch, who was also writing the history of Catalan art with an emphasis on national identity[31], accepted Rivoira's premise, and he initially supported the idea that Lombard masters. In his work, Puig i Cadafalch (1907) accepted the idea that Lombards exported their style to Catalonia. Nevertheless, he later coined the term "First Romanesque" to replace "Lombard".

The myth about Lombard masters and their role in shaping Catalan architecture stems from Catalan medieval documents. The earliest reference mentioning this term appears in an 1175 contract between the bishop of Seu d'Urgell and a builder named Raimon Lambard. Nonetheless, another document refers to the same builder as Raimon de Nargó lambard, indicating that he was Catalan, from the village of Nargó. In this context, it seems that "lambard" denoted his profession as a constructor rather than his place of origin (Duran-Porta, 2005, 2008, pp. 229–230).

There are different theories about the meaning of the denomination "Lombard". Zimmermann (1990) notes that the term was already used in Carolingian Catalonia to describe people of Italian origin, while Muratova (2004) identifies similar usage in 13th-century Paris. Furthermore, Klein (1993, p. 185) suggests that there were so many Lombard stonecutters in the Catalan territory during the 12th century that the term "lambard" started to be applied to every practitioner of this craft. Klein also highlights the role of figures like Oliba, whose trips to Italy may have facilitated architectural exchange.

In this line, Duran-Porta (2009, p. 119) agrees that the term "lambard" became synonymous with "constructor" and claims that this probably happened following the

[31] Other than an architect and art historian, Puig i Cadafalch was also a politician.

construction work on La Seu d'Urgell's cathedral. Namely, the author believes that there was a workshop of northern Italians (Lombards) who supervised a campaign of the cathedral's construction. They arrived around 1000 AD, and from there the habit of calling Catalan master builders "lambards" arose. This term could have possibly been created by the locals over time, or these supervisors could have already brought it with the connotation of "constructor."

While there obviously are elements that the 11th-century architecture had in common, such as blind arches, lesenes, small masonry, etc., there were also differences between the architecture of Lombardy and Catalonia in the 11th century. Primarily, Catalonia preferred barrel vaults, whereas Lombardy favored wood ceilings (Duran-Porta, 2008, p. 230).

Rather than attributing these features solely to Lombard influence, we rather need to think about the broader architectural exchanges of the period. Southern Europe in the 11th century shared common stylistic elements, but these cannot be exclusively linked to Lombard architecture. Instead, contacts with Roman, Early Christian or Carolingian heritage must also be taken into account.

The circulation of models and technical evolution seen in the Catalan architecture of the 11th century cannot be denied, but all of this should not be related to the idea of the *magistri comacini*. Therefore, it was rather the intellectuals of the time, mostly the clergymen, who participated in the process of learning and transmission of knowledge and exchange of models. However, even if we deny this mass arrival of the supposed Lombard masters, we do not deny that the artistic heritage of Italy still remains one of the most significant sources for 11th-century Catalan architecture (Duran-Porta, 2009, p. 119).

In sum, rather than considering the artistic exchange as a one-way importation, the architecture of the 11th century should be regarded as a complex process of cultural and intellectual interaction that shaped the monumental landscape of medieval Europe.

6.4.5. Carolingian influences

Earlier, we discussed Carolingian influences visible in Early Romanesque structures in Croatia, which are particularly evident in the development of westworks. In this chapter, we will discuss how this influence extended to the Catalan territory, which, like Croatia, was formerly under Carolingian political dominion.

Charlemagne's vision had the aim of reviving the Roman Empire in Western Europe, both politically and artistically. While we previously discussed his political ambitions, here, we will focus on the sphere of art. Carolingian art and architecture were crafted for and by the court, and Roman models were purposefully used to revive the classicism and grandeur of imperial design. Many Carolingian churches, for instance, used the floor plans of Early Christian T-shaped basilicas. Monks from Fulda even traveled to Rome to measure St. Peter's Basilica, enabling them to replicate it at their local monasteries.

This adaptation of Early Christian and Roman elements mirrors what occurred in the 11th-century Early Romanesque architecture. Thus, Carolingian architecture serves as a clear precursor to the Romanesque style. Beyond merely adapting existing elements, Carolingian architecture introduced innovations such as the double façade, or the westwork, resulting in a blend of ancient Roman and distinctive Carolingian styles.

Catalonia during the 11th century maintained relations with the post-Carolingian world. Bango Torviso (1988) discussed that the biggest constructions of the Catalan 11th century, specifically Oliba's constructions in Ripoll, Cuixà, and Vic, with their basilica floor plans with chevets consisting of multiple apses, demonstrated a strong affinity with

Frankish architectural models, pointing to sources such as Reims, Saint-Denis, and Saint-Germain-des-Prés. However, Catalonia in the 11th century maintained multifaceted connections. Moreover, correlation does not necessarily imply causation, especially in the context of the 11th century in Europe, which, as we saw, probably inspired parallel developments rather than direct borrowing.

Double sanctuary

Several 11th-century Catalan churches feature a double sanctuary, a typology that appeared already in Roman times, for example, in the Basilica Ulpia at Trajan's forum. Later we can encounter it in the Early Christian and even Mozarabic churches, like Santiago de Peñalba and San Cebrián de Mazote. In Catalonia, however, this typology does not appear until the Romanesque period (Sitjes i Molins, 1988, p. 5) Within 11th-century Catalan architecture, two examples of this floor appear in the churches of Santa Maria d'Arles (Fig. 76, 77) and Sant Pere de Burgal (Fig. 78, fig. 79).

Santa Maria d'Arles is particularly singular for its double sanctuary and for the fact that its main sanctuary is located on the west rather than the east. The church has a three-nave basilica floor plan, with the central nave significantly higher than the lateral ones. In the 12th century, structural reinforcements were added, and they consisted of the refortification of the piers and the addition of the groined vault in the central nave. The western sanctuary has three semicircular apses, while the eastern side also contains three semicircular apses embedded within the wall. The church was constructed in the first half of the 11th century, and it exhibits elements of this new architectural style, especially visible in sculptural decoration. However, the structural characteristics are still rooted in the Carolingian tradition. There are significant similarities with the Carolingian basilicas, like Fulda, Saint-Maurice, the basilica of Eginard, Steinbach, and Sankt Gallen,

particularly seen in the double sanctuary and the placement of the principal sanctuary on the west. This western placement is also seen in other 11th-century Catalan monasteries, like Sant Serni de Tavèrnoles, Santa Cecília d'Elins, or Sant Llorenç prop Bagà ('Santa Maria d'Arles', n.d.).

A similar typology appears in Sant Pere de Burgal, also constructed during the 11th century, though in a simpler form. Here, the main sanctuary remains in the east, unlike at Santa Maria d'Arles. Nevertheless, the western apse has an extraordinary element to it: a double apse, with two identical apses stacked vertically. The lower apse contains a rectangular mass of stone in the center, possibly an altar block or a tomb base (Sitjes i Molins, 1988, p. 6).[32]

[32] In his article from 1988, Sitjes i Molins listed two more churches as churches with double apses. The first one is Sant Simeó de Centelles. Today it is in a very ruinous state; there are only a few stones left. Els Amics de l'Art Romànic de Bages in 1985 cleaned up the space and left and discovered the building in its whole perimeter. During the archaeological excavations a few years later, it was discovered that the first church was built in the 11th century, but it had reforms in the 13th century when a rectangular ending on one side of the nave was replaced with a second apse. Therefore, this is not a church with opposed apses because of liturgical reasons; it is simply a church that had two construction phases ('Sant Simeó de Centelles (Rajadell)', n.d.) The other church that Sitjes i Molins listed as a church with opposed apses is Sant Ponç de Clariana. Due to the very poor state of conservation of this construction, it is very hard to establish its chronology ('Sant Ponç o Sant Ponç de Joval (Cardiana de Cardener)', n.d.). Probably the situation was similar here, and the church had two construction phases: one in the 11th century and one in the 12th century.

Foreparts

In the Catalan architecture of the 11th century, we find a few examples of forepart structures, that is, architectural structures placed on the Oriental façades of the edifices. However, many of these structures have not been preserved, and we know about them primarily through liturgical documents. These foreparts were added to the Cathedral in Girona, Santa Maria de Ripoll, and Sant Vicenç de Cardona (Español et al., 2007, pp. 85–91). Possibly a similar structure posteriorly existed in la Seu d'Urgell.

These structures were sometimes classified as westworks, but is this terminology correct in the context of 11th-century architecture? First of all, the definition of a westwork says that it is a "feature of Carolingian church architecture from about the mid-8th to mid-10th centuries and consists of a tall building, flanked by towers containing staircases. The central block consisted of several stories, with a low entrance hall leading into the west end of the church and supporting a large room above, which opened directly into the nave" (Jones et al., 2013).

The uses of a westwork were several; it was used as a western choir, a separate parish church, an emperor's church, and a defense church. While the westwork first appeared at the end of the 8th century with Charlemagne, it gradually got reduced, and it eventually disappeared. However, its reminiscences persisted in later architecture, primarily in the three-tower façade of Ottonian architecture and in the Romanesque tower-porticos (Reinhardt & Fels, 1937, p. 331).

Maybe the closest example in Catalan architecture when it comes to the monumental disposition of a façade is the church of Santa Maria de Ripoll. Oliba's basilica in Ripoll featured a forepart structure flanked by two towers. Two arches (now sealed) in the final bay of the central nave indicate the possibility of a gallery or tribune that connected this construction with the interior of the temple. In the forepart in Ripoll,

there was an altar dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre, and it seems that its ground floor had the funerary role (Sureda i Jubany, 2009, p. 232). The Sacramentary of the Abbey, dating from the middle of the 11th century, mentions a *missa Sancti Sepulchri* celebrated on Easter in this space (Olivar, 1964, p. piece 102), further describing its liturgical use. Unfortunately, extensive 19th-century reconstructions impede us from completely understanding Oliba's 11th-century work and the exact layout of this part of the edifice.

The Cathedral of Girona follows a similar disposition and liturgical use as the Ripoll Abbey. The forepart structure, which was added to the Cathedral of Girona, was unfortunately demolished in 1707 during the construction of its new Baroque façade. It had a symmetrical floor plan, consisting of three sections: a central portion that was of the same width as the main nave and two rectangular structures on either side, extending beyond the nave's width. Six arcosolia within this space indicate its funerary role, and documents reveal that there was also an altar dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre (Sureda i Jubany, 2009). From the cathedral's 1360 *Coutumier,* we get to know that this space was utilized for the celebration of an Easter mass (Español, 1996, pp. 74–75).

Sant Vicenç de Cardona also featured a similar front space in the west. It consisted of two floors: below, there was a porticoed atrium, while on the upper floor a tribune was constructed for the castle's inhabitants. It was possible to access this space both from the atrium and from the church by two spiral staircases located at both ends ('Sant Vicenç de

Cardona', n.d.).[3334] While here the forepart is best conserved, unlike in other examples, we completely lack written documentation, a fact that makes its liturgical role difficult to interpret (Galtier Martí, 1991, p. 214).

Interestingly, in Catalonia these forepart structures appear for the first time in the 11th century; we do not know about westworks as such built during the time of Charlemagne or Frankish rule in general. Therefore, is it possible that in Catalonia the Carolingian westwork was adapted three centuries after its first appearance and use in the Carolingian Empire?

While these structures in 11th-century Catalonia certainly do show significant similarities with the Carolingian westwork, it is not correct to refer to them as westworks, as they are not simply copied from Carolingian examples, and moreover, they are chronologically quite far away from the Carolingian world. This is why terms such as "forepart," which is proposed in this work, might better capture their hybrid nature, which

[33] Historiography also mentions a possible forepart at Sant Llorenç prop Bagà. However, the church was severely damaged and went through significant modifications. The space of the forepart was lost, and today we do not have enough information about its architecture or the liturgical function. It is probable that this structure was posteriorly added to the church to connect it with the rest of the monastic dependencies (Barniol López, 2014, p. 662). The same happens with Sant Pere de Rodes, where it was supposed to have had a similar construction as seen in Sant Vicenç de Cardona (Bango Torviso, 1988, p. 110). However, the portico and the façade were transformed in the 12th century when the portal attributed to the master of Cabestany was constructed. Moreover, this church is a product of heavy reconstructions; therefore, it cannot be regarded as a valid example of 11th-century architecture. A forepart was also added to the church of Santa Maria de Montserrat, probably at the end of the 12th century (Sánchez Márquez, 2011a, p. 38).

[34] It is possible that a forepart was posteriorly added to La Seu d'Urgell. There is no information about this structure; however, the gallery flanked with two spiral staircases at the façade of the current church makes it possible to imagine a similar structure in earlier constructions (Español y Yarca, 2007, 91).

combined liturgical, funerary, and processional functions without fully replicating the Carolingian westwork typology.

It seems that in all the Catalan examples, these foreparts were connected with the rest of the monastic dependencies in the monastery complex (Lorés I Otzet, 2017, p. 296), or with the castle, as seen in the example of Cardona. Furthermore, their construction was tied to political and ecclesiastical power (Galtier Martí, 1991, p. 306), as all of them were constructed by the patrons that we discussed in our previous chapter. They had two roles:1) a liturgical function: they housed altars dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre and were used in significant liturgical events such as Easter Masses, or they had the funerary use; 2) they included tribunes for the ruling elite.

Unlike westworks, which were monumental, imperial structures with a standardized tripartite façade, Catalan foreparts varied in form and function. They were not exclusively imperial tribunes, but rather multifunctional spaces tied to local monastic and episcopal institutions. Furthermore, the fact that they appeared in Catalonia three centuries after the Carolingian westworks separates them more from the fact that they are simply adaptations of a Carolingian model as such. Their architectural forms and liturgical uses demonstrate inspiration not only from Carolingian heritage but also from Ottonian architecture and contemporary European trends (Sureda i Jubany, 2009, p. 233). Therefore, the presence of foreparts in 11th-century Catalonia is a result of an evolving architectural tradition, rather than a direct copy of Carolingian westworks.

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In examining the westworks in the Catalan 11th-century architecture, we observed that they very often housed altars dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre. Therefore, in the following paragraphs, we will shortly address the influence of the Holy Land on Early Romanesque architecture in the Catalan Counties.

First of all, it is important to note that there were no direct architectural "copies" of structures from the Holy Land. However, from the beginning of the 11th century on, there started to appear a strong symbolic and liturgical connection with the Holy Land, expressed through relics, altars dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre, and churches associated with pilgrimage (Boto & Sureda i Jubany, 2023, pp. 79–80).

Relics were often brought to the region by influential civil and ecclesiastical figures, including abbots, bishops, and counts, such as Garí of Sant Miquel de Cuixà and Ermesinde de Carcassone (Jaspert, 2015, p. 21). Numerous altars dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre or Holy Cross were placed in churches, such as in the cases of cathedrals in Girona, Vic, Barcelona, and Urgell, and Santa Maria de Ripoll (Boto & Sureda i Jubany, 2023). In Cuixà, the chapel of Pessebre is dedicated to Bethlehem, which integrated symbolic references to the Holy Land, while the chapel of Trinitat featured seven niches that can symbolically be connected with the Holy Spirit (Codina i Giol, 2005).

Additionally, several 11th-century churches bore titles connected to the Holy Land, such as Sant Sepulcre d'Olèrdola. Others, like Sant Pere de la Portella and Sant Sepulcre de Palera, were considered substitutes for pilgrimages to Jerusalem. This was particularly common in dioceses like Urgell, where local elites often traveled to the Holy Land and there was a desire to imitate their pilgrimages. For many people, these local pilgrimage sites were a way to experience the spiritual rewards traditionally associated with Jerusalem (Boto & Sureda i Jubany, 2023, p. 108).

6.4.6. Visigothic and Mozarabic influences

The pre-Romanesque architecture in the Iberian Peninsula is quite a complex field of study, shaped by centuries of cultural interaction and marked by ongoing debates among scholars. One of the persisting questions has been how to classify and distinguish the early medieval buildings, which consist of Visigothic, Asturian, and Mozarabic architecture.

Visigothic architecture appeared in the beginning of the 5th century, after the Visigoths migrated from Central Europe to Hispania. While it drew on Hispano-roman traditions, it also incorporated elements from Byzantine architecture, as seen in the use of domes and Greek-cross floor plans. Visigothic churches conserved until this day are generally small. Along with the Greek-cross plan, sometimes they used three-nave basilica layouts. Rectangular apses, regular masonry, and horseshoe arches, later also used in Mozarabic architecture, were employed in these constructions.

After the Muslim conquest in 711 and their occupation of most of the Peninsula, Asturias was the first Christian kingdom to be formed in the north. Asturian architecture built upon Visigothic traditions but within a new stylistic context: churches became taller, masonry less regular, and buttresses were introduced for structural support.

When it comes to Mozarabic architecture, it developed among Christians who lived under Islamic rule in Al-Andalus and who later migrated to northern Christian territories. This hybrid style combined Hispano-Muslim decorative and structural elements with Visigothic traditions, which resulted in a unique architectural language. Mozarabic churches typically employed a basilica layout, Greek-cross floor plans, or single-nave designs. Some important characteristics of these constructions were the horseshoe arches, Caliphal-inspired capitals, modillions, gallon vaults, merlons, moldings framing the upper part of windows and doors, etc. (Carrero Santamaría, 2023, pp. 37–

38). The term "Mozarabic" was popularized by M. Gómez Moreno (1919) in his book *Iglesias mozárabes. Arte español de los siglos IX a XI.* However, some rejected this designation due to its ethnic and political connotations, [35] and therefore, alternative terms were proposed, such as "repopulation art," "frontier architecture," etc.[36]

It is hard to talk about the influences of the Visigothic or Mozarabic architecture in Catalonia, as most of the constructions from this period have not been preserved. One of the rare surviving Visigothic constructions is the Episcopal complex at Égara (Terrassa), which represents a remarkable continuity of construction from the Visigothic era to its Romanesque transformations in the 12th century (Sánchez Márquez, 2019a, p. 8). Notably, the complex in Égara is the only one among the ancient Episcopal sees of the West (5th-8th centuries) that still preserves mural paintings in the apses of its three churches (Sánchez Márquez, 2019b). These frescoes reflect the interaction between Hispano-Christian and Visigothic cultures, along with the reception of Byzantine artistic influences. This interchange is also evident in the architecture (Sánchez Márquez, 2020, p. 62). The church of Sant Miquel, dated to the 6th century, is practically conserved in its original form. Its architectural layout consists of a square exterior floor plan with an inscribed Greek cross, a heptagonal apse, and eight central columns supporting a dome on squinches (Garcia Llinares et al., 2017, pp. 184–187). Another important Visigothic

[35] Camón Aznar, José. "Arquitectura española del siglo X. Mozárabe y de la repoblación." *Goya: Revista de arte*, no. 52 (1963): 206–19.; Bango Torviso, Isidro G. "Arquitectura de la decima centuria: ¿Repoblación o mozárabe?" *Goya: Revista de arte*, no. 122 (1974): 68–75.; Lorenzo Arribas, José Miguel. "«Iglesias Mozárabes» (2019)). Cien Años de Un Libro.," November 9, 2019.

