

Sculpture in Catalonia during the Romanesque period

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ABSTRACT

Studies on much of the Catalan sculpture from the Romanesque period have naturally been closely associated with studies on the architecture from the same period. The historiographic story presented here is organised through a series of relevant themes that we believe have marked the research, especially on architectural sculpture: the eleventh century and the start of sculptural decoration of churches in both stone and stucco; the knowledge we have about the materials used and reused and aspects of the workshops' work processes; the historiographic creations by the supposed masters, in a scene without the names of artists; the iconographic programme in its context; and the reality of many sculptural sets which at a some point were pillaged or disassembled and are now dispersed and decontextualised. This article ends with a section on furniture.

KEYWORDS: sculpture, Romanesque, historiography, iconography, disassembled and dispersed works

The interest in Romanesque art in Catalonia began in the last few decades of the nineteenth century, considerably later than in other European territories. However, within the same context as in the rest of Europe, knowledge of the mediaeval legacy was a part of studying the national past, and Romanesque art—especially architecture—was the subject of particular attention because it was considered a national art in Catalonia.¹ Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Josep Puig i Cadafalch and Josep Gudiol i Cunill are considered the early leaders, and were later joined by August Brutails for Roussillon, France.² In these early studies, sculpture is primarily a subsection within architecture, and most analyses of buildings were from the construction standpoint. Only a few portals and cloisters began to be examined individually.³ This is understandable, not only given the architectural nature of much sculpture but also because it was the era when the first examinations and systematisations of buildings were getting underway.⁴

Later on, despite its architectural nature, sculpture from the eleventh to early thirteenth centuries became an independent section within the historiography of Romanesque art. Puig i Cadafalch himself is the author of one of the first syntheses, which is joined by another by Marcel Durliat on sculpture in Roussillon.⁵ The historiographic overview of Romanesque sculpture presented in

this text is organised according to the topics that we believe are relevant for what we call architectural sculpture, with the addition of other sections devoted to stucco sculpture and furniture.⁶

Sculpture's subordination to architecture is one of the factors that has conditioned and continues to condition our knowledge of it. Setting aside what we could consider more significant sculptural units, such as portals and cloisters,⁷ the other decorative features of buildings have perhaps received less attention.

Dating Romanesque sculpture has been—and is still—one of the core issues, because just as with architecture, we seldom have information directly related to the building's construction process. When we do, it is often important references, which nonetheless must be compared to other indicators, one of which may be the date of the sculpture decorating it. In the arguments based on architecture, the criteria on dating sculpture have fluctuated between a tendency heavily conditioned by the formal study of the *style*—which has been very important since the earliest studies of sculpture—and a more recent comprehensive approach to the work in which the timeline is closely connected to the interpretation of the iconographic programme and its purpose, along with its formal analysis.⁸

In churches, the portals still conserved did not necessarily have to have been made at the time the church was built; in some cases, they were added to an earlier building to replace a previous portal. Therefore, their dates and circumstances are not necessarily the same. This holds true for two of the most prominent portals in the Catalan

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Romanesque, the one in Ripoll and the one in Sant Pere de Rodes.

The study of sculpture has been conditioned by the circumstances that also affect much of Romanesque art related to the changes in buildings and reconstructions in later periods, along with the pillaging and sale of the works after their value came to be recognised in around 1900. The dismemberment and dispersion of portals and cloisters is particularly dire in monasteries like Sant Serni de Tavèrnoles, Sant Miquel de Cuixà (known as Saint-Michel de Cuxa in France) and Sant Pere de Rodes; cathedrals like the ones in Vic and Barcelona; and other important buildings like Santa Maria in Besalú. They are only some of the most significant examples, which are characterised by the dispersal of the fragments, often with major losses that hamper detailed knowledge of what they may have originally been like. Texts from the Modern Age, travellers' descriptions, drawings and old photographs are invaluable documents that help us learn about works which have suffered from losses or have been disassembled.⁹

THE BEGINNINGS OF ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE

Sculpture from the eleventh century is manifested in structural elements of certain churches, like capitals and impostes, early façade decorations with lintels and door and window frames, and liturgical furniture.¹⁰ Our knowledge of the sculpted elements in churches' support structures from the first half of the century, which were no longer reused capitals as they had been earlier, is conditioned by the fact that not only are they only found in a handful of buildings but also has been tinged by Puig i Cadafalch's definition of the early Romanesque, a perspective that was heavily based on morphological features and especially on the purported absence of both sculpture and the use of columns.¹¹ Félix Hernández initially considered Corinthian capitals with smooth leaves or ribbed decoration, using a different canon than late-antique capitals, to be examples of the caliphal type,¹² and then suddenly, when they dated from the tenth century, they were considered pre-Romanesque.¹³ These are the capitals we find in the three centres overseen by Abbot Oliba (the basilica of Ripoll, the crypt in the cathedral of Vic and Sant Miquel de Cuixà), as well as in Cornellà de Llobregat and Sant Benet de Bages.¹⁴

In a timeframe parallel to the works undertaken by Oliba, the church of Sant Pere de Rodes was built and decorated with quite different capitals and impostes whose characteristics did not fit within Puig i Cadafalch's definition of the early Romanesque, resulting in a wide range of proposed dates. With the date of the consecration in 1022 and the monastery's status as a reference centre, the sculptures in Rodes dates from the second quarter of the eleventh century and qualify and complete an architecture that is committed to the ancient legacy: the presence of a double order in the nave over pillars made with large ashlars and



FIGURE 1. Church in Sant Pere de Rodes, second quarter of the eleventh century.

strategically placed Corinthian capitals that imitate classical capitals (Fig. 1). The remaining capitals and cymatia have interlacing and plant motifs, following a widespread tendency in the Frankish world throughout the eleventh century.¹⁵ Examples from eleventh century drawing from the prestige of Rome have also been found in Girona, in fragments of cornices and impostes which are in the cathedral's lapidary deposit and in the impostes which are conserved in the church in Sant Daniel monastery.¹⁶

While the consecration of Sant Pere de Rodes is an important time referent for church sculpture as a *terminus post quem*, the date contained in the inscription on the lintel of Sant Genís de Fontanes, which states that it was made in 1019-1020, has helped to sequence the early examples of sculpture, or the 'first attempts', as Durliat calls them, to decorate façades in Roussillon.¹⁷ The facture of these marble features should be associated with the handiwork of the Pyrenean workshops specialised in liturgical furniture. In addition to the lintel and decorative elements on the frame of the second door, with its lintel and the doorposts, Sant Andreu de Sureda church (Saint-André-de-Sorède in French) conserves two pieces of furniture which were also carved of marble and are contemporary with the features on the façade: the altar and a basin.

The decorative features and repertoire of the lintels which are common in these pieces, as well as the fact that they were later moved to façades and doors that were reformed in the twelfth century, have sparked doubt as to their original purpose and raised the possibility they were altar-pieces associated with the altar which were later reused for architectural purposes.¹⁸ The iconography reveals a somewhat complex programme and the availability of models from the Carolingian tradition.¹⁹ In Sant Pere de Rodes, the decoration conserved on the window is joined by what was probably a door with sculptural reliefs similar to the ones on the window in Sureda, based on a fragment identified.²⁰

The continuity of this type of sculpture made with bevelled carvings with plant and interlacing motifs and decorating architectural features like capitals—including Corinthian ones—and cymatia and imposts is found throughout the entire eleventh century in churches which are not only located strictly in the Pyrenean region, including the crypt and church of Sant Pere d'Àger, the cathedral of Barcelona and the church of Sant Pere de les Puelles monastery, among others.²¹

In addition to architectural sculpture and furniture, there is also important evidence of stuccoed sculptural decoration from the eleventh century, although determining its dissemination has been severely limited by the fragility of the material and the works conserved, which are often quite fragmentary.²² The exhibition and conference on stucco in mediaeval art held in Poitiers in 2004 revealed how the eastern Pyrenees are one of the geographic areas of interest for stucco sculpture in Europe.²³ Stucco was a material used as a system of architectural decoration applied on walls much more than the scant remains might evidence, following a tradition that dates back to late antiquity. Its importance in the early Middle Ages in general and in Andalusian art in particular, as exemplified by extraordinarily rich examples such as the Islamic fragments from Castell Formós in Balaguer, must have contributed to its continued use as a wall decoration system in works from the eleventh (Sant Serni de Tavèrnoles) and twelfth centuries (Sant Joan de Caselles).²⁴

THE MATERIALS AND WORKING METHODS

The lack of documentary information on the procedures and organisation of the work of the artisans and workshops in the Romanesque period is partly offset by information on the provenance of the materials and everything this entails: reasons for the choice, the way of working, the place of work, etc. The quarries, some of which had been in operation since the ancient world, provided the raw materials for the works made in either a closer or more extensive geographic region.²⁵ One example is the quarry on Montjuïc (Barcelona), the quarries by the same name near Girona and the marble quarries in the Pyre-

nees, the source of the material used to make different sets of sculpture in Roussillon.²⁶

The planning of the work, from the removal of the stones to the final finishes; the materials' suitability according to the type of work, if there were choices between different types of stone; and the degree of detail of the relief as permitted by the material are all issues that have been incorporated into the history of Catalan Romanesque sculpture.

