

Is There a Pre-Romanesque Style in Architecture?

Dr. Vladimir P. Goss

Foll professor of Michigan university,
Ann Arbor

Original scientific paper

As we all know, the names of medieval art styles are rather arbitrary. But, while we more or less understand what we mean when we use the word »Romanesque« or »Gothic«, there does not seem to be much agreement as to the meaning and scope of the term »Pre-Romanesque.« Is there such a thing as a Pre-Romanesque style in art, more particularly, in architecture? Is there a Pre-Romanesque *Kunstwollen*, some distinctive, »Pre-Romanesque« concept of the architectural space and mass which would justify the use of the word »Pre-Romanesque« as a stylistic category covering all, or at least a considerable number of individual architectural creations in the period »before the Romanesque?« Briefly, is there anything in terms of the architectural essentials common to all those groups of »before-the-Romanesque-buildings:« — Anglo-Saxon, Asturian, Carolingian, Early Croatian, Great Moravian, Mozarabic, Ottonian? And, if the Pre-Romanesque could be defined as a style, what are the distinguishing characteristics between »Pre-Romanesque« and »Romanesque« modes of expression? The scope of this paper is to try to suggest some possible answers to these questions, concentrating on the examples of architecture of the Christian West between c. 800 and c. 1100.¹

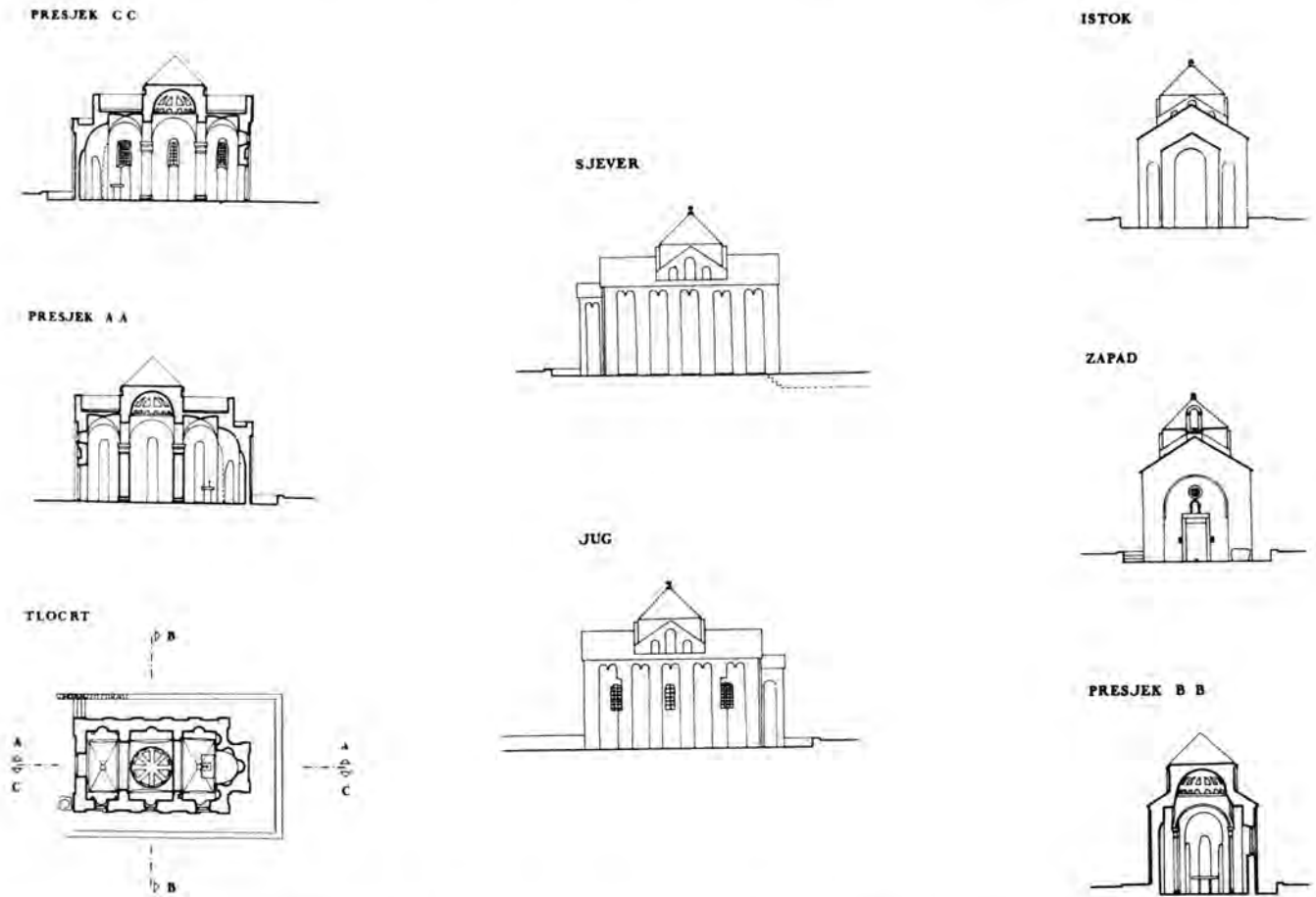
In an enquiry such as we are proposing here, the first question to raise is, naturally, »What is the Romanesque?« The research of a number of outstanding scholars in the field indicates that the Romanesque can be characterized as a style of clarity and rational organization of structure and style in which the exterior logically echoes the interior, the spatial units being clearly »projected« on and reflected by the organization of both the interior and exterior wall surfaces. The interior supports correspond to the exterior ones and the whole system of individualized supports tightly binds the building elements in vertical sense, from the ground to the roof. Since the logic of the system is deliberately underlined by both architectural members and extra-architectural decoration, one also feels justified to talk about the clarity of exposition, meaning

Having analysed the essential characteristics of the architecture of the Christian West between the 8th and the 11th century, the author puts forward his conviction that a Pre-Romanesque expression is preceding the Romanesque style. The distinguishing features of the Pre-Romanesque architecture are bi-axiality, the absence of correspondence between the interior organization of space and that of the exterior wall-surfaces, the presence of hidden interior units undistinguishable from the outside, and spatial discontinuity. The author enumerates and examines in detail the examples from Dalmatia, Switzerland, Spain, England, and Moravia, but he finds the Pre-Romanesque traits partially in the architecture of the Eastern Christianity too. From his paper emerges a picture of a slow, gradual and tortuous transition of the Medieval World from its childhood and youth to full maturity.

the way in which the architect communicates his concepts to his public. Definitions of the Romanesque emphasizing the points brought up in the few preceding lines have been forwarded by scholars such as Baum, Beckwith, Bréhier, Clapham, Conant, De Truchis, Dyggve, Enlart, Focillon, Francastel, Frankl, Pevsner, Puig i Cadafalch, Saalman, Salet, and they have also found their way into such popular handbooks as *McGraw-Hill Dictionary of Architecture* or Helen Gardner's *Art Through the Ages*.² If one adopts the position just stated as a starting point, one may, as a working hypothesis, postulate that the Pre-Romanesque architecture will not display the logic and clarity we attributed to the Romanesque as its essential characteristics. Let us try to find out if a brief consideration of some among the Pre-Romanesque monuments may substantiate such a postulation.

¹ The draft for this paper was first presented in a lecture given at the Scarborough College of the University of Toronto in the fall, 1977. The author would like to thank Professor Michael Gervers, my host at the Scarborough, and the students and the faculty of the College whose comments and questions helped me refine a number of points in this paper. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the comments I received from Dr. Veronica Gervers-Molnar, of the Royal Ontario Museum, who most obligingly reviewed this text and make a number of useful observations. I would also like to thank Professors Anatole Senkevitch, Jr., and Slobodan Curcic for an inspiring debate we had during the Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians in San Antonio in April, 1978. To my former students, Michael and Charlene Dunn, who patiently hunted for the definitions of the Romanesque style, I remain continuously grateful.

The author is most indebted to the following publishers and individuals for having granted him their kind permission to reproduce their illustrative materials in this article: For figures 13, 14, 17, 19, 25 and 28 to the Electa Editrice; for figures 16 and 18 to Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, Inc.; for figures 10, 11, 12, 20, 21, 22, 26 and 27 to Zodiaque, and for figure 4 to Thames and Hudson, Ltd, and to Professor Sirarpie Der Mersessian. Figures 5, 6, 22 and 24 were redrawn by Mr. Bruce McCullen, architect.



1. Omis, St. Peter, c. 1050—1075, ground plan and sections
[author]

2. Omis St. Peter, facades and transverse section
[author]

For a number of years I had been interested in a group of Pre-Romanesque monuments (109 on record so far) in the Eastern Adriatic, traditionally known as »Early Croatian.«² From this group, the buildings of which date from c. 800 to c. 1100, I should like to select, as the first object of our analysis, the church

of St. Peter at Omis (c. 1050—75). The building was known to Jose Puig i Cadafalch, who considered it an offshoot of the »First Romanesque Art.«³ A superficial examination of the exterior, characterized by the arched corbel tables, seems to confirm Puig i Cadafalch's classification (Figs. 1—3). But an analysis of the in-

² The bulk of the existing literature on the Romanesque makes it impossible to collect all the definitions of the style. The broad definition proposed was arrived at through the observation of the Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque in the course of the author's own research, generously complemented by the ideas of the outstanding scholars in the field. See specifically: Julius Baum, *Romanesque Architecture in France*, London, 1928, pp. 23—24; John Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art*, London, 1964, p. 153; Louis Bréhier, *Le style roman*, Paris, 1941, p. 40; Alfred W. Clapham, *Romanesque Architecture in Western Europe*, Oxford, 1936, p. 23; Kenneth J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, Harmondsworth 1959, pp. 11, 28—29, 30, 42—45, 57—59, 67; Ejnar Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, Oslo, 1951, pp. 133, 136—137; Camille Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française*, 3 vols., Paris, 1902, I, p. 199; Henry Focillon, *Art of the West in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., London, 1963, I, p. 62 ff.; Pierre Francastel, *L'humanisme roman*, Rodez, 1942, p. 104 ff.; Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, Harmondsworth,

worth, 1963, pp. 11, 13; Hans E. Kubach, *Romanesque Architecture*, New York, 1975, pp. 11, 15; Nicolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1963, pp. 56—57; Jose Puig i Cadafalch, *Le premier art roman*, Paris, 1928, I, pp. 62—63; Howard Saalman, *Medieval Architecture*, New York, 1962, p. 30. Also, *The Encyclopedia of World Art*, 15 vols., New York, 1966, XII, p. 319, and Helen Gardner, *Art Through the Ages*, New York, 5th ed., 1970, p. 303.

Although the investigation of a stylistic relationship between the Romanesque and the Gothic is not within the scope of this paper, one should be made aware of the fact that many of the characteristics insisted upon as Romanesque are found, or, in fact, fully blossom out in the Gothic. See Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, p. 66 (»Even when all the traces of the Romanesque had disappeared, the Gothic style was still a descendant of the Romanesque. It is a transformation of the historical style of totality into a style of partiality.«) Also, Francastel, *L'humanisme roman*, p. 211 ff.

terior combined with an effort to relate it to the exterior runs into a number of difficulties. The exterior of the aisleless building grows toward the squarish turret with a pyramidal roof which acts as the centralizing element of the entire architectural mass. The rectangular apse, just barely projecting, does not create any sense of longitudinal orientation. The five double-headed arches on the lateral facades emphasize the vertical growth of the mass directing one's attention to the turret. The organization of the interior is flatly in contradiction with that of the exterior. The dome, hidden within the turret, is so small that it is barely noticeable. Its impact on one's experience of the space is for all practical purposes negligible. The space is oriented longitudinally by the semicircular apsidal niche accompanied by two smaller semicircular recessions.

