INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

73-24,601

JANKE, Richard Steven, 1942-
JEHAN LOME AND LATE GOTHIC SCULPTURE IN NAVARRE. (VOLUMES I AND II).

The University of Michigan, Ph.D., 1973
Fine Arts

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan

THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN MICROFILMED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED.

JEHAN LOME AND LATE GOTHIC SCULPTURE IN NAVARRE

Volume I

by
Richard Steven Janke

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History of Art)
in The University of Michigan
1973

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Emeritus Harold E. Wethey, Chairman
Associate Professor Ilene H. Forsyth
Professor Charles Gibson
Associate Professor Clifton Olds

In memory of my aunt

Helen C. Miller

PREFACE

Among the prominent European courts attuned to the cultural development of France during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, that of Charles III of Navarre was an enlightened center which prized the most fashionable and modern arts. To provide the much desired luxuries, he called artists and craftsmen from Paris and other centers. Of these artists employed by the king and other courtiers, one in particular deserves attention--Jehan Lome of Tournai, sculptor in charge of the royal cenotaph preserved in the cathedral at Pamplona.

Early in this century, Jehan Lome, the featured individual in this present study, attracted the attention of Emile Bertaux, who brought Lome to deserved international attention through his publication of the results of an examination of documents in the Archivo General de Navarra ("Le mausolée de Charles le noble à Pampelune et l'art franco-flamand en Navarre," Gazette des beaux-arts, XL/2 [1908], pp. 89-112). This premier effort has served subsequent scholars well; in fact, it has served too well, for rather than stimulating others to undertake further research in the Navarrese archives and to explore further other resources in Navarre, the article has remained the basic study on Lome. There are, of course, exceptions to the rule. Local Spanish scholars interested in the history of Navarre have periodically uncovered details overlooked or ignored by Bertaux, but more often than not these discoveries published in local journals without reference to

the specific archival source have received scant attention. In addition, other sculptural works--many of them discussed by Bertaux--have received little first-hand reevaluation in the ensuing years; and where such a renewed examination has occurred, it has generally been carried out in isolation with no concern for the total development in Navarre during the late Middle Ages.

The present study is conceived to alter the situation. First, the documents have been examined with care, an activity clearly aided by the important catalogue of the Archivo General de Navarra published by José Ramón Castro and Florencio Idoate. The documents pertinent to Lome and to the sculptural monuments of the early fifteenth century are transcribed, assembled, and presented together here for the first time in the appendix. The peculiarities of the medieval Spanish texts have been retained in the transcriptions; similar variations in later documents given in the appendix are also preserved. Second, a study of the royal cenotaph serves as the focal point of a discussion in which the career of Lome, the works produced in his shop, and the other sculptural monuments from the early to mid fifteenth century in Navarre are examined.

Numerous individuals have aided me with this project. I should like first to express my gratitude to Mr. John Walker, former Director of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., and to the trustees of the Gallery for granting me a Chester Dale Fellowship which allowed me to carry out my research in Europe during the academic year 1969-1970. The support of Dr. Harold E. Wethey, chairman of my doctoral committee, has been invaluable; to him, I offer here my special thanks for his help, his criticism, and his encouragement not only on my

dissertation but throughout my graduate studies. To the other members of the committee Dr. Ilene H. Forsyth, Dr. Charles Gibson, and Dr. Clifton Olds, I owe a similar debt of appreciation.

I am also endebted to the many persons who aided me in my research. My appreciation is, therefore, extended to the following: Dr. José Goñi Gaztambide, canon and archivist of the Cathedral of Pamplona; Señor José E. Uranga, director of the Institución Príncipe de Viana, Pamplona; Señor Florencio Idoate, director of the Archivo General de Navarra, Pamplona; Señor Jesus Imas also of the Archivo General de Navarra; Señora María Angeles Mezquiriz de Catalan, directress of the Museo de Navarra, Pamplona; Señora María Carmen Olorón, librarian at the Museo de Navarra; P. Felix Escribano López, canon and archivist of Santa María, Tudela; Señora Isabel de Ceballos-Escalera, conservator of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid; Señorita Mercedes Gil Domínguez, curator of the family archives of the Duque de Villahermosa, Madrid; Señor Diego Angulo Iñiguez and the staff of the Instituto Diego Velázquez, Madrid; Señor José Gudiol y Ricart and the staff of the Instituto Amatller, Barcelona; Mme. Françoise Gardey, conservator, Réserve du Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Dr. Emma Mellencamp, Ann Arbor; Dr. Thomas A. Seward, Cincinnati; Mrs. Bonnie Koran, Cincinnati; Mr. John Steyaert, Minneapolis; and the many parish priests, friars, and others who so freely gave of their time and energy.

R. Steven Janke

Cincinnati

Octave of the Nativity, 1973

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I

PREFACE iii

LIST OF TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS viii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ix

CHAPTER I: THE REIGN OF CHARLES III THE NOBLE 1

CHAPTER II: JEHAN LOME AND THE ROYAL CENOTAPH 18

CHAPTER III: THE STYLE OF THE ROYAL CENOTAPH 39

The Epitaphs and Effigies
Early Descriptions
The Pleurants
Stylistic Variants

CHAPTER IV: LOME IN TAFALLA AND PAMPLONA 84

The Palace at Tafalla
Sculpture
Lome, His Final Years

CHAPTER V: OTHER NAVARRESE TOMBS 128

The Villaespesa Sepulcher
The Garro Tomb
The Baquedano-Palomeque Tomb
The Tomb of the Princess doña Juana
The Tombs in San Francisco at Olite
Other Tombs

CHAPTER VI: MONUMENTS AT OLITE 175

An Image of the Queen
The Votive Relief of Enequo Pinel
The Portal of San Francisco
Images of the Virgin

CONCLUSION 194

II

APPENDIX: ILLUSTRATIONS 212

APPENDIX: DOCUMENTS 295

LIST OF TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS

Text ill.

1. Diagram of a baldachin on the royal cenotaph 71

2. North transept portal, Pamplona, Cathedral, masons' marks 101

3. North transept façade, Pamplona, Cathedral, masons' marks 101

4. Diagram of a baldachin on the Villaespesa sepulcher . . 134

5. Diagram of a canopy, atrium entrance, Sta. María, Olite 178

6. Portal, San Francisco, Olite, masons' marks 178

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1.	Commemorative relief, Pamplona, Cathedral	213
2.	Francesco de Sepúlveda, Chalice, Pamplona, Museo de Navarra (Photo: Castro)	213
3.	Palace of Olite as seen in the nineteenth century (Photo: Madrazo)	214
4.	Palace of Olite after the restoration (Photo: Uranga)	214
5.	First window of the Great Hall of the Palace of Olite, exterior	215
6.	First window of the Great Hall of the Palace of Olite, interior detail	215
7.	Second window of the Great Hall of the Palace of Olite, exterior	216
8.	Corbel, Olite, Palace	217
9.	Corbel, Olite, Palace	217
10.	Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, Pamplona, Cathedral (Photo: Roisin)	218
11.	Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor (Photo: Archivo Mas)	218
12.	Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, effigy of Charles III, bust	219
13.	Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, effigy of Charles III	219
14.	Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, effigy of Charles III, the lion	220
15.	Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, effigy of doña Leonor, the dogs	220
16.	Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, effigy of doña Leonor, bust	221

Figure Page

17. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, effigy of doña Leonor 221

18. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant, cardinal 222

19. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant, cardinal 222

20. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant, bishop 223

21. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant, bishop 223

22. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant, canon 224

23. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant, canon 224

24. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 225

25. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 225

26. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 226

27. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 226

28. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 227

29. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 227

30. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 228

31. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 228

32. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 229

33. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 229

34. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 230

35. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 230

36. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 231

37. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 231

38. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 232

Figure Page

39. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 232

40. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 233

41. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 233

42. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 234

43. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 234

44. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 235

45. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant . . . 235

46. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, canopies above pleurants (Photo: Archivo Mas) 236

47. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, baldachin above the head of doña Leonor 236

48. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, plan of the vault (Photo: Archivo General de Navarra) 237

49. Tomb of Blanche of Navarre, from the Gagnières Collection (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale) 238

50. Tomb of Pierre of Navarre-Evreux, effigy, Paris, Louvre (Photo: Foto Marburg) 239

51. Tomb of Pierre of Navarre-Evreux, from the Gagnières Collection (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale) 239

52. Chair from the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo) . . . 240

53. Chair from the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo) . . . 241

54. Chair from the Palace of Tafalla, now in the possession of the Astrain family 241

55. Window of the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo) 242

56. Entrance tower of the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo) 242

57. View of the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo) 243

58. Belvedere of the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo) . . 244

59. Belvedere of the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo) . . 244

60. St. Sebastian, Tafalla, Sta. María 245

Figure Page

61. St. Sebastian, detail 245

62. Retable of SS. Sebastian and Nicasius, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Photo: Museo Arqueológico Nacional) 246

63. St. Sebastian, Collection of J. Escudero, Corella, Navarre (Photo: Archivo Mas) 246

64. North transept portal, archivolts and tympanum, Pamplona, Cathedral 247

65. North transept portal, outer archivolt, top 248

66. North transept portal, upper portion 248

67. North transept portal, outer archivolt, top left 249

68. North transept portal, outer archivolt, bottom left . . . 249

69. North transept portal, inner archivolt, top left 250

70. North transept portal, inner archivolt, bottom left . . . 250

71. North transept portal, outer archivolt, top right 251

72. North transept portal, outer archivolt, bottom right . . 251

73. North transept portal, inner archivolt, top right 252

74. North transept portal, inner archivolt, bottom right . . 252

75. North transept portal, angel corbel, left 253

76. North transept portal, angel corbel, right 253

77. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, Tudela, Sta. María . . 254

78. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, effigy 254

79. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, effigy, head 255

80. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, effigy, detail 255

81. Tomb of Miguel Sánchez de Asiain, Pamplona, Cathedral . . 256

82. Tomb of Miguel Sánchez de Asiain, detail (Photo: Archivo Mas) 256

83. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, Pamplona, Cathedral (Photo: Marichalar) 257

Figure Page

84. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza (Photo: Archivo Mas) . 257

85. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, face of effigy (Photo: Marichalar) 258

86. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, relief, left wall . . . 258

87. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, relief, rear wall, left 259

88. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, relief, rear wall, center 259

89. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, relief, rear wall, right 260

90. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, relief, right wall . . 260

91. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, weepers, left 261

92. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, weepers, right 261

93. Villaespesa Sepulcher, Tudela, Sta. María (Photo: Archivo Mas) 262

94. Villaespesa Sepulcher, effigies (Photo: Archivo Mas) . . 262

95. Villaespesa Sepulcher, effigy of doña Isabel, head . . . 263

96. Villaespesa Sepulcher, effigy of mosén Francés, head . . 263

97. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, Trinity and Man of Sorrows 264

98. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, Man of Sorrows 264

99. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, left wall 265

100. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, right wall 265

101. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, obsequies, rear wall, left 266

102. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, obsequies, rear wall, right 266

103. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, obsequies, rear wall, center 267

104. Villaespesa Sepulcher, detail 267

105. Villaespesa Sepulcher, weepers, left 268

106. Villaespesa Sepulcher, weepers, right 268

Figure Page

107. Sepulchral panel of the Knights Juan Velasques, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Photo: Museo Arqueológico Nacional) 269

108. Old Retable of San Benito el Real, Mass of St. Gregory, Madrid, Museo del Prado (Photo: Museo del Prado) 269

109. Relief of the Mass of St. Gregory, Pisón de Castrejón, Parish church (Photo: Archivo Mas) 270

110. Celebration of the Mass, miniature from the Tarleton Book of Hours, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Museum of Art (Photo: University of Michigan Museum of Art) . . 270

111. Garro Tomb, Pamplona Cathedral 271

112. Garro Tomb, Christ and six saints 272

113. Garro Tomb, St. John the Evangelist 272

114. Garro Tomb, God the Father 273

115. Garro Tomb, effigies (Photo: Archivo Mas) 273

116. Garro Tomb, Christ 274

117. Garro Tomb, Christ, detail 274

118. Garro Tomb, arms of the Garro family 275

119. Garro Tomb, arms of the Beunza-Larréa family 275

120. Baquedano-Palomeque Tomb, Estella, Sto. Domingo 276

121. Baquedano-Palomeque Tomb, effigy of doña Teresa, Pamplona, Museo de Navarra (Photo: Museo de Navarra) . . 276

122. Tomb of the princess doña Juana, Pamplona, Museo de Navarra (Photo: Museo de Navarra) 277

123. Tomb of the princess doña Juana, effigy (Photo: Poleró y Toledo) 277

124. Tomb of a Navarrese princess, Pamplona, Cathedral 278

125. Tomb with the arms Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain, Olite, San Francisco 279

126. Tomb with the arms Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain, St. Michael 279

Figure Page

127. Tomb with the arms Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain spandrels with arms of the Garay and Asiain families . . 280

128. Tomb with the arms Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain, front with arms of the Zuria and Añués families 280

129. Tomb with the arms Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain, effigies, detail 281

130. Tomb with the arms Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain, effigies 281

131. Atrium entrance, Olite, Sta. María 282

132. Atrium entrance, doña Blanca 282

133. Atrium entrance, canopy over doña Blanca 283

134. Atrium entrance, doña Blanca 283

135. Atrium entrance, doña Blanca 284

136. Atrium entrance, Virgin and Child 284

137. Seal of the Chancellery of doña Blanca and don Juan, Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra (Photo: Archivo General de Navarra) 285

138. Relief of Enequo Pinel, Olite, San Pedro (Photo: Archivo Mas 285

139. Portal of San Francisco, Olite 286

140. Portal of San Francisco, angel in dexter position 287

141. Portal of San Francisco, angel in sinister position . . . 287

142. Portal of San Francisco, tympanum, crucifix 288

143. Portal of San Francisco, tympanum, Virgin 289

144. Portal of San Francisco, tympanum, St. John 289

145. Portal of San Francisco, canopy 290

146. Chapel of St. Catherine, Pamplona Cathedral 290

147. Chapel of St. Catherine, Virgin 291

148. Chapel of St. Catherine, St. John 291

Figure Page

149. Virgin and Child, Olite, San Francisco 292

150. Virgin and Child, detail 292

151. Virgin and Child, Huarte, Parish church 293

152. Virgin and Child, detail 293

153. Virgin and Child, Liédena, Parish church 294

CHAPTER I

THE REIGN OF CHARLES III THE NOBLE

The reign of Charles III the Noble stands out among the major periods in Navarrese history. Eldest son of Charles II of Navarre and grandson of Philip count of Evreux and of Jeanne of Navarre, daughter of Louis X of France, Charles III had equally intimate ties with the Valois dynasty which had acceded to the throne of France, for his mother, Jeanne of France, was the eldest daughter of John the Good. Charles himself was born in France, at Mantes, July 22, 1361, just four months before the birth of his uncle Philip, later duke of Burgundy.[1]

Many factors combined to create this era of general peace and prosperity after the tumultuous preceding years. Less a warrior and more a statesman than his father, Charles III was to continue his intimate acquaintance with France even after gaining the Navarrese throne at his father's death, January 1, 1387. The wisdom with which he was to rule became quickly apparent. He prepared almost immediately to send ambassadors to the court of France in order to re-establish peaceful alliances and with the hope of regaining his hereditary properties in that kingdom. Charles II, having desired to enlarge his territorial holdings by claiming the French throne, had unwisely embroiled his family in serious political conflict against his brother-in-law Charles V. The latter, in retaliation, had promptly confiscated the lands of his recalcitrant vassal. So eager was Charles III to press his claims at

the French court and, perhaps, so sure of the justice of his request, he determined to recover those lost properties before officially receiving the crown of Navarre. The embassy of 1387, however, was only the first of a series of vain attempts.[2] Unsuccessful as they may have been from the viewpoint of Charles III, they nevertheless exemplify the policy of negotiation which was to be so beneficial to Navarre during the final years of the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the fifteenth. With his claims still unresolved Charles III finally accepted his crown in a ceremony at the cathedral of Pamplona, February 13, 1390.[3]

The embassies had a second important effect as well. Through them Charles III was able to keep abreast of the latest fashion in the French capital and to take advantage of them for finding artists and craftsmen willing to emigrate to Navarre. For us, it is as well that the disputed territories reverted to the French crown. Lacking such extra-territorial interests, Charles III concentrated his energies upon his Spanish kingdom. With regard to the arts, he was as avaricious as that famed trio of collectors Louis I of Anjou, Jean of Berry, and Philip of Burgundy--his uncles.[4]

Outstanding among the architectural monuments of his reign is the cathedral of Pamplona. Early chroniclers of Navarre lament the collapse of part of the vault of the Romanesque cathedral at dawn on the first of July 1390, only a few months after the coronation ceremony.[5] During the preceding century there had been magnificent additions in the French Gothic manner to the cathedral complex.[6] In the reign of Charles III there was reason to replace the decaying sanctuary with a more modern edifice as well. Since the sixteenth century, tradition has held that

work on the new, Gothic edifice commenced in 1397.[7] A fortunate discovery which has received little attention proves that the rebuilding actually commenced some three years earlier. On May 27, 1394, Lancelot, natural son of Charles III, received a florin to place ceremoniously in the king's name beneath the cornerstone of the cathedral.[8] This moment is commemorated as well by a small relief set into the second pier from the crossing on the north side of the nave (Fig. 1). Beneath an unfinished architectural canopy, the Virgin stands with the Child in her right arm; before them kneel three clerics. The significance of the relief is certain from the following inscription in Gothic letters on the corbel: "CPLM : ECCE : PAMPILON : AN : M : CCC : XC : IIII"--Capitulum Ecclesiae Pampilonensis Anno MCCCXCIIII.[9] Carved in high relief, the figures have a certain sense of gracefulness and litheness quite in contrast with the severity of the canopy above their heads. The faces of Madonna and Child, treated in a rather firm manner, reveal features carefully defined against the broad, curving planes, while the faces of the tonsured clerics are more angular. The omission in the relief of any reference to the king indicates that, despite his generous donations, the construction of this the principal church in the realm was not solely a royal project.[10]

The design of the cathedral reflects án interest in French style. The interior is quite simple, though somewhat irregular because of the necessity of joining it to the cloister at the south through the portal of Nuestra Señora del Amparo, which opens into the final bay of the nave rather than into the transept arm. The Gothic nave consisted of five bays flanked by single side aisles opening into chapels of equal height.[11] The chevet has a single star-vaulted bay surrounded by four

chapels of somewhat varying form. The elevation, too, is simple, consisting only of a high nave arcade and a clerestory with small windows, thus leaving a broad mural surface unadorned.

Previously there had been no clue to the identity of the architect responsible for the original design. However, in the accounts for the year 1403 appears an entry naming Martín Periz de Estella, mason, as executor of the last will and testament of the late Perrin de Simur, "head master of the works of masonry in the church of Santa María of Pamplona."[12] Although this document dates nine years after work commenced upon the Gothic edifice, a second document reveals that the Frenchman Perrin de Simur was in Navarre at least as early as 1397. On November 9 identified only as a mason, he brought suit against one Ochoa Loppiz de Xavier, resident of Sangüesa, for 40 libras 10 sueldos carlines.[13] Although the decisive evidence for naming Perrin de Simur as designer and first master mason of the Gothic cathedral has not come to light, the probability of his participation in that stage of the work may be tentatively suggested. In fact there is a specific feature of the building which underscores the probable truth of this interpretation. It was observed some years ago that a break in the lower part of the west wall of the northern transept indicates the first interruption in the construction of the building.[14] Immediately adjacent to this wall is the chapel of Saint Martin, which can be securely dated to the first phase of the rebuilding program on the basis of the keystone bearing the escutcheon of Martín de Zalba, bishop of Pamplona, cardinal, and a leading cleric of the age. His rôle in this phase of the building is also underscored by the presence of his escutcheon on the pier at the southwest corner of the crossing.[15]

Martín de Zalba's death, October 27, 1403, suggested to the late Elie Lambert both the date and the reason for the interruption in the building of the cathedral.[16] Surely now our understanding of the events must be modified to include the death of the master mason as a predominant factor for the stoppage of the work.

Nevertheless, work on the cathedral recommenced at an indeterminate date and was continued over a period of years. Several areas within the church, however, may be dated with some precision on the basis of escutcheons which serve as decorative motifs on the bosses. The chapels and adjoining south aisle of the nave date to the third decade of the fifteenth century and are marked by the arms of don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, bishop of Pamplona from 1420 until his death in 1425.[17] The year 1425 witnessed the death of the king Charles III as well, but work on the cathedral remained incomplete. Construction on the western bays of the nave continued during the reign of his daughter doña Blanca, wife of John of Aragon and Navarre, and these are marked with her personal emblem of a crown above a B in Gothic script.[18] The last of the fifteenth-century bays was vaulted during the episcopacy of Martín de Peralta the Elder (1426-1457), as evidenced by his arms with a crozier on the keystone.[19] Nevertheless, the eastern section of the cathedral continued unfinished; the report of the German pilgrim Hieronymus Münzer, who visited Pamplona in 1495, speaks of the "choir" as being incomplete.[20] Undoubtedly he uses the designation "choir" for the presbytery rather than for the area of the canons' choir which occupied several bays of the nave. According to Sandoval, the chevet was completed during the reign of Catherine de Foix and Jean de Labrit; that is to say by the year 1513.[21]

The cathedral of Pamplona was not, however, the only major building program sponsored in whole or in part by Charles III. He was also seriously interested in the construction of elaborate royal residences. The archives at Pamplona retain numerous documents concerning the enlargement and the enrichment of the palace at Tudela during the years 1388 to 1391. Unfortunately this palace no longer exists; the written word alone gives a glimpse of its previous splendor. There were galleries and miradores (belvederes); the interior chambers were adorned by carvings in alabaster and by painted decorations of rich hue--vermillion, blue, green. In the hall was placed the royal escutcheon with a greyhound (the device of Charles III) as a support, the relief having been carved of alabaster in 1395 by one master Hanequín.[22]

A second and far more elaborate program of this type was begun at Olite in or shortly before 1400, again with the idea of expanding and improving an existing royal residence.[23] The new palace enclosed within its massive walls large patios and gardens verdant with grapefruit, lemon, and cypress trees brought from Valencia.[24] Many persons were employed in the construction and decoration of the palace, among them foreign craftsmen sent by Charles III during his trips to the French capital. Noteworthy are two carpenters Johan Lescuyer and Estevenin le Riche, who figure in the accounts with relative frequency. Johan Lescuyer arrived in Navarre in 1406, while the earliest mention of Estevenin le Riche places him in Navarre from June 1, 1409.[25] These craftsmen settled permanently in the Spanish kingdom. The latter carpenter, married in the summer of 1411, received a gift of cloth from the king for making wedding garments for himself and his bride.[26]

Foreign craftsmen were employed also on projects undertaken by

other members of the royal family; in 1409 during the absence of Charles the Noble from the kingdom, doña Juana, in her capacity as regent, ordered the four French masters working at Uquar on the palace of mosén Leonel, natural son of Charles II, to come to Olite and to repair certain walls of the palace which had fallen.[27]

Foreigners trained in other crafts were active in Navarre at this time as well. The account books record numerous payments. In 1392, Perrinet Hamelin of Normandy received 10 libras for writing "a book of certain masses for our [Charles III's] devotion."[28] A decade later Johan de Bretagne was paid for illuminating a book of hours for the king.[29] During his stay in Paris 1397 to 1398, Charles gave various commissions to the silversmith Perrin Frezet.[30] These must have provided mutual satisfaction, for later Perrin Frezet and his compatriot Conrat de Rodas practiced their art in Navarre. In April 1411, the former received payment for silver-gilt statuettes of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist, while the latter was paid for those of Saints Peter and Paul. The four statuettes were to be used in the royal chapel at Olite.[31] Scarcely a week later, Charles III granted the two artisans 84 libras so they might return to Paris.[32] Nevertheless, Perrin seems not to have departed at this time, for he continued to receive payments in the autumn of 1412.[33] Charles III patronized other Parisian gold and silversmiths as well, among them being Hance Crest, goldsmith; Oste Darne, silversmith and sargent at arms of the king of France; Ocho Laleman; and Colin du Pont.[34]

The king's interest in fine objects was not limited to works in precious metals. In Paris in 1398, he also ordered an important series of tapestries, costing 1,350 francs, from Colin Bataille. The four

haut-lisse panels, woven in Arras, represented the history of Solomon conqueror of Brittany, the history of the nine heroes, the Nativity of Christ, the Life of the Virgin, and the three Marys with their spouses.[35] Earlier in the year, the king acquired three equally important tapestries of unspecified design from Jacques Dourdin in Paris at a cost of 1,125 francs.[36] A second purchase from Dourdin included a white, figured tapestry and a large haut-lisse panel showing the god of love and several other figures.[37] Charles III's interest in tapestries to ornament his palaces was great enough that he sent Andreu Saint Maxen of Arras to Navarre where he carried out his activities from February 1398 to July 1399.[38] On his final journey to France, Charles III arranged for two other tapestry weavers to emigrate to Navarre; these craftsmen Lucien Bertholomeu and Jehan de Noyon are mentioned in the royal accounts from April 29, 1411.[39] From a payment made July 1, 1412, we learn that each received 4 sueldos 6 dineros as a daily wage and an additional annual pension of 40 libras.[40] Although Jehan de Noyon is last mentioned in 1415,[41] Lucien Bertholomeu remained active at his trade, being listed in September 1420 as a citizen of Olite.[42] In 1421 he was weaving tapestries for the palace chapels at Tafalla and Olite; and from November of the same year, he was paid also for his duties as "guard of the birds of the pálaces of Olite."[43]

Thierry Bolduc, sent by Charles III from Paris to Navarre, was established there in his profession as clockmaker by October 1398 at which time he was paid 50 francs for a clock for the king's bedchamber.[44] Conch of Strasbourg served as embroiderer at the Navarrese court,[45] and Renart de Norduch built organs for the king's pleasure.[46] Finally, Charles III patronized French manufacturers of armor, among

them Jehanin Hinart, who made a suit of armor for Leonel of Navarre, and Jehan Morelet.[47]

Of course, hosts of native craftsmen were also employed at the Navarrese court. Several Spanish silversmiths are mentioned frequently in the accounts: Miguel Zuasti, Johan Garuain, Pere de Villava, Peret de Esparza, Johan Flori, Enecot de Villava, and Fernando de Sepúlveda.[48] Although the documents bespeak the splendor of their products, only a single object remains as evidence of the many precious works of silver and gold made for the court. The simple chalice donated by Charles to the sanctuary of Santa María de Ujué (where the heart of Charles II was interred) survived the destruction of the ages (Fig. 2).[49] The royal arms, as well as an inscription, provide the key to the origin of the chalice: "+ el rey don Karlos me dio a Santta Maria duxua en el aynno mil ccc lxxxxiiii." Evidence from the Archivo General de Navarra reveals the name of the silversmith--Fernando de Sepúlveda.[50] The cup of the chalice is unadorned except for leaves at the point of juncture with the knop, which is more richly ornamented. Each face of the hexagonal knop contains a lozenge-shaped enamel alternating the arms of Navarre and Evreux. The sexfoil foot bears the inscription in a band around the upper edge and is further adorned with a translucent enamel of Christ enthroned. The whole exemplifies a characteristic found in other works from the reign of Charles III, a taste for elegance and for beauty of material without excessive ornamentation.

Unfortunately the great set of church plate commissioned by the king for the palace at Olite is not preserved. It consisted of four candlesticks with greyhounds supporting the arms of the king in enamel, a small silver-gilt bell, two ampullae also of silver-gilt, two chalices

with patens (one set plain except for the gilding of the cup, the other decorated with gilding and engraving). The entire set was completed by Daniel de Bonte, possibly the most important silversmith at the court, at a cost of more than 1,000 libras, of which 750 libras were for the candlesticks.[51]

Outstanding among the Moorish craftsmen employed by Charles the Noble was Lope Barbicano. In 1399, he was appointed "master of the works of carpentry of the castle at Tudela of the merindad of the Ribera" (a merindad being one of the major governmental subdivisions within the kingdom). His wages were 18 dineros daily plus 100 sueldos as an annual clothing allowance.[52] A valued employee of the king, he was entrusted with important commissions and received special grants from the king. The records from the court tell more of him as an individual than is true of most other persons employed at the court. In 1402, the king ordered Lope and the painter Maestre Henrich to travel to Segovia and "to draw certain works which are there in the palaces of the King of Castile."[53] In 1412, Lope received lifetime interest in a room of a house in the Moorish section of Tudela,[54] while in 1414 the king ordered 34 libras paid for cloth for the wedding of Mahoma, Lope's son.[55] Of the work of Lope Barbicano, nothing remains; only a few damaged sections of stuccoed arabesques on the upper level of the palace at Olite survive as visual affirmation of the peaceful coexistence of distinctive cultures at the court of Charles the Noble.

Charles III commenced his last major building project late in life some years after the death of doña Leonor, his wife. His desire to build a palace at Tafalla to rival that of Olite attests his belief in the continuing stability of the Navarrese royal house. Peace and

prosperity endured only briefly, however. Following the death of doña Blanca in 1441, hostilities soon engulfed the kingdom.[56]

NOTES: CHAPTER I

[1]José Ramón Castro, Carlos III el noble, rey de Navarra (Pamplona, 1967), p. 28. This recent publication is extremely useful for the wealth of information which it contains on the history of Navarre in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Castro's knowledge of the Archivo General de Navarra of which he was director places invaluable documentary information easily at our disposal. Hereafter cited as Castro, Carlos III.

[2]We will, of necessity, refer to these journeys again in the course of this study, but it may be helpful to indicate here briefly their years and duration. The first journey began April 8, 1388, when the ambassadors Martín de Zalba, bishop of Pamplona, Pedro de Lasaga, chamberlain, and Francés de Villaespesa, later chancellor of Navarre (from 1396), departed Navarre; they returned the following year, arriving from their journey October 15. The embassy was unsuccessful. (Castro, Carlos III, pp. 134-135.) A second embassy was planned during the year 1392, but it was never carried out. (Ibid., pp. 230-232.) The second journey, one led by Charles III personally, commenced in May 1397; from the seventh through the twelfth, the king and his court were in Roncesvalles. They left Navarre via Saint-Palais on May 29. The return to Navarre occurred over a year later with the king and his company arriving in Pamplona on September 19, 1398. (Ibid., pp. 236-243.) A third embassy was begun in November 1403, the king again leading the entourage. The participants had returned to Navarre by April 19, 1405, being that day in Tudela. This embassy saw an important advancement in the negotiations. On June 9, 1404, in Paris, Charles the Noble renounced in favor of Charles VI of France the rights to all privileges which he had on the part of his parents including the county of Evreux, the county of Champagne, their many towns and castles. In return he was to receive 12,000 livres of Tournai and lands of the duchy to be called Nemours with the king of Navarre and his descendants to be titled dukes of Nemours. For ceding the city of Cherbourg to the French king, he was to receive 200,000 livres of Tournai, half immediately and the remainder as income from lands belonging to the French crown. (Ibid., pp. 310-324.) The final and longest journey commenced with the departure of the king and his company from Tudela on July 26, 1408; it ended with their return to Tudela on January 26, 1411. (Ibid., pp. 342-352.) Thus we see that during the first twenty-four years of his reign, Charles III spent slightly more than five years on official embassies to France.

[3]Castro, Carlos III, p. 203.

[4]Abundant documentation attests the interest of Charles III in acquiring handsome artifacts for his pleasure. The most significant

publications treating this problem follow: Edouard Privat and David Cau-Durban, "L'art français en Navarre sous Charles le noble (1361-1425)," Mélanges Léonce Coutour: Etudes d'histoire méridionale dédiées à la mémoire de Léonce Coutour (Toulouse, 1902), pp. 245-255. Julio Altadill, "Artistas exhumados," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, X (1919) through XVII (1926), passim. Fernando de Mendoza, Los plateros de Carlos el noble rey de Navarra (Pamplona, 1925). Hereafter cited as Mendoza, Los plateros. José Ramón Castro, ed., Archivo General de Navarra: Catálogo de la sección de comptos, documentos, I-XXXVI (Pamplona, 1952-1964). Hereafter cited as Castro, Catálogo. William D. Wixom, "The Hours of Charles the Noble," Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, LII (1965), pp. 50-81. Of course, Castro, Carlos III, also contains many such references.

[5]Catalogus Episcoporum Ecclesiae Pampilonensis, Archivo de la Catedral de Pamplona, ms. 124, signatura antigua K 30 1°, fol. 26v. The portions of this anonymous manuscript of c. 1565 which pertain to the building and adornment of the cathedral have been published by José Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos sobre la catedral de Pamplona, II," Príncipe de Viana, XVI (1955), pp. 198-200. Esteban de Garibáy y Çamálloa, Compendio historial de las chrónicas y universal historia de todos los reynos de España donde se escriven las vidas de los reyes de Navarra (Antwerp, 1571), p. 399. Hereafter cited as Garibáy, Compendio. Prudencio de Sandoval, Catálogo de los obispos, que ha tenido la santa iglesia de Pamplona, desde el año de ochenta, que fue el primero della el santo martyr Fermin, su natural ciudadano (Pamplona, 1614), fol. 106r. Hereafter cited as Sandoval, Obispos. Francesco de Alesón, Annales del reyno de Navarra, IV (Pamplona, 1766), p. 265. Hereafter cited as Alesón, Annales de Navarra.

[6]The fourteenth-century donors gave much attention to the cloister, ornamenting it with sculpture and painting, and to the adjacent structures including the refectory and the Barbazán chapel. See Enrique Serrano Fatigati, "Los claustros de Pamplona," Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones, IX (July 1901), pp. 163-171. See also Luis Vázquez de Parga, "La dormición de la Virgen en la catedral de Pamplona," Príncipe de Viana, VII (1946), pp. 243-258; "El claustro de la catedral de Pamplona: Iconografía de los capiteles," Príncipe de Viana, VII (1946), pp. 621-627; and "El maestro del refectorio de Pamplona," Príncipe de Viana, IX (1948), pp. 145-152.

[7]Garibáy, Compendio, p. 406. The document which led to this assumption was dated May 24, 1397, and stated that Charles III pledged the fortieth part of his revenues for the next twelve years to the rebuilding of the church of Santa María at Pamplona. The document was published by Alesón, Annales de Navarra, IV, p. 276. See Appendix 1397, 1.

[8]José Zunzunegui, El reino de Navarra y su obispado de Pamplona durante la primera época del cisma de occidente (San Sebastian, 1942), pp. 288-289. See Appendix 1394, 1.

[9]The inscription was first published by Onofre Larumbe, "La catedral de Pamplona," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Navarra, 3a época, II (1928), p. 103. It was published again (together with a photograph) by José E. Uranga, "Una fecha en la construcción de la catedral de Pamplona," Príncipe de Viana, IV (1943), p. 165. Although we cannot be certain of the exact date for the placement of the relief, it is highly likely that it was in place before 1403, a most significant date in the construction.

[10]See above note 7. Additional grants were made throughout the lifetime of the king. A grant was made in 1410 for five years. (Archivo General de Navarra, Comptos, caj. 115, no. 46. Hereafter cited as AGN, Comptos.) Another concession was made in 1412 for ten years. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 100, no. 98.) Finally in 1420, Charles III pledged an annual donation of 520 libras 10 sueldos. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 118, no. 77.) These documents are cited by Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Filiación arquitectónica de la catedral de Pamplona," Príncipe de Viana, VII (1946), p. 477.

[11]For the addition of the sixth bay, see below note 21.

[12]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 20v. Appendix 1403, 1.

[13]AGN, Papeles sueltos, 2a serie, Leg. 2ter, no. 121, XIX. Appendix 1397, 2. Dr. José Goñi Gaztambide, canon and archivist of the cathedral of Pamplona, kindly provided me a photocopy and a transcription of this document. An indefatigable scholar whose contributions to the history of the province attest not only his depth of knowledge of local history but also his interest in international developments of the Middle Ages, Dr. Goñi Gaztambide discovered the document while compiling material for a catalogue of the Papeles sueltos in the Archivo General de Navarra. His work will provide another basic tool for this important collection of medieval documents.

[14]Elie Lambert, "La catedral de Pamplona," trans. Leopoldo Torres Balbás, Príncipe de Viana, XII (1951), pp. 20-21. Hereafter cited as Lambert, "La catedral de Pamplona."

[15]Sandoval, Obispos, fol. 106r, observes that "the bishop [Martín de Zalba] helped with a good part as appears from his arms placed in the chapel of St. Martin and on the two columns which are in front of the choir, toward the high altar." (Translation is the author's.) Of these latter insignia, only one remains showing on argent, two wolves passant in pale sable, armed, membered and langued or within a bordure indented gules. The red hat of the cardinal surmounts the escutcheon.

[16]See above note 14.

[17]Sandoval, Obispos, fol. 112v. See also Lambert, "La catedral de Pamplona," p. 22.

[18]Sandoval, Obispos, fol. 112v, is followed by Lambert, "La catedral de Pamplona," p. 24. Lambert mistakenly calls doña Blanca by the

name Juana, confusing her with the eldest daughter (died 1413) of Charles III.

[19]The identification was made by José Goñi Gaztambide, "Los obispos de Pamplona del siglo XV y los navarros en los concilios de Constanza y Basilea," Estudios de edad media en la corona de Aragón, VII (1962), p. 455. Thus in contrast with Lambert, "La catedral de Pamplona," p. 24, we see that the work may only have terminated after the death of doña Blanca in 1441.

[20]Jerónimo Münzer, Viaje por España y Portugal 1494-1495, trans. José López Toro (Madrid, 1951), p. 125. "Pamplona ... tiene una iglesia catedral muy bella, cuyo coro aún está sin concluir, aunque se terminará en breve."

[21]Obispos, fol. 112v. It would seem that work was complete on the eastern end by 1509 because of the relocation of the royal remains of Charles III and doña Leonor in that year. (See below Chapter III, p. 44 and note 16.)

Nevertheless, the structure remained incomplete until the late eighteenth century when Ventura Rodríguez completed a sixth bay in the Gothic manner and a façade in neo-classic style. It is of some interest to note this architect's concern in preserving the character of the interior while conforming to current taste in his design for the façade.

[22]Castro, Carlos III, pp. 514-518, contains the best study of the documentation on the palace.

[23]"Nos auemos ordenado que sean fechos de nueuo hedifficios obras e reparationes en los palacios que nos auemos en la nuestra villa d'Olit ...." AGN, Reg. 206, fol. 2r (January 3, 1400), as quoted in Castro, Carlos III, p. 518.

The palace at Olite survived nearly intact until the nineteenth century (Figs. 3 and 4). Unfortunately on February 16, 1813, at the time of the French occupation, the Spaniard General Mina ordered the fortress set afire to prevent its being used as a stronghold by the enemy. Later in the century, Juan Iturralde y Suit, one of the first to recognize the historical importance of the edifice, composed his Memoria sobre las ruinas del palacio real de Olite (Pamplona, 1870). Iturralde y Suit presented his work to the Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra of which he was an active member. Although certain textual errors must be corrected on the basis of more recently discovered documents, his study remains important for marking the emergence of interest in the medieval monuments of Navarre.

The ideal restoration of the palace was proposed by José Yarnoz Larrosa and Javier Yarnoz Larrosa, "La restauración del palacio real de Olite," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, XVI (1925), pp. 315-376. For practical reasons, a national parador has been created within a part of the ruins during

the restoration, the principal value of which is that it has stabilized the remaining walls and recreated the architectural details which could be ascertained from the ruins.

[24]AGN, Reg. 301, fol. 27r (A. D. 1409).

[25]AGN, Reg. 301, fol. 60v. Appendix 1409, 1. AGN, Reg. 309, fol. 61. Appendix 1409, 3.

[26]A payment for 25 cobdos de pano (cubits of cloth) given by the king to Estevenin le Riche is recorded on June 18, 1411. AGN, Reg. 313, fol. 102v.

[27]AGN, Reg. 301, fol. 54. Appendix 1409, 2.

[28]Castro, Catálogo, XIX, no. 897.

[29]AGN, Reg. 319, fol. 25 (August 24, 1412).

[30]See Castro, Catálogo, XXII, nos. 632, 746, 771, and 903. The commissions included a ring for Charles himself, a collar, a belt which was sent to the queen in Navarre, gifts for his brother Pierre at estrenas (the beginning of the new year), and rings to identify his falcons.

[31]Castro, Catálogo, XXVIII, no. 910. The pair of statuettes by Perrin weighed just under 18 marks of silver; the pair by Conrat, slightly more than 30 marks. See also Mendoza, Los plateros, p. 68.

[32]Castro, Catálogo, XXVIII, no. 937.

[33]Castro, Catálogo, XXIX, nos. 832, 879, 924, and 961 (dated between September 12 and October 18, 1412).

[34]Castro, Catálogo, XXII, nos. 934, 783, 772, and 768 (dated 1398).

[35]The first payment of 350 francs was made in Paris, July 6, 1398; at that time Colin Bataille received five pieces of plate as guarantee for the remainder. According to the contract, Colin Bataille could sell the plate if he did not receive payment in full by Pentecost of 1399. See Castro, Catálogo, XXII, no. 1018.

[36]Eight hundred francs were paid by Jehan Ruiz and Jehan Ortiz, knights of Navarre. See Castro, Catálogo, XXII, no. 775 (dated January 4, 1398).

[37]Castro, Catálogo, XXII, no. 1080 (dated Burdeos, September 9, 1398).

[38]Castro, Carlos III, pp. 507 and 553, note 66.

[39]Castro, Catálogo, XXVIII, no. 982.

[40]Castro, Catálogo, XXIX, no. 594. In addition, the weavers received additional payment upon completion of individual commissions.

[41]AGN, Reg. 337, fol. 49v.

[42]Castro, Catálogo, XXXIII, no. 332.

[43]Castro, Catálogo, XXXIII, nos. 907 and 908.

[44]Castro, Catálogo, XXII, no. 1106. The value of a timepiece is evident not only by its actual cost, but also by the fact that one served as a gift from the Duke of Berry to Charles the Noble a year earlier. See Castro, Catálogo, XXII, no. 668.

[45]His name is spelled Conch de Straborg. He was in Navarre from at least 1390 (Castro, Carlos III, pp. 204-205) and remained at least until 1410 (AGN, Reg. 309, fol. 126r).

[46]AGN, Reg. 330, fol. 3v (dated 1413).

[47]Castro, Catálogo, XXII, nos. 809 and 1007.

[48]Mendoza, Los plateros, passim.

[49]The chalice is now on exhibition in the Museo de Navarra at Pamplona. That it narrowly escaped destruction on at least one occasion is suggested by the statement inside the base: "No se desaga, Acuerdo de 22 de abril de 1803." See Castro, Carlos III, p. 224.

[50]AGN, Reg. 229, fols. 38v-39r. Appendix 1394, 2.

[51]Castro, Catálogo, XXVIII, no. 959, and Mendoza, Los plateros, p. 61 with a photocopy of the document.

[52]Castro, Catálogo, XXIII, no. 210.

[53]"... deuisar ciertos obrages que son ailli en los palatios del Rey de Castieilla." Castro, Carlos III, p. 520. That Charles III showed interest in the Alcázar at Segovia as a source of ideas for his own palace was surely due to doña Leonor queen of Navarre and princess of Castile, as Castro suggests; it is not, however, possible to accept his statement that she provided the impetus for a new building program. See Castro, Carlos III, pp. 519-520.

[54]AGN, Reg. 318, fol. 63v.

[55]AGN, Reg. 333, fol. 55v.

[56]For the history of this tumultuous period, see G. N. Desdevises du Dezert, Don Carlos d'Aragón, prince de Viane: Etude sur l'Espagne du nord au XVe siècle (Paris, 1889), passim.

For further information on this royal residence, see Chapter IV.