The workshops in Girona that specialised in carving prefabricated materials using nummulitic calcareous stone, primarily for cloisters, and then exported them probably started in the last quarter of the twelfth century. Proof of this are the columns in the cloister in Sant Cugat,²⁷ along with the columns conserved in the cloister of Sant Pere de Rodes.²⁸

The provenance of the different types of marble used in the sculpture in Roussillon is known. The possibility had been posited that the workshops primarily worked in the quarry and then transported the partly carved or almost finished pieces to the destination. Some problems regarding their fit, such as the pulpit in Serrabona, had led to this assumption. In the case of the cloister of Cuixà, however, a painstaking study of the capitals have led this possibility to be rejected.²⁹

Another facet related to materials and working procedures is the reuse of ancient marble or indeed entire ancient pieces, a practice that is well known in both monumental sculpture and liturgical furniture (baptismal fonts, altars, etc.). The provenance of these marble pieces and their original materials is one of the issues still being debated; the other question, when exactly they were reused, becomes clearer when the pieces have been found re-carved.³⁰

THE MASTERS, WORKSHOPS AND PROMOTORS

Our knowledge of individual Romanesque artists is quite limited; in fact, we only know of one sculptor, Arnau Cadell, who made a self-portrait and signed his work in the cloister of Sant Cugat (Fig. 2) after working on the cloister of the cathedral of Girona.³¹ Years later he also made his last will and testament in Girona.³² Additionally, based on two inscriptions on funerary slabs in Roussillon, an artist named Raymond de Bianya or R. de Bia has also been identified; an extensive catalogue that includes the magnificent sculptures in Sant Joan Vell (Saint-Jean in French) in Perpignan and even some capitals in the chancel in La Seu Vella cathedral of Lleida have been attributed to this sculptor or workshop.³³

Given the almost total absence of artisans' names, since the mid-twentieth century the historiographic creation of the figures of *mestres* (masters) has enabled Romanesque sculpture and painting scenarios to be organised, especially in Spain, including Catalan art.³⁴ Thus, there are masters who have been attributed works with similar for-



FIGURE 2. Cloister in Sant Cugat del Vallès, self-portrait and signature of the sculptor Arnau Cadell.

mal features. These *names* and corresponding *catalogues* have gradually taken shape with the inclusion of works or further details. In Catalan Romanesque sculpture, the clearest example is the one called the *Mestre de Cabestany*.³⁵ This name, borrowed from the tympanum in Santa Maria (Sainte-Marie in French) of Cabestany church in Roussillon (Fig. 3), serves as an aegis for an important set of works on both sides of the eastern Pyrenees with marble as the primary material, a clear predilection for ancient tastes and models local to this artistic region, and with clear hallmarks that make them unmistakable.³⁶ This artistic current occasionally extended into Navarra and even Tuscany, and some of its earliest works with sculptural elements are found in the city of Girona.³⁷ It has

been the subject of study from the perspective of which artistic models and centres may have had the most influence in the development of the style.³⁸ However, what iconography and available models were used in some of the most prominent works are questions that have not yet been exhaustively answered and may provide new information about this set of sculptures.

Without actually defining individuals, currents or groupings of sculptural sets have been created based on evidence that the works at least share the same models in both their ornamental systems and their figuration. The application of a geographic criterion is ideal in the case of twelfth-century sculpture from Roussillon;³⁹ this spans from after 1130, with the cloister and tribune in Cuixà, to



FIGURE 3. Tympanum from Santa Maria de Cabestany church, which lent its name to the *Mestre de Cabestany*.

the last quarter of the century, with the work of the church gallery in the cloister of the cathedral of Elne. The sculptural works on the northern slopes of the eastern Pyrenees were made by workshops that shared the same models, many of them from Toulouse, which may have overseen more than one of the works still conserved.

The sculpture models of Roussillon were more or less widespread in the southern part of the Pyrenees.⁴⁰ The models from Roussillon can be clearly detected, sometimes with quite similar features, in areas like Camprodon and its environs, Besalú, Girona and its environs, Ripoll and Vic, Sant Pere de Rodes, La Seu d'Urgell and others, while other times they are adapted and modulated to fit the new commissions. How did these models spread? One way must have been through the sculptors from Roussillon themselves, who worked in some of these southern towns. The heavy impact of sculpture from Roussillon can also be detected in the fact that the Catalan Romanesque cloisters the most directly associated with this current have no historicised biblical depictions on the capitals, like those in Cuixà and Elne.

The indisputable coincidences between the sculpture in Ripoll, especially the Romanesque gallery of the cloister,⁴¹ and that of the disassembled elements of the portal of the cathedral of Vic, as well as their spread both locally and internationally,⁴² as in the Romanesque gallery in the cloister of Elne,⁴³ pose questions on how the models and artisans circulated in a relatively small territory where we can imagine networks with more than one- or two-way connections.

In La Seu d'Urgell, for example, the material used, granite, means that the details and finishes of the relief do not have the same delicacy that limestone or especially marble would allow. The workshop of sculptors who made the capitals on the portals and the cloister of the new cathedral⁴⁴ must have also been in charge of important works in the nearby monastery of Sant Serni de Tavernoles and witnessed their dissemination within their sphere of influence in the church of the Gerri de la Sal monastery and in Santa Maria de Covet.⁴⁵

Other times, the connections among works are attributed to the travelling bands of builders and sculptors whose presence can be perceived in both architecture and sculpture, such as in Sant Miquel de Camarasa and Sant Martí Sarroca churches, which have capitals that are very similar to those in the cloister of Sant Benet de Bages.⁴⁶

The centres in Toulouse, from Saint-Sernin to La Daurade, played a prominent role in southern and especially Catalan sculpture.⁴⁷ The sculpture from Roussillon was fed by the models from Toulouse but was temporally almost three or four decades later. This delay compared to the artistic activity in Toulouse apparently characterised Catalan sculpture until well into the thirteenth century, although we should view it as the use and adaptation of widespread repertoires. One example is the sculpture in Lleida's Seu Vella cathedral and its spread locally until almost 1300.⁴⁸

The contacts with Toulouse were very close in the case of the sculpture in the cloisters of the cathedral of Girona and the monastery in Sant Cugat del Vallès,⁴⁹ along with at least part of Sant Pere de Rodes.⁵⁰ This entailed a major shift in cloister design in that depictions of biblical stories were added, which often occupy the southern gallery in particular; furthermore, the use of the repertoires from Toulouse is also quite extensive.⁵¹

In recent decades, studies focused almost solely on the masters or workshops, those travelling artisans who worked on assignments in different locations, which largely helps explain the dissemination of repertoires and formal similarities, have been joined by considerations of the promoters and ideologues behind the work. The goal is to try to understand the sets of sculpture within their context—just like paintings—as the outcome of a project that followed specific guidelines that the design had to meet. Formal and stylistic issues became further factors alongside the iconographic programme and models, the functions and the topography of the images.

IMAGES, STORIES, CONTEXTS

Along with more formalist approaches, studies of iconography have also played a prominent role in mediaeval art. In Catalan Romanesque sculpture, this includes both transversal research on a topic which clearly is not necessarily limited solely to sculpture or Catalan sculpture,⁵² as well as monographs devoted to specific works. Also worth noting are iconographic case studies, whose contributions often go beyond the work which they examine.⁵³

We shall focus on portals and cloisters, where the liturgy and the setting of these sculptural works, along with the surrounding spaces and their uses, are topics that have been added to iconographic studies and enriched our knowledge of the objectives and intentions behind a certain programme of images. Among sculpted portals, those of the monastic churches in Ripoll and Sant Pere de Rodes stand out for their richness, while the one in Rodes can only be partly evaluated because of the pillaging and dispersion of the different elements and reliefs that comprised it.⁵⁴ Depending on the case, both of them open to or are open to the galilee, a space whose purpose includes serving as a burial site for the counts' families,⁵⁵ and their respective iconographic programmes must have also been designed with this in mind.

The portal in Ripoll is one of the most complex ones, if not the most complex one, in Catalan Romanesque sculpture.⁵⁶ The examinations and interpretations of its rich iconographic programme have been heavily conditioned by the degradation of the surface of the relief, which has led to the disappearance of many of the abundant inscriptions that it used to bear.⁵⁷ Comprehensive studies of the portal, from the standpoint of its conservation and restoration as well, recently reached a milestone in the Congress held in 2013.⁵⁸ Studies on the models⁵⁹ have come

parallel to those on the different interpretations of the portal, many of them complementary.⁶⁰

In cloisters, the use of columns to support the arcades of the galleries and their corresponding capitals, which became widespread at a later date in the Catalan countships, after around 1130, are one of the innovations of the Romanesque. The introduction of sculpture in the capitals and pillars of the arcade signalled a radical change in both the building process, because of the necessary involvement and presence of sculptors in the workshop, who on occasion also served as master builders, and because of the enrichment and monumental transformation of this central space in monasteries, canonical churches and cathedrals. Few cloisters from the eleventh century have been conserved because they were gradually replaced in the twelfth century,⁶¹ but the buildings that delimit the spaces where the cloisters were built and later the new galleries with arcades on columns and capitals often date from the eleventh century. This explains why only one gallery was built in the cathedral of Elne and the monastery of Ripoll in the twelfth century, the one next to the church, while the others are Gothic. It is not that the Romanesque cloister is unfinished; instead, it is likely that there was already a previous one which was updated in successive campaigns. Therefore, we should stress the prospect that the Romanesque sculptural work in the church gallery coexisted first with the galleries of the preceding cloister and later with those made in the immediately ensuing centuries, which often showed attempts to harmonise with the Romanesque work.⁶²

Iconographic studies of the sculpture in cloisters have gone from an approach focused on the themes represented on the capitals, with scant or secondary attention to the setting, to bearing in mind the specificities of the space in relation to its uses and users. Thus, the images and stories are also being analysed bearing in mind the place they occupy, their relationship with the space, the nearby doors or rooms and their association with the liturgy.⁶³

The sculpture on the capitals and the reliefs on the pillars in the cloisters cannot be perceived immediately. They reveal themselves to the visitor's eyes, or—more importantly—to the users of these spaces, as one wends one's way through the galleries. It is impossible to have a complete view of the images, the way one can on a portal, no matter how wide and complex it is; in a cloister, they reveal themselves over time along the route taken. What is more, the view of the capitals also depends on one's vantage point, whether it is from inside or outside the gallery. The sculptures in cloisters seldom have a single iconographic programme, and they are always physically fragmented. One must determine the routes taken, from what rooms to others, which scenes or stories were laid out in front of a given point in the cloister or a portal leading to a given space, possible relations between some scenes and the liturgy, etc.⁶⁴ Primarily the cloisters in the cathedral of Girona, the monastery of Sant Cugat⁶⁵ and the cathedral of Tarragona have been studied from this perspective.⁶⁶

DISASSEMBLED WORKS, DISPERSED FRAGMENTS

Numerous Romanesque complexes with sculptural decoration have only survived partially either because at some point they were repaired, disassembled or pillaged, or because the architecture which they were part of has been torn down. Most of the decontextualised sculptural fragments conserved in a more or less dispersed fashion reflect one of these situations, whose specific realities have been outlined in successive studies. The processes of disentanglement of assets and the consequent abandonment of canonical churches and monasteries, first in Roussillon with the French Revolution and later south of the Pyrenees after 1835, proved decisive in the subsequent fate of many complexes.

