

The Cloisters is known to New Yorkers, as well as other visitors, as a museum where medieval art can be enjoyed in an atmosphere that is at once peaceful and stimulating. The only branch institution of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, it is a place where scholars and students can spend profitable hours absorbed in a unique collection in which small, intimate objects such as prayer books or precious metalwork blend harmoniously with monumental architectural elements and sculpture. A beautiful natural setting on a hill overlooking the Hudson River, complemented by cultivated perennial and herb gardens, further rewards visitors to The Cloisters.

Primarily monastic in plan, The Cloisters is not based on a particular medieval structure. The building was carefully designed to create a unified surrounding for arcades from the French cloisters of Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, Bonnefont-en-Comminges, and Trie-en-Bigorre, and for diverse architectural material. It was a plan that from the outset allowed for expansion, even permitting the graceful addition of the Spanish Romanesque apse from Fuentidueña in 1961.

The Cloisters Collection, too, was predicated on the ideas of quality and growth. Since the present museum opened in 1938, additions to its holdings have included numerous medieval works that are the finest of their kind: the Unicorn tapestries, a gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.; the Mérode altarpiece by Robert Campin; the *Belles Heures* of the duke of Berry, illuminated by the Limbourg brothers; and the Bury Saint Edmunds cross, to name but a few.

The building, its placement, and its contents are largely the achievements of three men: George Grey Barnard, an American sculptor whose determined pursuit of medieval antiquities led to the collection's founding; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who purchased Barnard's collection in 1925, provided for the site and present building, gave art and funds for purchases, and finally, in 1952, endowed The Cloisters to assure its future; and James J. Rorimer, who as Curator of Medieval Art and later as Director of The Cloisters, made a tremendous personal contribution through his perception and acquisitive prowess.

This publication focuses on the almost forgotten role of George Grey Barnard, who at one time virtually dominated the American field in gathering and exhibiting medieval architecture and sculpture. Along with Raymond Pitcairn, Barnard was one of the few Americans to grasp the opportunity to assemble Romanesque and Gothic material before France herself took steps to preserve it. Hence, even the French owe a debt to Barnard, who once remarked, "I chanced to take up this work at a time when France was so interested in modernity that she had forgotten her glorious past."

The words of this eccentric and independent man dignify an avocation pursued in the most unpretentious ways. What an odd figure he must have cut riding through the French countryside on his bicycle, often with a statue or other new find on the handlebars. And yet, so assiduously did he follow his task that he was esteemed throughout France—and on this side of the Atlantic, too. The story of his searches, with their rewards and losses, is told here by J. L. Schrader, Curator, The Cloisters.

Philippe de Montebello
Director

Opposite: *George Grey Barnard (1863-1938) in 1922. The sculptor and collector stands among ruins of the 12th-century cloister of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, which he acquired in France and erected on the grounds of his museum, the Cloisters, on Fort Washington Avenue*

On the cover: *Engaged capital from the abbey of Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert (see Figures 8-12)*

Unless otherwise credited, all objects are from The Cloisters Collection

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George Grey Barnard: *The Cloisters* and The Abbaye

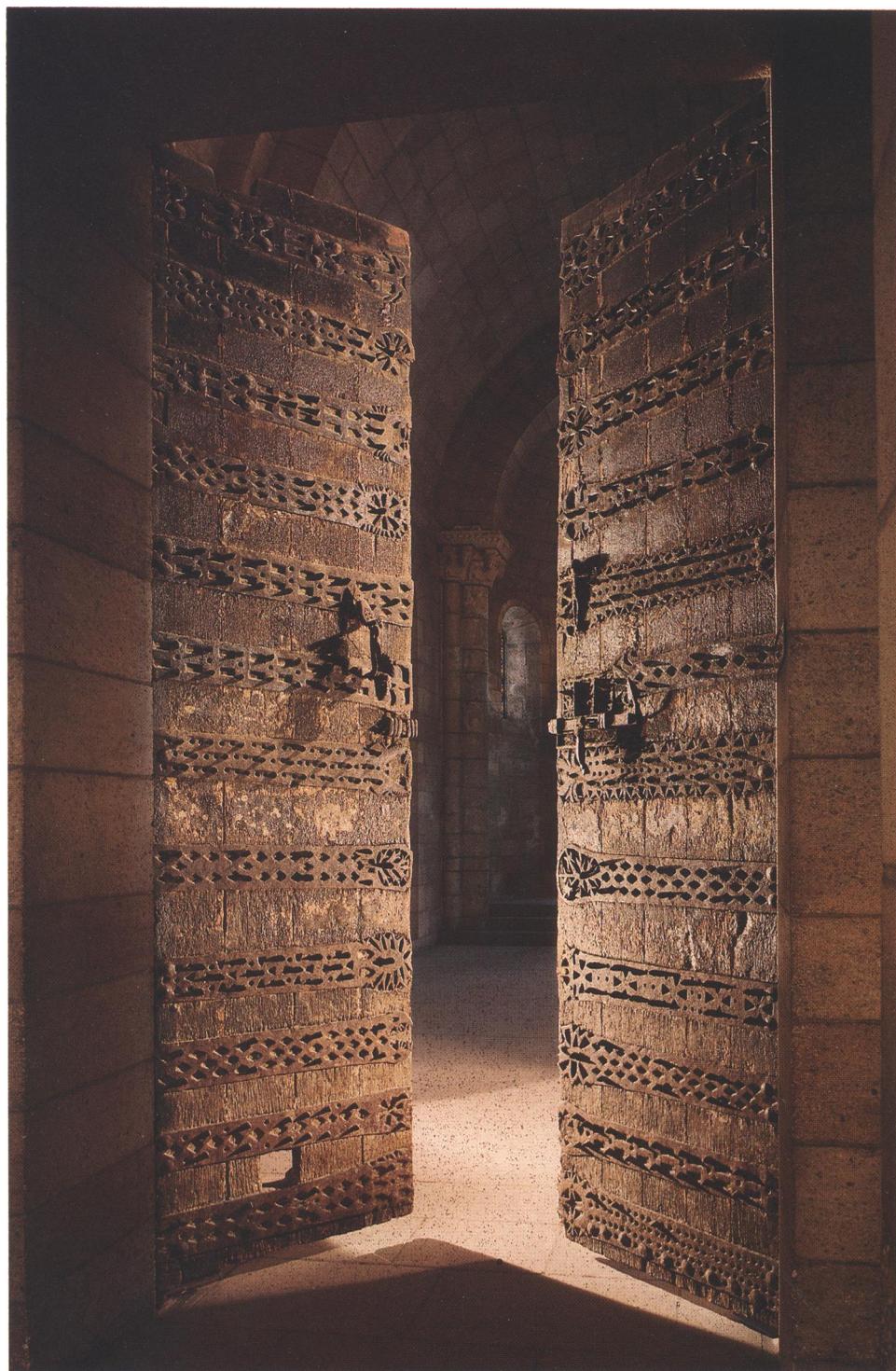
J.L. Schrader
Curator, The Cloisters

At the close of the First World War, Fort Washington Avenue was little more than a country lane on the promontory toward the northern tip of Manhattan. It disappeared into a wooded area bordered on the north by the secluded C.K.G. Billings estate. Near the end of the road, there was a sign on an old stone wall half-buried in foliage. It read simply: "These grounds are dedicated to the dead soldiers of France."

The words must have seemed incongruous to the casual passer-by, especially as that area of New York held remembrances of the Revolutionary War. Known originally as Long Hill, it was taken by Hessian mercenaries in November 1776. A little farther up the road, about where 190th Street is today, was a high stone wall with an entrance decorated solely by a pair of criss-crossed flags—the Stars and Stripes and the Tricolor. There one encountered another sign: "Gothic Monastery of France rebuilt with the original stones and stained glass, for the benefit of the widows and orphans of French sculptors."

This building, surrounded by overgrown gardens, was called the Cloisters. It belonged to George Grey Barnard, that Titan of American sculptors, then internationally praised for his impressive exhibits at two Paris Salons and for his heroic figures on the Capitol at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The barnlike appearance of the brick structure's exterior hardly betrayed the contents. Behind the rustic, ironclad Romanesque doors of the main portal was a collection of medieval art widely publicized as the finest in America—Barnard's "Gothic collection," which he had opened to the public ten days before Christmas Eve 1914.

Barnard's Cloisters was not a single ancient edifice transported here and rebuilt. It incorporated elements from four medieval cloisters—one Romanesque and three Gothic—lodged inside a brick shell of basilical plan



1 A custodian-guide in the robes of a Franciscan monk led the visitor through these gardens to the main portal of Barnard's Cloisters. There the guest rang an old bell, whereupon the "monk" threw open the doors. At the left is an arch on piers, the only remnants of a 15th-century wayside shrine near Villeneuve-lès-Avignon

2 The rare Romanesque oak front doors (here in their new setting) were said to

have come from the southern French monastery of Saint-Martin-du-Canigou. They are reinforced physically, and perhaps figuratively, through iron bands with designs of horses' heads and crosses, patterns that may allude to the Crusaders, who frequently sought shelter in monasteries. Probably late 12th century. H. 114 inches. 25.120.291,292



3 Barnard's Cloisters was a modified basilica in plan. In this 1925 view taken from above the entrance looking east, sculpture is distributed along balustrades that separate the "nave" in the foreground from the wide "transept" and the "apse" at the rear. A treasury was located upstairs on the left. Above the eastern arch is a blind arcade with capitals from the cloister of

Bonnefont-en-Comminges. Capitals from Trie Cloister are visible at the upper right
4 For the visitor fortunate enough to see the museum by candlelight, the scene was especially awesome and mysterious. The tomb in the center of the floor is that of Jean d'Alluye (Figures 33, 35). At the west end of the upper gallery are Italian wood sculptures (Figures 42, 43)

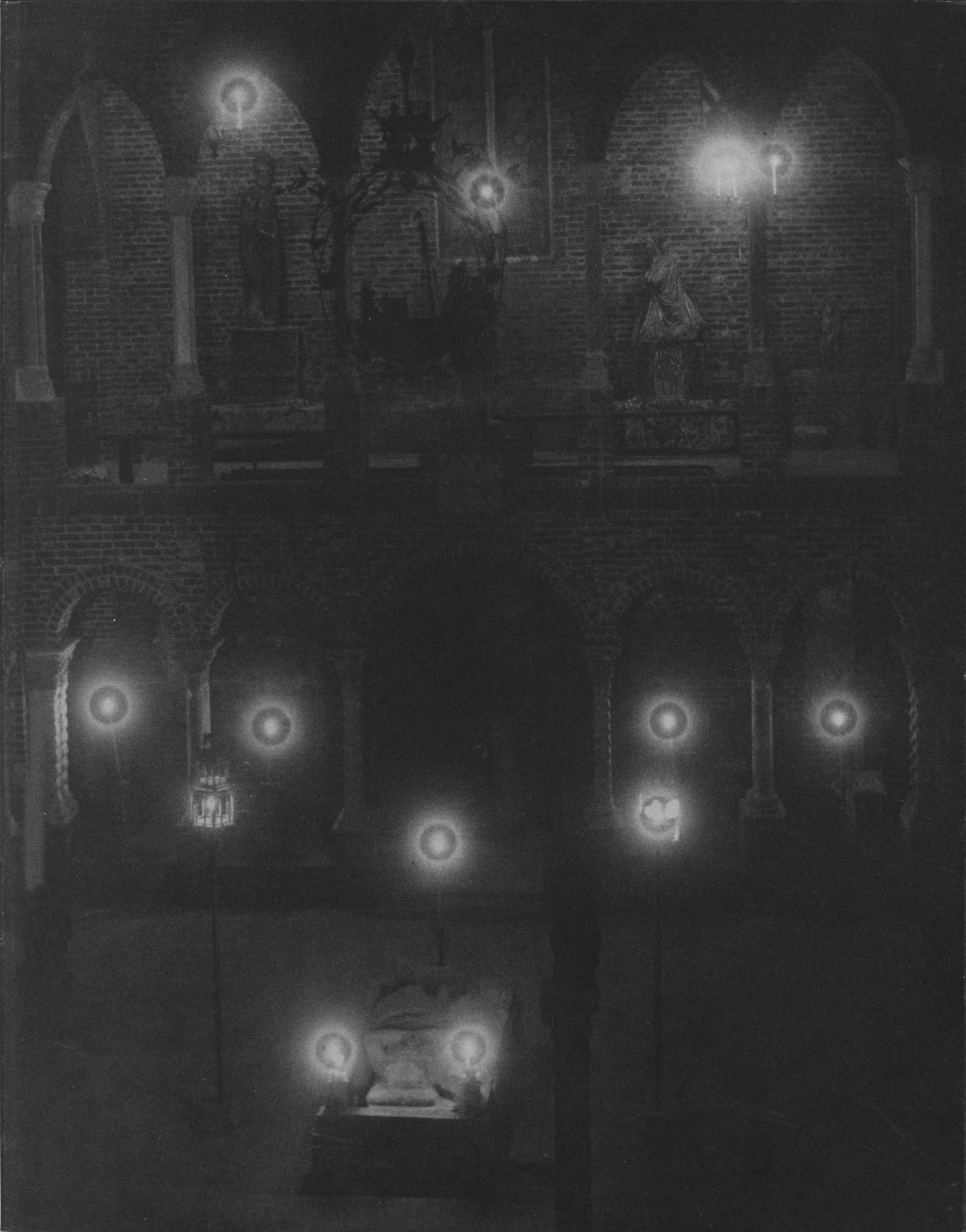
100 by 65 feet, and rising to 50 feet at the peak of its skylight; outside, another Romanesque cloister was partially set up. The building had been simply and effectively designed by Barnard and his architect, Horace Mann, to accommodate Barnard's "stones," as he called them—the architectural and independent sculptures he had gathered from all over France (Figures 3, 4). The impact of the whole was to evoke the solemn but vigorous piety of the Middle Ages. Moreover, medieval architectural components either supported brick arches or were set into walls, giving the illusion that all was of one fabric. Principles of medieval craftsmanship, including hand-drawing the arches on the floor, were employed to relieve the strictness of line in modern construction. Barnard had built, demolished, and rebuilt some of the arches of his cloister arcades as many as six times before he got them to "sit" properly. To create an "aged" appearance, the walls

were hosed down while the mortar was still wet.

This medieval ensemble, which eventually would be acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, was immediately praised for its revolutionary display techniques. Like the museum opened at Fenway Court in Boston in 1903 by Mrs. Jack Gardner, it did not limit the viewer's experience to objects lined up in glass cases. Barnard's installation methods, which seemed so natural, were crucial to the understanding of the works of art and had the ability to transport the viewer to another time and place.

Barnard's use of brick as a background for stone architectural elements and sculpture so impressed Henry W. Kent, then Secretary of the Metropolitan Museum and a member of the advisory board for the new Cleveland Museum of Art, that Kent persuaded his fellow board members at Cleveland to modify their plans in order to adopt Barnard's aesthetic





5 Stone images, like this Gothic martyred Deacon Saint, stood beneath arcades built with capitals from Bonnefont-en-Comminges. A mislabeling by a newsman on the back of this photograph, lent him by Barnard, led to the statue's publication as a "twelfth-century Madonna." Its bold mass tends to be diminished by decorative features such as the drapery and curly hair. French (Languedoc), mid-14th century. H. 62¾ inches. 25.120.196

6 Columns and capitals from Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert Cloister once served as supports for grape arbors in Pierre-Yon Vernière's garden at Aniane



for the museum's Garden Court. It is said that within two decades following the opening of Barnard's Cloisters in 1914, the influence of its contributions to professional installation techniques was recognizable physically not only in the city museums of Boston and Philadelphia, but as far away as San Francisco.

