

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

R. STEVEN JANKE

Associate Professor, Department of Fine Arts, State University of New York College at Buffalo

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*

1. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Un gran mecenas en Aragón: D. Dalmacio de Mur y Cervellón (1431–1456)," *Seminario de arte aragonés* 33 (1981) pp. 149–159. In addition to the works of architecture, sculpture, painting, and illumination discussed by Lacarra Ducay, don Dalmau commissioned the exquisite *Virgin of the Spider*, which was in the parish church at Bordón (Teruel) until the Spanish Civil War; see R. Steven Janke, "Observaciones sobre Pere Johan," *Seminario de arte aragonés* 34 (1981) pp. 114–116, 119–120. See also Pascual Galindo Romeo, "La intervención de Pere Johan en el retablo mayor de la Seo de Zaragoza, 1434–1445," *Monumentos artísticos de la Seo en el siglo XV*, Estudios eclesiásticos de Aragón, 2nd ser., I (Saragossa, 1923)

pp. 63–109. Both the main retable of the Seo and the choir stalls have undergone alterations.

2. Anselmo Gascón de Gotor and Pedro Gascón de Gotor, *Zaragoza artística, monumental é 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. 2, 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. Trottié & Cie., 8 place Vendôme; he gave it to The Metropolitan

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 *díneros* from Simón Tirado, the archbishop's proctor, for the work he and his crew had carried out for the entrance to the palace chapel.³ On February 11, 1446, Simón Tirado contracted with Hamet el Cavero, a Moorish potter in Teruel, and Hamet el Halí, a smith in Saragossa, to provide 4,000 tiles, richly glazed with green *lazo* and black foliage against a white ground, and 250 simpler tiles, banded in green, black, and white.⁴ Work in the palace was still 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.⁵

Although the alabaster retablo from the archbishop's palace follows the ornament of the Chapel of the Corporals at Daroca and the main retablo 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."⁶ 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.⁷ James J. Rorimer encapsuled 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."⁸ However, Rorimer's dismissal of Durán Sanpere's sensitive observations as mere

Museum of Art in 1909 (09.146). The acquisition was announced by Joseph Breck, "A Sculptured Altar-piece of the Fifteenth Century," *MMAB* 5 (1910) pp. 146–148. 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 (14.101.1,2), 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. 133. 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 xiiii decembris anno predicto, Cesarauguste. Eadem die Que yo Johan de leredo, piedra piquero habitant en la ciudat de Çaragoça, etc., atorgo hauer hauído e contantes en poder mio recebido de vos Simon tirado, procurador e factor del senyor arcebispe de Çaragoça, Trezientos cinquanta e dos sueldos e diez dineros Jaqueses por razon de cient e hun jornales que yo e mis menestrales hauemos treballado e vacado en picar e sacar las piedras de la esbağ de la puerta de la capiella de la casa del dito senyor de los quales jornales me haueys pagado los sixanta jornales a razon de tres sueldos e huyto por jornal e los diez huyto a Tres sueldos e quarto por jornal, los Vint e Tres jornals a razon de Tres sueldos e dos dineros. Testes, pedro de altarriba, notario, e manuel bou, habitantes en Çaragoça." Hereafter cited as AHP.

4. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Documentos relativos a las bellas artes en Aragón (siglos XIV y XV)," *Arte español* 3 (1916–17) pp. 528–529.

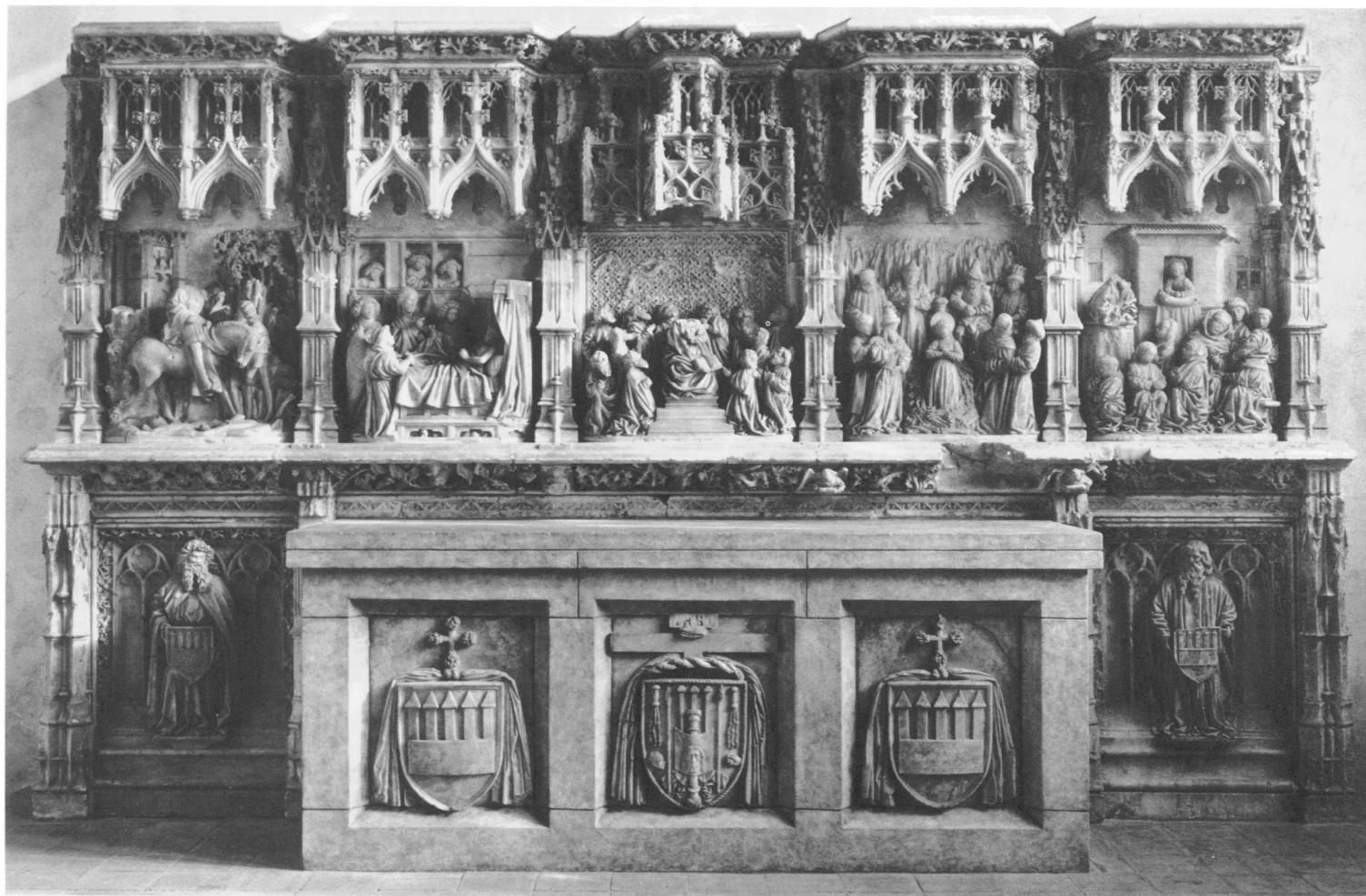
5. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Documentos relativos a la pin-