The sculptural reliefs of the monastery of Sant Pere de Rodes had been pillaged since the early nineteenth century, coupled with the sacking of the monastery in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and its temporary abandonment, which became definitive at the end of the eighteenth century. At the very least, the cloister and church portal suffered from the consequences, and very few sculpted fragments remain there.⁶⁷ The portal, one of the best works by the group of the Mestre de Cabestany, was completely disassembled and the fragments suffered from major damages and losses. The attempts to recompose it highlight the absences and the dearth of information on the structure of the portal.⁶⁸ With regard to the cloister, the capitals, columns and bases were disassembled and are scattered among different museums and collections. In this case, too, it is impossible to ascertain the original location of the different elements.⁶⁹ The diverse range of capitals conserved, even in terms of their sizes, leads us to believe that some of them must have come from somewhere else in the monastery, such as the other portal that the church must have had on the southern arm of the transept.

In Roussillon, Géraldine Mallet's studies have focused on the processes and causes of the disassembly of cloisters, like those in Sant Miquel de Cuixà, Sant Andreu de Sureda, Sant Martí del Canigó (Saint-Martin-du-Canigou in French) and Santa Maria d'Espirà de l'Agly (Sainte-Marie d'Espirà-de-l'Agly in French), just to cite the Romanesque ones; they include the degradation caused by their decline or abandonment in some cases, or by the consequences of the post-revolutionary secularisation in others. The inventory of the dispersed fragments; the different projects to assemble the works at the Cloisters Museum, in Cuixà or in Canigó; and the contribution of hypotheses on what these cloisters must have been like complete an updated view of their fate in northern Catalonia.⁷⁰ In the case of Cuixà, we have to add the issue of the tribune, which was disassembled in the modern era and part of the fragments exported to the United States, along with those of the Cloisters; in fact, some capitals mounted in the Cloisters may actually come from the tribune.⁷¹



FIGURE 4. Virgin of the Cloister, Santa Maria de Solsona.

Other times, the actions and remodellings after the Romanesque had similar practical consequences in terms of losses and dispersion. One example is the Romanesque cloister of Santa Maria de Solsona, which we know was disassembled and completely rebuilt in the eighteenth century. The sculptures recovered there (capitals, reliefs,

large-format relief figures, columns, etc.) do not enable us to reconstruct their physiognomy, although they do show that it was a cloister with capitals, reliefs and large-format figures also in relief.⁷² One of the works conserved, the splendid image of the Virgin of the Cloister (Fig. 4), has prompted different hypotheses about its purpose.⁷³ What is clear is the association between the sculpture from the cloister in Solsona and the workshops in Toulouse.⁷⁴

Partial disassembly and repairs, which entailed replacing capitals or changing their arrangement because of wars or the effects of natural phenomena, altered the physiognomy and original organisation of the cloisters, such as the ones in the cathedral of Girona⁷⁵ and Santa Maria de l'Estany.⁷⁶

The portals in Ripoll and Santa Maria de Covet are practically the only large Romanesque portals still conserved with extensive sculptural decoration that extends beyond the strict frame of the door arch and the archivolt. This may lead us to think that they are exceptions, and it could give a false image of less complex Catalan Romanesque portals. However, without negating the extraordinary nature of the portal in Ripoll, this hypothesis is belied by the evidence of at least three other large portals that had figurative reliefs surrounding the arcades, which have been conserved in only a very fragmentary fashion or are totally disassembled for different reasons. They include the portals in the cathedral of Vic, Santa Maria de Solsona and Sant Pere de Rodes, discussed above.

The old portal of the Romanesque cathedral in Vic disappeared when the new cathedral was built in the eighteenth century. The different fragments and reliefs revealed that it was not only a portal with archivolt, capitals and perhaps a tympanum, but that the sculpture must have clearly extended beyond this frame and spread along the plane of the façade closest to the door.⁷⁷ The question of the precise provenance of each of the fragments has prompted different possible reconstructions of its original composition.⁷⁸ In parallel, it has been suggested that the reliefs were not from the portal but were part of other sets of sculptures inside the cathedral.⁷⁹

Important architectural and sculptural vestiges remain from the Romanesque church of Santa Maria de Solsona, which was partially reintegrated into the current Gothic church in the chancel and what used to be the transept. On the northern side, on the current portal to the cathedral, there are vestiges of the upper frame of the façade and what must have been a portal with large-format reliefs. It is in a very fragmentary state, which hinders us from ascertaining its main traits for the time being.⁸⁰

THE FURNISHINGS

Catalan sculpture, and more specifically sculpture from Roussillon, conserves some of the few sculptural sets found inside churches: tribunes.⁸¹ Based on the excep-

tional tribune of Serrabona, conserved in its original location,⁸² we have been able to analyse and propose a recomposition of the pieces conserved in the tribune of Cuixà.⁸³

The altar was often complemented by elements covering the front and sometimes the sides, from the tabletop to the floor, called *antependia*. The majority of *antependia* conserved are made of wood that is painted and stuccoed in places, especially the frames; stucco was also used to decorate the backgrounds of figures and painted scenes or for the entire representation on the *antependia*. Other *antependia* are sculpted of wood, with the figures and elements of the architectural composition carved and attached. In some cases, the furniture complementing the altar is a stone sculpture to confer monumentality. On the one hand, the bases with figuration in Ripoll seem to have perhaps been part of a canopy.⁸⁴ On the other, the *antependium* of Saint Tecla is still conserved in place; exceptionally, it is sculpted in marble for the altar of the cathedral of Tarragona. It has been identified as the handiwork of a highly skilled master dating from around 1200, with whom two sculptures of the Annunciation from the Anunciata portal in La Seu Vella cathedral are also associated. It is the work by a master with a strong classicist accent in which aspects from different sculptural traditions converge.⁸⁵

The area around the altar was completed with the throne, like the one in the cathedral of Girona.⁸⁶ The Philadelphia Art Museum conserves a Romanesque throne carved of pink marble which is thought to be from Roussillon, although its exact provenance is unknown. Still, it has been hypothesised that it may be from Cuixà and related to Abbot Gregorius.⁸⁷ The furniture made of stone also included basins, a type of piece that has hardly been studied.⁸⁸

Finally, we should mention funerary sculpture from the Romanesque period, most notably the tombs of Ramon Berenguer III and Ramon Berenguer IV, which were part of the pantheon of counts in Santa Maria de Ripoll.⁸⁹ Another noteworthy work is the tomb of Saint Raymond in Roda de Isàbena which was made to transport the holy bishop's remains almost 50 years after his death.⁹⁰

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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- [2] Enric GRANELL and Antoni RAMON. *Lluís Domènech i Montaner: viatges per l'arquitectura romànica*. Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, Barcelona 2006; Josep PUIG I CADAFALCH, Antoni DE FALGUERA, Josep GODAY. *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*. Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 1909-1918, 3 vols.; Josep GUDIOL. *Nocions d'arqueologia sagrada catalana*. Vic 1902; August BRUTAILS. 'Notes sur l'art religieux en Roussillon'. *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques*, 1892, pp. 523-617, and 1893, pp. 329-404 (translated into Catalan in book form: *L'Art religiós en el Rosselló*. Tip. L'Avenç, Barcelona 1901).
- [3] Such as the study on the cloister of Sant Cugat, Lluís DOMÈNECH I MONTANER. 'Monastir de Sant Cugat del Vallès. Claustre'. *Album pintoresch-monumental de Catalunya*, 18 (1878); or the first valid study of the portal of Ripoll, Josep GUDIOL I CUNILL. *Iconografia de la portallada de Ripoll*. Barcelona 1909.
- [4] Regarding the historiography of Catalan Romanesque architecture, see Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'Religious architecture during the Romanesque period in Catalonia (11th - 13th centuries): Assessment and critical notes'. *Catalan Historical Review*, no. 4 (2011), pp. 181-200; and more recently regarding the eleventh century, Milagros GUARDIA. 'L'art roman catalan à la lumière des recherches menées au cours des 50 dernières années. Le XI^e siècle'. In: *Qu'est-ce que l'art roman?. Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, L (2019), pp. 83-95.
- [5] Josep PUIG I CADAFALCH, *Escultura romànica a Catalunya*. Alpha: Barcelona 1949-1954, 3 vols. For Roussillon, Marcel DURLIAT. *La sculpture romane en Roussillon*. Ed. de La Tramontane: Perpignan 1948-1954, 4 vols. Within the *Ars Hispaniae* collection, the volume devoted to Romanesque architecture and sculpture is noteworthy (Josep GUDIOL, Juan Antonio GAYA NUÑO. *Arquitectura y escultura románicas*. Plus Ultra (Ars Hispaniae, V): Madrid). In general works on mediaeval Catalan art, or specifically on Romanesque art, sculpture from the eleventh to thirteenth century is dealt with specifically in: Josep PUIG I CADAFALCH. 'L'escultura monumental'. In: *L'art català*. Vol. I. Aymà: Barcelona 1955, pp. 171-190; Eduard Junyent, *Catalunya Romànica. L'arquitectura del segle XII*, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat (Biblioteca Abat Oliba, 4): Barcelona 1976; Núria DE DALMASES; Antoni JOSÉ PITARCH. *Els inicis i l'art romànic*. S. IX-XII. Edicions 62: Barcelona 1986; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'L'escultura romànica a Catalunya'. In: *Catalunya Romànica, I. Introducció a l'estudi de l'art romànic*. *Fons d'art romànic català del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*. Enciclopèdia Catalana: Barcelona 1984, p. 110; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, 'L'escultura preromànica i romànica a Catalunya'. In: Xavier Barral i Altet (dir.). *Art de Catalunya, 6. Escultura antiga i medieval*. Edicions L'isard, Barcelona 1997, pp. 106-206; Francesca ESPANOL, Joaquín YARZA. *El Romànic català*. Angle editorial (Patrimoni artístic de Catalunya, 14): Manresa 2007; Jordi CAMPS SÒRIA. 'L'escultura romànica en pedra i fusta'. In: *Enciclopèdia del Romànic a Catalunya*. Barcelona, 1. Fundació Santa Maria la Real: Aguilar de Campoo 2014, pp. 117-147; for Roussillon, Marcel DURLIAT. 'Le Roussillon et la sculpture romane'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 4, 1973, pp. 19-28; Marcel DURLIAT. *Roussillon roman*. Zodiaque (La Nuit des temps, 7):