CHAPTER II

JEHAN LOME AND THE ROYAL CENOTAPH

Although many artisans worked at the court of Charles the Noble, only one, Jehan Lome of Tournai, has received any great attention from scholars of medieval art. Lome directed the shop responsible for carving the cenotaph of Charles III and doña Leonor, which remains one of the outstanding monuments of the period for which the authorship is completely documented.[1] The Navarrese king must have engaged Lome during his final journey to France, for the sculptor is first mentioned in the medieval records in August 1411, when he received payment of 17 libras 18 sueldos for carving a bas-relief of St. John the Baptist to be placed in the royal palace at Olite.[2]

Documentation then lapses, unfortunately, for the next year and a half. On April 13, 1413, Lome is finally mentioned again, but we learn only that he received a houpland lined with russet cloth, a gift from the king.[3] Documents concerning the activities of his employment recommence in November 1413, when, for the first time, he is listed as receiving a monthly salary in the amount of 23 libras 10 sueldos.[4] The account book of Pere Andreo de Boneta, comptroller of works at the palace of Olite, in which this notice appears, provides a wealth of information only partially collected and published by Emile Bertaux in his important study.[5] Although the accounts begin with an entry for November 9, it is the one for November 22, containing the earliest

notation of work having started on the sepulcher of the royal couple, which deserves attention. Significantly, the date is more than two years in advance of that generally acknowledged since Madrazo and then Bertaux published the document of 1416 concerning quarrying of alabaster for the tomb.[6] The "masons in the work of the sepulcher" include Johan de Lisla, Michel de Reyems, Aneqin de Sorça, Vicent Huyart, and Johan de Borgoyna.[7] Although unstated, it becomes apparent to one who follows the documentation that the reference can only be to the royal cenotaph erected in the cathedral of Pamplona. Jehan Lome is not included in this entry since he was paid a monthly salary rather than a daily wage. Referred to in February by the title "mason of the images" and in March as "master making the images," Lome, whose salary was nearly double that of the other masons, clearly directed the activities on the sepulcher from their inception.[8]

With work on the sepulcher underway in 1413, it appears strange at first that the quarrying of a major portion of the required alabaster was delayed until 1416. The account book provides a partial explanation for this seeming anomaly. The records show that the work on the royal cenotaph continued through the early months of 1414. In mid March, the group of masons decreased by one when Vincent Huyart left the shop.[9] We learn that in June Pero Miguel Baraylla supplied six dozen nails to the masons for construction going on in their shop.[10] Only a week later, on June 16, work on the sepulcher stopped; the entry for this date is the last to include the familiar heading "masons on the sepulcher."[11] Pere Andreo, having made entries in his accounts in advance of payments to the masons, had to cross out those for the week of June 18 to 22.[12]

Generally the entries in the accounts during the preceding period are too vague to permit our knowing just what work was completed. The few additional documents concerning statues being carved at this period remain somewhat difficult to interpret. To be sure alabaster was quarried in the merindad of Tudela at Ablitas in 1412 specifically for "making certain images in the palaces of the king at Olite."[13] If this information applies to the sepulcher, it would push back the beginning date another year. Confirmation that figural sculpture was being created at Olite is given in a second document; in August, Petrico de Senosiayn, resident of Pamplona, traveled with letters of the king to Tafalla, then "to Olite to the mason who was carving images," from there to Caparrosa, and finally to the monastery of La Oliva.[14]

A year later, August 29, 1413, specific reference is made to work progressing on the "images of the sovereigns."[15] Regrettably, the sculptors are designated only as "two French masons." Castro questions whether the reference is to Lome.[16] I believe it to refer to him and to an assistant. Nevertheless, uncertainty as to the purpose of these images remains, for the following year reference is made to another pair of statues of the royal couple. Two documents, the earlier one dated January 22, 1414, refer to ten blocks of stone quarried at Azcona in Navarre by Johan Dalmarca. The entry specifically states that the stones are "for the king and queen with their consoles and with their tabernacles."[17] The entry for May 14 apparently completes the transaction, with Dalmarca receiving an additional 50 libras for a total payment of 150 libras.[18]

There are distinct reasons for recognizing this latter project as

separate from the commission for the funereal effigies, although at first one might be inclined to accept it as such. First, two series of effigies were in progress by 1414. One pair was carved from alabaster quarried at Ablitas; the second pair, from stone quarried at Azcona. Of major interest for the latter commission is that a total of ten stones was to be used for the complete group. Allowing two for the baldachins and two for the consoles, six remain, three for each statue. This factor alone suggests the statues to have been near life-size. One may also infer that these statues were to be placed vertically because of the reference to the consoles. Together the effigies of the royal cenotaph utilize eight large stones, three for each figure and two for the baldachins. One might argue that a decision to omit the consoles came later; however, I believe that would be erroneous, for so far as I have been able to determine Azcona has never had an alabaster quarry.[19] To what specific purpose this pair of missing figures was put remains unresolved.

That the other pair, worked by the two French masons, was destined for another use seems probable, too. We can, at least, be certain that the sepulchral effigy of doña Leonor was carved during the second phase of work on the tomb. In her testament of July 27, 1414, she gives instructions for her burial: " ... I order ... that my body should be interred in the church of Santa María of Pamplona high or low as the King my lord may order ... and I order that I be interred within the sepulcher in the habit of St. Francis and atop the sepulcher that my figure be in royal garments which have no habit save the cord of Saint Francis which fastens [it]."[20] Significantly no Franciscan cord appears on the effigy. The queen surely would not have described it,

were an effigy without it already prepared for the tomb. Moreover, her statement suggests in its lack of certainty with regard to the specific place of burial that work on the sepulcher had not progressed too far. The absence of the cord serves to underscore the failure of the executors to carry out details of the queen's wishes. Since work on the sepulcher had halted on June 16, the queen's testament of the following month serves as proof that her effigy was created after her death.

Work on the sepulcher was stopped because a more immediate need required the services of the masons. Aneqin de Sora, Michel de Reyems, and Johan de Borgoyna reappear on July 23, when construction of the great hall of the palace began.[21] Explanation of their new duties follow in the entry for July 26, "to Aneqin de Sora who is working on the window, 10 sueldos," and in that for July 27 which includes all three under the heading "masons making the window over the portal of the palaces in the great hall."[22] Without question, the great hall was the major royal enterprise of 1414. Of the 11,840 libras, 7 sueldos and 3 dineros spent on construction at the palace of Olite between November 9, 1413, and the end of 1414, 4,118 libras, 8 sueldos and 8 dineros are recorded in a special section of the account book reserved for expenses on the great hall. With the addition of other related payments, such as those to the aforementioned masons, the total expenditure for the great hall comprises well over a third of the building costs for the fourteen-month period.[23] The enormous costs may, in part, have resulted from a conscious desire to advance the work as rapidly as possible. In any case, on July 31, two other masons Perryn Jalopa and Johan de Dros joined those already active on the window of the

great hall.[24] Only slightly later, on August 2, Johanto de Tolossa began his apprenticeship, receiving recompense of 2 sueldos 6 dineros daily.[25]

It is one of the fortunate accidents of the history of the palace of Olite that the window, one of its few decorative elements to have escaped the conflagration of 1813, can thus be associated with Lome's shop. Less fortunate, however, is its state of preservation (Figs. 5 and 6). Although the exterior ornament has weathered severely, enough detail remains to suggest its original grandeur. The broad, arched opening is enframed by a series of moldings featuring two concave bands adorned with foliate forms, one in the soffit and the other aligned with the façade. A simple pinnacle flanks the window on either side while a more ornamental one serves as a terminal at the center. In the spandrels appear escutcheons surmounted by royal coronets and supported on the backs of greyhounds. The escutcheon at the left bears the quarterings Navarre and Evreux. The one at the right is similarly ornamented, but it is totally restored as are several stones set into the window at the lower right.[26] The few elements of existing tracery show that the window was divided by a central colonette into two lancets. The width of the opening on the exterior is one and a half meters; on the interior it expands to two and one-third meters forming a trapezoidal bay having a depth of 85 centimeters.[27] The arms Navarre-Evreux appear again on the small boss at the center of the quatrepartite vault. The interior ornament is similar to that on the exterior but is restricted solely to the enframement. Small snails appear here and there among the lush foliate forms of the inner molding. The preservation of the interior surface, having been subject to

the elements for little more than a century, is much superior to that of the façade and reveals the flora and fauna to have been executed with great delicacy.[28]

Work progressed rapidly throughout the following months; the earliest indication of the setting of the ornate stones into place occurs in the entry for September 22, scarcely two months after work commenced: "Masons in the great hall above the portal to set the window."[29] Shortly before this date, on Wednesday, September 19, Johan de Borgoyna terminated his participation in the work.[30] Nevertheless, with so many masons active in the project, it was finished within fewer than five months. The entry for Wednesday, December 12, includes Aneqin, Michel, Johan de Dros, and Johanto de Tolossa as "masons in the wall above the portal."[31] Definite proof that the window was complete is given in the entry for December 19, in which the same masons are listed at work "on the second window."[32]

Work on the latter window continued through the end of the year (Fig. 7). The loss of the account book for 1415 prevents our knowing just when it was completed. In comparison with the first, the second window, composed of two simple lancets within a rectangular enframement, is extremely plain. The two angel corbels as well as most of the molding are the work of the twentieth-century restorers. The interior of the window is completely unornamented, although, like the former, it has window seats.[33]

On the tenth of December, the name of Johan de Lisla, last mentioned on June 16 in reference to the royal sepulcher, reappears. In this, the first of several entries in which he is entitled carpenter, he received 10 <u>sueldos</u> for working "on the shutters of the stuccoed

windows in the great hall."[34] Despite the change in title, this person is probably the same as the mason recorded previously.[35]

Since Jehan Lome received his monthly salary of 23 libras 10 sueldos regularly throughout 1414, there cannot, I believe, be any doubt that he continued to supervise the work of the other masons, first on the sepulcher and then on the windows of the great hall.[36] Nevertheless, he was not restricted to these activities, for on August 2, he received 8 libras for making a wooden bench and for his expenses and daily wages for three trips which he had made to Pamplona and to Tudela.[37]

Despite the loss of the construction records of 1415 for the palace of Olite, one may, correctly I believe, suggest that Lome and his assistants continued during that year with further assignments to adorn that royal residence. The only other figurative ornament remaining in the palace is a small corbel in an upper courtyard (Figs. 8 and 9). Bertaux assigned it and a second corbel still extant in the first decade of this century to Lome;[38] certainly it is from his shop and may well date to the years 1414 to 1415. Again the state of preservation is lamentable. The hands and a large portion of the face of the aged figure have been knocked off. Yet a certain vitality lingers in the twining scroll and the swirling draperies.

Other accounts offer a further glimpse of Lome. An entry for July 29 from the records of Machin de Çalva, "general receiver of the finances ordered placed in the coffers of the lord king," published recently by Goñi Gaztambide, provides a rare notation on Lome's personal life. On that date the king authorized the payment of 31 libras 18 sueldos for two silver tazze, weighing two marks, which had been

given to Lome, "master of carving and making images of stone," on the occasion of his marriage.[39]

The year had brought less joyful events to the court. The queen, doña Leonor, passed away in the palace of Olite on February 27. Her death must greatly have saddened Charles the Noble, who had already witnessed the passing of his male heirs Charles and Louis as infants and the deaths of three daughters, Beatrice, Maria, and Juana, the eldest child.[40] In contrast to these mournful events, the return of doña Blanca, heiress to the crown of Navarre, from Sicily, where she had governed as lieutenant since the death of her husband in 1409, occasioned great joy in the royal household.[41] She arrived at Olite on September 6; among the important noblemen in her entourage were the count of Foix and the marshall of the Holy Roman Emperor.[42] To celebrate his daughter's homecoming, Charles ordered three days of truly regal festivities which are of special interest, since the accounts document Lome's presence in Olite at that time. Aiding in the preparation for the festivities he received 71 sueldos for various materials used in making the entremets and for "having made the patterns of the said entremets."[43] Also working on these decorations was the painter Rolin, assisted by two companions; these three craftsmen worked nights in order to complete their work in time. Additional material was supplied them by Estevenin le Riche, who also provided the necessary tables, dressers, chests, and benches for the two halls of the palace where the festivities took place.[44] A suggestion of the sumptuous nature of the decoration, of the food and drink is given by the total cost of the festivities, more than 1,440 libras.[45]

Construction continued at the palace of Olite during the year

1416, but Lome and his assistants had a more urgent assignment. Once again they turned their attention to the royal sepulcher. By February 13, nearly a year after the queen's death, work began again. Mahoma el Halli, Farach de Motarra, Ybray Madexa, Moorish blacksmiths in Tudela, received a total of 19 libras 14 sueldos for making wedges, sickles, crowbars, picks, spades, and a maul, the tools needed by the masons for extracting blocks of alabaster from the quarry at Sastago in Aragon. Gil Dezcana of Tudela received 14 sueldos for making a dozen handles for the picks and spades; Ferrando de Mena, likewise of Tudela, received 20 sueldos for each of the eight days needed to transport the tools to the quarry and to return home. Jehan Lome had charge of quarrying the necessary alabaster at Sastago "for the works and images of the sepulchers of the King our lord and also for the king his father, whom God pardon, which he has had or intends to have made by the said Johan Lome in the church of Santa María of Pamplona."[46] By July 13, 170 hundredweight of alabaster had been transported from the Aragonese quarry to Olite at a cost of 113 libras 2 sueldos.[47] The quantity of alabaster quarried at this time serves again to suggest that the masons had not advanced too far in their work during the winter and spring of 1413 to 1414.

Unfortunately the loss of the expense accounts for 1416 and 1417 for the palace in Olite, where Lome's shop was located, prevents our following progress made during that period on the tomb. Our specific knowledge of activity thereon begins again in 1418 with accounts kept by Johan Amaurryn, comptroller of the works at Olite. His accounts allow us to make certain deductions about activities during the previous eighteen months. Throughout 1418, Lome received his monthly

salary of 23 libras 10 sueldos as he must have during the years since 1413.[48] Furthermore, several members of the shop in that earlier period are still mentioned working under his direction. Aneqin de Sora is listed from January 3, and Michel de Reyems, from January 14, each receiving the accustomed 10 sueldos daily.[49] Johanto de Tolossa, who appears frequently from March 14 to October 1, has gradually risen in status as attested by his increased salary of 6 sueldos daily.[50] From at least January 10, a new mason of French origin Collin de Rems was working in the shop on an equal footing with Aneqin and Michel as shown by his daily wage of 10 sueldos.[51] Although listed under the heading "masons on the sepulcher," Copin Conlaua, Pedro de Garayon, and Pedro de Solla may actually have been engaged in other activities then in progress on the towers or on the gallery above the garden at Olite.[52]

On March 23, Estevenin le Riche received 20 sueldos for supplying a block of walnut "for the figure of the sepulcher of the king."[53] Although its purpose receives no further clarification, it would seem probable that the wood was used for making a model before the carving of the alabaster was begun. On June 9, 8 sueldos were paid to Johan Sanchiz, cartwright, for supplying the oxen and cart which he used in hauling a stone from a quarry to Olite for the sepulcher.[54] A second stone was brought to Olite before July 13, when Lome was reimbursed the 8 sueldos which "he paid for a stone that he ordered brought from the quarry for the sepulcher."[55] These, undoubtedly, were two of the sandstone slabs which form the sides and the top of the sepulcher.

The account specifically states that seven pounds of linseed oil was purchased from Nicollas Desgroz on August 22 for the sepulcher.[56]

It was required for the painting and gilding which was to take place. Additional supplies were paid for on September 21, when Martín Periz of Estella, master mason at Olite, received 60 sueldos for 1,000 spikes prepared in his foundry for the masons of the sepulcher.[57] By October 1418, the carving of the architectural ornament of the tomb must have been near completion, for preparations were getting underway for their transport to Pamplona. On the fifteenth of the month, Johan de Sancho Bueno received 12 sueldos for materials for the royal sepulcher.[58] Two days later, two large anvils were bought at 6 sueldos apiece from Pere Andreo for the wagons which were to transport the sepulcher, and Johan de Conalieda received 6 sueldos for making two large axles.[59] Preparations continued. Daily wages of 6 sueldos were paid on the nineteenth to Bertollomeo, cartwright, who was apparently engaged in fitting the carts needed for the journey.[60] The following day, the mayor of Santa Cara was paid 21 sueldos 4 dineros for three dozen joists used in preparing the wagonbeds, while Pere Andreo received 3 sueldos for a measure of oak, and Pedro de Villava, 12 sueldos for six ropes for the oxen which were hauling the parts of the sepulcher.[61]

The entry for October 25 refers to Aneqin de Sora, Collin de Rems, and Michel de Reyems as "those [masons] who are going with the said sepulcher to Pamplona."[62] Preparations, however, were not yet complete for the transfer of all the parts--effigies, weepers, and the baldachins, large and small. On November 3, Johanto, barrel maker, supplied iron clamps for the wagonbeds.[63]

By late December, preparations were being made for shipping the small canopies of alabaster intended to provide a setting for the

weepers around the sepulcher. On the twentieth of the month, 4 libras 12 sueldos were paid to Estevenin le Riche for four special chests to hold these baldachins.[64] The shipment did not, however, take place until late January of 1419. On the sixteenth, Jehan Lome received 10 sueldos 10 dineros for twelve pounds of tow intended for lining these chests.[65] Two days later, Johan Periz, mule driver of Artajona, was paid 66 sueldos for making two trips with six of his mules which "were carrying some of the work of the sepulcher made in Olite to Pamplona."[66] On the twenty-fifth, he received double that amount for the same activity involving twelve mules.[67] It seems certain that the small alabaster canopies made up a part of the shipment, probably accounting for the two trips made on the sixteenth. Although the account book remains silent on the matter, the later shipments would most probably have included the effigies of the king and the queen, which are never specifically mentioned in the surviving records, or the sandstone slabs for the tomb.

After the shipment of the small baldachins, the masons must have been occupied with finishing the pleurants and the large baldachins to be placed at the heads of the effigies. During this period, in early February, Johan de la Garnia in Picardy joined the atelier at a wage of 10 sueldos daily.[68] Shortly thereafter, however, the group of masons diminished to its former number with the departure of Collin de Rems, who is last mentioned on Saturday, the twenty-fourth.[69]

On March 22, Esteuan, barrel maker in Pamplona, received 30 libras for a part of the ironwork for the sepulcher.[70] Five days later, Thierry, the clock maker, was paid 5 libras for twelve iron clamps for the images and for twelve large nails and other materials for the

sepulcher.[71] The following day, Estevenin le Riche received 4 libras for four new chests to contain the images of the sepulcher.[72] Certainly these images were the weepers and not the effigies of the royal couple. It is unlikely that fewer than four chests would have been used for the weepers since that number had been necessary for the small canopies. At the same time four chests would have been insufficient for the effigies, since each one is, as we have noted, carved from three separate blocks of alabaster. Surely each of these extremely heavy blocks would have been packed separately to prevent damage en route.[73] On the final day of March, Johanto, barrel maker, received 26 sueldos for two large iron axles, two large iron pegs, and two angle-irons for the carts.[74] Johan Amaurry records the payment of 44 sueldos to Johan Sanchiz for a wagon with two team of oxen which transported the two large baldachins to Pamplona on the twenty-first of April.[75]

It is unlikely that work had yet begun on setting the sepulcher into place at that time, for on the twenty-ninth of April, Lome received 12 libras 12 sueldos for the wages of two day laborers who had worked "thirty days in excavating the earth of the sepulcher in Pamplona."[76] Nevertheless, the erection of the monument above the vault which had been prepared must have commenced shortly thereafter. Its installation was completed during the next two months, no later than June 30, the last day for which Aneqin de Sora, Michel de Reyems, and Johan de la Garnia were paid.[77] Only the painting and gilding remained to be completed. On July 18, the goldsmith Domenion received 7 ducados, the equivalent of 43 sueldos, for gilding a part of the tomb chest.[78] Probably he was also responsible for applying the gold and azur to the

effigies, to the cushions on which they rest their heads, and to the animals at their feet.

A year later on June 12, 1420, Lome received fifty gold florins of Aragon, equal to 75 libras, "over that which he was owed on account of the works and some expenses which were made by him on our sepulcher."[79] This final payment completes the medieval documentation of the royal sepulcher without altering the fact that it was essentially complete at the end of June 1419, four years and four months after the death of the queen, doña Leonor, and during the lifetime of Charles the Noble.[80]

NOTES: CHAPTER II

[1]In modern literature, Lome is first mentioned as Juan Le-home de Tortay (sic) by José Yanguas y Miranda, Diccionario de antigüedades del reino de Navarra, 3 vols. (Pamplona, 1840), III, p. 366. This notice was restated by Iturralde y Suit, Memoria sobre las ruinas del palacio real de Olite (Pamplona, 1870), pp. 16-17. Hereafter cited as Iturralde y Suit, Memoria. His importance as the sculptor in charge of the royal cenotaph in Pamplona cathedral was recognized by Pedro de Madrazo [y Kuntz], España sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza é historia: Navarra y Logroño, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1886) I, 1-li. The latter author published a portion of the important document of 1416 (given in the Appendix 1416, 1); but being unaware of the document known to Yanguas y Miranda and to Iturralde y Suit, he surmised a possible Italian origin for Lome. The only study devoted specifically to this artist has been Emile Bertaux, "Le mausolée de Charles le noble à Pampelune et l'art franco-flamand en Navarre," Gazette des beaux-arts, XL/2 (1908), pp. 89-112. Hereafter cited as Bertaux, "Mausolée." He published in full the documents cited by Madrazo as well as adding others of significance. Subsequent authors have, for the most part, relied upon Bertaux's study without looking for additional documentation. The exceptions have been Navarrese historians; their contributions have been generally ignored by other European and American scholars. Nevertheless, a number of documents are made public for the first time in the appendix.

[2]Archivo General de Navarra, Sección de Comptos, caj. 106, no. 4, VIII, and caj. 99. no. 44, IX. Hereafter cited as AGN, Comptos. See Appendix 1411, 1 and 2.

[3]AGN, Comptos, caj. 106, no. 14, IV, and caj. 102, no. 41, VIII. See Appendix 1413, 1 and 2.

[4]AGN, Registros de Comptos 331, fol. 7r. Hereafter cited as AGN, Reg. Appendix 1413, 6.

[5]"Mausolée," passim.

[6]See below page 27 and Appendix 1416, 1, for this important document.

---

[7]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 4v. Appendix 1413, 5. It will be noted that the document lists ten additional persons. Clearly Muça "who is sewing the napas" can be eliminated from among the masons; it becomes clear from the subsequent entries that the other nine, as well, were employed not as masons but in other capacities as plumbers, plasterers, and carpenters.

[8]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 190r and fol. 37v. Appendix 1414, 3 and 4.

[9]He is last mentioned in the entry for Friday, March 9. AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 31r.

[10]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 53r and fol. 219r. Appendix 1414, 8.

[11]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 55r.

[12]AGN, Reg. 331, fols. 222r-223r. This occurs, of course, only in the original set of accounts.

[13]AGN, Reg. 318, fol. 40v. Appendix 1412, 1.

[14]AGN, Comptos, caj. 101, no. 59, XVII. Appendix 1412, 2.

[15]AGN, Comptos, caj. 103, no. 24, VII. Appendix 1413, 3.

[16]José Ramón Castro, Carlos III el noble, rey de Navarra (Pamplona, 1967), p. 456. Hereafter cited as Castro, Carlos III.

[17]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 21r and fol. 181v. Appendix 1414, 1.

[18]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 46r and fol. 210v. Appendix 1414, 6.

[19]Today Azcona has no quarry; the stone in the area is sandstone.

[20]Castro, Carlos III, pp. 606-607; he gives the full text of the testament as his Appendix XI, pp. 606-615. We quote here the pertinent passage: "Item mando que quoando fuere voluntad de Dios padre de me leuar deste mundo que entierren el mi cuerpo en la iglesia de santa Maria de Pomplona de Nauarra alto o baxo como el Rey mi seynnor ordenare por quoanto eill me prometio en manos de don fray Pedro Deca mi confessor qui fue de se enterrar en la dicta iglesia cerqua de la sepultura do yo me enterrare et mando que el mi cuerpo sea enterrado en la dicta iglesia lo mas complidament et honrradamente que ser podiere segunt que a mi estado pertenece et mando que me entierren en el abito de sant Francisco dentro en la sepultura et en cima de la sepultura que este mi figura en vistiduras reales que non tenga abito saluo el cordon de sant Francisco que tenga cenido."

[21]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 63r.

[22]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 63v. "A Aneqin de Sora que lauro en la finiestra x sueldos." Ibid., "Maçoneros en fazer la finiestra de sobre la puerta delos palacios en la cambra luenga."

[23]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 149r and fol. 103v. See Appendix 1414, 19, for the former entry.

[24]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 66r. Appendix 1414, 12.

[25]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 64r. Appendix 1414, 11.

[26]In his monograph of 1870, Iturralde y Suit noted that the bearings of the escutcheon to the right were completely effaced. The main copy of the Memoria in the Biblioteca de Navarra, Pamplona, bearing the signature 19-1/267, contains a series of photographs of drawings prepared by Ancieto Lagarde in 1870 showing the castle at that period. Plate 11 shows the exterior of the window in its damaged state. This plate is reproduced by the Marqués de Monsalud, "El palacio real de Olite," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, IV (1913), fig. 1 between pp. 152-153.

[27]The measurements were taken from the interior at the present floor level. Unfortunately in the restoration of this part of the palace for use as a national parador, the level of the floor was raised well above that of the original design in such a manner that the original window seats are concealed. These are shown in a second of the photographs in the copy of Iturralde y Suit, Memoria, in the Biblioteca de Navarra, 19-1/267, plate 10.

[28]No masons's marks are visible on the interior of the window; it was not possible to examine the exterior of the window for such details.

[29]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 76v. Aneqin, Michel, Perryn, Johan de Dros, and Johanto de Tolossa are listed under the heading "Maçoneros en la cambra luenga sobre la puerta adasentar la finiestra."

[30]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 75v.

[31]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 101r-101v. The first heading reads: "Maçoneros enel muro sobre la puerta." On the following days, they are simply entitled "masons."

[32]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 102r. The heading states: "Maçoneros enla segunda finiestra." The masons continue to be listed in this capacity until December 31, a Monday, on fol. 103r.

[33]Again the reconstruction of the palace for use as a parador left the window in an awkward situation. The window is isolated high in the wall of the stairwell making the window seats appear rather ludicrous.

[34]AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 143r. Appendix 1414, 17.

[35]The salary is identical with that earned by the man Johan de Lisla listed earlier as mason. Furthermore, we find him engaged also on decorative works in wood. Exemplary is the citation made some years later: "Lunes xxx° dia de mayo [de 1418] ... A Johan de lila carpentero qui ha fecho un tabernacle por el altar de sant tomas & de sant frances en la Iglesia de santa maria de Olit por [illegible word] & faycon de entretayllar por todo esto xiiii florines pieça xxx sueldos vallet xxi libras." AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 45r.

[36]AGN, Reg. 331, fols. 23r, 28v, 37v, 43r, 50r, 58r, 64r, 70v, 79r, 89r, 98r, and 103v. Appendix 1414, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 18.

[37]AGN, Reg. 331, fols. 64v and 232r. Appendix 1414, 11.

[38]"Mausolée," p. 106.

[39]José Goñi Gaztambide, "El sepulcro de Carlos III el noble," Pregón: Revista gráfica Navarra, XXVIII (Autumn 1969), pp. [1-2 of article]. AGN, Reg. 337, fol. 60r. Appendix 1415, 1.

[40]See Castro, Carlos III, pp. 171, 173, 177, 182, 183, 184, and 390. Louis, born in 1399, died in 1400. Charles, born in 1397, died in 1402. Beatrice died in 1404; Maria, in 1406; and Juana, in 1413.

[41]The return of doña Blanca was long awaited. Castro, Carlos III, pp. 275-280, discusses in detail the preparations made in advance of her return and the appropriation of funds for her journey.

[42]AGN, Reg. 342, fol. 174r and fol. 215r. These accounts of the expenses for the festivities celebrating doña Blanca's return were unknown to Castro. They are contained in a special section of Reg. 342, fols 214-221ter. Unfortunately much of the writing here is a nearly illegible scrawl. The royal degree which summarizes the set of accounts is bound into Reg. 342, fol. 221ter. It is given in the Appendix 1415, 2.

[43]AGN, Reg. 342, fols. 220v and 221r. Appendix 1415, 3 and 4.

[44]Loc. cit.

[45]AGN, Reg. 342, fol. 221bis verso.

[46]AGN, Reg. 344, fol. 15r. Appendix 1416, 1.

[47]AGN, Reg. 344, fol. 35v. Appendix 1416, 2.

[48]AGN, Reg. 355, fols. 8v, 16v, 26r, 35r, 45r, 53v, 66r, 78v, 89r, 100r, 114r, and 126r. Appendix 1418, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 20, 22, and 24.

[49]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 2r and fol. 4r.

[50]AGN, Reg. 355, fols. 20v, 89v, and passim.

[51]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 3v.

[52]Copin Conlaua, identified as a plumber, is mentioned only on May 2. AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 35v. The other two are mentioned on September 30. AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 89r. Work on the towers is mentioned on fol. 40r and passim. Work on the gallery is mentioned on fol. 91v and passim.

[53]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 23v. Appendix 1418, 3.

[54]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 48r. Appendix 1418, 7. Unfortunately the site of the quarry is not mentioned.

[55]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 58r. Appendix 1418, 9.

[56]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 75r. Appendix 1418, 11.

[57]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 86v. Appendix 1418, 13.

[58]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 94v. Appendix 1418, 15.

[59]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 95r. Appendix 1418, 16.

[60]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 96r. Appendix 1418, 17.

[61]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 96v. Appendix 1418, 18.

[62]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 98v. Appendix 1418, 19.

[63]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 101r. Appendix 1418, 21.

[64]AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 122v. Appendix 1418, 23.

[65]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 298v. Appendix 1419, 1.

[66]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 299r. Appendix 1419, 2.

[67]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 301v. Appendix 1419, 3.

[68]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 331r. Appendix 1419, 15.

[69]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 309r.

[70]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 314v. Appendix 1419, 7.

[71]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 316r. Appendix 1419, 8.

[72]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 316v. Appendix 1419, 9.

[73]By carving each of the effigies from three blocks of alabaster, Lome avoided the problem which later plagued Juan de la Huerta, an Aragonese artist, at Dijon.

[74]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 317v. Appendix 1419, 10.

[75]AGN, Reg. 272, fols. 322v and 323v. Appendix, 1419, 11 and 12.

[76]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 324r. Appendix 1419, 13.

[77]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 340r. The following sheet, fol. 341v, contains the names of the three masons and their salaries, but these have been scratched through and are accompanied by the notation in the margin: "Barradas estas iii lineas por que no mostro mandamiento del Rey

ni certifficacion de otro ninguno."

[78]AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 341r. Appendix 1419, 16.

[79]AGN, Comptos, caj. 118, no. 69, I. Appendix 1420, 1.

[80]This chapter was essentially complete when Dr. Goñi Gaztambide brought to my attention the publication of José María Jimeno Jurio, Sepulcro del rey noble, Navarra temas de cultura popular, 108 (Pamplona, [1971]). Jimeno Jurio has also extracted the pertinent texts from the Archivo General de Navarra, but he neither gives their signatures nor reproduces them.

CHAPTER III

THE STYLE OF THE ROYAL CENOTAPH

The sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor (Figs. 10 and 11) stands today in the center of the nave of Pamplona cathedral.[1] Both the intrinsic quality of the sculpture and the excellent state of its preservation make this not only the finest medieval work preserved in Navarre but also place it among the masterpieces of tomb sculpture from the early fifteenth century. The elaborate table tomb follows the tradition established at the court of France in the design of the funerary monument of Louis (d. 1260), son of Saint Louis. The monument, with its series of mourners in arcades around the base, has long received recognition as a keystone for the development of the sepulcral form in the later Middle Ages.[2]

In the fourteenth century Jean de Liège developed the essential features of the prevailing tradition in a highly sophisticated manner as attested by the tomb of Philippa of Hainaut, queen of England, wife of Edward III.[3] Despite the severe damage inflicted during the intervening centuries, the tomb remains in situ in Westminster Abbey. Atop the tomb chest of black, Liège marble, the alabaster effigy of the queen rests beneath a highly ornamented architectural canopy which is supported by pilasters adorned with statuettes. The sides of the tomb were once richly decorated, too. Of the tracery, only fragments remain. Nevertheless enough is preserved for one to envision its original form.

There are eleven niches on the flanks; five, on the ends. They are arranged as a series of paired and single units. There is great variety in the patterns of the tracery not only in the manner of grouping part of the figures in pairs beneath a single canopy but also in the changing of forms from ogival to straight-sided gables. Beneath the niches, at the base of the tomb, reliefs of quatrefoils contained coats of arms which served to identify the statuettes of various members of the royal family.[4]

The alternation of architectural elements on the tomb at Westminster Abbey suggests the work of Jean de Liège as a source for the most famous of the late medieval tombs that of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, produced in the shop at the Chartreuse de Champmol under the successive direction of Jean de Marville, Claus Sluter, and Claus de Werve. Jean de Marville utilized the alternation of paired and single baldachins in a most innovative manner, creating a single unified space, a cloister as it were around the tomb chest.[5] Within that space, Claus Sluter and his successor Claus de Werve were to place the coordinated procession of weepers, thereby revealing a new attitude toward the relationship of figure and setting. Other creative features are evident as well. A baldachin at the head of the effigy is given up in favor of kneeling angels who hold the knightly arms of the deceased. The effigy, too, despite the severe damage and the subsequent restoration which it incurred shows a new awareness of natural form. No longer do the garments fall as if the figure were standing, but their billowing form serves to underscore the fact that the effigy is reclining upon the tomb slab. Finally, the size of the tomb surpasses that of others of the period. Together the innovative

characteristics attest the artists' increased awareness of forms in space, their new and deeper understanding of physical forms in nature which underlies the final phase of medieval art.

In contrast with the sepulcher at Dijon, Lome's design for the tomb at Pamplona fits more comfortably into the established tradition and shows the artist's perfection of a traditional design rather than an interest in innovative re-interpretation (Figs. 10 and 11). It lacks the sense of spatial continuity which was suggested in the tomb of Philippa of Hainaut and consumated in that of Philip the Bold. Around the tomb a series of architectural units comprising twenty-eight niches contains weepers, which stand on individual consoles. On either end there are six; on either flank, eight. Their identities can, in so far as possible, only be determined on the basis of their garments. The effigies, also, are shown in accordance with the tradition of past centuries. Each rests his head on a thick cushion beneath an elaborate baldachin. At their feet repose the customary animals, a lion symbolizing valor for the king and two dogs symbolizing faithfulness for the queen. As is expected, the creamy alabaster of the figural and architectural decoration contrasts with the stone of the tomb proper. Here, however, the latter is sandstone which has been painted to imitate the veined green marble of the Pyrenees; originally it may have been painted black.[6]

The Epitaphs and Effigies

Epitaphs eulogizing Charles the Noble and his wife Leonor of Trastamara, princess of Castile and queen of Navarre, appear on the great baldachins. The more elaborate text honoring the king continues

around the four edges of the tomb slab which is further ornamented by its rich profile and a band of foliage similar to that on the great window of the palace at Olite.

+ a . qui . iaze . seppellida . la . reyna . dona . leonor . infāta . de . castilla . muger . del . rey . don . karlos . iiii° . qui . dios . perdōne . la . qual . fue . muy . buena . reȳa . sabia . et . deuota . et . fino . v° . dia . de . marco . del . aȳno . de . mil . cccc . et . xvi . et . rogat . dios . por . su . alma.

+ aqui . iaze . seppellido . el . de . [buena .] memoria . don . karlos . iiii° . [Rey] . de . navarra . et . duc . de . nemoux . descēdient . en . recta . lignea . del . emperador . sant . karlos . magno . et . de . Sant loys . Rey . de . francia . Et . recobro . en . su . tempo . vna . grant . part . de . villas . et . castiillos . de . su . regno . que . seyan . en . mano . del re[y .] de . Castilla . et . sus . tierras . de . francia . que . seyan . empachadas . por . los . Reyes . de . francia . et . de . anglaterra . Este . en . su . tiempo . ennoblescio . et . exalco . en . dignidades . et . honnores . A . muchos . ricos . hombres . Cauailleros . et . fijos . dalgo . naturales . suyos . Et . fezo . muchos . notables . hedificios . en . su . regno . Et . fue . muy . piadoso . et misericordioso Et . Regno . Rey xxxviii aynnos . Et . fino . lo . viii . dia . de . septebre . del . aynno . de . mil . cccc . et xxvi.[7]

Three significant errors appear in the text of the two epitaphs. The first is that Charles the Noble is twice stated to be the fourth of that name to have ruled Navarre. Garibáy, who was the first to note this oddity, records that someone else who had realized the error had removed the gilding from the final stroke of the numeral. He tentatively suggested that the numbering might have been altered so as to include Charles the Great, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, in the list of Navarrese rulers. However, because he knew that Charlemagne had never actually ruled in Navarre, Garibáy rejected this hypothesis.[8] In the seventeenth century, the traveller François Bertaut noted the same error; in checking, he learned that it was previously observed by Garibáy. Bertaut made no effort to explain the discrepancy.[9] The

problem was taken up anew in the twentieth century; Germán de Pamplona believes that Garibáy proposed but then rejected the correct solution.[10] After all, the epitaph specifically mentions "Saint Charlemagne" as a direct ancestor of Charles III. Certainly this interpretation is correct. If the court of Charles III was aware, as one would assume, that Charlemagne had never ruled in Navarre, then the counting must be attributed to a conceit which it practiced, even as members of Charlemagne's court assumed the names of famous men of antiquity. Significantly the designation of the king as "don Karlos iiii°" is not restricted to the two epitaphs, but it also appears frequently in the account books preserved at Pamplona.[11]

The other errors in the epitaphs are of a more serious nature and far more difficult to explain. They concern the dates of death. Doña Leonor is said to have died March 5, 1416; Charles III, September 8, 1426. Actually the queen died on February 27, 1415, as recorded in the documents of the period.[12] Oyenart, writing in the seventeenth century, noted the discrepancy.[13] Alesón, first chronicler of Navarre, discovered pertinent documents in the archive at Olite which tell of her death on February 27 at eight in the evening. Present at the time were Charles III, their daughter doña Isabel, the king's sister doña Juana of Navarre, mosén Francés de Villaespesa, chancellor of Navarre, and other officials. The document continues with a description of the subsequent ceremonies, from the first watch over the body in the church of Santa María at Olite until the actual interment in the cathedral of Pamplona the following Thursday, March 1. On Monday, March 5, the three estates of the kingdom assembled at the cathedral for a special requiem mass.[14]

The erroneous date given in the epitaph for the death of the king has never been accepted by historians. Garibáy, who gives the correct date of September 8, 1425, does not transcribe the end of the epitaph, although it must have appeared on the tomb since he terminates his quotation with an ampersand.[15] The epitaph must, in fact, have been cut on the tomb slab before the death of the king with sufficient space being left for the date to be added. Support for this interpretation is found in the fact that the numeral "viii" floats within an extremely large space between "lo" and "dia" while the abbreviated "septebre" just fits into the alloted space. In the former instance there is sufficient room to accomodate xxviii, the largest numeral for which allowance need have been made, whereas in the latter instance it was necessary to abbreviate to prevent overcrowding. Why two such glaring errors should appear on the royal cenotaph remains unanswerable, for it is difficult to explain why such vital statistics which could easily have been confirmed in the court records should have been left to chance. It appears that the dates were not carved at the time of the deaths of the sovereigns of Navarre; it is, nevertheless, difficult to determine at what subsequent period they may have been added. It might be thought that the addition was made in 1509 when the bodies of the royal couple were moved from the presbytery of the cathedral to the choir.[16] However, if such were the case, the correct dates should have been used since they appear on the page of Register 498 where the notation of the move occurs.

The finest of the figurative sculpture is, without doubt, the effigy of Charles the Noble (Figs. 12 and 13). Long acknowledged to

be a true portrait, the effigy was, as we have seen, completed some five years before his death. The individuality of the representation confirms our belief that Lome drew his inspiration from the man. The face reveals the great ability of this artist. He is, indeed, a master at revealing the structure of the face through the modeling of planes. The slight indentations at eye level and on the cheeks catch the light and create visual realism; the same is true of the linear accent of light along the jaw bone at the chin. The ear is also finely treated despite its rather large proportions; the large lobe, the cavities with deep pockets of shadow, these convey a sense of correct anatomy. Yet Lome retained certain conventions. Despite the fineness of treatment, the eyes still show a degree of stylization. They are flattened slightly, but the skin above the eye curves softly beneath the arch of the eyebrow. The eyelid forms a second soft curve terminating in a rounded ridge, which extends out to the edge of the socket of the eye, the fold of the upper lid covering that of the lower one. Although the length of the neck may be exaggerated, here, too, the subtle modulation of the surface seems to reveal the underlying structure. The Adam's apple protrudes only slightly. The cut of Charles' hair, which has been painted brown, represents the fashionable manner of the period as known from numerous portraits of royal and noble men. It is combed down from the crown of his head, emerging only slightly from beneath the crown onto his wrinkled forehead in order to soften an otherwise harsh line. It is fuller over the temples, its length gradually increasing until it reaches the top of the ears. The surface treatment is quite delicate. The locks are about three-eighths inch wide, thin at the edge and thicker at the center

with a slight wave at the end. This illusion is successful despite the fact that the top of the head remains completely uncarved. The arrangement with the baldachin was planned from the outset; it is only with great difficulty that one sees the top of the head. The rank of the deceased is designated by the richly foliated crown. Of massive gold work with alternating trefoiled and single leaves, it is further ornamented with a cross-hatched pattern and a beaded edge. Furthermore, it was once set with gems; several of the metal mounts remain in place to suggest the former splendor. The crown serves also to underscore Lome's origins in Tournai, for the richly foliated crown was a hall-mark of Tournaisian sculptors at this period.[17] It appears likely that a second attribute of rank, a scepter of gilded metal, may once have rested upon the effigy, fitting into a slot cut into the upper side at the king's left on the central block of alabaster.[18] The king could not have held the scepter since his finely detailed hands rest together in an attitude of prayer. The prominent veins of the fleshy hands are carefully observed; the fingernails are small and closely cut.[19]

The cushion on which the king reposes is adorned with carving, painting, and gilding. The ends are closed by gilded lacing over a blue lining; heavy gold tassels hang from each corner while traces of more delicate gilding can still be seen against the alabaster surface. Ornamental borders and the royal motto Bone foy remain on the side toward the center of the tomb protected from the touch of the tourist's hand.[20]

Charles the Noble is attired in a tunic, surcoat, and mantle. The two outer garments are sumptuously adorned with carved ornament

in imitation of gold embroidery once studded with gems and of a rich blue velvet edged with gold and adorned with applied fleurs-de-lys of silver-gilt. This floral emblem of the House of Evreux serves also to embellish a gold band at the neck of the surcoat. The king's mantle, caught up over his left arm, lies in a varied pattern of chevron folds so beloved by late medieval artists. The edge is folded back or pushed over so that the rich surface of the border is hidden along half the length. At the neck, too, the weight of the material pulls it over. The clasp of the mantle at the right shoulder was once adorned with imitation jewels as well. Although the weight of the heavy garments is rendered with proper regard for natural qualities as in the lay of the material at the neck and the magnificent modeling of the right sleeve, which catches the light in splendid fashion, the fact remains that the drapery is depicted for the most part as if the figure were standing rather than reclining.

The king's feet, clad in fashionable pointed slippers of soft leather, rest against an impressive lion (Fig. 14). Its powerful form, quite distinct from traditional representations, surely reflects Lome's first-hand knowledge of the species. Charles III kept them in his menagerie, if not at Olite as popularly believed then certainly at Pamplona as attested by contemporary records.[21] The light falls upon the lean, sleek creature accentuating the undulating surface of the blunt face and revealing again a sense of structure beneath the surface. The heavy mane, gilded for decorative effect, covers the animal from forehead to the middle of the back. The fierce expression is created by a partly open mouth and by glance as well as by tension of the body. Yet the animal is actually at ease; his tail lies

peacefully, and his right fore-paw lies on its side, although the others are flat upon the ground.