At the time Barnard introduced his Cloisters to the public, Romanesque and Gothic art was virtually unknown to Americans. J. Pierpont Morgan had lent some of his Gothic sculptures to the Metropolitan Museum, but the extent of his medieval holdings was not fully appreciated until the gift of his collection to the Museum in 1917. So lacking in sophistication were Americans when it came to medieval antiquities that one New York newspaper reporter, writing about the Cloisters, easily mistook a fourteenth-century statue of a deacon saint for an "early twelfth-century Madonna" (Figure 5). Even Barnard's self-taught art history permitted him mistakes in the interpretation of the most standard medieval iconography and led him to make such naïve statements as "French Gothic of the twelfth century is the real Gothic." Yet his weaknesses in making stylistic and iconographic judgments in no way detract from the importance of his enormous single-handed accomplishment – that of bringing before the New York public between 600 and 700 examples of medieval art.

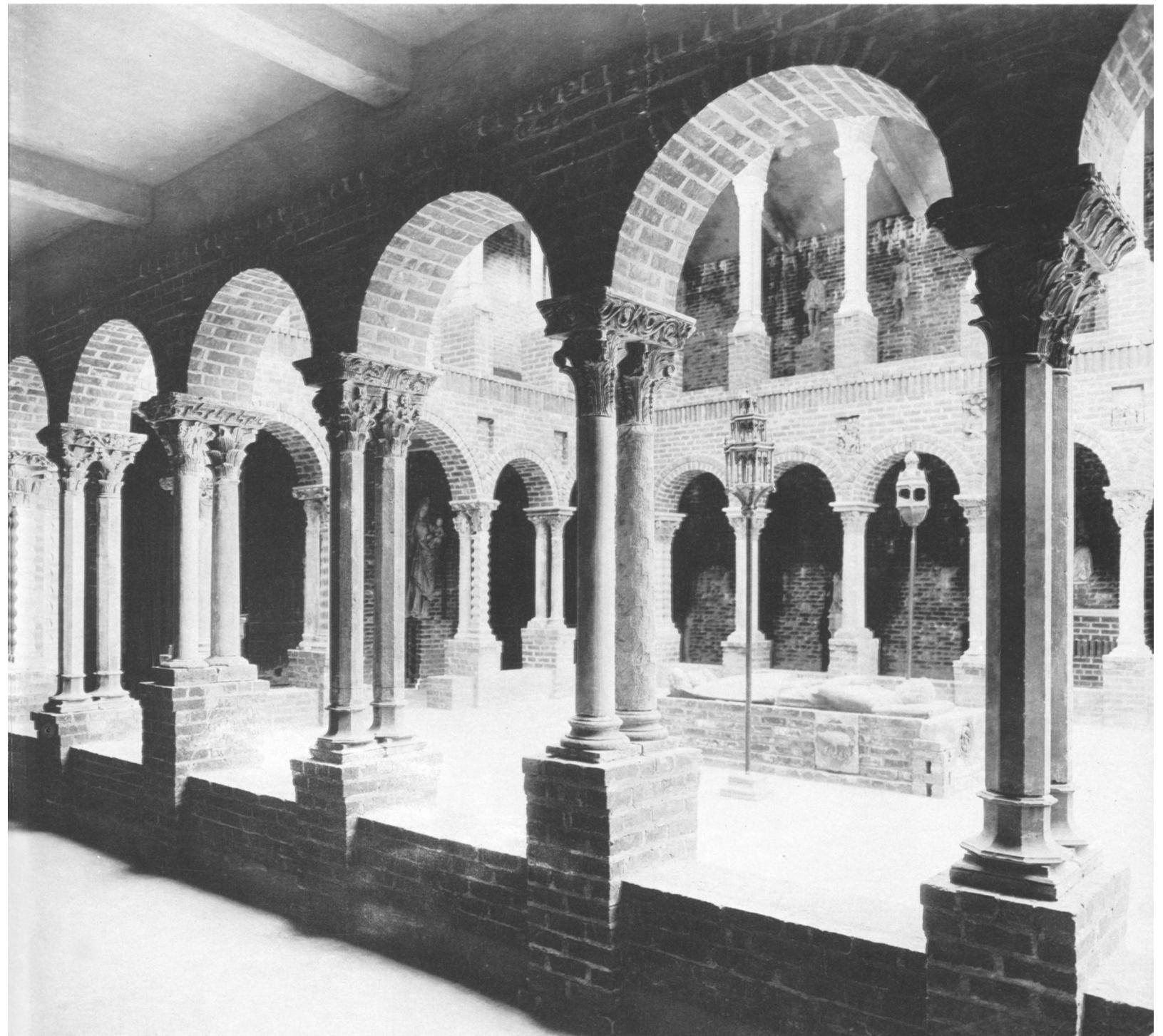
Barnard repeatedly explained that one of his original intentions, aside from acquainting Americans with medieval art, had been to introduce young American sculptors to what he called "the patient Gothic chisel." At the time, sculptors here had assistants enlarge their works from clay or plaster prototypes by pointing them off in stone. Barnard opposed the practice vehemently and insisted on finishing his own sculptures. Around 1900, when he taught briefly at the

Art Students League in New York, he deplored his inability to show students results of the medieval sculptor's labors. The collection he formed from about 1905 to 1913 was therefore, both the embodiment of ideals he held precious and a solution to his didactic needs. He could speak of aesthetic fulfillment and also practicalities when pointing to a handsome architectural ensemble housed in the lower arcade of his Cloisters – the pilasters, columns, and capitals from the Romanesque cloister of Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, a former monastery in the South of France (Figures 7-12). Barnard saw these pristine carvings as the best material for educating American sculptors in "the power of the chisel," about which, he said, "they know nothing."

Barnard glorified whatever the medieval chisel had wrought, but as a sculptor he practiced a style as anti-thetic to the medieval manner as Michelangelo's. His interest in the sacred images of early times was unwavering; yet in his own work he embraced either secular themes or ones that conformed to his own religion, which has been described as "a curious medley of Unitarianism, Pantheism, and Shavianism." He was not merely a gifted entrepreneur but an opportunist, a fact strangely belied by a report that after his death there was less than 200 dollars in cash in his estate. In addition to having fed his insatiable appetite for medieval and Renaissance antiquities, he had financed most of his own sculptural projects, given generously of his work and possessions, and suffered substantial monetary losses. But such were the paradoxes of Barnard's life.

Barnard was born to a Presbyterian minister and his wife at Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, in 1863. The events of his upbringing were hardly significant for his career as a collector. Of only secondary interest to his development as a sculptor were his boyhood experiments in taxidermy and

7 A north-northwest view of Barnard's Cloisters (right) shows double bases, columns, and capitals from Saint-Guilhem built into the lower gallery. The foreground capitals are visible in Figures 8, 10, and 12



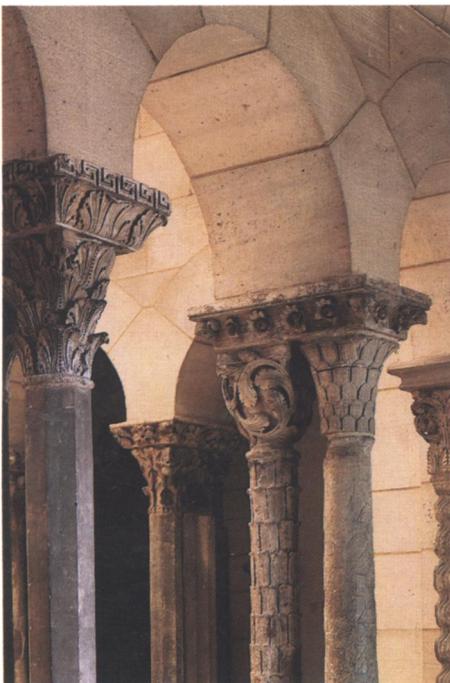


8-12 The Benedictine abbey of Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert stood in a valley near Montpellier in southern France. Founded in 804 by Guilhem (Guillaume) au Court-Nez, duke of Aquitaine and a paladin of Charlemagne, it became an important site on the pilgrimage road that ran to Santiago de Compostela via Toulouse. Its double cloister was begun in the late 12th century and completed before 1206. The sculpture first collected by Pierre-Yon Vernière (Figure 6) and sold to Barnard comes from the upper gallery of this cloister, destroyed during the French Revolution.

These views were taken at the new Cloisters. At the left, a pilaster with acanthus-leaf spiral scrolls and its capital,

carved with acanthus, a flower, and the heads of two men between the volutes, rest under an abacus of leaf spirals, flowers, and birds (25.120.119, 120,97). This classically inspired decoration is continued by the foreground capitals (25.120.43, 42, 58, 38). In one of the abaci (25.120.73,39) acanthus leaves support a Greek-fret molding. Shafts in the near foreground are decorated, respectively, with a step pattern and conventionalized leaves or feathers (25.120.1046,1080). These ensembles are seen again below, from the other side, under the illustration of an engaged capital with the contracted figure of a man, bearded and moustached, holding a main-de-justice and seated between two

lions (25.120.117). Its undulating shafts are repeated in the arcade illustrated at the upper right, where capitals (25.120.3,109,54, 4, 18) include (rear center) an early Gothic example with the Last Judgment and Descent into Hell. Abaci (25.120.78, 29, 49) include one with mallow flowers and, at the corners, dog's heads. Below (right) acanthus capitals displaying the ancient drilling technique (25.120.37, 22) rest under an abacus (25.120.5) in which classicizing heads are framed by spiral scrolls. The large late 11th-century capital (25.120.246), in the center of the cloister, from the church of Saint-Sauveur at Figeac, was hollowed out and reused as a baptismal font



13 *George Grey Barnard was obsessed with the subject of Lincoln, of whom he did a full-length statue for Cincinnati that stirred up international controversy. In this photograph from about 1916, he is seen with the 16-foot plaster model for another Lincoln sculpture, based on the death mask by Volk, that he intended to cast in bronze. The author Ida M. Tarbell, a Barnard admirer, is at the right, gazing at the work, which moved her deeply*

his modeling of birds and animals in clay. Nor were his enrollment at the Art Institute of Chicago, when he was eighteen, and the short time he spent there particularly productive or rewarding. Barnard's feeling for nature and his sculptural sense were innate, but he was essentially French in his outlook and in his formation as a sculptor.

Late in 1883, with barely 400 dollars in his pocket, he set out for Paris. There he put in arduous hours at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in the studio of Pierre Jules Cavelier, a noted sculptor. After three and one-half years with Cavelier, Barnard settled in a cramped working space at Vaugirard, near Paris's Porte de Versailles, where he lived in near-starvation circumstances. His subsequent discovery by the wealthy American Alfred Corning Clark, Clark's commission for the marble group *The Struggle of the Two Natures of Man* (now in the Metropolitan Museum), and the accolades Barnard received when he exhibited *Two Natures* and other works at the Salon du Champ de Mars in 1894 are a matter of public record. With success under his belt and the 900 dollars netted him by *Two Natures* in his pocket, Barnard returned to America and moved into a studio in Upper Manhattan. He brought with him some "antiques," but apparently not the medieval sculpture that a few years later he would desire for his classes at the Art Students League.

In his early days at the League Barnard's frustrations ran deeper than merely not being able to show traces of the medieval chisel. Although it was prestigious for him to follow Augustus Saint-Gaudens as an instructor, he was close to abandoning sculpture as a profession. He was barely eking out a living and was depressed. Barnard ignored an invitation to undertake the sizable job of sculpture for the proposed Capitol at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, simply because he felt he was not mentally up

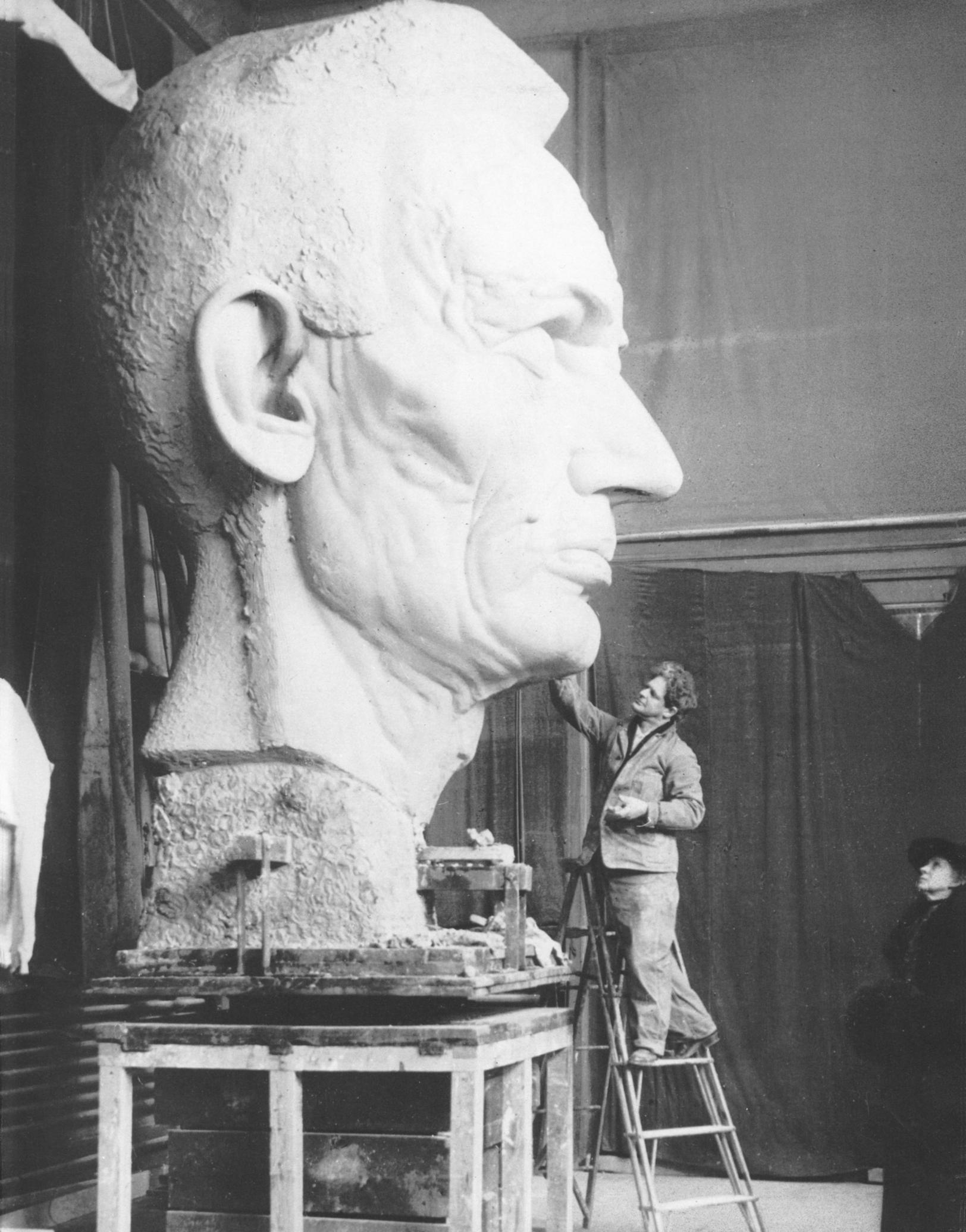
to it. Were it not for an old friend, William Clifford, then Librarian at the Metropolitan Museum, who talked Barnard out of his depression and put him on the phone to Harrisburg, Barnard would not have signed the contract. Nor is it likely that Barnard would have formed his "Gothic collection" without the impetus of the Harrisburg project: for Barnard's art collecting was intimately bound up with the financial vagaries of the State Capitol commission and the execution of this work in France.

Early in 1903 Barnard, his wife, and their daughter left for France. (In 1895 he married Edna Monroe of Boston.) To undertake the work for Harrisburg in France was his decision; but he had second thoughts about it and was ready to return to America when "those wonderful works of the Middle Ages caused an abrupt change of mind." (He was speaking of objects he saw again in the Louvre.) He immediately found a studio and lodging for his family at Moret-sur-Loing, near Fontainebleau, where he would begin work on full-scale plaster models in preparation for the marble sculptures.