[36] The problem with the term "Mozarabic" is that first of all, it is an ethnic concept applied to the art style, and in the second place, it is polysemic—it was used for the creations by the Islamized Christians living in Al-Andalus and also for the emigrated Christians who fled from Al-Andalus to the Christian territory (Lorenzo Arribas, 2019).

construction was for sure the cathedral in Barcelona. Unfortunately, it was not conserved, and only two capitals from this period have survived (Beltrán de Heredia Bercero & Rodà de Llanza, 2020).

Mozarabic architecture, which combined Visigothic and Hispano-Muslim elements, could have also influenced later architecture with the use of Greek-cross floor plans, domes on squinches, and sculptural decoration in the form of multifoil arches and ornamentation (Villagrassa, 2013). Therefore, we might say that Mozarabic was a transitional form, which carried Visigothic elements into the early phases of the Romanesque style. Nevertheless, the debates about the Visigothic, Mozarabic and Islamic influences often posed significant challenges in the historiography.

While one group of scholars claims Muslim influence as a formative element of a national style, others reject this notion and insist on Christian origins of Spain and its art and architecture (Carrero Santamaría, 2023, p. 40). For example, Gaillard argued that Islamic art played a foundational role in the formation of Romanesque architecture. According to him, Christian builders, who had lost technical skills, relearned the technique of large ashlar masonry and sculpture from the Umayyads (Gaillard, 1956, pp. 34–35). He saw Catalonia as an intermediary through which Islamic art contributed to the formation of Romanesque. In contrast, scholars such as Puig i Cadafalch strongly denied any Islamic influence and insisted on Christian origins instead.[37] He claimed that Muslim influences had no presence in the Catalan territory and asserted that Catalan architecture had its origins in Roman heritage (Puig i Cadafalch, 1909a, p. 37).

[37] One such element that was often a point of discussion when it comes to its origins is the horseshoe arch. While some authors connected it directly with the Islamic influence, it was also claimed that they were already used in the Early Christian architecture (Barral i Altet, 1981, p. 95).

These debates, however, overlook the historical complexity of the early medieval Iberian Peninsula. Scholars have often focused on creating more and more labels: Visigothic, Asturian, and Mozarabic. Nevertheless, it was forgotten that all of these different styles actually have as many similarities as differences (Carrero Santamaría, 2023, p. 40). Rather than focusing on clear-cut origins, it would be more productive to approach early medieval architecture in the Iberian Peninsula as the result of dynamic exchanges and mutual influences and constant evolution. These styles should be understood not as isolated phenomena but as an ongoing architectural dialogue that reflects the cultural diversity of the period.

6.5. Should the architecture of the 11th century be called "First Romanesque," as proposed by Puig i Cadafalch?

After the previous discussion of different elements that coexisted in the 11th-century architecture in the Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties, the question is, should this architecture still be called "First Romanesque," as Puig i Cadafalch proposed?

Puig i Cadafalch defined the "First Romanesque" as an artistic movement spanning the 11th century that included territories from southern Italy and the Dalmatian coast to the other side of the Mediterranean, with France and Catalonia, including the Rhone and Saone Valleys, and extending along the Rhine River to the Netherlands. He identified several key architectural elements that appear in these edifices and that bind the architectural production of this large geographical space. These elements include the integration of lesenes and blind arches on exterior walls, the use of vaults, the application of meticulous small masonry techniques, and tall towers (Puig i Cadafalch, 1930).

The denomination of this architecture as "First Romanesque" was a subject of discussion among art historians for several decades, and to this day it is a relevant subject. For example, in 2009 there was a conference, *Le 'Premier Art Roman' Cent Ans Après:*

La Construction Entre Saône et Pô Autour de l'an Mil: Études Comparatives, where art historians from different countries discussed the "First Romanesque."[38]

After Puig i Cadafalch coined the term "First Romanesque," a great number of responses came from art historians from Spain and France. For instance, H. Focillon (1938, p. 54) argued that this term elevated a regional phenomenon to the status of a pan-European movement, and therefore, he questioned the term's applicability. P. Francastel (1970, p. 47), on the other hand, criticized the fact that Puig i Cadafalch did not describe distinct time phases within the "First Romanesque" but instead treated the whole century's art production across a huge geographical scope as one. Furthermore, J. Henriet (1992) apprised of the potentially exclusionary nature of the term, since it risked overlooking influences from diverse cultural traditions.

M. Durliat (1972, pp. 46, 48) also discussed Puig i Cadafalch's terminology and the reliance on criteria such as wall decoration and construction materials. He emphasized the diversity of art production throughout the 11th century across different European territories, citing examples that do not include the characteristics typically associated with the "First Romanesque," such as Sant Pere de Rodes. Similarly, I. Lorés i Otzet (2005) discussed the oversimplified view of the 11th-century architecture in Catalonia, promoted by Puig i Cadafalch's definition of the "First Romanesque." The author underlined churches from the same period that diverged from the traditional attributes of the "First Romanesque," such as Sant Pere de Rodes and Sant Andreu de Sureda.

In Croatian art history, the term was also questioned, principally by M. Jurković and I. Marić (2012), who highlighted that the "novelties" attributed to the "First Romanesque" by Puig i Cadafalch had actually long been present in Croatian territory. For instance, the use of lesenes on the exterior walls traces back to the 5th century, when

[38] These articles are collected and edited by Eliane Vergnolle (2012).

they functioned as buttresses. What is new, however, is the addition of blind arches above the lesenes in the 11th century. Additionally, the use of small quarry stones in construction practices can be found here from Antiquity. Also, while Puig i Cadafalch emphasized vaulting as a defining feature of the "First Romanesque," churches in the Kingdom of Croatia had already used barrel vaults to cover entire buildings from as early as the 9th century.[39]

Despite its limitations, the term “First Romanesque” has maintained an important place in art history and is still often in use. The challenge, however, lies in the heterogeneous nature of 11th-century architecture. As we have seen, only inside Croatia or Catalonia are there so many different solutions and dispositions, but the diversity is even more visible when we compare these two territories. Just as one example: while there is an appearance of exterior sculpture and narrative scenes in Croatia, in Catalonia this is something that will only become characteristic during the 12th century.

We can conclude that a classification under one term results in insufficiency and risks oversimplification. We already mentioned before that terms in art history can often be dangerous, and it is necessary to keep in mind that they were created by art historians to facilitate the study of art and architecture. Instead of “First Romanesque,” we prefer the term “Early Romanesque,” which is implemented throughout this work. It refers to a period and not merely to a style, and therefore it makes it possible to acknowledge the heterogeneity of this period and its role as a precursor to the more mature Romanesque.

[39] This discussion was also present among art historians of other countries, for instance in Germany. Puig i Cadafalch excluded the German territory from his geographical framework of "First Romanesque" architecture, which was challenged by several German art historians, who highlighted several churches in Germany that had comparable architectural elements (Hassinger, 1947; Grodecki, 1958; Harmann-Virnich, 2009).

6.6. Conclusions

The discussion of regional and international influences on specific monuments or periods is a common practice in art history. However, it is not possible to establish direct connections between two monuments simply by comparing their architectural forms and solutions. Assigning influences from one country to another can, moreover, be risky, as it can carry political connotations and can lead to oversimplification. This is why the era of broad generalizations about influences is coming to an end. What is necessary in the research is a more thorough study of historical connections (Zsolt Szakács, 2008).

The art of one territory holds little value, as the "territory" itself lacks agency in influencing artistic development. Instead, it serves as a social construct for further creation. Human imagination, conditioned by societal norms, is what drives artistic production. Throughout history it was the ruling elite who acted as primary patrons of art and who dictated changes and innovations that shaped various art forms (Behaim, 2021, p. 234).

The 11th century represents a complex period of social, artistic, political, and ecclesiastical dynamics. As shown in this chapter, the churches erected during this era cannot be easily categorized under labels like "peripheral," "provincialized," or "First Romanesque" art. Similarly, attributing direct influences between territories can be quite a challenging practice.

Over the span of this century, the ideas were predominantly exchanged through the travels of aristocrats and clergymen, and the study of architecture should be continued within this framework. Moreover, attempting to group all buildings under a singular term for analysis proves futile. Instead, it is necessary to examine each specific building, its social and historical context, the patronage behind its creation, the existing documents, etc. And it is only then that we can begin to unravel the complexity of direct influences.

7. Romanesque art as a symbol of national identity?

During medieval times, the word “nation” did not have the same connotations as it has today; it was only used to identify someone’s place of origin. However, maps started to be used in the 17th century, strictly depicting the territory belonging to each country (Quek, 2012, p. 2) Throughout the 18th century, national awareness began to rise, and people started to identify themselves with groups based on their nationality. B. R. O. Anderson (2016) named these newly constructed groups as “imagined communities.” National aspirations, which had only begun to be apparent in the 18th century, reached their culmination during the 19th century, and after 1800, national movements proliferated across Europe along with a number of intellectual and cultural endeavors that sought to find a symbol of national identity. European countries were seeking something distinctive that would distinguish their nation from all others and that would prove their independence and national roots. In this sense, it was considered that only when the nation gets to know its history can it really know itself. Obviously, intellectuals, scientists, and researchers played a very significant role in spreading the national ideas.

In the heat of the 19th-century national movements, science was also awakening in European countries. Numerous scientific disciplines were developing at this time, and art history was also one of them. The ideas and reflections of intellectuals were easy to spread thanks to the “second printing revolution” (Taylor Woods, 2016, p. 430). Additionally, it is obvious that the written word was much more enduring than the spoken word and that it could travel farther and to a bigger number of people. In this way, the writings of intellectuals had a great influence on society at the time and helped national ideals spread throughout Europe. Furthermore, it is important to note that the 19th century saw an increase in the number of middle-class students enrolling in universities, where

they encountered numerous intellectuals and publications discussing national movements and ideas (Leerssen, 2014, p. 13).

Along with the rise of science and written publications, the first railways as well greatly facilitated the search for a symbol of national identity, as they made traveling over longer distances possible. Excursions quickly became popular among 19th-century society, eager to learn more about its cultural past. While the first travelers were focused on Roman and Greek art, from the second third of the 19th century, the greatest attention was paid to the rediscovery of the medieval artistic legacy (Barral i Altet, 1991). The 19th century saw the founding of several associations for art historians, archaeologists, scholars, and admirers of nature and cultural heritage. They began to rediscover early medieval art, which had been forgotten for centuries. Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque churches, the majority of which were situated in remote locations that were formerly impossible to access, attracted particular attention. Furthermore, the Romanesque frescoes and sculptures in these churches were often forgotten and hidden behind the latter imposing Gothic or Baroque altars. With the first voyagers, this old art was rediscovered, and it was highly romanticized. In the context of nationalist movements, the romantic perspective on Romanesque art was born. Before, all regions of Europe were looking back to the Antiquity and the Roman past that they shared, but in the 19th century, Europe sought something unique, something that was incomparable with other regions and countries, and that was found in the Romanesque art and architecture (Barral i Altet, 2009b, p. 24). People were drawn to the old Romanesque churches and pieces of art because of their ancientness, mysticism, and simplicity, and many nations found their national symbols in this era's artistic heritage. This was because this was the art created at the time when the borders of Europe first began to look like we know them today; Romanesque churches were in many cases built at the same time as the present-day

European states were being created. In addition, very often these churches were closely related to the first national rulers and are material evidence of the first artistic expressions of European nations.

In the following chapters, we will explore the 19th-century national movements and rediscovery of the Romanesque legacy in Croatia and in Catalonia. We will discuss how and why the art of this period was taken as a symbol of national identity throughout the 19th and 20th centuries in these areas, and finally, we will see if this art still has a role as a national symbol in the present day or if this connection between art and politics belongs to the past centuries.

7.1. Early Romanesque art as a symbol of national identity?

In this part of the chapter, we will see how the “Old Croatian” art was used in political contexts throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. We will also see whether the elements of this medieval art still hold value today as a symbol of national identity. In this PhD thesis, the 11th-century architecture is the primary focus, while the sculpture is mentioned as part of the broader monumental architectural landscape. However, we will here observe that when discussing "Old Croatian" art as a national symbol, it is hard to separate the architecture and the sculpture, as the sculptural decoration from these churches was primarily employed to represent political and national ideologies.

7.1.2. Croatia in the 19th century

The national movements of the 19th century quickly spread to the Balkans. Prior to this time, the people in the Balkans did not distinguish themselves according to nationality; rather, religion was the primary means of identification and categorization. While the definition of a nation as such and the awareness of the national identity did

exist, the importance of religion, social status, or profession was greater (Mishkova, 2020, p. 63).

The desire for a national revival, for emphasizing one's nation and the uniqueness of its roots and history, quickly appeared in Croatian territory in the 19th century. The national movements in Croatia started to be used as a political tool against political "oppressions." Nearly the whole history of Croats, from their arrival to this area until the 19th century, was shaped by foreign rulers: Hungarians, Venetians, and Ottomans, and during the 19th century, the Croatian territory was found under the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The only periods of Croatian political independence were the last decades of the Duchy of Croatia (888-925) and the period of the Kingdom of Croatia (925-1102). During the national revival in the 19th century, the idea was to reconstruct the powerful history of the Croats in order to awaken them from the centuries-long period during which their nationality was suppressed under foreign rulers (Vedriš, 2017, p. 69). For this very reason, the two centuries of the Kingdom of Croatia were of great importance in the process of forming the Croatian national identity during the 19th century.

The 19th century in Croatia represented a long period of modernization and national integration while following the Western European models. However, the Croatian desire for the unification of the entire nation had one problem—the language, the most important element of the national identity. Namely, in the 19th century in Croatian territory, three dialects were spoken: *Kajkavian*, *Štokavian*, and *Čakavian*. Croatian intellectuals wanted to resolve this issue following the solutions of the West, and in this way, the Croatian national revival was born in 1830. The *Štokavian* dialect was chosen as the official language of the nation, which permitted the development of literature, theater, opera, and newspapers. The culmination of this cultural improvement

took place in 1866 with the establishment of the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Arts in Zagreb and the University of Zagreb eight years later.

In the midst of the national revival and establishment of scientific disciplines and institutions, the first associations of historians, art historians, and archaeologists were founded. Their main focus was on medieval art. Croatian researchers worked in two groups, *Hrvatsko starinsko društvo*, established in 1887, and *Bihać*, founded in 1894 in Split.

Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski was a key figure of the national revival. He is mostly known to the Croatian public as the first parliamentary representative who delivered a speech in Croatian. Additionally, he was a writer, historian, conservator, archivist, and art collector. He traveled a lot, collecting artworks and documenting anything he found important to prevent it from being forgotten. There were other individuals as well who, drawn to medieval art, began traveling throughout Croatia in search of old, sometimes forgotten buildings. For instance, Mijat Sabljat traveled through Dalmatia in 1852, while collecting notes about churches that he was finding. Another local researcher was Frano Bulić, who wrote a monograph about the Croatian pre-Romanesque and Romanesque liturgical furniture, published in 1888. Finally, because of the railroads and improved travel options, Croatian territory has drawn international academics interested in its medieval past. The Dalmatian medieval monuments, for instance, were the subject of a monograph written by Vienna conservator Rudolf von Eitelberger. Moreover, in the 19th century the first museum collections were established. *Prvi muzej hrvatskih spomenika* ("The first museum of the Croatian monuments") was established in Knin in 1893, and it started publishing a journal, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*.

The elements that most people accepted as markers of Croatian identity at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century were the Croatian language, Latin script,

Christianity, affiliation with the Western European circle, millennia-old culture, artistic works created after the presumed arrival of Croats in the 7th century, and the desire for an independent state, whose roots were sought in the early medieval Kingdom of Croatia. In order to support these elements, historiography and literature created various legends and myths, such as the myth of the crowning of King Tomislav in Duvno, an event whose authenticity has not been historically confirmed. These legends and symbols, created in this way, continued to be used and popularized during the national revival of the 19th century and persisted into the complex 20th century.

7.1.3. Croatia in the 20th century

In the Croatian 20th century, there were numerous political changes. In 1918, Croatia left the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, and it became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In 1939, the autonomous Banovina of Croatia was established within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which dissolved in 1941. During World War II, precisely in 1941, the Independent State of Croatia was founded. From 1945, Croatia was found within socialist Yugoslavia. In 1967, the so-called Croatian Spring occurred, and its objective was to oppose the merging of Croatian and Serbian languages into one language, namely Serbo-Croatian. In 1991, Croatian independence was declared, and this event was followed by the Croatian War of Independence.

In this atmosphere of different political ideologies, elements of the Old Croatian art were used in different ways, and different meanings were attributed to them, depending on the needs of a certain ideology. As Kertzer (1988, pp. 9–10) explains, symbols help us to attribute meaning to the world to which we belong by linking the past with the present. Therefore, history is precisely a strategy extensively used in creating symbols and their meanings, with historical events being taken as symbols even though their occurrence is not necessarily confirmed. This understanding of historical events is

clearly visible in the myth of King Tomislav, where ideologies promoting the idea of Yugoslavism emphasized Tomislav's cooperation with Serbs during the war against the Bulgarians, while those advocating for an independent Croatian state highlighted the myth of Tomislav's coronation (Budak, 2010, pp. 8–9), namely the coronation of the first Croatian king in the 10th century.

The 20th century was also marked by various events aimed at commemorating early medieval events of the Croatian nation, with symbols used for promotion mainly being those from Old Croatian art.

The first major event was the Celebration of the Thousandth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Kingdom of Croatia in 1925. The aim of this event was to strengthen national consciousness and build national identity. It was organized in that year because the so-called Tomislav's coronation in Duvno supposedly took place in 925, although this event and its dating are not confirmed in today's historiography. As a symbol of the celebration, besides the chessboard and the flag, the Old Croatian interlace was widely used (Jareb, 2017, pp. 51, 235).