The individual units of the interior do not correspond to the individual units of the exterior. The squarish turret encases a dome, the rectangular projection at the eastern end, a rounded apse; the apsidiole niches are completely invisible from the outside. Moreover, the three-bay organization of the nave shows no correspondence to the five unit organization of the external wall surfaces. The interior and exterior seem to be clearly separated in the mind of the architect. The reaction of an attentive visitor upon entering the church — after an analysis of the exterior — is one of surprise.⁵

To sum up, one may say that the building under analysis is characterized by the following:

1. Bi-axiality. Predominant role of the vertical axis in the formation of the mass as opposed to that of the longitudinal axis in the organization of space.
2. Lack of correspondence between the interior space organization and the arrangement of the exterior wall surfaces.
3. Lack of correspondence between the form of spatial units and their exterior counterparts.
4. Presence of hidden spaces, the existence of which cannot be inferred through an analysis of the exterior.

Before any attempt is made to apply any of these four criteria to some other Pre-Romanesque buildings, it may be useful to note that some of them are found



3. Omis, St. Peter, southeast corner [author]

in the early medieval architecture of the Eastern Christian world. Take, for example, the church of St. Hripsime (early 7th century) at Etchmiadzin in Armenia (Fig. 4). Judging from the exterior, there appears to be a somewhat elongated inscribed cross solution. Nobody could envisage the maze of curvilinear space units within this rather simple boxlike mass.⁶ The interior could be described, essentially, as a tetraconch with additional niches inserted in between the conchs and square chambers in between the arms of the cross. The eastern termination wall is flat. Within this flat termination wall, the Armenian architect often conceals a complete tripartite sanctuary in no way indicated from the exterior. Although one may claim that the triangular niches on the exterior walls of Armenian churches indicate, to some extent, the interior organization, this effect is diminished, if not completely contradicted, by a purely decorative use of blind arches which do not

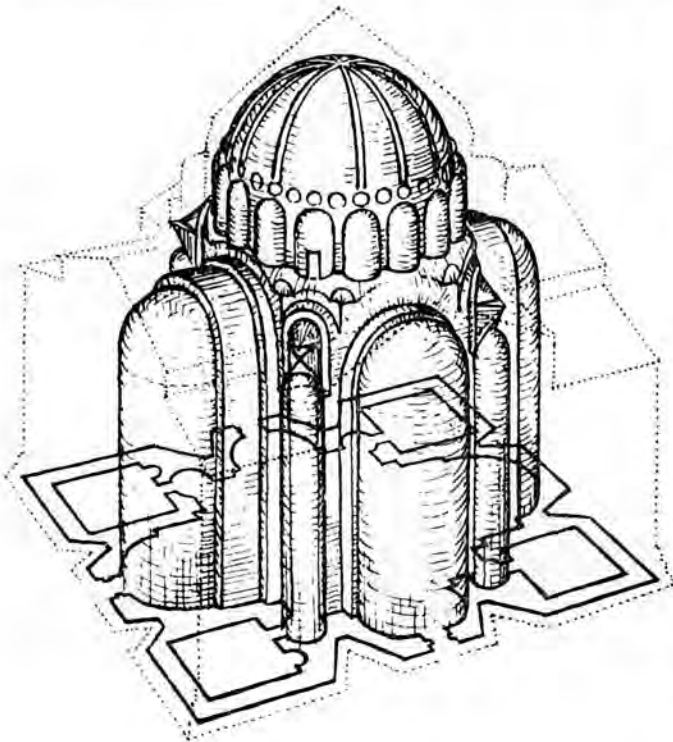
³ The most recent, rather brief survey of the material is Stipe Gunjaca, *Early Croatian Heritage*, Zagreb, 1976.

⁴ Jose Puig i Cadafalch, *La geografia i els orogens del primer art romanic*, Barcelona, 1930, p. 23.

⁵ Vladimir Gvozdanovic, »Neki oblikovni principi starohrvatske arhitekture«, *Arhitektura*, C 99—100 I, 1968, pp. 51—56, and *Starohrvatska arhitektura*, Zagreb, 1968, pp. 37—51.

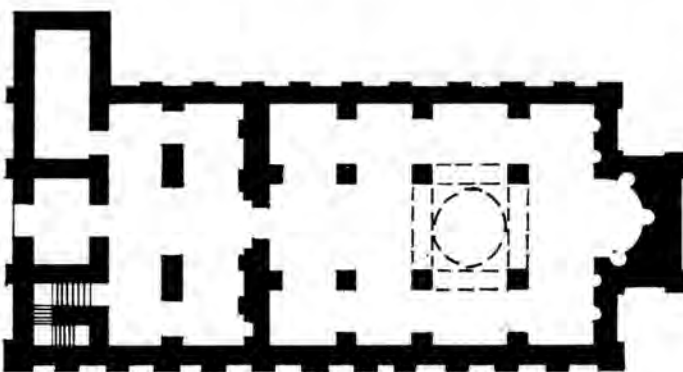
⁶ Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, New York, 1970, p. 100. Also, Focillion, *The Art of the West*, I, pp. 69—70.

⁷ Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, Figs. 11, 19, 20, 21, 25. Even in more continuous, quasi-basilican solutions, there are screened-off spaces, e.g., cathedrals at Talish, Mren, Talin, Ani, church at Marmashen (Figs. 13—15, 21, 25). Spatial discontinuity as a characteristic of the Western Pre-Romanesque has been emphasized by Kubach, *Romanesque Architecture*, p. 14.



4. *St. Hripsime, Etchmiadzin, early seventh century envelope diagram by Kenneth J. Conant [Sirarpie der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1969]*

5. *Solin, St. Mary on the Island, before 976, groundplan [author]*



10 M

correspond to the interior space units or the interior supports (Marmashen; Cathedral at Ani, both c. 1000, and numerous other examples).⁷ Another characteristic worth noting, and St. Hripsime is a perfect example of it, is the narrowness of passages between the space units, or briefly, spatial discontinuity, which we will try to show is another, fifth, characteristic shared by the architecture of Eastern Christianity and that of the Pre-Romanesque West.⁸

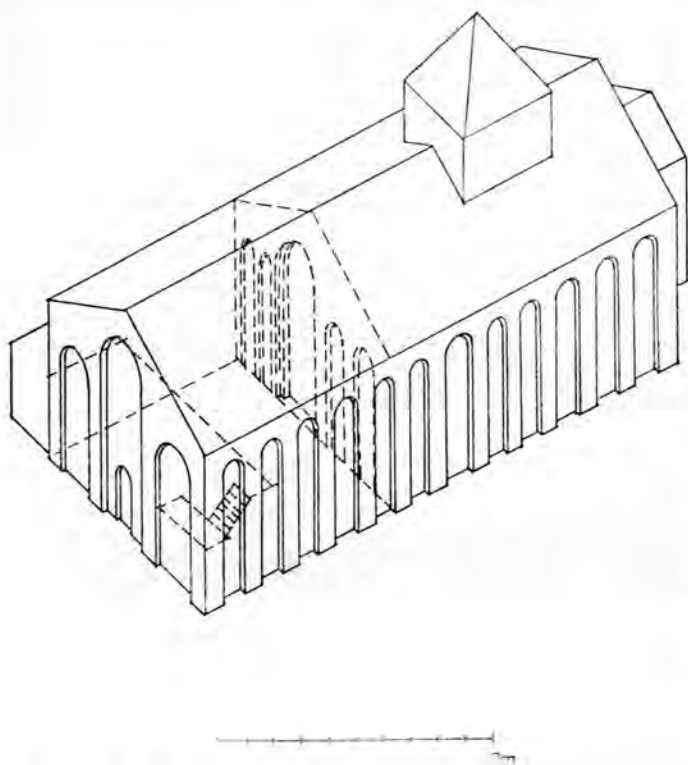
Naturally, it would be idealistic to expect the five categories arrived at so far through our analysis to appear in every Pre-Romanesque building. But we will try to demonstrate that the features such as biaxiality, lack of correspondence between the organization of space and mass, lack of correspondence between the form of spatial units and their external counterparts, hidden spaces and spatial discontinuity are found in a considerable number of architectural works in the West between the eighth and the twelfth century. Let us first return to the starting point of our investigation: monuments of early Croatian architecture.

As a counterpart of the Armenian hidden sanctuary, one may list the hidden westwork of a number of early Croatian churches. The use of a western annex containing often a mausoleum and/or gallery — the latter reserved for the ruler or his top officers — spread in the Eastern Adriatic most likely in connection with the Frankish overlordship (c. 800 — c. 870).⁹ A good example is the hidden western annex of the church of St. Mary on the Island in Solin (Salona; before 976), in ruins, but relatively easy to reconstruct (Figs. 5—6). The church consists of an aisled nave which probably carried on its only square bay a dome, most likely —

⁸ Most of these characteristics seem to be detectable in the architecture of late Antiquity. A brief look at the materials collected in André Grabar's *Martyrium*, 2 vols., Paris, 1942—1944, I, Figs. 13, 16, 28, 29, 31, 48, 54, 65, 66, 71, 72, 74, 77, 78, 84, 96, 97, 99, showing mostly pagan and Early Christian structures, would suffice. It has been noticed by Der Nersessian that some of the complex Armenian solutions derive from this type of architecture (above, note seven). The nature of the similarities and/or differences between this architecture and the Christian architecture of both the East and the West during the Early Middle Ages seems to be worth further study. Although it is not possible, in this paper, to enter into this vast area of enquiry, it seems that the aesthetic principles of the architecture of late Antiquity, Eastern Christian world, and the Pre-Romanesque West have a lot in common, and that the precise nature of this phenomenon may be worth a thorough reconsideration.

⁹ Although it appears that the westwork should not be seen as a *Kaiserkirche*, at least not from the outset, the terrestrial ruler soon found its way into the iconography of the western massifs. As demonstrated by Carol Heitz, the westwork seems to have been originally reserved for the liturgy commemorating the Savior and His Resurrection. The model that inspired the juxtaposition of a westwork (essentially a centralized structure) and a longitudinal church body, seems to have been the complex at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. See Carol Heitz, *Les recherches sur les rapports entre l'architecture et la liturgie à l'époque carolingienne*, Paris, 1963, pp. 77 ff, 91 ff, 106 ff, 121 ff.

As opposed to this thesis, a number of German scholars maintain that the westwork is primarily a *Kaiserkirche*, so that the frequent dedication of the westwork to the



6. Solin, St. Mary on the Island, reconstruction [author]

Savior should be explained as a consequence of the merging of the cult of the Savior with the imperial cult. The two theses are not mutually exclusive. Heitz allows for the role of the ruler in the westwork iconography but considers it of a secondary importance, whereas the German thesis recognizes the importance of the liturgy of the Savior, emphasizing that the glorification of the Redeemer is inseparably intertwined with the imperial cult. See in particular Alois Fuchs, »Entstehung und Zweckbestimmung der Westwerke,« *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 100, 1950, pp. 227, 253—255, 259—274. Also, Fuchs, »Zur Problem der Westwerke,« in *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst*, ed. Andreas Alföldi et als., Wiesbaden, 1957, pp. 109—117.

Heitz's reasoning seems to be valid and applicable primarily to the central lands of the Carolingian Empire. In the borderlands of the western world, secondary ramifications seem to have been quite prominent. Thus the westwork is reserved for a person of distinction; it served as a burial chamber, or as a real fortress defending the entrance to the church. For further discussion of this problem, with additional literature, see Vladimir Gvozdanovic, »A Note on Two Early Croatian Royal Mausolea,« *Peristil* 18—19, 1975—1976, pp. 5—10.

¹⁰ For more detail see Gvozdanovic, »A note on Two Early Croatian Royal Mausolea,« pp. 5—10.