- La Pierre-qui-vire 1958; Géraldine MALLET. *Églises romanes oubliées du Roussillon*. Les Presses du Languedoc: Montpellier 2003.
- [6] The *Catalunya Romànica* collection, published by Enciclopèdia Catalana in 27 volumes between 1984 and 1998, contains monographs on all the complexes and works, with a rather exhaustive compilation of their corresponding bibliography, which we shall only cite occasionally. Another publication underway are the volumes on Catalonia of the *Enciclopedia del Románico* collection published by the Fundación Santa María la Real in Aguilar de Campoo. The volumes corresponding to Barcelona (2014) and Tarragona (2015) have already been published. The majority of articles on Girona and Lleida can be read online, with monographs by municipality which contain the updated bibliography.
- [7] Regarding cloisters around Spain, Joaquín YARZA, Gerardo BOTO (coords.). *Claustros románicos hispanos*. Edileisa: León 2003.
- [8] A critical approach to the issue of dating mediaeval sculpture, Jean WIRTH. *La datation de la sculpture médiévale*. Librairie Droz: Geneva 2004.
- [9] For example, regarding the portal in Covet, Francesca Español. 'La portalada romànica de Santa Maria de Covet i el sarcòfag romà d'Àger a través d'uns dibuixos de la Real Academia de la Historia'. *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval*, 18 (2005-2006), pp. 87-96.
- [10] The following have dealt generally with eleventh-century sculpture, Georges GAILLARD. *Premiers essais de sculpture monumentale en Catalogne aux X^e et XI^e siècles*. Paris 1938; Marcel DURLIAT. 'Les débuts de la sculpture romane dans le Midi de la France et en Espagne'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 9 (1978), pp. 101-113; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. *L'art preromànic a Catalunya. Segles IX-X*. Edicions 62: Barcelona 1981; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'Le décor monumental'. In: Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. *Le Paysage monumental de la France autor de l'an mil*. Picard: Paris 1987, pp. 115-131; Géraldine MALLET. 'La sculpture préromane en Catalogne: l'exemple des chapiteaux. État d'une question controversée'. In: *Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert dans l'Europe du Haut Moyen Âge. Actes de la table ronde d'août 1998*. Montpellier 2000, pp. 175-181; Marcel DURLIAT. 'La sculpture du XI^e siècle en Occident'. *Bulletin Monumental*, 152 (1994), pp. 129-213; Marcel DURLIAT. 'La sculpture monumentale en Catalogne dans la première moitié du XI^e siècle'. *Estudis d'Història oferts a Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals en el centenari del seu naixement. Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, XXX (1994), pp. 69-83.
- [11] Marcel DURLIAT. 'La sculpture monumentale...', *op. cit.*; Immaculada LORÉS. 'Edificis del segle XI al marge de la influència lombarda'. In: *Els comacini i l'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya. Simposi internacional*. Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya: Barcelona 2010, pp. 121-131. An exhaustive overview of Catalan Romanesque art from the eleventh century: Milagros GUARDIA. 'L'art roman catalan à la lumière des recherches menées au cours des 50 dernières années. Le XI^e siècle', *op. cit.*
- [12] Félix HERNÁNDEZ. 'Un aspecto del arte califal en Cataluña (bases y capiteles del siglo XI)'. *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, no. VI (1930), pp. 21-49.
- [13] Georges GAILLARD. *Premiers essais de sculpture...*, *op. cit.*; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. *L'art pre-romànic a Catalunya. Segles IX-X*, Ed. 62: Barcelona 1981. In the case of Ripoll, this could also lead us to consider the architectural structures of which they were part, the naves, in the tenth century as well. See Josep GUDIOL, Juan Antonio GAYA NUÑO, *Arquitectura y escultura románicas*, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-17; Joan AINAUD. 'Notas sobre iglesias prerománicas'. *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, IV, no. 3-4 (1948), pp. 313-320; Eduard JUNYENT. *El monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll*. Barcelona 1975, pp. 26-27.
- [14] Regarding the capital in Cuixà and those in Ripoll, Immaculada LORÉS. 'La sculpture de Saint-Michel de Cuxa à l'époque de l'abbé Oliba'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXXVIII (2007), pp. 183-191; Immaculada LORÉS. 'La decoración escultórica en el monasterio de Santa María de Ripoll'. In: José Ángel GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR, Ramón TEJA (eds.). *Los grandes monasterios benedictinos hispanos de época románica (1050-1200)*. Fundación Santa María la Real: Aguilar de Campoo (2007), pp. 167-174.
- [15] We have compiled the latest thoughts and proposed dates in Immaculada LORÉS. 'L'église de Sant Pere de Rodes. Un exemple de "renaissance" de l'architecture du XI^e siècle en Catalogne'. *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXXII (2001), pp. 21-39; Immaculada LORÉS. *El monestir de Sant Pere de Rodes*. Barcelona-Bellaterra-Girona-Lleida 2002. Regarding the use of Corinthian capitals after Sant Pere de Rodes, Víctor LASSALLE. 'Les chapiteaux corinthiens de Sant Pere de Rodes et leurs semblables ou dérivés du Roussillon et du Languedoc'. In: *Le Roussillon de la Marca Hispanica aux Pyrénées-Orientales (VIIIe-XXe siècles)*. Actes du LXVII^e Congrès de la Fédération historique du Languedoc Méditerranéen et du Roussillon. Société agricole, scientifique et littéraire des Pyrénées-Orientales: Perpignan 1995, pp. 381-409. Regarding the interlaced capitals in Rodes in relation to the Frankish complexes, Jean-Claude FAU. 'Un décor original: l'entrelac épanoui en palmette sur les chapiteaux romans de l'ancienne Septimanie'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 9 (1978), pp. 129-139, and especially the recent review by Lei HUANG. *L'abbatiale Sainte-Foy de Conques (XI^e-XII^e siècles)*, doctoral thesis, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne 2018. The church of Rodes had repercussions in Sant Andreu de Sureda, Immaculada LORÉS. 'Edificis del segle XI al marge de la influència lombarda: Sant Pere de Rodes i la seva repercussió a Sant Andreu de Sureda'. In: *Els Comacini i l'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya. Barcelona - Girona, 25 i 26 de novembre de 2005. Simposi Internacional*. Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya: Barcelona 2010, pp. 121-131.
- [16] Marc SUREDA I JUBANY. 'Romà o Romànic? Presències antiquitzants en l'escultura gironina del segle XI'. *Lam-*

