

**UNRAVELING CHRIST'S *PASSION*:  
ARCHBISHOP DALMAU DE MUR, PATRON AND COLLECTOR,  
AND FRANCO-FLEMISH TAPESTRIES IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN**

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Katherine M. Dimitroff, PhD

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This dissertation considers the artistic patronage of Dalmau de Mur i de Cervelló (1376–1456), a high-ranking Catalan prelate little known outside Spain. As Bishop of Girona (1416–1419), Archbishop of Tarragona (1419–1431) and Archbishop of Zaragoza (1431–1456), Dalmau de Mur commissioned and acquired works of art, including illuminated manuscripts, panel paintings, sculpted altarpieces, metalwork and tapestries. Many of these objects survive, including two remarkable tapestries depicting the *Passion of Christ* that he bequeathed to Zaragoza Cathedral upon his death in 1456. Surviving primary documents, particularly Dalmau de Mur's testament and the Cathedral inventory of 1521, show that his collection was still more significant.

A major part of the dissertation is a study of the style and iconography of the *Passion of Christ* tapestries at Zaragoza Cathedral. They were woven in the French northern counties of Flanders or Artois in the early fifteenth century. Technically, they are among the earliest surviving examples of tapestry that comprise silk, silver and gold threads. Furthermore, they are the only surviving Franco-Flemish tapestries to have been imported into an ecclesiastical collection in Spain. Dalmau de Mur's acquisition marks the beginning of an important phase of the artistic exchange between northern and southern Europe that would culminate in the patronage of the "Catholic Kings" later in the fifteenth century.

The Zaragoza tapestries are also the oldest extant tapestries that represent the *Passion of Christ*. Consequently, they provide a rare insight into the treatment of *Passion* iconography in the rich and expensive medium of luxury tapestry during the early fifteenth century. An extensive iconographic survey reveals that the designers of the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries were influenced by a select group of objects owned by the leading patrons of art in France—King Charles V and his brothers, the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Anjou. Stylistic criteria confirm that the designers of the *Zaragoza* tapestries were French or Flemish artists who either worked for the French royal court or knew the objects produced by French court artists.

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*Pittsburgh, PA*

*K.M.D.*

*April 2008*

## NOTE TO READER

Due to copyright restrictions, the author has only reproduced photographs of the two *Passion* tapestries in the collection of Zaragoza Cathedral. In most cases, bibliographic sources are cited that include figure numbers; however, in the instances when the author found a photograph of an illumination in a photo archive, she has provided only the manuscript and folio numbers. The reader should contact the author at [kdimitroff@hotmail.com](mailto:kdimitroff@hotmail.com) if specific references are needed when none is cited.

## ABBREVIATIONS

The following is a list of abbreviations of the archives mentioned in the text:

ACA	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón
ACCG	Arxiu Capitular de Catedral de Girona
ACCV	Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Valencia
ACSZ	Archivo Capitular de la Seo de Zaragoza
ADCT	Arxiu Diocesà de la Catedral de Tarragona
ADG	Arxiu Diocesà de Girona
ADZ	Archivo Diocesano de Zaragoza
ADPZ	Archivo Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza
AHPZ	Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Zaragoza
BCAH	Biblioteca de Catalunya Arxiu Històric



## 1.0 INTRODUCTION: ARCHBISHOP DALMAU DE MUR AND ARTISTIC PATRONAGE IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN

In mid-September 1456, the executors of the Archbishop of Zaragoza, Dalmau de Mur (1431–1456), opened and read last will and testament.<sup>1</sup> This document, which survives as a late sixteenth-century copy, reveals that by the time of his death Dalmau de Mur had amassed a considerable collection of luxury works of art that included tapestries, illuminated manuscripts and panel paintings.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, Dalmau de Mur bequeathed an assortment of items—silver, rings, gems, books, candelabra, gold crosses, a gold chalice, and numerous liturgical vestments—to various religious institutions.

The objects recorded in Dalmau de Mur’s testament complement several other surviving works of art—not listed in his testament—that were commissioned and/or acquired while he served as Bishop of Girona (1416–1419), Archbishop of Tarragona (1419–1431) and Archbishop

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<sup>1</sup> Dalmau de Mur died in the days following September 12, 1456, since the wording in his testament on folio 454 (*Adbeniente autem et post die duodecima mensis septembris anni*) and folio 457 (*Subsequenti autem die quartadecima dicti mensis septembris anno*), is not totally clear on which day the archbishop actually died. The testament is housed in Zaragoza, Archivo de la Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza [hereafter ADZP], MS 164. Dalmau’s testament is fifty-eight pages long (29 folios), spanning from folio 431–459v (a second system of foliation also exists, ranging from folios 258–286v). Three pages of excerpts were published by Manuel Serrano y Sanz, “Documentos relativos a la pintura en Aragón durante el siglo XV,” *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 32 (January–June, 1915): 147–166 at 151–153, no. 13. A full transcription of the testament (with several errors) was published by Antonio Durán Gudiol and María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “El Testamento de Don Dalmau de Mur y Cervelló, Arzobispo de Zaragoza (1431–1456): nuevas observaciones,” *Aragonia Sacra* 11 (1996): 49–62.

<sup>2</sup> Currently, some of these works of art are found in collections in Spain, while it is unknown if the others survive. For those objects that remain untraced, I conducted an extensive search through photo archives (such as Archivo Mas at the Instituto Amatller in Barcelona), books and exhibition catalogs with the objective to identify objects once owned by Dalmau de Mur. I was successful in only one instance, finding a dalmatic that is described in Chapter III.

of Zaragoza (1431–1456). These include the large sculpted altarpieces for Tarragona Cathedral, Zaragoza Cathedral and the Archbishop’s Palace in Zaragoza, as well as the acquisition and commissioning of several illuminated manuscripts, not mentioned in his testament.

Surviving documentation sheds light on many of these commissions, offering valuable information such as the names of the artists contracted to do the work and how much they were paid. There also exists an inventory, taken in 1521, that lists the tapestries bequeathed to Zaragoza Cathedral by Archbishop de Mur and his successors. This document describes the subject matter and quantity of tapestries that each archbishop donated to Zaragoza Cathedral.

Dalmau de Mur i de Cervelló (1376–1456), also known as Dalmacio de Mur y Cervellón and Dalmatius de Muro,<sup>3</sup> was born into an aristocratic Catalan family that had important ties to the religious and secular spheres of the late medieval kingdom of Aragón. For example, Pedro Martínez de Luna,<sup>4</sup> an Aragonese noble, whose cousins married Dalmau de Mur’s uncle and brother, was a significant person in Dalmau’s life. Pedro Martínez de Luna became the well-known Anti-pope Benedict XIII (r.1394–1417), who was the anti-pope at the papal curia in Avignon and a great patron of the arts. He not only shaped Dalmau de Mur’s ecclesiastical career, but he also served as an exemplar of commissioning and collecting luxury works of art. An in-depth examination of Dalmau de Mur’s testament, the 1521 inventory from Zaragoza

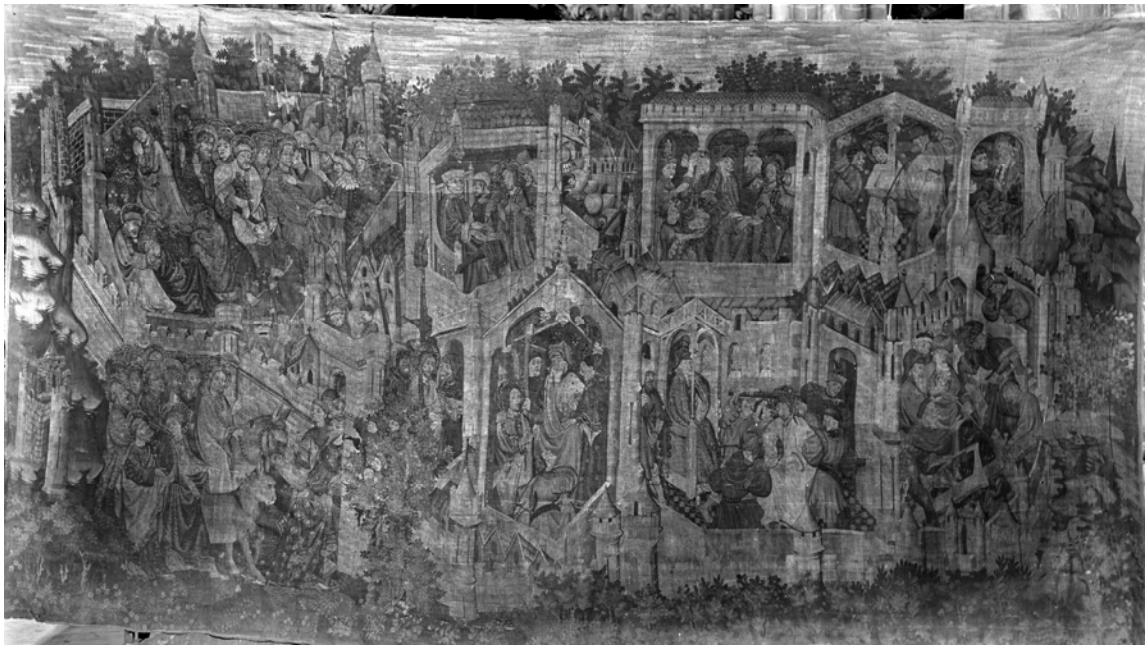
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<sup>3</sup> In respect of the different cultural faces of Spain, the spellings of persons and places with Catalan names will remain in Catalan. Castilian equivalents will be provided, if needed, for clarification. By contrast, those persons and places from outside the autonomous community of Catalonia (typically from the kingdom of Castile and León or other parts of the kingdom of Aragón) will be given solely in Castilian; however, at times this approach becomes problematic. For instance, on the one hand there are instances when persons not native of Catalonia lived most of their lives in Catalonia, while on the other hand, there are examples of natives of Catalonia spending much of their lives outside of Catalonia, like Dalmau de Mur i de Cervelló. Because Catalonia was part of Aragón in the late Middle Ages, it can be argued that Castilian names for all should suffice, but because this dissertation mainly considers a patron from Catalonia, the Catalan language is preferred.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter II explains in detail the Luna family’s important royal and religious connections. For instance, Pedro Martínez de Luna was related to the Queen of Aragón, María de Luna, who is mentioned in this chapter, see text corresponding to note 83.

Cathedral and his surviving works of art reveals that he was one of the leading Catalan prelates collecting and commissioning luxury works of art during the first half of the fifteenth century.

The primary objective of this dissertation is to introduce the person, Dalmau de Mur, as a significant ecclesiastical patron of the arts in late medieval Spain, to identify and analyze his collection, and to assess his role as a collector of luxury objects and as a patron of their production. I make a special study of two exceptionally large and imposing tapestries (each approximately H 4 x W 8 m. or H 13 ft. x W 27 ft.) that are preserved today in Zaragoza Cathedral (Figure 1 and Figure 2).



**Figure 1.** *The Passion of Christ* (first tapestry). Franco-Flanders, ca.1400–1410. Zaragoza, Museo de Tapices, Zaragoza Cathedral. © Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.



**Figure 2.** *The Passion of Christ* (second tapestry). Franco-Flanders, ca.1400–1410. Zaragoza, Museo de Tapices, Zaragoza Cathedral. © Institut Amatller d’Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.

The weavings have been dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century and attributed on stylistic grounds to Arras.<sup>5</sup> The tapestries were most probably woven in the French northern provinces of Flanders or Artois (in the Franco-Flanders region),<sup>6</sup> since there is no documentary

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<sup>5</sup> Without documentary evidence as to the workshop of manufacture, it is not possible to determine exactly where the tapestries were woven. The attribution comes from the following sources: Roger Adolf d’Hulst, *Tapisseries flamandes du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Brussels: Éditions L’Arcade, 1960), 33–40, no. 5; Eduardo Torra de Arana, Antero Hombria Tortajada and Tomás Domingo Pérez, *Los tapices de la Seo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1985), 62–73, no. 1; Greet Ghyselen, “The Passion Tapestries of the Saragossa Cathedral and Pre-Eyckian Realism,” in *Flanders in a European Perspective: Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad*, ed. Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon (Leuven: Peeters, 1995): 401–416. Also see note 6 below.

<sup>6</sup> Use of the term “Franco-Flanders” remains problematic within the field of tapestry history. For decades scholars attempted to ascertain from which city a tapestry was woven based on inherent stylistic traits, proposing that each city maintained a distinct regional style (e.g., “style of Arras,” or “style of Tournai”). This may in fact be the case, but since the vast majority of tapestries lack any primary documentation to securely tie them to a specific city or workshop, scholars must be prudent with such attributions. Recognizing that much of the extant archival evidence does not link a tapestry with its original city of production, a broader terminology has been introduced by tapestry scholars, notably Adolph Salvatore Cavallo. In his monumental catalog of the medieval tapestries in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1993), Cavallo utilizes the umbrella phrase “Southern Netherlands” to indicate the large region from which most tapestries were made during the end of the Middle Ages, including cities such as Arras, Bruges, Brussels, Ghent, Lille and Tournai. I, however, believe that the term “Southern Netherlands” dissociates (to a certain degree) the tapestry-producing

evidence that supports the attribution to an Arras workshop. The names of their designers and weavers remain unknown. The tapestries depict *The Story of the Passion of Christ* and are the oldest known tapestries of that subject to survive.<sup>7</sup> Technically, they are among the earliest extant examples to incorporate precious materials—silk, silver and gold threads—that were added to the more usual, but still luxurious, dyed wool.<sup>8</sup>

Both tapestries are in good condition.<sup>9</sup> There are areas of reweaving in each tapestry, but they do not appear to compromise the integrity of the narrative or the compositional design.<sup>10</sup>

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region from its Burgundian history, since it was the Dukes of Burgundy who were among the greatest patrons of the industry. The term “Franco-Flanders” at least acknowledges that the county of Flanders was a fief of France and was under the rule of the Dukes of Burgundy from 1384 until 1477. Thus, I employ “Franco-Flanders” when referencing the region, for the lack of more suitable terminology. For more on this issue, see Walter Prevenier, Wim Blockmans, and Richard Vaughan, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 9–46; Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 57–61; Lorne Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools* (London/New Haven: National Gallery Publications/Yale University Press, 1998), 18–35; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 31–32, 47–48.

<sup>7</sup> This statement is based on surviving Western European tapestries of *The Passion* that I have cataloged in order to determine the interest in and popularity of the subject in the tapestry medium. Emeritus Professor Guy Delmarcel (Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven), a leading scholar of Flemish tapestries, also confirms this statement. Professor Delmarcel met with me over the course of the 2004–2005 academic year to discuss the *Passion* tapestries at Zaragoza Cathedral. His willingness to share his vast knowledge of tapestries and his support of my doctoral thesis have been invaluable.

<sup>8</sup> The following tapestries (contemporary in date to the creation of the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries) contain different combinations of expensive materials, along with wool threads. The three tapestries that make up *Courtly Scenes* (Paris, ca.1400–1410 at Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, inv. no. PE 601, 603, 604) use silk, silver and gold threads, see Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye et al., *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 225–227, no. 135. Only silk and wool threads are found in the tapestry, *The Offering of the Heart* (Paris, ca.1400–1410 at Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA 3131), see note 24 for bibliography. Wool with some metallic threads are observed in *The Annunciation* (Franco-Flemish region, ca.1410–1430 at New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 45.76), see note 556 where it is discussed in detail and bibliography is provided.

<sup>9</sup> I viewed the tapestries first-hand on three separate trips to Zaragoza and made exhaustive but unsuccessful efforts to gain access to the condition reports on the two tapestries. Both tapestries were cleaned and conserved during the twentieth century. In 1956, the first tapestry of the set, which illustrates the *Passion* beginning with *Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem*, was shipped for cleaning and repairs to La Fundación Real Fábrica de Tapices in Madrid, <http://www.realfabricadetapices.com> (20 April 2008), and then it was sent to La Fundación de Gremios in Madrid in 1995, the same year that the foundation closed. The second tapestry, which shows *The Crucifixion*, was cleaned and conserved at the De Wit Royal Manufactures of Tapestry in Mechelen, Belgium in 1997.

Their magnificent size and the incorporation of splendid materials made the cost of production extraordinarily high as well as the commission rare, in view of the fact that few patrons could afford such lavish works of art.

The Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries have 5–6 weft strings per centimeter, indicating the fineness of their quality and the technical skill of the weavers. It is estimated that a master weaver on average wove about one-half square meter of tapestry per month.<sup>11</sup> The height of the tapestry determined the size of the loom—a tapestry measuring four meters in height would have been woven on a loom just over four meters wide. Tapestries often extended as far as ten meters in length, a size too large for a loom. As a result, tapestries were woven from left to right, not top to bottom, allowing for the length of the final tapestry to be enormous.

The Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries measure four meters in height, thus the loom was probably at least four meters wide, providing enough space for four weavers to work alongside each other (each weaver needed about a meter of space). If the four weavers together wove approximately two square meters per month it would have taken about sixteen months for each panel to be completed. This lengthy weaving process was in addition to the time necessary to commission and create the design template or model (*petit patron* in French, *modello* in Italian) for each of the tapestries, translate those designs into large-scale, colored or color-coded tapestry cartoons (*patron* in French, *cartone* in Italian), purchase the raw materials, dye the threads, make the threads of silk, silver and gold and finally, prepare the loom.

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<sup>10</sup> My observations of the areas of repair and reweaving remain approximate; they are not scientific evaluations. The tapestries remain continually on exhibition and thus conducting an in-depth analysis was difficult. They hang flush against the wall and the backsides of both are lined with linen, further restricting a thorough examination.

<sup>11</sup> Arnout Balis, Krista De Jong, Guy Delmarcel, and Amaury Lefébure, *Les Chasses de Maximilien* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993), 43–44; Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 11; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 6n17.

The total cost of a tapestry was determined by many factors, such as the quality of the design, the technical skills of the weavers, the number of tapestries in the set, their size and fineness, and the types of materials used. To fully appreciate the value of a tapestry it is necessary to explain the substantial increase in cost when sumptuous materials were added to the production. While a tapestry woven in wool alone was expensive, its cost increased significantly if the weaving included silk from Spain or Italy and/or silver- and gold-wrapped threads from Italy or Cyprus. Primary documentation from the sixteenth century, for instance, shows that a tapestry woven with some silk cost four times as much as a tapestry woven in only wool.<sup>12</sup> If a tapestry included gold and/or silver metallic threads, the cost increased twenty-fold.<sup>13</sup> The financial result could be staggering: in 1528, Henry VIII, King of England (r.1509–1547) purchased a large set of tapestries of *The Story of David* for 1,500£, a price that equaled the cost of a battleship.<sup>14</sup> Assuming that a comparable appraisal could be made in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries for the cost increases of the inclusion of precious materials, it can be deduced that the price of the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries was extravagant because of their large size and their incorporation of silk, silver and gold threads.

In terms of tapestry design, several scholars have shown that famous panel painters—such as, Melchior Broederlam, Robert Campin, Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden—were responsible for the design process of tapestries during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, indicating that tapestry was possibly viewed on a cultural par with panel painting, but much more

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<sup>12</sup> Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 6.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 6.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 4.

expensive.<sup>15</sup> In addition to panel paintings, the illuminated manuscripts of the period, which sometimes served as artistic models for tapestry designers,<sup>16</sup> were painted by Northern artists—such as the Parent Master, Jean le Noir, Jean Bondol, Jacquemart André, the Pseudo-Jacquemart and the Limbourgs—who often traveled among the cities of Paris, Lille, Dijon, Bourges, Angers and other places where the French royal and ducal courts were based. It is probable that a similar patronage system can be assumed to have been in place for tapestry production in the late fourteenth century—royal court artists would have been commissioned to make the first design for a tapestry that could then be woven there or in another city.<sup>17</sup>

The two *Passion* tapestries at Zaragoza are Dalmau de Mur's major artistic acquisition and they form the heart of this dissertation—a study that examines the cultural and artistic contexts of the tapestries, not only from the point of view of their style and iconography, but also for the role they played as luxury imports. The tapestry weaving industry in the Franco-Flemish region was just beginning to flourish during the early fifteenth century. The acquisition of these weavings by Dalmau de Mur was extraordinary because they are among the earliest surviving

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<sup>15</sup> For an examination of the contribution of Robert Campin, Rogier van der Weyden and other well-known artists to the design of tapestry, see Elizabeth A. E. Cleland, "More than Woven Paintings: The Reappearance of Rogier van der Weyden's Designs in Tapestry," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2002); Sophie Schneebalg-Perleman and Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *La tapisserie des Pays-Bas* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 2003), 70–71.

<sup>16</sup> For example, in the late fourteenth century, it is known that *The Apocalypse* tapestry in Angers, was designed by Jean Bondol, the court painter to the King of France, Charles V, who lent the artist an *Apocalypse* manuscript from the royal library in order to create the designs for a tapestry being commissioned by his brother, Louis, Duke of Anjou. The tapestries were woven in Paris in the workshop of Robert Poinçon. George Henderson, "The Manuscripts Model of the Angers 'Apocalypse' Tapestries," *The Burlington Magazine* 127, no. 985 (April 1985): 209–219; Francis Muel et al., *La tenture de l'Apocalypse d'Angers*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Ministère de la Culture/Inventaire Général des Monuments et Richesse Artistiques de la France, Région des Pays de la Loire, 1993), 26, 31.

<sup>17</sup> Primary documents reveal that in the middle of the fifteenth century, Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy (r.1419–1467), ordered from the Tournai-based weaver-merchants Robert Dary and Jean de l'Ortie an eight-piece tapestry set of *The Story of Gideon* that was woven with silk, silver and gold; however, an Arras-based painter, Baudouin (Baudouin) de Bailleul, was responsible for the tapestry designs (see note 69). Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 61; Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 28–29.



examples of the importation of luxury goods from the Franco-Flemish region to Spain. This trend was to grow in importance through the sixteenth century and was most notably exemplified in the Flemish and Netherlandish panel paintings, altarpieces, manuscripts and tapestries commissioned by the “Catholic Kings,” Fernando II, King of Aragón (r.1479–1516) and Isabel I, Queen of Castile (r.1474–1504).<sup>18</sup>

The broader context of the dissertation, therefore, explores the artistic interchange among Aragón, France and Flanders, and considers the dynamic role of Dalmau de Mur in ecclesiastical collecting practices in the kingdom of Aragón in the first half of the fifteenth century. The fundamental questions are: what is the artistic context of Dalmau de Mur’s *Passion* tapestries? What can be said about where and how he acquired them? What other works might be drawn into a similar pattern of production and collecting? Did these imports make an impact on local patronage and production in Spain?

## 1.1 SCHOLARSHIP AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Most studies of late medieval patronage focus on major collectors in the great medieval courts or art-producing centers of the fifteenth century such as Paris, London, Milan and Prague. By contrast, one of the aims of this study is to draw attention to a relatively unknown collector and his international-scale acts of patronage.

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<sup>18</sup> For a bibliography on the tapestry collection, see Concha Herrero Carretero, *Tapices de Isabel la Católica: origen de la colección real española* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2004); Guy, Delmarcel, “La collection de tapisseries de la reine Isabelle de Castille (1451–1504): quelques réflexions critiques,” in *El arte en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos: rutas artísticas a principios de la Edad moderna*, ed. Fernando Checa and Bernardo J. Garcia Garcia (Madrid: Fundacion Carlos de Amberes/Fernando Villaverde Ediciones, 2005): 287–304.

Dalmau de Mur remains almost unknown outside of Spain. Only one article has been written on him in English. It concerns his commission of an altarpiece for the Archbishop's Palace in Zaragoza Cathedral now located in the Cloisters Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.<sup>19</sup> The leading scholar on Dalmau de Mur in Spain is María Carmen Lacarra Ducay. She has written two articles that survey Dalmau de Mur's main artistic commissions, while a third article introduces the painters who worked for him.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, Lacarra Ducay's examination of the primary documents has resulted in several articles and a valuable book, supported by an appendix of archival materials, which is devoted to the main altarpiece of Zaragoza Cathedral commissioned by Dalmau de Mur but later completed under the patronage of his successors.<sup>21</sup> Only briefly mentioning the *Passion* tapestries at Zaragoza, Lacarra Ducay has not dedicated any study to them.

Likewise, the existing literature that specifically examines the *Passion* tapestries at Zaragoza is sparse. Most of the publications briefly address the stylistic or iconographic aspects of the tapestries, but none of the scholarly literature devoted to the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries

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<sup>19</sup> R. Steven Janke, "The Retable of Don Dalmau de Mur y Cervelló from the Archbishop's Palace at Saragossa: A Documented Work by Francí Gomar and Thomás Giner," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1983): 65–83.

<sup>20</sup> María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Un gran mecenas en Aragón: D. Dalmacio de Mur y Cervellón (1431–1456)," *Seminario de Arte Aragónes* 33 (1981): 149–159; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Mecenazgo de los obispos catalanes en las diócesis aragoneasa durante la Baja Edad Media," *Aragonia sacra* 2 (1987): 19–34 [same article published in Catalan: "Mecenatge dels bisbes catalans a les diòcesis aragoneses durant las baixa edat mitjana," *Quaderns d'estudies medievals* 4, no. 23–24 (April, 1988): 22–31]; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Los pintores del Arzobispo Don Dalmau de Mur (1431–1456) en tierras de Aragón," *Aragonia sacra* 9 (1994): 43–54.

<sup>21</sup> María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, Rafael Conde y Delgado de Molina and Javier Delgado, *El retablo mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Librería General/Gobierno de Aragón Departamento de Cultura y Turismo, 2000); María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "El retablo mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza (1434–1487)," in *Retablos esculpidos en Aragón: Del Gótico al Barroco*, ed. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2002), 107–144.

considers the role of the patron, Dalmau de Mur. The two most informative publications are entries in catalogs.<sup>22</sup>

The first catalog entry, written by Roger d’Hulst, describes the order and subject of each scene. He stylistically relates the landscape elements of the *Passion* tapestries at Zaragoza to the following three tapestries: *The Story of Jourdain de Blaye* (Franco-Flemish region, ca.1380–1400);<sup>23</sup> *The Offering of the Heart* (Paris, ca.1400–1410);<sup>24</sup> and *The Devonshire Hunting Tapestries* (Franco-Flemish region, ca.1425–1450).<sup>25</sup> D’Hulst also identifies the choir tapestries of *The Lives of Saints Piat and Eleutherius* (Arras, made in 1402) as being compositionally similar.<sup>26</sup> Based on these similarities, he concludes that the tapestries were woven in Arras, even

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<sup>22</sup> Roger Adolf d’Hulst, *Tapisseries flamandes du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Brussels: Éditions L’Arcade, 1960), 33–40, no. 5; English edition: Roger Adolf d’Hulst, *Flemish Tapestries from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Frances J. Stillman (Brussels: Éditions L’Arcade, 1967), 33–40, no. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Padua, Museo Civico, inv. no. 614. Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 56, 58, fig. 73; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 48–49, fig. 36; Stephen N. Fliegel, Sophie Jugie, and Virginie Barthélémy, ed., *L’art à la cour de Bourgogne: le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, 1364–1419* (Paris/Dijon/ Cleveland: Réunion des musées nationaux/Musée des beaux-arts de Dijon/Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004), 126, no. 51.

<sup>24</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA 3131. Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye et al., *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 228, no. 136; Inès Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international: l’art en France au temps de Charles VI* (Paris: Éditions Hazan/Musée du Louvre, 2004), 54–55; and note 8.

<sup>25</sup> London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. no. T.205–1957. George Wingfield Digby and Wendy Hefford, *The Devonshire Hunting Tapestries* (London: H.M.S.O., 1971); George Wingfield Digby and Wendy Hefford, *The Tapestry Collection* (London: H.M.S.O., 1980), 12–14, no. 2, fig. 3b, 10–11; Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 33; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 32n29; Linda Woolley, *Medieval Life and Leisure in the “Devonshire Hunting Tapestries”* (London/New York: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2002).

<sup>26</sup> Tournai, Cathedral of Notre-Dame. Jean Dumoulin and Jacques Pycke, “La tapisserie de Saint-Piat et de Saint-Éleuthère à la cathédrale de Tournai (1402),” *Revue des archéologues et historiens d’art de Louvain* 15 (1982): 182–200; Laura Weigert, “Performing the Past: The Tapestry of the City and its Saints in Tournai Cathedral,” *Gesta* 38 (1999): 154–170; Laura Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 19–51.

though no documentation confirms this hypothesis, and attributes them to the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

The second catalog entry concerning the *Passion* tapestries comes from the 1985 publication devoted to the tapestry collection at Zaragoza Cathedral.<sup>27</sup> The authors primarily rely on the information provided by d’Hulst, and they include accurate and detailed technical descriptions. In a fashion similar to d’Hulst, the different episodes of *The Passion* are identified. The catalog entry also follows d’Hulst’s claim that the tapestries were woven during the first quarter of the fifteenth century in Arras.

To my knowledge, there exists only one article that is specifically dedicated to the Zaragoza *Passion* set—an article written in English that synthesizes the conclusions of a master’s thesis written in Flemish.<sup>28</sup> This ten-page article aims to date the tapestry based on similar iconographic motifs found in other media; yet, many of the examples the author draws upon are from much later sources in the late fifteenth century that post-date the design and creation of the tapestries. In the end, Greet Ghyselen attributes the date of the Zaragoza Passion tapestries to ca.1410–1425 and concludes that the iconography reflects contemporary interest in what has been called “pre-Eyckian realism.”<sup>29</sup> This generalized study, however, leaves many questions open, particularly since it lacks any contextual reference to Dalmau de Mur. Indeed, it is not certain that Dalmau de Mur was the original patron of the tapestries; rather, he likely

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<sup>27</sup> Eduardo Torra de Arana, Antero Hombría Tortajada and Tomás Domingo Pérez, *Los tapices de la Seo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1985), 62–73, no. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Greet Ghyselen, “De Passietapijten van de Seo te Saragossa (ca.1400–1430): Een iconografisch en stilisch onderzoek,” (MA Thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1993); Greet Ghyselen, “The Passion Tapestries of the Saragossa Cathedral and Pre-Eyckian Realism,” in *Flanders in a European Perspective: Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad*, ed. Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon (Leuven: Peeters, 1995): 401–416.

<sup>29</sup> The concept of pre-Eyckian realism was first introduced by Frédéric Lyna, “Les miniatures d’un ms. du ‘Ci Nous Dit’ et le réalisme préeyckien,” *Scriptorium* 1 (1946–1947): 106–118.

acquired them when he was an established, high-ranking prelate who profited from influential ecclesiastical, political and familial connections.

The focus of this dissertation on the patronage of the Zaragoza tapestries signals a break with previous literature in three important ways. First, not many studies exist that consider a specific patron in relation to the commission and/or acquisition of late medieval tapestry. This is because only a few among the handful of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century tapestries that survive can be positively associated with a particular patron or even a specific location.<sup>30</sup>

The many edited and unedited inventories of medieval tapestry patrons in France reveal the sizeable collections and the variety of subjects that were owned;<sup>31</sup> but, with only a few surviving

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<sup>30</sup> A small number of studies of tapestry patronage exist for tapestries before the sixteenth century. Besides the literature on *The Apocalypse* at Angers (see note 692), the most important studies that address the rôle of the patron are by Laura Weigert (see note 26).

<sup>31</sup> The following is a list of the edited inventories for French royal tapestry collectors, such as **Charles V le Sage, King of France (r.1364–1380)**: Jules Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879); Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, ed., *L'inventaire du trésor du dauphin futur Charles V, 1363: les débuts d'un grand collectionneur* (Paris/Nogent-le-Roi: J. Laget 1996); **Jean, Duke of Berry (r.1360–1416)**: Bernard Prost, "Les tapisseries du duc de Berry," *Archives historiques, artistiques et littéraires* 1 (1889–1890): 385–392; Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry, 1401–1416*, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894–1896); **Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy (r.1364–1404)**: Bernard Prost and Henri Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits des comptes des ducs de bourgogne de la maison de Valois (1363–1477)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902–1913); Ernest Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois, d'après des documents inédits: Philippe le Hardi, Première partie, 1363–1380* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1909); Patrick M. de Winter, "The Patronage of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, 1364–1404," 5 vols. (PhD diss., New York University, 1976); Patrick M. de Winter, *La bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364–1404): étude sur les manuscrits à peintures d'une collection princière à l'époque du "style gothique international"* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1985); Fabienne Joubert, "Les 'tapissiers' de Philippe le Hardi," in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Âge*, ed. Xavier Barral i Altet, 3 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1986–1990), vol. 3, 601–608; **Charles VI le Fol, King of France (r.1380–1422)**: Jules Guiffrey, "Inventaire des tapisseries du roi Charles VI vendues par les Anglais de en 1422," *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* 48 (1887), 59–110, 396–444; Jenny Stratford, *Bedford Inventories: The Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, 1389–1435* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1993); Philippe Henwood, *Les collections du trésor royal sous le règne de Charles VI (1380–1422): l'inventaire de 1400* (Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2004); **Louis I, Duke of Orléans (r.1392–1407) and his wife, Valentine Visconti (1368–1408)**: Louis Jarry, *Le Compte de l'armée anglaise au siège d'Orléans 1428–1429* (Orléans 1892); Frances Marjorie Graves, *Deux inventaires de la maison d'Orléans, 1389 et 1408*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1926); Joseph Roman, *Inventaires et documents relatifs aux bijoux et tapisseries des princes d'Orléans-Valois, 1389–1481* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894); **Louis I, Duke of Anjou (r.1360–1384)**: Gabriel-Eugène Ledos, "Fragment de l'inventaire des bijoux de Louis I, duc d'Anjou," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 50 (1889): 168–179; **Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy (r.1404–1419)**: Léon Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne: études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bays et le duché de Bourgogne*, 3 vols. (Paris: Plon Frères, 1849–1852); **Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy (r.1419–1467)**: Léon Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne:*

tapestries it is difficult to make secure correlations between the primary documents and the extant pieces. Second, since no publications have ever examined the role of Dalmau de Mur in relation to the tapestries at Zaragoza Cathedral, this dissertation takes into account the broader patterns of his collecting. In doing so, the study offers the most complete and current understanding to date of Dalmau de Mur as a collector of the arts and contextualizes the iconographic and stylistic elements of the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries, whether or not Dalmau de Mur was the person who originally commissioned the tapestries. Third, the dissertation explores specific iconographic features in the Zaragoza tapestries that characterize the treatment of *The Passion* and relates these elements to the art produced in the French royal courts at the end of the fourteenth century.

The scholarship on late medieval tapestry and its patronage remains cursory in contrast to the numerous studies that involve tapestries from the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Most of the secondary literature devoted to tapestries woven in the Franco-Flemish region during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries comprises exhibition catalogs or highly generalized monographs on the history of tapestry, with a few notable exceptions: the various publications on *The Apocalypse* tapestries at Angers;<sup>32</sup> Adolph Cavallo's catalog of the medieval tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York;<sup>33</sup> Guy Delmarcel's survey of Flemish tapestries;<sup>34</sup> Thomas Campbell's exhibition catalog for the 2002 tapestry show at the Metropolitan Museum

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*études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne*, 3 vols. (Paris: Plon Frères, 1849–1852); Jeffrey Chipps-Smith, "The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, 1419–1467," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1979).

<sup>32</sup> For bibliography, see note 692.

<sup>33</sup> Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993).

<sup>34</sup> Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999).

of Art;<sup>35</sup> and Laura Weigert's research on the choir tapestries at Tournai Cathedral that illustrate *The Lives of Saints Piatius and Eleutherius*.<sup>36</sup>

This dissertation contributes to the current art historical discourse on the production and patronage of Franco-Flemish tapestry during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The analysis of artistic interchanges among the regions of France, Flanders and Aragón demonstrates the ways in which patrons in the South strove to follow in the footsteps of the foremost art collectors in the North.

No study exists that is dedicated to the development of *Passion* iconography in tapestry during the fifteenth century or beyond.<sup>37</sup> The authoritative publication that addresses *Passion* iconography in late medieval art, by James Marrow, focuses on illuminations from late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century manuscripts from Germany and the Netherlands.<sup>38</sup> Only one tapestry—a sixteenth-century weaving of *Christ Carrying the Cross*—is mentioned and illustrated.<sup>39</sup> This dissertation, thereby, breaks new ground in the survey and analysis of *Passion*

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<sup>35</sup> Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002).

<sup>36</sup> Laura Weigert, "Performing the Past: The Tapestry of the City and its Saints in Tournai Cathedral," *Gesta* 38 (1999): 154–170; Laura Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 19–51.

<sup>37</sup> There is, however, a book that examines the commission and style of the tapestries of *The Passion* designed by Niccolò di Pietro and woven by unidentified Netherlandish weavers in Venice ca.1420–1430 at the Museo della Basilica di San Marco in Venice. Monica Stucky-Schürer, *Die Passionsteppiche von San Marco in Venedig: Ihr Verhältnis zur Bildwirkerei in Paris und Arras im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Bern: Stämpfli, 1972); Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 102–108, no. 7.

<sup>38</sup> James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Courtrai: Van Ghemmert, 1979).

<sup>39</sup> Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, no known inventory number. The tapestry is one of four weavings that show scenes of *The Passion of Christ* and the set is known as the "Alba Passion." Designed by Bernaert van Orley, they were probably woven in the Brussels workshop of Pieter de Pannemaker ca.1525–1528. Other panels in the set are located at the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. (*Crucifixion*, inv. no. 1942.9.448; and *Christ Praying in the Garden*, inv. no. 1942.9.447); and The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (*Last Supper*, inv. no.

iconography. The iconographic and stylistic investigation was achieved by comparing the subjects depicted in the Zaragoza tapestries with similar subjects in various media from France and Flanders during the late fourteenth century up until the middle of the fifteenth century (described below).

Likewise, there is no comprehensive study of the patronage of tapestries in Spain during the late fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries; only two publications exist, to my knowledge, that focus on the patronage of tapestries in Spain in the fourteenth century. Both publications address the royal patronage of tapestry and do not consider the commissioning of tapestries by ecclesiastics. One of the publications is dedicated to the collection of Franco-Flemish tapestries owned by Pedro IV el Ceremonioso, King of Aragón (r.1336–1387).<sup>40</sup> The other is a transcription of the inventory of moveable goods owned by Martín I el Humano, King of Aragón (r.1396–1410),<sup>41</sup> which included Franco-Flemish tapestries.

By contrast, there is a large body of literature that relates to the collections of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century tapestries produced in the Flanders and exported to Spain. For instance, the several hundred surviving fifteenth- and sixteenth-century tapestries that belong to the Spanish Royal Collection, the *Patrimonio nacional*, are described in a three-volume

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1975.1.1915). For more, see Georges Lafenestre, et al., *Le musée Jacquemart-André* (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1914), 118–121; Edith Appleton Standen, *European Post-medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 2 vols. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), vol. 1, 65–73, no. 6; Christa C. Mayer Thurman, *The Robert Lehman Collection*, 14 vols. (New York/Princeton: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Princeton University Press, 1987–2001), vol. 14, 16–21, no. 4; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), no. 30, 31, 33.

<sup>40</sup> Marçal Olivari, *Els Tapissos francesos del rei en Pere el Cerimoniós* (Barcelona: Barbié, 1986).

<sup>41</sup> Jaume Massó Torrents, “Inventari dels bens mobles del Rey Martí d’Aragó,” *Revue hispanique* 12 (1905): 413–590.



catalog series.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the historiography of tapestry patronage and collecting in Spain from the late fifteenth century onwards includes numerous articles, exhibition catalogs and collection surveys of the notable ecclesiastical collections at the Cathedrals of Burgos, Córdoba, Palencia, Tarragona, Toledo, Zamora and Zaragoza.<sup>43</sup> While these publications examine the tapestries in these collections, they fall short of exploring the circumstances concerning the patronage of the tapestries and their specific contexts of use.

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<sup>42</sup> Namely, Paulina Junquera de Vega, Carmen Diaz Gallegos, and Herrero Carretero, *Catálogo de tapices del Patrimonio nacional*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Patrimonio Nacional, 1986–2000); in addition, there are several books and articles that discuss the tapestry collection of the Spanish Royal Crown, see note 95.

<sup>43</sup> These include the following: Juan Bautista Crooke y Navarrot Valencia de Don Juan, *Tapices de la corona de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1903); José María Monserrat and Manuel Abizanda y Broto, *Los tapices de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Herald de Aragón, 1917); Elías Tormo y Monzó and Francisco J. Sánchez Cantón, *Los tapices de la casa del rey N. S.: notas para el catálogo y para la historia de la colección y de la fabrica*, trans. Albert Mousset (Madrid: Artes graficas “Mateu,” 1919); Amando Gómez-Martinez and Bartolomé Chillón Sampedro, *Los tapices de la Catedral de Zamora* (Zamora: San José, 1925); Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *La tapicería en España* (Madrid: Blass, 1943); Pedro Batlle Huguet, *Los tapices de la Catedral Primada de Tarragona* (Tarragona: Sindicato de Iniciativa de Tarragona, 1946); Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950); Paul Eeckhout, Jozef Duverger and Eric Duverger, *Tapisseries flamandes d’Espagne* (Lederberg/Ghent: Erasmus, 1959); Gilberte Martin-Méry, *Tapisseries: maisons royales d’Espagne* (Bordeaux: Galerie des Beaux-Arts, 1968); Francisco Lara Arrebola, *Los tapices del patrimonio eclesiástico de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1979); Juan José Junquera y Mato, *Tapiserie de Tournai en Espagne: la tapisserie bruxelloise en Espagne au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Brussels: Europalia, 1985); Eduardo Torra de Arana, Antero Hombría Tortajada, and Tomás Domingo Pérez, *Los tapices de la Seo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1985); Paulina Junquera de Vega, Concha Herrero Carretero and Carmen Díaz Gallegos, *Catálogo de tapices del Patrimonio nacional*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1986–2000); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, Concha Herrero Carretero, and José-A. Godoy, *Resplendence of the Spanish Monarchy: Renaissance Tapestries and Armor from the Patrimonio Nacional* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Henry N. Abrams, 1991); *Tapices y armaduras del Renacimiento: joyas de las colecciones reales* (Madrid/ Barcelona: Patrimonio Nacional/Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1992); Guy Delmarcel, Isabelle Van Tichelen, An Volckaert and Yvan Maes, *Flemish Tapestries of the Spanish Crown* (Malines: Gaspard De Wit, 1993); Arlette Smolar-Meynart, *Âge d’or bruxellois: tapisseries de la Couronne d’Espagne* (Brussels: Bruxelles/ Brussel, 2000); José Gabriel Moya Valgañón, *A la manera de Flandes: tapices ricos de la corona de España* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2001); Concha Herrero Carretero, “Tapices flamencos en la colección de la Corona de España, in *Flemish Tapestry in European and American Collections: Studies in Honour of Guy Delmarcel*, ed. Koenraad Brosens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003): 161–170; Concha Herrero Carretero, *Tapices de Isabel la Católica: origen de la colección real española* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2004); Guy Delmarcel, “La collection de tapisseries de la reine Isabelle de Castille (1451–1504): quelques réflexions critiques,” in *El arte en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos: rutas artísticas a principios de la Edad moderna*, ed. Fernando Checa and Bernardo J. García García (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes/Fernando Villaverde Ediciones, 2005): 287–304.

## 1.2 CHAPTERS, METHODOLOGY AND FINDINGS

This dissertation has two parts. The first part focuses on the patronage of Dalmau de Mur by examining the types of objects he commissioned and acquired. Chapter II reconstructs Dalmau de Mur's biography within the historical, political and religious frameworks of his time. Significant religious events, such as the Papal Schism, heavily shaped Dalmau de Mur's career as an ecclesiastic. Dalmau came from a prestigious noble family and the chapter demonstrates that he benefited from shrewd marriage alliances and political connections of relatives, especially from his relation to Pedro Martínez de Luna (Anti-pope Benedict XIII). Chapter III considers the artistic patronage of Dalmau de Mur by introducing his commissions and acquisitions through a chronological study. Beginning first with the period during which he served as Bishop of Girona, the chapter analyzes the works of art he acquired and commissioned while serving as Archbishop of Tarragona and then Zaragoza. The chapter introduces his major artistic contributions to the cathedrals of these cities, as well as discussing his personal collection of luxury objects.

The second part of the dissertation is dedicated to a detailed analysis of Dalmau de Mur's two tapestries of *The Passion*. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries there are few surviving documented traditions within the tapestry industry against which to measure.<sup>44</sup> To appreciate the artistic significance of the Zaragoza tapestries, it is necessary to analyze works of art that have stylistic and iconographic affinities in order to identify the types of visual models that may have influenced the designers of the tapestries. To achieve this, the second section of the dissertation devotes two chapters to investigating the issues of style and iconography.

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<sup>44</sup> One of the few cases concerns *The Apocalypse* tapestries in Angers where the primary documents reveal valuable information about the artistic model, the artists and cost of the tapestries (see Chapter V for a fuller account).

Besides the compositional arrangement of the weavings, the choice of subjects is examined because several scenes of *The Passion*—notably, *The Deposition*, *The Lamentation*, *The Entombment* and *The Resurrection*—have been excluded from the tapestries. By contrast, one scene that is not part of the standard biblical *Passion* narrative, *The Making of the Cross*, is included. This decision was surely an iconographic one rather than of space or composition.

Chapter IV explores the idea of space—how medieval tapestries were used to create and delimit a specific type of space. This chapter examines the 1521 tapestry inventory from Zaragoza Cathedral and discusses the possible original function and display of the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries.

Chapter V presents selected works of art that serve as case studies in comparison to the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries. These case studies emerged out of an iconographic investigation that began in Belgium at the *Studiecentrum Vlaamse Miniaturisten* at the Katholiek Universiteit in Leuven. The *Studiecentrum* houses an extensive archive of photographs concerning late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century illuminated manuscripts from France and Flanders.

Guidelines were created as a part of this investigation to define what iconographic or stylistic aspects were required for a comparative work of art to be considered “similar” or “related.” For example, each episode of *The Passion* was described and special attention was paid to rare iconographic elements. The net was cast rather wide to include works of art of any medium from France and Flanders from around 1350 until 1450 that illustrated episodes of *The Passion*. After identifying works of art that were considered stylistically and/or iconographically similar to the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries, they were cataloged and their images scanned into a “Compendium of *Passion* Images.” This was accomplished by designing a database that was created in FileMaker Pro. To date, the database includes nearly 800 images. Since the database

contains a scanned image of each object, the compendium functions as a visual “rolodex” that allows comparative study.

The great majority of the material collected in the database comprises manuscript illuminations. The types of manuscripts surveyed were predominantly books of hours because of their often extensive *Passion* cycles, but a variety of other types of books were included, such as apocalypses, bibles, bibles historiales, biblia pauperum (picture bibles), breviaries, *Ci nous dit*, Gratien’s *Decretum*, *Li livres du Graunt Caam*, missals, morality books, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, *Poésies de Robert de Blois*, psalters, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, *Spiegel van de menselijke behoudenis*, *Spiegel der Menscheliker Zalicheid*, *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* and typological scenes of the *Life of Christ*.

In addition to this broad spectrum of illuminated manuscripts, other media were incorporated into the survey, including ivories (casket panels, roundels), paintings (on wood and silk), printed books, stained glass windows, reliquaries, altarpieces (ivory, wood or stone), tapestries and wall paintings. With the collection of so many contemporary works of art drawn from different media, the database has proved invaluable for comparing and contrasting the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries, as well as for advancing the identification of possible sources used by the tapestry designers.

The principal result of the creation of the database has been the selection of five works of art that were studied for further analysis. The five case studies include: (1) *The Apocalypse Tapestries* (Paris, ca.1373-1380);<sup>45</sup> (2) *The Parement de Narbonne* (Paris, ca.1375-1378);<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Angers, Château d’Angers. For bibliography, see note 692.

<sup>46</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. M.I. 1121. For bibliography, see note 539.

(3) *The Petites Heures de Jean de Berry* (Paris or Bourges, ca.1375-1380);<sup>47</sup> (4) *The Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame de Jean de Berry* (Paris, ca.1380-1390);<sup>48</sup> and (5) *The Annunciation Tapestry* (Franco-Flanders region, ca.1410–1430).<sup>49</sup> Each case study has strong artistic parallels to the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries. By underscoring the iconographic and stylistic correspondences between the objects, this study reveals that *The Passion* tapestries at Zaragoza were certainly influenced by, if not based on, works of art made during the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries by the principal artists working in the French royal courts. In fact, four of the five selected case studies represent works of art that were commissioned by the leading artistic patrons of the Valois dynasty—Charles V, King of France (r.1364–1380) and his brothers, Jean, Duke of Berry (r.1360–1416) and Louis I, Duke of Anjou (r.1360–1384). One larger premise of the dissertation is that as a knowledgeable patron of art, Dalmau de Mur modeled his collecting and commissions after these great French royal collectors.

In addition to serving as an iconographic study tool to identify related works of art, the creation of the database has facilitated the analysis of important stylistic details such as hand gestures, stance, facial expressions, patterns and colors of costumes, types of shoes, hats, hairstyles, architectural elements, types and variations of foliage and other landscape elements. The database thus permitted the charting of datable costumes and hairstyles, along with specific iconographic features that were popular in the decades before and after 1400. This information, along with the examination of the five case studies, has led to the conclusion that the *Zaragoza*

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<sup>47</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18014. For bibliography, see note 536.

<sup>48</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3093. For bibliography, see note 546.

<sup>49</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 45.76. For bibliography, see note 556.

*Passion* tapestries were most likely woven around 1400–1410.

Chapter V analyzes, in detail, the stylistic and iconographic treatments of each *Passion* scene depicted in the Zaragoza tapestries. While most of the works of art discussed concern the case studies, additional objects are also introduced. Nearly every episode of *The Passion* illustrated in the tapestries has iconographic similarities with other works of art. These artistic relationships are especially underscored by the study of the case studies; however, no contemporary models were found that corresponded with the scene of *The Making of the Cross* in the Zaragoza tapestries. One early fourteenth English manuscript was found that shows *The Making of the Cross*, as well as a few late fifteenth-century examples that post-date the creation of the Zaragoza tapestries. While some literary sources describe aspects of *The Making of the Cross*, such as the types of wood used,<sup>50</sup> it nevertheless remains unclear what specific artistic models and textual sources the designers of the tapestries may have employed.

The concluding remarks in Chapter VI unite the two parts of the dissertation by drawing together the study of the artistic patronage of Dalmau de Mur with the stylistic and iconographic analyses of the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries. Final commentary presents a more precise theory about the nature of the commission of the tapestries and Dalmau de Mur's acquisition of them. In the end, through the examination of the artistic parallels of the Zaragoza tapestries with works of art created by artists at the French royal courts, Dalmau de Mur emerges as an sophisticated ecclesiastical patron of the arts in fifteenth-century Spain.

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<sup>50</sup> For instance, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 1, 277-284, no. 68.

### 1.3 WEAVING VISUAL CAPITAL: THE FRANCO-FLEMISH TAPESTRY INDUSTRY AROUND 1400

By the late fourteenth century, tapestry played an essential role in the lives of those in the upper echelons of Western European society.<sup>51</sup> Although prosperous merchants could afford tapestries, the nobility—kings, princes, dukes and counts—were the main force in the emergence of the industry. The tapestry industry in the Franco-Flemish region, which included the Flemish and northern French towns of Tournai and Arras, was fueled by the patronage of the members of the Valois dynasty, including the Dukes of Berry, Anjou, Burgundy and Orléans. This patronage, along with that of the King of France, was extensive—together they owned more than 400 tapestries that would have been displayed in their many castles and residences.<sup>52</sup>

One of the most important events for the region, and its tapestry-producing cities, was the 1369 marriage between Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy (r.1364–1404), and Margaret III,

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<sup>51</sup> For recent overviews of the history of medieval tapestry in the North, see Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 27–80; Fabienne Joubert, Amaury Lefébure and Pascal-François Bertrand, *Histoire de la tapisserie en Europe, du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995), 8–75; Fabienne Joubert, “Les tapisseries de la fin du Moyen Âge: commandes, destination, circulation,” *Revue de l’art* 120, no. 2 (1998): 89–99; Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 11–63; Anna Rapp Buri and Monica Stucky-Schürer, *Burgundische Tapisserien* (Munich: Hirmer, 2001); Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 3–185; Sophie Schneebalg-Pereleman and Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *La tapisserie des Pays-Bas* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 2003).

<sup>52</sup> For instance, the destinations of the itinerant courts of the Duke of Berry and the Dukes of Burgundy were recorded and provide insight into how often they traveled and where they spent their time; tapestries were certainly taken along for longer trips. For instance, in April 1345, when Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy (r.1419–1467), and his wife, Isabella moved from Dijon to Arras and Lille, four carts were required to transport their tapestries. See Ernest Petit, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, ducs de Bourgogne (1363–1419), d’après les comptes de dépenses de leur hôtel* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1888); Herman Vander Linden, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1419–1467) et de Charles, comte de Charolais (1433–1467)* (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1940); Françoise Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berri: sa vie, son action politique, 1340–1416*, 4 vols. (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1966–1968), vol. 3; Patrick M. de Winter, “Castles and Town Residences of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1364–1404),” *Artibus et Historiae* 4, no. 8 (1983): 95–118; Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 56, 141–142.

Countess of Flanders (1350–1405). This union paved the way for Philippe le Hardi to inherit the counties of Flanders, Artois, Burgundy,<sup>53</sup> Nevers and Rethel in 1384 upon the death of his father-in-law, Louis de Male. The county of Flanders remained under Burgundian rule until 1477.<sup>54</sup> This event was pivotal because it allowed Philippe le Hardi to become one of the most powerful princes within the kingdom of France, as well as one of the greatest patrons of tapestry in medieval Europe, to be discussed below.

Besides the practical application of hanging tapestries on walls to insulate cold and drafty rooms of medieval castles and to provide privacy, they were also given as diplomatic gifts.<sup>55</sup> Tapestries were so valuable that they were used as forms of payment, for example as collateral.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Burgundy included both the Duchy of Burgundy and the County of Burgundy (Franché-Comté).

<sup>54</sup> See Walter Prevenier, Wim Blockmans, and Richard Vaughan, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 9–46; Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 57–61; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 31–32, 47–48.

<sup>55</sup> There are several examples of tapestries being given as diplomatic gifts. For instance, in 1390, 1392 and 1397, during talks with the English in the midst of the Hundred Years War, Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, sent gifts of tapestries to King Richard II of England, as well as to the Dukes of Gloucester, Lancaster and York. Richard II received tapestries representing *The Trinity*, *The Crucifixion*, *Calvary* and *The Death of the Virgin*; the Duke of Gloucester was given *L'histoire de Déduit et de Plaisance*, a hunting tapestry; the Duke of Lancaster was presented with *The Story of King Clovis* and *The Story of the Pharaoh and the Nation of Moses*; and the Duke of York received tapestries illustrating *The Story of Percival* and *The Story of Octavian*. Earlier, while negotiating the marriage of his daughter, Catherine of Burgundy (1378–1425), to Leopold IV, Duke of Austria (r.1386–1411), Philippe le Hardi included five sets of tapestries woven in Arras by Jacques Dourdin that showed scenes of battles, hunts and rustic activities for Catherine's trousseau. Then, upon the marriage in 1387, Leopold received a tapestry of *Charlemagne's Journey to Jerusalem*. Later, in 1416, Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy (r.1404–1419), presented tapestries to the ambassadors of Henry V, King of England (r.1413–1422) and Sigismund, King of Hungary (r.1387–1437), later Holy Roman Emperor (r.1433–1437), upon a peace treaty signed in Lille. For more, see Patrick M. de Winter, "The Patronage of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, 1364–1404," 5 vols. (PhD diss., New York University, 1976), vol. 1, 156; Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 28–29; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 15, 17; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 50, 84–85.

<sup>56</sup> An example from sixteenth-century Italy involved Ferrante Gonzaga, Governor of Milan (1546–1555), who in need of cash used his tapestries as collateral for a loan to finance the building of walls around his house. His son, Cesare II Gonzaga, Count of Guastalla (r.1557–1575) pawned the remaining tapestries in 1567. Ferrante's grandson, Ferrante II Gonzaga, Count and then Duke of Guastalla (r.1575–1632), wished to have the tapestries present at his wedding to Vittoria Doria in 1587 and was able to convince the Venetian bankers to loan them for the occasion. He was eventually able to buy them back. See Clifford M. Brown, Guy Delmarcel and Anna Maria



There is an instance when tapestries were exchanged as a part of a ransom.<sup>57</sup> Tapestries functioned as propaganda and during military campaigns and were taken as war spoils.<sup>58</sup> They signified the wealth and power of their owner, as well as conveying their patron's dynastic claims, political aspirations and even their military prowess.<sup>59</sup>

It is often assumed that the function of tapestry in ecclesiastical settings was quite different. In many ways this is true—religious tapestries certainly served as instructional objects and were venerated as devotional objects. For example, choir tapestries that illustrate the lives of saints functioned as an important element in the liturgical practices of the Christian church during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>60</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century, Spanish

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Lorenzoni, *Tapestries for the Courts of Federico II, Ercole, and Ferrante Gonzaga, 1522–1563* (Seattle: College Art Association/University of Washington Press, 1996), 104, 119, 125–127; Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 17.

<sup>57</sup> The most famous example is when Jean sans Peur (the future Duke of Burgundy, r.1404–1419), was captured during at the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396. As a part of his ransom in 1399, his father, Philippe le Hardi, included a set of tapestries of *The Life of Alexander the Great* woven with gold threads to the Sultan Bayezid I (r.1389–1402). See Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 31; Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 28; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 16; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 72.

<sup>58</sup> Defeated by the Swiss at the Battle of Grandson in 1476, Charles le Téméraire, Duke of Burgundy (r.1467–1477), lost his precious set of armorial tapestries. One of the tapestries, with the devices of his father, Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy (r.1419–1467), survives at the Bernisches Historisches Museum. Documents show that Jean de Haze wove the tapestries in Brussels around 1466. See Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 29–30, 68–69, 73, fig. 78; Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 39–40, 35; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 19.

<sup>59</sup> For instance, see Jeffrey Chipps-Smith, “Portable Propaganda: Tapestries as Princely Metaphors at the Courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold,” *Art Journal* 48 (Summer, 1989): 123–129.

<sup>60</sup> On this subject, see Fabienne Joubert, “La tenture de chœur de Saint-Étienne d’Auxerre et la peinture bruxelloise vers 1500,” *Revue de l’art* 75 (1987): 37–42; Sophie Lagabrielle et al., *Histoires tissées: la légende de Saint-Étienne* (Avignon: RMG-Palais des Papes, 1997); Laura Weigert, “Performing the Past: The Tapestry of the City and its Saints in Tournai Cathedral,” *Gesta* 38 (1999): 154–170; Catherine Arminjon, Laura Weigert and Olivier Renaudeau, *Saints de chœurs: tapisseries du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance* (Milan: 5 continents, 2003); Laura Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2004).

patrons were ordering smaller devotional tapestries (*pañños de devoción*) from Flemish tapestry manufacturers.<sup>61</sup> As one object of many in the *ornamenta ecclesiae*, ecclesiastical tapestries also functioned as a way to convey the wealth, glory and power of both the patron and the church.

### 1.3.1 The *Passion* in Medieval Tapestries

The subject of *The Passion of Christ* in medieval tapestries is surprisingly scarce; this is especially evident when compared to their visual counterparts in illuminated manuscripts. As discussed below, illustrated episodes of *The Passion* in tapestries from the late fifteenth century are found in only a few instances. The tapestries at Zaragoza, therefore, surface as the only early fifteenth-century example of the development of *Passion* iconography in the medium. A catalog of around 100 extant tapestries representing scenes of *The Passion* shows that the theme was to become more popular later in the fifteenth century and even more common by the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>62</sup> For instance, to my knowledge, only six *Passion* tapestries exist from before 1450 (this count includes the two from Zaragoza) and approximately fifteen survive from the period 1450–1500. It is not until the sixteenth century, from the period between 1500 and 1535 that at least eighty tapestries with *Passion* scenes survive. Certainly more tapestries survive from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries when compared to the previous hundred years. Moreover, as will be shown below, there are only a few descriptions of *Passion* tapestries

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<sup>61</sup> Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 47.

<sup>62</sup> I compiled a catalog of around 100 fifteenth- and sixteenth-century tapestries depicting the *Passion* at the beginning of my doctoral studies to illustrate the number of surviving *Passion* tapestries from different periods, as well as to map the development of iconographic and stylistic trends. The results of this catalog are briefly summarized here, but the catalog is not included in the dissertation.

in inventories from the late fourteenth century, further indicating that the subject became more prevalent in the medium of tapestry later in the fifteenth century.

### 1.3.2 Tapestry Patronage in Medieval France

The patronage of tapestries by prominent French royalty increased significantly in the second half of the fifteenth century. There are few known tapestry merchants: in Paris, Nicolas Bataille (active 1363–1408), Pierre de Beaumetz (active 1383–1418) and Jacques Dourdin (active 1385–1407), and in Arras, Jean Cosset (active 1384–1401).<sup>63</sup> From at least 1376, Nicolas Bataille was also *valet de chambre* of Louis d’Anjou and Jean Cosset was Philippe le Hardi’s *valet de chambre* by 1385, followed the next year by Pierre de Beaumetz.<sup>64</sup> These merchants supplied their French royal patrons with tapestries that formed sizeable collections. For instance, King Charles V owned almost 200 tapestries.<sup>65</sup> Among these were forty-seven historiated tapestries and 119 armorial ones.<sup>66</sup> Of the historiated tapestries, only one illustrated a subject from *The Passion of Christ*: “*Le grand tappiz de la Passion Nostre Seigneur.*”<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Merchants acted as middlemen between the patrons and the tapestry workshops, supervising the project from beginning to end, drawing up contracts, supplying funds needed by the workshops to buy the raw materials and overseeing the weaving process. Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 29–31.

<sup>64</sup> Fabienne Joubert, “Les ‘tapissiers’ de Philippe le Hardi,” in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Âge*, ed. Xavier Barral i Altet, 3 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1986–1990), vol. 3, 601–608 at 602; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 29–31.

<sup>65</sup> Charles V owned tapestries with the following subjects: *The Life of Saint Denis*; *The Life of Saint Theseus*; *Saint Grael*; *The Story of the Seven Sciences and Saint Augustine*; *The Seven Mortal Sins*; *The Nine Heroes*; *The Seven Arts and The Ages of Man*; *The Twelve Months*; *The Fountain of Youth*; *Goodness and Beauty*; *Wild Men*; *The King of Ireland*; *The Story of Godefroy de Bouillon*, among others. See Jules Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 378–379, no. 3671–3703.

<sup>66</sup> *The Oxford English Dictionary*, defines historiated as being, “Decorated with figures of men or animals.” *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v., “historiated, *ppl. a.*,” <http://dictionary.oed.com/> (20 April 2008). By contrast, the armorial tapestries illustrated, the arms of France and Burgundy, along with armorial motifs such as

The King's three brothers also had impressive tapestry collections. For example, in 1416, upon his death, Jean de Berry owned at least twenty-seven historiated tapestries.<sup>68</sup> Berry's collection contained a tapestry of *The Apocalypse* (discussed in Chapter V), but no tapestry with episodes of *The Passion* is mentioned in his inventory. It is recorded, however, that in 1386 his brother, Philippe, Duke of Burgundy, ordered two tapestries—including one of *The Passion*—from Pierre de Beaumetz. These were based on cartoons of tapestries that Philippe had previously ordered and given to Jean de Berry: “. . . sur l'ouvrage et estoffe de deux tappiz sarrasinoiz, c'est assavoir l'un a l'histoire de la Passion N.S.J.C. [Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ] et l'autre de plusieurs ystoires de N.D. [Notre Dame] lesquels mondit seigneur lui a ordonnez fais pareillz a II autres grans tappiz que autrefois a fait mondit seigneur lesquels mondit seigneur donna naguères a monseigneur de Berry . . .”<sup>69</sup> There may have been other instances when Jean de Berry received tapestries as gifts that are not reflected in his inventory.

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the rose, dolphin and fleur de Lys. Jules Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 380–381, no. 3704–3722.

<sup>67</sup> Jules Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 378, no. 3671.

<sup>68</sup> Berry also owned tapestries with religious and historical subjects, including *The Coronation of the Virgin*; *The Death of the Virgin*; *The Madeleine*; *The Trinity*; *The Credo*; *The Pilgrimage*; *The Story of Fama (Fame)*; *The Seven Vices*; *The Story of the Great Khan*; *The Nine Heroes*; *The Romance of the Rose*; *King Richard II*; *The Story of Godefroy de Bouillon*; *Begue de Belin*; *Charlemagne*; and *The Exchequer*. Bernard Prost, “Les tapisseries du duc de Berry,” *Archives historiques, artistiques et littéraires* 1 (1889–1890): 385–392.

<sup>69</sup> The tapestry weavers owned the cartoons and were able, therefore, to weave several tapestry sets (multiple editions) from the same cartoons. The lasting value of these cartoons was recognized and recorded when the tapestry merchant, Pasquier Grenier (active 1447–1493), from the city of Tournai, stated in his testament that his tapestry cartoons were to be divided up among his children. Eugène Soil de Moriamé, *Les tapisseries de Tournai, les tapissiers et les hautelisseurs de cette ville: recherches et documents sur l'histoire, la fabrication et les produits des ateliers de Tournai* (Tournai/Lille: Vasseur-Delmée/L. Quarré, 1892), 316 [identical version published as an article in *Mémoires de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai* 22 (1891): 1–460]. By contrast, when Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, commissioned an eight-piece set of tapestries illustrating *The Story of Gideon* in 1449 (see note 17), he purchased the cartoons from the designer, Bauduin de Bailleul, to preclude any reproduction of the designs. Fabienne Joubert, “Les ‘tapissiers’ de Philippe le Hardi,” in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Âge*, ed. Xavier Barral i Altet, 3 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1986–1990), vol. 3, 601–608 at 606; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 15, 18.

Another brother of King Charles V, Louis, Duke of Anjou, had an inventory taken in 1364 when he was just twenty-five years of age.<sup>70</sup> His tapestry collection already comprised seventy-six historiated tapestries. Among these were two small panels of *The Crucifixion*.<sup>71</sup> No other inventory was taken during his life or upon his death, but his collection grew substantially because each year between 1385 and 1402 when Jean Cosset, the tapestry merchant from Arras, delivered tapestry sets to the Duke.<sup>72</sup>

Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, yet another brother of the King of France, was by far the most ambitious collector of tapestry among the Valois princes—he owned over 200 tapestries<sup>73</sup> that illustrated many subjects. Four of these tapestries represented *Passion* scenes.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Gabriel-Eugène Ledos, “Fragment de l’inventaire des joyaux de Louis I, duc d’Anjou,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 50 (1889), 168–179.

<sup>71</sup> Other subjects included *The Annunciation of the Virgin*; *The Judgment of Solomon*; *The Life of Saint Catherine*; *Saint George*; *Vespasian and Veronica*; *Vespasian and Pilate*; *The Destruction of Troy*; *The Nine Heroes*; *The Story of Godefroy de Bouillon*; *Charlemagne*; *Pomme d’or*; and *Lancelot*.

<sup>72</sup> Fabienne Joubert, “Les ‘tapissiers’ de Philippe le Hardi,” in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Âge*, ed. Xavier Barral i Altet, 3 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1986–1990), vol. 3, 601–608; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 14, 31.

<sup>73</sup> Jules Guiffrey, Eugène Müntz and Alexandre Pinchart, *Histoire générale de la tapisserie*, 3 vols. (Paris: Société anonyme de publications périodiques, 1880); Chrétien César August Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l’histoire de l’art dans la Flandre, l’Artois et le Hainaut avant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1886); Jules Guiffrey, *Histoire de la tapisserie depuis le moyen âge jusqu’à nos jours* (Tours: A. Mame et fils, 1886); Bernard Prost and Henri Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits des comptes des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois (1363–1477)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902–1913); Ernest Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois, d’après des documents* (Paris: A. Picard, 1909); Patrick M. de Winter, “The Patronage of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, 1364–1404,” 5 vols. (PhD diss., New York University, 1976); Fabienne Joubert, “L’Apocalypse d’Angers et les débuts de la tapisserie historiée,” *Bulletin monumental* 139, no. 1 (1981): 125–140 at 126; Fabienne Joubert, “Les ‘tapissiers’ de Philippe le Hardi,” in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Âge*, ed. Xavier Barral i Altet, 3 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1986–1990), vol. 3, 601–608; Fabrice Rey, “Les collections de tapisseries,” in *L’art à la cour de Bourgogne, les princes des fleurs de lis: le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, 1364–1419*, ed. Stephen N. Fliegel, Sophie Jugie, and Virginie Barthélémy (Paris/Dijon/Cleveland: Réunion des musées nationaux/Musée des beaux-arts de Dijon/Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004): 123–125.

<sup>74</sup> Like those of his brothers, many of the subjects of his tapestries were religious, historical and rustic. One of Philippe’s most important commissions was a three-piece set of tapestries of *The Battle of Roosebeke* that measured 4.9 x 39.2 m. and was woven with threads of gold and silver from Cyprus. All together, the tapestries cost 2,600 francs. Fabrice Rey, “Les collections de tapisseries,” in *L’art à la cour de Bourgogne, les princes des fleurs de lis: le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, 1364–1419*, ed. Stephen N. Fliegel, Sophie Jugie, and

Many of Philippe's tapestries were enriched with silk and/or gold threads, including *The Passion* and *The Resurrection*. Although the two large tapestries of *The Entombment* did not include silk or gold threads, they were large, measuring 3.15 x 7 m. each. Since Philippe's tapestry collection included only four tapestries with *Passion* imagery, this supports the idea that while there was an interest in the subject, it was certainly not as widely popular as tapestries with themes from courtly literature, images of chivalrous heroes, scenes of rustic activities and representations of recent battle victories.<sup>75</sup>

Finally, the tapestry collection of the Valois prince, Louis, Duke of Orléans (r.1392–1407), and his wife, Valentina Visconti (1368–1408), included at least fifty-one historiated tapestries.<sup>76</sup> This was in addition to the 34 *chambres* (or suites) that comprised a minimum of 106 wall tapestries.<sup>77</sup> As with the collections of Charles V and Louis d'Anjou, the inventory of Louis d'Orléans does not mention a single tapestry that shows imagery of *The Passion*.

Of the 400 plus tapestries from the collections of Charles V, Jean de Berry, Louis d'Anjou, Philippe le Hardi and Louis d'Orléans, only two survive: Louis d'Anjou's *The Apocalypse* tapestries conserved at the Château d'Angers and Jean de Berry's *The Nine Heroes*

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Virginie Barthélémy, ed. (Paris/Dijon/Cleveland: Réunion des musées nationaux/Musée des beaux-arts de Dijon/Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004): 123–125 at 125.

<sup>75</sup> Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 18, 25, 31, 34, 36, 39; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 15, 24–25.

<sup>76</sup> Tapestry subjects included *The Tree of Life; The Last Judgment; The Credo; Saint Louis; The Life of Saint Theseus; The Seven Virtues and Seven Vices; The Fountain of Life; The Destruction of Troy; Lancelot* and several tapestries that included rustic scenes with shepherds, birds, rose and oranges. For an examination of rustic subjects and the hunt, see Kate Dimitrova, "Class, Sex and the *Other*: The Representation of Peasants in a Late Medieval Tapestry Set," *Viator* 38, no. 2 (Fall, 2007): 85–125. For the inventories, see Léon Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne: études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne*, 3 vols. (Paris: Plon Frères, 1849–1852), vol. 3, pt. 2, 242–243, no. 6158–6168; Joseph Roman, *Inventaires et documents relatifs aux joyaux et tapisseries des princes d'Orléans-Valois, 1389–1481* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), 147–153; Frances Marjorie Graves, *Deux inventaires de la maison d'Orléans, 1389 et 1408*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926), vol. 1, 24–28, 162–168.

<sup>77</sup> On average, each *chambre* had four to six wall tapestries in addition to bed covers, bench covers, dossals (altar canopies) and ceiling coverings.

tapestries at the Cloisters Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The fact that so few survive explains, in part, why art historians have largely neglected the subject.<sup>78</sup> There is still much that can be discovered about the collecting patterns of these princely patrons of tapestry simply from studying the wealth of information that survives in the edited inventories.

### 1.3.3 Tapestry Patronage in Medieval Spain

The scholarship dedicated to the early patronage of tapestry in Aragón is incomplete and much remains to be investigated. From the two publications that exist,<sup>79</sup> it is evident that at least two kings of Aragón owned collections of tapestries that were woven in the North. The collection of King Pedro IV (r.1336–1387) numbered around seventeen tapestries.<sup>80</sup> It would appear that none survive.

From the collection of King Martín I (r.1396–1410), at least one tapestry with gold and silver threads survived until the early twentieth century.<sup>81</sup> This King of Aragón owned thirteen historiated tapestries and seven antependia.<sup>82</sup> In an article written in 1905, a tapestry with the

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<sup>78</sup> For an exceptional study of lost tapestries, see Susan Groag Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies: Christine de Pizan's Renaissance Legacy* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2004).

<sup>79</sup> Mentioned above, see notes 40 and 41.

<sup>80</sup> Marçal Olivari, *Els Tapissos francesos del rei en Pere el Cerimoniós* (Barcelona: Barbié, 1986).

<sup>81</sup> Jaume Massó Torrents, "Inventari dels bens mobles del Rey Martí d'Aragó," *Revue hispanique* 12 (1905): 413–590.

<sup>82</sup> The subjects of the historiated tapestries included *The Crucifixion*; *The Story of the Sepulchre*; *The Story of Saint John*; *The Story of Saint George*; *The Story of Saint Anthony*; and *The Story of the Emperor* [name of Emperor not specified]. Jaume Massó Torrents, "Inventari dels bens mobles del Rey Martí d'Aragó," *Revue hispanique* 12 (1905): 413–590 at 554, 557. An antependium is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as, "A veil or covering for the front of the altar, used in Roman Catholic and some Anglican churches; sometimes identified with a frontal, which may be an ornamental panel," while a frontal is described as a, "A movable covering for the front of an altar, generally of embroidered cloth, silk, etc., but sometimes of metal." *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v., "antependium," and "frontal, n." <http://dictionary.oed.com/> (20 April 2008).

arms of King Martín I and his wife, María de Luna (1358–1407), was photographed and described as probably belonging to the royal couple.<sup>83</sup> The tapestry is actually described in King Martín I's inventory: "Item, a tapestry altar frontal with gold [threads], with figures and four coats of arms: two royal [ones] and two of Lady Queen María, finished with green fringe."<sup>84</sup> During a portion of the years 1903–1904, it was on view at a tapestry exhibition at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. At that point in time, it was known that the tapestry had formerly belonged to the Guilhou collection; its location today is unknown.

This narrow and long tapestry likely served as an altar frontal as described in the inventory.<sup>85</sup> It illustrates a landscape scene with Saint John the Baptist standing on a riverbank, flanked by Saint Martin of Tours at the left and Saint Hugh of Grenoble at the right. Saint John holds a scroll that says "*Ecce agnus dei.*" On either side of Saint Martin are two coats of arms that represent the devices of Aragón (*or, four pales gules*).<sup>86</sup> Two coats of arms that illustrate the Luna devices (*gules, an inverted crescent chequy or and sable*)<sup>87</sup> are on either side of Saint Hugh. The commission of the tapestry can be dated, therefore, sometime from 1372, when

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<sup>83</sup> The tapestry is illustrated by Albert van de Put and William George Thomson, "A Tapestry of Martin of Aragon and Maria de Luna," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 7, no. 26 (May, 1905): 141–143. María de Luna was related to Pedro Martínez de Luna, the Anti-pope Benedict XIII, see note 4.

<sup>84</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón [hereafter ACA], Real Cancillería, Registros, número 2326, folio unknown: "Item un frontal de altar de drap de ras, ab aur, ab miges figures e ab IIII senyals: dos reys e dos de la Senyora Reyna Maria, ab flocadura verda, acabat." See Jaume Massó Torrents, "Inventari dels bens mobles del Rey Martí d' Aragó," *Revue hispanique* 12 (1905): 413–590 at no. 820; Marçal Olivari, *Els Tapissos francesos del rei en Pere el Cerimoniós* (Barcelona: Barbié, 1986), 50.

<sup>85</sup> The weaving was measured as 82 x 230 cm.

<sup>86</sup> "*De oro, cuatro palos de gules.*" Martín de Riquer, *Heráldica Castellana en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos* (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1986), 57–66, 96–98; Jacques-A. Schnieper Campos, *Diccionario de heráldica* (Madrid: Editorial LIBSA, 2002), 58.

<sup>87</sup> "*En campo de gules, un creciente ranversado de jaqueles de oro y sable.*" Martín de Riquer, *Heráldica Castellana en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos* (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1986), 347; Fernando González-Doria, *Diccionario heráldico y nobiliario*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Trigo Ediciones, 2000), vol. 4, 68; Jacques-A. Schnieper Campos, *Diccionario de heráldica* (Madrid: Editorial LIBSA, 2002), 200, 223.



Martín I married María de Luna, until 1407, when she died.<sup>88</sup> He remarried again in 1409 and died the following year. No other tapestries from the collection of King Martín I appear to have survived.

As mentioned above, many of the Dukes of Burgundy gave gifts of tapestries to foreign rulers. For instance, in 1397, the Duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Hardi, gave King Martín I two tapestries representing *The Story of Saint Anthony*.<sup>89</sup> The tapestries appear in the King's inventory taken in 1410: "Item, two large tapestries of *The Story of Saint Anthony* various figures and colors."<sup>90</sup> It is also unknown if these two tapestries are extant.

The formation of the substantial Spanish royal tapestry collection as it remains today is a result of the passionate patronage of the monarchy from the middle of the fifteenth century until the mid-sixteenth century. Among the great collectors of tapestry was Alfonso V el Magnánimo, King of Aragón (r.1416–1458). In 1451, he sent three representatives to Flanders on a mission to buy tapestries. They were mainly based in Bruges, where they purchased at least forty tapestries, including a set of *The Story of King Ahasuerus* for the king.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Albert van de Put and William George Thomson, "A Tapestry of Martin of Aragon and Maria de Luna," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 7, no. 26 (May, 1905): 141–143.

<sup>89</sup> Chrétien César August Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1886), vol. 2, 651, 668; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 16.

<sup>90</sup> Barcelona, ACA, Real Cancillería, Registros, número 2326, folio 126: "*Item dos drap des ras grans on es la Istorie de Sent Anthoni de diverses figures e colors.*" Jaume Massó Torrents, "Inventari dels bens mobles del Rey Martí d'Aragó," *Revue hispanique* 12 (1905): 413–590 at 157, no. 1674; also see note 84.

<sup>91</sup> During the second half of the fifteenth century, Bruges became an important city for the tapestry trade. Little is known about tapestry patronage there during the fifteenth century, but by the 1480s the city's role in the tapestry trade had diminished significantly. Unlike Brussels, Tournai and Lille, Bruges was not a city renowned for producing high-quality, historiated tapestries. The purchases of tapestries by King Alfonso V's agents illustrates that by the middle of the fifteenth century, historiated tapestries were being traded and sold on the market and therefore were not solely commissioned on an individual basis. Guy Delmarcel and Erik Duverger, *Bruges et la tapisserie* (Bruges/Mouscron: Louis de Poortere, 1987), 47; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 36–37.

The royal patronage of tapestry from Flanders continued to develop during the reign of the Catholic Kings. By the time of Isabel I's death, she had collected over 370 tapestries.<sup>92</sup> In 1497, Fernando II and Isabel I's son, Juan of Aragón and Castile, Infante of Spain (1478–1497), married Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480–1530).<sup>93</sup> Through this connection, Spanish patronage of tapestries from the North flourished. Margaret of Austria later became Regent of the Netherlands (1507–1515) and guardian to Charles V (1500–1558), the future King of Castile and Aragón (r.1516–1556) and Holy Roman Emperor (r.1530–1556), one of the celebrated tapestry collectors of the sixteenth century.<sup>94</sup> The patronage of tapestry by Charles V was one of the ways he demonstrated his authority and power as a Habsburg emperor. His numerous commissions, along with other members of the Spanish monarchy, form a significant part of the Spanish Crown's tapestry collection.<sup>95</sup>

This introduction to the great quantities and variety of subjects of tapestries commissioned in France and Aragón at the end of the fourteenth century and in Spain during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has demonstrated that the *Passion* tapestries bequeathed to Zaragoza Cathedral in 1456 upon the death of the Archbishop, Dalmau de Mur, are a rare surviving example of the early collection of tapestries during the early fifteenth century. As

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<sup>92</sup> For bibliography, see note 18.

<sup>93</sup> Margaret of Austria was the daughter of Maximilian I of Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor (r.1508–1519) and Marie, Duchess of Burgundy (r.1477–1482).

<sup>94</sup> Charles V was the son of Philippe I le Beau, King of Castile (r.1504–1506) and Juana I la Loca, Queen of Castile (r.1505–1555). As King of Spain, he was known as Charles I. Charles V had many titles, the most important among them include: Duke of Burgundy (r.1506–1556); King of Naples and Sicily (r.1516–1554); Archduke of Austria, (r.1519–1521); and King of the Romans (r.1519–1530).

<sup>95</sup> Barbara von Barghahn, *Age of Gold, Age of Iron: Renaissance Spain and Symbols of Monarchy. The Imperial Legacy of Charles V and Philip II: Royal Castles, Palace-Monasteries, Princely Houses* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1985); Guy Delmarcel, *Los Honores: Flemish Tapestries for the Emperor Charles V*, trans. Alistair Weir (Antwerp: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon/Pandora, 2000).

such, Dalmau de Mur's commission marks the beginning of an important phase in the cultural interaction between Spain and the North.

**2.0 THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE KINGDOM OF ARAGÓN:  
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE FAMILY OF DALMAU DE MUR AND SIGNIFICANT  
RELIGIOUS AND HISTORICAL EVENTS**

Dalmau de Mur is not a well-known figure today outside of Spain, but an examination of his commissions and acquisitions of altarpieces, panel paintings, illuminated manuscripts and tapestries confirms that he was one of the leading Catalan ecclesiastical patrons of the arts during the first half of the fifteenth century in the kingdom of Aragón. This chapter introduces the noble Catalan family of Dalmau de Mur to illustrate their significant social standing in the late medieval kingdom of Aragón. During his lifetime, Dalmau de Mur was able to cultivate and benefit from vital ecclesiastical and political connections, many of which were based upon an intricate network of marriage alliances within his family. Consequently, Dalmau had the opportunity to become an important figure in both the sacred and secular spheres of Catalonia, Aragón and beyond.