Another significant event that popularized the use of Old Croatian motifs in its symbols was the manifestation Thirteen Centuries of Christianity among Croats (1975-1984). As part of this event, various commemorations of early medieval events were organized. For example, 1976 was the "Year of Queen Helen," marking 1000 years since her death. The 1979, on the other side, was the "Year of Prince Branimir," marking 1100 years since the recognition of the Croatian state by Pope John VIII. This movement extensively used Old Croatian motifs, especially the gable with the depiction of the Virgin Mary from Biskupija near Knin from the 11th century and the Croatian Votive Cross, created in 1979, consisting of several early medieval elements (interlace, Višeslav's baptistery, gable from the time of Prince Branimir, and gable with the depiction of the

Virgin Mary from Biskupija). The organizers of this event encouraged the production of a large number of replicas of these early medieval monuments so their representations could be found on calendars, medals, etc., and thus found their way into many homes, where they still are today, becoming part of the collective identity (Vedriš, 2017, pp. 89–91).

7.1.4. Symbols of national identity?

As it is already known, Croats have been under foreign rulers for most of their history, and the period of their only political independence was the last decades of the Croatian Duchy and Kingdom of Croatia. The so-called Old Croatian art (its name alludes to the old, or first, days of the Croatian nation), or the art of the pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque periods that emerged during the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, arose precisely during the Kingdom of Croatia and the rule of the first national leaders. It represents the first artistic expressions of the Croatian people, and the churches built during these centuries constitute the first cultural landscape, created during the construction of the first Croatian state and cultural identity. In Old Croatian churches, a large number of stone fragments with dedicatory inscriptions have been found, leading Delonga (2009) to mention that Croatia has a true "archive in stone." The following pages will present selected motifs taken from 11th-century art and architecture, which were used during the 19th and 20th centuries, including interlace patterns, the Old Croatian crown, and the gable with the depiction of the Virgin Mary from Biskupija near Knin. Their use in different contexts will be discussed, and finally, their current role, if any, similar to the one they had over the past two centuries, will be examined.

The "Croatian interlace"

In the 19th century, "pleter," the interlace pattern, began to be interpreted as an original Croatian motif (Budak, 2009, p. 256). Nevertheless, it has to be said that it is not specific to this region alone. This three-stranded ribbon had already appeared in classical art and later spread to early medieval sculpture in the Carolingian Empire, France, Italy, Byzantium, and Croatia. Bulić's book *Hrvatski spomenici u kninskoj okolici uz ostale suvremene dalmatinske iz doba narodne hrvatske dinastije* (1888), which for the first time gathered numerous pre-Romanesque monuments in one place and made them accessible. In this book, the broader public could see various interlace decorations that adorned Croatian Pre-Romanesque sculpture. However, at this point, interlace had not yet been popularized. In 1907, the painter Bela Csikos Sesija designed the flag of the Croatian University, using the interlace motif, which was the first example of such use (Fig. 80). After the Celebration of the Thousandth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Kingdom of Croatia in 1925, during which interlace, along with the checkerboard flag and Old Croatian crown, was one of the main symbols, its popularization and widespread use began. In the years around the 1925 celebration, various books on the early medieval history of Croats were published, adorned with interlace patterns on their covers. Some of the books with interlace on the front cover were Ferdo Šišić's *Povijest Hrvata* (Fig. 81) and Josef Strzygowski's *Starohrvatska umjetnost* (Fig. 82). A decade later, during the existence of the Banovina of Croatia, the interlace continued its existence as the most important symbol of this political entity. The later Independent State of Croatia also adopted interlace as one of its main visual symbols (Jareb, 2017).

It is interesting that interlace is still very often present as a symbol of Croatian national identity today. Interlace is not only recognized by art historians as an element of pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque sculpture but is also acknowledged by the

general public. In the popular Croatian culture, it can often be heard that wherever the interlace is found, Croats were also present there, although this is not correct. It is also noteworthy to mention that books published in the last few years discussing Croatian national symbols in general, such as *Hrvatski nacionalni simboli* by Mario Jareb (Fig. 83) or *Hrvatski simbolički identitet* by Tijana Trako Poljak (Fig. 84), have an interlace on their cover pages.

The Old Croatian crown

Another medieval element that started to be used in the 19th century in the political context is the Old Croatian crown. Although it is not precisely known how this Old Croatian crown looked, it is assumed that it was adorned with jewels and that it had three crosses at the top. This design of the crown was adopted from the relief from the 11th century found in the baptistery in Split, which depicts a ruler wearing a crown (Fig. 26) (Jareb, 2014, pp. 18–19).

As mentioned earlier, during the celebration of the thousandth anniversary of the coronation of the first Croatian king, Tomislav, besides the checkerboard and flag, the interlace and the Old Croatian crown were also used as visual symbols. Similar to what happened with the interlace, the crown as a visual symbol began to be frequently used since then. In the same year, 1925, Ljubo Babić created a poster depicting Croatian rulers, all crowned with a crown whose design was taken from the relief in the Split baptistery (Fig. 85) (Jareb, 2017, pp. 235, 242).

When the Independent State of Croatia was established, the use of the depiction of this crown increased significantly. The Old Croatian crown was adopted as a symbol of the sovereignty of this political entity. After World War II, the symbol was not banned, but there was no longer a place for it in Yugoslavia. With the establishment of the independent Republic of Croatia in the 1990s, the crown began to be used again to some

extent, and today it can be found on the coats of arms of several counties, for example Šibenik-Knin and Split-Dalmatia counties (Fig. 86) (Jareb, 2014, pp. 26, 27).

The Old Croatian crown is still present in the culture today. For example, King Tomislav in the monumental equestrian sculpture by sculptor Robert Frangeš Mihanović in Zagreb wears precisely such a crown (Fig. 87). Furthermore, the Virgin Mary and the baby Jesus in the sculpture located in the sanctuary of Marija Bistrica, which became a Croatian national shrine in the 17th century, are also crowned with Old Croatian crowns (Fig. 88) (Jareb, 2014, p. 24).

Although the Old Croatian crown is quite commonly used today, it is not one of the more important symbols of Croatian national identity, such as the coat of arms, flag, or interlace (Jareb, 2017, p. 247).

The gable with the depiction of the Virgin Mary from Biskupija near Knin

After several centuries of pre-Romanesque sculpture that was mostly adorned with geometric decorations, the 11th century witnessed a resurgence of human figures in sculpture. Particularly interesting is the existence of a group of reliefs from this century depicting the Virgin Mary. Biskupija near Knin represented the center of the early medieval Croatian state. From the 9th century, it housed the mausoleum of Croatian rulers, and in the 11th century, the church of St. Mary was reconsecrated in the presence of King Dmitar Zvonimir, becoming the cathedral of the Croatian bishop (Jurković, 1998, p. 63, 64, 68). Two reliefs depicting the Virgin Mary originate from Biskupija: one tympanum and the central gable of the altar screen.

During the celebration of the 1300th anniversary of Christianity in Croatia, the gable with the depiction of the Virgin Orans from Biskupija toured the entire country, becoming a symbol of the Thirteen Centuries of Christianity among the Croats event (Fig.

89). During the celebration of Helen's Year in 1976 in Solin, Cardinal Franjo Šeper blessed this relief. It was considered to be the first depiction of the Virgin Mary in Croatian art, and the gable served well because "the Virgin Mary became the faithful Croatian Advocate, preserving thirteen centuries of Christian and national roots from the 8th century to the present day"[40] (Tašev, 2018).

Six replicas of the so-called *Our Lady of the Great Croatian Covenant*, as the gable was called at that time, were donated for veneration to the Croatian pilgrim house in Rome, the Franciscan monastery in Imotski, the Sanctuary of Our Lady in Biskupija near Knin, the church of St. Stošija in Zadar, the Croatian Catholic Mission in Stuttgart, and the Military Ordinariate of Croatia. The Virgin Mary from this gable became the patroness of the Military Diocese and Croatian veterans. Additionally, a large number of small copies of the gable were made and gifted to the faithful as a symbol of Croatian Catholic history, so these depictions can still often be found on the walls of Croatian Catholic homes (Fig. 90)

7.1.5. Conclusions: Are the Early Romanesque motifs still used as symbols of national identity? And what about architecture?

On the previous pages, we have seen how motifs from Early Romanesque monuments were used during the 19th and 20th centuries as symbols of national identity in various contexts and ideologies. Ultimately, the question arises about their role in the 21st century and whether they are still used as Croatian national symbols.

The new century and the year 2000 brought a new context for the use of this art, notably through the large exhibition titled “Croats and Carolingians” held at the Museum

[40] Translated from Croatian: “Bogorodica postala vjerna hrvatska Odvjetnica, jer je od 8. stoljeća do danas sačuvala trinaestostoljetne kršćanske i narodne korijene” (Tašev, 2018).

of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split as part of the international project "Charlemagne—Creating Europe." This exhibition involved several other cities, including Paderborn, Barcelona, Brescia, and York. While by the end of the 20th century Old Croatian art was used to emphasize the desire for an independent state, at the beginning of the 21st century, its role was to confirm that Croatia belongs to the Western European sphere, serving as solid evidence for why Croatia should join the European Union. Thus, the Kingdom of Croatia supported the Republic of Croatia on its path to join the rest of Europe (Budak, 2009, pp. 260–262). In the foreword of the exhibition catalogue, Jurković and Milošević (2000) noted that the mayors of Paderborn, Barcelona, Brescia, and Split emphasized that participation in the project was important for highlighting their national identity while simultaneously confirming mutual ties that support European cooperation. The project's most significant guiding idea is that the planned exhibitions are "an opportunity for dialogue and comparisons, a chance to remove boundaries, obstacles, and distances, becoming a means of mutual understanding, respect, and appreciation," which is indeed the fundamental idea of contemporary Europe.[41] In 2025, the 1100th anniversary of the coronation of Tomislav is celebrated, and a series of events, exhibitions, and scientific conferences are organized across the country.

In conclusion, it is also necessary to highlight the issue of Old Croatian architecture in the context of the symbols of the national identity. Namely, churches built between the 9th and 11th centuries are often of great significance for Croatian history and are directly connected to national rulers. For example, it is assumed that the church of St.

[41] Translated from Croatian, "prilika za dijalog i komparacije, prilika za otklanjanje granica, prepreka i udaljenost, te postaju sredstvo uzajamnog razumijevanja, štovanja i uvažavanja', a to i jest temeljna ideja suvremene Europe" (Jurković & Milošević, 2000).

Martha in Bijaći was built by Duke Mislav or Trpimir in the first half of the 9th century (Jelovina, 1999, p. 99), and Duke Trpimir also founded a monastery in Rižinice near Split. Additionally, donations from Croatian kings for the construction of churches are recorded, such as King Petar Krešimir IV, who built the churches of St. John and St. Thomas in Biograd. Perhaps the most significant church of Early Romanesque architecture from the 11th century is the church of St. Peter and Moses in Solin, where Dmitar Zvonimir was crowned by Pope Gregory VII's legate. However, in the majority of cases, these archaeological sites today can be found in very poor condition, without even good presentations for the visitors. Moreover, besides historians, art historians, and archaeologists, very few people are interested in or knowledgeable about these monuments.

Therefore, the question arises, how is it possible that certain symbols from Old Croatian monuments (such as the interlace pattern and other motifs mentioned in the work) have been adopted as symbols of national identity and are still to some extent used as an important part of visual identity, while the buildings from which these fragments originate are practically neglected? According to historian Budak (2009, p. 253), such an attitude towards Old Croatian buildings indicates that the "real history" is of little importance in creating modern myths. The reason might also lie in the fact that these Old Croatian buildings are mostly in a ruinous state, with only the lower walls and remnants of the support system preserved, while fragments of sculpture are better preserved and conserved in museums.

The next question that arises from this consideration is whether 'ordinary people' are aware that these motifs, which are often used as elements of visual and national identity, are of early medieval origin. Regardless, it seems that these Old Croatian

symbols have become established thanks to 19th-century historiography and have continued to be used in the 20th and even the 21st centuries.

Finally, answering the question from the introduction about whether Old Croatian symbols are still relevant in the 21st century and if there is still a need for them, we could say that they are still present to varying degrees. While the coat of arms and flag are today the most significant visual symbols of Croatian identity, from the Old Croatian motifs used over the last two centuries, the interlace pattern still plays a very significant role. On the other hand, other elements discussed in this work, such as the Old Croatian crown or the gable with the depiction of the Virgin Mary from Biskupija, remain recognizable elements of Croatian culture. However, they cannot be considered universally accepted symbols of national identity.

7.2. Romanesque art as a symbol of Catalan national identity?

7.2.1. The history of the Catalan search for independence

Catalonia, today an autonomous region in Spain, has been searching for independence and national identity for centuries. The first desire for separation appeared in the 10th century, during the Moorish conquests in this territory (Eaude, 2008, p. 33). In 988, Count Borrell broke all ties with the remnants of the former Frankish Empire because of the inability of the Franks to defend them from the attacks. Symbolically, this year is considered the birth year of the Catalan nation (Castells, 2002, p. 52). In the 12th century, Catalan Counties mostly achieved their independence, and Barcelona became the most powerful county. An important moment occurred in 1137 when Ramon Berenguer, Count of Barcelona, got engaged to the Aragonese queen, whom he then married in 1150. By that time, Catalonia had already expanded to the Balearic Islands and the southern region of France. In the mid-12th century, they conquered Valencia; therefore, Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia became three separate kingdoms, each with its autonomy, but united under the name the Crown of Aragon, which expanded across the Mediterranean during the 13th century, including Sicily and Sardinia (Smith, 2004, p. 9).

With the marriage of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile in 1479, known as the Catholic Monarchs (*Reyes Católicos*), Aragon and Castile were united. The territory formed with this union resembles the borders of the Kingdom of Spain as it is today. The reason for the union of the territory was to make easier the fight against the Moors. This aim was achieved in 1492, when the Catholic Monarchs managed to free Granada, the last Moorish capital on the Iberian Peninsula. During the 17th century, the first Catalan rebellions happened, as they felt marginalized in the Kingdom. At that time, Catalonia was already being referred to as *pàtria* (homeland). Thus, a war known today

as the War of the Reapers (*La Guerra dels Segadors*) began, and it consisted of several peasant uprisings between 1640 and 1652. It was the first declaration of Catalonia's independence from Spain, although they fell under Spanish rule again in 1652. Interestingly, even the current Catalan anthem, *Els Segadors*, dates from that time.

7.2.2. Catalonia in the 19th century

At the end of the 18th century, numerous intellectuals started to study the political, economic, and literary history of Catalonia, with the objective of finding a symbol of national identity (Balcells, 1996, p. 25). This search for a national symbol became even more important at the beginning of the 19th century with the surge of national movements, and this is when the so-called *renaixença* began. The publication of Carles Aribau's *Oda a la Pàtria* (Ode to the Homeland) in 1833 marked the beginning of this Renaissance of Catalan language and culture. During the 19th century, there was a revival of the Catalan language, bibliography, art, and architecture, particularly with the architectural style known as *el modernisme*. Barcelona's industrialization made it imperative for the Catalan metropolis to develop its own distinctive architectural style. Moreover, several organizations were founded with the purpose of spreading the consciousness of the Catalan culture and identity. For example, *Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científiques* (Catalan Association of Scientific Excursions) intended to learn about the beautiful landscapes and locations in Catalonia and then share them with the rest of the society. *Orfeó Català*, on the other hand, disseminated the Catalan language through music. Furthermore, art historians and archaeologists found a symbol of national identity in Romanesque churches hidden in the Pyrenees. However, this is where the question appears: Why was the Romanesque preferred, even though other art styles had more achievements and even importance in the development of art and architecture? What led to the Romanesque being a 19th-century symbol of national identity? Why were

different architects, artists, and writers of the era, like Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Lluis Domenech i Montaner, Pablo Picasso, André Breton, and Francisco Picabia, fascinated by the Romanesque churches (Castiñeiras & Camps, 2009, p. 21)?

7.2.3. First visitors attracted by the Pyrenean cultural heritage

Since the 18th century, the Catalan mountains and their thermal waters have attracted numerous excursionists, not only from Spain but also from France. However, it seems that in those early trips, the visitors were primarily interested in the nature. For example, in Francisco de Zamora's travel diary *Diario de los viajes hechos por Cataluña* (1973), we can see that he was predominantly interested in thermal waters as a major attraction, while he does not show significant interest in the artistic heritage of the area. On the other side, some French researchers did notice the importance of the cultural heritage in the Pyrenees. For example, Viollet-le-Duc traveled to the Pyrenees in 1833 and documented his visits with paintings of landscapes and Romanesque churches. It is interesting that even some artists, such as Santiago Rusiñol and Lluis Rigalt, traveled through the Romanesque heritage of the Catalan mountains in search of inspiration for their works.

With the improvement of railway connections, an increasing number of visitors began to visit the Pyrenees, and the travels of the writer Jacint Verdaguer between 1878 and 1884 were particularly significant. He left his memories and experiences recorded in his writings and verses of his poems. "I saw the Catalan muse in the sky…" (Verdaguer, 1888); this is how this great Catalan writer of the 19th century described the Pyrenees, which at the same time represented a return to the past, a symbol of the Catalan nation, the muse of art and culture, and an escape to a natural paradise.

7.2.4. Archaeological-Juridical Mission to the Aragon Border Area

Although scientific excursions existed as early as the 18th century, during the 19th century, they gained a significant role among researchers, and in Catalonia, organizations were established with the aim of searching for a symbol of national identity. Some of the most significant newly established organizations were *L'Assosiació Catalanista d'Excursions Científica*, founded in 1876, and *L'Assosiació d'Excursions Catalana*, established a year later.

At the beginning of the 20th century, these excursions led to important discoveries and a turning point in the search for a distinct substratum that began to represent Catalan cultural and national identity. In 1904, the architect Lluis Domenech i Montaner traveled for the first time to the Pyrenees in search of Romanesque monuments. He wanted to write a book in which he would include the complete history of the Catalan Romanesque, but unfortunately, he never finalized this idea. However, he created different drawings, photographs (Fig. 91), and notes about the churches he visited, and his journey preceded the archaeological-legal mission undertaken three years later by the Institute for Catalan Studies, led by Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Domenech's student and collaborator. This trip to the Pyrenean landscapes meant a rediscovery of Romanesque art and, consequently, the search for the symbol of Catalan national identity (Sala, 2015, pp. 383–384). The main goal of the mission was to document all the monuments that Domènech i Montaner had visited during their journey.