¹¹ Louis Grodecky, *L'Architecture Ottonienne*, Paris, 1958, pp. 156—157, fig. 56. For the role of the Adriatic in the transmission of the form, see Branko Marusic, »Dva spomenika srednjovjekovne arhitekture u Guranu kod Vodnjana,« *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3rd ser., 8—9, 1963, pp. 121—150.

in harmony with the local tradition — encased within a square turret. The rounded apse was equally hidden within a rectilinear mass. There are two western annexes: a tripartite exonarthex, accommodating the entrance to the church and the stairway to the gallery, and an aisled endonarthex, originally supporting a gallery and serving as the mausoleum of Queen Jelena (died in 976). Although one is obviously confronted with three distinct spatial units, the lateral walls display an uninterrupted line of pilaster-strips indicating that the building most likely appeared as one solid block covered by a uniform gable roof, the only projection being the turret containing the dome, and the apse.¹⁰ Another, better preserved example seems to confirm our hypothesis about the »hidden« character of the westwork of St. Mary's. The Savior's Church at Cetina in the Dalmatian Highlands (c. 900) is an aisleless building with a trefoil chevet, a two-story western annex and a tall, five-story, tapering tower in front of it. The westwork, inserted in between the nave and the tower, is not distinguishable from the outside and it shared with the nave, judging from the traces which still remain, a common gable roof (Figs. 7—8).

One may argue that the characteristics recalling those found in the works of Eastern Christian architecture are to be expected in the buildings at the very outskirts of the western world. Could one establish the presence of the same or similar characteristics in some other Pre-Romanesque families?

A group of small-scale buildings found within the canton Graubünden in Switzerland and dating mostly from the 8th or 9th century is characterized by a rectangular, boxlike nave accompanied, at its eastern end, by three apses (Fig. 9). From the exterior, the building presents itself as an aisled structure, whereas, upon entering it, one finds oneself in a simple oblong, boxlike space (St. Martin and St. Mary at Dissentis; St. John at Müstair; St. Martin at Zillis; St. Martin at Pleiv; St. Peter at Mistail). Moreover, the whole tripartite sanctuary can be imbedded within the straight termination wall (St. Agatha at Dissentis, possibly 10th or 11th century), recalling the Armenian hidden sanctuary. A similar form is found again within the Adriatic area, in Istria, and the Istrian examples have been pointed out as a link between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Central Alps.¹¹

A number of features we have described so far can be found in Mozarabic architecture. A horse-shoe apse

¹² On Mozarabic architecture in general, see Jose Fernandes Arenas, *Mozarabic Architecture*, Greenwich, 1972, with excellent photographs and drawings of the buildings mentioned in our discussion. For the influence of Mozarabic liturgy on some architectural aspects that interest us here, especially on spatial discontinuity, see Arenas, *Mozarabic Architecture*, p. 220 ff, especially pp. 245—246, 265—266. Also, Puig i Cadafalch, *Le premier art roman*, pp. 56—67, who compares the relationship between the architecture of the Pre-Romanesque West and that of the Orient, to that between the Mozarabic, Ambrosian, Gallican on one hand and oriental liturgies on the other. See also Louis M. O. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, trans. M. L. McClure, London, 1931, p. 93. How liturgical requirements necessitated, and resulted in, better visibility has been discussed by Heitz, *Les recherches*, 176—177, p. 205.

within a rectilinear shell appears at San Cebrian de Mazote (913), San Miguel de Escalada (913), Santiago de Penalba (931), Santa Maria de Melque (before 932) and San Miguel de Celanova (10th century) (Figs. 10, 11, 12). A dome within a squarish mass is found at Mazote, Penalba, Melque, Celanova and San Tomas de las Ollas (first half of the 10th century). Actually, a whole triconch is hidden within the rectangular eastern end of Mazote. In addition, spatial discontinuity, the use of relatively narrow passages is one of the standing characteristics of Mozarabic architecture.¹² Some of these characteristics are traceable to the Visigothic period, for example, the hidden apse of San Frutuoso de Montelius (c. 670), or the discontinuity in the spatial arrangement of San Pedro de la Nave (c. 687—701) and San Pedro de la Mata (c. 672—680), but they seem to become more prominent in the Mozarabic architecture.¹³

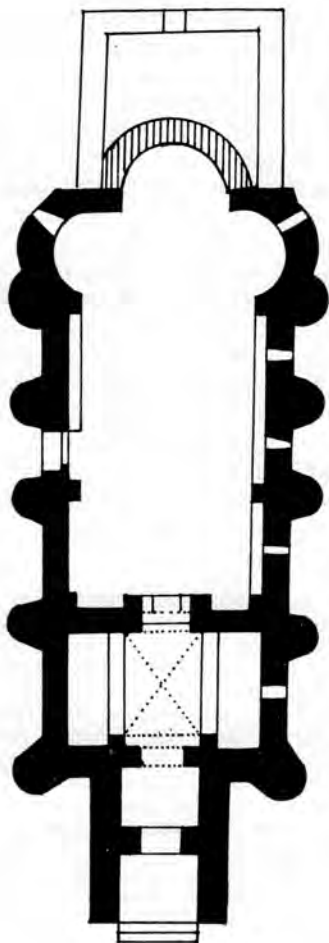
Due to an overall simplicity — most of the examples being aisleless, longitudinal buildings — few of our characteristics will be found applicable to the

monuments of Anglo-Saxon architecture. Yet, in the case of more complex buildings, either with lateral porches or transeptal (Bradford-on-Avon, c. 650—700 (Fig. 13); SS. Peter and Paul, c. 600—650, and St. Pancras, c. 600—650 at Canterbury; Deerhurst, c. 600—800 and later; Reculver, c. 650—700 and later; Romsey, c. 950—1000; Stow, c. 950—1000 and later), one seems justified to talk about spatial discontinuity, while in the case of the buildings decorated externally with thin strips of masonry one finds little, if any, correspondence between this fine graphic, wall surface decor and the interior organization of the building (Barnack, c. 950—1000; Barton-on-Humber, c. 950—1000; Corhampton, c. 950—1000; Earl's Barton, c. 950—1000; Sompting, c. 1050—1100; Woolbeding, c. 950—1100).¹⁴

¹³ Pedro de Palol and Max Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, New York, 1967, p. 14 ff, Figs. 4, 5, 6.

¹⁴ Harold M. and Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1965, I, pp. 13—14, 86—89, 91—93, 134—143, 146—148, 193—209; II, 503—509, 520—522, 584—593. Also, I, pp. 43—47, 52—57, 176—179, 222—226; II, 558—562, 684—685.

7. Cetina, the Church of the Savior, c. 900, groundplan, scale 1:200 [author]



8. Cetina, the Church of the Savior, from southwest [author]



In Great Moravia, where our enquiry is marred by a very fragmentary state of the ruins, one should at least single out the Church No. 9 at Mikulcice (9th century), a rounded building with a quatrefoil interior, and the Church No. 6 at the same place, a rotunda with opposed apses, thus exemplifying the principle of bi-axiality.¹⁵

One may again object that so far we have used examples from the outskirts of Europe. Could our reasoning be successfully applied to the central lands of the Pre-Romanesque Europe, the core of the Carolingian and Ottonian Empire?

On one hand, as we will try to demonstrate in a moment, Carolingian and Ottonian architecture seem to signify a step toward »Romanesque clarity« and »structuralization«, but on the other, one cannot pass up the fact that there are features common to other Pre-Romanesque groups and monuments. The centralized buildings such as the Palatine Chapel at Aachen (796—804) display the bi-axiality, the longitudinal axis being emphasized by grouping of the units along one horizontal line: westwork — centralized core — sanctuary (Fig. 14). Also, in a number of the rotundas there is an obvious disparity between the form of the mass and space. A rounded mass at Würzburg (8th or early 12th century), an elliptical one at Deutz (1002—1019) and a polygonal one at Metlach (987—993) contain each a space conceived as a series of projections jutting out from the central core.¹⁶ One should also list such cases as a half-octagon placed within the westwork at Essen (1039—1051), the apse hidden within the westwork at Mittelzell (westwork date: 1030—1048), or the apsidioles imbedded in the termination wall at Helmstedt (mid-11th century?) and Deventer (1027—1040).¹⁷ In each



9. Müstair, abbey church of St. John, c. 800, view of the apses [Hans E. Kubach, *Romanesque Architecture*, New York, 1975]

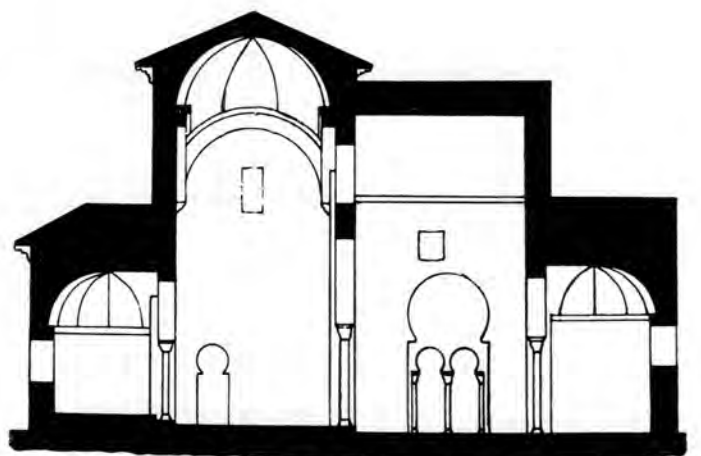
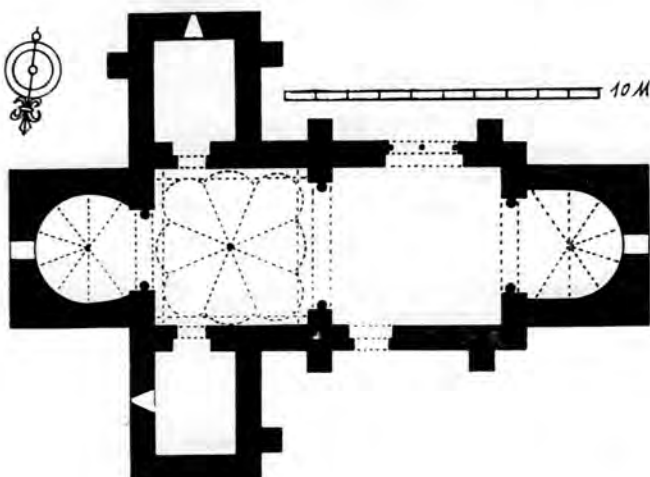
¹⁵ Josef Cibulka, »L'architecture de la Grande-Moravia au IXe siècle à la lumière des récentes découvertes,« *L'information d'histoire de l'art*, 11, 1966, pp. 1—32, especially p. 24 ff.

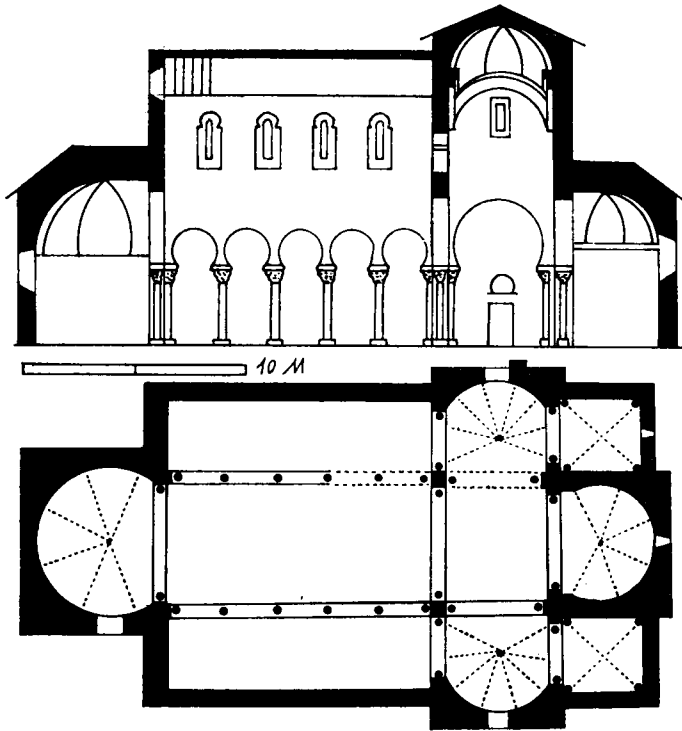
¹⁶ Grodecky, *L'Architecture Ottonienne*, pp. 164—167. Note also the elliptical, more longitudinal plan of the church at Deutz.