The effigy of doña Leonor is equally handsome (Figs. 16 and 17). There is nothing unusual about the fact that her brow is unfurrowed, her face unwrinkled, for even in the early fifteenth century one expects a greater idealization of the female form. One has only to think of the splendid portraits of slightly later date by Roger van der Weyden or to compare the many effigies preserved in France at Saint-Denis, the Louvre, or Souvigny, or the statues of Jeanne de Bourbon and Jeanne de Boulogne on the grande cheminée of the Palais de Justice at Poitiers.[22] Nevertheless, there is a sense of individuality because of the fleshiness of form, the squareness of the face, and the long, pointed nose which is only a bit smaller than her husband's. The proportions are scarcely those of an ideal canon. Beneath her small rounded chin is the beginning of a second, larger one. Her eyes are treated in the same manner as those of the king. The eyelid is narrower; the rounded edge of the eyelid and the socket, less pronounced. Although the neck is smoother than the king's, it still reveals a life-like quality. The ears and hair of the queen are covered totally by a golden net of delicate design over a blue lining. The slightest smile crosses her face because of the gentle turning up of the ends of her mouth.

She, too, is attired in ceremonial garments. Her crown is identical with the one worn by her husband. The gown and sideless surcoat had been fashionable for state occasions at the courts of France from the third quarter of the fourteenth century and retained their popularity until late in the fifteenth century.[23] The neck of each

garment is cut in a low scoop from atop her shoulders, while the sleeves of the gown lie tight against the skin, wrinkling only at the wrist and then covering half the palm. The bodice of the surcoat is ornamented with a chain of jeweled brooches, while a gilded girdle of similar design can be seen at either side beneath the surcoat. Like her husband, doña Leonor holds her hands in an attitude of prayer, but their placement is not a mere repetition of the former. While her thumbs are tight against her breast, her fingers are more vertical, giving a more mannered pose. Even as her face is not marred by wrinkles, neither are her hands heavily veined. Yet the undulating dimpled surface and the lines about the knuckles suggest a realistic treatment, and the nails are closely cut.

Whereas the pillow beneath her head matches that of her spouse, the treatment of the foot of the effigy is quite different. The tightly curving material from the train of her gown forms a cushion for the two dogs shown gnawing at a bone (Fig. 15). Garibáy related this canine motif to Charles of Aragon, prince of Viana and grandson of the royal couple.

> ... he then took for his device two greyhounds, gnawing a bone, the bone to be signifying Navarre, which was always harassed by the kings of Castile and France, the first greyhound being the king of Castile ... and the other that of France.[24]

If, indeed, the prince used this device, he took over a theme which had long been current in funerary art. The bone suggests overtones of mortality in this traditional representation of the dogs at the foot of the deceased.[25] Here they wear bells on their collars. Although they are of the same breed, the one at the left has had its ears clipped short and its tail left untrimmed; the other one retains

its longer ears but has had its tail shaved.[26]

Early Descriptions

Few documents describe the condition of the tomb in previous centuries, but several of the brief descriptions which are available present valuable information. Among those of importance is that furnished by Victor Hugo, who traveled in the Pyrenees in 1843. His remarks are noteworthy for their vividness as well as for their information.

> In the center of the choir, another iron grill, which resembles a great cage, surrounds and protects, while permitting one to see, the cenotaph of Charles III of Evreux, king of Navarre.
>
> It is an admirable tomb of the fifteenth century, which would be worthy of being at Bruges with the tombs of Marie of Flanders and of Charles the Bold, at Dijon with the tombs of the dukes of Burgundy, or at Brou with the tombs of the dukes of Savoy. The motif does not vary, but is so simple and so beautiful! The king with his lion, the queen with her greyhound are resting side by side, with crown on head, on a bed of marble, a touching tomb of husband and wife, around which moves a procession of miniature figures in tears beneath small architectural canopies of the most exquisite workmanship. This part of the tomb is odiously mutilated. Nearly all the statuettes are in two pieces.[27]

Clearly imbued with the romantic attitude of the mid nineteenth century, Hugo's comments, nevertheless, suggest his depth of knowledge and his depth of feeling for medieval monuments. It should not be taken amiss that he exaggerated the damage inflicted upon the tomb.

A second description, published six years after Hugo visited Pamplona, takes a more archeological approach.

> Within the choir, near the entrance, one admires the splendid funerary monument of the king and queen of Navarre Charles III and his wife doña Leonor. It deserves to be examined at length for the beauty and the excellent finish of all its parts. It consists of a rectangular, stone tomb $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, 10 feet long, and 7 feet wide. Atop it rest two magnificent reclining figures which represent the aforementioned sovereigns, executed with absolute perfection in

> white alabaster. They wear royal mantles and crowns on their heads, which rest upon large cushions on which one reads bone foy, bone foy. Their hands are crossed; the king supports his feet on a lion and the queen [rests hers] on two greyhounds. Above their heads there are two large polygonal canopies worked with great detail, and on the black slabs, one reads the epitaphs in gilded Gothic letters, that of the king continuing around the entire border of the tomb; yet no one copied it completely until August of 1848, when the clergyman D. Fermin Galarreta cleaned it and copied it. ...
>
> Along the sides of the tomb there are 28 statues of alabaster, each one covered by a small baldachin of the same material; they represent praying monks and weepers. All of this precious monument is found enclosed by an iron grill which, although it detracts, preserves it from destruction. Even so the lower part has several fallen baldachins and broken figures, to the effect that the upper part is found in a better state.[28]

Goñi Gaztambide has recently discovered an eighteenth-century document preserved in the archive of the cathedral of Pamplona.[29] It presents us a wealth of valuable information. By the year 1755, certain damages had been inflicted upon the sepulcher despite the fact that it stood within its own grill inside the enclosed choir. The official who prepared the document attributed the fact that some of the architectural elements were broken, out of place, or missing to the mischief of children. Moreover, the tomb was seriously in need of cleaning. Ostensibly for this purpose the grill was removed. When it was discovered that a piece of stone missing from the slab at the foot of the tomb, that is toward the entrance to the choir, revealed a brick substructure, interest in the project mounted, and the officials decided to inspect the interior of the chamber. The alabaster ornament was removed from the end of the tomb; it was seen that the sandstone slab beneath had broken into a number of pieces. They were removed as were enough of the bricks behind the slab so that an individual might enter the vault. A young mason who was chosen to go

first discovered the vault to be quite small. Others followed to see for themselves. They found that the main entrance into the vault from the east had been blocked during some previous alteration when steps to the choir had been laid across it.[30] Sensibly the author of the report believed that there must originally have been two flights of stairs into the choir, one on either side of the flight descending into the vault. The crypt itself was lined with stone and bricks.

Having thus investigated the burial vault, the officials closed the openings and cleaned and replaced the stones. Their study allowed a careful documentation of the manner in which the cenotaph was assembled. The sandstone slabs were attached to the brick foundations by means of iron fasteners and then painted black. Additional iron clamps were employed to attach the overlaying alabaster decoration. Atop this structure rested the two slabs forming the bed on which the effigies repose. More important, however, is the fact that the transferral of six of the weepers from the head to the foot of the tomb is discussed, for this provides the only clue to the original arrangement of these figures. The six statuettes which were thus moved include the two cardinals, the two bishops, and the two canons. They were placed at the foot of the sepulcher so that they could be seen from the entrance to the choir. Pieces of architectural decoration which had to be replaced were made, it is said, of an inferior stone; they were installed, therefore, toward the head of the tomb where they would be less obvious.

The Pleurants

On the basis of the preceding descriptions, we may make several

observations about the statues of the weepers. Only two of them show the severe damage of which Hugo spoke. The slender figure holding a book (Fig. 30) has a serious break about one-third of the way up from the base; it has been glued so poorly that drops of the adhesive remain as dark stains on the surface. A second serious break runs from the right sleeve across the figure above the book and then down the left side to a point about two inches below the open volume. It is, however, the figure attired in a fur-lined garment with bagpipe sleeves (Fig. 26) which has suffered the worst damage. The entire portion of the shoulders and head has been broken off and lost. The face which now greets the visitor is a cast of mediocre quality made from another of the statuettes, a handsome figure shown reaching into the pouch hanging at his waist (Fig. 41). The choice of a model was, nevertheless, unfortunate, since the damaged figure was undoubtedly facing in the reverse direction originally. The damage to other of the figures is slight--a broken finger here, a chipped nose there. Several of the weepers now bear a number which has been written in pencil or more seriously gouged into the surface.[31]

Recent Navarrese writers have suggested specific identities for several of the pleurants, but few of the proposals hold up under examination. It is, nevertheless, clear from features of costume that a number of the figures would at least have been representative of a particular ecclesiastical or governmental post if not of a specific individual. The six officials of the church, cardinals, bishops, and canons, mentioned in the document of 1755 should be singled out for particular attention. Before that year, they were given the place of honor at the head of the tomb. Their arrangement suggests that all of

the pleurants were assigned and created as pairs of figures. By grouping them in such a manner, we discover even numbers of figures can be associated with the several identifiable hands.

Let us return to the ecclesiastical figures beginning with the cardinals (Figs. 18 and 19). These are unquestionably intended to represent two persons of significance at the court of Charles the Noble. The one must be Martín de Zalba, who died in 1403; the other, his nephew Miguel de Zalba, who held the title only briefly before his death from the plague. Martín de Zalba, a leading cleric of the age, had become doctor of canon law at the age of twenty-eight. Shortly thereafter upon being appointed vicar general by the bishop of Dax, he quickly proved his abilities. In 1377, he succeeded Bernard Folcaut as bishop of Pamplona. With Martín de Zalba, Charles III had found the individual who could maintain the position of the church in Navarre, which since 1385 was subject only to the Holy See. Following his coronation, Charles III, a loyal supporter of Clement VII antipope at this period when schism split the church, sent an embassy to the pope requesting the elevation of the bishop of Pamplona to cardinal. Pressure from the king was unnecessary; with full accord of the cardinals, Martín de Zalba was duly elected in July 1390. As a special honor to Charles III, Martín de Zalba was not summoned to Rome, but Pedro de Luna was sent to Navarre with the hat which was to be ceremoniously bestowed upon the cardinal elect in Pamplona cathedral that autumn. Four years later at the death of Clement VII, Martín de Zalba adhered to the cause of his successor, Pedro de Luna, who chose the name Benedict XIII. Until his death, the Navarrese cardinal remained loyal to the Aragonese pope. He was buried in the monastery at Bonpas,

France, near which he died, rather than in the chapel which he had built in the cathedral of Pamplona.[32] Like his uncle, Miguel de Zalba also achieved prominence in the church hierarchy. As a member of the personal cortege of Benedict XIII, he actively supported Charles III's petitions to create ecclesiastical limits coinciding with the political limits of his kingdom. Pamplona was, he hoped, to become an archbishopric with Irache, Tudela, and Roncesvalles being created new bishoprics and with Navarrese possessions under ecclesiastical control of extra-territorial bishops coming under direct Navarrese control. The plan never became reality. Miguel de Zalba died in France in the summer of 1406. For the next seventeen years the see of Pamplona was ruled by a succession of vicars general. The influence which the Navarrese cardinals had exerted at the papal court on behalf of their temporal sovereign diminished.[33]

These, then, are the persons represented by the hooded figures wearing the red hat of cardinal. The one turns toward his left facing into the center of the group of statuettes. He is given a sense of individualization by the modeling of the face with sunken cheeks, the wrinkling of his brow, and the skin which sags somewhat about his mouth even as we have seen on the effigy of Charles III. The eyes, too, are similar in treatment to the royal effigy, but here they are less finely carved and less apparently stylized. The slight chip on the end of the nose scarcely distracts our attention from the detailing which is exquisitely treated with even the two small buttons at the neck of the tunic being shown. The gesture of clasping the hands effectively serves a double function. Not only does it suggest individual action, but it also serves as a means of organizing drapery patterns. The

strong vertical folds which fall over the right arm and the series of chevron folds which ripple beneath the left one serve to emphasize the stance with right foot forward and left foot pointed out at an angle. The second of the cardinals is an obvious complement. Although his position is reversed with the heavy, vertical folds now falling from the left arm and the chevron folds falling to the other side, there is a subtle distinction in the placement of the hands which are folded simply one over the other rather than being clasped. The slender and elegant form of the hands is particularly noteworthy for it is a characteristic which can be seen in the majority of the weepers despite their other stylistic differences. The details are similar to the other cardinal both in the treatment of the face and of the costume. As the figures are now placed upon the tomb, they stand on adjacent sides at the northwest corner, at the beginning and the end of the cortege, as it were.

There is greater distinction in the representation of the two bishops. The one (Fig. 20), who is given a rather dramatic pose, has been identified as don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, who held the episcopal see from 1420 until 1425.[34] The nomination of this cleric, who was dean of the church at Tudela, could not have been forthcoming before the death of his predecessor, the vicar general Lancelot, bastard of Charles III, on January 8, 1420. As a concession to Charles III, Benedict XIII had permitted this appointment, but he refused the king's petition to name Lancelot bishop.[35] If the figure does represent don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, it must show him in the guise of dean of Tudela, for the sepulcher was, as we have seen, completed in 1419. The weeper shows a certain intensity despite the loss of the

end of the nose. His hair, cut in a manner similar to that of Charles III, emerges from beneath the richly beaded and jeweled mitre. The ear, too, shows a similarity in treatment and design to that of the king. Unfortunately, the forcefulness of the gesture of the right hand is now impaired because of the loss of the two upraised fingers. Nevertheless, the energy behind it is clear because of the greater modeling of the hand with its inherent sense of tension. In his left hand, the bishop holds an open codex which is carefully represented with its leather straps. The ecclesiastical vestments are handsomely treated. The cope, clasped by an ornamental morse, falls from the shoulders to either side giving the figure great breadth and revealing the stole crossed upon the chest; the dalmatic, belted at the waist, falls in a series of vertical folds which break gently upon the ground.

The second bishop (Fig. 21) is represented in a distinctly calmer attitude, his hands clasped at the waist and his cope hanging close at the sides. The design of the morse varies slightly from the preceding one, and the design of the mitre utilizes more varied patterns of beading and jewels. The most striking feature of this bishop's vestments, however, is the Franciscan cord which fastens his dalmatic at the waist. While such a detail should aid in the identification of the personage represented, it merely has served to baffle scholars. None of the persons holding the see of San Fermin during the reign of Charles III has been found to have had specific Franciscan affiliations.[36]

The two canons can, likewise, be readily recognized, for their hoods have a distinctive double curve in the front (Figs. 22 and 23). The statuette shown as figure 22 lifts his left hand to his face

while holding an open book in the right hand in a gesture reflecting that of the dramatic bishop. Pushed back upon either arm, the sleeves create a rich, undulating design which contrasts handsomely with the tubular folds of the body of the robe. It should be noted, moreover, that the pattern of these tubular folds, three convex ones at the center flanked by a concave one to either side and then framed at the edge by two larger convex folds, is a leitmotif found in the garments of a number of the weepers, although always with sufficient variety so as not to become monotonous. The face is treated in a manner similar to those of the foregoing pleurants. The hand raised to the eye, the wrinkling of the brow, the deep setting of the eyes, and the wrinkle at the mouth, all emphasize the sense of mournfulness.

The second of the canons, while forming a pair with the first, shows certain stylistic features which lead me to attribute his execution to Lome himself, while giving the others discussed so far to one of his assistants. The hood differs slightly from the foregoing in having a more shallow double curve at the front. Alone this would scarcely be enough to suggest a different hand. Nor is the pose, which relates strongly to the preceding figure, though the canon now holds the closed book against his waist with his right hand; the left hand hangs at his side. The pattern of fólds of the sleeves and of the body of the robe are similar to the preceding as well. Nevertheless, the treatment of the face betrays a different hand. Despite essential similarities of type, there is a greater finesse in the handling of the features, a greater modulation in the surface which is clearly like that of the royal effigies. To be sure, we see comparable wrinkling of the skin, tautness of lines about the mouth, and

sad expression in the eyes of the other figures, but these similarities serve both to indicate the extent to which the assistant who carved them attempted to emulate Lome's manner and to underscore our belief that Lome himself provided the designs for the entire series of figures.

These first six figures are the only ones whose original placement can be determined with any certainty--at the head of the tomb. Yet their exact arrangement is open to question. If we take the document of 1755 at face value, it is perhaps fair to assume that they were arranged in an hierarchical order beginning with the cardinals at the outside and moving along to the bishops and then to the canons at the center. Certainly the richness of the cardinals' vestments suggests that they were separated, being placed at the extremities rather than at the center. The simplest arrangement would have all the figures turning toward the center. It is possible, of course, that either the bishops or the canons were placed so as to look toward the edge of the cenotaph; such a variation would have created greater interaction among the figures.

Since no absolute method of organization exists for the remaining weepers, we may continue with those figures which seem most closely related to the effigies themselves in so far as style and proportion are concerned. Four of the statuettes remain to be discussed in this connection. Among them is a pair attired in tunics over which are worn broad sleeved robes and mantles fastened at the throat beneath the cowls (Figs. 24 and 25). The gestures have been seen before; the one figure clasps his hands at the waist while the other has raised his left hand to his face and clasps his mantle in the right one.

The faces are treated with great care; that of the latter statuette, being the more finely worked, recalls the face of the canon which may be assigned to Lome himself (Fig. 23).

Closely related to these pleurants is another pair (Figs. 26 and 27). The one was observed earlier to have a modern head. He stands in an extremely mannered, in fact an awkward, pose with the left foot placed nearly at a right angle behind the right one. There is, however, a nice sense of tension in the diagonal pull of the cloak across the chest; the energy is then dissipated in the chevron folds below the arms. The other figure wears a cowl which is treated in a manner identical with those of the preceding pair of figures and having a predominant emphasis on the horizontal fold in the material at the level of the collar bone. This figure stands quietly, his hands invisible beneath the great sleeves which are brought together across his waist. The drapery is simply patterned with a slight cascade of folds at the figure's left. The face is treated again with such striking sensitivity that one may suggest Lome's intervention.

The remaining weepers reveal further the wide stylistic range to be found among Lome's associates. At one extreme we find very slender, in fact rather emaciated, figures carved with great delicacy and elegance. They remind us in certain ways of the illustrations in the Très riches heures of the Duke of Berry. At the opposite extreme we have weepers showing the forcefulness of the pleurants from the tomb of Philip the Bold at Dijon. In combination these serve to underscore the stylistic dichotomy which existed in northern art during the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries--the contrast between mannered elegance and virile realism. Representative of the former

style are two pair of weepers. The first of these (Fig. 28) is one of only two figures shown bareheaded. His hood is thrown across his right shoulder leaving the simple neck of his robe and the button at the neck of the longer tunic visible. The drapery which lies smoothly over the shoulders falls nearly to the ground in long, tubular folds. The sleeves are extravagant; their undulating pattern with emphasis on the edge of the material serves to stress the linearity characteristic of this group of statuettes. He glances into a book held open in his left hand and gestures with the index finger of the right hand. A strong sense of individuality is given the slender face by the hair cut above the ears and receding at the temples, by the sense of emaciation and of sunken jaws, by the hollows around the eyes, and by the narrow bridge of the long nose which we now recognize as a standard element in the design of the pleurants.

Together with him we have paired another very elegant figure (Fig. 29), who wears the most ornamental of the costumes to be seen. The sleeves of his houpland have extravagantly scalloped edges. Over this he wears a cloak which, fastened by buttons at the left shoulder, falls to a point at the front. His face, though shaded by the cowl, is finely worked, with the skin drawn about the mouth. He, too, looks into an open book, which he supports with both hands, the right one being covered by the mantle. Other noteworthy details of his costume are the tight sleeves of the tunic ending at the wrist and the soft leather slippers on his slender feet.

Closely related to these is another pair of weepers. The one (Fig. 30) peruses a passage in the codex held open at chest level; the other (Fig. 31), a rosary hanging over his left forearm, clasps

his hands in an attitude of prayer. As mentioned previously the former is one of the most seriously damaged of the figures. A comparison of this figure with the canons helps to stress its slenderness, for the sleeves and the body of the robe though similar to those of the canons are given a greater sense of attenuation, emphasized by the brittle sharpness of the edges of the hood and of the cascading sleeves. The face, also, is diminutive, although the features are presented with the conventions we have seen in other of the statuettes. One can see clearly enough beneath the hood to recognize that again the hair is cut above the ears. Other details are also effectively treated--the edges of the pages of the book, the fineness of the hands (and we may note here that the sleeves of the tunic are like those worn by doña Leonor, but are pushed back to free the hand for holding the codex), and the three tiny buttons which fasten the mantle at the left shoulder.

The second of these weepers shows a similar sense of refinement. Here, too, the face is diminutive with extremely fine treatment of the features as seen in the eyes, the mustache, and the pointed beard. One of the most carefully executed of all the figures, he has even a slight indication of crow's-feet at the eyes. Certainly this figure represents a specific member of the Navarrese court, as yet unidentified. The four bands appliqued to the sleeves must be indicative of rank or office, even as three bands were appliqued to the sleeves of the president of the parliament of Paris.[37] The tight sleeves of his tunic end at the wrist rather than reaching over the palm of the hand. He also wears an inner robe with great oval sleeves. The delicacy of treatment is further evident in the subtle undulation of the material which is pressed in where the arms are drawn tightly against the body

and which swells out gently below.

We may compare another of the weepers (Fig. 33) with the previously discussed mourner who carries a rosary. In particular, the faces reveal a similar treatment with the same fine ridges which encircle the eyes and the same squat nose. Here, however, the figure appears less slender; such a change suggests that the sculptor responsible for the very elegant weepers gradually altered his style to conform more closely to that of the head master of the shop. Again the gestures of one hand to the face and the other holding a book are utilized. The sleeves of the robe are richly treated with a triangular section falling from between the elbow and the wrist and with wide bands of the fur lining visible. The tight sleeves of the tunic partially cover the hands of the figure.

The face of the corresponding weeper (Fig. 32) is almost totally hidden beneath his cowl; one can make out only that he is bearded. The recurrent motif of the hand raised to the face is combined with that of looking into an open book, held here in the left hand. Yet details of costume such as the unique motif of the button at the wrist which fastens the right sleeve of the robe and the rippling drapery give the figure a sense of individual identity.

The same delicacy of detail can be seen in another pair, which are among the most handsome of the series (Figs. 34 and 35). The swaying body and rhythmic flow of drapery imbue the former with a particular grace. His habit with the scapular passing over the belt and the delicate pleating of material above the waist is splendidly treated. His right hand rests against his chin; his left hand clasps a fold of the mantle. The face, too, is finely treated with narrow

nose, wrinkles about the mouth, and down-cast eyes. His partner, attired in an even richer costume, moves gently and rhythmically. His mantle has been thrown back over the right shoulder to reveal the rich assortment of accoutrements--a belt with ring and diamond appliques and suspended from it a dagger with a spiral hilt and a heavy rosary. Because of their delicacy, these two figures seem closely related to the master responsible for the slender, mannered pleurants. Nevertheless, as was true of the weepers illustrated in figures 32 and 33, we again find a transformation of style.

The detailing of the features of the pleurant (Fig. 34) is more like that to be seen in another pair. The one (Fig. 36) is clearly designated as a Franciscan by the cord tied about his waist. That he adhers to the ideal of poverty is represented by his bare feet, the left one showing slightly from beneath his habit. Yet he carries a manuscript in a rather sumptuous leather cover fastened by a small floral clasp. It might be unwise to suggest a specific identification for this figure, but from the records of the period it is clear that doña Leonor greatly admired the Franciscans, and it does not, therefore, seem too subjective to suggest that this figure might represent fray Pere Deça, her confessor and a Franciscan. On the other hand, the figure may simply have been intended to represent one of the religious orders prominent in Navarre. Again there is a sense of rhythm created in the figure. The diagonal placement of the arms is echoed by the oblique triangular folds above the waist. The face is carved again with special sensitivity. There is no harshness in the transition from one plane to the next. The right eye is modeled with great care. The left hand wipes the left eye in a manner which hides it from view.

Particular elegance and grace is to be noted also in the manner in which the figure holds the book, for the little finger does not curve around the leather pouch so tightly as do the others. The corresponding pleurant (Fig. 37) is treated with considerable care as well. He raises his right hand to wipe his eye and holds a book in the left hand, taking care to mark the page. He is clad in a mourning cloak over a longer tunic which rests in soft angles against the ground. His cowl is quite distinctive as it is cut open at the front, revealing the two small buttons which fasten the tunic.

The next pair of weepers (Figs. 38 and 39) show drapery patterns which are quite distinct from most of the other figures. Yet the face of the one pleurant, which is fully visible, is treated with a certain skill and recalls to mind the faces of several of the most elegant pleurants (Figs. 31 and 35), so that again there is an overlapping of styles, for even though the facial type is comparable, the figure lacks the slimness of form characteristic of that group. The figure turns to his left while paging and reading in the book he holds. The left hand, covered by the mantle, pulls up on the cloth to create a bold diagonal pull across the body, giving the figure a certain dynamism despite the greater breadth of the folds. The face of the second weeper, though mostly hidden in shadow, shows the thick undulating locks of the beard and the end of the nose. There is, however, no modeling of the cheek. The slender hands are clasped tightly in prayer. The cloak, fastened in this instance on the right shoulder, is caught up over the left arm so as to create a varied series of folds. Beneath it is worn a tunic. This figure stands in the same awkward manner as does the pleurant shown in figure 26.

Also quite distinctive are the weepers shown in figures 40 and 41. The latter again shows a facial type comparable to that of the figures just discussed. Mentioned previously as a model for the restoration of the weeper shown as figure 26, his face reveals a sense of curving planes over a definable bone structure. The treatment of eyes and beard reveals particular similarities to figure 38. Yet the drapery consists of less heavy folds. The mantle is slit to above the elbow at either side to allow free movement of the arms. The figure draws back the front panel revealing a pouch hanging at his waist and his ankle-length robe. In his right hand, the other figure holds a book; the gesture creates a line of movement similar to that of his partner. His face, partly hidden behind his left hand, is well carved but not distinguished. The drapery falls at a slight angle to suggest movement and to reveal slightly the right leg pressing beneath it.

In direct opposition to the slender and elegant figures which we recognized as one stylistic extreme we have the final two pairs of weepers. The extremely fine mourner (Fig. 43) is particularly noteworthy because of its "Sluterian" characteristics, its complete emphasis on plasticity and massiveness of form. The face is hidden by the cowl, but if one kneels beside the tomb, one can see the lower portion of the face to be carefully carved. The sleeves of the mourning cloak are pushed back in heavy folds upon the shoulders of the figure. The sense of realism is especially striking because the artist has chosen to show the right leg pressing against the heavy drapery. There is a strong sense of movement in the figure as well. His body is turned toward his left while his head turns in the reverse direction creating

a sense of contrapposto. The gesture of the arms to hold the partly open book at the left of the waist helps also to accentuate the torsion of the body. The figure is in an exceptional state of preservation. Paired with it we see a second massive figure (Fig. 42), but one with a less energetic pose. The pose is, in fact, similar to that of the weeper (Fig. 30) discussed previously, but what a difference one sees in these two statuettes. The latter is extremely slender; the former, quite heavy. There is a particularly strong sense of mass in the treatment of the head. The figure represents a cleric, for he has a tonsure that is carved in the same manner as the hair of Charles III with the heavy curling locks, although they are cut off more squarely here in the weeper. The treatment of the right ear, which is revealed since the hood is pulled back, is also similar to that of the royal effigy in that the inner part protrudes beyond the edge. Here again there is a suggestion of the right leg pressing against the cloak, although it is less pronounced than in the previous figure. The roundness of the face is emphasized by the straight, low hair-line over the forehead. We should, nevertheless, be aware that in these two figures the hands are once again treated with a sense of elegance and elongation. The drapery, falling in rhythmic, vertical folds, again utilizes the grouping of three convex folds at the center separated from those at the side by intervening concave ones. There is a richness in the design of the looping, undulating rhythm of the sleeves; these contrast somewhat with the angular quality of the hood itself.

The final pair of statuettes were surely carved by the same artist. The one (Fig. 45) has been called the Prince of Viana, but such an

identification is obviously in error as Charles of Aragon, grandson of Charles the Noble and first to hold the title, was not born until May 29, 1421, nearly two years after the completion of the tomb.[38] Attired in a short houpland belted below the waist by an ornamented girdle from which hang a large and a small pouch, the figure is distinguished by the mourning mantle which is drawn up onto his chest. Again evident is a particular sense of realism in that the long, straight folds are flattened out where they pass beneath the girdle. His rounded face with small mouth and sunken eyes is well carved. The corresponding figure (Fig. 44) is similarly attired although his robe is slightly longer and is belted at the waist rather than over the thighs. The sleeves of the garment are edged with great bands of fur, and in his hand this older man, distinguished by his small beard, holds a rosary as he says his prayers. From the belt and nearly obscured by the surrounding drapery hangs a pen-box. The tunic, once again, has sleeves which rise to the middle of the palm.

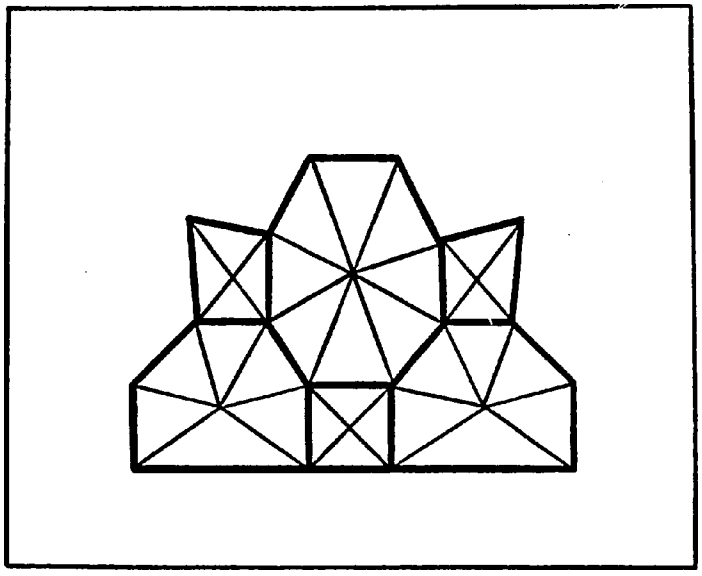
Stylistic Variants

In our examination of the pleurants, we have observed that a series of different hands can be observed and that the figures may be separated generally into three different groups, the slender and mannered figures, the figures of average build, and the figures of "Sluterian" forcefulness. At the same time we have recognized that there are certain distinctions which occur even within the individual groups, particularly in the second of these categories where certain statuettes show characteristics which should be associated with the hand of Lome himself while others reveal features more closely related

to the master of the slender figures. It is not otherwise possible to assign the statuettes to specific masons employed on the tomb, for there is no way to know their individual styles, nor do we know for certain that all of the masons so engaged actually aided in the carving of the figural as opposed to the architectural decoration. Although one might be tempted to assign the "Sluterian" figures to the mason Johan de Borgogna, who was active in the Lome shop for a period from November of 1413 until September 19 of the following year, we cannot be sure that the carving of figural sculpture had at that date been commenced. It seems more likely to assume that this first phase of work on the cenotaph was restricted to creating the architectural ornamentation as we know was the case for the ducal tomb at Dijon. Nevertheless, we can be quite certain that as head of the shop, Lome took complete responsibility for the design of the individual figures. We find a recurrence of motifs and of drapery patterns throughout the various groups.[39] This shows that a greater freedom was permitted the individual craftsmen at Olite in interpreting the headmaster's designs than was permitted in the shop at the Chartreuse de Champmol. We have also observed that the pleurants which seem most closely related to the effigies of Charles the Noble and doña Leonor are not those showing the strongest influence of Sluter. Since we have seen already that the basic design of the cenotaph follows a long established tradition and reveals no knowledge of the major innovations made by Jean de Marville and Claus Sluter at Dijon, it is difficult to accept the theory that Charles III found Lome working in the Dijon shop and called him from there to Navarre.[40] There is no question that the king of Navarre was in Dijon and would have had opportunity

to do so;[41] however, most of those foreign artists and craftsmen working in Navarre whose origins are known were engaged by Charles III at Paris. It seems most sensible to suggest that Lome, too, was engaged by Charles in the French capital toward the end of his final journey to that kingdom in the years 1408 to 1411.

Problems arise in trying to pin down the individual stylistic characteristics of Lome's work because so many tombs and other works of sculpture from the period have been either partially or completely destroyed. Nevertheless, there are several monuments which may cast a bit of light upon the question of the influence of French sources upon Lome. The aspect of the royal cenotaph which is most closely related to the one at Dijon consists of the architectural tracery. The great baldachins above the heads of the effigies utilize motifs found in the small arcades at Dijon. The vaulting of the great baldachins is beautifully designed so that a full octagonal vault comes directly above the head of each effigy (Text ill. 1). From the side, the baldachins are seen to consist of two levels of traceried openings, the uppermost strengthened by flying buttresses. The great ogival arches of the lower level, heavily laded with foliate ornament and culminating in foliated pinnacles, enclose simpler pointed arches which are filled by varied patterns of tracery (Fig. 47). In a sort of clerestory area above these principal arches we see double lancets within great enclosing arches. In the upper level the arches are flatter so that those arches enclosed by the ogival arches are more rounded. Here the interior tracery consists of either double or triple lancets surmounted by regular or irregular trefoils. These create as a whole a beautiful and delicate effect. The small



Text ill. 1. Diagram of a baldachin on the royal cenotaph

tabernacles (Fig. 46) around the edge of the tomb are similar even though the design is somewhat simplified because of their smaller size. The design is remarkably close to that used on the tomb at Dijon although there the forms seem somewhat more delicate because of the elaborate piercing of the tracery. We note again the use of the simple pointed arch within an ogival arch, the space at the apex being filled in by a triangular motif. The arcading along the top of the Dijon cloister consists of eight lancets above each arch. One might also note that the hanging pendants are carved with decorative foliate bosses, whereas those at Pamplona are unornamented. Certainly then, the Pamplona design derives ultimately from those at Dijon--at least if the assumption that the design motif originated in the Dijon shop is correct. Nevertheless, it does not follow that Lome actually saw the Dijon tomb. Several possible means exist for his learning of the new pattern. There was, to be sure, at least one sculptor trained in the "Sluterian" manner working in Lome's shop. We have seen the pleurants which prove this. Whether or not that sculptor is identical with the Johan de Borgogna listed in the documents cannot be settled with any certainty. Lome may have learned of the motif from such an assistant and then adapted it to his own use. A second possibility, and one which seems to me the more plausible, is that Lome had seen the motif in actuality, but not at Dijon. This is difficult to prove, but several facts may be set forth to support the hypothesis. We know, or may assume, that the motif was adopted by various workshops because fragments of similar design are preserved in various collections. There is such a niche with a baldachin in the Museum Mayer van den Bergh at Antwerp carved of alabaster and marble which is similar to

though not identical with those at Dijon.[42] In the Antwerp example, pilasters and colonnettes are far more ornamental. Its provenance is given simply as "Netherlandish-Burgundian." A second fragment is preserved in the Louvre; it too is more ornamental than the early Dijon tomb. Aubert dates this much later in the century, c. 1475-1480. Although a provenance for the niche is not given, the marble statuette with which it has been associated since acquisition was made by the Louvre in 1851 is considered to be from Burgundy.[43]

In contrast with the style of the Dijon architectural ornament, we may examine those fragments of the tomb from Saint-Denis of Charles VI which was carved by Pierre de Thury between 1425 and 1429.[44] These moldings show small figures standing atop baldachins in which the pointed arches are covered by straight-sided gables and filled with trefoil and teardrop patterns of tracery. That the straight-sided gable was popular at Saint-Denis during the early fifteenth century is supported by three other fragments, also in the Louvre. These come from two tombs once at Saint-Denis.[45] Nevertheless, it appears that the ornamental form found at Dijon was also used at Saint-Denis from the late fourteenth century. On the fifth of October 1398, Blanche of Navarre, the second wife of Philip of Valois and aunt of Charles III of Navarre, passed away. She was buried at Saint-Denis in a grand tomb which was erected in her memory. Atop the tomb was seen not only her effigy but also that of their daughter Jeanne of France, who preceded her mother in death by a quarter of a century on September 11, 1373. Although the effigy of queen Blanche remains in Saint-Denis, the architectural ornament is no longer preserved. Fortunately, a record of it remains in a drawing from the Gagnières collection (Fig. 49).[46] Great

care is taken with the details in this drawing so that we may rely upon the accuracy of the depiction of the architectural ornament. The baldachins above the effigies make use of the straight-sided gables, which we have observed in other monuments from the pantheon of the French kings, but the architectural ornament along the base utilizes the motif seen on the tomb of Philip the Bold. On the tomb at Saint-Denis the architecture is greatly simplified, being placed parallel to the side of the tomb and forming individual niches for the pleurants, which had already disappeared when the drawing was made.

Of interest also for suggesting a relationship between Lome and the Parisian tradition are the effigies of Pierre of Navarre-Evreux, brother of Charles the Noble and count of Mortain, and of his wife Catherine d'Alençon.[47] The tomb, which was erected in the Chartreusse at Paris, is of no interest in so far as architectural decoration is concerned. As can be seen from another drawing in the Gagnières collection, none existed (Fig. 50).[48] Yet the effigies must be dated almost contemporaneously with the first phase of work on the royal sepulcher in Navarre, that is between 1412, the year of Pierre's death, and 1413, in which year Catherine d'Alençon was remarried, this time to Ludwig, duke of Bavaria-Ingolstadt and brother of Isabel queen of France. Although the effigies could not, of course, have been known to Lome nor to the Navarrese royal family, the effigy of Pierre is of particular interest (Fig. 51). His identity is certain, since over his camail and plate armor he wears a short surcoat adorned with the arms of Navarre-Evreux. A comparison of his face with that of Charles the Noble reaffirms the veracity of both portraits and suggests that a death mask was used for Pierre's. A familial resemblance is visible

in the aquiline noses, the large ears, and the firm pointed chins. Viewed straight on, Pierre's face is rounder and shows a lower forehead; he appears more youthful, having been forty six years of age at his death, while Charles III's effigy was carved when the king was in his late fifties. It seems probable that the coronet and sword shown in the drawing from the Gagnières collection but no longer preserved were of bronze. Catherine d'Alençon wears ceremonial garments similar to those of doña Leonor, but over her gown and sideless surcoat is placed a mantle attached at the shoulders beneath the surcoat. Her headdress with padded hair covered by a wimple and veil is quite elaborate. The straight-forward simplicity in the treatment of these figures and the conservative manner of treating the garments as if the figure were standing serve to underscore the relationship of Lome to the Franco-Netherlandish tradition as practiced in the French capital.

NOTES: CHAPTER III

[1]The cenotaph was moved from the cathedral in 1902. Ancieto Lagaria, vice-president of the Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, wrote on behalf of the Comisión to the cathedral chapter on February 21, 1902, with regard to the forthcoming transfer of the cenotaph. He expressed the thought of the Comisión in their preference of seeing the royal cenotaph remain where it had been for five centuries. However, as the Comisión understood the desires of the cathedral chapter it agreed to the transference of the cenotaph to a chapel, providing that the remains of the sovereigns were preserved in the vault in their original location. (Archivo de la Catedral de Pamplona, W° 3°. Hereafter cited as ACP.)

The decision to return the cenotaph to the location within the nave from which it had been taken is expressed in a letter of the Bishop Tomás to the dean and the cathedral chapter dated, Pamplona, August 9, 1930. (ACP, W°, 34.) Soon thereafter the cenotaph was removed from the medieval kitchen where it had been placed for nearly three decades and taken back to the nave of the church; at that time it was surrounded by a grill to preserve it from curiosity seekers.

[2]Paul Vitry and Gaston Brière, L'église abbatiale de Saint-Denis et ses tombeaux (Paris, 1908), pp. 116-117. Hereafter cited as Vitry and Brière, L'église de Saint-Denis. See also Emile Bertaux, "Le mausolée de Charles le noble à Pampelune et l'art franco-flamand en Navarre," Gazette des beaux-arts, XL/2 (1908), pp. 89-112.

[3]The identity of the sculptor is assured by the payment recorded in the Issue Roll of 1367 to "Hankinon de Liege de Francia." See Pierre Pradel, "Les tombiers français en Angleterre au XIVe siècle," Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 9eme sèrie, III (1954), p. 237.

[4]Ibid., p. 240. Among the escutcheons preserved is one parti Pembroke and England, the arms of Margaret of England, wife of John of Hastings; another is parti Lancaster-Gaunt and Lancaster-Plantagenet, the arms of Blanche of Lancaster, wife of John of Gaunt. I cannot agree with Pradel's hypothesis that the pleurants should represent only persons deceased. As he acknowledges, early descriptions enumerate among these figures relatives who survived the queen. To expect the later creation and placement of the pleurants upon the death of each of these individuals is macabre in a distinctly unmedieval sense.

Pradel considers the inclusion of quatrefoils with escutcheons to be strictly an English ornamental motif. He suggests that local

English artisans participating in the work were responsible. It deserves to be noted that this usage occurs in France, though in a somewhat different context. The statue of Marie de Bourbon from the convent of Saint-Louis de Poissy, now in the Louvre, once stood on a pillar composed of a black marble base and capital and of a white marble shaft. The shaft was ornamented with an architectural division similar to that of the tomb of Philippa of Hainaut. At the top was a rosette, beneath it was a gabled niche containing a statuette, and at the bottom was an escutcheon held, in this instance, by an angel. In this case, the escutcheons all bear identical arms, those of Marie de Bourbon. Perhaps the motif of having the arms at the base of the ornament was brought back from England by Jean de Liège to become part of the French vocabulary. The statue on its original base is illustrated in the Gagnières collection, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Pe. I, Réserve, fol. 31. Hereafter cited as Gagnières, Paris, B. N., Cab. des Est.

[5]It deserves again to be stressed that the architectural enframement, the cloister as Henri David so felicitously terms it, is the design of Jean de Marville. A large part was carved by Claus de Hane in 1386 to 1387; in 1390, after the death of Jean de Marville, other elements were finished by Philippe van Eram. See Henri David, Claus Sluter (Paris, 1951), pp. 111-113.

[6]See below page 52 and Appendix 1755-1.

[7]In an attempt to give the reader a sense of the visual as well as the verbal form of the text, I have transcribed the epitaphs with capitalization, abbreviations, and punctuation just as they appear on the cenotaph. The brackets enclose those portions of the epitaph which have been restored; the first two occur on the baldachin, and the last, at a juncture of the two stones which cover the tomb.

[8]Esteban de Garibáy y Çamálloa, Compendio historial de las chronicas y universal historia de todos los reynos de España donde se escriven las vidas de los reyes de Navarra (Antwerp, 1571), p. 388. Hereafter cited as Garibáy, Compendio historial.

[9]Journal du voyage d'Espagne (Paris, 1669), p. 9. The entry is dated October 3, 1659.

[10]"Los epitafios del sepulcro de Carlos III el noble," Príncipe de Viana, III (1942), p. 33. The author has carefully assembled and discussed the earlier transcriptions of the epitaphs noting their frequent errors. He did not, however, know of Madoz's discussion which is considered below, pages 50-51. My transcription differs from that of Germán de Pamplona only in minor respects.

[11]See for example, Archivo General de Navarra, Registro de Comptos 390, fols. 242, 243v, 244r, and 255v (A.D. 1427); Reg. 416, fols. 34v, 35r (A.D. 1433); Reg. 418, fols. 46, 201 (A.D. 1433-1436); and Reg. 423, fol. 319r (A.D. 1434). Hereafter cited as AGN. The dates of these examples suggest that the conceit may have developed

only in the reign of doña Blanca, heiress of Charles III.

[12]"Primero La Reyna dona Leonor (muger del Rey don carlos quarto qui debaxo faze mencion) fino en Olite miercoles xxvii° dia de febrero layno m°cccc°xv°." (AGN, Reg. 498, fol. 113v. The section in parentheses is in different ink.)

[13]Arnaldo de Oyenart, Noticia de las dos Vasconias, la ibérica y la aquitana, trans. by P. Javier Gorosterratzu from 2nd ed. of 1656 (San Sebastian, 1929), p. 263. Hereafter cited as Oyenart, Noticia.

[14]Francisco de Alesón, Annales del reyno de Navarra, IV (Pamplona, 1766), pp. 333-334. Hereafter cited as Alesón, Annales de Navarra. He quotes from a document formerly in the Ayuntamiento, Olite.