Barnard's ambitious Capitol design, incorporating thirty-three figures, was composed of groups symbolizing labor, brotherhood, and the development of man. The contract was the largest ever awarded an American sculptor and amounted to 700,000 dollars. The sum began very quickly to look like less than a fortune. Barnard's first 20,000 dollars went to a bonding company, as the contract carried a clause stipulating that he be bonded to deliver work at specified times. Then there were ever-mounting charges to reckon with—assistants and plaster molders to pay, rents to keep up, and equipment to purchase. In truth, the available funds were not ample enough for him to meet these expenses and to pay for the marble, which had to be quarried at Carrara and transported to Moret.

He was only half-finished with the plaster models when he got word from Harrisburg that spelled financial ruin: He would have to complete the sculptures for a cost of 300,000 dollars, or else receive not a penny. Payments were suspended indefinitely, and not even a meeting with the building's architect, Joseph Huston, in March 1906, put matters straight. The impecunious sculptor was forced to turn to the only other source of income he knew to sustain himself and his family and to meet the heavy cost of finishing his masterpiece—the sale of antique works of art.

Since his student days in Paris, Barnard had known the rewards of bicycling to the countryside in search of remnants of the past. But the first mention of any business enterprise in connection with his interest in antiques was made early in 1905. Barnard, it seems, was keeping a "salon d'antiquités" at Moret, and thereby hangs a tale that he would repeat with relish for the rest of his life. His idea for making money from the sale of art works, so the story goes, arose following a picnic he and his family enjoyed one afternoon on the banks of a creek that ran through an ancient battlefield. Barnard became curious about a ruined chapel nearby and asked the inhabitants of a farmhouse if they had ever seen any old carvings from the chapel. The farmer's negative response only stimulated Barnard's interest in scouring the farmyard, and a tour past a manure pile revealed two stone statues of the Virgin Mary that the owner had regarded as images useful for making hens lay eggs. Then followed Barnard's offer of thirty francs, the farmer's suggestion of sixty, the farmer's wife's insistence on sixty, and a stand-off that lasted months, until one day the farmer and his wife drove up to the studio in Moret with the Virgins loaded on top of a pile of cabbages. Having decided to take a chance on their hens' productivity, the couple



14 The stone cross, said to have been found in pieces at Châtenois, was ill-fated in modern times. Reportedly damaged during the Franco-Prussian War, it was struck by lightning in 1931 at the old Cloisters. Below it is a fountainhead. French, 16th century. 25.120.872 a, b

15 In this bas-relief of the Conversion of Saint Hubert, the first bishop of Liège is on horseback instead of, as is usual, kneeling before the stag, in whose horns a Crucifix miraculously appeared. The event is made vivid by bold forms, minute detail, and intricate carving. Barnard first saw the relief

in a pigsty. French (Burgundy), about 1520. Limestone, traces of polychromy; H. 34½ inches. 25.120.284

16 This torso of Christ from a large Crucifix is one of the most important remains of French Romanesque wood sculpture. Layers of later gesso and gilding, since removed, protected it from the elements while it was used as a scarecrow. The original polychromy beneath was applied sparingly so as not to hide the sensitive modeling. Auvergne, about 1130-1140. Poplar, H. 43 inches. 25.120.221

settled for thirty francs, plus ten for delivery. Barnard was contented by the thought that he had purchased, for next to nothing, sculptures he felt dated from the twelfth century. When hard times were upon him, Barnard remembered that episode and the 2,000 francs realized from the sale of the two sculptures in Paris.

During the winter of 1905/1906 his absences from the studio were frequent, and we can infer from his day-book that he was on trips mainly to Paris, Dijon, and the Vosges region. In the Vosges he made one of his earliest acquisitions for his collection, a monumental stone cross decorated on the front with the Crucifixion, and on the back with Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child (Figure 14). Barnard

is said to have supervised its excavation from the grounds of a former convent, then used as a tannery, at Châtenois in 1905. He was acting on a tip from a ninety-year-old tanner who claimed to have buried it years before. Other objects that Barnard retained have similarly fascinating stories attached to their discoveries. From the walls of a house in Chartres he reclaimed the stone figures of two holy women from a sixteenth-century Entombment group. In a barnyard outside of Dijon he located an early sixteenth-century limestone relief of Saint Hubert and the Stag that had helped wall up a pigsty (Figure 15). Perhaps the greatest treasure he found on a farm was the exquisite twelfth-century Auvergnate wood

torso of the crucified Christ that, for years, had been brought from an attic each spring, clothed, and used as a scarecrow (Figure 16).

Throughout his searches, Barnard's approach was to locate a medieval church or monastery that had been despoiled following the French Revolution, then to reconnoiter the area for sculpture and other vestiges that had been carried off and appropriated for different uses. Often he would stop at a farm and request food and drink, which he paid for, and question the farmer about sculptural remains. At times, he dropped by a town's inn to catch the innkeeper and local inhabitants off-guard with his questions. In this manner he recovered medieval antiquities





17 An impressive number of Cuxa Cloister columns and arches was owned by Mme Baladud de Saint-Jean, shown here with her children before the arcades that formed the portico to her bathhouse at Prades. Barnard was destined not to remove from France these important remains on which he exercised an option in 1913

18 Two columns from Cuxa and one (in the rear) from Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert appear in this photograph of Pierre-Yon Vernière's garden, perhaps taken as early as the 1890s.

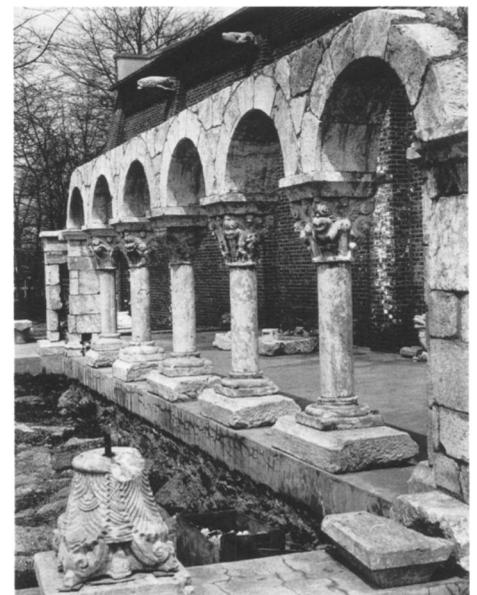
Barnard's quest for the widely scattered remnants of Cuxa Cloister must have begun here in 1906

19 Only one short side of Barnard's planned Cuxa installation was realized before the outbreak of World War I caused him to push forward the opening of his museum. Some capitals, like the one at the lower left, remained in an inverted position until the Metropolitan Museum prepared to inaugurate publicly its Cloisters in 1926

from the fields, barnyards, gardens, chicken coops, cheese houses, and wine presses of the French countryside. On occasion he would hire rabbit catchers to scan their territories. Their pay was a franc for a statue with pointed shoes and a half franc for one with blunt-toed shoes, the latter being of the sixteenth century and therefore less valuable. Through these means he discovered objects that he was able to sell to museums, including the Louvre. All of his sales at least doubled, and sometimes quintupled, his investment.

In the summer of 1906 Barnard and his family moved to a tiny cottage in Moret to save on rent. He had already had further quarrels with the commission at Harrisburg over nonpayment for a set of duplicate plaster models ordered by Huston for the dedication of the Capitol. At the end of that summer came the promise of relief from Harrisburg in the form of an "annexed contract," followed almost immediately by news that part of the funds for the building had been embezzled, and that Barnard would have to see the project through for nothing. Huston and his associates were implicated in the scandal, which broke just a month before the dedication date.

Only his antiquities could put Barnard in a good mood, or so he thought. His subsequent efforts to bring ignored monuments of art to public attention sometimes went unnoticed, and his "irrepeatably" offers to museums for the most part were turned down. The previous April he had written to J. Pierpont Morgan, President of the Metropolitan, offering the Museum not only the stone cross from Châtenois, but also two late Gothic chapels, one of them intact, on which he held short-term options. That the Museum follow-up was slow and, in the end, unproductive, not only irritated the sculptor but obscured an important fact: Barnard had made the revolutionary sugges-



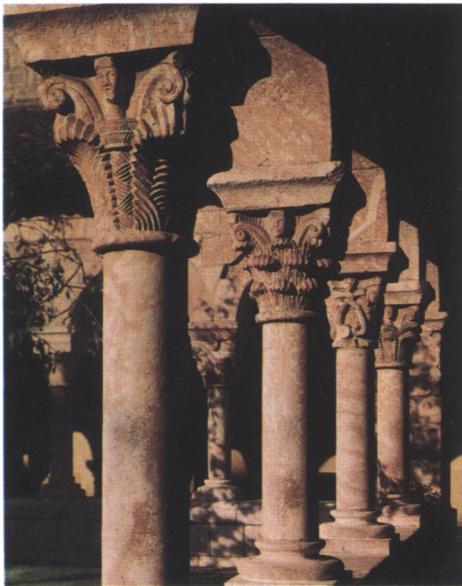
20 Taken when the new Cloisters first opened, this photograph shows the Barnard material from Cuxa in its final, roof-protected installation. In the foreground are two of the capitals with the most original designs. On the side of the left capital a man dances between fanciful animals. Crouching grotesque creatures decorate the corner of the right one. 25.120.635,843

tion that his "home" museum acquire a period architectural ensemble as "a true setting for Gothic Statues, paintings, or other church treasures." The idea was not to be recognized by the Metropolitan in a material way until twenty years later.

Late in October 1906 Barnard's work on the Capitol project was suspended, and for the next six months he devoted his efforts to recovering and selling art works. Both he and Edna wrote his parents faithfully, keeping them informed of George's exploits. In November he set out for southern France—Languedoc and the eastern Pyrenees. He departed from west of Lyons for points farther south in search of monastic cloisters. He covered Clermont-Ferrand, Montpellier, and Perpignan in three days, arriving at Prades on the fourth. Returning to Moret, Barnard boasted that one week's search for cloisters had turned up "two beautiful ones," but he had not the funds (approximately 10,000 dollars) to invest in them. However, his resourcefulness and powers of persuasion did not fail him. He floated a loan with a Moret banker; and several friends, including Edwin Austin Abbey, the muralist for the Harrisburg Capitol, put up money when told they might quadruple, or even quintuple, their investment. During the first two weeks of December, Barnard made payments (including commissions to two agents) at Tarbes, Larreule, Pau, and Toulouse. Interrupting his travels for a brief stay with his family over Christmas, the sculptor-turned-*antiquaire* did not wait for the New Year to resume his searches; Edna's, New Year's letter to George's parents mentioned that "George is again in the Pyrenees trying to complete the cloister which he and I have purchased as an investment."

The cloister that George and Edna bought with their own money was probably the one Barnard identified in a letter as the earliest, largest, and





21-23 The abbey founded at Cuxa in 878 by Benedictine monks, and dedicated jointly to Saint Michael and Saint Germain, was a royal institution. It is still situated near Prades at the foot of Mount Carigou in the eastern Pyrenees, an area of France that was part of Catalonia in medieval times. In the 12th century, by which time the monastery was celebrated throughout Europe, its cloister was rebuilt and ornamental portals were added to its church and other buildings. Some historians believe that the cloister was completed as early as 1130-1145, in which case, as their style sug-

gests, a number of the capitals and abaci would have to have been shaped in rough form and left to be carved at a later date. Many of the capitals are related by style to ones at the nearby church of Serrabona, consecrated in 1151. In any event, the work at Cuxa would have been completed before 1188. Here, in a setting created at the new Cloisters for the important elements salvaged by Barnard from the ruined monastery, a reconstruction of the arcades encloses an area that is little more than half the size of the original. The undecorated capitals in the foreground (25.120.843, 636,

616, 625), are, if not the earliest, the simplest. The ones at the upper left (25.120.861, 621, 858) include (front) a capital with rearing lions at the corners that is one of the most sophisticated and intricately carved examples. (It is also seen in the right foreground of the photograph of Barnard's installation in Figure 19.) Below, the row of capitals (25.120.632, 840, 837, 622) with deeply grooved leaf forms or stout, conventionalized acanthus leaves and primitively designed men's heads appears to be an earlier group



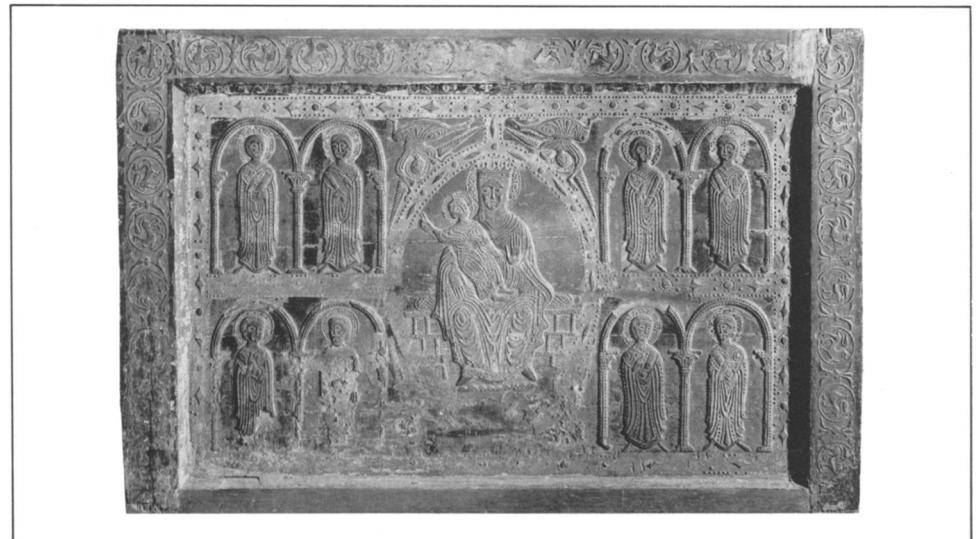
24,25 Four capitals that Barnard located from the monastery of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa are white marble. Two of these are thought to have supported the roof of a ciborium erected by Abbot Oliva in 1040. Such an arrangement, without a roof, was simulated, using all four capitals, at the new Cloisters in 1938, in an installation (Figure 24) that has since been altered. The matching front capitals (Figure 25) are of a sophisticated, partly undercut design that derives to some extent from the Roman Corinthian order. French (Roussillon), 1040. H. 18¾ inches. 25.120.585

26 The painted altar frontal bought by

Barnard comes from Lérida, as do all the other surviving examples. This one and its pendant (now in the Museo de Bellas Artes, Barcelona) are from the parish church at Ginestare de Cardós. Eight apostles (six are named in an inscription) appear in two registers at either side of the Virgin and Child, enthroned within a mandorla lofted by angels. A border of Arabic-inspired animal ornament is preserved on three sides. Catalonia, 13th century (1223?). Wood with polychromy and gesso, H. 37¾ inches. 25.120.256

27,28 The limestone Spanish altar front (detail and right) is in a primitive Roman-

esque style that ordinarily would imply an 11th-century origin; but similar "elephant's-foot" columns from Zamora are of the 12th century. The asymmetrical placement of the decoration (left, Saint Peter with the key) finds no explanation. Seemingly complete, the front may have come from an altar that housed a relic visible through the narrow aperture. The pre-World War I photograph shows its state when acquired by Barnard. An address on the back implies that it was stored in a house on a street off Madrid's Avenida José Antonio. Central or western Spain, second half of the 12th century. H. 35¾ inches. 25.120.476



most valuable among the four of which he acquired sizable portions before the end of January 1907. Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, an illustrious abbey founded in the ninth century near Prades, in rugged Catalan country, was the home of this Romanesque cloister, which may have been completed as early as 1130-1145 (Figures 19-23). Cuxa's buildings were collapsing in the eighteenth century, when the monastery was abandoned. In the one-hundred-fifteen-year interim, the site had been plundered and stripped of much of its light red stone. When Barnard came to it only one section of its once huge cloister remained – and this was stored in subterranean vaults. He discovered that a large number of the cloister's elements were scattered throughout the vicinity of Prades and in the hands of about a dozen owners who found them either attractive garden ornaments or sturdy supports for wine vats. But by far the largest group held by one owner was the ten arches and twelve columns and capitals constructed in an ell that formed a portico for Mme Baladud de Saint-Jean's Bains de Saint-Michel at Prades. As the bathhouse complex would be expensive to acquire and remove, Barnard took an option on the property (Figure 17).