¹⁷ Grodecky, *L'Architecture Ottonienne*, pp. 60—62, 91, 109, 142.

10. Santiago de Penalba, 941 groundplan [Jacques Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique, II, La Pierre-qui-Vire*, 1975]

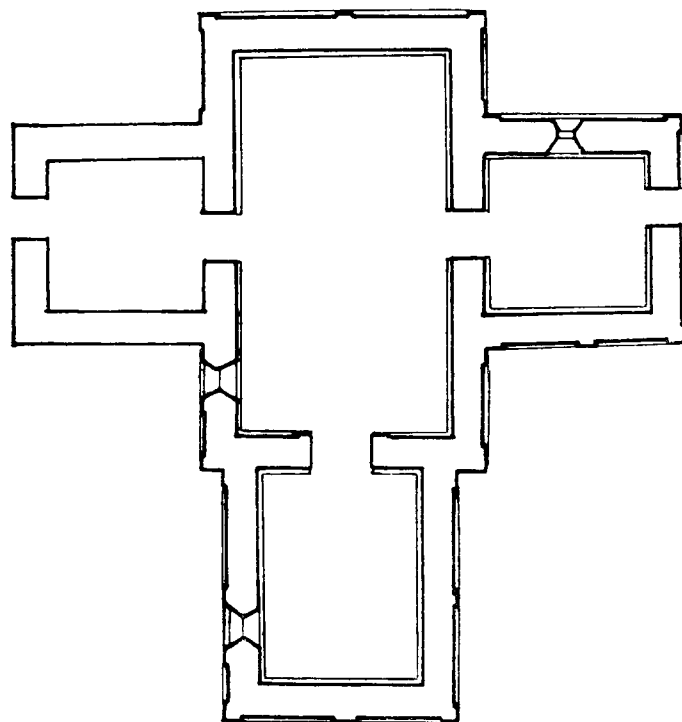
11. Santiago de Penalba, longitudinal section [Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique, II*]





12. San Cebrian de Mazote, 913, longitudinal section and groundplan [Fontaine, L'art préroman hispanique, II]

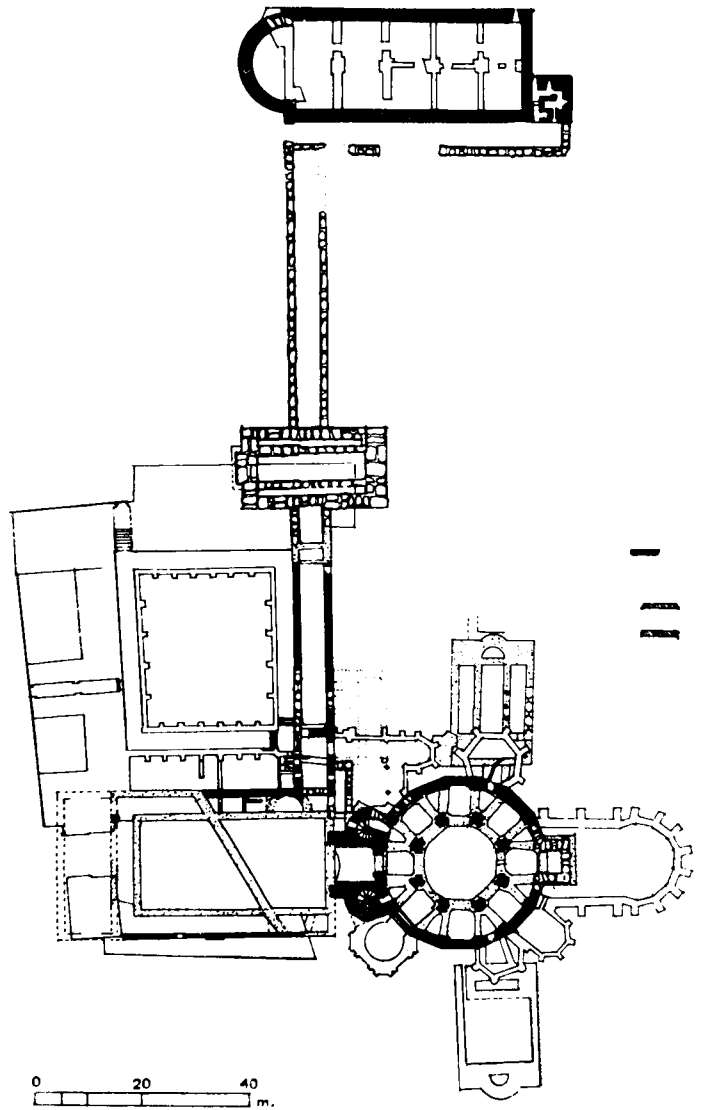
13. Bradford-on-Avon, St. Lawrence, c. 650—700, groundplan [Kubach, Romanesque Architecture]



of these cases the Carolingian or Ottonian architect seems to operate within the framework of Pre-Romanesque aesthetics.

Still, we believe it is possible to demonstrate that the Carolingian, and subsequently, Ottonian architects did contribute toward a more »rational« presentation of an architectural program. As an early example one can list the church of St. Riquier at Centula (799). The architect seems to distinguish between three units, two transepts of equal size crowned by spires and a simple boxlike nave in between (Fig. 15). The spires are meant to emphasize the importance of the units they crown: the entrance to the church and the access to the sanctuary. The fact that the transepts-towers are of an equal size and form may lead the viewer into a confusion, as he may assume that they have the same function or meaning within the architectural program, although to the ninth-century visitor they probably in-

14. Aachen, the Palatine Chapel and the Imperial Palace, 796—804, groundplan [Kubach, Romanesque Architecture]





15. Centula, St. Riquier, 799, drawing after the lost *Chronicle of Hariulf* [Paul Petau, *De Nithardo, Caroli Magni nepote ac tota ejusdem Nithardi prosapia, breve syntagma, Paris, 1613*]

icated that the two towers belong actually to two different churches: the church of the Savior (the west-work) and the church of St. Richarius (the east transept).¹⁸ One may claim that St. Riquier and related structures display the characteristic of bi-axiality, or more precisely, bi-polarity, since the longitudinal axis is directed toward the two opposing foci at the eastern

¹⁸ For a detailed discussion of the significance of the organization of St. Riquier, see Heitz, *Les recherches*, pp. 21—28, 78 ff.

¹⁹ The bipolarity is noticeable and the effect remains ambiguous, even though the accents may be of a somewhat different shape and size. A similar phenomenon is found in Mozarabic architecture, e.g., at Mazote and Penalba.

²⁰ Grodecky, *L'Architecture Ottonienne*, pp. 24, 81 ff, 96, 196.

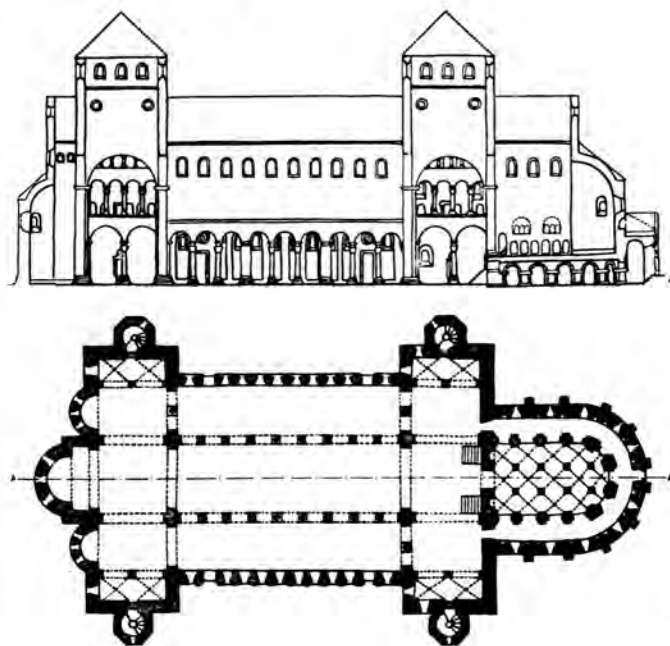
²¹ Paul Frankl, *Die Frühmittelalterliche und Romanische Baukunst*, Potsdam, 1926, pp. 74, 97, 117.

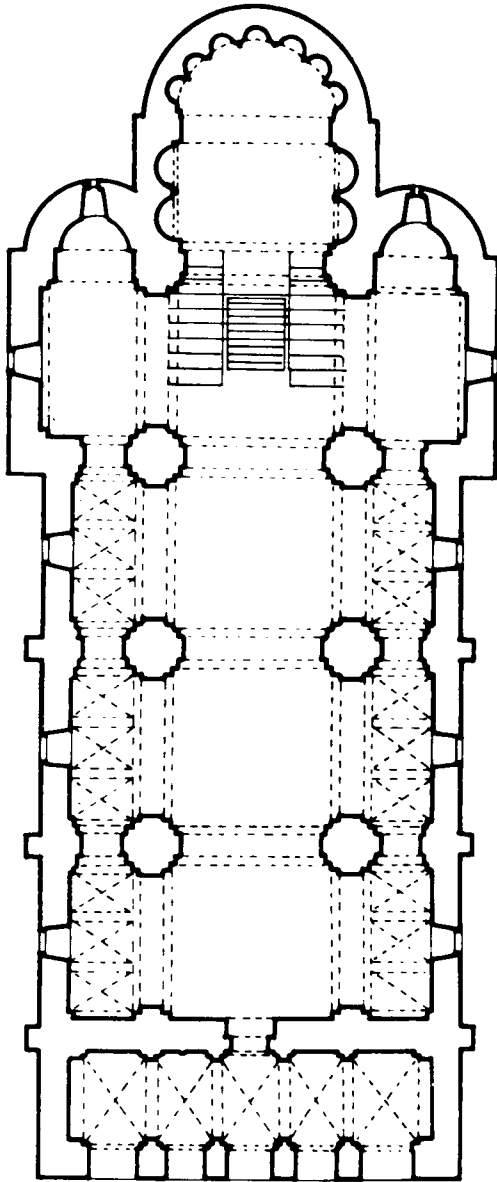
²² Grodecky, *L'Architecture Ottonienne*, pp. 56—58.

and western end of the building. Although the effect is ambiguous and, as already stated, may confuse the viewer, it cannot be denied that the architect is quite successful in analyzing the whole and isolating, through the use of specific forms, the units of various function and importance.