## 2.1 THE KINGDOM OF ARAGÓN

The kingdom of Aragón was united with Catalonia in 1164, when Alfonso II, Count of Barcelona (r.1162–1196), inherited the Aragonese throne.<sup>96</sup> The kingdom was further expanded under Jaime I el Conquistador, King of Aragón (r.1213–1276), who conquered Mallorca in 1229 and Valencia in 1239. Eventually, Mallorca became a separate kingdom in 1276 under King Jaime I's son, Jaime II, King of Mallorca (r.1276–1311); however, in 1343, Pedro IV el Ceremonioso, King of Aragón (r.1336–1387), reclaimed the kingdom of Mallorca from Jaime III el Temerario (r.1324-1349).<sup>97</sup>

Territorial acquisitions beyond the Iberian Peninsula reached as far as Italy. For instance, earlier, in 1282, Pedro III el Grande, King of Aragón (r.1276–1285), invaded the island of Sicily, seizing the throne from Charles I, Duke of Anjou (r.1266–1282). In 1326, Jaime II el Justo, King of Aragón (r.1267–1327),<sup>98</sup> invaded the kingdom of Sardinia, which had been granted to him by Pope Boniface VIII (r.1294–1303) in 1297. Subsequently, a viceroy governed the kingdom of Sardinia in the name of the King of Aragón. Later, in 1443, Alfonso V el Magnánimo, King of Aragón (r.1416–1458), captured Angevin-ruled Naples and reigned as Alfonso I (r.1442–1458). The kingdom of Aragón, during the lifetime of Dalmau de Mur (1376–

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<sup>96</sup> The following summary was drawn from the following sources: Henry John Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia* (London: Methuen, 1933), 197–200, which is available at the Library of Iberian Resources online: <http://libro.uca.edu/chaytor/achistory.htm> (20 April 2008); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975); Borja de Riquer i Permanyer et al., ed., *Història, política, societat i cultura dels Països catalans*, 13 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1995–1999), vol. 3; Francesca Español i Bertran, *Els Escenaris del rei art i monarquia a la Corona d'Aragó* (Manresa/Barcelona: Fundació Caixa Manresa/Angle Editorial, 2001); Simon Barton, *A History of Spain* (Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

<sup>97</sup> Francesca Español i Bertran, *Els Escenaris del rei art i monarquia a la Corona d'Aragó* (Manresa/Barcelona: Fundació Caixa Manresa/Angle Editorial, 2001), 21–24.

<sup>98</sup> Not to be confused with Jaime II, King of Mallorca (r.1276–1311).

1456), therefore, encompassed the regions of Aragón, Catalonia, Valencia, Mallorca, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and Naples.

In addition to these vast territorial expansions and conquests, the kingdom of Aragón was threatened by civil war in 1410 when a two-year interregnum began upon the death of Martín I el Humano, King of Aragón (r.1396–1410), who left no heir.<sup>99</sup> Moreover, significant religious and political events were taking place abroad, particularly in France and Italy, including the Hundred Years' War between France and England (1337–1453); the papal schism (1378–1415); the turbulent reign of Charles VI le Fol, King of France (1380–1422); the split of the Valois dynasty into the Burgundian and Armagnac factions; and the competing territorial claims to Naples made by the house of Anjou and the kingdom of Aragón (See Appendix A: Chronological Table: Significant Ecclesiastical and Secular Events before and during Dalmau de Mur's Lifetime, 1376–1456).

All of these events set the stage for a complex landscape within which Dalmau de Mur's life and ecclesiastical career must be situated. The impact of the papal schism and the kingdom of Aragón's intimate involvement with it are significant and will be discussed in detail below. From the art historical perspective, the installation of the papal curia in Avignon (before and during the papal schism) endowed the city with a magnificent flourishing of the arts, bringing together artists from the courts of France, Italy and Spain, among others.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> The interregnum began on May 31, 1410 and ended on June 28, 1412.

<sup>100</sup> Important studies on Avignon as an artistic capital include: Enrico Castelnuovo, *Un pittore italiano alla corte di Avignone: Matteo Giovannetti e la pittura in Provenza nel secolo XIV*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1991); Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Alessandro Tomei, ed., *Roma, Napoli, Avignone: arte di curia, arte di corte 1300–1377* (Torino: Sear, 1996); Marianne Pade, Hannemarie Ragn Jensen and Lene Waage Petersen, eds., *Avignon and Naples: Italy in France – France in Italy in the Fourteenth Century* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1997); Dominique Vingtain, *Avignon: le Palais des Papes* (Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1998); Élisabeth Mognetti and Esther Moench, "Peintures italiennes," in *Avignon Musée du Petit Palais: peintures et sculptures*, ed. Esther Moench (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999): 22–91; Dominique Thiébaud, "Peintures de L'École

## 2.2 THE DE MUR FAMILY

Dalmau de Mur i de Cervelló came from an aristocratic family that had had important religious and political ties for many generations.<sup>101</sup> He was born in 1375 in the city of Cervera (in central Catalonia).<sup>102</sup> His parents, Lluís de Mur (d.1408) and Beatriu Alemany de Cervelló i de Queralt (dates unknown), were Baron and Baroness of Mur, Albi and Cervià.<sup>103</sup> Lluís de Mur was

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d'Avignon,” in *Avignon Musée du Petit Palais: peintures et sculptures*, ed. Esther Moench (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999): 92–109; Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Sur les pas des papes d'Avignon* (Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France, 2005); François de Lannoy, *Avignon et les papes français* (Bayeux: Éditions Heimdal, 2006).

<sup>101</sup> Some of the historical and biographic details concerning Dalmau de Mur, his family and the baronies of Mur, Albi and Cervià come from my examination of documents (see Appendix B-1: “List of Archival Documents Consulted”). All the primary sources cited in footnotes in this chapter signify that I discovered the information and in a few cases they rectify differences given in the secondary sources. All other information was drawn from the following: Antolín Merino and José de la Canal, *España Sagrada*, 51 vols. (Madrid: M. F. Rodriguez, 1747–1879), vol. 44 (1826), 80–82; Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, 1803–1852), vol. 14 (1850), 29–31; Enrique Ribera, *La baronia y los barones de Albi* (Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1944); Ramón Gaya Massot, *Cancilleres y rectores del estudio general de Lérida* (Lleida: La Editoria leridana, 1951), 29–30; Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1957), s.v., “Hispania—Gerona,” “Hispania—Tarragona,” “Hispania—Saragossa;” Alberto García Carraffa and Arturo García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos*, 86 vols. (Madrid: Radio, 1952–1963), s.v., “Mur (o Muro),” no. II–3, fig. 891 [N.B. Some information is erroneous, see notes 247 and 282; exact text is also reproduced in Alberto García Carraffa and Arturo García Carraffa, *El solar catalán, valenciano y balear*, 4 vols. (San Sebastián: Librería Internacional, 1968), vol. 3, 154–155.] Agustí Duran i Sanpere, *Barcelona i la seva història*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Curial, 1972–1975), vol. 3, 79–80; *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Albi, baronia de l’,” s.v., “Mur,” “Mur, baronia de,” “Mur i de Cervelló, Acard de,” “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de;” María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Un gran mecenas en Aragón: D. Dalmacio de Mur y Cervellón (1431–1456),” *Seminario de Arte Aragónes* 33 (1981): 149–159 at 152; Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de Aragón: Zaragoza* (1845–1850; Valladolid/Zaragoza: Ambito Ediciones/Diputación general de Aragón, 1985) 395; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Mecenazgo de los obispos catalanes en las diócesis aragoneasa durante la Baja Edad Media,” *Aragonia sacra* 2 (1987): 19–34; *Diccionari d’història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de;” Joan Gaspar Roig i Jalpí (attributed; written under the name Bernat Boades), *Libre dels feyts d’armes de Catalunya, hon tambe s’hi scriuen alguns feyts ecclesiastichs* (1873; Alacant: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2006) [N.B. This chronicle by Boades has been identified as a fake account, as cited by (among others) Ramón Gaya Massot, *Cancilleres y rectores del estudio general de Lérida* (Lleida: La Editoria Leridana, 1951), 30 and is therefore not referred to hereafter].

<sup>102</sup> Located in the county of Segarra in the diocese of Lleida. *Diccionari d’història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de.” By contrast, Ribera identified the city in which Dalmau was born as Albi, see Enrique Ribera, *La baronia y los barones de Albi* (Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1944), 6.

<sup>103</sup> Lluís de Mur’s death date comes from the *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur.” Beatriu Alemany de Cervelló i de Queralt was one of ten children of Ramon Alemany de Cervelló i de Cardona (Ramón Alamán de Cervellón, d.1405) and Beatriu de Queralt i de

connected with the Aragonese royalty. For example, in 1392, he accompanied the Infante Martín, Duke of Montblanc (the future Martín I el Humano, King of Aragón) to Sicily. Dalmau de Mur's testament mentions his father, Lluís de Mur (Ludovicus de Muro), in relation to a donation of money to the Cathedral of Lleida.<sup>104</sup> Lluís de Mur, in his own testament, gave a gift of 10,000 *sueldos jaqueses* to the chapel of Guerau de Requesens, Bishop of Lleida (r.1387–1399), for the remission of his sins. To complement this beneficence, Dalmau de Mur offered 25 *libre jaccensis* to be given in the name of his father.<sup>105</sup>

Lluís de Mur and Beatriu had five children, several of whom had powerful ties that were advanced because of astute marriage alliances. The following synopsis of the lives of Dalmau's siblings (and their children) aims to demonstrate that the aristocratic members of the de Mur family made and cultivated impressive political and religious alliances. Moreover, an analysis of the extended family elucidates the issue of inheritance in relation to Dalmau de Mur. The inheritance of the worldly goods left by Dalmau de Mur is evident in his testament, where he identifies his nephew (his niece's husband) as the primary heir, in addition to making specific bequests to named persons and institutions.<sup>106</sup> Before introducing Dalmau's four siblings, it should be noted that the only known and secure birth date of any of the five de Mur children is

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Rocambertí (n.d.). The *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana* states that Beatriu Alemany de Cervelló possibly married a second time to Roger Montcada, Baron of Aiton (d.1413), but this is incorrect. Roger married Beatriu de Milany, not Beatriu Alemany de Cervelló. *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Cervelló," "Montcada," and "Queralt." Mur is located in the county of Pallars Jussà, while Albi and Cervià are in the county of Garrigues. Both the counties of Pallars Jussà and Garrigues are located in the diocese of Lleida.

<sup>104</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 440v.

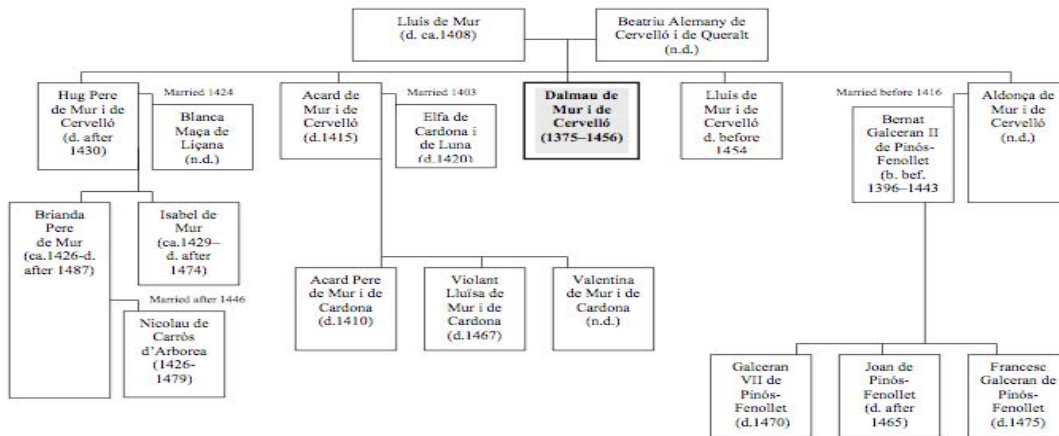
<sup>105</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 440v: "*Item cum nobilis genitor noster dominus Ludovicus de Muro in suo ultimo testamento statuisset quod in sede llerdensis institueret unum beneficium perpetuum in capella domini Geraldi llerdensis episcopus assignassetque dicto beneficio decem mille solidos jaccensis ex quibus emerentur viginti et quinque libre jaccensis ad sustentationem beneficiati qui ipsi beneficio deserviret ad laudem omnipotentis Dei . . .*"

<sup>106</sup> See Chapter I and Chapter IV an examination of his testament dated March 4, 1454.



that of Dalmau. My extensive research on the de Mur family, which was conducted at the Biblioteca de Catalunya Arxiu Històric in Barcelona, presents a different birth order of the five children than has been suggested in other sources (see Table 1).<sup>107</sup>

**Table 1. Reconstruction of the de Mur Family Tree**



The barony of Mur was inherited by Hug Pere de Mur i de Cervelló (d. after 1430),<sup>108</sup> probably the first- or second-born child of Lluís and Beatriu. Very little is known about Hug, but as Baron of Mur, he likely held a prominent position, such as a knight. It is documented that he was involved with military engagements lead by King Alfonso V.<sup>109</sup> In April 1424, a marriage

<sup>107</sup> I thank Reis Fontanals Jaumà, who generously offered her assistance with my research on Dalmau de Mur and his family. The birth order I challenge is implied by the *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur,” where the five children are presented in the following order: Hug Pere, Lluís, Dalmau, Aldonça and Acard.

<sup>108</sup> Dies after June 17, 1430, the year his testament was written, see Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya Arxiu Històric (hereafter, BCAH), 12851 9–VI–2; earlier testament is dated June 21, 1429, Barcelona, BCAH, 17853 Perg. XIX.

<sup>109</sup> My conclusion is based on a royal document, Barcelona, BCAH, 17853 Perg. XIX; discussed below, note 113.

contract was drawn up between Hug and Blanca de Maça de Liçana (Maza de Lizana; dates unknown).<sup>110</sup> Together Hug and Blanca had two daughters, Brianda Pere de Mur (Petri de Mur; ca.1426–d. after 1487) and Isabel de Mur (ca.1429–d. after 1474).<sup>111</sup> Isabel is named in Dalmau’s testament to receive silk garments, Turkish bedcovers and a red carpet.<sup>112</sup>

Just before Isabel’s birth, Hug officially expressed his wishes concerning the inheritance of the barony of Mur since it was unknown at the time if he would have a male heir. A document dated June 21, 1429, recorded by Ramon Battle (proto-notary of the Royal Chancellery), was drawn up when Hug was stationed in King Alfonso V’s royal encampment.<sup>113</sup> In this document, Hug states that the barony of Mur would be given to the male descendent of his first-born daughter, Brianda, if the child at the time in his wife’s womb were not a boy. It was Isabel who was the child born later that year and thus the barony of Mur was eventually given as part of Brianda’s dowry upon her marriage to Nicolau Carròs d’Arborea (Nicolás Carròs de Arborea, Carroç de Arborea; b.1426–d.1479).<sup>114</sup> Nicolau held many titles—most

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<sup>110</sup> Blanca is the daughter of Pere Maça de Liçana and the niece of Isabel Maça (widow Eiximén Pérez de Arenós), brother of Pere Maça de Liçana. Barcelona, BCAH, 11880 9–II–1; 15002 Perg. VI. The marriage contract between Hug and Blanca survives in numerous copies at Barcelona, BCAH, 11880 9–II–1; 11881 9–II–1; 11913 9–II–1; 11918 9–II–1; 11919 9–II–1; 11983 9–VII–1; 15002 Perg. VI; 15017 Perg. VI; 15048 Perg. VI.

<sup>111</sup> Brianda was misidentified as Dalmau’s sister instead of his niece by Enrique Ribera, *La baronia y los barones de Albi* (Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1944), 6. I calculated Brianda’s birth year from a document (Barcelona, BCAH, 15919 9–IV–4) dated February 10, 1446 that identifies Brianda as 20 years of age, while her sister Isabel is recorded as being 17 years old. The year of Brianda’s death is based on her testament dated February 15, 1487, Barcelona, BCAH, 12661 9–III–1. Isabel de Mur is referred to as Isabel d’Urrea i de Mur in Barcelona, BCAH, 10213 10–III–2 and 10214 10–III–2. Both documents concern a papal indulgence and absolution in favor of Isabel and her father, Hug de Mur (Dalmau’s brother) in the year 1474 for having donated money for the campaign against the Ottoman Turks (probably for the crusades renewed by Pope Sixtus IV, r.1471–1484).

<sup>112</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 450v: “*Item vull que sia data dona Ysabel de Urrea e de Mur ma neboda la capa vert de saya de Milà que ha lo capell forrat de cetí carmesí e la clotxa morada de saya ab son caperó e la alquella turquesca am una catiffa vermella de dues . . .*”

<sup>113</sup> Barcelona, BCAH, 17853 Perg. XIX.

<sup>114</sup> Nicolau was the son of Francesc d’Arborea (d.1426) and Beatriu de Mur, but I have been unable to determine his mother’s relationship to Dalmau, whose mother had the same name. Beatriu de Mur is not listed as one of the ten siblings of Dalmau’s father, Lluís de Mur, so perhaps she is one of his siblings’ children, thus, she would be

notably, King Juan II named him Royal Chancellor and Viceroy to the kingdom of Sardinia in 1460, a position he maintained until his death in 1479.<sup>115</sup> As recorded in Dalmau de Mur's testament, Nicolau Carròs de Arborea (identified as "my nephew") is named as the primary heir.<sup>116</sup> In his testament, Dalmau left to Nicolau black silk curtains that were embroidered with double crowns, in addition to two large Castilian carpets with the coat of arms of the de Mur family.<sup>117</sup> Brianda was to be given a scarlet cape, which had yet to be used, as well as a green cloak of silk from Milan and its hood.<sup>118</sup> Nicolau and Brianda had three children: Dalmau Carròs d'Arborea i Mur (d.1478), Beatriu Carròs d'Arborea i Mur (d.1499) and Estefanía Carròs d'Arborea i Mur (d. after 1512).<sup>119</sup>

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Dalmau's cousin. *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Carròs" and "Mur;" Antonio Durán Gudiol and María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "El Testamento de Don Dalmau de Mur y Cervelló, Arzobispo de Zaragoza (1431–1456): nuevas observaciones," *Aragoia Sacra* 11 (1996): 49–62 at 51, 53n11.

<sup>115</sup> Nicolau Carròs d'Arborea was also Lord of the Castle of La Fava, Baron of Posada (titled created for him in 1431), Lord of Mandas, Lord of Las Encontradas, he was butler to Juana de Aragón, Infanta of the kingdom of Aragón (1454–1517), who in 1476 married Fernando I, King of Naples (r.1458–1494). *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Carròs." It is erroneously stated that he was Count of Eivissa (Ibiza) by Enrique Ribera, *La baronía y los barones de Albi* (Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1944), 6.

<sup>116</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folios 448, 439v, 449v and 450–450v. Nicolau is identified as the universal heir on folio 448.

<sup>117</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folios 450–450v: "*Per mi designat scrit en la forma sigüent primo vull que sia donat a Nicolau Carròz mon nebot les cortines de cetí negre sembrades a les corones dobles e les dues grans catiffes o alffombres castellanes on són les armes de Mur.*"

<sup>118</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folios 450v: "*Item vull que sia dat a dona Brianda ma neboda la cap de grana la qual encara no ha servit e la clotxa de saya de Milà vert ab sos caperons.*"

<sup>119</sup> Dalmau Carròs d'Arborea i de Mur's year of death comes from *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Carròs." By contrast, I have established that Estefanía Carròs d'Arborea i de Mur died sometime after October 10, 1512 when she was involved in a lawsuit (Barcelona, BCHA, 7205 Arm. 79 núm. 75). She also granted power of attorney to two lawyers on August 8, 1500 when she was trying to recover money from the Governor of Valencia (Barcelona, BCHA, 15784 1–IV–2).

The other possible first-born child of Lluís and Beatriu is Acard de Mur i de Cervelló (d.1415).<sup>120</sup> In April 1399, Acard was knighted at the coronation ceremonies of King Martín I el Humano in Zaragoza.<sup>121</sup> Acard was involved with the military expedition to Sardinia in 1409 and three years later, he was chosen by the Catalanian parliament to serve as Captain-General.<sup>122</sup> In 1413, Fernando I, King of Aragón and Sicily (r.1412–1416), appointed Acard as Governor of Cagliari and Gallura, a post he maintained until his death in 1415.<sup>123</sup>

Acard inherited the baronies of Albi and Cervià from his father. In 1403, at the Castle of Cardona, he married Elfa de Cardona i de Luna (d.1420).<sup>124</sup> Elfa de Cardona i de Luna is the daughter of Hug II, Count of Cardona (d.1400), and Beatriu de Luna i de Xèrica. Elfa's sister, Aldonça de Cardona i de Luna, married Dalmau's uncle Guereau. Elfa and Aldonça were the cousins of Pedro Martínez de Luna, Anti-pope Benedict XIII.<sup>125</sup> Acard and Elfa had three

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<sup>120</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Acard de.”

<sup>121</sup> In 1396, when Martín I succeeded his brother Juan I el Cazador (r.1387–1396) as King of Aragón, Martín I was Lord of Sicily. Due to a politically unstable situation he was forced to remain in Sicily until 1397 and it was his wife, María de Luna (1358–1407), who returned to Aragón to claim the throne on his behalf. Martín I's election to the throne was also challenged by Mathieu, Count of Foix (r.1391–1398) because of the lineage of his wife, Juana of Aragón (daughter of King Juan I). In the end, Mathieu's attempt failed. Martín I's coronation ceremonies did not occur until 1399, upon his return from Sicily. See Bonifacio Palacios Martín, *La coronación de los reyes de Aragón, 1204–1410: aportación al estudio de las estructuras políticas medievales* (Valencia: Anubar, 1975), 272–273; *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Acard de.” Henry John Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia* (London: Methuen, 1933), 197–200; also available at the Library of Iberian Resources online: <http://libro.uca.edu/chaytor/achistory.htm> (20 April 2008).

<sup>122</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Acard de.”

<sup>123</sup> Cagliari is a province and Gallura is a region on the island of Sardinia. *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Acard de.”

<sup>124</sup> Elfa's marriage to Acard is her second and may have taken place in 1405, see Enrique Ribera, *La baronía y los barones de Albi* (Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1944), 13. Elfa's first marriage, in 1399 to Joan II, Count of Empúries (1375–1401), resulted in no children. *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Cardona,” s.v., “Cardona, Hug de,” s.v., “Empúries, comtat d',” and “Mur i de Cervelló, Acard de.”

<sup>125</sup> For more on the Luna family connection, see note 161.

children.<sup>126</sup> The first, a son, Acard Pere de Mur i de Cardona (d.1410), was followed by two daughters, Violant Lluïsa de Mur i de Cardona (d.1467) and Valentina de Mur i de Cardona (dates unknown).<sup>127</sup> Due to the premature death of the male child, the baronies of Albi and Cervià were passed down to Violant.<sup>128</sup> In 1418, Violant married Ponç de Perellós (Pons de Perillos; d. ca.1437), Lord of Tous, and together they had one daughter, Elfa de Perellós i de Mur (d.1495).<sup>129</sup> At some point, Violant married Frederic d’Aragó i de Sicília, Count of Luna (1402–1438).<sup>130</sup> Frederic was the illegitimate son of the Infante, Martín I el Joven, King of Sicily (1374–1409, r.1390–1409), and his mistress, Tarsia Rizzari (dates unknown).<sup>131</sup> The Infante Martín I died in 1409, leaving his father, King Martín I el Humano, with no living heirs to whom to pass the throne of Aragón. He attempted to make his illegitimate grandson, Frederic, his

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<sup>126</sup> Of the three children, only two children (Acard and Violant) are identified by Enrique Ribera, *La baronia y los barones de Albi* (Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1944), 12–13; while only Violant and Valentina are mentioned in the entry in *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Acard de.”

<sup>127</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Cardona,” and s.v., “Mur.”

<sup>128</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur.”

<sup>129</sup> Ponç was the son of Ponç de Perellós (d.1416) and Maria van Steenhoont, who met at the French court, where he served as a chamberlain to Violant(e)/Yolande de Bar. Violant de Bar was first married to Juan I el Cazador, King of Aragón, r.1387–1396 and then married Louis II d’Anjou, King of Naples, r.1384–1417. During the interregnum in Aragón, Queen Violante and Louis II’s son, Louis III d’Anjou who was one of the claimants to the throne upon the death of King Martín I (Queen Violant’s uncle) at the Compromise of Caspe (see note 158). According to Enrique Ribera, *La baronia y los barones de Albi* (Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1944), 13, the marriage took place in 1418. Ponç was Lord of Tous, which is located in the county of Ribera Alta, a province of Valencia. *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Perellós,” and s.v., “Perellós i van Steenhout, Ponç de.”

<sup>130</sup> It is stated that the union occurred in 1426, though this seems unlikely, since she is still married to Ponç; however, the two of the three entries *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana* say that the union was a secret marriage. The 1426 date and the secret marriage comes from *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur.” The secret marriage is mentioned s.v., “Aragó i de Sicília, Frederic d’,” but not s.v., “Perellós i van Steenhout, Ponç de.”

<sup>131</sup> Martín I el Joven not to be confused with his father, King Martín I el Humano (r.1396–1410). The Infante Martín I el Joven died in 1409, the year before his father, King Martín I el Humano died. Since there was no living legitimate successor to the Aragonese throne upon the death of King Martín I, a two-year interregnum ensued. *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Aragó i de Sicília, Frederic d’.”

successor, but the endeavor failed.<sup>132</sup> Upon King Martín I's death in 1410, a two-year interregnum began and Frederic was one of the many claimants to the throne.<sup>133</sup> The official election of the new king to the throne of Aragón did not occur until 1412 at the Compromise of Caspe; yet, in the end, Frederic was not chosen as king.<sup>134</sup> The relationship between Violant and Frederic ended and it is unclear what happened to her between their separation and her death in 1467.<sup>135</sup>

By contrast, more details are recorded about her younger sister, Valentina, who ended up running away to Castile with her sister Violant's second husband, Frederic.<sup>136</sup> After Frederic died in 1438, Valentina married Carlos de Guevara (dates unknown), Lord of Escalante.<sup>137</sup> Sometime after the death of Carlos, Valentina entered the royal convent of Santa Clara of Tordesillas with the permission of the King of Castile and León.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Anti-pope Benedict XIII and Blanche I de Navarre, Queen of Sicily (r.1402–1409) and Queen regent of Navarre (r.1425–1441), were also in support. Blanche was the second wife of Frederic's father, the Infante Martín el Joven. Benedict XIII supported the advancement of Frederic until King Martín I died at which point he switched his allegiance to Fernando de Trastámara, Infante of Castile, who would in return support Benedict XIII's place as the legitimate pope. *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Aragó i de Sicília, Frederic d'," and s.v., "Benet XIII;" Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 260–264; Simon Barton, *A History of Spain* (Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 85.

<sup>133</sup> The other candidates included Jaume II, Count of Urgell; Louis III, Duke of Anjou (also known as Lluís, Duke of Calàbria); Fernando de Trastámara, Infante of Castile; Alfonso of Aragón and Foix (also known as Alfonso, Duke of Gandía), who died in 1412 and was then replaced by his son, who shared the same name, yet he was challenged by his uncle, Juan de Prades and Foix. In the end, Fernando de Trastámara was crowned as Fernando I, King of Aragón (r.1412–1416). Pilar Farrés i Busquets, *Cent dates clau de la història de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1997), 46–47.

<sup>134</sup> Pilar Farrés i Busquets, *Cent dates clau de la història de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1997), 46–47.

<sup>135</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Mur."

<sup>136</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Mur."

<sup>137</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Mur."

<sup>138</sup> Located in the province of Valladolid in Castile and León, the convent was first the royal palace of Alfonso XI, King of Castile and León (r.1311–1350). In 1363, Pedro I, King of Castile and León (r.1350–1366) donated the building to the Sisters of Saint Clare (the Poor Clares) for use as a convent. Narciso Feliu de la Peña y Farell, *Anales de Cataluña*, 3 vols. (1709; Barcelona: Editorial Base, 1999), vol. 2, 447; and *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*,

Perhaps the third-born child was Dalmau (b.1375; discussed below). He was probably born after Hug and Acard, but possibly born before his brother, Lluís de Mur i de Cervelló (d. before 1454),<sup>139</sup> who, like Dalmau, also devoted his life to religious service. Lluís de Mur is mentioned as deceased in Dalmau de Mur's testament written in 1454. His name is found twice in the document (folios 443v and 449): in the first instance he is referred to as, "*nobilem religiosum dominum Ludovicum de Muro fratrem nostrum,*" while in the second instance, he is simply called, "*mon fratre.*" Both references are in relation to some houses on the Plaça Santa Anna in Barcelona that Lluís had bequeathed to Dalmau. In his testament, Dalmau requests that his executors sell the houses in Barcelona and the funds given to the primary heir, Nicolau Carròs.

Lluís was a member of the military-religious order, the Knights Hospitallers.<sup>140</sup> Similar to the Knights Templars, the Hospitallers were defenders of the Holy Land and the order was officially sanctioned and protected by the papacy since 1113.<sup>141</sup> It is not known when Lluís de

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<sup>2nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Mur;" and "Tordesillas;" Carmen García-Frías Checa, *Convento de Santa Clara, Tordesillas* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1999), 11, 26. Many of the royal, ecclesiastical, papal and administration documents of Santa Clara have been published. The majority concern privileges, mercies, thanks, exemptions, donations, sales and testaments, but Valentina is not mentioned in those that have been published, see Margarita González Cristóbal, *Monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas, 1316–1936* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1987). To enter the convent, Valentina would have needed the permission of the king. Based on the date range, this is likely to have been either Juan II, King of Castile and León (r.1406–1454) or Enrique IV el Impotente, King of Castile and León (r.1454–1474).

<sup>139</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Mur."

<sup>140</sup> The origins of the order begin in Jerusalem around the 1070s at which time they were called the Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem. Over time with the conquest and acquisition of various lands, the order was also known as the Hospitallers of Rhodes (1306–1522) and then later called the Knights of Malta (1530–1798). For more on the origins, history and organization of the order, see Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291–1440: Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978); Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2001), 1–17, 43–97. For a survey of the history of the Knights in Spain during the Middle Ages, see Carlos Barquero Goñi, *Los caballeros hospitalarios en España durante la Edad Media, siglos XII–XV* (Burgos: Editorial La Olmeda, 2003).

<sup>141</sup> Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291–1440: Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), 278.

Mur joined the order, but at some point he was promoted to Commander of Tortosa.<sup>142</sup> In 1430, he was appointed seneschal of Antoni de Fluvià, Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller in Rhodes (1421–1437).<sup>143</sup> Since the order of the Knights Hospitallers was based on vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, Lluís would have (supposedly) remained celibate during his lifetime and should therefore have left no heirs.<sup>144</sup>

Finally, Dalmau's only sister, Aldonça de Mur i de Cervelló (dates unknown), could have been born first, last or somewhere in between. Before 1416, Aldonça married Bernat Galceran II de Pinós-Fenollet (b. before 1396–1443),<sup>145</sup> a nobleman. Bernat, known as el Cavaller, was Viscount of Illa and Canet, Lord of Pinós, Bagà, Mataplana, la Portella, Lluçà, Milany and Vall de Toses.<sup>146</sup> Together, Aldonça and Bernat had three children: Galceran VII de Pinós-Fenollet i

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<sup>142</sup> A commander (a bailiwick) of an estate was in charge of a property (known as a commandery) that comprised a house with a chapel, hall, kitchen, dormitory and supporting farm buildings. Sometimes they included a cloister or operated a hospice. Often the commander was in charge of recruitment and training of members, in addition to collecting donations for the order. The commandery was the central part of contemplative life within the order. Upper members of the order typically elected the commander, but there are instances when the anti-popes—namely, Benedict XIII (r.1394–1417) and John XXIII (r.1410–1415)—assumed control by directly conferring the title of commander within France, Spain and Catalonia. It is plausible then that Anti-pope Benedict XIII nominated Lluís de Mur, particularly because of the Luna family connection (see notes 125 and 161). See *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur;” Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2001), 49, 77–80.

<sup>143</sup> The title of Grand Master held great significance within the political realm and functioned as a major figure within Christendom. Fluvià had been stationed in Rhodes since 1411. He was first in charge of the order's finances (known as the draper) and in 1421 he was promoted to the position of Master of the Knights of the Hospitallers in Rhodes. While in command, he is credited for constructing new city walls and the tower of Saint George. He also founded an infirmary for the Order and a chapel in the convent-church of Saint John. See Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291–1440: Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), I–311, XIII–389; *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Fluvià, Antoni de,” and s.v., “Mur;” Borja de Riquer i Permanyer et al., ed., *Història, política, societat i cultura dels Països catalans*, 13 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1995–1999), vol. 3, 178–180; Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2001), 70, 90.

<sup>144</sup> The vows of celibacy were not always obeyed; see Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291–1440: Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), I–279.

<sup>145</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur,” and s.v., “Pinós.”

<sup>146</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Pinós.”



de Mur (d.1470); Joan de Pinós-Fenollet i de Mur (d. after 1465), who was a member of the Knights Hospitallers, like his uncle, Lluís; and Francesc Galceran de Pinós-Fenollet i de Mur (ca.1416–1457).<sup>147</sup>

With this brief introduction to Dalmau's siblings, it is apparent that the political and religious connections forged through prestigious marriage alliances allowed the de Mur family to buttress its power and authority. In addition to the prominent positions held by members of the family, valuable political associations were further achieved through their uncle (brother of their mother, Beatriu Alemany de Cervelló), Guerau Alemany de Cervelló (1370–1418), who was Governor-General of Catalonia (1404–1418).<sup>148</sup> In 1398, Guerau, as an ambassador of King Martín I of Aragón, visited Anti-pope Benedict XIII and King Charles VI of France. In 1401, he visited the kingdom of Castile to gain alliance with the anti-pope, Benedict XIII, with whom the kingdom of Aragón was intimately aligned; and later he was sent as an Aragonese ambassador to the Council of Pisa in 1409.<sup>149</sup> He was married to Aldonça de Cardona i de Luna (d.1445), sister to Elfa de Cardona i de Mur who was married to Acard de Mur, Dalmau de Mur's brother; both Aldonça and Elfa were the cousins of Pedro Martínez de Luna, Anti-Pope Benedict XIII.<sup>150</sup> Together Guerau and Aldonça had two children (hence, Dalmau's cousins): Guerau Alemany de Cervelló i Cardona (d.1489) and Beatriu de Cervelló i Cardona (d.1474).<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Pinós,” s.v., “Pinós-Fenollet i de Mur, Galceran de,” and s.v., “Pinós-Fenollet i de Mur, Francesc Galceran de.”

<sup>148</sup> Guerau Alemany de Cervelló was Lord of Baronies of Querol, Montagut, Subirats i Sant Martí and Sarroca. *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., s.v., “Cervelló,” and s.v., “Cervelló I de Queralt, Guerau Alemany de.” See note 103.

<sup>149</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Cervelló.”

<sup>150</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Cervelló.” Also see notes 125 and 161.

<sup>151</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Cervelló.”

The Governor-General was a prominent and powerful position within the administrative structure of Catalonia, known as the *Generalitat de Catalunya*.<sup>152</sup> As Governor-General, Guerau reported directly to the King of Aragón and he also participated in the judicial process that took place in parliament (the *corts* in Catalan, *cortes* in Castilian).<sup>153</sup> It should be noted, however, that the parliament was a very powerful governmental body and, in effect, limited the authority of the monarchy—the King of Aragón did not have *carte blanche* concerning certain matters, especially the financing of military campaigns. The king, however, was the only one who could summon a parliamentary session and in the event of his absence, certain powers, mostly military in nature, were delegated to the Governor-General.<sup>154</sup>

In 1410, when Guerau had only served two years as Governor-General, King Martín I died without a legitimate heir to succeed him, resulting in a two-year interregnum. During this period the kingdom of Aragón was in danger of civil war because of different factions, both within and outside of the realm, vying for power. Guerau appeared before the parliament, on

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<sup>152</sup> Under the reign of Pedro IV el Ceremonioso, King of Aragón (r.1336–1387), the structure of the government was reorganized into four branches, one of which was a parliament. Moreover, within the kingdom of Aragón, there existed a separate parliament for Aragón, Catalonia and Valencia. The Catalanian Parliament (*corts*) was not a permanent institution, but that changed in 1359 when parliament became one branch of the Government of Catalonia, the *Generalitat de Catalunya* (also referred to as the *Disputació del General*). The *corts* had representatives from three branches (*braç*), one royal, one military and one religious, and normally met every three years. In addition to the representatives, the *corts* was presided over by the King and the Governor-General. For more, see Francesco Cesare Casula, “L’ordinamento della Corona d’Aragona nei secc. XIV e XV,” in *La corona de Aragón en el Mediterráneo: un legado común para España e Italia, 1282–1492* (Madrid: Ministerio de cultura, Dirección general de bellas artes y archivos, 1988): 15–21 at 17–20; Borja de Riquer i Permanyer et al., ed., *Història, política, societat i cultura dels Països catalans*, 13 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1995–1999), vol. 3, 296–303; Pilar Farrés i Busquets, *Cent dates clau de la història de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1997), 42–43; Francesc Xavier Hernández, *Història de Catalunya: història i memòria*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Pòrtic, 1998), 94–95; Simon Barton, *A History of Spain* (Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 77–80.

<sup>153</sup> For more, see Peter Rycraft, “The Role of the Catalan *Corts* in the Later Middle Ages,” *English Historical Review* 89, no. 351 (April, 1974): 241–269; and see above note 152.

<sup>154</sup> For more, see Peter Rycraft, “The Role of the Catalan *Corts* in the Later Middle Ages,” *English Historical Review* 89, no. 351 (April, 1974): 241–269 at 245.

September 30, 1410 to present a speech.<sup>155</sup> He passionately argued that King Martín I had made him Governor-General for life and, therefore, in the absence of a reigning king he could act as proxy for the king and claim presidency of the parliament.<sup>156</sup> At this point, the question of authority hung in the balance between the Governor-General (as surrogate king) and the parliament.

The parliament denied Guerau's claim and it thus became apparent that Guerau played a far less important role in the government—it was the parliament, not the Governor-General, which was to hold the significant authority and position of the king. As a result, the members of the parliament were no longer to be elected on the basis of an executive order made by the Governor-General; instead, they would be selected by a parliamentary resolution.<sup>157</sup> Over the next two years, things worked out so that the Catalan parliament resolved the matter of succession, which eventually resulted in the election of Fernando I, King of Aragón (r.1412–1416), at the Compromise of Caspe in 1412.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> The text of Guerau's speech survives, see Ricard Albert and Joan Gassiot, *Parlaments à les corts catalanes* (Barcelona: Els nostres clàssics, 1928), 92–94.

<sup>156</sup> For more, see Peter Rycraft, "The Role of the Catalan *Corts* in the Later Middle Ages," *English Historical Review* 89, no. 351 (April, 1974): 241–269 at 246; Ricard Albert and Joan Gassiot, *Parlaments à les corts catalanes* (Barcelona: Els nostres clàssics, 1928), 92–94; Santiago Sobrequès Vidal, "El Pretès 'Parlament de Peralda' i la calvalleria de bisbat de Girona en l'interregne de 1410–1412," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 6 (1968–1969): 253–343.

<sup>157</sup> The expectation was that this new electoral system would remain in place not only during but beyond the interregnum. This turned out not to be the case, however, for in 1411 King Fernando I discharged all members of the parliament (left in the care of their clerks) until a new and different organizational arrangement was set in place. Peter Rycraft, "The Role of the Catalan *Corts* in the Later Middle Ages," *English Historical Review* 89, no. 351 (April, 1974): 241–269 at 247, 251–251; Pilar Farrés i Busquets, *Cent dates clau de la història de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1997), 42–43.

<sup>158</sup> For an extensive study of the parliamentary events during the interregnum, see Santiago Sobrequès Vidal, "El Pretès 'Parlament de Peralda' i la calvalleria de bisbat de Girona en l'interregne de 1410–1412," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 6 (1968–1969): 253–343. As a side note, Guerau supported Jaume d'Urgell el Dissortat during the debates at the Compromise of Caspe, see Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 542–546; also see note 129.

### 2.2.1 Dalmau de Mur (1376–1456)

The events of the interregnum and the newly defined role of Guerau Alemany de Cervelló occurred early in the ecclesiastical career of Dalmau de Mur, but it is not evident if the upheaval and subsequent changes affected him.<sup>159</sup> Furthermore, during the papal schism (1378–1415; discussed below), Aragón had chosen to align itself with Avignon rather than with Rome.

Dalmau de Mur's early career also coincided with the papal reign in Avignon of the Aragonese noble, Pedro Martínez de Luna (1328–1422/23), known as Anti-pope Benedict XIII (r.1394–1417).<sup>160</sup> Dalmau de Mur was actually related to Pedro Martínez de Luna through the two marriage alliances mentioned above. As noted above, Dalmau de Mur's brother, Acard, and uncle, Guerau, married the daughters of Hug II, Count of Cardona and Beatriu de Luna i de Xèrica, the latter of whom was the sister of Pedro Martínez de Luna's father, Juan Martínez de Luna.<sup>161</sup> The Luna family had strong political and ecclesiastical connections. For instance, María de Luna (1358–1407) became Queen of Aragón when her husband since 1372, Martín I, became King of Aragón (r.1396–1410).<sup>162</sup> There were also three Luna men who served at one of the most important archdioceses in the kingdom of Aragón, Zaragoza Cathedral: Jimeno

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<sup>159</sup> I mention this because although Dalmau de Mur, by comparison, was an incredibly successful and affluent ecclesiastic, he was never appointed, for instance, as a cardinal or as a papal legate.

<sup>160</sup> The exact date Benedict XIII's death remains a mystery, though it has been narrowed down to either November 29, 1422 or May 23, 1423. Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 307. The term “anti-pope” refers to those popes during the Great Schism and after who are not recognized by the Curia Romana. During Dalmau de Mur's early career he pledged allegiance to Anti-pope Benedict XIII whom he considered to be the truly ordained pope. Thus it seems appropriate to use “Anti-pope” to avoid confusion—later, Roman Popes often took the same name as an earlier anti-pope, such as the name Benedict XIII, chosen by Pietro Francesco Orsini, who reigned from 1724 to 1730—and to also acknowledge that in the midst of the Schism, the reigning pope was not regarded as anything other than the legitimate pope.

<sup>161</sup> The daughters of Hug II and Beatriu were Elfa de Cardona i de Luna and Aldonça de Cardona i de Luna and were the cousins of Pedro Martínez de Luna, Anti-Pope Benedict XIII. Also see text corresponding to note 125.

<sup>162</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Luna.”

Martínez de Luna, Bishop of Zaragoza (r.1296–1317); Pedro Lopéz de Luna, Bishop and then first Archbishop of Zaragoza from 1318 (r.1317–1345); and Lope Fernández de Luna, Archbishop of Zaragoza (r.1351–1380, d.1382).<sup>163</sup>

Through his association with the Luna family, Dalmau de Mur certainly profited: Anti-pope Benedict XIII sponsored him in several prestigious promotions. Moreover, Dalmau's interaction with Benedict XIII went beyond an ecclesiastical allegiance. For instance, Benedict XIII's artistic patronage was impressive—he owned a wealth of expensive rings, metalwork and liturgical vestments, and by the time of his death, he had collected over eleven hundred manuscripts, including the famous *Girona Bible*.<sup>164</sup> This is in addition to his generous donations of money for building projects at Zaragoza Cathedral, Valderrobres Castle, and the Cistercian Monastery of Santa María de Piedra, as well as gifts of expensive reliquary busts to Zaragoza Cathedral.<sup>165</sup> His patronage proved influential on the formation of Dalmau's own collection of luxury objects, as will be examined in the next chapter. Certainly, the kingdom of Aragón, including its royal and religious communities, greatly benefited from having an Aragonese on the papal throne in nearby Avignon.

By introducing Dalmau de Mur's family,<sup>166</sup> it is evident that he was not the primary heir to the baronies of Mur, Albi or Cervià and thereby the ecclesiastical path of his life was probably

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<sup>163</sup> Both Pedro Lopéz de Luna and Lope Fernández de Luna are further discussed in Chapter III.

<sup>164</sup> Benedict XIII's collection of manuscripts, including the *Girona Bible*, is examined in Chapter III.

<sup>165</sup> For more on the artistic patronage of Anti-pope Benedict XIII, see José Antonio Parrilla, José Antonio Muñiz and Camilo Caride, *Benedicto XIII: la vida y el tiempo del Papa Luna* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada de Aragón, 1987); María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Benedicto XIII y el arte," *Academia: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* 80 (1995): 213–234. Also see note 371.

<sup>166</sup> The surviving documents that mention Dalmau de Mur only provide a sketchy outline of his life and early ecclesiastical career; whereas later documentation from the fifteenth century is more abundant. Furthermore, many of these primary sources have been either recorded or summarized by later authors, resulting in secondary documents that often cite incorrect dates and present different, if not contradictory, histories.

paved early in his childhood. He was almost certainly educated at the University of Lleida.<sup>167</sup> By 1399, he had served as the rector of the parish church in Valls.<sup>168</sup> According to Ramón Gaya Massot, Dalmau was a canon at Lleida Cathedral in 1405 and then served as a canon at Girona Cathedral beginning in 1409.<sup>169</sup> During the Crown of Aragón's interregnum (1410–1412), Dalmau, like his uncle Guerau, supported the candidacy of Jaume d'Urgell.<sup>170</sup> On April 18, 1411, Anti-pope Benedict XIII appointed Dalmau de Mur as Chancellor of the Estudi General de Lleida—a post he was entitled to hold for life, but Dalmau only served until January 1416.<sup>171</sup> A

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<sup>167</sup> Enrique Ribera, *La baronía y los barones de Albi* (Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1944), 6.

<sup>168</sup> Valls was a parish church in the county of Alt Camp located in the diocese of Tarragona. Ramón Gaya Massot, *Cancilleres y rectores del estudio general de Lérida* (Lleida: La Editoria Leridana, 1951), 30; *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de;” and *Diccionari d'història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), vol. 2, s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de.”

<sup>169</sup> Ramón Gaya Massot, *Cancilleres y rectores del estudio general de Lérida* (Lleida: La Editoria Leridana, 1951), 30. This information differs from what is published in *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de;” and *Diccionari d'història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de.” Both of the latter sources state that Dalmau was canon at Girona by 1399 and do not mention that he was ever canon at Lleida or archdeacon of Ribgorça (see below in main text).

<sup>170</sup> Jaume d'Urgell was Count of Urgell (from the house of Barcelona) from 1408–1413. He was one of the claimants to the crown of Aragón during the interregnum but was not chosen as king at the Compromise of Caspe. In 1413, the County of Barcelona appropriated the county of Urgell when Jaume d'Urgell revolted against King Fernando I. He was ultimately captured and he died in 1433 while in prison. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 542–546; *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de.” Also see note 133.

<sup>171</sup> The Chancellor of the Estudi General was the Chancellor of the University of General Studies. In 1300, Jaime II el Justo, King of Aragón (r.1291–1327) granted the city of Lleida the right to establish the Estudi General, which was modeled after the University of Bologna. The University of Lleida is recognized as the oldest university in Catalonia (its creation was followed by Perpignan in 1350 and Huesca in 1354). Dalmau was Chancellor of the Estudi General of Lleida from 1419 until 1431, but he was not Chancellor of the Estudi General of Zaragoza, which was not founded until 1474 (after his death), as cited in *Diccionari d'història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de;” Lluís Monjas Manso, “La Reforma eclesiàstica i religiosa de les diòcesis de la Tarraconense al llarg de la Baixa Edat Mitjana (a través dels qüestionaris de visites pastorals),” (PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Institut Universitari d'Història Jaume Vicens i Vives, 2005), 280. For more on the foundation and the organizational system of the Estudi General of Lleida, see Borja de Riquer i Permanyer et al., ed., *Història, política, societat i cultura dels Països catalans*, 13 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1995–1999), vol. 3, 350–355; Joan J. Busqueta, *Història de Lleida*, 9 vols. (Lleida: Pagès editors, 2004), vol. 3, *Baixa edat mitjana*, 135–155; Simon Barton, *A History of Spain* (Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 83. For a chronological list all the chancellors from 1300 to 1699, see Ramón Gaya Massot, *Cancilleres y rectores del estudio general de Lérida* (Lleida: La Editoria Leridana, 1951).

papal bull, issued by Benedict XIII on June 19, 1414 appointed Dalmau Archdeacon of Ribagorça.<sup>172</sup>

As Dalmau climbed the church hierarchy, he made strong political alliances. For example, in 1415, he accompanied Ferdinand I, King of Aragón (r.1412–1416), on a mission to see Anti-pope Benedict XIII in Perpignan; in 1416, he was a participant at the Council of Constance (1414–1418); and he served as ambassador to Rome in 1418 and possibly Paris (date unknown) for King Alfonso V.<sup>173</sup> These are the decades (1400–1420) during which Dalmau de Mur commissioned his many important works of art that are examined in detail in Chapter III.

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<sup>172</sup> The episcopal see of Ribagorça/Ribagorza (also known as Roda), located in the province of Huesca in Aragón, was closed and its canons transferred in 1149 to the diocese of Lleida, a suffragan of the metropolitan see of Tarragona during the twelfth century. After 1318, when the diocese of Tarragona was split up, Huesca then became a suffragan of Zaragoza. It is not clear then if Dalmau served as an archdeacon for the canons in Ribagorça, or if he was based in Huesca or Zaragoza. Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, 1803–1852), vol. 16 (1851), 103, 106; Ramón Gaya Massot, *Cancilleres y rectores del estudio general de Lérida* (Lleida: La Editoria Leridana, 1951), 30; *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Roda, bisbat de (o de bisbat de Ribagorza).”

<sup>173</sup> The specific dates of these ambassadorial visits remain unknown, though they occurred sometime after 1416, when Alfonso V became King of Aragón, and before 1456, when Dalmau de Mur died. Several secondary sources state that Dalmau served as ambassador to Paris though I have not found any supporting primary documentation that confirms this claim. Whether or not he visited Paris, he was certainly aware of the types and styles of works of art commissioned in France and many of his own acquisitions and commissions reflect the French influence. For more on Dalmau’s trips to Perpignan, Constance, Rome and Paris, see Francisco Antonio González and Juan Tejada y Ramiro, *Colección de cánones de la Iglesia española*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Santa Coloma y Peña, 1851) vol. 3, parte segunda, *concilios del siglo IX en adelante*, 695; Enrique Ribera, *La baronía y los barones de Albi* (Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1944), 7; Narciso Feliu de la Peña y Farell, *Anales de Cataluña*, 3 vols. (1709; Barcelona: Editorial Base, 1999), vol. 2, 432; *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de;” *Diccionari d’història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de.” Also see the *Girona Bible* (note 311).

### 2.3 THE PAPAL SCHISM (1378–1417)

The papal schism was set in motion in 1378 upon the death of Pope Gregory XI (r.1370–1378), who had recently relocated the papal curia from Avignon back to Rome.<sup>174</sup> The cardinals in Rome quickly elected Pope Urban VI (r.1378–1415); yet soon thereafter, many of the cardinals who initially voted for him had strong sentiments against him. Those same disgruntled cardinals eventually left Rome for the nearby town of Anagni where many were persuaded that Urban VI's election was not legitimate. Subsequently, they held a conclave in Fondi and elected Anti-pope Clement VII (r.1378–1394). This double election of popes ignited a major feud within the church. It resulted with Anti-pope Clement VII returning the papacy once again to Avignon, while Pope Urban VI remained in Rome. The following narrative of events of the papal schism aims to identify the most important figures involved in relation to artistic patronage in France and Aragón during Dalmau de Mur's lifetime.

During the years of the papal schism, the political climate of the church was highly charged, with monarchs and ecclesiastics across Europe supporting either Avignon or Rome—alliances that were often promised and then later broken. Many countries maintained steadfast loyalty to Rome. For instance, England, Ireland, Flanders, the kingdoms of Hungary, Poland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, Corsica and parts of northern Italy (north of Rome) continuously backed Rome. On the other side, Scotland, Navarre, France, Aragón, Castile and León, and

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<sup>174</sup> The legitimate papal curia had moved to Avignon in March 1309 under the reign of Pope Clement V (r.1305–1314) and remained there until January 1377 upon Pope Gregory XI's decision to return to Rome. Avignon once again became residence of the popes during the schism when Anti-pope Clement VII (r.1378–1394) returned with his faction of the curia. For more on the history of the papal schism, see Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1967); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 539–540; Borja de Riquer i Permanyer et al., ed., *Història, política, societat i cultura dels Països catalans*, 13 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1995–1999), vol. 3, 182–184; Sophia Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 65–69, 530–545.



areas of southern Italy (south of Rome, including Naples and Savoy) supported Avignon, but in time, even their support began to wane. The allegiance of the Holy Roman Empire and the kingdom of Portugal remained undecided, since they changed sides more than once.

The kingdom of Aragón remained loyal to the papal curia in Avignon almost until the end, since Aragón's affiliation was reinforced by the election of Pedro Martínez de la Luna, a nobleman from Aragón who took the name Benedict XIII (r.1394–1417). Bound to Avignon, the Kings of Aragón had a strong ally in Anti-pope Benedict XIII, who would sanction their larger political ambitions, especially foreign conquests and crusades.

During Anti-pope Clement VII's reign (1378–1394), Pedro Martínez de la Luna, the future Benedict XIII, was chosen in 1379 as papal legate to Portugal, Aragón, Castile and León in order to secure the obedience of those kingdoms.<sup>175</sup> Then in 1393, he was made papal legate to France, Flanders and England with the hope of bringing peace to the three regions, in addition to finding a way to reunite the papacy.<sup>176</sup> Luna spent much of his time in Paris and became genuinely engrossed with the ecclesiastical and political affairs at the University of Paris, whose outspoken clergymen strongly advocated the end of the papal schism.<sup>177</sup>

Once Luna was elected pope as Benedict XIII, on September 28, 1394, (r.1394–1417),<sup>178</sup> he almost immediately declared that he would do whatever necessary to unify the two divisions of the papal curia; yet, it soon became apparent that Benedict XIII had no intention to abdicate. What is more, as the calls to end the schism grew louder, particularly in France under the reign

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<sup>175</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Benet XIII."

<sup>176</sup> Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 134.

<sup>177</sup> Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 134.

<sup>178</sup> Luna was elected on September 28, 1394 according to Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), while the date September 24, 1394 is given by Begoña Pereira Pagán, *El papa Luna Benedicto XIII* (Madrid: Alderabán, 1999), 289.

of King Charles VI (r.1380–1422),<sup>179</sup> Benedict XIII became even more headstrong. Consequently, the French advocated the *via cessionis*—the simultaneous abdication of both popes with the intention that the two Colleges of Cardinals (Rome and Avignon) would come together and uniformly elect a new pope.<sup>180</sup>

In an attempt to influence the newly elected Benedict XIII to relinquish papal power, Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy (r.1364–1404); Jean, Duke of Berry (r.1360–1416); and Louis I, Duke of Orléans (r.1392–1407) together departed Paris on May 22, 1395 on a diplomatic mission to Avignon.<sup>181</sup> They arrived there with offerings of sumptuous gifts to entice Benedict XIII to step down, yet, after several weeks of such lavish acts of diplomacy had failed, they returned to Paris on June 10, 1395.<sup>182</sup> Before their departure, however, they warned Benedict XIII that if he continued to disregard the French requests, there would be dire consequences.

Three years later, in 1398, those threats presented by the three French princes manifested: France completely withdrew its allegiance to Benedict XIII.<sup>183</sup> All French clergymen were

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<sup>179</sup> For instance, Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy faced a particularly difficult situation, when in 1384 he acquired Flanders, which backed Urban VI in Rome, whereas his other territories in France supported the Anti-pope Clement VII in Avignon. Because of this, Philippe wanted the issue of the schism to be resolved quickly and warned Clement VII that if he did not abdicate, France might no longer pledge allegiance to him and consequently all financial support would be severed. Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 46.

<sup>180</sup> Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 46.

<sup>181</sup> Françoise Autrand, *Jean de Berry: l'art et le pouvoir* (Paris: Fayard, 2000), 199; Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 147–152; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 46–47.

<sup>182</sup> Although it is not known what types of goods they arrived with in Avignon, the three princes required seventeen boats to transport themselves and their entire “suite,” Françoise Autrand, *Jean de Berry: l'art et le pouvoir* (Paris: Fayard, 2000), 199. Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 147–152; and Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 46–47.

<sup>183</sup> Due to the frequent and erratic mental incapacity of Charles VI, King France (r.1380–1422), Philippe le Hardi, along with Jean de Berry and Louis d’Orléans were, to all intents and purposes, in charge of the French government. Through the next two years, Philippe le Hardi also maintained communication with his ally, Alfonso V, King of

ordered to leave Avignon and the financial support from the French benefices was severed. Benedict XIII, nevertheless, remained resolute in his position.

In response to the continuing determination of Benedict XIII to remain pope, the Duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Hardi, seeing no alternative, marshaled his forces to take Avignon<sup>184</sup> and its pope by military force. The French commander charged with the mission was Geoffroy Le Meingre (called Boucicaut).<sup>185</sup>

With the support of the Cardinals of Avignon, Boucicaut captured the city in 1398, but he was unsuccessful in taking possession of the papal palace.<sup>186</sup> Even with the deployment of official envoys from France and Aragón, Benedict XIII stayed his ground; subsequently, he remained captive in the palace for the next five years. In May 1400, the besieged pope received a promise of protection from Louis, Duke of Orléans, who was outraged with the Duke of

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Aragón, about the schism. See Françoise Autrand, *Jean de Berry: l'art et le pouvoir* (Paris: Fayard, 2000), 199; Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 167–171; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 109 citing Martin de Alpertils, *Chronica actitatorum temporibus domini Benedicti XIII*, ed. Franz Ehrle (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1906), 268–304.

<sup>184</sup> Since 1251, the county of Avignon had been politically under the control of Charles I, Count of Anjou (r.1246–1285), who in 1266 became King of Naples and Sicily (r.1266–1282), thereby connecting Avignon to Italy. The association between Avignon and Italy was further strengthened when Alphonse, Count of Poitiers (r.1241–1271) donated the Comtat Venaissin (the region that fully surrounded the separate county of Avignon) to the Holy See in 1271. Comtat Venaissin was now papal territory and was, therefore, a political enclave within France. Avignon, however, remained under the jurisdiction of the King of Naples and the Count of Anjou. Avignon was thus an enclave within the papal-controlled Comtat Venaissin—an enclave within an enclave. These valuable geo-political ties were one of the reasons why Pope Clement V chose Avignon to be the new location of the papal curia in 1309 (see note 174). The ecclesiastical and political significance of Avignon was further secured on June 9, 1348, when the city of Avignon was sold for 80,000 *florins* to Pope Clement VI by Giovanna d'Angiò (Jeanne I d'Anjou), Queen of Naples and Countess of Provence (r.1343–1382). Avignon was now joined with the larger papal exclave of Comtat Venaissin. Both Avignon and Comtat Venaissin remained under papal authority until 1791 when the region was finally annexed to France. Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 68, 288, 417–420, 510–513.

<sup>185</sup> Geoffroy was brother to the illustrious Jean II le Meingre (called Boucicaut), Maréchal de France (r.1391–1421) who owned the famous book of hours made by the so-called Boucicaut Master (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-Andre, MS 2). Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 617–619, 678–679.

<sup>186</sup> Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 173–175; and Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 678–679.

Burgundy's tactics. Five months later, King Charles VI agreed to ensure the personal safety of Benedict XIII. Finally in 1402, a deal was made between Benedict XIII and Louis II, Count of Provence, Duke of Anjou and titular King of Naples (r.1389–1417). Louis II d'Anjou provided financial assistance, in addition to the re-alliance of Provence to Avignon, in return for Benedict XIII's support of a re-conquest of Naples.<sup>187</sup> This brokering eventually paved the way for Benedict XIII to escape from the besieged papal palace with the aid of Louis d'Orléans on the night of March 11/12, 1403.<sup>188</sup>

A few months later, on May 28, 1403, a significant event took place while Philippe le Hardi and Jean de Berry were away from court in Paris. In their absence, Louis d'Orléans essentially gained control of King Charles VI.<sup>189</sup> At the same time, and thereby strengthening Louis d'Orléans' position, a growing minority of French ecclesiastics argued that France's earlier retraction of obedience to Benedict XIII was illegal. Taking advantage of the moment, Louis d'Orléans was able to convince the King to reinstate France's full allegiance to Avignon. With this major shift, the pendulum appeared to be swinging back in Benedict XIII's favor.

Once freed from Avignon and now sustaining the obedience of Scotland, Navarre, France, Aragón, Castile and León, Benedict XIII nonetheless faced mounting political pressures from Rome to abdicate.<sup>190</sup> To make matters worse, in 1407, the Duke of Burgundy, Jean sans

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<sup>187</sup> Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 679–680.

<sup>188</sup> Anti-pope Benedict XIII fled to the Château Renard in Provence under the protection of Louis d'Anjou. Eleven cardinals followed Benedict XIII, while thirteen remained behind. Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 192–193; Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 680–681.

<sup>189</sup> Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005) 47.

<sup>190</sup> The newly elected Roman, Pope Gregory XII (r.1406–1415), wrote to Anti-pope Benedict XIII suggesting that both men resign in order for a new pope to be ordained. It was agreed that they would meet in Savona in September 1407. Anti-pope Benedict XIII showed up, but Gregory XII failed to appear thereby further prolonging the stand-off between the two sides.

Peur, assassinated Benedict XIII's most loyal and greatest defender, Louis d'Orléans.<sup>191</sup> The murder of the King of France's brother resulted in more political instability in France. The Duke of Burgundy, Jean sans Peur, in response to the critics, tried to justify his actions. In March 1408, he commissioned the theologian Jean Petit, to read aloud before the French royal court a justification entitled, *Justification du duc de Bourgogne* (also known as the *Apologie du tyrannicide*).<sup>192</sup> The text explained why the Duke of Burgundy had killed Louis d'Orléans: "My thesis is the following syllogism: *The Major*: It is permissible and meritorious to kill a tyrant. *The Minor*: The Duke of Orléans was a tyrant. *The Conclusion*: Therefore the Duke of Burgundy did well to kill him."<sup>193</sup> One of the main crimes that Louis d'Orléans committed, according to the Duke of Burgundy, was that he schemed with Anti-Pope Benedict XIII: "He [Louis d'Orléans] plotted with Pope Benedict XIII the substitution of himself for his brother King Charles VI on the throne of France. To this end he won Benedict over by supporting him, and attributed all sorts of crimes to the King in the hope of persuading the Pope to pronounce

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<sup>191</sup> After Louis d'Orléans managed to usurp power from his brother King Charles VI in 1403 and upon the death of his uncle, Philippe le Hardi in 1404, Louis now vied for power with Philippe's son, Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy (r.1404–1419). Both sought to bring down the King and assume positions of power through gaining the guardianship of the Dauphin (the future Charles VII, King of France, r.1422–1461). The conflict was so heated that Jean de Berry intervened in order to avert civil war; however, in the end, the Duke of Burgundy, Jean sans Peur, had Louis d'Orléans murdered in 1407, claiming it was a justifiable act of tyrannicide (see note 328). This was the decisive split of the Valois princes into two factions, the Armagnacs (the houses of Orléans, Berry and Anjou) and the Burgundians. For years, the Burgundian Jean sans Peur held the reigns of royal authority, yet his popularity fluctuated many times over, which was aided by the psychologically unstable King Charles VI who allegiance repeatedly swung back and forth between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians. The tense political current continued for over a decade until 1419, when the Dauphin had Jean sans Peur killed. Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 29–66, 69–74.

<sup>192</sup> Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 69–74; Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 699–700. Also see note 328

<sup>193</sup> Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 70.

him and his children unfit to hold or succeed to the throne of France.”<sup>194</sup> The text was so elaborate and detailed that it took four hours for Jean Petit to read it before the court. After its presentation the text was disseminated in manuscript form (some of them illuminated)<sup>195</sup> across Europe. Anti-pope Benedict XIII responded by excommunicating the King of France and claiming the French church defunct.

From this point on, the support of the French increasingly diminished. Even in 1408, with all these remarkable turns of events, Benedict XIII was still resolute to conduct his papal duties and even celebrated a General Council in Perpignan with his supporters.<sup>196</sup> Unable to return to Avignon, he was invited by Martín I, King of Aragón, to reside at the Palais des Rois de Majorique in Perpignan (then part of the kingdom of Aragón).<sup>197</sup>

The fervor to end the schism reached a peak in 1409, when King Charles VI called the Council of Pisa<sup>198</sup> for the purpose of resolving the factions of the papacy. The council’s pleas for both Pope Gregory XII and Anti-pope Benedict XIII to simultaneously abdicate were ineffective. Essentially backed into a corner, the cardinals gathered in Pisa where they announced the deposition of the two popes on June 5, 1409<sup>199</sup>—a decision that was, not surprisingly, disregarded by both popes. In Pisa, the cardinals subsequently elected Alexander V

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<sup>194</sup> Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 72.

<sup>195</sup> For instance, Chantilly, Musée Condée, MS 878.

<sup>196</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Benet XIII;” and Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 235–245.

<sup>197</sup> Jean Favier, *Les papes d’Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 701.

<sup>198</sup> The Council of Pisa was called into session on March 25 and ended August 7, 1409. Jean Favier, *Les papes d’Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 707–709.

<sup>199</sup> Jean Favier, *Les papes d’Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 709.

(r.1409–1410)<sup>200</sup> as the official pope. Ironically, instead of negating the contending claims of the two factions, the actions of the Cardinals led to a situation in which all three men—Gregory XII, Benedict XIII and Alexander V—claimed to be the legitimate pope. France, displeased with the outcome, declared total neutrality and recognized none of the popes.

By 1409 and no longer feeling secure in Perpignan, Benedict XIII's curia became itinerant and in 1411, he took up residence in his castle at Peníscola (north of Valencia). France had withdrawn its support from Benedict XIII for a second time in 1408 and by December 1415, the majority of his adherents—Scotland, Navarre, Castile and León—had also deserted him. Only the kingdom of Aragón remained loyal.

These tumultuous times set the stage for the beginning of Dalmau de Mur's ecclesiastical career. The schism ended in 1417 at the Council of Constance and Benedict XIII, ignoring the decree of his deposition at the Council of Pisa in 1409, carried on his papal duties until his death. These events, occurring from 1415 until his death in 1422/23, are considered in the following chapter.

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<sup>200</sup> Alexander V was elected on June 26, but his coronation ceremony did not take place until on July 7, 1409. Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 709.

### **3.0 CONSTRUCTING A LEGACY: DALMAU DE MUR'S ARTISTIC PATRONAGE (1415–1456)**

The figure below is inserted so that there is an item in the sample List of Figures. An in-depth analysis of Dalmau de Mur's patronage of art and various acquisitions<sup>201</sup> reveals that he was a knowledgeable art collector who modeled himself after the great royal and ecclesiastical collectors in France. Dalmau's artistic patronage and acquisitions fulfilled two broad functions. First, it illuminates his desire to insert the cathedrals of Girona, Tarragona and Zaragoza into pan-European circuits of power, display and devotion. In doing so, Dalmau was able to link the ecclesiastical territories of Catalonia and Aragón with the cultural centers in France, Flanders, England, Italy and the Empire. Second, his commissions and acquisitions left a lasting trace of his illustrious style at the cathedrals where he served.

In drawing together what would become a noteworthy art collection—spread across the provinces of Catalonia and Aragón—Dalmau de Mur was certainly aware of contemporary French collecting patterns, particularly those established by members of the French royalty as well as French ecclesiastics. It is not certain if Dalmau de Mur went to Paris as an ambassador of Alfonso V, King of Aragón (r.1416–1458), since there are no known primary documents substantiating this, although secondary sources state that he did; however, if Dalmau did visit

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<sup>201</sup> See Appendix C: "Catalog of Works of Art Commissioned and Acquired by Dalmau de Mur."



Paris, it would have been between the years 1416 and 1456.<sup>202</sup> It is quite plausible, though, that on one of his ambassadorial trips to Rome in 1418<sup>203</sup> and perhaps Paris, he would have met a number of major collectors within the royal and/or religious spheres.

While in Paris, he may have been introduced to one of the Dukes of Burgundy, such as Jean sans Peur or Philippe le Bon, or maybe even King Charles VI and the Dauphin (the future King Charles VII)—many of whom inherited the glorious art collections of their predecessors, such as Charles V le Sage, King of France (r.1364–1380); Jean, Duke of Berry (r.1360–1416); Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy (r.1364–1404). Within ecclesiastical circles, Dalmau de Mur likely would have been acquainted with the Bishop of Paris or the Archbishop of Sens, who resided at the Hôtel de Sens in Paris.<sup>204</sup> The wealth and patronage of elite prelates in France was considerable.<sup>205</sup> For example, the impressive patronage of choir tapestries by individual

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<sup>202</sup> The first date is when Alfonso V became King of Aragón and the latter is the year Dalmau died (see notes 173 and 311).

<sup>203</sup> Narciso Feliu de la Peña y Farell, *Anales de Cataluña*, 3 vols. (1709; Barcelona: Editorial Base, 1999), vol. 2, 432; *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988): vol. 15, s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de;” *Diccionari d’història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de.”

<sup>204</sup> The Bishops of Paris during the period in which Dalmau de Mur may have visited Paris were: Gérard de Montaigu (r.1409–1420); Jean Courtecuisse (r.1421–1422); Jean de La Roche-Taillée (r.1422–1423); Jean de Nanton (r.1423–1426); Jacques du Châtelier (r.1427–1438); Denis du Moulin (r.1439–1447); and Guillaume Chartier (r.1447–1472). The Archbishops of Sens during the period in which Dalmau de Mur may have visited Paris were: Jean de Montaigu (r.1407–1415); Henri de Savoisy (r.1418–1422); Jean de Nanton (r.1423–1432); and Louis de Melun (r.1433–1474). Among these high-ranking prelates, Gérard de Montaigu, Jacques du Châtelier and Denis du Moulin owned richly illuminated manuscripts. For example, Gérard de Montaigu owned a breviary made in Paris ca.1410–1410 in the style of the Boucicaut Master (Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 345 (a.c. 246), while a single leaf from the manuscript also survives (Paris, Musée du Moyen-Âge, Thermes de Cluny, inv. no. Cl.11315). Jacques du Châtelier commissioned a missal made in Paris by the Master of the Duke of Bedford (Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 621) that was unfinished when he died; his successor, Denis du Moulin, paid for the completion of the manuscript and had his coat of arms added. Louis de Mas Latrie, *Trésor de chronologie, d’histoire et de géographie pour l’étude et l’emploi des documents du Moyen-Âge* (Paris: Librairie Victor Palmé, 1889), 1462–1463, 1489–1490; Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1957), 597, 630; Eleanor P. Spencer, “The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Salisbury Breviary,” *The Burlington Magazine* 108, no. 765 (December, 1966): 607–612 at 612.

<sup>205</sup> Recent research on the patronage of high-ranking ecclesiastics illustrates the types of luxury objects they were commissioning as well as the immensity of their collections, see Laura Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2004);

clergyman demonstrates great interest and investment in the role and function they played upon the ecclesiastical stage.<sup>206</sup> While at least twenty-five sets of choir tapestries in France have been lost, around twenty-six survive from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Among these surviving choir tapestries are a few that were commissioned by prelates—as opposed to the Cathedral Chapter. These include the tapestry set of *The Life of Saint Pierre* (Franco-Flemish region, ca.1460) given to Beauvais Cathedral by its bishop, Guillaume de Hellande (r.1444–1462), as well as the choir tapestries showing the *Life of Gervasius and Protasius* (Franco-Flemish region, 1509), given in 1509 to Le Mans Cathedral by one of its canons, Martin Guerande.<sup>207</sup>

It is well recognized that in Europe from the late fourteenth century to about 1500, the leading art collectors were members of the French Valois dynasty who were particularly found of commissioning lavish illuminated manuscripts and large, historiated tapestries woven with expensive materials. As a result, European rulers, both secular and ecclesiastic, fashioned themselves after these erudite patrons of art. That Dalmau de Mur would have modeled himself after such esteemed connoisseurs reflects a larger phenomenon of ecclesiastical patronage and collecting in fifteenth-century Europe. Dalmau's emulation of illustrious ecclesiastical patrons was one way in which he expressed his wealth, status and learned sophistication.

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Fabienne Joubert, *L'artiste et le clerc: commandes artistiques des grans ecclésiastiques à la fin du Moyen Âge, XIV<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2006).

<sup>206</sup> Sophie Lagabrielle et al., *Histoires tissées: la légende de Saint-Étienne* (Avignon: RMG-Palais des Papes, 1997); Laura Weigert, "Performing the Past: The Tapestry of the City and its Saints in Tournai Cathedral," *Gesta* 38 (1999): 154–170; Catherine Arminjon, Laura Weigert and Olivier Renaudeau, *Saints de chœurs: tapisseries du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance* (Milan: 5 continents, 2003); Laura Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity* (Ithaca/ London: Cornell University Press, 2004).

<sup>207</sup> Catherine Arminjon, Laura Weigert and Olivier Renaudeau, *Saints de chœurs: tapisseries du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance* (Milan: 5 continents, 2003), 58–69, 84–95; Laura Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity* (Ithaca/ London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 53–80.

This chapter clusters and presents the works of art that Dalmau de Mur commissioned and acquired during three distinct stages of his ecclesiastical career: first the years when Dalmau served as Bishop of Girona (1415–1419), then during his tenure as Archbishop of Tarragona (1419–1431), and finally as Archbishop of Zaragoza (1431–1456). Abundant documentation survives, allowing establishment of the sequence in which he commissioned and acquired works of art can. Several works of art and other precious objects are mentioned in his testament dated 1454.<sup>208</sup> Although the vast majority of these objects remain untraced, they will be examined in this chapter together with those that survive.

### 3.1 BISHOP OF GIRONA

Dalmau de Mur knew well the see of Girona,<sup>209</sup> having served as a canon there from 1409.<sup>210</sup> Benedict XIII appointed him Bishop of Girona on December 9, 1415<sup>211</sup>—an appointment that

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<sup>208</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164. See note 1.

<sup>209</sup> By the end of the fourth century, Girona was a recognized episcopal see, as documented in a letter written between 397 and 400 by Pope Innocent I (d.417). Girona had been a suffragan diocese of the archiepiscopal see of Tarragona from at least the year 516 when its bishop participated in a provincial council that was held in Tarragona. For more on the history of the diocese and a list of its bishops, see Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez and José Vives Gatell, ed. *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972–1987), s.v., “Gerona, Dióc. de,” s.v., “Tarragona, Archidiócesis de;” *Diccionari d’història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Girona, bisbat de,” s.v., “Tarragona, arquebisbat de;” Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà and Josep Maria Martí Bonet, *Historia de las diócesis españolas: Barcelona, Terrassa, Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Gerona*, 25 vols. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Christianos, 2006), vol. 2, 521–683.

<sup>210</sup> Ramón Gaya Massot, *Cancilleres y rectores del estudio general de Lérida* (Lleida: La Editoria Leridana, 1951), 30.

<sup>211</sup> Dalmau was elected for the bishopric of Girona on December 9, 1415, but did not take possession of the seat until January 1, 1416. Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, 1803–1852), vol. 14 (1850), 29; Ramón Gaya Massot, *Cancilleres y rectores del estudio general de Lérida* (Lleida: La Editoria leridana, 1951): 29. Documents show that on December 18, 1415 and January 3, 1416, Dalmau de Mur named his officials to serve him at Girona, see Girona, Arxiu Diocesà de Girona (hereafter ADG), MS D-181, folios 152, 153v–154.

was recognized by the kingdom of Aragón, Benedict XIII's sole remaining adherent. The timing proved auspicious for Dalmau because less than a month later, on January 6, 1416, King Fernando I (r.1412–1416) finally announced Aragón's complete withdrawal of obedience to Benedict XIII.<sup>212</sup> After only six weeks in office, the newly appointed Bishop de Mur resurrected a much earlier debate over plans for reconstructing the central nave of the Cathedral.<sup>213</sup>

### 3.1.1 Girona Cathedral

Girona Cathedral was built upon the site of the city's Roman forum.<sup>214</sup> The building of the Christian church began in the early eleventh century (ca.1010) and the structure was consecrated

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<sup>212</sup> Francisco Antonio González and Juan Tejada y Ramiro, *Colección de cánones de la Iglesia española*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Santa Coloma y Peña, 1851) vol. 3, parte segunda, *concilios del siglo IX en adelante*, 692–693; *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Benet XIII;” Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 290–300; Jean Favier, *Les papes d’Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006) 723.

<sup>213</sup> For the history, construction and bishops of Girona Cathedral, see Christian Zervos, Ferran Soldevilla and Josep Gudiol, *L’art de la Catalogne de la seconde moitié du neuvième siècle a la fin du quinzième siècle* (Paris: Éditions “Cahiers d’art,” 1937): 29–35 at 30, plate CIX–173; Alexandre Cirici, *Arquitectura gòtica catalana*, trans. Xavier Gispert (Barcelona: Editorial Lumen, 1968), appendix, s.v., “Gerona (Gironès, Gerona): Catedral;” Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez and José Vives Gatell, ed. *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972–1987), s.v., “Gerona, Dióc. de;” George E. Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, ed. Georgiana Goddard King, 2 vols. (1914; New York: Arno Press, 1980), vol. 2, 92–118, 319–332; Núria de Dalmau and Antoni Josep i Pitarch, *Història de l’art català*, 9 vols., 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1989–1996), vol. 3, 36–42, 70–72; *Diccionari d’història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Girona, bisbat de,” s.v., “Girona, catedral de;” Joaquim Nadal i Farreras, ed., *La catedral de Girona: una interpretació* (Barcelona/Madrid: Lunwerg, 2002); Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 1, 302–324 at 304; Marc Sureda i Jubany, *Girona Cathedral* (Madrid: Ediciones Aldeasa, 2005); Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà and Josep Maria Martí Bonet, *Historia de las diócesis españolas: Barcelona, Terrassa, Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Gerona*, 25 vols. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Christianos, 2006), vol. 2, 521–683.

<sup>214</sup> Some scholars believe that the cathedral was built upon an Islamic mosque; however, it is likely that this idea is more legend than fact. Girona was under Muslim rule for just over seventy years (invaded around ca.717). In 785, Charlemagne and his troops captured the city. The legend—based on a French chronicle by Turpin, Archbishop of Reims (r.748–795, d. ca.800), known as the Pseudo-Turpin—tells that the Carolingian pacification of the Muslims was due to a miraculous event: during the battle, bloody raindrops fell from the heavens and in the sky hovered an illuminated cross driving out the frightened Muslims. The story goes on to say that after his conquest of Girona, Charlemagne (known in Catalan as Carlemany) commanded a Christian church to be built over the mosque;

in 1038. The Romanesque church also included two towers (ca.1038–1117) and cloister (ca.1180–1210), one of the towers and the cloister survive.<sup>215</sup> The decision to tear down much of the Romanesque church in order to make a larger church is documented in the so-called *Llibre Vert* (or *Llibre Verd*).<sup>216</sup> There, it is recorded that on April 29, 1312, new construction was to begin with an endowment of 12,000 *sous* left by Guillem Jofre (Gausfred) who specifically provided for the rebuilding of the choir in his testament dated August 12, 1292.<sup>217</sup> Another surviving document dated September 23, 1313 expressly illustrates the desire to enlarge the choir.<sup>218</sup> The need was so pressing that the Bishop of Girona, Guillem de Vilamarí (r.1312–1318), decided to redistribute all the income from vacant benefices for the five following years. A new Gothic-style plan was created for the cathedral that was similar to those of Barcelona and Narbonne. It consisted of a central nave flanked by two side aisles that terminated in an ambulatory with nine radiating chapels. By 1347, the new Gothic choir was consecrated.

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however, there is no archeological evidence to support this claim. The veneration of Saint Charlemagne is still evident in the cathedral. For instance, the stone episcopal chair is called the “Throne of Charlemagne,” while the Romanesque bell tower is known as the “Tower of Charlemagne.” Cyril Meredith Jones, ed., *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou, Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin: textes revus et publiés d’après 49 manuscrits* (Paris: E. Droz, 1936); Paul Freedman, “Cowardice, Heroism and the Legendary Origins of Catalonia,” *Past and Present* 121 (November, 1988): 3–28 at 13; Marc Sureda i Jubany, *Girona Cathedral* (Madrid: Ediciones Aldeasa, 2005), 7. The idea that the cathedral was built upon a mosque is found in Stephen Brindle, “Girona, §1: Cathedral,” *Grove Art Online* (26 October 2006).

<sup>215</sup> John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 149, 250. One of the towers still remains, the so-called *Torre de Carlemany* (the “Tower of Charlemagne”), see above note 214 and Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 1, 302–324 at 302; Marc Sureda i Jubany, *Girona Cathedral* (Madrid: Ediciones Aldeasa, 2005), 8.

<sup>216</sup> Girona, ACCG, MS 7, folio 99.

<sup>217</sup> Núria de Dalmasas and Antoni Josep i Pitarch, *Història de l’art català*, 9 vols., 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1989–1996), vol. 3, 70; Marc Sureda i Jubany, *Girona Cathedral* (Madrid: Ediciones Aldeasa, 2005), 10.

<sup>218</sup> Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 1, 302–324 at 304.

It was probably Pere Capmagre (ca.1349–1359), master stonemason of Girona Cathedral, who proposed to alter the three-aisle plan to a single nave.<sup>219</sup> The idea was ambitious: to build a nave with four vaults alone that would span almost 23 meters in width and 35 meters in height.<sup>220</sup>

The construction of the new plan with a single nave continued under successive master stonemasons, Dionís de Lovaina (1360–1362) and Pere Sacoma (1368–1439). Building came to a halt in 1386 when an official meeting was called to determine the technical competency of the single-nave plan.<sup>221</sup> At the assembly there was such dissent among the architects, the cathedral chapter and the bishop about how to proceed with the cathedral's construction that the single-nave project was abandoned and nearly all construction ceased that year.<sup>222</sup>

It was not until thirty years later, in January 1416, when Bishop de Mur summoned a two-day congregation (known as a *junta*) to reopen the debate about the plans for the completion

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<sup>219</sup> Joaquim Nadal i Farreras, ed., *La catedral de Girona: una interpretació* (Barcelona/Madrid: Lunewerg, 2002), 24–25; Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 1, 302–324 at 306–310. Earlier scholarship suggested that it was perhaps the idea of Jacques de Faveran who was previously head architect at Narbonne Cathedral before serving as the master stonemason at Girona Cathedral from 1321–1330, see John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 148. The single-nave plan was not originally the idea of Guillem Bofill (discussed in text below) as implied by both Theresa G. Frisch, *Gothic Art 1140–c.1450: Sources and Documents* (Toronto/Cambridge, Mass.: University of Toronto Press/Medieval Academy of America, 1987), 148; Stephen Brindle, “Girona, §1: Cathedral,” *Grove Art Online* (26 October 2006).

