The Retable of Don Dalmau de Mur y Cervelló from the Archbishop’s Palace at Saragossa: A Documented Work by Francí Gomar and Tomás Giner

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IN MEMORY OF HAROLD E. WETHEY

THE RETABLE AND ITS HISTORIC CONTEXT

As he rose through the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the maecenas don Dalmau de Mur y Cervelló embellished the churches he served, so that even today they rank among the monuments of Spanish Gothic art. As bishop of Gerona (1415–18), he presided over the assembly of architects gathered to provide the solution for completing the cathedral. Transferred to Tarragona (1419–31), he contracted in 1426 with the sculptor Pere Johan (active 1418–58) to carve the splendid alabaster and wood retable that still dominates Tarragona Cathedral. As archbishop of Saragossa (1431–56), he undertook the enrichment of the Seo, where, despite modifications to the building by his successors, his principal contributions—the main retable, begun by Pere Johan, and the choir stalls, by Francí and Anthon Gomar—survive.¹

In the Aragonese capital, don Dalmau also sponsored the embellishment of a chapel in the archbishop’s palace for which he ordered the handsome alabaster retable now in The Cloisters (Figure 1).² His patronage is clearly apparent, for two solemn, bearded men on the socle (Figures 2, 3) display his arms—gules, a wall with five merlons or—which are repeated in larger escutcheons flanking the arma Christi.


2. Anselmo Gascón de Gotor and Pedro Gascón de Gotor, Zaragoza artística, monumental e histórica, 2 vols. (Saragossa, 1890–91) II, pp. 47–48. Elías Tormo y Monzó, “La pintura aragonesa cuatrocentista y la retrospectiva de la exposición de Zaragoza en general,” Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones 17 (1909) p. 69, n. 5, indicates that the retable was sold first to the antique dealer señor Pares, Madrid, corner of calles del Príncipe and de Santa Ana. The retable was subsequently taken to Paris, where J. Pierpont Morgan purchased it from the gallery of MM. Trottie & Cie., 8 place Vendôme; he gave it to The Metropolitan

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on the altar frontal and in smaller ones held by angels adorning the molding beneath the narrative reliefs. Work on the chapel was under way at least from autumn of 1445, for on December 14, Juan de Leredo, a mason living in Saragossa, received 352 sueldos, 10 dineros from Simón Tirado, the archbishop’s proctor, for the work he and his crew had carried out for the entrance to the palace chapel. On February 11, 1446, Simón Tirado contracted with Hamet el Cavero, a Moorish potter in Teruel, and Hamet el Hali, a smith in Saragossa, to provide 4,000 tiles, richly glazed with green lazú and black foliage against a white ground, and 250 simpler tiles, banded in green, black, and white. Work in the palace was continuing nearly a decade later, for in his testament of March 5, 1454, don Dalmau bequeathed houses in the plaza de la Diputación to provide funds for its completion.

Although the alabaster retable from the archbishop’s palace follows the ornament of the Chapel of the Corporals at Daroca and the main retable of the Seo of Saragossa as the third major sculptural monument of the fifteenth century in Aragon, scholars have paid it only modest attention. This may be, in part, because they have been prejudiced by the important role of Pere Johan in don Dalmau’s earlier commissions. Emile Bertaux, for example, wrote of the reliefs that “they have been carved, not by Pere Johan himself, but by sculptors who were working under his direction, happily imitating his nervous realism.” Strongly disagreeing with Bertaux, however, Agustín Durán Sanpere noted: “But no matter how realistic and nervous the technique, as Bertaux wants to assume, it cannot be compared to that of Pere Johan unless it is to make their respective differences more obvious”; he concluded by attributing the retablo to an unknown artist. James J. Rorimer encapsulated these opposing views, saying that Durán Sanpere “does not accept the usual attribution of our retablo to Pere Johan, and quibbles with Bertaux’s attribution to a follower of Pere Johan.” However, Rorimer’s dismissal of Durán Sanpere’s sensitive observations as mere

Museum of Art in 1909 (91.146). The acquisition was announced by Joseph Breck, “A Sculptured Altarpiece of the Fifteenth Century,” MMAB 5 (1910) pp. 104–118. See also J. Breck, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Catalogue of Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance Sculpture (New York, 1913) pp. 98–100. The two armorial figures on the socle were purchased out of the Rogers Fund in 1914 (14.101.1.5), and the fragment of the St. Paul from the scene of St. Thecla’s conversion was given by Emile Pares in 1916 (16.79). See W. M. Milliken, “Another Addition to the Spanish Altarpiece,” MMAB 11 (1916) p. 135. The component pieces of the retablo were transferred to The Cloisters in 1946 and given their present installation in 1947.

3. Saragossa, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Juan de Pitillas, Protocolo, 1445, fol. 44v of section beginning Oct. 25. “Die xiii diciembre anno predicto, Cesareauguste. Eadem die que yo Johan de leredo, piedad piquero habitant en la ciudad de Çaraçoça, etc., atorgo hauer hauerto e contantes en poder mio recibido de vos Simon tirado, procurador e factor del senyor arcebispe de Çaraçoça, Trezientos quintanta e dos sueldos e diez dineros Jaquesos por razón de ciento e hun jornales que yo e mis menestrales hauemos trabajado e vacado en picar e sacar las piedras de la esbag de la puerta de la capilla de la casa del ditio senyor de los quales jornales me haues pagado los sialanta jornales a razón de tres sueldos e huyo por jornal e los dizehuyto a Tres sueldos e quarto por jornal, los Vint e Tres jornals a razón de Tres sueldos e dos dineros. Testes, pedro de altarriba, notario, e manuel bou, habitantes en Çaraçoça.” Hereafter cited as AHP.


5. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, “Documentos relativos a la pin-

2. Detail of Figure 1: arms bearer at left

3. Detail of Figure 1: arms bearer at right
quibbling disregards the stylistic qualities of the retable and misses, therefore, its historical significance in the evolution of Gothic sculpture in Aragon. With his suggestion that perhaps a French or Burgundian artist carved the retable, Juan Ainaud de Lasarte has affirmed the presence of a new stylistic current and cleared the way for a fresh examination of the problem.9

Archbishop Mur’s retable shares similarities with the organization of the socles and predellas of the main retables at Tarragona and Saragossa. The armorial figures, foliate moldings, and narratives crowned by elegant canopies adhere to a general design that had previously proved successful. Nevertheless, even in the architectural features, the artist who designed the archbishop’s retable betrays training and temperament different from those of Pere Johan. Except for the central canopy, the traceries reveal a sedate regularity reminiscent of such French-inspired monuments as the sepulcher of Charles III the Noble and doña Leonor at Pamplona and the Chapel of the Corporals at Daroca, rather than the varied richness of the Catalan master’s work.10 The stylistic qualities of the reliefs confirm this artistic difference.