tura en Aragón durante el siglo XV," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 32 (1915) pp. 151–153.

6. "La Sculpture du XVe siècle en Espagne jusqu'au temps des rois catholiques," *Histoire de l'art*, ed. André Michel (Paris, 1908) III/2, p. 822: "Ils ont été exécutés, non par Pere Johan lui-même, mais par des imagiers qui travaillaient sous sa direction, en imitant heureusement son réalisme nerveux." In *L'Exposition rétrospective d'art, 1908* (Saragossa, 1910) p. 53, Bertaux wrote simply: "Les sculptures, qui ne sont pas de la main même de Pere Johan, comptent parmi les oeuvres les plus vivantes de l'ancien art d'Aragon." Bertaux's attribution of the retablo to direct followers of Pere Johan has been accepted by Breck, "Sculptured Altar-piece," pp. 146–147; George Henry Chase and Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Sculpture* (New York, 1925) p. 279; August L. Mayer, *El estilo gótico en España*, 3rd ed. (Madrid, 1960) pp. 108, 110 (original German ed., 1928); and Beatrice I. Gilman, *Catalogue of Sculpture (Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries) in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York, 1932) p. lxxvii.

7. Agustín Durán Sanpere, *Los retablos de piedra*, Monumenta Cataloniae II (Barcelona, 1934) II, p. 66: "En la disposición general y en los elementos arquitectónicos parece verse un afán de imitación y de emulación, tal vez, de las obras de Pere Johan, y por eso podría ser admitida la suposición de Bertaux, de que fuese algún compañero o discípulo de Pere Johan el autor de este retablo. Pero la técnica de los relieves, por más que sea realista y nerviosa, como Bertaux quiere suponer, no puede compararse a la de Pere Johan, si no es para hacer más evidentes sus respectivas diferencias." (This study was published simultaneously in a Catalan edition, *Els retaules de pedra*.)

8. Note dated Dec. 6, 1933, in material on the retablo at The Cloisters.



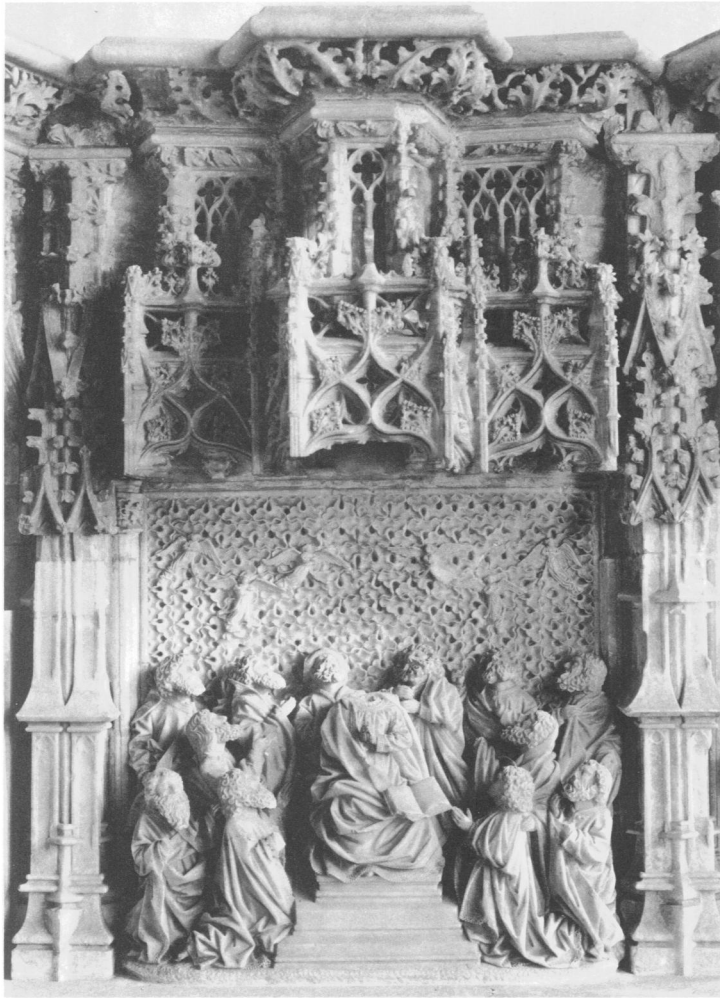
1. Francí Gomar (active 1443–ca. 1493) and shop, Retable of don Dalmau de Mur y Cervelló from the Archbishop's Palace, Saragossa: socle and predella. Alabaster, 107 × 183 in. (271.8 × 464.8 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1909, Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1914, and Gift of Emile Pares, 1916, 09.146, 14.101.1,2, 16.79