<sup>220</sup> Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 1, 302–324 at 306–307; Marc Sureda i Jubany, *Girona Cathedral* (Madrid: Ediciones Aldeasa, 2005), 12.

<sup>221</sup> Pere Freixas Camps, “La Catedral de Girona,” in *L’Art gòtic a Catalunya: Arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 1, 302–324 at 307–310.

<sup>222</sup> Núria de Dalmasas and Antoni Josep i Pitarch, *Història de l’art català*, 9 vols., 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1989–1996), vol. 3, 36–38; Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 1, 302–324 at 307–310. The written records for the 1386 meeting are reproduced by Elies Serra i Ráfols, “La nau de la Seu de Girona,” in *Miscel·lània Puig i Cadafalch: recull d’estudis d’arqueologia, d’història de l’art i d’història oferts a Josep Puig i Cadafalch per la Societat Catalana d’Estudis Històrics Puig i Cadafalch* (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1951), 188–204 at 198–204. The document can be found in Girona, Arxiu Notarial de Girona, Pere de Pont, nota LXII, 1386–1387.

of the nave. Dalmau wanted the construction of the cathedral to be reinstated, but as in 1386, many members of the cathedral chapter were gravely concerned about the feasibility of the single-nave proposal. On a single piece of parchment, notaries dutifully recorded the events that took place between January 1416 and March 1417.<sup>223</sup>

The summoning of architects for counsel by a cathedral chapter regarding the commencement of a new construction project or rectifying a structural problem was common practice in Spain. The meeting of architects was known as a *junta*. The architects were not jointly in charge of choosing the design, but rather they provided their opinions to the chapter who was responsible for the final decision.<sup>224</sup> Dalmau gathered together the following eleven master stonemasons, stonemasons and masters of works (hereafter simply referred to collectively as architects): Pascasi de Xulbe (d'Eixulbi) and his son, Joan de Xulbe (d'Eixulbi) (Cathedral of Tortosa); Pere de Vallfogona<sup>225</sup> (Cathedral of Tarragona); Guillem de Mota (Cathedral of Tarragona); Bartomeu Gual (Cathedral of Barcelona); Antoni Canet (Barcelona and Cathedral of Urgell); Guillem Abiell (church of Santa Maria del Pi and church of Saint Jaume in Barcelona; church of Santa Maria del Mont Carmel; monastery of Montsió; and the Hospital de la Santa Creu in Barcelona); Arnau de Valleres (Cathedral of Manresa); Antoni Antigó (church in

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<sup>223</sup> Girona, Arxiu Capitular de Catedral de Girona (hereafter ACCG), no inventory number. The document known as *Consulta i aprovació de la continuació de la catedral de Girona amb una nau única*, is written alternately in Catalan and Latin. It measures approximately 61 cm square. Although I viewed the parchment first-hand and photographed it, my translation is based on the transcription made by Gabriel Roura i Güibes, see Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 1, 302–324 at 312. There exist two English translations, see George E. Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, ed. Georgiana Goddard King, 2 vols. (1914; New York: Arno Press, 1980), vol. 2, 319–332; Theresa G. Frisch, *Gothic Art 1140–c.1450: Sources and Documents* (Toronto/Cambridge, Mass.: University of Toronto Press/Medieval Academy of America, 1987), 148–157; however, I present my own translation.

<sup>224</sup> John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 44–45.

<sup>225</sup> Harvey identified him as Pere Johan de Vallfogona (also known as Pere Joan). Dalmau de Mur contracted him in 1426 to sculpt the main altarpiece at Tarragona (discussed in text below; see note 275). John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 166.

Castelló d'Empúries); Guillem Sagrera (Cathedral of Perpignan); and Joan de Guingamps (city of Narbonne).<sup>226</sup> Each architect was asked to respond the following three issues:

(1) *First* if the construction of the said cathedral is more superb with one nave, which was begun earlier, could it be continued with the intention of being solid and clear without doubt; (2) *Item* presuming that the said construction of one nave clearly and securely was not able or was not desired to be continued: if the construction of the recently continued three naves is congruent and sufficient and in such a way that it merits being continued, or, if it deserves to be halted or altered into another form and in the case that it has to be made into another form, to what height should it be erected, specifically so that it not falter; and (3) *Item* which form or continuation of the said construction would be most compatible and most proportional at the head [east end] of the said cathedral already begun, made and finished.<sup>227</sup>

Two days (January 23–24, 1416) were required to read and write down the final conclusions of the eleven architects. The matter at hand was so solemn that the masters of works and stonemasons had to answer the questions under oath.<sup>228</sup> To the first question, all eleven architects agreed that the building of a single-nave would be completely safe and secure on the foundations of the older construction, although Guillem de Mota's response, read by the notary, expresses concern with the architectural durability of a single-nave plan:

That the deponent [Guillem de Mota] is of the opinion that the construction of the Cathedral of Girona, begun as one nave, could be made well and have a transept, but the depositor having seen old buildings—large buildings—such as the said construction of the one nave, collapse because of earthquake and great

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<sup>226</sup> More research is needed on these eleven architects to determine if any of them had worked in France or were trained by French architects.

<sup>227</sup> Girona, ACCG: “*Primo* si la obra de la dita seu pus altament a una nau antigament comensada se porà continuar ab intenció que fos ferma, quítia, e sens tot dubtansa; *Item* posat que la dita obra a una nau quítament e segura no-s posqués o no-s volgués continuar, si la obra derrerament de les tres naus continuada és còngrua e sufficient, e tal qui merescha ésser continuada o si mereix ésser cessada o mudada en altra forma; e al cas que-s haja mudar en altra forma, a quanta altura deu ésser pujada, specificant-ho per manera que no puixa desviar; *Item* qual forma o continuació de les dites obres seria pus competible e més proporcionable al cap de la dita seu ja comensat, fet e acabat.” See note 223.

<sup>228</sup> Girona, ACCG: “...dels dits mestres e pedrers haja de depositar ab sagrament del vertader...” See note 223.



gusts of wind, for which reason, the depositor doubts whether the said construction of one nave is durable and without danger.<sup>229</sup>

In spite of this concern, none of the architects claimed that a single-nave plan would be structurally unsafe.

In response to the second question, eight architects<sup>230</sup> believed that the return to a three-aisle plan would be “congruent and sufficient.” The majority, however, of these eight declared that some major architectural changes (such as demolishing the old vaults and capitals, or altering the springers and voussoirs) would be required in order for the three-aisle plan to be carried out successfully.

The final question set aside structural issues and instead concerned aesthetics. Those in favor of the single-nave plan included Antoni Canet, Antoni Antigó, Guillem Sagrera and Joan de Guingamps, while the remaining seven architects argued against it. Each of the four architects in support of the single-nave claimed that it was an aesthetically outstanding design. For example, the notary read the view of Antoni Antigó:

That there is no doubt that without comparison, the construction of the one nave will always be more beautiful and more compatible and proportional at the head [east end] of the said cathedral already built than the construction of the three naves that will always prove to be improperly made.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> Girona, ACCG: “*Que el depositant és de intenció que la obra de la seu de Girona, comensada a una nau, se poria bé fer e e la croerada tendria bé, mas veu el depositant per los obres antigues, que les obres grosses, a[i]xí com la seria dita obra de una nau, per terratrèmol e gran fortuna de vent se a[n]sseuen e, a[i]xí mateix, ha el depositant en dubte que la dita obra de una nau, per terratrèmol o grans vents fos durable e sens perill.*” See note 223.

<sup>230</sup> Pascasi de Xulbe, Joan de Xulbe, Pere de Vallfogona, Guillem de Mota, Bartomeu Gual, Antoni Canet, Guillem Abiell and Arnau de Valleres.

<sup>231</sup> Girona, ACCG: “*Que no és nagun dupte que sens naguna comparació la obra de una nau tostemps serà pus bella e pus compatible e proporcionable al cap de la dita seu ja fet, que no la obra de tres naus qui tostemps serà pus bella e pus compatible e proporcionable al cap de la dita seu ja fet, que no la obra de tres naus qui tostemps se mostrarà no degudament feta.*” See note 223.

By contrast, the majority of the architects maintained the supremacy of the three-nave plan, as expressed by Arnau de Valleres:

That the construction of the three naves, if it were made in the form of the said plan would be, without comparison, more compatible and proportional at the head [east end] of the said cathedral already made and begun, more so than would be the construction of one nave; for clearly, the construction of one would shows its head [east end] so small and malformed that the raising or making of the head [east end] would always be demanded.<sup>232</sup>

On September 28, 1416, all of the architects' responses were presented to the Chapter of Girona Cathedral, but no decision was made until the following spring. On March 8, 1417, the opinion of Guillem Bofill, the current master of works at Cathedral of Girona (1417–1421) was requested.<sup>233</sup> In the end, Bofill concurred with the judgment of the minority who promoted the single-nave plan, making it still only five votes to seven. A week later, the Cathedral Chapter convened a plenary session. Even though the majority of the architects were against it, the canons chose the plan of the single-nave design that they believed was more distinctive and impressive than the more standard three-aisled plan. As a result, the wide, single-aisled nave at Girona Cathedral measures 23 meters wide, 55 meters long and 34 meters high—an audacious architectural feat—believed to be the widest Gothic pointed vault ever to have been built in Christendom.<sup>234</sup> Between the immense buttresses, which support the four vaults, are two lateral

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<sup>232</sup> Girona, ACCG: “*Que la obra de tres naus si era feta en la forma per el deposant prop dita, seria sens comparació pus competible e proporcionable al cap de la dita seu ja fet e comensat; més que no seria la obra de una nau, car la obra de una mostraria lo cap tant petit e tant disforme que tostemp cridaria que lo cap li fes alçar o exequar.*” See note 223.

<sup>233</sup> This session is recorded in the same document, beneath the text of the earlier convocations; see note 223.

<sup>234</sup> George E. Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, ed. Georgiana Goddard King, 2 vols. (1914; New York: Arno Press, 1980), vol. 2, 96.

chapels embedded within each bay. High above the chapels is a narrow triforium as well as a clerestory that consists of four bays each with a single, large stained-glass window.

As promised to the architects who presented their opinions during the January 1416 meeting, two of them were selected by Bishop de Mur to supervise the building project.<sup>235</sup> Dalmau elected Antoni Canet as master stonemason (at Girona from 1417 until 1426) who was to co-direct the project with the current master of works at Girona, Guillem Bofill. Additionally, three more architects from the group—Pascasi de Xulbe, Joan de Xulbe and Pere de Vallfogona (all of whom were against the single-nave design)—were chosen along with eight other assistants, sculptors and stonemasons to help complete the construction and decoration of the cathedral.<sup>236</sup>

An intensive building phase was in motion by 1420 and the vaulting of the first two bays (west of the high altar) were likely finished around 1427.<sup>237</sup> After 1440, work had greatly slowed down, in part due to the Catalan Civil war (1462–1472) and it was not until the next century when Bishop Benet de Tocco (r.1572–1583) revitalized the building project.<sup>238</sup> During the episcopacy of Francesc Arévalo de Zuazo (r.1598–1611), the fourth and final vault was completed.<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> Girona, ACCG: “*Item que après que hagen deposit, lo senyor bisbe de Girona e son honorable capítol elegesquen dos dels dits mestres per fer e pintar un patró de la continuació de la dita obra migenençant lo qual la dita obra sia prosseguida ...*,” see note 223.

<sup>236</sup> Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 1, 302–324 at 316.

<sup>237</sup> Joaquim Nadal i Farreras, ed., *La catedral de Girona: una interpretació* (Barcelona/Madrid: Lunewerg, 2002) 24; Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 2, 288–295 at 288–290.

<sup>238</sup> Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 2, 288–295 at 290–293.

<sup>239</sup> Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 2, 288–295 at 293–295.

The sheer architectural immensity and visual astonishment of Girona Cathedral's enormous nave has been captured by John Harvey who remarks: "Even the visitor who has studied plans, drawings and photographs has difficulty taking in the physical possibility of what has been done. For, once the box-like *coro* is avoided and the east end seen, it is realized that the gigantic nave stands in relation to a full-sized normal cathedral as a hanger to an airship."<sup>240</sup> Although the imposing nave took nearly two hundred years to finish, Dalmau de Mur's swift and decisive move to complete the controversial single-nave design is a lasting testament to the striking choices he made as an emerging ecclesiastic and patron of the arts.

As Dalmau de Mur continued to ascend through the church hierarchy, there still remained unresolved issues concerning the papal schism, which had officially ended with the events at the Council of Constance (1414–1418), due to the kingdom of Aragón's unbroken allegiance to Anti-pope Benedict XIII, who still refused to abdicate.<sup>241</sup> At one point, Popes Gregory XII (Rome) and John XXIII (Bologna/Pisa) agreed to abdicate in 1415; yet, Anti-pope Benedict XIII, stubborn as ever, continued to exercise papal rights. The King of Aragón had officially broken all allegiance to Benedict XIII in January 1416 and, thereafter, backed Rome and Pope Martin V (r.1417–1431), upon his election at the Council of Constance. Then on July 26, 1417, Benedict XIII was declared a heretic and schismatic at the Council of Constance and was excommunicated.<sup>242</sup> Essentially exiled in Peníscola, Benedict XIII had no support except for a

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<sup>240</sup> John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 146.

<sup>241</sup> Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 280–290; Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 725.

<sup>242</sup> Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 735.

few individuals who remained loyal to him until January 1418.<sup>243</sup> From around 1418, until his death in November 1422 or May 1423,<sup>244</sup> Benedict XIII was mostly silent. On November 26, 1422, Benedict XIII did appoint four new cardinals in order to ensure that his papal legacy continued.<sup>245</sup>

Sometime in 1418, King Alfonso V and several prelates of the kingdom of Aragón gathered in Lleida and elected Dalmau de Mur, Bishop of Girona, as ambassador of the kingdom of Aragón to the papal curia in Rome.<sup>246</sup> Dalmau's mission to Rome was auspicious—Pope Martin V appointed him Archbishop of Tarragona the following year, on July 1, 1419.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> This included only three cardinals (two Aragonese and one Portuguese) and some officials. Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 723. According to one account that does not align with this fact, Alfonso V, King of Aragón, continued negotiations with Benedict XIII in 1418. The King offered Benedict XIII clemency if he would abdicate and recognize Pope Clement V, but Benedict XIII refused. See Narciso Feliu de la Peña y Farell, *Anales de Cataluña*, 3 vols. (1709; Barcelona: Editorial Base, 1999), vol. 2, 432.

<sup>244</sup> It remains unclear when Benedict XIII died exactly, but it was either November 29, 1422 or May 23, 1423. Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 307.

<sup>245</sup> The four cardinals included two Aragonese, Julián de Loba and Ximeno (Jimeno) Dahe, and two French, Jean Carrier and Domingo de Bonnefoi. Upon Benedict XIII's death, these cardinals elected Gil Sanchez Muñoz y Carbón as Anti-pope Clement VIII (r.1423–1429). Begoña Pereira Pagán, *El papa Luna Benedicto XIII* (Madrid: Alderabán, 1999), 233–234; Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 307.

<sup>246</sup> Narciso Feliu de la Peña y Farell, *Anales de Cataluña*, 3 vols. (1709; Barcelona: Editorial Base, 1999), vol. 2, 432.

<sup>247</sup> Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, 1803–1852), vol. 20 (1851), 12–15 at 12; Ramón Gaya Massot, *Cancilleres y rectores del estudio general de Lérida* (Lleida: La Editoria leridana, 1951): 29–30 at 29; Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1957), s.v., “Hispania—Gerona,” “Hispania—Tarragona,” “Hispania—Saragossa.” Lacarra Ducay writes the election occurred on August 17, 1419 but does not provide a source. Moreover, it has been erroneously published repeatedly that Eugene IV was the pope that appointed Dalmau as archbishop of Tarragona, although Eugene IV was not elected until 1431. This mistake is found in the following sources: Alberto García Carraffa and Arturo García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos*, 86 vols. (Madrid: Radio, 1952–1963), s.v., “Mur (o Muro),” no. II–3, fig. 891; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Los pintores del Arzobispo Don Dalmau de Mur (1431–1456) en tierras de Aragón,” *Aragonia sacra* 9 (1994): 43–54 at 43 quoting, P. Fr. Lamberto de Zaragoza, *Teatro histórico de las iglesias del reyno de Aragón*, 4 vols. (Pamplona: D. J. M. de Ezquerro, 1780–1782), vol. 4, 45–46. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay's article is also published in Catalan as, “Els pintors de l'arquesbisbe Dalmau de Mur (1431–1456) en terres d'Aragó,” in *Jaume Huguert, 500 anys*, ed. Eulàlia Jardí and Rosa Alcoy, trans. Jordi Bofarull (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993), 86–97; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, Rafael Conde y Delgado de Molina and Javier Delgado Echeverría, *El retablo Mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Librería General/Gobierno de Aragón Departamento de Cultura y Turismo, 2000), 17. Also see notes 101 and 282.

### 3.2 ARCHBISHOP OF TARRAGONA (1419–1431)

As Archbishop of Tarragona, Dalmau de Mur had many opportunities to participate in the politics of both the church and the Aragonese royalty.<sup>248</sup> For example, in 1422, he was appointed Chancellor of the Crown of Catalonia-Aragón (essentially he was the chancellor of the King)—a prestigious position that he held until 1439.<sup>249</sup> In 1423, King Alfonso V sent Dalmau to Valladolid in Castile on a diplomatic mission to request from Juan II, King of Castile and León (r.1406–1454), the release of King Alfonso V’s brother, Enrique of Aragón, Duke of Alburquerque (r.1400–1445), who had been taken prisoner in 1422.<sup>250</sup> Dalmau de Mur negotiated with King Juan II and his primary advisor, Álvaro de Luna y Jarana (1390–1453),<sup>251</sup> Constable of Castile, and grand-nephew of Anti-pope Benedict XIII. Álvaro de Luna played an exceptionally prominent role in the politics of Castile, mostly as the favored advisor of King

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<sup>248</sup> The episcopal see of Tarragona was a bishopric beginning in the third century. Tarragona became a metropolitan see in 516, yet upon the division of the diocese of Tarragona by a papal bull of 1318 issued by Pope John XXII (r.1316–1334) its suffragans included Girona, Vic, Urgell, Barcelona, Lleida, Tortosa and Valencia. Before the split, Zaragoza, along with Huesca, Pamplona, Tarazona and Calahorra, had been suffragans of Tarragona, but Zaragoza was made into a metropolitan see thereby making Huesca, Pamplona, Tarazona and Calahorra suffragans of Zaragoza (see note 336). For more information on the history of the see of Tarragona see, Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez and José Vives Gatell, ed. *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972–1987), s.v., “Geográfica eclesiástica,” s.v., “Tarragona, Archidiócesis de;” *Diccionari d’història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Tarragona, arquebisbat de.”

<sup>249</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de;” *Diccionari d’història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Mur i de Cervelló, Dalmau de.”

<sup>250</sup> Tensions had grown so high that Alfonso V was threatening to invade Castile if his brother was not released. Matters were complicated by the fact that Alfonso V was married to María de Castilla, King Juan II’s oldest sister. Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de Aragón: edición de Ángel Canellas López*, 8 vols. (1610; Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2003), vol. 5, book XIII, chapter 24; Narciso Feliu de la Peña y Farell, *Anales de Cataluña*, 3 vols. (1709; Barcelona: Editorial Base, 1999), vol. 2, 441; Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, 1803–1852), vol. 20 (1851), 12–15 at 12; Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 553–555.

<sup>251</sup> *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Luna, Álvaro de;” Simon Barton, *A History of Spain* (Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 87–88.

Juan II of Castile. As a close relative of Anti-pope Benedict XIII, he was ushered into the Castilian court as a page in 1410, where he eventually became an influential counselor to the King of Castile. He is often viewed as King Juan II's loyal servant, while other opinions of him cast him as a manipulative and devious person who was fulfilling his own agenda.<sup>252</sup> The initial negotiations in 1423 between Álvaro de Luna and Dalmau de Mur failed, but Dalmau was sent on a second mission in the same year to Villarreal and eventually Enrique of Aragón was released.<sup>253</sup>

On December 9, 1424, Dalmau convened a Provincial Council in the city of Tarragona.<sup>254</sup> In 1426, Dalmau de Mur presided over the parliament (*corts*) of Catalonia, held in Tortosa, since King Alfonso V was in Naples.<sup>255</sup>

During his archiepiscopacy at Tarragona, Dalmau de Mur had a seal that he presumably used for official purposes.<sup>256</sup> Based on a photograph of this seal, it is difficult to discern all of its details, particularly its inscription, but it does clearly present a central figure standing in a contrapposto pose. At the bottom there appears to be another figure holding a cross-staff and

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<sup>252</sup> The political climate was volatile and the court engaged in a long struggle with the Infantes de Aragón—brothers of King Alfonso V of Aragón. Eventually Álvaro de Luna was ejected from Juan II's court and executed on the charge of murder. *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Luna, Álvaro de;" Simon Barton, *A History of Spain* (Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 87–88.

<sup>253</sup> Jerónimo Zurtia, *Anales de Aragón. Edición de Ángel Canellas López*, 8 vols (1610; Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 2003), vol. 5, book XIII, chapter 29.

<sup>254</sup> Lluís Monjas Manso, "La Reforma eclesiàstica i religiosa de les diòcesis de la Tarraconense al llarg de la Baixa Edat Mitjana (a través dels qüestionaris de visites pastorals)," (PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Institut Universitari d'Història Jaume Vicens i Vives, 2005), 67, 98, 280–281.

<sup>255</sup> Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, 1803–1852), vol. 20 (1851), 13; Enrique Ribera, *La Baronía y los barones de Albi* (Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1944), 10–11.

<sup>256</sup> No other seals were found that correspond to Dalmau de Mur's tenure at Girona Cathedral or Zaragoza Cathedral. For the Tarragona seal, see Martí de Riquer, *Heráldica Catalana des l'any 1150 al 1550*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Edicions dels Quaderns Crema, 1983), vol. 2, 539 fig. 222.

wearing what appears to be a mitre. This lower figure, flanked by the coat of arms of Dalmau de Mur, is likely the archbishop. Since the seal was discovered in a catalog that does not provide any facts about it, it remains unknown what type of document it is attached to, where it is located today and how it may have been used originally.<sup>257</sup>

As Archbishop of Tarragona, Dalmau had the right to reside in the Castle of Selva del Camp.<sup>258</sup> The castle had been the residence of the Archbishops of Tarragona since the early thirteenth century and a papal bull issued in 1412 by Anti-pope Benedict XIII permanently secured its legacy to the archbishopric of Tarragona.<sup>259</sup> It has been remarked that the Archbishops of Tarragona, especially Dalmau de Mur and his three successors, lived at the Castle of Selva del Camp much like lords of a castle.<sup>260</sup> This impression is perhaps partially reflected by an inventory of goods taken at the castle in 1446 that records the presence of furniture and objects such as candelabras, lances and even a tapestry: “cloth of Arras with the devices of Crudilliis, of Cumbis [and] of Aleynano.”<sup>261</sup> It is unknown if these objects survive, but part of the castle’s fortified walls and towers, notably the *Torre Baró*, remain standing today.

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<sup>257</sup> Martí de Riquer, *Herladica Catalana des l’any 1150 al 1550*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Edicions dels Quaderns Crema, 1983), vol. 2, 539 fig. 222.

<sup>258</sup> Located in the county of Baix Camp in Tarragona province.

<sup>259</sup> Pere Català i Roca, “Castell de la Selva del Camp,” in *El Castells catalans*, ed. Pere Català i Roca, 6 vols., 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 1993), vol. 4, 167–173.

<sup>260</sup> Dalmau’s successors included Gonçal Ferrandis d’Híxar (r.1431–1433); Cardinal Domènec Ram i Lanaja (r.1434–1445); and Pero de Urrea (r.1445–1489). For more on the castle, see Pere Català i Roca, “Castell de la Selva del Camp,” in *El Castells catalans*, ed. Pere Català i Roca, 6 vols., 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 1993), vol. 4, 167–173 at 170n11.

<sup>261</sup> “*Item .IV. draps d’arras ab senyals de Crudilliis, de Cumbis, de Aleynano.*” The tapestry remains untraced. I searched various dictionaries and encyclopedias in search of these family names but found nothing. The inventory is reproduced in Pere Català i Roca, “Castell de la Selva del Camp,” in *El Castells catalans*, ed. Pere Català i Roca, 6 vols., 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 1993), vol. 4, 167–173 at 172–173n11.



### 3.2.1 Tarragona Cathedral

Contrary to the bold architectural changes at Girona Cathedral that Dalmau de Mur sponsored, the plan of the already constructed Tarragona Cathedral is more conservative: the church features a Latin cross basilica with a nave and two side aisles.<sup>262</sup> Flanking the central semi-circular apse are two smaller semi-circle apses in echelon. Construction of Tarragona Cathedral was underway by 1171 and dedication occurred in 1331.<sup>263</sup> Although Dalmau de Mur did not make substantive changes to the fabric of the building, he did commission the construction of its main altarpiece, discussed below.

Stylistically, the cathedral exhibits Romanesque, *mudéjar* and Gothic characteristics.

The notable Romanesque cloister, which is located north of the high altar at the east end, was

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<sup>262</sup> For more on the architectural style and development of Tarragona Cathedral see, Christian Zervos, Ferran Soldevilla and Josep Gudiol, *L'art de la Catalogne de la seconde moitié du neuvième siècle a la fin du quinzième siècle* (Paris: Éditions “Cahiers d’art,” 1937): 29–35 at 29, plate CVI–170; Alexandre Cirici, *Arquitectura gòtica catalana*, trans. Xavier Gispert (Barcelona: Editorial Lumen, 1968), appendix, s.v., “Tarragona (Tarragonès, Tarragona): Catedral;” Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez and José Vives Gatell, ed. *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972–1987), s.v., “Tarragona, catedral de;” George E. Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, ed. Georgiana Goddard King, 2 vols. (1914; New York: Arno Press, 1980), vol. 2, 21–50; Núria de Dalmasas and Antoni Josep i Pitarch, *Història de l’art català*, 9 vols., 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1989–1996), vol. 3, 52–53; Salvador Ramon i Vinyes, *Catedral de Tarragona* (Tarragona: Arquebisbat, D. L., 1993); Antoni Pladevall i Font, ed., *Catalunya romànica XXI: el Tarragonès, el Baix Camp, l’Alt Camp, el Priorat, la Conca de Barbera* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1995), 122–170; *Diccionari d’història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Tarragona, catedral de;” Emma Liaño Martínez, “La catedral de Tarragona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 1, 346–355; Emma Liaño Martínez, “La catedral de Tarragona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: escultura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2007), vol. 1, 100–107.

<sup>263</sup> The first mention of the rebuilt cathedral is found in the 1167 testament of Pere de Queralt who donated 1000 *sous* to the construction of a church dedicated to Santa Thecla (*ad ecclesiam Sancte Telce faciendam*). The second reference is from the 1171 testament of Archbishop Hug de Cervelló—a distant relative of Dalmau de Mur’s mother, Beatriu Alemany de Cervelló i de Queralt—in which he provides 500 *sous* for the building of the church. See *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Cervelló;” Antoni Pladevall i Font, ed., *Catalunya romànica XXI: el Tarragonès, el Baix Camp, l’Alt Camp, el Priorat, la Conca de Barbera* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1995), 123. On a nearby site was an earlier fifth-century Visigothic church, which no longer survives, as it was destroyed during the Islamic reign. The current location of the cathedral is where there stood a Roman temple to Jupiter that was later covered by a mosque. John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 163; *Diccionari d’història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Tarragona, catedral de.”

built between 1194/95 and 1220.<sup>264</sup> The arcade of the cloister comprises twin-sets of capitals that sit atop slender columns. The intricately carved column capitals are ornamented with abstract foliage designs and several are historiated.<sup>265</sup> In addition, *mudéjar* elements are observed in the delicately carved screens of the oculi that pierce the cloister's arcade.<sup>266</sup>

Even though the style of Tarragona Cathedral was updated and changed during the successive building campaigns from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, the cathedral's overall design still reflects a strong stylistic unity.<sup>267</sup> The overall plan essentially illustrates the transition from large, heavy Romanesque-style buildings to the early development of the Gothic in Catalonia.<sup>268</sup> For instance, pointed arches and slender Gothic rib-vaults are combined with thick, massive masonry walls and enormous Romanesque piers. Likewise, the central part of the west façade, which was built between ca.1272–1277 and 1289 by Maestro Bartomeu (Bartolomé) and later completed by Jaume Cascalls (Castayls, active 1341–1377) in 1375, is mostly Gothic in style—a large rose window accompanies a three-portal façade.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 261; *Diccionari d'història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Tarragona, catedral de.”

<sup>265</sup> Probably the most famous of the historiated carvings are two humerous scenes with a cat and mice that are found on the abacus of one of the capitals. The first scene shows a large cat chasing a group of mice, while the second illustrates a funeral procession with the mice triumphantly carrying a litter on which lies the corpse of the the conquered cat. For a description and diagram of all subjects found on the capitals, see Antoni Pladevall i Font, ed., *Catalunya romànica XXI: el Tarragonès, el Baix Camp, l'Alt Camp, el Priorat, la Conca de Barbera* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1995), 145–161.

<sup>266</sup> “Tarragona,” *Grove Art Online* (27 January 2007).

<sup>267</sup> *Diccionari d'història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., “Tarragona, catedral de.”

<sup>268</sup> Christian Zervos, Ferran Soldevilla and Josep Gudiol, *L'art de la Catalogne de la seconde moitié du neuvième siècle a la fin du quinzième siècle* (Paris: Éditions “Cahiers d'art,” 1937): 29–35 at 29, plate CVI–170.

<sup>269</sup> John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 164, 167; Alexandre Cirici, *Arquitectura gòtica catalana*, trans. Xavier Gispert (Barcelona: Editorial Lumen, 1968), appendix, s.v., “Tarragona (Tarragonès, Tarragona): Catedral;” Josep Bracons Clapés, “Jaume Cascalls,” in *L'art gòtic a Catalunya: pintura*,

The unity of the façade is interrupted with the significantly diminutive two side portals that have rounded arches and are recessed by the projection of the central section. The Gothic characteristics of the central portal include dramatically cut archivolts (though not sculpted) and deeply carved jamb figures representing the apostles and prophets, as well as a trumeau figure of the Virgin Mary. The figures of the apostles and prophets were carved by Jaume Cascalls, who was previously charged with creating the tomb sculptures (1366–1373/74) at the royal pantheon in Poblet.<sup>270</sup> The tympanum is filled with a glass window, also seen at Reims Cathedral façade (begun ca.1252),<sup>271</sup> instead of the more common sculptural treatment. The large rose window<sup>272</sup> sits directly above the central portal, while two smaller ocular windows are carved above the two side portals.

Although Tarragona Cathedral retains many of its massive Romanesque traits, it reveals the strong interest in integrating aspects of the Gothic style into the fabric of the church. Harvey concludes that, “The interior, in spite of its heavy and archaic design, has a grandeur and majesty unparalleled by any other Spanish church of its time . . .”<sup>273</sup>

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ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2005), vol. 3, 223–240 at 224, 238; “Tarragona,” *Grove Art Online* (27 January 2007).

<sup>270</sup> *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: pintura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2007), vol. 3, 207–208.

<sup>271</sup> Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Reims: son histoire, son architecture, sa sculpture, ses vitraux* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963); Peter Kurmann, *La façade de la Cathédrale de Reims: architecture et sculpture des portails: étude archéologique et stylistique*, trans. Françoise Monfrin, 2 vols. (Paris/ Lausanne: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique/Payot, 1987); Patrick Demouy et al., *Reims: la cathédrale* (Saint-Léger-Vauban: Zodiaque, 2000); Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *La cathédrale de Reims: chef-d’oeuvre du gothique* (Paris/Arles: Cité de l’architecture et du patrimoine/Aristeas/Actes sud, 2007).

<sup>272</sup> Harvey states that the window design is based on one of the versions planned for the south transept of Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris. John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 165 citing Bernard Bevan, *Historia de la arquitectura española* (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1950), n.p.

<sup>273</sup> John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 165.

### 3.2.1.1 Main Altarpiece

The magnificent main altarpiece in painted alabaster with a subtle iridescent glaze stands tall at the east end, behind the main altar, and serves as another example of the Gothic style at Tarragona Cathedral.<sup>274</sup> On March 8, 1426, Dalmau de Mur hired the sculptor Pere Joan (active 1418–1458) to carve the altarpiece.<sup>275</sup> It was not until April 5, 1429 that the altarpiece's first stone, which was decorated with a large golden letter in the shape of a "T," an attribute of Santa Thecla, was laid.<sup>276</sup> The altarpiece was completed by around 1433. Santa Thecla is the patron

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<sup>274</sup> Illustrations can be found in Maria Rosa Manote Clivilles, "El Retaule major de la catedral de Tarragona, obra de l'escultor Pere Joan," *Revista de Cultura* (2000): 61–88. Also see, Agustí Duran i Sanpere, *Els Retaules de pedra*, 2 vols. (Barcelona Editorial Alpha, 1932–1934), nos. 25–80; Núria de Dalmasas and Antoni Josep i Pitarch, *Història de l'art català*, 9 vols., 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1989–1996), vol. 3, 186, 198–200.

<sup>275</sup> Harvey identified him as Pere Johan de Vallfogona (also known as Pere Joan). He was one of the master stonemasons included in the assembly of January 1416 that Dalmau de Mur convened in Girona (see note 225). John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 166. The contract of hire is recorded in the *Actas Capitulares* housed at the Arxiu Diocesà de la Catedral de Tarragona (hereafter ADCT). See Emma Liaño, "Pere Johan entre el 'exemplum' medieval y la estética clásica: el retablo mayor de la catedral de Tarragona," *Goya: Revista de Arte* 282 (May–June, 2001): 137–144 at 138.

<sup>276</sup> Not much is known about this early Christian virgin-martyr who was born in the city of Iconium (present day Konya in Turkey) and died around 65CE. She was converted by Saint Paul and accompanied him as he traveled abroad to spread the word of Christianity. Much of her biography comes from the New Testament apocrypha writings known as the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* that date around the year 160. The emergence in the twelfth century of a cult of Santa Thecla in Tarragona is linked to the belief that Saint Paul and Santa Thecla evangelized the city. Joanne Stilingo et al., *Acta sanctorum: septembris*, 8 vols. (1746–1762; Brussels: Impression Anastaltique Culture et Civilisation, 1970), vol. 6, 563–568; Enrique Ribera, *La Baronía y los barones de Albi* (Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1944), 11; Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses with Other Narratives and Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 272–281; Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez and José Vives Gatell, ed. *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972–1987), "Tarragona, Archidiócesis de;" R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 69n11; *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Tecla, santa;" *Diccionari d'història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., "Tecla." For various essays on the apocryphal texts, see Jan N. Bremmer, ed., *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla* (Kampen: Pharos, 1996); Lluís Monjas Manso, "La Reforma eclesiàstica i religiosa de les diòcesis de la Tarraconense al llarg de la Baixa Edat Mitjana (a través dels qüestionaris de visites pastorals)," (PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Institut Universitari d'Història Jaume Vicens i Vives, 2005), 280–281.

saint of Tarragona Cathedral and several scenes of the altarpiece are dedicated to her life and martyrdom.

Although Tarragona Cathedral still remains dedicated to Santa María, by 1117 Santa Thecla had become the Cathedral's titular saint and by the middle of the thirteenth century a chapel had been dedicated to her.<sup>277</sup> Devotion to Santa Thecla was further strengthened during the archiepiscopacy of Ximeno Martines de Luna y d'Alagón (r.1317–1327), when Jaime II, King of Aragón (r.1285–1327), sent ambassadors to Antioch in 1319 to meet with the King of Armenia in order to request a relic of Santa Thecla's arm. In 1321, the ambassadors returned and a solemn procession commemorated the arrival of the reliquary with the sacred arm of the Saint.<sup>278</sup> Santa Thecla's feast day is celebrated on September 23.<sup>279</sup>

The lower scenes of the altarpiece are dedicated to the events of the lives of Saint Martin of Tours<sup>280</sup> and Santa Thecla. The central themes include *The Life and Passion of Christ* and

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<sup>277</sup> The small thirteenth century chapel of Santa Thecla no longer survives. Another chapel was built in the seventeenth century to house the reliquary. It is located in the south transept (third bay from west end). John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 166; *Diccionari d'història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., "Tarragona, catedral de," s.v., "Thecla."

<sup>278</sup> The silver reliquary that houses Santa Thecla's arm (minus a thumb) was sent wrapped in a gold cloth. The reliquary is in the shape of an arm and hand. It remains unclear if the reliquary dates from the early fourteenth century or if it is a re-used reliquary that is much older. I was unable to view the reliquary during my visit to the Cathedral, since it is only brought on on Santa Thecla's feast day. Joanne Stillingo et al., *Acta sanctorum: septembris*, 8 vols. (1746–1762; Brussels: Impression Anastaltique Culture et Civilisation, 1970), vol. 6, 563–568 at 564.

<sup>279</sup> The reliquary is only displayed once a year on the feast day. See the official website of the festival at: <http://santatecla.tarragona.cat/> (20 April 2008).

<sup>280</sup> Saint Martin of Tours was very popular in Catalonia during the Middle Ages. He served as patron saint to King Martín I and later, in Rome, Pope Martin V chose the name Martin because he was nominated as pope on the saint's feast day, November 11. *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., "Martí de Tours, sant." The connection between Saint Martin and Santa Thecla, however, is not obvious. The two are connected in one instance in the *Golden Legend*. Jacobus de Voragine recounts the story told by Sulpicius Severus (ca.363–ca.420/25), who wrote the earliest biography on Saint Martin. In his *Dialogues* (vol. 2, chap. 13), Severus recounts that once, when Martin was alone in his cell praying, Severus, who was close by, overheard voices and conversations. Perplexed, Severus later asked Martin about the voices, who replied: "I will tell you, but I ask you not to tell anybody else. Agnes, Thecla and Mary came to talk with me." Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden*

*Pentecost*.<sup>281</sup> The stone predella twice displays Dalmau's coat of arms (*gules, a wall with five merlons or*),<sup>282</sup> and others are being held by two of the four angels that sit above the columns of the two doorways flanking the central altarpiece.

One scene that is particularly interesting among the twelve images of *The Life of Christ* and *The Passion of Christ* is the episode of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, located in the middle register immediately to the right of the Virgin and Child statue that stands in the center. Iconographically it is related to the same subject in the *Passion* tapestries at Zaragoza, which will be examined in greater detail in Chapter V. No other scenes in the Tarragona altarpiece correspond with the *Passion* imagery of the Zaragoza tapestries.

Many of the stylistic characteristics of the so-called "International Gothic Style"<sup>283</sup>—for instance, the use of sinuous lines, a strong interest in naturalism, a fascination with detail and the

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*Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), vol. 2, no. 166, 292–300 at 293.

<sup>281</sup> For a complete description and analysis of the altarpiece and its iconography, see Maria Rosa Manote Clivilles, "L'Escultura gòtica catalana de la primera meitat del segle XV a la Corona d'Aragó: Pere Joan i Guillem Sagrera," (PhD diss., Universitat de Barcelona, 1994); Maria Rosa Manote Clivilles, "El Retaule major de la catedral de Tarragona, obra de l'escultor Pere Joan," *Revista de Cultura* (2000): 61–88. Also see, Agustí Duran i Sanpere, *Els Retaules de pedra*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Alpha, 1932–1934), nos. 25–80; Núria de Dalmases and Antoni Josep i Pitarch, *Història de l'art català*, 9 vols., 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1989–1996), vol. 3, 186, 198–200.

<sup>282</sup> *De gules, un muro de cinco almenas apuntadas de oro*, or alternately, *de gules, un muro de oro, de cinco almeans*. See Alberto García Carraffa and Arturo García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos*, 86 vols. (Madrid: Radio, 1952–1963), s.v., "Mur (o Muro)," no. II-3, fig. 891. N.B. This source misidentifies Dalmau's father and siblings, in addition to incorrectly stating that Dalmau de Mur was elected to the Archbishopric of Tarragona in 1419 by Pope Eugene IV who did not become pope until 1431 (also see notes 101 and 247).

<sup>283</sup> The term is loosely applied to works of art created between ca. 1380–1410, though it used for later dates in some areas, such as Spain. Analogous terms include "International Gothic" and "International court style." The term "International Style" was coined Louis Courajod (ca. 1900) who described a *courant international*—a universal style of Gothic art. On the usage and definition of the term over the years, see Julius von Schlosser, "Ein veronesisches Bilderbuch und die höfische Kunst des XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (1895): 144–230; Louis Courajod, *Leçons professées a l'École du Louvre (1887–1896)*, ed. Henry Lemonnier and Andre Michel, 3 vols. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1899–1903), vol. 1; Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (1924; Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954); José Gudiol, *Pintura gòtica* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1955); *The International Style: The Arts in Europe around 1400* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1962); Aurenhammer, Monique, trans. *L'art européen vers 1400*. Vienna:

dramatic use of light and shadow to create a sense of depth—can be identified in the Tarragona altarpiece. The scenes are also framed within architectural niches that have delicately carved canopies, yet there is no suggestion of landscape elements. At the time of Archbishop de Mur's commission of the main altarpiece by Pere Joan, the International Gothic Style was just beginning to emerge in Spain.<sup>284</sup> The evolution of the style can be identified in further commissions he made while serving as Archbishop of Zaragoza.

### 3.2.2 Manuscripts

During the 1420s, Dalmau de Mur commissioned and acquired several illuminated manuscripts and the richly decorated manuscripts he owned illustrate his patronage of these luxury objects. Dalmau continued to collect manuscripts after he left Tarragona Cathedral for Zaragoza Cathedral in 1431 (discussed in section 3.3.6).

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Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1962; Santiago Alcolea i Blanch, *Il gotico internazionale in Spagna* (Milan: Fratelli Fabbri, 1966); Liana Castelfranchi Vegas, *International Gothic Art in Italy*, trans. B. D. Philipps (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1966); Josep Gudiol and Santiago Alcolea i Blanch, *Pintura gòtica catalana* (Barcelona: Polígrafa, 1986); Teresa Guasch, ed., *Cathalonia: arte gòtico en los siglos XIV–XV* (Barcelona: Fundación la Caixa/Caja de Ahorros y Pensiones de Barcelona/Ministerio de Educación y Cultura/Museu Nacional d'art de Catalunya, 1997); Enrico Castelnuovo and Francesca de Gramatica, *Il gotico nelle Alpi, 1350–1450* (Trento: Provincia autonoma di Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e collezioni provinciali, 2002); Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, ed., *Gothic: Art for England, 1400–1547* (London/New York: V&A/Harry N. Abrams, 2003); *La Pintura gòtica hispanoflamenca: Bartolomé Bermejo i la seva època* (Barcelona/Bilbao: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya/Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 2003).

<sup>284</sup> For instance, painters of the International Gothic style in Spain include Lluís Borrassà (active 1360–1426) and Bernart Martorell (active 1400–1452). See *La pintura gòtica hispanoflamenca: Bartolomé Bermejo y su época* (Barcelona/Bilbao: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya/Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 2003).

### 3.2.2.1 Girona Bible

One of Dalmau de Mur's most impressive acquisitions, which unmistakably illustrates that he was an avid connoisseur who was aware of eminent French manuscript collectors, was his purchase of the *Girona Bible* (also known as the *Gerona Bible* and the *Bible of Charles V*).<sup>285</sup>

An unknown artist (called the Girona Master) executed the bible in Bologna at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>286</sup> Earlier scholarship argued that it was a fourteenth-century copy.<sup>287</sup> The *Girona Bible* is one of several surviving manuscripts that reveal the latest trends in Byzantine (Palaeologan) art and its impact on Italian artists—a period referred to as the “Second Style” of

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<sup>285</sup> Girona, ACCG, MS 10. Only most current and important references listed here; for an extensive bibliography, see Appendix C: “Catalog of Works of Art Commissioned and Acquired by Dalmau de Mur.” *Medieval Catalonia* (Barcelona: Lunweg/Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992), 286–287, no. 3.30, 326–327, no. 3.\*; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “La Bibbia di Carlo V nella Cattedrale di Gerona,” in *Il Gotico europeo in Italia*, ed. Valentino Pace and Martina Bagnoli (Naples: Electa, 1994): 415–427; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “Clientes y promotores en el marco del gótico catalán,” in *Cathalonia: arte gótico en los siglos XIV–XV*, ed. Teresa Guasch (Barcelona: Fundación la Caixa/Caja de Ahorros y Pensiones de Barcelona/Ministerio de Educación y Cultura/Museu Nacional d’art de Catalunya, 1997): 47–55 at 51; Massimo Medica and Stefano Tumidei, ed., *Duecento: Forme i colori del medioevo Bologna* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2000), 314–319, no. 100; Joaquim Nadal i Farreras, ed., *La catedral de Girona: una interpretació* (Barcelona/Madrid: Lunweg, 2002), 52–53; Massimo Medica, “La Bibbia di Gerona e il suo committente: una proposta per il Cardinale Jean Cholet,” *Arte medievale* 2, no. 2 (2003): 65–85.

<sup>286</sup> A signature found on folio 493v reads: “*Explicit Biblia / Magister Bern / ardinus de Mutina / fecit laus tibi sit xp[ist]e quoniam lib[er] explicit iste.*” Most likely this scribe and/or illuminator was Bernardino di Bichignoli da Modena who has been identified as a scribe documented in Modena on Oct. 16, 1268 and June 24, 1269, see Francesco Fillippini and Guido Zucchini, *Miniatori e pittori a Bologna: documenti dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1947), 26. Also discussed by Augusto Brutaills, “Bible de Charles V et autres manuscrits du Chapitre de Gerone,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 47 (1886): 637–645 at 638; Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas: notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Blass, 1933), vol. 1, 142, no. 252; *Medieval Catalonia* (Barcelona: Lunweg/Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992), 326, no. 3.\*; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “La Bibbia di Carlo V nella Cattedrale di Gerona,” in *Il Gotico europeo in Italia*, ed. Valentino Pace and Martina Bagnoli (Naples: Electa, 1994): 415–427 at 415; Massimo Medica and Stefano Tumidei, ed., *Duecento: Forme i colori del medioevo Bologna* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2000), 314, no. 100.

<sup>287</sup> Paul Meyer, “Resenya historica y critica dels antichs poetas catalans,” *Revue critique d’histoire et de littérature* 24 (June 13, 1868): 385–390 at 389n2, no. 117; Léopold Delisle, *Recherche sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France, 1337–1380*, 2 vols. (1907; Amsterdam: G. Th. van Heusden, 1967), vol. 1, 142; Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale: étude sur la formation de ce dépôt, comprenant les éléments d’une histoire de la calligraphie, de la miniature, de la reliure et du commerce des livres à Paris avant l’invention de l’imprimerie*, 4 vols. (1868–1881; New York: B. Franklin, 1973), vol. 3, 35, 43, 336.



Bolognese manuscript illumination.<sup>288</sup> In terms of possible models for the Girona bible, several Byzantine manuscripts have been identified, including three Palaeologan Gospel Books.<sup>289</sup>

Recent scholarship has suggested that Jean Cholet, Cardinal of Beauvais (r.1281–1292), commissioned the *Girona Bible* around 1281–1289.<sup>290</sup> Cholet’s first testament was drawn up on November 27, 1289 and included a gift to the Abbey of Saint-Lucien: “*Bibliam meam maiorem . . . alienari prohibeo*,” (I forbid giving away my great bible).<sup>291</sup> This bible is possibly the *Girona Bible*.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> These include, for instance, a psalter (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. 346); a bible (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca de El Escorial, MS. a.I.5.); a bible (London, British Library, Add. MS 18720); the *Bible of Clement VII* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18, attributed to Jacopino da Reggio); and a psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Smith-Lesouëf, MS 21), the latter two, however, express strong French Gothic tendencies. For more, see Tania Velmans, “Deux manuscrits enluminés inédits et les influences réciproques entre Byzance et l’Italie,” *Cahiers archéologiques: fin de l’antiquité et Moyen Âge* 20 (1970): 207–233; Michael Jacoff, “The Bible of Charles V and Related Works: Bologna, Byzantium and the West in the Late Thirteenth Century,” in *Il Medio Oriente e l’Occidente nell’arte del XIII secolo*, ed. Hans Belting (Bologna: CLUEB, 1982): 163–171; *Medieval Catalonia* (Barcelona: Lunwerg/Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992), 286–287, no. 3.30, 326–327, no. 3.\*; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “La Bibbia di Carlo V nella Cattedrale di Gerona,” in *Il Gotico europeo in Italia*, ed. Valentino Pace and Martina Bagnoli (Naples: Electa, 1994): 415–427; Massimo Medica, “La Bibbia di Gerona e il suo committente: una proposta per il Cardinale Jean Cholet,” *Arte medievale* 2, no. 2 (2003): 65–85 at 74–83; “Bologna, § 1(i): Manuscript illumination, before c.1400,” *Grove Art Online* (26 October 2006).

<sup>289</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 54; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 1158 and Cod. Vat. gr. 1208. Michael Jacoff, “The Bible of Charles V and Related Works: Bologna, Byzantium and the West in the Late Thirteenth Century,” in *Il Medio Oriente e l’Occidente nell’arte del XIII secolo*, ed. Hans Belting (Bologna: CLUEB, 1982): 163–171.

<sup>290</sup> In 1281, Pope Martin IV (r.1281–1285) elected Jean Cholet as a cardinal and it is likely that the commission of the bible occurred shortly after this date, see Massimo Medica, “La Bibbia di Gerona e il suo committente: una proposta per il Cardinale Jean Cholet,” *Arte medievale* 2, no. 2 (2003): 65–85 at 74–83.

<sup>291</sup> The full sentence reads: “[133] *Libros theologicos glosatos et Bibliam meam maiorem ecclesie Beati Luciani Belvacensis do lego; quos alienari prohibeo*.” Cholet was granted two separate *licentiae testandi*. The first was granted on December 28, 1281 by Pope Martin IV (r.1281–1285) and the second by Pope Nicholas IV (r.1288–1292) on February 9, 1290. For the published text of Cholet’s entire testament, see Agostino Paravicini Begliani, *I Testamenti dei cardinali del Duecento* (Rome: Presso la Società alla biblioteca vallicelliana, 1980), no. 35, 50–55, no. XV, 250–267 at 264.

<sup>292</sup> This is the argument put forward by Massimo Medica, “La Bibbia di Gerona e il suo committente: una proposta per il Cardinale Jean Cholet,” *Arte medievale* 2, no. 2 (2003): 65–85 at 65. This attribution must remain tentative, since the bible is not, unfortunately, identified by its secundo folio: “... *incipit in primo colondello secundi folii || ille et finit in eodem Grandia Grandia || ...*,” as it is described in the 1423 inventory taken in Peníscola (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 233, folio 8), see note 308.

Although it is not absolutely certain that the *Girona Bible* was among those manuscripts given to the Abbey of Saint-Lucien in Beauvais, it seems most plausible.<sup>293</sup> This hypothesis is further strengthened by the fact that since the middle of the fourteenth century there certainly was a Bolognese bible in the collection of the Abbey of Saint-Lucien de Beauvais. King Charles V purchased the bible from the Abbey of Saint-Lucien de Beauvais at an unknown date.<sup>294</sup> Charles V, however, lent the bible to the Bishop of Beauvais, Jean de Dormans (r.1360–1368; cardinal, 1368–1373),<sup>295</sup> on condition that the bible would be returned to the King. This information was recorded by his *maître d'hôtel*, Gilles Malet, in the 1373 inventory taken of the manuscripts that were housed in the royal library at the Palais du Louvre: “*Une très belle Bible, bien escripte et ystoriée, que le Roy presta pieça à l’evesque de Biauvez [Jean de Dormans], laquelle fu rendue au Roy après le trespasse[ment] deduit evesque [Nov. 7, 1373]; couverte de soie, à une chemise, et fu de Saint-Lucien de Biauvaiz, de qui le Roy l’achetée.*”<sup>296</sup> Later, in

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<sup>293</sup> For more, see Alison Stones, “Les manuscrits du cardinal Jean Cholet et l’enluminure beauvaisienne vers la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *L’art gothique dans l’Oise et ses environs, XII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: architecture civile et religieuse, peinture murale, sculpture et arts précieux* (Beauvais: GEMOB, 2001): 239–266.

<sup>294</sup> It is likely that the bible was purchased after Charles was coronated King of France in 1364, but before the time Jean de Dormans was elected as cardinal in 1368 since he is referred to as *l’évêque* in the inventory of Charles V in 1373. The word *cardinal*, however, was added (probably later) beneath the description, thereby backing up the claim that the bishop mentioned is Jean de Dormans. Many scholars have erroneously stated that the bible was purchased by Charles in 1373, which is the year of his note in the bible and the year of Jean de Dormans’ death, not the year of purchase. Léopold Delisle, *Recherche sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France, 1337–1380*, 2 vols. (1907; Amsterdam: G. Th. van Heusden, 1967), vol. 1, 142n1. Also see note 298.

<sup>295</sup> In addition to being appointed as a bishop and later a cardinal of Beauvais, Jean de Dormans also founded, in 1367, the Collège de Beauvais in Paris (opened in 1370) and he served as Chancellor of France (1358–1359 and 1361–1372) during the reigns of King Jean II le Bon (r.1350–1364) and King Charles V le Sage. Louis de Mas Latrie, *Trésor de chronologie, d’histoire et de géographie pour l’étude et l’emploi des documents du Moyen-Âge* (Paris: Librairie Victor Palmé, 1889), 1387–1388 at 1388; *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, 20 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1933–2007), s.v., “Dormans (Jean de);” Léopold Delisle, *Recherche sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France, 1337–1380*, 2 vols. (1907; Amsterdam: G. Th. van Heusden, 1967), vol. 2, 3, no. 2.

<sup>296</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 2700. The old French verb *presta* (*prester*) meant: “donner à condition qu’on rendra,” see Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Dictionnaire historique de l’ancien langage françois ou Glossaire de la langue française depuis son origine jusqu’au siècle de Louis XIV*, 10 vols. (Niort, 1875–1882), s.v., “prester.” *Pieça* in old French referred to something long ago or in the distant past: “Un composé de deux mots *piece*, *a* ou *ha* du verbe *avoir* pour il y a long temps,” see Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Dictionnaire historique de l’ancien langage françois ou Glossaire de la langue française depuis son*

1378, King Charles V recorded (in his own hand) on folio 493v of the bible the following note:  
*Ceste Bible est à nous / Charles le V<sup>e</sup> de notre / nom roy de France, et / l'achetames de Saint / Lucien de Biauvez l'an / mil CCC LXXVIII. Escrit / de notre main: CHARLES.*<sup>297</sup>

After the death of Charles V, the bible was delivered on November 6, 1383 to the King's bibliophile brother, Jean, Duke of Berry.<sup>298</sup> After that point, the *Girona Bible* is not mentioned until it appears in an inventory, made in Avignon sometime before September 1394, recording the books owned by Pedro de Luna (future Anti-pope Benedict XIII).<sup>299</sup> Although it is not known how or when Luna acquired the *Girona Bible*, there are two plausible explanations.

First and most probable is that before September 1394, Jean de Berry gave the bible directly to Pedro de Luna. The presentation of the bible could have possibly occurred either in Paris, where Luna had served as a papal legate beginning in 1393, or in Avignon, where Berry

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*origine jusqu'au siècle de Louis XIV*, 10 vols. (Niort, 1875–1882), s.v., “pieça.” For the notation in the bible, see Augusto Brutaills, “Bible de Charles V et autres manuscrits du Chapitre de Gerone,” *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 47 (1886): 637–645 at 637; François Avril and Jean Lafavrie, *La librairie de Charles V* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1968), 91, no. 164; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “La Bibbia di Carlo V nella Cattedrale di Gerona,” in *Il Gotico europeo in Italia*, ed. Valentino Pace and Martina Bagnoli (Naples: Electa, 1994): 415–427 at 415.

<sup>297</sup> Augusto Brutaills, “Bible de Charles V et autres manuscrits du Chapitre de Gerone,” *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 47 (1886): 637–645 at 638; *Medieval Catalonia* (Barcelona: Lunewerg/Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992), 326; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “La Bibbia di Carlo V nella Cattedrale di Gerona,” in *Il Gotico europeo in Italia*, ed. Valentino Pace and Martina Bagnoli (Naples: Electa, 1994): 415–427 at 415; Massimo Medica and Stefano Tumidei, ed., *Duecento: Forme i colori del medioevo Bologna* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2000), 314; Massimo Medica, “La Bibbia di Gerona e il suo committente: una proposta per il Cardinale Jean Cholet,” *Arte medievale* 2, no. 2 (2003): 65–85 at 65.

<sup>298</sup> The note appears appended to the 1373 inventory as: “A mons[eigneur] de Berry, 6 de novembre 1383,” see Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France: 1337–1380*, 2 vols (1907; Amsterdam: G. Th. van Heusden, 1967), vol. 1, 142–143, no. 1, vol. 2, 3\* no. 2, 223\* no. 1 bis, 1 ter, 330\*; François Avril and Jean Lafavrie, *La librairie de Charles V* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1968), 91, no. 164.

<sup>299</sup> It is certain that the inventory was taken before September 1394 because it identifies the owner of the 196 books as Pedro de Luna and not by his pontifical name, Benedict XIII that he assumed upon his election as pope on September 18, 1394. The inventory is conserved in Rome, Archivum secretum apostolicum vaticanum, Registri Avignonensi 231, folio 96, no. 4. Anneliese Maier, “Die ‘Bibliotheca Minor’ Benedikts XIII (Petrus de Luna),” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 3 (1965): 139–191 at 156; Daniel Williman, *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques au temps de la papauté d'Avignon*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1980), vol. 1, 73, no. 394.7, part B; Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscola pendant le grand schisme d'Occident et sa dispersion: inventaires et concordances*, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991), vol. 2, xii–xiii, xvii, 12–15, 96–97.

had been making frequent trips as early as 1371.<sup>300</sup> This theory is further supported by the fact that Jean de Berry gave a late fourteenth-century Latin bible to Benedict XIII's predecessor, Anti-pope Clement VII.<sup>301</sup>

A second, though less plausible explanation involves the right of papal spoils (*jus spoli*). *Jus spoli* was the common practice by which the popes of Avignon (from John XXII until Benedict XIII) laid claim to the "movable goods" (*spolia sive bona mobilia*) of deceased clerics.<sup>302</sup> Under this premise, sometime between acquiring the bible in November 1383 and before its appearance in the Avignon inventory taken in September 1394, Jean de Berry could have given the *Girona Bible* to a clergyman, likely French, whose movable property was later seized upon his death by the pope. A search of the published accounts of papal spoils in Avignon has not identified a bible that corresponds with the any of the descriptors (for instance, the *secundo folio*) of the *Girona Bible*.<sup>303</sup> Furthermore, under this explanation, upon receipt of

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<sup>300</sup> The dates of Jean de Berry's offering of the bible to Pedro de Luna would have to be between November 6, 1383 (when Berry received the bible from the collection of King Charles V) and September 18, 1394 (when Luna was elected as pope). Jean de Berry made several trips to Avignon during the years 1371, 1372, 1382, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1391, 1392, 1395; however, only the trips in 1384, 1385, 1386, 1391 and 1392 fall into the bracketed dates. Moreover, to complicate matters, from 1379 on Luna was traveling between France and the Iberian Peninsula as a papal legate. And then later, in 1393, he was appointed papal legate to France and Flanders and England. It has been noted that beginning in 1393, Luna spent much of his time in Paris. Françoise Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berri: sa vie, son action politique: 1340–1416*, 4 vols. (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1966–1968), vol. 3; Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 134.

<sup>301</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. lat. 50–51. For more, see *Il libro della Bibbia: esposizione di manoscritti e di edizioni a stampa della Biblioteca apostolica vaticana dal secolo III al secolo XVI* (Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1972), 51–52, no. 96.

<sup>302</sup> Daniel Williman, *Records of the Papal Right of Spoil: 1316–1412* (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1974); Daniel Williman, *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques au temps de la papauté d'Avignon*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1980); Daniel Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes of Avignon, 1316–1415* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988).

<sup>303</sup> Daniel Williman's analysis and publications (see above note 302) of approximately 1200 cases concerning the confiscation of moveable goods under the right of papal spoil reveals that all types of movable goods were collected including money, silver, rings, gems, books, silverware, utensils, vestments, shoes, horses, cattle, grain, salt and wine. In the instances when a book is mentioned, it is rarely described in detail beyond identifying the manuscript as a bible or missal.

the bible at the papal curia it would have been recorded in a papal inventory, but no such listing has been found.<sup>304</sup>

No matter how the *Girona Bible* entered the library of Pedro de Luna (Anti-pope Benedict XIII), it next appears in an inventory taken around 1408–1409 that identifies the books that formed his portative library.<sup>305</sup> After 1403, when Benedict XIII escaped from the besieged Palais des Papes in Avignon, he had to have a traveling library since he was constantly moving among cities like Provence, Nice, Monaco, Perpignan, Barcelona and Savona.<sup>306</sup> The *Girona Bible* formed part of this itinerant collection. In 1411, Benedict XIII settled permanently at his castle in Peñíscola (north of Valencia). By this date, a portion of his book collection, which was not part of the portative one, had already been relocated from Avignon to Peñíscola.<sup>307</sup>

The final reference to the *Girona Bible* in a papal inventory, which lists the books housed in the *Libreria major* at Peñíscola, was taken after Benedict XIII's death in 1422/23.<sup>308</sup> Soon

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<sup>304</sup> Luna's inventory from 1393 was not a papal inventory; it was copied after he became pope in the papal inventory kept at Avignon. Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscola pendant le grand schisme d'Occident et sa dispersion: inventaires et concordances*, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991), vol. 1, 15.

<sup>305</sup> The majority of Pope Benedict XIII's books remained behind unscathed at Avignon after his escape; however, many books, including the *Girona Bible*, formed his portative library, which is housed in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vatican, Barberini lat. 3180, folio 1, no. 4: "*Item Biblia magna de litera bononiensi cum armis regis Francie cum postibus coperta de sirico livido cum seratoribus de auro*," Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscola pendant le grand schisme d'Occident et sa dispersion: inventaires et concordances*, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991), vol. 1, 97–98, 143, 145.

<sup>306</sup> Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 235–245.

<sup>307</sup> For instance, two inventories taken in 1409 list the books transported from the Papal Palace in Avignon to Benedict XIII's castle in Peñíscola (Rome, Archivum secretum apostolicum vaticanum, Collectorie 469, folios 13–16 and 179–184), while the books that were left behind at the Palais des Papes in Avignon are documented in the 1411 inventory (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vatican, Archivo San Pietro A76). Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscola pendant le grand schisme d'Occident et sa dispersion: inventaires et concordances*, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991), vol. 1, 39–40, 92–96, 307–332 [for the 1409 inventories] and vol. 1, 40–42, 97, 333–337 [for the 1411 inventory].

<sup>308</sup> Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 233, folio 8: "*Item alia pulcra biblia scripta in pergameno et istoriata per libros cum tabulis copertis de setino livido foltrato de tersanello rubeo cum quatuor clausoriis de auro ad arma Regis Francie, et incipit in primo colondello secundi folii || ille et finit in eodem Grandia || cum suo scogio de corio ad arma dicti domini Benedicti etiam pendet in uno clavo in dicta libraria.*" Martí de Barcelona, "La biblioteca

thereafter, about eleven hundred of his manuscripts were sold in Valencia.<sup>309</sup> Among those sold was the *Girona Bible*, as verified by a note later added next to the bible's description in the 1423 inventory.<sup>310</sup> It was, therefore, during or after 1423, while he was Archbishop of Tarragona, that Dalmau de Mur acquired the manuscript, which was most likely purchased by or for him at the Valencia sale.<sup>311</sup> In addition to the purchase of the *Girona Bible*, he also acquired a copy of Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* and possibly another Bolognese bible, similar in date and style to the *Girona Bible*. This second Bolognese bible may have been acquired at another time, and he later bequeathed it to Tarragona Cathedral (discussed below).<sup>312</sup> Little is known about Dalmau's copy of the *Antiquitates Judaicae*.<sup>313</sup> It is not known if it still exists.

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papal de Peñíscola," *Estudis Franciscans* 28 (1922): 335–336; Josep Serrano i Calderó, "Noves dades sobre la biblioteca de Peñíscola del 1423 a 1429," *Boletín de la Sociedad castellonense de cultura* 56 (1980): 646–666; Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscola pendant le grand schisme d'Occident et sa dispersion: inventaires et concordances*, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991), vol. 1, 89, 382, no. 73; Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Els inventaris de la biblioteca papal de Peñíscola a la mort de Benet XIII," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 6 (1987): 7–48 at 9–11, 17–19; Josep Serrano i Calderó and Josep Perarnau i Espelt, ed., "Darrer inventari de la biblioteca papal de Peñíscola (1423)," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 6 (1987): 49–183 at 49–51, 58. Also see note 244.

<sup>309</sup> Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscola pendant le grand schisme d'Occident et sa dispersion: inventaires et concordances*, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991), vol. 1, xv–xvi.

<sup>310</sup> The addition reads: "*Fuit missa Valenciam ad vendendum*," Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 233, folio 8. This note is undated.

<sup>311</sup> Earlier scholarship suggested that Dalmau de Mur acquired the bible during an ambassadorial trip to Paris before it was realized that Pope Benedict XIII owned the bible, see Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, 1803–1852), vol. 16 (1851), 108–110 at 109; Augusto Brutails, "Biblia de Carlos V y otros manuscritos del Cabildo de Girona," *Revista de Gerona* 11 (1887): 112–120 at 113; Augusto Brutails, "Bible de Charles V et autres manuscrits du Chapitre de Gerone," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 47 (1886): 637–645 at 637; Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas: notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Blass, 1933), vol. 1, 140–143, no. 252 at 141; Luis Batlle y Prats, *La biblioteca de la Catedral de Gerona: desde su origen hasta la imprenta* (Gerona: Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses, 1947), 20; François Avril and Jean Lafavrie, *La librairie de Charles V* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1968), 91, no. 164; María Carmen Lacarra Duca, "Un gran mecenas en Aragón: D. Dalmacio de Mur y Cervellón (1431–1456)," *Seminario de Arte Aragónes* 33 (1981): 149–159 at 152.

<sup>312</sup> San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca de El Escorial, MS a.I.5.

<sup>313</sup> Listed in the following five inventories from Avignon and Peñíscola: **(1)** Rome, Archivum secretum apostolicum vaticanum, Registri Avignonesi 231, folio unknown, falls between 88–95 (inventory of Cardinal Pedro de Luna taken before 1394); **(2)** Rome, Archivum secretum apostolicum vaticanum, Collectorie 469, folio 184v (inventory

Dalmau possessed the *Girona Bible*, together with the second Bolognese bible, until his death. In his testament dated 1454, Dalmau stated that the bible, decorated with the arms of the King of France on its golden clasps, was to be given to Girona Cathedral: “*Legamus preterea ac dimittimus ecclesiae Gerundensi bibliam nostram maiorem cum gaffetis sive clausuris auri ubi sunt arma regis francie.*”<sup>314</sup>

We can only speculate as to why Dalmau chose to bequeath the bible to Girona Cathedral. Perhaps he wanted Girona Cathedral to continue the memory of his artistic patronage, since it could easily be transported from Zaragoza to Girona upon his death. On October 11, 1456, the notary P. Begudà records that the Chapter of Girona signed a receipt for Canon Pere Verdruna upon the delivery of Dalmau de Mur’s bible that bears the arms of the King of France.<sup>315</sup> The bible is also mentioned in a fifteenth-century inventory from Girona Cathedral.<sup>316</sup>

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taken around 1409 at Avignon of books in the pontifical library to be sent to Peñíscola); (3) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5156A, folio unknown, falls between 1–154 (inventory taken at Peñíscola Castle in 1412–1415 of the contents of the large library); (4) Rome, Archivum secretum apostolicum vaticanum, Collectorie 469B, folio 34: ““*Item liber Josephi, incipit in 2° folio post prohemium || Abel, et finit in eodem qui est ||; in penultimo folio incipit || omni, et finit in edodem Babilo ||,*” (Peñíscola Castle inventory after 1413); and (5) Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 233, folio 80v (inventory taken after Benedict XIII’s death at Peñíscola, 1423). Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscola pendant le grand schisme d’Occident et sa dispersion: inventaires et concordances*, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991), vol. 1, 12–15, 92–94, 96–97, 315, 331.

<sup>314</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 443. According to Jenny Stratford, armorial clasps such as these are common in inventories from the middle of the fourteenth century, but few survive. The silver-gilt champlevé enamelled clasps from the *Girona Bible* are one of the few extant examples. Jenny Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories: The Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389–1435)* (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1993), 94, plate LXIVa.

<sup>315</sup> Girona, ADG, MS D–196, folio 58. MS D–196 is also referred to as number 43 (20). The inventory is called the *Manual de la Curia Perteneiente* and records the collections of benefits during the years 1456–1459, see Marquès i Planagumà, *Arxiu Diocesà de Girona: guia-inventari* (Girona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998), 38. An excerpt of the document can be found in Antolín Merino and José de la Canal, *España Sagrada*, 51 vols. (Madrid: M. F. Rodriguez, 1747–1879), vol. 43 (1819), 76; Luis Batlle y Prats, *La biblioteca de la Catedral de Gerona: desde su origen hasta la imprenta* (Gerona: Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses, 1947), 20–21; Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, 1803–1852), vol. 12 (1850), 108–110 at 109–110; Luis Batlle y Prats, *La biblioteca de la Catedral de Gerona: desde su origen hasta la imprenta* (Gerona: Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses, 1947), 20–21; Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France: 1337–1380*, 2 vols (1907; Amsterdam: G. Th. van Heusden, 1967), vol. 1 142–143. Villanueva states that the date was October 10 instead of October 11, Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, 1803–1852), vol. 16 (1851), 109.

Dalmau de Mur's interest in this sumptuously decorated bible, with its history of admirable bibliophiles as owners, confirms that he was aware of its impressive past and its great artistic value. In his decision to purchase the bible, Dalmau emulated many of the great collectors of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, both royal and ecclesiastical, and especially those from France.<sup>317</sup>

### 3.2.2.2 *Bible of Dalmau de Mur*

In addition to the *Girona Bible* and the *Antiquitates Judaicae*, Dalmau de Mur acquired another late thirteenth-century Bolognese bible, hereafter called the *Bible of Dalmau de Mur* (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca de El Escorial, MS a.I.5.), which is similar in style to the *Girona Bible*.<sup>318</sup> Unlike the bible at Girona Cathedral, this second bible made in Bologna did not carry with it the same impressive French royal provenance. To date, it is not known how or when Dalmau acquired this bible; however, at some point after having it in his possession, Dalmau had his coat of arms illuminated on folio 2.<sup>319</sup> The first known documentation of the bible is found in Dalmau's testament, in which he identifies it as the "bible with silver clasps"

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<sup>316</sup> Girona, ADG, MS D-196, folio 58: "*Quæ Biblia est magnæ formæ scripta in pergamenis, cum pulcherrima littera et diversis historiis: supra habet cohoptorium panni sirici lividi, et duo tanchatoria cum quibus clauditur; sunt auri fini, cum armis regis Franciæ et etiam grenimentum dels Giradors est auri fini*" (see above note 315 for bibliographic references).

<sup>317</sup> See note 205 for bibliographic references in regards to the ecclesiastical collections of important prelates in France.

<sup>318</sup> Most scholars classify the two together and many have suggested that this second bible, owned by Dalmau, was also illuminated by Bernardino di Bichignoli da Modena.

<sup>319</sup> *Medieval Catalonia* (Barcelona: Lunweg/Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992), 286–287, no. 3.30 at 286; Massimo Medica and Stefano Tumidei, ed., *Duecento: Forme i colori del medioevo Bologna* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2000), 335–340, no. 107 at 335, 339.



and bequeaths it to Tarragona Cathedral: “*Legamus etiam ecclesie Terraconensi aliam bibliam nostram que habet clausuras de argento scilicet cum quinque platonibus argenti in qualibet tabula cohoptorium.*”<sup>320</sup>

Only recently has the importance of this richly decorated bible been seriously examined.<sup>321</sup> Stylistically, Joaquín Yarza Luaces argues that the *Bible of Dalmau de Mur* is somewhat older than the *Girona Bible*.<sup>322</sup> He goes on to explain that while there are many parallels to the style of illumination in the bible at Girona Cathedral, there are noticeable differences in both style and approach. Several potential models have been identified, including two that also possibly influenced the illuminator(s) of the *Girona Bible*.<sup>323</sup> The bible stayed at Tarragona Cathedral until 1662, when Archbishop Francesc de Rojas (r.1653–1663) presented it to Felipe IV, King of Spain (r.1605–1665), at which point it entered the royal library at the Escorial.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 443.

<sup>321</sup> Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas: notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Blass, 1933), vol. 2, 6, no. 1248; M<sup>a</sup> de la Concepción Martínez Murillo, “Estudio iconográfico y estilístico de las ‘biblias boloñesas’ en España (Reino de Castilla),” 3 vols. (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1991). *Medieval Catalonia* (Barcelona: Lunweg/Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992), 286–287, no. 3.30; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “Clientes y promotores en el marco del gótico catalán,” in *Catalonia: arte gótico en los siglos XIV–XV*, ed. Teresa Guasch (Barcelona: Fundación la Caixa/Caja de Ahorros y Pensiones de Barcelona/Ministerio de Educación y Cultura/Museu Nacional d’art de Catalunya, 1997): 47–55 at 51; Massimo Medica and Stefano Tumidei, ed., *Duecento: Forme i colori del medioevo Bologna* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2000), 314–319, no. 100.

<sup>322</sup> For instance, the interest in antiquity is evident in the Girona bible with classical, full-length nudes, while the Dalmau’s bible instead uses medallions with portrait busts and profiles. *Medieval Catalonia* (Barcelona: Lunweg/Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992), 286–287, no. 3.30 at 286.

<sup>323</sup> Potential models include a gradual (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 21–8) and a copy of Gratian’s *Decretals* (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 629). Models that possibly influenced the *Girona Bible* include two psalters (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. 346 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Smith-Lesouëf, MS 21).

<sup>324</sup> An undated note on the back cover states: “*Esta Biblia presentó El. Sor. Arzobispo de Tarragona al Rey nro. Señor Dn. Phelipe Quatro, y su Magestad mandó se pusiese en esta su Real Libreria manuscrita en 5 de Noviembre de 1662,*” *Medieval Catalonia* (Barcelona: Lunweg/Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992), 286–287, no. 3.30 at 286.

### 3.2.2.3 *Policraticus*

In 1424, Dalmau commissioned the rector of Riudoms, Joan (Juan) Font, to copy the eight books of John of Salisbury's mid-twelfth-century text, *Policraticus*, into one volume.<sup>325</sup> This political treatise defined the conception of kingship and drew upon patristic literature from the early Middle Ages to support its claims. John argues that with any form of rulership (royal or ecclesiastical), tyranny can develop: "Tyranny exists not only in the case of princes, but everyone is a tyrant who abuses power that has been granted to him from above over those who are subjected to him."<sup>326</sup>

John of Salisbury describes the tyrannical behavior of ecclesiastics in Book Eight of *Policraticus*.<sup>327</sup> He comments at great length on tyranny and the types of tyrannical behavior. Ultimately John sanctions tyrannicide—the killing of a tyrant for the common good. The justification for an act of tyrannicide had been invoked earlier in the century, in 1408, when Jean Petit read before the French court the *Justification du duc de Bourgogne*, which was a

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<sup>325</sup> Valencia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Valencia (hereafter ACCV), MS 297. The colophon states (folio 156): "*Iste liber Policrati Iohannis Saleberriensis est Reverendissimi in christo patris et domini domini Dalmacii de Muro digna dei providentia archiepiscopi Tarraconensis. Qui fuit completus in vigilia beati luche evangeliste per Io[annem] font Rectorem ecclesie de Rivoleminorum familiarem eiusdem domini Anno MCCCC vicesimo quarto Deo gratias.*" At this point, no model has been found, thus more research on this manuscript in comparison to other surviving *Policraticus* manuscripts is needed to determine if the possible models used were French or Catalan (Spanish). For more, see Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas: notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Blass, 1933), vol. 2, 241, no. 1925; Elías Olmos Canalda, *Catálogo de los códices de la Catedral de Valencia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Valencia/Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas/Instituto Nicolás Antonio, 1943), 47–48, no. 50; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Un gran mecenas en Aragón: D. Dalmacio de Mur y Cervellón (1431–1456)," *Seminario de Arte Aragónes* 33 (1981): 149–159 at 153.

<sup>326</sup> John Dickinson, "The Medieval Conception of Kingship and Some of its Limitations, as Developed in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury," *Speculum* 1, no. 3 (July, 1926): 308–337 at 325. Cary J. Nederman, ed. and trans., *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courties and the Footprints of Philosophers* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Book VIII: 18.

<sup>327</sup> For instance, Cary J. Nederman, ed. and trans., *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courties and the Footprints of Philosophers* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Book VIII: 17–18 and 20–23.

theological rationalization for the assassination of Louis, Duke of Orléans, by the Duke of Burgundy, Jean sans Peur.<sup>328</sup> In fact, Salisbury's *Policraticus* was mentioned during Petit's reading as an authoritative text.<sup>329</sup>

With this in view, why did Dalmau de Mur have a copy of the *Policraticus* manuscript made? How was it intended to be received by Dalmau's contemporaries—as a definitive political statement on tyrannical rulers, or perhaps even a judgment against tyrannical popes? Many believed that tyrannicide had been committed when Louis d'Orléans was murdered. It should not be forgotten that Louis was a devoted supporter and good friend of Anti-pope Benedict XIII. Now that the obstinate Benedict XIII was deceased and the kingdom of Aragón had aligned with the Roman papacy, perhaps Dalmau desired to symbolically create a political and ecclesiastical allegiance to Rome and Pope Martin V (r.1417–1431). Martin V was elected pope at the Council of Constance at which Anti-pope Benedict XIII was declared schismatic and excommunicated. Even though the papal schism was officially over, the kingdom of Aragón continued to struggle in its allegiance. The situation of instability continued after Benedict XIII's death, when another Aragonese Anti-pope, Clement VIII (r.1423–1429, abdicated) was elected by Benedict XIII's four devoted cardinals.<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>328</sup> Jean sans Peur publically admitted to having murdered his uncle, in part, because his popularity was rising in Paris. In his quest for royal control he believed that he would gain overwhelming public approval by explaining his position. Louis d'Orléans was despised by many Parisians for the high taxes that he imposed, so Jean thought it opportune to take advantage of the anti-Louis sentiment and explain, in an exceptionally convincing way, why he had committed tyrannicide. The document was so exhaustive that Jehan Petit required four hours to read it in its entirety. The malleable King Charles VI pardoned Jean sans Peur the following day. It comes as no surprise that just four months later, the tide had once again shifted and the pardon previously given to Jean sans Peur was rescinded. Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 69–74. See also notes 191 and 192.

<sup>329</sup> John Dickinson, "The Medieval Conception of Kingship and Some of its Limitations, as Developed in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury," *Speculum* 1, no. 3 (July, 1926): 308–337 at 332.

<sup>330</sup> Anti-pope Clement VIII was known as Gil Sanchez Muñoz y Carbón before he was appointed pope by three of the four cardinals whom Anti-pope Benedict XIII nominated in his own right in November 1422, shortly before his death. The fourth cardinal, Jean Carrier, in absence of Clement VIII's election, did not affirm this appointment and

While Aragón never officially declared obedience to Anti-pope Clement VIII, King Alfonso V definitely flirted with the possibility, since he sought a papal sanction for his claim to Naples.<sup>331</sup> Even with the King of Aragón's desire to negotiate deals concerning his military campaign to conquer Naples, the majority of bishops and archbishops throughout the kingdom of Aragón remained obedient to Pope Martin V and Rome.

With these changing political tides, perhaps Dalmau viewed Anti-pope Benedict XIII's (and now Anti-pope Clement VIII's) prolongation of the papal schism as a tyrannical act. In retrospect, John of Salisbury's vivid description of a tyrant recalls the mulish character of Benedict XIII: "[For] the end of tyrants is confusion, leading to destruction if they persist in malice, to pardon [them] if they repent and return to the way of righteousness."<sup>332</sup>

So framed, Dalmau de Mur's commission of the *Policraticus* in 1424 can be interpreted as a political message to Martin V, the pope in Rome, that Dalmau was a devoted supporter. The decision of the Archbishop to order a copy of *Policraticus* can thus be understood as an attempt to disassociate himself from the behavior of several anti-popes that further fueled the political and religious turmoil across Europe.<sup>333</sup>

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instead declared Bernard Garnier as Anti-pope Benedict XIV (r.1424–1429). Later, upon Benedict XIV's death, Carrier took the same name and continued to serve as Anti-pope Benedict XIV until 1437. Anti-pope Clement VIII was elected by Julián de Loba, Ximeno (Jimeno) Dahe, Jean Carrier and Domingo de Bonnefoi, see Begoña Pereira Pagán, *El papa Luna Benedicto XIII* (Madrid: Alderabán, 1999), 233–234; Luis Suárez Fernández, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o Papa? 1328–1423* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 307.

<sup>331</sup> Alfonso V managed to secure the obedience of Siena to Anti-pope Clement VIII in 1423, but by 1428 when his allegiance to Clement VIII was no longer pertinent, he asked him to abdicate and recognize Pope Martin V. Clement VIII abdicated the following year (1429).

<sup>332</sup> John Dickinson, "The Medieval Conception of Kingship and Some of its Limitations, as Developed in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury," *Speculum* 1, no. 3 (July, 1926): 308–337 at 327; Cary J. Nederman, ed. and trans., *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courties and the Footprints of Philosophers* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Book VIII: 21.