The central relief, Pentecost (Figure 4), shows the Virgin enthroned on a stepped dais amidst the encircling apostles, who, except for one at the left, glance heavenward. The sculptor has taken special care with these figures, paying particular attention to their expressive faces and their tightly curling locks. He drapes


them in densely pleated garments, which he often adorns with delicately beaded borders, and surrounds them with shadow-filled voids that accentuate three-dimensional form. No dove appears, but six tiny angels hover before a patterned ground. This interpretation contrasts markedly with that of Pere Johan at Tarragona (Figure 5). There ten apostles are packed so tightly around the Virgin that only the three figures in the front are shown full-length, and no one looks toward the dove overhead. The stylistic contrast is unequivocal. The master of the New York Pentecost owes nothing to Pere Johan's fluid style; rather, he represents a later stylistic development characterized by a marked plastic emphasis heightened by the play of light and shadow over deeply cut drapery breaking in angular folds.

Stressing the central, biblical event by symmetry and decorative richness, the master of the Cloisters relief balanced the flanking, hagiographical scenes by juxtaposing landscape and architecture in each pair of narratives. These are devoted to Martin of Tours and Thecla of Iconium, two saints for whom don Dalmau had previously expressed particular devotion.¹¹

The Cloisters relief representing St. Thecla’s conversion (Figure 6) shows fashionably attired Gentiles

¹¹ St. Thecla has been titular saint of the church at Tarragona since the late eleventh century. Converted by St. Paul, she was denounced by her mother and condemned to death. After her faith had preserved her from execution, she lived a long life and experienced many miraculous events. During the episcopacy of Ximeno de Luna, James II of Aragon sent ambassadors to Armenia, where St. Thecla had died, to request an important relic. Successful in their mission, the envoys solemnly entered Tarragona with St. Thecla’s arm on May 17, 1321. See Santiago Olives Canals, "La iconografía tarraconense de Santa Tecla y sus fuentes literarias," Boletín arqueológico, Tarragona 52 (1952) pp. 119, 127.
listening attentively to St. Paul preach from a Gothic pulpit. St. Thecla herself dominates the scene from the background, where she rests her arms comfortably on a cushion and leans forward from the shadowy window of her mother’s house. The architecture, its symmetry broken by slight variations in the windows at left and right, serves to enhance the artist’s concern with plastic and spatial forms.

In contrast, Pere Johan’s treatment of the same theme is less daring in its handling of space (Figure 7). Despite its beauty, it betrays an allegiance to an aesthetic tradition that passed from fashion by the middle of the century. St. Paul dominates by his central position, while St. Thecla, identified by a simple halo, is nearly lost among the crowd of listeners. Squeezed together like the apostles in Pere Johan’s Pentecost, they fill the surface with their graceful, undulating forms.

The drama of the test by fire at Tarragona (Figure 9) is muted in the corresponding New York relief (Figure 8). Here, the saint appears tied to a stake as the flames lap about her. She prays serenely, drawing our attention even as she receives the surprised and curious glances of her tormentors. Above her head, amidst craggy peaks, a leafy tree signals her spiritual triumph.

Two familiar events from the life of St. Martin complete the sequence of reliefs. The straightforward depiction of the donation of the cloak (Figure 10) is visually enriched by a series of small details—hoof marks, a lion beneath a rocky ledge, a bird in the delicately carved trees, and a lady watching from the distant tower. In the final scene, St. Martin’s vi-

12. This is the most seriously damaged of the reliefs. Losses occur in the areas of St. Martin’s head, the beggar’s left leg, the horse’s right foreleg and hind leg, and the animal missing from atop the rock.
sion of Christ, the saint lies asleep in his luxurious bed, clasping his hands in prayer as the Lord appears to him (Figure 11). While two angelic companions spread the cloak, another stands quietly alongside, and three more observe the scene through windows.

The overall effect of don Dalmau’s retable is striking, and its significance is clear. After Pere Johan’s departure from Saragossa around 1445, the International Gothic style ceased to dominate, and a new sculptural style found acceptance in Aragon. It was also gaining a foothold in Castile, as suggested by the sepulcher of Alfonso de Cartagena at Burgos, and in Catalonia, as represented by the sepulchers of Dalmau de Raset and Bernard de Pau at Gerona. Moreover, it is evident that don Dalmau’s retable stands in exactly the same relationship to those of the cathedrals of Tarragona and Saragossa as do the later ones by Gil Morlanes for Montearagón and by Damián Forment for Sta. María del Pilar, Saragossa, and for Huesca Cathedral. All are indebted to Pere Johan for the inspiration of the format, although none is a product of his shop.


Despite the general visual unity of the Cloisters retable, the artistic range of the reliefs, evident in the varied treatment of faces and fabrics, suggests the participation of two sculptors. The scene of Pentecost, where background, drapery, hair, and beards crackle with energy, best represents Bertaux's "nervous realism." Its charged atmosphere also courses through the garments of the foreground figures in the scene of St. Thecla's conversion. The faces of these figures, no longer framed by tightly curling locks, seem less intense, however, than those of the apostles. The intricate drapery patterns serve to balance the rich ornament and more varied forms in the scene of St. Martin dividing his cloak, which, despite its complexity, is quieter in mood. This process of subduing the expressiveness of the figures is evident also in the quietude that permeates St. Thecla's ordeal by fire, where the faces are less anxious and the drapery more relaxed. The sense of restraint is most marked in the solemn tranquillity of Christ appearing to St. Martin. These variations of active and passive, which are complemented by slight differences in the canopies at left and right, affirm that two talented individuals shared responsibility for the retable.  