The cloister that Barnard is said to have salvaged partly from a stream is probably that of Bonnefont-en-Comminges. Altogether, he assembled forty-eight grayish white marble double capitals and a number of shafts from the widely scattered remains of this Gothic cloister (Figures 45-47). Twelve of the capitals came from the stream, which Barnard had located after one of his farmhouse visits. The farmer he questioned remembered that his grandfather took stones that were lying around the yard to dam up a drinking place for his cattle, and from that pond Barnard removed two wagonloads of art. He found other Bonnefont material near the town of Saint-Gaudens, where today columns



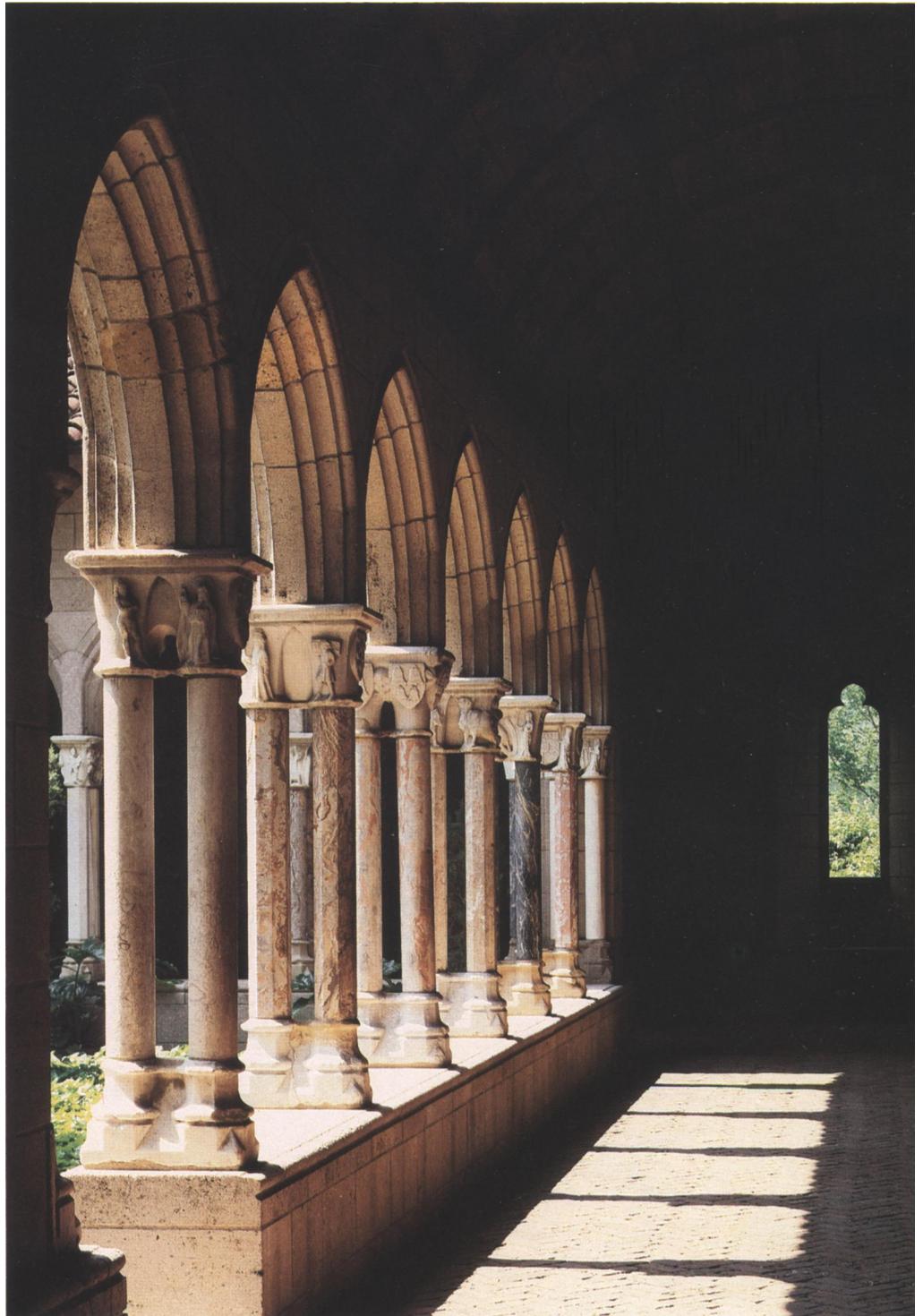


29-32 All except the church of the Carmelite convent of Trie-en-Bigorre, located west of Toulouse in southern France, was put to ruin by the Huguenots in 1571. Shortly thereafter, capitals from its 15th-century cloister and stylistically related ones from a neighboring monastery at Larreule were sold to the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Sever-de-Rustan for the rebuilding of its also war-damaged cloister. A few of the white-marble Trie-Larreule examples from Saint-Sever were bought by Barnard, who acquired the major part of his ensemble from the Curie-Seimbras family at Trie. He later sold the one representing the Nativity

(left) and several others to his friend Stephen C. Clark, who used them in building an arcade on the terrace of his New York town house. Clark presented the ingeniously designed Nativity capital (36.94.2) and two others to The Cloisters in 1936.

The Trie material that Barnard retained was built into the upper gallery of his Cloisters (below, upper left). The heraldry of capitals like the one with the arms of Catherine of Navarre (25.120.186), at the front, help support a dating of the cloister in the period 1484-1490. As installed at the new Cloisters, capitals in the east arcade

(below, lower left) are devoted in theme to episodes from the lives of saints, like the Temptation of Saint Anthony in the immediate foreground (25.120.144). Ones in the west arcade, (25.120.159, 189, 138, 165; 36.94.1; 25.120.186, 174), at the right, include Old Testament themes of the Creation of Eve and Abraham Leading Isaac up the Mountain. Altogether, the Trie-Larreule capitals represent a late Gothic trend toward accommodating popular taste for historical narrative mixed with legendary themes and grotesques. Old column shafts of varicolored marble for the Trie installation were supplied by Barnard from another source





and capitals from the same cloister are set up in the public gardens.

Barnard cited the late fifteenth-century cloisters of Trie-en-Bigorre, almost due north of Tarbes, and Larreule, northeast of Tarbes, as the source for two remarkably similar groups of white marble double capitals, shafts, and double bases (Figures 29-32). The Carmelite convent at Trie had been destroyed in 1571 during the Wars of Religion; and a number of its capitals, together with some from Larreule, were used soon afterward in the restoration of the monastery at Saint-Sever-de-Rustan. Whatever Trie-Larreule material was not gathered by Barnard from these three places in the Tarbes vicinity was destined in part to be set up in the Jardin Massey at Tarbes.

Disposing of his spoils for immense profit was now foremost in Barnard's mind. He used an offer of approximately 3,000 dollars from a Paris dealer acting for the Louvre, for two Cuxa capitals—an offer that he refused—to calculate the value of that portion of the cloister he owned. If forty-eight carved capitals were worth 72,000 dollars, then surely he could realize at least 100,000 dollars for the complete columns, two corner piers, fifty-six arches, each with a span of about eight feet, and enough of the two-foot-wide parapet to run under all the columns. Barnard then estimated the worth of the other three cloisters on the basis of their age, artistic merit, and completeness in relation to Cuxa Cloister. He decided to offer the Bonnefont remains to the Art Institute of Chicago for 25,000 dollars. He could ask the same amount for the Trie Cloister, which he had in mind to sell to Mrs. Jack Gardner. If she did not respond favorably, he could always combine the Larreule material with that from Trie to make a larger cloister and offer the whole to the Metropolitan for a higher price. Altogether, he expected to realize more than enough to clear his debts with the marble

workers in Carrara and the plaster molders, pay the salaries of his assistants in Moret, plus fulfill his Harrisburg contract.

Nothing is known about the immediate outcome of Barnard's marketing ideas, nor is it clear how a fifth major property, the upper gallery of the late twelfth-century double cloister of Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, fitted into his scheme. The monastery of Saint-Guilhem lay some twenty-five miles northeast of Montpellier. The columns and pilasters from this destroyed cloister had been collected before 1875 by Pierre-Yon Vernière and set up as supports for grape arbors in his garden at Aniane, nearby (Figure 6). Two facts are clear: In March 1906 Barnard bought Vernière's ensemble through the Paris dealer L. Cornillon, who shared an option on it with a colleague from Carcassone; and the purchase was probably connected with Barnard's interest in Cuxa Cloister, as some of the Cuxa material he obtained is visible in old photographs of the Aniane garden (Figure 18). It is not unlikely that Barnard intended from the very start to hold on to Saint-Guilhem Cloister for his own collection, and thus considered it apart from his commercial venture. After all, this was the cloister that later would be his greatest pride, the primary source of his instruction in "the patient Gothic chisel."

Barnard perhaps did not fully understand what a gamble he was taking. Therefore it came as a terrific shock when all attempts to sell his four cloisters failed. By far the most agonizing episode was that with the Metropolitan Museum. With every answer to his letters and cables he had been assured of the Museum's interest in Cuxa Cloister. Moreover, when Roger Fry, Curator of Paintings, came to see the offering and declared the Museum's willingness to take it if the rest could be obtained, Barnard was prepared. At the end of the third week in January he had signed an agree-

ment with Mme de Saint-Jean for her portion, paying her 500 francs. He needed only to remit a remaining 5,000 francs and it would be his. But Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke, the Director, turned it down, even when Barnard cut the price in half. Barnard would later say of his entire undertaking, "Certainly I would never have bought 2 or 3 cloisters had I not been counting on their sale at great gain." He added that he was deluded in thinking it "safe to count on *the word* of the man named to purchase for our Metropolitan Museum."

Barnard consoled himself by selling other artifacts. He confessed to "peddling stones from house to house in Paris," where no doubt he was offering the "bread-and-butter" pieces that every dealer finds it necessary to stock. More often, however, he received advances from dealers with whom he had an agreement to supply objects, but on the condition that he would retain half of what he purchased for himself. He claimed to have sent a dozen sculptures a week to the Gare d'Orléans in Paris, where he collected them periodically and headed for the dealers' doorsteps. Partly with the proceeds from a fourteenth-century statue of the Virgin and Child, he bought tickets for his wife and family to sail to New York in May. Before leaving France himself, he was able to total up profits of approximately 20,000 dollars from his art sales—enough, at least, to pay his workers' back salaries and cancel other debts. He was on his way "to fix things up with the Penn. Government," he wrote from aboard ship. He could rest comfortably in the thought that his sculptures for the Capitol were finished in plaster.

It was Professor E.R.A. Seligman of Columbia University and a group of prominent New York businessmen who rescued him financially and saved the imperiled Harrisburg sculptures by procuring sound financing for his work. Passing through a kind of vol-

34 The double tomb slab that Georges Demotte sold to Barnard in 1910 is, despite its replaced marble inlays, an interesting Gothic work with an impeccable history. Formerly in the church at Villers-Haudricourt, near Aumale, in Normandy, it is inscribed with the names of Clement de Longroy and his wife Beatrice de Pons. De Longroy was major-domo to the king and queen of France (probably Philip VI and Blanche of Navarre). French, about 1380-1390. Limestone, L. 89½ inches. 25.120.202

35 Barnard rightly observed in this effigy the simple idealism, with realistic tenden-

cies, of French sculpture from about 1230 to nearly the end of the 13th century. The chevalier Jean d'Alluye, seigneur of Château la Vallière and other estates, who returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1244, died about 1248 and was interred at the Abbey of La Clarté Dieu (near Le Mans), which he founded in 1239. First removed during the abbey's partial demolition about 1850, the figure was once used face-down to bridge a nearby stream. French (Touraine), mid-13th century. Stone, L. 83½ inches. 25.120.201

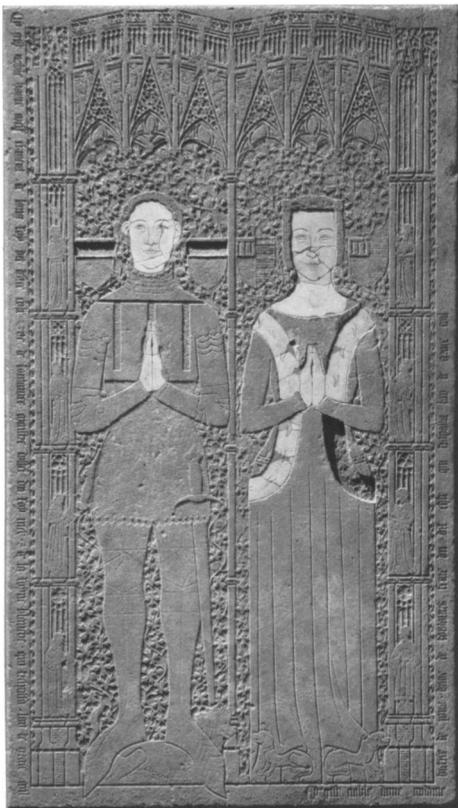
untary bankruptcy, Barnard was freed from any business management for the duration of the Capitol project and was allotted money for his personal needs. Only after he and his family were re-established in France did Vivia Monroe, his sister-in-law, write Barnard, questioning his ethics in failing to declare as assets the medieval antiquities he had stored in various *entrepôts* in France. Barnard, indignant, replied that when payments from Harrisburg had stopped he had financed his own work, and that what remained of the physical assets was his and no one else's concern. Besides, he had sold much of his half of the antiques he had obtained through his arrangement with dealers.

He neglected to tell his sister-in-law that he was again dodging his creditors in France. Nevertheless, he was still acquiring art, now with the clear intention of keeping the objects for his own collection. In 1910 Georges Demotte, the Paris dealer who kept a shop in the rue de Provence, sold him one of his finest pieces, the tomb effigy later identified as that of Jean d'Alluye, for the then high price of 15,000 francs (Figures 33, 35). Concurrently, and for the same amount, Demotte cleverly passed on to the unsuspecting collector an engraved limestone double tomb of which the marble inlay was not original but replaced (Figure 34). (Like other big Paris dealers of his day, Demotte kept "restorers," artisans who "completed" damaged pieces and made up objects from miscellaneous fragments, and who essentially were engaged in various types of forgery.) Half the amount for the two tombs was to be paid in cash and the other half made up in objects from Barnard. Matters became more complicated as the sculptor signed promissory notes from Demotte, and Demotte exchanged them for ones due at a later date. Having bent over backward to accommodate Barnard, Demotte was exceedingly annoyed at him for

escaping payment whenever notes were due.

At the Paris Salon of 1910 tens of thousands of visitors saw Barnard's two completed Harrisburg groups, called *Les Joies* and *Les Douleurs*, flanking the entrance to the Grand Palais. Not only did he receive a special gold medal, but Rodin showered him with compliments and Theodore Roosevelt noted his countryman's achievement with pride. Dedication of the sculptures at Harrisburg took place on October 4, 1911, declared "Barnard Day" in Pennsylvania. The occasion reaped him great nontangible rewards, but more important was the eventual material reward of an additional 80,000 dollars voted him by the State in appreciation for his long-suffering and perseverance. He emerged solvent, with commissions for two pediment groups at the New York Public Library and an over life-size Lincoln for Cincinnati—and with his impressive private collection virtually intact. His next move was to purchase the 329-by-200-foot property up the street from his New York studio on Fort Washington Avenue. 1911 was also the year in which Barnard developed the idea for a structure to house his collection. From Paris Demotte voiced his approval of Barnard's "great Gothic plan," adding that the project sounded prohibitively expensive. In a cryptic postscript, Demotte wrote, "I know what you are doing for Gothic, but I am afraid it will be too late!"