- bard. Estudis d'art medieval*, XIX (2006-2007), pp. 213-242.
- [17] Marcel DURLIAT. 'Les premiers essais de décoration de façades en Roussillon au XI^e siècle'. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, LXVII (1966), pp. 65-78; Marcel DURLIAT. *Roussillon roman*, *op. cit.* For a comprehensive overview of lintels in Roussillon, Olivier POISSON. 'Le linteau dans la façade: notes sur les portails de Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines et de Saint-André (Roussillon)'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XLV (2014), pp. 197-209.
- [18] Pierre PONSICH. 'Les plus anciennes sculptures médiévales du Roussillon (V^e-XI^e siècles)'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 11, 1980, pp. 317-324; Pierre PONSICH. 'Les tables d'autel à lobes de la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne (Xe-XIe s.) et l'avenement de la sculpture monumentale en Roussillon'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 13 (1982), pp. 7-45. This is an option that was not adopted by the majority of authors. However, without denying their function as façade pieces, the issue of their original location continues to spark doubts stemming from the archaeological analysis of the walls (Olivier POISSON. 'Le linteau dans la façade...', *op. cit.*).
- [19] Unique iconography never before seen is found on the lintels, the Majesty-Ascension, which in Sant Andreu de Sureda is complemented by eschatological representations in the elements comprising the current window (Peter KLEIN. 'Les portails de Saint-Genis-de-Fontaines et de Saint-André de Sorède. I. Le linteau de Saint-Genis'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 20 (1989), pp. 121-160; Peter KLEIN. 'Les portails de Saint-Genis de Fontaines et de Saint-André de Sorède. II. Le linteau et la fenêtre de Saint-André-de-Sorède'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 21 (1990), pp. 159-198). In Santa Maria d'Arles sur Tech, the marble cross on the lintel in the masonry of the tympanum, with the Majesty of Christ in the centre and the symbols of the living on the sides, has been associated with goldwork crosses (M. DURLIAT. 'Les premiers essais...', *op. cit.*, p. 74) or even with *antependia* (M. F. HEARN. *Romanesque Sculpture. The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca 1981, pp. 27-30).
- [20] Jaume BARRACHINA. 'Las portadas de la iglesia de Sant Pere de Rodes'. *Locus Amoenus*, 4 (1998-1999), pp. 7-35; Jaume BARRACHINA. 'La portada de Sant Pere de Rodes'. In: *Enciclopedia del Románico. Girona*. Fundación Santa María La Real: Aguilar de Campoo, at press. Available online: <https://www.romanicodigital.com/sites/default/files/pdfs/files/Port%20de%20la%20Selva%2C%20El.pdf>.
- [21] With a date closer to the mid-eleventh century, M. DURLIAT. 'L'Abbatiale d'Àger, sa place dans l'art catalan'. In: *Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus*. Paris 1973: pp. 64-93; while F. Fité dates it later, from between 1060 and the end of the century (Francesc FITÉ. 'L'escultura romànica de la col·legiata de Sant Pere d'Àger. Segle XI. Algunes qüestions sobre el seu estil i la seva iconografia' *Ilerda*, XLVIII (1990): pp. 11-30).
- [22] The earliest publications presented the known fragments and provided a brief interpretation of them: Joan ARNAUD DE LASARTE. 'La decoración en estuco en Cataluña de la Antigüedad a la Edad Media'. In: *Stucchi e mosaici alto-medievali*. Atti dell'ottavo Congresso di Studi sull'Arte dell'Alto Medioevo (1959), vol. 1, Milan 1962, pp. 147-153; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'Le decor en stuc, aux XI et XII siècles, Catalogne et Roussillon'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 6 (1975), pp. 116-123; the same author revisits the topic in 'L'escultura en guix'. In: Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. *Art de Catalunya, 6. Escultura antiga i medieval. op cit.*, pp. 182-185.
- [23] *Le stuc, visage oublié de l'art médiévale*. Somogy éditions – Musées de Poitiers, Paris – Poitiers 2004; Christian SAPIN (dir.). *Stucs et décors de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge (V^e-XII^e siècle)*. Brépols, Turnhout 2006.
- [24] Carles MANCHO. 'Le stuc en Catalogne: carrefour de cultures?'. In: Christian SAPIN (dir.). *Stucs et décors... op. cit.*, pp. 167-178; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'Le decor monumental en stuc de Saint-Sernin de Tavèrnoles et l'art roman', In: *Ibid.*, p. 257-267. For Sant Joan de Caselles, see more recently Cristina TARRADELLAS. 'Santa Coloma, Sant Joan de Caselles et Sant Martí de la Cortinada: mise en scène du pouvoir de l'église?'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XLVII (2016), pp. 237-245. And we should not omit the architectural decoration with stucco in Santa Maria d'Aletles-Bains, in Aude. Stucco was also used for images and liturgical objects; specifically, the fragments of the figures from Santa Maria d'Arles sur Tech comprise a truly extraordinary set in the Pyrenean region (Géraldine MALLET. 'Stucs preromans et romans des vallées de l'Aude et du Roussillon'. In: *Ibid.*, pp. 240-247).
- [25] The proceedings of the 2013 conference devoted to mediaeval quarries in the Crown of Aragon is a benchmark publication, Francesca ESPAÑOL, Joan VALERO (ed.). *Les pedreres medievals de la Corona d'Aragó*. Institut d'Estudis Catalans – Amics de l'Art Romànic: Barcelona 2017, with the text by Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'Les pedreres a la Catalunya medieval. Les explotacions. Els professionals. Les infraestructures'. In: *Ibid.*, pp. 9-52.
- [26] Géraldine Mallet has identified the different types of marble and the quarries where they came from, Géraldine MALLET. *Les cloîtres démontés de Perpignan et du Roussillon (XII^e-XIV^e siècle)*. Archives Communales de Perpignan: Perpignan 2000.
- [27] Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'Los materiales prefabricados gerundenses de aplicación arquitectónica (s. XIII-XV)'. In: Joaquín YARZA, Francesc FITÉ (eds.). *L'artista-artesa medieval a la Corona d'Aragó*. Edicions i publicacions de la Universitat de Lleida: Lleida 1999, pp. 77-127; Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'La producción seriada en calcàrea numulítica de los talleres de Girona (s. XIII-XV)'. In: Monica DONATO (ed.). *L'artista medievale*. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa (Annali della Scuola Normale Superi-

- ore di Pisa. Serie IV. Quaderni, 16): Pisa 2003, pp. 215-236; Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'Las manufacturas arquitectónicas en piedra de Girona durante la baja edad media y su comercialización'. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, no. 39/2 (2009): pp. 963-1001.
- [28] Immaculada LORÉS. 'L'escultura romànica de Sant Pere de Rodes, un gran i incomplet trencaclosques: el dipòsit lapidari'. In: *Passió per l'art d'alta època. Estudis en record de Jaume Barrachina Navarro*. Fundació Castell de Peralada: Peralada 2022, pp. 90-99.
- [29] A preliminary exploration of the work by the atelier in Cuixà, Géraldine MALLET. 'Nouvelles réflexions sur l'atelier du cloître de l'abbaye de Saint-Michel de Cuxa'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXIV (1993), pp. 93-102. Later, compiling the preceding criticism and the impeccable analysis of the capitals from the standpoint of how they were crafted in order to learn more about the disassembled cloister led the author to conclude that there is no information which enables us to claim that the elements were cut either in the quarry or *in situ* (Géraldine MALLET. *Les cloîtres démontés de Perpignan et du Roussillon*, *op. cit.*). This discussion has also been ongoing for the sculpture in Serrabona (Olivier POISSON. 'Les ateliers roussillonnais du XII^e siècle'. In: Joaquín YARZA, Francesc FITÉ (eds.). *L'artista-artesà medieval a la Corona d'Aragó*, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-144).
- [30] These questions have been discussed in relation to the white marble pieces from Roussillon, with an overview of the research in Géraldine MALLET. 'De Catalogne en Languedoc méditerranéen au Moyen Âge (IV^e-XII^e siècles questions sur les emplois en marbre blanc à travers les exemples roussillonnais)'. *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 17 (2011), pp. 77-84. For the altar table of Torrelles (Torreilles in French, Pyrénées-Orientales) made with a piece of a sarcophagus, Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'Fragment de sarcophage antique de Torreilles (Pyrénées-Orientales), retaillé en table d'autel romane'. *Cahiers archéologiques. Fin de l'Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, XXVII (1978), pp. 31-37. The reuse of Roman marble for the twelfth-century portal in Sant Pere de Rodes by the workshop of the Mestre de Cabestany is also widely known (Jaume BARRACHINA. 'Las portadas de la Iglesia de Sant Pere de Rodes', *op. cit.*).
- [31] Immaculada LORÉS. 'Le travail et l'image du sculpteur dans l'art roman catalan'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXVI (1995), pp. 27-33; Immaculada LORÉS. 'El escultor Arnau Cadell, constructor de claustros'. *Románico*, 20 (2015), pp. 160-168.
- [32] Josep M. MARQUÈS I PLANAGUMÀ. 'L'escultor Arnau Cadell i el claustre de la Catedral de Girona', *Miscel·lània Litúrgica Catalana*, 16, 2008, pp. 163-167; Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'Las manufacturas arquitectónicas...', *op. cit.*
- [33] Marcel DURLIAT. 'Raimond de Bianya ou R. de Via', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 4 (1973), pp. 128-138; Géraldine MALLET. 'L'œuvre de tombier de l'atelier de R. De Bia (début du XIII^e siècle, Catalogne du Nord)'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XLII (2011), pp. 51-58.
- [34] Josep GUDIOL, Juan Antonio GAYA NUÑO. *Arquitectura y escultura románicas*, *op. cit.*
- [35] A term coined in Josep GUDIOL. 'Los relieves de la portada de Errondo y el maestro de Cabestany'. *Príncipe de Viana*, XIV (1944), pp. 9-14.
- [36] The works attributed to the Mestre de Cabestany have expanded since the study by Gudiol. They include the compilations by Marcel DURLIAT. 'Du nouveau sur le Maître de Cabestany', *Bulletin Monumental*, CXXIV (1971), pp. 193-198 and Marcel DURLIAT. 'Le Maître de Cabestany', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 4 (1973), pp. 116-127, as well as the monograph, with an extensive bibliography, by André BONNERY ET AL. *Le Maître de Cabestany*. Zodiaque (La voie lactée): La Pierre-qui-vire 2000.
- [37] Pere BESERAN. 'Alguns capitells de Sant Pere de Galligants i el Mestre de Cabestany'. *Girona revisitada. Estudis d'art medieval i modern*. Estudi General de Girona (Estudi General, 10): Girona 1990, pp. 17-44. Serafín Moralejo viewed these early capitals from Girona as the formation of the style associated with the ancient sarcophagi in Sant Feliu (Serafín MORALEJO. 'La reutilización e influencia de los sarcófagos antiguos en la España medieval'. In: *Colloquio sul reimpiego dei sarcofagi romani nel medioevo*. Pisa, 1982, Marburg 1984, pp. 187-203.
- [38] One of these lines has been Toulouse (Jordi CAMPS I SÒRIA. 'À propos des sources toulousaines du "Maître de Cabestany": l'exemple du portail de Sant Pere de Rodes (Catalogne)'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXVI (1995), pp. 95-108); another is the quest for classicism in Tuscany (Francesco GANDOLFO. 'Il sarcofago di Saint-Hilaire d'Aude, il Maestro di Cabestany e la Toscana'. In: Arturo Carlo QUINTAVALLE. *Medioevo: il tempo degli antichi. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi*. Parma, 24-28 September 2003, Electa: Milan 2006, pp. 425-437; Laura BARTOLOMÉ ROVIRAS. *Presència i context del Mestre del timpà de Cabestany. La formació de la tradició clàssica d'un taller (ca. 1160-1200)*, Doctoral thesis, Universitat de Barcelona: Barcelona 2010); without losing sight of the clear interrelations with local artistic currents, especially sculpture from Roussillon.
- [39] Marcel Durliat. *La sculpture romane en Roussillon*, *op. cit.*; Marcel Durliat, 'Le Roussillon et la sculpture romane', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 4 (1973), pp. 19-28; Marcel Durliat. *Roussillon roman*. La Pierre-qui-vire: Zodiaque 2003.
- [40] An issue which has been studied on several occasions by Jordi Camps (Jordi CAMPS I SÒRIA. 'Reflexions sobre l'escultura de filiació rossellonesa a la zona de Ripoll, Besalú, Sant Pere de Rodes i Girona vers la segona meitat del segle XII'. In: *Girona revisitada*, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-69).
- [41] Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'La sculpture à Ripoll au XII^e siècle', *Bulletin Monumental*, 131 (1973), pp. 311-359; Jordi CAMPS I SÒRIA. 'De la portada i el claustre de Ripoll. Funcionament i irradiació d'un taller'. In: Marc SUREDA I JUBANY (coordinator). *La portalada de Ripoll*.