<sup>333</sup> Alfonso V eventually conquered Naples in 1442/43. The situation in Naples before Alfonso's conquest was complicated. Queen Giovanna II (Joan or Joanna in English) of Naples (r.1414–1435) had stopped supporting Pope Martin V and in retaliation, the pope sent Louis III d'Anjou to invade Naples and reign as titular king. In response, Giovanna called upon Alfonso for aid. In 1421, having no heir, she adopted Alfonso V and granted him the right

Furthermore, the relations in France between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians continued to break down, and the unending Hundred Years War with England only made matters worse. The situation was certainly not improved with King Charles VI's loyalty vacillating between the two sides. The event that now divided the two factions was the decision in 1419 of the Dauphin (the future King Charles VII) to have the Burgundian Duke, Jean sans Peur, murdered in retaliation for the assassination of Louis d'Orléans twelve years before. While the Dauphin made no public explanation for his actions, it was obvious that he believed that a tyrannical act had occurred when his uncle, Louis d'Orléans, was brutally murdered by the Duke of Burgundy.

In 1422, the Dauphin ascended to the throne as Charles VII, King of France (r.1422–1461). Dalmau's decision in 1424 to commission a copy of the *Policraticus* text also reflects his recognition of and allegiance to the new reigning monarch of France. Certainly, the figure of Charles VII represented not only the rightful sovereign of France, but also the continuation of the long lineage of sophisticated and extravagant patrons of the arts.<sup>334</sup> Dalmau's commission of *Policraticus* serves as yet another instance when he expresses his knowledge of the visual arts, as well as his political astuteness. Furthermore, it is also conceivable that Dalmau's choice of

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to become King of Naples upon her death. And then, the entire situation reversed in 1423. Martin V stopped supporting Louis d'Anjou and Giovaana and Alfonso V had a falling out. She then retracted her promise to Alfonso V as rightful heir and subsequently gave the privilege to Louis d'Anjou. Alfonso was forced to return to the kingdom of Aragón since his two brothers were nearly at war with one another (Juan II, future King of Aragón and Enrique, Duke of Alburquerque). From this point forward, Alfonso V never lost site of his desire to conquer Naples. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 560–562; Simon Barton, *A History of Spain* (Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 85.

<sup>334</sup> Much of the collection of Charles VI was dispersed when John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford became Regent of France (r.1422–1435). For studies on the dispersion of the royal collection, see Auguste Longnon, *Paris pendant la domination anglaise (1420–1436): documents extraits des registres de la Chancellerie de France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1878); Jules Guiffrey, "Inventaire des tapisseries du roi Charles VI vendues par les Anglais de en 1422," *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* 48 (1887) 59–110, 396–444; Jenny Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories: The Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389–1435)* (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1993); Philippe Henwood, *Les collections du trésor royal sous le règne de Charles VI (1380–1422): l'inventaire de 1400* (Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2004).

*Policraticus* as a subject served as a reminder to rulers (both royal and ecclesiastical) that in the end, tyrannical behavior would be judged by God.

### 3.3 ARCHBISHOP OF ZARAGOZA (1431–1456)

On March 11, 1431, a new pope was elected, Eugene IV (r.1431–1447).<sup>335</sup> Later that year, on November 3, 1431, Pope Eugene IV transferred Dalmau de Mur to the metropolitan see of Zaragoza, located outside of Catalonia in the region of Aragón and raised to an Archbishopric under Pope John XXII in 1318.<sup>336</sup> This was a significant advancement in the ecclesiastical career of Dalmau, since Zaragoza Cathedral (known as La Seo)<sup>337</sup> was one of the most powerful cathedrals in the kingdom of Aragón, chiefly because of its close relationship with the royal

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<sup>335</sup> Most of Pope Eugene IV's reign was filled with major upheavals and factions against him, notably because of his decision to close the Council of Florence (began as the Council of Basel in 1431, but later moved to Florence in 1439) when the authority of the council was dominant over that of the pope's. After that point, his legitimacy was in constant jeopardy. In the end, he managed to win major support and regain the papal reigns. This change in sentiment was mostly due to his willingness to back the King of Aragón's claim to Naples in 1442. After ten years in exile, he returned to Rome the following year.

<sup>336</sup> Before Pope John XII's restructuring of the dioceses in 1318, Zaragoza had been a suffragan diocese of the archiepiscopal see of Tarragona (see note 248). The suffragans of Zaragoza after 1318 included Huesca, Pamplona, Tarazona, Calahorra-La Calzada and Albarracín-Segorbe. See Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez and José Vives Gatell, ed. *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972–1987), s.v., "Geográfica eclesiástica," s.v., "Zaragoza, Diócesis de"; Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de Aragón: Zaragoza* (1845–1850; Valladolid/Zaragoza: Ambito Ediciones/ Diputación general de Aragón, 1985) 395; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Iglesia catedral de San Salvador o La Seo," in *Las Catedrales de Aragón*, ed. Domingo J. Buesa Conde (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de Zaragoza, Aragón y Rioja, 1987): 307–353 at 310; *Diccionari d'història eclesiàstica de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Claret, 1998–2001), s.v., "Tarraonga, arquebisbat de."

<sup>337</sup> The term "Seo" in Castilian ("Seu" in Catalan) means see or cathedral. The Cathedral of Zaragoza is therefore commonly referred to simply as La Seo.

court. During this period, the Aragonese court was itinerant, traveling among the primary royal palaces located in Barcelona, Valencia and Zaragoza.<sup>338</sup>

After the 1118 re-conquest of the city of Zaragoza, the Aragonese court was established in the fortified palace, the *aljafería*, built in the latter half of the eleventh century by the Muslims.<sup>339</sup> Like many medieval buildings, the *aljafería* was subsequently reconstructed over the years. The building strongly reflects a *mudéjar* style in the additions made between 1373 and 1393.<sup>340</sup> The royal court based in the *aljafería* is northwest of Zaragoza Cathedral, just outside the medieval city wall. The position of Zaragoza Cathedral within the kingdom of Aragón was preeminent: La Seo was where all the Kings of Aragón had been crowned since 1204.<sup>341</sup> The tradition began under Ramón de Castrocol, Bishop of Zaragoza (r.1201–1216). A ceremonial procession would begin at the *aljafería* and end at La Seo. In addition to coronation ceremonies, other important royal events such as christenings, weddings and funerals took place at Zaragoza Cathedral.<sup>342</sup> For instance, in February 1453, while he was Archbishop of Zaragoza, Dalmau de Mur baptized the Infante Fernando II de Aragón, later known as el Católico after his ascension as

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<sup>338</sup> Although these were the primary courts, there were also royal palaces in Lleida, Huesca, Tarragona, Tortosa and Mallorca. For more see, Francesca Español i Bertran, *Els Escenaris del rei art i monarquia a la Corona d'Aragó* (Manresa/Barcelona: Fundació Caixa Manresa/Angle Editorial, 2001), 9–63, 75–105, 146.

<sup>339</sup> Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de Aragón: Zaragoza* (1845–1850; Valladolid and Zaragoza: Ambito Ediciones and Diputación general de Aragón, 1985), 387–388; Antonio Beltrán Martínez, ed. *La Aljafería* (Zaragoza: Cortes de Aragón, 1998). Over 400 primary documents concerning the *Aljafería* have been published (one hundred of these documents span from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries), see Pedro I. Sobradie Valenzuela, *La arquitectura de la Aljafería: estudio histórico documental* (Aragón: Gobierno de Aragón, 1998), 345–466.

<sup>340</sup> Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, “Más noticias sobre mudéjares el la Aljafería y en el palacio arzobispal de Zaragoza por encargo de Pedro IV y Juan I,” in *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval: miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces* (Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 2001): 277–283.

<sup>341</sup> Until 1516 when Carlos I de España (Holy Roman Emperor Charles V) was crowned King of Spain (r.1516 – 1556).

<sup>342</sup> For more on the coronation ceremonies at Zaragoza, see Bonifacio Palacios Martín, *La coronación de los reyes de Aragón, 1204–1410: aportación al estudio de las estructuras políticas medievales* (Valencia: Anubar, 1975), 229–284.

King of Aragón (r.1479–1516).<sup>343</sup> The royal baptism of the Infante demonstrates Dalmau de Mur's intimate connection with the kingdom of Aragón; there is little doubt that Dalmau's promotion to Archbishop of Zaragoza was the highlight of his career.<sup>344</sup>

As Archbishop of Zaragoza, Dalmau made substantial reforms to church regulations. For example, in 1435 he provided that the bishop or archbishop was no longer obliged to make a pastoral visit; instead he could choose a representative in his place.<sup>345</sup> These changes were eventually adopted by other archdioceses throughout the kingdom of Aragón.<sup>346</sup> Also, Dalmau de Mur made an important change in the visitation priorities of the archbishop in which the visitation to the people (*visitatio hominum*) took second place to the visitation of property holdings (*visitatio rerum*).<sup>347</sup> Thus the land, buildings and the various objects inside (for example, the reliquaries, chalices, liturgical vestments, etc.) were meticulously surveyed and

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<sup>343</sup> María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Un gran mecenas en Aragón: D. Dalmacio de Mur y Cervellón (1431–1456)," *Seminario de Arte Aragónes* 33 (1981): 149–159 at 150.

<sup>344</sup> Much documentation survives in Zaragoza, Archivo Diocesano de Zaragoza (hereafter ADZ) where there are documents concerning the diocese, clergymen and episcopal curia proceedings during Dalmau de Mur's tenure. The following are pertinent: *Registros de Actos Comunes y Órdenes de 1428, 1430, 1431, 1432*; *Registros de Actos Comunes y Órdenes de 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436*; *Registros de Actos Comunes y Órdenes de 1437, 1439, 1440*; *Registros de Actos Comunes y Órdenes de 1441, 1442, 1443*; *Registros de Actos Comunes y Órdenes de 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447*; *Registros de Actos Comunes y Órdenes de 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453*; *Registros de Actos Comunes y Órdenes de 1454, 1455, 1456*. Some of these documents have been published, see Pilar Pueyo Colomina, "'Litterae Aceptandi:' concedidas por el arzobispo de Zaragoza Dalmau de Mur en los años 1433–1440," in *De l'esclavitud a la eslaus i Lliberts a l'Edat Mitjana*, ed. María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Josefina Mutgé i Vives (Barcelona: Consell superior d'investigaciones científiques/Institució milà i Fontanals, 2000), 401–430.

<sup>345</sup> Lluís Monjas Manso, "La Reforma eclesiàstica i religiosa de les diòcesis de la Tarraconense al llarg de la Baixa Edat Mitjana (a través dels qüestionaris de visites pastorals)," (PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Institut Universitari d'Història Jaume Vicens i Vives, 2005), 281, 284.

<sup>346</sup> For an in-depth study of pastoral visits in the late Middle Ages in the kingdom of Aragón, see Lluís Monjas Manso, "La Reforma eclesiàstica i religiosa de les diòcesis de la Tarraconense al llarg de la Baixa Edat Mitjana (a través dels qüestionaris de visites pastorals)," (PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Institut Universitari d'Història Jaume Vicens i Vives, 2005), 279–286, 423.

<sup>347</sup> Lluís Monjas Manso, "La Reforma eclesiàstica i religiosa de les diòcesis de la Tarraconense al llarg de la Baixa Edat Mitjana (a través dels qüestionaris de visites pastorals)," (PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Institut Universitari d'Història Jaume Vicens i Vives, 2005), 284–285.



recorded. This practice reveals Dalmau de Mur's profound interest in precious art objects in liturgical collections.

### 3.3.1 Valderrobres Castle

Close ties with the Aragonese monarchy are also evident in Archbishop de Mur's continuation of the construction of the Castle of Valderrobres—owned by the Bishopric (and later Archbishopric) of Zaragoza since 1307.<sup>348</sup> The immense castle was an edifice that played a prominent role in both ecclesiastical and royal spheres in Aragón during late the Middle Ages.<sup>349</sup> For instance, Valderrobres Castle was a residence for the Bishops and later Archbishops of Zaragoza, but it was also often inhabited by members of the Aragonese royalty, like Queen Eleanor de Albuquerque (1374–1435), wife of King Fernando I, and Queen María de Castilla (1401–1458), wife of King Alfonso V.<sup>350</sup>

Valderrobres Castle also came to assume an important position in Aragonese politics. For example, in 1429, with the raging war against Castile, the three parliaments (*corts*) of Aragón, Catalonia and Valencia were held simultaneously in order to reach a consensus regarding military and financial strategies; hence, the situation required that the convocations of the three regions take place in geographical proximity to one other. Tortosa and San Mateo

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<sup>348</sup> Due to a dispute concerning ownership of the land between the church and the feudal lords, an agreement was made that recognized Valderrobres as property of the bishopric of Zaragoza. Valderrobres is located in the county of Teruel in the diocese of Zaragoza. See Manuel Siurana Roglán, *Guía interpretiva de la Iglesia y del Castillo de Valderrobres* (Alcañiz: Centro de Estudios Bajoaragoneses, 2003), 13–38; Carmelo López Esteruelas and Manuel Siurana Roglán, *Valderrobres: paso a paso* (Valderrobres: Ayuntamiento de Valderrobres, 2005), 40.

<sup>349</sup> Each floor averages 1000 square meters and the main façade measures 39 meters wide, see Manuel Siurana Roglán, *Guía interpretiva de la Iglesia y del Castillo de Valderrobres* (Alcañiz: Centro de Estudios Bajoaragoneses, 2003), 86, 122.

<sup>350</sup> Manuel Siurana Roglán, *Guía interpretiva de la Iglesia y del Castillo de Valderrobres* (Alcañiz: Centro de Estudios Bajoaragoneses, 2003), 82.

hosted the convocations of Catalonia and Valencia, respectively, while Valderrobres and its castle was the site chosen for that of Aragón.<sup>351</sup>

The Castle of Valderrobres sits high atop a mountain in the province of Teruel in Aragón. An Islamic fort likely served as the foundation of the castle, which was built during the reconquest years of the region (1169–1170) by King Alfonso II (r.1162–1196) and was subsequently used as a military stronghold. From that time until its official transfer to the bishopric of Zaragoza in 1307, the castle was controlled by various feudal lords, while much of the surrounding territory was in the hands of Knights of the Order of Calatrava. Beginning under Pedro López de Luna,<sup>352</sup> Bishop and then first Archbishop of Zaragoza from 1318 (r.1317–1345), a major construction phase of the castle was begun. In addition, Luna also built an adjacent church where his coat of arms is found on the apex of the tribunal arch. This was the first of three major phases of the building of Valderrobres Castle.<sup>353</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> Manuel Siurana Roglán, *Guía interpretiva de la Iglesia y del Castillo de Valderrobres* (Alcañiz: Centro de Estudios Bajoaragoneses, 2003), 104.

<sup>352</sup> Not to be confused with Pedro Martínez de Luna, Anti-pope Benedict XIII to whom Archbishop Luna was related. Pedro López de Luna y Ximénez de Urrea was the son of the Count of Luna, Lope Ferrenc(h) de Luna. *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v., “Luna y Ximenes de Urrea, Pero Lopes de.”

<sup>353</sup> In addition to the presence of the prelates’ coats of arms, which symbolically stamp their contribution into the fabric and history of the building, the distinct building phases can be differentiated by the use of individual marks made by the stonemasons that can help reconstruct the chronology of construction. Many of the stonemasons marks at Valderrobres castle and church have been cataloged, see Manuel Siurana Roglán, *Guía interpretiva de la Iglesia y del Castillo de Valderrobres* (Alcañiz: Centro de Estudios Bajoaragoneses, 2003), 19–20 79–80, 94. Furthermore, the presence of so many individual masons’ marks reveals clues about the workers themselves. It has been observed that marks made in stone ashlar blocks were often used to tally the number of stones cut by a particular mason at the end of each day. It appears this system was employed during the construction of San Isidoro in León and possibly the same practice was in place during the three distinct phases of construction at Valderrobres, as identified in the various groups of stonemasons’ marks. For more on the study and chronological implications of stonemasons’ marks and the dating of buildings, see Therese Martin, “Reading the Walls: Masons’ Marks and the Archaeology of Architecture at San Isidoro, León,” in *Church, State, Vellum and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, ed. Therese Martin and Julie A. Harris (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005): 373–412; Jennifer S. Alexander, “Masons’ Marks and Stone Bonding,” in *The Archaeology of Cathedrals*, ed. Tim Tatton-Brown and Julian Munby (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1996): 219–236.

During the second stage, the work continued on both the church and the castle by Archbishop García Fernández de Heredia (r.1391–1411). Archbishop Fernández de Heredia who began to build the ground floor and first story of the castle, was assassinated during the fierce and tumultuous years of the interregnum (1410–1412).<sup>354</sup> Ultimately, the money to finish the construction started by Archbishop Fernández de Heredia was provided by Anti-pope Benedict XIII.<sup>355</sup> The coats of arms of both men adorn interior and exterior elements of the castle and the church. For instance, they are found carved over doorways, in the spandrels of arches, on the cornices of capitals and on corbels.

The third and final building phase did not start until 1435,<sup>356</sup> when Archbishop de Mur visited the castle and decided to erect a second story, only parts of which remain today. Unfortunately, the castle is rather dilapidated, while other areas show heavy reconstruction. The area that concerns Dalmau's contribution to the building is the second story that originally included two long galleries.<sup>357</sup> These galleries are no longer extant, the second story has no roof, and many of the rooms have no floor. In the two rooms of the second story identified as the “*olivera*” on the floor plan, Dalmau's coat of arms can still be seen on at least two corbels of the ceiling beams in the rooms. These heraldic markings remain the only visual indicators linking Dalmau de Mur with the construction of Valderrobres Castle.

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<sup>354</sup> Manuel Siurana Roglán, *Guía interpretiva de la Iglesia y del Castillo de Valderrobres* (Alcañiz: Centro de Estudios Bajoaragoneses, 2003), 82.

<sup>355</sup> Included in this was a work force of fifty-nine Muslim slaves; see Manuel Siurana Roglán, *Guía interpretiva de la Iglesia y del Castillo de Valderrobres* (Alcañiz: Centro de Estudios Bajoaragoneses, 2003), 82.

<sup>356</sup> Carmelo López Esteruelas and Manuel Siurana Roglán, *Valderrobres: paso a paso* (Valderrobres: Ayuntamiento de Valderrobres, 2005), 43.

<sup>357</sup> Carmelo López Esteruelas and Manuel Siurana Roglán, *Valderrobres: paso a paso* (Valderrobres: Ayuntamiento de Valderrobres, 2005), 43.

### 3.3.2 Zaragoza Cathedral

While archeological evidence shows that there were earlier settlements in what was to become Zaragoza, it was the Roman Emperor Augustus (r.27 BCE–14 CE), established the colony of Caesar Augusta (Çaragoça/Zaragoza) in 24 BCE. Zaragoza Cathedral's foundations are constructed upon the remains of a Roman forum built during the reign of the Roman Emperor Tiberius Claudius Nero (r.14 CE–37 CE). Parts of these Roman foundations were photographed during the 1992 excavation of the cathedral.<sup>358</sup>

After the Muslim invasion of Zaragoza in 714, the architectural remains of the Roman forum first served as the foundation for the *aljama mezquita*, the central mosque of the city, which was known as the *Mezquita Blanca* (White Mosque).<sup>359</sup> A color-coded floor plan presents the eleventh-century mosque layout in relation to the current plan. It is clear that the location of the mihrab in the qibla wall is oriented in an easterly direction (the niche can be seen on the right side of the floor plan).<sup>360</sup>

The Muslim-ruled city of Zaragoza was re-conquered by Alfonso I el Batallador, King of Aragón and Navarre (r.1104–1134) on December 18, 1118. It was not long thereafter that the Christians appropriated the mosque for religious use.<sup>361</sup> Ultimately, the mosque was

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<sup>358</sup> Parts of the foundation of the Roman forum can be seen today at the Museo del Foro de Caesaraugusto. José Antonio Hernández Vera and Juan José Bienes Calvo, "La excavación arqueológica de la Catedral del Salvador," in *La Seo de Zaragoza*, ed. Juan Carlos Lozano López (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1998), 23–46.

<sup>359</sup> José Enrique Pasamar Lázaro, *La Catedral de San Salvador de Zaragoza*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Zaragoza: Letra Artes Gráficas, 2000), 3. The Muslims built the other major *mudéjar* monument, the Aljafería palace, which still stands, in the eleventh century.

<sup>360</sup> For more on the mosque and reconstructed floorplans, see José Antonio Hernández Vera, Bernarbé Cabañero Suviza and Juan José Bienes Calvo, "La mezquita Aljama de Zaragoza," in *La Seo de Zaragoza*, ed. Juan Carlos Lozano López (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1998), 69–84.

<sup>361</sup> The architectural history is complex and many documents survive to illustrate the various building phases. See the various essays in *La Seo de Zaragoza*, ed. Juan Carlos Lozano López (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón,

reconsecrated as a cathedral in 1121 by King Alfonso I and dedicated to *El Salvador en su Epifanía* (The Savior in His Epiphany).<sup>362</sup> Around 1140, major parts of the mosque were destroyed in order to create a wide nave to fulfill the cathedral's liturgical function as evident in a reconstructed ground plan that shows the layout of the church by 1300, as well as the plan as it is seen today.<sup>363</sup> When compared with the plan that also shows the mosque floor plan with its mirhab that faces towards Mecca, it becomes evident that the apse of the Christian church is not oriented on the typical east-west axis. Instead, the apse is oriented towards the northeast.

Subsequent building phases include a Romanesque period from about 1150 that laid down a basilica-style plan with three naves, a transept and a semi-circular apse flanked by two chapels.<sup>364</sup> Then, after Zaragoza Cathedral was named a metropolitan see in 1318 by Pope John XXII, Gothic and *mudéjar* architectural elements begin to appear as the building underwent even greater expansions.<sup>365</sup>

During the archiepiscopacy of García Fernández de Heredia (r.1383–1411), Anti-pope Benedict XIII bestowed upon the archbishop financial resources to further embellish the

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1998); Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez and José Vives Gatell, ed. *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972–1987), s.v., “Zaragoza, Diócesis de.”

<sup>362</sup> María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Iglesia catedral de San Salvador o La Seo,” in *Las Catedrales de Aragón*, ed. Domingo J. Buesa Conde (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de Zaragoza, Aragón y Rioja, 1987): 307–353 at 310; Domingo J. Buesa Conde, “La Catedral románica de San Salvador,” in *La Seo de Zaragoza*, ed. Juan Carlos Lozano López (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1998): 105–123 at 108.

<sup>363</sup> Domingo J. Buesa Conde, “La Catedral románica de San Salvador,” in *La Seo de Zaragoza*, ed. Juan Carlos Lozano López (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1998): 105–123 at 108, 122.

<sup>364</sup> Domingo J. Buesa Conde, “La Catedral románica de San Salvador,” in *La Seo de Zaragoza*, ed. Juan Carlos Lozano López (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1998): 105–123 at 115.

<sup>365</sup> This especially includes what is called the *parroquieta* (small parish church) and its external mudéjar wall. See María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Iglesia catedral de San Salvador o La Seo,” in *Las Catedrales de Aragón*, ed. Domingo J. Buesa Conde (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de Zaragoza, Aragón y Rioja, 1987): 307–353 at 310–312.

cathedral with various projects that were executed during the years 1403–1412.<sup>366</sup> The most impressive of these was a magnificent dome, constructed in the shape of a pontifical tiara that partially collapsed in 1417. It was not rebuilt until the time of archbishop Alfonso de Aragón (1478–1520).<sup>367</sup>

Archbishop Dalmau de Mur's major surviving accomplishments did not concern structural changes, but rather additions such as the main altarpiece, the choir and choir screen (begun in 1453; later destroyed), to be discussed below. Zaragoza Cathedral underwent changes from the second half of the fifteenth century up until the eighteenth century. This includes the addition, begun in 1490, of two outer aisles to the existing three, while from 1546 until 1559, two more bays were added to the west end, effectively creating a large almost square floor plan consisting of five aisles with side chapels. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a baroque tower and a Neo-Classical façade were constructed. The Cathedral of Zaragoza still contains elements of these various architectural styles—Romanesque, *mudéjar*, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque and Neo-Classical.

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<sup>366</sup> Francisco Abbad-Jaime de Aragón Ríos, *La Seo y el Pilar de Zaragoza* (Madrid: Plus-Ultra, 1948), 13–93 at 16; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Iglesia catedral de San Salvador o La Seo,” in *Las Catedrales de Aragón*, ed. Domingo J. Buesa Conde (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de Zaragoza, Aragón y Rioja, 1987): 307–353 at 313. For a complete overview of Benedict XIII's architectural and artistic additions to Zaragoza Cathedral, see Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, “La Seo en la época de Benedicto XIII,” in *La Seo de Zaragoza*, ed. Juan Carlos Lozano López (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1998): 139–151.

<sup>367</sup> Francisco Abbad-Jaime de Aragón Ríos, *La Seo y el Pilar de Zaragoza* (Madrid: Plus-Ultra, 1948), 13–93 at 16; Wifredo Rincón García, *La Seo de Zaragoza* (Leon: Editorial Everest, 2000), 6, 47.

### 3.3.2.1 Main Altarpiece

The large, imposing main altarpiece of Zaragoza Cathedral can be viewed today, though the original bright pigments of polychrome are fading away.<sup>368</sup> Dalmau de Mur was so impressed with Pere Joan's carvings in Tarragona that he requested that the sculptor relocate to Zaragoza. By 1434, the carving of the alabaster sculptures for the main altarpiece was underway, ultimately taking about eleven years to complete. The altarpiece comprises a predella surmounted by the large central portion. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay has dedicated numerous studies to the main altarpiece.<sup>369</sup> Her book includes a lengthy documentary appendix that reproduces several of the contracts between Dalmau de Mur and Pere Joan, in addition to discussing the figures and their stories and identifying the types of flora and fauna.<sup>370</sup>

The predella is divided into two registers. The bottom is divided into seven niches: four niches exhibit Dalmau de Mur's coat of arms held by angels while the other three are the devices of the Chapter of Zaragoza Cathedral (the Lamb of God with the standard of the Resurrection terminating in a cross); the upper portion of the predella is decorated with four carved scenes of the lives of Saints Lawrence, Valero, Bishop of Zaragoza (290–315), and Vincent. These scenes

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<sup>368</sup> For illustrations, see María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, Rafael Conde y Delgado de Molina and Javier Delgado Echeverría, *El retablo Mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Librería General/Gobierno de Aragón Departamento de Cultura y Turismo, 2000).

<sup>369</sup> María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, Rafael Conde y Delgado de Molina and Javier Delgado Echeverría, *El retablo Mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Librería General/Gobierno de Aragón Departamento de Cultura y Turismo, 2000); María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "El retablo mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza (1434–1487)," in *Retablos esculpidos en Aragón: Del Gótico al Barroco*, ed. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2002), 107–144.

<sup>370</sup> María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, Rafael Conde y Delgado de Molina and Javier Delgado Echeverría, *El retablo Mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Librería General/Gobierno de Aragón Departamento de Cultura y Turismo, 2000).

are alternated with three sculpture busts of the same three saints.<sup>371</sup> The carving of the predella was complete by around 1439.

Pere Joan sculpted the principal scenes of the main body of the altarpiece. The lower half illustrates episodes from *The Epiphany*, *The Transfiguration* and *The Ascension*, while the upper half of the altarpiece is ornately filled with delicate spires and several figures of saints. The majority of the alabaster-carved work by Pere Joan on the central portion of the altarpiece was complete by 1445.<sup>372</sup> In 1457, the year after Dalmau de Mur's death, Francesc Gomar was contracted to work on the two lateral doors (at the bottom) that flank the main altarpiece where he carved figures of the four evangelists. His work was complete by 1460. Some areas of the main altarpiece were re-worked until the end of the century by different sculptors, including Master Ans (1467–1477) and Gil Morlanes the elder and Master Megas (1479–1488).

### 3.3.2.2 Choir and Dalmau de Mur's Tomb

The choir stalls located in the center of La Seo were commenced in 1444, the year in which the names of the woodcarvers Francesc Gomar (active 1443–1492/93) and his brother, Anthon Gomar (active 1440–1453), are recorded.<sup>373</sup> According to a document from December 1444,

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<sup>371</sup> Pedro de Luna (Anti-pope Benedict XIII) gave Zaragoza Cathedral the reliquary busts of Saints Lawrence, Valero and Vincent in 1397 according the inscriptions on the sculptures. All three busts have been attributed to an unknown workshop of artists working in Avignon. The busts contained the relics of the saints: the jaw and teeth of Saint Lawrence, Saint Valero's head and small unknown parts of Saint Vincent. For more see, María del Mar Agudo Romeo, ed., *El espejo de nuestra historia: la diócesis de Zaragoza a través de los siglos* (Zaragoza: Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1991), 120–121, 344; and see note 454.

<sup>372</sup> In 1445, Pere Joan is documented working in Naples for King Alfonso V. Agustín Durán i Sanpere and Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Ars Hispaniae*, 19 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1947–1966), vol. 8, *escultura gotica*, 239–243.

<sup>373</sup> The choir stalls remain today in the central nave of Zaragoza Cathedral. The documents are housed in Zaragoza, Archivo histórico de Protocolos (hereafter AHPZ), which are organized by the names of the notaries and then the dates, for example: Alfonso Francés, *Protocolo*, 1445. These archival documents have been transcribed, see R.



Anthon Gomar was the main sculptor responsible for the choir stalls and was referred to as the “*maestre de ymagineria*.”<sup>374</sup> Work on the stalls continued through March 1448, when Anthon, now called a “*obrero del coro*,” was paid 144 *sueldos jaqueses* for the time he spent in Navarre obtaining the oak wood required for the construction of the choir.<sup>375</sup> In 1449, many payments were made for materials needed for the choir, including bricks for the floor,<sup>376</sup> the painting of the panels<sup>377</sup> and the purchase of more planks of wood.<sup>378</sup> It is believed that the choir stalls were completed by July 1453, when Anthon Gomar is recorded working on the choir stalls in the Chapel of Castelnuovo—the Castle in Naples first built by the Dukes of Anjou and then appropriated by King Alfonso V after his conquest in 1442.<sup>379</sup>

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Steven Janke, “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,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 73. For illustrations, see also Javier Delgado Echeverría, “‘Hortus conclusus,’ tierra prometida: La sillería gótica de la Seo de Zaragoza,” *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 82 (2000): 111–155.

<sup>374</sup> Zaragoza, AHPZ, Alfonso Francés, *Protocolo de la Seo*, March 12, 1448, folio 13, see R. Steven Janke, “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,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 74n25, 81, document 3.

<sup>375</sup> Zaragoza, AHPZ, Alfonso Francés, *Protocolo de la Seo*, December 30, 1444, folio 1, R. Steven Janke, “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,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 73n20.

<sup>376</sup> Mahoma Almedini was paid a total of 1,120 *sueldos jaqueses* in four payments: Zaragoza, AHPZ, Alfonso Francés, *Protocolo de la Seo*, February 20, April 4, April 13 and May 29, 1449, folios 13, 23, 26 and 47 respectively, see R. Steven Janke, “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,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 74n24.

<sup>377</sup> Jaime Romeu painted sixteen panels in brown and red in 1449: Zaragoza, AHPZ, Alfonso Francés, *Protocolo de la Seo*, March 18, 1449, folio 22v, see R. Steven Janke, “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,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 74n26.

<sup>378</sup> Eighty-six planks of wood were delivered by Juan de Gurrea in 1450: Zaragoza, AHPZ, Alfonso Francés, *Protocolo de la Seo*, February 8, 1450, folio 9v, see R. Steven Janke, “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,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 74n27.

<sup>379</sup> R. Steven Janke, “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,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 74n28 citing Riccardo Filangieri de Candida, *Rassegna Critica delle Fonti per la Storia di Castel Nuovo*, 4 vols. (Naples: R. Deputazione Napoletana di Storia Patria, 1936) vol. 2, 43. For more on the patronage of Alfonso V in Naples,

The sculptures of the choir stalls comprise intricately carved figures and animals, delicate architectural components such as tracery and spires, and decorative foliage and floral patterns. Although the choir's imagery does not form an overt narrative program, it has been suggested that it symbolically represents the creation of the world as described in Genesis.<sup>380</sup>

Throughout the choir, in the canopies of each seat, angels along with various other figures support Dalmau de Mur's coat of arms that alternate with those of the Chapter of La Seo, similar to the predella on the main altarpiece. The exterior of the choir is filled with ornately carved stone and wood niches that create miniature chapels.

Located in the center of the choir on the floor is the brass tomb slab of Dalmau de Mur.<sup>381</sup> The placement of the tomb in the center of the choir stalls was precisely stipulated in his testament.<sup>382</sup> He also specified that the tomb was to be prominently positioned and his funeral was to be modest:

. . . we choose a tomb for ourselves in the choir of our church of Zaragoza and in a middle place between the entrance of the said choir and the choir [*finistollum*] where the portionary canons and other clerics meet

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see Riccardo Filangieri i Candida, *Castel nuovo: reggia angioina ed aragonese di Napoli* (Naples: Editrice Politecnica, 1934); Eileen R. Driscoll, "Alfonso of Aragón as a Patron of Art," in *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, ed. Lucy Freeman Sandler (New York: Institute of Fine Arts/New York University, 1964), 87–96; Ferdinando Bologna, *Napoli e le rotte mediterranee della pittura: da Alfonso il Magnanimo a Ferdinando il Cattolico* (Naples: Società napoletana di storia patria, 1977); Lucio Santoro, *Castelli angioini e aragonesi nel Regno di Napoli* (Milan: Rusconi immagini, 1982).

<sup>380</sup> Javier Delgado Echeverría, "'Hortus conclusus,' tierra prometida: La sillería gótica de la Seo de Zaragoza," *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 82 (2000): 111–155 at 113, 128–130.

<sup>381</sup> The tomb slab measures 175 x 82 cm. and is 1 cm. thick. It is briefly mentioned by María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, Rafael Conde y Delgado de Molina and Javier Delgado Echeverría, *El retablo Mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Librería General/Gobierno de Aragón Departamento de Cultura y Turismo, 2000), 31, fig. 12, 33, where they state that perhaps it was created by the sculptor Francí Gomar.

<sup>382</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folios 438v–439. The entitlement to choose one's place of burial was considered an "inalienable right," according to Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 20, citing Antoine Bernard, *La sépulture en droit canonique du décret de Gratien au concile de Trente* (Paris, F. Loviton, 1933), n.p. Dalmau de Mur's request to be interred in the center of the choir also reveals a sense of self-importance (or, *superbia*)—the greatness of the patron is reflected in the inconvenient location of the tomb in the sacred space of the choir, see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 189.

for prayer; that is in that place where we have ordered the said tomb to be made and inscribed. And we want that the funeral service over our body not done pompously, but rather decently and honestly, as is customarily done for an archbishop, and this is to be well seen to by our said executors . . .<sup>383</sup>

The placement of the tomb illustrates Dalmau de Mur's aspiration to remain a permanent figure within La Seo and its history.

A brass slab with an incised portrait of Dalmau de Mur covers the tomb of the archbishop. This full-length funerary portrait of Dalmau is oriented so that his feet point in the direction of the main altar, thus if he were to stand up, he would be facing it. Unfortunately, the brass tomb slab has been severely worn down over the centuries, making it difficult to fully discern all the imagery and its iconography. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay has suggested that Francesc Gomar possibly designed the tomb, since he was still working under the Archbishop's patronage in 1456.<sup>384</sup>

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Archbishop is illustrated recumbent wearing his archiepiscopal vestments, including a mitre with a trefoil finial, almuce, chasuble, dalmatic, pallium and gloves that are possibly decorated with a design. His arms are crossed at the wrist and his left hand rests on a staff terminating in a cross flory to which is attached a narrow curling banner (the cloth that is just visible crosses over the staff at the level of his shoulder). His head rests on a patterned square pillow that is adorned with tassels at the four corners. There is a linear design above his head on either side of the figure that suggests an elaborately carved bier. There also appear to be two protecting angels, one on either side of the pillow.

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<sup>383</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folios 438v–439: “. . . *eligimus inquam nobis sepulturam in choro ecclesie nostre Cesaraugustane in loco intus medio inter introitum dicti chori et finistollum ad quem canonici portuarii et alii clerici conveniunt ad officium in illo videlicet loco ubi dictam sepulturam iam fecimus operari et signari. Et volumus quod fiant exequie corpori nostro non pompose sed alias decenter et honeste secundum quod pro archiepiscopo est fieri consuetum et dictis nostris manumissoribus et executoribus fuerit bene visum . . .*”

<sup>384</sup> María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, Rafael Conde y Delgado de Molina and Javier Delgado Echeverría, *El retablo Mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Librería General/Gobierno de Aragón Departamento de Cultura y Turismo, 2000), 31.

At the top, seven small arches repeat the composition of those at the bottom, yet here, they enclose clerics conducting specific funerary tasks. In the center, a mitred bishop holds a crosier in his left hand, while with his right hand he blesses a winding-sheet held by the clerics in the niches on either side of him. Two more clerics in the following two niches are depicted, but it is unclear what actions they may be performing. Lastly, two clerics on either end swing censers. An inscription runs around the outer edge of the plate (now mostly illegible), interrupted at the corners and at the center top and bottom by depictions of the de Mur shield. Seven small arches at the foot of the tomb contain groups of either two or three figures of clerics that are robed and hooded, though their details are barely discernable. Flanking the Archbishop to the left and right are incised images of six pairs of hooded clerics, who stand in niches.

The imagery of the bishop officiating and blessing the winding-sheet represents the funeral rites, known as the *exequias*, and is commonly found mostly in Catalan art. Its origins can be traced, however, to Italian funerary sculpture dating from the end of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Robert Bartolini explores the illustration of the “*Celebrazione delle esequie*” in early fourteenth-century Italian tombs (specifically from Naples) carved by Tino di Camaino (ca. 1280–1337). The tomb sculpture represents a bishop accompanied by several clerics performing a funeral ceremony as they hold books in their hands (no winding-sheet is seen).<sup>385</sup> By the first half of the fourteenth century, the Italian designs eventually influenced the iconography of tomb sculptures in Catalonia and Languedoc.<sup>386</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> Roberto Bartolini, “Tino di Camaino: La celebrazione delle esequie,” in *Umbri e Toscani: tra due e trecento*, ed. Luciano Bellosi (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 1988): 71–80.

<sup>386</sup> Pere Beseran i Ramón, “La dimensió italianitzant de l’estil de Moragues: noves obres i nous arguments,” *Lambard estudis d’art medieval* 10 (1997): 99–140, 245–252.

Probably the most celebrated tomb that presents a winding-sheet within its iconographic cycle is the monumental carved tomb of Archbishop Lope Fernández de Luna, Archbishop of Zaragoza (r.1351–1380, d.1382), located in La Seo.<sup>387</sup> Another example comes from the Monastery of Santa María de Bellpuig de les Avellanès: the monumental tomb of Ermengol VII, Count of Urgell (r.1154–1184), which was carved around 1320–1340, and is now housed at the Cloisters Collection in New York.<sup>388</sup> There are also several carved funerary monuments with winding-sheet iconography to be found at the Cathedral of Lleida, including fragments of the sepulcher of Ponç de Vilamur (carved by Guillem Seguer, ca.1335–1350).<sup>389</sup> Fragments from the tomb of Ferrer Colom, Bishop of Lleida (r.1334–1340), also represent figures holding a winding-sheet.<sup>390</sup> A later example is observed at Girona Cathedral in the tomb of the bishop, Arnau de Mont-rodon (r.1336–1348) that was likely created around 1390–1394 and has been attributed to the sculptor Pere çà Anglada.<sup>391</sup>

In addition to the particular iconography of the bishop blessing the winding-sheet observed on Dalmau de Mur's tomb, the type of funerary monument and its material also reflect

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<sup>387</sup> Lope Fernández de Luna was related to Anti-pope Benedict XIII. Agustín Durán i Sanpere and Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Ars Hispaniae*, 19 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1947–1966), vol. 8, *escultura gotica*, 228–229, fig. 219; Pere Beseran i Ramón, “La dimensió italianitzant de l'estil de Moragues: noves obres i nous arguments,” *Lambard estudis d'art medieval* 10 (1997): 99–140, 245–252 at 103–106.

<sup>388</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, inv. no. 28.95, 226.1 x 201.9 cm. Agustín Durán i Sanpere and Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Ars Hispaniae*, 19 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1947–1966), vol. 8, *escultura gotica*, 187–189, fig. 179; Peter Barnet and Nancy Wu, *The Cloisters: Medieval Art and Architecture* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2005), 88, no. 52.

<sup>389</sup> Joan Bergós, *L'escultura a la seu vella de Lleida* (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis catalans, 1935), 257–259, fig. 265–367; Francesca Español i Bertran, *Guillem Seguer de Montblanc un mestre trescentista escultor, pintor y arquitecte* (Montblanc: Consell Comarcal de La Conca de Barberà, 1994), 72–75; Monserrat Macia i Gou and Nuria Piqué i Campos, *La Seu Vella de Lleida* (Lleida: Pages Editores, 2004), 164.

<sup>390</sup> Joan Bergós, *L'escultura a la seu vella de Lleida* (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis catalans, 1935), 260, fig. 269; Monserrat Macia i Gou and Nuria Piqué i Campos, *La Seu Vella de Lleida* (Lleida: Pages Editores, 2004), 161.

<sup>391</sup> María Rosa Terés i Tomàs, “Pere de Santjoan i el Mestre de la cadira Episcopal de Barcelona: hipòtesi sobre una identitat,” *Quaderns d'estudis medievals* 4, no. 23/24 (1988): 32–51 at 37–40, fig. 8–10.

the Archbishop's interest in propagating his memory. His tomb stands out as simple in style and unadorned when compared to the elaborate monumental stone carvings that include an effigy, such as the tomb carved by Antoni Canet in 1409–1412 for the Bishop of Barcelona, Ramon d'Escales (r.1386–1398).<sup>392</sup> Similarly decorative is the celebrated tomb of one of Dalmau de Mur's Catalan contemporaries, Bernat de Pau, Bishop of Girona (r.1436–1457). Bernat de Pau's four-tiered sepulcher is framed within an elaborate arch decorated with angels, figures and the bishop's devices.<sup>393</sup>

These ornate and large tombs underscore the simplicity of Dalmau's funerary monument. Certainly the Archbishop could have commissioned a more elaborately sculpted monumental tomb—he had the financial means, the artistic connections and the authority to do so, but in his decision to be placed in the choir he was aiming for a location that was situated in the heart of the cathedral, close to the minds (and thoughts) of the clergy who could commit Dalmau to their memory on a daily basis.<sup>394</sup> Finally, the placement of Dalmau's tomb on the choir floor required a tomb that was flat so as to minimize the risk of stumbling clergymen. In addition to the linear

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<sup>392</sup> Núria de Dalmases and Antoni Josep i Pitarch, *Història de l'art català*, 9 vols., 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1989–1996), vol. 3, 190–193.

<sup>393</sup> The tomb is placed in the Chapel of Saint Paul (also called the Chapel of the Bishop) in Girona Cathedral and was carved by an anonymous sculptor. For more see, Luis Batlle y Prats, "El sepulcro de Bernat de Pau, obispo de Girona (1436–1457)," *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* 33 (1994): 453–480; Marc Sureda i Jubany, *Girona Cathedral* (Madrid: Ediciones Aldeasa, 2005), 28–30.

<sup>394</sup> This idea recalls a later example, the donation in 1509 by Martin Guerande, Canon of Le Mans Cathedral, of a set of choir tapestries showing the *Life of Gervasius and Protasius* (patron saints of the cathedral), see note 207. His image is included in a scene where is shown kneeling next to the relics of the two saints with the aim to remind the clergy to pray for his soul's salvation and to keep his memory alive. See Laura Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 53–80.

and two-dimensional design of the tomb, the choice of brass as the material also echoes ideas of permanence and eternal fortitude.<sup>395</sup>

In the end, whether or not the remembrance of Archbishop de Mur has continued, his tomb is situated in the center of the choir stalls that he commissioned. The choir stalls were completed in 1453, three years before his death. Although Anthon Gomar had departed for Naples, Francesc Gomar remained in Zaragoza. Francesc had been contracted again by Archbishop de Mur in 1453 to construct a wooden choir screen that no longer survives. Documents reveal that Francesc Gomar carved the choir screen between March 1453 and November 1456 and was paid the large sum of 12,000 *sueldos jaqueses*, indicating that it was

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<sup>395</sup> Brass tomb slabs were popular in the North beginning in the middle of the thirteenth century. Around 1320, brass manufacturers in Flanders were exporting the material to the Iberian Peninsula. There are surviving examples in Spain. For more, see F. G. Peck, "Notes on Two Spanish Brasses," *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 3 (1898): 196–198; Robert Holmes Edleston, "The Monumental Brasses of Spain," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 19 (1914–1915): 50–52; Ricardo de Orueta y Duarte, *La escultura funeraria en España: provincias de Ciudad Real, Cuenca, Guadalajara* (Madrid: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919); W. J. Hemp, "Some unrecorded Spanish Brasses," *Archaeological Journal* 77 (1920): 127–134; Muriel Clayton, *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs* (London: Board of Education, 1929); Agustín Durán i Sanpere and Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Ars Hispaniae*, 19 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1947–1966), vol. 8, *escultura gotica*; Frank Allen Greenhill, "An Incised Slab with Inlays from Santarém, Portugal," *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 9 (1952): 39–42; A. C. Bouquet, *Church Brasses: British and Continental with some Notes on Incised Stone Slabs and Indents* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1956); Roland Op de Beeck, "Flemish Monumental Brasses in Portugal," *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 10 (1965): 151–166; Carmen Batlle Gallart, "La lauda sepulcral arzobispo de Tarragona Pere Sagarriga," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 6 (1969): 521–524; Hugh Keith Cameron, *A List of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe* (Newport: Monumental Brass Society, 1970); Hugh Keith Cameron, "Sixteenth-century Flemish Stones and Brasses in Madeira," *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 12 (1978): 284–294; Hugh Keith Cameron, "The Memorial to Dom. Frei Estevão Vasques Pimentel: A Unique Brass at Leça do Balio, Portugal," *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 12 (1979): 373–402; Roland Op de Beeck, "The Brass of Pedro de Sagarriga, Archbishop of Tarragona, 1418," *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 13 (1981): 108–114; Lynda Dennison, "The Artistic Context of Fourteenth Century Flemish Brasses," *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 14, no. 1 (1986): 1–38; M. W. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio of Plates of the Monumental Brass Society: 1894–1984* (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell Press, 1988); Erwin Panofsky and H. W. Janson, ed., *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1992), 50–53; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 89–91; Martin Stuchfield, "The Monumental Brasses of Spain: A Journey of Discovery," *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society* 98 (January, 2005): 776–780; Martin Stuchfield, "The Monumental Brasses of Spain: A Journey of Discovery," *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society* 99 (May, 2005): 796–797; Martin Stuchfield, "The Monumental Brasses of Spain: A Journey of Discovery," *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society* 100 (September, 2005): 824.

large and carved with a high degree of sophisticated workmanship.<sup>396</sup> It is not known where this wooden choir screen would have been placed. It could have possibly been installed at the end of the choir stalls that face towards the main altarpiece, where today there is a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century metal rod screen, or perhaps it was positioned closer to the main altarpiece.

### 3.3.3 Archbishop's Palace

While serving in Zaragoza, Dalmau must have resided at the Archbishop's Palace, which was originally constructed sometime before the fourteenth century as a residence for the Kings of Aragón, and is situated immediately across from La Seo.<sup>397</sup> Similar to Zaragoza's *aljafería* royal residence, the presence of *mudéjar* aspects at the Archbishop's Palace indicates construction was underway around 1350.<sup>398</sup> The building now only has traces of its medieval *mudéjar* style, since it was significantly modified in the sixteenth century and then again in the eighteenth century. The only remaining *mudéjar* elements—a gypsum window and a wooden crossbar—were discovered in the 1970s when the building was undergoing restoration.<sup>399</sup> The wooden crossbar terminates in a lion's head and is decorated with Dalmau's coat of arms.<sup>400</sup>

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<sup>396</sup> Zaragoza, AHO, Alfonso Francés, *Protocolo de la Seo*, March 31, 1453, April 19, 1454 and November 27, 1456, folios 18, 30v and 34, respectively, see R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 74, 81–82, documents 4, 5, 7.

<sup>397</sup> For more on the medieval archeological history of the palace, see Rafael Chiribay Calvo, "Algunos apuntes para el conocimiento del Palacio Arzobispal de Zaragoza," *Aragonia sacra* 1 (1987): 29–51 at 29.

<sup>398</sup> Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, "El palacio mudéjar de los arzobispos de Zaragoza," in *Estudios en homenaje al Dr. Antonio Beltrán Martínez* (Zaragoza: Facultad de filosofía y letras, Universidad de Zaragoza, 1986): 1007–1014.

<sup>399</sup> Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, "El palacio mudéjar de los arzobispos de Zaragoza," in *Estudios en homenaje al Dr. Antonio Beltrán Martínez* (Zaragoza: Facultad de filosofía y letras, Universidad de Zaragoza, 1986): 1007–1014.

<sup>400</sup> Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, "El palacio mudéjar de los arzobispos de Zaragoza," in *Estudios en homenaje al Dr. Antonio Beltrán Martínez* (Zaragoza: Facultad de filosofía y letras, Universidad de Zaragoza, 1986): 1007–1014 at



The construction of the palace continued in the fifteenth century under the patronage of Dalmau de Mur. Several documents survive that shed light on Dalmau's role in the building and the enlargement of both the Archbishop's Palace and the adjacent *Palacio de la Diputación del reino* (Delegation of the Kingdom's Palace). A document from 1443 reveals that construction began at the *Palacio de la Diputación* as ordered by Dalmau de Mur.<sup>401</sup> It is also believed, based on surviving documents and the wooden crossbar with Dalmau de Mur's coat of arms, that the Archbishop was responsible for the construction of the grand salon.<sup>402</sup> Dalmau's 1454 testament describes houses he purchased from Juan de Barbastro in the *Plaza de la Diputación* (located next to the Archbishop's Palace and the *Palacio de la Diputación*) that were to be used to augment the buildings of both the Archbishop's Palace and the *Palacio de la Diputación*.<sup>403</sup> This task was to be carried out by Dalmau's successors.<sup>404</sup>

Other documents reveal that a chapel in the Archbishop's Palace was under construction by 1445, since in December of that year, Juan de Leredo, a stonemason, was paid 352 *sueldos jaqueses* and 10 *dineros* by Archbishop de Mur's proctor, Simón Tirado, for work he and his team had executed on the chapel's main portal.<sup>405</sup> A year later, in 1446, two Muslim workers,

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1009. For an illustration, see Rafael Chiribay Calvo, "Algunos apuntes para el conocimiento del Palacio Arzobispal de Zaragoza," *Aragonia sacra* 1 (1987): 29–51 at 48.

<sup>401</sup> Rafael Chiribay Calvo, "Algunos apuntes para el conocimiento del Palacio Arzobispal de Zaragoza," *Aragonia sacra* 1 (1987): 29–51 at 30–33.

<sup>402</sup> Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, "El palacio mudéjar de los arzobispos de Zaragoza," in *Estudios en homenaje al Dr. Antonio Beltrán Martínez* (Zaragoza: Facultad de filosofía y letras, Universidad de Zaragoza, 1986): 1007–1014 at 1009; Rafael Chiribay Calvo, "Algunos apuntes para el conocimiento del Palacio Arzobispal de Zaragoza," *Aragonia sacra* 1 (1987): 29–51 at 33.

<sup>403</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folios 444–444v.

<sup>404</sup> Rafael Chiribay Calvo, "Algunos apuntes para el conocimiento del Palacio Arzobispal de Zaragoza," *Aragonia sacra* 1 (1987): 29–51 at 30–33, 49–51.

<sup>405</sup> Zaragoza, AHPZ, Juan Pitillas, Protocolo, October 25, 1445, folio 44v, see R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 66n3.

Hamet el Caverro (a potter from Teruel) and Hamet el Halí (a blacksmith from Zaragoza), were hired to make 4,250 tiles for the chapel.<sup>406</sup>

### 3.3.3.1 Archbishop's Palace Altarpiece

Around 1456, Dalmau commissioned the sculptor of La Seo's choir stalls and choir screen, Francesc Gomar, to begin sculpting a new altarpiece for the chapel in the Archbishop's Palace. Extant records illustrate that Francesc Gomar received payments over the years 1456, 1457 and 1458, totaling 3,300 *sueudos jaqueses* for the carving of the altarpiece for the Archbishop's Palace chapel.<sup>407</sup>

The well-preserved sculpted altarpiece was carved in alabaster, not wood. At some point, it was removed from its original setting and subsequently purchased by J. P. Morgan. The altarpiece was given to the Cloisters Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York where is still housed.<sup>408</sup> The central theme of the altarpiece is the Pentecost, which is flanked by

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<sup>406</sup> R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 66n4. The document was also published by Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Documentos relativos a las bellas artes en Aragón (siglos XIV y XV)," *Arte español* 3 (1917): 519–529 at 528–529; Rafael Chiribay Calvo, "Algunos apuntes para el conocimiento del Palacio Arzobispal de Zaragoza," *Aragonia sacra* 1 (1987): 29–51 at 30–33, 49–51.

<sup>407</sup> Zaragoza, AHPZ, Juan Marco, *Protocolo*, June 18, 1456, unfoliated; Juan Marco, *Protocolo*, date missing, but between December 25, 1457 and January 18, 1458, unfoliated; and Juan Marco, *Protocolo*, June 5, 1458, unfoliated. In the last two documents, the executors of Dalmau's testament delivered the payments to Francí Gomar. R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 75n35–37, 81–82, documents 6, 9, 10.

<sup>408</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, inv. no. 09.146, 14.101-1,2, 16.79, alabaster, 271.8 x 464.8 cm. For illustrations, see R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 65–83; Peter Barnet and Nancy Wu, *The Cloisters: Medieval Art and Architecture* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2005), 131–132, no. 93.

scenes from the lives of Saint Martin and Santa Thecla<sup>409</sup>—the same subjects of the main altarpiece in Tarragona sculpted by Pere Joan.

Although the altarpiece at the Archbishop's Palace has a subject matter similar to that of the Tarragona altarpiece, the primary difference between the two concerns their styles. Whereas the Tarragona altarpiece expressed the manner of the International Style, the altarpiece by Francesc Gomar at Zaragoza shows an interest in developing a newer style, one that illustrates a greater awareness of realism.

This is most apparent when comparing the scenes of *The Pentecost* from both altarpieces, as well as the scenes of *Santa Thecla's Ordeal by Fire* and *The Conversion of Santa Thecla*. The realism of the style is found in the recession of space as a three-dimensional reality— Francesc Gomar created a notable plasticity of the figures and the space they occupy. Furthermore, the architectural frameworks that help define and clarify the narrative are also deeply cut. The interest in realism is also observed in the lifelike nature of the beards and hair of the figures, such as the two gracefully modeled male figures (located on the left and right corners of the predella) that support Dalmau de Mur's coat of arms. Both figures wear long flowing robes that fold into soft Z-shapes at the base. By contrast, Pere Joan's earlier altarpiece at Tarragona creates a sense of depth by vertically overlapping the figures, who are carved in much more shallow relief. The overall effect of the Francesc Gomar's altarpiece at Zaragoza, when compared to Pere Joan's piece at Tarragona, is that it is carved with a greater degree of realism.

Finally, in addition to carving the alabaster altarpiece now at the Cloisters, Francesc Gomar was hired to carve another altarpiece for the Archbishop's Palace, but this time in wood. It is not clear if this wooden altarpiece was to complement the alabaster one now at the Cloisters; Steven Janke has suggested that the Cloisters altarpiece perhaps functioned as a large predella to

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<sup>409</sup> See note 280 for more on Saint Martin of Tours and his connection with Spain and Santa Thecla.

the wooden one.<sup>410</sup> A surviving record among the so-called *papeles sueltos* (loose papers) from 1458 reveals that Francesc Gomar contracted with Tomás Giner to paint and gild the altarpiece. Only two panel paintings from the altarpiece survive (discussed below, section 3.3.7). Furthermore, Francesc Gomar received two payments in March 1459 for creating and completing the wooden altarpiece for the Archbishop's Palace. In the first installment, Francesc received 450 *sueldos jaqueses* and then seven days later, 300 *sueldos jaqueses*.<sup>411</sup> In the end, Francesc Gomar was paid 3,660 *sueldos jaqueses* for this wooden altarpiece.<sup>412</sup>

### 3.3.4 Panel Paintings

As mentioned above, Francesc Gomar was contracted to work with Tomás Giner (active 1458–1480), who was responsible for the painting and gilding of the wooden altarpiece for the Archbishop's Palace. In 1459, Tomás Giner was also referred to as La Seo's "painter of the high altar,"<sup>413</sup> thus he played a significant role in decorating and completing several of Dalmau de Mur's final projects.

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<sup>410</sup> R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 77.

<sup>411</sup> Zaragoza, AHPZ, Juan Marco, *Protocolo*, March 15, 1459, unfoliated; and Juan Marco, *Protocolo*, March 22, 1459, unfoliated, R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 75n38–39, 83, documents 15, 16.

<sup>412</sup> R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 75.

<sup>413</sup> R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 75.

The panels that Tomás Giner gilded and painted for the wooden altarpiece at the Archbishop's Palace were at some point taken apart and separated. Two of these panels survive and are housed at the Archbishop's Palace in Zaragoza.<sup>414</sup> Since the panels have been detached from their original setting, scholars have attempted to identify the original order of the scenes and to examine the iconography.

Steven Janke has proposed that one of the two extant panels originally formed the center and right panels of the upper register of the altarpiece. This panel painting presents the figures of Saint Martin of Tours and Santa Thecla standing side-by-side.<sup>415</sup> While Saint Martin has no attribute to identify him other than his mitre and bishop's attire, Santa Thecla is crowned and carries a golden palm in her left hand, while in her right she holds her attribute, a large golden letter "T."

Dalmau de Mur's coat of arms is painted on the orphrey of Saint Martin, indicating a visual link with the panels he commissioned for the wooden altarpiece of the Archbishop's Palace. This connection strongly suggests that Dalmau de Mur felt a significant association with the saint. Saint Martin was traditionally associated with the French monarchy, beginning with King Clovis in the sixth century, and like many saints, Martin is known for his piousness, charitable gifts and generosity; exchanging his cloak with a beggar is the topos by which he is most commonly depicted. Moreover, when comparing the faces of Santa Thecla and Saint Martin, it is obvious that Martin's portrait is much more life-like than the generic portrait of Santa Thecla, which is less descriptive. Saint Martin's face is treated with great attention to coloration and fine lines—maybe this is more than just a portrait of Saint Martin, but also serves

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<sup>414</sup> Zaragoza, Palacio del Arzobispo, no inventory number.

<sup>415</sup> For a color illustration, see *La pintura gótica hispano-flamenca: Bartolomé Bermejo y su época* (Barcelona/Bilbao: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya/Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 2003), no. 26.

as a portrait of Dalmau de Mur? Whether or not this is the case, Dalmau de Mur's identification with the saint was perhaps intended to remind viewers of the Archbishop's own virtues of piety and generosity.

The other surviving panel painting from the Archbishop's Palace altarpiece is compositionally arranged in the same way as the first: the panel shows two standing saints standing next to one another.<sup>416</sup> Saint Augustine is shown as a bishop and Saint Lawrence holds a grill. From the contracts, it can be deduced that the lost panels represented the images of Saints Vincent and Valero in addition to a panel with scenes from *The Passion of Christ*, possibly with *The Crucifixion*.<sup>417</sup>

As already observed, one way that Archbishop de Mur chose to communicate and to preserve his reputation as a notable patron of the arts was by incorporating his coat of arms into many of the works of art that he commissioned. One truly spectacular example is a panel painting by Blasco de Grañén (active 1422–1459). The image shows an enthroned Virgin and Child and is generally known as the *Virgen del arzobispo Mur* (or, *María, reina de los cielos*).<sup>418</sup> A document exists stating that Blasco de Grañén would paint the panel for 5,000 *sueldos jaqueses*.<sup>419</sup> The painting dates to around 1437–1439 and presents a lavishly dressed Virgin—her deep sapphire brocade is lined with ermine and hemmed with gold—set against a gold-

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<sup>416</sup> For an illustration, see R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 76.

<sup>417</sup> R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83 at 75.

<sup>418</sup> Zaragoza, Museo de Zaragoza, no inventory number. The panel measures approximately 233 x 143 cm. See María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Los pintores del Arzobispo Don Dalmau de Mur (1431–1456) en tierras de Aragón," *Aragonia sacra* 9 (1994): 43–54 at 46–47; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, *Arte gótico en el Museo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Dirección General de Acción Cultural, 2003), 40.

<sup>419</sup> María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, *Arte gótico en el Museo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Dirección General de Acción Cultural, 2003), 42.

embossed backdrop. The Virgin's golden halo and gold hem (painted with jewels) are also embossed. In her right hand, the Virgin holds a branch of white lilies, while her left hand supports the Christ-child who sits on her lap. He is shown blessing with his right hand, and holds an orb with a cross that includes the flag of the Resurrection in his left hand.

The Virgin and Christ-child sit on a majestic pink throne, beneath a dais, while eleven angels surround them.<sup>420</sup> Two of the angels stand atop the dais, while eight others play various types of musical instruments. At the bottom of the painting, in the center, an angel supports a shield emblazoned with Dalmau's coat of arms and crested by a gold cross.

This panel painting originally formed the central portion of a larger altarpiece for the church of Santa María de Albalate in Teruel (located in the diocese of Zaragoza). Little is known about the original context of use other than that the altarpiece was made for Santa María de Albalate and the only known connection between Dalmau de Mur and the church is that in 1432, shortly after becoming Archbishop of Zaragoza, Dalmau's vicar-general convened a synod in Teruel.<sup>421</sup> It is also not clear when the altarpiece was taken apart, nor how long it remained at the church of Santa María de Albalate.<sup>422</sup>

Lastly, it is certain that Dalmau owned four other panel paintings that are now lost. This information comes from his testament where he identifies the Monastery of Santa Fe in the

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<sup>420</sup> There exists another panel painting by Blasco de Grañén created around 1435–1445 that has a similar compositional arrangement to the one owned by Dalmau de Mur. Instead of eleven angels, this other painting includes six angels (four play musical instruments, while the other two hold inscribed scrolls). It is owned by the Spanish bank, Ibercaja, in Zaragoza and it measures 214 x 109 cm. See *Aragón, reino y corona* (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón/Ibercaja, 2000), 487–488, no. 329.

<sup>421</sup> María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, *Arte gótico en el Museo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Dirección General de Acción Cultural, 2003), 39–42.

<sup>422</sup> It was discovered in 1921 in the church of San José and then given to the Museo de Zaragoza. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, *Arte gótico en el Museo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Dirección General de Acción Cultural, 2003), 39–42.

diocese of Zaragoza as the recipient of four panel paintings, one of which had an image of the pietà with the image of the Virgin Mary, decorated with gold, pearls and precious stones.<sup>423</sup>

### 3.3.5 Manuscripts

During the years 1432 and 1433, Joan Font copied and illuminated a second manuscript for Dalmau de Mur.<sup>424</sup> The manuscript contains two texts, the *De institutis coenobiorum* (*Instituta coenobiorum*) and the *Collationes* (*Liber collationum*),<sup>425</sup> by John Cassian (Joan Cassià; Juan de Casiano; Jo(h)annes Cassianus, ca.360–435), a fifth-century monastic theologian. *De institutis coenobiorum* describes Cassian’s accounts with the Desert Fathers, whereas his *Collationes* discusses Christian redemption.<sup>426</sup> Cassian’s works have been negatively influenced and interpreted by the writings of Saint Prosper of Aquitaine who wrote that Cassian’s teachings (referred to as Semipelagian) challenged Augustine’s idea that an individual requires divine grace to reach salvation.<sup>427</sup>

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<sup>423</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 442v: “*Legamus insuper monasterio Sancte Fidis nostre diocesis tabulas nostras in quarum una est depicta pietas seu imago Virginis Marie matris domini nostri Iesuchristi que sunt ornate auro perlis et lapidibus preciosis.*”

<sup>424</sup> The first manuscript, *Policraticus* (Valencia, ACCV, MS 297), was made while Dalmau de Mur was Archbishop of Tarragona. See note 325.

<sup>425</sup> Barcelona, BCAA, MS 657. Francisco de Bofarull y Sans, *Bibliología: los códices, diplomas é impresos en la Exposición Universal de Barcelona de 1888* (Barcelona: Busquets y Vidal, 1890), 72–73; Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas: notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Blass, 1933), vol. 1, 46, no. 63; Pere Bohigas i Balaguer, “Les manuscrits à miniatures de la Biblioteca Central de Barcelone (ancienne Bibliothèque de Catalunya),” *Librarium* 7, no. 1 (April 1964): 39–58 at 46; Pere Bohigas i Balaguer, *La Ilustración y la decoración del libro manuscrito en Cataluña*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Asociación de bibliófilos de Barcelona, 1965–1967), vol. 1, 167; *Cort i mecenatge: la literatura, l’art, la música i el teatre a la Baixa Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1993), 18.

<sup>426</sup> For the Latin texts, see Michael Petschenig, ed. *De institutis coenobiorum; De incarnatione contra Nestorium* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004); Michael Petschenig, ed. *Collationes XXVIII* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004).

<sup>427</sup> For a reexamination of John Cassian’s theological texts and their influence, see Augustine Casiday, *Tradition and Theology in St. John Cassian* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). For more on Cassian’s works in



Dalmau de Mur's copy of Cassian's two texts is sumptuously decorated with champie initials; a gold letter set against a party-colored background of mauve and blue, or, a mauve or blue letter set against a gold background. The first folio is also distinctive because of the various ornamental aspects. Most striking are two historiated initials on the first page, each presenting a portrait of a figure. Most remarkable is the initial "D" at the top of the first column that shows a figure dressed as an archbishop—undoubtedly a portrait of Dalmau de Mur. In this representation, Dalmau is mitred and is shown dressed in a yellow and red cope with a golden pallium worn over a white alb. He also wears white gloves and in his left hand he holds a gilded crosier, while he blesses with a raised right hand.

The second historiated initial is the letter "V" and is located in the middle of the second column. Illustrated is a young cleric who is tonsured and wears a black hooded habit. In his hands he holds up a manuscript—he either represents the author, John Cassian, or perhaps he signifies the scribe, Joan Font. At the bottom of the page, Dalmau de Mur's coat of arms is found surmounted by a gold cross. The five golden merlons of the Mur devices are set against a red ground with fine black hatch marks.

Also of importance is the presence of two colophons; since there are two distinct texts, each has its own. The first, on folio 50 reads, "*Font me scripsit anno MCCCCXXXIII,*" while the colophon at the end of the manuscript, on folio 217v, is significantly longer: "*Explicit liber collationum beati Cassiani . . . domini Dalmatii de Muro Archiepiscopi Cesaraugustani, scriptus per me Johannem Font presbiterum rectorem ecclesie Riviulmorum campi et diócesis Tarracone familiarem domini, XIII die mensis Julii eiusdem. Anno a nativitate Domini MCXXX secundo.*"

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Catalonia, see Miquel Torras i Cortina, "L'Esriptura i el llibre a Catalunya central als segles XIII i XIV," (PhD diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2004), n.p., s.v., "Iohannes Cassianus."

*DEO GRACIAS.*” In addition, to mark the beginning of the second text, on folio 51, Dalmau’s devices are reproduced a second time, again at the bottom of the page.

In addition to the Cassian manuscript, Dalmau owned several other (possibly illuminated) manuscripts that are listed in his testament. These include two pontificals (one large, the other portable) bequeathed to Zaragoza Cathedral;<sup>428</sup> a breviary and diurnal that Dalmau gave to his chamberlain, Domingo Betrián (previously owned by Alfonso de Vilaplana);<sup>429</sup> and two volumes of *Lo Cartoixà* that Dalmau gave to the monastery of Santa Fe.<sup>430</sup> *Lo Cartoixà* is a translation by the Catalan poet Joan Roïç (Roíg/Roís) de Corella (d.1497) of the *Vita Christi* attributed to Ludolph of Saxony (ca.1300–1377/78).<sup>431</sup> The whereabouts of these manuscripts remain unknown, as do their dates of commission or acquisition, but the presence of these manuscripts in the Archbishop’s testament reveals that his collection of books was more substantial than previously recognized.

Even more, at least three of the manuscripts that Dalmau owned are not mentioned in his will—these include the texts he had copied by Joan Font (the *Policraticus* referred to above and the single bound copies of *De institutis coenobiorum* and *Collationes*), as well as his purchase of the *Antiquitates Judaicae* that was sold at the sale in Valencia upon the death of Anti-pope

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<sup>428</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 442: “*Item duo pontificalia nostra sive libros pontificalia nuncupatus quos de presenti habemus unum maius et aliud portatile.*”

<sup>429</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 451: “*Item vull que sia donat a Domingo Betrián mon cambrer lo mongill de burell forrat de dossos e lo manto de taula negre forrat de corderines de Navarra negres e lo breviari e diurnal que foren de Alfonso de Vilaplana.*”

<sup>430</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 443: “*Item librum nostrum nuncupatum lo Cartoixà que sunt duo volumina.*” *Lo Cartoixà* was a translation by the Catalan poet Joan Roïç (Roíg/Roís) de Corella (d.1497) of the *Vita Christi* attributed to Ludolph of Saxony (ca.1300–1377/78). *Lo Cartoixà* comprised four volumes, yet the reference to the text in Dalmau’s testament only states two volumes—perhaps the four volumes were made into two.

<sup>431</sup> Several late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century printed editions of the text exist and many of them are cataloged at *PhiloBiblon’s Bibliografia de Textos Catalans Antics* [BITECA], see <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Philobiblon/phhmbi.html> (20 April 2008).

Benedict XIII, also discussed above. In all, Dalmau de Mur's known manuscript collection numbered eleven, and perhaps others survive that have not been associated with him.

### 3.3.6 Metalwork and Liturgical Vestments

In addition to his collection of illuminated manuscripts and panel paintings, Dalmau de Mur owned reliquaries, metalwork and various liturgical vestments. Upon his death on September 12, 1456,<sup>432</sup> several precious objects were dispersed as stipulated in his testament. Dalmau de Mur's testament included a *licentiae testandi* from Pope Eugene IV—a license provided by the pope that gives a prelate the right to have a testament.<sup>433</sup> Of the many important works of art described in the testament were several pieces of metalwork and liturgical vestments. It appears that all but one of these objects is lost.

To Zaragoza Cathedral, the Archbishop gave a gold reliquary with a silver-gilt base that was decorated with pearls and gems, depicting the Nativity of Christ;<sup>434</sup> a large gold chalice with the coat of arms of Dalmau de Mur and emblem in enamel work;<sup>435</sup> two silver-gilt candelabra, which Dalmau de Mur had made in Zaragoza, in addition to four large brass candelabra that

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<sup>432</sup> Wrongly stated as November, 12 1456, see Antonio Durán Gudiol and María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "El Testamento de Don Dalmau de Mur y Cervelló, Arzobispo de Zaragoza (1431–1456): nuevas observaciones," *Aragonia Sacra* 11 (1996): 49–62 at 49.

<sup>433</sup> For published examples of a *licentiae testandi*, see Agostino Paravicini Begliani, *I Testamenti dei cardinali del Duecento* (Rome: Presso la Società alla biblioteca vallicelliana, 1980).

<sup>434</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 441–441v: "*Legamus deinde atque dimittimus per executores huiusmodi nostri testamenti traddi et liberari mandamus ecclesie nostre Cesaraugustane reliquarium nostrum aureum erectum supra pedem argenteum deauratum ubi est signata Nativitas Christi ornatum margaritis et gemis sive perlis.*"

<sup>435</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 441v: "*Item etiam legamus eidem ecclesie calicem nostrum maiorem de aurum in quo sunt arma sive signa nostra esmaltata.*"

came from the Archbishop's Palace, to be used for the services of the high altar.<sup>436</sup> To the church of Santa María la Mayor in Zaragoza (today known as the Basílica del Pilar de Zaragoza), Dalmau donated a gold cross with a silver base that was decorated with pearls and precious stones.<sup>437</sup>

In addition, the Archbishop left numerous liturgical vestments to Zaragoza Cathedral.<sup>438</sup> For example, he bequeathed a pallum with the image of San Valero (the fourth-century Bishop of Zaragoza, referred to above), which he also had made in Zaragoza, and was to be dedicated to the service of the Cathedral.<sup>439</sup> He also gave several liturgical vestments to the Basílica del Pilar in Zaragoza.<sup>440</sup> The Cistercian Monastery of Santa Fe received a silk gremial ornamented with pearls and the coat of arms of Dalmau de Mur and depicted the image of the Virgin Mary.<sup>441</sup> Of these liturgical vestments, only a fragment of a dalmatic adorned with the coat of arms of

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<sup>436</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 442: "*Item etiam et duo candelabra sive cerofferaria nostra maiora argentea deaurata que Cesarauguste fecimus fabricari necnon quatuor candelabra nostra magna metalli de lauto que de presenti habemus in domo nostra que deserviant altari maiori dicte ecclesie.*"

<sup>437</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 442–442v: "*Item legamus dimittimus et dari mandamus ecclesie Beate Marie maioris civitatis Cesarauguste crucem nostram auream erectam super pedem argenteum deauratum ornatam margaritis lapidibusque preciosis.*"

<sup>438</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 441v: "*Legamus insuper eidem ecclesie nostre Cesaraugustane vestimenta nostra sive capellam rubei coloris panni de Spanya sicillet [sic] casullam dalmaticas pallium gremiale cum omnibus aliis suis apparamentis et pertinentis eisdem panni et camissiis et amittis. Item capellam sive vestimenta nostra belluti bullutati viridi coloris brodati auro in camperio inter texto videlicet casullam duas dalmaticas cum tribus camissiis et amittis manipulis stolis et aliis suis apparamentis eiusdem pannii.*"

<sup>439</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 442: "*Item palium nostrum de raso ubi est figurata imago Beati Valerii cum imaginibus quibusdam aliis que nos fecimus fieri Cesarauguste que omnia offerimus et dedicamus servitio dicte ecclesie et illa eidem traddantur in continenti post obitum nostrum.*"

<sup>440</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 442v: "*Item vestimenta nostra sive capellam de damasquino albo scilicet cappam cassullam duas dalmaticas cum suis camissiis amittis pallio stolis manipulis et aliis apparamentis eiudem pannii.*"

<sup>441</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 442v–443: "*Item capellam sive vestimenta nostra de ceti libidi coloris scilicet cassullum duas dalmaticas pallium cum suis camissiis amittis stolis manipulis ceterisque paramentis eiusdem pannii necnon et gremiale de ceti similis coloris ornatum perlis sive margaritis cum signis de Mur in medio quorum est imago domine nostre Virginis Marie.*" A gremial is described by *The Oxford English Dictionary* as, "Eccl. A silken apron placed on the bishop's lap when celebrating Mass or conferring orders." *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v., "gremial, n.," <http://dictionary.oed.com/> (20 April 2008).

Dalmau de Mur survived until at least the end of the nineteenth century when a photograph of it appeared in a book on embroidery;<sup>442</sup> no other pieces are known to have survived.

In another section of the archbishop's testament there is a list of various types of textiles (both rugs and clothing) to be distributed among various individuals, including the heir to the will, Nicolau Carròs and his wife, Brianda, who was Dalmau's niece.<sup>443</sup> It is interesting to note that Dalmau made provision for two of his slaves.<sup>444</sup> Dalmau's testament states that Juan Agostí was to be granted his freedom.<sup>445</sup> An unnamed slave, along with a pack-mule, however, was to be given to the Monastery of Santa María de l'Estany.<sup>446</sup> Finally, Dalmau bequeathed sums of money to various institutions and individuals.<sup>447</sup>

Only one liturgical object survives that is not listed in the archbishop's testament, though there is no documentation that firmly links it to Dalmau de Mur. In the collection at Zaragoza Cathedral is a wood-gilt crosier that María Carmen Lacarra Ducay has associated with Dalmau de Mur. She has attributed its production to Francesc Gomar, who he began working for Dalmau

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<sup>442</sup> At the time of publication, the fragment was in the collection a Señor Escozura, see Louis de Farcy, *La broderie du XIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours d'après des spécimens authentiques et les anciens inventaires* (Angers: Belhomme, 1890), 129, fig. 57.

<sup>443</sup> Of the individuals to receive clothing are Dalmau's Vicar-General, doctor, chamberlain, alomner and an official, see Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folios 450–451.

<sup>444</sup> In studying excerpts of published testaments and inventories of Spanish ecclesiastics, I found only one other reference to a prelate who gives his slave his freedom—in this case a Saracen slave who also was to receive money. Dated March 10, 1410, the testament of Francisco Riquer y Bastero, Bishop of Huseca (1385–1393), Vic (1393–1400) and Segorbe-Albarracín (1400–1409), states: “*Concede la liberación a Antonio, su esclavo sarraceno, y le asigna los derechos sobre 30 florines, la cama donde dormía y sus telas . . .*” For more, see José María Madurell Marimón, “Testamentos E Inventarios Episcopales,” *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 34 (1961): 103–140 at 111.

<sup>445</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 451v: “*Item vull que Johan Agostí m'esclau sia franchs.*”

<sup>446</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 450v: “*Item vull que sia donat al Abbat del Estany l'esclau negre e una adzembra dels que trobaran en casa.*” The Augustinian Monastery of Santa María de l'Estany is located in the county of Bages in the diocese of Barcelona.

<sup>447</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folios 443–443v, 445–445v, 451–451v, 452.

de Mur in 1444.<sup>448</sup> The crosier is carved with scrolling foliage. At its base there is a small red-painted diamond shape outlined in black that possibly represents a coat of arms, which does not appear to be the de Mur devices, and were perhaps added later.

### 3.3.7 Summary

This chapter aims to illustrate that Dalmau de Mur—from nearly the beginning of his ecclesiastical career until the end of his life—unabashedly expressed his powerful position, as both a man of God and as a remarkable patron of the arts. Looking to the distinguished royal and ecclesiastical patrons in France, Dalmau aspired to become a venerable and munificent patron of the arts who would be remembered in perpetuity. The most outstanding of Dalmau's many commissions were also likely be his most extravagant investment—the two exceptionally valuable, large tapestries that depict the *Passion of Christ*; these survive today in the treasury of Zaragoza Cathedral. A detailed study of these tapestries follows in Chapters IV and V.

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<sup>448</sup> Zarazogza, Zaragoza Cathedral Sacristy. For the catalog entry, including a color illustration, see *Aragón, reino y corona* (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón/Ibercaja, 2000), 443, no. 269.

#### **4.0 SACRED SPACE: THE ZARAGOZA *PASSION* TAPESTRIES**

This chapter begins by introducing the tapestry collection at Zaragoza Cathedral. The most significant documents related to Dalmau de Mur—his testament drawn up in 1454 and the 1521 tapestry inventory from Zaragoza Cathedral—reveal that Dalmau de Mur owned tapestries. The 1521 inventory also brings to light the collections of Archbishop de Mur’s two successors. This is followed by an investigation of the possible original function and placement of the *Passion* tapestries at Zaragoza Cathedral. Medieval tapestries played an important part in creating a specific type of space—in both secular and ecclesiastical settings—since during the late Middle Ages they functioned on various levels, depending on their placement. Finally, like other types of religious art, medieval tapestries with religious subjects, served as devotional aids, memory devices and exemplars.

#### **4.1 COLLECTING OF TAPESTRIES AT ZARAGOZA CATHEDRAL**

Dalmau de Mur’s *Passion* tapestries (Figure 1 and Figure 2) survive today in the Museo de Tapices de la Seo, which is located adjacent to the Cathedral of Zaragoza. They represent only two of the seventy or so fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish and Flemish tapestries

that form the Cathedral's collection.<sup>449</sup> While the vast majority of the collection comprises tapestries with religious subjects, such as *The Exaltation of the Holy Cross*, *The Story of John the Baptist* and *The Story of David and Bathsheba*, there are also several series dedicated to such allegorical and mythological subjects as *The Months*, *The War of Troy* and *The Story of Achilles*.

Some of the tapestries in the collection of Zaragoza Cathedral are recorded in an extant inventory of the sacristy, made in 1521.<sup>450</sup> No cathedral inventory contemporary with Dalmau de Mur's archiepiscopacy (1431–1456) survives. The 1521 inventory states that Archbishop de Mur, along with his two successors, donated a total of thirty-two tapestries to Zaragoza Cathedral. Of these tapestries, Dalmau de Mur gave eight.<sup>451</sup>

The itemized list of tapestries described in the 1521 inventory begins under the heading: "Tapestries that were from the donation of the Reverend Father and Señor Archbishop Don Dalmao."<sup>452</sup> There is also a notation stating that in 1513 visitors had seen the tapestries in the

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<sup>449</sup> Eduardo Torra de Arana, Antero Hombría Tortajada and Tomás Domingo Pérez, *Los tapices de la Seo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1985). The medieval tapestries that form the majority of Zaragoza Cathedral's collections are some of the most important in the world, comparable to the holdings of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Bernisches Historisches Museum. See Adolph S. Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Harry N. Abrams, 1993); Anna Rapp Buri and Monica Stucky-Schürer, *Burgundische Tapisserien* (Munich: Hirmer, 2001).

<sup>450</sup> There does exist an earlier document called the "*Libro de Gestis*" (1475–1500). Folio 122 records that on July 23, 1499, the collection of Zaragoza Cathedral included tapestries: "*panyos de raz*," [tapestries], see text corresponding to note 462 for an explanation of the terminology. No other information is provided, so the patron's names, subjects and quantity of these tapestries remain unknown. Eduardo Torra de Arana, Antero Hombría Tortajada and Tomás Domingo Pérez, *Los tapices de la Seo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1985), 322.

<sup>451</sup> Zaragoza, ACSZ, *Inventario de 1521*, folios 110–118. For a transcription of the 1521 inventory and subsequent ones, see Eduardo Torra de Arana, Antero Hombría Tortajada and Tomás Domingo Pérez, *Los tapices de la Seo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1985), 61–73, no. 1, 99–121, no. 6, 152–161, no. 7, 206–218, no. 13, 324–334. Also see Appendix B-2: "Inventory of the Tapestries in the Sacristy of Zaragoza Cathedral," for a transcription of the portions of the 1521 inventory that relate to Dalmau de Mur's tapestry donations.