Demotte was perhaps alluding to steps about to be taken by the French government to classify the historic monuments of France and to prevent their sale and removal. There is evidence that as early as 1907 Barnard was aware of sentiment toward classifying the remains of Cuxa, but he seems to have used the information only as leverage to get Caspar Purdon Clarke to act quickly on a purchase. By 1912 letters from dealers and friends in France advised Barnard of





36 This standing Virgin and Child from eastern France is wreathed in draperies that cascade in decorative patterns. Barnard said he first saw the sculpture in the main cemetery in the city of Toul, where he purchased a seated Virgin in a similar style; but he acquired it in Paris at the sale of the Emile Molinier Collection in 1906. Lorraine, about 1330. Limestone, polychromed and gilt; H. 41¾ inches. 25.120.248



the Beaux-Arts commission's actions. At the end of January 1913 Mme de Saint-Jean was notified by the Beaux-Arts that it was proposing to classify her Cuxa arcades, on which Barnard still held an option. The interdiction prevented her from releasing them during the next three-month period.

Barnard was panic-stricken. At home, recuperating from an operation, he wrote Demotte, asking him to see that Mme de Saint-Jean receive his enclosed check for full payment and to send someone to supervise the dismantling, crating, and shipping. Evidently Barnard was oblivious to the risk he would be taking with the French government. Furthermore, he had not stopped to think of the consequences for Demotte and Mme de Saint-Jean if they cooperated in his unlawful scheme to have a fence erected around the portico while it was being taken down, and then to have the pieces sent to Bordeaux or Moret for reshipment. Demotte could do no more than remit Barnard's payment to the owner and join him in hoping that the remainder of the three-month period elapsed without incident. And so it did.

Barnard, having returned to Europe on a buying trip, found it convenient to stop at Prades on April 28, the eve of the expiration date for government action. He had finished only the numbering of the stones and had partly dismantled the arcades when an unfamiliar figure appeared and surveyed the work and the nineteen packing cases that stood ready. The man identified himself as "Monsieur Sans, architecte des Monuments Historiques"; and to Barnard's chagrin, he brought a new restraining order. This alone probably would have accomplished nothing more than a delay had it not been for M. Sans's ability to rally support for his cause. The public outcry soon caught the attention of newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic. French were pitted

37 The wild European mallow flower was keenly observed by the skilled carver of this Gothic capital, in which principles of symmetry and alternation are respected. Barnard said that it came from a chapel at Saint-Denis, and perhaps he meant an eastern chapel, the last vestiges of which were pulled down from the celebrated abbey church in 1890. A similar example is in the Musée de Cluny in Paris. French (Ile-de-France), about 1270-1300. Limestone, H. 14½ inches. 25.120.533





38 The elegant drapery folds, pitched knees, and sweet smile of the Virgin holding the Child are characteristic of the decorative Gothic style that dominated French art during the 14th century. Barnard bought the piece in Saint-Denis, from whose abbey church it is said to have been removed in 1848. Ile-de-France, about 1320-1340. Wood,

polychromed and gilt; H. 48 inches.
25.120.290

39 The Pietà theme gained widespread popularity in the wake of religious mysticism that swept Europe during the 14th century. Here, emotional intensity is heightened by the oddly proportioned and tortured body of Christ, while realism is

expressed in the Virgin's face and naturally falling drapery. Barnard acquired this group from a collector at Tarbes who told him that the provenance was the mountains of Spain. Northern French or Netherlandish, about 1430. Alabaster, H. 13 inches. (Christ's legs and left shoulder are modern restorations.) 25.120.238





40 Perhaps painted for a tomb niche, this Florentine Gothic *Man of Sorrows* combines iconographic motifs of the Resurrection and Christ Showing His Wounds. It reportedly came from a monastery chapel razed during street construction in Florence and is by the same master credited with the Sant' Antonio del Tau frescoes, in Pistoia, that Barnard unsuccessfully tried to acquire. Niccolo di Tommaso (active 1343-1372), Italian. About 1365. Fresco, transferred to canvas; H. 65 inches. 25.120.241

41 Lingered Romanesque traits are evident in the small capital that Barnard purchased shortly after it was excavated north of Prades. The Adoration of the Magi carved on the early 13th-century trumeau capital of the doorway to the cloister of Tarragona Cathedral probably served as the prototype for this one, which was later hollowed out and reused as a holy-water basin. Southern French or Spanish (Catalonia), first quarter of the 13th century. Gray marble, H. 9 7/8 inches. 25.120.267

against French as the mayor of Prades took Barnard's side and assured him the Cuxa prize was his, while the Prades townspeople also stood by him. But the balance of public opinion was against Barnard. He felt he was being treated as a mere destroyer of France's heritage and protested, "the papers, amateurs & parliament are against their own people exchanging works of art for our money." He failed to impress M. Sans with his argument that his interest in the Cuxa remains was to supply models for young American sculptors. His last resort was a direct confrontation with the Beaux-Arts under-secretary. The meeting must have convinced Barnard not to argue any further; for abruptly, and in his uniquely flippant manner, he announced his decision to make the disputed part of the cloister a gift to the people of France. Thus today Mme de Saint-Jean's ten arches and twelve columns are re-erected on their original site at Cuxa.

At least as early as 1910 Barnard had expanded his operations to include Italy, where he probably first went antique hunting when he visited the quarries at Carrara. Within a short time he was familiar with dealers in Florence, Perugia, and other towns and was negotiating for the frescoes in the conventual church of Sant' Antonio del Tau, at Pistoia, then privately owned. Some of the Italian Renaissance terra-cotta sculptures and decorative items he bought in Italy eventually furnished his house next to his Cloisters and were never incorporated with his French material. But no doubt dating from this period, in the few years prior to World War I, were two transactions relevant to his "Gothic collection." Both involved large polychromed wood sculptures, one of which, a standing Bishop Saint, even today may be called the finest Italian Gothic sculpture in this medium in America (Figure 42).

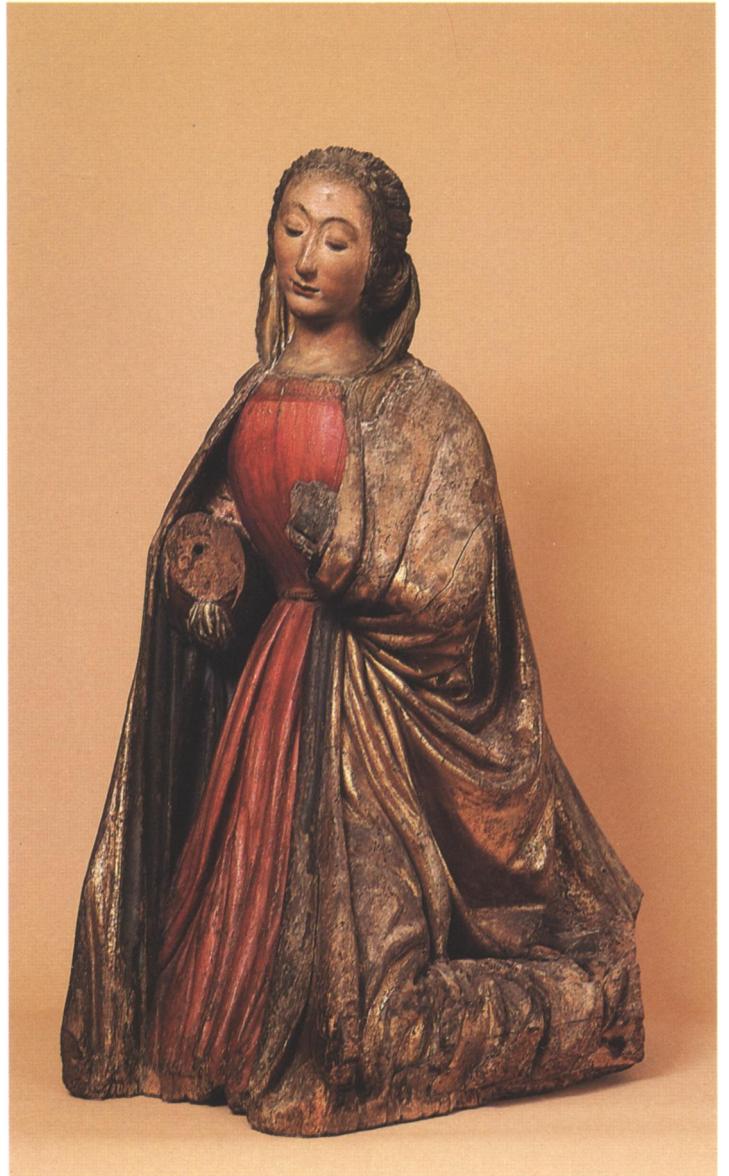
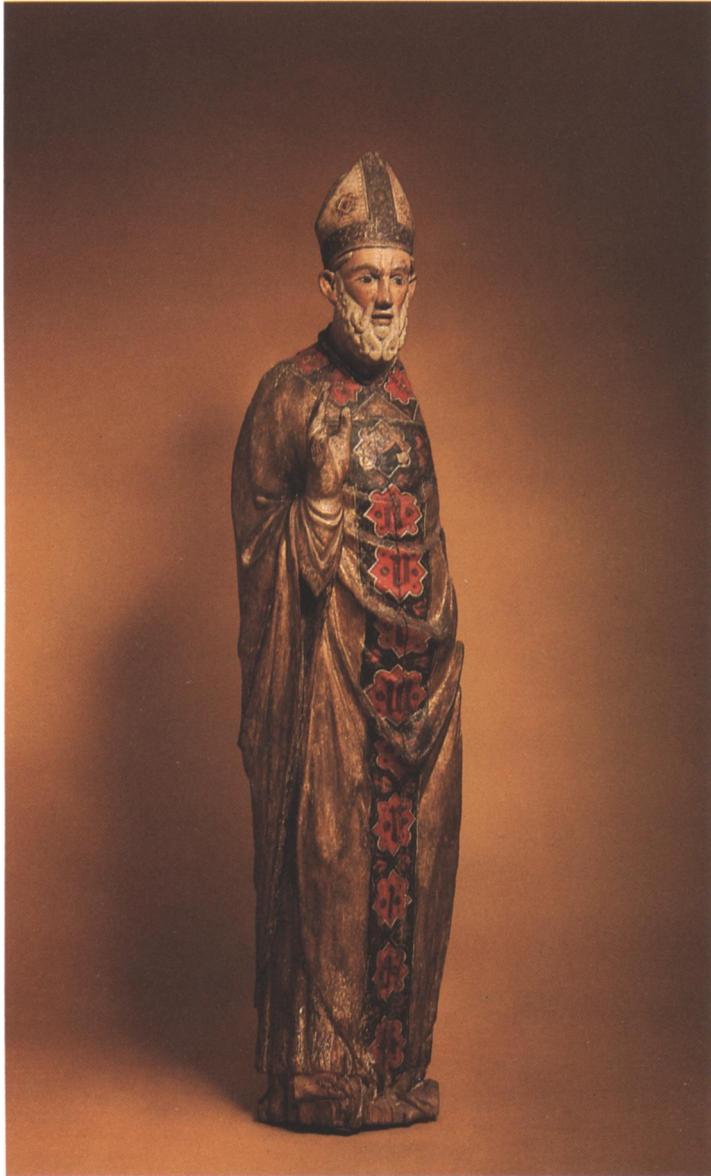
Thus it was also as an Italian art expert that Barnard went to Europe in

the spring of 1913 with Robert Sterling and Stephen C. Clark, sons of his late patron. The Clarks had engaged him to act as their agent, and they wasted no time in spending 20,000 dollars at Demotte's. Before the group left Paris they had passed the 60,000-dollar mark. Barnard guided his traveling companions toward purchases in Florence, and also bought objects for resale and for his own collection; near the end of the more than five-week trip he calculated that he would make enough to pay off a large note and build a studio and house on his new property. When he parted with the Clarks, "sick of antiques," he headed for southern France. Near Prades, he probably acquired a small Romanesque capital with the Adoration of the Magi (Figure 41), which had been reused as a holy-water basin and was found buried near some railroad tracks. And then at Prades he walked into the unexpected fray over the Cuxa arcades. Following this he returned to New York, and in June announced his plans to build a "cloister museum." He cited as his source of revenue for construction the sale of a fifteenth-century equestrian statue from the Château de Joinville.

Although the Prades affair ended in praise for Barnard, the implications of what could have happened stirred the French Senate. During discussions aimed at finding ways to strengthen the existing laws covering classification and preservation of monuments, Barnard was advised late in November to take all that he had stored in France while he still could. He cabled immediately, ordering that everything be shipped to New York. By terms of the law passed on December 31, 1913, much of what he held would have had to remain in France. The first 116 cases containing not only the Barnard collection, but also objects the Clark brothers had purchased, left Paris two days before the law was promulgated.

Barnard had signed contracts for





42 The simple volumes of this standing Bishop Saint, probably Nicholas of Bari, are enlivened by painted decorations, including medallions that spell out ave maria. This and a similar, more complete, bishop in the Bargello in Florence, rank among the finest surviving Gothic wood sculptures of Italy. Originally from the parish church of Monticchio, near Aquila, it was bought by Barnard at Assisi, 14th century. Poplar, polychromed and gilt; H. 73½ inches. 25.120.218

43 Although the sculptor of this kneeling Virgin was schooled in late Gothic carving

techniques, the rounded face and voluminous draperies show his response to Renaissance influences. The sculpture is from a large presepio (Nativity group). Barnard evidently bought it from the Florentine dealer G. Moretti on his trip to Italy with Stephen C. and Robert Sterling Clark in 1913. Attributed to Paolo Aquilino, Italian (Abruzzi). About 1480. Willow, polychromed and gilt; H. 46 inches. 25.120.217

44 The painter of this late Gothic Adoration of the Shepherds faced seemingly unsurmountable problems when creating believ-

able space for his narrative, which takes place simultaneously with the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Although the roof is in naïve perspective, projecting it forward was a daring idea for the time. The Byzantine tradition of representing the Adoration in a cave is combined with the Western iconography of a man-made structure. Bartolo di Fredi (about 1330-1410), Italian (Siena). About 1360-1365. Tempera on wood, H. 69⅞ inches. 25.210.288



45 The Cistercian abbey of Bonnefont-en-Comminges, located southwest of Toulouse in southern France, was founded in 1136 and soon came under the patronage of the counts of Comminges, who used it as their burial place until the mid-14th century. Its cloister, constructed in four galleries, appears to have been begun in the late 13th century and completed toward the middle of the 14th century. Still standing in 1807, it was plundered by inhabitants of the region and by 1813 had completely disappeared. Two intersecting arcades have been reconstructed at The Cloisters to show off the capitals, some fifty of which were salvaged by Barnard. Capitals: 25.120.741,

747, 746, 755, 766, 740, 735, 754
46 Successive late 13th- and early 14th-century Gothic styles of Toulouse—namely, those of the monastery of the Jacobins, completed in 1310, and of the convent of the Augustinians, built between 1310 and 1341—were followed by the carvers of Bonnefont's capitals, which offer natural plant forms transmuted by strict stylistic principles. Such a capital as this, carved with curled ornaments over trefoils, shows an aesthetic quite different from that espoused in the naturalistic 13th-century example in Figure 37. First half of the 14th-century. Grayish white marble, H. 15½ inches. 25.120.761

construction on his Fort Washington Avenue property the preceding September. By Christmas the studio was finished. The shell for his museum, to be dubbed a "thesaurus of the Gothic art and culture," was almost completed when the collection arrived early in January. Chaos broke out when the cases were unpacked and workers began to sort the contents. It seemed as though it might take several years to incorporate the architectural ensembles and place other objects.