The bi-polarity, found also in the churches with opposing apses, continues into Ottonian architecture.¹⁹ But in addition to the initial analysis of the whole, the Ottonian architect introduces an analysis within the units. The space of the nave is rhythmicized, broken into repeated units by an alternation of square and rounded supports (the ABAB rhythm at Gernrode, c. 965, and Susteren, c. 1050; the ABBABB at St. Michael at Hildesheim, 1001—1021, and Mersburg, before 1021).²⁰ The alternation — take, for example, St. Michael (Fig. 16) — signals the idea of compartmentalization of the nave into space units, or bays, announcing thus the »Romanesque« characteristic of addition of spatial units.²¹ However, whereas the units are quite evident in the groundplan, they are much less so in elevation, as no dividers are drawn across the whole height of the wall, or in the exterior, as no attempt was made to project the space organization on the exterior wall surfaces. A similar lack of correspondence can be observed at Nivelles in Belgium (1000—1040): the division of the nave into two units is not at all marked on the facades.²²

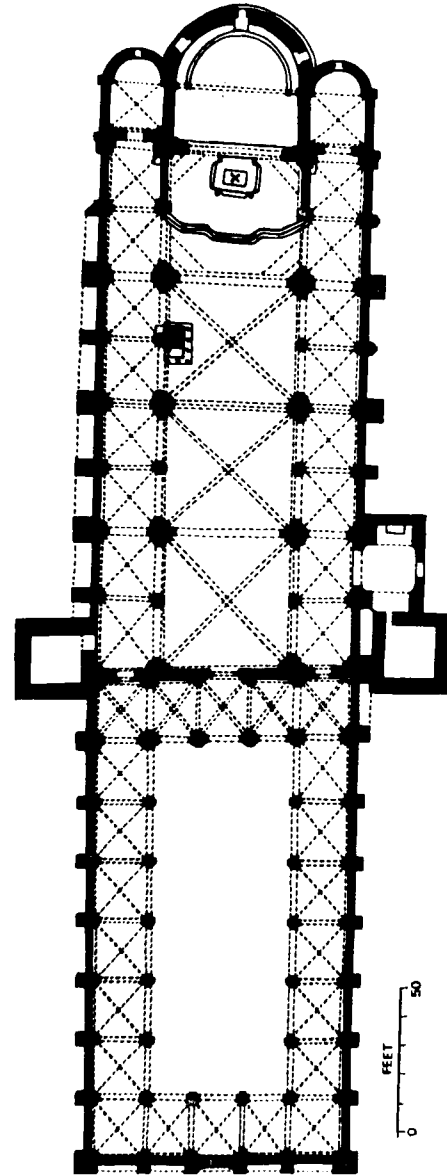
16. Hildesheim, St. Michael, 1001—1031, groundplan and longitudinal section [from Gardner's *Art Through the Ages, Fifth Edition*, (C) 1970 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.; Copyright 1926 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.; Renewed by Louise Gardner; Copyright 1936, 1948, (C) 1959 by Brace Harcourt Jovanovich, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher]





17. Cardona, San Vicente del Castillo, 1020—1038
[Kubach, Romanesque Architecture]

Buildings such as St. Michael at Hildesheim seem to mark a turning point. In order to progress toward a new style, the architect will start to discriminate between the poles both in terms of their form and size and to relate the exterior to interior. The ambiguous western apse disappears and the vertical expansion of the western end by the means of towers is contrasted to a horizontal expansion of the eastern end by the means of ambulatory and radiating chapels. The High Gothic solutions represent this model at the stage of its full perfection, whereas in the Romanesque, even fully developed Romanesque, there is still a fairly strong emphasis on the vertical grouping around the crossing, the western vertical being somewhat restricted (Con-



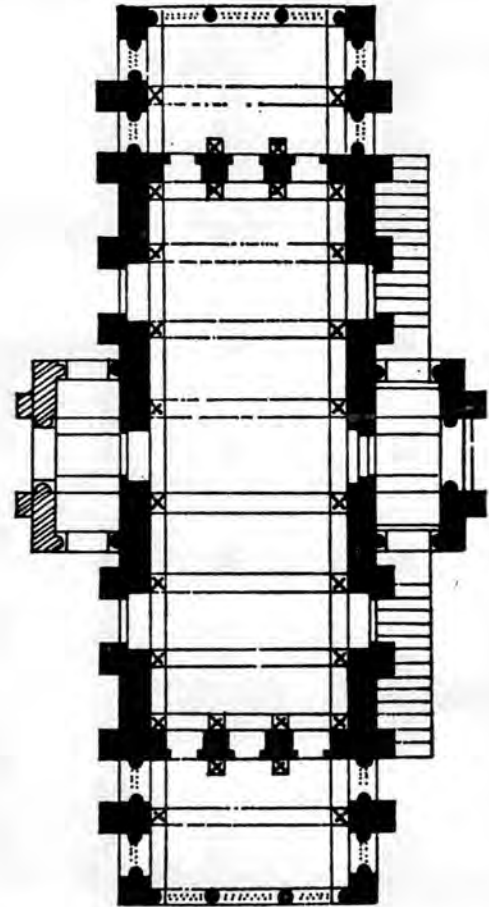
18 Milan, San Ambrogio, ninth eleventh and twelfth century, groundplan [from Gardner's *Art Through the Ages*, Fifth Edition, (C) 1970 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.; Copyright 1926 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Renewed by Louise Gardner; Copyright 1936, 1948, (C) 1959 by Harcourt Jovanovich, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher]

ques, Notre-Dame du Port at Clermont Ferrand) or completely neglected (the original form of Cluny III).

Ottonian architecture is not the only group within which one finds the signs of a new style. An area which should be thoroughly reexamined is that of the «First Romanesque Art» of the Lombard-Catalan type. In spite of the noticeable tendency to articulate the walls by the means of pilaster-strips, blind arches, or arched corbel tables, a more careful analysis reveals that only in case of some major monuments, this decor is related to the structure of the building (San Vicente de Cardona, 1020—38 (Fig. 17); Ovarra, Bosost, Verdun — all eleventh century — in Catalonia; San Ambrogio in Milano, ninth, and eleventh and twelfth century



19. Oviedo, Santa Maria de Naranco, dedicated in 848, exterior [Kubach, Romanesque Architecture]



20. Oviedo, Santa Maria de Naranco, groundplan [Fontaine, L'art préroman hispanique, I]

(Fig. 18); Rivolta d'Adda, c. 1099?, in Lombardy).²³ In rural or modest buildings one rarely finds the correspondence between the interior and exterior before 1100.

Could the growing tendency toward the correspondence be related to the introduction of the vaults? The external decoration does appear first on those parts of the building which contain vaults. Before anywhere else the strips and arches appear on the apse, the thickening of the wall resulting in pilaster-strips revealing that there is a special structural element to be found inside and also, by their position on the wall, indicating the radial dispersion of the thrust of the apsidal semidome.²⁴ Slowly, and seemingly with many inconsistencies, this system of wall articulation is then introduced to other facades.²⁵ But it seems that rather than insisting on the vault as a decisive factor, one should place an emphasis on the internal compartmentalization as a guide toward the relating of the exterior and interior. The church at Montbui (c. 1032) in Catalonia, covered by a *continuous* barrel vault, displays no decoration on its lateral facades.²⁶ The introduction of transverse arches, defining with more precision the interior units, or bays, leads gradually toward a more and more exact projection of the space units on the wall surfaces, a process to fully triumph by the end of the eleventh century. A general hesitation within the »First Romanesque Art« is underlined by the survival of such »Pre-Romanesque« features as opposed apses (Burgal, 10th to 12th century), or, especially in Cata-

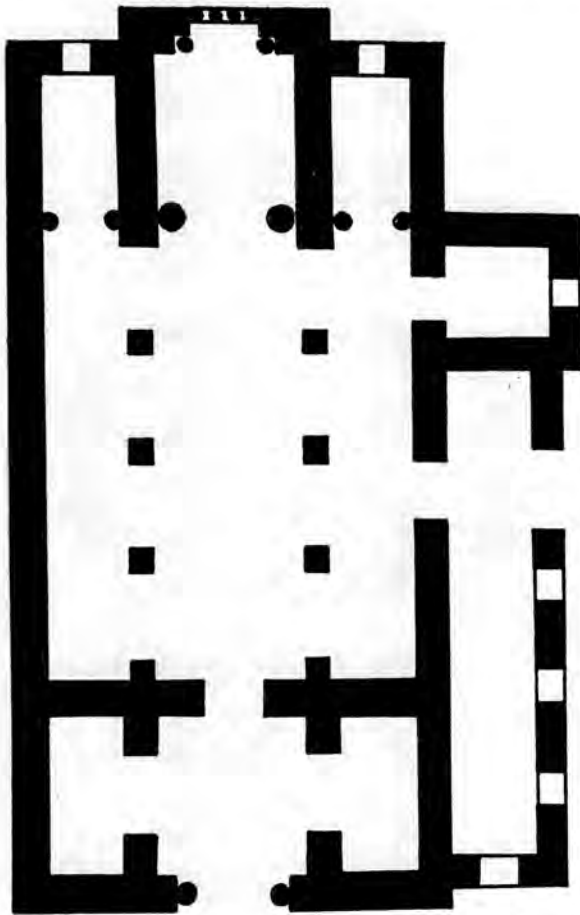
lonia, of complex plans such as triconchs (Brull, c. 1047; Gallifa, 11th and 12th century; Fabregues, late 11th century; Montnajor, first quarter of the 12th century; Ponts, early 12th century; Tavernolles, c. 1069; there are even some late 12th century examples such as Cellers, Erill la Val and Porquieres), polyconchs (Vallanova, late 11th century), cruciform solutions (Salou, last third of the 11th century; Llerida Sant Ruf, c. 1052; Sant Pau de Camp in Barcelona, c. 1127) or centralized buildings of rather grotesque plans (Planes — of uncertain date — a combination of a

²³ Puig i Cadafalch, *Le premier art roman*, pp. 76—77, 78, 80, 86. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, pp. 242—244, 249. Arthur K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, 4 vols., New Haven, 1917, II, p. 532 ff; III, p. 325 ff. Focillion, *Art of the West*, I, p. 29, has noticed that a number of the »First Romanesque« buildings failed to be truly Romanesque in terms of their structure.

²⁴ San Vicenzo in Prato in Milan, Agliate, Burgal, Estamariu, St. Cecilia de Monserrat, to list only a few examples. See Puig i Cadafalch, *Le premier art roman*, pl. 10, 12, 13; Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, pl. 28 A, B; 29 B.

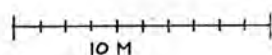
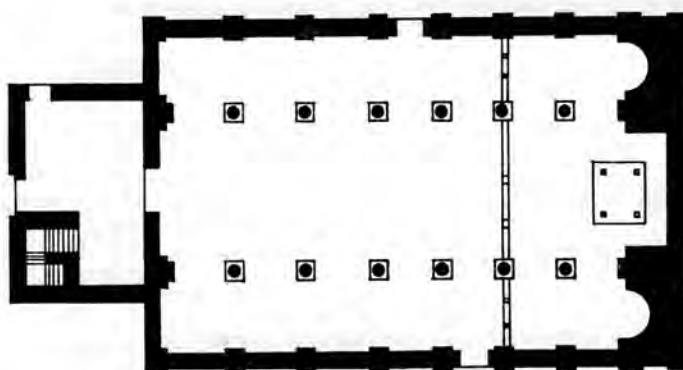
²⁵ Tables in Puig i Cadafalch, *Le premier art roman*, pp. 53, 73, 77, 100, 112.

²⁶ On Santa Maria de Tolsa de Montbui, see Eduardo Junyent, *Catalogne Romane*, 2 vols., La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1960, I, p. 48 ff.



21. *San Salvador de Valdedios, c. 893, groundplan*
[Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique, I*]

22. *Solin, SS. Peter and Moses, c. 1070, destroyed,*
groundplan [author]



rotonda and triangular plan) or displaying the »Pre-Romanesque« lack of correspondence (Cervera, late 11th century), rotonda with quatrefoil interior.²⁷ The 11th century art should be therefore described as truly transitional, the survivals of an earlier style existing side by side with the elements of a new one which was to come to a full blossom around the year 1100.

Bearing in mind this chronological co-existence of Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque aesthetics in the 11th century, one may legitimately ask the following question: Could one look backwards beyond the beginning of the 11th century in search of the anticipation of the Romanesque style, and, conversely, forward into the 12th century, looking for the survivals of the Pre-Romanesque? The answer in both cases seems to be affirmative.

In the 9th century in Asturias, some of the buildings of the »Estilo Ramirense« (843—850) display characteristics which enable one to classify them as almost completely Romanesque.²⁸ Some of these characteristics seem to have been present in Asturias at an even earlier date and are adumbrated by San Julian de los Prados in Oviedo (812—842) in terms of correspondence, though still tentative, of inner and outer supports on the chevet and the side walls of the nave. The correspondence is for all practical purposes perfect at Santa Maria de Naranco (dedicated in 848, Figs. 19—20). Here the space units correspond to the interior wall surface and vault units, defined by transverse arches and twisted columns of the wall arcades. The interior units are then also reflected in the organization of the exterior wall surfaces defined by projecting buttresses. The only »not-yet-truly-Romanesque« feature within this otherwise perfectly logical structure is the absence of a direct structural and visual continuity between the attached columns of the wall arcade and the transverse arches of the vaults.