<sup>452</sup> Zaragoza, ACSZ, *Inventario de 1521*, folio 110: "*Paños de Raz que fueron de la secución del Rdo. Padre y S. Arçobispo Don Dalmao*." All translations from the 1521 inventory are mine.



sacristy.<sup>453</sup> Dalmau's donation of five tapestries included: (1) *The Noli me tangere*; (2) *The Adoration of the Three Kings*; (3) *Saints Valero, Vincent and Lawrence*;<sup>454</sup> (4) *The Nativity* (with shepherds);<sup>455</sup> and (5) *The Crucifixion* (with thieves). This list of Dalmau de Mur's tapestry donation is described over several folios, while the final three tapestries are mentioned under the heading: "Large tapestries of the above mentioned Señor [Don Dalmao]."<sup>456</sup> The first entry describes the two tapestries representing *The Passion of Christ*: "Foremost are two tapestries with large historiated figures of *The Mystery of the Passion*."<sup>457</sup> Following this description is the mention of the last tapestry given by Dalmau de Mur, a *Crucifixion* with the images of Saint Catherine and Saint James. Among the eight tapestries that Dalmau de Mur donated to Zaragoza Cathedral, only the two tapestries of *The Passion* survive.

The other document that sheds light on Dalmau de Mur's tapestry collection is his testament deposited by the notary Juan de Pitiellas on March 5, 1454 (two years before the death of Dalmau on September 12, 1456).<sup>458</sup> Dalmau de Mur's testament, which spans thirty folios, lists his worldly goods—silver, rings, gems, tapestries and manuscripts, such the *Girona Bible* (Girona, ACCG, MS 10) as well as the bible given to Tarragona Cathedral (San Lorenzo de El

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<sup>453</sup> Zaragoza, ACSZ, *Inventario de 1521*, folio 110: "Item los antedichos visitadores en la sacristia en el año 1513 los paños infrascriptos." It is unlikely, however, that the "visitors" would have been allowed to go into the sacristy where only priests could enter, unless of course, the visitors were priests. Alternatively, perhaps the area referred to as the "sacristy" included the multi-storied space that is described today as the sacristy, which comprises other areas, in addition to the sacristy proper.

<sup>454</sup> The lives of these three saints are the central theme of the upper half of the predella of Zaragoza Cathedral's main altarpiece commissioned by Dalmau de Mur. San Valero, a celebrated martyr, who was Bishop of Zaragoza, r.290–315. See note 371.

<sup>455</sup> According to the inventory, this tapestry included the coat of arms of Dalmau de Mur.

<sup>456</sup> Zaragoza, ACSZ, *Inventario de 1521*, folio 113: "Paños grandes de raz del susodicho señor."

<sup>457</sup> Zaragoza, ACSZ, *Inventario de 1521*, folio 113: "Primerament dos drapos de raz figurados grandes istoriados del misterio de la passion."

<sup>458</sup> Zaragoza, ADZP, MS 164, folios 431–459v. See Chapter I, note 1.

Escorial, Biblioteca de El Escorial, MS a.I.5.).<sup>459</sup> Many of the items mentioned in his testament are also examined in Chapter III. While the circumstances of Dalmau de Mur's bequest of tapestries to Zaragoza Cathedral are not clarified by his testament, there are two instances in which the testament mentions his tapestry holdings. The subjects of the tapestries are neither described nor are their numbers specified. The first mention of tapestries reads: ". . . all our goods moveable and immoveable and items of gems, books, silver, rings, tapestries and even the [?] tapestries of the silken thread and with those various things of good quality and all other good things such as ornaments and domestic utensils . . ." <sup>460</sup> The second instance is nearly identical to the first: ". . . all our goods moveable and immoveable and items of silver, rings, books, tapestries and even the [?] tapestries of the silken thread in this sense and with those various things of good quality and our jeweled ornaments and domestic utensils . . ." <sup>461</sup>

To fully understand the meaning of these references to the tapestries, it is necessary to make clear that the term "*paños de ras*" (alternately, "*pannos*" or "*panni*") was medieval Spanish for tapestry. *Paños de ras* was used precisely in reference to the expensive "Arras-style" weavings—the high quality, historiated tapestries woven during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in the Northern towns of Arras and Tournai.<sup>462</sup> By contrast, the term

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<sup>459</sup> The bible remained in the collection of Tarragona Cathedral until 1662, when it entered the royal library of El Escorial upon its donation to Felipe IV, King of Spain (r.1605–1665). See section 3.2.4.

<sup>460</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 436v: ". . . *bonaque nostra mobilia et immobilia res jocalia libros argentum annulos pannos de ras necnon de tapiçeria ac de sirico lino alqueto et alterius cuiuscumque speciei ceteraque omnia bona nostra et ornamenta ac utensilia domus . . .*" The only word in both passages that could not be found in dictionaries was the Arabic word "*alqueto*"—it is likely to be a noun and a descriptor of the object that was tapestry-woven. For instance, on folio 450v, the testament refers to a bedcover as an "*alquella*".

<sup>461</sup> Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 447v: ". . . *bona nostra mobilia et immobilia res argentum annuli libri panni de ras necnon de tapiçeria ac de sirico lino alqueto et cuiuslibet alterius speciei ceteraque omnia bona nostra jocalia ornamenta et domus utensilia . . .*" See above note 460 concerning the word "*alqueto*."

<sup>462</sup> The word "arras" in English served as a synonym for tapestry: "1. A rich tapestry fabric, in which figures and scenes are woven in colours. Also *cloth of arras*." The English usage of the term is found as early as 1397 and continues until about 1823. See *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v., "arras,"

“*tapiçeria*” is less precise; perhaps it refers to lesser-quality tapestry, as well as to other types of tapestry upholstery, such as bed covers, bench covers and drapery for the ceiling.<sup>463</sup>

From his lengthy testament, Dalmau de Mur emerges as a wealthy ecclesiastic who had acquired a sizeable estate. Dalmau de Mur’s two *Passion* tapestries are among the earliest surviving Franco-Flemish tapestries from the fifteenth century to be found in a Spanish collection.<sup>464</sup> The acquisition of these Northern tapestries by Dalmau de Mur was among the first such acquisitions by an ecclesiastic in Spain; his interest in the consumption of Flemish tapestry was pioneering in Spain. In fact, in Zaragoza, the 1521 inventory also records tapestry donations by Dalmau’s two successors, Juan de Aragón (1460–1475) and Alfonso de Aragón (1478–1520), who followed his collecting model.<sup>465</sup> Of the thirty-two tapestries mentioned in the 1521 inventory, Juan de Aragón donated five and Alfonso de Aragón nineteen.<sup>466</sup> As mentioned above, these figures mean that Dalmau de Mur donated eight tapestries.<sup>467</sup>

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<http://dictionary.oed.com/> (20 April 2008). Also see Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 28; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 31.

<sup>463</sup> French inventories often describe “*chambres de tapisserie*” to include these other types of tapestry-woven items, in addition to the historiated tapestries hung on the walls. For examples, see Eugène Soil de Moriamé, *Les tapisseries de Tournai, les tapissiers et les hautelisseurs de cette ville: recherches et documents sur l’histoire, la fabrication et les produits des ateliers de Tournai* (Tournai/Lille: Vasseur-Delmée/L. Quarré, 1892), 378–38, letter O, no. 11, letter P, no. 11bis; Joseph Roman, *Inventaires et documents relatifs aux joyaux et tapisseries des princes d’Orléans-Valois, 1389–1481* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), 147–153.

<sup>464</sup> As mentioned in the introduction of the dissertation, the one known surviving late fourteenth century tapestry belonged to Martín I el Humano, King of Aragón (r.1396–1410). The tapestry, showing Saints John the Baptist, Martin of Tours and Hugh of Grenoble, included the royal arms of Martín I and those of his wife, María de Luna (1358–1407). The tapestry was described and reproduced in an article from 1905, however, its current location is not known. See text corresponding with note 81.

<sup>465</sup> Juan de Aragón was the illegitimate son of Juan II el Grande, King of Aragón (r.1458–1479). He was also the step-brother of Fernando II el Católico, King Consort and Regent of Castile and León (r.1507–1516) and King of Aragón (r.1479–1516). Alfonso de Aragón was the illegitimate son of King Fernando II el Católico.

<sup>466</sup> These totals include wall hangings, antependia, and dossals all of which were tapestry-woven and are often collectively referred to as “*chambres de tapisserie*” in medieval inventories; see note 463.

<sup>467</sup> A total of thirty-two tapestries are recorded in the 1521 inventory, however, only nine survive today in the Cathedral of Zaragoza’s collection. The extant tapestries include Dalmau de Mur’s two *Passion* weavings as well as

Recorded among the tapestries belonging to Alfonso de Aragón is a tapestry that has the following description: “Item is notably a single, medium-sized tapestry containing much silk and gold with *The Story of the Passion* and with the thieves near the cross.”<sup>468</sup> This single panel, which no longer appears to be extant,<sup>469</sup> should not be confused with Dalmau’s two large *Passion* tapestries that had been cited earlier in the same 1521 inventory.

The patronage of tapestries from the Franco-Flemish region by these eminent Archbishops of Zaragoza—Dalmau de Mur, Juan de Aragón and Alfonso de Aragón—would seem to follow in the footsteps of the leading French royal collectors of tapestry, including Charles V le Sage, King of France (r.1364–1380); Jean, Duke of Berry (r.1360–1416); Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy (r.1364–1404); Charles VI le Fol, King of France (r.1380–1422); Louis I, Duke of Orléans (r.1392–1407) and his wife, Valentine Visconti (1368–1408); Louis I, Duke of Anjou (r.1360–1384); Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy (r.1404–1419); and Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy (r.1419–1467). The inventories of these notable royal collectors reveal their strong interest in the commissioning of tapestry from the second half of the fourteenth century that continued throughout the fifteenth century.<sup>470</sup> Europe’s ruling dynasties—like the powerful families in Italy such as the Counts and Dukes of Savoy, Counts and Dukes of Milan and the Marquises of Mantua and Ferrara, as well as the popes in Rome—also became ardently

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seven tapestries donated by Alfonso de Aragón, including *The Story of Esther and Ahasuerus* (3 weavings), *The Story of Saint John the Baptist* (3 weavings) and *The Story of the Virgin* (1 weaving).

<sup>468</sup> Zaragoza, ACSZ, *Inventario de 1521*, exact folio number unknown, between 113–118: “Item un paño mediano rico con mucha seda y oro y con la hystoria de la passion y con los ladrones cerca de la cruz es paño notabilissimo.”

<sup>469</sup> This tapestry is no longer found among the other tapestries in the collection at Zaragoza Cathedral.

<sup>470</sup> See note 31 for a list of the edited inventories of these medieval tapestry collections in France.

involved with commissioning tapestries from the North.<sup>471</sup> The tapestry collection at Zaragoza Cathedral, and particularly the two *Passion* tapestries, illustrate that high-ranking prelates in Spain were participating in the elite patronage and acquisition of luxury tapestries from the Franco-Flemish region. What is not known, is whether Dalmau de Mur commissioned the tapestries specifically for Zaragoza or acquired them after manufacture. I argue in Chapter V that the latter is more likely because the date of the weaving of the *Passion* tapestries may have been about 1400–1410—a date earlier than previously claimed and too early in Dalmau’s career for him to have commissioned them.

## 4.2 CREATING SACRED SPACE AT ZARAGOZA CATHEDRAL

The original function and placement of the *Passion* tapestries bequeathed to Zaragoza Cathedral by Dalmau de Mur remains unknown.<sup>472</sup> There are no surviving textual accounts from the

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<sup>471</sup> For more on Italian patronage of tapestry, see Cosimo Conti, *Ricerche storiche sull’arte degli arazzi in Firenze* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1875); Mercedes Viale Ferrero and Bruno Molajoli, *Arazzi italiani* (Milan: Electa editrice, 1961); Nello Forti Grazzini, *L’arazzo ferrarese* (Milan: Electa, 1982); Nello Forti Grazzini, *Arazzi del Cinquecento a Como* (Como: Societa Archeologica Comense, 1986); Nello Forti Grazzini, “Arazzi in Bruxelles in Italia, 1480–1535: Tracce per un catalogo,” in *Gli Arazzi del cardinale: Bernardo Cles e il Ciclo della passione di Pieter van Aelst*, ed. Enrico Castelnuovo, Marco Bellabarba and Michelangelo Lupo (Trento: Temi editrice, 1990): 35–71; Matilde Stefanini Sorrentino, *Arazzi medicei a Pisa* (Florence: Università internazionale dell’arte di Firenze, 1993); Lucia Meoni, *Gli arazzi nei musei fiorentini: la collezione medicea, catalogo completo* (Livorno: Sillabe, 1998); Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press: 2002), 85–101.; Nello Forti Grazzini, “Flemish Weavers in Italy in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad: Emigration and the Founding of Manufactories in Europe*, ed. Guy Delmarcel (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002): 131–162; Hillie Smit, “Flemish Tapestry Weavers in Italy, c.1420–1520: A Survey and Analysis of the Activity in Various Cities,” in *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad: Emigration and the Founding of Manufactories in Europe*, ed. Guy Delmarcel (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002): 113–130.

<sup>472</sup> Despite numerous requests, I was not permitted access to the Archivo Diocesano de Zaragoza (ADZ). My hope was to study the liturgical documents, such as missals, that could possibly provide clues as to what rôles the *Passion* tapestries played in the liturgical celebrations at Zaragoza Cathedral. Furthermore, since it remains unclear if Dalmau de Mur originally commissioned the tapestries and if they were made for use at Zaragoza Cathedral, the study of liturgical practices at Zaragoza was not imperative.

fifteenth century that would shed light on their use. It is also not evident if the tapestries, which were part of Dalmau de Mur's collection, were ever hung in the Archbishop's Palace. This seems doubtful for two reasons. First, in his testament, Dalmau de Mur identified objects that came from the house, "*habemus in domo nostra,*" such as the two silver-gilt candelabra and the four large brass candelabra that he donated to Zaragoza Cathedral.<sup>473</sup> It seems possible then that had the *Passion* tapestries been housed in the Archbishop's Palace, it would have been stated in his testament. Second, the tapestries contain extremely precious materials and are in very good condition. The tapestries, therefore, were most likely displayed only during important religious feast days in the Cathedral and were kept rolled-up in storage during the rest of the year.<sup>474</sup> There is no obvious physical evidence inside Zaragoza Cathedral, such as hooks that might indicate where the tapestries were displayed.

The *Passion* tapestries were probably exhibited during Easter week—perhaps they were hung on or before Palm Sunday for liturgical celebrations corresponding to *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, the first scene illustrated in the tapestries. Otherwise, they could have also been displayed later in the week for the liturgical festivities of Maundy Thursday or Good Friday.<sup>475</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> Zaragoza, ADZP, MS 164, folios 442.

<sup>474</sup> In their place, painted cloths or even the full-scale tapestry cartoons were possibly hung. Documentation survives from Angers Cathedral revealing that two tapestry sets, one of *The Story of Saint Maurice* and the other of *The Story of Saint Maurille*, were hung in the choir on their respective feast days, but during the rest of the year they were replaced with the painted tapestry cartoons from which they were woven. Diane Wolfthal, *The Beginnings of Netherlandish Canvas Painting: 1400–1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Adolph S. Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 31; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press: 2002), 26, 43.

<sup>475</sup> For instance, the *Passion of Christ* tapestries made for Venice Cathedral (Venice, ca.1420–1430, woven by Flemish weavers working in Venice, while the design is attributed to Niccolò di Pietro, ca.1408–1427) were exhibited on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. During the fifteenth century, they were most probably exhibited in the choir and later in the sacristy. In the seventeenth century, documents show that they were delivered to the Cathedral on Ash Wednesday from the Monastery of Santa Lucia, where they were stored for the remainder of the year. From this, scholars have wondered if perhaps they were exhibited during then entire period of Lent, see Monica Stucky-Schürer, *Die Passionsteppiche von San Marco in Venedig: Ihr Verhältnis zur Bildwirkerei in Paris und Arras im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Bern: Stämpfli, 1972); Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance:*

Their use during the period of Lent is also a possibility, but studies have shown that painted cloths with colorless imagery, such as *grisaille*, were used during Lent.<sup>476</sup> For example, the ink-on-silk painting known as the *Parement de Narbonne* (Paris, ca.1375–1378 by Parement Master, identified as possibly Jean d’Orléans or André Beanueveu), discussed fully in Chapter V, used the *grisaille* technique.<sup>477</sup> The painting is long and narrow—it measures H 78 x 208 cm—dimensions that suggest it was used as an altar frontal during Lent as does its lack of color.<sup>478</sup>

There also survives a rare set of late fifteenth-century *grisaille* painted cloths from Reims Cathedral illustrating scenes of the *Passion* that was used during the season of Lent.<sup>479</sup> These painted cloths would have been hung around the sanctuary, obstructing the view of the high altar and in doing so they added to the *ornamenta ecclesiae* of Lent by creating an atmosphere of penance and mourning. Then, on Holy Wednesday, these somber images typically would come down to be replaced with bright, colorful tapestries in celebration of Christ’s life, passion and

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*Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press: 2002), 102–108, no. 7; Laura Weigert, “‘Velum Templi:’ Painted Cloths of the Passion and the Making of Lenten Ritual in Reims,” *Studies in Iconography* 24 (2003): 199–229.

<sup>476</sup> For instance, see Molly Teasdale Smith, “The Use of Grisaille as Lenten Observance,” *Marsyas* 9 (1959): 43–45; Susie Nash, “The Parement de Narbonne: Context and Technique,” in *The Fabric of Images: European Paintings on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Caroline Villers (London: Archetype Publications, 2000): 77–87; Laura Weigert, “‘Velum Templi:’ Painted Cloths of the Passion and the Making of Lenten Ritual in Reims,” *Studies in Iconography* 24 (2003): 199–229.

<sup>477</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. M.I. 1121. For bibliography, see note 539.

<sup>478</sup> In addition to the *Parement de Narbonne*, there is a bishop’s miter (probably Paris, ca.1350–1370, Paris, Musée du Moyen-Âge, Thermes de Cluny, inv. no. Cl.12924) that is also executed in a similar technique and style, and also used *grisaille*. It seems plausible then that during Lenten liturgical ceremonies, the bishop would wear the *grisaille* miter, thereby functioning as a visual counterpart to the somber decoration of the church. Viviane Huchard et al., *Le Musée national du Moyen Age, Thermes de Cluny* (Paris: Fondation Paribas/Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1996), 97, fig. 123.

<sup>479</sup> Laura Weigert, “‘Velum Templi:’ Painted Cloths of the Passion and the Making of Lenten Ritual in Reims,” *Studies in Iconography* 24 (2003): 199–229.

resurrection.<sup>480</sup> It is possible that similar procedures took place at Zaragoza Cathedral, but no painted cloths are known to have survived.<sup>481</sup>

The *Passion* tapestries each measure approximately 4.20 meters in height by 8.25 meters in length. Within Zaragoza Cathedral, there are numerous areas where the *Passion* tapestries could have been displayed. Without documentation, it is impossible to identify for certain where the *Passion* tapestries hung during liturgical ceremonies, but there are some parts of Zaragoza Cathedral that are more plausible than others. The large sculpted altarpiece located behind the high altar of Zaragoza Cathedral was introduced in Chapter III, as were the choir stalls, located in the center of the nave, which were also commissioned by Archbishop de Mur. Both of these structures remain *in situ* and their exact location can be seen on a floor plan.<sup>482</sup> The area near the high altar offers the most plausible place for the tapestries to have been hung, whereas the space within the choir stalls is less likely. Both spaces are considered below.

In describing the possible areas for tapestries to be hung in a church, the tapestry historian, Adolph Cavallo, explains that tapestries were hung almost randomly around the church and only tapestry altar frontals or choir tapestries were woven especially to be hung in specific spaces.<sup>483</sup> Both altar frontals and choir tapestries have dimensions that are narrow in height and long in width, thus reflecting where they were intended to be used. For example, the extant choir tapestries typically measure about 2 meters in height, while their length ranges from 40 to 60

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<sup>480</sup> Laura Weigert, "'Velum Temli': Painted Cloths of the Passion and the Making of Lenten Ritual in Reims," *Studies in Iconography* 24 (2003): 199–229 at 210–211.

<sup>481</sup> Even though there are no extant painted cloths at Zaragoza Cathedral, this does not mean that the custom did not take place. Painted cloths were inexpensive substitutes for sumptuous tapestries. Very few survive from the fifteenth century, such as those made for Reims Cathedral, mentioned above.

<sup>482</sup> See section 3.3.3.

<sup>483</sup> Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 31.



meters, depending on the height and length of the choir for which they were woven. There are several surviving Franco-Flemish choir tapestries from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that demonstrate these narrow and long dimensions.<sup>484</sup> For instance, the early sixteenth-century choir tapestries given to the Abbey of Saint-Robert de La Chaise-Dieu by the Abbot Jacques de Saint-Nectaire (r.1491–1518), survive and have been photographed *in situ*.<sup>485</sup> The *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries, however, could not possibly have been hung above the choir stalls at Zaragoza Cathedral—at 4 meters in height, they are simply too big to have been displayed in the choir stalls at Zaragoza.<sup>486</sup>

It is possible that the *Passion* tapestries could have been hung on the outside walls of the choir stalls. If this was the case, it is not evident now because in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the exterior walls of the choir were carved with high-bas relief sculptures and deeply cut niches of stone and wood. These exterior walls of the choir, decorated with sculpted columns, illustrate scenes from the bible and legends of saints' lives. Nine niches serve as altars dedicated to saints as well. The exterior of the choir, therefore, seems an improbable place to exhibit the tapestries, yet since it is not known what the exterior walls of the choir looked like before the changes made during the Renaissance and Baroque periods, that tapestries may have been exhibited there certainly remains a possibility.

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<sup>484</sup> See note 36 for bibliographic references.

<sup>485</sup> Adolph S. Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 30–31, fig. 29; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press: 2002), 26, fig. 21; Catherine Arminjon, Laura Weigert and Olivier Renaudeau, *Saints de chœurs: tapisseries du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance* (Milan: 5 continents, 2003), 112–125.

<sup>486</sup> By contrast, there are examples, such as the Abbey of La Chaise-Dieu, where the tapestries were able to be hung above the choir stalls, supported by piers; but, at Zaragoza Cathedral the choir stalls are located in the center of the nave and there are no adjacent piers or walls that could have served as architectural supports to mount the tapestries for viewing from the choir.

A more plausible space for them to have been hung would have been between the piers of the nave. The piers are about 10 meters apart, thus leaving plenty of space for each tapestry to be hung.<sup>487</sup> The tapestries could have been hung on any of the piers. Most of the chapels that line the side aisles are from the sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, but it can be supposed, for instance, that the lost tapestries with the imagery of *Saints Valero, Vincent and Lawrence*, which Dalmau de Mur owned,<sup>488</sup> could have been hung near the entrances of the Chapel of Saint Valero or the Chapel of Saint Vincent; there appears to be no chapel dedicated to Saint Lawrence, but maybe one existed during the fifteenth century. The display of tapestries hanging on piers was seen at Palencia Cathedral in 2003, where tapestries were placed back to back and hung suspended between the piers next to a sculpted altarpiece that was not the high altar.

A similar method was observed in the central nave and side aisles of Tarragona Cathedral in 2003, where the tapestries were attached to the front of the piers, instead of being suspended between them. In the side aisles, each pier that flanked a chapel displayed a tapestry. Alternately, the tapestries could have also been arranged in a continuous fashion in front of the piers, as pictured in an undated photograph of Zaragoza Cathedral's interior, where the tapestries are lined up edge-to-edge creating a wall of tapestry.

The most probable place to hang the tapestries in Zaragoza Cathedral, however, would have been next to the high altar, where two wide walls flank the main altarpiece. The walls measure approximately 8.85 meters in length, thus the 8-meter-long tapestries could have been displayed there as well. A lithograph and another undated photograph from Zaragoza Cathedral

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<sup>487</sup> I was not granted permission to photograph the interior of Zaragoza Cathedral despite requests.

<sup>488</sup> See note 404/

illustrate that tapestries, though not the *Passion* tapestries, were indeed displayed on these two walls adjacent to the high altar.<sup>489</sup> Likewise, tapestries were seen hanging on the walls adjacent to the high altar of Palencia Cathedral in 2003.

Although it is not clear where the *Passion* tapestries were originally displayed in Zaragoza Cathedral, the spaces such as the piers of the nave, or most likely the walls of the high altar, are most probable. Without the support of documentary evidence, the original placement and viewing contexts of the tapestries are speculations; even so, what can be discussed is how tapestries functioned for medieval viewers.<sup>490</sup>

### 4.3 THE FUNCTION OF RELIGIOUS TAPESTRIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

It is clear that whether tapestries illustrated secular or religious subjects, they established boundaries, both physically and symbolically. In the physical sense, medieval tapestries were a principal component in the construction of environments of power, authority and devotion.<sup>491</sup> For example, manuscript illuminations indicate that tapestries were prominently displayed in public spaces, such as in battle tents during campaigns, in courtrooms during trials, and in choir

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<sup>489</sup> Jenaro Pérez Villaamil (active 1830–1854) designed the drawing and Léon-Auguste Asselineau was the engraver. In 1842, Lemerrier printed the lithograph in Paris. For a reproduction, see Domingo J. Buesa Conde, ed., *Las Catedrales de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de Zaragoza, Aragón y Rioja, 1987), front cover.

<sup>490</sup> For the some of ways in which medieval tapestries functioned, see section 1.3.

<sup>491</sup> Tapestries decorated the walls, hallways and façades of buildings. The concept of covering rooms with textiles is an ancient Greek tradition. In his immense book dedicated to style and architecture, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten, oder praktische Ästhetik* (1977), Gottfried Semper identifies the textile as one of the four primary elements of architecture. As such, the rôle of textiles is intrinsically linked with the notion of an enclosed space. In effect, textiles (or tapestries) were used to cover the walls in order to create and define spatial and symbolic spaces. See Mari Hvattum, *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 15–16, 70–75; Gottfried Semper, *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or, Practical Aesthetics* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004), 12–13, 43, 44.

stalls in churches during liturgical services as seen in the Abbey of Saint-Robert de La Chaise-Dieu.<sup>492</sup>

On a more private level, tapestries were exhibited in exclusive rooms to create an atmosphere of affluence and warmth. This use of tapestry is depicted in the January calendar page from the *Très Riches Heures* (Bourges or Paris, ca.1411/12–1416, by the Limbourgs).<sup>493</sup> The manuscript illumination offers the viewer the opportunity to witness the rich and opulent lifestyle of one of the most important art collectors in France during the later Middle Ages, Jean, Duke of Berry. This painting—presented as a *mise-en-scène* within which figures perform and *objets d'art* are flaunted—aims to evoke the sumptuous world of the French royal courts. The viewer is introduced to the courtly atmosphere of a *chambre à parer*—the designated room to celebrate various ceremonial events, entertain honored guests, and hold dinner banquets.<sup>494</sup>

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<sup>492</sup> An illumination in Jean Froissart's, *Chroniques de France* (Bruges, ca.1470, London, British Museum, MS Harley 4380, folio 84) shows the King of Hungary in his tent on a battlefield convening a council; see Adolph S. Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 29–31, fig. 28. An image representing Charles VII, King of France (r.1422–1461) presiding over the trial of Jean II, Duke of Alençon (r. 1415–1476) can be found in the French edition of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* by Laurent Girard (France, 1458, attributed to Jean Fouquet (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS Codex Gallicus 369, olim Codex Gallicus 6, folio 2v); see Adolph S. Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 27, 29, fig. 27; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press: 2002), 20–21, fig. 18. Choir tapestries *in situ* at the Abbey of Saint-Robert de La Chaise-Dieu are reproduced in Adolph S. Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 30–31, fig. 29.

<sup>493</sup> Chantilly, Musée de Condé, MS 65, folio 1. Jean Longnon, Raymond Cazelles and Millard Meiss, *The Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duke de Berry: Musée Condé, Chantilly*, trans. V. Benedict (New York: G. Braziller, 1969); Luciano Belloso, "I Limbourg percursori di Van Eyck? Nuove osservazioni sui 'Mesi' di Chantilly," *Prospettiva* 1 (April, 1975) 24–34 [also reproduced in *Come un prato fiorito: studi sull'arte tardogotica* (Milan: Jaca, 2000), 111–122]; Raymond Cazelles, "Les étapes de l'élaboration des Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry," *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, n.s. 10 (January–March 1976): 3–30; Inès Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international: l'art en France au temps du Charles VI* (Paris: Musée du Louvre/Hazan, 2004), 62–67; Patricia Stirnemann, Inès Villela-Petit and Emmanuelle Toulet, *Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry et l'enluminure en France au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris/Chantilly: Somgy/Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, 2004), 6–7 fig. 2, 40–45 fig. 32–35, 80–81; Patricia Stirnemann, "The King of Illuminated Manuscripts: *The Très Riches Heures*," in *The Limbourg Brothers: Nijmegen Masters at the French Court, 1400–1416*, ed. R. Dücker and P. Roelofs (Ghent/Nijmegen: Ludion/Museum Het Valkhof Nijmegen, 2005), 112–119.

<sup>494</sup> Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400," *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 4 (December, 2001): 598–625 at 609–612.

In this painting, the room is filled with richly dressed courtiers who show off the latest trends in fashion—ornately folded *chaperons* (hats), *robes* and *houppelandes* that are adorned with brocade patterns, golden motifs, embroidered details and jagged edges—and many of the figures sport the hairstyle of the day, *à l'écuelle* (the bowl cut).<sup>495</sup> The centerpiece of the intimate scene is the large table covered with gold and silver plates, bowls, ornamental drinking flasks and the very prominently displayed golden *nef* (ship) that brims with an assortment of marvelous tableware.<sup>496</sup>

At the table, the figure of the Duke of Berry majestically sits upon the “cloth of honor” that is decorated with his heraldic devices: lilies, bears and swans.<sup>497</sup> He is dressed in a blue *houppelande* that is patterned with gold brocade and lined with fur. Jean de Berry is portrayed in such a way that his profile is juxtaposed with the large gold fire screen that visually serves as a halo. The enchanting scene is so magical that even golden embers materialize from the fireplace. Among all the sumptuous works of art featured in this cozy banquet scene, two of the most expensive certainly are the tapestries that decorate the walls.

In the center of the room hangs a red armorial tapestry, decorated with fleur de lys and white swans, that creates a dais, signifying the placement of the Duke. On the left and back walls is a larger tapestry that shows a battle scene, creating a *trompe l'œil* effect in which knights appear to charge into the room. Millard Meiss and Brigitte Buettnner have stated that the tapestry

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<sup>495</sup> See Appendix E: “Costumes, Headgear and Hairstyles: Descriptions and Historical Details of the Zaragoza *Passion* Tapestries.”

<sup>496</sup> For a study of some of the objects presented in this illumination, see Jean-Pierre Rijen, “Precious Metalwork in Gold Leaf: Everyday Lustre at the Court of Jean de Berry, as Depicted by the Limbourg Brothers,” in *The Limbourg Brothers: Nijmegen Masters at the French Court, 1400–1416*, ed. Rob Dücker and Pieter Roelofs (Ghent/Nijmegen: Ludion/Museum Het Valkhof Nijmegen, 2005): 164–177.

<sup>497</sup> Two miniature heraldic sculptures, one of a bear, the other a swan, also rest atop either end of the *nef*.

represents the *Story of the Trojan War* because of the presence of the words “*Hector de Troie*,” but Scot McKendrick has argued that this identification is not certain.<sup>498</sup> Jean de Berry’s inventory does not record a tapestry, or set of tapestries illustrating the *Story of the Trojan War*, but he may nevertheless have owned tapestries with Trojan subjects.<sup>499</sup> More research on the illustration of the tapestry and its inscriptions are needed for a more conclusive identification. The picture in the January illumination shows that the edges of both tapestries are carefully tucked around the opening of the fireplace.

The prized works of art pictured in the *Très Riches Heures* produce an evocative image of life at the French courts—a style carefully constructed by the ruling dynasty, the Valois: Charles V, King of France and his brothers, the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Anjou. The picture reflects one of the primary activities of medieval visual court culture—of seeing and being seen with one’s most cherished possessions. These luxurious *objets d’art* were the *objets de désir* for aristocrats across Europe. Secular and ecclesiastical rulers alike chose to convey their messages of power and prestige by emulating the renowned and affluent Valois collectors.

Within this visual vocabulary of the European courts, tapestry was one of the most expensive and highly coveted luxury objects.<sup>500</sup> In effect, through their physical role, tapestry positioned their owners as the nucleus of a meticulously constructed spectacle. The functions of tapestry were expressed in an established visual language that was clear and recognized by the

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<sup>498</sup> See Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, 2 vols. (New York: George Braziller/The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1974), vol. 1, 63–64; Scot McKendrick, “The Great History of Troy: A Reassessment of the Development of a Secular Theme in Late Medieval Art,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 43–82 at 67n163; Brigitte Buettner, “Past Presents: New Year’s Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca.1400,” *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 4 (December, 2001): 598–625 at 613.

<sup>499</sup> For instance, Berry received tapestries of the *Passion* from Philippe le Hardi that were not mentioned in his inventory, see note 69. For Berry’s inventory, see Bernard Prost, “Les tapisseries du duc de Berry,” *Archives historiques, artistiques et littéraires* 1 (1889–1890), 385–392.

<sup>500</sup> See section 1.3.

foremost aristocrats across Europe; their multivalent meanings transcended the borders of politics, religion and nations.

On the symbolic level, tapestries signified order—they demarcated differences in class and social status by defining the aristocracy’s palpable authority, grace and distinction. Within a religious setting, tapestries illustrating biblical stories, apocryphal legends and the lives of saints, also displayed the wealth and authority of the Church and the ecclesiastical or royal patron.

Medieval tapestries also constructed liturgical and devotional spaces.<sup>501</sup> Liturgically, they complemented the practices, teachings and celebrations of the church. Devotionally, they created a place that enabled viewers to experience transcendence through a material object, to be transported into a different, sacred space.<sup>502</sup> In order to achieve this sacred space, medieval tapestries—and all medieval devotional images—relied upon standard religious figures, such as the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist and St. Veronica holding the *sudarium* which the viewer could contemplate. To enhance an individual’s devotional experience, artists often used generalized features in their depictions of these figures;<sup>503</sup> however, the one figure that had a more specific rendering was Christ. The medieval representation of Christ was often based on the forged, eyewitness account of Lentulus, Governor of Judea, an invented character, who described to the Roman Senate the physical traits of Christ. The description—translated here by

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<sup>501</sup> On her article dedicated to the historiography of medieval altarpieces, Beth Williamson discusses the concepts of “liturgical” and “devotional” and encourages scholars to be less rigid in their definitions. Traditionally, liturgical was considered a public activity, whereas devotional was a private one. Devotional practices, however, were not necessarily performed in private spaces, but often within the walls of the church. Likewise, liturgical celebrations were also held in private chapels. For more see, Beth Williamson, “Altarpieces, Liturgy and Devotion,” *Speculum* 79 (2004): 341–406 at 380–381, 405–406.

<sup>502</sup> Laurel Amtower, *Engaging Words: The Culture of Reading in the Later Middle Age* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 42.

<sup>503</sup> Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 47.

Michael Baxandal into English—is from an Italian version of a Greek forgery that was popular in the fifteenth century:

A man of average or moderate height, and very distinguished. He has an impressive appearance, so that those who look on him love and fear him. His hair is the color of a ripe hazel-nut. It falls straight almost to the level of his ears; from there down it curls thickly and is rather more luxuriant, and this hangs down to his shoulders. In front his hair is parted in two, with the parting in the centre in the Nazarene manner. His forehead is wide, smooth and serene, and his face is without wrinkles or any marks. It is graced by a slightly reddish tinge, a faint colour. His nose and mouth are faultless. His beard is thick and like a young man's first beard, of the same color of his hair; it is not particularly long and is parted in the middle. His aspect is simple and mature. His eyes are brilliant, mobile, clear, splendid. . . .<sup>504</sup>

This example of how the figure of Christ was to be envisioned also demonstrates that medieval religious works of art were typically created within an established visual vocabulary that was based upon the doctrines of the Church. The medieval artist produced works of art that involved a socially constructed and widely accepted system of images, symbolism and meanings.<sup>505</sup> Consequently, it can be said that the medieval artist was “. . . a professional visualizer of the holy stories. . . . The public mind was not a blank tablet on which the painters' representations of a story or a person could impress themselves; it was an active institution of interior visualization with which every painter had to get along.”<sup>506</sup> The representation of biblical stories in art was a powerful tool that encouraged medieval spectators to contemplate the imagery with the desire of being transported from the material to the immaterial world. Once

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<sup>504</sup> Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 57, 165–166.

<sup>505</sup> Michael Camille, “Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy,” *Art History* 8, no. 1 (March 1985): 26–49 at 32.

<sup>506</sup> Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 45.



there, the holy story continued to be played out before the medieval viewers, transforming them into witnesses or even participants. Thus, for the pious medieval spectator, visual perception was the sense *par excellence*—the soul of a Christian could be influenced and shaped by vision since seeing was considered “. . . [one] way of relating to oneself, to the sensible world, including other animate beings, and to God.”<sup>507</sup>

Tapestries—just like wall paintings, mosaics and panel paintings, or even sculpted programs, and on a smaller scale, manuscript painting—also symbolically embodied, as physical surrogates, the events and the ideas that the Christian church called upon its subjects to imagine and remember. Memory played a vital role in the Middle Ages.<sup>508</sup> Memory was defined as a mental picture, a “copy” or “phantasm” (*simulacrum*), or a “representation” (*imago*). The medieval concept of memory was based on the storage and recollection of memories. The brain, it was assumed, did not “store” memories as pictures, but rather as quasi-pictures that were conceived of as “copies” (*simulacra*) that made an impression on the brain in a specific place. It was believed that this quasi-image was the cognitive basis by which the intellect understands one representation in relation to another. One of the primary ways to retrieve a memory was through visual or pictorial means.<sup>509</sup>

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<sup>507</sup> Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 3. For an extensive history of vision, see Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 21–82.

<sup>508</sup> For more on the training and function of memory during the Middle Ages, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Frances Amelia Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London/New York: Routledge, 1999). A new type of memory training introduced by Ramon Llull (1232/33–1315/16) that was based on the trinity and the three parts of the soul: *intellectus* (the art of knowing and finding out the truth), *voluntas* (the art of training the will towards loving truth) and *memoria* (the art of memory for remembering truth). Llull’s training of the memory came from a practice of philosophy, rather than rhetoric, and was based on algebra and science. For more, see Frances Amelia Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London/New York: Routledge, 1999), 173–198.

<sup>509</sup> Mary Carruthers distinguishes between “visual” (memories drawn from non-pictorial means, like words, letters, colors) and “pictorial” (memories drawn from pictorial means); see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 18.

Francesc Eiximenis (ca.1327/32–1409), a Franciscan from Catalonia, wrote various treaties on the subject of memory, including, *The Art of Preaching to the People* (*Ars praedicandi populo*), completed after 1383.<sup>510</sup> In his text he discusses the importance of memory aids for recollection: “. . . when we have to remember things (*res*), then a single similitude or figure will represent a whole story to us, just as Christ’s cross indicates to us the entire sequence of events of *The Passion of Christ* . . .”<sup>511</sup> In a similar view, Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester Cathedral (r.1450–1457), described the sole function of images as being mnemonic; images simply reminded one of what one already knew.<sup>512</sup> Intertwined with memory are the elements of time and narrative. Many of the ancient philosophers, like Aristotle, wrote that time is a fundamental ingredient of memories: although they exist in the present, memories call upon things from the past.<sup>513</sup>

Besides serving as devotional objects and memory devices, religious tapestries and other works of art had another symbolic function—they served as a form of moral instruction. Religious imagery buttressed the dominant social and religious beliefs in medieval Christian culture. Giovanni Balbi (Balbus, Balbis) of Genoa (d. ca.1298) wrote about the roles of the religious image, or representation (*imago*), in his religious dictionary, *Summa Grammaticalis quae vocatur Catholicon* (1286):

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<sup>510</sup> Marti de Barcelona, “L’Ars praedicandi de Francesc Eiximenis,” *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 12 (1936): 301–340.

<sup>511</sup> Francesc Eiximenis and trans. Kimberly Rivers, “On Two Kinds of Order That Aid Understanding and Memory,” in *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, ed. Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 189–202 at 198.

<sup>512</sup> Lawrence G. Duggan, “Was Art Really the ‘Book of the Illiterate’?,” *Word and Image* 5, no. 3 (July–September 1989): 227–251 at 235.

<sup>513</sup> Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 60.

Know that there were three reasons for the institution of images in churches. *First*, for the instruction of simple people, because they are instructed by them as if by books. *Second*, so that the mystery of the incarnation and the examples of the Saints may be the more active in our memory through being presented daily to our eyes. *Third*, to excite feelings of devotion, these being aroused more effectively by things seen than by things heard.<sup>514</sup>

*The Story of the Passion of Christ* remains one of the most powerful of biblical narratives. During the Middle Ages, many medieval representations of this cosmic drama, like Dalmau de Mur's *Passion* tapestries at Zaragoza, blended together the themes of *sublimitas* (sublimity) and *humilitas* (humility).<sup>515</sup> These themes cultivated a sacred space in which viewers could then reflect on the tapestry's imagery in order to be reminded of Christ's sacrifices for humanity, and more specifically, the sufferings he endured for each individual viewer. The imagery of the tapestries thus functioned as an exemplary, by showing the viewer, through pictorial means, how to be a pious, humble Christian. This emotional and meditative connection also operated on devotional and mnemonic levels that encouraged the faithful to keep close to their hearts and minds *The Story of Christ* and his *Passion*. Liturgical and devotional images—including religious tapestries—were paramount to the education of medieval Christians. Their display in a religious setting was an integral component to the teachings of the Christian doctrine.

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<sup>514</sup> Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 40–41, 161.

<sup>515</sup> Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask, 50th anniversary ed. (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), 151.

## 5.0 FINDING THREADS IN FRANCE AND FLANDERS: VISUAL AND LITERARY SOURCES OF THE ZARAGOZA *PASSION* TAPESTRIES

As stated in the introduction of the dissertation, the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries have been dated to around 1400–1425 and attributed on stylistic grounds to the Franco-Flemish region (Figure 1 and Figure 2).<sup>516</sup> The works of art that have the strongest visual parallels to the Zaragoza tapestries support the hypothesis that the designers of the tapestries were either artists working in the French court circles or that the works of art made by these French court artists influenced the designers of the Zaragoza tapestries. Moreover, the tapestries' affinities with these works of art suggest that they were woven earlier than previously dated. While no exact model was found, the selected comparative works of art illustrate that the designers of the tapestries were influenced by works of art produced within the French royal courts from between 1380 and 1410; the tapestries were most likely woven between 1400 and 1410.

The two *Passion* tapestries at Zaragoza Cathedral are significant for several reasons. First, they are the oldest surviving Franco-Flemish tapestries that depict *The Passion of Christ*. Second, they are among the few extant tapestries that were woven at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Among these surviving examples, they are among the few that include silk, silver and gold threads, indicating that their commission was extraordinarily expensive and rare.

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<sup>516</sup> See Chapter I, note 5.

Third, upon further examination, the Zaragoza tapestries exhibit unusual and sometimes remarkably rare iconographic and stylistic features.

This chapter provides an in-depth stylistic and iconographic analysis of the fifteen episodes of *The Passion of Christ* that are represented in the two *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries. Each scene is fully described and special attention is paid to identifying the more unusual stylistic and iconographic elements depicted in the tapestries. First, the overall stylistic characteristics are identified. Then a detailed examination looks at the treatment of space in the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries. This is followed by the iconographic analysis. The stylistic and iconographic parallels are identified in several objects made for the major French collectors, notably King Charles V and Jean, Duke of Berry, by the leading court artists, including Jean Bondol, Jean le Noir, the Parement Master and the Limbourg brothers.<sup>517</sup>

## 5.1 STYLE

The execution of space is markedly different in the two weavings, but each approach may be paralleled in works of similar style and date. The “spatial imagination” of the artists in the first tapestry is particularly demonstrated in the use of micro-architectural frameworks that can be described as *petites maisons*.<sup>518</sup> These structural components divide up the sequence of events in

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<sup>517</sup> As explained in the Introduction of the dissertation, a broad survey was conducted to examine the development of *Passion* iconography in order to position the Zaragoza tapestries within a larger artistic context. The tapestries were compared with French and Flemish works of art, such as illuminated manuscripts, panel paintings, altarpieces and other tapestries, ranging approximately from 1350 until 1450. From this investigation, the visual evidence suggests that the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries may be linked, both stylistically and iconographically, to works of art commissioned or owned by members of the Valois dynasty, since the tapestries exhibit certain French stylistic tendencies that were popular in the two decades immediately before and after the year 1400. See section 1.2.

<sup>518</sup> These architectural frameworks recall the use of *maisons*—small wooden structures—that were typically used in medieval drama to facilitate the creation of a *mise en scène*, particularly for a city, such as Jerusalem. See François

a manner that transforms the temporality of the story into a logically flowing composition. This emphasis on spatial clarity is necessary because 113 figures appear in the following ten scenes of the first tapestry: (1) *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*; (2) *The Prayer in the Garden*; (3) *Christ Led through a Passageway*; (4) *The Kiss of Judas and Peter Cutting Off Malchus' Ear*; (5) *Christ before Caiaphas or Annas*; (6) *Christ before Herod*; (7) *Christ before Pontius Pilate*; (8) *The Flagellation of Christ*; (9) *The Mocking of Christ*;<sup>519</sup> and (10) *The Making of the Cross*.<sup>520</sup> All these events take place within a fortified city of Jerusalem, except for the opening scene of *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* that occurs just in front of the city gate and leads into the events that take place within the city walls, streets and buildings.

Unlike the more compact compositional arrangement of the first tapestry, the open-air layout of the second tapestry, which presents sixty-six figures in five scenes, heightens the emotional tenor of the climax of the narrative, *The Crucifixion*. The narrative picks up in the second tapestry in the lower left corner: (1) *Christ Carrying the Cross*; (2) *The Crucifixion*; (3) *The Harrowing of Hell*; (4) *The Three Holy Women at the Sepulcher*; and (5) *The Noli me tangere*, when Christ appears before Mary Magdalene. The outdoor landscape setting in this second tapestry provides a foil for the architectural emphasis in the placing of events in the first tapestry.

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Bucher, "Micro-Architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic Theory and Style," *Gesta* 15, no. 1/2 (1976): 71–89. The idea of micro-architecture was further examined in a 2001 exhibition, "Homes for the Soul: Micro-Architecture in Medieval and Contemporary Art," organized by Stacy Boldrick and John Cherry that was exhibited at the Henry Moore Foundation in Leeds, England. An exhibition leaflet was published, but there was no full catalog.

<sup>519</sup> Although not totally apparent in reproductions, Christ already wears the crown of thorns and thus this scene represents *The Mocking of Christ*.

<sup>520</sup> The scene of *The Last Supper* is not included in the Zaragoza tapestry. Likewise, it does not typically appear in the *Passion* cycles from books of hours of the period.

A strong interest in surface ornamentation is found throughout both tapestries, such as the depictions of many jewels decorating mantles and halos; the variety of hats and headgear, like the rolled *chaperon*, which resembles a rolled-turban, creating a sense of the exotic; the sumptuous materials of the costumes, from brocades and ermine fur to patterned chain mail;<sup>521</sup> the decorative architectural elements, such as the allusion to brick, marble, wood and mosaics in the towers, turrets, gates, the roof and floor tiles, as well as the pink,<sup>522</sup> red and blue coloration of the overall architecture; and the embellishment of landscape details, as seen in the abstract cloud motifs in the sky and cragged mountains, as well as the delicacy in the execution of the decorative flowers, the chiaroscuro effects of the foliage and the twisting tree trunks of the roses.<sup>523</sup>

Nearly every figure in the tapestries wears a brocaded robe and/or jewel- or fur-lined mantle. The colors of the robes and mantles are also jewel-colors: ruby red, sapphire blue and emerald green. Christ wears a more neutral, beige-colored mantle in most scenes. The Roman soldiers wear blue helmets and many wear ornate chain mail or tunics that are brocaded. The

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<sup>521</sup> See Appendix E: “Costumes, Headgear and Hairstyles: Descriptions and Historical Details of the Zaragoza *Passion* Tapestries.”

<sup>522</sup> Pink architecture can be found in numerous contemporary examples in illuminations from the following manuscripts: *Chroniques de France ou Saint Denis* (London, British Library, MS Royal 20 C. VII, France, ca.1380–1400); *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 10176–78, possibly Artois, ca.1400); book of hours (Arras, Médiathèque municipale, MS 845 (a.c. 532), Bruges, ca.1400, by the Ushaw workshop); *Histoire du Saint Graal* and *Lancelot du Lac* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 117, MS. fr. 118, MS. fr. 119, MS. fr. 120, Paris, ca.1400 by Master of the Cleres femmes workshop); *Faits des Romains* (London, British Library, MS MS Royal 20 C.I, France, ca.1400); *Faits des Romains* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, MS 769, Paris, ca.1405–1410, follower of Boucicaut Master); *Réponses à Charles VI et Lamentations* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23279, Paris, ca.1409 by the Boucicaut Master and Workshop); *Missal de Sainte-Magloire* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 623, Paris, ca.1411/12 by the Bedford Master); book of hours (Crakow, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, MS 2943, Bruges, ca.1415–1420); *Bible* and *Apocalypse* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, MS 28, Paris or Bourges, ca.1415 by the Master of Medallions).

<sup>523</sup> Many of the flowers and plants represented in the tapestries are identifiable, although they are stylized. They include oak, willow and orange trees, as well as strawberries, violets, clovers, daisies, daffodils and periwinkles. Pilar Bosqued Lacambra, *Flora y vegetación en los tapices de La Seo* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada de Aragón, 1989), 48–51.

figures of Christ, the Apostles and the Marys all have halos that are decorated with jewels; yet, not a single manuscript that was studied showed halos with jewels. By contrast, in manuscripts, halos are usually solid gold with a clover pattern or are shown as golden rays. Almost all the figures not depicted with a halo wear some sort of headgear or helmet. In terms of footwear, Christ is shown barefoot and there are few instances when figures wear shoes, but on the whole, the compositional treatment of the scenes blocks any view of the figures' feet or their long robes and mantles cover their feet. The costumes of the figures are discussed when each scene is introduced and the terminology is explained in Appendix E.

In addition to these decorative aspects, the surface of both tapestries is heavily patterned with over-lapping figures. This treatment of space demonstrates medieval tapestry artists' *horror vacui* that remained fashionable in tapestry design well until the sixteenth century.<sup>524</sup> Although panel painters such as Jan van Eyck, Robert Campin and Roger van der Weyden used perspective during the early part of the fifteenth century,<sup>525</sup> its application did not appear in tapestries until about last quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>526</sup> The “readability” of the image and narrative of the tapestries is, therefore, to some extent, compromised.<sup>527</sup>

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<sup>524</sup> For more, see Aby Warburg, “Arbetende Bauern auf burgundischen Teppichen,” in *Gesammelte Schriften: Studienausgabe*, ed. H. Bredekamp et al., 5 vols. (1932; Berlin 1998) vol. 1, 221–229; Adolph S. Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 39–53; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York and New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press: 2002), 48–49, 134–138.

<sup>525</sup> For bibliography, see note 15.

<sup>526</sup> These dates are approximations, since the evidence is drawn from surviving tapestries. Furthermore, the interest in and ability to achieve one-point perspective in the tapestry medium varied depending on the skills of tapestry designers and weavers and thus can be identified in tapestries over a broad range of time. There are examples when tapestry designers return to the *horror vacui* models even though the application of one-point perspective had been successfully realized in the medium. For more on this subject, see Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 39–53; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2002), 48–49, 134–138

<sup>527</sup> The concept of “reading” an image brings up the idea that medieval images functioned as “letters of the laity” for medieval spectators. While some art historians have criticized that the idea of “reading” an image implies a



There are 178 figures represented in the dynamic compositions of the two tapestries. The figures are shown in various poses, such as three-quarter views, profile views and a few frontal views that create the sense that they are actively participating in the narrative. Hands are seen waving animatedly by many of the figures and this contrasts with their overall stoic facial expressions. While the figures are typically presented in small clusters around each event, more figures in the first tapestry are shown overlapping than in the second.

The artists' treatment of the size and characterizations of the figures is also notably different in the two tapestries. Although the figures in both tapestries are almost life-size, they are smaller in the first tapestry. By contrast, when compared to the tightly cinched waists observed in the first tapestry, the second one presents figures that are larger and heavier, particularly observed in the figures' large mid sections and rounded pot bellies. Caricatured features are observed in the first tapestry in the scenes of *The Betrayal*, *The Flagellation*, *The Mocking*, particularly evident in the profile poses of the Roman soldiers and the torturers of Christ who often have hooknoses or bulbous noses. Fewer caricatured figures appear in the second. The exaggerated features of the bad thief are seen in the scenes of *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *The Crucifixion*, while two of the four soldiers casting lots at the bottom of *The Crucifixion* appear brutally mean with caricatured noses and grimacing faces.

The representation of the figure of Christ also differs between the tapestries, further illustrating stylistic variations. In all, Christ is shown thirteen times: nine in the first tapestry and

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logocentric association, others have argued that "reading" entails interpreting only the narrative quality of the image. For more, see Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History* 8, no. 1 (March 1985): 26–49; W. J. Thomas Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 43; Georges Didi-Huberman, *Devant l'image: question posée aux fins d'une histoire de l'art* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1990), 143–153; Michael Camille, "Mouths and Meanings: Towards an Anti-Iconography of Medieval Art" in *Iconography at the Crossroads*, ed. Brendan Cassidy (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 1993): 43–54; Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas, *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 1.

four in the second. A comparison of these thirteen depictions of Christ's face reveals not only the artistic variations in the weaving style, as seen in the various shapes of his face and nose, but also shows the differences in the patterns of his halo. In the first tapestry, the design of Christ's halo is simple, filled with representations of jewels, such as emeralds and rubies. By contrast, the motif of his halo in the second tapestry is more ornate and the edges are decorated with representations of diamonds or possibly pearls. Besides the figure of Christ, only the figure of Saint John, seen in the episodes of *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, *The Prayer in the Garden* and *The Kiss of Judas* in the first tapestry, is represented in the second tapestry in the scenes of *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *The Crucifixion*. The study of Saint John's face and his halo also reveals the same stylistic difference as observed with the representations of Christ. Other than the figure of the Christ and Saint John, it appears that no other characters depicted in the first tapestry are shown in the second.

These stylistic variations bring up the idea that perhaps the second tapestry, although designed at the same time, was conceived by a different set of artists and was woven by another group of weavers. Tapestry sets were usually woven on multiple looms simultaneously,<sup>528</sup> in order that they could be delivered to their patron at the same time, but, perhaps this was not the case with the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries. It is possible that the second tapestry was designed and woven sometime after the first, yet not too much later than the first, since although there are some stylistic differences, there also are many similarities and complementary aspects that show that the two tapestries were conceived as a matching set.

While these issues remain unresolved, they do lead to queries about the source and type of model that the tapestries designers may have used. For instance, what could have been the

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<sup>528</sup> Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 14.

primary iconographic sources for such an extensive *Passion* program? Is it possible that the designers of the Zaragoza tapestries were influenced by one primary source that had a comprehensive *Passion* cycle? Or were different models used? Were illumination programs from manuscripts the most likely because of their portability and accessibility?

In asking similar questions and looking back as far as Duccio's thirteenth-century painting of the *Maestà*, James Stubblebine examines the possibility that Duccio likely turned to an illuminated manuscript that contained an extensive *Passion* cycle for inspiration because, perhaps, it was common for painters to base large-scale painting programs on manuscript cycles, even though there are only a few instances of this that can be documented convincingly.<sup>529</sup> Likewise, there is certainly the chance that the designers of the large-scale tapestries at Zaragoza were influenced by a particular model, such as a full *Passion* cycle in a book of hours. Furthermore, the designers could have been inspired by the dramatic productions of *The Passion* that were taking place in towns throughout France and Belgium.<sup>530</sup> Particular narrative details

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<sup>529</sup> James Stubblebine mentions that the early thirteenth-century mosaics at San Marco and later, Cosimo Roselli's late fifteenth century frescoes in the Vatican's Sistine Chapel are examples of this practice. James H. Stubblebine, *Duccio di Buoninsegna and his School*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), vol. 1, 48–52 at 48–49. Also, see Kurt Weitzmann, "Observations on the Cotton Genesis Fragments," in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 112–131 at 122; Leopold D. Ettlinger, *The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo: Religious Imagery and Papal Primacy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

<sup>530</sup> The publications dedicated to medieval drama are numerous; important studies include: Frédéric Faber, *Histoire du théâtre français en Belgique depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, d'après des documents inédits reposants aux Archives générales du royaume*, 5 vols. (Brussels: F.-J. Olivier, 1878–1880); Frances A. Foster, "The Mystery Plays and the Northern Passion," *Modern Language Notes* 26, no. 6 (June, 1911): 169–171; Max Herrmann, *Forschungen zur deutschen Theater-Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1914); Grace Frank, ed., *Le livre de la passion, poème narratif du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: É. Champion, 1930); Allardyce Nicoll, *Masks, Mimes and Miracles: Studies in the Popular Theatre* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1963); John W. Robinson, "The Late Medieval Cult of Jesus and the Mystery Plays," *PMLA* 80, no. 5 (December, 1965): 508–514; Omer Jodogne, ed., *Le Mystère de la Passion d'Arnoul Gréban*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1965–1983); Grace Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967); Omer Jodogne, "Le théâtre au Moyen Âge: recherches sur l'aspect dramatique des pièces," in *The Medieval Drama*, ed. Sandro Sticca (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972): 1–21; Émile Roy, *Le mystère de la Passion en France du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: étude sur les sources et le classement des mystères de la Passion* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974); Elie Konigson, *L'espace théâtral médiéval* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975); Maurice Accarie, *Le théâtre sacré de la fin du Moyen Âge: étude sur le sens moral de la Passion de Jean Michel*

that might derive from *Passion* plays include the rare scenes of *The Making of the Cross* and the role of Pilate's wife in the scene of *Christ before Pilate*. These scenes are analyzed below in the section devoted to iconography.

## 5.2 COMPOSITION AND SPACE

Aside from the stylistic qualities of the tapestries, the treatment of space is crucial to understanding how the medieval spectator received the narrative; space functioned as a way to mediate the narrative transmitted by the object. For instance, the translation of *The Story of the Passion of Christ* from words into images necessitated that artists understand and translate *time as space*, since the passage of time is fundamental to the unfolding narrative of *The Passion*. The artistic exegesis of how to interpret the story and how to execute the space within the work of art are key components to ensure that the narrative is comprehensible to the viewer.

Regarding the treatment of space, the first tapestry of the Zaragoza set is given greater emphasis because of the use of micro-architecture. An initial phase on the emergence of micro-architecture is found simultaneously in the third quarter of the fourteenth century in French ivories and manuscripts, entailing the use of sets of quatrefoils within which to frame a sequence of events. Later this simple geometric setting would give way to more complex structures with

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(Geneva: Droz, 1979); François-Jérôme Beaussart, Micheline de Combarieu du Grès and Jean Subrenat, *Miracles et mystères: la littérature religieuse au nord de la France* (Troisnes: Corps 9, 1989); John W. Robinson, *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991); Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996); Jean-Pierre Bordier, *Le jeu de la Passion: le message chrétien et le théâtre français (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> s.)* (Paris/Geneva: H. Champion/Éditions Slatkine, 1998); Graham A. Runnalls, *Études sur les mystères: un recueil de 22 études sur les mystères français, suivi d'un répertoire du théâtre religieux français du Moyen âge et d'une bibliographie* (Paris: H. Champion, 1998).

an emphasis on the three-dimensional. Individual niches create the arrangement of space in an ivory diptych (Paris, ca.1360–1380) conserved at the Louvre.<sup>531</sup> This diptych portrays twenty-four scenes of *The Passion* on a single plane.<sup>532</sup> On each wing of the diptych, two rows of quatrefoils—divided by a central column of scenes framed within trefoils—serve as architectural frameworks to simplify and direct the flow of the narrative.<sup>533</sup> Within these frameworks, the figures are arranged in deeply carved three-dimensional spaces that further highlight the emotional tenor of the narrative cycle.<sup>534</sup>

This same technique of separating the narrative with quatrefoil borders is also visible in two Valois manuscripts—the *Bible de Charles V* (Paris, ca.1372 by Jean Bondol, also known as Hennquin de Bruges)<sup>535</sup> and the *Petites Heures de Jean duc de Berry* (Paris or Bourges,

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<sup>531</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA 4089. The diptych measures 210 x 135 cm. For full bibliography and illustrations, see Bruno Donzet and Christian Siret, *Les fastes du gothique: le siècle de Charles V* (Paris: Ministère de la culture/Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1981), 199–200, no. 160; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Les ivoires médiévaux: V<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003), 461–463, no. 201.

<sup>532</sup> By no means is Louvre diptych the first work of art to show multiple scenes of the *Passion*, but within the geographic and date restraints of this study, it serves as a logical starting point, in addition to the fact that there are corresponding iconographic aspects to the Zaragoza tapestries, discussed in Chapter V.

<sup>533</sup> It has been noted that the use of quatrefoils in ivories with religious subjects is quite rare when compared to their appearance in manuscripts from around the same period, see Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Les ivoires médiévaux: V<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003), 461.

<sup>534</sup> For a study of the types of spatial systems and the utilization of perspective, particularly in relation to the creation of a symbolic space, see Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, trans. Christopher S. Wood (New York: Zone Books, 1997).

<sup>535</sup> The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, folios 522, 523, 523v. Alexander Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royal des Pays-Bas et du Musée Meermanno-Westreenianum à La Haye* (Paris: Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 1924), 104–100 no. 38; Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), vol. 1, 35–36, vol. 2 fig. 23; Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1967), vol. 1, 204, 310, vol. 2, 378, 382, 386; François Avril and Jean Lafaurie, *La Librairie de Charles V* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1968), no. 168, plate V; Petrus Corenlis Boeren, *Catalogus van de handschriften van het Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1979), MS 10 B 23; Bruno Donzet and Christian Siret, *Les fastes du gothique: le siècle de Charles V* (Paris: Ministère de la culture/Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1981), 331–332, no. 285; Charles Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris: 1300–1500*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1987), vol. 1, 20, 187–192, 194, 197; Maurits Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the Eighth to the Mid-Sixteenth Century: The Medieval World on Parchment* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 180–181, fig. 6.

ca.1375–1380 by Jean le Noir; later additions made in Bourges, 1385–1390).<sup>536</sup> Even though the artists' conception of space changes from a single picture plane, as seen in the Louvre diptych, to a work of art that illustrates each individual scene on different pages, the artists of these two manuscripts still chose to adopt a similar framing device, the quatrefoil, in order to emphasize the importance of each separate scene of the narrative.

These examples may be identified as prototypes—they demonstrate how artists began to create space in a manner that underscores the emotional intensity of each event by using architectural elements to frame and emphasize each dramatic episode of *The Passion*. Furthermore, the one-picture-per-page format found in these books of hours also reflects the liturgical function of the manuscripts. In essence, the relationship between text and image serves to promote prayer and devotion through the liturgical hours of the day.

In a similar way, the micro-architecture observed in the Zaragoza tapestries functions as the stopping points along the *via crucis* (the way of the cross), which make up the Stations of the Cross. Each architectural niche presents a scene, a place at which the viewer is to stop and contemplate that particular event. Kathryn Rudy explores the concept of a *Passion Park*—an actual reconstruction of the *via crucis*, or *via dolorosa*—where pious Christians could take part in Christ's fateful journey in a corporeal way. She puts forward the idea that in a similar manner, works of art could provide medieval viewers a way to imagine and reenact the events of Christ's

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<sup>536</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18014, folios 83v, 86v, 89v. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1967), vol. 1, 155–193, 334–337, vol. 2, fig. 83–176, 498; François Avril and Jean Lafaurie, *La Librairie de Charles V* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1968), 343–344, no. 297; François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 1400–1520* (Paris: Flammarion/Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1995), no. 2; Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, ed. *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris: Fayard/Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 130, no. 41.

*Passion*.<sup>537</sup> Since the tapestries, like wall paintings, had a greater amount of pictorial space, artists had the opportunity to spatially construct an image that could illustrate the unfolding narrative in a more complex fashion and subsequently, could lead the viewer on a mental journey along the *via crucis*.

One of the great advancements concerning the conceptualization of space in French works of art from the fourteenth century is observed in the ink-on-silk painting<sup>538</sup> at the Louvre made for King Charles V of France, known as the *Parement de Narbonne* (Paris, ca.1375–1378 by the Parement Master).<sup>539</sup> The provenance of the work before the nineteenth century remains unknown; however, the painting includes portraits of Charles V, King of France (r.1364–1380),

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<sup>537</sup> Her analysis primarily focuses on six loose leaves from an early sixteenth century German manuscript. Kathryn M. Rudy, “Fragments of a Mental Journey to a Passion Park,” in *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne S. Korteweg (London: Harvey Miller, 2006): 405–419.

<sup>538</sup> The extended tabby weave of the silk is called a *cannelé* weave and the black ink was applied with a brush in washes of different intensities of ink. For a discussion on the material and techniques, see Susie Nash, “The *Parement de Narbonne*: Context and Technique,” in *The Fabric of Images: European Paintings on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Caroline Villers (London: Archetype Publications, 2000), 77–87 at 77, 81–85n48, n55.

<sup>539</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. M.I. 1121. Ferdinand de Guilhermy, “Iconographie historique: le roi Charles V et la reine Jeanne de Bourbon,” *Annales archéologiques* 22 (1862): 61–76; Henri Bouchot, *Les primitifs français: 1292–1500*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Librairie de l’art ancien et moderne, 1904), no. 3; Georges Hulin de Loo, *Heures de Milan: troisième partie des Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame enluminées par les peintres de Jean de France, duc de Berry et par ceux du duc Guillaume de Bavière, comte de Hainaut et de Hollande* (Brussels: G. van Oest et Cie, 1911): 11–16; Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), vol. 1, 42–46; Molly Teasdale Smith, “The Use of Grisaille as Lenten Observance,” *Marsyas* 9 (1959): 43–45; Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1967), vol.1, 99–134, 337–340, vol. 2, fig. 1–5; François Avril and Jean Lafaurie, *La Librairie de Charles V* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1968), 38, no. 95; Bruno Donzet and Christian Siret, *Les fastes du gothique: le siècle de Charles V* (Paris: Ministère de la culture/Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1981), 371–373, no. 324; Charles Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris: 1300–1500*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1987), vol. 1, 218–244; Jenny Stratford, *Bedford Inventories: The Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, 1389–1435* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1993), 78, 288, no. B 62 3; Susie Nash, “The *Parement de Narbonne*: Context and Technique,” in *The Fabric of Images: European Paintings on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Caroline Villers (London: Archetype Publications, 2000), 77–87; Geoffroy Regnaud, “Le gothique international,” *L’Oeil, hors-série: Paris 1400, les arts sous Charles VI* (March, 2004): 52–61; Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris: Éditions RMN, 2004), 47–48, no. 8; Dominique de La Tour, “C’était un temps déraisonnable . . . Charles VI ou la fin du Moyen Âge,” *Hors-série de Connaissance des Arts: les arts sous Charles VI*, no. 217 (2004): 4–15; Inès Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international: l’art en France au temps de Charles VI* (Paris: Éditions Hazan/ Musée du Louvre, 2004), 14–15.

and his wife, Jeanne de Bourbon (1338–1378), as well as border medallions inscribed with the initial K for Karolus (Charles).<sup>540</sup> Most scholars agree that based on this visual evidence, the *Parement de Narbonne* was very likely a royal commission.<sup>541</sup>

The long, narrow and compact drawing is executed in the monochromatic style of *grisaille* and is emblematic of the illuminations in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* (Paris, ca.1324–1328, attributed to Jean Pucelle).<sup>542</sup> As mentioned above, because of its use of *grisaille* and its dimensions, the *Parement de Narbonne* was probably used as an altar frontal during the Lenten season. There is little doubt that the Parement Master was influenced by the highly developed stylistic features found in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, such as figures characterized by sinuous lines, dramatic modeling and three-dimensional drapery forms, in addition to the architectural frameworks that exhibit a realistic expression of depth and perspective. It is possible that the artists of the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries were influenced by the *Parement de Narbonne*, since it comprises dense *Passion* scenes placed within architectural settings and in a horizontal format.

The *Parement de Narbonne* shows seven scenes from *The Passion: The Kiss of Judas* and *Peter Cutting Off Malchus' Ear*, *The Flagellation of Christ* and *The Christ Carrying the Cross*; *The Crucifixion*; *The Entombment*, *The Harrowing of Hell* and *The Noli me tangere*. All of these scenes, with the exception of *The Entombment*, also appear in the *Zaragoza* tapestries. There are stylistic and iconographic similarities, though not exact, between the *Parement de Narbonne* and

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<sup>540</sup> It was purchased by the painter Jules Boilly around 1830–1833 and was acquired by the Louvre in 1852. See Susie Nash, “The Parement de Narbonne: Context and Technique,” in *The Fabric of Images: European Paintings on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Caroline Villers (London: Archetype Publications, 2000), 77–87 at 77n2; and Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris: Éditions RMN, 2004), 47–48, no. 8.

<sup>541</sup> François Avril and Jean Lafaurie, *La librairie de Charles V* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1968), 38, no. 95; Jenny Stratford, *Bedford Inventories: The Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, 1389–1435* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1993), 78, 288, no. B 62 3.

<sup>542</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, inv. 54.1.2, folios 34v–35.



the *Zaragoza* tapestries. While an iconographic analysis of this painting takes place in later in this chapter, the compositional layout of the object is the focus here. The painting—oriented along a wide horizontal picture plane—presents the scenes of *The Passion* by framing them within delicately modeled architectural elements. There is, however, less emphasis on spatial depth in the architecture of the *Parement de Narbonne* than in the *Zaragoza* tapestries. For instance, the tiny building with the scene of *The Flagellation* is shown in a single frontal plane, yet, the use of a trefoil arcade at the top of the painting creates a narrative unity that reinforces the linear format of the story and the work of art.

Like the *Zaragoza* tapestries, the *Parement de Narbonne* comprises a larger surface space, therefore, the artist was able to accommodate several scenes of *The Story of the Passion* within a single view. Of particular interest is the Parement Master's technique of demarcating a single episode, *The Flagellation*, which takes place in an interior space, compared to the other episodes, all of which occur outdoors. Within a little room—made up of two side walls and a back wall pierced with windows—is the column to which Christ is tied. The architectural framework of the scene invites the viewer to witness the event. The overarching architectural components of the painting connect the scenes, so as to not compromise the aesthetic continuity of the narrative. Millard Meiss, when describing this aspect of the object, remarked, “The figures and frame, both of the same gray color, constitute a traceried, diaphanous plane similar to an architectural triforium [gallery]—a plane that is repeated deeper in space in the upper rear wall of the room. Designing his scenes mostly in a continuous band, the painter has given them an impressive rhythmical unity. Figures extend from one arcuated space to the next.”<sup>543</sup> This layout of the space demonstrates the innovative approach of the Parement Master in defining

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<sup>543</sup> Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1967), vol.1, 101.

spatial borders and enhancing the realism of the picture. This opening into an interior space that shows the moment when Christ is flogged further accentuates the artist's desire to viscerally draw the viewer into the dramatic events of *The Passion*.

The treatment of space observed in the *Parement de Narbonne* emphasizes the linear and temporal qualities of the accounts of *The Passion*. The desire to illustrate the story is less about regular intervals of prayer—the primary function of a book of hours—but instead the focus is on the temporality of the narrative, a story that unfolds before the viewer's eyes. This temporal quality of the story in a work of art is brought to an image when it is “read” by a viewer.<sup>544</sup> By “reading” the images in a work of art, the narrative is recreated within that spectator's time and space. As such, the work of art serves as a place for a performance.<sup>545</sup> The idea of evoking the story into the present is further strengthened by the inclusion of the two royal donor figures, King Charles V and Queen Jeanne de Bourbon, who kneel at base of the scene of *The Crucifixion*, participating as pious characters in the unfolding drama.

The emphasis on the temporality of the narrative by including miniaturized architectural elements as seen in the tapestries is also found in two manuscripts commissioned by Jean de Berry. The illuminations of the first, the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (Paris, ca.1380–1390 by the Parement Master and workshop),<sup>546</sup> present many scenes in a miniature room that is

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<sup>544</sup> Alberto Manguel, *Reading Pictures: A History of Love and Hate* (New York: Random House, 2000), 13.

<sup>545</sup> Alberto Manguel, *Reading Pictures: A History of Love and Hate* (New York: Random House, 2000), 267.

<sup>546</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3093, folios 189, 194, 197. Paul Durrieu, *Les Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame de duc de Berry* (Paris: Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à Peintures, 1922), 89–101; Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), vol. 1, 45–46, vol. 2, fig. 39, plate 16; Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1967), vol.1, 107–134, 337–340, vol. 2, fig. 6–29, 570; Bruno Donzet and Christian Siret, *Les fastes du gothique: le siècle de Charles V* (Paris: Ministère de la culture/Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1981), 339–341, no. 295; François Boespflug and Eberhard König, *Les “Très Belles Heures” de Jean de France, duc de Berry: un chef d'œuvre au sortir du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1998); Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, ed., *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris: Fayard/Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), no. 186; Dominique Thiébaud,

self-contained. The artist's choice in using architectural frameworks in the *Passion* cycle appears to be based on which subject is being represented—scenes that take place indoors are framed within an architectural framework (such as *The Annunciation* or *The Presentation in the Temple*). Likewise, miniature rooms enclose the figures in the *Passion* cycle, including *Christ before Caiaphas*, *Christ before Pilate* and *The Flagellation*. By contrast, scenes that take place outdoors are shown in a landscape setting. These includes the scenes of the *Passion* such as *The Prayer in the Garden* (shown in an initial), *The Betrayal*, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, *Christ Nailed to the Cross*, *The Crucifixion*, *The Deposition*, *The Lamentation* and *The Harrowing of Hell*.

The treatment of space in the manuscript is comparable to the execution of space observed in the *Parement of Narbonne*. Because of these similarities it is very probable that the Parement Master created both works of art.<sup>547</sup> The manuscript shows an evolution in terms of the Parement Master's approach to space. For example, in the *Parement de Narbonne*, only the scene of *The Flagellation* is shown in an interior setting, while there are at least three miniatures, as mentioned above, that include architectural frameworks to set the scene. Moreover, in the manuscript, the use of these small, intimate environments invite the viewer to enter into the imagined spaces to act as witness to the events— similar to the treatment found in the tapestries. As will be seen later in this chapter, there are strong iconographic parallels between the Zaragoza tapestries and both the *Parement de Narbonne* and the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*.

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"Masters, anonymous, and monogrammists, §I: Anonymous masters Master of the Parement de Narbonne," *Grove Art Online* (26 October 2006).

<sup>547</sup> Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1967), vol. 1, 99–107.

The other example of miniaturized architecture in a manuscript is found in Jean de Berry's *Belles Heures* (probably Paris, ca.1405–1408/09 by the Limbourg brothers).<sup>548</sup> This manuscript also employs small architectural structures to illustrate the story; however, the illuminations in the *Belles Heures* show an even greater interest in merging together the architectural structures with the nearby landscape. In doing so, the Limbourg brothers transition the viewer—who turns the pages of pictures—from interior to exterior spaces.

For instance, in the scenes of *Christ before the High Priest* (folio 124), *Christ before Pilates* (folio 135v and 138), the artists represent green grassy landscapes that surround architectural elements, which are set against a highly abstract backdrop. The architectural elements, therefore, appear to be extracted from their interiors, whereas in the scene of the *High Priest before Crowd* (folio 136), the architectural aspects include the façade of the building next to the prison enclosed in a turret. In the end, this treatment of the narrative observed in the *Belles Heures* results in a spatial and temporal journey from inside to outside to inside, creating a narrative that flows in a relatively seamless manner.

Although few contemporary tapestries survive that can be compared to the Zaragoza *Passion* set, there are three early fifteenth-century tapestries that stand out because of their similar treatment of space. Although not thematically related to the Zaragoza tapestries, the *Apocalypse* tapestries<sup>549</sup> at Angers, discussed in further detail below, also incorporate

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<sup>548</sup> New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, MS 54.1.1., folios 124, 133, 138. Paul Durrieu, *Les "Belles heures" de Jean de France, duc de Berry* (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1906); Jean Porcher, ed., *Les Belles Heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1953); Millard Meiss and Elisabeth H. Beatson, *The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry: The Cloisters, the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: G. Braziller, 1974); Eberhard König, ed., *Les belles heures du Duc de Berry* (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 2003); Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, ed. *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris: Fayard/Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 300–301, no. 188; Inès Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international: l'art en France au temps de Charles VI* (Paris: Éditions Hazan/ Musée du Louvre, 2004), 38–39.

<sup>549</sup> Angers, Musée de la tapisserie, Château d'Angers. See note 692 for bibliography.

architectural elements into the narrative. The most intricate and three-dimensional of these structures are found at the beginning of each of the six panels, where a large figure is placed within an architectural framework. The Angers tapestries also have simplified landscape features, such as small vertical mountains like those found in the Zaragoza weavings, but overall, the landscape elements are very abstract as seen in the alternating red and blue backdrops.

As noted in the introduction, the Zaragoza tapestries have been stylistically linked to the choir tapestries at Tournai Cathedral.<sup>550</sup> The tapestries consist of four panels and depict *The Lives of Saints Piat and Eleutherius* (Arras, made in 1402).<sup>551</sup> The Tournai tapestries have two elements in common with the Zaragoza set. First, the artists include a city wall to delimit the space. This is seen only in the first two weavings. Second, *petites maisons* are used throughout all four tapestries. The employment of these architectural elements creates a narrative that is easy to follow from scene to scene. Unlike the Zaragoza tapestries, these choir tapestries are narrow and long—the temporality of the narrative was made clearer simply because of the dimensions of the tapestries.

By contrast, the tapestries of *The Nine Heroes* (or *The Nine Worthies*) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art used multi-storied architectural components to arrange the various figures in the picture plane that on average measure 4.2 meters in height and were originally as wide as 6 meters (France or Flanders, ca.1400–1410).<sup>552</sup> Unlike the tapestry sets at Zaragoza and Tournai,

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<sup>550</sup> See notes 26 and 36.

<sup>551</sup> Jean Dumoulin and Jacques Pycke, “La tapisserie de Saint-Piat et de Saint-Éleuthère à la cathédrale de Tournai (1402),” *Revue des archéologues et historiens d’art de Louvain* 15 (1982): 182–200; Laura Weigert, “Performing the Past: The Tapestry of the City and its Saints in Tournai Cathedral,” *Gesta* 38 (1999): 154–170; Laura Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 19–51.

<sup>552</sup> New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, inv. no. 32.130.3a,b, 47.101.1–5, 47.152, 49.123. There are nine extant fragments of the original tapestry set. Most of these pieces are cut down from their original size. For a full examination of their condition, reconstruction and subject matter, see Adolph Salvatore

*The Nine Heroes* tapestries do not feature a narrative story that requires a clear compositional arrangement; instead, large seated figures are shown encased in miniature rooms that are flanked and surmounted by architectural niches and arcades that house smaller figures. The representation of each hero—Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar (from Pagan Law); Joshua, David and Judas Maccabeus (from Hebrew Law); and King Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon (from Christian Law)—served as models of chivalrous behavior. Tapestries illustrating *The Nine Heroes* were very popular among the French royal families during the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. A set of *The Nine Heroes* tapestries was owned by almost every one of the Valois princes, including King Charles V, Jean de Berry, Louis d’Anjou and Philippe le Hardi.<sup>553</sup> Philippe le Hardi owned at least two sets of *The Nine Heroes*, one of which measured 117.6 square meters and was woven with threads of silver and gold from Cyprus.<sup>554</sup> The original owner of *The Nine Heroes* tapestry fragments in New York was very likely one or even more than one of these French royal collectors of tapestry.<sup>555</sup>

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Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 94–124, no. 2. Also see Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, et al., *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 224–225, no. 134; Inès Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international: l’art en France au temps de Charles VI* (Paris: Éditions Hazan/Musée du Louvre, 2004), 114–115.

<sup>553</sup> For bibliography, see notes 65, 68, 70, 73.

<sup>554</sup> Fabrice Rey, “Les collections de tapisseries,” in *L’art à la cour de Bourgogne, les princes des fleurs de lis: le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, 1364–1419*, ed. Stephen N. Fliegel, Sophie Jugie, and Virginie Barthélémy (Paris/Dijon/Cleveland: Réunion des musées nationaux/Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon/Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004): 123–125 at 125.

<sup>555</sup> The tapestries include the coat of arms of Berry, Burgundy and France. Cavallo has outlined the various explanations for why the arms of all three would appear on the set. Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 94–124, no. 2 at 116–120.

The third parallel tapestry to the Zaragoza set is *The Annunciation* tapestry (Franco-Flemish region, ca.1410–1430) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>556</sup> This tapestry has the same pink coloration of the architecture seen in the Zaragoza tapestry, and it too uses an architectural structure to frame the scene when the angel Gabriel appears before the Virgin Mary. Stylistically, a comparison between the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries and *The Annunciation* weaving reveals that the rendering of the architectural frameworks—the marbleizing effect created by blue and pink decorative motifs—correspond, as do the horizontal, tubular cloud-like forms, the twisting tree trunks of the roses and the stylized foliage. Technically, both *The Annunciation* tapestry and the Zaragoza tapestries consist of wool and metallic threads and both were woven early in the fifteenth century.

Like the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries, *The Annunciation* tapestry also appears to be related to works of art created by a court painter of a Valois prince—Melchior Broederlam, who was in the service of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, from 1384 until 1411.<sup>557</sup> The composition and iconography of the New York tapestry is very similar to the imagery of *The Annunciation* panel painting from the *Altarpiece of the Crucifixion*, known as the *Dijon Altarpiece* (Ypres, ca.1390–1399, sculpted by Jacques de Baerze from 1390 to 1392 and painted by Melchior Broederlam from 1393 to 1399).<sup>558</sup>

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<sup>556</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 45.76. The tapestry has been cut down on all four sides, though originally the bottom ended roughly where it is today. It measures 351 x 297 cm. Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 137–147, no. 5.