2. Detail of Figure 1: arms bearer at left



3. Detail of Figure 1: arms bearer at right





4. Detail of Figure 1: *Pentecost*

5. Pere Johan (active 1418–58), Main Retable of Tarragona Cathedral: *Pentecost* (photo: Mas)



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

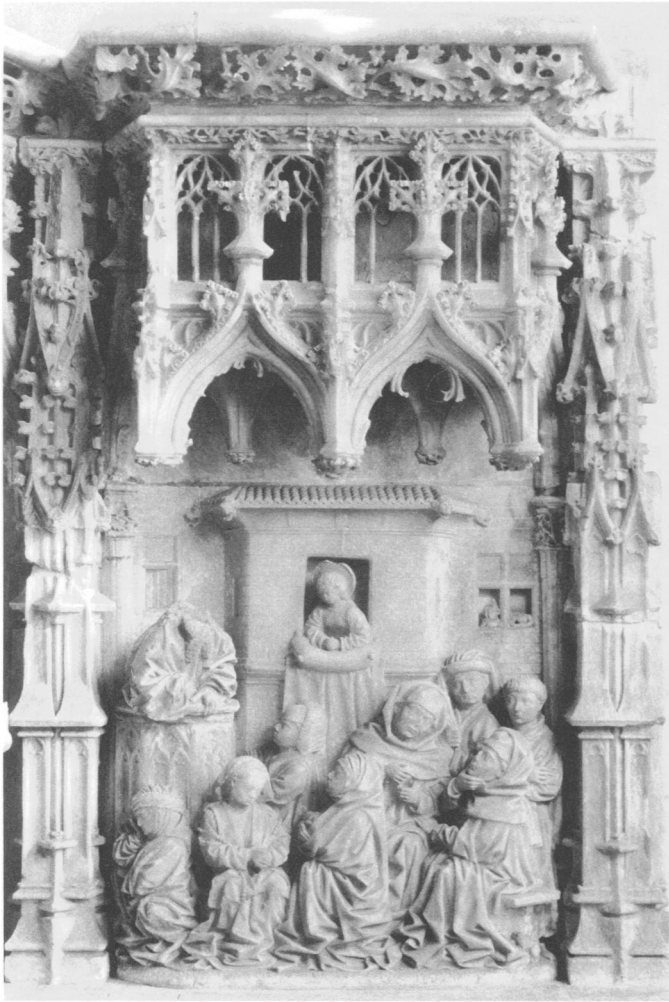
Archbishop Mur's retable shares similarities with the organization of the socles and predellas of the main retables at Tarragona and Saragossa. The armorial figures, foliate moldings, and narratives crowned by elegant canopies adhere to a general design that had previously proved successful. Nevertheless, 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

9. Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, "Alfonso el Magnánimo y las artes plásticas de su tiempo," *Ponencias del IV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1976) p. 328. For the English translation of this essay see Roger Highfield, ed., *Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 1369–1516: Essays and Extracts by Historians of Spain* (New York, 1972) p. 200. See also Agustín Durán Sanpere and Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Escultura gótica, Ars Hispaniae VIII* (Madrid, 1956) pp. 282, 287, where they describe the retable as dating after Pere Johan's departure from Saragossa and as being of late Burgundian style.

10. R. Steven Janke, *Jehan Lome y la escultura gótica posterior en Navarra* (Pamplona, 1977) pp. 88–91.



6. Detail of Figure 1: *St. Thecla's Conversion*

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 re-



7. Pere Johan, Main Retable of Tarragona Cathedral: *St. Thecla's Conversion* (photo: Mas)

table 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

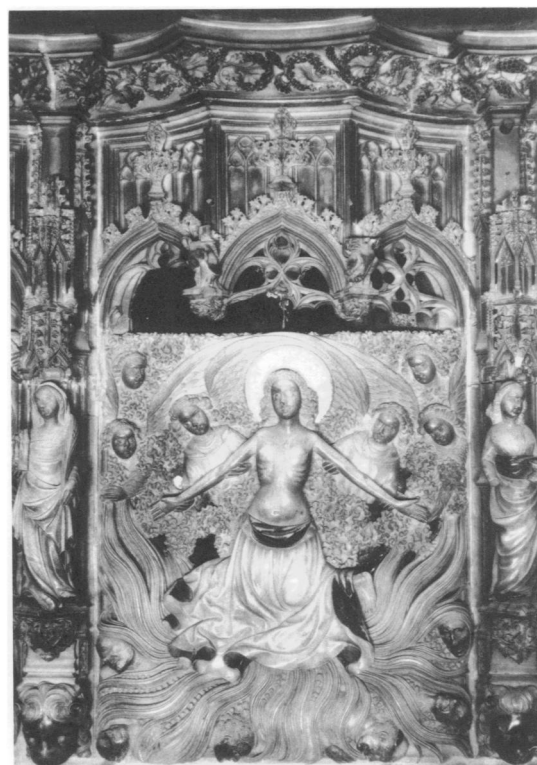
The Cloisters relief representing St. Thecla's conversion (Figure 6) shows fashionably attired Gentiles

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.



8. Detail of Figure 1: *St. Thecla's Ordeal by Fire*

9. Pere Johan, Main Retable of Tarragona Cathedral:
St. Thecla's Ordeal by Fire (photo: Mas)



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.