**SCULPTURAL ACTIVITY IN SARAGOSSA, 1444-59**

Scant attention has been given sculptural developments in Saragossa during the latter part of Don Dalmau's archiepiscopacy. In 1917, Manuel Serrano y Sanz published a contract drawn up in Saragossa on January 2, 1446, between Master Fortaner de Usesesques, master of retables and native of Morlaas (France), and Juan de Funes, vice-chancellor of King Alfonso V, for an imposing alabaster retable to adorn Juan's private chapel in the church of S. Francisco.  

Organized around a central narrative, it followed the fashion established by the main retable of the Seo. The chosen theme, the Nativity with the Virgin adoring the Child, was flanked by two apostles—apparently SS. Simon and Jude since scenes from their lives were to appear in the predella. Although an appended notation of February 2, 1449, canceling the agreement, shows that the retable was not completed, the contract suggests, nevertheless, that Fortaner de Usesesques was a well-regarded figure carver. It also implies that Don Dalmau recognized his talents, for one clause specifies that the work was to be completed according to the judgment of the archbishop.

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15. Mayer, *El estilo gótico en España*, p. 110, has already recognized the presence of two hands. Although the vision of St. Martin may be said to require a tranquil interpretation, the scene of St. Thecla's martyrdom does not. Gomar's conscious rejection of turmoil from the latter scene serves not only to balance the former compositionally but also to underscore by visual means St. Thecla's faith, which preserves her from danger.

16. "Documentos relativos a las bellas artes en Aragón," pp. 520-521; the contract is recorded in AHP, Alfonso Martínez, Protocolo, 1446, fols. 2-5.
Additional documents confirm that Fortaner de Uesesques held a prominent position in the artistic circles of Saragossa. Identified as a stonemason and carver of images on November 27, 1448, he received 200 sueldos as the final installment of the 800 sueldos due him for a stone image for the chapel of the Virgin in the Seo of Saragossa. On March 18 of the following year, he was paid 6000 sueldos for carving and painting coats of arms for the casas del reino in Saragossa. Perhaps Master Fortaner, who received both ecclesiastical and secular commissions, was partly responsible for introducing the new, more realistic style into Aragon, but there is no evidence to link him to the creation of don Dalmau’s retable.

Also active at the time in Saragossa were Francí Gomar and Anthon Gomar. In contrast with Fortaner de Uesesques, they are identified primarily as wood carvers. Francí Gomar, the more important of the two, is first documented in 1443 in Barcelona, where he contracted to construct the retable, that is, the panel with its frame, which Luis Dalmau was to paint for the chapel of the city council. Apparently he and Anthon arrived in Saragossa the following year to begin work on the choir stalls of the Seo under the patronage of don Dalmau de Mur. Beautifully crafted, the sedilia display flamboyant cresting and traceries and luxuriant foliage (Figure 12). Moreover, two standing saints, whose mantles show the newly fashionable broken folds, appear together with several pairs of angels bearing the archbishop’s arms.

The 1440s were a period of great activity in the Seo. While Pere Johan was bringing his work on the main retable to completion, new projects were being undertaken. The Moor Ali Rami contracted for work on the architecture of the choir, the refectory, and the portal of the Pabostria, for all of which he was to receive 23,000 sueldos. In 1448, Master Terri de Mes, glazier, was busy installing the windows in the choir.

17. Doc. 1.
18. Doc. 2.
20. In the documents at the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Saragossa, their names are generally given as “Franci gomar” and “anthon gomar.” Already on Dec. 30, 1444 (new style), Anthon Gomar, “maestre de ymaginería,” signed as a witness (Alfonso Francés, Protocolo, 1445, fol. 1). José María Quadro, España, sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza e historia: Aragón (Barcelona, 1886) p. 443, states that Franci and Anthon, who were apparently brothers, and Juan Navarro were working on the choir stalls in 1446, but he cites only a single document, from the libros de fábrica of the Seo for 1447 (n. 1, beginning p. 444), when they purchased nails and 234 frontisas for the 117 seats. He says, however, that they are mentioned frequently thereafter. Despite my repeated requests over the past four years, I have been unable to obtain permission to study the surviving 15th-century libros de fábrica.

The choir stalls by Francí Gomar and his shop replaced an earlier set on which Ali Arrondi, Muza, and Chamar were working in 1412 (Quadro, p. 444). The later set is mentioned also by Diego de Espés, “Historia eclesiástica de la ciudad de Cara-

21. The mid-15th-century stalls were damaged when the cimborio collapsed between 5:00 and 6:00 p.m., Feb. 7, 1498, and “rompió mucha parte de choro y hizo grandísimo daño,” as recorded by Espés, “Historia eclesiástica,” II, fol. 723, and cited in Pascual Galindo Romeo, “El cimborio de la Seo,” Monuments artísticos de la Seo en el siglo XV (Saragossa, 1992) pp. 27-28.

Lamberto de Saragossa, Teatro histórico de las iglesias del reino de Aragón (Pamplona, 1795) IV, p. 231, gives the number of stalls as 105 rather than the 117 mentioned by Quadro. Abizanda y Broto, Documentos para la historia artística y literaria de Aragón, II, pp. 296-297, published the contract signed with Bernat Valentian on Apr. 6, 1532, to refurbish the stalls. Assisted by Mateo de Cambrey, he was to create work equal to that of Francí and Anthon Gomar.
22. The date of the contract remains uncertain. Quadro, Aragón, p. 433, gives it as 1444: “el Conde de la Vihaza, Aiciones al diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España (Madrid, 1889) I, p. 11, gives it as 1447. On June 22, 1448, Ali Rami received 2,000 sueldos in small payment of that contract (AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1448, fol. 34v). On Feb. 20, 1449, he received another 1,000 sueldos, but on Sept. 17, his son, Mahoma, was serving as his proctor (AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1449, fol. 13v, and Protocolo, 1449, fol. 78). Not long thereafter Ali Rami died; on Jan. 12, 1450, his father-in-law, Juze Palacio, assumed the responsibilities of guardian of Ali Rami’s children and of proctor on behalf of his widow, Fatima Palacio (AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1450, fol. 8).
and the refectory.23 In 1449, Mahoma Almedini acknowledged four payments totaling 1,120 sueldos for bricks for the floor of the choir.24

Work on the stalls also continued. On March 12, 1448, Anthon Gomar, obrero del coro, received 144 sueldos due him for the twenty-four days he had been in Navarre to obtain wood needed for constructing the choir.25 A year later, the painter Jaime Romeu was paid for sixteen panels painted in brown and vermilion;26 and in 1450, the lumber merchant Juan de Gurrea accepted 602 sueldos for eighty-six planks for use therein.27 The choir and stalls were certainly ready for the chapter's use in 1453. By July of that year, Anthon Gomar was in Naples working on the choir stalls of the chapel in the Castel Nuovo,28 and Francí Gomar, who remained in Saragossa, was employed on another commission.