Similar concern for correspondence is displayed by the remains of the church of San Miguel de Lillo (848); the buttresses correspond to the interior supports and the bays to the units of the side wall surfaces. The third building often considered as »Ramirense«, Santa Christina de Lena, is less successful in relating the buttresses to the interior organization, and it also »relapses« into the Pre-Romanesque in terms of a more obvious spatial discontinuity.²⁹ This may indeed be an argument for sometimes suspected later date of the church, since other post-Ramirense buildings of Asturias, such as San Salvador de Valdedios (c. 893), San Salvador de Priesca (c. 921) and related monuments announce a similar tendency of reverting to the Pre-Romanesque aesthetics. At Valdedios (Fig. 21) there is no correspondence between the arrangement of the inner

²⁷ Junyent, *Catalogne Romane*, I, pp. 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 59; II, 28—29, 31—32, 47 ff. Jose Puig i Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1911, pp. 318, 321—324. Marcel Durliat, *Roussillon Roman*, La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1958, pp. 24—25.

²⁸ Already noted by Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, p. 42 ff.

²⁹ On all these buildings see Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, pp. 42—45.



23. Zadar, St. Krsevan, c. 1175, south wall [author]

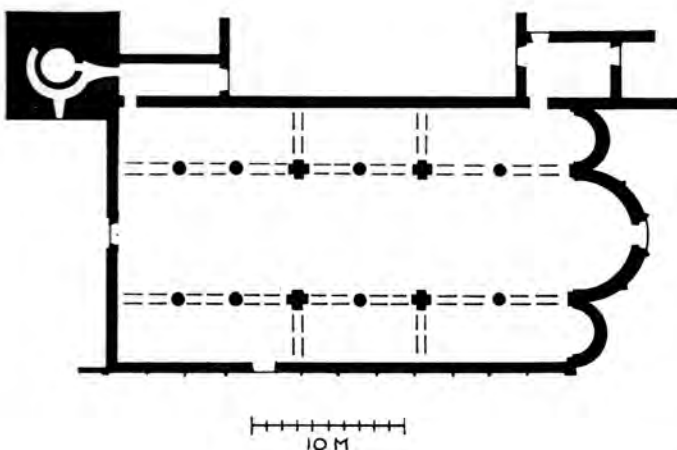
space and the exterior wall surfaces, in addition to which one also discovers a »hidden« westwork.³⁰

The early precocity of the »Ramirense« group is only rarely matched by buildings within other Pre-Romanesque schools. Among the Mozarabic buildings one should isolate Santa Maria de Bamba in terms of correspondence between the bays and the exterior wall

³⁰ On San Salvador de Valdedios and other buildings of the period of Alfonso II (866—910), see A. Bonet Correa, *Spanish Pre-Romanesque Architecture*, Greenwich, 1967, pp. 174—211.

³¹ Arenas, *Mozarabic Architecture*, pp. 84, 110; Cibulka, »L'architecture,« 12—13; Dyggve, *History*, p. 133.

24. Zadar, St. Krsevan, groundplan [author]



surfaces (a somewhat similar feature is displayed by the side walls of Santiago de Penalba), the church at Sady in Great Moravia (9th century), if one is to trust the reconstruction on the basis of very scanty remains, and the eleventh century church of SS. Peter and Moses in Solin in Croatia (c. 1070; Fig. 22).³¹ The ruins of this large aisled church with a somewhat narrower westwork display a perfect correspondence between the bays defined also by pilaster-strips. In the interior one can easily imagine transverse arches bringing about an even more perfect and more precise definition of the bays, although there is no direct evidence that the building was vaulted. The hidden sanctuary, consisting of a square apse and rounded apsidioles, all imbedded into the straight termination wall, is, however, still a Pre-Romanesque feature. There is another early Croatian building which may be mentioned here — the chapel of St. Nicholas on the Island of Lopud (c. 1100). This church belongs to the same type as St. Peter at Omis, the building with which we have initiated our discussion, but what makes it unique among some thirty sister monuments is the fact that the tripartite organization of the nave (with the dome on top of the central bay) corresponds to an equally tripartite organization of the lateral facades. Keeping in mind what we have said about the analytical tendencies in Ottonian architecture, one may conclude that the »Romanesque« characteristics exist simultaneously with the »Pre-Romanesque« ones, and in some cases can be traced back as far as the 9th century. The frequency increases throughout the 11th century and the Romanesque becomes a fully formed style around 1100 with such buildings as Cluny III, St. Sernin in Toulouse, Santiago de Compostella, San Ambrogio in Milano.



25. Périgueux, St. Etienne, begun c. 1100, interior, the east bay [Kubach, Romanesque Architecture].

One should be guarded against proclaiming this a final, definite victory of the Romanesque style. After the year 1100 the majority of key, style-promoting monuments, and the buildings depending on them, display Romanesque characteristics as we have seen them defined in the first part of this study. But there are still a number of fine monuments, or entire groups, which could not be considered totally Romanesque. Those monuments or groups often somehow left outside the main stream of the research in the art of the eleventh and twelfth century, or just briefly commented upon, deserve special attention. They represent deviations from what is considered the standard model and may illustrate some specific cultural situation within a certain milieu. This area of the »Anti-Romanesque« seems to be a fertile field for future research, and here we shall just try to sketch a few lines of such an enquiry.

As an obvious example of the Pre-Romanesque tradition one may list the popularity of the bi-polar model (Worms, Maria Laach) and of some complex, primarily polyconch plans (the Cologne group) in German Romanesque. Another group of triconchs is found in the French Southwest (Aubiach and Gueye in the late 11th century; St. Martin-de-Londres and Tourtoirac in the early 12th century; Montmoreau and St. Macaire

in the later 12th century; Montagrier, Romanesque building of undertermined date). The same area display also interest in some other »strange« plans, witness the octagon-octaconch of St. Michel d'Entraygues (c. 1137), or the Greek cross churches at Magnac-sur-Touvre (12th century) and Mainfonds (1160—1180).³² One should also note the stubborn persistence of the rotunda church in the Romanesque Hungary (some eighty examples, some of which display the absence of correspondence between the interior and exterior), and, at yet another end of the western world, in Scandinavia.³³ Sometimes one encounters buildings which

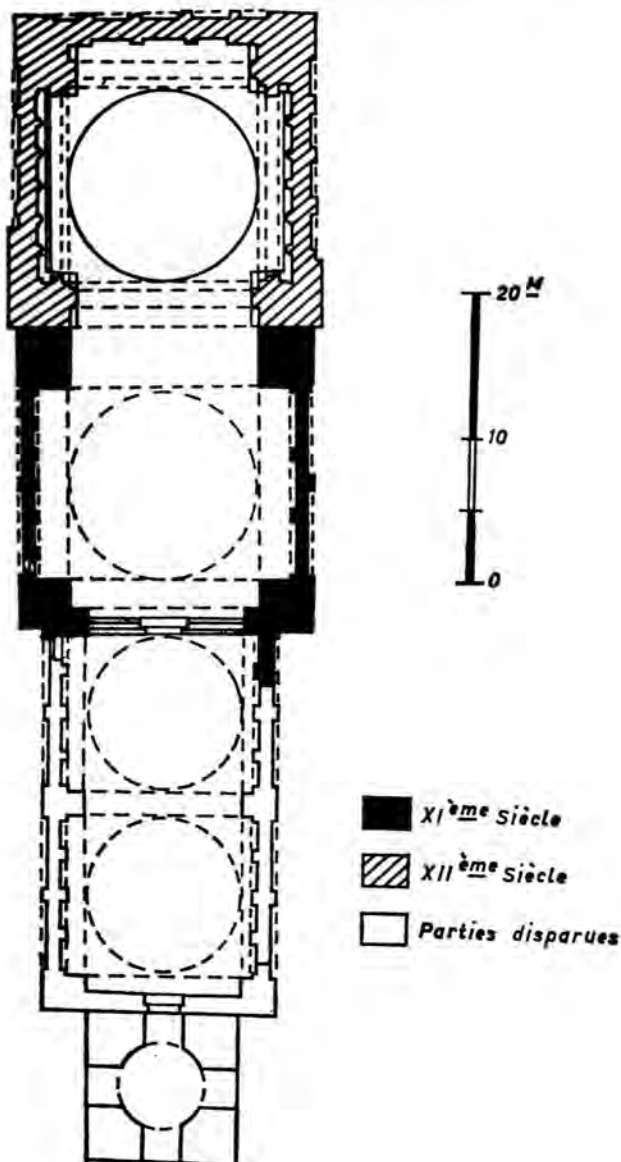
³² On Worms and Laach, Frankl, *Frühmittelalterliche und Romanische Baukunst*, pp. 189 ff, 249, 270. On the Cologne group, *ibid.*, pp. 89 ff, 269—271. On Catalonia, see above note twenty-eight. On Southwestern France, or Occitania, Jacques Brosse et als., eds., *Dictionnaire des églises de France*, 5 vols., Paris, 1966, II, pp. 2 C 152; III, 3 B 10—11, 3 B 155—156, 3 B 166, 3 B 79, 3 B 103, 3 C 106—107, 3 C 96—97, 3 C 93—94, 3 C 182—183. Also, Jean George, *Les églises de France — Charante*, Paris, 1933, p. 150.

³³ On Hungarian rotundas, Veronika Gervers-Molnar, *A középkori Magyar-or-szag rotundái*, Budapest, 1972. The author lists eighty rotundas and ten other centralized churches dating from the period between the 10th and 13th centuries. On Scandinavia, Aron Andersson, *The Art of Scandinavia*, 2 vols., London, 1970 II, pp. 141—147.

appear to be »perfectly Romanesque,« yet they indeed are not. The exterior wall twelve units arcade of the church of St. Krsevan in Zadar (c. 1175) in Croatia is in no way related to the seven bay organization of the interior, thus showing the persistence of Pre-Romanesque aesthetics in the mind of Croatian Romanesque architects (Figs. 23—24).³⁴

This conservatism may be due to the peripheral position of the country (Hungary, Croatia, Scandinavia), or to a desire to perpetuate a certain distinguished local tradition, such as an imperial tradition in Germany. However, in case of South-Western France-Occitania it seems that a certain conservatism in closely intertwined with another aspect, openness to foreign cultural influx. Thus some extraordinary forms created in the South-West may be seen in a strange way as motivated both by conservatism and cosmopolitanism.

26. Périgueux, St. Etienne, groundplan [Jean Secret, Périgord Roman, La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1968]



Within this context we should like to briefly comment on one characteristic occitan creation: the »domed churches of Aquitaine.«

The absence of any considerable number of aisled buildings in the architecture of the French South-West was noticed long ago.³⁵ The traditional aisleless churches, sometimes of remarkable dimensions, started to be covered, around 1100, at least in a number of cases, by a series of domes. Within the group of c. 80 domed churches one can easily identify the major, style-forming monuments from a mass of essentially modest, rural buildings vulgarizing the forms of the great models.³⁶ The cruciform, five-domed St. Front in Périgueux apart (c. 1120), one seems justified in speaking about basically two groups. One centers around the Cathedrals of Cahors (c. 1100—1125) and Périgueux (c. 1100 and later), another around the Cathedral of Angoulême (c. 1110—1130) (Figs. 25, 26, 27). In the case of the first group (rural examples excepted) the domes were originally visible from the outside.³⁷ In the case of the second group the domes were from the outset masked by a gable roof.³⁸ The first group is »Romanes-

Dr. Gervers-Molnar draws my attention to the fact that the rotunda form is so frequent in Eastern Central Europe that it should be considered the regular form of Romanesque architectural expression. She also points out to me that my definition of the Romanesque is very narrow, with which I totally agree. The fact, however, remains that in the countries such as France, where buildings close in form to my »ideal model« occur with a high degree of frequency, the other forms, such as rotunda, represent an accident rather than a rule. I am in no way claiming that my system is perfect; it is only an attempt to contribute to what I believe to be a fruitful area of research and discussion.