As already mentioned, the mission was led by Josep Puig i Cadafalch. Another of the participants was Josep Gudiol i Cunill, an archaeologist, historian, conservator, and director of the Episcopal Museum in Vic. He made notes and drawings in his notebooks that today serve us as a direct insight into the mission. Josep Goday, an architect and art historian, was responsible for analyzing the monuments, and the photographer Adolf Mas

documented the churches, their paintings, and sculptures, as well as interesting moments from the expedition itself (Fig. 92). His photographs are now kept in the Mas Archive at the *Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico* in Barcelona. Guillem Maria de Brocà, a lawyer, played an important role in resolving all possible legal issues and problems related to the monuments that interested the researchers.

This group of researchers started their journey on August 30, 1907. They visited monuments in Languedoc, then in Vall d'Aran in Ribagorça, and finally, in Vall de Boí. With the information they gathered during their journey, the Institute published a series of works upon their return, addressing Catalan Romanesque architecture, painting, and sculpture. The *Anuari de l'Institut d'estudis catalans* started to be published periodically in 1907. All the knowledge from the mission was compiled into four volumes of the book *Les pintures murals catalanes* (1907, 1910, 1911, 1921), including color copies created by Joan Vallhonrat. At the same time, Puig i Cadafalch, with the help of Antoni Falguera and Josep Goday, worked on the four volumes of the series *L'arquitectura romànica catalana*, published from 1909 until 1918. The authors wrote about the Romanesque churches, accompanied by photographs made by Mas on the expedition, which serve as a witness of the first encounter with the monuments that would later become a symbol of the Catalan nation.

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The discovery of Romanesque churches and frescoes in the Pyrenees had its good and bad sides. The good side, of course, was the revaluation of cultural heritage, while the bad side was the emergence of numerous collectors who aimed to buy these frescoes and eventually sell them abroad (García Cuetos, 2018, p. 334). While some frescoes were sold to the USA, others were removed and transferred to Barcelona, where today they are exhibited in the *Museu de l'Art Nacional de Catalunya* (MNAC), which became the

museum with the richest collection of Romanesque frescoes, preserving a total of 345 square meters of Catalan wall paintings from the 11th and 12th centuries.

7.2.5. Why Romanesque art?

As it was already mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, in the 19th century a desire for the discovery of the national identity arose in European countries. During that time, scientific societies were being established in different European regions with the task of creating inventories of medieval art in their respective territories. Thus, in the 19th century, a Romantic approach to Romanesque art emerged for the first time, as these 11th- and 12th-century churches were suitable for the interpretation of the origins and peculiarities of a specific nation and culture.

Alongside the research of past cultural heritage during the 19th century, a special interest emerged for nature, which presented the escape from reality. In this context, an ideological space in which the concept of Catalan identity is concentrated was the Pyrenees (Sala, 2015, p. 370). It was there that the 11th- and 12th-century churches harmonized with the beautiful landscape. However, it is inevitable to ask ourselves once again why the Catalans were so closely connected to Romanesque art and why Romanesque was taken as a symbol of national identity. In fact, as we know, Romanesque art did not bring many technical innovations, as it mostly comprised using anterior elements and adapting them into new expressions. Nevertheless, the answer to the previous question can be found among texts of some of the significant Catalan architects and politicians of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Valentí Almirall, a politician and one of the founders of modern Catalan nationalism, provided an explanation in his work *Lo catalanisme*. He writes that all churches with rich decoration were built after the union with Castile, referring primarily to Gothic churches. Thus, he clearly prefers Romanesque art, the stylistic period during

which Catalonia had not yet come under Castilian rule (Almirall, 1886, pp. 62–63).

Josep Puig i Cadafalch appreciated the rationality and sobriety of the Catalan Romanesque art, and he was convinced that this was the only "real" Catalan art, which influenced later productions (Puig I Cadafalch, 1893, p. 36).

Furthermore, Enric Prat de la Riba and Pere Muntañola in *La tradició catalana* (1894) explain that architecture is highly valued because it is the most useful of all the fine arts, and within architecture, there is an evident preference for Romanesque art, which is the most humane and least idealistic of all the others.

Bonaventura Bassegoda (1907, p. 27), an art historian and architect, provided the following explanation: "We consider Romanesque art to be Catalan national art not only because it was born and constructed during the time of the creation of our nationality but also because it is different from all other Romanesque art in the rest of Spain".[42] Therefore, Catalans were particularly attached to Romanesque art because it emerged at the same time when the counties in that region were gaining independence from Frankish dominance and when the Catalan people's sense of nation and homeland began to develop. Moreover, Catalan Romanesque art is unique in its characteristics regarding the architecture, painting, and sculpture, making it distinct from the Romanesque heritage of other European regions and countries.

It is also possible that in the 19th century, Gothic art was associated with the bourgeoisie and large urban centers, while Romanesque churches were characteristic of

[42] Translated from Spanish: "Esto es una prueba más de cuán intensamente arraigó entre nosotros el estilo románico, que, por tanto, consideramos como el nacional de Cataluña, no sólo por haber nacido y haberse desarrollado en el período constitutivo de su nacionalidad, sino, además, por haberse distinguido tanto del del resto de España (...)".

rural areas, leading the people to identify more with them (Grau i Fernández, 2003, p. 31).

7.2.6. Romanesque art as a symbol of national identity today?

During the 19th century, art played a central role in defining Catalonia's national identity. In the 20th century the situation continued to be similar; movements like the *Grupo Torras i Bagas* emerged with the aim to promote Catalanism and shape education and cultural awareness within a framework of Catalan nationalism (Silveira Abrao, 2007, p. 211). They were teaching about Catalonia's roots, history, and culture, and even conferences about Romanesque art were organized (Wirth, 1981, p. 61). Jordi Pujol i Soley, who would later become the president of the *Generalitat* in 1980, was a member of this group. He embraced the ideals of the *Renaixença and* pointed out the idea that the Catalan culture and art set Catalonia apart from the rest of the Iberian Peninsula and Europe. In his article "La cultura catalana," published in the fourth issue of the journal *Década*, Pujol highlighted Catalonia's unique artistic contributions, such as Catalan Romanesque and Modernisme, remarking that a small nation like Catalonia has such a profound impact on the world's culture in general. During Pujol's presidency, which lasted until 2003, he promoted the importance of the Catalan Romanesque in the sense of a symbol of national identity, and he impulsed restorations of Romanesque monasteries, such as Sant Pere de Rodes.

Sant Pere de Rodes was selected as a Romanesque monastery to undergo restoration and be adapted for educational visits. The restoration project began in 1985, under the direction of the *Generalitat*. The main objectives were the rehabilitation of the church, the cloister, and the old hospital; the reparation of vaultings and pavements; and the improvement of the illumination in the temple. In addition, several new rooms were

added, and a plan was to construct the Center of Romanesque studies, which was, however, never completed (Lorés i Otzet, 2002, p. 285).

The restored monastery was inaugurated in the presence of the Prince of Asturias and Girona, Felipe de Borbón, alongside the president Pujol. The restoration projects, led by Joan Albert Adell and Eduard-Riu Barrera, faced criticism from numerous Catalan and European conservators and architects, as the critics argued that the intervention prioritized a political idea by emphasizing the Romanesque elements while removing Baroque additions. While restorations should aim to retain as much of the original structure as possible, eliminating the Baroque parts in a way destroyed the monastery of Rodes. This selective reconstruction imposed a singular narrative, and a political idea of the Romanesque as the national symbol falsified the monastery's history (Bague, 2000a, 2000b; Pantaleoni, 1999).

In the 21st century, a national movement for separation and independence in Catalonia is still rather strong. According to P. Nora (1989), every modern country has a history made of different locations of memory that have an emotive meaning. For 19th- and 20th-century intellectuals, these *lieux de mémoire* were found in the Pyrenees and Romanesque churches built in the territory of Catalunya Vella in the time of the first formation of the Catalan country. Today, Catalans still have these *lieux de mémoire* and historical symbols that are important for the sense of nationality. However, today the most recurring elements of the Catalan national identity are the flag, the anthem, and the National Day of Catalonia (*Diada*).

All these emblems that today form a major part of Catalan identity and desire for independence have historical roots. The mythology behind the flag, for instance, claims that when Wilfred the Hairy, the count who enabled the County of Barcelona to achieve independence, died on the battlefield, the Emperor touched his blood and used his bloody

fingers to draw four lines over Wilfred's shield. The anthem, *Els Segadors (The Reapers)*, was sung in the 17th century when the Catalans revolted against Felipe IV. In the 19th century, Catalan people started to sing *Els Segadors* every year on 11th September while putting a floral wreath at the monument of Rafael Casanova (Barcelona's mayor who was wounded during the Siege of 1713-1714). In this way, they commemorate the day when Catalans fell to the Bourbon troops of Felipe V in 1714. Even though 11th September was celebrated already in the 19th century, it became fixed as "the most important anniversary in the history of the Principality" (Cattini, 2015, p. 453) when, on 11th September 1901, two men were detained for placing flowers at Casanova's monument. The people rebelled against this arrest, and on 15th September over 10,000 people gathered on the streets of the Catalan capital city and laid a new floral wreath on Casanova's statue. From this day on, the 11th of September was undoubtedly confirmed as a national day of Catalonia. Nowadays, demonstrations are always planned on this day to assert the independence of Catalan identity and culture from the rest of Spain.

In the 21st century, Romanesque art is no longer one of the primary markers of national identity in Catalonia. The significance of symbols like the flag, anthem, and *Diada* celebration has increased as a result of the difficult political climate and Catalonia's ongoing quest for independence. However, is it possible that in the near future the Catalan Romanesque art will have its "comeback" as one of the main symbols of the Catalan national identity, along with the flag, anthem, or *Diada*?

The social media could contribute to a significant turn in the following years when it comes to the significance of the Catalan Romanesque art for the Catalan national identity. One of the leading figures in this context is Joan Pau Inarejos, a journalist, who describes himself as a "journalist in love with art who, lately, has dedicated himself, with respect and humility, but also with pleasure and a playful sense, to the dissemination of

Romanesque art in Catalonia, and it has been an incentive to continue exploring and learning about this art that I love so much, especially the superb and still undervalued paintings that fill the museums and churches of the country" (Inarejos, 2025).[43] He published the book *Amb els ulls de romànic* at the beginning of 2025, and it was very soon claimed in media as the "literature phenomenon" of the year in Catalonia (Camps i Linnell, 2025). The aim of the book is to divulge the Catalan Romanesque art, which, according to the author, is still very unvalued by the Catalan people. The author proposes that the Catalans should take the Christ from the frescoes in Taüll as the symbol of their country and identity and, moreover, make it a pop icon, like Gioconda in France.

Even before this book, Inarejos and his divulgation of Romanesque art became quite popular on social media. On his account, *Romànic Català*, which has over 18,000 followers on X, he shares memes (#MemsRomànics) through which he connects the Catalan actuality with the Romanesque imagery (Fig. 93, Fig. 94). Inarejos is also collaborating with MNAC, and he received the award *Sàpiens* in 2023 for the best initiative for divulgation. It seems that through his dissemination efforts, more and more people are becoming interested in Romanesque art, so much so that in one of his interviews, Inarejos reported that he is receiving photos of people who tattooed Catalan Romanesque frescoes and church motifs on their bodies (Fig. 95, Fig. 96).

Romanesque art is thus gaining visibility in popular culture, and not only online but also in contemporary Catalan literature. Marta Orriol's 2025 novel *A l'altra banda de la por* follows the story of a protagonist working at the MNAC, with references to

[43] Translated from Catalan: "Aquest llibre no l'ha escrit un historiador ni un investigador. Al darrere d'aquestes línies no hi ha cap acadèmic ni cap professor, sinó un periodista enamorat de l'art que darrerament s'ha dedicat, amb respecte i humilitat, però també amb plaer i sentit lúdic, a la divulgació del romànic a Catalunya."

Romanesque works such as the frescoes of Sant Quirze de Pedret, Sant Climent de Taüll, Sant Joan de Boí, Santa Maria de Taüll, and others.

While the Romanesque is, through these initiatives, becoming more and more present on the social media platforms and in pop culture in general, it is still to be seen if this is only a superficial phenomenon, a popular trend that is going to diminish, or if it is going to be maintained in the following years. Is Romanesque art genuinely capturing public interest, or is it becoming a humorous meme subject detached from deeper historical appreciation?

In reality, there is a significant gap between the digital enthusiasm and real-life situation and physical engagement. The MNAC, a museum that stores an exceptional number of Catalan Romanesque frescoes, still attracts limited public attention. There are currently more visitors photographing the panoramic view from MNAC's terrace than actually entering to visit the museum and the Romanesque collection. Furthermore, recently MNAC exhibitions have rarely foregrounded Romanesque art. The last exhibition was "Romanesque Picasso" (2017), which placed Romanesque works in dialogue with modern art. A similar pattern is visible across Romanesque churches in Catalonia. Many remain closed to the public, while those that are open often attract visitors primarily for their bell towers and scenic views rather than their historical significance. In Romanesque churches one can often find only copies or digital reconstructions of original frescoes, like the 3D mapping at Taüll. Given these contradictions, the future of Catalan Romanesque art as a symbol of national identity is uncertain. Although the spike in digital presence of 11th- and 12th-century Catalan imagery may attract the public's interest, it risks reducing this art to aestheticized or humorous content, without encouraging serious historical engagement.

Whether this current popularization will develop into a cultural movement or disappear with time as a superficial trend is something that will only be seen in the future. Whatever the case, the increasing visibility of Romanesque art in contemporary Catalan culture suggests that it still holds a significant place in Catalan evolving collective memory.

8. Conclusions

As we are aware, every artwork reflects the historical, social, and economic context of a specific region during a particular period. Both territories under consideration in this work have a rich heritage that dates back to the early centuries of this era. Therefore, they were both shaped by different cultures that have left traces on society, history, and art. The Roman Empire left a long-lasting artistic legacy in both areas, which was later enriched during Frankish rule and Charlemagne's aspiration to revive the grandeur of Rome. An important aspect of Frankish expansion was the dissemination of religion and culture. As a result of the introduction of Christian religion and Benedictine rule, there was a need for the construction of new churches and monasteries. Christianization itself facilitated integration into the broader Christian community, and it fostered cultural and artistic development in both the Croatian and Catalan territories. Frankish rule also promoted the centralization of power and the establishment of duchies and counties, laying the foundations for future independent states. In the end, architectural models from this period were prototypes for the "mini Renaissance" of the 11th century, characterized by Early Romanesque churches.

The 11th century was marked by improved conditions that made such architectural and artistic developments possible. For the first time since the second half of the 4th century, Europe experienced freedom from intrusions, which led to a notably more stable existence. The gradual warming of the climate from the 8th century onward supported agricultural and economic improvements. The turn of the millennium was followed by a series of economic, political, geographical, and religious developments, which permitted the revival of culture, art, and architecture. While the Roman culture had a strong influence on Europe until the end of the 9th century, after the disintegration of

the Frankish Empire in the 10th century, the first instance of "individualization" of European culture happened. Simultaneously, the "unification" and, at the same time, "individualization" of newly formed European political entities led to the creation of the first “universal” style after the Roman Empire, but one that was yet regionally specific—the Romanesque.

A big part of the 11th century was followed by the ecclesiastical reforms. Although these reforms did not directly dictate artistic styles, they strengthened social and institutional connections that affected art production. Bishops’ visits to Rome to receive the "pallium" provided exposure to Roman architecture; networks created around popes facilitated social ties across different regions, while legates further expanded these connections. Improved communication between monasteries and Rome was another factor that facilitated the social connections and, therefore, the exchange of architectural and artistic ideas and models.

In order to understand Early Romanesque art, it is therefore necessary to look beyond general frameworks and examine individual relationships and contexts. Ecclesiastical, royal, and aristocratic figures played important roles in shaping the monumental landscapes of their territories. As patrons equipped with resources, they commissioned monasteries and churches that were a result both of local needs and wider cultural exchanges.

As Croatian and Catalan territories are geographically located on the edges of the Mediterranean basin, in medieval art history they were often treated as "periphery," specifically as peripheral locations that received influences from main artistic centers, especially from the Italian peninsula (principally when discussing Romanesque art and architecture). One of the questions aimed to be addressed in this dissertation was also if we can affirm that the Croatian and Catalan 11th-century Early Romanesque is

"peripheral" and that it is a product of foreign influences. While this theory was persistent in past art history (for instance, in Puig i Cadafalch's Lombard art or the theory about the *magistri comacini*), today we know that it is irrelevant. Both architectures of the 11th century in the Croatian and Catalan territories showcase particular examples of architecture that do not consist of simply taken forms of other territories but are rather a specific artistic output created in this territory due to the historical antecedents, the existing heritage, the specific social situation, etc. It seems more logical to think about centers within a specific region influencing other places, or peripheries, in the same country.

Choosing this subject for my PhD dissertation meant undertaking a broad task. Studying the architecture of the 11th century of both the Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties also meant studying the historical, political, and social background of both territories, and not only of the century in question but also of preceding centuries. Moreover, one of the main aims of this investigation was to engage with the *locus communis* used in the studies of the architecture of the 11th century, such as the Gregorian reforms, the fear of the 1000th year, the *magistri comacini*, or the peripheral art. It required consultation of "classical" sources of bibliography in this field, their revision and joining the discussion. Due to the complexity of the subject, it was clear from the beginning that it was impossible to study the complete architectural production of the 11th century in the Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties and individual churches in detail. My objective was to engage in the discussion about the beginnings of Romanesque architecture and its origins and revise the traditional arguments of art history. That is why this dissertation comprises discussions on different subjects, which, through chosen examples, depict the situation of the art and architecture of the 11th century, a period closely tied with the social, political, and ecclesiastical spheres.

Moreover, there are also some important restraints that were encountered throughout this study and that are inevitable when studying the 11th-century architecture. Unfortunately, it is not possible to reconstruct or interpret completely the monumental landscape of the 11th century, and this applies both to the Kingdom of Croatia and the Catalan Counties. Many of the constructions from this time have not survived or were deliberately transformed, which impedes us from having the complete picture of the 11th-century monumental landscape and makes our understanding of this architecture rather fragmentary. While there were attempts to restore some of the most important 11th-century churches, and that was especially the case in Catalonia during the 19th century, these aims were often guided by ideological criteria of the period. The restoration works often involved selective emphasis on Romanesque elements, the removal of posterior additions, and sometimes even reconstruction that was not based on evidence from the original structure. These ideologies aimed to position the Romanesque art and architecture as a symbol of Catalan national heritage, while the romanticization of the period sometimes challenged the historical accuracy. In the end, it is important to know that our understanding of Romanesque architecture remains shaped not only by what was conserved but also by what was forgotten. Without acknowledging these absences, we risk constructing a false and idealized narrative of the 11th-century architecture.