- Creació, conservació i recuperació*. Viella – IRCVM (IRCVM Medieval Cultures, 7): Rome 2018, pp. 111-122.
- [42] See note 75 below in the bibliography.
- [43] Olivier POISSON. 'La galerie sud du cloître d'Elna et la fin de l'école romane roussillonnaise'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXIV (1993), pp. 103-107.
- [44] Pere BESERAN I RAMON. 'Originalitat i tradició en l'escultura monumental de la catedral de la Seu d'Urgell', *Lambard*, IX (1996), pp. 49-73; Pere BESERAN I RAMON. 'L'escultura de la catedral d'Urgell'. In: Joan-Albert ADELL I GISBERT ET ALII. *La catedral de la Seu d'Urgell*, Manresa, 2000, pp. 108-129.
- [45] Joaquín YARZA LUACES. 'Aproximació estilística i iconogràfica a la portada de Santa Maria de Covet', *Quaderns d'estudis medievals*, 9 (1982), pp. 535-556. Regarding the overlaps and interrelations between La Seu d'Urgell, Covet and Gerri de la Sal, Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'L'escultura romànica catalana en el marc dels intercanvis hispanollenguadocians'. In: Isidro G. BANGO, Joan J. BUSQUETA. *Gombau de Camporrells, bisbe de Lleida a l'alba del segle XIII*. Amics de la Seu Vella: Lleida 1996, pp. 43-81. On Covet, see, too, Emmanuel GARLAND. 'Le portail de Santa Maria de Covet: une œuvre élaborée, témoin de la place des puissances célestes au cours du second âge roman'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXVIII (1997), pp. 145-173.
- [46] Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'Escultura de Santa Maria de Sant Martí Sarroca'. In: *Catalunya Romànica*, XIX. *El Penedès. L'Anoia*. Enciclopèdia Catalana: Barcelona 1992, pp. 175-180; Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'Escultura de Sant Miquel de Camarasa'. In: *Catalunya Romànica*, XVII. *La Noguera*. Enciclopèdia Catalana: Barcelona 1994, pp. 314-318; Francesca ESPAÑOL. *Sant Benet de Bages*. Angle editorial – Caixa Manresa: Manresa 2001.
- [47] Immaculada LORÉS. 'Transmission de modèles toulousains dans la sculpture monumentale en Catalogne dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle. Anciennes et nouvelles problématiques', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXXVII (2006), pp. 91-102. The Toulouse perspective was one of the cruxes of the exhibition catalogue for *El romànic i la Mediterrània. Catalunya, Toulouse i Pisa. 1120-1180*, MNAC: Barcelona 2008.
- [48] Regarding the initial sculpture of the easternmost parts of La Seu Vella, Jacques Lacoste. 'Découverte dans la cathédrale romane de Lérida', *Bulletin Monumental*, 132 (1974), pp. 231-234; Jacques LACOSTE. 'La cathédrale de Lérida: les debuts de la sculpture'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 6 (1975), pp. 275-298; Joaquín YARZA. 'Primeros talleres de escultura en la Seu Vella'. In: Frederic VILÀ, Immaculada LORÉS (eds.). *Congrés de la Seu Vella de Lleida*. Pagès editors: Lleida 1991, pp. 39-53; Meritxell NIÑÀ JOVÉ. *L'escultura del segle XIII de la Seu Vella de Lleida*. Doctoral thesis. Universitat de Lleida. https://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/275936?locale-attribute=ca_ES#page=1, Meritxell NIÑÀ. 'Maria com a idea de l'Encarnació. Aproximació al programa escultòric romànic de la Seu Vella de Lleida'. *Síntesi. Quaderns dels Seminaris de Besalú*, 1 (2013), pp. 75-91; Francisc FITÉ. 'A New Interpretation of the Thirteenth-Century Capitals of the Ancient Cathedral of Lleida ('Seu Vella')'. In: Gerardo BOTO & Justin E.A. KROESEN (ed. by). *Romanesque Cathedrals in Mediterranean Europe. Architecture, Ritual and Urban Context*, Brepols: Turnhout 2016, pp. 245-257. Regarding the sculpture on the portals, Francisc FITÉ. 'Escultura tardana: les portades de la denominada escola de Lleida'. In: Frederic VILÀ, Immaculada LORÉS (eds.). *Congrés de la Seu Vella de Lleida*, op. cit., pp. 77-91.
- [49] Paul MESPLÉ. 'Chapiteaux d'inspiration toulousaine dans les cloîtres catalans'. *La Revue des Arts*, III (1960), pp. 103-108.
- [50] See note 69.
- [51] Immaculada LORÉS. 'El monestir de Sant Cugat del Vallès. Escultura del claustre i de l'església'. In: *Catalunya Romànica*, XVIII. *El Vallès Occidental. El Vallès Oriental*. Enciclopèdia Catalana: Barcelona 1991, pp. 169-182; Immaculada LORÉS. 'La catedral (o Santa Maria) de Girona. El claustre'. In: *Catalunya Romànica*, V. *El Gironès. La Selva. El Pla de l'Estany*. Enciclopèdia Catalana: Barcelona 1991, pp. 119-131.
- [52] As an example, we can cite the studies on the representation of Daniel in the lion's den (Juan Antonio OLAÑETA MOLINA. *La representació de Daniel en el foso de les leones en la escultura de Occidente (ss. XI-XIII)*. Doctoral thesis. Universitat de Barcelona 2017); the sacrifice of Isaac (Begoña CAYUELA BELLIDO. *Tradiciones y transmisión iconográfica en el arte altomedieval. La iconografía del Sacrificio de Isaac en el arte hispánico (siglos VII al XII)*. Doctoral thesis. Universitat de Barcelona 2013); the Chrismon (Juan Antonio OLAÑETA MOLINA. 'De Roma a los Pirineos. Génesis, evolución y lectura del crismón'. In: *Enciclopedia del Románico en Aragón. Huesca*, vol. I. Fundación Santa María la Real: Aguilar de Campoo 2016, pp. 97-130); and the parable of Lazarus and the rich man (Begoña CAYUELA, Milagros GUARDIA, Juan Antonio OLAÑETA. 'Les representacions i lectures de la paràbola de Llätzer i el ric en l'alta edat mitjana en l'espai pirinenc: corpus i línies de recerca'. In: Milagros GUARDIA, Carles MANCHO (eds.). *Pirineus Romànics, espai de confluències artístiques*. Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona: Barcelona 2021, pp. 109-141).
- [53] One example is the theme of Saint Michael weighing souls on the portal of Sant Miquel de la Portella. This example is added to those already known from Catalan Romanesque and is a case in which the theme is not found within the context of the Last Judgement (Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'El tema de la psicòstasi arran d'un portal romànic de la Catalunya Nova: Sant Miquel de la Portella'. *Quaderns d'Estudis Medievals*, 2 (1980), pp. 94-101).
- [54] For this reason, we discuss it in the section on disassembled and dispersed works.
- [55] Regarding galilees in Catalan architecture, their purpose and the presence of sculpted portals in the cathedrals of Barcelona and Vic, Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'Massifs occi-