<sup>557</sup> From 1381 until 1384, Melchior Broederlam (ca.1355–1411) was court painter to Louis de Male.

<sup>558</sup> Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. CA 1420. The opened altarpiece measures approximately 167 x 502 cm. The central portion measures 252 cm in width, while the two wings each measure 125 cm in width. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), vol. 1, 86–89, vol. 2, pl. 50; Micheline Comblen-Sonkes and Nicole Veronee-Verhaegen, *Le Musée des beaux-arts de Dijon*, Primitifs flamands: I, Corpus de la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle, no. 14, 2 vols. (Brussels: Centre national de recherches “Primitifs flamands,” 1986), vol. 1 70–158, vol. 2 plates 36–109; Charles Minott, “The Meaning of the Baerze-Broederlam Altarpiece,” in *A Tribute to Robert A. Koch: Studies in the Northern Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1994): 131–141; Sherry C.

Even though there are dissimilarities between the *Dijon Altarpiece* painting and the *Annunciation* tapestry—such as the differences observed in Gabriel’s posture and the position of his wings—the parallels between the two works of art are nevertheless striking. One of the most notable similarities in these works of art is the representation of the lectern, which is carved in a peculiar shape—its base curves sharply in two places, making its form soft and sinuous. Both objects were produced in the Franco-Flemish region and it seems very likely that Broederlam’s panel painting from the *Dijon Altarpiece* influenced the designer of the *Annunciation* tapestry or that the tapestry influenced the design of the altarpiece. It is also a possibility that Melchior Broederlam actually designed the *Annunciation* tapestry for Philippe le Hardi. Broederlam was from Ypres—a town with a famous thirteenth-century cloth hall (*Lakenhal*) and probably tapestry weavers, though little is known. While Broederlam worked for the Duke at the castle in Hesdin (in Artois), he also executed several works of art in his hometown Ypres, including the painting of the panels of the *Dijon Altarpiece*. He also traveled and worked in other cities within the Franco-Flemish region. While in Bruges, in 1386, he was charged with overseeing the painting and embroidery of banners, pennons, sails and awnings for the Duke’s ship.<sup>559</sup>

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M. Lindquist, “Patronage, Piety and Politics in the Art and Architecture Programs at the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon,” (PhD diss., University of Evanston, 1995); Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, “Contribution à l’études de la peinture médiévale: les peintres en Bourgogne sous les ducs de Valois, 1363–1477,” (PhD diss., Université de Bourgogne, Dijon, 1996), 436–440; Renate Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol: Grablege der burgundischen Herzöge 1364–1477* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 128–136; Emmanuel Starcky et al., *Album: le musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon* (Dijon/Paris: Musée des Beaux-Arts/Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002), 32–33; Stephen N. Fliegel et al., *L’art à la cour de Bourgogne: le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur (1364–1419)* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 196, no. 70; Inès Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international: l’art en France au temps de Charles VI* (Paris: Éditions Hazan/ Musée du Louvre, 2004), 45, 50–51.

<sup>559</sup> Stephen N. Fliegel et al., *L’art à la cour de Bourgogne: le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur (1364–1419)* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 196, no. 70; Anne Hagopian van Buren, “Broederlam, Melchior,” *Grove Art Online* (13 February 2008).



Broederlam perhaps designed the cartoons of a tapestry showing sheep that was made for the Duchess, Margaret III, Countess of Flanders (1350–1405).<sup>560</sup>

One aspect that is unique to the *Annunciation* tapestry is the presence of the coat of arms at the top back left corner of the architectural structure. Before the tapestry was cleaned and the coat of arms was recognized as a heraldic device, Erwin Panofsky had suggested that its odd placement was a result of a misunderstanding by the tapestry weavers who were supposed to have woven a type of cornerstone or capstone.<sup>561</sup> It has also been proposed that the coat of arms was added to the tapestry at a later date because of its awkward location. The coat of arms has been identified as belonging to Francesc de Blanés, Bishop of Girona (r.1408–1409) and Barcelona (r.1409–1410).<sup>562</sup> It remains to be determined if the coat of arms is original to the tapestry.<sup>563</sup>

Adding to the likelihood that a Bishop of Girona owned the *Annunciation* tapestry is the possibility that Girona Cathedral apparently sold it around 1910.<sup>564</sup> In an article on the tapestry

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<sup>560</sup> Stephen N. Fliegel et al., *L'art à la cour de Bourgogne: le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur (1364–1419)* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 196, no. 70.

<sup>561</sup> Panofsky's explanation reflects his lack of understanding of how tapestry designers are incredibly dependent on the full-scale tapestry cartoons that were placed adjacent to the warp strings of the tapestry during the weaving process. While there may be slight variations in style from one weaver to the next, the weaving process required that weavers follow the cartoon, otherwise the overall design of the tapestry would be greatly compromised. Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 137–147, no. 5 at 141.

<sup>562</sup> More research needs to be conducted in order to fully understand the connection between Francesc de Blanés and the *Annunciation* tapestry. This is a subject that I intend to pursue in the future.

<sup>563</sup> Cavallo states that “a recent cleaning and detailed examination . . .” revealed that the shield was woven with different warp and weft threads from the rest of the tapestry. It remains unknown then if originally the tapestry came with a different coat of arms and was changed at a later date. He also suggests, along the lines of Panofsky's argument, that perhaps the motif was originally lozenge-shape and then was turned into a coat of arms. Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 137–147, no. 5 at 141.

<sup>564</sup> The provenance of the tapestry remains uncertain. Cavallo merely states that it was supposedly sold by Girona Cathedral. The Spanish Art Gallery in London then possibly owned the tapestry. By 1922 French & Co. in New York owned the tapestry and then sold it in 1924 to Mrs. Harold Irving Pratt. It was donated to the Metropolitan

in 1961, James Rorimer mentioned that that the tapestry had been displayed in a chapel at Tarragona Cathedral for several years according to a local resident, but this claim could not be confirmed and appears to conflict with the claim of a Girona Cathedral provenance.<sup>565</sup> Two threads of evidence, the presence of the coat of arms of the Bishop of Girona and the possibility of the tapestry belonging to the collection of Girona Cathedral in the early twentieth century, suggest that the tapestry might have already been added to the collection at Girona Cathedral when Dalmau de Mur was there as Canon from 1409 and then Bishop from 1415. The stylistic and technical similarities between Francesc de Blanés' *Annunciation* tapestry and Dalmau de Mur's *Passion* bring closer the idea that the patronage and acquisition of Franco-Flemish tapestries by high-ranking ecclesiastics in the Kingdom of Aragón during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was more common than previously thought.

When comparing the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries to all of these examples, the most striking contemporary visual parallels in regards to the treatment of space can be identified in the *Parement de Narbonne*, the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* and related manuscripts, the set of choir tapestries at Tournai Cathedral and *The Annunciation* tapestry; however, the *Parement de Narbonne* and the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* stand apart from the rest because they also have parallel iconography, considered later in this chapter.

The Zaragoza tapestry is particularly striking because of the artists' approach to the construction and delineation of the space that zigzags in and out of interior and exterior scenes. These varying, alternating views further enhance the complexity of the tapestry's composition—

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Museum of Art in 1949. I also looked at a document, *Actes Capitulars, 1910–1912*, in Girona, ACCG, with the hope of discovering any documentation of the sale of the tapestry. The document was ordered in a random fashion and my brief examination of it uncovered nothing. Adolph Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 137–147, no. 5 at 145.

<sup>565</sup> James J. Rorimer, "The Annunciation Tapestry," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s. 20 (1961–1962): 145–146 at 145.

the compositions of both tapestries, in fact, are dynamic in their sequencing and order of the narrative. As observed before, the demarcation of the temporal aspects of the story through the use of the micro-architecture invite the viewer not only to witness the events, but also encourages the viewer to inhabit the space, which becomes a theatre—a stage where the events of *The Passion* develops, as it simultaneously draws the spectator into the narrative. This ploy to integrate the viewer into the imagined space of the story is particularly effective and works because of the architectural frameworks of the Zaragoza tapestries. Each *petit maison* presents an event of *The Passion* in the viewer's contemporary space and time—costumes, hairstyles and architectural elements all produce a familiar and recognizable atmosphere to the aristocratic medieval spectator—the exalted costumes are elegant and would have been worn only by the nobility. The pictures are not, therefore, purely static representations, but rather dynamic recreations of *The Passion* that cultivate an interactive experience with the viewer.

The designers of the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries also envisioned a composition that included the representation of the city of Jerusalem. The fortified walls of Jerusalem and castle-like elements, such as the crenellations, towers and turrets, define the spatial and physical limits of both city and narrative. The spatial realization of Jerusalem into the tapestry's composition does not simply function as an emblematic reference to the Holy City.<sup>566</sup> One the most famous illustrations of a city is the representation of Rome in Jean de Berry's *Très Riches Heures*.<sup>567</sup> This depiction of Rome is constructed from a bird's eye perspective. Viewers are shown the entire city, and all of its famous monuments in such a fashion that they can make a mental

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<sup>566</sup> See the essays in Aliza Cohen-Mushlin and Bianca Kühnel, ed., "The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art," *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997–1998); Boudewijn Bakker, "Conquering the Horizon: The Limbourg Brothers and the Painted Landscape," in *The Limbourg Brothers: Nijmegen Masters at the French Court, 1400–1416*, ed. Rob Dücker and Pieter Roelofs (Ghent/Nijmegen: Ludion/Museum Het Valkhof Nijmegen, 2005), 190–207 at 199–201.

<sup>567</sup> Chantilly, Musée de Condé, MS 65, folio 141v. For bibliography, see note 493.

pilgrimage, a type of pilgrimage by proxy, simply by gazing upon one monument and then moving on to the next. Like the construction of a *Passion* Park, mentioned above, the illustration allows the viewer to journey to another world.

The decision to incorporate a representation of the city of Jerusalem into the narrative of the Zaragoza tapestries may function in a similar manner. The concept of contemplating on specific images evokes an Italian text, *Zardino de Oratione (Giardino di orazioni, Venice, 1494)*.<sup>568</sup> The author emphasizes the importance of meditating on every scene of *The Story of the Passion of Christ*; each individual episode serves as a focal point for the reflective viewer who is to pause before moving to the next scene. It serves as an example of a medieval text discussing how one might imagine *The Story of the Passion* in one's mind in order to remember it better. Moreover, the verbal descriptions of Christ's *Passion* in this text parallel the pictorial representations in the tapestries at Zaragoza. Michael Baxandall's translated text reads:

[To] . . . better to impress the story of the Passion on your mind, and to memorise each action of it more easily, it is helpful and necessary to fix the places and people in your mind: a city, for example, which will be the city of Jerusalem—taking for this purpose a city that is well known to you. In this city find the principal places in which all the episodes of the Passion would have taken place—for instance, a palace with the supper-room where Christ had the Last Supper with the Disciples, and the house of Anne, and that of Caiaphas, with the place where Jesus was taken in the night, and the room where He was brought before Caiaphas and mocked and beaten. Also the residence of Pilate where he spoke with the Jews, and in the room where Jesus was bound to the Column. Also the site of Mount Calvary, where he was put on the Cross; and other like places . . . And then too you must shape in your mind some people, people well-known to you, to represent for you the people involved in the Passion—the person of Jesus Himself, of the Virgin, Saint Peter, Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Mary Magdalen, Anne, Caiaphas, Pilate, Judas and the others, every one of whom you will fashion in your mind.

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<sup>568</sup> A copy is housed at Harvard's Houghton Library, Typ. Inc. 4902.30.

When you have done all this, putting all your imagination into it, then go into your chamber. Alone and solitary, excluding every external thought from your mind, start thinking of the beginning of the Passion, starting with how Jesus entered Jerusalem on the ass. Moving slowly from episode to episode, meditate on each one, dwelling on each single stage and step of the story. And if at any point you feel a sensation of piety, stop: do not pass on as long as that sweet and devout sentiment lasts. . . .<sup>569</sup>

Just as in the tapestry, the reader of this text is taken on a journey through the dramatic events of *The Passion*. Likewise, the representation of the city of Jerusalem and its various locations provides a way for the spectator to experience the three modes by which medieval religious art operated: the story as imagined serves as an exemplary model, as a mnemonic device and as a means for devotional practice. Furthermore, the pictorial depiction of the city of Jerusalem in the Zaragoza tapestries frames the teleological narrative: each and every scene is positioned within the *petites maisons* that are encompassed by the city walls—there is a decisive beginning and ending to the story.<sup>570</sup> The spatial process of guiding the spectator through the narrative in an orderly fashion and unified design offers a way for the viewer to recreate the events of Christ's *Passion*—a biblical story that ultimately reminds the Christian viewer of the teleological order of the world.



Turning to the second tapestry of the Zaragoza *Passion* set, the design is characterized by a panoramic landscape view. Without the architectural frameworks observed in the first tapestry, the narrative in the second weaving uses figures to obscure the boundaries from one scene to the

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<sup>569</sup> Michael Baxandall uses this passage to demonstrate that such texts helped readers internalize the described representations into their meditative journey. Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 46, 163–164.

<sup>570</sup> Teleological is defined as, “Of, pertaining to, or involving teleology; relating to ends or final causes; dealing with design or purpose, esp. in natural phenomena,” *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. “teleological, *a.*,” <http://dictionary.oed.com/> (20 April 2008).

next. In some ways, this forces the viewer to identify the beginning and endings of each event. The vertical mountains and landscape elements frame the narrative in a similar way in which the city wall of Jerusalem was depicted in the first panel. Trees are miniaturized and also help to create a border around the different events, as seen in the three scenes in the right third of the tapestry, *The Harrowing of Hell*, *The Three Holy Women at the Sepulcher* and *The Noli me tangere*.

The panoramic compositional arrangement may be paralleled to some extent in other works of art, yet all of them are later examples. Since these works of art post-date the creation of the tapestries, only a few will be presented to show that the compositional format of the second tapestry is further developed during the last three quarters of the fifteenth century. Beginning with the earliest, *The Wasservass Calvary* (Cologne, ca.1420–1435 by the Master of the Wasservass Calvary)<sup>571</sup> presents a miniature city of Jerusalem in the far left background, while the procession of figures arrives to the scene where Christ is nailed to the cross and then crucified. Unlike the Zaragoza tapestry, most of the action takes place in the lower half of the composition, thereby highlighting the solitary placement of the crucified Christ, and the two thieves—all three are shown high above the drama that takes place below them. The inclusion of Christ being nailed to the cross also increases the sensational elements of *The Story of the Passion of Christ*.

The composition of *The Wasservass Calvary* may have influenced later tapestry designers because there are several tapestries from the late fifteenth century that include the nailing of the Christ to the cross below the scene of *The Crucifixion*. Examples of late fifteenth-century tapestries with comparable compositions can be found at the San Francisco Museum of

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<sup>571</sup> Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, inv. no. WRM 65. Frank Günter Zehnder, *Gotische Malerei in Köln: Altkölner Bilder von 1300–1550* (Cologne: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1989), no. 151, fig. 33.

Fine Arts;<sup>572</sup> the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam;<sup>573</sup> and the Musée des tapisseries at the Château d'Angers.<sup>574</sup> An embroidery with a similar composition at the Church of Saint-Bernard in Romans can be added to this group as well.<sup>575</sup>

Finally, there is a group of panel paintings that illustrate the episodes of *The Passion* on a single picture-plane with a panoramic view. The panel paintings were produced in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and represent *The Passion* in a fortified city. The paintings can be found in the Stedelijk Museum in Leuven (Flanders, ca.1470);<sup>576</sup> the Galleria Sabauda in Turin (Southern Netherlands, ca.1470, by Hans Memling);<sup>577</sup> and the Museu Nacional do Azulejo in Lisbon (Flanders, ca.1480–1500).<sup>578</sup> All three panels present extensive *Passion*

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<sup>572</sup> Anna Gray Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco/Chronicle Books, 1992), 42–45, no. 7.

<sup>573</sup> Larry Salmon focuses only on this small cluster of *Passion* tapestries (see following two notes) that were woven late in the fifteenth century. He neither examines the development of the *Passion* in tapestry nor mentions the *Passion* tapestries at Zaragoza. Larry Salmon, “The Passion of Christ in Medieval Tapestries,” in *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium: November, 1976*, ed. Wendy Hefford and Christa C. Mayer-Thurman (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1979): 79–101 at 96, fig. 14.

<sup>574</sup> Larry Salmon, “The Passion of Christ in Medieval Tapestries,” in *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium: November, 1976*, ed. Wendy Hefford and Christa C. Mayer-Thurman (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1979): 79–101 at 95, fig. 13.

<sup>575</sup> Larry Salmon, “The Passion of Christ in Medieval Tapestries,” in *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium: November, 1976*, ed. Wendy Hefford and Christa C. Mayer-Thurman (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1979): 79–101 at 94, fig. 12.

<sup>576</sup> I am grateful to Professor Jan van der Stock for introducing me to Veronique Vanderkerchove who is currently writing her doctoral dissertation on this painting. She has been very generous with both her time and willingness to share and exchange valuable bibliographic information. For more see, Veronique Vanderkerchove, “A Journey to Jerusalem: An Unknown *Passion of Christ* (Leuven, Vander Kelen-Mertens Museum),” *Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts* 11–12 (2002): 1429–1441.

<sup>577</sup> Maurits Smeyers, “*Analecta Memlingiana: From Hemling to Memling – From Panoramic View to Compartmented Representation*,” in *Memling Studies*, ed. Hélène Verougstraete, Roger Van Schoute, Maurits Smeyers and Anne Dubois (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1997): 171–194 at 176n32.

<sup>578</sup> Maurits Smeyers, “*Analecta Memlingiana: From Hemling to Memling – From Panoramic View to Compartmented Representation*,” in *Memling Studies*, ed. Hélène Verougstraete, Roger Van Schoute, Maurits Smeyers and Anne Dubois (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1997): 171–194 at 180, fig. 4.

cycles that are represented in micro-architectural frameworks that guide the viewer from one scene to the next.

The Leuven panel has the strongest medieval traits—and closest affinities with the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries—since the scenes are compositionally stacked one upon another creating a layering effect of the narrative. The composition is also packed with figures that merge one scene into the next, making it difficult for the viewer to discern one event from another. By contrast, the panels at Turin and Lisbon depict a more intricate layout with multi-storied buildings, yet the compositions in both have significantly fewer figures. Since there are so many buildings represented and not as many figures, the viewer can focus on each individual scene. Like the tapestries, all three images have small architectural buildings that have one or more of their sides removed, giving the viewer the opportunity to see into the various scenes. These examples reflect that the compositional layout and treatment of space observed in the Zaragoza tapestries continues to be used by artists to convey *Passion* narratives at the end of the fifteenth century.

The landscape elements, characterized by rocky hills and trees of varying sizes, some of them small in relation to the scale of the figures, and glimpses of distant townscapes with towers, turrets, and crenellations are elements that are similar to the backgrounds in Melchior Broederlam's *Dijon Altarpiece*, where outdoor scenes taking place in a landscape are juxtaposed, as here in the first tapestry, with episodes played out in an indoor setting. Several of Jean de Berry's manuscripts, such as the *Petites Heures* and the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame*, have similar treatment to landscape elements. For instance, the craggy rocks in the tapestries are seen in several illuminations of the *Petites Heures*. The use of trees to divide up the narrative is also characteristic in miniatures from the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame*.



### 5.3 ICONOGRAPHY: FIRST TAPESTRY

The first tapestry shows ten episodes of *The Passion*. Although there are interesting iconographic choices in each of these scenes, particular emphasis will be given to the representations of *Christ Praying in the Garden*, *Christ before Herod*, *Christ before Pilate* and *The Making of the Cross* because they contain the most unusual details. The theme of judgment is stressed as Christ is shown before Herod, Caiaphas or Annas, and Pilate, while exceptional emphasis is given to the role and characterization of Pilate and the inclusion of Pilate's wife. Similarly, *The Making of the Cross* is a scene that deserves special attention, since iconographical parallels for it are extremely few. Areas of reweaving will be identified on a scene-by-scene basis.

#### 5.3.1 Christ's Entry into Jerusalem

The first tapestry begins with the scene of Christ's triumphal entry into the city of Jerusalem that is described by all four Evangelists.<sup>579</sup> Liturgically, the event is celebrated on the Sunday before Easter, Palm Sunday.<sup>580</sup> In the tapestry, Christ is shown riding a donkey, which is accompanied by a small donkey, while approaching the city gate of Jerusalem.<sup>581</sup> Christ holds the reigns of

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<sup>579</sup> All biblical references are to the Douay-Rheims version of *The Bible*: Matt. 21:1–11; Mark 11:1–10; Luke 19:28–38; John 12:12–18.

<sup>580</sup> As suggested in section 4.2, it is possible that the tapestries were displayed in the cathedral as early as Palm Sunday, since their imagery parallels the liturgical celebrations of *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*.

<sup>581</sup> Representations of Christ riding a donkey while accompanied by a colt derive from the account of Matthew who is the only Evangelist to describe the presence of the second animal (Matt. 21:5–7): “Tell ye the daughter of Sion: Behold thy king cometh to thee, meek and sitting upon an ass and a colt, the foal of her that is used to the yoke. And the disciples going, did as Jesus commanded them. And they brought the ass and the colt and laid their garments upon them and made him sit thereon.” Matthew's description recalls the words from the Old Testament (Zech. 9:9):

the donkey's bridle in his left hand while he blesses those before him with his right hand.<sup>582</sup> The demeanor of the two donkeys is disciplined and attentive—their eyes<sup>583</sup> look ahead and their ears are pricked forward. This depiction is in contrast to other representations that illustrate the donkeys lowering their heads to sniff the cloak that covers the ground.

A large group of closely huddled figures—the twelve Apostles—follow Christ. Two of the Apostles—Saint Peter in green and Saint John in red—are seen walking next to Christ and the donkeys, while the other ten follow behind. Only five of these Apostles' faces are fully visible to the spectator and this includes Saint James the Great at the left of the group wearing a blue mantle,<sup>584</sup> as well as Judas, fourth from left, who is cloaked by a blue mantle. The five remaining Apostles are indicated solely by their overlapping halos.

As Christ and his Apostles approach the city gate, five figures greet them. One of these figures, who is bald and wears a forked-beard, is shown laying down his red cloak before Christ, while another figure, dressed in green and wearing a bowl-style haircut, is seen offering Christ his folded garment. Above the arched portal, two children are seen in the tower. One waves palm branches, while the other child is empty-handed, possibly just having thrown some palm branches down to the figures below; on the ground, two branches have landed on the little donkey, while two more are strewn across the red cloak.<sup>585</sup> Just to the right of the city gate

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“Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion, shout for joy, O daughter of Jerusalem: BEHOLD THY KING will come to thee, the just and saviour: he is poor, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.”

<sup>582</sup> The folds of fabric from Christ's mantle appears in reproductions as if he blesses with his left hand and holds the reigns of the donkey in his right; however, upon viewing the tapestry first hand, it was determined that this was not the case.

<sup>583</sup> The pupils of the donkeys' eyes are woven in a dark chocolate brown thread, indicating an area of reweaving.

<sup>584</sup> Saint James the Great also appears in the scene *Christ Praying in the Garden*, where he is shown wearing his blue mantle.

<sup>585</sup> Notice in between the two children emerges the large eyes of the soldier who is represented in the scene behind, which shows the moment when Christ is lead from the Garden of Gethsamane through a passageway to be presented

grows a large tree in which three more children are seen peeking out to view the arrival of Christ and his Apostles. Two of these children wave palm branches over their heads, as if they are about to toss them down.<sup>586</sup>

The iconographic elements of this representation of *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* are common; however, the majority of images surveyed in the investigation depict only one donkey instead of two. Compositional and iconographic parallels to the Zaragoza tapestry are evident in manuscript illuminations that were ordered by the leading French bibliophiles—Charles V, King of France (r.1364–1380) and his brother Jean, Duke of Berry (r.1360–1416)—who commissioned from their finest court artists the illumination of the following four manuscripts: the *Bible de Charles V* (Paris, ca.1372, by Jean Bondol and the Master of the Boqueteaux);<sup>587</sup> the *Grandes Heures de Jean de Berry* (possibly Paris, ca.1409, by the Pseudo-Jacquemart and his workshop);<sup>588</sup> and the *Très Riches Heures de Jean de Berry* (Bourges or Paris, ca.1411/12–1416, by the Limbourgs).<sup>589</sup> The *Bible de Charles V* and the *Grandes Heures* have several illuminated *Passion* scenes that correspond to the Hours of the *Passion*. For instance, the Hours of the *Passion* in the *Bible de Charles V* begins with *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* (folio 477) and ends

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before Caiaphas. This odd overlapping of scenes illustrates the challenges that the compact design presents. See section 5.3.4.

<sup>586</sup> The depictions of children in trees are numerous in medieval representations of *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*. The mention of children holding palm branches is also found in the *Acta Pilati* (Acts of Pilate) portion of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Chapter 1:3), see Charles F. Horne, *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, 14 vols. (New York/London: Parke, Austin, and Lipscomb, 1917), vol. 14, 325–402 at 330; Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed. (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 531–501 at 506. Children with palm branches are also referenced in the liturgical practices during Holy Week in Jerusalem, which are preserved in the *Itinerarium Egeriae* (*The Travels of Egeria*, Chapter 31:2) written by the late fourth-century Christian woman, Egeria, who visited the Holy Land and sent descriptive letters home. John Wilkinson, trans., *Egeria's Travels*, 3rd ed. (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1999); David R. Cartlidge and J. Keith Elliott, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha* (London/New York: Routledge, 2001), 120–122.

<sup>587</sup> The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, folio 477. For bibliography, see note 535.

<sup>588</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 919, folio 61.

<sup>589</sup> Chantilly, Musée de Condé, MS 65, folio 173v. For bibliography, see note 493.

with *The Noli me tangere* (folio 324v), while the *Grandes Heures* also begins with *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* (folio 61) and ends with *The Noli me tangere* (folio 84). Accordingly, the pictures for the Hours of the *Passion* exhibit a continuous narrative as seen in the Zaragoza tapestries.

### 5.3.2 Christ Praying in the Garden

The scene located immediately above *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* represents *Christ Praying in the Garden of Gethsemane*, at the base of the Mount of Olives, while three of the Apostles sleep nearby.<sup>590</sup> The depiction of the event in the tapestry takes place within the walled city of Jerusalem; there is no visual indication that the Mount of Olives is located nearby. Chronologically, the episode of *Christ Praying in the Garden* takes place after *The Last Supper*, an image not illustrated in the tapestry.<sup>591</sup>

At the top of the scene, Christ's hands are in a gesture of prayer as he kneels before a chalice that is placed on the ground before him; the chalice is not shown holding a wafer.<sup>592</sup> Typically medieval representations show Christ kneeling and gazing up towards the chalice, which usually sits atop a miniature mountain, but here, Christ contemplates with his head turned slightly down, since the chalice is positioned next to him on the ground. Unlike many

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<sup>590</sup> Matt. 26:36–46; Mark 14:32–42; Luke 22:39–46; John 18:1–1.

<sup>591</sup> Images of *The Last Supper* were not commonly found while surveying *The Passion* cycles of illuminated manuscripts from ca.1400.

<sup>592</sup> The chalice in the tapestry is somewhat rewoven and possibly originally included a wafer before restoration.

representations of this scene, the tapestry includes neither the figure of God nor the hand of God. Likewise, no angel is present.<sup>593</sup>

At the bottom of the scene sleep three Apostles: John, Peter and James the Great.<sup>594</sup> John, who is dressed in the red mantle, leans against the sleeping figure of Peter, wearing a beige mantle over a green robe.<sup>595</sup> The sleeping faces of the bearded Peter and the youthful John are visible to the viewer. By contrast, the third Apostle, James, sits apart from the other two. His representation is somewhat obscured because his body is completely enshrouded by a blue mantle that is adorned with a floral motif. The stylized pattern of his mantle seamlessly blends in with the flowers that decoratively sprinkle the ground around him.

Many examples of the scene of *Christ Praying in the Garden* show a similar curled-up figure, which is either entirely covered or almost entirely covered. Although not iconographically related, this figure recalls the famous cloaked, elegant figures of the alabaster-carved mourners (*pleurants*)<sup>596</sup> represented on the tomb of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy (r.1364–1404), made for the Chartreuse de Champmol (Dijon, 1384–1410, by Jean de Marville, Claus Sluter and later by Claus de Werve and a collaborator).<sup>597</sup>

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<sup>593</sup> Luke 22:43 describes the presence of an angel: “And there appeared to him an angel from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony, he prayed the longer.”

<sup>594</sup> As described by Matthew 26:37: “And taking with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee [James and John], he began to grow sorrowful and to be sad,” as well as Mark 14:33, “And he taketh Peter and James and John with him; and he began to fear and to be heavy.”

<sup>595</sup> These two figures are found walking next to Christ riding the donkey in the episode of *Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem*.

<sup>596</sup> While these emotive figures are famous for their expressions of grief, this type of figure can be identified on several tombs dating back to the middle of the thirteenth century that were carved for the Kings of France and originally or eventually interred at the Basilica of Saint Denis. The first archetype of the *pleurants* figures is observed on the tomb of Philippe Dagobert (d. ca.1234), brother to the King of France, Saint Louis (Louis IX, r.1226–1270). Philippe’s tomb was originally located at the Abbaye de Royaumont, but was later moved to Saint Denis where fragments of it can be seen today.

<sup>597</sup> Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 1416. Jean de Marville (d.1389) commenced work on Philippe le Hardi’s tomb sculpture in 1384. After the Duke’s death in 1404, Claus Sluter (d.1406) continued work on the tomb and then

The closest parallel for the tapestry's fully covered figure is a manuscript illumination from a *Missal* (Tournai, ca.1400–1425, by Jean Semonth).<sup>598</sup> It too portrays the subject of *Christ Praying in the Garden of Gethsemane* with three sleeping Apostles. The picture, however, shows not one, but two sleeping figures enveloped by their cloaks—one wears red, the other blue. Other examples of a covered figure or figures depicted in the episode of *Christ Praying in the Garden* include the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame de Jean de Berry* (Paris, ca.1380–1390, by the Parement Master and workshop);<sup>599</sup> a book of hours (Tournai, ca.1400);<sup>600</sup> a book of hours (Flanders, ca.1400);<sup>601</sup> a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1400, by the Ushaw workshop);<sup>602</sup> and a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1409, by the Ushaw workshop).<sup>603</sup>

There are two more examples that illustrate the motif of a curled up figure found in another context: the scene of *The Flight into Egypt*. The first of these examples comes from Jean de Berry's *Belles Heures* (probably Paris, ca.1405–1409 by the Limbourg brothers)<sup>604</sup> that represents Mary huddled on the back of the donkey. She is almost fully cloaked in a blue robe—only a small sliver of her face is visible and it blends in with the face of the infant Christ, whom

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in 1410, Claus de Werve and a collaborator, finished the project. In the end, Sluter and Werve executed the majority of the *pleurants* figures. Upon its installation in 1410, Jean Malouel (uncle to the Limbourg brothers) was charged with painting the tomb with polychrome. For more see, Emmanuel Starcky, *Album: le musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon* (Dijon and Paris: Musée des Beaux-Arts/Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002), 30–31; Stephen N. Fliegel, Sophie Jugie, and Virginie Barthélémy, ed., *L'art à la cour de Bourgogne: le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, 1364–1419* (Paris/Dijon/Cleveland: Réunion des musées nationaux/Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon/Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004), 222–225, no. 80, 230–235, no. 83.

<sup>598</sup> Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 807 (a.c. 25), folio 91v.

<sup>599</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3093, folio 181. For bibliography, see note 546.

<sup>600</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1364, folio 48v.

<sup>601</sup> Avignon, Musée Calvet MS 208, folio 31v.

<sup>602</sup> Arras, Médiathèque municipale, MS 845 (a.c. 532), folio 45 and 45v.

<sup>603</sup> Durham, Ushaw College Library, MS 10, folio number unknown.

<sup>604</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 54.1.1, folio 63. For bibliography, see note 548.

she holds in her arms up close to her face. An almost identical image is found in a panel painting known as the *Tower Retable* (possibly Dijon, ca.1395–1400).<sup>605</sup> With a remarkable similarity, Mary is again covered in her blue cloak, but in this representation there is not even the slightest suggestion of her face—she is completely enshrouded by her blue mantle. It would appear, therefore, that the artists who designed the *Tower Retable* were influenced by the Parent Master’s designs for the scene of *The Flight into Egypt* in Jean de Berry’s *Belles Heures*. Even though these two images do not iconographically correspond to the covered figure of Saint James the Great in the episode of *Christ Praying in the Garden* in the Zaragoza tapestry, they form a cluster of images that are loosely interrelated with the tapestries and the examples discussed above. From this small gathering of objects, it is apparent that the motif of a tucked and covered figure was popular around the year 1400 in France and Flanders.

### 5.3.3 The Betrayal of Christ: The Kiss of Judas and Peter Cutting off Malchus’ Ear

Spilling into the tranquil scene of *Christ Praying in the Garden of Gethsemane* are the dramatic events that unfold surrounding *The Betrayal of Christ: The Kiss of Judas and Peter Cutting off Malchus’ Ear*.<sup>606</sup> In the center of the scene stands Christ, who is kissed on his left cheek by

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<sup>605</sup> Antwerp, Museum Mayer Van den Bergh, inv. no. 2. Hans Nieuwdorp and Iris Kockelbergh, *Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp*, ed. Valentin Vermeersch and Jean-Marie Duvosquel, trans. Ted Alkins (Brussels: SA Cultura Nostra, 1996), 14–21; Cyriel Stroo, “The Antwerp Infancy Cycle: A Disregarded Masterpiece of Early Netherlandisch Painting,” in “*Als Ich Can:*” *Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. Bert Cardon, Jan van der Stock and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (Leuven: Peeters, 2002): 1273–1294; H  l  ne Mund, Cyriel Stroo and Nicole Goetghebeur, *The Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp* (Brussels: Centre d’  tude de la peinture du quinzi  me si  cle dans le Pays-Bas m  ridionaux et la Principaut   de Li  ge, 2003), 203–253.

<sup>606</sup> Matt. 26:47–56; Mark 14:43–52; Luke 22:47–53; John 18:2–12.

Judas Iscariot, dressed in a red robe and green mantle.<sup>607</sup> The faces of Christ and Judas are highlighted by the glow of an opened lantern that is held up next to them by one of the soldiers. Meanwhile, behind Judas, the faces of four soldiers are in view, along with at least six other soldiers who are indicated only by their overlapping helmets. All the soldiers wear *basinet* helmets, some with visors and some without, and many of them carry staffs, halberds, spears and swords. The soldier taking hold of Christ's left hand wears a costume that is given special treatment—his helmet is laced with a band of jewels and his suit of armor is fancifully adorned with a collar of overlapping white petals, while his red tunic is pleated and decorated with blue dots. He is also shown in a profile view that underscores the caricature of this figure<sup>608</sup>—this type of representation is seen repeatedly in the depiction of the figures of the soldiers and torturers of Christ in the two tapestries.

To Christ's right stand the young Saint John and the bearded Saint Peter, in addition to two other Apostles in full view. Only the tops of the overlapping halos of the remaining eight Apostles can be seen. Peter, returning his sword to its sheath,<sup>609</sup> has just cut the ear of Malchus,

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<sup>607</sup> Judas Iscariot was charged to hold the bag of money for the group of disciples (John 12:6, 13:29) and thus he is often shown carrying a bag, but in the tapestry Judas is not depicted holding a purse. Judas was ultimately paid to betray Christ (Mark 14:10–11). Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 1, 168. Judas is typically portrayed wearing the color yellow and often wears a beard, neither of which are observed in the tapestry, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), vol. 1, 51.

<sup>608</sup> For more on the use of caricature, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), vol. 1, 127, 131–132.

<sup>609</sup> Peter returns his sword as instructed by Christ in Matt. 26:52: "Then Jesus saith to him: Put up again thy sword into its place: for all that take the sword shall perish with the sword," and John 18:11: "Jesus therefore said to Peter: Put up thy sword into the scabbard. The chalice which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" By contrast, other representations show him wielding the sword over his head, underscoring the action of cutting Malchus' ear.



one of the servants of the High Priest,<sup>610</sup> while Christ is shown touching Malchus' left ear<sup>611</sup> to heal it. Only Luke (22:5) mentions the miraculous healing of Malchus' ear.

In the tapestry, Malchus is represented as a young man wearing a bright orange tunic that has pleats and jagged edges. The tunic is embellished with blue tassels at the shoulders and at the hem of the collar. Malchus holds a long dagger in his left hand and a mace in his right.<sup>612</sup> Most notable is his awkward and contorted position—his body is shown frontal, while his neck is turned up sharply to his right, as he looks up towards Peter. The profile of his face is angled nearly perpendicular to his body. This dramatic posture calls attention to his cut and bleeding, as well as to Christ's capacity to heal it.

Representations that depict Malchus sitting on the ground with his head twisted back include: the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* (Paris, ca.1324–1328, by Jean Pucelle);<sup>613</sup> the *Petites Heures de Jean duc de Berry* (Paris or Bourges, ca.1375–1380; Bourges, 1385–1390; Paris,

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<sup>610</sup> All four Gospels describe the event Malchus' ear having been cut (Matt. 26:51–52; Mark 14:47; Luke 22:50–51; John 18:10–11). It is only John's account, however, that identifies the two figures as Simon Peter and Malchus, whereas Luke and John say only that it was the right ear of the servant that was cut.

<sup>611</sup> This is the first instance of a left-right reversal. As mentioned in note 612, according to the writings in the Gospels, Luke and John mention that it was the right ear of Malchus, not left, that had been severed. The first step in the production of the tapestry begins with a small design (*petit patron*). The designer of the tapestry was typically a painter who would execute this first step. This *petit patron* serves as the template for the next step in the process—the enlarging of the design into a full-scale tapestry cartoon. The tapestry cartoon was made up of large strips of cloth (usually linen) that was colored-coded. The person probably responsible for making the tapestry cartoon would have been a weaver. It must be noted that “painterly skills” do not easily translate into the very rigid and systematic weaving process—the designer of the cartoon had to be conversant in the methods and techniques of tapestry weavers. Medieval weaving techniques are distinctive because the weavers wove from the back of the tapestry. The front of the tapestry faced outwards and, therefore, away from the weaver. This technique required that the weaver wove from a design that was in reverse to the original template of the *petit patron*. In sum, the tapestry cartoon, which the weavers used as their guide, was a mirror image of the tapestry. For example, if the *petit patron* showed the right ear of Malchus cut, the tapestry cartoon should therefore reflect the reverse—his left ear, so that the final tapestry, woven as a mirror image of the cartoon, would depict the right ear shorn away. The complexity of these multiple steps in the design, copying and weaving of a tapestry could easily lead to errors. This would often result in left-right reversals—an error observed in the Zaragoza tapestry, so it is that we see the left ear of Malchus cut instead of the right. Also see notes 638 and 815 for another example of a left-right reversal.

<sup>612</sup> Most often Malchus is shown as a young man, but earlier instances show him much younger as a boy, while some later examples show him as a full-grown man.

<sup>613</sup> London, British Library, MS Yates Thompson 27, folio 13v.

ca.1412, by Jean le Noir);<sup>614</sup> the *Hours of Yolande of Flanders* (Paris, ca.1353–1363, by Jean le Noir and possibly his daughter, Bourgot);<sup>615</sup> a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1400, by the Ushaw workshop);<sup>616</sup> and book of hours (possibly Bruges, ca.1400–1420).<sup>617</sup> Furthermore, there are several manuscript illuminations that depict Malchus turning his head back towards Peter while at the same time he is healed by Christ: a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1405–1410, by the Beaufort Saints Workshop);<sup>618</sup> and a book of hours (Tournai, ca.1400).<sup>619</sup> The picture in the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (Paris, ca.1380–1390 by the Parent Master and workshop),<sup>620</sup> shows Malchus with his back facing the viewer, but his head is again positioned so that he looks up towards Peter; Christ, however, is not shown reaching out in this representation. The *Parent de Narbonne* (Paris, ca.1375–1378 by the Parent Master),<sup>621</sup> is very similar to the tapestry. While the overall figural arrangement is similar between the two works of art—Judas approaches Christ at his left, Malchus is on the ground to Christ’s right and Peter, sword in hand, stands at the left-hand side of the composition—there are differences. For instance, as in the tapestry, Peter is positioned to the right of Christ, but the action of his sword is different in the painting. The *Parent de Narbonne* depicts Peter’s action more dramatically and full of action. He is seen lifting the sword high above his head as he replaces it into the sheath. One other difference is observed in the tapestry, where Judas kisses Christ on his left cheek and Christ heals Malchus’

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<sup>614</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18014, folio 76. For bibliography, see note 536.

<sup>615</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 54.1.2, folio 68v.

<sup>616</sup> Arras, Médiathèque municipale, MS 845 (a.c. 532), folio 46.

<sup>617</sup> London, Sotheby’s 7 December 1992, lot 58, folio 25v.

<sup>618</sup> London, Sotheby’s 19 June 1989, lot 3016, folio 19v.

<sup>619</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1364, folio 50v.

<sup>620</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3093, folio 181. For bibliography, see note 546.

<sup>621</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. M.I. 1121. For bibliography, see note 539.

left ear.<sup>622</sup> This is the opposite of how it is depicted in the *Parement de Narbonne* where Christ's right cheek is kissed Judas and Malchus's right ear is cut and healed. The examples most comparable to the depiction in the Zaragoza tapestry include the *Bible de Charles V* (Paris, ca.1372, by Jean Bondol);<sup>623</sup> a book of hours (St. Omer, ca.1400);<sup>624</sup> and a book of hours (Bruges or Ypres, ca.1400–1415, by the Beaufort Saints Workshop).<sup>625</sup>

### 5.3.4 Christ Led through a Passageway

The next scene in the tapestry is not a standard scene in most *Passion* cycles, since it shows Christ being led by two soldiers through a passageway. It functions as a visual link between the episodes when Judas' betrays Christ (in the upper left) and when Christ appears before Caiaphas or Annas (at the bottom, left of center).<sup>626</sup> A similar type of passageway or hallway is described after the episode of *The Flagellation* by Matt. 27:27: "Then the soldiers of the governor, taking Jesus into the hall, gathered together unto him the whole band." There is a historiated initial in Jean de Berry's *Très Belles Heures* (Paris or Bourges, before 1402, probably by Jacquemart Hesdin and the Master of the Brussels Initials)<sup>627</sup> that depicts Christ being lead in the prætorium, the Hall of the Governor Pilate, mentioned by John (18:28, 18:33, 19:9). Likewise, Berry's *Très*

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<sup>622</sup> See notes 611 and 612.

<sup>623</sup> The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, folio 491v. For bibliography, see note 535.

<sup>624</sup> Arras, Médiathèque municipale, MS 822 (a.c. 513), folio 9.

<sup>625</sup> Paris, Musée de Cluny, cl. 1246, folio 32v.

<sup>626</sup> References to Christ being led away after *The Kiss of Judas* include Matt. 26:57; Mark 14:53; Luke 22:54 and John 18:12.

<sup>627</sup> Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 11060–61, folio 165. Also known as the *Heures de Bruxelles* and hereafter referred to by that name to avoid confusion with the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* owned by Jean de Berry. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1967), vol. 2, fig. 209.

*Riches Heures de Jean de Berry* (Bourges or Paris, ca.1411/12–1416, by the Limbourgs),<sup>628</sup> shows Christ on two separate occasions either being lead to or from the building that houses Pilate’s hall.

The scene in the tapestry shows two soldiers who are dressed in embroidered red robes. The soldier at the right, who enters an archway, is also wearing decorative chain mail on his arms and neck. These two soldiers escort the figure of Christ, who stands between them, and gestures slightly with his right hand. Behind this group of three figures is a group of soldiers—around eleven blue helmets can be counted—who carry torches, spears and axes. These soldiers are shown in a space that is overshadowed by the rising walls and towers that surround them. Compositionally, this scene is depicted next to the city gate that was described in the first scene, *Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem*. At the top of the tower are two small children who wave palm fronds, however in between their figures emerge the large eyes of a soldier through the open visor of his blue helmet. He belongs to the intermediary scene of the passageway. Because of the compact nature of the arrangement of this scene, the soldier’s eyes become abstracted since they are juxtaposed against the small figures of the children—the viewer must reconcile the overlapping of imagery from the first scene into this one.

### **5.3.5 Christ before Caiaphas or Annas**

From the passageway at the left, Christ is shown entering this scene, where he appears before Caiaphas.<sup>629</sup> The hand of a soldier can be observed on Christ’s right shoulder, while the same

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<sup>628</sup> Chantilly, Musée de Condé, MS 65, folios 143 and 146v. For bibliography, see note 493.

<sup>629</sup> Matt. 26:57–66; Mark 14:53–64; Luke 22:54; John 18:13–27.

soldier strikes Christ with his bent knee.<sup>630</sup> Likewise, another soldier stands just behind Christ, but only his eyes and the top of his helmet can be seen.

It remains unclear if Christ stands before Caiaphas or Annas. Only Matthew (26:57) states that Christ was first led to Caiaphas, whereas Mark (14:53) and Luke (22:54) mention that Christ was to be taken to the house of the “High Priest.” Luke identifies the High Priest as being Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas. There are not enough iconographic features to determine which scene is depicted in the tapestry. For instance, according to Mark (14:63), the High Priest tore Christ’s garment, a depiction not found in the tapestry. While surveying the other medieval representations when Christ appears before a judge other than Herod or Pilate, most depictions represent the figure of Caiaphas and it therefore seems most plausible that this scene represents Caiaphas.

Caiaphas is depicted as an older man with a forked, white beard. He sits enthroned beneath a canopied dais that is red and decorated with small leaf designs.<sup>631</sup> Behind the red drapery of Caiaphas’ throne is a blue wall hanging that is patterned with a floral motif.<sup>632</sup> A pinnacle surmounts the architectural framework enclosing the scene, making it the center point of the tapestry’s composition.

Caiaphas is dressed in a blue robe that is covered by a green mantle with orange dots on the sleeves and terminates in brown fur cuffs. Draped across his left shoulder is an ermine stole. His head is covered with a blue *chaperon* hat. Caiaphas, seated centrally in the scene, is flanked by two figures. On his right stands a young, beardless man with a bowl-haircut. He gestures

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<sup>630</sup> According to John (18:22), Christ was given a blow by one of the servants.

<sup>631</sup> Sections of the dais have been rewoven, especially evident where pink threads are seen in place of the faded threads.

<sup>632</sup> This wall-hanging is possibly a tapestry, yet it could also be a painted cloth or a wall painting.

with his hands. To the left of Caiaphas stands another younger man dressed in a red mantle and has a bowl-haircut.

Kneeling on the ground before Caiaphas is a young male figure dressed in green who has his head turned awkwardly. His posture recalls the figure of Malchus in the scene of *The Betrayal*, although in this scene, the figure has his back facing the viewer. The figure's profile view accentuates his hooknose—a reminder to the viewer that the characters involved with Christ's trial are evil, specifically underscoring the evilness of the Jews.

The depiction of *Christ before Caiaphas* in Jean de Berry's *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame*<sup>633</sup> is the contemporary example that corresponds with the imagery in the tapestry. The manuscript picture, like the tapestry, presents the scene in a small room that is filled with soldiers aggressively advancing Christ towards the seated Caiaphas. The miniature shows Caiaphas seated on a wooden chair and not beneath an elaborate dais, as seen in the tapestry. This same folio also includes *Christ before Annas*. By contrast, Jean de Berry's *Belles Heures* (probably Paris, ca.1405–1409 by the Limbourg brothers)<sup>634</sup> shows *Christ before the High Priest*, who sits beneath a wooden dais. He is shown as an older man with a white beard and holds a large sword in his hand, but this scene takes place outdoors and thus seems less similar to the tapestry than to the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame*.

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<sup>633</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3093, folio 189r. For bibliography, see note 546.

<sup>634</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 54.1.1, folio 124. For bibliography, see note 548.

### 5.3.6 Christ before Herod

In the scene above and to the left of *Christ before Caiaphas* a youthful Herod sits with Christ standing before him for judgment.<sup>635</sup> The small, intimate setting shows Christ surrounded by four soldiers—the faces of three are visible, while the fourth soldier, who stands directly behind Christ, is only recognized by the top of his blue helmet. Christ makes the blessing gesture with his left hand<sup>636</sup> and gestures with his right hand. A soldier, who stands to the left and a little behind Christ, wears an ornamented suit of armor with jagged sleeves. This same soldier's helmet curves dramatically and terminates at the front with a point. Another soldier, who stands just at the entrance to this scene on the other side of the walled entrance, also wears a helmet with exaggerated curves to contrast with the arc of his hooknose.

Herod sits on a stone throne in three-quarter view, wearing a blue robe that has an orange floral pattern with white fur trimmings at the collar and cuffs. Over his blue robe is a red mantle that has a green abstracted motif at the hem. He wears a small red hat lined with pleats of white fur. While his left hand rests on his lap, his right hand gestures subtly. Herod sits with his left leg crossed over his right knee. His left foot and calf, which are enclosed by black, pointed-toed *poulaine* hose, project out towards the viewer.<sup>637</sup>

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<sup>635</sup> The bible is not completely clear on the order and events that follow. Luke (23:7–11) tells that Christ first appeared before Pilate, who then sent Christ to Herod who in turn sent him back to Pilate. A Pilate-Herod-Pilate sequence could be a plausible depiction in the tapestry since there are three representations of Christ appearing before a judge; however, the figure of Caiaphas, while similar in features to Pilate (older man with a white, forked beard), is shown standing next to the figure of Pilate and Herod in the scene of *The Making of the Cross*.

<sup>636</sup> Christ always blesses with his right hand, so this is another indication of a left-right reversal. See notes 612 and 814.

<sup>637</sup> For more on *poulaine* hose and shoes, see Appendix E: “Costumes, Headgear and Hairstyles: Descriptions and Historical Details of the Zaragoza *Passion* Tapestries.”

The composition and arrangement of the scene of *Christ Before Herod* in the tapestry corresponds to an image of *Christ Before Pilate* in Jean de Berry's *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*.<sup>638</sup> Although this manuscript shows *Christ Before Herod* in the *bas-de-page* of the scene of *The Flagellation* (folio 197), it does not correspond to the tapestry the way the representation of *Christ Before Pilate* does. For example, in the manuscript, Pilate is placed in a similar manner as he is seen in the tapestry. He is situated in a chair at the left of a small room, where he sits in a crossed-leg position. He also wears a small blue hat lined with pleats of white fur. A similar hat is also found on the figure of Pilate in the *Heures de Bruxelles* (Paris or Bourges, before 1402, probably by Jacquemart Hesdin and the Master of the Brussels Initials).<sup>639</sup> The depiction of the hats in both scenes is nearly identical. Both have pleats of fur lining the base, while the top part of the hat is colored—red for Herod in the tapestry and blue for Pilate in the manuscript. Pilate's hat, however, terminates at the top with a golden knob.<sup>640</sup> The other parallel detail is that both men are depicted with crossed legs—the left leg is placed over the right knee and the left foot is pointed. Both rulers assume a nearly identical pose; however, in the tapestry, Herod's foot remains more level, while in the manuscript, Pilate's foot points down to the floor more. Even with these minor differences, the similarities are noteworthy.

The depiction of a ruler with crossed legs in medieval art is iconographically significant. It draws upon a Germanic tradition that stated a ruler should cross his legs when making a judgment against someone to illustrate equanimity and deliberation.<sup>641</sup> A plethora of examples

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<sup>638</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3093, folio 194. For bibliography, see note 546.

<sup>639</sup> Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 11060–61, folio 191.

<sup>640</sup> A knob at the top of the hat is one of the signifiers of a Jew, see note 653 about the depiction of the hats of Jews in medieval art.

<sup>641</sup> Judith Golden surveys the motif and focuses primarily on French and English examples from the thirteenth century through the first half of the fourteenth century. She mentions that the seated cross-legged figure could be



found in French and Flemish illuminated manuscripts survive from the thirteenth century until the early years of the fifteenth century.<sup>642</sup> At the turn of the fifteenth century, it appears that medieval artists' interest in this iconographic detail diminishes. From this point forward, late medieval images denoting acts of judgment—be it a positive, negative or neutral representation—no longer depicted the figure in a seated, crossed-legged position. It is not certain why this aspect became less popular; perhaps by the early fifteenth century it had become to be viewed as an archaic mode of illustrating judgment.

This moment of change is actually captured in a panel painting illustrating *The Massacre of the Innocents* in the *Tower Retable*, introduced above.<sup>643</sup> When the panel underwent scientific examination in the years 2002–2003, the results of the infrared reflectography uncovered that the original pen-and-ink under-drawing originally had Herod the Great seated beneath a dais with his left leg crossed over his right knee, while his left hand rested on his knee and his right hand made a pointing gesture. This representation is comparable to how Herod Antipas is shown in the Zaragoza tapestry. The discovery of the under-drawing is important because it reveals that a decision was made, either by the artists or the patron, to not paint the final image of Herod the

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interpreted positively, negatively or neutrally depending on the context and subject. My work on the subject concerning later works of art of *The Passion* concurs with her research that the representation of Herod the Great (in the scene of the Massacre of the Innocents) is the most common figure to be presented with crossed legs, in addition to Pontius Pilate and Herod Antipas. For more, see Judith K. Golden, “The Iconography of Authority in the Depiction of Seated, Crossed-legged Figures,” in *Between the Picture and the Word: Manuscript Studies from the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art/Princeton University and Penn State University Press, 2005), 81–99 at 86.

<sup>642</sup> My conclusion is based on the research Judith K. Golden, “The Iconography of Authority in the Depiction of Seated, Crossed-legged Figures,” in *Between the Picture and the Word: Manuscript Studies from the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art/Princeton University and Penn State University Press, 2005), 81–99 at 88–98, where a list of images is organized by subject. Golden’s survey focused on images much earlier than my study and taken together, they reflect a strong interest in crossed-legged rulers up until the end of the fourteenth century.

<sup>643</sup> Antwerp, Museum Mayer Van den Bergh, inv. no. 2. In relation to the imagery in *The Flight into Egypt* with the enshrouded figure in the scene of *Christ Praying in the Garden*, see note 605.

Great with crossed legs. The result in the final painting depicts Herod the Great with both feet planted on the ground; however, the positions of his hands are painted the same as they were designed in the under-drawing. It is not known why the change was made, but it appears to be indicative of a larger stylistic trend beginning in the early years of the fifteenth century that no longer depicted rulers with crossed legs. In contrast, the representation of Pilate in the Zaragoza tapestries underscores the role he plays in the trial of Christ. His crossed leg can be read as a gesture that conveys his desire to judge Christ fairly.

### 5.3.7 Christ before Pilate

The next scene, *Christ before Pilate*, takes place in the small room seen to the right of the episode of *Christ before Herod*.<sup>644</sup> This scene complements the two previous ones in which Christ appears before Caiaphas and Herod. The tapestry gives special attention to the trial of Christ by representing him before the three separate judges and the inclusion of these three scenes is rare. Two of Jean de Berry's manuscripts, the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* (Paris, ca.1380–1390, by the Parement Master and workshop),<sup>645</sup> and the *Belles Heures* (probably Paris, ca.1405–1409 by the Limbourg brothers),<sup>646</sup> both have several miniatures dedicated to Christ appearing before a judge. For instance, in total, the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* shows Christ appearing before four judges, including *Christ before Caiaphas* (folio 189), *Christ before Annas* (folio 189), *Christ before Pilate* (folio 194), and *Christ before Herod*

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<sup>644</sup> Matt. 27:1–25; Mark 15:1–14; Luke 23:1–25; John 18:28–40.

<sup>645</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3093, folios 189, 194, 197. For bibliography, see note 546.

<sup>646</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 54.1.1, folios 124, 132, 135, 135v, 136, 138. For bibliography, see note 548.

(folio 197), while in the scene of *The Flagellation*, Pilate is also present. The cycle in the *Belles Heures* is also extensive in its representation of Christ's trial. It shows the scenes with *Christ before the High Priest* (folio 124), who wears a white beard and possibly represents the figure of Caiaphas; *The Flagellation* (folio 132) scene includes a black-bearded Pilate at the back of the scene; *The Mocking of Christ* (folio 135) again shows the figure of a white-bearded High Priest at the far right; *Christ before Pilate* (folio 135v), who wears a black beard and is enthroned; *High Priest before Crowd* (folio 136);<sup>647</sup> and finally, *Christ before Pilate* (folio 138) for a second time and Pilate is shown washing his hands. These two manuscripts owned by Jean de Berry show a strong emphasis in Christ's trial and in that regard have strong affinities with the Zaragoza tapestry, which shows Christ presented before Caiaphas, Herod and Pilate. Moreover, the extended cycle of images of Christ's trial in these manuscripts also leads one to question the motive of their inclusion. It is certainly plausible that these images—produced for the French royalty—were conveying a belief that the Jews were responsible for Christ's death. The visual program, therefore, can be interpreted as anti-Semitic.

The role of Pilate in the trial and death of Christ is pivotal to *The Story of the Passion* and the fulfillment of Christian salvation. Throughout the Middle Ages, the typecasting of Pilate was typically negative; medieval theology reflects a deep interest in identifying and scorning the culpable characters involved with Christ's crucifixion. In fact, the hatred towards Pilate was great enough that some viewers of illuminated manuscripts were driven to efface his image, as was also often done to other despised figures such as Judas, Annas, Caiaphas, Herod and Satan. Erased or rubbed away faces of Pilate are found in a book of hours (either Avignon or Toulouse,

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<sup>647</sup> This scene has been identified as Pilate appearing before the populace suggesting the liberation of Christ, but Pilate is consistently shown with a black beard and here the judge has a white beard that suggests he is instead the High Priest, who may be Caiaphas.

ca.1390–1410);<sup>648</sup> a book of hours (Bruges and possibly Paris, ca.1400–1415, by the Master of the Beaufort Saints and the Gold Scrolls Group);<sup>649</sup> and a book of hours (London, ca.1400, by Herman Scheere and workshop);<sup>650</sup> and a book of hours (France, ca.1400–1450).<sup>651</sup>

Medieval images of Pilate often present him with negatively stereotypical and exaggerated Jewish characteristics<sup>652</sup>—enlarged eyes and mouth, a hooknose and a pointed hat<sup>653</sup>—that reflect the growing anti-Semitism with which he was often associated.<sup>654</sup> For instance, images from the early fourteenth century that negatively typecast Pilate include, the *De Lisle Hours* (possibly York, ca.1316–1331);<sup>655</sup> the *Du Bois Book of Hours* (possibly London, ca.1320–1355);<sup>656</sup> a Franciscan missal (France, ca.1325–1350);<sup>657</sup> and a psalter-book of hours (possibly Languedoc, ca.1330–1340).<sup>658</sup>

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<sup>648</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 520, folio 41v.

<sup>649</sup> London, British Library, MS Add. 27948, folio 21v.

<sup>650</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Liturg. d. 1, folio 26.

<sup>651</sup> Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 129, folio 50.

<sup>652</sup> Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), vol. 1, 128.

<sup>653</sup> Ruth Mellinkoff has described that while pointed hats are the most common negative characteristic for Jews in terms of headgear, they varied greatly in their shape, to include funnel shapes (Phrygian hats), coned- and domed-shapes and those that terminated in a knob or spike. See Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), vol. 1, 41, 46, 59–60, 72, 89, 90–93.

<sup>654</sup> Colum Hourihane, “She who was not named: Pilate’s Wife in Medieval Art,” in *Between Judaism and Christianity: Pictorials Playing on Mutual Grounds, Essays in Honor of Elisheva Revel Neher*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2008), forthcoming. I am most grateful to Colum Hourihane, who made his article available to me before it was published.

<sup>655</sup> New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS G.50, folio 49v.

<sup>656</sup> New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.700, folio 31.

<sup>657</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 313, folio 4.

<sup>658</sup> Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 121, folio 54.

By the fifteenth century, however, Pilate was cast in the visual arts in more neutral terms and sometimes even in a positive light. This shift to a less negative representation of Pilate is due in part to the popularity and influence of such apocryphal writings as the *Gospel of Nicodemus*<sup>659</sup> and the *Matthew Homilies*<sup>660</sup> composed by Saint John Chrysostom (ca.347–407). These later depictions of Pilate often cast him as confused, weak, cowardly, passive or indifferent—a decisive contrast to the earlier representations of him that were unambiguously negative. These representations correspond with the medieval commentaries that emphasize the culpability of the Jews and portray Pilate attempting to avoid handing Christ over to them. The change in his representation from a less evil character is evident in several books of hours from around 1400 that were made in Flanders: a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1390–1400 by the Pink Canopies Group);<sup>661</sup> a book of hours (Flanders, ca.1400–1410);<sup>662</sup> a book of hours (Flanders, ca.1400–1410);<sup>663</sup> a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1410, by the Beaufort Saints workshop);<sup>664</sup> a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1415, by the Master of Ushaw 10);<sup>665</sup> and a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1415–1420).<sup>666</sup> To evaluate the characterization of Pilate in the tapestry, it is necessary to analyze the combination of certain iconographic elements.

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<sup>659</sup> Charles F. Horne, *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, 14 vols. (New York/London: Parke, Austin, and Lipscomb, 1917), vol. 14, 325–402 at 330; Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed. (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 501–536.

<sup>660</sup> Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 14 vols. (Grand Rapids: W.R. Eerdmans, 1952), vol. 10.

<sup>661</sup> London, British Library, MS Sloane 2683, folio 41v.

<sup>662</sup> The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 135 E 36, folio 85v.

<sup>663</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Lit. F 2, folio 32.

<sup>664</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 49, folio 38.

<sup>665</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Lat. 15, folio 42v.

<sup>666</sup> Crakow, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, MS 2943, folio 60v.

In the tapestry, within a small room, the Roman Governor of Judea, Pontius Pilate sits beneath a dais in the center of the scene. He is represented as an older man with a white, forked beard. Pilate is dressed in a green brocade mantle that is lined with ermine and jewels over a red patterned robe. He wears a red *chaperon* hat on his head. Some representations show Pilate holding a scepter or a sword, but here he is shown washing his hands.

Pilate is flanked by three figures on each side. To his left, a soldier stands in profile whose malice is emphasized by his hooknose. Next to him stands Christ, who is normally shown bound and subjugated in late medieval examples, but who is here depicted gesturing with two hands (seen before in the scene of *Christ before Herod*). To the right of Christ stands a Roman official who is dressed well—he wears an orange tunic and a distinctive scalloped hat that resembles a crown. On Pilate's right side stands his wife, Claudia Procula. She wears a white headscarf, a wimple and a red mantle, which is possibly lined with ermine, over a robe with orange and blue dots. Like Christ, she also gesticulates with her right hand in an animated way; the placement of her left hand is not clear. Next and below to Claudia Procula are two young boys: the boy in blue pours a jeweled-encrusted pitcher of water over Pilate's hands, while the other, wearing a green tunic with jagged edges, kneels before Pilate to support the large ceramic jeweled-encrusted basin that catches the falling water. The presence of these young attendants assisting with the water and basin is more commonly found in later examples, such as a book of hours (ca.1440, Southern Netherlands, by the Master of the Golden Tendrils),<sup>667</sup> and Jean de Berry's *Belles Heures* (probably Paris, ca.1405–1409 by the Limbourg brothers),<sup>668</sup> which shows

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<sup>667</sup> The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 F 11, folio 34.

<sup>668</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 54.1.1, folio 138. For bibliography, see note 548.

the scene of *Christ before Pilate* with only one young attendant present—a young boy who pours the pitcher of water, but it blocks the view of his face.

The *mise-en-scène* of the interior is complexly designed in the tapestry. The back left wall of the room is pierced with two stained-glass windows and is covered with red drapery that is perhaps a tapestry. Pilate is majestically enthroned beneath a royal blue dais that is decorated with a repetitive pattern of large, golden-orange “Y” letters executed in a Gothic script.<sup>669</sup> Greet Ghyselen identified this “Y” as the Pythagorean letter.<sup>670</sup> The Pythagorean letter is the Greek upsilon and is symbolically significant—its fork symbolizes the two divergent paths of virtue and vice.<sup>671</sup> This symbol will be discussed in detail below.

This scene is one of the most interesting in the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries because of three iconographic points: Pilate washing his hands, the presence of Pilate’s wife, Claudia Procula, and the incorporation of the symbolic Pythagorean letter. The combination of these three elements results in a positive, and even a compassionate reading of the figure of Pilate in the Zaragoza tapestry.

The act of Pilate washing his hands is only described by Matthew 27:24.<sup>672</sup> The event of Pilate washing his hands is also portrayed in the *Acti Pilati* from the apocryphal *Gospel of*

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<sup>669</sup> Portions of the dais and a few of the letters were rewoven. This is mostly notable at the top of the dais, where the blue threads are darker and the orange threads are bright. The letter was interpreted as a “P,” signifying “Pilate,” by Ricardo Centellas, *Los tapices de la Seo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada de Aragón, 1998), 92.

<sup>670</sup> Greet Ghyselen, “The Passion Tapestries of the Saragossa Cathedral and Pre-Eyckian Realism,” in *Flanders in a European Perspective: Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad*, ed. Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon (Leuven: Peeters, 1995): 401–416 at 403.

<sup>671</sup> *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. “Pythagorean letter, *n.*,” <http://dictionary.oed.com/> (20 April 2008).

<sup>672</sup> “And Pilate seeing that he prevailed nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, taking water washed his hands before the people, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just man. Look you to it.” Other similar references include Deuteronomy 21: 6: “And the ancients of that city shall come to the person slain, and shall wash their hands over the heifer that was killed in the valley.”

*Nicodemus* (Chapter 9:4),<sup>673</sup> as well as in the *Matthew Homilies* written by St. John Chrysostom (Chapter 27:19–24).<sup>674</sup> These texts recount that Pilate repeatedly returned to the rebellious Jewish crowd and exclaimed that he had found no fault in Christ; the innocent man did not deserve crucifixion. In effect, these commentaries demonstrate the more positive view that Pilate was forced to condemn Christ because of pressure from the populace—his action was a political concession.

The image of Pilate washing his hands in late medieval art typically presents a less evil character—one who tried to acquit Christ, but in the end was forced to deliver a verdict from which he wished to be disassociated. Examples include a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1400, by the Ushaw workshop);<sup>675</sup> a *Biblia Pauperum* (The Hague, ca.1405, by the Master of the Hours of Margaret of Cleves);<sup>676</sup> a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1409, by the Ushaw workshop);<sup>677</sup> a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1425–1450, by the Gold Scrolls Group);<sup>678</sup> and a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1430–1440, by the Gold Scrolls Group).<sup>679</sup>

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<sup>673</sup> Charles F. Horne, *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, 14 vols. (New York/London: Parke, Austin, and Lipscomb, 1917), vol. 14, 325–402 at 338; Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed. (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 531–501 at 512.

<sup>674</sup> Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 14 vols. (Grand Rapids: W.R. Eerdmans, 1952), vol. 10, Matt. XXVII:19–24.

<sup>675</sup> Arras, Médiathèque municipale, MS 845 (a.c. 532), folio 49.

<sup>676</sup> London, British Library, MS King's 5, folio 13.

<sup>677</sup> Durham, Ushaw College, MS 10, folio number unknown.

<sup>678</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Liturg. 400, folio 35v

<sup>679</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3110, folio 73v.



An attempt to intercede upon this fateful moment is introduced by the presence of Pilate's wife, Claudia Procula.<sup>680</sup> Her inclusion in the story is significant and meaningful. She is only mentioned once, though not by name, in the bible (Matthew 27:19): "And as he [Pilate] was sitting in the place of judgment, his wife sent to him, saying: 'Have thou nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him.'" She is identified as Procula, the wife of Pilate, in letters written by Herod to Pilate and by Pilate to Herod, in addition to the account of the trial and condemnation of Pilate (known as the *Paradosis of Pilate*).<sup>681</sup> The source of Claudia's dream is never disclosed and this vagueness gave medieval artists the opportunity to characterize her both negatively and positively.<sup>682</sup>

For instance, negatively charged images that depict that the source of the dream was the devil are observed in pictures from the *Hortus deliciarum* (Alsace, ca.1176–1196, by Herrad of Landsberg, Abbess of Hohenbourg)<sup>683</sup> and the *Psalter of Queen Mary* (possibly London,

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<sup>680</sup> The figure of Claudia Procula in medieval art has been examined recently, see Ruth Mellinkoff, "Pilate's Wife," in *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne S. Korteweg (London: Harvey Miller, 2006): 337–341; Colum Hourihane, "She who was not named: Pilate's Wife in Medieval Art," in *Between Judaism and Christianity: Pictorials Playing on Mutual Grounds, Essays in Honor of Elisheva Revel Neher*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2008), forthcoming.

<sup>681</sup> Charles F. Horne, *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, 14 vols. (New York/London: Parke, Austin, and Lipscomb, 1917), vol. 14, 389–402 at 390, 391 402; Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed. (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 530–533 at 532. Colum Hourihane says that she is often associated as being the daughter of the Emperor Tiberius and Julia, Augustus Caesar's daughter. She also called other names such as Livia or Pilatessa in drama in the later Middle Ages. Colum Hourihane, "She who was not named: Pilate's Wife in Medieval Art," in *Between Judaism and Christianity: Pictorials Playing on Mutual Grounds, Essays in Honor of Elisheva Revel Neher*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2008), forthcoming.

<sup>682</sup> Ruth Mellinkoff, "Pilate's Wife," in *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne S. Korteweg (London: Harvey Miller, 2006): 337–341 at 338–340.

<sup>683</sup> Image (folio 143) is a reconstruction based on tracings of the original manuscript made by Christian Moritz Engelhardt, ca.1812 and ca.1838. Rosalie Green et al., *Herrad of Hohenbourg: Hortus deliciarum*, 2 vols. (London/Leiden: Warburg Institute/University of London/E. J. Brill, 1979), vol. 1, folio 143r, no. 207, vol. 2, 253, no. 207, plate 91.

ca.1310–1320).<sup>684</sup> Both of these representations illustrate the devil hovering over Claudia in her bedchamber while she sleeps. Claudia’s message—delivered by the devil himself—was interpreted as a way to obstruct Christ’s fate of death and resurrection; such actions would prevent mankind’s salvation. The picture from the *Hortus deliciarum* also depicts Claudia sending off a messenger to Pilate.

These images that present the devil as the source of Claudia’s dream function as visual retorts in response to the story in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Chapter 2:1) that has the Jews claiming the source of the dream was Christ.<sup>685</sup> Cast in this role, Christ was viewed as a sorcerer, but this portrayal could be contradicted by identifying the devil, not Christ, as the true source of Claudia’s dream.

In addition to describing Christ as a sorcerer, the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Chapter 2:1) portrays Claudia Procula as a Jewess.<sup>686</sup> In contrast to this portrayal, Claudia is often depicted as a pious Christian.<sup>687</sup> In fact, she became so revered that she is venerated as Saint Procula in Orthodox Christianity; her feast day is celebrated October 27. Medieval representations of Claudia Procula characterized as a Christian are usually positive, though her character, like Pilate’s, is sometimes cast in an ambiguous light.

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<sup>684</sup> London, British Library, MS Royal 2 B. VII, folio 249.

<sup>685</sup> Charles F. Horne, *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, 14 vols. (New York/London: Parke, Austin, and Lipscomb, 1917), vol. 14, 325–402 at 332; Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed. (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 531–501 at 507–508.

<sup>686</sup> Charles F. Horne, *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, 14 vols. (New York/London: Parke, Austin, and Lipscomb, 1917), vol. 14, 325–402 at 332; Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed. (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 531–501 at 507.

<sup>687</sup> Colum Hourihane, “She who was not named: Pilate’s Wife in Medieval Art,” in *Between Judaism and Christianity: Pictorials Playing on Mutual Grounds, Essays in Honor of Elisheva Revel Neher*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2008), forthcoming.

In her Christian role, however, Claudia is differentiated from the other characters in *The Story of the Passion* as one who attempted to prevent the death of Christ by telling her husband of her dream and by advising him to not be involved with the judgment of an innocent man. As a result, her actions were interpreted positively as a message from God. The inclusion of Claudia in the story reinforces not only Christ's innocence, but also serves as a manifestation of Pilate's conscience. Her presence also increases the pathos of the story—this is especially accentuated in the Zaragoza tapestry with her gestures that are echoed by those of Christ.

The third iconographic element in the Zaragoza tapestry that promotes a more positive view of Pilate is the incorporation of the Pythagorean letter “Y” referred to above and identified in the Zaragoza tapestry by Greet Ghyselen. Erwin Panofsky identifies the incorporation of the letter “Y”—described in medieval French inventories as “*lettres grecques et turquesques*” or as a “*Y gregois*”—in other works of art, such as enameled or engraved horse medals, which were engraved with the letter “Y” and would have been depicted on the horse trimmings in tournaments.<sup>688</sup> If the letter was displayed in tournaments and functioned within a Pythagorean context, Panofsky explains that, “It was simply a symbol of chivalrous *virtus* or feminine chastity which could be used singly, doubly or in combination with other letters . . .”<sup>689</sup>

Furthermore, the symbolic letter is described in inventories or appears on works of art that were owned by the Dukes of Berry, Orléans and Anjou. For instance, the letter is mentioned

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<sup>688</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), vol. 1, 67n3. Panofsky goes on to say a collection of horse medals decorated with the letter “Y” had been shown to him by the New York collector, Joseph Brummer. For more on the use of letters and symbols during pageants, see Otto Cartellieri, “Ritterspiele am Hofe Karls Kühnen von Burgun (1468),” *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 36 (1921): 15–30.

<sup>689</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), vol. 1, 67.

in Jean de Berry's inventory of 1413 that records he owned a sapphire ring described as an, "Item, un Y grec d'un saphir assis en un anel d'or."<sup>690</sup>

Another precious object that possibly included the letter "Y" is recorded in the 1407/08 inventory of Louis, Duke of Orléans (r.1392–1407). The inventory mentions a tapestry woven with gold threads: "An old tapestry with gold with the [imagery] of the path of life."<sup>691</sup> It is not certain if the tapestry's imagery included the representation of the Pythagorean letter, but it is a possibility, especially since it is represented four different times on *The Angers Apocalypse* tapestry (probably Paris, ca.1377–1380 designed by Jean Bondolf and woven by Robert Poinçon),<sup>692</sup> commissioned by Louis I, Duke of Anjou (r.1360–1384). Louis d'Anjou's *Apocalypse* tapestry is the oldest extant tapestry from the fourteenth century and it is the only

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<sup>690</sup> The entry continues, ". . . qui fu donné à mondit Seigneur le XX<sup>e</sup> jour de mars l'an dessusdit mil CCCC et I, par feu messire Jehan Dompme." The object is listed in the inventory of jewels and other precious objects in the care of Robinet d'Étampes taken in the year 1413 at Reims, see Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry, 1401–1416*, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894–1896), vol. 1, 118, no. 385. Also cited in Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), vol. 1, 67.

<sup>691</sup> "Item, un viéz tappiz à or de la v[o]ie de vie," see Joseph Roman, *Inventaires et documents relatifs aux joyaux et tapisseries des princes d'Orléans-Valois, 1389–1481* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), 153, no. 735.

<sup>692</sup> Angers, Musée de la tapisserie, Château d'Angers. Geneviève Souchal, "Les tapisseries de l'Apocalypse à Angers," *Chefs-d'œuvre de l'art, l'art ornamental*, no. 2 (1965): 2–9; René Planchenault, *L'Apocalypse d'Angers* (Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites, 1966; Donald King, "How Many Apocalypse Tapestries?," in *Studies in Textile History in Memory of Harold B. Burnham*, ed. Veronika Gervers (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum 1977): 160–167; Fabienne Joubert, "L'Apocalypse d'Angers et les débuts de la tapisserie historiée," *Bulletin Monumental* 139, no. 1 (1981): 125–140; Pierre Marie Azuzas, et al. *L'Apocalypse d'Angers: chef-d'œuvre de la tapisserie médiévale* (Paris: Office du Livre, 1985); Charles Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris: 1300–1500*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1987), vol. 1, 193–202, no. 32; Francis Muel et al., *La tenture de l'Apocalypse d'Angers*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Ministère de la Culture/Inventaire Général des Monuments et Richesse Artistiques de la France, Région des Pays de la Loire, 1993); Fabienne Joubert, "Création à deux mains: l'élaboration de la tenture de l'Apocalypse d'Angers," *Revue de l'art* 114, no. 4 (1996): 48–56; Francis Muel and Antoine Ruais, *Front and Back: The Tapestry of the Apocalypse at Angers*, trans. Atlantique traduction (Nantes: ADIG, 1996); Laurent Heulot, Marie-Annick Loubaud and Antoine Ruais, *L'Apocalypse du duc d'Anjou: une tenture ressuscitée* (Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, 1999), 2–15; Guy Massin Le Goff, "Quelques questions autour de la tenture de l'Apocalypse d'Angers," in *Tapisseries d'Anjou (XV<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle) au trésor de la Cathédrale de Liège*, ed. Guy Massin Le Goff (Liège: Éditions du Perron, 2004): 27 – 32; Liliane Delwasse, *La tenture de l'Apocalypse d'Angers* (Paris: Éditions du patrimoine/Centre des monuments nationaux, 2007).

medieval *Apocalypse* tapestry to survive.<sup>693</sup> The six-paneled *Apocalypse* tapestry, originally with fifteen scenes per panel, was based on an *Apocalypse* manuscript borrowed from the library of Louis' bibliophile brother, King Charles V.<sup>694</sup> Charles V had several *Apocalypse* manuscripts in his collection and his inventory from 1380 records that an *Apocalypse* manuscript was lent to his court painter, Jean Bondol, to create a "*beau tapis*" for Louis d'Anjou.<sup>695</sup>

The first known appearance of the letter "Y" in the *Apocalypse* tapestry is in the first scene of the tapestry that depicts a large figure sitting alone within an elaborate architectural

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<sup>693</sup> Surviving documents show that other Valois patrons owned two other *Apocalypse* tapestries during late Middle Ages. The first instance comes from the accounts of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, who in 1386 ordered from his *valet de chambre*, Jean Cosset, a set of *Apocalypse* tapestries. The set had six panels, just like the one ordered by Louis d'Anjou, but it appears only four were made and were cut in half, making eight tapestries, because of their unwieldy size. According to Donald King, these eight *Apocalypse* tapestries were recorded in the inventories of Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, (r.1419–1467), Charles V, King of Castile and Aragón (r.1516–1556) and Holy Roman Emperor (r.1530–1556), and later Felipe II, King of Spain (r.1556–1598). They survived the fire at the Royal Palace in Brussels in 1731, but they are lost today. The second *Apocalypse* tapestry was recorded in the 1416 inventory of Jean de Berry. Only a single panel was described in this inventory. It measured around 5.05 x 22.57 m. and was possibly woven after the same cartoons used for the *Apocalypse* sets made for the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy. Berry's inventory states that it was woven without gold. Perhaps Berry ordered the full six-panel set, but lived to have only one completed. This tapestry was one of the many that his daughter, Marie de Berry (1375–1434), Duchess of Bourbon, received in December 1416, after his death. It is not certain if this tapestry is the same one that was donated to the Cathedral of Angers in 1490 by Anne de France (1461–1522), Duchess of Bourbon, wife of Pierre de Beaujeu, Duke of Bourbon (r.1488–1503), Marie de Berry's grandson. This tapestry is believed to be lost, though fragments of it may exist, since there are three fragmentary pieces of an *Apocalypse* tapestry at Angers. It is not clear, however, if they come from Louis d'Anjou's or Philippe le Hardi's tapestry sets or is the single fragment owned by Jean de Berry, but some scholars believe they belong to the latter. Finally, there also exists a single *Apocalypse* tapestry fragment in the Burrell Collection in Glasgow (inv. no. 46.53) that measures 91 x 84 cm. It was acquired in 1933 and it remains unclear if it belongs to the *Apocalypse* tapestries in Angers. For more, see Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry, 1401–1416*, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894–1896), vol. 2, 207, no. 6, 294; Bernard Prost, "Les tapisseries du duc de Berry," *Archives historiques, artistiques et littéraires* 1 (1889–1890): 385–392 at 386, 388 item 6; William Wells, *Treasures from the Burrell Collection* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1975), 22, no. 79; Donald King, "How Many *Apocalypse* Tapestries?," in *Studies in Textile History in Memory of Harold B. Burnham*, ed. Veronika Gervers (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum 1977): 160–167; Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, ed. *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris: Fayard/Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 48–49, no. 9a–b.

<sup>694</sup> The inventory is found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 403, see George Henderson, "The Manuscripts Model of the Angers 'Apocalypse' Tapestries," *The Burlington Magazine* 127, no. 985 (April, 1985): 209–219 at 209.

<sup>695</sup> René Planchenault, *L'Apocalypse d'Angers* (Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites, 1966), 18; Donald King, "How Many *Apocalypse* Tapestries?," in *Studies in Textile History in Memory of Harold B. Burnham*, ed. Veronika Gervers (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum 1977): 160–167 at 160; George Henderson, "The Manuscripts Model of the Angers 'Apocalypse' Tapestries," *The Burlington Magazine* 127, no. 985 (April, 1985): 209–219 at 209.

framework.<sup>696</sup> The symbol—a white letter “Y” encapsulated within the fine scrolling vines that swirl around the abstract foliage pattern—decorates the dais that rises behind and above the figure.

The image of the “Y” is next identified in the scene of *The Slaughtered Lamb of God*.<sup>697</sup> The central scene depicts the slain Lamb of God, surrounded by the symbols representing the four Evangelists and flanked on each side by two levels filled with figures of crowned elders. The letter “Y” is repeated on the backdrop behind the elders.

The third occurrence of the “Y” is observed in the scene of another large figure that sits beneath virtually the same decorated dais as observed in the first instance.<sup>698</sup> The letter “Y” appears a fourth time in the scene with *The Great Prostitute of the Waters*, where a light blue “Y” is set against the dark blue background.<sup>699</sup> The letter is encased in a mandorla that intertwines with a scrolling leaf pattern. The mandorla-shaped frames of the letter “Y” imitate the form of the mirror that the prostitute holds before her face, serving as a visual link between the choice of virtue or vice and the vanity of the prostitute.