While this dissertation covers the architectural production of the 11th-century Kingdom of Croatia and Catalan Counties, it still leaves a lot of space for future work. This research is the first one to comparatively examine the Early Romanesque architecture of these two Mediterranean territories. In future research, it would be interesting and beneficial to continue the study of a more mature Romanesque of the 12th century. It would provide us with more understanding not only of developments in

Romanesque architecture but also of how the social dynamics functioned and if the same patterns that were present during the first millennium were still active in the next century.

We saw that the influential figures from the ecclesiastical or political sphere played a major role in the formation of the 11th-century Croatian and Catalan architecture. The churches that they constructed were possibly acting as models for other smaller edifices in the region. Therefore, this is something that could definitely be further investigated by examining individual social elite members and their connections to each church that they commissioned and studying their influence on other smaller, rural churches by comparing their models, forms, and historical records, which could possibly give out more information about the connections of singular buildings.

It is important to emphasize that the art of a region derives its value not from the territory itself but from the societal context driving artistic production! The 11th century represents a complex interplay of social, artistic, political, and ecclesiastical dynamics. Churches of this era cannot be easily categorized, and direct influences between territories are challenging to point out. The main point, nevertheless, is that the circulation of ideas primarily occurred through the travels of aristocrats and clergy, and this is an approach that is needed for nuanced architectural analysis of this period.

Corpus

11th century churches in the Kingdom of Croatia

One-nave, without an apse

St. John, Podaca

One-nave, one semicircular apse inscribed in a rectangular sanctuary, dome

St. Peter, Priko kod Omiša

One-nave, one rectangular apse

St. Peter, Kula Atlagića

St. John, Preko, Otok Ugljan

St. Nicholas (Sv. Mikula), Split

One-nave, one inscribed rectangular apse

St. Lawrence, Zadar

St. Martin (St. Barbara), Trogir

Three-nave basilicas with three semicircular apses

St. Thomas, Biograd

St. John Evangelist, Biograd

St. Mary, Zadar

St. Euphemia, Split

St. Andrew, Rab

St. Peter, Supetarska Draga

St. Peter, Osor

St. Mary, Nin

Three-nave, one main rectangular apse and two lateral semicircular apses inscribed in a wall

Church of Holy Domenica, Zadar

St. Peter and Moises, Solin

Others

Church of Our Lady of the Belfry, Split

St. John Baptist, Split

St. Michael, Igrane

11th century churches in Catalan Counties

One-nave, one semicircular apse

San Feliu de Barruera

Santa Maria de Cardet

Sant Serní d'Aulet

Santa Justa d'Aulet

Sant Pere de Pallerol

Mare de Deu de Rocamora

Sant Pèir d'Escunhau

Sant Just i Sant Pastor de Son

Sant Serní de Cerbi

Santa Maria d'Àneu (the original floor plan before the reconstructions probably had 3 naves)

Sant Sebastià d'Estaron

Sant Iscle i Santa Victòria de Surp

Mare de Déu de Serenyà

Sant Esteve d'Enseu

Sant Sebastià de Rial

Sant Joan de Solans

Sant Romà d'Useu

Santa Coloma de l'Espluga de Cuberes

Santa Cecílica d'Ancs

Sant Martí de Solduga

Sant Pere d'Aransís

Sant Fruitós d'Aransís

Mare de Déu de la Vilavella de Basturs

Mare de Déu de la Pietat del castell d'Orcau, abans Santa Maria

Sant Andreu de Biscarri

Sant Pere Màrtir de Sant Romà d'Abella

Santa Cauberola d'Abella de la Conca

Sant Antoni de la Rua

Sant Feliu de Guàrdia de Noguera

Sant Jaume d'Engordan

Sant Miquel dels Vilars de Valldarques

Sant Miquel al Pla de Tolustre

Sant Martí de la Plana

Sant Climent de Coll de Nargó

Sant Miquel de les Masies de Nargó

Sant Andreu de Baltarga

Sant Martí Vell

Sant Cristòfol d'Arbúcies

Sant Agustí de Lloret Salvatge

Sant Cebrià de Lledó

Església vella de Sant Julià de Rabós d'Empordà

Sant Romà de Delfià

Santa Maria de Serrabona

Sant Sixt del Miralplà

Sant Vicenç de Torelló

Sant Cristòfol de Tavertet

Sant Miquel de Sorerols

Sant Vicenç d'Espinelves

Sant Andreu del castell de Tona

Sant Esteve de Marganell

Santa Maria de la Baells

Sant Climent de Torre de Foix

Sant Martí de Vila-seca

Sant Esteve d'Olius

Sant Llorenç d'Ares

Mare de Déu de la Pertusa

Sant Pere de les Roques

Sant Vicenç de Gualba

Sant Esteve de Cervelló (today Santa Maria de Cervelló, or dels Socors)

Santa Maria de la Llinda

Sant Pere de Castellet

Santa Creu del castell de Calafell

Sant Feliu d'Estiula

One-nave, one rectangular apse

Santa Maria de les Illes o Mare del Remei (the datation is not definitely confirmed, 10th or 11th century)

Sant Miquel de Riunoguers (the datation is not definitely confirmed, 10th or 11th century)

Sant Miquel de Cavallera

Sant Marcel de Flaçà

One nave with a transept and three apses

Sant Miquel de la Seu d'Urgell (before Sant Pere)

Sant Genís de Fontanes

Sant Jaume de Frontanyà

Santa Maria de Barberà de Vallès

Sant Ponç de Corbera

Sant Tomàs de Fluvià

Santa Maria de Serrateix (it had three apses, today it has one)

Sant Martí Sescorts (Santa Maria de Corcó)

One nave and two asymetrical apses

Santa Anna de Montadó

Santa Maria de Ramoneda

Triconchal churches

Sant Esteve de Castellet

Sant Pere de Ponts

Sant Serní de Tavèrnoles

Three-nave basilicas

Santa Maria d'Ovarra

Santa Eulàlia de Fullà

Sant Vicenç, Roda

Era Mare de Diu de Cap d'Aran

Sant Serní del castell de Llordà

Sant Esteve d'Abella de la Conca

Santa Maria de Mur

Sant Serní de Tavèrnoles

Sant Pere de Ripoll

Sant Miquel de Cuixà

Sant Salvador de Breda

Santa Maria, Cervià de Ter

Santa Maria de Vilabertran

Sant Pere de Rodes

Sant Quirc de Colera

Santa Eulàlia i Santa Júlia d'Elna

Sant Pere de Casserres

Santa Cecília de Marganell

Sant Andreu de Castellnou

Sant Andreu de Sagàs

Sant Vicenç de Cardona

Santa Maria del castell de Claramunt

Santa Maria de la Tossa de Montbui

Sant Martí del Canigó (two superimposed churches)

Sant Pere d'Áger (two superimposed churches)

Sant Joan de Palau-saverdera

Sant Julià de Coaner

Santa Maria d'Organyà

Santa Maria de Roses

Sant Miquel de Fluvià

Sant Esteve de Banyoles

Basilicas with dome

Sant Llorenç del Munt

Sant Miquel de Cruïlles

Santa Maria de Gualter

Sant Quintí dels Banys d'Arles

Sant Vicenç, Cardona

Monumental basilicas with a variation in the number of naves

Cathedral (Santa Maria) de Girona (probably one-nave with transept with semicircular lateral apses and a semicircular main apse)

Santa Maria de Ripoll (five-nave basilica with transept with 6 semicircular lateral apses and a semicircular main apse)

Basilicas with double sanctuary

Sant Pere de Burgal

Santa Maria d'Arles

Circular churches

Santa Cecília de Torreblanca

El Sant Sepulcre d'Olèrdola

Sant Pere Gros, Cervera

Sant Jaume de Vilanova del pla, Bages

Sant Miquel del Monestir (Sant Miquel de Llillet)

Santa Maria la Rodona, Vic

Sant Esteve de Sallent

Triangular churches

Santa Maria o Mercè de Planès

Greek-cross churches

Sant Cugat Salou (o del Racó)

Sant Daniel de Girona

Latin-cross churches

Sant Cristòfol de Ca n'Anglada

Santa Maria de Terrassa

Santa Maria del Priorat de Castellfollit

Sant Tomàs de Riudeperes

Santa Eugènia de Berga

Very modified churches or churches in ruins

Sant Andreu de Malmercat (from the Romanesque church only two lesenes and a window on the noerhtern part of the apse are left)

Sant Martí d'Ars (several reconstructions, it had a circular bell-tower)

Sant Martí de Bescaran (only the bell-tower is left)

Sant Vicenç del Grau (only a part of the wall and the apse are left)

Santa Maria de Talló (apse from the 11th century)

Sant Salvador d'Arles, campanar (only the Romanesque bell-tower is conserved)

Sant Feliu de Guíxols (many reformatioins, from the Romanesque church there is only a Western part of the nave and the façade)

Sant Miquel de Castelladral

Santa Maria de les Esglésies (only the chevet is left from the original structure)

Sant Llorenç prop Bagà

Sant Joan de Bergús (only a part of one original wall is left)

Sant Pere de Bigues (only façade is left from the original structure)

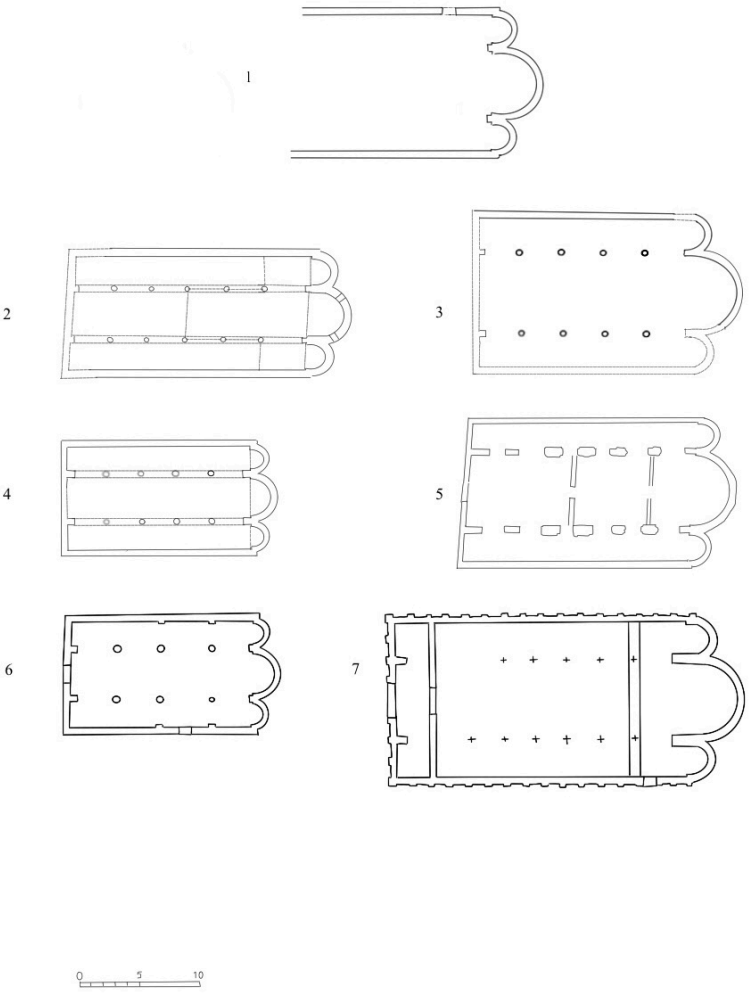
Sant Sebastià dels Gorgs

Sant Joan de Viladellops (only the door on the North wall is conserved)

Sant Miquel de Cardona (only a Romanesque tower is conserved and integrated in a Gothic church)
Santa Maria de la Pinya
Santa Eulàlia de Riuprimer

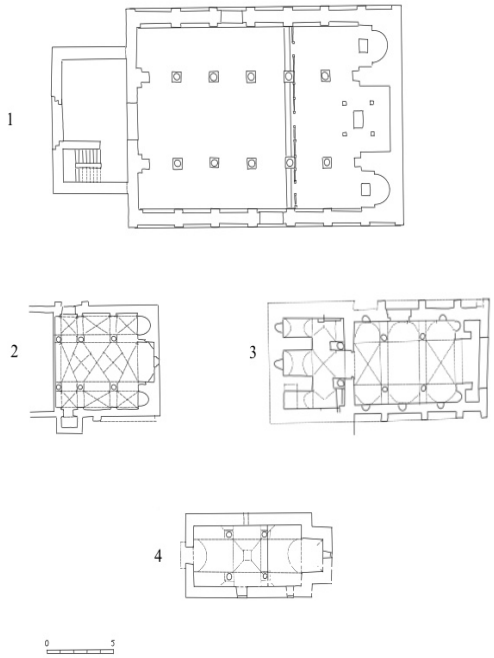
Figures

Fig. 1. Floor plans of the 11th-century "international group" of architecture in the Kingdom of Croatia.



1. St Peter in Osor, 2. St. Peter in Supetarska Draga, 3. St. Mary in Zadar, 4. St Andrew in Rab, 5. St Mary in Nin, 6. St. Euphemia in Split, 7. St. John in Biograd

Fig. 2. Floor plans of the 11th-century "regional group" of architecture in the Kingdom of Croatia.



1. St. Peter and Moses in Solin, 2. Holy Domenica in Zadar, 3. St. Lawrence in Zadar, 4. St. Nicholas in Split.

Fig. 3. St. Lawrence in Zadar.

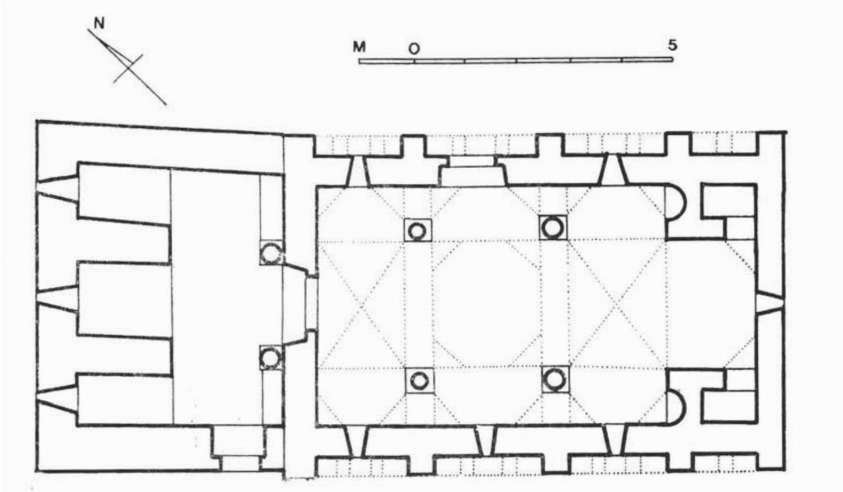


Fig. 4. St. Lawrence in Zadar.



Fig. 5. St. Martin (St. Barbara) in Trogir, according to R. Bužanić.

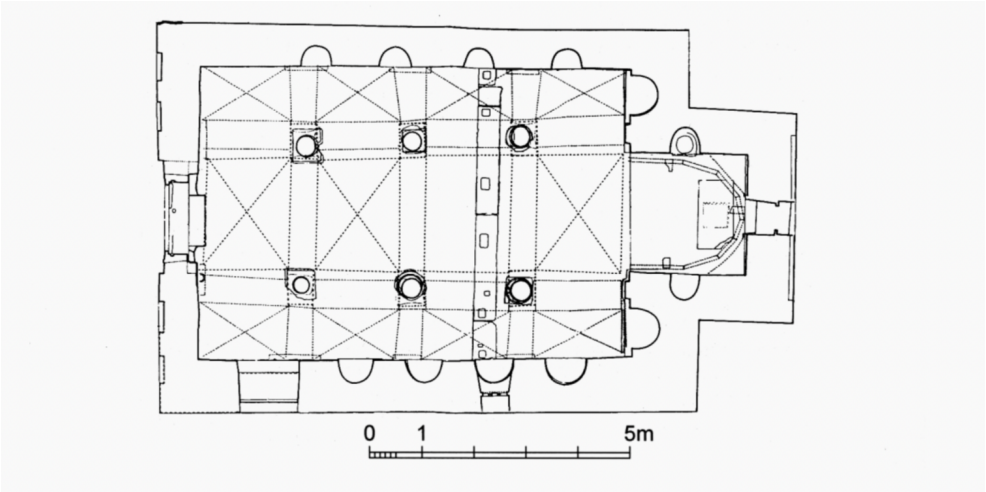


Fig. 6. St. Martin (St. Barbara) in Trogir, according to R. Bužanić.

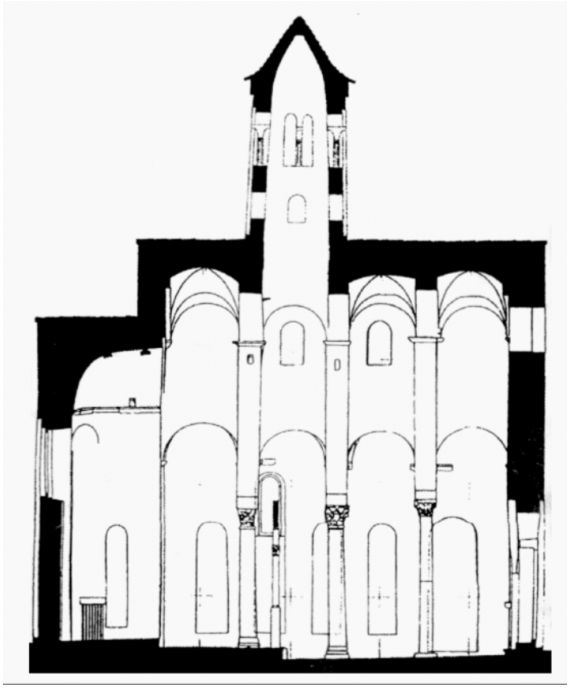
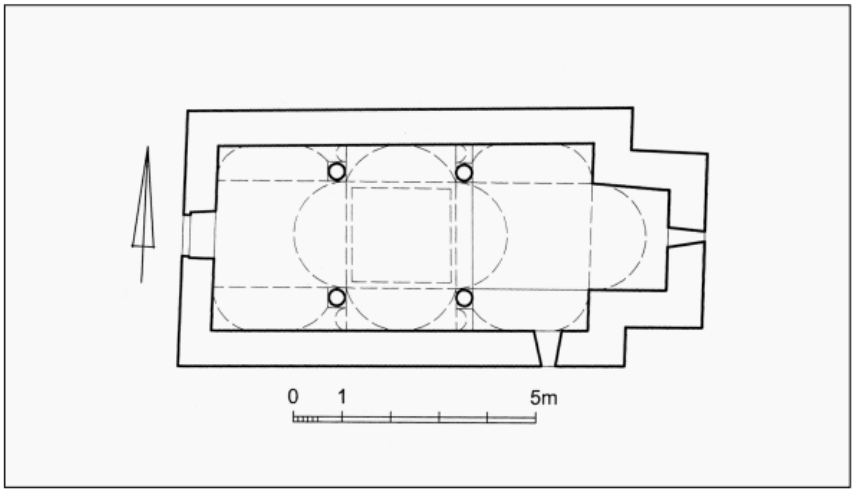


Fig. 7. St. Martin (St. Barbara) in Trogir.