- dentaires dans l'architecture romane catalane'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXVII (1996), pp. 57-77.
- [56] Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'Le portail de Ripoll. État des questions'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, IV (1973), pp. 139-161 contains the most exhaustive, critical bibliography until then.
- [57] Josep Gudiol was able to read some of them in his 1909 study (see note 3).
- [58] Marc SUREDA I JUBANY (coordinator). *La portalada de Ripoll. Creació, conservació i recuperació*. Viella – IRCVM (IRCVM Medieual Cultures, 7): Rome 2018.
- [59] Manuel CASTIÑEIRAS. 'Un passaggio al passato: il portale di Ripoll'. In: *Medioevo: il tempo degli antichi. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Parma, 2003*. Electa: Parma 2006, pp. 365-381. Immaculada LORÉS. 'Des arcs romains aux portails romans, un regard critique. Le portail de Ripoll, une fois de plus'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XLV (2014), pp. 105-115.
- [60] An iconographic interpretation of the portal associated with the conquests of the counts of Barcelona and the figure of Ramon Berenguer IV, Francisco RICO. *Signos e indicios en la portada de Ripoll*, Barcelona 1976; Joaquín YARZA. 'Notes introductòries i aspectes generals sobre la portalada de Santa Maria de Ripoll. La portalada de Ripoll, confluència de corrents internacionals. Lectura iconogràfica'. In: *Catalunya Romànica, X. El Ripollès, Enciclopèdia catalana*: Barcelona 1987, pp. 241-252. The portal's connection with the acts of the counts of Barcelona and the pantheon of the counts, Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'Panthéons comtaux en Catalogne à l'époque romane. Les inhumations privilégiées du monastère de Ripoll'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XLII (2011), pp. 103-114; Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'Memòria i monument: la porta de Ripoll i els comtes de Barcelona'. In: Marc SUREDA I JUBANY (coordinator). *La portalada de Ripoll. op. cit.*, pp. 75-98. A different iconographic and historical interpretation that points to a much later date, Marisa MELERO MONEO. 'La propagande politico-religieuse du programme iconographique de la façade de Sainte-Marie de Ripoll'. *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 46 (2003), pp. 135-157. For an interpretation of the portal associated with the liturgy, Marc SUREDA I JUBANY. 'Santa Maria de Ripoll. Liturgie, identité et art roman dans une grande abbaye catalane'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XLIX (2018), pp. 211-229; Marc SUREDA I JUBANY. 'Ostium et Statio. Imatges i litúrgia a la portada de Ripoll (1150-1300)'. In: Marc SUREDA I JUBANY (coordinator). *La portalada de Ripoll. op. cit.*, pp. 57-74.
- [61] Exceptionally, the eleventh-century cloister in Rodes has conserved them in three of its galleries; the one on the western side must have been placed at a higher level and was used for the new twelfth-century cloister (Immaculada LORÉS. *El monestir de Sant Pere de Rodes, op. cit.*).
- [62] For the cloister in Ripoll, Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'La sculpture à Ripoll au XII^e siècle', *op. cit.* In Elne, the successive galleries in the cloister used the Romanesque gallery as their model (Olivier POISSON. 'La galerie sud du cloître d'Elne et la fin de l'école romane roussillonnaise'. *op. cit.*). See, too, Pere BESERAN. 'Un gòtic "neoromànic" al claustre de Ripoll i en altres claustres'. In: Rosa ALCOY (ed.). *L'art medieval en joc*. Barcelona 2016, pp. 127-144.
- [63] In the publication of the results of the 1972 symposium devoted to the topic of the cloister, 'Paradisus Claustralis. What is a Cloister?', in the journal *Gesta*, Vol. 12, No. 1/2. (1973), Léon Pressouyre suggested that when interpreting the images in cloisters, they should be viewed as the reflection of the decisions of the monastic or canonical communities ('St. Bernard to St. Francis: Monastic Ideals and Iconographic Programs in the Cloister', pp. 71-92). And a new milestone in the study and examination of all aspects of mediaeval cloisters, including their iconography, is the publication of a more recent symposium held in Tübingen and directed by Peter Klein in 1999 (Peter KLEIN (Hrsg.). *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang. The Medieval Cloister. Le cloître au Moyen Âge. Architektur, Funktion und Programm*. Schnell & Steiner: Regensburg 2004).
- [64] Sometimes there have been attempts to find a single meaning that explains an entire work, apart from its uses, the liturgy and the iconography. Marius Schneider came up with a suggestive music-based theory for the capitals of the cloisters in Girona and Sant Cugat (*El origen musical de los animales-símbolos en la mitología y la escultura antiguas*. CSIC: Barcelona 1946). More recently, in the case of Sant Cugat, there has been an attempt to find a simplifying, though not necessarily well-grounded, explanation (J. M. JAUMÀ. *Entre capitells. El discurs únic del claustre de Sant Cugat*. Fundació Joan Maragall (Quaderns 124 Collection): Barcelona 2020) which is discussed critically in Juan Antonio OLAÑETA MOLINA. 'La lectura tipològica como enfoque esclarecedor para una adecuada interpretación de los capiteles del claustro del monasterio de Sant Cugat del Vallès'. Mario AGUDO VILLANUEVA (coord.). *Románico. El lenguaje de las piedras vivas*. Dilema: Madrid 2022, pp. 193-220.
- [65] Immaculada LORÉS. 'La vida en el claustre: iconografía monástica en els capitells de Sant Cugat del Vallès i el Costumari del monestir', *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*, 6 (2002), pp. 35-46; Peter KLEIN. 'Topographie, fonctions et programmes iconographiques des cloîtres: la galerie attenante à l'église'. In: Peter KLEIN (Hrsg.). *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang, op. cit.*, pp. 105-156; Peter KLEIN. 'Le cloître de la cathédrale de Gérone: fonctions et programme iconographique'. In: Ángela Franco Mata (ed.). *Patrimonio artístico de Galicia y otros estudios. Homenaje al Prof. Dr. Serafín Moralejo Álvarez*, Santiago de Compostela 2004, pp. 130-144; Peter KLEIN. 'The Iconography of the Cloister of Gerona Cathedral and the Functionalist Interpretation of Romanesque Historiated Cloisters. Possibilities and Limitations'. In: Gerardo BOTO VARELA, Justin E.A. KROESEN (eds.). *Romanesque Cathedrals in the Mediterranean Europe, op. cit.*, pp. 259-274; in addition to the chapter on this topic by Marc SUREDA. *Els precedents de la catedral de Santa*

- Maria de Girona. De la plaça religiosa del fòrum romà al conjunt arquitectònic de la seu romànica (segles I aC – XIV dC)*. Doctoral thesis. Universitat de Girona. (<http://dugi-doc.udg.edu/handle/10256/4950?show=full>).
- [66] Marta Serrano. 'San Nicolás polifacético: el ciclo del santo obispo en el claustro catedralicio de Tarragona', *Codex Aquilarensis*, 30 (2014), pp. 225-258. Recently, a hypothesis on how to interpret the non-historical repertoires in the cloister of La Seu d'Urgell has been put forth (Marta SERRANO COLL, Esther LOZANO LÓPEZ. 'The Cloister Sculpture at La Seu d'Urgell and the problem of this Visual Repertoire'. In: Gerardo BOTO VARELA, Justin E.A. KROESEN (eds.). *Romanesque Cathedrals in the Mediterranean Europe*, op. cit., pp. 275-289).
- [67] Jaume BARRACHINA. 'L'espòli de Sant Pere de Rodes. De la col·lecció al museu'. In: *La fortuna d'unes obres. Sant Pere de Rodes, del monestir al museu*. Museu Frederic Marès: Barcelona 2006, pp. 113-142. Nonetheless, the Lapidary deposit of Rodes consists in almost 700 fragments of different types, sizes, materials and periods (Immaculada LORÉS. 'L'escultura romànica de Sant Pere de Rodes, un gran i incomplet trencaclosques', op. cit.).
- [68] The main studies on the portal: Jaume BARRACHINA. 'Las portadas de la iglesia de Sant Pere de Rodes', op. cit.; Jaume BARRACHINA. 'La portada de Sant Pere de Rodes', op. cit. See, too, Immaculada LORÉS. *El monestir de Sant Pere de Rodes*, op. cit. For another hypothesis on the recomposition of the portal, Laura BARTOLOMÉ. *Presència i context del Mestre del timpà de Cabestany*, op. cit.
- [69] Immaculada LORÉS. *El claustre romànic de Sant Pere de Rodes: de la memòria a les restes conservades. Una hipòtesi sobre la seva composició escultòrica*. Universitat de Lleida (Espai/Temps, 22): Lleida 1994; Immaculada LORÉS. *El monestir de Sant Pere de Rodes*, op. cit.; Immaculada LORÉS. 'Un nouveau chapiteau du cloître roman de Sant Pere de Rodes (Catalogne) au Musée Cluny de Paris', *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XLVIII (2017), pp. 95-100.
- [70] For Roussillon, Géraldine MALLET. 'Cloîtres démontés en Roussillon, remontés aux Etats-Unis', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 22 (1991), pp. 261-278; Géraldine MALLET. *Les cloîtres démontés de Perpignan...* op. cit. For the specific case of the cloister of Sant Miquel de Cuixà, Marcel DURLIAT. 'La fin du cloître de Saint-Michel de Cuxa'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 2 (1971), pp. 9-16; Géraldine MALLET. 'Dispersion et restauration du cloître de Saint-Michel de Cuxa (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXXIII (2002), pp. 145-155.
- [71] Géraldine MALLET. *Les cloîtres démontés de Perpignan...* op. cit. For recent digital studies of the tribune that have made a proposed recomposition possible, see note 83.
- [72] [Jordi CAMPS I SÒRIA]. 'Escultura monumental'. In: *Catalunya Romànica*, XXII. *Museu Episcopal de Vic. Museu Diocesà i Comarcal de Solsona*. Enciclopèdia Catalana: Barcelona 1986, pp. 299-334; *Museu Diocesà i Comarcal de Solsona. Catàleg d'Art Romànic i Gòtic*. Patronat del Museu Diocesà i Comarcal de Solsona: Solsona 1990. A new version of the museum catalogue on mediaeval art is in the process of being published.
- [73] This sculpture, which is actually a relief, had been removed from its original location long before the cloister was disassembled and had become a devotional image in its own chapel. The issue on its original location has been answered in different ways: it had been part of a tympanum (Arthur Kingsley PORTER. *Romanesque Sculpture in the Pilgrimage Roads*. Vol. I. Boston 1923); it had been the mullion of a window in a space attached to the cloister (Antoni LLORENS. *La Mare de Déu del Claustre. Imatge – Devoció – Santuari*. Solsona 1966, pp. 27-31); or it had been part of some set of furniture (Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'L'escultura de Santa Maria de Solsona'. In: *Catalunya Romànica*, XIII. *El Solsonès. La Vall d'Aran*. Enciclopèdia Catalana: Barcelona 1987, pp. 292-303; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'Mare de Déu del Claustre'. In: *Catalunya Medieval*. Generalitat de Catalunya – Lunwerg: Barcelona 1992, pp. 88-89). The work must have been associated with other figures to create a narrative context, perhaps it was on a portal (Serafín MORALEJO. 'De Sant Esteve de Tolosa a la Daurade. Notes sobre l'escultura del claustre romànic de Santa Maria de Solsona'. *Quaderns d'Estudis Medievals*, any VII, vol. 4, nos. 23-24 (1988), pp. 104-119). See an overview of the issue in Jordi CAMPS I SÒRIA. 'La "Vierge du Cloître" de Solsona (Catalogne), attribuée à Gilabertus: à propos de sa fonction et contexte d'origines'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXV (1994), pp. 63-71. We have recently argued that it is a column statue from the cloister arcades (Quitterie CAZES, Immaculada LORÉS. 'Revisitant la Mare de Déu del Claustre, de Solsona'. In: Carles MANCHO (ed.). *Pirineus romànics, espai de confluències artístiques*. Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 2020, pp. 223-252).
- [74] The Virgin in the cloister has even been attributed to Gilabertus (Antoni LLORENS. *La Mare de Déu del Claustre*. op. cit.); however, this affiliation with Toulouse has been shaded somewhat with the workshops of Santa Maria de La Daurada (Notre-Dame de la Daurade) in Toulouse, and specifically with Gilabertus' late work (Serafín MORALEJO. 'De Sant Esteve de Tolosa a la Daurade...' op. cit.). The current dating of Gilabertus' work in the early twelfth century leads us to recognise in the sculpture in Solsona, from the third quarter of the twelfth century, the way Gilabertus' work resonated in the workshops of Toulouse throughout this century (Quitterie CAZES, Immaculada LORÉS. 'Revisitant la Mare de Déu del Claustre...', op. cit.).
- [75] Some damaged capitals, which were replaced by Gothic ones, are conserved in the cathedral of Girona (Immaculada LORÉS. 'Escultura gironina del cercle del claustre de la Seu de Girona: alguns fragments de la catedral i del Museu d'Art'. In: *Girona revisitada. Estudis d'art medievals i modern*, op. cit., pp. 71-92). See, too, Marc SUREDA.