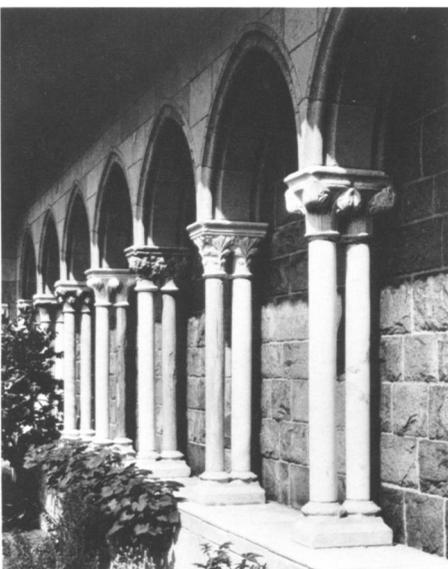
The German declaration of war against France and the invasion of Belgium the following August caused Barnard much heartache. Within months letters from the destitute families of French sculptor friends and former assistants at Moret began to arrive, and he felt compelled to open his Cloisters prematurely and charge admission to help relieve their miseries. Later, upon the dedication of his property's grounds to "the dead soldiers of France," the admission proceeds would go to the widows and orphans of those *poilus*. On Armistice Night 1918 Barnard received the inspiration for the work he would pursue for the rest of his life: the National Peace Memorial, an architectural and sculptural complex dedicated to peace and incorporating seven symbolic gardens and a War Memorial Arch—later called the Rainbow Arch (when mosaic was included in the design).

Barnard, acting in his usual exalted manner, did not stop with this project, which was already too ambitious for one man to realize in a lifetime. He had hopes that his Cloisters, already christened by one Frenchman "the greatest monument to France outside France," would somehow supplement his National Peace Memorial. Besides, 125,000 dollars' worth of land was available in that area, and Barnard saw in it the possibility of erecting a series of monuments that would sum up the architectural achievements

of the world. He approached several nations for gifts that would represent their art and culture, and by 1922 he had received an overwhelming response. Japan seemed willing to relinquish "one of her most beautiful temples." China is said to have promised a tenth-century temple, and Persia would bestow a thirteenth-century example of her religious architecture. Furthermore, the Egyptian government volunteered "adequate assistance" in rescuing parts of the Temple of Philae from the Nile floods and in bringing them to this country, a gesture that preceded by nearly fifty years the gift of the Temple of Dendur.

Barnard was forced to put the Cloisters up for sale. Not only was the City planning a street that would put a heavy tax assessment on Barnard's property, but he needed funds for the National Peace Memorial. He was also working on a plan that might keep his collection in New York. He purportedly had talked the owners of the neighboring land into offering it for 50,000 dollars subject to its use for the Peace Memorial. Barnard hoped that the package—the Cloisters and the land—would prove so attractive that the City would buy it.

Barnard's earlier experience in offering Cuxa Cloister to the Metropolitan had taught him not to be left without an alternative: While he was promoting the Washington Heights scheme, he was also entertaining proposals for setting up the Cloisters in Chicago, San Francisco, or Los Angeles. The proposition from Los Angeles, where a gigantic project was under way, posed an immediate threat to the collection's remaining in New York. Thirty-five million dollars, of which 15 million was already in hand, was to be spent in beautifying Palos Verdes, a fourteen-mile stretch along the Pacific Coast near Los Angeles. The tract was to be developed as an "Athens of America," where wide boulevards would speed access to museums, art schools, stadiums,





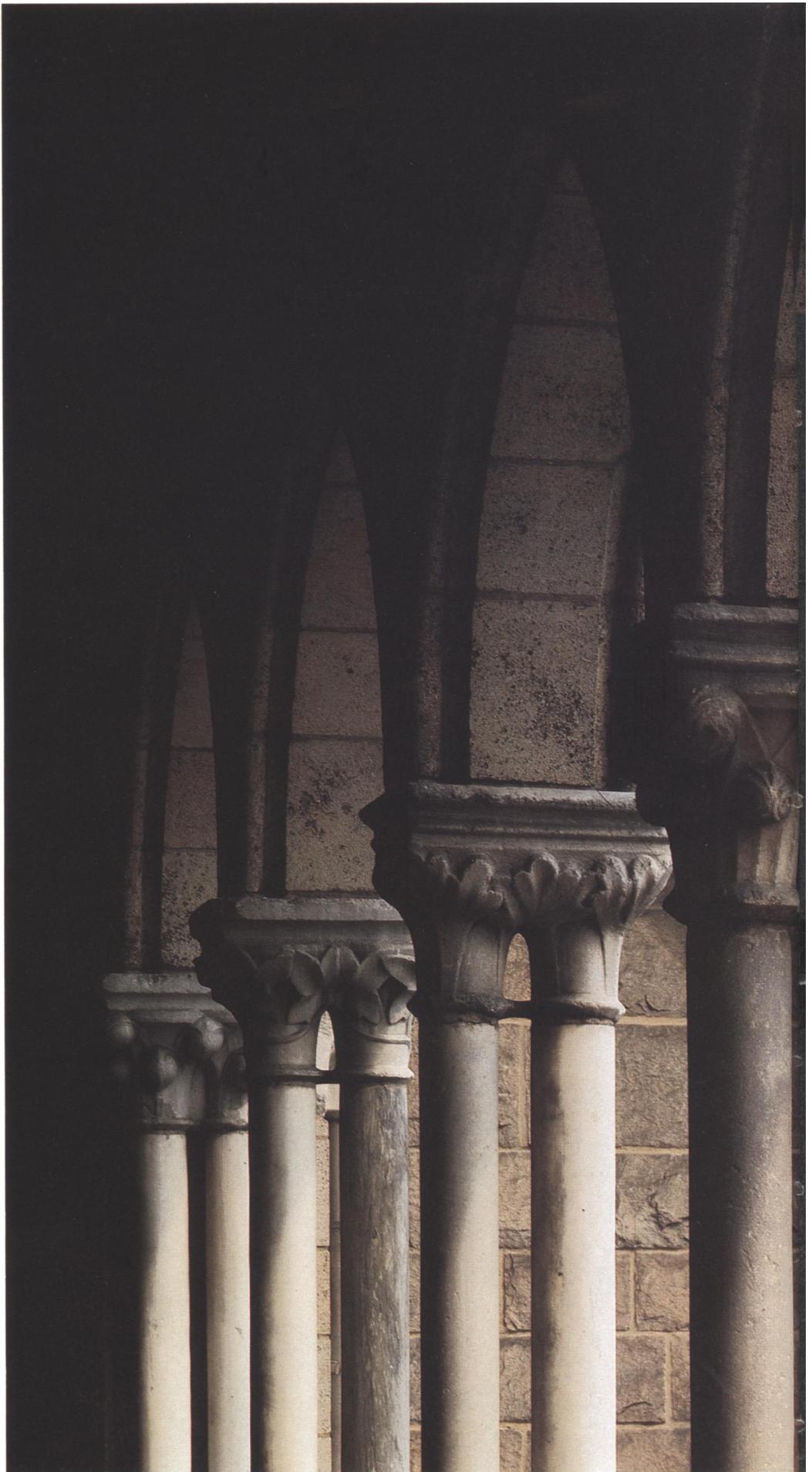
47 Some of the best capitals from Bonnefont bound the south side of a garden of herbs and flowers at The Cloisters. At the far end are capitals with, respectively, "fiddle-heads" of ferns forming bosses at the corners, and with leaves and seeds of bryony, followed by a capital with a large triple leaf enfolding each corner, then the capital in Figure 46 and another with curled leaf forms under the corners of the abacus. The material for the Bonnefont Cloister was the grayish white marble from quarries at nearby Saint-Béat. Capitals: 25.120.741, 748, 736, 761, 535

and "other features of an ideally beautiful city." Barnard was engaged to advise the planning commission, and his Cloisters was to be one of the main attractions. The sculptor's offering price for the collection was one million dollars. Demotte was one of the two dealers he asked to appraise it, and Demotte surmised that Barnard's Cuxa, Saint-Guilhem, Bonnefont, and Trie-Larreule remains alone were worth at least this.

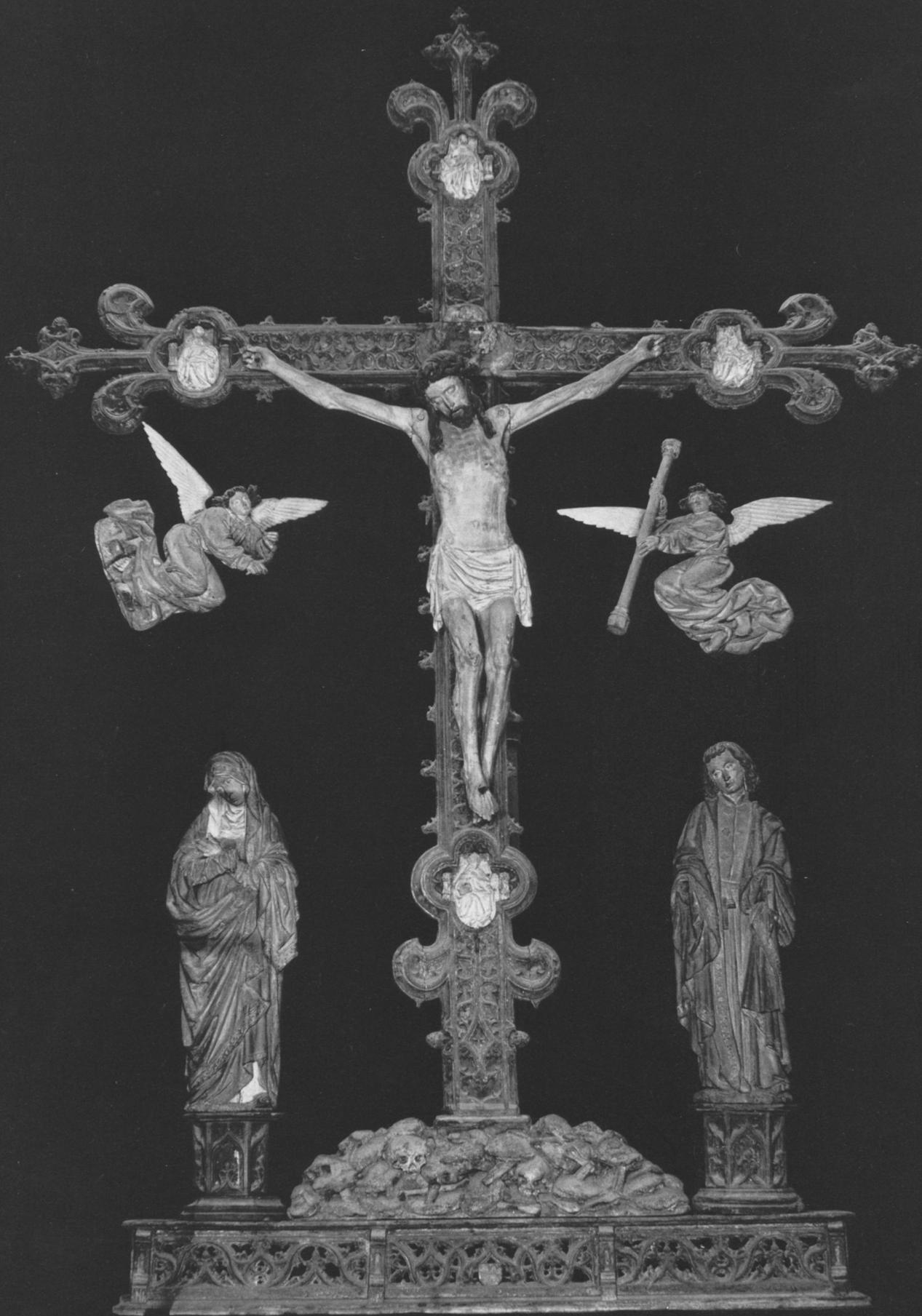
There seemed no doubt but that the Palos Verdes commission would raise the funds for Barnard's Cloisters by the middle of July 1922, when its option expired. Meanwhile, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., entered the picture. He had been acquainted with Barnard for years and, in 1915, had bought Barnard's marble, The Hower. He not only commissioned a companion piece for it, but in 1922 added the figures Adam and Eve to the sculpture on his family's estate at Pocantico Hills, New York. Rockefeller decided to buy Barnard's Cloisters; and after lengthy negotiations, he persuaded Barnard with a cash offer of 600,000 dollars. Rockefeller's purchase, announced on June 13, 1925, was a gift to The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Barnard's 1906 suggestion that the Metropolitan acquire a medieval architectural ensemble as a background for exhibiting "Gothic" works of art had come full swing through Rockefeller's generosity. The only difference was that the Barnard Cloisters was miles north of the main building. The Metropolitan justified a branch institution, a new idea in museum administration in this country, by citing an English precedent. Since 1872 the Bethnal Green Museum in London, where the Wallace Collection was first exhibited, had existed as an adjunct to the Victoria and Albert.

Cataloguing Barnard's holdings was an enormous undertaking for Joseph Breck, the Curator, and his staff. Surprisingly few forgeries were discovered among the hundreds of pieces







48 A Flemish rood cross with a life-size corpus of Christ was the greatest reward of Barnard's 1925 summer trip to Europe. Among related examples in museums, only the Louvre's Crucifixion from Nivelles matched the quality of Barnard's from the Abbey of Oignies, and his was earlier and more complete. Suspended from the arms are angels bearing symbols of the Passion. The Virgin and Saint John ("Mary and Joseph" to Barnard), here correctly placed, had been transposed when Barnard ac-

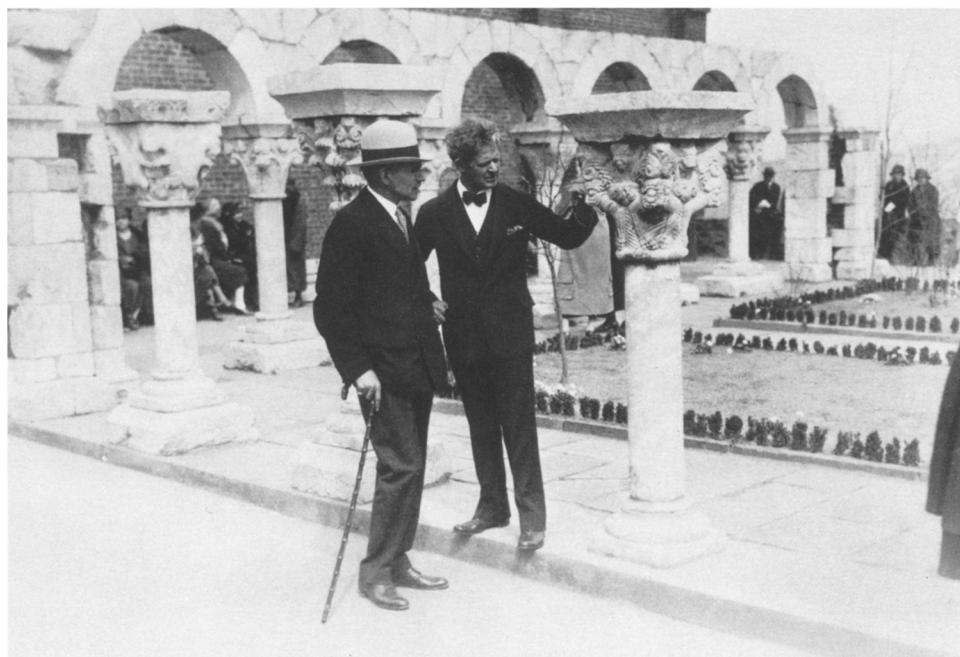
quired the piece; but the error eluded him (see Figure 64). South Netherlandish, about 1460. Oak, polychromed; H. 14 feet. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 45.25.86

49 George Grey Barnard examines one of the capitals from Cuxa Cloister with Joseph Breck, the Museum's Assistant Director and first curator of The Cloisters, in this photograph taken at the old Cloisters during the members' opening on May 3, 1926. In the background is the Cuxa arcade set up by Barnard prior to World War I (Figure 19)

of sculpture, for Barnard's eye was usually quick to distinguish medieval tooling from modern. The Museum had not fared quite so well in other categories. The most prominently displayed "medieval" stained glass in Barnard's Cloisters was nineteenth-century, and much of the rest of his stained glass was either over-restored or too late in date. Most often his connoisseurship had failed him in metalwork and enamels, today still the most treacherous area for amateurs; nevertheless, the best of his liturgical objects formed the start of a treasury at the new Cloisters.