³⁴ Ciril Ivekovic, *Samostan i crkva Sv. Krsevana u Zadru*, Zagreb, 1931. Another peripheral country, this time of the Byzantine sphere, should be at least briefly mentioned here. This is Serbia. Numerous Serbian 12th and 13th century buildings display a keen interest in »Romanesque« decorative motifs. However, in most of the cases there is very little correspondence, between the form of interior spaces and exterior mass. For example, in the case of the church at Sopocani (c. 1235) an inscribed cross spatial solution is hidden within what appears to be an aisled basilican shell! In an excellent paper given at the Annual Meetings of the Society of the Architectural Historians in San Antonio, April, 1978, Professor Slobodan Curcic has applied a system similar to mine in assessing the amount of the Romanesque influence in Serbian medieval churches. I am grateful to Professor Curcic for his readiness to compare his notes with mine.

³⁵ Eugene Lefèvre-Pontalis, »L'ecole du Périgord n'existe pas,« *Bulletin Monumental* 82, 1923, pp. 7—35, especially pp. 25—35.

³⁶ Here is a brief list of the most significant contributions to the study of the »domed churches of Aquitaine«: Charles de Verneilh, *L'Architecture byzantine en France*, Paris, 1851; Raymond Rey, *La Cathédrale de Cahors*, Paris, 1925; Joseph Roux, *La basilique St. Front de Périgueux*, 1920, Marcel Aubert, »Les églises romanes du Périgord,« *Congrès Archeologique* 90, 1927, pp. 392—401. Some lucid remarks have been made by Francastel, *L'Humanisme roman*, pp. 35—36, 138—139, 176—178, 215.

³⁷ Le Marquis de la Fayette, »Église de Grand-Brassac,« *Congrès Archeologique*, 30, 1927, pp. 363—375.

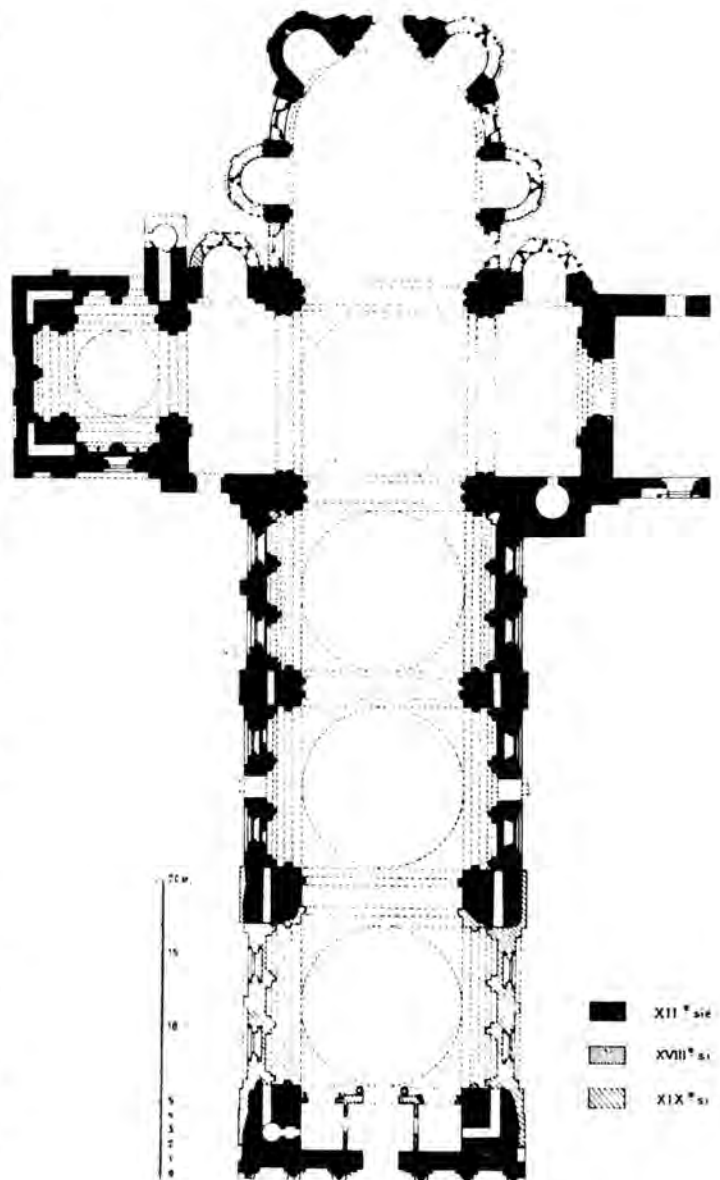
que« in the frankness with which it displays its unusual type of nave vault and roof, but the domes make them appear exotic and »un-Romanesque.« In terms of a mechanical repetition of squarish, domed units which, as it were, could be multiplied *ad infinitum*, the buildings exude a strange, oriental flavor. The use of straight lines, fillet chevets, cubic masses and spaces (especially St. Etienne at Périgueux; St. Avit Seignieur, early 12th century; Tremolat, Cherval, Bourg-des-Maisons, all 12th century), the broad and tall pointed arches on the exterior walls (which appear also in churches covered by a more traditional barrel vault, e. g., St. Privat-des-Près, first half of the 12th century, as well as in the domed churches, e. g., Cherval, Paussac, Verteillac, Allemans and numerous other twelfth century buildings in the vicinity of Périgueux) reinforce this oriental effect. This orientalism is further emphasized by the use of elements traditionally recognized as borrowed from the Muslim world polylobed arches and *modillons-à-copaux*.

In a number of cases the space is longitudinally oriented by an apse (Cahors), or an apse accompanied by radiating chapels (Souillac, first half of the 12th century), or by a square mass larger in size than the other units (both the original and definite form of St. Etienne at Périgueux) (Figs. 25, 26). But in a number of buildings (St. Avit Seignieur, Cherval, Bourg-des-Maisons) this sense of direction is for all practical purposes non-existent. And whereas the already mentioned blind arches, often pointed, but also roundheaded, correspond in many cases to the division of the interior space (Cherval, Paussac), this need not always be the case as witnessed by the older of the two preserved bays of St. Etienne at Périgueux. Here the lateral facades are decorated by two blind arches, each unrelated to the single, large wall arch in the interior.³⁹

A different, seemingly less radical solution is offered by the Cathedral of Angoulême and its progeny (Fig. 27). Here the exotic elements, the domes, are hidden underneath a continuous roof, and the silhouette, with a transept and radiating chapels, is perfectly »Romanesque.« The facade announces to the visitor a tripartite, aisled interior. But upon entering the church, one immediately notices the absence of any correspondence

between the space and mass. The interior is aisleless, consisting of a series of square, cubic, domed bays. The same lack of interest in correspondence is displayed by the architectural decoration of the lateral facades. Whereas the position of the bays is indicated by projecting buttresses, the surface in between the buttresses is decorated by two roundheaded arches as opposed to a three arch sequence in the interior.⁴⁰ Similarly, at Fontevraud (dedicated in 1119), the side walls buttresses of the monastery church announce some kind of alternating system, whereas, in fact, one discovers an interior consisting of an aisleless nave containing a series of cubic domed bays (Fig. 28).⁴¹

27. Angoulême, Cathedral, c. 1100—1130, groundplan [Charles Daras, *Angoumois Roman, La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1961*]



³⁸ René Crozet, »Remarques sur le repartition des églises à file des coupoles,« *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 4, 1961, 175—178.

³⁹ On the Romanesque architecture in Périgord in general, see Jean Secret, *Périgord roman*, La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1968.

⁴⁰ On Angoulême Cathedral, Charles Daras, *Angoumois roman*, La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1961, pp. 69—94.

⁴¹ On Fontevraud, Pierre d'Erbécourt and Jean Porcher, *Anjou roman*, La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1959, pp. 17—31.

⁴² This characteristic is most noticeable at St. Front at Périgueux, and the cathedrals at Périgueux (eastern bay), Cahors and Angoulême. Most of the rural churches, however, do not take advantage of this feature. There is usually just one small window per bay and the naves remain dark. Since some of the domes seemed to have been covered by a roof from the outset, and others have only a few (up to four) small windows, the dome does not serve as a lantern. The light comes through the windows in the side walls and enters the space obliquely, concentrating thus on the lower and intermediary tiers of the interior space.



28. *Fontevraud, abbey church, dedicated in 1119, interior toward the east [Kubach, Romanesque Architecture].*

Even on the basis of such a brief discussion as ours, one may conclude that the »Anti-Romanesque« tendencies vie quite successfully with the Romanesque ones in the twelfth century art of Occitania and that some of the most typical and most attractive creations of Aquitanian art signify a departure from Romanesque logic and clarity. In one respect, however, the Occitan »irrationalism« seems to point toward the Gothic. In the domed churches the thrust is naturally assumed by four supports in the corners of the bays. This enabled the architect to open up the wall, as in Byzantine architecture (e. g., Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene in Constantinople), into a series of windows. Romanesque architecture, once the groin vault was perfected, developed essentially the same »four point« system, and prepared the way for the elimination of the structural role of the wall in the Gothic. Yet there is hardly any other early twelfth century vaulted church receiving as much light as St. Front and his sister buildings, since the architect was able to open up almost the whole surface of the wall arches underneath the domes into windows which, in addition, bring the exterior light into an aisleless, fairly unified space.⁴² Abbot Suger of

St. Denis would have certainly commended the optical quality of the interiors of St. Front or the Cathedral of Angoulême. And after all, the tradition of domed, aisleless churches survived directly into the Angevin Gothic.

At the end of our brief enquiry, which should be continued and amended through research in many areas and aspects briefly discussed above, one seems justified in suggesting, at least tentatively, the following conclusions:

1. There seem to be architectural features which permit one to stylistically distinguish between the Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque.
2. Those features, identified at the beginning of our study, are:
 - a. Bi-axiality or bi-polarity in the Pre-Romanesque as opposed to mono-axiality and mono-polarity in the Romanesque.
 - b. The absence of correspondence between the organization of space and that of the exterior wall-surfaces.
 - c. The lack of correspondence in form between the space units and their external shells.

- d. The presence of hidden interior units undistinguishable from the outside.
 - e. Spatial discontinuity as opposed to spatial continuity.
3. Many of these characteristics are shared by all groups of Pre-Romanesque architecture in the West, at least between the 8th and the 11th century, and one seems justified in using the term *Pre-Romanesque* to cover such seemingly disparate groups of architectural monuments as Asturian, Mozarabic, Carolingian, Early Croatian, etc. It is worth noting that similar characteristics are found in the architecture of Eastern Christianity and that one might speak about the »orientalizing« character of the Pre-Romanesque. However, this particular question will require careful further investigation. Also, one may wish to investigate to what extent all those characteristics, be it in Eastern Christian or Pre-Romanesque architecture, depend on certain late Antique forms.
 4. Romanesque architecture displays consistently characteristics opposite to those of the Pre-Romanesque. The twelfth century deviations from the Romanesque model seem to be another area of fruitful research.
 5. Romanesque tendencies can be traced back to the ninth century. They grow in frequency throughout the eleventh century, take over around 1100, and continue into the Gothic. One may actually maintain that the Romanesque achieves its total fulfillment in the absolute clarity of the High Gothic structure, the monoaxiality of the High Gothic space and the supreme continuity of the Gothic interior. Numerous

monuments of the eleventh century »First Romanesque Art« are in fact still Pre-Romanesque. The eleventh century is an age of transition.