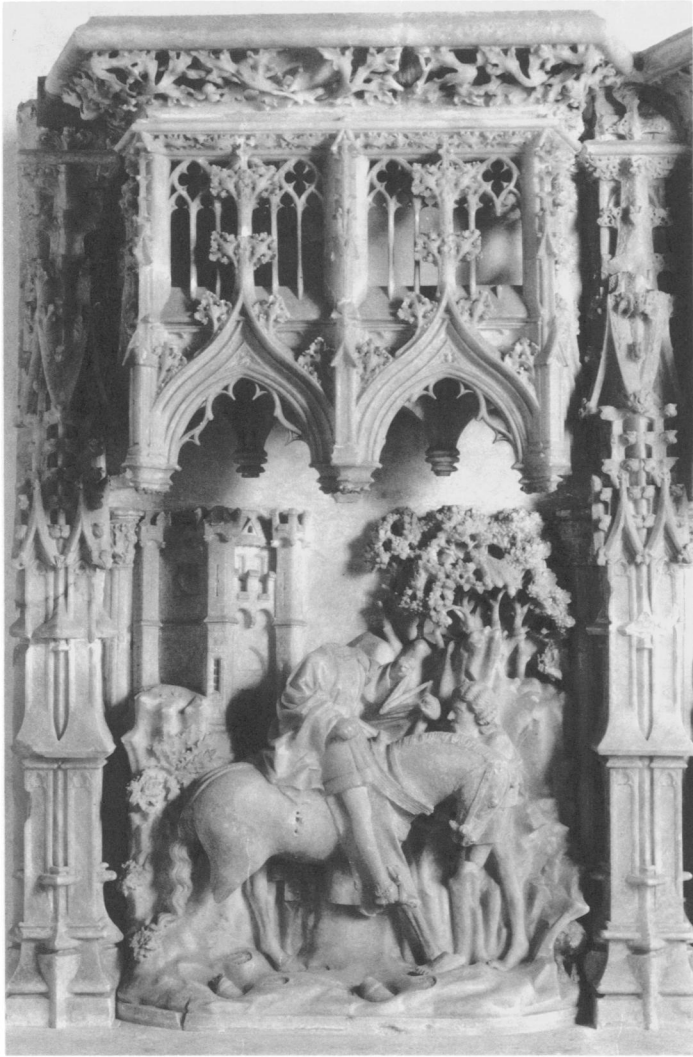
In contrast, Pere Johan's treatment of the same theme is less daring in its handling of space (Figure 7). Despite its beauty, it betrays an allegiance to an aesthetic tradition that passed from fashion by the middle of the century. St. Paul dominates by his central position, while St. Thecla, identified 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.¹² 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.



10. Detail of Figure 1: *St. Martin Dividing His Cloak*

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 retablo 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.¹³ Moreover, it is evident that don Dalmau's retablo stands in exactly the same relationship to those of the cathedrals of Tarragona and Saragossa as do the later ones



11. Detail of Figure 1: *St. Martin's Vision*

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.¹⁴

13. Beatrice Gilman Proske, *Castilian Sculpture: Gothic to Renaissance* (New York, 1951) pp. 11–12, 15. The relationship with the Catalan sepulchers is suggested by Ainaud de Lasarte, "Alfonso el Magnánimo," pp. 327–328; English trans., p. 199.

14. J. Zabay, "Capitulación del retablo de Montearagón de Gil Morlanes, padre," *Athenaeum* (Saragossa, Oct.–Dec. 1922) pp. 35–37. Ricardo del Arco, *El retablo mayor de Montearagón*, Cuadernos de arte aragonés 9 (Saragossa, 1954), passim. Manuel Abizanda y Broto, *Documentos para la historia artística y literaria de Aragón procedentes del Archivo de Protocolos de Zaragoza*, 3 vols. (Saragossa, 1915–32) II, pp. 129–130, 163–176, 187–190. M. Abizanda y Broto, *Damián Forment, el escultor de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1942) pp. 21–24, 29, 31, 42, 58–62.

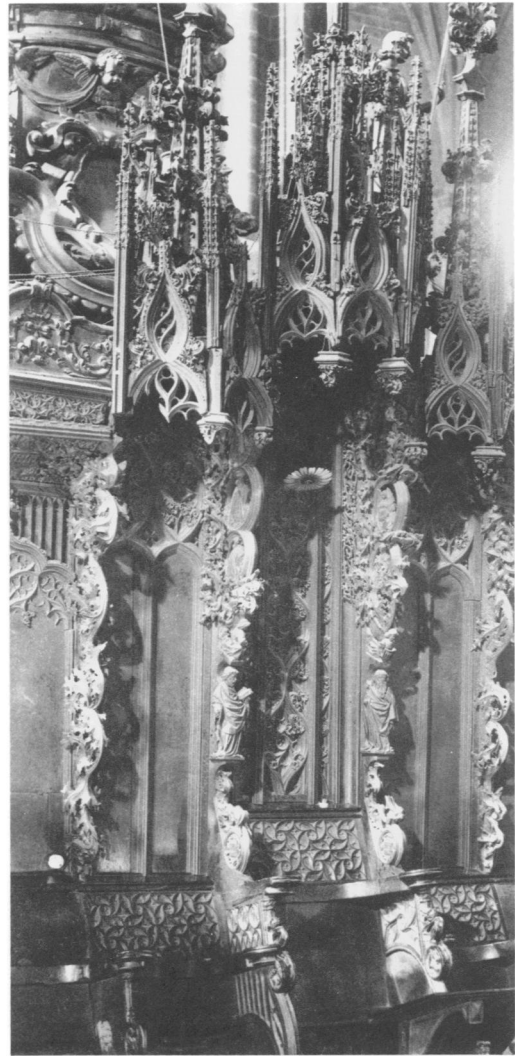
Despite the general visual unity of the Cloisters retable, the artistic range of the reliefs, evident in the varied treatment of faces and fabrics, suggests the participation of two sculptors. The scene of Pentecost, where background, drapery, hair, and beards crackle with energy, best represents Bertaux's "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.¹⁵

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 Usesques, 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.¹⁶ Organized around a central narrative, it followed the

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.



12. Francí Gomar and shop, Choir Stalls of the Seo of Saragossa: sedilia (photo: Mas)

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 Usesques 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.