"El año de Nacimiento del Señor mil quatrocientos y quince, dia Miercoles veinte y siete de Febrero, à las ocho horas de la noche, la muy Excelente Princesa Doña Leonor, por la gracia de Dios Reyna de Navarra, Infanta de Castilla, y Duquesa de Nemous [sic] en la càmara mayor de su Palacio de Olite passò de esta presente vida, hallandose presente el Rey Don Carlos su Marido, y nuestro muy respetable Señor, la Señora Doña Isabèl su Hija, Doña Juana de Navarra Hermana del Rey nuestro Señor, el Conde de Cortes, el Alferez Mayor, el Chanciller, y otros muchos. Su Cuerpo fue puesto en un ataud, y baxado solemnemente à la Iglesia de Santa MARIA contigua à Palacio, y velado en la misma Iglesia toda la noche por los Frayles, y Clerigos, y otros hombres, y mugeres de la dicha Villa en gran multitud. El Jueves siguiente por la mañana despues de la gran Missa, cantada en dicha Iglesia por el Obispo de Bayona, sacaron de ella hasta fuera de la Villa el Cuerpo de la Señora Reyna los sobre nombrados Señores Conde, Alferez, Chanciller, Mossen Juan de Echauz, Mossen Ojèr de Mauleòn, Juan de Asiain, y otros Fijosdalgo, y por la Villa de Olite el Alcalde Miguel de Ardanàz, Sancho Martinez de Càseda, y Juan Amurri el Joven. Puestas despues sobre dos acèmilas las andas, cubiertas de paño de oro muy honorablement, el Cuerpo de la Reyna acompañado de du ciento hombres, cada uno con su hacha encendida, y de los dichos señores, y de otras muchas, y diversas gentes à caballo, fue llevado à Pamplona, y descargado en San Francisco, y puesto dentro de su Iglesia. Al qual dicho Cuerpo siempre acompañaron el Rey nuestro Señor, y las Señoras Infantas. Y por orden del Señor Rey, que siempre estaba presente, fuè llevado de San Francisco à la Iglesia Catedral de Santa MARIA por el Señor Protonotario, Conde, Alferez, Chancillèr, y otros Prelados, y Hijosdalgo, y por los Alcaldes, y Jurados de la Ciudad de Pamplona, y por el Alcalde, y Jurados de la Villa de Olite, que presentes eran. El Viernes siguiente primero dia de Marzo el cuerpo de la Señora Reyna con Missa solemne, y sermon, y con muy grandes Ceremonias Reales, que el Rey nuestro Señor previno muy honorablemente, fue soterrada en medio del Choro de los Canonigos en la dicha Iglesia. Lunes siguiente los tres Estados del Reyno juntos en Pamplona hicieron las Honras de la dicha Señora Reyna, es à saber, en el dicho dia à Visperas, y Martes à la mañana à la Missa muy solemnemente celebrada: y con ellos assistieron el Alcalde, y los Jurados."

[15]The information regarding the king's death is correctly given in AGN, Reg. 498, fol. 113v: "Item El Rey don Karlos iiii^{o} deste nombre fino viii^{o} dia de Septiembre ano m^{o}cccc^{o}xxv^{o} fino en Taffalla."

[16]Oyenart, Noticia, p. 263, mentions the move which occurred on March 10, a Saturday. Goñi Gaztambide discovered the notation which must have served as Oyenart's source; it appears in AGN, Reg. 498, fol. 113v. Appendix 1509, 1.

[17]See Robert Didier, et al., "Une Vierge tournaisienne à Arbois (Jura) et le problème des Vierges de Hal, contribution à la chronologie et la typologie," Bulletin monumental, CXXVIII (1970), p. 99 and figs. 3, 5-7, and 14-15.

[18]The slot does not appear in the photograph (Fig. 11) for which the negative was taken in 1916, following the restoration of 1902.

[19]The hands have suffered minor damage. The end of the right thumb has been repaired; a break occurs at the left wrist.

[20]The restored lower tassel on the outer side has again been broken.

[21]There are numerous records of payment to Juce Zayet and Johanin, keepers of the lions. See for example José Ramón Castro, Archivo General de Navarra: Catálogo de la sección de comptos, documentos, I-XXXVI (Pamplona, 1952-1964), XVI, 687; XVIII, 6; XIX, 9, 139; and XX, 16, 518.

[22]The last named figures are best studied from the casts in the Musée des Monuments Français. Excellent illustrations from the casts appear in Joan Evans, Dress in Medieval France (Oxford, 1952), frontispiece and pl. 29. A photograph showing the statue of Jeanne de Boulogne in situ is published in André Michel, ed., Histoire de l'art, II/2 (Paris, 1906), fig. 441, p. 703.

[23]Late examples include the effigy of Anne de Bourgogne, duchess of Bedford, carved c. 1442 by Guillaume Vluten; the statue is now in the Louvre. An example in painting is the right wing of the Moulins Triptych, c. 1498, in the Cathedral of Moulins, showing Anne de Beaujeu and her daughter.

[24]Compendio historial, p. 481

[25]Frequent occurrences of the motif can be found on French tombs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was used on the tomb of Jeanne countess of Toulouse and Poitiers, d. 1261, which was in the convent of Gercy-en-Brie (Gagnières, Paris, B. N., Cab. des Est., Pe. 11c, Rés., fol. 80). It appeared again on the tomb at Saint-Denis of Jeanne de Bourgogne, d. 1348, first wife of Philippe VI de Valois (Gagnières, Paris, B. N., Cab. des Est., Pe. 11c, Rés., fol. 91). It was used also for the tomb of Marie d'Espagne, d. 1379, wife of Charles count of Alençon, which was in the church of the

Jacobins of the rue Saint-Jacques in Paris (Gagnières, Paris, B. N., Cab. des Est., Pe. 1, Rés., fol. 11). The motif can be seen also on the effigy of Marguerite, wife of Louis II count of Flanders, which is preserved at Saint-Denis. See Vitry and Brière, L'église de Saint-Denis, p. 131.

[26]The noses of both dogs appear to be restored.

[27]France et Belgique, Alpés et Pyrénées (Paris: Nelson, [n.d.]), pp. 503-504.

[28]Pascual Madoz, Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar, 16 vols. (Madrid, 1845-1850), XII, pp. 647-648. Madoz was a native of Pamplona.

[29]"El sepulcro de Carlos III el noble," Pregon: Revista gráfica Navarra, XXVIII (Autumn 1969), [3 pages]. I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. José Goñi Gaztambide for bringing this article to my attention and for making this and other documents from the archive of the Cathedral of Pamplona available to me in the comfort of the Archivo General de Navarra. I would like to thank him, too, for furnishing me a photograph, made at the AGN, of the plan of the vault (Fig. 48) as represented in the document under discussion. A transcription of the document appears in Appendix 1755, 1; and the legend for the plan, in Appendix 1755, 2.

[30]The various features which the document mentions have been altered again. The floor of the cathedral was completely relaid in the nineteenth century causing the unfortunate loss of earlier tomb slabs. The enclosure of the canons' choir was removed early in this century at which time the stalls were transferred to the presbytery. Today the floor of the nave is unbroken except for the slight depression into which the cenotaph itself has been set.

[31]The numbers appearing on the statuettes have nothing to do with the original arrangement. Although we know neither the date at which they were inscribed nor the purpose which they served, we record them here. The inscriptions are in pencil except for Figs. 27 and 28 in which case the numbers are cut into the surface. Figure 21 is marked 22; Fig. 22, 23; Fig. 23, 20; Fig. 27, 12; Fig. 28, 5; Fig. 29, 27; Fig. 32, 9; Fig. 34, 25; Fig. 40, 24; Figs. 41 and 45, 28; and Fig. 44, 6.

[32]See especially José Goñi Gaztambide, "Los obispos de Pamplona del siglo XIV," Príncipe de Viana, XXIII (1962), pp. 336-338, 345, and 376. See also José Zunzunegui, "El cardenal de Pamplona Martín de Zalba," Príncipe de Viana, II, no. 2 (1941), passim.

[33]José Goñi Gaztambide, "Los obispos de Pamplona del siglo XV y los navarros en los concilios de Constanza y Basilea," Estudios de edad media en la corona de Aragón, VII (1962), pp. 361-367. Hereafter cited as Goñi Gaztambide, "Obispos del siglo XV."

[34]Antonio Marichalar, Marqués de Montesa, "Vera efigie del obispo de Pamplona don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza," Príncipe de Viana, IV (1943), p. 211. This important Navarrese cleric is discussed at greater length in Chapter IV.

[35]Goñi Gaztambide, "Obispos del siglo XV," p. 380.

[36]Mariano de Arigita y Lasa identified the bishop with Fr. García de Eugui, bishop of Bayonne, but gave no supporting evidence. See Fernando de Alvarado [Mariano de Arigita y Lasa], Guía del viajero en Pamplona (Madrid, 1904), p. 44. Hereafter cited as Alvarado, Guía en Pamplona. He includes a long list of personages who, he says, can easily be identified among the pleurants. A similar puzzle concerning the correct identification of a Franciscan surrounds the coat of arms which is to be found in the gables of the cloister on the north and east sides and on the doorway from the interior of the cathedral into the south sacristy. Since the sixteenth century, the arms have been associated with the Bishop Barbazan but erroneously as Elie Lambert recognized, "La catedral de Pamplona," trans. Leopoldo Torres Balbás, Príncipe de Viana, XII (1951), p. 28; he suggested the escutcheon should be identified with the Italian cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini, bishop of Pamplona from 1492 to 1507. José Goñi Gaztambide subsequently attempted to relate the arms to the Navarrese Franciscan Pedro de Veraiz, titular archbishop of Tiro in Syria from 1429 and confessor of doña Blanca, queen of Navarre. See "Nuevos documentos sobre la catedral de Pamplona, II," Príncipe de Viana, XVI (1955), pp. 137-138. Germán de Pamplona refuted both suggestions. With regard to the former suggestion, he observed that the arms with "un Palo en punta superado un Jefe con cuatro cruces griegas inscritas en el, orlado por el cordon franciscano" is not in the least like those which appear on the tomb of Antoniotto Pallavicini in Sta. Maria del Popolo, Rome. Furthermore, he is certainly correct that they cannot be considered a stylization of the portcullis of the Veraiz arms. He leaves the question of their identity open. See "Un escudo enigmático en la iglesia y claustro catedrales de Pamplona, de capital importancia para fijar su cronología parcial," Príncipe de Viana, XVI (1955), pp. 401, 402, and 406.

[37]The three bands of ermine as signification of rank are seen on the effigy, c. 1427-1438, of Philippe de Morvillier, a first president of the parliament of Paris. The effigy is now in the Louvre. See Marcel Aubert, Musée du Louvre, description raisonnée des sculptures du moyen âge, de la renaissance et des temps modernes, I, Moyen âge (Paris, 1950), no. 283, pp. 195-196, with illustration. Hereafter cited as Aubert, Sculptures du moyen âge.

[38]This erroneous identification is given in the text by Arigita y Lasa. See Alvarado, Guía en Pamplona, p. 44.

The birth date of Charles of Aragon is correctly given by José Ramón Castro, Carlos III el noble, rey de Navarra (Pamplona, 1967), p. 411; nevertheless, he persists in transmitting the mistaken identification, Ibid., p. 455. Hereafter cited as Castro, Carlos III.

[39]It should be observed that the weepers are not free-standing but are in extremely high relief with the backs cut flat.

[40]The relationship of Lome to Sluter has been most frequently stressed by the Belgian scholar Domien Roggen. See "Klaus Sluter voor zijn vertrek naar Dijon in 1385," Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis, XI (1945-1948), pp. 20, 24-25, and 40. He repeats his opinion of the influence upon Lome by Sluter in "Doornikse grafplastiek in het Sticht," Gentse bijdragen, XIII (1951), p. 198. See also his "Jehan Lomme en Klaas Sluter," Gentse bijdragen, XIII (1951), pp. 199-205. It should be noted that the marriage of Jehan Lome in Navarre in the year 1415 proves conclusively that he is not the monk named in the documents at Dijon in 1387, 1388, 1394, and 1397. Finally Roggen repeats his opinion of Lome's training in the Dijon shop in "Prae-sluteriaanse, sluteriaanse, post-sluteriaanse nederlandse sculptuur," Gentse bijdragen, XVI (1955-1956), pp. 149 and 151.

Georg Troescher, Die burgundische Plastik des ausgehenden Mittelalters und ihre Wirkungen auf die europäische Kunst, 2 vols. (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1940), I, p. 170, states that documentary evidence confirms Lome's presence in Dijon between 1405 and 1410, but he cites no evidence. He clearly recognizes the variation in styles evident in the Pamplona cenotaph: "Bei den Klagefiguren ist es nun sehr interessant festzustellen, dass nur bei einigen wenigen, die an der Kopfseite der Tumba untergebracht sind, eine sichere Beziehung zu den Pleuranten in Dijon besteht--bei allen anderen aber ist dies nicht der Fall." Even though he continues with: "Die Beziehungen des spanischen Grabes zu der Dijoner Tumba sind also wesentlich entferntere, als man bisher immer annahm," he fails to draw the correct conclusion--that the "Sluterian" figures are not the work of Lome but of an assistant.

The opposite view--that Lome worked in a style quite distinct from that of Sluter--is stressed in the writings of Kurt Gerstenberg and Paul Rolland. See for example Gerstenberg, "Die niederländische Plastik des 15. Jahrhunderts in ihre europäische Auswirkung," Actes du XIIIe Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art (Stockholm, 1933), p. 165; and Rolland, "La sculpture funéraire tournaisienne et les origines de l'école de Dijon," La revue d'art, n. série, XXX (1929), pp. 13 and 29. These scholars do not, however, allow for the modification of Lome's Tournaisian manner during a sojourn in Paris.

[41]On the return journey to Navarre from his final sojourn in France, Charles III visited Dijon. He was there on November 2, 1410, and remained in the region until the twenty seventh. See Castro, Carlos III, pp. 349-350.

[42]Joz. de Coo, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, catalogus 2, beeldhowkunst, plaketten, antiek (Antwerp, 1969), no. 2142, pp. 149-150.

[43]Aubert, Sculptures du moyen âge, no. 354, p. 240, with illustration.

[44]Ibid., nos. 287-287bis, pp. 198-199, with illustrations.

[45]Ibid., nos. 288-290, p. 199, with illustrations.

[46]Paris, B. N., Cab. des Est., Pe 11c, Rés., fol. 95.

[47]The effigies are preserved in the Louvre. See Aubert, Sculptures du moyen âge, nos. 281-282, pp. 192-194, with illustrations. Superior plates are given in Theodor Müller, Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Spain, 1400-1500, The Pelican History of Art (Baltimore, 1966), pls. 28 and 29.

[48]Paris, B. N., Cab. des Est., Pe I, Rés., fol. 22.

CHAPTER IV

LOME IN TAFALLA AND PAMPLONA

Lome's participation in royal enterprises after completion of the cenotaph is attested by a wealth of information preserved in the Archivo General de Navarra. Yet our knowledge of this period in his life remains less than satisfactory because of the loss of architectural and sculptural works thus documented. In March 1421, less than a year after receiving final payment for his work on the cenotaph, Lome sold his property in Olite--a vineyard, a garden, and a room--to Menaut de Sant Pelay, valet of the king's wardrobe, at the price of 100 florins.[1] The king, who provided the funds for Menaut's purchase, may have arranged the sale, since Lome's presence in Olite was no longer required.

The Palace at Tafalla

Work on a new palace at Tafalla, a few miles north of Olite on the road to Pamplona, was already underway. Charles the Noble's decision to build this second, imposing pálace is recorded in a royal decree of April 24, 1419:

> ... for our service and pleasure and that of our successors and heirs of the kingdom of Navarre for all time, it is a long time since we have begun to construct and build a new, very renowned palace in our town of Tafalla, of which work and construction we hope that Our Lord God will be pleased and not only you our said town but all our kingdom will be embellished and ennobled, in which said construction of the palace--for meditation continues--we intend that it be so great and of such form that memory of us remain perpetually.[2]

Though still standing in the mid-nineteenth century, the palace has today virtually disappeared. We must, therefore, rely upon the medieval documents and such later drawings and documents as may enrich those early sources.

From the early 1420's until his death in 1449, Lome, so far as documents tell us of his activities, was engaged most often as a mason charged with problems of construction and less frequently in a capacity as sculptor. The earliest mention of his presence in Tafalla dates from late January 1422,[3] his activities during the preceding year remaining, for the most part, unknown. Besides the information on the sale of his property, only a single reference is preserved from 1421; in February, Lome went with Maestre Aznar de Isaba,[4] the king's surgeon, to the valley of the Roncal; for expenses he received 3 florins.[5] Even though the purpose of the trip is not specified in the receipt of payment, it is not unreasonable to believe it connected with work on the palace at Tafalla.

From January 1422, Lome was first engaged in the construction of a fish pond. A partial description mentions that the water fell from a lion's head into the pool. At the same time, Lome placed two stone chairs, which he had carved, in the lower terrace.[6] These were part of a large number placed among the verdant plants in the gardens and courtyards of the palace to create pleasant settings for conversation and repose. At least two types of chairs were provided--some taking the form of a faldstool and others being great armchairs. The former type is represented in a drawing published by Pedro de Madrazo in the nineteenth century (Fig. 52); the latter type, shown in a second illustration (Fig. 53), is also represented by the only surviving

example, now in the possession of the Astrain family, Tafalla (Fig. 54).[7] The variation in design of these last named examples suggests that diversity characterized the many pieces carved by Lome and his assistants. Surely the chair illustrated by Madrazo--the back gabled and terminating in a fleuron, the lower portion hollowed out, and the legs joined by traceried arches--is the more ornamental. The extant chair is simpler in design and heavier in appearance. The back, though rectangular, is ornamented by a simple tracery--a double lancet within an enclosing arch. Its curving arms are lightened in design by recessed rectangular panels.[8]

Beginning April 14, the cartwrights Pico and Anton, the widow Pascoalla, and the calcinator Rodrigo hauled great quantities of stone to the palace of Tafalla, receiving 3 sueldos 6 dineros for each cartload.[9] Their continuing participation in the work is documented until October; a number of other individuals are mentioned working in the same capacity during this period when significant progress was made upon the royal residence.[10] As Lome was directing a variety of projects, it is impossible to isolate the materials intended for any specific one. He was busy with a pinnacle erected above the cold room, with two dressers carved of stone for the lower terrace which adjoined the garden, and with another stone chair, this to be placed next to the Moorish turret.[11] Other projects necessitated the continued activity of the cartwrights as well--the arch of the entrance tower, the fountains, and the seats for the garden and the towers.[12] Work on the fish pond continued at intervals; it seems to have neared completion in late July or August when Lome was directing the installation of the mechanism to control the water flowing into the basin.[13]

The elegance and luxury of the palace and its obviously pleasurable aspects are underscored by the details which emerge from the documents. Two basins, serving as fountains, flanked the Portal de Speragrano, which appears to have been that opening into the garden. Above the walls of the garden itself rose four turrets. One was of Moorish design; providing contrast was another called the French turret.[14] This juxtaposition of Gothic and Islamic decoration must have permeated the entirety of the royal palace, even as it had at Olite, where meager traces of Moorish stuccowork remain on one of the walls of the upper story. Whether the clock tower overlooked the garden cannot be ascertained from the documents. It was located between the galería de las natas and the cold room.[15]

Throughout 1423, Lome continued work at Tafalla, being paid at intervals for work completed to the king's order.[16] Supplying much of the material needed was Ochoa Dernialde who hauled 160 cartloads of stone, which he had quarried, to Tafalla.[17] Another major supplier of stone in the years 1423 to 1424 was Johan de Bermeo, who received 250 libras for three thousand assorted stones.[18] From an entry written in 1422 and another at the end of the following year, we learn that among the projects entrusted to Lome was the decorative carving of the major windows of the palace. Several are described in some detail, mention being made of a variety of windows above and below, of round-headed arches, and of moldings. One of these windows was adjacent to the door of the passage, while two others of large size opened onto the great garden.[19] At the same time that Lome received payment for these, he was compensated for carving a very practical stepping stone for the king's use in mounting his horse.[20] Madrazo again aids our

understanding of the palace. His detail of a window (Fig. 55) reveals an extreme richness of detail, the tracery patterns of the two lancets being distinct one from the other.[21] Such intricacy surpasses the detailing of the major windows for the palace of Olite.

Lome was also responsible for making the great wall of the large garden. On December 28, 1423, he received 7 libras 10 sueldos remuneration for the tools he had purchased for breaking the rocks for the wall.[22] About the same time, he acquired a pine beam for use in the long gallery;[23] recorded too are twenty-eight cartloads of stone used in the arch of the fountain at the descent from the garden and three old timbers for use elsewhere,[24] as well as Lome's payment for his work, sustenance, and expenses while working on the chair for the garden.[25]

One of the most important assignments must have been the large, free-standing fountain mentioned in a series of notations throughout 1424, at which time Lome is listed as residing in Pamplona.[26] The elaborate fountain, one of a series within the palace complex, was crowned by nine arches and nine pillars supporting an additional ring of twelve small pillars (pillaretes a filolas).[27] Perico and Anton were paid 225 libras for hauling three thousand stones used for this crowning feature; from the mountains of Alayz, they also transported 217 cartloads of rounded timbers for the fountain and other projects, receiving 442 libras for this latter activity which lasted from July until October.[28] Martín Martínez de Aoiz, merchant in Pamplona, provided fifty pounds of tin for soldering the lead pipes used in the fountain,[29] while Esteban Deses, locksmith, provided three bits for drilling the timbers of the fountain.[30] Mahoma Helleli, Moorish

blacksmith of Tudela who worked with Lome in preparation for the quarrying of alabaster for the royal tomb some eight years earlier, provided three more large bits.[31] Furtunnyo Barailla and Pascoal de Garas, shopkeepers in Olite, and Guilem Periz and Remon, turners, also provided necessary supplies.[32] A second fountain, having a basin supported on the backs of seven stone lions, was set up before the entrance to the palace;[33] two smaller ones may have been set into the palace walls, Lome having completed their decorative fronts for the low fee of 30 libras.[34]

Although the documents provide a clue to the wide variety of ornamental forms used in the decoration of the residence at Tafalla, they fail to include sufficient descriptive detail to allow even a general reconstruction. Lome, who had charge of the masonry structure, also attended to many lesser details. For example, in February 1424, he was paid for purchasing a lock for the large door of the pages' chamber, and later purchased two pounds of scarlet bole to mix with carmin pigment for painting the Moorish turrets.[35] He was also busy remaking the perpends in the two corners of the garden on the side of the Rua de Spagrano,[36] and he rebuilt the balcony of the terrace extending it onto corbels, in accordance with the king's command.[37] Other areas demanding attention were the door in the garden, perpends for a staircase in the palace at Olite, and in the final weeks of 1424, the canals in the garden at Tafalla.[38] A final part of the building program during the years 1423 to 1424 was the work on chambers adjacent to the tower of the passage and the fireplace built in one of these chambers.[39] In 1423, Ochoa Dernialde, Machin de Grecieta, and Michel de Alquiza, masons, were working in the tower of the passage

on windows, doors, and a fireplace.[40] But the aforementioned chambers and their fireplace were principally the work of Machin de Grecieta, with the fireplace being completed by Johan de Grecieta, citizen of Alquiza, following the death of his son.[41]

Fortunately, Madrazo includes several other drawings which suggest the pleasurable aspects of the palace.[42] The view of the entrance tower (Fig. 56) shows a stress similar to the palace of Olite upon the heavy form of the walls and the asymmetry of design. The flattened horseshoe arches at the upper right were most probably open, giving a view from the upper floor onto the courtyard. A second view (Fig. 57) reveals again the spare use of ornament, here of Gothic style, and in the irregularity of form shows us the taste of the late Middle Ages. Two further drawings (Figs. 58 and 59) represent belvederes suited to the diversions of a summer day. Once again correspondances can be drawn with the palace at Olite.

The final summation of Lome's activities at the palace of Tafalla is dated September 26, 1425, shortly after the death of Charles III at a time when it was necessary to audit the royal accounts.[43] His name does not reappear in the Navarrese records for a period of eight years. It is not possible to determine whether he remained throughout this period in the kingdom, whether he worked elsewhere under the patronage of the new sovereign doña Blanca and her husband don Juan of Aragon, or whether he temporarily left the service of the Navarrese monarchs.

Sculpture

Despite the lack of written documentation, a series of sculptural monuments showing varying degrees of relationship to the works of Lome

attest the richness of the Navarrese artistic tradition at this moment in history--first, the cult statue of Saint Sebastian at Tafalla; second, the north transept portal of the cathedral of Pamplona; and third, the sepulchers of don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, the one prepared in the collegiate church of Santa María at Tudela and the other erected in the cathedral of Pamplona after his elevation as bishop.

Preserved today in the church of Santa María at Tafalla, the stone St. Sebastian (Fig. 60), dating from the decade of the 1420's, can be linked with Lome on the basis of medieval documents preserved in sixteenth-century copies. The association of the statue with Lome was rediscovered in 1908 by Tormo y Monzó and Allende-Salazar, who describe it as having been made by Lome in 1426 in compliance with the testament written by Simón Navar, secretary to Charles the Noble, in Sangüesa, 1422.[44] Bertaux, in his article published later the same year, says that Lome is not mentioned in the foregoing testament;[45] but here he is in error. It is, in fact, because of the statue of St. Sebastian that a continuing tradition--noted in the sixteenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries--exists remembering Lome as sculptor at the court of Charles III. Bertaux, who finally brought Lome to deserved international attention, made known also the legend of a miracle said to have occurred in 1426.

> Juan Lome, master mason, was working on the stone [statue of] St. Sebastian who is venerated in the royal convent of St. Francis and who is patron of the very noble and very loyal town of Tafalla when he found it necessary to go home. Upon leaving, he took off his beret and placed it on the head of the saint saying; "Saint, guard my beret." There passed by a transient who put out his arm to take the beret and could not remove it from the

> statue. This miracle took place in the year of Our Lord 1426.[46]

The statue was made, as Cabezudo Astrain affirms, to serve as the principal image in a chapel built by the citizens of Tafalla in honor of their venerated patron. The origin of the legend is veiled in greater obscurity, Bertaux attributing it to a learned rather than a popular origin.[47]

Authorship of the statue can be associated with Lome on the basis of documents brought to light in the late sixteenth century when legal suit was brought regarding the statue and again in the late eighteenth century when the new church of Santa María at Tafalla was consecrated. The former event occurred in 1598 and is recorded in the proceedings about the escutcheon which was at the high altar of Tafalla.[48] Antonio Navar, resident of Tafalla, sued because a provision of the testament of Simón Navar, his great grandfather, had been violated. The passage from the elder Navar's will relevant to the case in question is attached to the suit in a notarized document:

> Item. I order, leave, and bequeath to the work of the church of the lord St. Sebastian of Tafalla for making of stone a figure and image of St. Sebastian to be placed on the altar of the said church forty florins of gold according to what I have drawn for Juan Lome and my arms will be placed on a stone beneath the said image.[49]

At the time that repairs were made to the chapel, some four years before Antonio Navar brought suit, the escutcheon appeared when a wall covering the lower part of the figure (necessitated because one leg of the statue was broken) was removed. Scarcely a year thereafter, when the statue was being gilded and the carved escutcheon was fully visible, someone effaced the bearings, which were "some chestnut trees with some wolves on a gilded and red field."[50] In his suit, Antonio

Navar asked that the arms be restored and that legal action be taken to prevent their removal in the future.

The information contained in these documents provides an important link with Lome, making clear that he enjoyed the patronage not only of the royal family but also of high members of the court. However, the fact that Antonio Navar failed to bring suit for some three years after the effacement of the arms is also of interest. If the delay was not caused merely by procrastination or an absence from the realm, it possibly occurred because Antonio Navar needed to locate the documentation to prove his point. Had he known the exact origin of the statue, as he surely would if the tale of the miracle of the beret circulated at the period, it would seem unlikely that a period of three years would have been necessary to trace his great-grandfather's testament. If, however, the tale were unknown, such a period of time may have been required to search for the pertinent documents in the family archives which had accumulated during the preceding two centuries.[51]

The manner of representing the saint is itself of interest. He stands erect and frontal, attired in a tunic belted at the waist and a heavy, high-collared mantle fastened upon the right shoulder. In his left hand he holds a sword; and in his right, three bronze arrows.[52] The patterns of the drapery are similar to those seen on the pleurants from the royal tomb--the emphasis on slender vertical folds contrasting with the tautness of material covering the shoulders. In this instance the decorative effect is increased by gilding and polychromy. The golden mantle and tunic are strewn with vermillion flowers and edged with borders simulating the use of embroidery and jeweled decorations. The face (Fig. 61) and hands are tinted in flesh tones suitably

enhancing the well-modeled forms. The hair, mustache, and beard are black.[53] This last feature--the beard--surprised Cabezudo Astrain, who believed it nearly unique.[54] In fact, it follows a local convention--several related examples being found in Spanish paintings of fifteenth-century date. One of the most striking of the comparative works the Retable of Saints Sebastian and Nicasius, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Fig. 62), is of Navarrese origin. Its significance is enhanced by the dedicatory inscription:

> Ano : dni : m : cccc : segundo : esta : obra : fizo : fazer : m : piz : de : Eulate : [lacuna with space for some 22 letters] seynor : rey : & toda : [illegible word followed by lacuna with space for some 9 letters] su muger : aonor : et : seruicio : de dios : et de seynnor : san sebastian : et de sant nicasio : [lacuna with space for some 29 letters] mediateror a dios . por . mi et por todo.[55]

The correspondances to the Tafalla statue are marked. Turned slightly to his right toward Saint Nicasius, Saint Sebastian holds a sword in his right hand and a pair of arrows in his left. His garments are even more richly decorated than those of the Tafalla figure. The robe is woven with an over-all pattern of lozenges filled by foliate motifs and simple punch work and completed by a jeweled border at the neck. The mantle, open at the front, is strewn with crowns and flowers and edged with a border suggesting gold embroidery and pearls. His simply modeled face is bearded. To his left appear three scenes from his life and at his feet stands the donatrix. Thus the convention of the bearded Sebastian was already established in Navarre at the opening of the fifteenth century.

A second example, probably by an Aragonese artist, indicates further the importance of the tradition (Fig. 63). Here, too, St.

Sebastian is richly attired, carries sword, arrow and bow, and is bearded. He also, in this instance, wears a hat.[56]

Despite the similarities of the treatment of the garments of St. Sebastian and the pleurants on the royal cenotaph, the large-scale saint lacks the fineness of treatment and detailing which characterize the smaller figures. The stiffness of the figure, somewhat akin to the effigy of doña Leonor, is partially allayed by the modeling of the face with attention to the underlying skeletal structure and the curling of the locks of hair and beard. If the statue lacks the magic of the royal effigies, the fault is due in part to the use of dark stone rather than the creamy alabaster, in part to the artist's interest in following his patron's desire for an image conceived in terms of an icon, and probably in part to the participation of shop assistants in its execution. Nevertheless, it stands as a unique example of a nearly life-sized cult image from Lome's atelier.

Whereas the St. Sebastian at Tafalla is linked with Lome on the basis of documentation, the north transept portal of the cathedral of Pamplona can only be associated with him and his shop on stylistic grounds as Bertaux first acknowledged.[57] The simplicity of the transept façade is quite in keeping with the total design of the Gothic edifice (Fig. 66). Here, as in the earlier entrance at the south, a single doorway opens into the church. Because of the slope of the land, however, the northern entrance is reached by a short flight of steps. The vertical expanse of the transept façade is accentuated by the flanking pinnacles which rise from low bases to support a corbel table carved with floral and animal motifs lacking skill in execution. The lower portion of the pinnacles which reaches to the level of the

lintel assumes the shape of three squared pilasters surmounted by foliated capitals. The second level provides a shallow niche beneath canopies. The third level contains spires above the canopies and the final foliated turrets. The area above the entrance is richly ornamented. An ogival arch surmounted by a double fleuron encloses the pointed arches of the tympanum and archivolts. The figurative decoration is now restricted to this central area--tympanum, archivolts, and corbels (Fig. 64). Lost are the figures--possibly of donor and donatrix--which must have stood in the niches to either side. The four free-standing statuettes from the lowermost level of the archivolts have also disappeared, leaving only fourteen in situ. These saints and martyrs provide the necessary clue for attributing the sculpture to Lome and his shop, for they are closer in style to the group of alabaster pleurants in the cathedral than are any other figural works preserved today. The pose of the uppermost saint in the outer left archivolt (Figs. 65 and 67) is a variation of that of one canon from the royal cenotaph (Fig. 23) showing a similar treatment of drapery with the long narrow folds breaking slightly at the ground. Again we see the stress upon three major folds which create a strong sense of undulating form. Further similarity occurs in the design of the sleeves; that those of the pleurant are more varied in detail attests once again that the designs used in the shop are always adaptations rather than copies of existing works. Although the faces seem generally similar in type, we are prevented from making a detailed comparison because of the weathered surface of the archivolt figure.

Immediately below this figure in the outer archivolt stands a bishop with crozier and open book (Fig. 67), attributes insufficient

for a specific identification. Like the bishops on the cenotaph (Figs. 20 and 21) his mitre is ornamented with reliefs, his morse is similarly represented, and a belt encircles his waist. The cascade of folds from his left arm is akin to details used for other pleurants (Fig. 37). The surface again is badly abraded. The third figure in the outer archivolt represents a monk (Fig. 68). His habit with a scapular is similar in treatment to that of a pleurant also (Fig. 34), although his pose is calmer without the twisting movement which so enlivens the alabaster figure. His sole attribute is an open book held in his right hand. The lowest figure remaining at the left in this archivolt has a heavy beard (Fig. 68); an an attribute, he holds a book, too. The heaviness of the figure suggests a casual relationship to that weeper most strongly reflecting a "Sluterian" style (Fig. 43).

Of the inner archivolt figures on the left, two can be identified. At the top stands a bishop holding his mitred head in his hands (Fig. 69). This surely is St. Nicasius, who we have seen was venerated in this Spanish kingdom.[58] His garments fall into a pattern of chevron folds. Better protected from the elements, the face reveals a refinement of treatment similar to that seen in the pleurants. The episcopal staff rests within the crook of the right arm. The second figure, whose robe also falls in chevron folds, carries a book but lacks a specific identifying attribute (Figs. 69 and 70). His face is among the best preserved; the broad brow, high cheekbones, and finely carved eyes are similar to those of the weepers. The final figure, despite the loss of his head, can be readily identified (Fig. 70). The grill, the books, and the vestments of a deacon are attributes of St. Lawrence.

Of the figures in the outer archivolt at the right, only two can be identified with certainty. At the top, Pope Clement I has a triple tiara, cross-staff, and anchor as attributes (Figs. 65 and 71). Again the drapery is treated as a series of narrow, undulating folds, and his cope is fastened by a carved morse. The surface of this and the three other figures is badly abraded. The second figure--a bishop--carries an object difficult to identify, perhaps a palm (Fig. 71). Beneath him stands a Franciscan with hands upraised--surely St. Francis himself showing the stigmata (Fig. 72). The knotted cord fastens the habit at the waist and hangs to the ground in front. Finally there is another bishop with mitre and crozier; he holds an object, perhaps a host, in his right hand (Fig. 72).

On the inner archivolt at the right appear a saint with a sword (St. Paul?) and two deacons, both attired in alb and dalmatic (Figs. 73 and 74). The face of the first-mentioned saint reveals the care with which these figures were carved and the relationship which they bear the pleurants on the royal cenotaph. One may particularly compare the faces of two bearded pleurants (Figs. 35 and 38). The detailing of the beard, the high cheek bones, the careful execution of the eyes--all are similar in nature. Each of the deacons carries an open book; the upper one also carries something in his left hand, but it is so badly worn that its identification is uncertain. Resting on the left shoulder of the lower deacon is an object, apparently a rock which would identify him as St. Stephen.

The canopies above the heads of these archivolt figures are a simplified version of those on the royal cenotaph. The design repeats the pointed arch within an ogival arch; this is also repeated in the

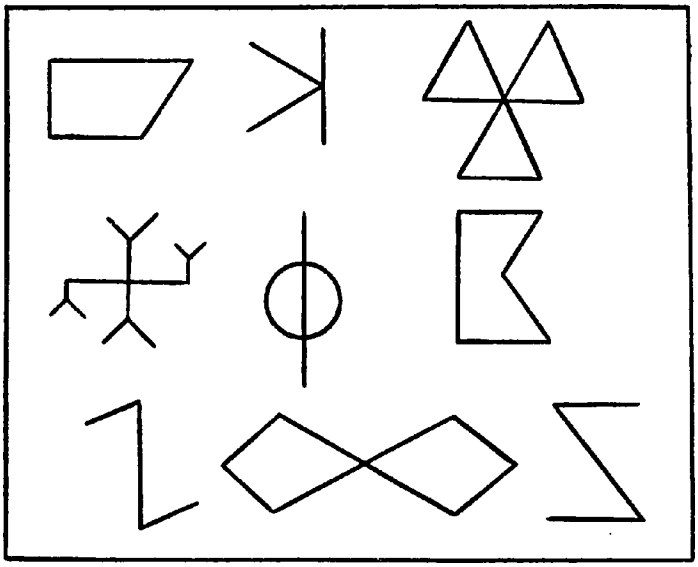
arcade surmounting the middle section of the flanking pinnacles, but their increased size permits the inclusion of a pierced clerestory.

The tympanum is devoted to the Coronation of the Virgin, a theme popular in monumental sculpture from the late twelfth century when it appeared in France at Senlis.[59] In the fourteenth century it was represented at Pamplona in the uppermost tier of the Puerta de la Preciosa in the south corridor of the cathedral cloister.[60] Whereas in this earlier work, the scene serves as a culmination for a history of the last days of the Virgin, it is shown as an isolated subject on the north transept. Nevertheless, in its placement there it corresponds to the Death of the Virgin in the tympanum of the Puerta de Nuestra Señora del Amparo of the south transept portal dating to the fourteenth century.[61]

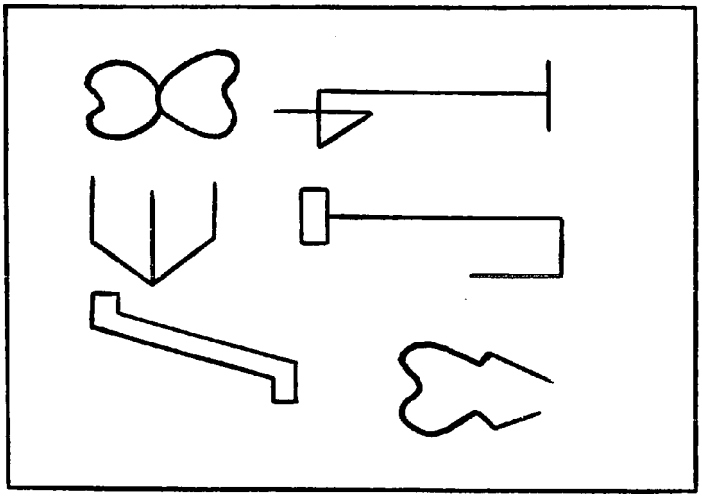
The composition of the tympanum follows the standards established earlier in France. The Virgin and Christ are seated at the center, the Virgin bending toward her Son with her hands (now lost) in an attitude of prayer and Christ blessing with His right hand and holding the orb in His left. To either side of the central group appear music-making angels; the better preserved one, beside the Virgin, plays a viol. At the apex of the tympanum appears a seraph whose head projects forward from the six wings. There is a marked sense of movement and undulation in the drapery, particularly in the swirling patterns of the edges of the garments. The folds further create asymmetrical patterns which lead toward the center of the composition. Despite the energy of these forms, the faces lack expressive power. They are broad and rounded and lack the detail which makes the face of Charles the Noble so noteworthy.[62]

Finally mention must be made of the angels on the corbels. The one at the left of the doorway has lost his head (Fig. 75). The one at the right has lost his escutcheon (Fig. 76). The latter shows a square jaw and hair combed out to either side, but finer details of his physiognomy have weathered away. Each of them is given a sense of individuality; they are not merely carbon copies of one another, although their poses are complementary. Their authorship is the same; the mason responsible for their execution has traced his mark onto the front surface of each stone (Text ill. 2, upper left). At least eight other masons worked on the portal as well, but none of their marks appears on stones with figurative decoration (Text ill. 2). And at least six more masons were employed to square the stones for the adjacent walls (Text ill. 3).[63]

The date for the execution of the portal cannot be determined on the basis of documentary evidence; the effacement of the escutcheons prohibits even a certain knowledge of the reign in which it was done. Nevertheless, it is certain that the portal is subsequent to the work stoppage of 1403.[64] It would seem probable that a date not long after 1419, the year of completion of the royal sepulcher, is in order because of stylistic parallels. The most probable time would be in the mid-1420's; such a project could account for Lome's living in Pamplona in 1424.[65] It is not impossible that Lome was directing several projects simultaneously if each was sponsored by Charles III; however, a final alternative cannot be excluded--that Lome only returned to the cathedral following the termination of work at Tafalla in 1425. A date of circa 1425, allowing for either of these possibilities, would be acceptable.



Text ill. 2. North transept portal, Pamplona, Cathedral, masons' marks



Text ill. 3. North transept façade, Pamplona, Cathedral, masons' marks

During the final years of the reign of Charles the Noble, don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, native of the kingdom, served as dean of Santa María at Tudela and subsequently as bishop of Pamplona. His service to the royal family was of long standing, for he had been active at the court of Charles II and later was secretary to Charles the Noble. Only after the death of his wife did mosén Sancho become a cleric,[66] yet his talents and abilities achieved for him an enviable position and the highest ecclesiastical positions in the realm.[67]

Following a custom not uncommon among nobles and ecclesiastics, mosén Sancho took care to arrange for his burial, should he die while holding office at Tudela. His testament dated September 16, 1418, provides the key to his intentions. Therein he ordered his burial in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist in the church of Santa María at Tudela with the single provision that "... in case I be promoted to another, higher office, I order and decree that in the church to which I be promoted my corpse be well and honorably interred as befits the propriety of my person."[68] In this instance we are certain that the dean of Tudela made more than temporary provisions; he commissioned the work on his sepulcher. Although the documents concerning the commission have been lost, the effigy itself is preserved at Tudela (Figs. 77 and 78).[69] Carved of stone rather than of the more expensive alabaster, the effigy nevertheless reveals marked similarities to that of Charles the Noble. Such a comparison goes beyond the conception of the drapery as if covering a standing figure, which here accounts for the series of chevron folds down the side and the front of the figure. More important is the manner of representing the face, for in this regard we discover technical as well as stylistic similarities with

the effigy of the king. To be sure the face of mosén Sancho is more rounded and squat (Fig. 79), but such a difference strongly affirms the sculptor's intention of creating the likeness of the individual. In detail, though, we find formal parallels. The eyes, for example, show a stylization akin to those of the king. In each instance the lids are outlined, the upper one overlapping the lower in a long and graceful curve. The dean's hands are held in the same manner as those of the queen with the thumbs tight against the chest.[70] Clad in appropriate vestments, mosén Sancho wears a mitre and ring, episcopal attributes authorized for the deans of Tudela by Pope Alexander IV in the thirteenth century.[71] The mitre is greatly enriched by ornamental carving to suggest embroidery and gems, but in addition it is studded with metal mounts destined to hold glittering "jewels." As we have observed, this technical feature likewise can be seen in the ornament of the crowns and costumes of the royal effigies.[72] Because of the somber tones of the stone, the effigy was further enriched by paint, of which significant traces remain. Over a white alb bordered in black, the dean wears a blue dalmatic having a border and fringe of gold. His shoes, too, are blue with traces of gilding. The chasuble is painted red. The maniple hanging over his left arm and the gloves are ornamented, like the mitre, with metal mounts. The realistic treatment of the lion at his feet underscores the relationship to the Pamplona cenotaph. The sleek animal is given a thick mane and a ferocious countenance. The funereal statue is completed by the two tonsured clerics who hold open codices and kneel to either side of the deceased. Traces of polychromy reveal their robes to have been deep blue, while their hair was painted brown and partially gilded. The

one at the right shoulder (Fig. 80) raises one hand to his head, a gesture well familiar to us; the other pages through his book. They create a quite different impression than do the pleurants on the royal cenotaph, showing a here-to-fore unseen sense of solidity, differing even from the few "Sluterian" pleurants. Their youthful faces are round and plump; their robes fall in broad, angular folds quite distinct from the patterns of the royal mourners. These differences are not of posture but of style.