Between March 1453 and November 1456, Francí Gomar constructed the choir screen, for which he was paid 12,000 sueldos. This large sum indicates that the closure was an imposing and highly ornamental example of the carpenter’s art. Handsome iron screens of Gothic date survive in the nearby cathedrals of Teruel and Pamplona, but we must turn to the parish churches of England to find surviving examples in wood, which, though small in scale, may help us envision the splendor of what once adorned the Seo.29

The final project demanding Francí Gomar’s attention in the Seo was a new campaign on the main retable, for which he received 1,000 sueldos on April 2, 1457, as part of the first installment due him, and 500 sueldos on September 6, 1458.30 Although lapses occur in the documents, work appears to have progressed steadily. The record of payment of January 12, 1459, specifically identifies him as “master of the main retable of the Seo” and notes that the 1,000 sueldos are “because of the wood of the aforementioned retable.”31 He received a further payment on October 31.32 That it was the crowning architectural element, a feature of great importance in medieval retables, which had remained to be completed after the more immediate need for the choir had been fulfilled, may be inferred from the information contained in the above documents and in the contract drawn up subsequently in 1473 with the last master of the retable, Master Ans Piet Danso. This specified that the vicar, prior, and chapter were obliged at their own expense to remove the tabernacles and carpentry work which were in the retable.33 These latter elements must have been the work for which Francí Gomar had received a total of 14,000 sueldos.34

23. AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1448, fol. 60v, Sept. 6. Master Terri received 1,712 sueldos, of which 1,600 were designated as for the “vidrieras e filados de las fínestras e vidrieras de la puerta de sus del coro e las de refitorio e de Sant Angel” and 112 sueldos for the fifty-six days he had been in Saragossa “en posar e fer los filados de las ditas fínestras.” He was also paid 130 sueldos, 8 díneros for other expenses, including 18 sueldos for six pairs of gloves. Quadrado, Aragón, p. 443 and n. 1 beginning p. 444, gives the date as 1447 and the payment as 1,800 sueldos. The windows were brought from Barcelona; on July 1, 1448, Arnau Guillem received 120 sueldos “por el port e el general de Catalunya e el puent de fraga e la barqua del gellos de las vidrieras pora la Seu” (AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1448, fol. 34v). On Feb. 6, 1449, Terri de Mes and Guillem Talm, a painter, contracted with the councillors of Barcelona to provide a grisaille window for the chapel of the casa de la ciudad, for which Luis Dalmau had painted his previously mentioned retable (Viñaza, Adiciones I, p. 138). In 1465, Master Terri installed a window in the Sala del Consell (ibid.; see also Agustín Durán Sanper, Barcelona i la seva història: III. L’art i la cultura [Barcelona, 1973] pp. 250–252).

24. AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1449, fols. 13, 25, 26, and 47, dated Feb. 20, Apr. 4, Apr. 13, and May 29 respectively.

25. Doc. 9.

26. AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1449, fol. 22v, Mar. 18, which differs in date from Quadrado’s 1447.

27. AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1450, fol. 9v, Feb. 8.


29. Docs. 4, 5, and 7. For English examples, see the screen at Totton (Devon), 1459, in Joan Evans, English Art, 1307–1461, Oxford History of English Art V (Oxford, 1949) p. 56 and pl. 23, and that at Cullompton (Devon), ca. 1450, in Wim Swaan, Art and Architecture of the Late Middle Ages, 2nd ed. (New York, 1982) p. 46 and fig. 41.


32. Doc. 17, which repeats the title used in doc. 14.


34. Docs. 11, 14, 17, and 18; all except doc. 14 specify the total amount of the contract.
THE AUTHORS OF DON DALMAU'S RETABLE

While he was working on the choir screen and completing the main retable of the Seo, Franci Gomar was employed on yet another of don Dalmau de Mur's artistic undertakings, the alabaster retable now in The Cloisters. On June 18, 1456, he acknowledged a payment from the archbishop "for making and installing the stone retable of the chapel of the archbishop's palace of Saragossa."\(^{35}\) Between December 25, 1457, and January 18, 1458, he was given another 1,000 sueldos as part of the price "of the retable which the aforementioned, deceased lord [don Dalmau] commenced making in the chapel."\(^{36}\) On June 5, 1458, a further payment was made to him for work "on the retable of the chapel of the archbishop's palace."\(^{37}\)

On March 15, 1459, Franci Gomar accepted 450 sueldos of 3,800 sueldos due him. This payment, however, was not for the alabaster retable, but for "making and finishing the retable of wood for the chapel of the archbishop's palace."\(^{38}\) On March 22, he received another 300 sueldos, also for the wood retable.\(^{39}\) The existence of this second retable casts a shadow of ambiguity over the documents of 1458, which fail to specify the material used.

Unfortunately the protocolos of the notary Juan Marco, who recorded these payments, are missing for the years 1453–55, 1457, and 1461–70. In contrast, however, a fragment of a contract preserved among the papeles sueltos in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Saragossa, provides at least a partial answer. In 1458, Franci Gomar contracted with Tomás Giner to paint and gild a retable adorned with don Dalmau's arms for the archbishop's chapel.\(^{40}\) Although this is the earliest known reference to Tomás Giner, his selection to collaborate with Franci Gomar suggests that he had already established his artistic reputation in the Aragonese capital, where he became a regular contributor to the embellishment of the Seo. In 1459, he bore the title "painter of the high altar"; in 1474, he received the commission to paint the organ; and prior to 1479, he painted the retable for the chapel of St. Vincent, the central panel of which is in the Prado, Madrid.\(^{41}\)

Despite the loss of a large portion of the text of the agreement, its meaning is clear. Tomás Giner was to paint a central panel representing SS. Martin and Thecla, side panels showing SS. Vincent and Valerius at the left and SS. Augustine and Lawrence at the right, and an upper panel containing a scene from the Passion of Christ, perhaps the customary Crucifixion. There is no mention of a predella.