Additional documents confirm that Fortaner de Usesques held a prominent position in the artistic circles of Saragossa. Identified as a stonemason and carver of images on November 27, 1448, he received 206 *sueños* as the final installment of the 800 *sueños* due him for a stone image for the chapel of the Virgin in the Seo of Saragossa.¹⁷ On March 18 of the following year, he was paid 6000 *sueños* for carving and painting coats of arms for the *casas del reino* in Saragossa.¹⁸ 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 Usesques, 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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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.²¹

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 Alí 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 *sueños*.²² In 1448, Master Terri de Mes, glazier, was busy installing the windows in the choir

17. Doc. 1.

18. Doc. 2.

19. The contract is in Barcelona, Archivo Municipal, Manual de 1442-47, fol. 45v. Published by José Puiggarí, "Noticias de algunos artistas catalanes inéditos de la edad media y del renacimiento, parte segunda," *Memorias de la Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 3 (1880) pp. 283-284, it is dated Nov. 26, 1443, and begins "Fanciscus [sic] Gomar, imaginarius, civis Barcinonae." S. Sanpere y Miguel, *Los cuatrocentistas catalanes, historia de la pintura en Cataluña en el siglo XV*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1906) I, pp. 237-239, includes an illustration of the original sketch. The retable, which retains its handsomely carved frame, is now in the Museo de Arte de Cataluña, Barcelona. See also Anne Simonson Fuchs, "The Virgin of the Councillors by Luis Dalmau (1443-1445), the Contract and Its Eyckian Execution," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 99 (1982) pp. 45-54.

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 ymagineria," signed as a witness (Alfonso Francés, Protocolo, 1445, fol. 1). José María Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza é historia: Aragón* (Barcelona, 1886) p. 443, states that Francí 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 *frontizas* 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 Alí Arrondi, Muza, and Chamar were working in 1412 (Quadrado, p. 444). The later set is mentioned also by Diego de Espés, "Historia eclesiástica de la ciudad de Çara-

goça," II, fol. 631: "En este año [1445] se comenco a labrar el coro de esta sancta Igleſſia con dinero del Arçobispo que Simon Tirado su procurador libraria a Bartolome Tarragona, canónigo y enfermero que lo nombro el Arçobispo para que fuesse superintendente en la obra del coro," quoted in María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Catedral del Salvador o la Seo," *Guía histórico-artística de Zaragoza* (Saragossa, 1982) p. 109.

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 grandissimo daño," as recorded by Espés, "Historia eclesiástica," II, fol. 723, and cited in Pascual Galindo Romeo, "El cimborio de la Seo," *Monumentos artísticos de la Seo en el siglo XV* (Saragossa, 1923) pp. 27-28. Lamberto de Zaragoza, *Teatro histórico de las iglesias del reyno de Aragón* (Pamplona, 1785) IV, p. 221, gives the number of stalls as 105 rather than the 117 mentioned by Quadrado. Abizanda y Broto, *Documentos para la historia artística y literaria de Aragón*, II, pp. 296-297, published the contract signed with Bernat Valenciano on Apr. 6, 1532, to refurbish the stalls. Assisted by Mateo de Cambray, he was to create work equal to that of Francí and Anthon Gomar.

22. The date of the contract remains uncertain. Quadrado, *Aragón*, p. 433, gives it as 1444; the Conde de la Viñaza, *Adiciones 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, Alí Rami received 2,000 *sueños* in partial payment of that contract (AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1448, fol. 34v). On Feb. 20, 1449, he received another 1,000 *sueños*, 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 Alí Rami died; on Jan. 12, 1450, his father-in-law, Juce Palacio, assumed the responsibilities of guardian of Alí 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 *sueudos* 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 *sueudos* 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 *sueudos* 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 *sueudos*. 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 en-

vision 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 *sueudos* on April 2, 1457, as part of the first installment due him, and 500 *sueudos* 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 *sueudos* 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 *sueudos*.³⁴

23. AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1448, fol. 60v, Sept. 6. Master Terri received 1,712 *sueudos*, of which 1,600 were designated as for the "vidrieras e fillados de las finiestras e vidrieras de la puerta de sus del coro e las de refitorio e de Sant Angel" and 112 *sueudos* for the fifty-six days he had been in Saragossa "en posar e fer los fillados de las ditas finiestras." He was also paid 130 *sueudos*, 8 *díneros* for other expenses, including 18 *sueudos* 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 *sueudos*. The windows were brought from Barcelona; on July 1, 1448, Arnau Guillen received 120 *sueudos* "por el port e el general de Catalunya e el puent de fraga e la barqua del gallego de las vidrieras pora la Seu" (AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1448, fol. 34v). On Feb. 6, 1449, Terri de Mes and Guillen Tàlarn, 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 another window in the *Sala del Consejo* (ibid.; see also Agustín Durán Sanpere, *Barcelona i la seva història*: III. *L'art i la cultura* [Barcelona, 1975] pp. 250–252).

24. AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1449, fols. 13, 23, 26, and 47, dated Feb. 20, Apr. 4, Apr. 13, and May 29 respectively.

25. Doc. 3.

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. gv, Feb. 8.

28. Riccardo Filangieri di Candida, *Rassegna critica delle fonti per la storia di Castel Nuovo*, 4 vols. (Naples, 1936–40) II, p. 43.

29. Docs. 4, 5, and 7. For English examples, see the screen at Totnes (Devon), 1459, in Joan Evans, *English Art, 1307–1461*, Oxford History of English Art V (Oxford, 1949) p. 36 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.

30. Docs. 8 and 11. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Gil Morlanes, escultor del siglo XV y principios del XVI [pt. 1]," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 34 (1916) p. 361, published a document of Feb. 19, 1459 (not the 18th as Serrano y Sanz states), citing Francí Gomar as "maestro del retaulo de la Seu de la ciudad de Çaragoça" (AHP, Pedro Martín, Protocolo, 1459, unfoliated). See also Durán Sanpere and Ainaud de Lasarte, *Escultura gótica*, p. 282, and Lacarra Ducay, "Catedral del Salvador," p. 109.