The significance and meaning of the letter in a work of art depends on the patron’s intentions and the specific context of use. The incorporation of the Pythagorean “Y” in these scenes of *The Apocalypse* tapestry may have various meanings. To focus only on the two

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<sup>696</sup> Panel number I, scene 1. Francis Muel et al., *La tenture de l’Apocalypse d’Angers*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Ministère de la Culture/Inventaire Général des Monuments et Richesse Artistiques de la France, Région des Pays de la Loire, 1993).

<sup>697</sup> Panel number I, scene 7. Francis Muel et al., *La tenture de l’Apocalypse d’Angers*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Ministère de la Culture/Inventaire Général des Monuments et Richesse Artistiques de la France, Région des Pays de la Loire, 1993).

<sup>698</sup> Panel number IV, scene 41. Francis Muel et al., *La tenture de l’Apocalypse d’Angers*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Ministère de la Culture/Inventaire Général des Monuments et Richesse Artistiques de la France, Région des Pays de la Loire, 1993).

<sup>699</sup> Panel number V, scene 64. Francis Muel et al., *La tenture de l’Apocalypse d’Angers*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Ministère de la Culture/Inventaire Général des Monuments et Richesse Artistiques de la France, Région des Pays de la Loire, 1993).

instances when the letter “Y” is depicted in the scenes with the large figure, the symbol forms part of an image that denotes the beginning of a chapter of *The Story of the Revelation*. This story, which reveals hidden messages through a dream or vision, ultimately unveils Christ as the Messiah to figure of Saint John. This reference to a dream, which uncovers the truth, recalls the positive casting of Claudia Procula in relation to Pilate in the Zaragoza tapestry. Claudia was not only chosen to be the recipient of the dream, but she was also able to recognize its significance and convey its meaning to her husband. In a similar fashion, the inclusion of the letter “Y” in the Zaragoza tapestry also illustrates the value of personal truth in relation to formal judgment.

The above examples serve to show that the use of the letter “Y” can be found in several late fourteenth objects that were commissioned by the French royalty. It was also used to decorate the now destroyed tomb of Philippe de Morvilliers, first president of the Paris parliament (1418–1433, d.1438), which was located in the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Parisian church of Saint-Martin-des-Champs.<sup>700</sup>

The characterization of Pilate in the tapestry is nuanced because of iconographic elements depicted in the scene of *Christ Before Pilate* in the Zaragoza. Even though he can still be held responsible for his role in the trial and death of Christ, he is cast in a more positive light. The act of Pilate washing away his sins for condemning Christ is contrasted by the pleas of his wife, Claudia Procula, who warns him of his decision. The representation of the letter “Y” functions to reinforce to the medieval viewer that Pilate was placed in the unfortunate position in which he was the person responsible for ordering Christ’s crucifixion. Consequently, these iconographic choices can be seen as a way of encouraging the late medieval Christian viewer to show

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<sup>700</sup> Francis Muel et al., *La tenture de l’Apocalypse d’Angers*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Ministère de la Culture/Inventaire Général des Monuments et Richesse Artistiques de la France, Région des Pays de la Loire, 1993), 45n124, 94n227; Philippe Plagnieux, “La fondation funéraire de Philippe de Morvilliers, premier président du Parlement : art, politique et société à Paris sous la régence du duc de Bedford,” *Bulletin monumental* 151 (1997): 357–381.

compassion toward Pilate; he should not be interpreted as a malevolent figure in the story, but rather one who was predestined to choose a sinful path. This more positive interpretation of Pilate is also supported by the description of Luke 23:1–25.<sup>701</sup> Furthermore, the commentaries on Luke by Bede (ca.673–735) emphasize that Pilate made great efforts to save Christ and not hand him over to the restless and demanding Jewish crowd.<sup>702</sup> Viewed in this light, the role of Pilate brings to mind the unresolved paradox of Christian salvation: if Pilate had listened to the appeals of Claudia Procula and had not condemned Christ to death, the death and resurrection of Christ required for mankind’s salvation would not have occurred. The decision of Pilate, therefore, was essential to the story by bringing about the events necessary for salvation.

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<sup>701</sup> And the whole multitude of them rising up, led him to Pilate. And they began to accuse him, saying: We have found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he is Christ the king. And Pilate asked him, saying: Art thou the king of the Jews? But he answering, said: Thou sayest it. And Pilate said to the chief priests and to the multitudes: I find no cause in this man. But they were more earnest, saying: He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee to this place. But Pilate hearing Galilee, asked if the man were of Galilee? And when he understood that he was of Herod’s jurisdiction, he sent him away to Herod, who was also himself at Jerusalem, in those days. And Herod, seeing Jesus, was very glad; for he was desirous of a long time to see him, because he had heard many things of him; and he hoped to see some sign wrought by him. And he questioned him in many words. But he answered him nothing. And the chief priests and the scribes stood by, earnestly accusing him. And Herod with his army set him at nought, and mocked him, putting on him a white garment, and sent him back to Pilate. And Herod and Pilate were made friends, that same day; for before they were enemies one to another. And Pilate, calling together the chief priests, and the magistrates, and the people, Said to them: You have presented unto me this man, as one that perverteth the people; and behold I, having examined him before you, find no cause in this man, in those things wherein you accuse him. No, nor Herod neither. For I sent you to him, and behold, nothing worthy of death is done to him. I will chastise him therefore, and release him. Now of necessity he was to release unto them one upon the feast day. But the whole multitude together cried out, saying: Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas: Who, for a certain sedition made in the city, and for a murder, was cast into prison. And Pilate again spoke to them, desiring to release Jesus. But they cried again, saying: Crucify him, crucify him. And he said to them the third time: Why, what evil hath this man done? I find no cause of death in him. I will chastise him therefore, and let him go. But they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified; and their voices prevailed. And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required. And he released unto them him who for murder and sedition, had been cast into prison, whom they had desired; but Jesus he delivered up to their will. This translation is from the Douay-Rheims version of *The Bible*.

<sup>702</sup> See D. Hurst, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, no. 120 (Turnhout, Brepols, 1960), *pars II, Opera Exegetica*, 3 *In Lvcae evangelivm epositio*, 394–399.



### 5.3.8 The Flagellation

The next scene represents *The Flagellation of Christ*.<sup>703</sup> The imagery in the tapestry conforms to iconographic conventions—Christ is tied to a column in the center of the scene, as the executioners flog him. In the tapestry, he is actually positioned standing behind the column with his hands positioned before the front of the column; this is in contrast to the many medieval representations that show Christ tied to the front of the column, while his hands are bound behind him.

Christ is shown with an exposed chest, wearing only a loosely draped loincloth. Two torturers appear on either side of the column. The figure at the left wears a blue tunic over red hose and the position of his arms indicates that he is about to hit Christ with the whip he holds over his head. The other figure wears a washed-out light green short tunic with ties attaching it to his parted-color hose.<sup>704</sup> He is depicted holding down one of Christ's arms, while he pulls the rope that binds Christ's wrists to the column. Tucked under his left armpit is a whip. Both torturers are shown in profile, accentuating their large and grotesque noses—highlighting their culpability in the torture of Christ.

The room in which *The Flagellation* occurs presents multi-perspectives. The viewer is shown the obliquely tipping floor tiles that are not patterned correctly,<sup>705</sup> as well as the angled ceiling beams. The backdrop is blue and adorned with little stars, though the bottom of the two walls do not converge at a proper angle.<sup>706</sup>

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<sup>703</sup> Matt. 27:26; Mark 15:15; John 19:1.

<sup>704</sup> Same outfit is seen on the figure in the scene of *The Making of the Cross*, the last scene of the first tapestry.

<sup>705</sup> This is accentuated by the fact that this area was rewoven.

<sup>706</sup> The left side of the back wall was rewoven as was part of the floor.

Although the primary focus of this scene is the moment when Christ is flogged, the representation includes the incorporation of Pilate, who is seated as a judge at the far right and is accompanied by an attendant. As seen in the previous episode, Pilate is sumptuously dressed in a red robe and a blue mantle lined with ermine, yet in this scene Pilate wears an up-turned hat lined with ermine. With his left hand he points with a very long index finger in the direction of Christ. Standing next to Pilate is a young boy dressed in a red robe. The artists present the young boy as an intermediary figure, since part of his puffy sleeve is visible on the other side of the doorway. This small detail adds to the sense of movement and action—he is captured in the moment when he has crossed through the scene of the flogging and arrives in the architectural alcove where Pilate sits. The presence of Pilate reflects the strong emphasis of the trial of Christ in the imagery of the tapestry.

Several of Jean de Berry's manuscripts show the presence of Pilate, including the *Petites Heures* (Paris or Bourges, ca.1375–1380; Bourges, 1385–1390; Paris, ca.1412, by Jean le Noir);<sup>707</sup> *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* (Paris, ca.1380–1390, by the Parement Master and workshop);<sup>708</sup> and the *Très Riches Heures* (Bourges or Paris, ca.1411/12–1416, by the Limbourgs).<sup>709</sup> In the first two examples, Pilate stands to the left of the column, looking on as he points with his right hand. Only the *Très Riches Heures* miniature depicts Pilate enthroned. The simple illustration in the *Bible de Charles V* (Paris, ca.1372, by Jean Bondol and the Master of the Boqueteaux)<sup>710</sup> is the most comparable representation of Christ attached to the column, even

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<sup>707</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18014, folio 86v and folio 160. For bibliography, see note 536.

<sup>708</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3093, folio 203. For bibliography, see note 546.

<sup>709</sup> Chantilly, Musée de Condé, MS 65, folio 173v. For bibliography, see note 493.

<sup>710</sup> The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, folio 523. For bibliography, see note 535.

though similarities can be drawn from the depictions in Berry's *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* and the *Parement de Narbonne* (Paris, ca.1375–1378 by the Parement Master).<sup>711</sup> As mentioned above, the figure of Pilate appears four times in the illuminations of the *Belles Heures* (probably Paris, ca.1405–1409 by the Limbourg brothers),<sup>712</sup> including the scene of *The Flagellation* (folio 132).

### 5.3.9 The Mocking of Christ

The scene of *The Mocking of Christ* takes place out-of-doors.<sup>713</sup> Its representation is similar to that of *The Flagellation*, particularly since Pilate is present again to oversee the execution of his sentence against the accused. The composition of the scene of *The Mocking of Christ* is reversed to *The Flagellation*; here Pilate is seen at the left side of the scene, where he sits on a carved stone throne under a stone-vaulted canopy. Pilate is dressed in the same robe, mantle and hat that he wore in the scene when Christ was first presented before him, situated almost directly above. To the right of Pilate stands a bearded soldier who carries a staff and wears a blue robe that has long-draping sleeves with jagged edges.

Christ is shown seated in the middle of the picture. Many medieval depictions of *The Mocking of Christ* show Christ dressed in the purple garment described by Matthew 27:28, Mark 15:18 and John 19:2. By contrast, in the tapestry Christ wears a white robe decorated with a green motif at the hems of the collar and sleeves. He is also often shown blindfolded, but in the tapestry he looks down towards his right, almost in the same posture he was shown in *The*

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<sup>711</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. M.I. 1121. For bibliography, see note 539.

<sup>712</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 54.1.1, folios 132, 135v, 136, 138. For bibliography, see note 548.

<sup>713</sup> Matt. 27:27–30; Mark 15:16–19; John 19:2–15.

*Flagellation*. He wears the crown of thorns and droplets of blood trickle down his face. Like many representations of *The Mocking of Christ*, he holds the reed scepter.

Five torturers are depicted who surround Christ. First, clockwise from bottom left, is the kneeling man shown in profile view. He is dressed in a red tunic and wears a red *chaperon* hood that terminates in a tail (called a *cornet* or *liripipe*), which he grasps in his hand; this was probably intended to be received as a crude sexual gesture. With his right hand, he pulls at Christ's sleeve. The figure above and next to him is dressed in a green robe and with a twisted white cloth wrapped around his head. He is seen in a profile view and his face is positioned directly next to Christ's, so that he can spit in Christ's face. He rests his right hand on Christ's shoulder. Behind the spitting figure is a man dressed in a blue robe with jagged sleeves who holds down the large reed placed atop Christ's head. On the other side of Christ stands a man in a red robe, cinched by a blue belt and adorned with the red letter "Y."<sup>714</sup> He sports a red joker's hat. He is shown at the other end of the reed balanced on Christ's head and pushes down on it with the weight of his right arm and left hand. The last figure in the group of torturers is a younger man dressed in a blue tunic decorated with green tassels at the shoulders and a gold-bead motif at the neckline and the cuffs of the sleeves. He also wears a belt with a buckle (or perhaps a pin or fibula) and red hose and has a bowl-styled haircut. His right arm is held out and is extended behind him; he appears to making a fist with his right hand, indicating that he is about to punch Christ. While three of these figures are shown in full-profile views and two others are depicted in three-quarter views, all are shown with hooknoses.<sup>715</sup> The floor is adorned with floral-patterned tiles (white, pink and red on blue) and the back wall has three leaded

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<sup>714</sup> The presence of the letter "Y" possibly symbolizes the Pythagorean letter and serves to remind Pilate, who looks on, of his decision.

<sup>715</sup> See section 5.3.3 for previous uses of caricature in the scene of *The Betrayal of Christ*.

windows set within recessed arches. At the back left of the scene is an archway that leads to the final scene, which also takes place out-of-doors, *The Making of the Cross*.

The contemporary works of art that show *The Mocking of Christ* scene include *Bible de Charles V* (Paris, ca.1372, by Jean Bondol and the Master of the Boqueteaux);<sup>716</sup> and several manuscripts owned by Jean de Berry, such as the *Petites Heures* (Paris or Bourges, ca.1375–1380; Bourges, 1385–1390; Paris, ca.1412, by Jean le Noir);<sup>717</sup> the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* (Paris, ca.1380–1390, by the Parement Master and workshop, with later additions possibly added in Bruges, ca.1405–1409 by the Limbourg brothers);<sup>718</sup> the *Belles Heures* (probably Paris, ca.1405–1409 by the Limbourg brothers);<sup>719</sup> and the *Grandes Heures* (possibly Paris, ca.1409, by the Pseudo-Jacquemart and his workshop),<sup>720</sup> yet all of these examples show Christ blindfolded. In the *Bible de Charles V*, Christ wears a blindfold. The representation in the *Belles Heures* shows a hand covering Christ's eyes to block his face from the viewer, where as in all the other manuscripts, Christ's head is hooded. By contrast, the only illumination that shows Christ without a blindfold, as observed in the tapestry, is found in Jean de Berry's *Heures de Bruxelles* (Paris or Bourges, before 1402, probably by Jacquemart Hesdin and the Master of the Brussels Initials).<sup>721</sup> It appears then that the model the Zaragoza tapestries designers drew

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<sup>716</sup> The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, folio 523. For bibliography, see note 535.

<sup>717</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18014, folio 86v and folio 162. For bibliography, see note 536.

<sup>718</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3093, folio 209. For bibliography, see note 546.

<sup>719</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 54.1.1, folio 141v. For bibliography, see note 548.

<sup>720</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 919, folio 74.

<sup>721</sup> Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 11060–61, folio 165. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1967), vol. 2, fig. 209.

from—showing Christ without a blindfold—was not common. Only the illumination in the *Heures de Bruxelles* visually corresponds.

### 5.3.10 The Making of the Cross

*The Making of the Cross* is the final episode depicted in the first tapestry. It is the only scene in either tapestry that is non-canonical. The subject of *The Making of the Cross* rarely appears in *Passion* cycles and its appearance here is remarkable. Since this event is not based on biblical accounts, its inclusion merits explanation. Why would the designers of the tapestry choose to include this event? Was there some theological reason? Was there a profound interest in story of *The Making of the Cross* due to a local cult that propagated *The Legend of the Holy Cross*?<sup>722</sup>

Symbolically, the fabrication of the cross serves as a visual prelude to the death of Christ on the cross. The subject of the cross also calls to mind the stories about *The Finding of the Holy Cross* and *The Exaltation of the Holy Cross* that were described in the *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine and other medieval theological authors such as Jean Beleths, Geufroi de Paris, Honore d'Autun and Comestor.<sup>723</sup> Likewise, *The Story of Hédroit*,<sup>724</sup> the tale about the wife of the blacksmith who forged the nails used to crucify Christ to the cross (discussed below in relation to the scene of *Christ Carrying the Cross*), was very popular in the scripts of *Passion*

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<sup>722</sup> For an extensive study into the development of *The Legend of the Holy Cross* during the Middle Ages, see Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004). I wish to thank Professor Baert for discussing with me the imagery of *The Making of the Cross* in the Zaragoza tapestries.

<sup>723</sup> Jean Bonnard, *Les traductions de la Bible en vers français au Moyen Âge* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1967); Anne Joubert and Amari Perry, *La Passion des jongleurs: texte établi d'après la 'Bible des sept estaz du monde' de Geufroi de Paris* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1981), 39–40; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 1, 277–284, no. 68, vol. 2, 168–173, no. 137.

<sup>724</sup> Paul Ahnne, “La ‘Févrèse’: Hédroit au portail de la cathédrale de Strasbourg,” *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg*, 2nd series, no. 5 (1939): 63–71.

plays. Most extant literature is from the late fifteenth century and, therefore, do not serve as a direct source for the subject's representation in the Zaragoza tapestries. Nonetheless, the designers of the tapestries would certainly have known the legends of the cross. Popular intermediary sources include *La Passion des jongleurs*, the *Bible* of Herman de Valenciennes and the *History of the Holy Rood Tree*.<sup>725</sup>

The scene takes place outside as three figures construct the cross. The figure at the top of the cross is dressed in a red tunic and an ornately folded red *chaperon* hat. He drills a hole at the top of the cross with a gimlet. Below him, stands a man wearing a blue tunic and no hat. He wields a large wooden mallet that he holds up over his head, as he is about to pound in a wooden peg. Across from him stands the third figure responsible for constructing the cross. He is dressed in a short red tunic with ties that attach to his red hose.<sup>726</sup> He holds a large adze in his left hand, while he gestures to the other figures with his right hand. A nearly identical adze is reproduced from a wood-block print in a late fifteenth-century printed book known as the *Boec van den Houte* (Culemborg, 1483, printed by Johan Veldener).<sup>727</sup>

Surrounding the three men making the cross are four other figures. Clustered together at the top right are three figures—two older men with white beards, along with a younger man. They represent the three judges before whom Christ was presented during his trial and they are presented in the same order. First, at the bottom of the group, stands Caiaphas wearing a green

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<sup>725</sup> Richard Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood: Symbols of the Passion and Cross-Poems* (London/New York/Oxford: Early English Society/K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1871); Arthur S. Napier, *History of the Holy Rood-Tree: A Twelfth-Century Version of the Cross Legend* (London/New York/Oxford: Early English Society/K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1894); Frances A. Foster, ed. *The Northern Passion*, 2 vols. (London/New York/Oxford: Early English Society/K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1913); Anne Joubert and Amari Perry, *La Passion des jongleurs: texte établi d'après la 'Bible des sept estaz du monde' de Geufroi de Paris* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1981), 39–40.

<sup>726</sup> A similar outfit was identified on the torturer at the left in the scene of *The Flagellation*.

<sup>727</sup> Brussels, KBR, Kostbare Werken, INC A 1582, folio 18. M.-Louis Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle de Belgique*, 4 vols. (Brussels: Société des Bibliophiles et Iconophiles de Belgique, 1932): vol. 1, 488, no. 718; Barbara Baert, *Het "Boec van den Houte"* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1995), plate 34.

robe and a red *chaperon* hat. The figure in the middle is Herod, though only his face and head can be seen. He wears a hat very similar to the one in the scene when Christ stood before him. The figure wearing the blue robe is Pilate, his fourth appearance in the tapestry. He wears an up-turned hat similar to the one he wore in the scene of *The Flagellation*. In his right hand Pilate holds a long, narrow stick with which he points at the cross, indicating that Pilate was probably the one responsible for the construction of the cross. Finally, at the top of the scene is depicted another figure dressed in a blue tunic and blue *chaperon hat*. He wears a white beard and watches from the top of a staircase. His involvement, other than as a witness, is not evident.

In terms of similar iconographic models, only a few examples have been discovered, but none are contemporary with the Zaragoza tapestry set. For instance, there is an earlier illuminated manuscript cycle that presents an exceptionally extensive cycle of *The Passion*. The *Holkham Picture Bible* (England, ca.1327–1335)<sup>728</sup> illustrates sixty-three scenes of the extended *Passion* cycle, which begins with the events of Palm Sunday and ends with the appearances of Christ and then his Ascension, and includes such unusual scenes as *Christ Preaching* (folio 26v); *The Denial of Peter* (folio 29v); *Joseph and Nicodemus Imprisoned and Rescued* (folio 34); and *The Incredulity of Thomas* (folio 36v).

Like the Zaragoza tapestries, the cycle in the *Holkham Picture Bible* begins with pictures of *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* (folio 26), but the manuscript ends with the scene of *The Ascension* (folio 28). The most interesting parallel with the Zaragoza tapestries is that the manuscript illuminations include the episode of *The Making of the Cross* (folio 31) a scene that

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<sup>728</sup> London, British Library, MS Add. 47682, folios 26–38. W. O. Hassall, *The Holkham Bible Picture Book* (London: The Dropmore Press, 1954); F. P. Pickering, ed., *The Anglo-Norman Text of the Holkham Bible Picture Book* (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1971); Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic manuscripts: 1285–1385*, 2 vols. (London/New York: Harvey Miller/Oxford University Press, 1986), no. 97. Michelle P. Brown, *The Holkham Bible Picture Book: A Facsimile* (London: British Library, 2007). I thank James Marrow for bringing my attention to this manuscript.



is rare for a *Passion* program. In addition to this exceptional scene, the artists of the *Holkham Picture Bible* included representations of the blacksmith and his wife, Hédroit—figures that are not commonly depicted in *The Story of the Passion*. Following *The Making of the Cross* scene in the manuscript is the moment when *Christ is Nailed to the Cross* (folio 31v)—a dramatic scene not found in the Zaragoza cycle, but is known in a few manuscripts from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Because of the inclusion of rare subjects and iconography, it seems plausible that the designers of the Zaragoza tapestries drew upon an extensive *Passion* cycle like the one found in the *Holkham Picture Bible*.

The only contemporary image of *The Making of the Cross* found is in Jean de Berry's *Petites Heures* (Paris or Bourges, ca.1375–1380; Bourges, 1385–1390; Paris, ca.1412, by Jean le Noir).<sup>729</sup> Even though the picture shows the cross being made as it is simultaneously being raised, it serves as a lone example demonstrating that there was interest in representing the theme. An example of *The Making of the Cross* that is only slightly later if very different compositionally, is found in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (possibly Prague, ca.1410–1420, by the Master of the Mandeville Travels).<sup>730</sup>

Much more common than images of *The Making of the Cross*, however, are representations showing Christ being nailed to the cross, as observed in several manuscripts owned by Jean de Berry, including the *Petites Heures* (Paris or Bourges, ca.1375–1380; Bourges, 1385–1390; Paris, ca.1412, by Jean le Noir), which also shows the making and raising

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<sup>729</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18014, folio 86v and folio 161. For bibliography, see note 536.

<sup>730</sup> London, British library, MS Add. 24189, folio 11v. Gérard Van Rijnberk, *Boec van den houte: Legende van het Kruishout* (The Hague: Van Drukkerij Trio aan zijn Zakenvrienden, 1960); Lars Hermodsson, ed., *Dat boec van den houte: eine mittelniederländische Dichtung von der Herkunft des Kreuzes Christi* (Uppsala, Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1959); Barbara Baert, *Het "Boec van den Houte"* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1995), 365, fig. 79.

of the cross, as just mentioned;<sup>731</sup> the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* (Paris, ca.1380–1390, by the Parement Master and workshop);<sup>732</sup> the *Heures de Bruxelles* (Paris or Bourges, before 1402, probably by Jacquemart Hesdin and the Master of the Brussels Initials);<sup>733</sup> the *Belles Heures* (probably Paris, ca.1405–1409 by the Limbourg brothers);<sup>734</sup> and the *Grandes Heures* (possibly Paris, ca.1409, by the Pseudo-Jacquemart and his workshop).<sup>735</sup>

## 5.4 ICONOGRAPHY: SECOND TAPESTRY

In the same approach taken to the first tapestry, the discussion analyzes the five episodes depicted in second tapestry. Particularly notable scenes are those of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, where Mary and John are shown carrying the cross with Christ, and *The Harrowing of Hell*, show, unusually as a masonry structure, which includes the death of Judas.

### 5.4.1 Christ Carrying the Cross

The episode of *Christ Carrying the Cross* occupies the left third of the composition of the second tapestry.<sup>736</sup> At the top far left, the fortified city of Jerusalem looms in the background, even as

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<sup>731</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18014, folio 86v and folio 162. For bibliography, see note 536.

<sup>732</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3093, folio 209. For bibliography, see note 546.

<sup>733</sup> Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 11060–61, folio 187.

<sup>734</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 54.1.1, folio 141v. For bibliography, see note 548.

<sup>735</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 919, folio 74.

<sup>736</sup> Matt. 27:31–32; Mark 15:20–21; Luke 23:26–32; John 19:16–17.

two overly large, out-of-proportion figures are seen leaving the city gate. The figure at the left rides a camel, while the figure at the right rides a horse.

Before them is a procession of fifteen figures that accompany Christ as he carries the cross to Calvary. At the front of the group is depicted a soldier dressed in an ornately brocaded red robe. His arms and neck are protected by chain mail and a large scimitar sword hangs from his waist. His back faces the viewer as he pulls on the end of a rope that is tied about Christ's waist. His back faces the viewer as he pulls on the end of a rope that is tied about Christ's waist. Another soldier, wearing a green tunic with jagged edges and an up-turned hat, holds the other end of the rope. He is seen to the left of Christ, who is dressed in a beige mantle decorated with jewels. He is shown wearing the crown of thorns. Christ leans forward, underscoring the heavy weight of the cross that he carries. The long end of the cross is oriented in front of him,<sup>737</sup> while the cross bar is placed on his right shoulder over which he looks back, in the direction of the Virgin Mary. This is the first appearance of the Virgin Mary in the tapestries. She is dressed in a blue robe covered by blue mantle and she wears a wimple. Unlike many of the other saints that have jewel-lined mantles, the Virgin's is decorated with a distinct three-dot motif. The arrangement of the three white dots is in a triangle shape and is probably related to the Trinity.

At the other side of the cross is Saint John, adorned with a green mantle. To Saint John's left stands a soldier wearing a red tunic embroidered with an illegible letter. He has a helmet on that includes a chain mail neck guard. Behind this soldier is a figure with a white *chaperon* hat that is rolled-up like a turban. He carries the standard with the Roman flag inscribed with the letters "SPQR."<sup>738</sup> Behind the standard-bearer are two figures with halos. It is unclear if the saint that is shown in profile is male or female. It is possible that the figure

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<sup>737</sup> For an analysis of which way the cross faces when carried by Christ, see Jonathan J. G. Alexander, "A Metalwork Triptych of the Passion of Christ in the Metropolitan Museum, New York," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46/47 (1993–1994), 27–36.

<sup>738</sup> The letters of the banner are possibly rewoven in areas.

represents Mary Magdalene, since the figure appears to be without a headdress. Next to this figure stands a female dressed in blue. She probably represents Mary Salome, mother of Saint James the Great and Saint John. A soldier stands immediately to the right of Mary Salome. He wears a rolled-turban helmet-like headdress the visor of which covers his face. He is shown accompanying, along with a bearded soldier, the two thieves. Both of the thieves are bound at the wrists and around the arms. The thief at the left, shown in profile with a somewhat exaggerated nose, is likely to represent the bad thief, seen to Christ's left in *The Crucifixion* episode. The good thief is identifiable by his full head of red, curly hair, as he is shown in the same way to the right of Christ in *The Crucifixion*. The thieves are dressed only in their underwear. The last two figures of the group are two male figures, one with a beard, the other without.

In contrast to other late medieval representations of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, the depiction in the tapestry does not include some of the more conventional elements. For instance, Christ is not shown wearing a spike block<sup>739</sup> and he is not being kicked by a young boy. Likewise, the figure of Saint Veronica holding the *sudarium* is also not included and neither is the figure of Simon, the Cyrenian, who carries the cross for or with Christ. Instead, in the tapestry are represented the figures of the Virgin Mary and Saint John, who both help Christ support the weight of the cross. This is in marked contrast to the accounts of the Evangelists. All four Evangelists describe how Christ was led away from Jerusalem, but only John (19:17) explicitly says that Christ alone supported the weight of the cross. By contrast, Matthew (27:32)

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<sup>739</sup> For an examination of the spike block, see James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Courtrai: Van Ghemmert, 1979).

Mark (15:21) and Luke (22:26) all mention that a man from Cyrene, named Simon, was asked to carry the cross, either for Christ, or with him.

The most plausible explanation of why the tapestry designers depicted the Virgin Mary alleviating some of the weight of the cross concerns the notion of Mary's *compassio*.<sup>740</sup> In various examples, Mary's *compassio*, her suffering, is represented as a visual means for the viewer, especially the female viewer, to connect emotionally with the work of art and *The Story of the Passion of Christ*. The devotional and instructional roles of these images re-envision the theme of salvation—the emphasis is on Mary's earthly, physical sufferings. The depiction of her *compassio* functioned on a visceral means to draw in the medieval viewer, who could empathize and emulate the suffering Mary experienced.

The representation of a female figure carrying the cross with Christ is also related to a legend, popularized by French mystery plays, that tells *The Story of Hédroit*, the wife of the blacksmith who was asked by the Jews executing Christ to forge the nails.<sup>741</sup> The story goes that because the blacksmith was a faithful follower of Christ, he faked an injury to his hand. His wife, Hédroit, thereby assumes the task and forges the nails in place of her husband.<sup>742</sup> The

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<sup>740</sup> Thomas Dale investigates the liturgical and devotional practices at Aquileia Cathedral in relation to the emphasis on the Virgin's sorrow found in the fresco cycle in the large lunettes in the crypt of the cathedral. He analyzes eleventh and twelfth century sermons, hymns and meditations, as well as the textual sources of *Passion* plays from the twelfth century to explain why there was an increased interest in representations of Mary's *Compassio*. Amy Neff's article reexamines the significance and meaning of the swooning Virgin Mary at the scene of *The Crucifixion* and argues that the images are a direct reference to childbirth labor. As such, they function as devotional models of Mary's compassionate suffering for Christ. The popularity of the fainting Virgin proliferates in the second half of the thirteenth century and is often seen in fourteenth and fifteenth century representations. For more on the development of the Virgin's *Compassio*, see Thomas E. A. Dale, *Christ's Passion and the Compassio of the Virgin: Romanesque Icons in Space*, in *Relics, Prayer and Politics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral*, Thomas E. A. Dale (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 57–65; Amy Neff, "The Pain of *Compassio*: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross," *Art Bulletin* 80, no. 2 (March 1998): 254–273.

<sup>741</sup> Paul Ahnne, "La 'Févrresse': Hédroit au portail de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg*, 2nd series, no. 5 (1939): 63–71.

<sup>742</sup> Hédroit is not identified by name in most of the French manuscripts of the *Passion des jongleurs* where the story is told. Her husband is called Israel and she is sometimes referred to as the "févrresse." A "fevre" in medieval French was an artisan, see Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage*

figure of Hédroit is sometimes identified by her name in the *Passion* plays, but she is often simply referred to as “*la fevresse*.”<sup>743</sup> According to Karen Gould, the first depiction of the story in medieval art is observed in the late thirteenth-century sculpted tympanum of the central portal at Strasbourg Cathedral, where Hédroit is shown in front of Christ, supporting the weight of the cross as well as clearly holding the three nails.<sup>744</sup>

Karen Gould suggests that the gesture of Hédroit’s far-reaching arm across the front of the cross in the Strasbourg tympanum was very probably the model for Jean Pucelle’s illumination of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the *Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux* (Paris, ca.1324–1328, by Jean Pucelle).<sup>745</sup> Pucelle’s version is similar, however, it only shows an out-stretched arm, since the body of Hédroit has been cropped out of the scene.<sup>746</sup> Gould goes on to identify another depiction of Hédroit in the scene of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the *Hours of Yolande of Flanders* (Paris, ca.1353–1363, by Jean le Noir and possibly his daughter, Bourgot).<sup>747</sup> The picture shows the figure of Hédroit prominently displaying the three nails in one hand as she stands atop Golgotha, where the skull and bones of Adam are strewn nearby. Meanwhile, her husband is shown carrying the hammer as he leads the way up the mountain. Although not

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*françois ou Glossaire de la langue françoise depuis son origine jusqu’au siècle de Louis XIV*, 10 vols. (Niort, 1875–1882), s.v. “fevre;” Paul Ahnne, “La ‘Févresse:’ Hédroit au portail de la cathédrale de Strasbourg,” *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg*, 2nd series, no. 5 (1939): 63–71 at 63.

<sup>743</sup> *Fevresse* is the female form of *fevre*, the old French word for a craftsman. Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Dictionnaire historique de l’ancien langage françois ou Glossaire de la langue françoise depuis son origine jusqu’au siècle de Louis XIV*, 10 vols. (Niort, 1875–1882), s.v., “fevre.”

<sup>744</sup> Karen Gould, “Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art: New Evidence from Strasbourg Cathedral,” *Art Bulletin* 74, no. 1 (March 1992): 51–74 at 55–57, fig. 1, 8.

<sup>745</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 54.1.2, folio 34v.

<sup>746</sup> Karen Gould, “Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art: New Evidence from Strasbourg Cathedral,” *Art Bulletin* 74, no. 1 (March 1992): 51–74 at 55, fig. 1, 7.

<sup>747</sup> London, British Library, MS Yates Thompson 27, folio 70v.

relevant to Gould's study, this representation also shows the Virgin Mary supporting the cross with Christ, along with another female figure. Gould states that *The Story of Hédroit* is rarely combined with the episode of *Christ Carrying the Cross*,<sup>748</sup> however, a deeper investigation identified numerous representations in manuscript illuminations that include either or both Hédroit and her husband, the blacksmith.<sup>749</sup> In many of these representations, the blacksmith is depicted holding a hammer, but other times he holds the nails. Moreover, scenes of *Christ Carrying the Cross* that include either or both Hédroit and the blacksmith often represent the Virgin Mary supporting the weight of the cross with Christ. The Virgin is sometimes accompanied by another male saint, presumably Saint John, although the majority of the examples surveyed that include a second figure, in addition to Mary, often depict a female saint.

Early examples that include Mary carrying the cross with Christ come from manuscripts that were made at the end of the thirteenth century; however, the great majority of French and Flemish manuscript examples cluster between the dates of 1375 until about 1420. An extensive search has so far uncovered thirty-nine manuscript illuminations that depict Mary carrying the cross, in addition to Christ. To my knowledge, the first depiction that shows Mary with another

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<sup>748</sup> Karen Gould, "Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art: New Evidence from Strasbourg Cathedral," *Art Bulletin* 74, no. 1 (March 1992): 51–74 at 56.

<sup>749</sup> For instance, the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* (Bruges, ca.1400, by the Ushaw workshop, Arras, Médiathèque municipale MS 845, a.c. 532, folio 50); a book of hours (Southern Netherlands, ca.1400, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 276, folio 41v); the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* (possibly Artois, ca.1400–1410, Brussels, KBR, MS 10176–78, folio 275v); a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1400–1415, by the Master of Ushaw 10, London, British Library, MS Loan 85/7, folio 45v); a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1400–1415, by the Ushaw workshop, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS 169, folio 36v); a book of hours (England, ca.1400–1430, by Herman Scheere and workshop, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough Liturg. 6, folio 27v); a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1409, by the Ushaw workshop, Durham, Ushaw College, MS 10, folio 51v); a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1410–1415, by the Master of Ushaw 10, London, British Library, MS Harley 2966, folio 19v and 33v); a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1415, by the Master of Ushaw 10, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. Lat. 15, folio 47v); and a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1415–1420, Crakow, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, MS 2943, folio 93v).

figure carrying the cross with Christ<sup>750</sup> is an historiated manuscript initial from the *Poésies de Robert de Blois* (Burgundy, ca.1275–1300).<sup>751</sup> The scene is also found in the Louvre *Diptych* (Paris, ca.1360–1380)<sup>752</sup> discussed above in relation to its use of quatrefoils within which to frame a sequence of events. By the year 1400, it appears several workshops were producing manuscripts that emphasized Mary carrying the cross, especially by that of the Master of Ushaw 10 and his workshop, who were active in Bruges around 1400,<sup>753</sup> in addition to the manuscripts illuminated by the Master of the Gold Scrolls and his workshop, also active in Bruges from 1400 until around 1450.<sup>754</sup>

Although there are no contemporary works of art that represent the subject of *Christ Carrying the Cross* exactly as it is shown in the Zaragoza tapestry, the objects that have the strongest iconographic parallels include the *Bible de Charles V* (Paris, ca.1372, by Jean Bondol and the Master of the Boqueteaux);<sup>755</sup> the *Petites Heures* (Paris or Bourges, ca.1375–1380; Bourges, 1385–1390; Paris, ca.1412, by Jean le Noir);<sup>756</sup> the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame*

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<sup>750</sup> This finding is based on my survey of the motif of Mary carrying the cross, though more research may uncover earlier examples.

<sup>751</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 5201, folio 125.

<sup>752</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA 4089. For bibliography, see note 531.

<sup>753</sup> These include those manuscripts listed in note 749, in addition to a book of hours (Bruges, ca.1400–1415, by the Master of Ushaw 10, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Jesus College MS 32, folio 38v).

<sup>754</sup> These include a *Book of Hours* (Bruges, ca.1400, by the Master of the Gold Scrolls, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W 173, folio 54); a *Book of Hours* (Bruges and possibly Paris, ca.1400–1415, Master of the Beaufort Saints and Bruges, ca.1400–1450, by Gold Scrolls Group, London, British Library, MS Add. 27948, folio 27v); a *Book of Hours* (Bruges, ca.1430–1440, Gold Scrolls Group, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3110, folio 76v); a *Book of Hours* (Southern Netherlands, ca.1440, possibly by the Master of the Gold Scrolls, The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 F 11, folio 36); a *Book of Hours* (Northern France, ca.1450, by the Gold Scrolls Group, Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 89, folio 24).

<sup>755</sup> The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, folio 523. For bibliography, see note 535.

<sup>756</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18014, folio 86v and folio 160. For bibliography, see note 536.



(Paris, ca.1380–1390, by the Parement Master and workshop);<sup>757</sup> and the *Belles Heures* (probably Paris, ca.1405–1408/09 by the Limbourg brothers).<sup>758</sup> In all these representations, Mary and another saint carry the cross, in addition to Christ. In the *Bible de Charles V* it is unclear if this other saint is male or female, whereas in the *Belles Heures* Saint John stands next to Mary. In all the remaining examples, the other saint is obviously female and probably represents one of the Maries. Furthermore, all of these examples include a blacksmith. He is shown carrying a hammer in the illuminations of the *Bible de Charles V* and the *Petites Heures*, while in the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* he is depicted holding up three nails. By contrast, neither the blacksmith nor his wife are represented in the Zaragoza tapestry.

The representation of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the *Parement de Narbonne* (Paris, ca.1375–1378 by the Parement Master)<sup>759</sup> also has strong parallels to the tapestry. Even though the painting shows only the Virgin Mary carrying the cross with Christ, along with the depiction of the blacksmith carrying three nails, it is the figure of the soldier, whose back faces the viewer and he pulls Christ along by a rope, that is very similarly depicted in the tapestry.<sup>760</sup> Another parallel aspect of this scene is the positioning of Christ's head. In both representations, Christ is shown looking back over his right shoulder.

The motif of Mary carrying the cross is also observed on some Spanish works of art, the most notable of which is the Tarragona altarpiece that was commissioned by Dalmau de Mur in

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<sup>757</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3093, folio 203. For bibliography, see note 546.

<sup>758</sup> New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, MS 54.1.1, folio 138v. For bibliography, see note 548.

<sup>759</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. M.I. 1121. For bibliography, see note 539.

<sup>760</sup> There is one small difference in the representation of this soldier in the tapestry, where he is shown without a pigtail hanging down his back, as is observed in the *Parement de Narbonne*.

1424 by the sculptor Pere Joan.<sup>761</sup> Like the French examples above, the scene of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Tarragona altarpiece only shows only the figure of the Virgin Mary supporting the cross with Christ. The weight of the cross, and her pain, is emphasized by her dramatically collapsing pose—her knees are shown almost to the ground and her head rests on the crossbar of the cross.

#### 5.4.2 The Crucifixion

The scene of *The Crucifixion* takes up the central third of the tapestry's composition.<sup>762</sup> This representation of *The Crucifixion* involves the normal bystanders who stand at the base of the cross—Virgin Mary, Saint John and Mary Magdalene—but it also includes a broader cast of characters. In total, about thirty-five figures are depicted in this central scene. Among them are the two crucified thieves flanking the central cross of the crucified Christ. The two thieves, shown wearing only underwear, hang from their Tau crosses by their elbows, as opposed to their armpits in many medieval representations. They both bleed from their upper thighs and just below their knees—the two places where their legs have been broken. The capturing of each thief's soul—depicted as a child—occurs above the crosses. To the right of Christ, the soul of the good thief is being whisked away by a small angel with outstretched wings. By contrast, the bad thief, positioned to Christ's left, has the devil swooping down to take his soul away to hell. The horned and winged devil is one of several malevolent symbols in the scene.

Christ, wearing the crown of thorns, hangs stiffly from the cross and his arms are tightly stretched out. Blood spouts from the wounds on the palms of his hands. Blood is also seen

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<sup>761</sup> See section 3.2.2.

<sup>762</sup> Matt. 27:33–56; Mark 15:22–41; Luke 23:33–49; John 19:18–37.

trickling down from the wounds of his feet at the base of the cross.<sup>763</sup> He wears a loincloth and his head droops down toward his right, in the direction where the Virgin Mary and Saint John are positioned sitting. A plaque decorated with the usual “INRI” inscription surmounts his cross.<sup>764</sup>

At the bottom of Christ’s cross sit four soldiers who quarrel over Christ’s seamless garment. The two figures at the top are dressed in ornate mantles and each of them holds a dagger over their heads. The figure wearing red has a large wound above his left eye that bleeds heavily. The two figures below the ones with the daggers fight over Christ’s garment. A dagger has struck the figure at the right, who wears a green mantle with jagged edges at the hem. His upper right shoulder bleeds and a stylized trickle of blood is runs across his back. All four of these figures wear elaborate headgear, including the up-turned ermine-lined hat that the figure of Pilate wore in the first tapestry.<sup>765</sup> The tapestry shows this heated fight in progress, whereas other medieval representations do not include it, or, instead of a fight, the soldiers are depicted casting lots, or dice, for the garment of Christ.<sup>766</sup> The violent depiction of this scene adds to the drama of the story.<sup>767</sup>

Above the fighting soldiers and to their right are several bystanders, some of them depicted on foot, while others are mounted on horses and one is shown on a camel. Amidst the group appears, the Centurion, who is depicted as an older man with a long flowing beard who

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<sup>763</sup> The bright red threads are areas of reweaving.

<sup>764</sup> The underside of the cross, woven in dark brown threads, is an area of reweaving.

<sup>765</sup> For instance, in the scenes of *The Flagellation* and *The Making of the Cross*.

<sup>766</sup> While all four Gospels mention that the soldiers cast lots (Matt. 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34; John 19:23–24), none of them describe the scene as violent.

<sup>767</sup> Although I did not find any visual parallels that showed this types of violence, with wounds bleeding, Ruth Mellinkoff states that it was a conventionalized subject that often caricatured the soldiers. Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), vol. 1, 131.

rides a horse. He wears a blue robe and blue *chaperon* hat. He calls attention to the floating scroll—inscribed with the words that Longinus, positioned on the other side of the cross, cries out—by pointing at it, while at the same time he looks toward a figure wearing a red hat. Directly below the scroll stands the soldier Stephaton wearing a kettle helmet and a green mantle. He presents, with a long pole, the vinegar-filled sponge to Christ.

Longinus is seen to the left of the cross wearing a brocade green robe and a red and blue mantle lined with ermine. An older man with a forked beard, he wears an up-turned ermine-lined hat. With the help of a boy behind him, Longinus is shown piercing Christ's side with a lance with his right hand. With his left hand, Longinus points towards his eyes—he is blind, but his sight has been restored by Christ. On the other side of Christ stands the Centurion, wearing a blue hat (oddly, he is portrayed in civilian clothes), addresses someone in a red hat and points to his scroll that says "*vere filius dei erat iste.*"<sup>768</sup>

In the far left background, two men on horseback arrive—one wears a blue tunic and an up-turned ermine hat, while the other is shown dressed in all red. Following them is a group of three soldiers; only one of the soldier's face can be seen, since the others are represented by overlapping helmets. Sitting on a nearby rock are two Maries—Mary Salome wears a wimple and a beige mantle, while to her left sits the youthful Mary Magdalene in a red mantle and wearing neither a wimple nor a headdress. Both have their hands in prayer positions. Before them, swoons the Virgin Mary who is supported by the youthful Saint John. In the classic and popular pose, the Virgin Mary faints dramatically into the arms of Saint John, who looks up

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<sup>768</sup> "Truly this man was the Son of God," Matt. 27:54, Mark 15:39; and see Luke 23:47.

toward Christ.<sup>769</sup> Just as in the scene of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, Mary's blue mantle is decorated with the white three-dot motif.

It is important to identify some of the elements not included in this representation of *The Crucifixion*. For instance, there is no depiction of the sun or the moon in the sky at either side of the crosses;<sup>770</sup> no angels are shown gathering Christ's blood in chalices; and the skull and bones of Adam are absent from the foot of the cross. Normally, the next episodes in the story would include *The Deposition*, *The Lamentation* and *The Entombment*, but these scenes have also been left out. The next scene to be included in the tapestry is *The Harrowing of Hell*, while *The Resurrection* is not included.

One plausible explanation for these iconographic choices could have been that the original patron of the tapestry already owned a tapestry or several tapestries that illustrated the scenes of *The Deposition*, *The Lamentation*, *The Entombment* and *The Resurrection* and did not want to have repeated imagery.<sup>771</sup> Two early examples of stylistically and technically similar tapestries to the Zaragoza set depict some, though not all, of the missing scenes.<sup>772</sup> Both are similar to the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries in terms of their technique and style—they incorporate the use of silk, silver and gold threads, and they have comparable stylized foliage, twisting tree trunks and elongated, tubular clouds. Furthermore, both tapestries are antependia, based on their dimensions, and thus would have probably been hung in front of the altar during liturgical

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<sup>769</sup> For the development of the swooning Mary, see Amy Neff, "The Pain of *Compassio*: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross," *Art Bulletin* 80, no. 2 (March 1998): 254–273.

<sup>770</sup> Parts of the sky have been rewoven and perhaps these symbols were originally illustrated.

<sup>771</sup> Certainly each episode of *The Passion* need not have been included.

<sup>772</sup> There are several tapestries from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that represent that *The Passion* in single or multiple scenes. The compositional arrangement of the Zaragoza tapestries, with several scenes occurring on the same picture plane remains popular, but there also appears to be an increase in the numbers of tapestries that only show one scene of *The Passion* per panel. Obviously the original placement and function of the tapestries would have driven some of these decisions.

ceremonies. It remains unclear, however, if they were originally larger and were cut down to be used as altar frontals, though the overall proportion of the designs suggest they were woven as antependia.

The first example is a tapestry in the Cluny Museum in Paris (Franco-Flemish region, ca.1420)<sup>773</sup> that represents *The Resurrection*. Two angels and two soldiers surround the tomb. The decorative treatment of the angels' wings is parallel to the treatment of the two angels that appear in the second Zaragoza tapestry—one floats above the cross of the good thief in the central scene of *The Crucifixion*, while the other sits on the empty tomb of Christ in the scene of *The Three Holy Women at the Sepulcher*.

The second example is a tapestry at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London that shows the scenes of *The Lamentation*, *The Entombment*, *The Resurrection* and *The Noli me tangere* (Franco-Flemish region, ca.1400–1420).<sup>774</sup> This representation conflates the episode of *The Resurrection* with the scene of *The Noli me tangere*—Christ emerges from the tomb with one leg in and one leg out and Mary Magdalene appears kneeling before him. The landscape elements—

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<sup>773</sup> Paris, Musée du Moyen-Âge, Thermes de Cluny, inv. no. LOA 3132. This tapestry measures 77 x 240 cm and was housed in the Musée du Louvre and is on permanent loan to the Cluny, hence the inventory number (LOA) corresponds to “Louvre, Objets d’art.” See Louis Courajod and Émile Molinier, *Donation du baron Charles Davillier catalogue des objets exposés au Musée du Louvre* (Paris: imprimeries réunies, 1885), 302, no. 577; *A Handbook to the Loan Exhibition of French Tapestries: Mediaeval, Renaissance and Modern, from the Public and Private Collections of France* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1947), 6, no. 25; Roger-Armand Weigert, *La tapisserie française* (Paris: Larousse, 1956), 47; Monique Aurenhammer, trans., *L’art européen vers 1400* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1962), 419–421, no. 535, plate 101; Fabienne Joubert, Amaury Lefébure and Pascal-François Bertrand, *Histoire de la tapisserie en Europe, du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: 1995), 12, 64, no. 5; Vivianne Huchard et al, *Le Musée national du Moyen Âge: Thermes de Cluny* (Paris: Fondation Paribas/Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1996), 97, fig. 122; Inès Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international: l’art en France au temps de Charles VI* (Paris: Éditions Hazan/ Musée du Louvre, 2004), 70–72.

<sup>774</sup> London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. no. T.1–1921. Like the Zaragoza and Cluny tapestries, this panel is woven with silk, silver and gold threads. It measures 112 x 320 cm. See Betty Kurth, *Gotische Bildteppiche aus Frankreich und Flandern* (Munich: Riehn und Reusch, 1923), no. 12, plate 12; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Tapestries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Board of Education, 1924), 25, no. 10b, fig. 9; Victor Curt Habicht, *Niedersächsische kunst in England* (Hannover: Edler und Krusche, 1930), 41; Monica Stucky-Schürer, *Die Passionsteppiche von San Marco in Venedig: Ihr Verhältnis zur Bildwirkerei in Paris und Arras im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Bern: Stämpfli, 1972), 45–46, 89–92, 105–112, fig. 68, 70, 72, 78–80; George Wingfield Digby and Wendy Hefford, *The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance* (London: H.M.S.O., 1980), 11–12, no. 1, fig. 1a–1b.

foliage and mountains—divide the scenes of the narrative, similar to the treatment observed in the second Zaragoza tapestry. There is, however, one duplication of an episode with the Zaragoza tapestry, *The Noli me tangere*.

While there is no surviving documentation that links either of these specific tapestries to Spain or to Dalmau de Mur's tapestry collection,<sup>775</sup> they provide a plausible explanation for the missing scenes in the Zaragoza set—that the decision was made to leave out some episodes because other works of art, such as tapestries, embroideries, painted cloths, and sculpted and painted altarpieces would have supplemented the iconographic program of the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries.

In search of possible models for *The Crucifixion* scene in the Zaragoza tapestry, my iconographic survey revealed that most late medieval artists either included very few figures, namely the crucified Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary and Saint John, or they filled the composition with a large cast of characters. Common parallels are observed in the illuminations from the *Bible de Charles V* (Paris, ca.1372, by Jean Bondol and the Master of the Boqueteaux);<sup>776</sup> the *Petites Heures de Jean duc de Berry* (Paris or Bourges, ca.1375–1380;

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<sup>775</sup> The Cluny tapestry was possibly in the collection of Martin Le Roy in the nineteenth century and later entered the collection of Baron Charles Davillier who gave it to the Musée du Louvre in 1883. In the 1962 exhibition catalog, *L'art européen vers 1400*, the catalog proposed that Dalmau de Mur possibly owned the tapestry now at the Cluny—a hypothesis that was likely drawn from a letter that Professor Jean-Charles Steppe (Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven) wrote in 1955 to the curator at the Cluny Museum. The hand-written letter is located in the Cluny's dossier on the tapestry, inv. no. LOA 3132. The 1962 catalog goes on to mention that Dalmau de Mur bequeathed *Passion* tapestries to Zaragoza Cathedral, but fails to mention that the collection still houses the two-panel set of the *Passion* that Dalmau de Mur gave, as recorded in the Cathedral inventory from 1521 (see section 4.1). Among the eight tapestries that Dalmau donated to Zaragoza Cathedral, only these two are recorded as having *Passion* subjects, therefore, I believe that the likelihood that Dalmau de Mur owned the Cluny tapestry is doubtful. The Victoria & Albert tapestry was owned until 1921 by Lord Willoughby de Broke (Compton Verney, Warwickshire) who sold it at Sotheby's London (11 February 1921, lot 120). The V&A purchased the tapestry that same year from Lionel Harris (The Spanish Art Gallery). Its history before the twentieth century remains unknown. Monique Aurenhammer, trans., *L'art européen vers 1400* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1962), 419–421.

<sup>776</sup> The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, folio 523v. For bibliography, see note 535.

Bourges, 1385–1390; Paris, ca.1412, by Jean le Noir);<sup>777</sup> and the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame de Jean de Berry* (Paris, ca.1380–1390, by the Parement Master and workshop);<sup>778</sup> however, the most similar depiction is found in the *Parement de Narbonne* (Paris, ca.1375–1378 by the Parement Master).<sup>779</sup>

Compositionally and iconographically, the depiction of *The Crucifixion* is similar in both tapestry and painting. For instance, both works of art show Christ flanked by the thieves on their crosses (though in the tapestry they hang by their elbows whereas in the *Parement de Narbonne* they hang from their armpits); Stephaton, the sponge-bearer is seen on the right of the cross, just as Longinus is found on the left; and the scroll with the inscription “*vere filius dei erat iste*” waves nearby the pointing hand of an older, bearded man as in the tapestry. Angels appear in the sky on both works, even though only two angels appear in the tapestry, one to collect each soul of the two thieves. By contrast, the *Parement de Narbonne* shows several angels hovering above Christ, while others collect his blood with chalices. It is possible that the *Parement de Narbonne* served as a model for the Zaragoza tapestry’s scene of *The Crucifixion*, however, with the various differences it seems plausible that the tapestry designers were also looking at other models.

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<sup>777</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18014, folio 89v. For bibliography, see note 536.

<sup>778</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n.a. lat. 3093, folio 209. For bibliography, see note 546.

<sup>779</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. M.I. 1121. For bibliography, see note 539.



### 5.4.3 The Harrowing of Hell

One of the most colorful legends in *The Story of the Passion* relates the events of Christ's descent into Hell.<sup>780</sup> Though it is not described explicitly in the bible, inferences can be identified in several passages of the Old Testament as well as the New Testament; however, the primary sources for medieval representations of the legend came from the sensational descriptions found in the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*.<sup>781</sup> This apocryphal legend begins by recounting the various events that took place before and during Christ's visit to Hell. The most significant parts of the story that influenced medieval representations of *The Harrowing of Hell* are chapters 17:1–27:1.<sup>782</sup> The story was immensely popular in medieval theological writings, sermons, hymns, legends of saints and drama, including *Passion* and mystery plays. Christ's descent into hell was also referenced in one of the twelve articles of the *Apostles' Creed* (*Symbolum Apostolorum*).<sup>783</sup> The story was immensely popular in medieval theological writings, sermons, hymns, legends of saints and drama, including *Passion* and mystery plays.

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<sup>780</sup> Also referred to as *Christ in Limbo*, *Christ in the Underworld* and *Christ's Descent into Hell*.

<sup>781</sup> Old Testament references: Ps. 24:7–10, 30:1–3, 68:18–22, 98:1–3 and 107:13–20; Isa. 24:21–22; Hosea 13:14; Zech. 9:11; New Testament references Matt. 12:40 and 27:51–53; Acts 2:25–28 and 2:31–34; 1 Cor. 15:15–29; Eph. 4:8–11; Heb. 2:14–16; 1 Pet. 3:18–22 and 4:6.

<sup>782</sup> The first sixteen chapters of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* are devoted to the *Acts of Pilate* (*Acta Pilati*), while the story is known as the *Descensus ad Infernos* comprises chapters 17–27. Charles F. Horne, *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, 14 vols. (New York/London: Parke, Austin, and Lipscomb, 1917), vol. 14, 373–380; Zbigniew Izydorzyc, ed., *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe* (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1997); Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed. (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 521–526.

<sup>783</sup> Liuwe H. Westra, *The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History and Some Early Commentaries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002); Markus Vinzent, *Der Ursprung des Apostolikums im Urteil der kritischen Forschung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2006).

The story was also popularized by thirteenth-century literary compilations, such as Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*<sup>784</sup> and the *Speculum historiale* compiled by Vincent of Beauvais (Vincentius Bellovacensis, d.1264).<sup>785</sup> The account provided the medieval Church the means to underscore the victory of the divine over Hell and the powers of evil. In terms of its relation to the liturgical calendar, the Harrowing of Hell legend was told in hymns and sermons during the Holy Week of Easter and it was specifically linked to the events of Holy Saturday Matins and the lighting of the Easter candle.<sup>786</sup> In his article on the possible biblical and apocryphal sources for the accounts of the *Descensus ad Infernos*, Allen Cabaniss proposes that long before the introduction of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the Church of the early Christians liturgically associated the events of Easter and Holy week—and their ideas of Christ's glorious triumph over death—with Psalm 24.<sup>787</sup>

The scene of *The Harrowing of Hell* in the Zaragoza tapestry is located in the lower right corner of the composition, where Christ is shown standing before the Gates of Hell. He wears a sinuous mantle that is elegantly gathered around his waist and just below his right wrist. The hem of the mantle is patterned with a Greek key pattern. This change in Christ's mantle helps to

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<sup>784</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 1, 216–224, no. 54 at 222–224.

<sup>785</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum quadruplex, sive, Speculum maius*, 4 vols. (Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1964–1965), vol. 4, VII, Chapter LVI; Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey (New York: Icon Editions/Harper Row, 1972), 224.

<sup>786</sup> For an examination into liturgical sermons and hymns and their usage during the Easter events, see Allen Cabaniss, "The Harrowing of Hell, Psalm 24 and Pliny the Younger: A Note," *Vigiliae Christianae* 7, no. 2 (April 1953): 65–74 at 66; Ruth Ellis Messenger, "The Descent Theme in Medieval Latin Hymns," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 67 (1936): 126–147 at 132.

<sup>787</sup> Allen Cabaniss, "The Harrowing of Hell, Psalm 24 and Pliny the Younger: A Note," *Vigiliae Christianae* 7, no. 2 (April 1953): 65–74. For a lengthy examination of the various myths associated with Christ's descent, see Josef Kroll, *Gott und Hölle: der Mythos vom Descensuskampfe* (Leipzig/Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1932).

differentiate the events after his crucifixion. He is shown wearing the same mantle in the episode of Mary Magdalene appearing before Christ (discussed below).

In his right hand, he carries the standard that terminates in a cross-staff, known as the flag of the Resurrection. Christ's hand is positioned at an angle to accentuate the flowing blood from his wound on his hand, as well as the larger, gapping wound that bleeds appreciably from his right side. With his left hand,<sup>788</sup> Christ takes hold of Adam's right wrist<sup>789</sup> to liberate the faithful souls from Hell and deliver them to Paradise. Adam is seen naked, as is Eve<sup>790</sup> who stands next to him, and Adam has a long beard and long hair. Both Adam and Eve hold their hands in a gesture of prayer. Four other figures appear with Adam and Eve, including (clockwise), an older man with a shorter beard (behind Eve and to the left); a male figure with curly hair (behind Eve and to the right); another male figure, who appears bald;<sup>791</sup> and lastly, a female figure with long, flowing hair whose soft curls are echoed in the column of the building from which she escapes. This last figure also has her hands in a prayer gesture.

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<sup>788</sup> This is contrary to the description in *Descensus ad Infernos* from the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Chapter 24:1) where Christ takes hold of Adam with his right hand. This idea of Christ's right hand as his "holy arm" probably comes from Psalm 98:1–2, "O sing unto the Lord a new song; for he hath done marvellous things: his right hand, and his holy arm, hath gotten him the victory. The Lord hath made known his salvation: his righteousness hath he openly shewed in the sight of the heathen." Ruth Ellis Messenger, "The Descent Theme in Medieval Latin Hymns," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 67 (1936): 126–147 at 128; Charles F. Horne, *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, 14 vols. (New York/London: Parke, Austin, and Lipscomb, 1917), vol. 14, 373–380 at 378–379; Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed. (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 521–526 at 525.

<sup>789</sup> The *Golden Legend* describes that Christ takes the right wrist or hand of Adam, but does not specify which hand Christ used. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 1, 216–224, no. 54 at 224.

<sup>790</sup> Eve is shown with pubic hair, woven in a dark brown thread, indicating that it is a section of reweaving.

<sup>791</sup> His baldness is due to the washed out nature of the tapestry.

The majority of medieval representations of Christ's *Descensus ad Infernos* show the figures escaping from the Mouth of Hell.<sup>792</sup> The version in the tapestry, by contrast, does not show a monster's mouth, but instead depicts the Gates of Hell as a tall structure that materializes from a bed of boulders at the side of a mountain. There are Old and New Testament references that envisioned Hell as a building, notably as a prison, described by Isaiah (24:22 and 42:7) and in the first Epistle of Peter (1 Peter 3:19).<sup>793</sup>

The façade of the small building in the tapestry contains a large central arch from where the six figures emerge. The columns and roof look as though they have been cobbled together with pebbles. The only other visible side of the structure is to the right, where two small arches crown a single arch in which the figure of Judas is seen hanging and burning in Hell. The bag of money hangs from his neck, while a fiery red noose pulls his head back. Judas' arms are shown bound behind his back and he wears only his underwear. The inclusion of Judas in the scene of *The Harrowing of Hell* is unusual—Judas is normally shown hanging from a tree in the background of the scenes of *The Kiss of Judas*, *Christ Appears before Pilate* or *Christ Carries the Cross*. Juxtaposing the hanging of Judas with *The Harrowing of Hell*, and even including it in the architecture as though it takes place on the actual wall of hell is without parallel, as far as I know. In the Gospel account of Matthew, Judas was so filled with guilt for betraying Christ

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<sup>792</sup> Emile Mâle examines the medieval interpretations of the *Book of Job* by Odo of Cluny and Bruno of Asti to learn more about the Mouth of Hell and its origins. Chapters 40–41 in the *Book of Job* describes the monster Leviathan. Job 40:20 says, “Canst thou draw out the leviathan with a hook, or canst thou tie his tongue with a cord?” These medieval theologians related this description of hooking the monster by its mouth to Christ's conquest of the devil. The open mouth of Leviathan thus became the icon for the jaws of Hell in artistic renditions of the scene of Christ's descent. See Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey (New York: Icon Editions/Harper Row, 1972), 379–380.

<sup>793</sup> Alternately, Hell is portrayed as a pit or as sheer darkness as told in Psalms 30:3, 107:10 and 143:3. Allen Cabaniss, “The Harrowing of Hell, Psalm 24 and Pliny the Younger: A Note,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 7, no. 2 (April 1953): 65–74 at 67.

that he returned the money and hanged himself.<sup>794</sup> The representation of Judas hanging in the tapestry is not conceived as a suicide, since his hands are shown bound. No other representation has been found that depicts Judas hanging in the scene of *The Harrowing of Hell*.

Brilliant threads of blazing red flames<sup>795</sup> rise from the openings of the arches and from the roof. Five devils<sup>796</sup> are shown with horns and distorted and gapping mouths.<sup>797</sup> Four clamber atop the structure, while another, most likely Satan, as described in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Chapter 22:2),<sup>798</sup> is bound with red-hot chains at the chest, arms, knees and possibly at the feet (a rock blocks the view). Christ's cross-staff with the flag of the resurrection pins down Satan. This image celebrates Christ's victory over evil.

The recumbent Satan emits fire from his mouth, ears and the back of his head. A parallel depiction of Satan's head is seen in a mid-fifteenth-century illumination that depicts a devil, at the far left, in the *Livre de la vigne de Notre Seigneur* (France, ca. 1450–1470).<sup>799</sup> Both figures are shown with dark horns that curve back, open mouths with small, white teeth and delicate white tusks that sprout forth, pug noses, bulging eyes, and large, elongated ears. In the tapestry, however, Satan's hands are depicted as webs, also observed in the smaller devil above him who displays bat-like wings, in addition to what appears to be a short stump of a tail.

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<sup>794</sup> According to Matthew (27:1–5), after *The Betrayal*, Judas returned the money and then hanged himself, see Acts 1:17–20.

<sup>795</sup> The bright red and orange threads are areas of reweaving.

<sup>796</sup> The brown threads that outline much of the bodies of the devils are sections that have been rewoven.

<sup>797</sup> For more on the various portrayals of demons, including the devil, in Medieval art, see Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), 61–78.

<sup>798</sup> Charles F. Horne, *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, 14 vols. (New York/London: Parke, Austin, and Lipscomb, 1917), vol. 14, 325–402 at 378; Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed. (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 531–501 at 520.

<sup>799</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 134, 95v.

Unfortunately, few visual examples of *The Harrowing of Hell* have been found that correspond with the tapestry. For instance, the image of *The Harrowing of Hell* in the *Parement de Narbonne* (Paris, ca.1375–1378 by the Parement Master),<sup>800</sup> represents the Gates of Hell as the jaws of the monster, the more common iconographic representation of the scene. The most similar representation of Hell a masonry structure is observed in two of Jean de Berry's manuscripts, including the *Petites heures* (ca. 1375–1380 in Paris or Bourges, with additions made in Bourges 1385–1390 and Paris ca. 1412);<sup>801</sup> and the *Grandes Heures* (possibly Paris, ca.1409, by the Pseudo-Jacquemart and his workshop).<sup>802</sup>

#### 5.4.4 The Three Holy Women at the Tomb

The scene of *The Three Holy Women at the Tomb of Christ*<sup>803</sup> is presented in the tapestry in a compact fashion. At the back of the tomb stand the three holy women, dressed (left to right) in blue, red and red robes that are covered by mantles in the colors of beige, blue and green, all of which are decorated with jewels. All three women have halos that are decorated with jewels and they also wear wimples. They represent at least two of the Marys:<sup>804</sup> the Virgin Mary is probably the central figure wearing the blue mantle even though it is not decorated with the

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<sup>800</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. M.I. 1121. For bibliography, see note 539.

<sup>801</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18014, folio 166. For bibliography, see note 536.

<sup>802</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 919, folio 84.

<sup>803</sup> Matt. 28:1–8; Mark 16:1–8; Luke 24:1–10; John 20:1–13.

<sup>804</sup> Although each Evangelist mentions the presence of Mary Magdalene, their accounts differ in terms of the number and the names of holy women present. Matthew (28:1) says there were two Maries, Mary Magdalene and “the other Mary;” Mark (16:1) tells of three holy women were at the tomb, including Mary Magdalene, Mary Salome; Luke (24:10) also comments that the three holy women who reported back to the eleven Apostles included Mary Magdalene, Mary Salome and Joanna [wife of Chusa, Herod's steward], along with other, non-specified women; and finally, John (20:1) only speaks of Mary Magdalene.

white three-dot motif observed in the scenes of *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *The Crucifixion*. Mary Salome may be among the group too, though it cannot be determined which figure she might be. Mary Magdalene is often represented in this scene, but since all three women are veiled and wear wimples, it seems unlikely that one of them represents the character often cast as a repentant prostitute and thus depicted with a red cloak and loose hair in the adjacent *Noli me tangere* scene (see below).<sup>805</sup> In her place it is plausible that Mary Cleophas is the third Mary represented.

The holy woman at the far left is seen in deep contemplation, her hands in a prayer gesture. No jar of spice is placed next to her. By contrast, the other two women, both with their vessels of spices sitting atop the tomb, converse. Upon the edge of the tomb sits a winged angel<sup>806</sup> who is draped in a green mantle has a jeweled halo.<sup>807</sup> As described in Matthew (28:5–7), the angel announces to the holy women that Christ has risen. His right hand points at the tomb to underscore this idea. The holy woman in blue also points towards the empty tomb.

The tomb, in the form of an altar, is decorated with jewels. In front of the tomb are the three sleeping soldiers, unaware of events, current or past. They each wear headgear that consists of a helmet that consists of a turban. All three are dressed in combinations of red, blue and white and each carries a weapon (left to right): a spear, a mallet and a scimitar.

Reweaving obscures the representation of *The Three Holy Women at the Tomb* in the tapestry; much of the lid of the tomb has been rewoven.<sup>808</sup> This reweaving can be observed in

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<sup>805</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 1, 374–383, no. 96.

<sup>806</sup> The bright red threads found in the angel's wings are restorations.

<sup>807</sup> A single angel sitting upon the tomb is recorded by Matthew 28:2.

<sup>808</sup> This is particularly evident in the use of pink threads.

the arrangement of one of the spice jars that does not appear to rest on the lid of the tomb. Likewise, it appears as if the lid of the tomb is closed and sealed. Studied first hand, it becomes apparent that the lid was greatly rewoven, but that the lid of the tomb is indeed depicted as ajar. The depiction of the tomb's lid slightly ajar is a common treatment of the subject. There are a few instances when medieval artists chose to depict the lid of the tomb fully removed, having it set aside next to the sepulcher, as observed in the *Bible de Charles V* (Paris, ca.1372, by Jean Bondol and the Master of the Boqueteaux);<sup>809</sup> and the *Petites Heures de Jean duc de Berry* (Paris or Bourges, ca.1375–1380; Bourges, 1385–1390; Paris, ca.1412, by Jean le Noir);<sup>810</sup> no other contemporary works of art parallel the depiction of *The Three Holy Women* in the Zaragoza tapestry.

#### 5.4.5 The Noli me tangere

The representation of *The Noli me tangere* is the final scene of the Zaragoza tapestry set. A deep burnt orange color<sup>811</sup> seeps from the rocky earth that appears immediately above the scene of *The Harrowing of Hell* and is a clear demarcation between the orange and red colors of hell and the world of man, which is filled with green foliage and grass that surrounds the scene when Christ appears before Mary Magdalene. Unlike many medieval representations of *The Noli me tangere*, Christ is not shown dressed as a gardener and no pot appears next to Mary Magdalene.

The episode in the tapestry depicts Christ wearing the mantle with the Greek key pattern at the hem that he wore in *The Harrowing of Hell*. He also carries his cross-staff with the flag of

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<sup>809</sup> The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, folio 524. For bibliography, see note 535.

<sup>810</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18014, folio 163. For bibliography, see note 536.

<sup>811</sup> This incredibly bright patch of weaving is probably an area of restoration.



the resurrection. There is a sense of vitality and movement in Christ's stance—his S-curve posture adds drama to this simple and tranquil scene. Between Christ and Mary Magdalene stands a single tree that has a twisting trunk—already observed in the landscape elements in both tapestries—that terminates in four simple branches of shimmering, *chiaroscuro* foliage.

To the left of the tree kneels Mary Magdalene, who wears a blue robe covered with a red jewel-lined mantle.<sup>812</sup> She wears neither a wimple nor a headdress. This representation of Mary Magdalene is consistent with her reputation as a reformed harlot.<sup>813</sup> Her hand gestures are simple—her left hand reaches openly upward with the palm-side facing the viewer, while her right hand is angled down. Her rising gaze is met directly with that of Christ, whose right hand, revealing his wound, gestures her to turn away. He carries the flag of the resurrection in his left hand.<sup>814</sup> It is positioned at an angle that reinforces the elegant curve of his body position. Christ's mantle molds and forms the elegant lines of his figure.

A similar representation of *The Noli me tangere* scene is found in a miniature from the *Breviary of Louis de Guyenne* (Paris, ca.1414, by the Bedford Master and the Boucicaut Master).<sup>815</sup> While the Magdalene is presented in similar attire—a deep blue dress covered by a red mantle—and Christ's slightly curving body is somewhat similar, the scene in the manuscript is more static due to the awkward pose of the Magdalene, which appears contrived. On the contrary, the scene in the tapestry shows the Magdalene's left hand curving subtly *behind* the

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<sup>812</sup> The pink threads of her robe are areas of restoration.

<sup>813</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 1, 374–383, no. 96.

<sup>814</sup> Perhaps another example of a left-right reversal, since the flag of the resurrection was a symbol of divine power. Christ usually holds the flag in his right hand. See notes 612 and 636.

<sup>815</sup> Châteauroux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 2, fol. 238.

trunk of the tree and she kneels fully on the earth. The picture in the manuscript also includes a small pot on the ground.

Although there is a representation of *The Noli me tangere* in the *Bible de Charles V* (Paris, ca.1372, by Jean Bondol and the Master of the Boqueteaux),<sup>816</sup> the work of art that most resembles the *Zaragoza Noli me tangere* is found in the *Parement de Narbonne* (Paris, ca.1375–1378 by the Parement Master).<sup>817</sup> There is a remarkable similarity, observed in the comparable positioning of Christ's body and gestures, as well as the depiction of the tree with the light and dark emphasis on the leaves. The Magdalene's hand gestures are slightly different, since they are both depicted in front of the tree.

## 5.5 SUMMARY

The works of art introduced here demonstrate that court artists working in the royal courts of France at the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries approached the issues of spatiality and temporality with great interest, and placed their scenes with equal competence both indoors and out-of-doors. The apparent fascination with framing moments of *The Story of the Passion of Christ* in a realistic and convincing manner supports the idea that these works of art were entrances, or windows, into another world in which the viewer could participate. The interest in spatial awareness and the execution of space, whether as landscape elements or architectural elements in the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries provides further visual evidence that the tapestries are stylistically related to works of art produced for the French royal patrons King

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<sup>816</sup> The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, folio 524v. For bibliography, see note 535.

<sup>817</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. M.I. 1121. For bibliography, see note 539.

Charles V and Jean de Berry. The investigation into artists' various approaches to space and the construction of temporality and narrative within the scenes of *The Passion* brings to mind the physical and symbolic functions of tapestry in the creation of an environment that exuded power and distinction. The *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries certainly played a role in the liturgical, symbolic and devotional practices of the Church.

Furthermore, many of the examples discussed in relation to space also showed remarkable similarities stylistically and iconographically to the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries. For instance, the use of an architectural framework in the *Annunciation* tapestry at the Metropolitan Museum of Art shows important stylistic links with the *Zaragoza* tapestries, specifically the coloration of the architecture, in addition to the use of stylized trees and clouds.

The most significant parallels, however, were drawn from eight works of art owned by the French Valois—King Charles V and Jean de Berry. From the collection of King Charles are works of art such as the *Bible de Charles V* (ca.1372) and the *Parement de Narbonne* (ca.1375–1378). The other six examples form a cluster of manuscripts commissioned by Jean de Berry that relate to the tapestries and include the *Petites Heures* (ca.1375–1380), the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* (ca.1380–1390), the *Heures de Bruxelles* (before 1402), the *Belles Heures* (ca.1405–1409), the *Grandes Heures* (ca.1409) and the *Très Riches Heures* (ca.1411/12–1416).

While several specific stylistic and/or iconographic aspects can be linked with each of these works and the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries, two stand apart: the *Parement de Narbonne* and the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame*. The *Parement* Master and his workshop made both in Paris around 1380, and both have several significant visual correspondences with the tapestries. In sum, the *Parement de Narbonne* has common stylistic and iconographic elements with the tapestries in the representations of *The Kiss of Judas*, *The Flagellation*, *Christ Carrying the*

*Cross, The Crucifixion, The Harrowing of Hell* and *The Noli me tangere*. Even more, the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* has parallels in the scenes of *Christ Praying in the Garden, The Kiss of Judas, Christ before Caiaphas, Christ before Annas, Christ before Herod, Christ before Pilate, The Flagellation, The Mocking of Christ, The Nailing of Christ to the Cross* and *The Crucifixion*. While neither offers an exact match as a model for the tapestries, they prove that many of the iconographic elements observed in the tapestries—such as the cutting of Malchus' ear by Peter, Christ appearing before several judges, Mary carrying the cross—were popular in works of art produced by French court artists beginning around 1373 and continuing until about 1410.

## 6.0 CONCLUSION

This dissertation has presented Dalmau de Mur (1356–1456)—Bishop of Girona, Archbishop of Tarragona and Archbishop of Zaragoza. An examination of the works of art commissioned and acquired by Dalmau de Mur reveals that he played a dynamic role in the formation of a cosmopolitan practice of ecclesiastical patronage of luxury objects in the Kingdom of Aragón during the first half of the fifteenth century.

The dissertation began by introducing the family of Dalmau de Mur in order to fully appreciate the essential political and ecclesiastical connections that successfully propelled his ecclesiastical career. One of the most influential of these vital associations was his relation to Pedro Martínez de Luna, Anti-pope Benedict XIII (r.1394–1417). As a result of the marriage alliances of his uncle and brother with the Luna family, Dalmau de Mur was a major benefactor. As Anti-pope Benedict XIII, Pedro Martínez de Luna appointed Dalmau to several prominent positions, such as Chancellor of the Estudi General de Lleida in 1411 and then as Bishop of Girona in 1415. These promotions set the stage for Dalmau de Mur's continued ascent in the hierarchy of ecclesiastical politics in the Kingdom of Aragón during the Papal Schism.

Furthermore, Pedro Martínez de Luna was himself a great patron of the arts. In collecting luxury goods, Luna made informed decisions that had an effect on how and what Dalmau de Mur commissioned and acquired. When Pedro Martínez de Luna died, having been exiled to his castle in Peníscola, he left behind an impressive collection of around eleven hundred

manuscripts that were sold in 1422/23. It was at this moment that Dalmau acquired from Luna the famous Bolognese *Girona Bible*—once owned by the renowned royal French bibliophiles, King Charles V and Jean de Berry—as well as a copy of Flavius Josephus’ *Antiquitates Judaicae* and possibly a second Bolognese bible, the *Bible of Dalmau de Mur*.

By the end of the 1420s, Dalmau de Mur had become an astute patron of the arts. As Bishop of Girona he led the Chapter of the Cathedral to make the bold decision to definitively change the architectural plan of the nave from three aisles to a single-aisle design. This resulted in the widest Gothic vault to be constructed and it still stands today. While at Girona, Dalmau may have been seen the *Annunciation* tapestry, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, that was possibly owned by the one of the Bishops of Girona Francesc de Blanés, although the evidence is too fragmentary for the possibility to be proven. Dalmau de Mur’s patronage continued with the decisions to commission the large, sculpted altarpieces at Tarragona Cathedral, Zaragoza Cathedral and the Archbishop’s Palace in Zaragoza. At Zaragoza Cathedral he also commissioned the choir stalls, a choir screen and his tomb.

His interest in illuminated manuscripts remained strong after purchasing some of Luna’s books; he commissioned Joan Font to copy John of Salisbury’s *Policraticus* text in 1424 and then again in 1432–1433 he had Joan Font copy the texts of *De institutis coenobiorum* and *Collationes* by John of Cassian. I have proposed that the decision to copy the *Policraticus* text was a political one. To the pope in Rome, Martin V, it conveyed a message of solidarity by denouncing Anti-pope Benedict XIII as a tyrant—a volte-face considering that Dalmau had played a significant role in the shaping of Dalmau de Mur’s ecclesiastical career, in addition to his formation of an impressive collection of luxury works of art. To France, it acknowledged the royal authority of King Charles VII.

In addition to examining Dalmau de Mur's artistic patronage, an examination of the documents reveals more about his collection of luxury objects. The inventory taken at Zaragoza Cathedral in 1521, which listed the tapestry donations of Dalmau de Mur and his two successors, also shapes our understanding of Dalmau de Mur as a patron of the arts. This document is also complemented by Dalmau de Mur's thirty-page testament, which provides further insight into the types of objects he owned before his death in 1456. Besides recording his collection of rings, gems, silver, manuscripts, panel paintings, metalwork and liturgical vestments, Dalmau de Mur's testament mentions his tapestry holdings. Taken together, these documents underscore the richness and variety of luxury objects that he collected.

Like many tapestry collections from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, only two of the recorded eight tapestries donated by Dalmau de Mur to Zaragoza Cathedral survive, the two-panel set of the *Passion*. They are distinctive because they are among the earliest extant tapestries woven in the Franco-Flemish region that were imported into Spain. They also represent the oldest surviving tapestries depicting *The Story of the Passion of Christ*.

A comprehensive analysis of the style and iconography of the *Zaragoza Passion* tapestries has revealed that remarkable parallels can be drawn between them and a small cluster of objects produced for King Charles V of France and his brothers,

Louis, Duke of Anjou; Philippe, Duke of Burgundy and Jean, Duke of Berry. Louis d'Anjou's *Apocalypse* tapestries show early usage in the tapestry medium of the interest in three-dimensional space and the incorporation of landscape elements into the design of the narrative. Likewise, the *Annunciation* tapestry in New York—though not necessarily owned by a Valois prince, but certainly iconographically and stylistically related to the *Dijon Altarpiece*

commissioned by Philippe of Burgundy—also shows important parallels in terms of its treatment of three-dimensional architecture and similar landscape elements.

The works of art that have the strongest stylistic and iconographic links are Charles V's *Parement de Narbonne* (Paris, ca.1375-1378 by the Parement Master) and Jean de Berry's *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* (Paris, ca.1380-1390, by the Parement Master and workshop).

Both the *Parement de Narbonne* and the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* have remarkable parallels in their approaches to the treatment of space, as observed in the use of small architectural structures to divide and create the flow of the *Passion* narrative. The compositional layout of the *Parement de Narbonne* is more simplified than the dynamic and more complex compositional arrangement found in the Zaragoza tapestries. Although the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* depicts only one scene of the *Passion* per page, its use of delimiting the narrative in micro-architectural frameworks nonetheless illustrates an interest in how *The Story of the Passion of Christ* is depicted. Moreover, it has an extensive narrative cycle that devotes several images to the trial of Christ. For instance, four pictures represent Christ appearing before his judges—Caiaphas, Annas, Pilate and Herod.

The *Parement of Narbonne* and the *Très belles heures de Notre-Dame* also have clear iconographic similarities with the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries. There is a strong visual link between the manuscripts and the tapestries in the depiction of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, with the help of the Virgin Mary and Saint John. Because of these strong stylistic and iconographic affinities, the Zaragoza tapestries can be counted among a group of works of art that were produced for the French courts at the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. With that said, it is also evident that some scenes represented in the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries do not have parallels with contemporary works of art that survive. For example, the scene of *The*



*Making of the Cross* and the detail of Judas hanging from the Gates of Hell, which is conceived as a building in the episode of *The Harrowing of Hell*, remain rare iconographic elements. No comparable models were found; the visual influences on the designers of the tapestries, therefore, remain unknown. More research on the dramatic performances may uncover new findings.