Two handsome paintings, whose authorship by Tomás Giner has long been accepted and which even today are in the archbishop's palace at Saragossa (Figures 13, 14), may be identified, I believe, as the central and right-hand panels of the work commissioned in 1458. Their association with don Dalmau is affirmed by his device, which appears on St. Martin's orphrey. Clearly matching the contractual requirements, one panel (Figure 13) shows St. Martin, whose identity has never been questioned although he has no attribute other than his episcopal vestments, with St. Thecla, who is crowned and carrying not only a palm but also a golden T. The other panel (Figure 14) shows St. Lawrence holding his grill and facing a second episcopal saint, who is attired in magnificent vestments embroidered with apostles and the Man of Sorrows. Although an inscription on the postmedieval...
frame identifies this figure as St. Valerius, that famous bishop of Valencia is normally paired with his deacon, St. Vincent, with whom he suffered martyrdom. Such was the case in the retable required of Giner, who, as already mentioned, was to depict St. Lawrence with another bishop, St. Augustine, whom tradition credits with recording the martyrdom of St. Vincent. It is, surely, the Western church father whom we should recognize as St. Lawrence’s companion.42 The four solemn figures stand upon a stage defined by richly tiled pavements and handsome walls, embellished differently in each panel. Because the inclusion of cypress trees against a cloud-filled sky in the Augustine–Lawrence panel differs from the use of diaper pattern in the other painting, the two compositions indicate that the original design showed three pairs of saints within a spatial setting whose continuity was modified slightly to emphasize the central group.

Early in this century, Elias Tormo y Monzó and Emile Bertaux suggested that the retable of which

42. Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend, trans. and adapted by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (1941; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1969) p. 114, records this association of SS. Augustine and Vincent. Following the loss of the archiepiscopal panel showing SS. Valerius and Vincent, St. Augustine’s original identity in the panel with St. Lawrence must have been forgotten; that he has been assigned the role of St. Valerius is not surprising, considering the importance of the latter in Aragon. Each of the panels measures 65¾ x 42 ½ in. (167 x 109 cm.).
these panels formed a part was placed atop the alabaster one, even though, as Bertaux acknowledged, this combination is otherwise unknown in fifteenth-century Aragonese art. The new documentation, which establishes that Giner painted a retable that bore the archbishop's arms and adorned the chapel he had founded, serves to confirm their hypothesis. It is, after all, unlikely that don Dalmau (or his executors) would have commissioned two separate works showing such similar imagery as that described in the fragmentary contract and visible in the surviving panels; and it is also implausible that within the archiepiscopal chapel there would have been two separate and distinct retables with SS. Martin and Thecla, as the principal images in one and as secondary subjects in the other. The fact that there is no mention of a predella in the contract between Francs Gomar and Tomás Giner allows the obvious inference that the alabaster retable was to have fulfilled that function. Furthermore, we may interpret this unusual combination of sculpture and painting as representing a change of the original design, resulting from the executors' desire to complete the retable quickly and without exceeding the resources bequeathed by don Dalmau for that purpose. This modification was possible because the juxtaposition of the alabaster predella with the brilliantly polychromed panels, which may seem surprising today, would not have shocked aesthetic sensibilities in fifteenth-century Aragon, where the combination of varied materials, patterns, and styles was common.

Tomás Giner was well chosen as the collaborator on the retable. His stately saints maintain an aesthetic balance with the sculpted reliefs, as his style, influenced by that of Jaime Huguet, blends solemnity and decorativeness. Giner's talent, clearly exemplified by these panels, was well received; that he attained great prominence is attested by his being named painter to Prince Ferdinand (later the Catholic King) in 1473.

Perhaps Francs Gomar himself was responsible for preparing the wood retable painted by Giner, even as he had been a decade and a half earlier for that completed by Luis Dalmau. Yet it is this very fact of his working in wood that makes the document of June 18, 1456, affirming his responsibility for "making and installing the stone retable," surprising, for even in that document he is called a carpenter. Only once in the various records discovered at Saragossa is he called a stonemason; oddly enough this latter designation occurs in the payment of September 6, 1458, for "working the wood of the retable of the high altar of the Seo." Elsewhere, however, he is given the title "master of imagery of the Seo." That Francs Gomar actually participated in carving the alabaster retable and was not simply responsible for overseeing its completion receives major support from the two saints that decorate the principal choir stall (Figures 12, 15). They are very similar to the apostles of the alabaster Pentecost, showing the same energetic treatment of drapery, with deep recesses in the angular folds, and equally expressive faces framed by abundant locks. They also bear a family resemblance to the two arms bearers on the socle. The relationship is close enough, I believe, to affirm an identity of hand and to allow the identification of Francs Gomar as the sculptor of these images in wood and alabaster.

43. Torno y Monzó, "Pintura aragonesa cuartoentista," pp. 70, 73, and Bertaux, Exposition rétrospective, p. 53.
44. An example is the chapel of St. Michael in the Seo, Saragossa, with the Gothic sepulcher of Archbishop don López Fernández de Luna by Pedro Moragues, the mudejar artesonado, and the intricate mudejar brick and tile work of its exterior wall. See Lacarra Ducay, "Catedral del Salvador," pp. 119-120, 122-124.
45. The width of the Cloisters retable, 185 in., could easily accommodate the combined width of three panels, about 130 in., plus the necessary framing elements and the guardapolvo. Although the top of the Cloisters retable is fitted with six vertical inserts, which might suggest a five-panel arrangement for the upper unit, their specific relationship to that element is uncertain for two reasons. First, they may have been prepared when the intention was to complete the retable in alabaster; second, a narrow, horizontal layer that serves to elevate the main body above the canopies of the predella in all the related Aragonese examples is missing from the Cloisters retable. Moreover, the custom evident in those retables since Pere Johan's introduction of narrative scenes into the main body of the retablo mayor of the Seo at Saragossa was for the upper unit to contain fewer divisions than the predella.
47. Doc. 11.
48. Docs. 7 and 18. Most frequently he is titled simply "carpenter" (docs. 6, 9, 10, 15, and 16), but he is also called "master of the main retable of the Seo," as we have seen (notes 30 and 31).
15. Franci Gomar and shop, Choir Stalls of the Seo of Saragossa: sedilia, detail (photo: Mas)

The foregoing attribution does not, however, clarify the identity of the sculptor responsible for St. Martin's Vision. There is no evidence that Franci's brother Anthon, who might appear a likely candidate since he was titled "master of imagery" in the first document recording his presence at Saragossa, had returned from Naples. Nevertheless, this second master was certainly a respected member of Franci's shop, for otherwise the collaboration evident in several of the relics is impossible to explain.