No sooner had Barnard signed the contract conveying his medieval properties to the Metropolitan than he departed again for France—this time with Robert W. de Forest, the Museum's President, whom Barnard had persuaded to let him act as an unofficial curator of "Gothic" art. He would show the Metropolitan, and the world, how well he could perform in supplying hidden treasures from France.

Barnard was successful in tapping private sources that he had contacted before the war, and he emerged from the experience with a feeling of pride and the notion that he had de Forest in his pocket. Arriving in New York on September 8, he boasted to the press that he was bringing home "the richest examples of pure Gothic architecture that the world knows." For the moment he spoke only of twelve early Christian spiral columns and capitals acquired in central France, and of sixteen extraordinary Romanesque capitals. (But, in fact, he had also taken an option on the Romanesque cloister from the monastery of Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines.) The most spectacular object he procured was a large oak late Gothic rood cross, from southern Belgium, that allegedly had been reserved for him since 1914, when monks from the Abbey of Oignies had spared it from possible destruction by German soldiers. According to Barnard, the monks smuggled it across the border into France in a hay



The New York Times

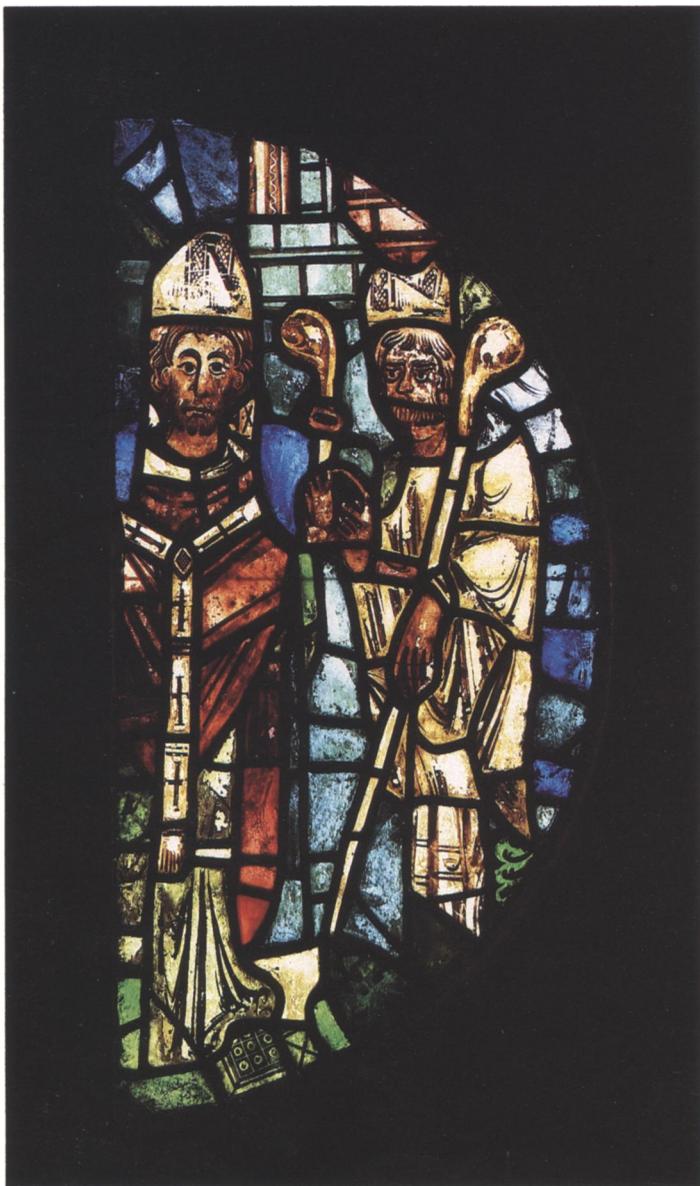
50 Later and by a lesser artist than the fragment at the right, this portion of a Poitiers Cathedral roundel was formerly joined to the other half and leaded into a south window of Barnard's Cloisters (Figure 3, upper right). It is evidently from a chapel dedicated to Saint Martial and represents Pope Fabian sending the missionary to Christianize Gaul. French, about 1200. Pot metal, W. 15½ inches. 25.120.394b

51 The early Gothic glazing of Poitiers Cathedral is the source for this fragment of

a stained-glass roundel. The sole surviving piece from a window representing the story of Noah, it shows God (as Christ) closing the door to Noah's Ark. Its masterful design betokens an artisan who was in the vanguard of his profession. French, late 12th century. Pot metal, H. 30 inches. 25.120.394a

52 The only metalwork objects of more than routine interest in Barnard's collection were the crozier head, corpus of Christ (from an altar or processional cross), and Virgin and Child reliquary shown here, all in the copper-

gilt and champlevé enamel medium favored by the medieval workshops of Limoges. A rare technique, permitting multicolored enamel patterns within each gouged-out area of the copper, distinguishes the crozier head, which has an à jour basilisk on the knob and a man riding a dragon in the volute. (The grip is from a different crozier.) French, 13th century. Crozier head: H. 12 inches; 25.120.443. Corpus: H. 8¾ inches; 25.120.441. Reliquary: H. 10¾ inches; 25.120.435





53 In 1927 the Museum completed an installation of Cuxa at the old Cloisters using the material collected by Barnard. Marble for the coursework was brought from the quarries between Ria and Villefranche that had remained active ever since they supplied Cuxa during the 12th century. By 1927 the Museum had acquired from Barnard the nearly contemporaneous Roussillon marble fountain from Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines, seen here in the cloister garth. Fountain: Roussillon, 13th century. H. 58 inches. Pur-



wagon and, having secreted it there, cabled him of its whereabouts. President de Forest presently announced that this Crucifixion group (Figure 48) and the capitals were destined for The Cloisters.

At the end of January 1926 the prizes of Barnard's summer travels were still in his hands. Barnard, as usual so caught up in his own enthusiasm that he easily lost sight of museum practicalities, apparently once again had counted too heavily on one man's word. Ultimately, only the Saint-Genis fountain, of mottled light red and gray-white Roussillon marble, ever entered The Cloisters Collection. Even then, Barnard contributed nearly one-third of the purchase price so that this fountain, from a locality within a few miles of Cuxa, could be acquired and placed in the center of Cuxa Cloister. (Almost two years later he would exercise his option on Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines and sell the cloister to the Philadelphia Museum of Art.)

Meanwhile, a reinstatement of objects supervised by Breck, now Assistant Director of the Museum, was under way at The Cloisters. It had been boarded up and the Cuxa stones boxed in for winter. As soon as weather permitted, several capitals from Cuxa Cloister were set on temporary columns, to complement one short side already set up by Barnard, in preparation for the spring opening of what was now The Cloisters of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (For a long time Barnard would call it "The George Grey Barnard Museum of Gothic Art.")

It was a sunny day, May 3, 1926, when The Cloisters staged a Museum members' celebration christening the Metropolitan's branch institution. Limousines lining Fort Washington Avenue signified a welcome turnout, but none of them was Rockefeller's—he was out of town. However, Barnard was present, posing opportunely for photographers in a tight-fitting

chase, 1926, Fletcher Fund and Gift of G. G. Barnard, 26.79

54 *The finest and best preserved among the forty-two Gothic sculptures donated by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to The Cloisters in 1926 is this Bishop Saint (Augustine or Ignatius of Antioch). Like many Barnard pieces, it claims a precise provenance, the parish church at Nuits-sous-Ravières, French (Burgundy or under Burgundian influence), 3rd quarter of the 15th century. Limestone, polychromed and gilt; H. 33¾*

inches. 26.63.6

55 *Within two years of the reopening of the old Cloisters by the Metropolitan, a major purchase, the tomb of Count Armengol VII, was made with Rockefeller funds. Altering part of one wall within the brick building permitted showing the tomb in its proper context, beneath a Gothic arch. Spanish (Catalonia), from the monastery of Santa María de Bellpuig de Las Avellanes, 1299-1314. Limestone, W. (of sarcophagus): 6 feet 7½ inches. 28.95*

velvet jacket and a bow tie, before the objects he had secured for New York (Figure 49). His satisfaction, though not complete, was easily elicited by reporters as he reminisced about his days of discovery.

The Cloisters was a great success. Within a year of the opening—and this despite the building's closing during a bitterly cold February and March of 1927—the attendance reached 54,423. The figure is all the more impressive considering that no bus came to the door, and that it was a fifteen-minute walk uphill from the then nearest subway station at 181st Street and St. Nicholas Avenue.

In September following the opening a recreation of Cuxa Cloister was begun. This had been planned by Barnard before the outbreak of war in 1914 prompted him to open his Cloisters. Based on the one side already constructed, on the evidence of the stones here and in France, and on records of the cloister before it was pulled down, the reconstruction used the original parapets, bases, shafts, capitals, abaci, and arches collected by Barnard. There were sufficient capitals to fill out the missing three sides. Fortunately, the huge quarries near Cuxa, the same ones that had supplied the original stone, offered the Roussillon marble for the lacking non-decorative parts of the arcades.

During construction Barnard was constantly at work in his studio adjacent to The Cloisters; but all the while he was bursting with curiosity. He wrote Breck that he had seen a nice piece of "Cuxa" marble lying off to the side of the site and wondered whether he might have it. Breck did not oblige him.

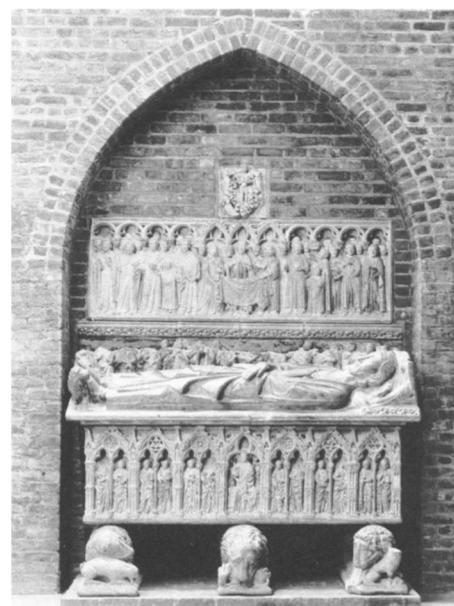
Rockefeller continued to keep his hand in the project and donated forty-two Gothic sculptures, which he had collected privately, about the time work began on Cuxa Cloister. Most of these were ingeniously incorporated into the installations. Barnard had a chance to satisfy himself that all was

in keeping with his original scheme at a formal opening of the grounds on June 13, 1927, a short time before he was to sail to France.

Barnard was on his way to Paris to address the Institut de France, of which he was a member and which was holding hearings on "Elginism," the removal of a nation's artistic heritage to other parts of the world. The French press opposed the French law that allowed the export of private property except where the State chose to pay the owner indemnity and assume the cost of maintenance. Traffic of the sort Barnard had been engaged in for nearly a generation was under attack, with references made to the ensembles at The Cloisters. In the course of Senate debates one member recommended that the French adopt a law as stringent as that of Italy, where export of art work was forbidden without government consent. Barnard succeeded in putting at rest widespread notions that Gothic objects from France adorned the estates of American millionaires in Long Island, Newport, and Palm Beach. He claimed that had he not saved from France what he did when he did, it would have suffered neglect and gone to ruin.

Barnard's mission of cultural ambassadorship was the best the American art world could have hoped for at the time. Obviously impressed by his defense and by his efforts in salvaging countless ignored monuments of France, his French colleagues would award him the Chevalier of the Legion of Honor at the end of the next year.

During the remainder of the summer Barnard was content with his rewards from combing rubble in the French countryside; when he arrived in New York at the end of September, Barnard told reporters he was bringing back several twelfth- and thirteenth-century pieces. Added to the objects he already had, including those that the Metropolitan had not purchased after the summer of 1925,





56 This sculpted niche was once the center of a small late Gothic altarpiece, which had painted wings that are now missing. The iconography of the Holy Kinship centers around Saint Anne, who is seated on a bench opposite her daughter, Mary, and the Christ Child. Lively groups of her forebears, close relatives, and descendants fill out the composition, which became popular during the 1490s. Flemish (Antwerp), about 1500. Wood, polychromed and gilt; H. 44½ inches. 25.120.210

57 The elongated proportions and mannered drapery folds of Saint Roch in pilgrim's garb bespeak the influence of early 16th-century Flemish style. With Saint Roch, a plague victim, is the dog that brought him bread and licked his wounds every day he spent in the wilderness. Barnard was told at the time of purchase that the sculpture came from Cherbourg Cathedral. French (Normandy), about 1530. Oak, polychromed and gilt; H. 61½ inches. 25.120.239

these new acquisitions formed a collection that was beginning to rival the original Cloisters. By 1929 Barnard owned thirty-five Romanesque and Gothic capitals. At the end of 1931 he could count approximately 600 cases of art in storage; and amongst them were some of the finest objects he ever bought.

Barnard boldly announced to the press in June 1929 his proposal for selling this second collection to the Metropolitan for a new wing at The Cloisters, an idea that may have precipitated his giving his studio to the Museum two weeks before. But the Director, Edward Robinson, and his curators were not interested in another large collection; rather, they were bent on making significant single additions that would complement the existing assemblage. They could point to a praiseworthy acquisition of this kind, the early fourteenth-century Catalan tomb of Armengol VII, which The Cloisters had obtained in 1928 from Demotte through a gift from Rockefeller (Figure 55). Barnard alerted the Metropolitan that art lovers in Texas were considering acquiring the whole of his collection for a museum but that he would defer taking any action for a year. Actually the Philadelphia Museum of Art was also attempting to raise funds for its purchase, and an even nearer possibility that E. S. Harkness would buy it for Yale University was never disclosed publicly.

Barnard's move to a workshop behind his former studio coincided with his completion of four large plaster models for the War Memorial Arch. The arch was now to be the focal point of a vast complex including contributions by many other sculptors, and as an ensemble he liked to refer to as "an intellectual Coney Island." To turn his dream into a reality, Barnard was counting heavily on Rockefeller, whom he said had tentatively promised him a site on Washington Heights.

But Rockefeller was developing other ideas. When he purchased Barnard's collection for the Museum, he anticipated that it might someday be moved to a new home. The Cloisters had been rapidly encroached upon by apartments since it opened under the aegis of the Metropolitan, though the Museum's purchase of land south of it in 1928 had enlarged the grounds. By now Rockefeller owned all the land on the promontory north of The Cloisters, having bought the Billings estate in 1917 and added parcels until his holdings totaled fifty-six acres. In June 1930 Rockefeller offered the entire tract overlooking the Hudson River as a gift to the City of New York for a park, reserving four acres as a site for a new Cloisters. When, early the following year, the gift was approved with the proviso that any construction and landscaping would be at Rockefeller's expense, Barnard's hopes for a Peace Memorial site there were dashed.