There are numerous indications that this was a less exacting commission than was the royal sepulcher. Not only is the material of an inferior type, but there are aspects of the carving itself which attest its being produced by members of the shop rather than by Lome himself. Foremost among these is the quality of the face (Fig. 79); despite stylistic similarities, it fails to equal that of the king's effigy. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is the highly generalized manner in which the right ear is attached to the head. Whoever carved it lacked the subtlety of the author of the royal effigies. The vestments, too, are carved with far less attention to the intricacies of the fall of the material, details which are so beautifully observed on the effigy of Charles III. The distinctive style of the accessory clerics further suggests that at least one sculptor active on the project was not engaged in the figurative work for the royal cenotaph.

The date for the effigy must fall between the years 1409 and 1420 (the appointment of mosén Sancho as dean of Tudela and his subsequent promotion to bishop of Pamplona). On the basis of our comparison with the royal tomb, we may suggest its creation at a fairly

late moment in that period. The date of don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza's testament, 1418, provides an approximate time for beginning the work which would thus be contemporary with the completion of the royal monument.

The effigy remains in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist immediately to the right of the main apse in the church. The niche in which it reposes is quite simply ornamented (Fig. 77). The sepulcher is fronted by four quatrefoils in medallions; this motif is modified in the tracery edging the heavy molded arch above. The capitals at the front of the niche echo the simplicity through their unobtrusive foliate decoration. Only the corbels within the niche provide additional figurative motifs, the eagle of St. John the Evangelist and the winged lion of St. Mark. The escutcheon hanging within the niche--azur, nine estoiles or 3, 3, 2, 1--is not that of mosén Sancho nor does it appear to be that of don Basilio Carmargo y Castejón, whom Madrazo informs us was buried in the tomb.[73] Despite the absence of inscriptions, the tomb is certainly an entity designed for mosén Sancho, as proved by a comparison of the effigy and the historiated corbels with those of the later tomb prepared in the cathedral of Pamplona.

Don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza must have made plans for the second sepulcher soon after he became bishop, a position he held fewer than six years before his death. The handsome monument installed in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist which the bishop had constructed in the new, Gothic edifice was only rediscovered in 1928 (Figs. 83 and 84).[74] It follows a type of wall tomb long popular in the Iberian kingdoms, exemplified by that of an earlier Navarrese bishop don

Miguel Sánchez de Asiain (d. 1364).

This splendid fourteenth-century example survives in the southeast corner of the cloister of the cathedral (Figs. 81 and 82). Originally the entire bay was decorated, the wall surfaces being covered by paintings of which traces with saints in niches remain in situ.[75] Here the tracery and pinnacles ornamenting the tomb niche are capped by a heavy cornice and recessed into the wall. The area adjoining the cornice is ornamented with blind tracery, while the upper portion of the niche is veiled by a pierced tympanum. The apex is filled by a great quatrefoil; the spandrels of the lower supporting arch, by curved triangles which enclose trefoil motifs. The supporting arch, itself edged with lace-like tracery, springs from corbels which serve also as canopies above small statuettes of Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate.[76] At the rear of the niche on a level with these figures hangs an escutcheon in relief bearing the arms of the deceased--or, two wolves in pale sable armed and langued gules with a bordure of the third charged with saltires of the first in profusion. The escutcheon is surmounted by an episcopal crozier. Above it a statuette of the Virgin and Child stands atop a corbel showing the Temptation of Adam and Eve. The heraldic identification as repeated in reliefs placed on the side walls omits the crozier. The effigy is carved from a great slab suspended above a molding which encircles the niche. The figure of Bishop Miguel, attired in the proper ecclesiastical vestments with mitre and crozier as designations of rank, is tilted forward so that his face (now sadly abraded) can be seen. A cortege of mourners (all decapitated during the Napoleonic turmoil) have assembled around him. On the wall directly above these figures was

painted an arcade, suggesting in design the cloister itself; this careful attention to the integration of sculpture and painting characterizes the decoration as a whole. In the upper levels, scenes from the life of the Virgin thematically complement the imagery in stone. At the left is represented the birth of the Virgin; at the right, her presentation in the temple. The aforementioned statuette of the Virgin and Child serves as a transition to the depiction of the Last Judgment in which the Virgin acts as intercessor through her Son. She stands at the left looking upward toward Christ, Who as the Man of Sorrows stands half-length in the tomb placed before the cross. A pair of angels bearing the instruments of the Passion appears beside Him. He, in turn, is suppliant to God the Father. Thus while placing the deceased bishop within the context of Christian history, the imagery stresses his devotion to the Virgin and Christ and his desire for salvation.

Conceivably the Asiain tomb, its splendor undimmed by passing centuries, inspired mosén Sancho's desire for a sepulcher more elaborate in size and in complexity of the decorative program than that prepared for him at Tudela. Centered beneath the window of the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, the tomb niche is flanked by simple pinnacles set against the wall though rising beyond the level of the window sill. The more heavily ornamented pinnacle surmounting the center of the arch is silhouetted in its upper part against the light of the window. A pair of escutcheons is placed in octafoils which also overlap the window. They show his arms--argent, on a cross gules between four estoiles sable, chains or arranged as a cross. The arms appear also on a third escutcheon hanging against the rear wall of the niche.

The front of the niche opens below a pointed arch of molded archivolts atop slender engaged colonnettes. The apex of the arch is veiled by a pierced tympanum showing a medallion filled with three quatrefoils flanked by a pair of curved triangles, the whole supported by a traceried, flattened arch.[77] This tracery is heavier than that used on the Asiain tomb; in general, the later tomb has a more lithic quality. Within the niche on corbels appear the eagle and winged lion, motifs used earlier at Tudela. In opposition to that earlier tomb, this one contains a cortege within the recess (echoing the Asiain tomb) and also a series of pleurants in relief fronting the sarcophagus.

The effigy of mosén Sancho is attired in vestments similar to those on the effigy in Tudela; the only distinction is the addition of the crozier, which is given such prominence that the face of the deceased is hidden from view. As in the Tudela monument, a symbolic lion serves as a support for the feet. The two clerics who appeared beside the effigy at Tudela have been replaced by slender angels who hover beside the bishop's head. The face of the effigy (Fig. 85), invisible to an individual standing within the chapel, is carved in a manner clearly related to the pleurants of the royal cenotaph and to the effigy at Tudela. A comparison with the earlier effigy of mosén Sancho reveals the expected rotundity and squatness of the face, as well as the short, pudgy nose. There is, however, a greater sense of age created by the deep pockets around the eyes, the sagging of the skin across the cheeks. These details of facial construction serve also to underscore a relationship to the work produced in Lome's shop--work created not by the master but by assistants. The face is treated with the same angularity and the same abrupt transition from one plane

to the next as are several of the weepers (Fig. 21 and 37), whereas those pleurants most clearly ressembling the royal effigies and therefore to be associated directly with Lome have subtly modeled faces with gently curving planes (Fig. 23). This distinction is one of artistic treatment rather than one of attempting to capture individual differences in physiognomy. The mitre, too, seems to be an enlarged version of those seen on the two bishops of the royal tomb. Unlike the work at Tudela, there is no attempt to heighten the effect by the addition of "jewels" fastened by metal mounts, rather the rich carving of the surface provides sufficient ornament. A further detail finds a parallel with the royal cenotaph in that the position of the hands, crossed upon the chest, is similar to that of one of the cardinals (Fig. 19).

The inclusion of the cortege follows a Spanish custom, as we have observed. Here they stand beneath a heavy reprise with a rich, foliate ornament so popular in Navarrese art of the early fifteenth century. The grouping of figures in the procession creates a sense of activity and interaction quite distinct from the treatment of weepers on the royal cenotaph. At the foot of the effigy stands a bishop, with crozier and mitre, attended by two clerics, the one holding an open missal and the other with an aspergillum (Fig. 86). At the head of the deceased stands a second group of three clerics (Fig. 90). The central figure holds the staff of what was, surely, a processional cross; each of the hooded attendants carries a massive candleholder with taper. Three distinct parties are assembled on the rear relief. At the left a second bishop stands amidst seven churchmen, the two in the foreground being distinguished by the simplicity of their hoods

(Fig. 87). At the center are gathered six mature Franciscans with their youthful acolyte who carries a processional cross (Fig. 88). They share two missals or antiphonaries. Finally at the right end of the panel we find another group of seven personages, the one at the far left being distinguished by not wearing his hood (Fig. 89). Two of the figures carry open codices. They are not identified as to secular or ecclesiastical rank.

The homogenous style of these figures is distinct from the various ones to be found on the royal cenotaph, although in some instances relationships are to be seen. The figures on the relief panels have a strong sense of solidity. No attempt has been made to create deep pockets of shadow. Such a stylistic formula may in part be determined by the hardness and/or the brittleness of the material used (here a pale gray stone); we should observe that the figures themselves emerge quite markedly from the background and also that there is a more pronounced sense of plasticity and of undercutting in the band of foliage immediately above their heads.[78]

The final area of figural decoration of the tomb as we see it today is the front of the tomb chest (Figs. 91 and 92). Uranga's statement that these pleurants are modern is in error;[79] only the two figures at the right are crude attempts at restoration of the medieval relief. It remains uncertain, however, whether the group as a whole was originally a part of this funerary monument, the original pieces of the relief having been used elsewhere in the cathedral at a time when the existance of the episcopal tomb remained unknown.[80] Bertaux spoke highly of the relief: "Ces pleurants ont été certainement sculptés par la même main que ceux du tombeau de Charles le Noble."[81]

That is to say he attributed them to the master of the shop--Lome. An examination of the figures leads us to disallow an attribution to Lome, while entertaining the probability of their being shopwork. We base our judgment on a series of characteristics of the six figures to the left. The features of these stone weepers are only sketchily indicated and the quality of the carving fails to equal that of the figures of the cenotaph which can be attributed to Lome as head of the royal shop. The mason has created a relatively large space within which the pleurants stand beneath flattened ogival arches, a motif distinct in its detail from the tracery of the royal cenotaph. Nevertheless, the slenderness of the figures and the selection of details of costume suggest their origin in Lome's shop. The weeper at the far left (Fig. 91), for example, stands in the pose of one of the most elegant alabaster pleurants (Fig. 31). The hands are similarily held; the robes fall in similar configurations. The one is not, by any means, an exact copy of the other. The angle of the arms is sharper; the sleeves are of a different material, and the details so beautifully treated in the earlier work are omitted. The figure standing beside the first is clearly related to another of the royal mourners (Fig. 45) and less closely to a third (Fig. 44). There are, again, noteworthy modifications--the simplifications of drapery folds, the elimination of the book. The pair of weepers from the royal cenotaph served as models for another three figures. The pair of men to the right of center (Fig. 92) wear short, belted houplands reaching to their knees. The one at the left reaches into his pouch, a gesture similar to that of another royal mourner (Fig. 41). The third figure from the left (Fig. 91) also wears a costume of this type, his robe being drawn

more fully to the front. Only the first and the fourth weepers are covered completely by their mourning robes, the last named having his hands joined at the waist and his head bowed. He is an older person as suggested by the beard; the other five figures are clean shaven. The varied details of their garments--the stress on narrow, vertical folds, the lack of monotony, the simplicity of the hoods with occasional sharply angular folds--all show a strong kinship with those of the royal cenotaph and affirm the carving of this panel in Lome's shop.

Specific motifs show the stylistic differences between the lower and the upper reliefs. In the upper one, the hoods are of a distinctive design framing in a circular manner the face of an individual rather than concealing it. The faces themselves are far more rounded than the more slender ones of the lower relief and are quite distinctive in their sense of puffiness from those of such personages as the canons, bishops, and cardinals of the royal cenotaph. This tautness of form in the upper relief is a major stylistic factor--missing from other monuments of the period in Navarre--which serves to identify the anonymous author. At the same time, the drapery treatment, at least in so far as the arrangement and organization of folds is concerned, shows a sense of linearity that retains a relationship to the style of the royal cenotaph. There is, however, a greater sense of energy and movement, particularly in the depiction of the Franciscans because of the turning of the figures at different angles and the resultant pull on the lines of drapery.

Since mosén Sancho was greatly concerned with providing himself a sepulcher as proved by the earlier one in Tudela, it is logical to assume that upon elevation to the see of Pamplona, he proceeded again

to look after his interest in the matter and to commission this second, more elaborate one. Thus the tomb and the sculptural adornment would date within the early part of the decade following the creation of the royal cenotaph, circa 1420 to 1425.

Lome, His Final Years

Lome's name, as we have observed, disappears temporarily from the records of the Navarrese court following the death of Charles the Noble. During these early years of the reign of doña Blanca and her husband John of Aragon and Navarre, we learn of their particular interest in the royal palace at Sangüesa. In the years 1430 to 1432 more than 6,000 libras were expended for these royal works.[82] The entry providing this information gives no details but specifies their inclusion in "the book of the said works," which is unfortunately lost. Although there is no proof that Jehan Lome was engaged on this long-term project, such a possibility cannot be denied, for his previous experience would have suited him for it admirably.

Finally in 1435, after a lapse of nine and one-half years, Lome's name reappears in the documents; the single entry of this year containing his name fails to give any real indication of his professional activities. Described as a "mason," he was recipient of 29 libras 18 sueldos paid him for 23 cubits of Flemish cloth which he had purchased for the queen's service.[83] Four years later, a document of February 24, 1439, referring to him as "Johan Lome de Tornay, mason, citizen of the city of Pamplona and head master of the works of the king and the queen our lord and lady," acknowledges his receipt of 20 libras in lieu of 10 cahices of wheat (a cahiz being equivalent to 12 bushels),

his pension for the previous year.[84] The title and the receipt of such a pension attest a long and faithful service to their majesties. Later in the year, on May 10, is the first specific evidence in fifteen years of Lome's professional activities; on that day, he received 40 florins for "certain works which he made in the royal palaces of the town of Olite,"[85] a building with which he had been concerned some years earlier. A final document of 1439 from the court records, a receipt for his pension of wheat, states that he was similarly entitled to it during the year 1437.[86]

Certainly the most important series of documents from this period is contained in the "Book of the Expense of the Work of Sta. María of Pamplona made by me Johan d'Esteilla chaplain of the said work beginning the first day of January the year of the Nativity of Our Lord 1439 and ending the twenty-fourth day of December following," from the archive of the cathedral of Pamplona.[87] The building accounts, one of few such books surviving in the archive from the Middle Ages, records a period in which Jehan Lome was head of building activities. Although the account begins January 1, scarcely anything happened on the project until April,[88] when during the first several days sand was brought from the river for the works.[89] From the sixteenth to the twentieth of the month, work was well underway with the masons Miguel de Ayzpun, Johan de Fontarrauia, Pedro de Fontarrauia, and Johan de Berastegui busily dismantling the roof above the high altar in the capilla mayor.[90]

Preparing for the new structure, masons went to the quarries at Guendullayn to cut the necessary stone. They received room and board from the innkeeper Martín Periz de Guendullayn, who charged 4 sueldos daily per lodger.[91] At the same time, Johan de Lerga and Pernaut de

Huart, blacksmiths in Pamplona, and Pedro Periz de Fontarrauia, blacksmith resident in Guendullayn, were responsible for making, sharpening and repairing the required iron tools.[92] Carpenters and cartwrights were also employed to make new carts to be used in clearing the building site and in bringing the stones from the quarry.[93]

In order to check the progress of work at the quarry, Jehan Lome, Johan d'Esteilla, and the precentor of the cathedral accompanied by two youths visited it April 27,[94] a large number of masons and laborers being employed there during the five weeks of continuous activity from April 21 until May 23.[95] In the meantime on May 16, the jurymen of Pamplona ordered the clearing of debris from the cemetery next to the tower of the lord bishop.[96] This does not seem to have been required for the building program underway, although the accounts are less than clear about the exact nature of the project.

The transport of stone from Guendullayn began June 12;[97] two weeks later, on June 27, the masons began laying them contiguous to the infirmary.[98] For their labors the masons received either 7 or 9 sueldos daily, according to their skill and experience, while Jehan Lome, as master in charge, received a daily wage of 15 sueldos.[99] Work continued. A notation of July 7 mentions the purchase of baskets for carrying earth removed from the garden of the infirmary in order to level the surface for the new work.[100] Another notation acknowledges the purchase of a plank for Lome to make a pattern, probably a template for a molding.[101] In the work at this time, a new sepulcher required the use of four, squared bars of iron weighing a total of one hundred pounds.[102] Despite these facts it is difficult to gain a total impression of the project undertaken. The entry for August 3, providing another of the

rare personal facts about Lome, tells that "Johanto Lome, nephew of the said master," received 4 sueldos. The low rate of pay indicates that he was an apprentice, an assumption confirmed by the entry for August 4. He continued to work until August 8, and then he returned again between August 26 and September 19.[103] Toward the end of the year, Lome arranged the purchase of a large beam, 22 cubits in length, for use in the construction, and received his pension of 45 libras for the year.[104] On November 10, the masons finished their work at noon; labor ceased.[105] Two days later, several carpenters repaired "the old doors for use in the portal of the new work."[106]

During the final decade of his life, Lome remained active in his profession. From 1440, only the receipt for his acceptance of 20 libras in lieu of his pension of wheat for the previous year remains.[107] However, in 1441, notice is given that he was at Cuéllar, in Castile, in the service of the king, John of Aragon and Navarre (the queen, doña Blanca, having died April 1, 1441). On May 3, in preparation for the trip, Lome was paid 28 florins, eight for his own use and two for each of the ten masons who were to accompany him.[108] Three more masons, of whom Johanto de Alquiça alone is named, were sent to Cuéllar on October 25 to help Lome in the works of masonry. For their trip each of the three received one florin.[109] It appears that seven other masons must have been sent subsequently, for on April 9, 1442, Lome received 22 florins for the expenses which he and twenty other masons had in returning from Castile.[110] Earlier in the year, on February 26, he signed the receipt for his annual pension of wheat, which on this occasion he took in kind.[111]

Of his activities, little remains to be said. In 1443, he and

Gil de Mares, citizen of Olite and head master of carpentry in the works of the royal palaces in the town of Olite, were sent to Tudela to visit and give advice on the works which were needed in the castle and its walls since a tower was about to fall.[112] The two men went to Tudela with similar intentions again in 1446.[113] Lome spent the last years of his life engaged as a mason in Viana,[114] passing from it there in Viana on January 1, 1449,[115] after having served thirty-eight years in the employ of the Navarrese monarchs.

NOTES: CHAPTER IV

[1]Archivo General de Navarra, Comptos, caj. 107, no. 6, XLVIII. Hereafter cited as AGN, Comptos. Appendix 1421, 2.

[2]Document quoted from José Ramón Castro, Carlos III el noble, rey de Navarra (Pamplona, 1967), p. 527. Hereafter cited as Castro, Carlos III. The translation is the author's.

[3]AGN, Reg. 371, fol. 175r. Appendix 1422, 1. His activities prior to this date remain unknown. The account book in which this notice occurs was begun June 12, 1421.

[4]The erroneous identification of Maestre Aznar as an architect or mason by Julio Altadill, "Artistas exhumados," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, X (1919), p. 194, was echoed by Juan de Contreras, Marqués de Lozoya, Historia del arte hispánico (Barcelona, 1940), III, p. 203, who terms him a sculptor; both authors spell his name Arnal. The errors were corrected by Castro, Carlos III, p. 456, who also discovered that Maestre Aznar had performed other miscellaneous duties for the king, going in 1407 to the valley of Roncal to look for glass for the works of Olite and also going to the mountains of Isaba to select plants for the gardens of the palace. Ibid., p. 525.

[5]AGN, Comptos, caj. 107, no. 13, XXXII. Appendix 1421, 1.

[6]AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 7, CII. Appendix 1422, 2.

[7]Pedro de Madrazo, España sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza é historia: Navarra y Logroño, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1886), III, p. 257. Hereafter cited as Madrazo, Navarra y Logroño. For the chair in the possession of the Astrain family, see José Cabezudo Astrain, "Historia del real convento de San Sebastián de Tafalla," Príncipe de Viana, XII (1951), p. 172. Hereafter cited as Cabezudo Astrain, "San Sebastián." I wish to thank the Astrain family for permission to view and to photograph the chair.

[8]It is disappointing that other remains of the palace have been lost. The minutes of the meeting of the Comisión de Monumentos, February 3, 1873, report that if the remains of the palace are to be taken down, the Comisión is to be advised and that the following objects are to be saved: the fountain in the form of an ogival arch, the carved windows of the patio, the stone chairs, the grills from the wall overlooking the road, and other objects that may be encountered. In the minutes for February 12, 1873, it is reported that from the ruins of the palace the mayor of Tafalla recovered only a stone

with the royal arms of Navarre, a chain which supported a door, and a small column, all of which were at the disposition of the Comisión. The destruction of the palace at this time was a result of the second Carlist war. Appendix 1873, 1 and 2.

[9]AGN, Reg. 371, fols. 212v, 214r, 218r, and 239r. Appendix 1422, 3-5, and 7.

[10]AGN, Reg. 371, passim.

[11]For these works, Lome received 224 libras on May 10. AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 7, XCIII. Appendix 1422, 6.

[12]AGN, Reg. 371, fol. 219. AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 7, LXXXIV. Appendix 1422, 10.

[13]AGN, Reg. 371, fol. 286v. Appendix 1422, 9.

[14]These turrets were begun earlier. AGN, Reg. 371, fols. 68v and 137v.

[15]AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 7, LXXXII. Appendix 1422, 11.

[16]See Appendix 1423, 1-9.

[17]AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 21, LXXVIII. Appendix 1423, 5.

[18]AGN, Papeles sueltos, 1a serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [43v]. Appendix 1424, 14.

[19]AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 11, XLII. Appendix 1423, 7.

[20]Ibid. The stepping stone is designated for use at the palace of Olite rather than at Tafalla.

[21]Navarra y Logroño, III, p. 256.

[22]AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 14, XXXVII. Appendix 1423, 8.

[23]AGN, Papeles sueltos, 1a serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [5r]. Appendix 1423, 9.

[24]AGN, Papeles sueltos, 1a serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [14v]. Appendix 1423, 10.

[25]AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 2, I. Appendix 1423, 11.

[26]AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 7, LXVIII. Appendix 1424, 3. It is uncertain when Lome moved to Pamplona. Perhaps he went there as early as 1421 after selling his property in Olite. A possible reason for his living in Pamplona rather than Tafalla is treated below. See p. 100.

[27]AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 1, VI; and caj. 109, no. 5, LI. Appendix 1424, 12-13.

[28]AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 1, VI. Appendix 1424, 12.

[29]AGN, Papeles sueltos, 1a serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [18v]. Appendix 1424, 4.

[30]Ibid.

[31]AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 2, IX. Appendix 1424, 5.

[32]AGN, Papeles sueltos, 1a serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fols. [18v, 19r, and 19v]. Appendix 1424, 4, 6, and 8.

[33]AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 19, XXXIV; and Papeles sueltos, 1a serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [48v]. Appendix 1425, 3 and 4.

[34]AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 5, XLIII. Appendix 1424, 11. The bas-relief of John the Baptist, Lome's first recorded work, cost 17 libras 18 sueldos. Thus the 15 libras paid for each fountain front serve to indicate that they were of moderate size and design.

[35]AGN, Papeles sueltos, 1a serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fols. [17v and 19v]. Appendix 1424, 1 and 7.

[36]AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 5, XLIV. Appendix 1424, 2.

[37]AGN, Papeles sueltos, 1a serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [42r]; Comptos, caj. 109, no. 2, IV. Appendix 1424, 9 and 10.

[38]AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 6, XVII. Appendix 1424, 16.

[39]These chambers are designated by the medieval Spanish word retraytes (or in modern Spanish retretes). The retrete is described in a medieval text as being a chamber adjacent to the bedroom and serving a multitude of uses--wardrobe, dressing room, bath room, and privy. See Vicente Lampérez y Romea, Arquitectura civil española de los siglos I al XVIII, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1922), I, p. 203.

[40]AGN, Papeles sueltos, 1a serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [32r]. Appendix 1423, 2.

[41]AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 5, L. Appendix 1424, 15.

[42]Navarra y Logroño, III, pp. 258-260, 262.

[43]AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 19, XXXIV. Appendix 1425, 3. An earlier summation of the payments to Jehan Lome for the works done on the great wall is dated November 16, 1424, for a total of 2,100 libras. AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 5, LI; see Appendix 1424, 13.

[44]Elías Tormo [y Monzó], "Otra nueva obra conocida de Juan

Lome," Cultura española, IX (1908), p. 182. He gives the date of the will as December 16, 1422; actually it was written November 16, 1422. For a transcription of the pertinent passage see Appendix 1422, 13.

In this brief notice. Tormo y Monzó mentions that Allende-Salazar was preparing an article on Lome to be published in the same magazine. It never appeared, probably because of the publication of Bertaux's article.

[45]Emile Bertaux, "Le mausolée de Charles le noble à Pampelune et l'art franco-flamand en Navarre," Gazette des beaux-arts, 3e période, XL/2 (1908), p. 100. Hereafter cited as Bertaux, "Mausolée."

[46]Ibid., p. 99. Our translation is from the Spanish as published by Cabezudo Astrain, "San Sebastián," p. 173.

> Juan Lome, maestro albañil estaba trabajando en el San Sebastián de piedra que se venera en el Convento Real de San Francisco y que es Patrón de la M[uy] N[oble] y M[uy] L[eal] Ciudad de Tafalla, cuando tuvo necesidad de ir a su casa. Al marcharse, se quitó la boina, y la puso en la cabeza del Santo diciendo: SANTO, GUARDA MI BOINA. Pasó un transeunte, que extendió el brazo para coger la boina y no pudo quitarla de la estatua. Este milagro tuvo lugar en el año del Señor de 1426.

[47]"Mausolée," p. 100.

[48]Tafalla, Archivo Municipal, Antecedentes del Convento de San Sebastián, Leg. no. 3, "Proceso sobre escudo de armas." (The original signature in the monastic archive was 1598, Fajo 3, num. 3 [de papeles diversos].) Hereafter cited as "Proceso." Appendix 1598, 1.

[49]Ibid., fol. 3r. Appendix 1598, 1. In another volume in the Archivo Municipal, Tafalla, entitled Convento de San Sebastián, indice de los papeles que ay en el archivo, under the heading "Papeles diversos," Fajo 3, num. 1," is included a listing for "Noticias del principio que tubo la ymagen de S. Sebastián, y quien la hizo, con algunas otras noticias, que compendio el P. fr. Francisco Pitillas difinidor de la provincia;" this last mentioned document is now lost.

[50]"Proceso," fol. 2r. Appendix, 1598, 1.

[51]The origin of the legend cannot be traced. It is not mentioned specifically in the early printed sources. Francisco de Erasso, Discursos históricos sobre la población de España ... (Seville, 1682), pp. 9-11, refers to the veneration of St. Sebastian by the inhabitants of Tafalla and discusses various miracles, but he does not mention that of the beret. A manuscript entitled El libro de los milagros del santo which was in the local archive during the early eighteenth century but which was taken from it probably before 1742 might have provided further information. (See Cabezudo Astrain, "San Sebastián," pp. 173-174.) Padre Manuel Garay, Compendio cronólogico. Con nuevas

adiciones, a la primera parte de la cronica de la santa provincia de Burgos (Pamplona, 1742), p. 130, alludes to the beret but does not discuss the miracle. Joachin de la Santíssima Trinidad, Historia de la ciudad de Tafalla (Pamplona, 1766), pp. 46-47, 104, writes in some detail giving the history of the commission of the statue (mentioning both Lome and Simón Navar) and an eloquent description of it without, however, mentioning the miracle. José Beltrán, Historia completa y documentada de la m[uy] n[oble] y m[uy] l[eal] ciudad de Tafalla (Tafalla, 1920), pp. 120-121, quotes from two documents in the local archives. The first is surely the document known to Allende-Salazar and Tormo y Monzó, for it gives the date of Simón Navar's testament as December 16, rather than November 16, 1422. The second records an extensive account of the miracle of the beret. That Beltrán was unfamiliar with the sixteenth-century lawsuit is obvious; he considered the St. Sebastian not to be damaged but to be unfinished, attributing this to Lome's profound respect for the miraculous image.

[52]The three arrows are modern as is the ornamental halo.

[53]We cannot be certain whether the statue was originally polychromed. Cabezudo Astrain, "San Sebastián," pp. 177-178, cites two documents. The first states that Juan de Goñi contracted to paint and gild the statue in 1574. It makes no reference to restoring an earlier finish. The second reference mentions a repainting in 1680; it is this Baroque polychromy which we principally see today.

[54]Ibid., p. 174. Cabezudo Astrain is wrong in his belief that the only similar instance is a seventh-century mosaic in S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.

[55]The inscription was first published by Chandler Rathfon Post, A History of Spanish Painting, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), pp. 123-124. My transcription--taken in front of the painting--varies somewhat from Post's. I fail, for example, to see how "a memoria de Nicasia" could be fitted into the space preceding "su muger," even were the phrase abbreviated in the extreme. The reading of Eulate is, as Post observed, based on a fragment of the original; the beginning E and the final te are quite legible, and parts of three other letters seem to represent the left half of the u, the upper portion of the l, and the upper right section of the a. This seems the logical reading of the word. Certainly the iconography is appropriate to a Navarrese origin, SS. Sebastian and Nicasius being highly venerated in that kingdom. The latter was long venerated by the royal family.

The donor, as Post suggests, would be Martín Periz de Eulate. So far as I am able to determine this name does not occur in the Comptos of Navarre until 1427, when he is titled "Martin Periz de Eulate, maçonero maestro de las obras realles de maçoneria." (AGN, Reg. 390, fol. 255v.) He is mentioned again in 1430 (Florencio Idoate, ed., Archivo General de Navarra: Catálogo de la sección de comptos, documentos, XXXIX (Pamplona, 1966), no. 137) and in 1431; this time as Martín Periz de Eulate de Estella (Idoate, Catálogo, XL, no. 170). This last entry suggests that he may be the person generally called Martín

Periz de Estella, who became "master of his [the king's] works of masonry in the whole realm" on June 15, 1389. (See Castro, Catálogo, XVII, no. 521.)

[56]The painting, popularly called a portrait of Charles of Aragon and Navarre, prince of Viana, is in the collection of J. Escudero, Corella, Navarre: See José Camón Aznar, Pintura medieval española, Summa artis, XXII (Madrid, 1966), p. 525, fig. 511.

[57]"Mausolée," p. 109. Earlier writers made no attempt to identify the masons responsible for the portal. Cénac-Moncaut, Voyage archéologique et historique dans l'ancien royaume de Navarre (Tarbes and Paris, 1857), pp. 110-111, published the earliest, though brief and inaccurate, description. Hereafter cited as Cénac-Moncaut, Voyage. Madrazo, Navarra y Logroño, I, pp. 346-347, published a photographic illustration and dated the portal to the period of Charles the Noble. The only other publication of significance is Julio Altadill, "La puerta de San José en la catedral de Pamplona," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, V (1914), p. 210. He, too, published a photograph, gave a description, and dated the work to the first third of the fifteenth century.

[58]See above page 94 and note 55.

[59]Adolf Katzenellenbogen, The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia (Baltimore, 1959), p. 56 and pl. 49.

[60]Luis Vázquez de Parga, "La dormición de la Virgen en la catedral de Pamplona," Príncipe de Viana, VII (1946), p. 257, describes the scene as deriving from the Porte Rouge at Notre Dame, Paris, and showing Christ blessing Mary while an angel places the crown upon her head.

[61]I cannot agree with Hannshubert Mahn, Kathedralplastik in Spanien: Die monumentale Figuralskulptur in [Alt-] Kastilien, Leon und Navarra zwischen 1230 und 1380 (Reutlingen, 1935), pp. 51-52, that the sculpture of the south transept portal was originally intended for a different location.

[62]The tympanum is composed of four stones. The Virgin and Christ occupy the largest. Each angel is on a separate block. The seraph is on the smallest stone.

[63]Of the marks found on the transept façade only that of the master of the angel corbels is recorded elsewhere. José Yarnoz, "Palacio real de Olite, restauración de la torre de los cuatro vientos," Príncipe de Viana, II, no. 2 (1941), p. 14, records it along with five other marks as appearing on the Tower of the Four Winds at Olite.

[64]See above Chapter I, pp. 4-5 and note 14.

[65]See above p. 88.

[66]Antonio Marichalar, Marqués de Montesa, "Vera efigie del

obispo de Pamplona don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza," Príncipe de Viana, IV (1943), p. 190. His children were, however, illegitimate; his daughter Johaneta, born c. 1413, and his son Johanico, born c. 1414, the children of María de Echaury, are mentioned in his testament of 1418.

[67]He is mentioned as Dean of Tudela from 1409; the papal authorization for his becoming bishop dates from March 27, 1420. José Goñi Gaztambide, "Los obispos de Pamplona del siglo XV y los navarros en los concilios de Constanza y Basilea," Estudios de edad media en la corona de Aragón, VII (1962), pp. 438 and 433.

[68]The text is quoted from a copy of the testament preserved in the Archivo de la Collegiata de Sta. María, Tudela, Libro titulado "viejo" y "nuevo" de capellanias y misas, ms., fol. 75v. Appendix 1418, 26.

[69]Cénac-Moncaut, Voyage, p. 49, briefly described the effigy, mistakenly dating it to the fourteenth century. Vicente de la Fuente, España sagrada, L, Las santas iglesias de Tarazona y Tudela (Madrid, 1866), p. 319, was the first to recognize the original purpose of the tomb despite the absence of an inscription.

[70]The hands were broken off at an unknown date, but the original stone has survived and has been set properly into place.

[71]Fray José Vicente Díaz Bravo, Memorias históricas de Tudela, ed. José Ramón Castro (Pamplona, 1956), p. 224.

[72]See above Chapter III, pp. 46, 47, and 48.

[73]Navarra y Logroño, III, p. 384.

[74]See "Actividades de la Comisión: Adquisiciónes," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Navarra, 3a época, II (1928), p. 313. The entry simply mentions " ... la capilla de Don Sancho Sánchiz de Oteiza, descubierta en la catedral ... " With the discovery of the tomb which had been hidden by a later altar and retable, Arigita y Lasa's supposition that the far less richly decorated tomb in the adjoining chapel of St. Catherine was used for the bishop's interment was thus disproved. Nevertheless, such an assumption was justified at the time on the basis of the evidence available. See Fernando de Alvarado [Mariano de Arigita y Lasa], Guía del viajero en Pamplona (Madrid, 1904), p. 29.

[75]The main paintings from within the niche have been transferred to the Museo de Navarra, Pamplona, where they have been installed within a replica of the tomb niche, the pierced tympanum being omitted so that one can more readily view them.

[76]The statuette of the Virgin has been seriously damaged during the present century. Photographs at Archivo Mas, Barcelona, taken in

1931 show only the hands of this figure missing; since then, probably in the war of 1936-1938, the head has been broken off.

[77]The lower portion of the tracery is restored. Knowledge of the restoration of the tomb is fortunately available from documents in the cathedral archive. Arrangements for the restoration were being carried out from November 1929, between the cathedral chapter and J. Onofre Larumbe, member of the Comisión de Monumentos. Tomás Perurena contracted to restore the main part of the sepulcher, including the placing of the effigy, the restoration of the tracery beneath the arch, the restoration of the two lateral pilasters and their pinnacles. Archivo de la Catedral de Pamplona, W° 33 and W° 50. Appendix 1929, 1, and 1930, 1. Hereafter cited as ACP.

[78]The accompanying photographic details were, of necessity, taken with a flash because of the darkness of the chapel. This, of course, results in a visual reduction of the massive forms.

[79]José E. Uranga, "El sepulcro de mosén Frances," Príncipe de Viana, X (1949), p. 232.

[80]Onofre Larumbe specifically believed the relief to be from the Oteiza tomb as he expressed in a letter to the president and chapter of the cathedral. ACP, W° 2. Appendix 1931, 1.

[81]"Mausolée," p. 106. It is certain that he is speaking of this relief, for he illustrates it as a tail-piece in his article. The tomb itself was, of course, unknown to Bertaux.

[82]AGN, Reg. 408, fol. 91r. Appendix 1433, 1. The scope of the project is small by comparison with the building of the palace of Olite, where more than 11,000 libras were spent in a single year. See above Chapter II, p. 22.

[83]AGN, Comptos, caj. 138, no. 9, II. Appendix 1435, 1. The very fact that this, the only document which mentions Lome between the years 1425 and 1439, identifies him as a mason in Pamplona suggests that he remained resident in that city and that the documents of his activities at this period are lost. A second alternative, that he left Navarre, cannot be disproved, but it would seem strange that he appeared after nine and one half years to buy cloth for the queen's service and then promptly departed once again.

[84]AGN, Comptos, caj. 142, no. 16, I. Appendix 1439, 1.

[85]AGN, Reg. 435, fol. 49r. Appendix 1439, 2.

[86]AGN, Reg. 407, fol. 232r. Appendix 1439, 3.

[87]ACP, Arca fabricae no. 26-2°. Hereafter cited as ACP, Arca fab. See Appendix 1439, 4-28.

Mariano de Arigita y Lasa, La asunción de la santísima Virgen

y su culto en Navarra (Madrid, 1910), pp. 39-40, was the first to publish any portion of the Libro. More recently, Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos sobre la catedral de Pamplona, II," Príncipe de Viana, XVI (1955), pp. 158-159, has studied the Libro somewhat more closely. Hereafter cited as Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II."

[88]ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fols. 1-9. All records for January and February are contained on the first folio. The record for March covers much of the second folio, but that for April begins already on fol. 2v, continuing (in contrast to the previous months) to fol. 9r.

[89]ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 2v. The necessary but mundane hauling of sand was repeated throughout the year: fols. 9v, 10v, 11v, 12, 13r, 40v, 41v, 43r, 52v, 62r, etc.

[90]ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 3v. Appendix 1439, 4. Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 158, recognizes the roof as that remaining from the earlier Romanesque church.

[91]ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fols. 10r, 16v, and 20r. See Appendix 1439, 13.

[92]ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fols. 4v, 20r, 32r, 54v, 69v, 81v, and 87r. Appendix 1439, 5, 16, and 19.

[93]ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fols. 5r, 6, 8v, 9r, 17r, and 42. Appendix 1439, 6-8, 10-11, 15, and 22.

[94]ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fol. 7v. Appendix 1439, 9.

[95]ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fol. 20r. Appendix 1439, 16. For the names of the masons and laborers, see ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fols. 5r and 9v. Appendix 1439, 6 and 12.

[96]ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 16r. Appendix 1439, 14.

[97]ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fols. 94-97v. Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 159.

[98]ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fol. 31v. Appendix 1439, 18.

[99]ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fol. 31r. Appendix 1439, 17.

[100]ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fol. 35v. Appendix 1439, 20.

[101]ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fol. 37v. Appendix 1439, 21.

[102]ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fol. 46r. Appendix 1439, 23. The documents tell us neither for whom the sepulcher was prepared nor of its design.

[103]ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fols. 46v, 47r, 48v, 55v, and 66r. Appendix 1439, 24.

[104]ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fols. 83v and 84v. Appendix 1439, 25 and 26.

[105]ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fol. 88r. Appendix 1439, 27.

[106]ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fol. 88v. Appendix 1439, 28.

[107]AGN, Comptos, caj. 147, no. 3, LVII. Appendix 1440, 1.

[108]AGN, Comptos, caj. 147, no. 11, VIII. Appendix 1441, 1.

[109]AGN, Reg. 451, fol. 34v. Appendix 1441, 2.

[110]AGN, Comptos, caj. 147, no. 20, LXVII. Appendix 1442, 2.

[111]AGN, Comptos, caj. 147, no. 20, XLVI. Appendix 1442, 1. He similarly received his pension of wheat in 1443 (AGN, Comptos, caj. 147, no. 22, LV; Appendix 1443, 1) and again in 1444 (AGN, Comptos, caj. 152, no. 4, XXI; Appendix 1444, 1). These latter two documents are written entirely by Lome and show certain peculiarities of spelling suggesting his native French. A document of March 16, 1446, acknowledges his receipt of the wheat, his pension for the previous year (AGN, Comptos, caj. 152, no. 13, XLVII. Appendix 1446, 2).

[112]AGN, Comptos, caj. 147, no. 21, XLI; Appendix 1443, 2; and AGN, Comptos, caj. 150, no. 52, VI; Appendix, 1443, 3.

[113]AGN, Comptos, caj. 154, no. 6, V. Appendix 1446, 1.

[114]J. Allende-Salazar, "Janin Lomme," Thieme-Becker, XXIII (Leipzig, 1929), p. 349, states that according to unpublished documents Lome worked in the parish church at Viana. These documents are not to be found in the church or municipal archives in Viana nor in the Archivo General de Navarra, Pamplona. Nevertheless, that Allende-Salazar had access to documents, whose location is now unknown, can be corroborated by the more recently discovered document citing Lome's death in Viana. See below note 115.

[115]AGN, Reg. 498, fol. 114r. Appendix 1449, 1.

CHAPTER V

OTHER NAVARRESE TOMBS

The royal sepulcher, following closely the tradition of the earlier Middle Ages, provided impetus among the Navarrese nobility for the erection of their funeral monuments, of which only a few remain. Among the lost tombs is that of Bertrán de Lacarra, knight and chamberlain of the king, who in February 1418 received 200 florins as a gift from the king to aid in his preparing a sepulcher.[1] The sum involved indicates that it would have been less grandiose than the royal commission and yet it could have been of impressive design.[2] The remains of five tombs enrich our understanding of the importance of such monuments in Navarre during the early fifteenth century--the Villaespesa sepulcher at Tudela, the tomb of Pere Arnaut de Garro in the cloister of Pamplona Cathedral, the sepulcher of don Gonçaluo de Baquedano and doña Teresa Palomeque from the Dominican church at Estella, and a sepulcher marked with the arms of the Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain families in San Francisco at Olite.

The Villaespesa Sepulcher

Among the late Gothic tombs in Navarre, the most richly ornamented is that of mosén Francés de Villaespesa, chancellor of Navarre during the reign of Charles the Noble, and his wife doña Isabel de Ujué.[3] Mosén Francés, a native of Teruel in Aragon, served the Navarrese kings Charles II and Charles III long and faithfully.[4]

Having been in the service of the former, he was named counsellor to the latter on June 1, 1385, for which he was to receive an annual pension of 1,000 francs of gold.[5] He was a loyal courtier, serving the king well on embassies to other of the Iberian kingdoms and to France and receiving substantial reward. Some years after his arrival in Navarre, mosén Francés married doña Isabel de Ujué, the daughter of a prominent family of Tudela. The ceremony, which took place in that city on November 9, 1396, was attended by the king and queen, who bestowed many gifts upon the couple.[6] On March 20 of the following year, Villaespesa was promoted to chancellor of the realm, a title he was to hold throughout his life. The position had become open because the cardinal Martín de Zalba, who held it, was occupied with affairs at the court of the antipope Clement VII.[7] But in addition to his official capacity, Villaespesa was an intimate of the king; the close friendship between their two families is apparent. In 1399, Charles the Noble became godfather to the first born son of Villaespesa and his wife; the choice by the latter of their daughters' names further reflects the intimacy of the two families--Leonor, Blanca, Isabel, and María.[8]

In accordance with their status and wealth, the chancellor and doña Isabel maintained a private chapel in the collegiate church of Sta. María at Tudela. Its adornment--the great wall tomb, the towering retable, and the handsome grill--makes it a unique ensemble of late Gothic art in that Spanish kingdom. That many works executed for members of the Navarrese court were by artists other than those employed by the king is in part substantiated by discovery of a payment in 1412 to the Aragonese painter Bonahat Zahortiga for the

Villaespesa retable dedicated to the Virgen de la Esperanza, to San Gil, and to San Lorenzo.[9] Examination of the sculpture of the sepulchral monument affirms a different intent from that of the royal tomb carried out under Lome's direction from 1413 until 1419.[10] Perhaps some of the sculptors employed by Villaespesa and his heirs also arrived in Navarre by way of Aragon.[11]

Being of the same type as the tomb of Bishop Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza in the cathedral of Pamplona, the Villaespesa tomb is much richer in its decoration (Fig. 93). Placed in the north wall of the chapel, the monument is fronted by elaborate tracery. Handsome in detail, the pinnacles rise the full height of the tomb to support a foliated corbel table. The upper portion of the tomb niche is fronted by a pierced tympanum surrounded by a band of foliage and a second archivolt having a reverse curve which terminates in a fleuron against the blind arcade of the uppermost register of ornament. The center of the pierced tympanum is filled by a mandorla subdivided by a pair of quatrefoils above and below and a pair of trefoils to either side. Alongside the mandorla are two roundels subdivided by triplets of flamelike ornament. Related motifs fill the remaining spaces; the flattened arch at the base of the tympanum is faced with tracery terminating in floral forms. In the spandrel areas a simple blind arcade is to be seen; it is separated by a horizontal band of foliage from the more complex ornament of the uppermost register, in which each of the blind arches is subdivided like a clerestory window by a trefoil at the peak with double lancets below. Giving further variation to the design is the alternation of small and large trefoils in regular sequence. In the second arch from either end is placed an escutcheon.