Fig. 8. St. Nicholas in Split.

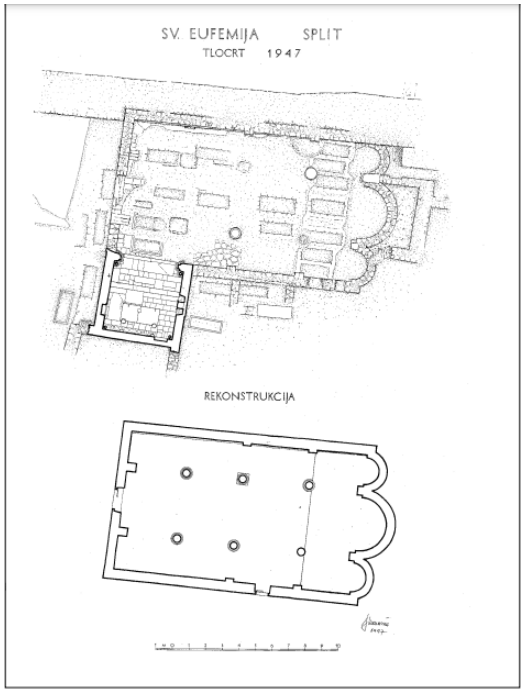


Slika 489. Tlocrt nakon obnove 1949. godine

Fig. 9. St. Nicholas in Split



Fig. 10. St. Euphemia in Split, according to J. Marasović.



SLS: Stanje 1947 i pretpostavljeni izvorni tlocrt (J. Marasović)

Fig. 11. St. Euphemia in Split. Assumed appearance of the church according to J. Marasović.

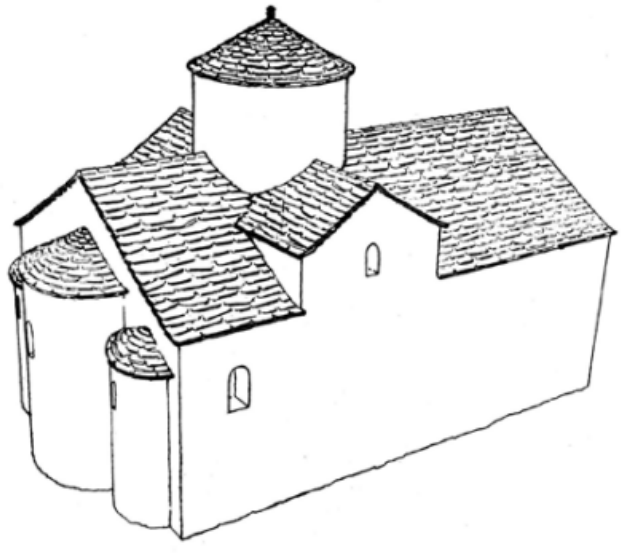


Fig. 12. St. Peter in Priko near Omiš.

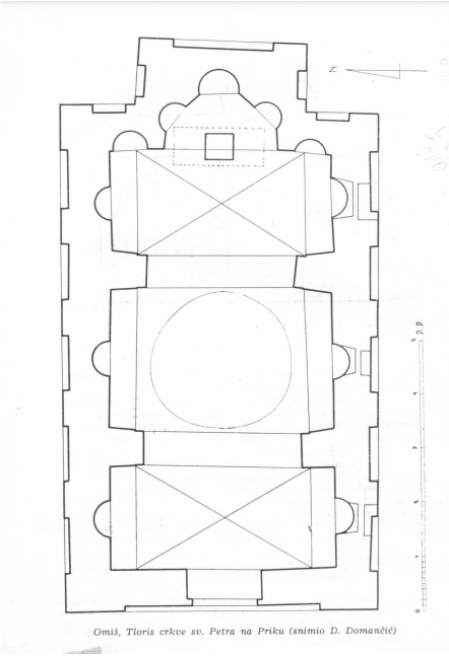


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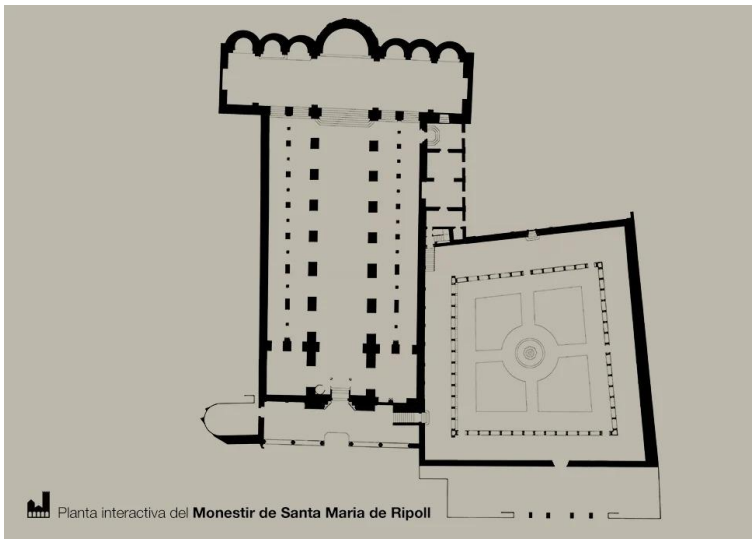


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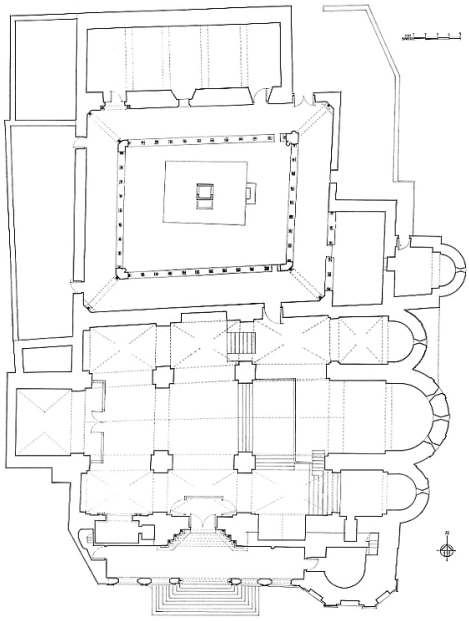


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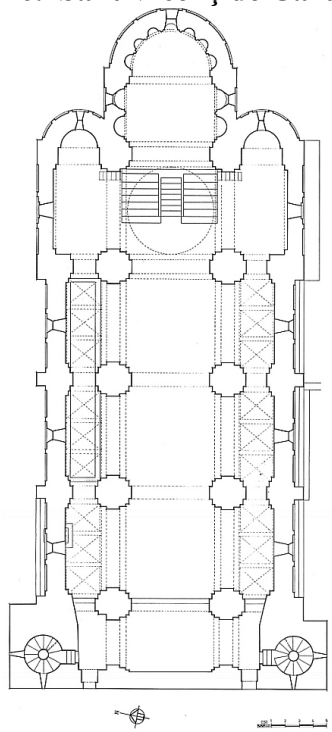


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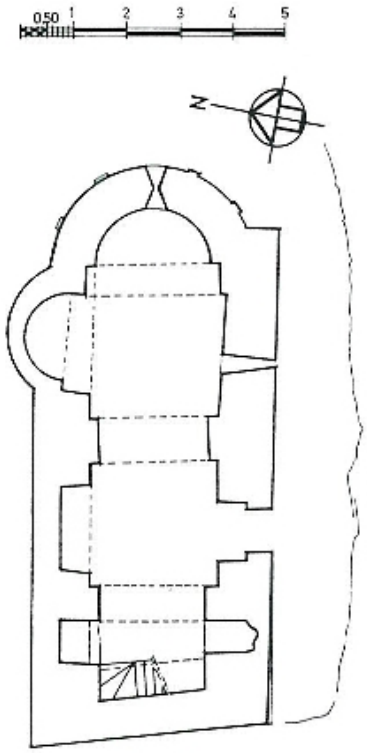


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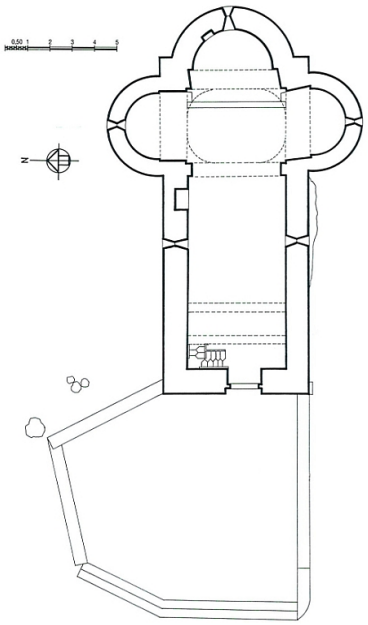


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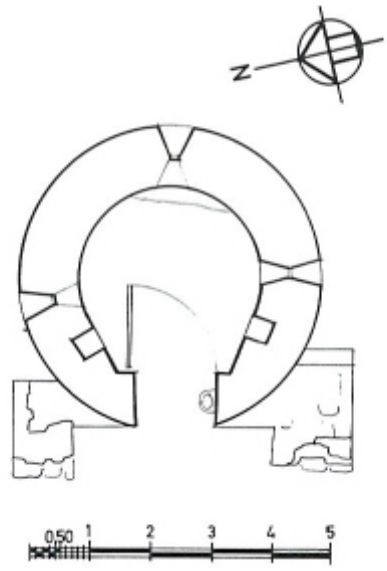


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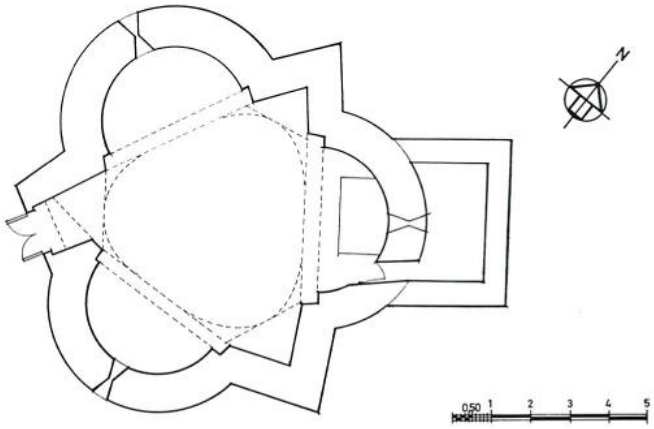


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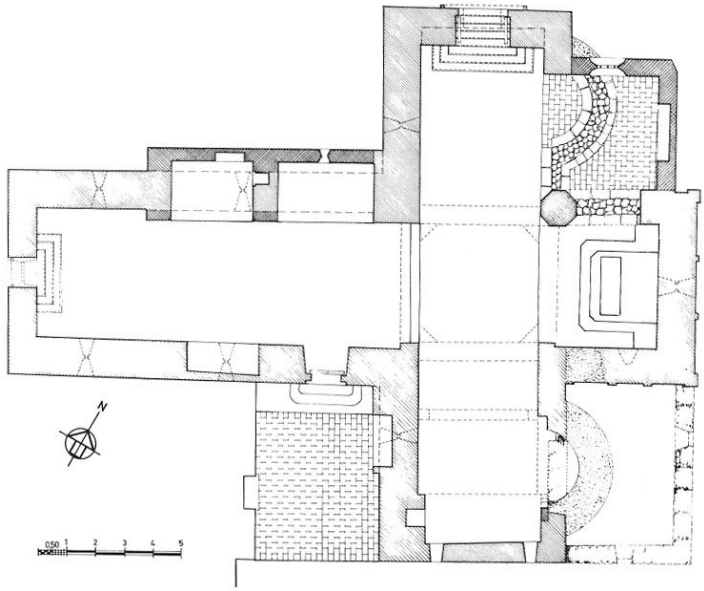


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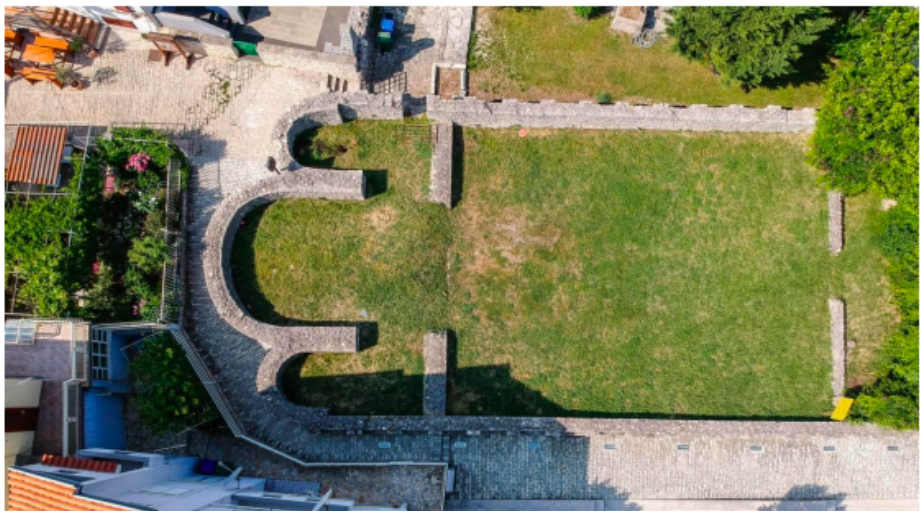


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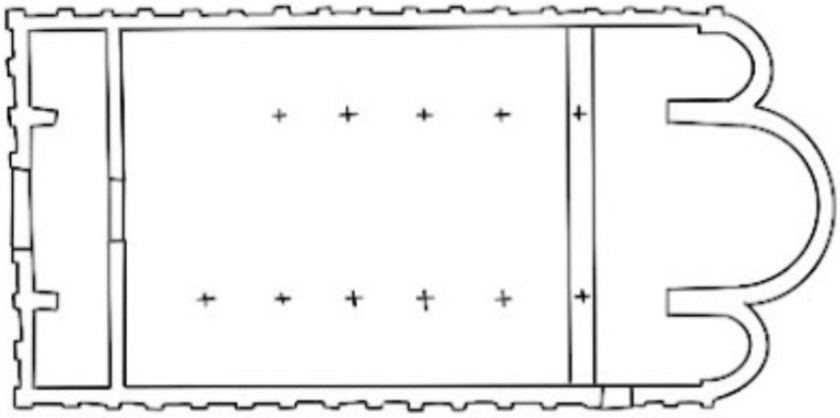


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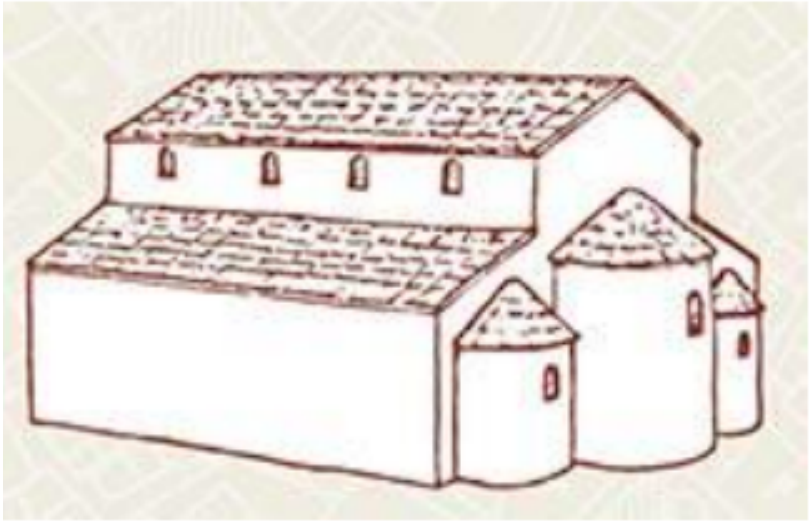


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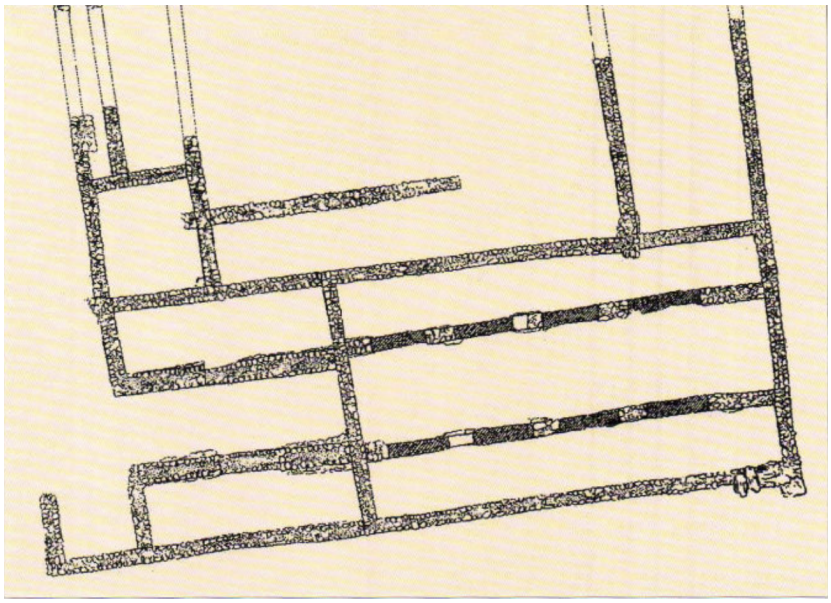