31. Doc. 14.

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

33. Serrano y Sanz, "Gil Morlanes [pt. 2]," 36 (1917) doc. IV, pp. 96–97.

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, Francí 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 *sueudos* 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, Francí Gomar accepted 450 *sueudos* of 3,660 *sueudos* 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 *sueudos*, 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, Francí 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 Francí 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

35. He received 1,700 *sueudos*; doc. 6. The italics are mine.

36. Doc. 9.

37. Doc. 10.

38. Doc. 15. The italics are mine.

39. Doc. 16.

40. Doc. 13. The reference is certainly to don Dalmau, although he is not mentioned by name.

41. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "San Lorenzo de Magallón (Zaragoza), obra restaurada de Tomás Giner," *Cuadernos de estudios borjanos* 7–8 (1981) pp. 236–237. Tormo y Monzó, "Pintura aragonesa cuatrocentista," pp. 70, 72–73, believed it possible that the Prado *St. Vincent* was flanked by two panels now in the archbishop's palace to form a single retable, although he recognized that the donor in the former panel does not wear episcopal vestments. José Cabezudo Astraín, "Nuevos documentos sobre pintores aragoneses del siglo XV," *Seminario de arte aragonés* 7–9 (1957) pp. 67, 72, published the contract of 1479 for Tomás Giner to paint the retable of St. Anne for the church at Mainar; it includes the reference proving Giner's authorship of the *St. Vincent*, which was for a chapel in the Seo. If the panels in the archbishop's palace are, as I believe, a part of the 1458 commission (see discussion below), then the donor of the *St. Vincent* retable remains to be identified. Pedro Calahorra, "El órgano que en 1469 donó el arzobispo don Juan I de Aragón a su catedral de San Salvador—La Seo—de Zaragoza," *Revista de musicología* 6 (1983) pp. 207–210, publishes the contract for painting the organ in 1474. See also María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Una obra de arte recuperada: El retablo de la Virgen de la Corona, Erla (Zaragoza)," *Zaragoza*, 2nd ser., 1, no. 2 (1979) pp. 14–17, which treats Tomás Giner's only retable to survive intact.



13. Tomás Giner (active 1458–80), Retable of don Dalmau de Mur: upper register, central panel, *St. Martin and St. Thecla*. Saragossa, Archbishop's Palace (photo: Mas)



14. Tomás Giner, Retable of don Dalmau de Mur: upper register, right panel, *St. Augustine and St. Lawrence*. Saragossa, Archbishop's Palace (photo: Mas)

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 compo-

sitions 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, Elías 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 $65\frac{3}{4} \times 42\frac{1}{16}$ in. (167×109 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.⁴³ 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 Francí 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.⁴⁴

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 1473.⁴⁵

Perhaps Francí 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."⁴⁶ Elsewhere, however, he is given the title "master of imagery of the Seo."⁴⁷ That Francí 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 Francí Gomar as the sculptor of these images in wood and alabaster.⁴⁸

43. Tormo y Monzó, "Pintura aragonesa cuatrocentista," 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 Lope Fernández de Luna by Pedro Moragues, the *mudéjar artesonado*, and the intricate *mudéjar* brick and tile work of its exterior wall. See Lacarra Ducay, "Catedral del Salvador," pp. 119–120, 122–124.

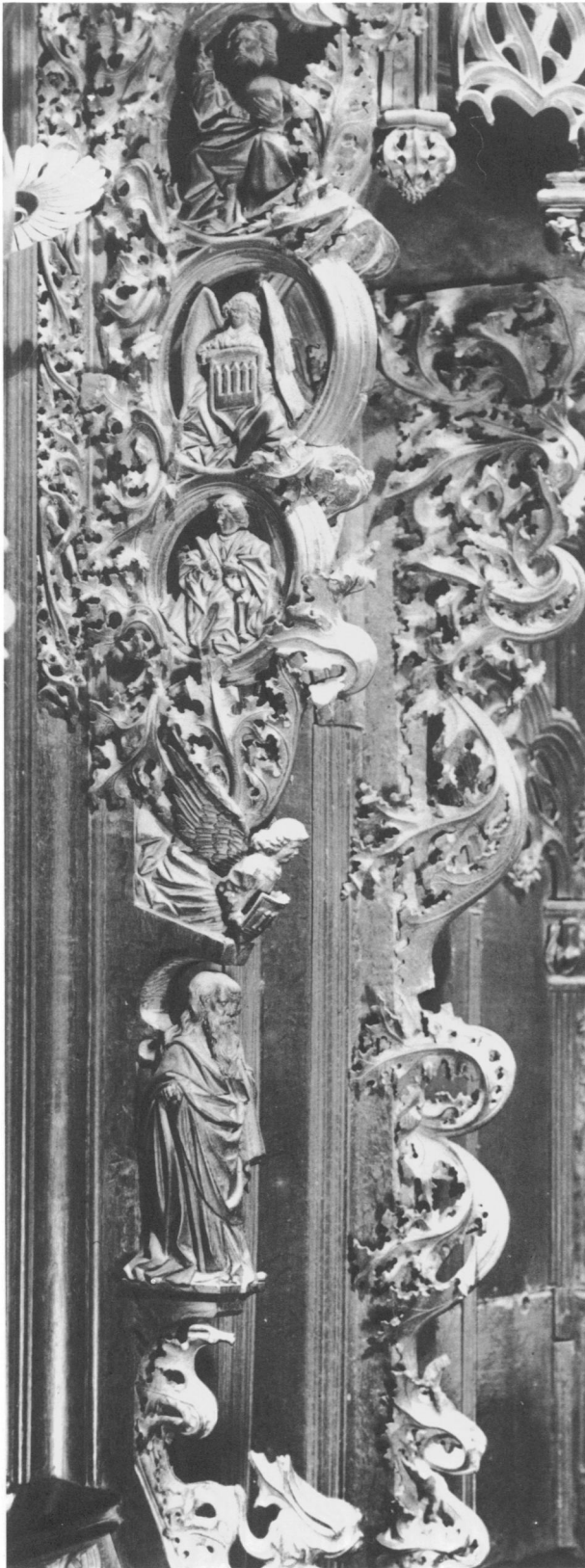
The width of the Cloisters retable, 183 in., could easily accommodate the combined width of three panels, about 130 in., plus the necessary framing elements and the *guardapolvo*. Although the top of the Cloisters retable is fitted with six vertical insets, which might suggest a five-panel arrangement 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.

45. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Los Giner," *Gran enciclopedia aragonesa* (Saragossa, 1981) VI, p. 1537.

46. Doc. 11.

47. 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).