On the dexter side are the arms of mosén Francés; and on the sinister, his arms dimidiating those of his wife.

The most important sculptural pieces are the effigies (Fig. 94). That of doña Isabel is the better preserved, a result of its placement at the rear of the niche. The face is exquisite, suffering only the loss of the nose (Fig. 95). The refinement of the figure is apparent in the arched brows, the gently curved forehead, and the other delicate features. The eyes are treated in a stylized manner similar to those of the royal effigies at Pamplona; the ear (only the right one being visible) emerges correctly from the head. That it does not seem merely applied reveals the skill and the concern of the sculptor with his commission. The indication of an emerging double chin suggests also the artist's care in achieving a true portrait of the deceased. Whereas in her effigy the queen doña Leonor is attired in courtly robes which first gained popularity at the end of the fourteenth century, doña Isabel is dressed in truly contemporary fashion. Her fur-lined robe with its tightly pleated bodice is held at the waist by a wide belt; it has a shallow v-neck which rises in a high collar behind her head. Except for the pleating of the bodice, the drapery falls in broad vertical folds breaking in gentle but more angular folds at the feet. The material is so ample that it nearly covers the two dogs which look out to either side from that position. Her jewelry suggests the quality of moderation. A long necklace with a pendant cross is looped in a double strand and passes beneath the belt; it is painted red (perhaps to suggest coral) with small gold ornaments at regular intervals. Her hands, placed together at her waist, show some damage with several of the fingers partially missing. She wears several rings.

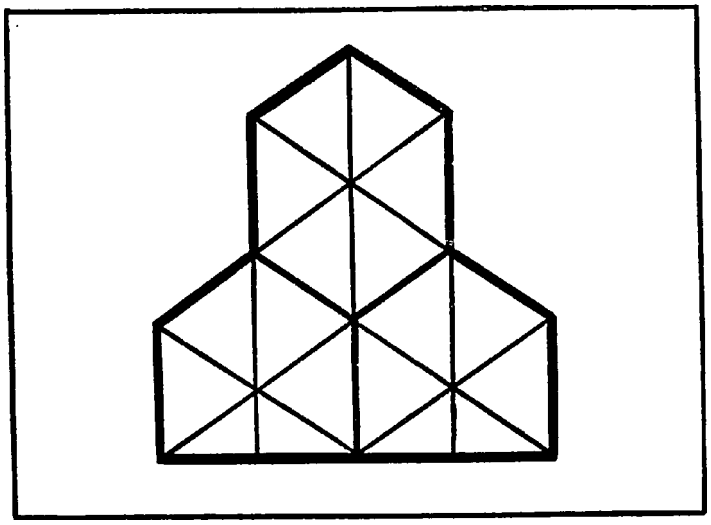
Doña Isabel's handsome headdress completes her attire; turban-like, it permits the hair to fall softly over the ears. Above a beaded band framing the forehead, heavy rings of fur are softened by narrow rows of sharply pleated fabric, echoing the design of the bodice. She rests her head on a pillow enriched with tassels and a decorative braided binding.

The effigy of mosén Francés is also strikingly realistic in treatment (Figs. 94 and 104). His face is short and chubby with a wrinkled brow and a narrow chin (Fig. 96). His hair is cut in the fashionable manner--short and above the ears. The carving is less skillful than that of doña Isabel's face; for example, the ear seems stuck onto the head rather than being an organic part of it, and chisel marks can still be seen on the right cheek and temple. Nevertheless, his face shows characteristics relating to those from Lome's shop. The eyes are set into deep sockets and have the exaggerated upper lid seen earlier on the effigy of Charles the Noble. In the Tudela example the eyes appear less finely modeled, but this may in part be a result of the numerous abrasions which the face has suffered, the major loss being the nose.

The status of the deceased chancellor is apparent from his attire. He wears the fur hat of a doctor of law. His black mantle of state, lined with fur as indicated by the incising and the brown paint, is drawn back from his right side to reveal his scarlet hose and narrow sandal. The collar, which is trimmed in red, is squared off like that of the "Sluterian" pleurant (Fig. 42) of the royal cenotaph. The tunic which Villaespesa wears beneath his mantle is also red. His hands are finely modeled with slender fingers and with a fine sense

of structure apparent in the knuckles and nails.[12] His right hand rests upon his sword with its belt wrapped tightly about the scabbard; the hilt has been broken off, but the base of the strut remains. Again the combination of red and black is used, the belt of the former color being ornamented with pierced and gilded disks and the scabbard being of the latter hue. In his left hand he holds a great tome bound in leather, studded with metal mounts, and fastened with clasps. Whether it represents a legal treatise or a religious text is not apparent. His black, pointed sandal with its spur is in part edged with red, as well, and ornamented with disks similar to those on the sword belt. His well-formed feet rest upon a massive lion with curling mane and a long, slender body.[13] Like his wife, Villaespesa rests his head on a large, thick pillow, here showing traces of brown, green, and red paint. Its decoration--tassels and lacing--are similar to those on the royal cenotaph, but the shape of the cushion becomes more distorted beneath the weight of the chancellor.

Each of these noble personages reposes beneath a handsome canopy. Their plan of three interlocking hexagons is more simple than Lome's design at Pamplona, although again allowance is made so that a regular hexagonal vault, painted a deep blue-black, is in line with the head of each figure (Text ill. 4). The design of the tracery also differs markedly from that of the royal monument. It is less intricate with fewer piercings of the stone. Likewise important is the fact that the simple pointed arches which are filled by pierced tracery are surmounted by steep, crocketed gables, more severe and angular than the curvilinear ornament on the royal canopies. The gables reach into a second level, designed like a clerestory subdivided by double



Text ill. 4. Diagram of a baldachin on the Villaespesa sepulcher

lancets. The molding along the top of the canopy is lined on the underside by a band of foliage.

Along the edge of the slab on which the effigies rest are inscribed the epitaphs of the deceased. That of mosén Francés, which is given first, begins on the inner face of the left pinnacle: "+ Aquy jaze El muy hōnorable sennior mosen frances de villa espessa doctor cavālero et Chanceller de nauara et fino el dia xxi del mes de Jenero del aino de la natiuidat de iħus xp̄o mil cccc et xx un ainos . rogat a iħu xp̄o por el."[14] That of doña Isabel follows: "+ aquy yaze la muy hōnorable duenya dona ysabel de Usue mugyer del dco mosen frances la qoal fino en el xxiii . dya del mes de nouiēbre del aino de la natiuiţ de iħu xp̄o mil cccc et dizeocho rogat a iħu xp̄o por eila."

The couple made plans for their burial at a time when doña Isabel lay ill. Their testaments of October 1, 1418, state that earlier in the day they had affirmed their intentions of being interred together in the chapel of San Gil in Sta. María, Tudela; specific reference is made to another document written that day confirming their intentions along with various donations to the chapel.[15] Their planning was well timed. Doña Isabel did not recover; her death on November 23 created an immediate need for the sepulcher. Work may have commenced the following spring after the end of inclement weather.

Above the effigies within the niche rise three registers of reliefs. The lowermost shows obsequies; the second, the celebration of the mass with Christ represented as the Man of Sorrows; and the third, the Trinity with angels and seraphs. We find here visual motifs newly introduced into the sepulcral imagery of Navarre. The Trinity (Fig. 97), for example, is presented in a guise unlike its

earlier representation in the art of this Iberian kingdom. It is the type of the anthropomorphic Trinity with each of the members represented in human form.[16] God the Father, Who stands at the center, is identified by His triple tiara and by the orb which He carries. To His right appears the Holy Spirit, identified by the dove in His right hand; and to His left is Christ, Who wears the crown of thorns and carries the cross of His Passion. Although the three figures stand close together to suggest their oneness, they are separate as clearly indicated by the variation in the folds of their robes. The three persons are of similar age; each is bearded and has a furrowed brow. To either side, angels clad in robes of blue, red, and gold kneel with censers; and above them hover red seraphs.

There is no precedent for such a representation in Navarrese art; several examples of fourteenth-century date reveal a tradition for representing the Trinity in the type of the Throne of Grace. The early fourteenth-century fresco of the Tree of Jesse, taken from the wall of Pamplona Cathedral adjacent to the Puerta Preciosa and now in the Museo de Navarra, shows the Trinity in the latter manner at the crown of the tree.[17] A second Navarrese example is the carved keystone of the outer archivolt of the main portal of the church of San Cernin, Pamplona.[18]

The anthropomorphic Trinity which gained particular popularity during the fifteenth century generally is shown with the figures seated, only rarely with them standing. A striking manuscript in which both the seated and the standing types are illustrated on a single page is the Bible of Guyart Desmoulins, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, col. 9001, fol. 19.[19] At the left in the central register,

the three members of the Trinity are standing together discussing the creation of the angels. Each is silhouetted against the diapered background. In the scene below, they bless three kneeling angels. In the uppermost register to the right, they are seated on a common throne. Such a manuscript suggests a south Netherlandish source for the similar Navarrese representation;[20] a second Navarrese example, a relief of 1432 in San Pedro, Olite (to be discussed below), will be seen to support this interpretation.[21]

The second register of reliefs unfolds on the three walls. Together the panels have been interpreted as representing the Mass of St. Gregory.[22] On the rear wall, the Man of Sorrows appears half-length in His sepulcher (Fig. 98). He is surrounded by figurative allusions to His sufferings and by the instruments of the Passion.[23] At either side are seated the Virgin and St. John; the former rests upon a small hillock; the latter, upon the rocky ground. The simply treated figure of Christ stands with His arms crossed at the waist; His eyes are closed. The heavy crown of thorns presses upon His brow. The Virgin and St. John depart from the iconic presentation; they belong to the International Gothic style with their curvilinear patterns of drapery. There is a particular sense of emotion in the facial expression and gesture of St. John, who reaches up to wipe a tear from his eye. A closed codex rests in his left hand. The Virgin has placed her psalter beside her on the ground and clasps her hands in prayer and grief. Her sorrow receives especial emphasis by the close juxtaposition of her face with that of her son on the sudarium held behind her by an angel.

To the left of this panel is represented the celebration of the

mass (Fig. 99). Four individuals participate. The celebrant kneels directly in front of the altar and elevates the chalice.[24] The first deacon kneels, swinging a censer in his left hand and clasping the edge of the celebrant's cope in his right. Behind him, a second deacon, likewise kneeling, carries a boat-shaped pyx. Finally the third attendant, distinguished by his simpler robe which is belted at the waist, holds a bundle of elongated tapers. Upon the covered altar are placed the Gospels and a corporal with the host. At the back of the altar on a slight elevation, the end opened as a niche to serve for storing the cruet, stands a venerated crucifix, which provides a visual link to the central panel.

On the opposite wall, mosén Francés and doña Isabel kneel at a prie-dieu together with members of their family (Fig. 100). He is attired in the same manner as the reclining effigy. She and her daughters, Leonor, Blanca, and Isabel, are modishly dressed in fur-lined mantels and elaborate headdresses, those of the daughters being of the horned variety. Behind them are another eight figures--three girls and five boys--apparently grandchildren of the chancellor and his wife. The granddaughters wear bejeweled hats of headbands while the boys' heads are uncovered. All kneel in an attitude of prayer. The scene is treated with care; the frieze of figures avoids monotony through the gradation in the size of the figures, through the variety in the depth of the relief, and through the changing decorative detail.

Although the exact means by which the new iconographic motif was introduced into the peninsula cannot be determined, a miniature of the Man of Sorrows painted by the Master of the Brussels Hours is of interest in this context, since it enriches the Hours of Charles the

Noble, now in the Museum of Art, Cleveland.[25] The miniature differs markedly from the Tudela relief; nevertheless, it is important for it shows the Virgin holding her Son Christ, an Italian rather than a French manner of presentation. As in the Tudela relief, the instruments of the Passion are arranged around Christ, although their selection and disposition is somewhat different. A second miniature by the same Italian artist active during the early fifteenth century in Paris provides a more striking parallel in that the Virgin and St. John are seated at opposite ends of the sepulcher. In this instance an angel supports the body of Christ.[26]

Several Spanish examples from the period can be found of the inclusion of the Man of Sorrows within the more specific context of the Mass of St. Gregory. Of greatest significance is a panel now in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid,[27] incorporating the theme into a sepulcral context, the upper register with the Mass and the lower one with the effigies of the deceased who are identified in an inscription: "Aqui jazen los omrados de buen memoria juan velasques de cuellar cavallero e juan v[e]l[asque]s" (Fig. 107). The funeral content is further emphasized by verses of the Miserere inscribed around the arch. The painting was formerly in the church of San Esteban, Cuéllar, where José María Quadrado saw it in the late nineteenth century.[28] He deciphered the now damaged legend at the base of the painting to read that Gonzalo [sic] González, archdean of Cuéllar and founder of the Hospital of the Magdalene in that community ordered the retable.[29] This information provides a general date for the painting at the beginning of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, that is generally contemporary with the Villaespesa sepulcher.

That the deceased knights are father and son is suggested not only by the likeness of their names but also by the difference in their ages. The two rest side by side upon a bier covered with a rich red and pink brocade, their heads resting on a single handsomely embroidered pillow with six tassels. Both are attired in carefully detailed plate armor. Their swords rest between their legs; their daggers, at their right sides. The younger man has short rather bushy hair and a light stubble on his chin; he is distinguished also by the small shield which hangs from his left arm. The older man has long hair, a full beard, and a mustache. Clerics are gathered at the head and foot of the bier; these figures are drawn to a much smaller scale. At the right a monk sprinkles them with an aspergillum. At the left, six clergymen with processional cross and tapers chant a requiem mass.

In the apex of the arched panel, Pope Gregory witnesses the crucified Christ, shown half-length in the sepulcher. With Him are three angels in vari-colored attire and having wings of blue, red, and white. They carry the instruments of the Passion. Behind the pope, who wears his triple tiara as a mark of identification, are assembled five clerics carrying long staffs topped with censers; a codex lies open before them upon a lectern. To the right kneels a tonsured cleric attired in a reddish-brown habit, don Gómez González, donor of the painting. The spatial setting of the scene is inconsistent; optical patterns on sepulcher and altar have different vanishing points. The tiles forming a ground line for the figures suddenly give way to a star-studded blue field behind, and the effigies are shown as if we stand above them looking down.

Another early fifteenth-century Mass of St. Gregory fills one

panel of the old retable of San Benito el Real at Valladolid, now in the Prado (Fig. 108).[30] Here the artist concentrated his attention upon the principal participants, bringing the viewer in very close to the scene but creating a sense of space behind the enframing arch. St. Gregory, whose triple tiara rests upon the altar, elevates the host as he gazes upon the wounded body of the Lord, appearing half-length in the tomb, His hands crossed before Him, His eyes closed. Again the instruments of the Passion are arranged in the background upon the arm of the cross. They are precisely ordered so as to complement the main theme without distracting attention unduly from it. The altar is covered with a checkered cloth on which stand two small candlesticks and a large golden chalice. Ornament is subdued; yet bands of brocade do enrich the vestments of the saint and his attendants. The great disk haloes are also richly tooled.

A stone relief, of fifteenth-century date, in the parish church at Pisón de Castrejón (Palencia) likewise shows the Mass of St. Gregory (Fig. 109). The scene is so composed that all figures and objects seem to float. Again Pope Gregory is clearly identified by the triple tiara, here carried by one of the cardinals in attendance.

There can be great variety in the individual presentations of a common theme, as we have seen. Of particular interest from the Tudela relief is the fact that the celebrant is not identified by attribute. In the two paintings at Madrid and the relief at Pisón de Castrejón there is no question of the scene being the Mass of St. Gregory, for his triple tiara appears in each instance. Also of interest is the inclusion of the Virgin and St. John in the Tudela panel, for they do not appear in the other Spanish scenes of the

period. Their presence neither confirms nor denies the interpretation of the scene as the Mass of St. Gregory. A late fifteenth-century miniature added to the Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut in the third quarter of the century shows Jean le Meingre, nephew of the Maréchal, witnessing the Vision of St. Gregory.[31] The saint, clearly identified by the triple tiara on the altar, stands while elevating the host. Behind the altar and above the low retable showing figures of the Virgin and Child with saints, Christ appears in His tomb accompanied by the Virgin and St. John. The instruments of the Passion are arranged upon the sepulcher. A second cleric kneels and holds the end of Gregory's cope. At the left Jean le Meingre kneels at a prie-dieu ornamented with his arms and motto.

From the Tarleton Book of Hours, a French manuscript of circa 1415 to 1420, a single miniature now in the Museum of Art, the University of Michigan, represents a priest celebrating mass in a private chapel (Fig. 110); on the retable appears an angel supporting Christ in His tomb. A priest elevates the host while an acolyte holds a candle; the donatrix kneels at her prie-dieu. There is no means of identifying the celebrant as St. Gregory, even as no unequivocal attribute exists in the Villaespesa relief.

In the lowermost register of the Villaespesa tomb beneath an architectural enframement of flattened arches and quatrefoil tracery is a lengthy procession of clerics. The panel on the left wall (Fig. 99) represents two bishops chanting from liturgical books held open for them by attendants. At the center, a second attendant holds a censer and a boat-shaped pyx while another adds incense to the coals. The figure to the right has lost his head; the features of the one to

the left have been destroyed. The bishops' vestments are elaborately carved. Their copes are edged with bands of embroidery and fringe and are fastened with jeweled morses. Their mitres, too, are elaborately detailed in varied patterns. Each carries a crocketed crozier. The copes of the bishops as well as the vestments of several of the attendants are polychromed and stenciled with gold.[32] In the second panel (Fig. 101), the first on the rear wall, appears another bishop, also richly vested, with an attendant who carries a codex sumptuously bound in leather and ornamented with metal studs. The bishop is followed by two tonsured monks, one of whom carries the episcopal crozier and a closed codex while the other reads from an open volume. The next panel (Fig. 103), covered by a double arch, is the most interesting because of the variety of personages involved. Again we find two bishops together with their attendants including two youthful acolytes with large candlesticks and tapers. The older attendants carry the mass books, censers, and croziers. The last panel on the rear wall shows a mitered abbot with three members of his order (Fig. 102). Finally, the panel on the right wall (Fig. 100) shows yet another bishop with a hoard of attendants, the bishop and the youthful figure to his right having lost their heads. The accessories--two crucifixes, a crozier, and a candle--have been seriously damaged. The entire ensemble of religious figures bears itself with the decorum befitting the ceremony of church and court. A realistic quality is further emphasized by great variety in the detailing of figures; none of the decorative motifs is copied exactly a second time, rather croziers, mitres, and morses are varied in order to create diversity of ornament.

The last area of figural decoration is the panel across the

front of the tomb chest--an arcade with eight pleurants (Figs. 105 and 106). The architectural enframement differs from that on the upper series of reliefs. The lower arches are more rounded, and an angular trefoil motif rather than a curved quatrefoil is used. A different technical detail is that the arcade is completely attached to the stone background rather than being freed from it as in the upper relief. Most important though are the stylistic features of the pleurants. They are sufficiently well preserved that one can see significant differences of style from the work of Lome and his shop as exemplified by the Pamplona cenotaph, from the style of the Oteiza tomb, and even from the figures on the upper level of the Villaespesa tomb itself.[33] The breadth of the figures is striking, showing a closer kinship to the effects of Sluter than the majority of Navarrese works we have examined. Each of the figures stands atop a small hillock, a feature having no real value in the design although a similar useage in the royal tomb served as a stabilizing force for the pleurants carved independent of the ground. The variety of the individuals is worth examining. The remains of the first pleurant at the left reveal simply that there were parallel vertical pleats across the front of the figure. The second weeper is somewhat better preserved. He raises both arms creating a great fall of heavy drapery in shallow looping folds across his chest. A feature which is particularly to be noted is the manner in which the artist indicates the seams in the garments (as here on both hood and sleeves) making a slight v-shaped indentation scored by a finely incised line. The effect is totally realistic. The delicate surface quality of the relief can still be seen here as well. The third pleurant has a luxuriant beard; his face was once finely modeled

as is indicated by the remaining left eye. The horizontal form of the book he holds is placed against the vertical pleats of his robe. His partner, the fourth figure, is a bit more animated and sways slightly as he prays his rosary. The fifth figure is well treated with the drapery being pulled up and across the body to create a series of long looping folds. The two objects he originally held can no longer be identified. His face is well preserved although the edge of his hood has been broken away. The sixth mourner is by all accounts the best preserved. That he is a secular figure is clear from the sword hanging at his right side and by his courtly haircut. His costume is like that of pleurants from the royal sepulcher (Figs. 35 and 39) as can be gathered from the sword, the detail of his leg with its close-fitting hose, and his shoe. The action of pulling his hands together in prayer develops a wide variety of drapery folds in his robe. His rounded face marked by crow's-feet and a wrinkled brow betrays his concern for the passing of the chancellor and his wife. The seventh figure, like the third, has a long beard, but the effect of his stance creates a drapery pattern more like that of the second weeper. Details which again reveal the care of the sculptor in executing this panel include the six buttons along his right shoulder and arm and the rosary in his right hand. Finally, the space for the eighth pleurant is empty, the figure having succumbed completely to the ravages of time.

The examination of the tomb underscores the presence of a number of sculptors active in its execution; there are three distinct stylistic units: (1) the effigies, (2) the upper reliefs, and (3) the lower panel with weepers. It is clear that a relationship exists between the effigies and those of the royal cenotaph as in particularly

evident in the especially fine treatment of doña Isabel's face. However, there are technical features which differ from the royal commission. Each of the effigies at Tudela is carved of a single block of stone, whereas those of the royal couple are composed of three stones each. Also the tops of the heads of mosén Francés and doña Isabel are finished in detail as opposed to those of the king and the queen. The upper reliefs betray a different influence. Despite the variety of drapery patterns, the figures lack the vitality of the pleurants by Lome and his shop. The forms are less deeply modeled; they are not so fine in detail. We should beware attributing all these reliefs to a single sculptor, for qualitative distinctions can be made. Among the finest of the figures is the St. John seated beside Christ's sepulcher (Fig. 97). Even though the surface retains light markings of the chisel (apparently to aid the adherence of the polychromy), the figure clearly shows the concern of its creator. The individual curled locks are well modeled; the pliancy of the skin is carefully noted; and the details of the wrinkling of the forehead and the slight sagging of the jowls are well observed. St. John is one of the most sympathetic figures. For contrast one has only to look at the individual faces in the funeral procession which are treated schematically. Even the execution of Villaespesa and his wife in the reliefs appears to have been more hasty. Finally the panel with pleurants shows a style and quality quite different from these two groups. The stylistic features have been discussed above, but the technical feature of the original surface also deserves mention. No trace of the chisel remains; all has been finely polished. Finally, the lack of coordinated tracery patterns further reveals the diverse backgrounds of the sculptors engaged

on the tomb. If Lome participated in the work, he was directly responsible only for the effigy of doña Isabel, its quality being superior to that of the chancellor. If the latter was begun by the same master, it was finished by a second and lesser one.[34]

The possibility that work on the tomb may have begun in the spring of 1419, several months after the death of doña Isabel, is based on the known facts of preparations made by the deceased noblewoman and her husband the previous October and on the immediate need for the monument. If work started at that date, it continued over a period of years. José Ramón Castro has shown conclusively that the tomb was incomplete at the time of the chancellor's death in 1421 and supports the contention that it was finished toward the middle or even the end of the decade.[35]

The Garro Tomb

Our attention shifts back to the Navarrese capital to another tomb of consequence for the early fifteenth century (Fig. 111). According to a long-standing but misinformed tradition, the sepulcher has been called that of don Leonel of Navarre, natural son of Charles II, and his wife doña Elfa de Luna.[36] The research of several individuals has finally revealed the correct identification of the patrons of the monument. Already at the end of the nineteenth century, the scholar Argamasilla showed that the tomb belonged to a noble of the Garro family, whom he thought to be Saubat de Garro, counsellor to John II of Aragon, to his daughter doña Leonor, and to his great-granddaughter doña Catalina.[37] He correctly identified the arms of the Garro family which appear three times on the tomb, once on the rear wall of the

niche and twice in the spandrels--argent, a cross gules between four wolves passant afronted sable (Fig. 118).[38] He identified the arms of the lady which appear only once, paired with those of her husband within the tomb niche (Fig. 119), as belonging to doña Inés de Veraiz, wife of Saubat de Garro. He described the Veraiz arms as azur, a portcullis argent.[39] This marked improvement over the previous identification of the tomb was not picked up by scholars discussing the tomb.[40] In 1931, Francisco Escalada gave evidence that the tomb was not prepared for Saubat de Garro and his wife but rather for Pere Arnaut de Garro and his wife doña Johana de Beunça. His source, the testament of Pere Arnaut, is incontrovertible.[41] Written February 18, 1422, it reads in part as follows: "For all this, first I order, direct, and command that whenever Our Lord make his commandment of me and my soul depart this world for the other my executors listed below should inter my corpse in the cloister of the cathedral church of Santa María of Pamplona in the new sepulcher which I have had made."[42] Continuing his testament, he arranged for masses to be said "for the souls of my father and mother and for the soul of doña Johana de Beunça my late wife." The evidence was clear except for the escutcheon identified by Argamasilla as belonging to the Veraiz family. According to Argamasilla the arms of doña Johana de Beunça should show azur, three escallops argent, impaling or, two bars gules and, in chief, an estoile azur.[43] It remained for Antonio de Marichalar, Marqués de Montesa, to bring all the facts into accord. He discovered that Argamasilla was in error regarding the arms of doña Johana de Beunça, for she was not of the Beunza family of Aoiz as that author had supposed, but rather of the family Beunza-Larréa whose arms are described

in the Libro viejo de armería in the Archivo General de Navarra as or, a portcullis azur.[44] This in fact corresponds to the traces of pigment, yellow on the field and blue on the charge, remaining on the escutcheon. The date of the tomb also appears well established on the basis of Pere Arnaut de Garro's testament. Since he wrote of it as "the new sepulcher which I have had made," it would have been completed no more than two and one half years after the royal cenotaph.

The family came originally from the viscounty of Labourd in the Basses-Pyrénées, but established itself in the service of the Navarrese monarchs during the thirteenth century. Pere Arnaut maintained the family position. In 1389, the year that he was knighted by Charles the Noble, he purchased the seigniory of the village of Zolina for 1,000 gold florins.[45] He became a trusted member of the court, accompanied the king on his trips to France in 1397 and 1403,[46] held the title "maestro del hostal del rey,"[47] and in 1406 became Lord of Andricaín by royal grant.[48] He and his wife doña Johana had two sons Leonel, the elder, and Charles.[49]

Placed at the north-east corner of the cathedral cloister, the Garro monument reveals another variation of the Spanish wall tomb (Fig. 111). A band of foliage follows the ribs of the vault. The tomb proper is flanked by slender pinnacles, and the tomb niche is surmounted by an ogival arch terminating in a bank of clouds which support a small, free-standing statue of God the Father, Who gestures in blessing while holding the orb in His left hand (Fig. 114). He is a well-modeled and massive figure with flowing hair and beard and is attired in a blue mantle over an ochre robe. On the adjacent wall, traces of adoring seraphs can still be seen. Slightly lower other painted angels

seemingly support a pair of quatrefoils containing the aforementioned escutcheons. The apex of the niche is fronted by a pierced tympanum having the most varied tracery of any of the Navarrese tombs and indicating a tendency toward the flamboyant style. The interior molding of the pinnacles and enclosing arch is deeply carved with a foliate motif having the appearance of ample leaves tinted ochre against a red ground.

Within the niche are two registers of decoration. Below, a mural of the apostles painted in an Italianate style fills the three walls.[50] It has suffered irreparably with the passing centuries. Of the saints, the image of the youthful John the Evangelist with his serpent-filled chalice reveals most clearly the intentions of the medieval painter (Fig. 113).[51] The slender and graceful figure with his fine features and elegant, elongated hands contrasts markedly with the heavier forms of the carved figures above. The face of St. Peter, which is also fairly well preserved, shows a similarly elegant treatment.[52] A projecting molding above the apostles serves as a shelf for a series of free-standing, polychromed statuettes. In line with God the Father, the crucified Christ is flanked from left to right by SS. Anthony Abbot, John the Baptist, the Virgin, John the Evangelist, Catherine, and a bishop (Fig. 112).

Christ is given particular prominence in that He is lifted above the heads of the other figures on a cross affixed in a rocky, green mound and bearing a titulus enriched with Gothic lettering (Figs. 116 and 117). The figure is sensitively treated. The ornamented halo, heavy locks, and crown of thorns draw attention to His head, which hangs slightly but does not fall onto the chest. His eyes are closed.

Detail is carried over into the representation of the body; the muscles of the shoulders, arms, and legs are well represented. The closing of the hands is particularly convincing, but the anatomy of the broad chest and the stomach are less so because of their more generalized treatment. The tiny wound in His right side is a restrained concession to the biblical tale. The original effect would, of course, have been enhanced by the polychromy, of which only a few traces remain on the corpus. Still evident are the slender forms of painted angels with delicate white wings hovering above and beside Christ in the star-filled heavens; they show the same stylistic qualities as the apostles below. In contrast, the stylistic features of the crucifix indicate different interests for the sculptor of the Garro tomb--a sense of realism tempered with moderation. Such a combination can be seen in the other figures as well. They have the breadth of "Sluterian" figures and are clearly inspired by the work of that Franco-Netherlandish artist. In fact, these "Burgundian" features of the monument contrast markedly with the majority of figures on the royal cenotaph and thereby effectively point up Lome's Tournai-Parisian style.

St. Anthony, his aged face framed by long wavy locks and beard and his head covered by a skull cap, is absorbed in reading from the religious text firmly nestled in his left arm. In his right hand, he clasps his staff. The drapery of his dark habit is caught up in a sequence of diagonal folds and falls in a cascade from his upraised arm. St. John the Baptist, who wears a green mantle lined in red over his yellow-toned camel skin, points to the small, white lamb held in his left hand.[53] His mantle is pulled back leaving the right arm and the left leg and foot exposed; they reveal the same concern

with modeling noted in the figure of Christ. Shorter than those of St. Anthony, St. John's hair and beard closely frame the face and serve to emphasize its round, well-structured form. The mourning Virgin stands silently, her hands crossed upon her breast. Her wimple and her yellow robe, visible at wrist and hem, are covered by the traditional blue mantle, which is drawn down over the face to shield her from curious passers-by. Like the figures beside her, she turns toward the cross, the means of her Son's death.[54] St. John the Evangelist is dressed in a green robe covered by a yellow and red mantle which is fastened at the center of the neck; it is drawn up from the right side over the left shoulder to create another variation in the fall of drapery. With serious mien, he turns toward Christ and glances into the text held open in his well-carved hand. He carries a palm in his left. Cut short and curled, his golden hair billows out to either side of his face, emphasizing once again the general breadth of the figures. St. Catherine is most fashionably attired. Her blue mantle, fastened at the neck by a cord with tassels and lined with fur, is pulled back on the left to reveal her elegant robe, which is cut in a manner similar to that of doña Leonor on the royal cenotaph. The skirt of yellow fabric is completed by a bodice of exquisite fur. Ochre brightens her crown, her hair, and the hilt of the sword held in her right hand. A fragment of the wheel, her second attribute, is visible in her left hand. She bends her head slightly forward, a movement scarcely visible from the front, and her veil falls in long folds to the middle of her back.[55] A serene expression is achieved by her downcast eyes. In general these figures share the characteristics of a broad face with prominent fleshy cheeks, low forehead, and mouth turned

down at the corners. The last figure, the bishop, though appearing of fifteenth-century date, seems somewhat misplaced in the present context. His head is modern or at least heavily restored as is the right hand. The incongruity arises from the fact that he is demonstrably larger and taller than the other saints. Yet he shows major similarities to the other figures--the manner of creating drapery folds, the breadth of form, and the placement upon a low piece of turf are features characteristic of the other five saints as well.[56]

The lower portion of the niche is covered by an iron grill which unfortunately was set into place too late to prevent serious damage to the painted decoration and the effigies (Fig. 115). Doña Johana, who rests next to the rear wall, wears a long flowing gown similar to that of doña Isabel de Ujué in that it has a finely pleated bodice, long and ample sleeves, a v-shaped neckline with a high collar in back, and a belted waist. She wears a short double-strand necklace from which hangs a simple circular medallion. Her headdress differs from doña Isabel's; her hair is gathered into ornamented horns at either temple. A veil placed atop the head and hanging down to either side emphasizes the decorative silhouette. Pere Arnaut is attired as a knight. He wears a carefully detailed suit of plate armor with a camail and a cloth surcoat, which reaches to mid-thigh. His sword rests at his left side.[57] Around his neck is a collar of leaves like those bestowed by Charles the Noble on favored courtiers.[58] Seen from the side, the effigy of Pere Arnaut is extremely stiff; the legs are raised completely above the slab so that one sees the supporting strut running along the length of the body from hip to toe. Pere Arnaut wears his hair combed down from the crown of the head and cut off

above the ears. The face itself is severely damaged, but some details can still be determined, including some of the original chisel marks which remain visible. A suggestion of age was achieved by scoring wrinkles into the forehead and crow's-feet about the eyes. The ears, too, were treated realistically so that they show an organic relationship to the whole. Although the hands of both effigies are broken, the remaining portions indicate their having been held in a manner similar to that of the queen on the royal cenotaph. The animals at their feet are also seriously damaged, but one can still discern the ubiquitous dogs and lion. At the heads of each figure are two angels. They are slender and graceful, and their wings are covered with long, fine feathers. They have not, however, escaped damage; each of three has lost his head, while the fourth is almost completely missing.[59] The front of the tomb chest is decorated with great simplicity. Pleurants do not appear, rather a pattern of quatrefoils merely continues the design of the dado along the cloister wall. It is unfortunate that the severe damage to the effigies prohibits an attempt to define their stylistic relationship to the small figures above. It can only be said that they correspond more closely to the tradition generated in Navarre by Lome and the assistants following in his manner than do the statuettes of the saints.

The Baquedano-Palomeque Tomb

Another official at the court of Charles the Noble was don Gonçaluo de Baquedano, who first appears in the documents as a page of the bakery (escudero de panadería) in 1387.[60] Three years later in late August or early September 1390, he was married to doña Teresa Palomeque. The king provided the cloth for the couples' wedding

garments--fabric from Bristol for his livery and 12 cubits of cloth of unspecified manufacture along with two cloths of gold for her trousseau.[61] At the same time, the king acknowledged the value of don Gonçaluo's services by providing him a new position as keeper of the castle of Laguardia.[62] That he continued to do well in the king's service is evident from his ever-increasing status. In January of 1397, he was selected to march with the king on his embassy to France; during his absence don Diego Sanchiz de Azcona was placed in charge of the castle at Laguardia.[63] On April 8 of the same year, the king rewarded don Gonçaluo with the generous grant of the palaces and all the land which the king owned in the village of Mues and its district; the grant was made with the provision that the estate was to pass to his heirs by his wife doña Teresa.[64]

Some years pass before we again hear of don Gonçaluo. A document of June 16, 1403, records a special grant of money to him for the purchase of livery and equipment necessary for his knighting.[65] In a document of April 15, 1407, Charles the Noble named don Gonçaluo, then his chamberlain, to one of the highest governmental positions of the realm--merino mayor de la merindad de Estella.[66] He served in this position more than two decades, until his death March 15, 1428.[67] A document of April 20 of that year grants to doña Teresa the right to continue residing in the castle of Estella for the remainder of the year.[68] It is evident that the couple had no surviving children, for on July 15 the Navarrese sovereigns doña Blanca and don Juan granted the palaces and land in the village and district of Mues, bestowed by Charles III upon don Gonçaluo and his heirs, to Martín Ferrandiz de Sarassa, personal guard to the young Charles, prince of Viana.[69] How

long doña Teresa survived her husband is uncertain. To her last will and testament of 1430, she added a codicile dated June 10, 1438;[70] perhaps it was written at the time of a final illness.

Of their tomb little remains, although what does exist is well documented. In his testament of March 9, 1424, don Gonçaluo stated that his corpse was to be interred in the church of the monastery of Santo Domingo in Estella in the grave which the frairs had given to him and doña Teresa. The grave is described as being in the church near the high altar on the left side.[71] The wording of the document suggests that the sepulcher was already prepared. Certainly it must have been finished before 1430, for in her testament doña Teresa wrote: " ... that my corpse be interred within the church of the monastery of Santo Domingo of Estella in the sepulcher in which rests the aforementioned mosén Gonçaluo my spouse ...."[72] The handsome niche, the tracery seriously damaged, remains within the church (Fig. 120). The arms of the deceased couple are placed in quatrefoils within the spandrel areas. At the left is that of doña Teresa showing an escutcheon charged with three doves in pale;[73] and at the right, that of don Gonçaluo, barry or and argent.[74] The only figurative ornament known to have been used is that of effigies.[75] Of the pair, only that of doña Teresa remains; it is now in the Museo de Navarra, Pamplona (Fig. 121). Despite the serious breakage and abrasion, it can be seen to belong to the type better studied today in the effigies of doña Isabel de Ujué and doña Johana de Beunça. Doña Teresa Palomeque is attired in a long robe which again shows very fine pleating of the bodice and a v-shaped neckline rising into a high collar at the back. Her headdress, of which little remains, appears to have been of the horned

type worn by doña Johana de Beunça. The belting of the robe is placed slightly higher than in the other effigies. Her hands are clasped in prayer. Alongside her head were two angels, of which only the broken remains of the one are now to be seen. Her feet rest upon two dogs of different breeds, one with short hair and the other with a furry coat. The correspondances between this and the effigy of doña Johana de Beunça are such as to suggest their creation in the same shop; yet in each case detail is used to give a sense of individuality. The chalk-white ornament of the niche is, however, quite different from and much simpler than that of the Garro tomb. An ogival arch surrounding the niche terminates in a fleuron equal in height to the two flanking pinnacles, which support a corbel table. Between the ogival arch and the simple pointed arch of the niche proper is a small trefoil. Though severely damaged, the tracery of the pierced tympanum consisted of a large, ornamented roundel flanked by smaller trefoils and set above a flattened arch similarly decorated with tracery.

The Tomb of the Princess doña Juana

A month before the death of Charles the Noble, his granddaughter doña Juana (aged fewer than three years), daughter of doña Blanca and don Juan, passed away. She was buried in the monastic church of San Francisco at Tudela. The sepulcher with her effigy survived intact until the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1843, José Yanguas y Miranda described it as being in the church and recorded the epitaph it bore: "Aqui jaze Dona Johana, infanta de Navarra, fija del rey Don Johan, et de Dona Blanca, propietaria de Navarra, su mugier; et fino la dicta infanta, l'anio de MCCCCXXV, en el XXII dia de agosto."[76] Not long thereafter, the sepulcher became the property of the Marqués

de San Adrian. While it was in his possession, Vicente Poleró y Toledo was permitted to make a drawing of the effigy which was later included in his publication of Spanish funerary monuments (Fig. 123).[77]

In 1866, the Comisión de Monumentos de Navarra, having begun a search to find and recover the sepulcher, learned that it was in the house of the Marqués de San Adrian at Tudela.[78] It was not until 1870, however, that arrangements were made for its transfer from Tudela to the archeological collection being formed in Pamplona by the Comisión.[79] In the minutes of the Comisión there is no mention of the effigy; it seems certain that it was not included in the transfer.[80]

Because the effigy is lost, we must be especially grateful for Poleró's drawing. It shows the effigy of doña Juana clearly to fit into the tradition of funerary images of noble Navarrese ladies. She is attired in a voluminous robe having the finely pleated bodice and the v-shaped neckline with the high collar at the back characteristic of high fashion in the 1420's. A narrow belt worn rather high like that of doña Teresa Palomeque is ornamented with a jeweled buckle. The fine pleats continue beneath the belt to the hem of the garment. The neckline and collar are more richly decorated than other we have seen. The effect is heightened by the double strand of beads about the neck of the princess. Her hair, parted in the center and combed down over the top of her ears, is held in place by a coronet adorned with clusters of jewels. She rests her head upon two cushions and clasps her hands at her waist. At her feet rests a lion, whose large head had already been broken at the time the drawing was made.

The effigy may be compared with another one preserved in Pamplona Cathedral (Fig. 124).[81] This latter work, of earlier date, cannot be

identified with certainty. Altadill says it represents doña Blanca, the sister of Charles the Noble.[82] But it might equally well be doña Bona, another of his sisters.[83] The whole monument is more complex than the tomb of doña Juana. The effigy, resting upon a cloth and a cushion beneath a handsome, but unfinished, canopy, is attended by four angels. A mammoth lion rests at her feet. The effigy itself is more simply attired than that of doña Juana, wearing a simple robe over a tunic with tightly buttoned sleeves. Her only ornament is a delicate coronet which affirms her royal status. The figure is extremely slender and delicate; her features are finely modeled; her hair cut even shorter than doña Juana's. The lion, in contrast with those on the fifteenth-century Navarrese tombs, seems quite stylized, the backbone being exaggerated and the face lacking the realism introduced by Lome.

The tomb chest from doña Juana's sepulcher is preserved in the Museo de Navarra, Pamplona (Fig. 122). Four lions, paired at either end, serve as supports; their deeply modeled faces with mauls slightly agape and their thick manes imbue them with the vitality needed for their task.[84] The chest is quite plain. At the top and bottom project moldings of simple contour; the remaining ornament consists of six escutcheons in relief (two on each side and one on either end) alternating the arms of don Juan of Aragon and doña Blanca of Navarre.[85]

The Tombs in San Francisco at Olite

On the interior of the entrance wall of the monastic church of San Francisco at Olite are a pair of niche tombs. The one to the right of the entrance (as you enter the church) retains no figural decoration.[86] The one to the left is adorned with four different coats of

arms, a statue of St. Michael, and the effigies of a noble couple (Fig. 125). The arms on the front of the tomb chest are Zuria and Añués (Fig. 128); those in the spandrels are Garay and Asiain (Fig. 127).

The family of Zuria with a manor house in the town of Pitillas in the district of Tafalla bear the arms argent, two wolves passant in pale gules surmounted by an estoile azur.[87] The arms of Añués as shown are gules, a fess chequy or and sable, between in chief, crescents inverted and addorsed of the second and, in base, a bar argent.[88] The arms of Garay appear to be or, a tree sinople debruised of a wild boar gules.[89] Finally the Asiain arms are familiar from those of Bishop Miguel Sánchez de Asiain at Pamplona, or, two wolves in pale sable armed and langued gules within a bordure of the third charged with saltires of the first in profusion.[90]

Despite the presence of arms in such abundance, the identity of the persons for whom the tomb was made remains uncertain (Fig. 129). They were surely members of the court of Charles the Noble, for around the neck of the male effigy (Fig. 130) is a collar of leaves very similar to that on the effigy of Pere Arnaut de Garro. The unknown knight is attired similarly to Pere Arnaut as well. He wears a full suit of plate armor covered by a short surcoat. At his right side, his dagger rests in its scabbard. Realistically modeled, his face is marred by a pervasive stain and the loss of his nose. His head rests upon a large cushion which reaches nearly to his elbow, while his feet rest on the ubiquitous lion. His hands are raised in an attitude of prayer. The effigy of the lady is attired in a long, flowing robe, the collar being folded back. Her headdress recalls that of doña Johana de Beunça, although the horns are drawn more toward

the back of the head. Her feet rest upon a dog.