Although Franci Gomar was primarily involved with ecclesiastical commissions, he also participated in secular projects. In 1458, he collaborated with Matheu Sarñena and Domingo Sarñena on the new hall in the city buildings called the casas del puente. He remained in Saragossa as late as 1466, but no further activity there is specifically documented. In 1478, he reappeared together with his son Antonio, carving the

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Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos 95 [1916] pp. 420–421, and Janke, "Observaciones sobre Pere Johan," pp. 111–112.) In contrast, Pascual Ortoneda was the principal contractor for the main retable of the cathedral of Tarazona in 1437, since his narrative paintings were its most costly feature. Anthon Dalmai subcontracted for the carpentry, and Pere Johan for the images. (See R. Steven Janke, "Pere Johan y Nuestra Señora de la Huerta en la Seo de Tarazona, una hipótesis confirmada," Seminario de arte aragonés, in press.)

49. See notes 20 and 28.

50. Doc. 12. On Jan. 5, 1458, when he bought some fields from the painter Johan de Urroz and his wife Martha de Estercuel, he is called "maestro de talla vezino de Cartagoña" (AHP, Pedro Martínez de Alfocea, Protoc. 1458, fols. 2v–3). Titled "fustero e maestro de talla," he signed for a loan of 500 sueldos from Jaquín Calama in 1462 (AHP, Pedro Martínez de Alfocea, Protoc. 1462, unfoliated, Jan. 12); and titled simply "maestro de talla," for a loan of 45 gold florins from Guillen Baylaga, "picapedrero natural del Regno de francia et habitant de present de la Ciudat de Cartagoña del Regno de aragon" (ibid., July 1). Called "maestro de talla vezino siquiere habitant de la dita ciudat [Saragossa]," he paid 150 sueldos in rent to Bartolomeu Talayero, cleric, for houses in the parish of San Gil (AHP, Pedro Monzón, Manuale, 1465, unfoliated, Aug. 9). On May 18, 1466, with the title "fustero," he acknowledged the receipt of 200 florins from Martín Bernat, merchant (AHP, Juan Barrachina, Protoc. 1466, fol. 222v). He is last mentioned in the protocolos at Saragossa on June 8, 1466, with the title "maestro de talla e Ciudadano de la Ciudat de Cartagoña" in a rental agreement made for two years with Margarita de Aniego, widow of Bernart Piquer (AHP, Pedro Martínez de Alfocea, Protoc. 1466, unfoliated).
choir stalls of Tarragona Cathedral, a project requiring fourteen years. In 1490, the two were at Lerida, where Francí was named "master of the works of the Seo," contracting for a stone portico to be erected in front of the Portal of the Apostles. This commission supports the supposition that Francí himself had worked previously in alabaster and stone at Saragossa. Work on the portico, however, was abandoned in October of the same year, and the position of master of the works fell vacant.


THE VIRGIN AND CHILD OF S. VALERO

The magnificent Virgin and Child discovered by Dr. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay in the church of S. Valero (Figure 16) is the most important image representing the sculptural tradition of the 1450s still to be found in the Aragonese capital. Of outstanding quality, it may be attributed to Francí Gomar or a member of his shop, for it shares the stylistic traits of don Dalmau's retable. The Virgin's serene expression parallels that of St. Thecla and that of the young lady seated before St. Paul (Figure 6). Her hair, drawn away

51. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España (Madrid, 1800) II, pp. 199–200, cites documents in the archive of the cathedral of Tarragona giving the date of the contract as May 1, 1478, that of the placing of the first stalls as Apr. 3, 1479, and the price as 65,000 sueldos. He also states that Francí Gomar was "natural y vecino de Zaragoza," but Gomar's birthplace has not been confirmed by other authors. Sanç Capdevila, La Seu de Tarragona (Barcelona, 1935) pp. 18–19, cites the source of the foregoing information as Josep Blanch (d. 1672), "Archiepiscopologi de la santa metropolitana iglesia de Tarragona," cap. 98, ms., Archivos Eclesiásticos de Tarragona. He also cites documents in the Archivo Histórico Arzobispal mentioning "Francesc Gomar, maestre catedral" (Dec. 10, 1489) and "Antoni Gomar mestre del cor de la catedral" (Apr. 27, 1484).

52. Gabriel Alonso García, Los maestros de "la Seu vella de Lleida" y sus colaboradores (Lerida, 1976) pp. 176–179, 182. Francí Gomar signed the contract for the portico (croera) on Jan. 2, 1490. It stipulates that his son Antonio was to aid him and that he was to receive 16,000 sueldos for the work (estimated to take four years) as well as wine, bread, and other benefits of his position. However, in Oct. 1490, the position "maestro operis sedis" was vacant; and in Aug. 1491, the stones quarried for the portico were reassigned for use in the vault of the archive.

Mistakenly calling him Pedro, Emilio Morera y Llauradó, La catedral de Tarragona, memoria de descripción histórico-artística de la misma (Tarragona, 1905) pp. 73–74, says that he worked on the choir stalls there for fourteen years until his death, i.e. 1492–93. He states further, though without specifying his sources, that legal actions were then taken because the choir stalls remained incomplete and that Francí Gomar bequeathed his few possessions to the hospital of Saragossa. Such a bequest reinforces Francí's association with the Aragonese capital.

On the basis of the period of Francí Gomar's activity, documented from 1443 until ca. 1495, it appears that the Anthon working with him at Saragossa has been correctly identified as his brother and the Antonio working with him at Lerida and at Tarragona as his son.