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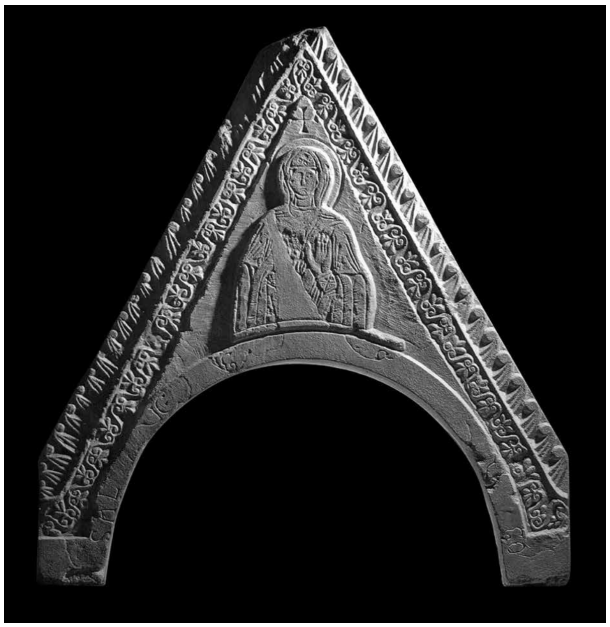


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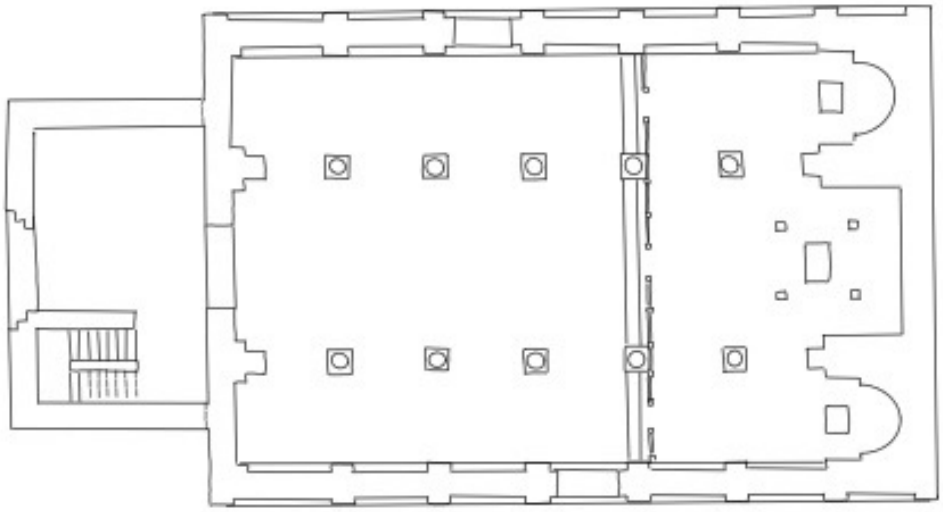


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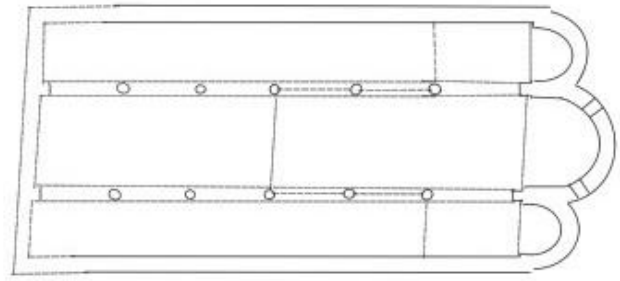


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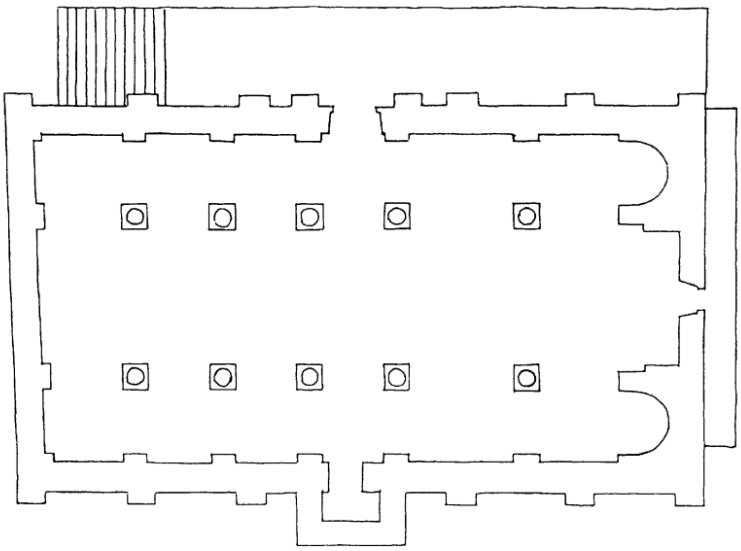


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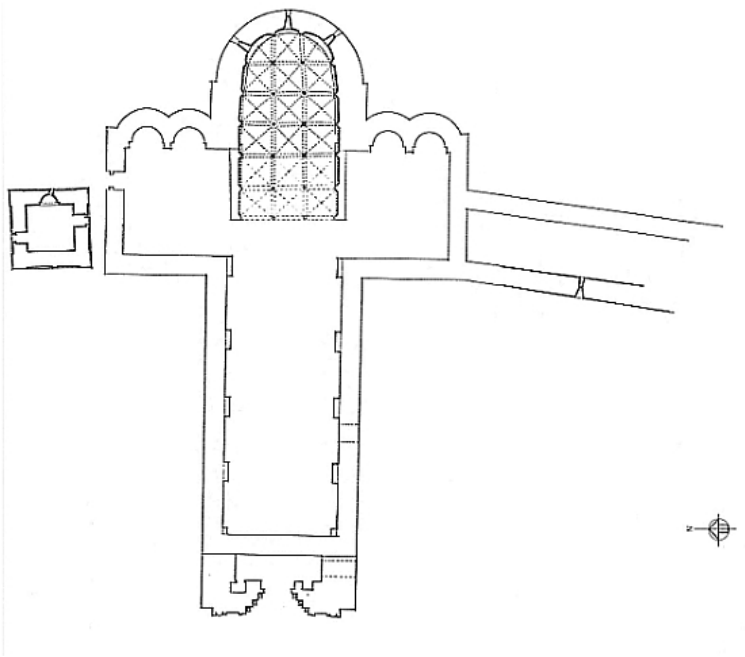


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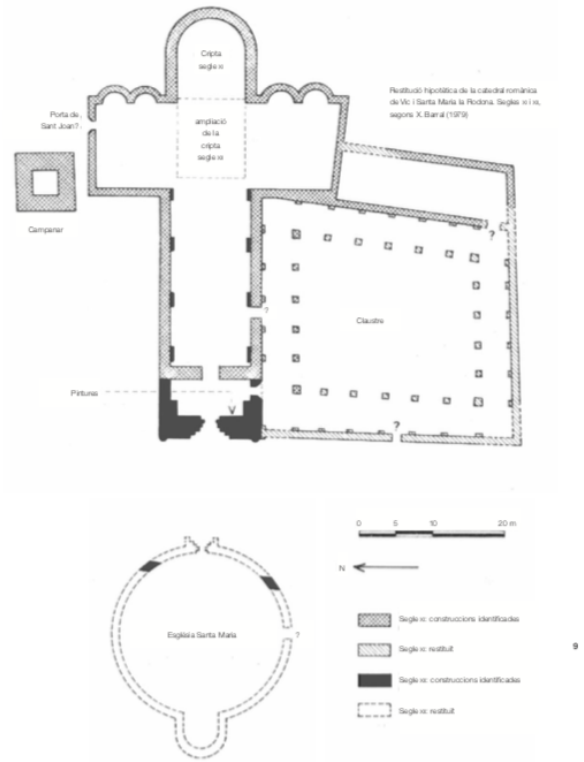


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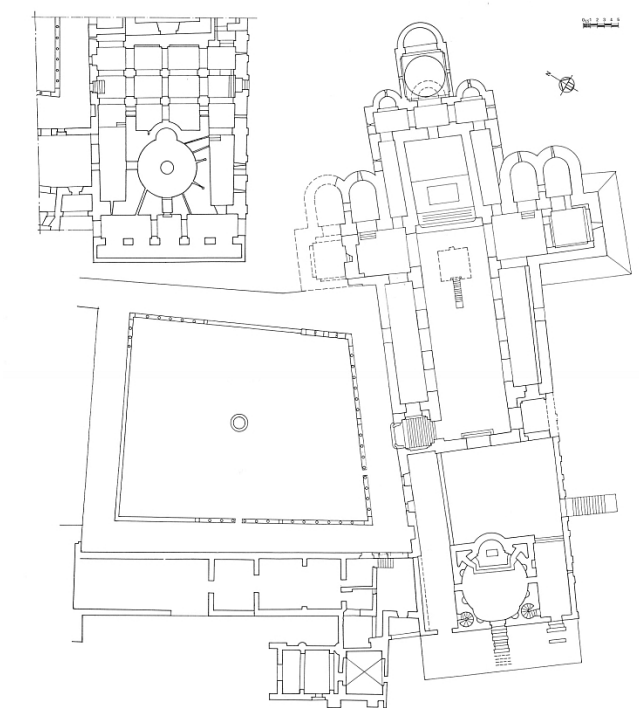


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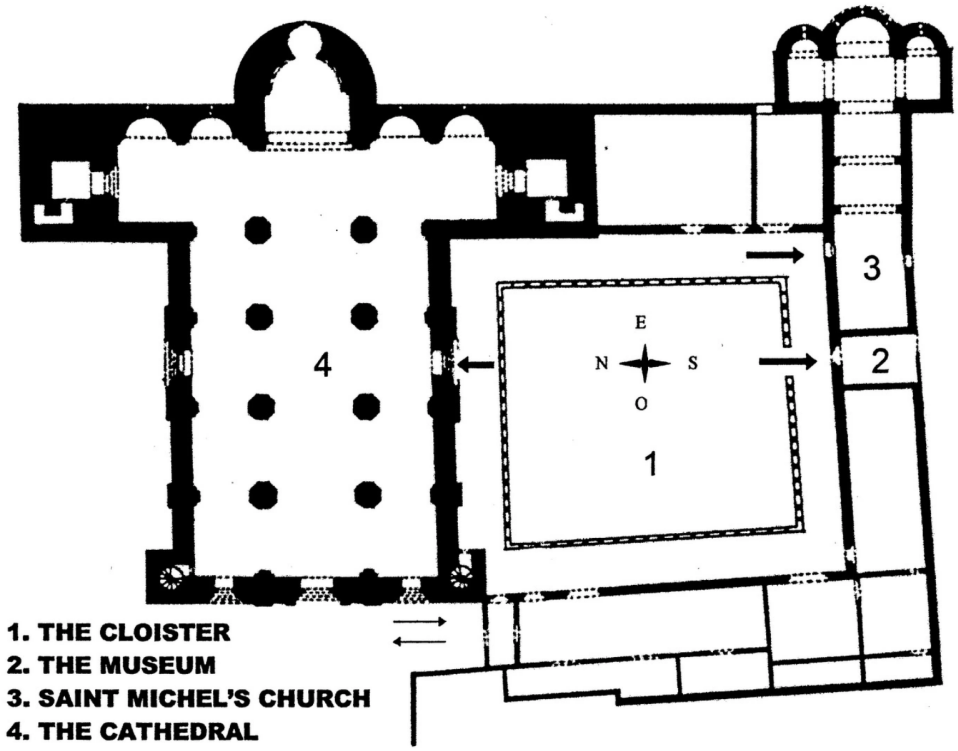


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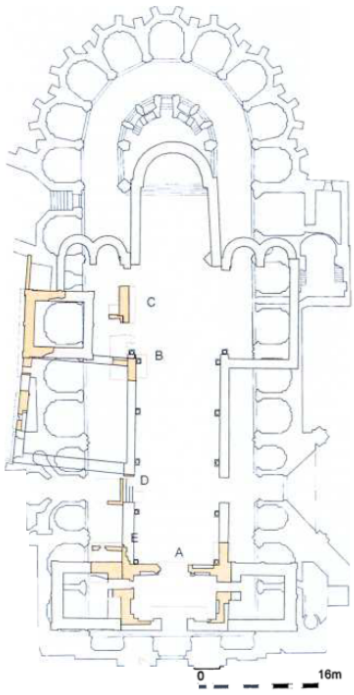


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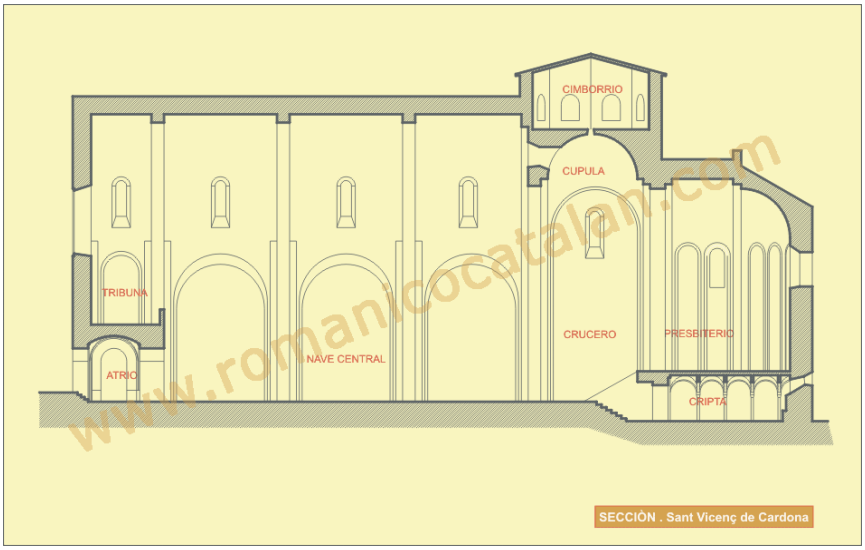


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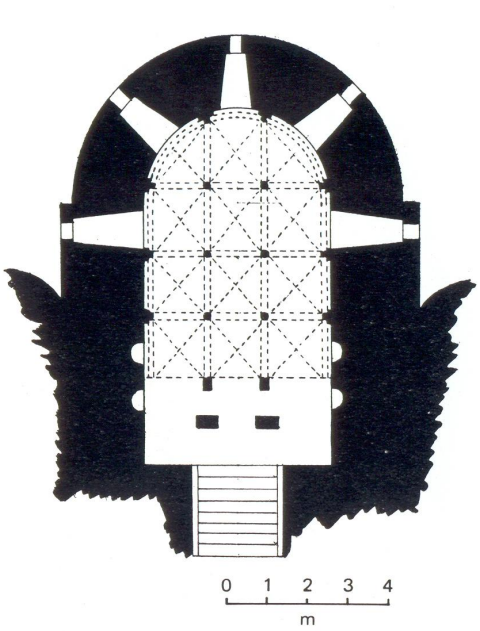


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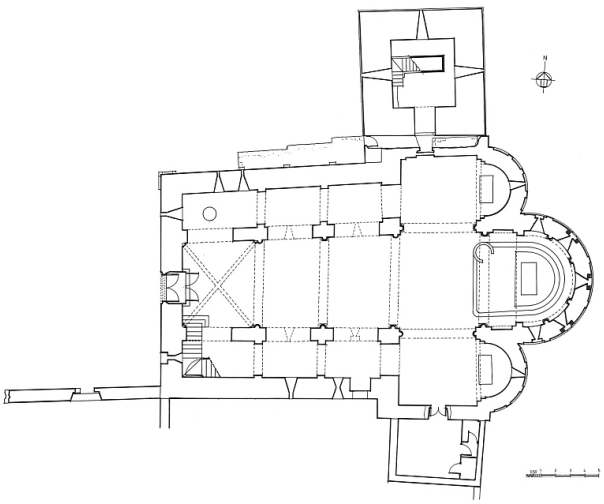


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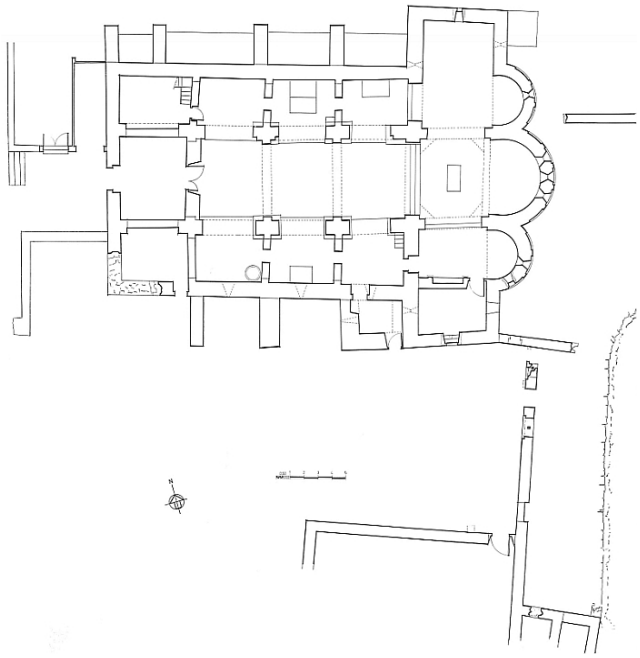


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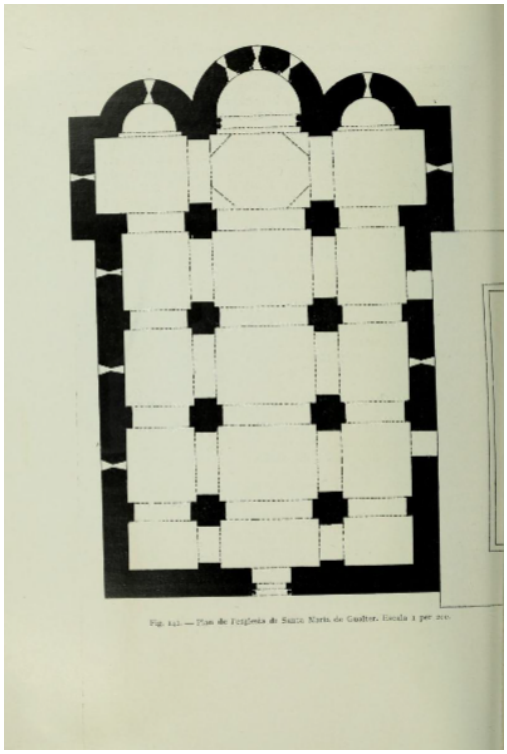