Atop a corbel on the rear wall of the niche is a free-standing statuette of St. Michael (Fig. 126). A small canopy is placed above him. The figure has lost his head and arms; his right wing is also seriously damaged. Despite the injuries, he is actively bending forward and thrusting the lance into the evil dragon which twines about his feet. Although he wears a mantle, his body is covered with feathers; because of the horizontal band which they form about his hips, these seem more a costume than a natural growth.

The tomb niche itself is fronted in its upper reaches by a border of slender ornamental tracery, and the pinnacles are adorned with crockets and foliage. The rather austere niche may once have been enriched with paintings, which as we have seen was a common practice in Navarre.

Other Tombs

We have discussed those Navarrese tombs with effigies which are known from the fifteenth century and which can still be studied from actual remains or other visual evidence. But our understanding of the development of such tombs must also take into account the design which doña Blanca, successor to Charles the Noble and queen, stipulated for her sepulcher in her testament of February 17, 1439. Because she died in 1441 during a visit to Castile, she was interred in the local monastery of Sta. María de Nieve rather than in Sta. María de Ujué, a Navarrese church particularly favored by the royal family and designated as her burial site.[91] Therefore the tomb she desired was never prepared. It is significant, nevertheless, that the tomb she

requested would not have followed strictly in the tradition of the royal cenotaph in Pamplona Cathedral; she specified that a well-made tomb of alabaster supported on six columns should bear her effigy. She stipulated further that it be protected by an iron grill. To be sure she did follow her parents' decision to use alabaster, a most beautiful material for a sepulchral monument, and she wanted the traditional effigy, but she departed from tradition in eliminating pleurants from the design.[92] Perhaps her decision was intended to defray the expense; we cannot be sure. It certainly could not have been the absence of trained craftsmen which influenced her, for as we have seen Lome himself remained active in Navarre for the better part of another decade.

A number of funerary monuments have not survived the passing centuries. The literature on Navarre mentions the following tombs: some may have been of rather simple form, but others were quite elaborate as is clear from remaining descriptions. Of the sepulcher of Sancho Martínez de Cáseda, mayor of Olite, placed in the church of San Pedro in 1444,[93] no description remains. The tomb of doña Juana, natural daughter of Charles III, and don Luis de Beaumont (d. 1464), the first count and countess of Lerin, has been variously described as having been made of marble and/or alabaster. Placed in the parish church of Lerin, the monument is said to have been destroyed by the townspeople and the fragments of the tomb to have been collected and taken out of Navarre to one of the palaces belonging to the Duque de Alba.[94] Mosén Pierres de Peralta, maestre hostal of Charles the Noble and seigneur of Marcilla, died September 18, 1441, and was interred in the church of Sta. María de la Blanca in the monastery of Marcilla; his son, also named Pierres, died in 1492 and was likewise buried in

the church, as were the latter's daughter doña Ana and his second wife doña Isabel de Foix. When the congregation moved to a new structure in the mid-eighteenth century, the medieval tombs were not transferred.[95] Doña Leonor, daughter of doña Blanca and don Juan II of Aragon, was queen of Navarre only briefly as her death on February 12, 1479, followed less than a month upon that of her father. Interred provisionally in the Franciscan church at Tudela, her remains were transferred to the church of the same order at Tafalla in 1487 in compliance with her last will and testament. Attempts by the Comisión de Monumentos de Navarra to recover any fragments were unsuccessful.[96] The last tomb deserving mention is that of don Juan de Beaumont (d. March 27, 1487), Chancellor of Navarre and Grand Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which was in the church of the Crucifix at Puente la Reina. The epitaph praised the fine workmanship of the alabaster tomb and the kneeling effigy, which were apparently of Renaissance design. The inclusion of reliefs showing the funeral ceremony on the tomb chest, however, continued a medieval tradition.[97] A representation of the Mass of St. Gregory may also have been included.[98] It is unfortunate that the fragments remaining in Puente la Reina at the end of the nineteenth century did not merit inclusion in the collection of the Comisión de Monumentos de Navarra.[99] Their loss together with that of the other funerary monuments prohibits a study of the final transformation of late Gothic tradition by the emergence of the Renaissance in Navarre.

NOTES: CHAPTER V

[1]Archivo General de Navarra, Comptos, caj. 105, no. 13, XXXVI. Hereafter cited as AGN. Appendix 1418, 25.

[2]The alabaster quarried in 1416 for the royal cenotaph cost 113 libras 2 sueldos. On the other hand the bas-relief of John the Baptist made by Lome in 1411 cost the king only 17 libras 18 sueldos. The 200 libras given Bertrán de Lacarra should have sufficed for a well decorated sepulcher of less costly material.

[3]The most recent monographic study of the tomb is José E. Uranga, "El sepulcro de mosén Francés," Príncipe de Viana, X (1949), pp. 227-240. Eighty one plates comprising some fifty seven details of the tomb and fifty four of the Villaespesa retable accompany the article. Hereafter cited as Uranga, "Sepulcro de mosén Francés." Earlier literature on the tomb deserving mention includes the following. José Yanguas y Miranda, Adiciones al diccionario de antigüedades del reino de Navarra (Pamplona, 1843), p. 375; hereafter cited as Yanguas y Miranda, Adiciones. Despite certain factual errors, which he may perhaps be forgiven when one considers the lighting conditions to which he would have been subjected, Cénac-Moncaut revealed a vigorous interest in medieval Navarrese monuments in his Voyage archéologique et historique dans l'ancien royaume de Navarre (Tarbes and Paris, 1857), pp. 50-51; hereafter cited as Cénac-Moncaut, Voyage. Pedro Madrazo, España sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza é historia: Navarra y Logroño, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1886), III, pp. 381-384, describes the chapel and its contents and includes a drawing of the tomb. Hereafter cited as Madrazo, Navarra y Logroño. Mariano Sáinz y Pérez de Laborda, Apuntes tudelanos, 2 vols. (Tudela, 1913-1914), I, pp. 488-494; this article was written in 1906. Hereafter cited as Sáinz, Apuntes tudelanos. Emile Bertaux, "Le mausolée de Charles le noble à Pampelune et l'art franco-flamand en Navarre," Gazette des beaux-arts, XL/2 (1908), pp. 107-108, discusses the tomb in relation to Lome and his shop; hereafter cited as Bertaux, "Mausolée." Julio Altadill, "El arte sepulcral en Navarra, mausoleo del canciller Villaespesa en Tudela," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, XVII (1926), pp. 23-43, was the first to prepare a monographic study. Hereafter cited as Altadill, "Mausoleo de Villaespesa."

[4]In his testament of January 12, 1421, Villaespesa said that he had done so for forty five years more or less. (The document is fully transcribed by José Ramón Castro, "El canciller Villaespesa [bosquejo biográfico]," Príncipe de Viana, X [1949], pp. 211-223; hereafter cited as Castro, "Villaespesa.") He was certainly in Navarre from 1384, when he received a quarterly pension of 250 libras. (AGN,

Comptos, caj. 46, no. 21, as quoted by Castro, "Villaespesa," p. 133 and note 11.) Castro believes Villaespesa first came to Navarre in 1381 in the entourage of don Pedro de Luna, cardinal of Aragon (Ibid., pp. 131-132). If this is correct, his service would have been closer to forty rather than forty five years.

[5]Castro, "Villaespesa," p. 137.

[6]This is the view of Castro, "Villaespesa," p. 165.

[7]Castro, "Villaespesa," p. 172.

[8]Leonor was, of course, named for the queen. The names of the other daughters correspond to those of three of the princesses.

[9]José Cabezudo Astrain, "Nuevos documentos sobre pintores aragoneses del siglo XV," Seminario de arte aragonés, 7-9 (1957), pp. 69, 76-77, with a transcription of the document, which confirms that Bonahat Zahortiga, a citizen of Zaragoza, received a payment of 30 florins of Aragon, a part of the total sum of 300 florins to be paid for the retable, which was not yet completed in June of 1412.

[10]See above Chapters II and III.

[11]Certainly there is a general stylistic resemblance between the upper reliefs on the Villaespesa tomb and the early reliefs in the Capilla de los Santísimos Corporales, Sta. María, Daroca. Although documents for the latter chapel have not been found, the style of the sculpture from the first phase of the decoration indicates a date at the end of the first quarter or the beginning of the second quarter of the century. The lack of a more specific date for the Capilla de los Santísimos Corporales prevents an unequivocal statement on the direction of stylistic interchange between Navarre and Aragon at this period. It deserves to be noted that an early date for the chapel in Daroca prevents our discounting the possibility that Juan de la Huerta learned his art there in his hometown.

[12]The index finger of the right hand is damaged.

[13]The muzzle of the lion has been broken off. Originally the animal would have had a very elongated profile.

[14]There have been some errors in the earlier literature in the reading of the date. Yanguas y Miranda, Adiciones, p. 375, transcribed it incorrectly as "mil CCCC et XXIIII años." Cénac-Moncaut, Voyage, p. 50, had difficulty, too, and gave the date simply as "MCCCC et XX." Madrazo, Navarra y Logroño, III, p. 383, was more successful and gave the date correctly as January 21, 1421. Sáinz, Apuntes tudelanos, I, p. 488, like Yanguas y Miranda, misread the date as "mil CCCC et XXIIII ainos." Bertaux, "Mausolée," p. 107, went even farther afield in stating it to be 1427. Altadill, "Mausoleo de Villaespesa," read the inscription erroneously as "mil CCCC et XXIII ainos," which makes no sense at all considering the number of strokes (4) carved on the

slab. There can be no question that 1421 is the correct reading, for it is given as such in an official listing of deceased (AGN, Reg. 498, fol. 113v) and is confirmed by the royal approval of Villaespesa's testament following his death and dated March 31, 1421. (For the latter information, see Castro, "Villaespesa," pp. 222-223.)

[15]See the extract from the testament of doña Isabel de Ujué in the Appendix 1418, 27.

[16]Germán de Pamplona, Iconografía de la santísima Trinidad en el arte medieval español (Madrid, 1970), pp. 13-27, devotes a chapter to this type of the Trinity. Hereafter cited as Pamplona, Santísima Trinidad. The earliest example cited by him (pp. 17-18) is a carved work of Romanesque date from Santiago de Compostela described in the Codex Calixtinus. Wolfgang Braunfels, Die heilige Dreifaltigkeit (Düsseldorf, 1954), p. IX, suggests that the miniatures on three successive pages of a tenth-century Lorsch manuscript in the Vatican may be the earliest representation of the Trinity in the form of three similar men. Hereafter cited as Braunfels, Heilige Dreifaltigkeit. Karl Künstle, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, 2 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1926-1928), I, pp. 222-223, also discusses the type.

[17]Pamplona, Santísima Trinidad, pp. 107-108 and figs. 47a-c.

[18]Pamplona, Santísima Trinidad, p. 99 and fig. 36, gives the date as between 1277 and 1297.

[19]Braunfels, Heilige Dreifaltigkeit, pp. XXIII-XXIV and fig. 14.

[20]To be sure Pamplona, Santísima Trinidad, cites earlier Spanish examples of the anthropomorphic Trinity including the Romanesque one at Santiago mentioned in note 16. The miniature from the Provençal Breviari d'amor of Ermengaud de Bezieres, Biblioteca de El Escorial, S-I-3, cited by Pamplona (Ibid., p. 18 and fig. 3) shows the three persons of the Trinity seated together on a single throne, wrapped in the same mantle, and sharing a common crown. The figures have no attributes but are identified by inscriptions on the crown. A Catalan copy of the fourteenth century in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, secc. ms. Res. 203, fol. 9, again cited by Pamplona (Ibid., pp. 18-19 and fig. 4), essentially repeats the iconography of the previous miniature. This earlier Spanish tradition is distinctive from the manner of representation found at Tudela.

[21]For the Olite relief see below, Chapter VI, pp. 179-183. Paintings of the anthropomorphic Trinity are found also in Navarre in the churches of Santiago and of San Pedro in Puente la Reina. These eighteenth-century examples were noted by Madrazo, Navarra y Logroño, II, pp. 246-248. Pamplona, Santísima Trinidad, p. 27, has more recently discovered documents in the archive of the parish church of San Pedro which indicate they were painted circa 1768 by a Mexican artist. In these late examples the figures are seated.

[22]Bertaux, "Mausolée," p. 108, was the first to identify the scene as the Mass of St. Gregory. The opinion was restated by Ricardo de Orueta, La expresión de dolor en la escultura castellana (Madrid, 1924), p. 18, and most recently by Pamplona, Santísima Trinidad, p. 20.

[23]See Ewald M. Vetter, "Iconografía del 'Varón de dolores,' su significado y origin," Archivo español del arte, XXXVI (1963), pp. 197-203. The history of the arms of Christ is treated fully by Rudolf Berliner, "Arma Christi," Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, 3. Folge, VI (1955); see especially pp. 37-38.

[24]The cup of the chalice is broken off.

[25]The manuscript is marked repeatedly with the arms of the Navarrese king. It has been most carefully studied by William D. Wixom, "The Hours of Charles the Noble," The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, LII (1965), pp. 50-83. The miniature is shown in fig. 24, p. 64. Hereafter cited as Wixom, "Hours of Charles the Noble." The identification of the Master of the Brussels Hours as Zebo da Firenze made by Pächt and followed by Wixom is not accepted by Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late XIV Century and the Patronage of the Duke, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (London and New York, 1969), I, pp. 229-230. We follow Meiss' nomenclature.

[26]The miniature from a Book of Hours in the British Museum, Add. ms. 29433, is illustrated by Wixom, "Hours of Charles the Noble," fig. 25, p. 64.

[27]Señora Isabel de Ceballos-Escalera, conservator of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, told me in a conversation early in 1970 that the museum had no information on the painting except that it came from Cuéllar. The museum label dates it to the fourteenth century.

[28]España sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza é historia: Salamanca, Avila y Segovia (Barcelona, 1884), p. 704.

[29]Don Gómez González, archdean of Cuéllar at least as early as July 23, 1424, founded the Hospital of the Magdalene in 1427. He was still living in 1438. His association with San Esteban at Cuéllar was significant, for he founded there an anniversary mass on the nativity of St. John the Baptist for himself, his mother, and his father. The documents also mention various unnamed relatives buried in San Esteban, Santo Tomás, and other churches of the town. See Fundación del hospital de la Madalena y estudio de gramática della villa de Cuéllar, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 697, fols. 4, 7, 11, 38v, and 45.

[30]See F. J. Sánchez Cantón, "El retablo viejo de San Benito el real de Valladolid en el Museo del Prado," Archivo español del arte, XIV (1941), pp. 272-278. The retable bears the arms of don Sancho de Rojas--argent, five estoiles azure. Sánchez Cantón suggests a date circa 1415, the year in which don Sancho was elevated to the episcopal throne of Toledo. In no case would the painting date later than 1422,

in which year the donor died at Alcalá de Henares.

[31]See Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master (London and New York, 1968), pp. 131 and 133 and fig. 43. The manuscript is in Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, ms. 2, fol. 241.

[32]The polychromy may follow an original medieval scheme, but it appears to have been considerably touched up on the reliefs since 1916 when a series of photographs were made by Archivo Mas, Barcelona. Often the paint hides the better qualities of the sculpture; this is fortunately not true of the effigy of doña Isabel.

[33]It is clear from a comparison of a photograph taken in 1916 (Fig. 93) and those taken in the spring of 1970 (Figs. 105 and 106) that the greater part of the damage has occurred in this century.

[34]Altadill, "Mausoleo de Villaespesa," pp. 31, 35, and 36, is one of the few scholars to recognize the qualitative and stylistic differences evident in the sculpture, but his conclusions vary at times from our own. He praised highly the pleurants, but found the uppermost reliefs to be of lesser quality except for the Virgin and St. John; he believed both effigies to have been carved by Lome and mistakenly called the canopies exact copies of those on the royal cenotaph at Pamplona.

The identity of the sculptors cannot be determined on the basis of documentation. There is no evidence to support the contention of Le guide bleu: Espagne that Juan de Aratia, a mason working with Lome at Pamplona Cathedral in 1439, was responsible for the carving of the tomb; the date given therein--1412--is also incorrect. A note pencilled in the copy of Juan de Contreras, Marqués de Lozoya, Historia del arte hispánico, III (Barcelona, 1940), at the Biblioteca de Navarra, Pamplona, states that the mark of Juan de Aratia----appears on the tomb. My examination of the tomb revealed no such mark.

[35]"Villaespesa," p. 207. In 1422, Blanca and María, the last of the daughters to remain single, were married. It is clear that only three of the daughters are shown in the relief, as the little girl toward the end of the front row is obviously too young to have entered the state of matrimony. The explanation for this omission is that María had died. The date of her death is uncertain and can only be placed generally between her marriage on February 22, 1422, and November 10, 1426, when her widower Martín de Peralta was joined in a second marriage to doña Leonor Pérez de Meneses. Her exclusion from a relief which includes her deceased parents must be the result of a financial dispute as Castro has suggested.

[36]The identification of the tomb as being that of don Leonel de Navarra and his wife can be traced in the literature to the mid nineteenth century. Cénac-Moncaut, Voyage, p. 87, called it "le tombeau de don Léonard [sic], bâtard de Navarre, et de sa femme." Although he described the escutcheons, he made no attempt to identify them.

Madrazo, Navarra y Logroño, I, pp. 290-291, repeated this identification. The mistake is propagated widely even today; see, for example, Javier Gárriz Ayanz, La santa iglesia catedral de Pamplona, guía histórico-artística (Pamplona, 1966), pp. 84, 86, and 87. Agustín Durán Sanpere and Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, Escultura gotíca, Ars hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispánico, VIII (Madrid, 1956), p. 175, perpetrate the error despite their listing in the bibliography the literature which corrects the identification.

[37]Joaquín Argamasilla de la Cerda y Bayona, Nobiliario y armería general de Navarra, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1899-1906), II, p. 74. Hereafter cited as Argamasilla, Nobiliario.

[38]Argamasilla, Nobiliario, I, p. 85.

[39]Argamasilla, Nobiliario, II, p. 74.

[40]In addition to the references cited in note 36, it should be observed that Bertaux, "Mausolée," p. 106, followed the erroneous tradition. Néstor Zubeldía Inda, La s[anta] i[glesia] catedral de Pamplona: Descripción de la misma y relación de sus valores artísticos e historicos (Pamplona, 1930), p. 33, is the only author to have accepted Argamasilla's point of view.

[41]Documentos históricos del castillo de Javier y sus mayorazgos, I (Pamplona, 1931), p. 60, refers to the testament in the family archives of the Duque de Villahermosa.

[42]Archivo del Duque de Villahermosa, Madrid, Sección: Archivo del Duque de Granada de Ega, Leg. 65, Let. F, Año 1422, no. 4. See Appendix 1422, 12. I wish to express my thanks to the Duque de Villahermosa for permitting my use of the document and to Señorita Mercedes Gil Domínguez, the archivist, for her help.

[43]Nobiliario, II, p. 79.

[44]"El sepulcro de don Leonel: Prueba de armas," Príncipe de Viana, VI (1945), pp. 148-149. Hereafter cited as Marichalar, "Prueba de armas."

[45]Argamasilla, Nobiliario, I, pp. 85, 89, and 94. See also José Ramón Castro, ed., Archivo General de Navarra: Catálogo de la sección de comptos, documentos, 36 vols. (Pamplona, 1952-1964), XVII, no. 516, who lists a payment on May 27, 1389, for fabric given to Pere Arnaut de Garro and other persons to make robes of state for the day of their knighting. Hereafter cited as Castro, Catálogo.

[46]José Ramón Castro, Carlos III el noble, rey de Navarra (Pamplona, 1967), pp. 235 and 309. Hereafter cited as Castro, Carlos III.

[47]Castro, Carlos III, pp. 299 and 320.

[48]Argamasilla, Nobiliario, I, p. 95.

[49]Marichalar, "Prueba de armas," p. 149, makes the interesting suggestion that don Leonel de Garro was interred in the sepulcher of his parents and that oral tradition subsequently transformed the information into the erroneous tradition concerning don Leonel of Navarre.

[50]We follow Chandler Rathfon Post, A History of Spanish Painting, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), p. 110.

[51]He is fifth from the left in the sequence, the first two saints being represented on the end wall.

[52]He is the sixth in the sequence with St. Paul in the seventh place. The only other identifiable figure is St. Andrew, who is fourth in line. His cross serves as attribute.

[53]The head of the lamb has been destroyed.

[54]Aenne Liebreich, "Le calvaire de Champmol et l'art de Sluter: Reconstitution du calvaire," Bulletin monumental, XCII (1933), p. 467, suggests that the Virgin on the Garro tomb reflects the now destroyed Virgin from Sluter's Calvary.

[55]A photograph in the Instituto Amatller, Barcelona, taken of the statue of St. Catherine when it was removed from the niche, shows that the figures were conceived as being fully free-standing.

[56]The restored upper portion of the crozier, visible in a photograph taken by Archivo Mas, Barcelona, in 1931, has been removed. To do likewise with the head and the right hand would be an act of mercy.

[57]The hilt of the sword is missing.

[58]Soon after his coronation, Charles the Noble instituted knightly orders referred to in documents as that of the white greyhound (lebrel blanco) and that of the good faith (bonne foi); Navarrese historians are uncertain whether the references are to two separate orders or to a single one. (See Castro, Carlos III, pp. 421-422.) It is also known that Charles the Noble used the leaf of the chestnut as a device; a collar of these leaves encircles an escutcheon bearing the royal arms on the façade of the church of San Francisco, Olite. (See below Chapter VI, p. 184 and Fig. 139.)

[59]In the photograph (Fig. 115), one can see that it was necessary to cut a small niche into the rear wall of the tomb in order to accommodate the angel in that position.

[60]Castro, Catálogo, XVI, no. 621.

[61]Castro, Catálogo, XVII, nos. 895 and 896.

[62]Castro, Catálogo, XVII, no. 904.

[63]Castro, Catálogo, XXII, no. 40.

[64]Castro, Catálogo, XXII, no. 416.

[65]"A Mossen gonçaluo de baquedano de dono & gracia special por vna vez por se apeillar & meter en estado a se fazer cauaillero." (AGN, Reg. 273, fol. 87r.) His knighting took place in conjunction with the coronation of the queen doña Leonor on June 3, 1403.

[66]He is first mentioned as chamberlain in 1405; see Castro, Catálogo, XXVI, no. 35. The document dated April 15, 1407, naming him merino mayor in the merindad of Estella is cited by Castro, Catálogo, XXVII, no. 279. As merino mayor he was the chief royal officer in the political subdivision of the kingdom having its center at Estella.

[67]The record of anniversaries of deaths states: "Mossen Gonçaluo de baquedano cauaillo merino desteilla fino março anno m°ccccºxxviiiº." (AGN, Reg. 498, fol. 113v.) The exact date is provided in an entry of payment made to his widow doña Teresa. (AGN, Reg. 391, fol. 373r.)

[68]Castro, Catálogo, XXXVII, no. 1171.

[69]Castro, Catálogo, XXXVII, no. 1211.

[70]José Goñi Gaztambide, "Historia del convento de Santo Domingo de Estella," Príncipe de Viana, XXII (1961), p. 24. Hereafter cited as Goñi Gaztambide, "Sto. Domingo de Estella."

[71]The pertinent extract from his testament is given in the Appendix 1424, 17.

[72]The pertinent extract from her testament is given in the Appendix 1430, 1.

[73]Under the heading Palomeques, the Libro viejo de armería in the Archivo General de Navarra, gives the arms as azur, two doves argent, membered and langued gules, in pale; and in a variation the same arms are seen within a bordure gules charged with eight saltires or. These are, surely, variations of the medieval arms.

[74]The arms are thus represented in the Libro viejo de armería in the Archivo General de Navarra. The reversed placement of the escutcheons with hers on the dexter side remains to be explained.

[75]The effigies are identified in a document of December 7, 1688, signed by Francisco Bernardo de Oteiza, notario apostólico: "Están enterrados en un arco en la capilla mayor que el dicho mosén Gonzalo Baquedano hizo a su costa, donde están dos bultos de piedra que son marido y mujer." They still remained in place at the time of the first suppression of the monastery in September 1809 and are mentioned in

an inventory of furnishings drawn up at that time. Both references are given by Goñi Gaztambide, "Sto. Domingo de Estella," pp. 56 and 41-42 respectively.

Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Rincones inéditos de antigua arquitectura española: El convento de Santo Domingo en Estella (Navarra)," Arquitectura: Organo oficial de la Sociedad Central de Arquitectos, III (1920), p. 309, says that the monastery was miraculously saved from sale and destruction several years earlier. The property has now been restored to its original function.

[76]Adiciones, p. 166.

[77]The exact date at which it passed into the possession of the Marqués cannot now be determined. The drawing is published in Vicente Poleró y Toledo, Estatuas tumulares de personajes españoles de los siglos XIII al XVII (Madrid, 1902), opp. p. 44. Hereafter cited as Poleró, Estatuas tumulares. Although the date of the drawing is not given, the prologue does state (p. vi) that he made his first drawing trip in 1838. The accuracy of Poleró's work can be judged by comparing his study of the effigy of doña Isabel de Ujué (opp. p. 60) to the original.

[78]The action was initiated at their meeting of January 25, 1866; response from the Marqués de San Adrian was received in a letter from the mayor of Tudela read at their meeting of February 1, of the same year. See Appendix 1866, 1 and 2.

[79]Negotiations were carried out and the transfer completed by February 11, 1870. See Appendix 1870, 1, 2, and 3.

[80]In a conversation on May 4, 1970, Señor José E. Uranga, head of the Instituto Príncipe de Viana, Pamplona, assured me that the effigy does not now exist in Navarre. Bertaux, "Mausolée," pp. 108-109, appears to be in error that the figure could still be seen in Tudela at the time of his visit. It is obvious that he takes his information from Poleró, Estatuas tumulares, p. 44, for both authors call doña Juana the daughter of Charles III. In fact, Poleró's mistranscription of the epitaph becomes incestuous, naming Charles III as the father and his daughter doña Blanca as the mother.

[81]The design of the monument indicates that it was originally the top of a table tomb; transferred at the end of the last century from one of the lateral chapels, it is now set into the wall above a door leading from the south transept to the upper cloister.

[82]Julio Altadill, Geografía general del pais vasco-navarro: Provincia de Navarra, ed. Francisco Carreras y Candi, 2 vols. (Barcelona, [1914]), I, p. 764.

[83]Doña Bona died in 1383; see Castro, Carlos III, p. 107. The identification must be reached by a process of elimination since no documentation is available. It is unlikely to represent any of the

daughters of Charles III and doña Leonor. Doña Juana, the first born and wife of Jean de Foix, died in July 1413 and was buried "en cierto lugar secreto" (Ibid., p. 392). María, who never married, died January 6, 1406, and was buried in the cathedral of Pamplona; her resting place is specifically stated to be the sepulcher built by the king Philippe d'Evreux, her great-grandfather. That sepulcher served also as the resting place for her infant brothers Charles and Louis (Ibid., p. 171). Blanca died in 1441; her burial is discussed below, p. 161f. Beatriz, wife of Jacques de Bourbon, count of the Marche, died December 14, 1407, and was buried in the cathedral of Pamplona (Ibid., pp. 332-333). It would seem likely that she was also interred in the sepulcher built by her great-grandfather; in any case, the effigy is of a maiden, to judge by its relationship with that of doña Juana from Tudela. Isabel was married to Jean, count of Armagnac, in 1419 and subsequently went to Armagnac (Ibid., pp. 385-386). Margarita, who was born in late 1402 or early 1403, died in the latter year (Ibid., pp. 184-185). It would appear that she, like her brothers, was interred in the sepulcher of her great-grandfather.

Mariano de Arigita y Lasa's claim that the effigy represents doña Madgalena de Francia, widow of Gaston de Foix, prince of Viana, cannot be true. (See Fernando de Alvarado [Mariano de Arigita y Lasa], Guía del viajero en Pamplona [Madrid, 1904], pp. 30-31.) She died January 24, 1495 and "fue enterrada en la yglesia mayor de la mesma ciudad [de Pamplona], donde yaze en medio de la capilla mayor con su tumba que no ay otra dentro de aquella Real capilla de la yglesia mayor." (Esteban de Garibáy y Çamálloa, Compendio historial de las chronicas y universal historia de todos los reynos de España donde se escriven las vidas de los reyes de Navarra [Antwerp, 1571], pp. 564-565.) Her age, her matrimonial state, and the style of the monument itself deny Arigita's identification.

[84]The lions' heads are better preserved on the side of the monument not shown in the photograph (Fig. 122). From them it is evident that each was posed in a slightly different manner from the others.

[85]These coats of arms confirm the identity of the sepulcher; Yanguas y Miranda, Adiciones, p. 166, records their presence on the tomb and reproduces them in his text. That the one escutcheon represents the arms of Juan de Aragón is confirmed by the presence of a similar escutcheon on the tomb of Fernando de Antequera, his father, at Poblet. The difference is that in the arms of Fernando de Antequera the charges of Castile and Leon appear on the dexter side and those of Aragon on the sinister. The bordure of caldrons is the same.

[86]A coat of arms does appear in quatrefoils within the spandrels; it has not been identified.

[87]Alberto García Carraffa and Arturo García Carraffa, El solar vasco navarro, 6 vols., 3rd ed. (San Sebastian, 1967), VI, p. 373, mention a variation in the blazoning, saying that some persons paint the field or and the estoile gules. Hereafter cited as García Carraffa, Solar vasco navarro.

[88]García Carraffa, Solar vasco navarro, II, p. 70, records this blazoning as the dexter half of the current arms of the Añués family. The arms are represented in the manner shown on the tomb in the Libro viejo de armería in the Archivo General de Navarra.

[89]García Carraffa, Solar vasco navarro, III, p. 349, records this blazoning as the dexter half of the current arms of the Garro family of Bilbao.

[90]See above Chapter IV, p. 106.

[91]The record of anniversaries of deaths states: "Item La Reyna dona blanca de inclita memoria fino en el monesterio de santa maria de nieua en Castieyla primero dia de abril Anno m°cccc°xlprimero et fue enterrada en deposito en el dicho monesterio (esta Reyna fue muger del Rey don juan de aragon y nabarra)." (AGN, Reg. 498, fol. 113v; the portion of the text in parentheses was added by a later hand.)

[92]The pertinent extract from her testament is given in the Appendix 1439, 29.

[93]Juan Albizu y Sáinz de Murieta, Historia ilustrada y documentada de la parroquia de San Pedro de la ciudad de Olite (Pamplona, [1915]), p. 55.

[94]See Madrazo, Navarra y Logroño, III, pp. 489-490. See also Descripciones de Navarra (18 junio 1800), Madrid, Academia de la Historia, ms., I, fol. 240v. Hereafter cited as Descripciones.

[95]See Real Academia de la Historia, Diccionario geográfico-histórico de España, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1802), II, p. 5; Descripciones, II, fol. 305v; and P. Fabo, Historia de Marcilla (Pamplona, 1917), pp. 65-66.

[96]See José Cabezudo Astrain, "Historia del real convento de San Sebastián de Tafalla, Príncipe de Viana, XII (1951), p. 167; see also the Appendix 1866, 1-3.

[97]See Francisco de Alesón, Annales del reyno de Navarra, V (Pamplona, 1766), pp. 60-61; and Madrazo, Navarra y Logroño, II, p. 539.

[98]Altadill, "Mausoleo de Villaespesa," p. 42.

[99]See Appendix 1870, 5-6. It is particularly unfortunate that no fragments were saved; they might have provided a clue to the dating which is open to question. See Francisco de Olcoz, "¿Cuando se inhumaron los restos de D. Juan de Beaumont en el mausoleo que mandó hacer en la iglesia del convento del crucifijo de Puente la Reina; en el año 1577 o en el año 1630 ... ?," Príncipe de Viana, XVIII (1957), passim.

CHAPTER VI

MONUMENTS AT OLITE

Olite, the site of the first of the principal residences of Charles the Noble and doña Leonor, retained its importance during the reign of their daughter doña Blanca. The most important sculptural monuments remaining in Navarre from her reign and from later in the century are preserved in Olite.

An Image of the Queen

Early in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, doña Blanca sponsored the construction of an arcade enclosing an atrium preceding the church of Sta. María, adjacent to the royal palace at Olite. Of simple, though handsome, design, the arcade is clearly shown to be a royal donation by the arms of the queen on the entrance arch and by her effigy on the left pier, pendant to a statue of the Virgin and Child placed at the right (Fig. 131). On the keystone, an escutcheon shows quarterly I and IV, Navarre, and II and III, Evreux impaling quartered per saltire I and IV, Aragon, II, Castile, and III, Leon. The same blazoning applies to the escutcheon supported by a greyhound, now damaged, on the corbel beneath the image of the queen (Fig. 132). The identification of the arms is assured by comparison with the great seal of the chancellery from the reign of doña Blanca and her husband don Juan de Aragón (Fig. 137).[1] Beneath the statue of the Virgin an animal on a ground of chestnut leaves supports a second

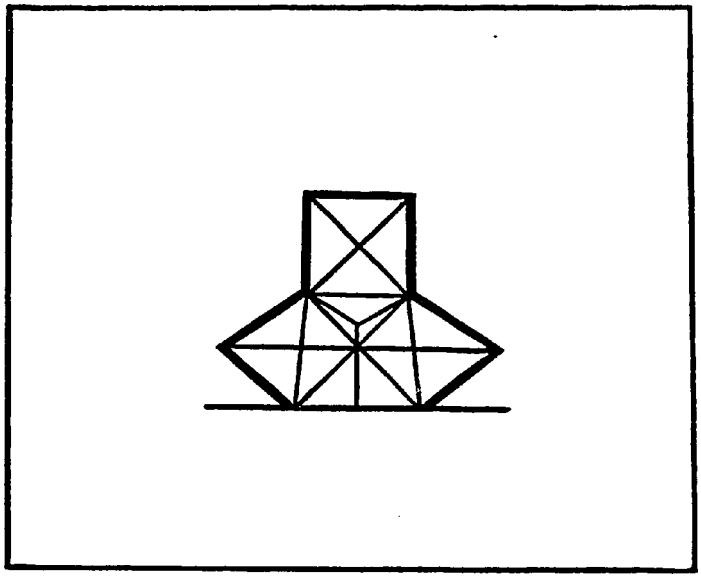
escutcheon bearing the arms of Navarre-Evreux.[2]

The statue of doña Blanca (Figs. 132, 134, and 135), though weathered, is the better preserved. The surface of the queen's robes are not so badly abraded as to obscure the short strokes cut into the stone to indicate the fur lining of the sleeves of the mantle and the gathering of the fabric at the wrists of her robe. The heavy folds of the robe are, however, more seriously damaged; particularly unfortunate is the severity of the loss to the fold down the front, for a great portion of it is missing below the level of the knee disrupting the calculated undulation of the form. The face and hands suffer abrasion as well, and the nose and the ends of the fingers are broken off. Yet the image remains cheerful because of the puffy cheeks and the suggestions of a smile emerging at the corners of the mouth and eyes. She is attired in a fashionable manner similar to that of doña Johana de Beunça on the Garro tomb. The front of her dress is finely pleated, but the collar is folded back in the same way that the lady of the Zuria-Añués family wears hers. The void between robe and mantle at her left side underscores the feeling for volume. Rich embroidery and necklaces ornament the queen's robes, but the most lavish detail is her headdress, of the double-horned type with the hair gathered into pouches at either side of the head and covered with a veil. She also wears a crown, indicating her rank, and carries a phylactery bearing the inscription: "MATER . DEU . ME."

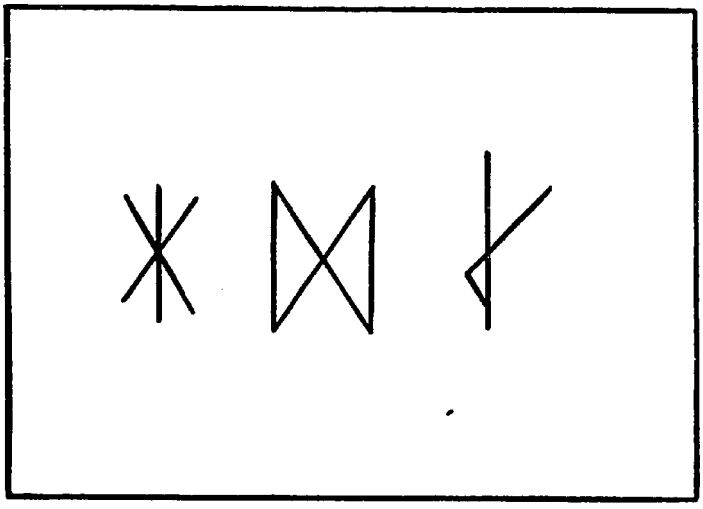
The care which the sculptor took with his commission is evident from the fine detail and from the variation in the patterns of drapery visible as one moves about the figure. The treatment of the canopy above her head shows a similar concern for variation in the

layering of surfaces and for the effects of light and shadow as does the image of the queen. Despite its smaller size, the canopy (and its twin above the image of the Virgin and Child) echoes details of those on the royal cenotaph, and the combination of simply pointed and ogival arches popularized in Navarre by Lome is the main motif. Separated by decorative pinnacles, the ogival arches terminate in fleurons against deeply cut clerestory windows (Fig. 133). The plan of the canopy is much simpler than that used for the royal tomb but it is also more irregular (Text ill. 5).

The image of the Virgin and Child to the right of the entrance arch is seriously damaged; the heads of both figures are missing, and the left hand of the Virgin is partially missing (Fig. 136). However, the detail of the right hand, carved only in relief, is preserved and shows elegant, long fingers. Although in general the drapery suggests greater mass than in the figure of the queen, the folds are similarly composed of a number of deeply cut forms showing much variation in width and depth. Particularly notable is the manner in which the Virgin gathers up the hem of her mantle with her left hand and pulls it across from her right and over the leg of the Christ Child. Her action sets into motion a diminution in the size of the folds beginning at the ground and terminating in the tiny folds of the Christ Child's robe. But even on the lower part of her robe, monotony is dispelled as a very fine, narrow fold follows the two main folds of the robe down the center from beneath her mantle to her left foot. Equally subtle is the manner in which the main break of the drapery, seen from the front, causes the slightest break in the curvature at a slightly higher point. Even as the Virgin lifts the hem of her



Text ill. 5. Diagram of a canopy, atrium entrance, Sta. María, Olite



Text ill. 6. Portal, San Francisco, Olite, masons' marks

mantle, so her Son tugs at its collar; the effect is to create a deep pocket of shadow at the Virgin's left side.

The patterns of folds, the juxtaposition of solid and void, both reveal an identity of authorship for the two figures. At the same time, the delicacy of the image of doña Blanca is equal to that of the princess doña Juana, her infant daughter, insofar as we are able to judge from the drawing by Poleró. Although neither of the projects can be documented and despite the mediocre quality of the chest from doña Juana's tomb, the high quality of the statue of doña Blanca and the pendant Virgin and the apparently equal refinement of that of doña Juana strongly support their attribution to Jehan Lome, "head master of the works of the king and the queen our lord and lady," as he is titled in 1439.[3]

The Votive Relief of Enequo Pinel

Even as doña Blanca made important donations to the church of Sta. María at Olite as visual affirmation of her hope for salvation, so too did the notary Enequo Pinel erect a votive relief in the church of San Pedro (Fig. 138). The correct identification of the donor and his good works is assured through an inscription in a single line along the base: "Esta . obra . fizo . fazer . Enequo . pinel . notario . vezino . de . ollit . enel . aynno . mil . cccc . xxx . dos."[4] A glimpse of Enequo Pinel has appeared only twice in the documents of the Archivo General de Navarra. He is first mentioned in 1413 as "Eneco pinel vezino dollit & portero del Rey," at a salary of 42 libras 15 sueldos per annum which he received in advance for the year September 3, 1413, to September 2, 1414.[5] He retained the position until December 1416, when he was replaced by Sancho

García de Vidángoz;[6] the document of Sancho García's appointment does not specify the reason for Enequo's departure. Perhaps at this time already he became a notary. The relief provides our only other knowledge of him, but it tells much. Still living in 1432, he was married (probably not long after he left his position as porter in the royal household) and had a large family--six children, of whom four were daughters, one of the children in front of Enequo having a headband like those of the daughters kneeling in front of his wife. The object of their adoration is the Trinity, presented in the same guise as that on the Villaespesa sepulcher in Tudela,[7] though not identical with it in detail. With triple tiara and orb, God the Father again stands at the center, but here Christ stands at His right hand and the Holy Spirit stands at His left. As in the Tudela example, Christ is identified by His cross and the crown of thorns, while the Holy Spirit again carries the dove. Their change in placement may be accounted for by their relationship to the donors. At Tudela, Christ faces mosén Francés and doña Isabel, who kneel together on the right wall; in the Olite relief, with the donor and donatrix separated to form a symmetrical arrangement, Christ is placed in the more prominent position on the dexter side. Though again placed in close conjunction one with the other, the figures of the Trínity are separated by the patterns of folds and differently polychromed surfaces of their robes. Particularly noteworthy is their placement upon a low podium decorated with arms, which we may assume to be those of the donor, in a manner similar to that specified by Simón Navar for the statue of St. Sebastian at Tafalla.[8] The use of a podium serves to raise and to isolate the Trinity within the composition, but it also serves to

underscore a relationship to Netherlandish, or more specifically to Tournaisian, sources. In our discussion of the Villaespesa tomb at Tudela, a Brabantine manuscript served as a principal work for comparison of the standing anthropomorphic Trinity. At Olite, its placement on a small podium is similar to a fashion represented in the work of Robert Campin, a most important painter at Tournai. Particularly striking in this context is the representation of the Trinity on the right shutter of the Werl Altarpiece, dated 1438.[9] Although it is of the type called the Throne of Grace, with Christ crucified supported by God the Father, in this instance the latter figure stands, making a slender and graceful statuary group comparable to the Olite relief. The unpolychromed Trinity represented by Campin is placed on a little platform projecting from the mantle piece and having a visual effect similar to the podium in the Olite relief.[10]

To either side of the Trinity hover brightly colored and gilded seraphs, their hair curling out above and beside their head in three large locks. Their wings fail to conceal their bodies fully, leaving legs and feet visible. Pinel is presented to the Trinity by St. John the Baptist, while his wife is presented by St. Catherine. Pinel wears a dark-blue, belted robe lined with fur visible at collar and wrist. From his belt hang a pen case and an inkwell, objects necessary to his office. John the Baptist, who wears a red mantle over his gilded camel skin, carries a lamb in his left arm; his right hand with its slender fingers rests upon Enequo's shoulder. Of the children kneeling with their father, the daughter is wearing a red robe, the son at the front (who has lost his head) is dressed similarly to his father, as is the other son, although his robe is brownish-red

in hue. Pinel's wife wears a long-sleeved tunic of red fabric under a deep blue robe buttoned at the neck and having short sleeves cut in a very decorative fashion. On her head is a white and gilded wimple. Her patron saint, Catherine, wears a gilded crown and a blue mantle lined with red and touched with gilding. She carries a palm and holds a sword with her right hand while touching the Señora de Pinel on the shoulder with her left. The daughters kneeling with them wear robes (from left to right) of red, blue, and golden hue. Their headbands are gilded. All the figures are placed against a blue ground brushed with gilding to suggest light emanating from the Trinity. They are enclosed within a decorative framework having a red ground with the projecting moldings and the leaves being gilded. The inscription likewise is gilded and set into a blue field.

The style of the relief can perhaps best be brought into relationship with other Navarrese monuments by examining the representation here of St. John the Baptist with that on the Garro tomb in Pamplona; the two figures obviously belong to two distinct stylistic currents. Beside the massive Pamplona figure, the Olite St. John appears slender. One could not, however, call him frail; his bronzed face attests his sojourn in the wilderness. The Olite figure also suggests a link with the St. Sebastian at Tafalla (another having already been suggested with regard to the Trinity); his face and that of St. Sebastian are both wide at the forehead and narrow at the chin with short hair and trim beard. Moreover, each shows a marked sense of the underlying facial structure. There are distinguishing characteristics as well. The drapery forms are different from those of the St. Sebastian, being sharper and more crisp and breaking in a more angular manner on most

of the figures. Yet were the group of the Trinity enlarged to one-half life size, the drapery folds would suggest a quality of sameness like those of the St. Sebastian.