53. "Iglesia parroquial de San Valero," Guía histórico-artística de Saragossa (Saragossa, 1982) pp. 447–448. The image, which comes from the demolished church of S. Andrés, Saragossa, is delicately polychromed. Both the mother and the child have fair skin and gilded hair. The Virgin's tunic is rose, while her mantle has a golden border and a blue lining.
from her face in spiraling tresses, recalls that of the arms bearers. Her hands with their slender fingers match the elegance of those of numerous persons in the reliefs. The details of her modish tunic,54 which matches that of St. Thecla as she listens to the apostle, and of her mantle affirm the relationship, for the reliefs, too, evidence a great concern with the latest fashions. The angular folds at the shoulder, the thin edge of the fabric as it hangs from her left hand, the breaking of folds at the ground, all these elements can be matched in the reliefs. Even the Child, who, resting his head on his mother’s shoulder, imbues the image with particular appeal, finds his parallel there. The treatment of his broad-shouldered, stocky torso echoes that of the sleeping St. Martin.

The Cloisters retable, of around 1456–59, and the Virgin and Child of S. Valero are the major works of sculpture from Aragon in the 1450s. They mark a break with the International Gothic style beloved by Pere Johan and introduce a trend toward greater realism. The former shows a pronounced interest in spatial settings, three-dimensional figures, and new variations in drapery patterns, while the latter reveals these same characteristics insofar as they apply to a large-scale, freestanding image. Thus, they prepare the way for Master Ans, who arrived in Saragossa around 1467. Furthermore, the Cloisters retable, though completed after Archbishop Mur’s death, serves to represent his aesthetic taste, his acceptance of artistic innovation, and his leading position as patron of the arts in Aragon. Finally, these works, together with the panels by Tomás Giner, underscore the importance of Saragossa as a major center of sculpture and painting in the Iberian peninsula at the end of the Middle Ages.

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54 Virtually identical is the dress worn by St. Catherine painted in grisaille on the exterior of the triptych called “The Pearl of Brabant” in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich; see Max J. Friedländer, Early Netherlandish Painting: III. Dieric Bouts and Joos van Gent (Leiden, 1968) pl. 38.
Appendix

DOCUMENTS FROM THE
ARCHIVO HISTORICO DE PROTOCOLOS, SARAGOSSA,
ON COMMISSIONS UNDERTAKEN BY FORTANER DE USESQUES (1, 2)
AND FRANCI AND/OR ANTHON GOMAR (3–18)

1. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo, 1448, fol. 106v, November 27
   Eadem die yo ffortaner diuesques, piedrapiquero e
   ymaginarye, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos hono-
   rable mossen Garcia ciuera, Canonge dela Seu de
   Çaragoça, dozientos e seys sueldos Jaqueses los qua-
   les a mi hauedes pagado de aquellos trezientos sueldos
   Jaqueses que por vos a mi Restauan a pagar de
   aquellos huytanta florines por los quales fue habe-
   nida vna ymage de piedra que yo he fecho pora la
   Capiella de Sta. Mª dela dita Seu. Et con sto so con-
   tento et me tengo por contento de vos de todos los
   ditos huytanta florines. . . .
   Testes, los honorables micer loys daltamora e pedro
   miguel, clerigo, habitantes en Çaragoça.

2. Anton de Salabert, Protocolo, 1449, unfoliated, March 18
   Eadem die que yo fortaner deuesques, himagi-
   nayer habitant en Çaragoça, atorgo hauer hauido e
   enpoder mio Recebido de vos Johan de Salabert vii
   sueldos dineros jaqueses por Razon delas Armas de
   las casas del Regno los qualess los Senyores diputado-
   s vos mandaron dar a mi dit fortanet deseuques por
   causa dela obra delas ditas Armas e porla perdua
   que hauia hauido enel obrar e pintar de aquellos. E
   porque etc.
   Testes, pedro vilanoua et anquior dela borda,
   habitantes en Çaragoça.

3. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1448, fol. 13, March 12
   Eadem die yo Anthon de gomar, obrero del coro
   dela Seu, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos mossen
   sancho fatas, fabriquero dela Seu de Çaragoça, cient
   xxxx quatre sueldos Jaqueses los qualess a mi pa-
   gueses por xxxiiº Jornales que yo fui a naurarra por
   fer a traher la fusta del coro con mi moço los qualess
   vos me pagueses por mandamiento del senyor e del
   Capitol. Et porque etc.
   Testes, Johan de murcia, clerigo, e Garcia torres,
   habitantes en Çaragoça.

4. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1453, fol. 18, March 31
   fabrica
   Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, habitant enla Ciudat
   de Çaragoça, Atorgo hauer Recebido del honorable
   prior et Capitol dela Seu de Çaragoça tres mil suel-
   dos Jaqueses de aquellos xiiº sueldos que el dito
   Capitol me ha de dar por el fazier de la Ranza del
   coro dela dita Seu los qualess me ha pagado es asa-
   ber el honorable mossen Johan salvador, Arcediano
   de daroca fabriquero, mil sueldos, e el honorable
   mossen pedro de auintyon, fabriquero, dos mil suel-
   dos. Et porque etc.
   Testes, maestre bernad barbero, menestral, e ffe-
   rando steuau, habitantes Cesarauguste.

5. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1454, fol. 30v, April 19
   fabrica
   Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestre de ymagi-
   neria, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos mossen pedro
   dauiyton, Cambrero e fabriquero dela dita Seu, tres
   mil ochocientos quaranta sueldos seys dineros Ja-
   queses los qualess me hauedes dado en diuersas ve-
   gades e por manos de diuersas personas en e por
   Razon de las Rexas e obra que agora yo fago al en-
   trat del coro. Et porque etc.
   Testes, Anthon depila, Racionero dela Seu, e Gar-
   cia dalfaro, habitantes en Çaragoça.

6. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1456, unfoliated, June 18
   Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, fustero vezino de çara-
   goça, atorgo hauer recebido del muyt Reuerend en
   Ihu Xpo padre et senyor don dalmau por la gracia
   diuinal Arcebisp de çaragoça por manos del hono-
   rable mossen pere de montflorit, almsnero del
   dito senyor, son asaber mil et setecientos sueldos ja-
   queses por part del salario que el dito senyor me
   deue dar por fer et asentar el retaulo de piedra dela
   capiella dela casa Arcebispal de çaragoça. Et porque
   etcetera protestacion del residio atorgo vos el pre-
   sent albaran.