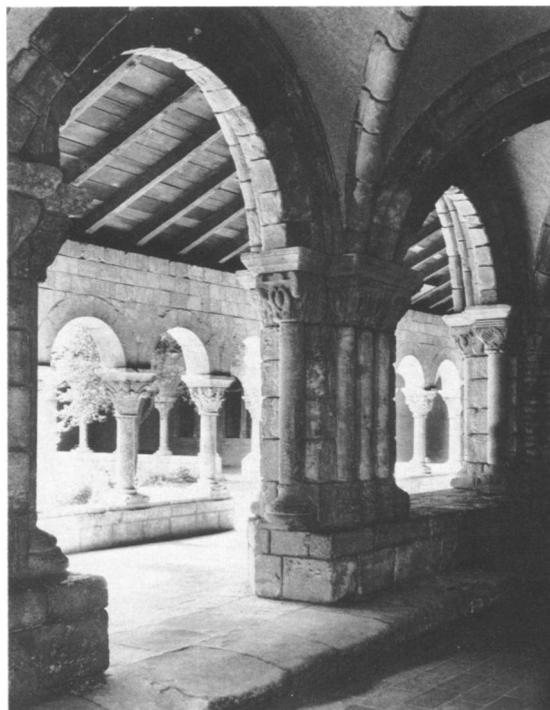
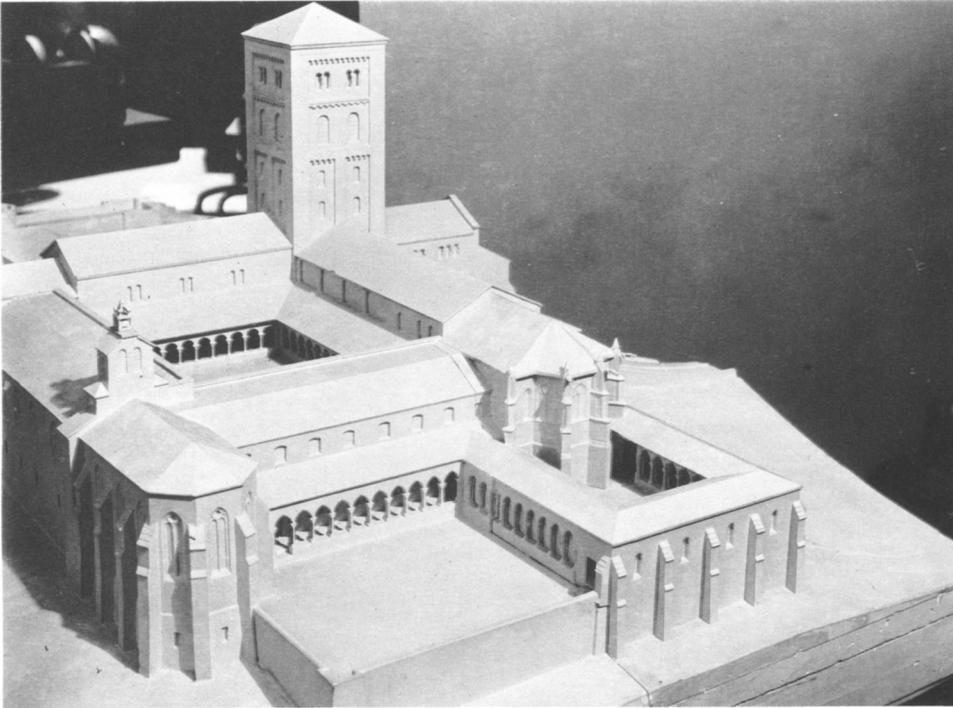
The new Cloisters was to be nestled in the heart of the area Barnard called "God's Thumb," which he compared in beauty and in commanding view to the Athenian acropolis. To safeguard its lasting beauty, Rockefeller bought a strip of the Palisades along the opposite side of the Hudson and gave it to the State of New Jersey for a park.

Attention now could be devoted to the type of building that was required. The earliest plans were the antithesis of both Barnard's unpretentious arrangement and the carefully designed structure that now crowns the highest point in Fort Tryon Park. The architects attempted to sell Rockefeller a monstrous edifice, a multimillion-dollar eyesore: they visualized a full-scale replica of Kenilworth, the castle in England that encompassed every architectural style from Norman to Tudor. Rockefeller was too sympathetic to the Museum's needs to be dazzled by a monument to himself in university-campus Gothic, and he



58 Plans for The Cloisters, as of summer 1936, are reflected in this architect's model. Cuxa Cloister was to surround the large open area in the center; while the tower, designed after one still standing at Cuxa, would be entirely modern. The form projecting into Trie Cloister on the southeast (near right) corner represents the Chapel of Saint Hubert from Chauvirey-le-Châtel (Figure 60)

59 The chapter house of the former abbey of Notre-Dame-de-Pontaut (in the foreground), acquired by Curator James J. Rorimer for The Cloisters in 1934, gives access to Cuxa Cloister in the new building. This arrangement preserves the relationship of chapter house to cloister in the classic Cistercian monastic plan. French (Gascony), about 1150. Limestone and brick. 35.50



recognized what an anachronism an English prototype would be for a collection of architectural elements gathered essentially in southern France. In 1931 he engaged Charles Collens of the Boston firm Allen, Collens and Willis to collaborate with Breck and other Museum staff members in drawing up new plans for The Cloisters. Collens traveled to France to study medieval architecture, especially in the regions where Barnard had found the various cloisters that would be incorporated into the new building.

In 1933, in the midst of planning, Breck died suddenly. Fortunately for the Museum, James J. Rorimer, an Associate Curator of Decorative Arts who had worked closely with Breck since 1927, was on hand to take over the project. Rorimer, a man of vision, possessed expert knowledge and carefully honed skills. In Rorimer the Barnard passion for collecting medieval antiquities caught fire, and the young curator moved swiftly to gather windows, doorways, corbels, and other architectural pieces from the Middle Ages to work into the new structure. The designs approved in 1934 were a monument to Rorimer's philosophy that works of art be allowed to speak for themselves within a simple architectural framework. Whatever this aesthetic owed to Barnard, Rorimer's intimate knowledge of medieval materials and techniques permitted him to far transcend Barnard's often naïve manner of installation.

Also in 1934 Rorimer acquired for The Cloisters the entire chapter house from the former abbey of Notre-Dame-de-Pontaut (Figure 59), an architectural gem of the twelfth century that could keep Barnard's Cuxa Cloister the best of company in the heart of the new ensemble. It was the first major purchase financed by the Gothic Fund established by Rockefeller. Gifts of pieces of medieval architecture, notably ones offered by Museum Trustee George Blumenthal, also

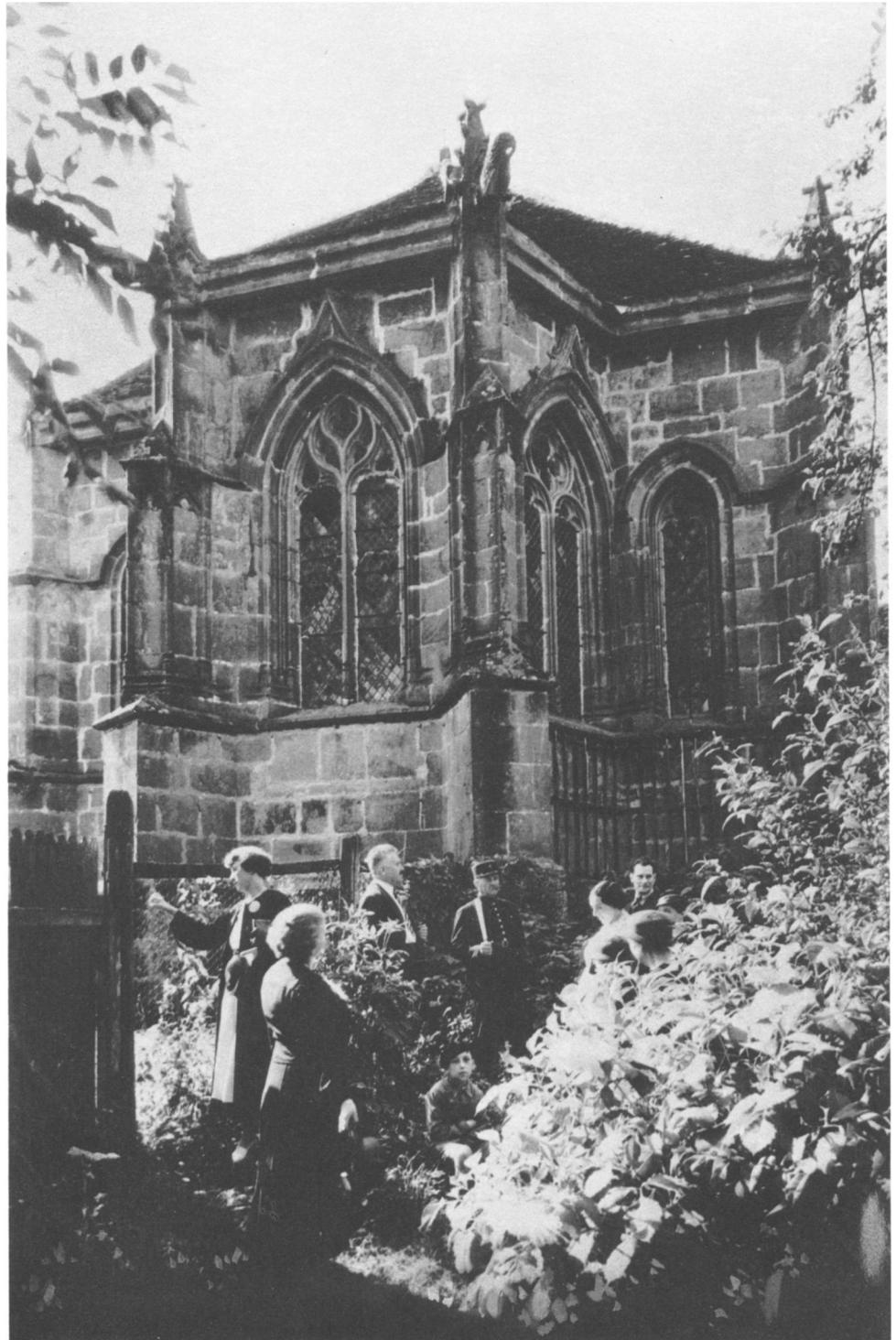
60 Villagers from Chauvirey-le-Châtel, termed "defiant" by the New York press, surrounded their Chapel of Saint Hubert overnight on November 25, 1936, to protest the plan to award it to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for his restoration work in France. Here, a gendarme stands guard amid what appears to be a peaceful group of local residents and, perhaps, curiosity seekers

complemented the Barnard finds; and the three Trie capitals (Figure 29) offered by Stephen C. Clark would join directly the Barnard material in the Trie-Larreule installation.

Construction of the new Cloisters began in 1935. One possible change in the plans kept Rorimer and other Museum officials in suspense up until the building was in its final stages. The French government decided to honor Rockefeller for his munificent funding of restoration work on war-damaged Reims Cathedral, and at Versailles and Fontainebleau, by awarding him a monument that could be assimilated into The Cloisters master plan. At the end of July 1936 the story broke: Pending an act in the French Senate and in the Chamber of Deputies, the flamboyant Gothic chapel of Saint Hubert at Chauvirey-le-Châtel would be transferred to Rockefeller.

Despite Rockefeller's and Rorimer's confidence that the chapel would leave France, the French government's plan was in trouble by the end of September. Barnard's collecting and the Elginism it represented contributed to making the Chauvirey-le-Châtel affair "the last straw" for many in France. It precipitated parliamentary debates, petitions, and protests. Even a government decision to change the outright gift to a "permanent loan" failed to quiet the demonstrations, the most defiant of which took place at Chauvirey toward the end of November 1936. French country folk, the same stock that earlier had thought Barnard crazy for paying good money for "old stones," stood guard at the chapel a whole night to prevent its falling into Rockefeller's hands. By the end of May 1937, the Chauvirey-le-Châtel plan was defunct.

After the old brick Cloisters closed its doors on the evening of February 9, 1936, Barnard stood at his living-room window listening to the muffled sound of jackhammers. The noise



61,62 A Romanesque portal (below) from either Poitou or Saintonge in France formed the main entrance to the original Cloisters (Figure 1). Set into an interior wall of the new building, it serves as a passage from the entrance hall to the Romanesque Hall. The style has been compared to that of the chapter house from the priory of Saint John at Le Bas-Nueil (Vienne), now in the Worcester Art Museum. The impost blocks of this portal (the detail is of the one on the left) are exquisitely carved with representations of fantastic creatures and birds feeding among foliage. 12th century. Limestone, H. 12 feet 22 inches. 25.120.878

63 This late Gothic stone window frame and stained-glass panel have different national origins; but they were so successfully combined by Barnard that the ensemble was preserved when the new Cloisters was built. The window, from France, has an ogival cusped arch resting on corbels carved with foliage in high relief. In the panel Saint George and the dragon are made of entirely white glass painted with grisaille and silver stain, a technique that indicates Cologne workmanship. Window frame: French, 15th century. H. 78 inches. Panel: German (Rhenish), about 1460-1470. Pot metal, W. 23¾ inches. 25.120.420,421









64 In L'Abbaye, Barnard's second museum in the edifice erected in 1913/1914, increased emphasis was placed on the "screen" dividing "nave" and "transept" through use of the rood cross (Figure 48). This view, looking northwest, shows the heavy grouping of columned capitals and statuary in the "transept." Walking west under the cross toward the entrance, the visitor confronted Romanesque capitals on thick piers. Early Christian-Byzantine twisted columns in the upper gallery seemed out of place, as did the brick replacing material removed to the new Cloisters

signaled the start of operations to remove the art. According to the terms of Barnard's agreement with the Museum when it took over his collection, the building would revert to him whenever the Museum had no further use for it. The previous April he had announced that he intended to reclaim the structure for an installation of his second collection, which he had been unsuccessful in selling.

Barnard, although failing in health, put in months of labor on the building, all the while trying to keep to his schedule of work on his Rainbow Arch. The Arch was still far from a reality, but he had shown a full-scale model of the 100-foot-tall monument to the public as early as November 1933, in an abandoned powerhouse at 216th Street. In the first week of October 1937 the public would see the other side of him as he opened the doors to his second "Gothic collection" in a realization he named *L'Abbaye*— or in local parlance, The Abbaye, or The Monastery. No, he was not competing with The Metropolitan Museum of Art, he told reporters who suspected that Barnard was preempting some of the glory of the institution taking shape on a nearby hill.

Although The Abbaye had a goodly portion of the charm that had characterized Barnard's former Cloisters, the seams in the new installation showed. Brick in the upper story compensated for the smaller amount of original material and its different dimensions, while on the lower level Romanesque capitals, often too large for the setting, did not meet the spring of arches initially designed for Saint-Guilhem columns and capitals, which had been moved to the new building. Outside stood an important part of the old Cloisters, the colossal arch on two piers from Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. The Metropolitan had found plans for placing it in a garden setting at the new Cloisters unworkable and thus had left it behind.

65 The late medieval wood carver's technique is shown to its best advantage in this small door of flamboyant Gothic design. A forged iron pull in the form of a cat is a feature that sets it apart from other late Gothic doors. One of many examples collected by Barnard, it was chosen for installation at the new Cloisters. (The framing is modern.) Spanish, late 15th or early 16th century. Walnut, with traces of gilding; H. 75½ inches. 25.120.542

Opposite: The Cloisters, completed in 1938, as seen today from the south



Less than seven months after he opened The Abbaye, Barnard was dead. He succumbed on April 24, 1938, having suffered two heart attacks on the same day. His death was untimely, but more than in the sense of his not fulfilling his Rainbow Arch; had he lived only three weeks longer, he could have shared in the festivities at The Cloisters on opening day, May 10.

The Abbaye was the site of Barnard's funeral and afterward remained closed until May 1940, when it reopened for a period of three months under the joint sponsorship of the Municipal Art Society of New York and the National Cathedral of Washington. The Cathedral and the City of Boston were then the leading contenders for the collection, and each engaged architects to design a chapel-like building to house it. (Boston proposed to build on the Fenway, near the Gardner Museum and opposite the Museum of Fine Arts.) By the spring of 1941 both projects had failed. Finally, on February 20, 1945, the Philadelphia Museum of Art announced it had acquired the majority of the pieces at The Abbaye. The residue was sold at public auction in New York the following December. Amongst the items offered was the Gothic arch from Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, which stood as abandoned and isolated as when Barnard had rescued it in France.

Acknowledgments: A valuable source of information concerning Barnard's collecting is the article by Harold E. Dickson, "The Origin of 'The Cloisters,'" *The Art Quarterly*, XXVIII (1965), pp. 253-274. Mahonri Sharp Young's, "George Grey Barnard and The Cloisters," *Apollo*, CVI (1977), pp. 332-339, has also been useful in the preparation of this publication. Documents consulted include the Barnard Papers in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Archives of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the George Grey Barnard Archives at The Cloisters