- Els precedents de la catedral de Santa Maria de Girona, op. cit.*
- [76] The review and analysis of the sculpture in the cloister has led to the conclusion that it underwent repairs and that this affected the arrangement of some capitals (Pere BESERAN RAMON. 'Revisions i propostes per a l'escultura del claustre de l'Estany'. *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval*, XII (1999-2000), pp. 65-80).
- [77] Josep PUIG I CADAVALCH. 'Un relleu romànic de Vic emigrat a Londres'. *Butlletí dels Museus d'Ar de Barcelona*, III (1933), pp. 330-334; Marilyn STOKSTAD. 'Three Apostles from Vich'. *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin*, IV, no. 11 (1970), pp. 2-24; 'Romanesque sculpture in American collections. XV. Kansas City, Missouri and Lawrence, Kansas'. *Gesta*, XVI (1977), pp. 49-61. For a complete catalogue, Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. *La catedral romànica de Vic*. Artestudi: Barcelona 1979. See, too, Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'La escultura de la catedral de Vic'. In: *Enciclopedia del Romànic. Barcelona, III*. Fundació Santa Maria la Real: Aguilar de Campoo 2014, pp. 497-501. The attribution of a relief with the Last Supper in the Memorial Art Gallery of Rochester, on the façade of the cathedral of Vic, based on the aforementioned scene on the lintel in a description from 1803 (Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'The Last Supper of the Vic Cathedral Façade Rediscovered'. *Gesta*, 28 (1989), pp. 121-126) presents the problem of its stylistic distance from the other fragments (Immaculada LORÉS. 'Elements de la portada de la catedral de Vic'. In: *El Romànic i la Mediterrània. op. cit.*, pp. 248-253). An alabaster fake of this relief in Rochester was auctioned in Barcelona as a French twelfth-century work (Alberto VELASCO GONZÁLEZ. *Les falsificacions d'art medieval a Catalunya*. Reial Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi: Barcelona 2022, pp. 28-29).
- [78] Josep PUIG I CADAVALCH. 'Un relleu romànic...', *op. cit.* The most recent reconstruction was based on all the known information following archaeological criteria, while bearing in mind the portal of the Grossmünster in Zurich, a close referent to the sculpture (Marc SUREDA JUBANY. 'El conjunt romànic'. In: M. CRISPÍ, S. FUENTES, J. URBANO (eds.). *La catedral de Sant Pere de Vic*. Barcelona 2019, pp. 55-106).
- [79] On the one hand, they could have been part of an altarpiece, as claimed in Joan AINAUD DE LASARTE. 'Dades inèdites sobre la catedral romànica de Vich'. *Ausa*, I (1952-1954), pp. 205-209 and in Miquel S. GROS I PUJOL. 'L'antic retaule romànic de la Catedral de Vic. Assaig de reconstrucció'. *Studia Vicensia*, I (1989), pp. 99-126, which includes a graphic hypothesis of what the author believes that altarpiece may have been like. More recently, the possibility has also arisen that they were part of the choir tribune that was enlarged in the twelfth century (Eduardo CARRERO SANTAMARÍA. 'Vic. El conjunto catedralicio'. In: *Enciclopedia del Romànic. Barcelona, III, op. cit.*, pp. 485-497).
- [80] Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'L'escultura de Santa Maria de Solsona', *op. cit.*, pp. 295-296.
- [81] Marcel DURLIAT. *Roussillon roman, op. cit.*; Marcel DURLIAT. 'Les reliefs de St-Pierre et St-Paul à Saint-Michel de Cuxa'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, I (1970), pp. 27-32; Marcel DURLIAT. 'La tribune de Serrabone et le jubé de Vezzolano'. In: *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Fondation Eugène Piot), vol. 60. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1976, pp. 79-112; Pierre PONSICH. 'Le problème des tribunes de Cuxa et de Serrabona'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, no. XVI (1985): pp. 9-24; Pierre PONSICH. 'Le problème des tribunes de Cuxa et de Serrabona. 2e partie'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, no. XVIII (1987): pp. 265-274; Eduardo CARRERO SANTAMARÍA. 'Centro y periferia en la ordenación de espacios litúrgicos: las estructuras corales'. *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, no. XIV (2008): pp. 159-178.
- [82] The arcades on the upper level, which had been disassembled in 1789 to build a wall to hold up the vault of the church nave, were recomposed in an operation of anastylosis with both the conserved fragments and newly-carved pieces (Olivier POISSON. 'Anastylose de la "balustrade" de la tribune-jubé du prieuré de Serrabona'. *Monumental*, 2015-1, pp. 14-17). Previously, a tentative recomposition had been undertaken (Olivier POISSON. 'La tribune de la prieuré de Serrabona et sa "balustrade"'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XLIII (2012), pp. 205-216).
- [83] Anne Thirion. 'L'ancienne tribune abbatiale de Saint-Michel de Cuxa'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, no. XLII (2011): pp. 177-182; Anne THIRION. 'La plaque de l'abbé Grégoire et l'ancienne tribune de Cuxa'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, no. XLV (2014): pp. 175-187.
- [84] Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'La sculpture à Ripoll au XII^e siècle', *op. cit.*; Begoña CAYUELA BELLIDO. 'Elements del baldaquí de Santa Maria de Ripoll'. In: *El Romànic i la Mediterrània, op. cit.*, pp. 244-246.
- [85] Francesca ESPAÑOL BERTRAN. 'El Mestre del frontal de Santa Tecla i l'escultura romànica tardana de la Catalunya Nova'. *Quaderns d'Estudis Medievals*, VII, vol. 4, no. 23-24 (1988), pp. 81-103. The author dates this master's activity from the first third of the thirteenth century. More recently, a review of the iconography and possible models have led this date to be moved back to around 1170-1180 (Esther LOZANO LÓPEZ, César GARCÍA DE CASTRO VALDÉS. 'Tecla, Pablo y el frontal del altar de la Catedral de Tarragona en el contexto creativo del tardorrománico hispano: propuesta de datación e interpretación'. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 49/2 (2019), pp. 645-682), although this still does not explain the obvious parallels with sculptures like those in the Seu Vella of Lleida.
- [86] Francesca Español. 'El escenario litúrgico de la catedral de Girona (s. XI-XIV)', *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 11 (2005), pp. 213-232.
- [87] Anna ORRIOLS. 'The Artistic Patronage of Abbot Gregorius at Cuixà: Models and Tributes'. In: J. CAMPS, M. CASTIÑEIRAS, J. MCNEILL, R. PLANT (eds.). *Romanesque*

Patrons and Processes. Design and Instrumentality in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe. British Archaeological Association – Routledge: London – New York, pp. 159-174.

- [88] Mathias DELCOR. 'Les cuves romanes et leur figuration en Roussillon, Cerdagne et Conflent'. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 4 (1973), pp. 96-104.
- [89] Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'Panthéons comtaux en Catalogne à l'époque romane', *op. cit.*
- [90] Francesca ESPAÑOL. 'Le sépulcre de Saint Ramon de Roda: utilisation politique d'un corps saint', *Les Cahiers de Saint Michel de Cuxa*, XXIX (1998), pp. 189-217.

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