48. In two earlier instances where painting and sculpture were combined in Aragonese retables, the contract was written with the principal contributing artist. Thus, for example, Pere Johan contracted in 1443 with don Gonçalvo de la Caballería for the Pentecost Retable to adorn the chapel of the town hall of Saragossa; he carved the central narrative, which was gilded and polychromed, while Pascual Ortoneda painted the narratives on the movable wings. (See Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Documentos relativos a la pintura en Aragón durante los siglos XIV y XV,"



15. Francí 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 Francí'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.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, this second master was certainly a respected member of Francí's shop, for otherwise the collaboration evident in several of the reliefs is impossible to explain.

Although Francí Gomar was primarily involved with ecclesiastical commissions, he also participated in secular projects. In 1458, he collaborated with Matheu Sariñena and Domingo Sariñena 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.⁵⁰ In 1478, he reappeared together with his son Antonio, carving the

Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos 35 [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 Dalmau 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 Esteruel, he is called "maestro de talla vezino de Çaragoça" (AHP, Pedro Martínez de Alfocea, Protocolo, 1458, fols. 2v–3). Titled "fustero e maestro de talla," he signed for a loan of 500 *sueldos* from Jaquo Calama in 1462 (AHP, Pedro Martínez de Alfocea, Protocolo, 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 ffrancia et habitant de present de la Ciudat de Çaragoça 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, Protocolo, 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 çaragoça" in a rental agreement made for two years with Margarita de Aniego, widow of Bernart Piquer (AHP, Pedro Martínez de Alfocea, Protocolo, 1466, unfoliated).



16. Francí Gomar and shop, *Virgin and Child*. Saragossa, Parish Church of S. Valero (photo: Tempo, Saragossa)

choir stalls of Tarragona Cathedral, a project requiring fourteen years.⁵¹ 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.⁵²

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.⁵³ 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. 38, ms., Archivos Eclesiásticos de Tarragona. He also cites documents in the Archivo Histórico Arzobispado de Tarragona mentioning "Francesc Gomar, magister cori" (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 "magister 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 Llauredó, *La catedral de Tarragona, memoria ó 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. 1493, 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," *Guta histórico-artística de Zaragoza* (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.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the State University of New York College at Buffalo for a sabbatical and a leave of absence in the spring semesters 1980 and 1983, and the National Endowment for the Humanities for a Fellowship for College Teachers which supported my continuing investigations in Aragon during the period January to August 1983. I am grateful to Dr. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, *Catedrática* of Ancient and Medieval Art at the Universidad de Zaragoza, for sharing her knowledge of Aragonese art and history; to Dr. María Isabel Falcón Pérez, Professor of Medieval History at the same university, for her kind assistance in transcribing the documents which accompany this article; and to señora doña Marina González Miranda, Director of the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Saragossa, and her staff for facilitating my research. I also want to express my gratitude to Dr. Francis R. Kowsky, Assistant to the Dean, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, State University College at Buffalo, and Mr. Timothy Husband, Associate Curator, The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, whose careful, critical reading of this study has helped me to refine its presentation.

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 diusesques, piedrapiquero e ymaginayre, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos honorable mossen Garcia ciuera, Canonge dela Seu de Çaragoça, dozientos e seys sueldos Jaqueses los quales 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 havenida vna ymagen de piedra que yo he fecho pora la Capiella de Sta. M^a dela dita Seu. Et con sto so contento 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 deusesques, himaginayre habitant en Çaragoça, atorgo hauer hauido e enpoder mio Recebido de vos Johan de Salabert vim sueldos dineros jaqueses por Razon delas Armas de las casas del Regno los quales los Senyores diputados vos mandaron dar a mi dit fortanet deseques 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 quatro sueldos Jaqueses los quales a mi pagueses por xxiiii^o Jornales que yo fui a nauarra por fer a traher la fusta del coro con mi moço los quales 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 Ciudad de Çaragoça, Atorgo hauer Recebido del honorable prior et Capitol dela Seu de Çaragoça tres mil sueldos Jaqueses de aquellos xii^m sueldos que el dito Capitol me ha de dar por el fazer de la Rexa del coro dela dita Seu los quales me ha pagado es assaber el honorable mossen Johan saluador, Arcediano de daroca fabriquero, mil sueldos, e el honorable mossen pedro de auinyon, fabriquero, dos mil sueldos. Et porque etc.

Testes, maestre bernad barbero, menestral, e fferando steuan, habitantes Cesarauguste.

5. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1454, fol. 30v, April 19

fabrica

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestre de ymaginaria, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos mossen pedro dauinyon, Cambrero e fabriquero dela dita Seu, tres mil ochocientos quaranta sueldos seys dineros Jaqueses los quales me hauedes dado en diuersas vegades e por manos de diuersas personas en e por Razon de las Rexas e obra que agora yo fago al entrat del coro. Et porque etc.

Testes, Anthon depila, Racionero dela Seu, e Garcia dalfaro, habitantes en Çaragoça.

6. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1456, unfoliated, June 18

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, fustero vezino de çaragoça, atorgo hauer recebido del muyt Reuerend en Ihu Xpo padre et senyor don dalmau por la gracia diuinal Arcebispo de çaragoça por manos del honorable mossen pere de montflorit, almosnero del dito senyor, son asaber mil et setecientos sueldos jaqueses 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 present albaran.

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

7. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1456, fol. 34, November 27

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestre de ymagineria dela Seu, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos honorable mossen pedro dauinyon, fabriquero dela dita Seu, xii^m sueldos jaqueses los quales vos me hauedes dados e pagados en diuersos dias e por manos de diuersas personas incluso cccc sueldos que oy me ha dado mossen Johan gilbert, fabriquero, e Alfonso frances porel. Et sto me hauedes dado por Razon dela frontera del coro que yo he feyto porel dito precio. Et porque delos ditos xii^m sueldos so contento Atorgo etc. Incluso 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 ffranci gomar, maestre de ymagineria, Atorgo hauer Recebido del Capitol por manos de mossen sancho daroca, Canonge, Mil sueldos empart de paga del precio concordado enfazer la obra del Retaulo del Altar mayor 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 ffranci gomar, ffustero habitant enla ciudat de çaragoça, atorgo hauer recebido delos honorables Executores del vltimo testament del muy Reuerend don dalmau de buena memoria quondam, Arcebispe de çaragoça, por manos del honorable don Alfonso frances, notario et ciudadano dela dita ciudat, son asaber mil sueldos jaqueses e son del precio del retaulo que el dito senyor quondam començo afazer enla ca[piella]. [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 montalban, escudero, et Johan dias, sastre, habitantes en çaragoça.

10. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1458, unfoliated, June 5

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, fustero habitant en çaragoça, atorgo hauer recebido delos Executores del testament de don dalmau de buena memoria quondam, arcebispo de çaragoça, por manos de don Alfonso frances, notario e ciudadano de çaragoça, seyscientos sueldos jaqueses por part de paga del precio dela obra que yo fago enel Retaulo dela ca-

piella dela casa arcebispal de Çaragoça. Et porque etc.

Testes, mossen Anton de fraylla, clerigo, e Johan de montalban, escudero, habitantes en çaragoça.

11. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1458, unfoliated, September 6

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, picapedreo habitant en çaragoça, atorgo hauer recebido dela fabrica dela seu de çaragoça por manos del honorable mossen sancho daroca, canonigo 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 present albaran.

Testes, mosen anthon de tena, clerigo, et brian, clerigo, habitantes en çaragoça.

12. Miguel de Valtueña, Protocolo, 1458, fol. 60–60v, September 20

Eadem die yo morix perrin, fustero vezino de la ciudat de Çaragoça, atendient e considerant los senyores Jurados dela dita ciudat hauer dado la obra delas casas del puent dela dita ciudat 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 delas ditas casas por tanto demi cierta sciencia prometo e me obligo seruar Indempnes alos ditos domingo e matheu de saranyena et franci gomar de qualesquieres danyos et misiones que por no canuyar las paredes dela sala nueva delas ditas casas vos conuerna fazer et sustener Ental manera que si por no canuyar las paredes dela dita sala nueva vos conuinran fazer expensas daynos o menoscabos todos aquellos e aquellas vos prometo e me obligo pagar satisfacer e emendar dius obligacion de todos mis bienes etc. Et renuncio etc.

Testimonios fueron alas sobreditas cosas presentes steuan saluador, pelayre, et nicholau tudela, mercader, habitantes en Çaragoça.

13. Papeles sueltos, 1458, unnumbered sheet with fragmentary text

cccc l viii^o

[. . .] feyta entre ffranci gomar [. . . habita]nt enla ciudat de çaragoça [. . . Tomás] giner, pintor habitant enla [. . .] en e sobre vn Retaulo que [. . .] porla capiella del arçobis[po . . .] forma Siguient.

E primerament [. . . c]oncordado entre los ditos partes que el dito toma[s . . . p]intar e daurar el dito Retaulo e maçone[ria] de ffino oro e finos colores tales e tan buen[os] como seyan deuer aconoscimiento de dos Menestrales vno puesto porel dito ffranci e otro porel dito tomas giner.

Item es Condicion que el dito tomas Sia tenido de pintar enla pieça de mich sant martin e santa tecla, enla otra pieça dreta sant agostin e sant lorent, enla otra pieça ezquerra sant vicent e sant valero e enla istoria dela punta alta [...] dela pasion e ~~la maria e sant~~ [crossed out in the original].

[...] pieças giras altas en cada pie[ça ...] las armas del arcebispe. [...] todo esto que le hayan Dar [...] en tres pagas [...] la otra meytat le [...] ac[abado] el dito Retaulo [...] dito tomas a de dar a [...] de aqui el dia de [...].

14. Pedro Martín, Protocolo, 1459, unfoliated, January 12

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestro del Retaulo mayor dela Seu dela ciudat de Çaragoça, atorgo hauer hauido e enpoder mio Recebido de vos el muy honorable e honesto Religioso mossen sancho daroqua, canonigo dela dita Seu asi como procurador dela fabrica de aquella, mil sueldos Jaqueses los quales 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.

15. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1459, unfoliated, March 15

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, fustero habitant en çaragoça, atorgo hauer recebido delos Executores del testament de Reuerent don dalmau de buena memoria quondam, arcebispo de çaragoça, por manos de don Alfonso frances, notario e ciudadano de çaragoça, quatrocientos et cinquanta sueldos jaqueses los quales [illegible word] de aquellos iii^m dclx sueldos que yo deuo cobrar por fer et acabar el Retaulo de fusta dela capiella de casa arcebispal de çaragoça et porque etc. protestando del Residio atorgo el present albaran.

Testes, Jayme de soria et agostin aluarez, notarios habitantes en çaragoça.

16. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1459, unfoliated, March 22

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, fustero habitant en çaragoça, atorgo hauer recebido delos Executores de don Dalmau quondam, arcebispo de çaragoça, por manos de alfonso frances trezientos sueldos del precio del Retaulo de fusta que yo he fecho pora la capiella dela casa arcebispal de çaragoça et porque etc. con protestacion del Residio atorgo el present albaran.

Testes, agostin aluarez et pedro dauinyon, scriveros habitantes en çaragoça.

17. Pedro Martín, Protocolo, 1459, unfoliated, October 31

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestro del Retaulo mayor dela Seu dela ciudat de çaragoça, atorgo hauer hauido e enpoder mio Recebido de vos el honorable et honesto Religioso mossen sancho daroqua, canonge dela dita Seu asi como procurador dela fabrica de aquella, asaber por cient trenta e dos sueldos dineros Jaqueses los quales son de aquellos quatorze mil sueldos dineros Jaqueses que yo deuo Recebir por fazer la obra de fusta del dito Retaulo del altar mayor dela dita Seu.

Testes, mosen Pedro craber, Racionero dela dita Seu, e mossen pedro calcena, preboste enla dita Ciudad habitant.

18. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo, 1460, unfoliated, April 5

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestre de ymagineria dela Seu de Çaragoça, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos mossen sancho daroqua, Canonge fabriquero dela dita Seu, Mil sueldos Jaqueses los quales son part de aquellos xiiii^m 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.