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Testes, Johan martinez et agostin aluarez, notarios habitantes en Caragoça.

7. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1456, fol. 34, November 27
Eadem die yo franci gomar, maestre de ymageria dela Seu, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos honorable mossen Pedro dauinyon, fabriquero dela dita Seu, xii° sueldos jaqueses los quales vos me hauedes dado e pagados en diueros dias e por manos de diuersas personas inclusos cccc sueldos que yo me ha dado mossen Johan gilbert, fabriquero, e Alfonso frances poren. Et sto me hauedes dado por Razón dela frontera del coro que yo he feyto poren dito precio. Et porque delos ditos xii° sueldos so contento Atorgo etc. Inclusos qualesquieres apocas etc. Testes, pedro gargallo e domingo mallen, clerigos.

8. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1457, fol. 14v, April 2
Eadem die yo franci gomar, maestre de ymageria, Atorgo hauer Recebido del Capitoli por manos de mossen sancho daroca, Canonge, Mil sueldos empart de paga del precio concordado enfazer la obra del Retaulo del Altar major dela Seu. Et Porque etc.
Testes, Eximeno de Uncastillo et Johan caluo, clerigo, habitantes Cesarauguste.

9. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1458, unfoliated; the date is missing, but the receipt was recorded between December 25, 1457, and January 18, 1458
Eadem die yo franci gomar, fuistero habitant enla ciudat de Caragoça, atorgo hauer recebido delos honorables Executores del último testamento del muy Reuereud don dalmau de buena memoria quondam, Arcebispo de Caragoça, por manos del honorable don Alfonso frances, notario et ciudadanodela dita ciudat, son asaber mil sueldos jaqueses e son del precio del retaulo que el dito senyor quondam comenzó a fazer enla capiella. [Most of the remainder of the text is missing; the few surviving words do not add to the meaning of the foregoing.]
Testes, Johan de montalan, escudero, et Johan dias, sastre, habitantes en Caragoça.

10. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1458, unfoliated, June 5
Eadem die yo franci gomar, fuistero habitant en Caragoça, atorgo hauer recebido delos Executores del testament de don dalmau de buena memoria quondam, arcebispo de Caragoça, por manos de don Alfonso frances, notario e ciudadan de Caragoça, seyscientos sueldos jaqueses por part de paga del precio dela obra que yo fago enel Retaulo dela capiella dela casa arcebispal de Caragoça. Et porque etc.
Testes, mossen Anton de fraylla, clerigo, e Johan de montalan, escudero, habitantes en Caragoça.

11. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1458, unfoliated, September 6
Eadem die yo franci gomar, picapedredo habitant en Caragoça, atorgo hauer recebido dela fabrica dela seu de Caragoça por manos del honorable mossen sancho daroca, canonge dela dita seu, son asaber cincientos sueldos jaqueses et son de aquellos quatorze mil sueldos que me son proferidos por fazer la fusta del Retaulo del altar mayor dela dita seu et porque etc. atorgo el presente albaran.
Testes, mosen anthon de tena, clerigo, et briant, clerigo, habitantes en Caragoça.

12. Miguel de Valtueña, Protocolo, 1458, fol. 60–60v, September 20
Eadem die yo morix perrin, fuistero vezino de la ciudat de Caragoça, atendient e considerant los senyores Jurados dela dita ciudat hauer dado la obra delos sueldos quondam del dito ciuadiat a matheu Saranyena, domingo saranyena et franci gomar, vezinos dela dita ciudat, e los ditos matheu et domingo saranyena et franci gomar hauiesen promeso e se obligado adacabar la dita obra delos sueldos por tanto demic cierta scienza prometo e me obligo seruar Indemnes alos ditos domingo e matheu de saranyena et franci gomar de qualesquieres danyos e missions que por no canuyar las parettes dela sala nueva delos sueldos vos conuernen fazer et sustener Ental manera que si por no canuyar las parettes dela dita sala nueva vos conuinnran fazer expens diasenos o menoscabos todos aquellos e aquellas vos prometo e me obligo pagar satsfier e emendar dius obligacion de todos mis bienes etc. Enunocio etc.
Testimoniros fueron alsas sobreditas cosas presentes steuan salvador, pelayre, et nicholau tudela, mercader, habitantes en Caragoça.

13. Papeles sueltos, 1458, unnumbered sheet with fragmentary text
ccccl viii°
E primerament [... ] concordado entre los ditos partes que el dito toma[s [... ] plintar et daurar el dito Retaulo e maçone[ria] de ffino oro e finos colores tales e tan buenos como seyan deuer aconocimiento de dos Menestrales vno puesto poren dito franci e otro poren dito tomas giner.
15. Juan Sant Armás, Historia en la pintar qua, et dos de habitantes Santaulo. Pedrómora hauido Eadem Eadem 12 Item

16. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1459, unfoliated, March 22
Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, fustero habitant en caragoça, atorho hauer recebido delos Executores de don Dalmau quondam, arcebispo de caragoça, por manos de alfonso frances tresientos sueldos del precio del Retaulo de fusta que yo he hecho pora la capiella dela casa arcebispal de caragoça et porque etc. con protestacion del Residio atorho el present albaran.

Testes, agostin aluarez et pedro dauinyon, scrivientes habitantes en caragoça.

17. Pedro Martín, Protocolo, 1459, unfoliated, October 31
Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestro del Retaulo mayor dela Seu dela ciudad de caragoça, atorho hauier hauido e enpoder mio Recebido de vos el muy honorable et honesto Religioso mossen sancho daroqua, canonigo dela dita Seu asi como procurador dela fabrica de aquella, mil sueldos Jaqueses los cuales me hauido dado por Razon dela fusta del dito Retaulo. vt pagui

Testes, el honorable Religioso mossen pedro dauinyon, canonigo dela dita Seu, et mossen pedro de Sant Johan, clerigo beneficiado enla dita Seu.

18. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo, 1460, unfoliated, April 5
Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestre de ymagineria dela Seu de Caragoça, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos mossen sancho daroqua, Canonge fabriquero dela dita Seu. Mil sueldos Jaqueses los cuales son part de aquellos xiii sueldos que yo he de Recebir por la obra del dito Retaulo dela Seu. Et porque etc.

Testes, mossen pedro auinyon e mossen miguel calbo, canonges.