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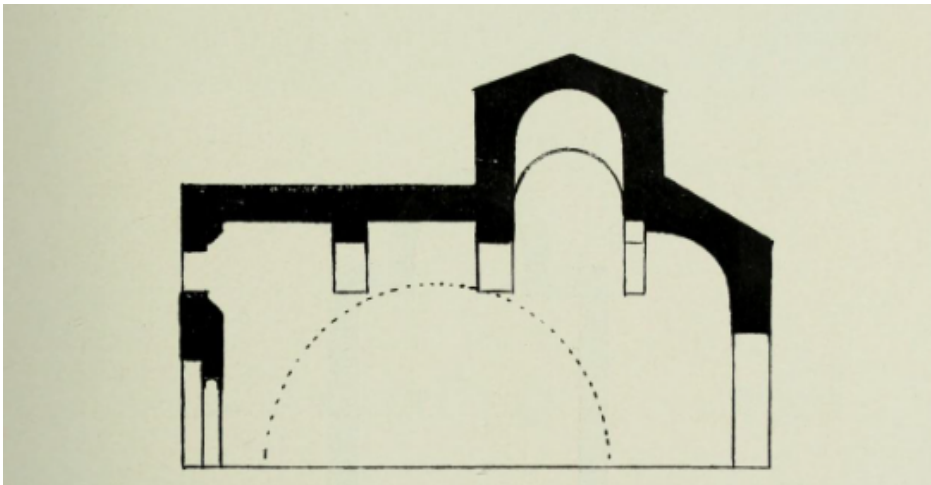


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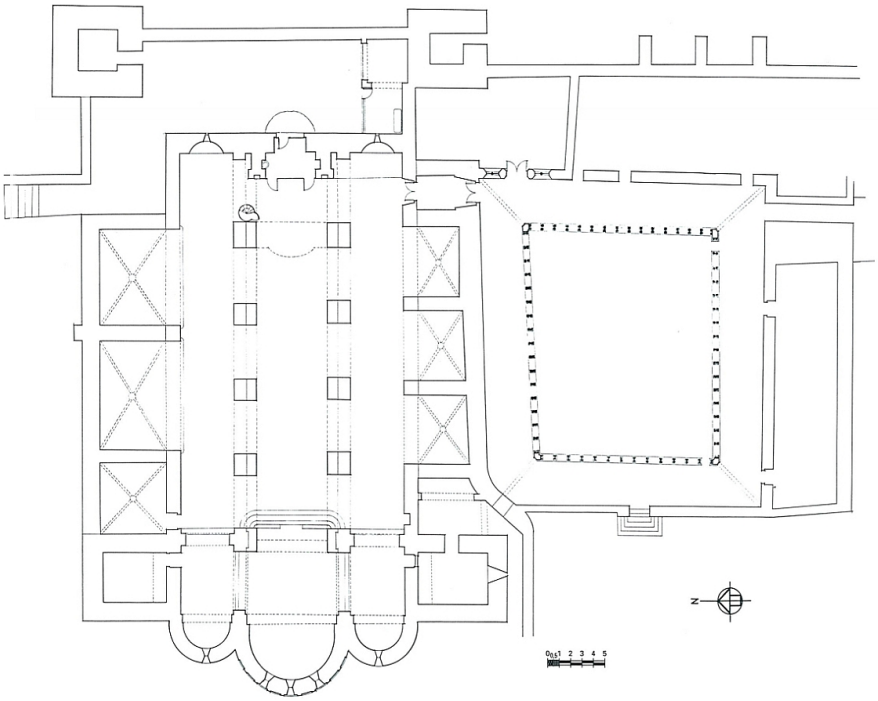


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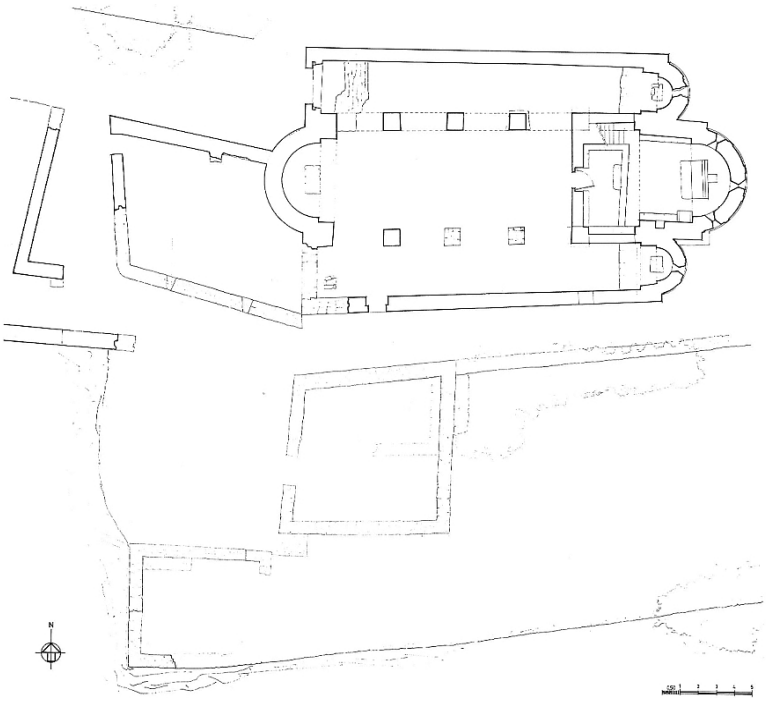


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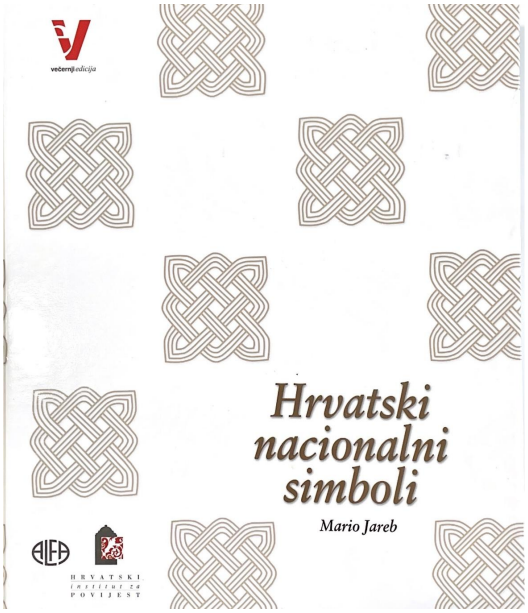


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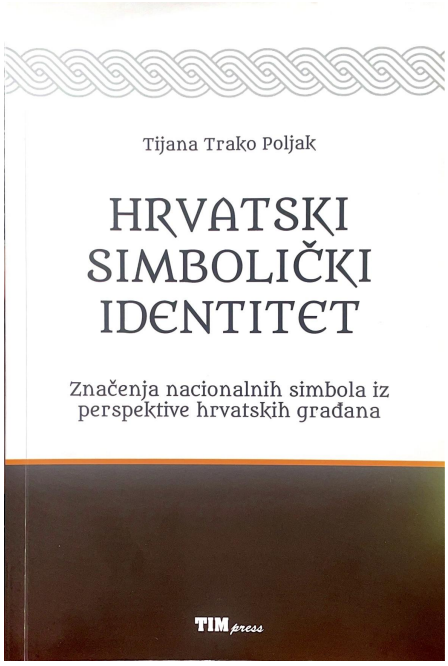


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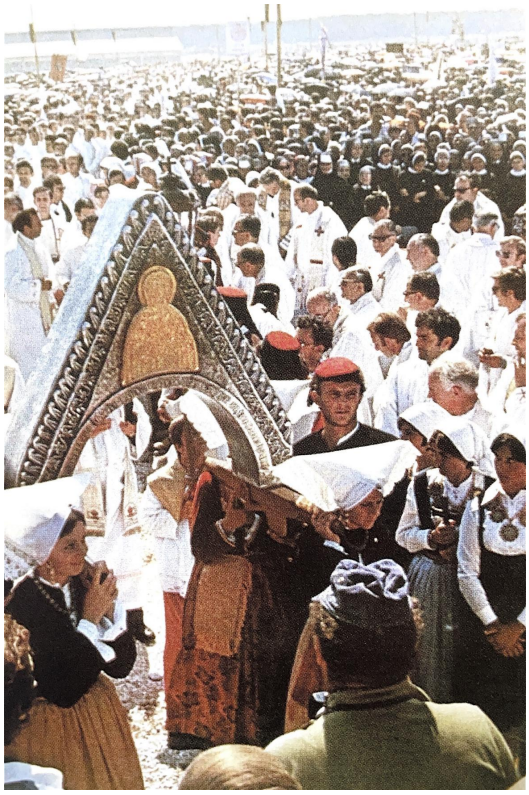


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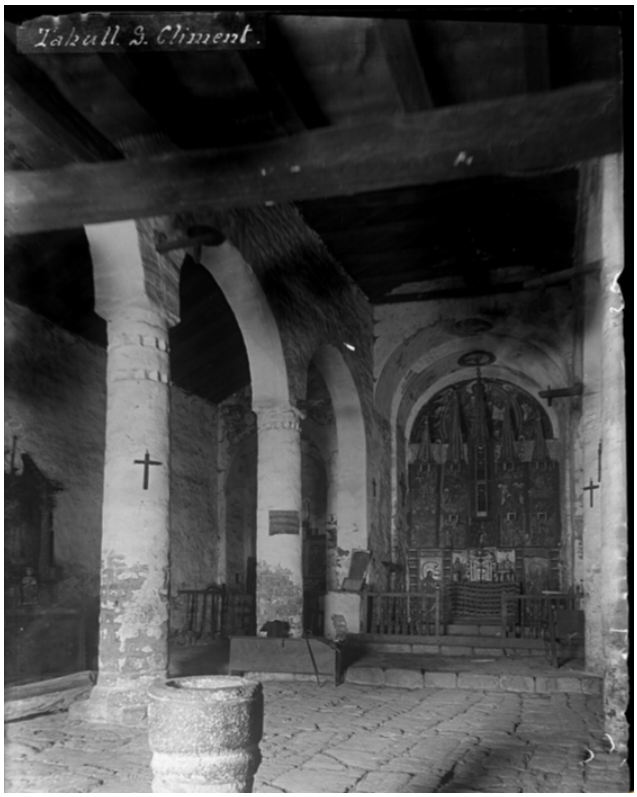


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Fig. 38. St. Peter in Supetarska Draga. Photo by: Z. Galić.

Fig. 39. St. Peter in Supetarska Draga. Dora Sesar, according to M. Jurković.

Fig. 40. St. Lawrence in Zadar. Photo by Dora Sesar.

Fig. 41. St. Lawrence in Zadar. Photo by Dora Sesar.

Fig. 42. St. Lawrence in Zadar. Photo by Dora Sesar.

Fig. 43. The Portal of St. Lawrence in Zadar, today in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar.

Fig. 44. The church of Holy Domenica. Floor plan. Source: Vežić, Pavuša. "Bazilika

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Fig. 45. Plutei by *the Zadar-Solin stonecutting workshop*, from Holy Domenica in Zadar. Source: Zadar. Photo: Z. Alajbeg, @Zadarska nadbiskupija.

Fig. 46. Santa Maria de Ripoll. Photographed by Oriol Molas, https://www.monestirderipoll.cat/

Fig. 47. Santa Maria de Ripoll. Photo: courtesy of Eduardo Carrero Santamaria.

Fig. 48. The bell tower of the cathedral in Vic. Photo by: Dora Sesar.

Fig. 49. Cathedral in Vic. Source: https://www.enciclopedia.cat/catalunya-romanica/catedral-de-vic

Fig. 50. A drawing of a possible appearance of the church of Santa Maria la Rodona. Source: https://www.enciclopedia.cat/catalunya-romanica/catedral-de-vic

Fig. 51. The complex of the cathedral in Vic with Santa Maria la Rodona in front. Source: Subiranas, C. (2005). L'església de Santa Maria la Rodona de Vic, Osona. Arqueologia Medieval: Revista Catalana d'arqueologia Medieval, 1, 8–31. 9.

Fig. 52. Floor plan of the monastery of Sant Miquel de Cuixà. Source: https://www.enciclopedia.cat/catalunya-romanica/sant-miquel-de-cuixa-codalet

Fig. 53. The Pessebre crypt. Source: https://www.enciclopedia.cat/catalunya-romanica/sant-miquel-de-cuixa-codalet

Fig. 54. Sant Miquel de Cuixà. Source: https://www.enciclopedia.cat/catalunya-romanica/sant-miquel-de-cuixa-codalet

Fig. 55. Sant Miquel de Fluvià. Photo: courtesy of Eduardo Carrero Santamaria.

Fig. 56. Sant Miquel de Fluvià. Photo: courtesy of Eduardo Carrero Santamaria.

Fig. 57. Sant Miquel de Fluvià. Photo: courtesy of Eduardo Carrero Santamaria.

Fig. 58. Sant Miquel de Fluvià. Photo: courtesy of Eduardo Carrero Santamaria.

Fig. 59. Sant Vicenç de Cardona. Photo: courtesy of Eduardo Carrero Santamaria.

Fig. 60. Floor plan of la Seu d'Urgell cathedral complex. Source: https://vialucispress.wordpress.com/

Fig. 61. Sant Miquel de la Seu d'Urgell. Source: *Romànic català. 2: Pirineu oriental*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2015, 33.

Fig. 62. The cathedral in Girona. Photo by: Dora Sesar.

Fig. 63. The Romanesque bell tower of the cathedral in Girona. Source: https://www.enciclopedia.cat/catalunya-romanica/la-catedral-de-girona

Fig. 64. Floor plan of the current Gothic cathedral in Girona with the possible anterior Romanesque floor plan. Source: Español, Francesca. "El Escenario Litúrgico de La Catedral de Girona (s. XI-XIV)." *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, no. 11 (2005): 213–32., 215.

Fig. 65. 11th-century capital from St. Mary in Zadar. Photo by: Pavuša Vežić. Source: Jakšić, Nikola. "Dekoracija Zapadnog Pročelja Bazilike Sv. Marije u 11. Stoljeću." *ABBATISSA INGENUITATE PRECIPUA, Zbornik Radova*, 2020, 134.

Fig. 66. Terracotta sculptural pieces from St. Mary in Zadar. Photo: Nikola Jakšić. Source: Jakšić, Nikola. "Dekoracija Zapadnog Pročelja Bazilike Sv. Marije u 11. Stoljeću." *ABBATISSA INGENUITATE PRECIPUA, Zbornik Radova*, 2020, 140.

Fig. 67. Sant Vicenç de Cardona. Source: Románico Catalan.

Fig. 68. The dome in St. Vicenç de Cardona. Source: https://www.monestirs.cat

Fig. 69. Sant Vicenç de Cardona. Photo: courtesy of Eduardo Carrero Santamaria.

Fig. 70. Crypt in Sant Vicenç de Cardona.

Fig. 71. Sant Miquel de Fluvià. Source: https://www.enciclopedia.cat/catalunya-romanica/sant-miquel-de-fluvia

Fig. 72. Sant Miquel de Cruïlles. Source: Adell, J.A., Grau, R. https://www.enciclopedia.cat/catalunya-romanica/sant-miquel-de-cruilles-cruilles-monells-i-sant-sadurni-de-lheura

Fig. 73. Santa Maria de Gualter. Source: Puig i Cadafalch, Josep, Antoni de Falguera i Sivilla, and Josep Goday i Casals. *L'arquitectura Romànica a Catalunya*. Vol. II. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1911., 224.

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Fig. 75. Sant Esteve de Sallent. Source: http://www.sallentturisme.cat

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Fig. 77. Santa Maria d'Arles. Source: https://www.enciclopedia.cat

Fig. 78. Sant Pere de Burgal. Source: Adell, J. A. https://www.enciclopedia.cat/catalunya-romanica/sant-pere-del-burgal-la-guingueta-daneu

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Fig. 80. The flag for the University of Zagreb designed by Bela Csikos Sesija in 1907. Source: Jareb, Mario. *Kralj Tomislav kroz tisuć godina: Kralj Tomislav između stvarnosti i mita te proslava tisućite obljetnice Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva 1925. godine i njezini odjeci do danas*. Biblioteka Hrvatska povijest. Zagreb: Despot infinitus, 2017., 231.

Fig. 81. The cover page of the book "Povijest Hrvata" (The history of the Croats) by Ferdo Šišić.

Fig. 82. The cover page for the book "Starohrvatska umjetnost" (The Old Croatian art) by Josef Strzygowski.

Fig. 83. The cover page for the book "Hrvatski nacionalni simboli" (Croatian national symbols) by Mario Jareb.

Fig. 84. The cover page for the book "Hrvatski simbolički identitet" (Croatian symbolic identity) by Tijana Trako Poljak.

Fig. 85. Ljubo Babić, Rulers of the Croatian national dynasty, 1925.

Fig. 86. Coat of arms of Splitsko-dalmatinska County.

Fig. 87. Robert Frangeš Mihanović, Equestrian sculpture of King Tomislav in Zagreb. Source: Photographed by Marko Lukunić (Pixsell).

Fig. 88. Sculpture of the Mother of God with baby Jesus in the sanctuary of Marija Bistrica. Source: svetiste-mbb.hr

Fig. 89. The Biskupija gable among the faithful. Source: *Nedjelja dan Gospodnji: duhovno sidrište i središte hrvatskih katolika ; priredio Bernardin Škunca* (1997). Zadar: Hrvatski institut za liturgijski pastoral.

Fig. 90. The replica of the Biskupija gable and cross from Višeslav's baptistery on the wall of a Croatian family.

Fig. 91. Sant Climent de Taüll, photographed by Lluís Domènech i Montaner in 1904. Source: Centre del Romànic de la Vall de Boí.

Fig. 92. Photograph from the expedition taken by Adolf Mas in 1907. Source: Centre del Romànic de la Vall de Boí.

Fig. 93. A meme by Romànic Català on X.

Fig. 94. A meme by Romànic Català on X.

Fig. 95. A Catalan Romanesque art tattoo. @Francesclopez89: "For me, Romanesque means feeling again the flame that I always thought was extinguished within me, contemplating timeless eyes in an increasingly complicated world, and looking at Taüll's paintings gives me peace."

Fig. 96. A Catalan Romanesque art tattoo. Elisabet: "Like any other medievalist, I am a geek about all things medieval, and Romanesque is my specialty. I wanted to get a tattoo that would always remind me of home (Catalonia)".

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