6. The change from the Pre-Romanesque to Romanesque, from the Early to the High Middle Ages, should be seen as a long process, taking about three centuries, during which period various, often different stylistic tendencies, currents and undercurrents exist side by side.

The approach we are proposing here obviously means complication rather than simplification of an old problem. But by making the picture more complex one also hopes to make it richer, more truthful, less regular, and therefore more human; what emerges is a picture of a slow, gradual and tortuous transition of the Western Medieval World from its childhood toward the age of youth and maturity.

⁴³ I am grateful to Dr. Gervers-Molnar for two additional remarks of theoretical nature. First of all, she notes that the Romanesque should be seen as a result of the economic growth in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. I fully agree that the economic factor should be taken into consideration in a broader study attempting to place architecture within the cultural history of the period. She also reminds me that one of the key differences between the fully developed Romanesque and earlier medieval architecture is the appearance of the facade sculpture in the former. When I wrote this article I did not plan to enter into a discussion of that question, although, recently, I dealt with it at least in a preparatory manner in my paper on »Art As Human Experience: Remarks on the Rise of the Monumental Style in the Middle Ages,« presented at the 1978 Annual Meetings of the College Art Association. Once more, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Gervers-Molnar for her useful remarks.

Sažetak

POSTOJI LI U ARHITEKTURI PREDROMANIČKI STIL?

Poznato je, nazivi su medijevalnih stilova umjetnosti ponešto proizvoljni. No, dok je više-manje razumljivo što mislimo pod nazivom romanika i gotika, kao da nema slaganja u tome što je predromanika. Istražujući bitne značajke romaničkog i predromaničkog izraza, ovaj prilog nastoji odgovoriti na ta pitanja u primjerima arhitekture između 800 i 1100 kršćanskog Zapada.

Predromaniku označava:

1. Biaksijalnost. Naglašenoj ulozi vertikalne osi u formiranju mase suprotstavlja se longitudinalna os prostorne organizacije;
2. Ne postoji odnos između unutrašnje prostorne organizacije i vanjskih zidnih površina;
3. Nema odnosa između oblika prostornih jedinica i njihove vanjske pratnje;
4. Postoje skriviti prostori na čije postojanje ne ukazuje vanjska analiza;
5. Nailazimo na prostorni diskontinuitet.

Neki se od tih kriterija nalaze već u arhitekturi istočnog ranokršćanstva.

Autor niže i analizira primjere iz Dalmacije, Švicarske, Španjolske, Engleske, Moravske — a mogu li se ti kriteriji primijeniti i na predromaniku središnje Evrope, jezgru karolinškog i otoskoga carstva?

Ta arhitektura znači korak prema »romaničkoj čistoći« i »strukтури«, ali tu ipak postoje oblici koji su zajednički predromaničkoj grupi, jer niz primjera dokazuje da su još uvijek unutar okvira predromaničke estetike, premda se ne može poreći da je njihov arhitekt uspješno analizirao cjelinu, te odvojio jedinice različitih funkcija i važnosti.

Imajući na umu da u jedanaestom stoljeću koegzistiraju romanika i predromanika, mogli bismo se upitati treba li romanički stil tražiti već početkom ili čak i prije jedanaestog stoljeća, odnosno preživjelu predromaniku još u dvanaestom stoljeću? Vrijedi jedno i drugo, što se opširno dokazuje na primjerima Asturije, Hrvatske, rajnskog područja, francuskog jugozapada, Mađarske i Skandinavije. »Konzervativizam« se može pripisivati periferalnom području (Mađarska, Hrvatska, Skandinavija) ili želji da se ponavlja stanovita lokalistička tradicija, ali i »kozmpolitizam«, što napose vrijedi za jugozapad Francuske. Može se zaključiti iz analize niza primjera da se »antiromaničke« tendencije uspješno takmiče sa romaničkima u umjetnosti Okcitanije i da se najatraktivniji primjeri Akvitanije okreću od romaničke logike i jasnoće, a u neku ruku okcitanški iracionalizam vodi već i prema gotici.

Na kraju istraživanja mogu se barem probno sugerirati ovi zaključci:

- d. The presence of hidden interior units undistinguishable from the outside.
 - e. Spatial discontinuity as opposed to spatial continuity.
3. Many of these characteristics are shared by all groups of Pre-Romanesque architecture in the West, at least between the 8th and the 11th century, and one seems justified in using the term *Pre-Romanesque* to cover such seemingly disparate groups of architectural monuments as Asturian, Mozarabic, Carolingian, Early Croatian, etc. It is worth noting that similar characteristics are found in the architecture of Eastern Christianity and that one might speak about the »orientalizing« character of the Pre-Romanesque. However, this particular question will require careful further investigation. Also, one may wish to investigate to what extent all those characteristics, be it in Eastern Christian or Pre-Romanesque architecture, depend on certain late Antique forms.
 4. Romanesque architecture displays consistently characteristics opposite to those of the Pre-Romanesque. The twelfth century deviations from the Romanesque model seem to be another area of fruitful research.
 5. Romanesque tendencies can be traced back to the ninth century. They grow in frequency throughout the eleventh century, take over around 1100, and continue into the Gothic. One may actually maintain that the Romanesque achieves its total fulfillment in the absolute clarity of the High Gothic structure, the monoaxiality of the High Gothic space and the supreme continuity of the Gothic interior. Numerous

monuments of the eleventh century »First Romanesque Art« are in fact still Pre-Romanesque. The eleventh century is an age of transition.

6. The change from the Pre-Romanesque to Romanesque, from the Early to the High Middle Ages, should be seen as a long process, taking about three centuries, during which period various, often different stylistic tendencies, currents and undercurrents exist side by side.

The approach we are proposing here obviously means complication rather than simplification of an old problem. But by making the picture more complex one also hopes to make it richer, more truthful, less regular, and therefore more human; what emerges is a picture of a slow, gradual and tortuous transition of the Western Medieval World from its childhood toward the age of youth and maturity.

⁴³ I am grateful to Dr. Gervers-Molnar for two additional remarks of theoretical nature. First of all, she notes that the Romanesque should be seen as a result of the economic growth in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. I fully agree that the economic factor should be taken into consideration in a broader study attempting to place architecture within the cultural history of the period. She also reminds me that one of the key differences between the fully developed Romanesque and earlier medieval architecture is the appearance of the facade sculpture in the former. When I wrote this article I did not plan to enter into a discussion of that question, although, recently, I dealt with it at least in a preparatory manner in my paper on »Art As Human Experience: Remarks on the Rise of the Monumental Style in the Middle Ages,« presented at the 1978 Annual Meetings of the College Art Association. Once more, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Gervers-Molnar for her useful remarks.

Sažetak

POSTOJI LI U ARHITEKTURI PREDROMANIČKI STIL?

Poznato je, nazivi su medijevalnih stilova umjetnosti ponešto proizvoljni. No, dok je više-manje razumljivo što mislimo pod nazivom romanika i gotika, kao da nema slaganja u tome što je predromanika. Istražujući bitne značajke romaničkog i predromaničkog izraza, ovaj prilog nastoji odgovoriti na ta pitanja u primjerima arhitekture između 800 i 1100 kršćanskog Zapada.

Predromaniku označava:

1. Biaksijalnost. Naglašenoj ulozi vertikalne osi u formiranju mase suprotstavlja se longitudinalna os prostorne organizacije;
2. Ne postoji odnos između unutrašnje prostorne organizacije i vanjskih zidnih površina;
3. Nema odnosa između oblika prostornih jedinica i njihove vanjske pratnje;
4. Postoje skriviti prostori na čije postojanje ne ukazuje vanjska analiza;
5. Nailazimo na prostorni diskontinuitet.

Neki se od tih kriterija nalaze već u arhitekturi istočnog ranokršćanstva.

Autor niže i analizira primjere iz Dalmacije, Švicarske, Španjolske, Engleske, Moravske — a mogu li se ti kriteriji primijeniti i na predromaniku središnje Evrope, jezgru karolinškog i otonskog carstva?

Ta arhitektura znači korak prema »romaničkoj čistoći« i »strukтури«, ali tu ipak postoje oblici koji su zajednički predromaničkoj grupi, jer niz primjera dokazuje da su još uvijek unutar okvira predromaničke estetike, premda se ne može poreći da je njihov arhitekt uspješno analizirao cjelinu, te odvojio jedinice različitih funkcija i važnosti.

Imajući na umu da u jedanaestom stoljeću koegzistiraju romanika i predromanika, mogli bismo se upitati treba li romanički stil tražiti već početkom ili čak i prije jedanaestog stoljeća, odnosno preživjelo predromaniku još u dvanaestom stoljeću? Vrijedi jedno i drugo, što se opširno dokazuje na primjerima Asturije, Hrvatske, rajnskog područja, francuskog jugozapada, Mađarske i Skandinavije. »Konzervativizam« se može pripisivati periferalnom području (Mađarska, Hrvatska, Skandinavija) ili želji da se ponavlja stanovita lokalistička tradicija, ali i »kozmpolitizam«, što napose vrijedi za jugozapad Francuske. Može se zaključiti iz analize niza primjera da se »antiromaničke« tendencije uspješno takmiče sa romaničkima u umjetnosti Okcitanije i da se najatraktivniji primjeri Akvitanije okreću od romaničke logike i jasnoće, a u neku ruku okcitanški iracionalizam vodi već i prema gotici.

Na kraju istraživanja mogu se barem probno sugerirati ovi zaključci:

1. Postoje arhitektonski oblici koji ukazuju na različite stilističke značajke između predromanike i romanike.
2. Ti su oblici:
 - a) biaksijalnost ili bipolaritet u predromanici nasuprot monoaksijalnosti i monopolariteta romanike;
 - b) ne postoji odnos između prostorne organizacije i vanjskih zidnih površina, dok se u romanici taj odnos strogo provodi;
 - c) ne postoji odnos u oblicima prostornih jedinica i njihovih vanjskih ljuski, dok se u romanici taj odnos redovito nalazi;
 - d) postoje »potajne« unutrašnje jedinice, koje se ne razabiru izvana, na što ne nailazimo u romanici;
 - e) prostorni diskontinuitet suprotstavlja se prostornom kontinuitetu.
3. Mnoge navedene značajke posjeduju sve grupe zapadnjačke predromanike, barem one između osmog i jedanaestog stoljeća, pa tako taj naziv predromanike pokriva naoko bitno različite grupe asturskih, mozarabičkih, karolinških, starohrvatskih arhitektonskih spomenika.

Slične se značajke mogu naći u ranokršćanskom Orijentu, pa se može govoriti i o »orijentalnom« biljevu u predromanici, ali se ta obilježja moraju još pažljivo dalje istraživati, naročito ako postoje i u kasnoantičkim oblicima.
4. Romanička arhitektura pokazuje dosljedno karakteristike suprotne predromanici. Slučajevi devijacije od romaničkih modela dvanaestog stoljeća još su jedno polje plodnog istraživanja.
5. Romaničke se tendencije mogu pratiti već u devetom stoljeću, rastu u jedanaestom, prevladavaju oko 1100 godine i zatim kontinuiraju u gotiku. Može se čak braniti da romanika postiže apsolutni razvoj u čistoći visokogotičke konstrukcije, u monoaksijalnosti gotičkog prostora i u njegovu superiornom kontinuitetu.

Mnogobrojni spomenici jedanaestog stoljeća »prve romaničke umjetnosti« zapravo su predromanika. Jedanaesto stoljeće je prijelazno.
6. Prijelaz od predromanike na romaniku, od ranog do visokog srednjeg vijeka treba promatrati kao proces, dugačak oko tri stoljeća, u kojem su razdoblju postojale različite, često suprotne stilističke težnje i tokovi.

Studija ujedno pruža sliku o polaganom, postupnom i vrludavom prijelazu srednjovjekovnog svijeta od djetinjstva i mladosti do pune zrelosti.