There are several other aspects of the dissertation that emerge as potential areas of future research. These include a more detailed examination of the imagery and iconography of the manuscript *De institutis coenobiorum* and the *Collationes* in relation to other surviving manuscripts. Likewise, a deeper analysis of the extant *Policraticus* manuscripts in Spanish and French collections may uncover what type of model Joan Font drew from for inspiration. In addition, to fully understand Dalmau de Mur's role as a significant patron of the arts in the Kingdom of Aragón during the first half of the fifteenth century, an in-depth analysis of the artists that he commissioned may reveal further artistic exchanges between Aragón and France. Several of Dalmau de Mur's artists went on to work in the royal courts in Aragón and Naples. For example, in 1473, after working for Dalmau de Mur, the painter Tomás Giner was named court painter of Fernando II el Católico, the future King of Aragón. The sculptors Pere Joan and Anthon Gomar both left Zaragoza to work at the royal court of King Alfonso V in Naples, and serve as examples of the importation of Aragonese artists into Italy.

I have argued that the stylistic and iconographic correspondences with works of art made for the French court situate the creation of the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries around the year 1400–1410. Because of these early dates of production, it seems unlikely that Dalmau de Mur originally commissioned them since he would have been just beginning his ecclesiastical career. Moreover, because of their use of extraordinarily expensive materials such as silk, silver and

gold threads—thereby greatly increasing their cost of production—very few patrons would have been able to afford them.

In the end, these costly technical aspects, combined with the findings that the Zaragoza tapestries have strong stylistic and iconographic relations with French royal court art, leads to the idea that the tapestries were probably a French royal commission. The great royal French patrons of tapestry—such as Jean de Berry, Louis d’Anjou and Louis d’Orléans—emerge as the most plausible patrons responsible for the initial commission of the Zaragoza tapestries. It is also possible that the patron was female, since the role of women in the tapestries—the inclusion of Pilate’s wife, Claudia Procula, and Mary carrying the cross—is prominent. One obvious female patron is Margaret III, Countess of Flanders (1350–1405), wife of Philippe, Duke of Burgundy, one of the great medieval tapestry collectors.

Although it may remain impossible to support, I believe it is very possible that one of these eminent French tapestry collectors ordered the *Passion* tapestries and they were perhaps given as a gift to Anti-pope Benedict XIII during his residence at the papal palace in Avignon. It is also possible that Benedict XIII himself was the original patron of the tapestries. Either way, I consider Benedict XIII the person most likely responsible for the importation of the Zaragoza tapestries into Aragón. Like many of the manuscripts that Dalmau de Mur purchased upon Benedict XIII’s death in 1422/23, he perhaps had the opportunity to purchase from the Anti-pope’s estate the *Passion* tapestries. Although no known documentation supports this argument, future research in the archives of the papal palace in Avignon may be fruitful. While no tapestries survive in the collection in Avignon today, it has been stated by María Carmen Lacarra Ducay that not only were there tapestries in the papal collection during the time of Benedict XIII’s reign, she also mentions—though without citation—that Parisian tapestry weavers were

living and working in Avignon.<sup>818</sup> The position of Avignon and the papal curia in relation to the commissioning of tapestries locally offers many new avenues to explore. In addition to uncovering the papal patronage of tapestries, the archives in Avignon<sup>819</sup> may resolve some of the uncertainty surrounding the exact details surrounding the original commission of the *Passion* tapestries at Zaragoza Cathedral.

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<sup>818</sup> María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Benedicto XIII y el arte,” *Academia: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* 80 (1995): 213–234 at 218, 220.

<sup>819</sup> Portions of the archives has been combed and published, but no studies, to my knowledge, are dedicated to the collection of tapestries at the Papal Palace or to the local production of tapestries in Avignon. Eugène Müntz and Maurice Faucon, *Inventaire des objets précieux vendus à Avignon, en 1358, par le pape Innocent VI* (Paris: Didier, 1882); Hermann Hoberg, ed., *Die Inventare des päpstlichen Schatzes in Avignon, 1314–1376* (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1944); Stefan Weiss, *Rechnungswesen und Buchhaltung des Avignoneser Papsttums (131–1378): eine Quellenkunde* (Hannover: Hahnsche, 2003).

## APPENDIX A

### CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE: SIGNIFICANT ECCLESIASTICAL AND SECULAR EVENTS BEFORE AND DURING DALMAU DE MUR'S LIFETIME (1376–1456)

DATE	EVENTS IN DALMAU DE MUR'S LIFE	SIGNIFICANT ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS	SIGNIFICANT SECULAR EVENTS
1336			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pedro IV el Ceremonioso, King of Aragón, r.1336–1387</li> </ul>
1337			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hundred Years' War begins between France and England (1337–1453)</li> </ul>
1342		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election in Avignon of Pope Clement VI, r.1342–1352</li> </ul>	
1343			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• King Pedro IV of Aragón re-conquers the Kingdom of Mallorca</li> <li>• Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, r.1343–1404</li> </ul>
1350			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jean le Bon, King of France, r.1350–1364</li> <li>• Pedro I el Cruel, King of Castile and León, r. 1350–1369</li> </ul>

<b>DATE</b>	<b>EVENTS IN DALMAU DE MUR'S LIFE</b>	<b>SIGNIFICANT ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS</b>	<b>SIGNIFICANT SECULAR EVENTS</b>
1352		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election in Avignon of Pope Innocent VI, r.1352–1362</li> </ul>	
1360			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Louis I, Count then Duke of Anjou, r.1360–1384; Count of Provence, r.1382–1384; titular King of Naples, r.1382–1384</li> <li>• Jean, Duke of Berry, r.1360–1416</li> </ul>
1362		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election in Avignon of Pope Urban V, r.1362–1370</li> </ul>	
1364			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charles V le Sage, King of France, r.1364–1380</li> </ul>
1369			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enrique II el de la Mercedes, King of Castile and León, r.1369–1379</li> </ul>
1370		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election in Avignon of Pope Gregory XI, r.1370–1378</li> </ul>	
1376	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Born in Cervera (county of Segarra in the diocese of Lleida)</li> </ul>		
1378		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pope Gregory XI moves papal curia from Avignon to Rome where he soon dies</li> <li>• Papal schism begins (1378–1417) upon the double election of Pope Urban VI, r.1378–1389 in Rome followed by the election in Fondi of Anti-pope Clement VII, r.1378–1394</li> </ul>	
1379			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Juan I, King of Castile and León, r.1379–1390</li> </ul>
1380			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charles VI le Fol, King of France, r.1380–1422</li> </ul>
1387			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Juan I el Cazador, King of Aragón, r.1387–1396</li> </ul>
1389		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election in Rome of Pope Boniface IX, r.1389–1404</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charles VI, King of France visits Anti-pope Clement VII in Avignon</li> </ul>

<b>DATE</b>	<b>EVENTS IN DALMAU DE MUR'S LIFE</b>	<b>SIGNIFICANT ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS</b>	<b>SIGNIFICANT SECULAR EVENTS</b>
1390			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enrique III el Doliente, King of Castile and León, r.1390–1406</li> </ul>
1392			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Louis I, Duke of Orléans, r.1392–1407</li> </ul>
1394		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election in Avignon of Anti-pope Benedict XIII, r.1394–1417</li> </ul>	
1395			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, Jean, Duke of Berry and Louis I, Duke of Orléans go to Avignon to meet with Anti-pope Benedict XIII</li> </ul>
1396			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Martín el Humano, King of Aragón, r.1396–1410; King of Sicily as Martín II, r.1409–1410</li> </ul>
1398		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• City of Avignon invaded by military forces ordered by the Duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Hardi</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• France withdraws its obedience to Anti-pope Benedict XIII</li> </ul>
1399	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• By this date, educated at the University of Lleida</li> <li>• By this date, Rector of Valls (county of Alt Camp in the diocese of Tarragona)</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Louis II, Count of Provence, Duke of Anjou and titular King of Naples (r.1389–1417)</li> </ul>
1401		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Palais des Papes in Avignon is besieged until 1403 when Anti-pope Benedict XIII escapes with the help of Louis, Duke of Orléans</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• France reinstates its allegiance to Anti-pope Benedict XIII</li> </ul>
1404		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election in Rome of Pope Innocent VII, r.1404–1406</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, r.1404–1419</li> </ul>
1405	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Canon of Lleida</li> </ul>		
1406		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election of Rome of Pope Gregory XII, r.1406–1415</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Juan II, King of Castile and León, r.1406–1454</li> </ul>
1407			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Louis, Duke of Orléans, assassinated by Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy</li> </ul>
1408		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anti-pope Benedict XIII installed at the Palais des rois de Majorique in Perpignan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theologian Jean Petit reads the justification of Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, entitled</li> </ul>

<b>DATE</b>	<b>EVENTS IN DALMAU DE MUR'S LIFE</b>	<b>SIGNIFICANT ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS</b>	<b>SIGNIFICANT SECULAR EVENTS</b>
1408		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anti-pope Benedict XIII celebrates a General Council in Perpignan</li> </ul>	<p><i>Justification du duc de Bourgogne</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• France retracts its allegiance to Anti-pope Benedict XIII</li> </ul>
1409	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Canon of Girona</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Council of Pisa</li> <li>• Deposition of Pope Gregory XII and Anti-pope Benedict XIII</li> <li>• Election in Pisa of Pope Alexander V, r.1409–1410; thus three reigning popes: Gregory XII in Rome, Benedict XIII in Avignon and Alexander V in Pisa</li> </ul>	
1410	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• During interregnum, supported the candidature of Jaume d'Urgell</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election in Bologna of Pope John XXIII, r.1410–1415</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interregnum in the Kingdom of Aragón (1410–1412)</li> </ul>
1411	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chancellor of the Estudi General de Lleida (1411–1416)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anti-pope Benedict XIII in exile at his castle in Peníscola</li> </ul>	
1412		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Council of Rome</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Compromise of Caspe</li> <li>• Election of Fernando I el de Antequera, King of Aragón and Sicily, r.1412–1416</li> </ul>
1414	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Archdeacon of Ribagorza (Papal bull of Anti-pope Benedict XIII, June 19, 1414)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Council of Constance (1414–1418)</li> </ul>	
1415	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bishop of Girona (1416–1419)</li> <li>• Accompanied King Fernando I to Perpignan to visit Anti-pope Benedict XIII</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pope John XXIII and Anti-pope Benedict XIII deposed, Gregory XII abdicates</li> <li>• Anti-pope Benedict XIII loses support of Castile and León, Navarre and Scotland</li> </ul>	

<b>DATE</b>	<b>EVENTS IN DALMAU DE MUR'S LIFE</b>	<b>SIGNIFICANT ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS</b>	<b>SIGNIFICANT SECULAR EVENTS</b>
1416	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attends Council of Constance (1415–1417)</li> <li>• Assumes seat of Bishop of Girona</li> <li>• Convenes <i>junta</i> of architects at Girona Cathedral</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kingdom of Aragón withdraws obedience to Anti-pope Benedict XIII</li> <li>• Alfonso V el Magnánimo, King of Aragón, r.1416–1458; King of Naples, r.1442–1458</li> </ul>
1417	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Final decision of the <i>junta</i> is announced and construction of nave at Girona Cathedral begins/continues</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anti-pope Benedict XIII declared schismatic and excommunicated at the Council of Constance</li> <li>• Election in Constance of Pope Martin V, r.1417–1431</li> <li>• Official end of papal schism (1378–1417)</li> </ul>	
1418	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ambassador of King Alfonso V of Aragón to the Roman curia</li> </ul>		
1419	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Archbishop of Tarragona (1419–1431)</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, assassinated by the Dauphin of France (the future Charles VII)</li> <li>• Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, r.1419–1467</li> </ul>
1422	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chancellor of the Crown of Catalonia-Aragón (1422–1439)</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charles VII le Victorieux, King of France, r.1422–1461</li> <li>• Alfonso V el Magnánimo, King of Aragón (r.1416–1458) becomes King of Naples, r.1442–1458</li> </ul>
1423	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ambassador of King Alfonso V of Aragón to Castile (first time to Valladolid, second time to Villareal)</li> <li>• Purchases manuscripts at Valencia Sale of Anti-pope Benedict XIII</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Death of Anti-pope Benedict XIII (or 1422)</li> <li>• Election in Peníscola of Anti-pope Clement VIII, r.1423–1429 (abdicated)</li> </ul>	



DATE	EVENTS IN DALMAU DE MUR'S LIFE	SIGNIFICANT ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS	SIGNIFICANT SECULAR EVENTS
1424	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Convenes Provincial Council</li> <li>• Commissions Joan Font to copy John of Salisbury's <i>Policraticus</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election of Anti-pope Benedict XIV, r.1424–1429/30</li> </ul>	
1426	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Presided over the parliament (<i>corts</i>) of Catalonia, held in Tortosa</li> <li>• Commissions Tarragona Main Altarpiece</li> </ul>		
1431	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Archbishop of Zaragoza (1431–1456)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election in Rome of Pope Eugene IV, r.1431–1447</li> </ul>	
1432/33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Commissions Joan Font to copy John Cassian's <i>De institutis coenobiorum</i> and the <i>Liber collationum</i></li> </ul>		
1434	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Commissions construction of main altarpiece in Zaragoza Cathedral</li> </ul>		
1435	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reinstates construction of Valderrobres Castle</li> </ul>		
1437	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Commissions Blasco de Grañén to paint panel painting, <i>The Virgen del arzobispo Mur</i></li> </ul>		
1439		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election of Anti-pope Felix V, r.1439–1449</li> </ul>	
1442			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• King Alfonso V of Aragón conquers Naples</li> </ul>
1444	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Commissions construction of choir stalls in Zaragoza Cathedral</li> </ul>		
1445	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Commissions construction of Archbishop's Palace in Zaragoza</li> </ul>		
1447		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election in Rome of Pope Nicholas V, r.1447–1455</li> </ul>	
1453	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Baptized the Infante Fernando II (the future King of Aragón)</li> <li>• Commissions construction of choir screen for Zaragoza</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• End of Hundred Years' War between France and England (1337–1453)</li> </ul>

<b>DATE</b>	<b>EVENTS IN DALMAU DE MUR'S LIFE</b>	<b>SIGNIFICANT ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS</b>	<b>SIGNIFICANT SECULAR EVENTS</b>
1454	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cathedral</li> <li>• Deposit of testament (March 5)</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enrique IV el Impotente, King of Castile and León, r.1454–1474</li> </ul>
1455		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election in Rome of Pope Calixtus III, r.1455–1458</li> </ul>	
1456	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Commissions altarpiece for Archbishop's Palace in Zaragoza (work continues through 1459)</li> <li>• Dies in Zaragoza (September 12)</li> </ul>		
1456	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Executors announce death and open testament (September 12)</li> <li>• Reading of codicils of testament (September 14)</li> </ul>		
1458			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Juan II el Grande, King of Aragón, r.1458–1479</li> </ul>
1474			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Isabel I la Católica, Queen of Castile and León, r.1474–1504</li> <li>• Fernando II el Católico, King of Aragón, r.1479–1516; King Consort (and later Regent) of Castile and León, r.1507–1516</li> </ul>

## APPENDIX B

### LIST OF DOCUMENTS RELEVANT TO DALMAU DE MUR AND HIS FAMILY

This appendix has two sections:

1. **B.1** is a list of archival documents consulted. They are presented in chronological order.

The same documents are listed in the bibliography where they are organized alphabetically by city and then by name of archive. Here, each entry follows a rubric; information is provided when applicable and when known:

- Year / month / day, city (copy of original document noted)  
Name of notary  
Summary of document contents  
Document type, number of folios (if known), folio number (if known)  
City, archive name, inventory/manuscript/shelf number

2. **B.2** is an excerpt transcription of the inventory of tapestries made in the sacristy of Zaragoza Cathedral in 1521.

## B.1 LIST OF ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS CONSULTED

- **1298 November 21**  
Testament of Arnau de Mur<sup>820</sup>  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7562 Arx. 785<sup>821</sup>
- **1298 November 21**  
Testament of Arnau de Mur with additional clause  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7561 Arx. 78
- **1312, Girona**  
*Llibre vert* lists the capitular records  
Parchment document  
Girona, ACCG, MS 7
- **1367 July 7, Lleida**  
Donation of the lordship of Utxafava<sup>822</sup> by Dalmau de Mur the elder<sup>823</sup>  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7563 Arx. 785
- **1367 December 18, Lleida**  
Stipulations concerning the donation of the lordship of Utxafava by Dalmau de Mur the elder  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7564 Arx. 785
- **1373 February 19**  
Sale in Montserrat<sup>824</sup> by Dalmau de Queralt  
Paper manuscript, folios 2–3v  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7560 Arx. 784

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<sup>820</sup> Arnau de Mur (d. after 1316) served as a lawyer to Jaime II el Justo, King of Aragón (r.1267–1327). *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v. “Mur.”

<sup>821</sup> The collection of documents for BCAH 785 and BCAH 789 are collectively known as the “*Inventari dels fons del Comtat de Queralt*.” There is a PDF that can be consulted as a finding aid. I am indebted to Reis Fontanals Jaumà (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya Arxiu Històric) who kindly offered her assistance with my research on Dalmau de Mur and his family.

<sup>822</sup> Utxafava (today known as Vila-sana) is located in the county in the diocese of Lleida.

<sup>823</sup> This Dalmau de Mur is perhaps the grandfather of Dalmau de Mur i de Cervelló (1376–1456), but their relation is not mentioned in the *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), “Mur.”

<sup>824</sup> Located in the county and diocese of Barcelona.

- **1375 February 14, Barcelona**  
Testament of Dalmau de Mur the elder  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7565 Arx. 785
- **1377 February 21, Barcelona**  
Inventory of the possessions of Dalmau de Mur the elder  
Paper manuscript, 16 folios  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7619 Arx. 785
- **1377 March 6, Barcelona**  
Agreement made by Constança de Mur, wife of Dalmau de Mur the elder  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7566 Arx. 785
- **1377 March 7, Barcelona**  
Testament of Dalmau de Mur the elder with additional clause  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7567 Arx. 785
- **1379 February 17, Barcelona (18<sup>th</sup>-century copy)**  
Royal declaration in favor of Dalmau de Queralt i de Montroig<sup>825</sup>  
Paper manuscript, 8 folios  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7620 Arx. 789
- **1386 April 20**  
Stipulations concerning the donation of the lordship Utxafava by Dalmau de Mur the elder  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7568 Arx. 785
- **1387 June 19, Utxafava (1617 copy)**  
Stipulations concerning the donation of Santa Coloma de Queralt by Dalmau de Mur  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7569 Arx. 785
- **1400 October 24, Utxafava**  
Census document from Santa Coloma de Queralt<sup>826</sup>  
Parchment manuscript, folios 2–3v  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7570 Arx. 785

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<sup>825</sup> Dalmau de Queralt i de Rocabertí (1335–1387), Baron of Queralt, Lord of Santa Coloma, Utxafava, Bellver, Mont-roig married Constança de Pinós. He is the great uncle of Dalmau de Mur, Archbishop of Zaragoza, maternal grandmother's. *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v. "Queralt," and "Queralt i de Rocabertí, Dalmau de."

<sup>826</sup> Located in the county of Conca de Barberà, in the diocese of Tarragona.

- **1410**  
Inventory of the possessions of King Martín I<sup>827</sup>  
Parchment manuscript, 150 folios  
Barcelona, ACA, Real Cancillería, Registros, N° 2326
  
- **1409–1446**  
Capitular registers listing benefices, indulgences and licenses  
Comprises 2 paper manuscripts:  
    Book 1, 138 folios  
    Book 2, 132 folios  
Tarragona, ADCT, Inv. Letra A, N° 5
  
- **1417–1422**  
Capitular registers listing benefices, indulgences and licenses  
Paper manuscript  
Tarragona, ADCT, MS 16
  
- **1415 or before, no date**<sup>828</sup>  
Response of Acard de Mur regarding an allegation by Eimeric de Centelles  
Paper manuscript  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 13044 Caixa III
  
- **1415 December 18, Girona**  
Curia and Vicar-General documents listing the officials named by Dalmau de Mur upon his appointment as Bishop of Girona  
Paper manuscript, 180 folios, folio 152v  
Girona, ADG, MS D-181<sup>829</sup>
  
- **1416 January 3, Girona**  
Curia and Vicar-General documents listing the officials named by Bishop Dalmau de Mur  
Paper manuscript, 180 folios, folios 153v–154  
Girona, ADG, MS D-181<sup>830</sup>

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<sup>827</sup> Martín I el Humano, King of Aragón (r.1396–1410).

<sup>828</sup> Assuming this is Dalamu de Mur’s brother, Acard de Mur, who died in 1415, and not an earlier ancestor with the same name (one who died in 1316, another who in the middle of the fourteenth century was Lord of Rubió and married Elinor d’Albi). *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 27 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), s.v. “Mur.”

<sup>829</sup> Referred to as number 28 (6), which records years 1413–1416 see Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà, *Arxiu Diocesà de Girona: guia-inventari* (Girona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998), 38.

<sup>830</sup> Referred to as number 28 (6), which records years 1413–1416 see Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà, *Arxiu Diocesà de Girona: guia-inventari* (Girona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998), 38.

- **1416–1417, Girona**  
Record of the opinions of the *junta* of architects called together by Dalmau de Mur  
Parchment document  
Girona, ACCG, *Consulta i aprovació de la continuació de la catedral de Girona amb una nau única*
- **1417, Girona**  
Episcopal acts recording pastoral visits for the years 1386, 1404 and 1417  
Paper manuscript comprised of three sections corresponding to the year of visit:  
    1386 manuscript, 63 folios  
    1404 manuscript, 106 folios  
    1417 manuscript, 61 folios  
Girona, ADG, MS 145<sup>831</sup>
- **1419 August 6, Girona**  
Notary: Antoni Mitjà  
Curia and Vicar-General documents records the naming of new officials by Dalmau de Mur, Archbishop of Tarragona  
Paper manuscript, folio 147v  
Girona, ADG, MS D-182<sup>832</sup>
- **1419 November 24, Girona**  
Notary: Antoni Mitjà  
Curia and Vicar-General documents records receipt signed by Dalmau de Mur, Archbishop of Tarragona, acknowledging payment of 89 *lliures*  
Paper manuscript, folio 164v  
Girona, ADG, MS D-182<sup>833</sup>
- **1420 June 20, Girona**  
Notary: Antoni Mitjà  
Curia and Vicar-General documents records receipt signed by Joan Gabriel Pavía, Landlord of the Diocese, acknowledging payment of 1,400 *lliures* from the office of the diocese, of which 442 *lliures* pertain to the Archbishop Dalmau de Mur  
Paper manuscript, folio 199  
Girona, ADG, MS D-182<sup>834</sup>

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<sup>831</sup> The documents that record the parochial visits made by the Bishop of Girona, MS 15 (1401–1402) and MS 16 (1420), skip the years 1415–1419, when Dalmau de Mur served as bishop.

<sup>832</sup> Referred to as number 29 (7), which records years 1417–1421, see Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà, *Arxiu Diocesà de Girona: guia-inventari* (Girona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998), 38.

<sup>833</sup> Referred to as number 29 (7), which records years 1417–1421, see Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà, *Arxiu Diocesà de Girona: guia-inventari* (Girona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998), 38.

<sup>834</sup> Referred to as number 29 (7), which records years 1417–1421, see Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà, *Arxiu Diocesà de Girona: guia-inventari* (Girona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998), 38.

- **1423, Peníscola**  
Inventory of the books owned by antiPope Benedict XIII  
Paper manuscript, 130 folios, folio 8  
Barcelona, BCAH, MS 233
  
- **1424 April 19, Valencia**  
Notary: Joan Eximeno  
Marriage contract between Hug Pere de Mur<sup>835</sup> and Blanca Maça de Liçana  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 11919 9-II-1
  
- **1424 April 19, Valencia (1443 copy)**  
Notary: Joan Eximeno  
Marriage contract between Hug Pere de Mur and Blanca Maça de Liçana  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH., inv. no. 11983 9-VII-1
  
- **1424 April 19, Valencia (1448, Barcelona)**  
Notary: Joan Eiximén (1448 copy sealed by the notary Antoni Miquel)  
Marriage contract between Hug Pere de Mur and Blanca Maça de Liçana  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 15048 Perg. VI
  
- **1424 April 19, Valenica (1449 copy)**  
Notary: Joan Eximeno  
Marriage contract between Hug Pere de Mur and Blanca Maça de Liçana  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 11880 9-II-1
  
- **1424 April 19, Valencia (1449, Santa Coloma de Queralt)**  
Notary: Joan Eiximén (copy sealed by the notary Bernat Giner)  
Marriage contract between Hug Pere de Mur and Blanca Maça de Liçana  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 15017 Perg. VI
  
- **1424 April 19, Valencia (1504 copy)**  
Notary: Joan Eiximén  
Marriage contract between Hug Pere de Mur and Blanca Maça de Liçana  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 15002 Perg. VI

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<sup>835</sup> Hug Pere de Mur (d. after 1430), is the brother of Dalmau de Mur, Archbishop of Zaragoza.



- **1424 April 19, Valencia**  
Notary: Joan Eximeno  
Marriage contract between Hug Pere de Mur and Blanca Maça de Liçana with acknowledgement of payment and increase to the nuptial donation  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 11918 9-II-1
- **1424 November 29, Valencia (1454 copy)**  
Notary: Joan Eximeno  
Marriage contract between Hug Pere de Mur and Blanca Maça de Liçana  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 11881 9-II-1
- **1424 November 29 (1443 copy)**  
Notary: Joan Eximeno  
Marriage contract between Hug Pere de Mur and Blanca Maça de Liçana  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 11913 9-II-1
- **1427–1430, Tarragona**  
Capitular registers listing benefices, indulgences and licenses  
Comprises 2 paper manuscripts:  
    Manuscript 17a, 22 folios  
    Manuscript 17b, 167 folios  
Tarragona, ADCT, MS 17a–b
- **1429 June 21, near Castile (1435 September 20, copy)**  
Protonotary of the Royal Chancellery: Ramon Batlle  
Royal and Public notary of Barcelona: Berenguer de Clerico  
Testament of Hug de Mur, Baron of Albi, given in the royal encampment of Alfonso V, King of Aragón, while on the border of Castile, by which he declared as primary heir the child that his wife bears in her womb, on condition that it is male; if not, the heir was to be the male descendent of his daughter, Brianda  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 17853 Perg. XIX
- **1430 June 17, Espluga Calba<sup>836</sup>**  
Notary: Francesc Pallers  
Testament and codicils of Hug de Mur, Baron of Albi  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 12851 9-VI-2

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<sup>836</sup> Located in the county of Garrigues in the diocese of Lleida.

- **1446 February 10, Lleida**  
Notary: Pere Terroç  
Testimony by Brianda Pere, daughter of Hug and Blanca de Mur, and her sister Isabel, 20 and 17 years old [respectively], appear before the chief magistrate of Lleida<sup>837</sup>  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 15919 9-IV-4
- **1449–1462, Girona**  
Capitular acts listing donations  
Paper manuscript  
Girona, ACCG, *Actes Capitulars*, N° 3
- **1454 March 4, Zaragoza (1588 March, Barcelona, copy)**  
Notary: Juan de Pitielles (Michael Joanes Amat copiest)  
Testament of Dalmau de Mur, Archbishop of Zaragoza  
Paper manuscript, originally 1928 folios (first 169 are missing), folios 431–459v  
Zaragoza, ADZP, MS 164<sup>838</sup>
- **1456 October 11, Girona**  
Notary: P. Begudà  
Curia and Vicar-General documents recording receipt signed by the Cathedral Chapter acknowledging receipt of the bible that bears the coat of arms of the King of France, given by Dalmau de Mur, Archbishop of Zaragoza  
Paper manuscript, 222 folios, folio 58  
Girona, ADG, MS D-196<sup>839</sup>
- **1457 February 16, Girona**  
Treasury Deposits from 1355–1504 recording deposit of 361 *escuts d'or*, funds provided by Dalmau de Mur, Archbishop of Zaragoza  
Paper manuscript, 240 folios, folio 108  
Girona, ADG, MS U-324<sup>840</sup>

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<sup>837</sup> Must be before both girls later marry (dates unknown): Brianda to Nicolau Carròs d'Arborea and Isabel to Pere d'Urrea.

<sup>838</sup> I am grateful to Paloma del Valle (Barcelona, ADPZ) for sending me digital images of this document.

<sup>839</sup> Referred to as number 43 (20), which records years 1456–1459, see Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà, *Arxiu Diocesà de Girona: guia-inventari* (Girona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998), 38.

<sup>840</sup> Referred to as number 1, which records years 1355–1504, see Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà, *Arxiu Diocesà de Girona: guia-inventari* (Girona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998), 80.

- **1458 June 26, Girona**  
Treasury Deposits from 1355–1504 recording withdrawal of 240 *escuts d'or* provided by Dalmau de Mur, Archbishop of Zaragoza, as a loan to the provincial parliament to be celebrated in Tarragona; 1460 March 19, of which 60 *escuts d'or* were repaid  
Paper manuscript, 240 folios, folio 113  
Girona, ADG, MS U-324<sup>841</sup>
- **1459 May 25, Girona**  
Treasury Deposits from 1355–1504 recording withdrawal of 100 *escuts d'or* provided by Dalmau de Mur, Archbishop of Zaragoza, to be given to Bernat Prim, Cathedral worker  
Paper manuscript, 240 folios, folio 117v  
Girona, ADG, MS U-324<sup>842</sup>
- **1459 November 2, Girona**  
Treasury Deposits from 1355–1504 recording withdrawal of 21 *escuts d'or* provided by Dalmau de Mur, Archbishop of Zaragoza, for the construction work of the Cathedral  
Paper manuscript, 240 folios, folio 118  
Girona, ADG, MS U-324<sup>843</sup>
- **1460 November 14, Girona**  
Treasury Deposits from 1355–1504 recording deposit of 139 *lliures* by Gaufred Serrahí in repayment for the money that Jordà d'Avinyó had removed from funds provided by Dalmau de Mur, Archbishop of Zaragoza  
Paper manuscript, 240 folios, folio 122  
Girona, ADG, MS U-324<sup>844</sup>
- **1474, Barcelona**  
Notary: Francesc Estanyol, secretary to the Queen of Sicily  
Royal absolution in favor of Hug de Mur and Isabel d'Urrea i de Mur by Queen Juana, Infanta of Aragón,<sup>845</sup> that also includes a signed voucher stating that Isabel, as an executrix of Queen Juana, is to receive pieces of silver and books  
Parchment document with attached (covered) seal  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 10214 10-III-2

<sup>841</sup> Referred to as number 1, which records years 1355–1504, see Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà, *Arxiu Diocesà de Girona: guia-inventari* (Girona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998), 80.

<sup>842</sup> Referred to as number 1, which records years 1355–1504, see Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà, *Arxiu Diocesà de Girona: guia-inventari* (Girona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998), 80.

<sup>843</sup> Referred to as number 1, which records years 1355–1504, see Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà, *Arxiu Diocesà de Girona: guia-inventari* (Girona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998), 80.

<sup>844</sup> Referred to as number 1, which records years 1355–1504 see Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà, *Arxiu Diocesà de Girona: guia-inventari* (Girona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998), 80.

<sup>845</sup> Juana de Aragón, Infanta of the Kingdom of Aragón (1454–1517) married in 1476 Fernando I, King of Naples (r.1458–1494).

- **1474 June 24**  
Papal indulgence and absolution in favor of Hug de Mur and Isabel d'Urrea i de Mur for having donated 5 *florins* for the campaign against the Turks  
Parchment document with attached seal  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 10213 10-III-2
- **1487 February 15, Cagliari, Sardinia (1488 copy)**  
Notary: Joan Boi  
Testament of Brianda Carròs i de Mur, wife of Nicolau Carròs d'Arborea, with additional clause  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 12661 9-III-1
- **1500 August 8, Barcelona**  
Notary: Lluís Carles Mir  
Power of attorney from Estefanía Carròs d'Arborea i Mur to Jaume del Bosch and Ramon de Torrelles, both knights of the Order of Montesa, to recover a certain quantity of money from the Governor of Valencia  
Parchment document  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 15784 1-IV-2
- **1512 October 10**  
Lawsuit of Estefanía Carròs d'Arborea i Mur  
Paper manuscript, 193 folios  
Barcelona, BCAH, inv. no. 7205 Arm. 79 núm. 75
- **1521, Zaragoza**  
Inventory of the sacristy of Zaragoza Cathedral  
Paper manuscript, 274 folios, folios 110–118  
Zaragoza, ASCZ, *Inventario de 1521*<sup>846</sup>
- **No date, late 16<sup>th</sup> century (?), Girona**  
*Calçada* records capitular business transactions  
Paper manuscript with parchment cover  
Girona, ACCG, MS. 66
- **No date, late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Girona**  
*Episcopologi seri del Prebendats* lists the Bishops of Girona  
Paper manuscript, folio 35  
Girona, ACCG, MS. 105

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<sup>846</sup> I am grateful to Antero Hombría Tortajada, Déan del Cabildo de la Seo de San Salvador, for allowing me to photograph relevant portions of this inventory.

- **1910–1912, Girona**

Capitular resolutions recording Cathedral's collection that were donated or sold

Paper manuscript

Girona, ACCG, *Actes Capitulars, 1910–1912*

## **B.2 EXCERPT FROM THE INVENTORY OF THE TAPESTRIES IN THE SACRISTY OF ZARAGOZA CATHEDRAL<sup>847</sup>**

### **Folios 110–118**

#### ***Paños de Raz que fueron de la secución del Rdo. Padre y S. Arçobispo Don Dalmao<sup>848</sup>***

Item los antedichos visitadores en la sacristia en el año 1513 los paños infrascriptos:

- Un paño de raz del devallament de la cruz y como fué posado nuestro redemptor en el monument y resuscitó y apareció a la Madalena
- Item otro paño de raz del sobredito Señor obrado en oro y seda es la adoración de los tres reyes tiene atques como el susodicho
- Item otro paño de raz con imagenes de Sanct Valer, Sanct Vicent, Sanct Llorent y otras ymagines. Franga verde y blanca de oro
- Item otro paño de raz de la natividad con los pastores y bestiar y las armas del Arçobispo Don Dalmao colgadas en el cuello de dos ciervos uno a cada parte
- Item otro paño de raz en el qual esta figurado como llevaban a crucificar a nuestro Redemptor e cómo fue crucificado entre dos ladrones y el devallament de la cruz

A xxvi de janero año 1521 se hallaron en ser los dichos cinco paños de raz como arriba esta escripto

#### ***Paños grandes de raz del susodicho señor [Don Dalmao]***

- Primerament dos drapos de raz figurados grandes istoriados del misterio de la passion<sup>849</sup>

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<sup>847</sup> The inventory does not have a shelf number; it is simply referred to as the *Inventario de 1521*. For a complete transcription, see Eduardo Torra de Arana, Antero Hombría Tortajada and Tomás Domingo Pérez, *Los tapices de la Seo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1985), 324–325.

<sup>848</sup> Dalmau de Mur, Archbishop of Zaragoza (r.1431–1456).

- Item otro paño de raz menor en el qual es el crucifixo con algunas ymages de Sancta Chaterina y Sanct Jayme el qual dió el Condestable de Castilla al sobredicho señor

Allamos en ser estos dos paños de raz como están en estos dos teste descriptos al primero febrero 1521

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<sup>849</sup> These are the two tapestries of the *Passion* that are the focus of this dissertation.

## APPENDIX C

### CATALOG OF WORKS OF ART COMMISSIONED AND ACQUIRED BY DALMAU DE MUR

This appendix presents the works of art commissioned and acquired by Dalmau de Mur. They are listed alphabetically by the city in which they are currently located. An asterisk on the first line identifies the works of art that Dalmau de Mur commissioned. The provenance of the objects is not cited here; see Chapter III for a full description of each work of art. At the end of the list are the works of art that are now lost. They include manuscripts, panel paintings and metalwork. Liturgical vestments are not listed, since they are numerous. Each entry follows the format outlined below; information is provided when applicable and when known:

**City, Place, inventory/manuscript/shelf number** (\*=commissioned by Dalmau de Mur)  
Title (author, if applicable)  
Region, date of work  
Artist type: name of artist(s)  
Object type, material, folios and/or dimensions (provided when known)  
Notes  
Bibliography

- **Barcelona, BCAAH, MS 657\***  
*De institutis cenobiorum* and *Collationes* by John Cassian  
 Catalonia, copied in 1432–1433  
 Scribe and possibly illuminator: Joan Font  
 Illuminated manuscript, parchment, 234 folios  
 Coat of arms of Dalmau de Mur, folio 1, along with historiated initials with portraits of Dalmau de Mur and a cleric (perhaps John Cassian or Joan Font)  
 Colophons on folios 50 and 217v  
 Bibliography: Francisco de Bofarull y Sans, *Bibliología: los códices, diplomas é impresos en la Exposición Universal de Barcelona de 1888* (Barcelona: Busquets y Vidal, 1890), 72–73; Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas: notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Blass, 1933), vol. 1, 46, no. 63; Pere Bohigas i Balaguer, “Les manuscrits à miniatures de la Biblioteca Central de Barcelone (ancienne Bibliothèque de Catalunya),” *Librarium* 7, no. 1 (April 1964): 39–58 at 46; Pere Bohigas i Balaguer, *La Ilustración y la decoración del libro manuscrito en Cataluña*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Asociación de bibliófilos de Barcelona, 1965–1967), vol. 1, 167; *Cort i mecenatge: la literatura, l’art, la música i el teatre a la Baixa Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1993), 18.
- **Barcelona, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, inv. no. MNAC/MAC 24186\***  
 Carved roundel with the bust of God the Father, a fragment from the main altarpiece at Zaragoza Cathedral  
 Aragón, 1434–1439  
 Sculptor: Pere Joan  
 Sculpted altarpiece, alabaster  
 Bibliography: *Prefiguración del Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Olimpíada Cultural/Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya/ Lunweg, 1992), 274–276, no. 74; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, Rafael Conde y Delgado de Molina and Javier Delgado Echeverría, *El retablo Mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Librería General; Gobierno de Aragón Departamento de Cultura y Turismo, 2000); María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “El retablo mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza (1434–1487),” in *Retablos esculpidos en Aragón: Del Gótico al Barroco*, ed. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2002), 107–144.
- **El Escorial, Bible MS. a.I.5.**  
*Bible of Dalmau de Mur*  
 Bologna, ca.1295–1300  
 Illuminator: Master of the Girona Bible or follower  
 Illuminated manuscript, parchment, 507 folios  
 Coat of arms of Dalmau de Mur, folio 2.  
 Bibliography: Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas: notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Blass, 1933), vol. 2, 6, no. 1248; M<sup>a</sup> de la Concepción Martínez Murillo, “Estudio iconográfico y estilístico de las ‘biblias boloñesas’ en España (Reino de Castilla),” 3 vols. (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1991). *Medieval Catalonia* (Barcelona: Lunweg/Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992) 286–287, no. 3.30; Joaquín Yarza Luaces,



“Clientes y promotores en el marco del gótico catalán,” in *Cathalonia: arte gótico en los siglos XIV–XV*, ed. Teresa Guasch (Barcelona: Fundación la Caixa/Caja de Ahorros y Pensiones de Barcelona/Ministerio de Educación y Cultura/Museu Nacional d’art de Catalunya, 1997): 47–55 at 51; Massimo Medica and Stefano Tumidei, ed., *Duecento: Forme i colori del medioevo Bologna* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2000), 314–319, no. 100.

- **Girona, Cathedral\***

Central nave expansion

Catalonia, begun 1417

Master stonemasons: Antoni Canet and Guillem Bofill; assistant architects: Pascasi Xulbe, Joan Xulbe and Pere Johan Vallfogona

Single nave with four bays, stone, 23 meters wide, 55 meters long, 34 meters high

Bibliography: Girona, ACCG, no inventory number, *Consulta i aprovació de la continuació de la catedral de Girona amb una nau única* (1416–1417); Elies Serra i Ráfols, “La nau de la Seu de Girona,” in *Miscel·lània Puig i Cadafalch: recull d’estudis d’arqueologia, d’història de l’art i d’història oferts a Josep Puig i Cadafalch per la Societat Catalana d’Estudis Històrics Puig i Cadafalch* (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1951), 188–204; John Hooper Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957), 44–45; George E. Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, ed. Georgiana Goddard King, 2 vols. (1914; New York: Arno Press, 1980), vol. 2, 319–332; Theresa G. Frisch, *Gothic Art 1140–c.1450: Sources and Documents* (Toronto/Cambridge, Mass.: University of Toronto Press/Medieval Academy of America, 1987), 148–157; Núria de Dalmaes and Antoni Josep i Pitarch, *Història de l’art català*, 9 vols., 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1989–1996), vol. 3, 36–38; Joaquim Nadal i Farreras, ed., *La catedral de Girona: una interpretació* (Barcelona/Madrid: Lunberg, 2002), 24–25; Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 1, 302–324; Pere Freixas Camps, “La catedral de Girona,” in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: arquitectura*, ed. Antoni Pladevall i Font, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2002–2003), vol. 2, 288–295; Marc Sureda i Jubany, *Girona Cathedral* (Madrid: Ediciones Aldeasa, 2005), 12; Stephen Brindle, “Girona, §1: Cathedral,” *Grove Art Online* (26 October 2006).

- **Girona, ACCG, MS 10**

*Girona Bible* (also known as the *Gerona Bible* and the *Bible of Charles V*)

Bologna, ca.1281–1289

Illuminator: Master of the Girona Bible

Illuminated manuscript, parchment, 583 folios

Cover has gold clasps decorated with the arms of King Charles V of France

Bibliography: Antolín Merino and José de la Canal, *España Sagrada*, 51 vols. (Madrid: M. F. Rodriguez, 1747–1879), vol. 43 (1819), 76; Augusto Brutails, “Bible de Charles V et autres manuscrits du Chapitre de Gerone,” *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* 47 (1886): 637–645; Augusto Brutails, “Biblia de Carlos V y otros manuscritos del Cabildo de Girona,” *Revista de Gerona* 11 (1887): 112–120; Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, 1803–1852), vol. 16 (1851), 108–110; Anneliese Maier, “Die ‘Bibliotheca Minor’ Benedikts XIII (Petrus de Luna),” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 3 (1965): 139–191 at 156; Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie*

de Charles V, roi de France: 1337–1380, 2 vols (1907; Amsterdam: G. Th. van Heusden, 1967), vol. 1, 142–143; Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas: notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Blass, 1933), vol. 1, 140–143, no. 252; Giorgio Castelfranco, “Contributi alla storia della miniatura bolognese del Duecento,” *Bologna* 7 (1935): 11–22; Luis Batlle y Prats, *La biblioteca de la Catedral de Gerona: desde su origen hasta la imprenta* (Gerona: Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses, 1947), 20–21, 40, 68; Francesco Fillippini and Guido Zucchini, *Miniatori e pittori a Bologna: documenti dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1947), 26; Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (London/New York: Phaidon, 1967), vol. 1, 301, 310, vol. 2, fig. 837; François Avril and Jean Lafavrie, *La librairie de Charles V* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1968), 91, no. 164; Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale: étude sur la formation de ce dépôt, comprenant les éléments d’une histoire de la calligraphie, de la miniature, de la reliure et du commerce des livres à Paris avant l’invention de l’imprimerie*. 4 vols. (1868–1881; New York: B. Franklin, 1973), vol. 3, 35, 43, 336; Daniel Williman, *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques au temps de la papauté d’Avignon*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1980); vol. 1, 73, no. 394.7, part B; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Un gran mecenas en Aragón: D. Dalmacio de Mur y Cervellón (1431–1456),” *Seminario de Arte Aragoneses* 33 (1981): 149–159 at 152; Michael Jacoff, “The Bible of Charles V and Related Works: Bologna, Byzantium and the West in the Late Thirteenth Century,” in *Il Medio Oriente e l’Occidente nell’arte del XIII secolo*, ed. Hand Belting (Bologna: CLUEB, 1982): 163–171; Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscola pendant le grand schisme d’Occident et sa dispersion: inventaires et concordances*, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991), vol. 2, xii–xiii, xvii, 12–15, 96–97; *Medieval Catalonia*, (Barcelona: Lunweg/Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992), 286–287, no. 3.30, 326–327, no. 3.\*; Jenny Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories: The Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389–1435)* (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1993), 94, pl. LXIVa; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “La Bibbia di Carlo V nella Cattedrale di Gerona,” in *Il Gotico europeo in Italia*, ed. Valentino Pace and Martina Bagnoli (Naples: Electa, 1994): 415–427; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “Clientes y promotores en el marco del gótico catalán,” in *Catalonia: arte gótico en los siglos XIV–XV*, ed. Teresa Guasch (Barcelona: Fundación la Caixa/Caja de Ahorros y Pensiones de Barcelona/Ministerio de Educación y Cultura/Museu Nacional d’art de Catalunya, 1997): 47–55 at 51; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “La récupération ‘dell’antico’ dans la Bible de Charles V,” in *Memory and Oblivion*, ed. Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999): 709–718; Massimo Medica and Stefano Tumidei, ed., *Duecento: Forme i colori del medioevo Bologna* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2000), 314–319, no. 100; Joaquim Nadal i Farreras, ed., *La catedral de Girona* (Barcelona/Madrid: Lunweg, 2002), 52–53; Massimo Medica, “La Bibbia di Gerona e il suo committente: una proposta per il Cardinale Jean Cholet,” *Arte medievale* 2, no. 2 (2003): 65–85.

- **New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, inv. no. 09.146, 14.101–1,2, 16.79\***  
 Altarpiece from the chapel in Archbishop's Palace, Zaragoza  
 Aragón, 1456–1459  
 Sculptor: Francesc Gomar  
 Caved altarpiece, alabaster, 271.8 x 464.8 cm  
 For the panel paintings that belong to this object, see below, Zaragoza, Archbishop's Palace  
 Bibliography: R. Steven Janke, "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," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83; Peter Barnet and Nancy Wu, *The Cloisters: Medieval Art and Architecture* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2005), 131–132, no. 93.
- **Tarragona, Cathedral\***  
 Main altarpiece  
 Catalonia, 1426–ca.1433  
 Sculptor: Pere Joan  
 Carved altarpiece  
 Bibliography: Agustí Duran i Sanpere, *Els Retaules de pedra*, 2 vols. (Barcelona Editorial Alpha, 1932–1934), nos. 25–80; Núria de Dalmaes and Antoni Josep i Pitarch, *Història de l'art català*, 9 vols., 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1989–1996), vol. 3, 186, 198–200; Maria Rosa Manote Clivilles, "L'Escultura gòtica catalana de la primera meitat del segle XV a la Corona d'Aragó: Pere Joan i Guillem Sagrera," (PhD diss., Universitat de Barcelona, 1994); Maria Rosa Manote Clivilles, "El Retaule major de la catedral de Tarragona, obra de l'escultor Pere Joan," *Revista de Cultura* (2000): 61–88.
- **Valderrobres, Castle\***  
 Construction of second story of the castle  
 Aragón, 1435–1456  
 Architects and/or sculptors: unknown; unidentified masons' marks  
 Second story of castle, stone  
 Coat of arms of Dalmau de Mur can still be seen on corbel of second story room known as the "olivera"  
 Bibliography: Manuel Siurana Roglán, *Guía interpretiva de la Iglesia y del Castillo de Valderrobres* (Alcañiz: Centro de Estudios Bajoaragoneses, 2003); Carmelo López Esteruelas and Manuel Siurana Roglán, *Valderrobres: paso a paso* (Valderrobres: Ayuntamiento de Valderrobres, 2005).
- **Valencia, ACCV, MS 297\***  
*Policraticus* by John of Salisbury  
 Catalonia, copied in 1424  
 Copied in 1424  
 Scribe and possibly illuminator: Joan Font  
 Illuminated manuscript, parchment, 157 folios  
 Coat of arms of Dalmau de Mur, folio 1  
 Colphon folio 156

Bibliography: Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas: notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Blass, 1933), vol. 2, 241, no. 1925; Elías Olmos Canalda, *Catálogo de los códices de la Catedral de Valencia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Valencia/Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas/Instituto Nicolás Antonio, 1943), 47–48, no. 50; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Un gran mecenas en Aragón: D. Dalmacio de Mur y Cervellón (1431–1456),” *Seminario de Arte Aragónes* 33 (1981): 149–159 at 153.

- **Zaragoza, Cathedral\***

Choir screen, lost

Aragón, 1453–1456

Sculptor: Francesc Gomar

Sculpture, wood

Bibliography: R. Steven Janke, “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,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83.

- **Zaragoza, Cathedral\***

Choir stalls

Aragón, 1444–1453

Sculptors: Anthon Gomar and Francesc Gomar

Sculpture, wood

Bibliography: R. Steven Janke, “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,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83; Javier Delgado Echeverría, “‘Hortus conclusus,’ tierra prometida: La sillería gótica de la Seo de Zaragoza,” *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 82 (2000): 111–155.

- **Zaragoza, Cathedral\***

Main altarpiece

Aragón, 1434–1445 and 1457–1460

Sculptors: Pere Joan and Francesc Gomar

Sculpted altarpiece, alabaster and wood

Bibliography: María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, Rafael Conde y Delgado de Molina and Javier Delgado Echeverría, *El retablo Mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Librería General; Gobierno de Aragón Departamento de Cultura y Turismo, 2000); María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “El retablo mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza (1434–1487),” in *Retablos esculpidos en Aragón: Del Gótico al Barroco*, ed. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2002), 107–144.

- **Zaragoza, Cathedral, Museo de los tapices, no inventory number**

Set of two tapestries, *The Passion of Christ*

Franco-Flanders region, ca.1400–1410

Artists: unknown designers; anonymous weavers

Tapestry, wool, silk, silver and gold threads, 400 x 800 cm.

Bibliography: Émile Bertaux, “Les tapisseries flamandes de Saragosse,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 51 (1909): 219–239; Émile Bertaux, *Exposición retrospectiva de arte: album tapiceria* (Zaragoza: La Editorial, 1910): 137–138; Camilo Rodón y Font, *Los tapices de Zaragoza: los tapices de la “Historia del Rey”* (Barcelona: Edición de “el Fomento Industrial,” 1919), 2, 8, fig. 2; Hermann, Schmitz, *Bildteppiche: Geschichte der Gobelinwerkerei* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1922), 180, 190; Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1923), vol. 1, part 1, 75, 161, 244, 274, 275; vol. 1 part 2, 92; George Leland Hunter, *The Practical Book of Tapestries* (Philadelphia/London: J. B. Lippincott, 1925), 26, 45, 46, fig. IVe, IVea; Gaston Migeon, *Les arts du tissu*, rev. ed. (Paris: Renouard, 1929), 220, 221, fig. 219; Federico B. Torralba Soriano, *Los tapices de Zaragoza: piezas góticas de la colección del Cabildo* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1953): viii, ix, fig. 1–4; Roger-Armand Weigert, *La tapisserie française* (Paris: Larousse, 1956), 48–50; Jan-Karel Stepppe, “Vlaamse Wandtapijten in Spanje: Recente geburtenissen en publicaties,” *Artes textiles* 3 (1956): 27–66, at 27–28, 37–40, fig. 9–10; Paul Eeckhout, Jozef Duverger and Eric Duverger, *Tapisseries flamandes d’Espagne* (Lederberg/Ghent: Erasmus, 1959); Roger Adolf d’Hulst, *Tapisseries flamandes du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Brussels: Éditions L’Arcade, 1960), 33–40, no. 5; Dora Heinz, *Europäische Wandteppiche: ein Handbuch für Sammler und Liebhaber* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1963): 63–65, fig. 5; Helga Kreuter-Eggemann, *Das Skizzenbuch des “Jacques Daliwe”* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1964), 32; Roger Adolf d’Hulst, *Flemish Tapestries from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Frances J. Stillman (L’Éditions Arcade, 1967): 33–40, no. 5; Monica Stucky-Schürer, *Die Passionsteppiche von San Marco in Venedig: Ihr Verhältnis zur Bildwerkerei in Paris und Arras im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Bern: Stämpfli, 1972), 85–89; George Wingfield Digby and Wendy Hefford, *The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance* (London: H.M.S.O., 1980), 11–12, no. 1; Barbara Miodonska, “Haft gotycki ze scenami pasji z katedry Wawelskiej (tzw. Antependium z Rudawy),” *Folia Historiae Artium* 18 (1982): 43–104 at 66, 71, 102–104, fig. 32; Eduardo Torra de Arana, Antero Hombría Tortajada and Tomás Domingo Pérez, *Los tapices de la Seo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1985), 62–73, no. 1, 324; Charles Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris: 1300–1500*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1987), vol. 2, 60, 65, fig. 44; Pilar Bosqued Lacambra, *Flora y vegetación en los tapices de La Seo* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada de Aragón, 1989), 48–51; Eduardo Torra de Arana, “Sobre el Museo de Tapices de la catedral de La Seo de Zaragoza,” *Artigrama* 8–9 (1991): 143–158; Antero Hombría Tortajada, “Historia de la Pasión,” in *El espejo de nuestra historia: la diócesis de Zaragoza a través de los siglos*, ed. María del Mar Agudo Romeo (Zaragoza: Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1991), 495–496; Greet Ghyselen, “De Passietapijten van de Seo te Saragossa (ca.1400–1430): Een iconografisch en stilisch onderzoek,” (MA Thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1993); Greet Ghyselen, “The Passion Tapestries of the Saragossa Cathedral and Pre-Eyckian Realism,” in *Flanders in a European Perspective: Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad*, ed. Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon (Leuven: Peeters, 1995): 401–416, fig. 1–6; Fabienne Joubert, Amaury Lefébure and Pascal-François Bertrand, *Histoire de la tapisserie en Europe, du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995), 45–46, no. 8; Maurits Smeyers, “*Analecta Memlingiana: From Hemling to Memling – From Panoramic View to Compartmented Representation*,” in *Memling Studies*, ed. Hélène Verougstraete, Roger Van Schoute, Maurits Smeyers and Anne Dubois (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1997): 171–194 at 177, 179, fig. 2; Ricardo Centellas, *Los*

*tapices de la Seo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada de Aragón, 1998), 89–94.

- **Zaragoza, Museo de Zaragoza, no inventory number\***  
Panel painting, *Virgen del arzobispo Mur* (or, *María, reina de los cielos*)  
Aragón, ca.1437–1439  
Painter: Blasco de Grañén  
Panel painting, wood, 233 x 143 cm.  
Originally formed the central portion of a larger altarpiece for the church of Santa María de Albalate in Teruel (diocese of Zaragoza)  
Bibliography: María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Los pintores del Arzobispo Don Dalmau de Mur (1431–1456) en tierras de Aragón,” *Aragonia sacra* 9 (1994): 43–54; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, *Arte gótico en el Museo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Dirección General de Acción Cultural, 2003), 42.
- **Zaragoza, Archbishop’s Palace, no inventory numbers\***  
Two sets of panel paintings (1) Saint Martin of Tours and Santa Thecla and (2) Saint Augustine and Saint Lawrence from the chapel in Archbishop’s Palace, Zaragoza  
Aragón, 1459  
Painter: Tomás Giner  
For the altarpiece to which this object belongs, see above, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection  
Bibliography: R. Steven Janke, “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,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83.
- **Zaragoza, Zaragoza Cathedral, Sacristy, no inventory number\***  
Archbishop’s Crosier  
Aragón, 1444–1456  
Sculptor: attributed to Francesc Gomar  
Crosier, wood with polychrome and gilded  
Bibliography: *Aragón, reino y corona* (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón/Ibercaja, 2000), 443, no. 269.

#### UNTRACED PANEL PAINTINGS

- **Panel Paintings**,\* four, one with the pietà with the image of the Virgin Mary, decorated with pearls and precious stones  
Bequeathed to Monastery of Santa Fe (diocese of Zaragoza)  
Bibliography: Listed in Dalmau de Mur’s testament: Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 442v.

#### UNTRACED MANUSCRIPTS

- **Antiquitates Judaicae** by Flavius Josephus  
Illuminated (?) manuscript  
Dalmau de Mur purchased this manuscript at the 1423 sale in Valencia of Anti-pope Benedict XIII

Bibliography: Josep Serrano i Calderó and Josep Perarnau i Espelt, ed., “Darrer inventari de la biblioteca papal de Peníscola (1423),” *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 6 (1987): 49–183 at 133; Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñiscola pendant le grand schisme d’Occident et sa dispersion: inventaires et concordances*, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991), vol. 1, 12–15, 92–94, 96–97, 315, 331.

- **Breviary**  
Illuminated (?) manuscript  
Bequeathed to Domingo Betrián, Dalmau de Mur’s chamberlain  
Bibliography: Listed in Dalmau de Mur’s testament: Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 451.
- **Lo Cartoixà\***  
Illuminated (?) manuscript, 2 volumes  
Bibliography: Listed in Dalmau de Mur’s testament: Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 443.
- **Diurnal**  
Illuminated (?) manuscript  
Bequeathed to Domingo Betrián, Dalmau de Mur’s chamberlain  
Bibliography: Listed in Dalmau de Mur’s testament: Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 451.
- **Pontifical\*(small)**  
Illuminated (?) manuscript  
Bibliography: Listed in Dalmau de Mur’s testament: Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 442.
- **Pontifical\* (large)**  
Illuminated (?) manuscript  
Bibliography: Listed in Dalmau de Mur’s testament: Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 442.

#### UNTRACED METALWORK

- **Candelabra,\*** four large brass that came from the archbishop’s residence  
Bequeathed to Zaragoza Cathedral  
Bibliography: Listed in Dalmau de Mur’s testament: Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 442.
- **Candelabra,\*** two silver-gilt that were made in Zaragoza  
Bequeathed to Zaragoza Cathedral  
Bibliography: Listed in Dalmau de Mur’s testament: Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 442.
- **Chalice,\*** large, gold decorated with the coat of arms of Dalmau de Mur and emblem in enamel  
Bequeathed to Zaragoza Cathedral  
Bibliography: Listed in Dalmau de Mur’s testament: Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folio 441v.

- ***Cross***,\* gold with a silver base that was decorated with pearls and precious stones  
Bequeathed to Santa María la Mayor in Zaragoza (today known as the Basílica del Pilar de Zaragoza)  
Bibliography: Listed in Dalmau de Mur's testament: Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folios 442–442v.
- ***Reliquary***,\* gold with a silver base that was decorated with pearls and gems, depicting the Nativity of Christ  
Bequeathed to Zaragoza Cathedral  
Bibliography: Listed in Dalmau de Mur's testament: Zaragoza, ADPZ, MS 164, folios 441–441v.



## APPENDIX D

### LIST OF DALMAU DE MUR'S ARTISTS

This appendix presents, in alphabetical order, the primary artists that worked for Dalmau de Mur. The works of art commissioned by Dalmau are in bold to distinguish them from other objects made by the artist. Each artist's entry follows the format outlined below; information is provided when applicable and when known:

**LAST NAME, First name (variants)**

Dates of Activity

Pertinent biographical information

Artist type [e.g., Architect, Painter, Scribe, etc.]

Region(s) where active

List of works of art, date of manufacture (those made for Dalmau de Mur are in bold)

Selected bibliography

## **BOFILL, Guillem (BOFFIY)**

Active 1416–1421

Architect

Catalonia

- **Girona Cathedral, participated in the *junta*, January 1416**
- **Cathedral of Girona, central nave and vaults, 1417–1421**

Bibliography: Christian Zervos, Ferran Soldevilla, Josep Gudiol, *L'art de la Catalogne de la seconde moitié du neuvième siècle a la fin du quinzième siècle* (Paris: Éditions “Cahiers d’art,” 1937): 30, plate CIX–173; Stephen Brindle, “Girona, §1: Cathedral,” *Grove Art Online* (26 October 2006).

## **CANET, Antoni (Antonio, Antonius)**

Active 1394–d. before April 1431

Architect, sculptor

Catalonia

- Barcelona Cathedral, sculpted part of the choir as an apprentice of Pere Çà Anglada, 1394
- Palma de Mallorca Cathedral, sculpted the “Mirador” portal, 1397
- Barcelona Cathedral, sculpted portal of former chapter house (now Capella del Santíssim) in the cloister, 1405
- Barcelona Cathedral, sculpted foliage in the baptistry, 1405
- Santa Maria de Litera, contracted by the widow of the painter Pedro de Valldébriga, to sculpt statue for the altarpiece, 1406
- Urgell Cathedral, ca.1416
- Barcelona Cathedral, sculpted tomb of Ramon d’Escales, Bishop of Barcelona (r.1386–1398, d.1406), in the Capella de les Ànimes, 1409–1412
- **Girona Cathedral, participated in the *junta*, January 1416**
- **Cathedral of Girona, built the first two bays of the nave, 1417–1426**
- Santo Domingo, Girona, sculpted wooden tabernacle, 1423 (untraced)
- **Cathedral of Girona, sculpted *Virgin and Child* on the first vault boss, 1424**

Bibliography: José F. Ráfols, ed., *Diccionario biográfico de artistas de Cataluña desde la época romana hasta nuestros días* (Barcelona: Editorial Millá, 1951–1954), s.v., “Canet, Antoni;” Agustí Duran i Sanpere, “Antoni Canet, un gran escultor medieval,” in *Barcelona i la seva història*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, Curial 1972–1975), vol. 2, 52–56; Núria de Dalmaes and Antoni Josep i Pitarch, *Història de l’art català*, 9 vols., 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1989–1996), vol. 3, 190–193; *Spanish Artists from the Fourth to the Twentieth Century: A Critical Dictionary*, Frick Reference Library, 4 vols. (New York: G.K. Hall, 1993–1996), s.v., “Canet, Antoni,” with bibliography; Stephen Brindle, “Girona, §1: Cathedral,” *Grove Art Online* (26 October 2006), with bibliography; and Pere Freixas, “Canet, Antoni,” *Grove Art Online* (26 October 2006), with bibliography.

## FONT, Joan (Juan)

Active 1424–1433

Manuscript scribe and possibly illuminator

Catalonia

- **Copied *Policraticus*, 1424 (Valencia, ACCV, MS 297), signed colophon, folio 156**
- **Copied *De institutis coenobiorum* and the *Collationes*, 1432–1433, (Barcelona, BCAA, MS 657), signed colophon, folios 50 and 217v**

Bibliography: Francisco de Bofarull y Sans, *Bibliología: los códices, diplomas é impresos en la Exposición Universal de Barcelona de 1888* (Barcelona: Busquets y Vidal, 1890), 72–73; Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas: notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Blass, 1933), vol. 1, 46, no. 63, vol. 2, 241, no. 1925; Elías Olmos Canalda, *Catálogo de los códices de la Catedral de Valencia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Valencia/Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas/Instituto Nicolás Antonio, 1943), 47–48, no. 50; Pere Bohigas i Balaguer, “Les manuscrits à miniatures de la Biblioteca Central de Barcelone (ancienne Bibliothèque de Catalunya)” *Librarium* 7, no. 1 (April 1964): 39–58; Pere Bohigas i Balaguer, *La Ilustración y la decoración del libro manuscrito en Cataluña*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Asociación de bibliófilos de Barcelona, 1965–1967), vol. 1, 167; José F. Ráfols, ed., *Diccionario biográfico de artistas de Cataluña desde la época romana hasta nuestros días* (Barcelona: Editorial Millá, 1951–1954), s.v., “Font, Joan;” María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Un gran mecenas en Aragón: D. Dalmacio de Mur y Cervellón (1431–1456),” *Seminario de Arte Aragónes* 33 (1981): 149–159; *Cort i mecenatge: la literatura, l’art, la música i el teatre a la Baixa Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1993), 18; *Spanish Artists from the Fourth to the Twentieth Century: A Critical Dictionary*, Frick Reference Library, 4 vols. (New York: G.K. Hall, 1993–1996), s.v., “Font, Juan.”

## GINER, Tomás (Master of Arnoult, Master of the Arzobispo (Dalmau, Dolmáu) (de) Mur, Master of Mur, Master of the Prelado (de) Mur)

Active 1458–1480

Painter

Aragón

- Madrid, El Museo Nacional del Prado, panel painting of Saint Vincent, fragment from an altarpiece (original context unknown), ca.1450, inv. no. unknown
- **Zaragoza Cathedral, painted main altarpiece, 1458**
- **Zaragoza, Archbishop’s Palace, painted main altarpiece, 1459, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 09.146, 14.101-1,2, 16.79**
- Kingdom of Aragón, court painter of Fernando II el Católico, King of Aragón (r.1479–1516), 1473–ca.1480, it is possible that some commissions survive, but a study of them is beyond the scope of this list

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### **GOMAR, Anthon**

Active 1440–1453

Brother of Francesc Gomar (see below)

Sculptor

Catalonia, Aragón, Italy

- **Tarragona Cathedral, 1440–**
- **Lleida Cathedral, 1440–**
- **Zaragoza Cathedral, sculpted choir stalls, 1444–1453**
- Castelnuovo, Naples, sculpted choir stalls for chapel of Alfonso V, King of Aragón (r.1416–1458) and King of Naples (r.1442–1458), 1453, it is possible that other commissions survive, but a study of them is beyond the scope of this list

Bibliography: José F. Ráfols, ed., *Diccionario biográfico de artistas de Cataluña desde la época romana hasta nuestros días* (Barcelona: Editorial Millá, 1951–1954), s.v., “Abiell, Guillem;” R. Steven Janke, “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,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83; Antoni Pladevall i Font, ed., *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: pintura*, ed. 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2005–2007), vol. 2, 214; mentioned in María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Giner, Tomás,” *Grove Art Online* (26 October 2006).

### **GOMAR, Francesc (Francesco, Francí, Françi, Francisco)**

Active 1443–d. ca.1492/93

Brother of Anthon Gomar (see above)

Sculptor

Catalonia, Aragón

- Tarragona Cathedral, unspecified areas/objects, 1443
- **Zaragoza Cathedral, sculpted choir stalls, 1444–1453**
- **Zaragoza Cathedral, sculpted choir screen, 1453–1456**
- **Zaragoza, Archbishop’s Palace, sculpted altarpiece, ca.1456–1459, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 09.146, 14.101-1,2, 16.79**
- **Zaragoza Cathedral, sculpted main altarpiece, 1457–1460**
- Lleida Cathedral, unspecified areas/objects, 1490

Bibliography: José F. Ráfols, ed., *Diccionario biográfico de artistas de Cataluña desde la época romana hasta nuestros días* (Barcelona: Editorial Millá, 1951–1954), s.v., “Gomar, Francesc;” R. Steven Janke, “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,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984): 65–83; *Spanish Artists from the Fourth to the Twentieth Century: A Critical Dictionary*, Frick Reference Library, 4 vols. (New York:

G.K. Hall, 1993–1996), s.v., “Gomar, Francesc,” with bibliography; Antoni Pladevall i Font, ed., *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: pintura*, ed. 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2005–2007), vol. 2, 214; Peter Barnet and Nancy Wu, *The Cloisters: Medieval Art and Architecture* (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2005), 131–132, no. 93.

**GRAÑÉN, Blasco de (Master de Lanaja, Master of the Prelate of Don Dalmáu de Mur, Master of the Virgin of Don Dalmacio de Mur)**

Active 1422–1459

Painter

Aragón

- Zaragoza, private collection of Ibercaja (a Spanish bank), panel painting of *Virgin and Child*, ca.1435–1445
- **Zaragoza, Museo de Zaragoza, panel painting of *Virgen del arzobispo Mur (María, reina de los cielos)*, 1437–1439, no inventory number; panel painting originally formed the central portion of a larger altarpiece for the church of Santa María de Albalate in Teruel (located in the diocese of Zaragoza)**
- Church of San Salvador (Ejea de los Caballeros), Zaragoza, *Passion* altarpiece, 1438–1454
- Tarazona Cathedral, *Life of Christ* altarpiece, original location within the church is unknown to the current author, 1439

Bibliography: José Gudiol Ricart, *Ars Hispaniae*, 19 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1947–1966), vol. 9, *Pintura gòtica*, 175–176; *Spanish Artists from the Fourth to the Twentieth Century: A Critical Dictionary*, Frick Reference Library, 4 vols. (New York: G.K. Hall, 1993–1996), s.v., “Grañén, Blasco de” with bibliography; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Los pintores del Arzobispo Don Dalmau de Mur (1431–1456) en tierras de Aragón,” *Aragonia sacra* 9 (1994): 43–54; *Aragón, reino y corona* (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón/Ibercaja, 2000), 487–488, no. 329; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, *Blasco de Grañén: pintor de retablos, 1422–1459* (Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico,” 2004); Antoni Pladevall i Font, ed., *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: pintura*, ed. 3 vols. (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2005–2007), vol. 2, 214; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “Grañén, Blasco de,” *Grove Art Online* (26 October 2006), with bibliography.

**JOAN, Pere (JOHAN, JUAN, VALLFOGONA, VALOGONA, WALLFOGONA, Padre, Pedro, Pedro, Pere de)**

Active 1418–d. after 1458

Architect, sculptor

Catalonia, Aragón, Naples

- Barcelona, *Palau de Generalitat*, sculpted façade including roundel with Saint George, ca.1416–1418
- **Tarragona Cathedral, main altarpiece, 1426–1433**
- **Zaragoza Cathedral, main altarpiece, 1434–1439**
  - **Carved roundel with the bust of God the Father, now in Barcelona, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, inv. no. MNAC/MAC 24186**
- Tarazona Cathedral, sculpted the *Nuestra Señora de la Huerta*, part of the main altarpiece, 1437–1441

- Castelnuovo, Naples, worked for Alfonso V, King of Aragón (r.1416–1458) and King of Naples (r.1442–1458), 1445–1458, it is possible that some commissions survive, but a study of them is beyond the scope of this list

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#### **XULBE, JOAN de (EIXULBI, JULBE, XULBI, XULVI, Juan)**

Active 1416–1428

Son of Pascasi de Xulbe (see below)

Architect

Catalonia

- Tortosa Cathedral, unspecified areas/objects, 1416–1428
- **Girona Cathedral, participated in the junta, January 1416**
- **Girona Cathedral, central nave and vaults, 1416**

Bibliography: José F. Ráfols, ed., *Diccionario biográfico de artistas de Cataluña desde la época romana hasta nuestros días* (Barcelona: Editorial Millá, 1951–1954), s.v., “Xulbe, o Xulvi, Joan de;” *Spanish Artists from the Fourth to the Twentieth Century: A Critical Dictionary*, Frick Reference Library, 4 vols. (New York: G.K. Hall, 1993–1996), s.v., “Xulbe, Joan,” with bibliography.

**XULBE, Pascasi de (EIXULBI, JULBE, XULBI, XULVI, Pascasio, Pascual)**

Active 1381–1441

Son of Joan de Xulbe (see above)

Architect

Catalonia

- Tortosa Cathedral, unspecified areas/objects, 1381–1441
- **Girona Cathedral, participated in the *junta*, January 1416**
- **Girona Cathedral, central nave and vaults, 1416**

Bibliography: José F. Ráfols, ed., *Diccionario biográfico de artistas de Cataluña desde la época romana hasta nuestros días* (Barcelona: Editorial Millá, 1951–1954), s.v., “Xulbe, o Xulvi, Pascasi de;” *Spanish Artists from the Fourth to the Twentieth Century: A Critical Dictionary*, Frick Reference Library, 4 vols. (New York: G.K. Hall, 1993–1996), s.v., “Xulbe, Pascasi,” with bibliography.

## APPENDIX E

### COSTUMES, HEADGEAR AND HAIRSTYLES:

#### DESCRIPTIONS AND HISTORICAL DETAILS OF THE ZARAGOZA *PASSION*

#### TAPESTRIES

This appendix introduces some of the costumes, headgear and hairstyles observed in the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries.<sup>850</sup> The primary objective is to broadly identify the most common costumes depicted in the tapestries and provide descriptions and historical details; patterns and motifs are not described. Costume types are presented alphabetically.

The religious figures in the Zaragoza tapestries, including Christ, the twelve Apostles and the numerous Maries are all shown wearing conventional biblical costumes—typically a simple robe covered with a mantle. These figures also wear halos. By contrast, the figures that make up the cast of characters, such as the judges, soldiers, torturers and bystanders in the trial and

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<sup>850</sup> The most relevant bibliographic references for medieval costume history to the Zaragoza tapestries are the following: Victor Gay, *Glossaire archéologique du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Paris: August Picard: 1887–1928); Camille Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française depuis les temps mérovingiens jusqu'à la renaissance*, 3 vols. (Paris: August Picard, 1916–1932), vol. 3, *costumes*; Joan Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952); Michèle Beaulieu, *Le costume antique et medieval*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 109; Michèle Beaulieu and Jeanne Baylé, *Le costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à la mort de Charles de Téméraire, 1364–1477* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 62–63; François Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1967), 198; Margaret Scott, *Late Gothic Europe: 1400–1500* (London/Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1980).



execution of Christ are shown dressed in contemporary costumes that, taken together, can be dated from ca.1380 until ca.1410. The use of brocade fabrics, however, can be observed in both religious and secular costumes. The use of brocade fabrics can be identified in numerous manuscript examples, namely Charles VI's *Réponses à Charles VI et Lamentations* (Paris, ca. 1409, by the Boucicaut Master)<sup>851</sup> and Jean de Berry's *Très Riches Heures* (Bourges or Paris, ca.1411/12–1416, by the Limbourgs).<sup>852</sup> In tapestry, the three-panel set, *Courtly Scenes* (Paris, ca. 1400–1410)<sup>853</sup> depicts figures wearing richly brocaded robes and mantles, many of which are lined in ermine.

### **BOWL-STYLE HAIRCUT**

This look, known as the bowl (à l'écuelle), or pudding-bowl or pudding-basin, is a very short, cropped style that emerged around the 1400s and was popular until about 1465.<sup>854</sup> It can be identified in several figures in the first tapestry: figure in green standing under city gate (*Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*); figure holding torch, to the right of Caiaphas (*Christ before Caiaphas*); boy in green holding basin (*Christ before Pilate*) torturer in light-green (*The Flagellation*); figure in blue (*The Mocking of Christ*); figure in blue (*The Making the Cross*); figure in red (*The Making the Cross*).

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<sup>851</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23279.

<sup>852</sup> Chantilly, Musée de Condé, MS 65, folios 143 and 146v. For bibliography, see note 493.

<sup>853</sup> Paris, Musée des Arts décoratifs, inv. no. PE 601, 603, 604. Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, ed. *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris: Fayard/Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 225–227, no. 135.

<sup>854</sup> Beaulieu dates the haircut's popularity beginning at 1410; while Boucher states that it appears at the beginning of the fifteenth century. He goes on to mention that the hairstyle was possibly the result of the popularity of the high collar of the *houppelande* (discussed below). Michèle Beaulieu, *Le costume antique et médiéval*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 109; Michèle Beaulieu and Jeanne Baylé, *Le costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à la mort de Charles de Téméraire, 1364–1477* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 62–63; François Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1967), 198.

## **CHAPERON**

The *chaperon* is a short cape that terminates into a hood or hat. The opening (*visagière*) of the *chaperon* was placed the around the crown of the head, while the fabric of the cape, *guleron* (or *patte*), would be wrapped about the top of the head and the tail of the hood, called a *cornet* (or, *liripipe*) could be rolled, like a turban, or folded or swathed other ways to create a variety of styles.<sup>855</sup> The majority of the representations of *chaperons* in the Zaragoza *Passion* tapestries show the loosely arranged fabric of the *guleron* topped above the head, while the *cornet* hangs, or droops, to the side or the back. Three variations of the *chaperon* are seen in the tapestries: the kneeling man dressed in all red wears a *chaperon* as a hood (*The Mocking of Christ*); man in red costume with blue sleeves wears a large, red *chaperon* in a flamboyant style that appears to be decoratively gathered in folds surmounted by a heap of intricately piled fabric (*The Making the Cross*); witness on balcony wears blue costume and a blue *chaperon* that has been twisted like a turban<sup>856</sup> (*The Making the Cross*).

## **HOSE**

This style of underwear-pant system—called *à la martingalle*, *à loquet*, or *à pont-levis*—began surfacing around 1380.<sup>857</sup> The hose (*chausses*) were typically attached to a doublet (*pourpoint* or *gipon*)<sup>858</sup> with a system of strings that were tied or knotted through eyelets.

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<sup>855</sup> Michèle Beaulieu and Jeanne Baylé, *Le costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à la mort de Charles de Téméraire, 1364–1477* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 68–69; François Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1967), 198.

<sup>856</sup> The rolled turban-style *chaperon* was popular around 1408. François Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1967), 198.

<sup>857</sup> Michèle Beaulieu and Jeanne Baylé, *Le costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à la mort de Charles de Téméraire, 1364–1477* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 43.

<sup>858</sup> A *pourpoint* was fastened with buttons, while a *gipon* was tied up with lace. Michèle Beaulieu and Jeanne Baylé, *Le costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à la mort de Charles de Téméraire, 1364–1477* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 44.

Partied hose were common—those worn at the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth century that came from Flanders were black and white, but under Philippe le Bon, they had to be all black.<sup>859</sup> They are more like leggings or breeches than simply underwear (see below), since the hose attached to a doublet, there was the lack of covering of the front and back sections, thus there was the need to add a triangular patch of fabric (*braye*) to cover the exposed areas. Hose appear only twice in the Zaragoza tapestries and solely in the first panel: the tormentor to the right of Christ in the light-green tunic (*The Flagellation*) wears partied-hose (red and white) that attach with three sets of eyelets and ties. The other figure wears all red (*The Making the Cross*) wears red hose that are attached with two pairs of eyelets, the third set is untied, exposing his underwear beneath.<sup>860</sup> Both figures wear short tunics instead of the doublet, which is typically worn with hose. Their tunics are cinched at the waist and both have wide sleeves that are gathered at the wrist (closed sleeves). The tormentor's sleeves drape in a longer, looser fashion than the man who makes the cross whose sleeves, while still full and puffy, are defined by the lines and folds in his costume. These pipe-like pleats are found in *houppelandes* both long and short, (*haincelin*), or short mantles.

### **JAGGED EDGES**

Also called scalloped edges, cut work edges, dagged edges or dagging. Suit of armor of soldier to the right of Christ (*The Kiss of Judas*); the soldier to the right of Christ (*Christ Led through a Passageway*); the armor of the soldier standing behind Christ (*Christ before Herod*); the boy in green holding basin (*Christ before Pilate*); the figure in blue (*The Mocking of Christ*);

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<sup>859</sup> Michèle Beaulieu and Jeanne Baylé, *Le costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à la mort de Charles de Téméraire, 1364–1477* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 44.

<sup>860</sup> One of the problems with this system of ties and eyelets was the issue of tension that pulled on the ties at the back of the pants. It was therefore necessary to release this pressure by un-tying the cord from one or more of the eyelets.

the soldier at left, seen entering a doorway (*The Mocking of Christ*); torturer wearing blue (*The Mocking of Christ*).

### **POINTED-TOED *POULAINE* SHOE & SOLED HOSE**

The pointed-toed shoe and soled hose were referred to as *poulaine* shoes that originally came from Crackow. The shoes or hose consist of very long pointed toes. They were popular during time of King Charles V (r.1364-1380) and were introduced into France after first appearing in Italy around 1340. *Poulaine* shoes and hose remained popular until around 1460/70.

### **ROBES**

The *houppelande* was a robe, popular only from about 1360 until 1420/25, which was worn either long, ending at the ankle/heel or a little shorter falling to about the knees.<sup>861</sup> The style was cut so that the front was open (from top to bottom) and notably had very wide, sweeping sleeves. The sleeves, however, could be worn gathered at the wrists. A tall, high collar (*carcaille*) finished the look. The *houppelande* was sometimes decorated with jagged edges and often embroidered and/or lined with fur. A belt could be used to cinch the fabric at the waist, thereby creating pipe-like folds (*à plis gironées*).<sup>862</sup> There is even a record from 1416 that

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<sup>861</sup> Michèle Beaulieu dates it ca. 1360/70–1420 and François Boucher ca.1360–1425. Note that the use of the term in inventories and literature may be used longer than the style actually remains popular, or it may be mentioned but the style continues on in fashion for some time. Beaulieu often cites the first and last time a certain term is found in the inventories. Michèle Beaulieu, *Le costume antique et médiéval*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 102, 108; Michèle Beaulieu and Jeanne Baylé, *Le costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à la mort de Charles de Téméraire, 1364–1477* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 48–49; François Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1967), 195–198.

<sup>862</sup> François Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1967), 195.

describes a short *houppelande* covered in armor.<sup>863</sup> Short *houppelande* was called a *haincelin* and was popular until around 1425).

## UNDERPANTS

Only a few figures in the tapestries wear underpants (*braies*, or, *petits-draps*), different from hose (*chausses*), which are leggings (see above). According to chroniclers, underpants were worn “for cleanliness.”<sup>864</sup> They were typically made out of linen, but were sometime made out of silk.<sup>865</sup> They are seen in the Zaragoza tapestries only on the following figures: the good thief and the bad thief in the scenes of *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *The Crucifixion*, while Judas in the scene of *The Harrowing of Hell* is represented hanging from the rafters in his underwear alone. By contrast, the figures that Christ releases at the Gates of Hell are seen naked.

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<sup>863</sup> Michèle Beaulieu and Jeanne Baylé, *Le costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à la mort de Charles de Téméraire, 1364–1477* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 49.

<sup>864</sup> François Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1967), 195.

<sup>865</sup> Michèle Beaulieu and Jeanne Baylé, *Le costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à la mort de Charles de Téméraire, 1364–1477* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 42; François Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1967), 195.

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ACA	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón
ACCG	Arxiu Capitular de Catedral de Girona
ACCV	Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Valencia
ACSZ	Archivo Capitular de la Seo de Zaragoza
ADCT	Arxiu Diocesà de la Catedral de Tarragona
ADG	Arxiu Diocesà de Girona
ADZ	Archivo Diocesano de Zaragoza
ADPZ	Archivo Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza
AHPZ	Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Zaragoza
BCAH	Biblioteca de Catalunya Arxiu Històric

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inv. no. 7570 Arx. 785  
inv. no. 7619 Arx. 785  
inv. no. 7620 Arx. 789  
inv. no. 10213 10-III-2  
inv. no. 10214 10-III-2  
inv. no. 11880 9-II-1  
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**Zaragoza, ASCZ**

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