The suggestion of a connection with Tournai in the iconographic representation of the Trinity is strengthened, too, by its inclusion on a votive relief. This type of commemorative monument was popular through north-eastern France and the Netherlands, and isolated examples of varying date can be found farther afield, but the great concentration of such memorial tablets is in Tournai and its sphere of influence. The cathedral of Tournai alone preserves a large group of such reliefs placed there by well-to-do burghers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These, serving as a representative sample of the entire production, reveal first and foremost a diversity of scenes, each created to fulfill the wishes of a particular donor or family. Yet certain conventions prevail, too, the main one being the use of a symmetrical composition focusing upon a holy figure, most often the Virgin or Christ. Quality varies, but in some instances such as the relief prepared for the Cottrel family or that carved for Jacques Isaak and his wife we have works that serve to heighten our awareness of the loss imposed upon us by the iconoclasts who sacked the city.[11] The Pinel relief stands as an example of the Tournaisian tradition emerging far from the center of its birth; such a factor together with the others we have mentioned strongly favors its origin in Lome's shop, although it would seem unlikely that he was personally responsible for carving it.

A second inscription, preserved on a stone placed over a doorway in the cloister of San Pedro, states: "Esta . obra . fizo . fazer .

pedro . periz . de . chauri clerigo . racionero . dela . yglesia . de . sant . pedro : e vezino . de la . villa . de olit . ano . mil . cccc . xxx . iii."[12] Because its wording is similar to that on the Pinel relief and because its size is suitable--91 cm. x 28 cm.--it may have been used in conjunction with a second votive relief now lost.[13]

The Portal of San Francisco

The impact of the sculptural tradition continued into the second half of the century as exemplified by the small but handsome portal of the monastic church of San Francisco, Olite (Fig. 133). That the decorative program was a royal donation, once again, is evident from the arms of Navarre-Evreux set into the wall above the portal. The escutcheon is ensigned by a crown and encircled by a collar of leaves like that seen on the effigy of Pere Arnaut de Garro and that on the effigy of a member of the Zuria-Añués family inside the church. Other escutcheons are carried by a pair of smiling angels placed at the extremities of the outermost archivolt. The one on the sinister side bears the royal arms of Navarre, while the other holds arms quartered per saltire I and IV, Aragon, II and III, Sicily, within a bordure charged with cauldrons impaling Navarre-Evreux. It is this latter escutcheon, placed on the dexter side, which provides the key to dating the portal (Fig. 140). The arms of Aragon within a bordure charged with caldrons appeared earlier on the tomb of doña Juana, daughter of doña Blanca de Navarra and don Juan de Aragón (Fig. 122). In that instance, however, the arms of Aragon impaled those of Castile and Leon; here they are quartered with those of Sicily. It would appear that the arms under present discussion are again those of don Juan de

Aragón but are differently charged to represent a change in his fortune. In 1458, upon the death of his brother Alfonso V, don Juan became king of Aragon and Sicily, maintaining himself in that estate until his death in 1479. It would appear that in 1458 he adopted the arms of Aragon-Sicily but retained the bordure charged with cauldrons as a personal emblem inherited from his father Fernando I de Antequera, king of Aragon.[14]

The identity of the sculptor responsible for the design and the decoration of the portal is unknown, even though at least three masons aided in its completion as is evident from their marks (Text ill. 6). The form is simple, emphasizing the deep recession by a series of molded archivolts. The figural decoration is limited, aside from the two angels, to a representation of the crucified Christ with the Virgin and St. John in the tympanum. Unpolychromed, the stone has weathered to a warm yellowish-brown tone. Originally there were two larger figures standing to either side of the doorway as indicated by the bases, the canopies, and the remains of iron rods which held them in place. The bases are triangular in plan and are ornamented on each of their two faces with a series of quatrefoils through which slender colonnettes rise vertically to terminate in small foliated capitals below the springing of the archivolts. Between each pair of capitals emerges a pentagonal canopy (Fig. 145) decorated in a manner which continues to use tracery motifs first seen in Navarre on the royal cenotaph. The upper area, corresponding to the clerestory, is composed of a series of interlocking arches; a pattern of molded leaves ornaments the cornice. Two other colonnettes frame the doorway at either side and support the second archivolt. The inner pair

of colonnettes is thicker in diameter and has capitals double the height of those adorning their more slender partners. The outer pair is of the same form as the colonnettes flanking the niches.

The tympanum is composed of three stones, a separate one for each of the figures. Despite the vicissitudes of history and the fact that the statues are unprotected from the weather, they have survived in quite good form.[15] In order that the figures may be as large as possible and yet remain in proportion one to the other, the cross is placed on a very low mound of earth, whence appear two skulls, and Christ's feet are lifted only slightly from the ground (Fig. 142). The artist's exaggeration of form is evident from the placement of Christ with His arms stretched horizontally upon the cross and His chest pulled toward His right while His stomach is turned toward His left. The pull of tendons at the pit of the arms is shown by rigid lines without a natural curvature, and the musculature of the chest and stomach is extremely vague. The arms and legs are modeled in a somewhat better fashion, and the loin cloth is not ill-conceived. Christ's head, however, is the best part of the figure. It falls to the side and rests on the shoulder. The eyes are closed. The crown of thorns rests heavily upon His brow, while one thick strand of hair falls over His right shoulder and another follows the left edge of His beard giving it an irregular outline. The peculiarities of the artist's style are accentuated when the Christ is compared with that from the Garro tomb (Fig. 116). The consistant realism of this latter work by an artist trained in the style of Sluter contrasts with the fluctuating tendency of the Olite artist to use on the one hand a realistic modeling and on the other highly

stylized detail.

The accompanying figures of the Virgin and St. John on the Olite portal are less marked by such changes of stylistic intent. The Virgin (Fig. 143) has suffered the most damage, having lost her left hand, a large portion of the right one, and a chip off her chin. She stands as an orant looking up at her Son, her eyes unclouded by tears. Her face is simply modeled in broad curving planes. Her voluminous mantle covers her head and is pulled across from the left shoulder to the right side where it is tucked beneath her arm before being drawn back to the left where it falls over the other outstretched arm, the whole creating an elaborate crescendo of folds. St. John is certainly the most handsome of the figures (Fig. 144). His demeanor is appropriate to the situation, his gestures understandable, and his pose easily comprehendible. Of grave expression, his face is drawn at the bridge of the nose, and his mouth is downturned. His hair curls luxuriantly at either side of his head. He lifts his left hand to his face as he ponders Christ's fate. In his right hand, he holds an unopened book. His mantle is pulled back to either side revealing his simple tunic, belted at the waist and falling in narrow vertical folds to the ground.

A later pair of statuettes of the Virgin and St. John (Figs. 147 and 148) which ornament a tomb niche in the chapel of St. Catherine in Pamplona Cathedral (Fig. 146) combine formal motifs borrowed from the Olite portal and from their counterparts on the Garro tomb.[16] These figures from the late fifteenth century show the decline of the tradition in Navarre. Clearly the posture of the Virgin is related to that on the Garro tomb (Fig. 112), but her mantle creates a more varied silhouette and is drawn back further to reveal more of the face.

It is the St. John who better shows a combination of motifs from Olite and Pamplona. He stands with his head tilted slightly to his left and raises his hand toward it without actually touching it. This gesture appears a variant of the Olite St. John; otherwise his pose borrows more from the Garro St. John in that the mantle is fastened at the center of the neck and then pulled down to either side to reveal his robe. In the Garro figure, the fabric is then lifted from the right side and thrown over the left shoulder. It looks as if the sculptor responsible for the latest statue in the series started to follow that pattern, but then because he had altered the position of the left arm, he did not quite know what to do. He chose to lift the drapery to the waist and then let it fall in a cascade; however, he failed to stabilize it adequately even though he tucked a small bit into St. John's belt. The book carried by St. John also represents a borrowing from the two figures; it is held toward the ground as at Olite, but is open as on the Garro tomb. His face lacks the solemnity of the earlier Pamplona St. John and also the expressive intensity of the one at Olite; his hair has a wig-like rather than natural form.

Images of the Virgin

In the church of San Francisco is a statue of the Virgin and Child, one of the finest fifteenth-century images preserved in Navarre (Figs. 149 and 150).[17] Carved of alabaster, the statue shows a quality of craftsmanship equal to that of the material. The Virgin herself is rather slender; her oval face with its high forehead and delicate features is framed by long, wavy tresses. Her long hands and fingers are equally refined.[18] Despite the slimness of the person (particularly evident in a side view), the statue is weighty and

rather broad in proportion (when viewed from the front) as is appropriate to a work showing strong "Burgundian" influence. The breadth is achieved naturally by her reaching away from herself and thereby spreading the drapery in ample folds. She is not a figure distant from the people, but one clearly accessible as she nurses her Child, held firmly in her right arm. He is clad in a long tunic pulled up slightly by his mother's grasp to reveal his tiny toes. His face is delightful with its rounded cheeks, tiny ears, and pug nose. The crown of His head is covered with tight curly locks treated with great care. The intimacy of the two figures is stressed by His placement within the silhouette of His mother (again as viewed from the front) as he leans forward, clutches her breast in his small hands, and looks up at her. Her gaze does not meet his; rather her expression is that of pondering, as if she contemplates already the future which is the Child's.

The Virgin shows a certain resemblance to the one at the atrium entrance of Sta. María. There is a cascade of folds at either side of each figure and their mantles are drawn in a similar manner across the upper part of the body so as to contrast effectively with the vertical lines of the drapery beneath. There is even a similar contrast in each case between thick and thin folds of drapery; even the effect of the left knee pushing against the fabric occurs in each instance. These similarities suggest that the artist responsible for carving the alabaster group may have studied the one commissioned by doña Blanca. The differences in the treatment of the faces of the alabaster Virgin and doña Blanca effectively speak against their being the work of the same artist. There is a more pronounced sense of the modeling of

features, particularly of the eyes, in the queen; the eyes of the Virgin, on the other hand, are barely incised into the surface, and the pupils are slightly tinted.

The change in Gothic sculpture between the mid-fourteenth and the mid-fifteenth centuries is splendidly apparent in a comparison of the Virgin and Child from the church of San Francisco with a marble image from the parish church at Huarte, a few miles north of Pamplona (Figs. 151 and 152). The origin of the statue is concisely stated in a gilded inscription on the base: "An . Dni . MCCCXL° IX fecit Martinus Duardi mercador de Pampelone transferre hanc imaginem de villa parisien . in ecclesiam istam et dedit illam in honore beate Marie virginis . Orate pro eo."[19] Thus the Huarte Virgin and Child represent the importation of a French style into Navarre in the fourteenth century. The Madonna epitomizes the characteristics of that period. Her slender figure sways gracefully as she holds the Child so that He too may view the faithful petitioner. In her right hand she carries a blossoming flower; the Child clutches the orb and once held a second object which rested in a small recess against his mother's breast.

High in the Baroque retable of the parish church of Liédena, southeast of Pamplona on the road to Sangüesa, our final fifteenth-century Madonna sits attired in a garment of rather heavy fabric which falls over her knees in curling vertical folds and between the legs in a short series of chevron folds and a single diagonal one of rather dramatic form (Fig. 153).[20] Their pattern gives stability to the group. She wears a heavy foliate crown as well, indicating her rôle as queen of heaven. The Child, simply clad in a loin cloth,

rests in His mother's lap in a manner similar to His placement in a Pietà. This group exemplifies the survival of the sculptural tradition of the late Gothic period in Navarre, a tradition which we have attempted to elucidate in the preceding pages.

NOTES: CHAPTER VI

[1]The document, dated February 13, 1426, to which the seal is pendant, sets forth the inheritance which don Juan de Aragón foresaw for his first born, Charles, prince of Viana. To make the charges more legible on this small scale, the arms of Navarre-Evreux are dimidiated. See Florencio Idoate, ed., Archivo General de Navarre: Catálogo de la sección de comptos, documentos, XXXVII (Pamplona, 1965), no. 296.

[2]The damage to the animal is so severe that its identity as a greyhound is a supposition.

[3]See above Chapter IV, pp. 113-114.

[4]Juan Albizu y Sáinz de Murieta, Historia ilustrada y documentada de la parroquia de San Pedro de la ciudad de Olite (Pamplona, [1915]), p. 55, mentions the relief and transcribes the inscription except for the name, excusing himself with the words "nombre y apellido que no entiendo bien." Hereafter cited as Albizu, Historia de San Pedro, Olite. The relief measures 126 cm. x 84 cm. x 21 cm.

[5]Archivo General de Navarra, Reg. 332, fol. 16v-17r. Hereafter cited as AGN. See Appendix 1413, 4.

[6]José Ramón Castro, ed., Archivo General de Navarra: Catálogo de la sección de comptos, documentos, XXXII (Pamplona, 1963), no. 286.

[7]See above Chapter V, pp. 135-137.

[8]See above Chapter IV, pp. 91-92.

[9]The painting, Madrid, Museo del Prado, is illustrated in Max J. Friedländer, Early Netherlandish Painting, II, Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle, trans. by Heinz Norden (Leyden, 1967), pl. 97. Hereafter cited as Friedländer, Rogier and Flémalle.

[10]A second painting by Campin, The Trinity, in Frankfurt, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, represents God the Father standing and holding the dead body of His Son; the dove rests upon Christ's shoulder. Although in this instance the figures stand within a niche rather than on a podium, their vertical placement again suggests a Netherlandish source for the Navarrese representation. For an illustration see Friedländer, Rogier and Flémalle, pl. 60 left.

[11]For a study of all the reliefs remaining in Tournai, see Grete Ring, "Beiträge zur Plastik von Tournai im 15. Jahrhunderte," Belgische Kunstdenkmäler, ed. Paul Clemen, 2 vols. (Munich, 1923),

I, pp. 269-291. The most complete study of the reliefs still extant before World War I is E. J. Soil de Moriamé, Les anciennes industries d'art tournaisiennes à l'exposition de 1911 (Tournai, 1912).

[12]Albizu, Historia de San Pedro, Olite, p. 55, recorded the inscription and called the stone a lid (tapa) of a tomb; I find the wording of the inscription and the size of the stone ill-suited to such a purpose.

[13]A plausible alternative suggestion to my own was given by Dr. Harold E. Wethey in a letter of December 11, 1969; he states that the inscription "sounds like a dedication of an altar."

[14]See above Chapter V, p. 59 and note 85. Traces also remain of escutcheons painted within circular medallions on the ground of the tympanum. Otherwise there is no evidence of polychromy.

[15]Of the six monasteries of the order of St. Francis in medieval Navarre, only the one at Olite has survived. Yet its buildings have undergone major changes. As regent of Spain, the Cardinal Cisneros ordered the monastery destroyed in 1516 at a time when fortresses throughout Navarre were to be pulled down. The monastic complex was rebuilt in 1749; the church itself, in 1763. Fortunately the medieval portal and tombs survived the destruction and were included in the new structure. See Celso González, Las postrimerías del castillo de Olite (Burgos, 1915), pp. 31-33; and José Ramón Martínez Erro, Olite, corte de reyes (apuntes históricos), 2nd ed. (Pamplona, 1957), pp. 109 and 111-112.

[16]The two statues stand on a reprise in the tomb niche believed by Arigita y Lasa to have been that of the Bishop Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza. See above Chapter IV, note 74.

[17]The only reference to the statue in the literature is a brief mention by Agustín Durán Sanpere and Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, Escultura gótica, Ars hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispánico, VIII (Madrid, 1956), p. 175.

[18]The left hand is unfortunately missing; an iron rod from a previous repair remains in the arm.

[19]The transcription follows that of Marcel Dieulafoy, La statuaire polychrome en Espagne (Paris, 1908), p. 59. He interpreted the inscription to mean that the statue had been given to the cathedral of Pamplona. I believe, however, that it was from the outset intended to adorn the church at Huarte, for the donor's name Duardi must in fact mean D[e H]uardi or de Huarte.

[20]The present writer did not have opportunity to speak with the parish priest, who was away at the time, and was unable to verify whether the statue is of wood or stone, although from a distance it suggests the latter material covered with polychromy.

CONCLUSION

We have given our attention primarily to the cenotaph of Charles III, sovereign of Navarre from 1387 to 1425, and his wife doña Leonor. This royal monument, the single major work of sculpture commissioned by Charles the Noble to survive the centuries, stands in tribute to his taste and aesthetic interests. Of major importance among monuments of late Gothic art in Spain, the cenotaph is equally significant in a pan-European context, since documents in the Archivo General de Navarra affirm the commission to have been given to a foreign mason--Jehan Lome of Tournai. Lome, who is mentioned in the documents (somewhat sporadically) from 1411 until his death in 1449, served as the principal sculptor at the court of Navarre. His earliest work for the king, a bas-relief of St. John the Baptist, carved in 1411, has not survived. However, the cenotaph, begun in 1412 and finished in 1419, proves the excellence of his training and ability. Traditional in form, the cenotaph reveals Lome to have been a superb sculptor following an elegant though rather conservative style; it also serves to mark Charles III's interest in the artistic developments occurring in the early fifteenth century in France, particularly in the capital, Paris, where he most likely obtained Lome's services. French by birth and education, Charles III remained attuned to his early training as is evident from the documentation of the major artistic projects which he sponsored at his Iberian court. Charles the Noble was open to the native arts of his kingdom as well, so that French Gothic flourished

alongside the work of Navarrese artisans--Muslim and Christian alike.

Significantly Lome did not single-handedly bring the cenotaph to completion; rather he headed a sizeable shop at Olite, where he also directed in part the construction of the royal palace which was to serve as the main residence of Charles III and doña Leonor. The masons assisting Lome at this time--Johan de Lisla, Michel de Reyems, Aneqin de Sorça, Vicent Huyart, Collin de Rems, Johan de la Garnia, and Johan de Borgoyna--represent a variety of backgrounds including origins in several regions of France--Champagne, Picardy, and Burgundy. That there is a general harmony between the various figurative elements of the cenotaph is due to Lome's having designed each of the figures, as is clear from the relationship of patterns of drapery on the individual statuettes. That Lome did not demand absolute adherence to his own manner of carving is evident in the variety of personal stylistic characteristics evident in the figures. Because of such individual differences, the cenotaph serves as a sort of textbook of styles of the period. The pleurants vary from those of extremely slender form, through those of quite realistic proportion, to others having a massiveness of form akin to the manner established by Claus Sluter in Burgundy. Lome's style lies midway between the extremes. He must have been personally responsible for the effigies, which are without question the most significant part of the commission. They conform clearly to a conservative tendency in early fifteenth-century art rather than to the innovative characteristics introduced by Sluter in the ducal tomb at Dijon. The proportions of Lome's figures are not exaggerated; their garments are made to appear as if the figures were standing rather than reclining; they rest beneath great vaulted

canopies. Each of these characteristics is at variance with Sluter's approach. Rather the effigies and Lome's work as a whole belong to the Tournai-Paris tradition of the early fifteenth-century. Because of Lome's skill, the beauty of the alabaster from which the figures are carved, and their excellent state of preservation, the sepulchral images not only are the most important examples remaining to us of this tradition, but they also count among the most significant effigies remaining from the late Gothic period. Their excellence and rarity serve to confirm the immensity of the loss imposed upon us by the destructive forces of the French Revolution.

The participation of Lome and his shop on two windows in the great hall of the royal palace at Olite is also confirmed by documents. Work on the sepulcher was halted in 1414 so that the masons might give their attention to the more pressing needs of the palace. These windows survive, though in a damaged state. A corbel in a small, upper courtyard also attests the presence of the master and his assistants. These carvings expand numerically the list of works attributable to Lome's shop, as well as increasing somewhat our understanding of aesthetic interests in Navarre at the period. A study of the rich interior decoration of the palace at Olite has been forever thwarted because of the disastrous fire set there by General Mina in the early nineteenth century. Of Lome's subsequent participation in the construction of the palace at Tafalla, for which Charles III contracted several years after the death of doña Leonor, only documentary evidence and a few drawings survive; this latter palace was completely destroyed in the late nineteenth century at the time of the Second Carlist War.

We temporarily lose sight of Lome following the death of Charles III in 1425. His absence would seem to result from a loss of documents rather than his dismissal from the service of doña Blanca, heiress of Charles III, for his name recurs in the accounts beginning in 1438 with reference being made to his receipt of a pension in 1437. Although he was engaged in work on the cathedral of Pamplona in 1439, the accounts do not permit our fully understanding the project completed at that time.

Even though a number of other sculptural works of high quality remain from the period in Navarre, they cannot be assigned on the basis of documentary evidence to a particular artist or shop. Nevertheless, several of these do show marked stylistic and technical relationships to the royal cenotaph and can, therefore, be assigned to Lome's shop. One is the north transept portal of the cathedral of Pamplona; another is the effigy prepared for don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza during his tenure as dean of the collegiate church of Santa María at Tudela (1409-1420). The former presents the Coronation of the Virgin in the tympanum and a series of saints in the archivolts. Despite the surface weathering of the porous stone, the latter figures more closely echo the pleurants of the royal cenotaph than does any other surviving monument. The effigy of don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, on the other hand, reveals strong affinities with that of Charles the Noble. In addition to similarities in the modeling of their faces, the two effigies, as well as that of doña Leonor, show an identical technical feature--the application of metal mounts to hold ornamental "jewels." This feature does not appear elsewhere among the preserved Navarrese monuments. These stylistic and technical features affirm

the Tudela effigy to have been produced in Lome's shop. That angels placed at the head of the effigy of don Sancho differ from the various styles represented on the royal cenotaph suggests the presence of a new assistant in the shop. A third monument, the second sepulcher prepared for don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza also relates in part to the foregoing works. It dates to the years following don Sancho's promotion to bishop of Pamplona in 1420. The similarities are primarily between the effigies of don Sancho, although the later one lacks the metal studs. The angels alongside the head also differ from the Tudela example. The reliefs within the tomb niche differ markedly from all previous works; to be sure the proportions of the figures are generally similar to the least extreme of the royal pleurants, yet the figures themselves reveal a greater firmness of outline and a somewhat inflated quality distinct from those pleurants. These stylistic features suggest the activity of yet another sculptor new to the region.

Although there can be no question of Lome's having set the tone in Navarre for sculpture of excellent quality and of a fashion then prevalent in the French capital, other influences were making their way into the kingdom as already evident in the second tomb for don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza. Other works exémplifying these varying styles are the tomb of mosén Francés de Villaespesa, chancellor of Navarre, and his wife doña Isabel de Ujué and that of Pere Arnaut de Garro and his wife doña Johana de Beunça. The former monument in the private chapel of the chancellor and his wife in the collegiate church at Tudela is enriched by three registers of reliefs within the tomb niche. Several new themes--the Man of Sorrows and the standing

anthropomorphic Trinity--are here introduced into Navarrese art. The figures in the reliefs are more squat in proportion and are carved in a broader and less refined manner than those of the royal cenotaph, but the effigies show a kinship to the work of Lome on the royal images. The representation of doña Isabel is particularly fine; that of the chancellor is less well finished. It appears probable that the royal workshop under Lome's guidance provided the effigies, while the remaining sculpture for the tomb was undertaken by other mason-sculptors hired probably by the chancellor's heirs. Their task seems not to have been finished until the late 1420's. The Garro sepulcher, in the cloister of Pamplona Cathedral, contains a series of free-standing saints and Christ crucified placed on a reprise within the niche. These are the most important Navarrese series of figures to show a stylistic affinity to the Burgundian development in the early fifteenth century, the Garro sepulcher being finished by 1422. Yet again in a single monument there is a juxtaposition of contrasting styles; the carved images show marked differences from the apostles painted below them. The bulkiness and suggested realism of the former are opposed to the slenderness and idealism of the latter. Such contrasts were accepted; the excellence of the part rather than the absolute unity of the whole was preferred.

Other tombs from Estella, Tudela, and Olite indicate the widespread popularity among the Navarrese nobility for elaborate funerary memorials. Their great variety of ornamentation further suggests that numerous masons were engaged in their production. Yet the relationship between the masons remains unclear. For example the surviving effigy from the tomb of don Gonçaluo de Baquedano and doña Teresa

Palomeque in the Dominican church at Estella corresponds generally to that of doña Johana de Beunça, the wife of Pere Arnaut de Garro, although the serious damage to doña Teresa's effigy does not permit a detailed comparison. The tomb niches are quite distinctive in design; that of the Baquedano-Palomeque monument which remains in a damaged state within the partially restored church is more severe than any other of the period in Navarre. The possibility that the niche was designed by a different mason from the one responsible for the effigies must be allowed, since evidence supports such a possibility in other instances as well.

The tomb of doña Juana, daughter of doña Blanca and don Juan de Aragón, expands our knowledge of the variety of Gothic monuments in Navarre before the destruction brought about by changing fashion and war. The tomb chest which is preserved at Pamplona is supported on the backs of lions and ornamented with a series of escutcheons charged with the arms of Aragon and of Navarre alternating in regular sequence. The type is not commonly found in Navarre, although examples can be found in Aragon. The effigy, known only through Poleró's drawing, appears to have been of a quality and type similar to that of doña Isabel de Ujué, wife of mosén Francés de Villaespesa, and like the latter, should be associated with the shop of Lome. The tomb which doña Blanca ordered to be prepared for her own interment at Santa María de Ujué was never carried out; it remains important, nevertheless, for the description given in her testament indicates that it, too, would have departed from the Navarrese norm. The alabaster effigy was to rest atop a slab supported on a series of columns. A more conservative work fitting into the established tradition remains in the

church of San Francisco at Olite. The specific identity of the deceased couple is uncertain, although their family arms appear on escutcheons--Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain. The tomb itself has suffered greatly, though not so greatly as a second one on the other side of the entrance which has lost its effigies and all internal decoration.

A wise statesman and king, Charles III managed to maintain peace and prosperity in his kingdom. He devoted large parts of his income to the enrichment of his realm through important building programs. His most important public contributions were for the reconstruction of the cathedral of Pamplona, but he donated smaller sums widely for the repair and maintainance of other churches throughout the kingdom. The erection of splendid and comfortable palaces for the use of himself and his family also received attention. That these building enterprises were of major concern to Charles III is underscored by reference made to them in his epitaph.

History, however, has a habit of counteracting the carefully laid plans of even wise men. Charles' attention to the succession of the Navarrese crown came to naught. After Charles III's death in 1425, the second quarter of the century witnessed already a period of greater stress and conflict in Navarre because of the political ambitions of don Juan of Aragon. Large sums were needed for military expenses; building projects, therefore, were carried out on a lesser scale, and the sculptural projects which remain from the reign of doña Blanca and don Juan are both fewer in number and less imposing in form than those from the preceding reign. To be sure, doña Blanca did support

the completion of the nave of Pamplona cathedral (although the chevet remained unfinished until the early sixteenth century), but the most important independent project remaining from her reign is the handsome arcade enclosing an atrium before the church of Santa María at Olite--adjacent to the royal palace built by her father. The simple arcade is impressive because of its general proportions and because of the finely carved sculpture decorating the entrance. The well-modeled image of the queen represents the continuing participation of skilled craftsmen at the court.

The portal of San Francisco at Olite, apparently dating to the third quarter of the century, seems simple in design when compared with the earlier work on the north transept of the cathedral of Pamplona. Yet such modesty is in keeping with the professed aims of the Franciscan order. A donation of don Juan of Aragon, the portal preserves in the tympanum a crucifix flanked by the Virgin and St. John. Their emotional expressiveness marks a development away from the figural types seen earlier in Navarre. Such emotive energy finds further exaggeration in a pair of statuettes--again the Virgin and St. John--in the chapel of St. Catherine in Pamplona Cathedral. These latter figures bring us to the end of our study. By the time they were carved, Jehan Lome had already passed to his reward. Still active as a mason, he had been working near the western border of Navarre in the hill town of Viana at the time of his death in January 1449. Even though his style was superseded by a new aesthetic taste, his major work--the cenotaph of Charles the Noble and doña Leonor--remains unsurpassed among the sepulchral monuments of Navarre.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Actas de las sesiones de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra (21 de diciembre 1865-4 de mayo 1876), Pamplona, Biblioteca del Museo de Navarra, ms.

"Actividades de la Comisión: Adquisiciónes," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Navarra, 3a época, II (1928), p. 313.

Albizu y Sáinz de Murieta, Juan, Historia ilustrada y documentada de la parroquia de San Pedro de la ciudad de Olite (Pamplona, [1915]).

Alesón, Francisco de, Annales del reyno de Navarra, IV-V (Pamplona, 1766).

Allende-Salazar, J., "Lomme, Janin," Thieme-Becker, XXIII (Leipzig, 1929), p. 349.

Altadill, Julio, "El arte sepulcral en Navarra, mausoleo del canciller Villaespesa en Tudela," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, XVII (1926), pp. 23-43. This is an expanded version of an article appearing under the same title in Arquitectura, VII (1925), pp. 1-15.

----------, "Artistas exhumados," Boletín de la Comisión de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, X (1919), pp. 51-64, 123-137, 187-195, and 261-266; XI (1920), pp. 82-86 and 172-177; XII (1921), pp. 146-151, 215-219, and 295-299; XIII (1922), pp. 66-73, 147-150, and 276-281; XIV (1923), pp. 197-200 and 263-268; XV (1924), pp. 117-120 and 283-288; XVI (1925), pp. 135-141; and XVII (1926), pp. 44-52, 141-159, and 241-247.

----------, Geografía general del país vasco-navarro: Provincia de Navarra, ed. Francisco Carreras y Candi, 2 vols. (Barcelona, [1914]).

----------, "La puerta de San José en la catedral de Pamplona," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, V (1914), p. 210.

Alvarado, Fernando de [Mariano de Arigita y Lasa], Guía del viajero en Pamplona (Madrid, 1904).

Argamasilla de la Cerda y Bayona, J[oaquín], Nobiliario y armería general de Navarra, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1899-1906).

Arigita y Lasa, Mariano de, La asunción de la santísima Virgen y su culto en Navarra (Madrid, 1910).

----------, Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Navarra, I (Pamplona, 1900).

Aubert, Marcel, Musée du Louvre, description raisonnée des sculptures du moyen âge, de la renaissance et des temps modernes, I, Moyen âge (Paris, 1950).

Beltrán, José, Historia completa y documentada de la m[uy] n[oble] y m[uy] l[eal] ciudad de Tafalla (Tafalla, 1920).

Berliner, Rudolf, "Arma Christi," Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, 3. Folge, VI (1955), pp. 35-152.

Bernis Madrazo, Carmen, Indumentaria medieval española, Artes y artistas (Madrid, 1956).

[Bertaut, François], Journal du voyage d'Espagne (Paris, 1669).

Bertaux, E[mile], "Le mausolée de Charles le noble à Pampelune et l'art franco-flamand en Navarre," Gazette des beaux-arts, XL/2 (1908), pp. 89-112.

----------, "La sculpture du XVe siècle en Espagne jusqu'au temps des rois catholiques," Histoire de l'art, ed. André Michel, III/2 (Paris, 1908), pp. 810-828.

Braunfels, Wolfgang, Die heilige Dreifaltigkeit (Düsseldorf, 1954).

Cabezudo Astrain, José, "Historia del real convento de San Sebastián de Tafalla," Príncipe de Viana, XII (1951), pp. 165-185.

----------, "Nuevos documentos sobre pintores aragoneses del siglo XV," Seminario de arte aragonés, 7-9 (1957), pp. 65-78.

Camón Aznar, José, Pintura medieval española, Summa artis, XXII (Madrid, 1966).

Castro, Cristobal de, Catálogo monumental y artístico de la provincia de Navarra, 5 vols., ms. deposited in the library of the Instituto Diego Velázquez, Madrid. For the most part, the text of this study is merely a compilation of earlier published works.

Castro, José Ramón, ed., Archivo General de Navarra: Catálogo de la sección de comptos, documentos, I-XXXVI (Pamplona, 1952-1964).

----------, "El canciller Villaespesa (bosquejo biográfico)," Príncipe de Viana, X (1949), pp. 129-226.

----------, Carlos III el noble, rey de Navarra (Pamplona, 1967).

Cénac-Moncaut, [J.], Voyage archéologique et historique dans l'ancien royaume de Navarre (Tarbes and Paris, 1857).

Contreras, Juan de, Marqués de Lozoya, Historia del arte hispánico, 5 vols. (Barcelona and Buenos Aires, 1931-1949).

Coo, Joz. de, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, catalogus 2, beeldhowkunst, plaketten, antiek (Antwerp, 1969).

David, Henri, Claus Sluter (Paris, 1951).

Descripciones de Navarra, 3 vols., Madrid, Academia de la Historia, ms.

Desdevises du Dezert, G. N., Don Carlos d'Aragón, prince de Viane: Etude sur l'Espagne du nord au XVe siècle (Paris, 1889).

Díaz Bravo, Fray José Vicente, Memorias históricas de Tudela, ed. José Ramón Castro (Pamplona, 1956). Castro originally published the Memorias as installments in the Príncipe de Viana beginning with IX (1948).

Didier, Robert, et al., "Une Vierge tournaisienne à Arbois (Jura) et le problème des Vierges de Hal, contribution à la chronologie et la typologie," Bulletin monumental, CXXVIII (1970), pp. 93-113.

Dieulafoy, Marcel, La statuaire polychrome en Espagne (Paris, 1908).

Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Les pleurants dans l'art du moyen âge (Dijon, 1971).

Durán Sanpere, Agustín, and Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, Escultura gótica, Ars hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispánico, VIII (Madrid, 1956).

Erasso, Francisco de, Discursos históricos sobre la población de España, en que se prueba por la parte que Tubal dió principio á la población, y que la ciudad de Tafalla es de las primeras que fundó (Seville, 1682).

Escalada, Francisco, Documentos históricos del castillo de Javier y sus mayorazgos, I (Pamplona, 1931).

Evans, Joan, Dress in Medieval France (Oxford, 1952).

Fabo, P[edro], Historia de Marcilla (Pamplona, 1917).

Fernández Pérez, Gregorio, Historia de la iglesia y obispos de Pamplona, real y eclesiástica del reino de Navarra, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1820).

Friedländer, Max J., Early Netherlandish Painting, II, Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle, trans. by Heinz Norden (Leyden, 1967).

Fuente, Vicente de la, España sagrada, L, Las santas iglesias de Tarazona y Tudela (Madrid, 1866).

Fundación del hospital de la Madalena y estudio de gramática della villa de Cuéllar, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 697.

Garay, Manuel, Compendio cronológico. Con nuevas adiciones, a la primera parte de la crónica de la santa provincia de Burgos (Pamplona, 1742).

García Carraffa, Alberto, and Arturo García Carraffa, El solar vasco navarro, 6 vols., 3rd ed. (San Sebastian, 1967).

García Mercadal, José, Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1952-1962).

Garibáy y Çamálloa, Esteban de, Compendio historial de las chrónicas y universal historia de todos los reynos de España, donde se escriven las vidas de los reyes de Navarra (Antwerp, 1571).

Gárriz Ayanz, Javier, La santa iglesia catedral de Pamplona, guía histórico-artística (Pamplona, 1966).

Gerstenberg, Kurt, "Die niederländische Plastik des 15. Jahrhunderts in ihre europäische Auswirkung," Actes du XIIIe Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art (Stockholm, 1933), pp. 164-169.

----------, "Zur niederländischen Skulptur des 15. Jahrhunderts," Oudheidkundig Jaarboek (1934), pp. 12-15.

González, F. Celso, Las postrimerías del castillo de Olite (Burgos, 1915).

Goñi Gaztambide, José, "Historia del convento de Santo Domingo de Estella," Príncipe de Viana, XXII (1961), pp. 11-64.

----------, "Nuevos documentos sobre la catedral de Pamplona," Príncipe de Viana, XIV (1953), pp. 311-327, and XVI (1955), pp. 133-200.

----------, "Los obispos de Pamplona del siglo XIV," Príncipe de Viana, XXIII (1962), pp. 5-194 and 309-400.

----------, "Los obispos de Pamplona del siglo XV y los navarros en los concilios de Constanza y Basilea," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, VII (1962), pp. 358-547.

----------, "El sepulcro de Carlos III el noble," Pregón: Revista gráfica Navarra, XXVIII (Autumn 1969), [3 pages unpaginated].

Huarte y de Jaureguí, José María de, Nobilario del reino de Navarra, I (Madrid, 1923).

Hugo, Victor, France et Belgique, Alpes et Pyrénées (Paris: Nelson, [n.d.]).

Idoate, Florencio, ed., Archivo General de Navarra: Catálogo de la sección de comptos, documentos, XXXVII- (Pamplona, 1965-). This is a continuation of the work begun by José Ramón Castro.

Iturralde y Suit, Juan, Memoria sobre las ruinas del palacio de Olite (Pamplona, 1870).

----------, "Trajajos de la Comisión: Enterramientos reales en la catedral de Pamplona," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, VI (1915), pp. 6-10, 65-85, 127-129, and 193-195.

Jimeno Jurio, José María, Sepulcro del rey noble, Navarra temas de cultura popular, 108 (Pamplona, [1971]).

Katzenellenbogen, Adolf, The Sculptural Program of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia (Baltimore, 1959).

Künstle, Karl, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, 2 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1926-1928).

Lambert, Elie, "La catedral de Pamplona," trans. by Leopoldo Torres Balbás, Príncipe de Viana, XII (1951), pp. 9-35.

Lampérez y Romea, Vicente, Arquitectura civil española de los siglos I al XVIII, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1922).

Larumbe, Onofre, "La catedral de Pamplona," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Navarra, 3a época, II (1928), pp. 91-120.

Liebreich, Aenne, "Le calvaire de Champmol et l'art de Sluter: Reconstitution du calvaire," Bulletin monumental, XCII (1933), pp. 441-467.

Madoz, Pascual, Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar, 16 vols. (Madrid, 1845-1850).

Madrazo [y Kuntz], Pedro de, España sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza é historia: Navarra y Logroño, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1886).

Mahn, Hannshubert, Kathedralplastik in Spanien: Die monumentale Figuralskulptur in [Alt-] Kastilien, Leon und Navarra zwischen 1230 und 1380 (Reutlingen, 1935).

Mâle, Emile, L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France (Paris, 1908).

Marichalar, Antonio, marqués de Montesa, "El sepulcro de don Leonel: Prueba de armas," Príncipe de Viana, VI (1945), pp. 148-149.

----------, "Vera efigie del obispo de Pamplona don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza," Príncipe de Viana, IV (1943), pp. 187-219.

Martínez Erro, José Ramón, Olite, corte de reyes (apuntes históricos), 2nd ed. (Pamplona, 1957).

Meiss, Millard, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master (London and New York, 1968).

----------, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late XIV Century and the Patronage of the Duke, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (London and New York, 1969).

Mendoza, Fernando de, Los plateros de Carlos el noble rey de Navarra (Pamplona, 1925).

Mezquiriz de Catalán, María Angeles, Museo de Navarra, guía, 3rd ed. (Pamplona, 1968).

Michel, André, "La sculpture en France et dans les pays du nord," Histoire de l'art, ed. André Michel, III/1 (Paris, 1907), pp. 375-521.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección General de Bellas Artes, Guía del Museo Arqueológico Nacional, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1965).

Monsalud, Marqués de, "El palacio real de Olite," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, IV (1913), pp. 109-114 and 149-153.

Morand, Kathleen, "'Les pleurants dans l'art du moyen âge en Europe' at Dijon," Burlington Magazine, CXIII (1971), pp. 620-624.

Müller, Theodor, Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Spain 1400-1500, Pelican History of Art (Baltimore, 1966).

Münzer, Jerónimo, Viage por España y Portugal 1494-1495, trans. José López Toro (Madrid, 1951).

Olcoz, Francisco de, "¿Cuando se inhumaron los restos de D. Juan de Beaumont en el mausoleo que mandó hacer en la iglesia del convento del crucifijo de Puente la Reina; en el año 1577 o en el año 1630...?," Príncipe de Viana, XVIII (1957), pp. 553-571.

Orueta, R[icardo] de, "Un escultor animalista del siglo XIV," Archivo español de arte y arqueología, I (1925), pp. 67-72.

----------, La expresión de dolor en la escultura castellana (Madrid, 1924).

Oyenart, Arnaldo de, Noticia de las dos Vasconias, la ibérica y la aquitana, trans. P. Javier Gorosterratzu from the 2nd ed. of 1656 (San Sebastian, 1929).

Pamplona, Germán de, "Los epitafios del sepulcro de Carlos III el noble," Príncipe de Viana, III (1942), pp. 31-36.

----------, "Un escudo enigmático en la iglesia y claustro catedrales de Pamplona, de capital importancia para fijar su cronología parcial," Príncipe de Viana, XVI (1955), pp. 401-407.

----------, Iconografía de la santísima Trinidad en el arte medieval español (Madrid, 1970).

Poleró [y Toledo], Vicente, Estatuas tumulares de personajes españolas de los siglos XIII al XVII (Madrid, 1902).

Ponz, Antonio, Viaje de España seguido de los dos tomos de viaje fuera de España (1772-1794), ed. Casto María del Rivero (Madrid, 1947).

Post, Chandler Rathfon, A History of Spanish Painting, 14 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1930-1966).

Pradel, Pierre, "Le tombeau de Pierre de Beauffremont, chambellan de Philippe le bon," Bulletin monumental, CXIII (1955), pp. 103-115.

----------, "Les tombiers français en Angleterre au XIVe siècle," Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 9ème série, III (1954), pp. 235-243.

Privat, Edouard, and David Cau-Durban, "L'art français en Navarre sous Charles le noble (1361-1425)," Mélanges Léonce Coutour: Etudes d'histoire méridionale dédiés à la mémoire de Léonce Coutour (Toulouse, 1902), pp. 245-255.

Quadrado, José María, España sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza é historia: Salamanca, Avila y Segovia (Barcelona, 1884).

Real Academia de la Historia, Diccionario geográfico-histórico de España, 2 vols (Madrid, 1802).

Ring, Grete, "Beiträge zur Plastik von Tournai im 15. Jahrhunderte," Belgische Kunstdenkmäler, ed. Paul Clemen, 2 vols. (Munich, 1923), I, pp. 269-291.

Roggen, D[omien], "Doornikse grafplastiek in het Sticht," Gentse bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis, XIII (1951), pp. 193-198.

----------, "Jehan Lomme en Klaas Sluter," Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis, XIII (1951), pp. 199-207.

----------, "Klaas Sluter voor zijn vertrek naar Dijon in 1385," Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis, XI (1945-1948), pp. 7-40.

----------, "Prae-sluteriaanse, sluteriaanse, post-sluteriaanse nederlandse sculptuur," Gentse bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis, XVI (1955-1956), pp. 111-191.

Rolland, Paul, "Dijon, Bruxelles et Tournai (le mouvement pre-sluterien)," Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, V (1935), pp. 335-344.

----------, "La sculpture funéraire tournaisienne et les origines de l'école de Dijon," La revue d'art, n. série, XXX (1929), pp. 11-34.

----------, La sculpture tournaisienne (Brussels, 1944).

Sáinz y P[érez] de Laborda, Mariano, Apuntes tudelanos, 2 vols. (Tudela, 1913-1914).

Sánchez Cantón, F. J., "El retablo viejo de San Benito el real de Valladolid en el Museo del Prado," Archivo español del arte, XIV (1941), pp. 272-278.

Sandoval, Prudencio de, Catálogo de los obispos, que ha tenido la santa iglesia de Pamplona, desde el año de ochenta, que fue el primero della el santo martyr Fermín, su natural ciudadano (Pamplona, 1614).

Santíssima Trinidad, Joachín de la, Historia de la ciudad de Tafalla (Pamplona, 1766).

Serrano Fatigati, Enrique, "Los claustros de Pamplona," Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones, IX (1901), pp. 163-171.

Soil de Moriamé, E. J., Les anciennes industries d'art tournaisiennes à l'exposition de 1911 (Tournai, 1912).

Tormo [y Monzó], E[lias], "Otra nueva obra conocida de Juan Lome," Cultura española, IX (1908), p. 182.

Torres Balbás, Leopoldo, "Etapas de Ia construcción de la catedral de Pamplona," Príncipe de Viana, VIII (1947), pp. 9-11.

----------, "Filiación arquitectónica de la catedral de Pamplona," Príncipe de Viana, VII (1946), pp. 471-508.

----------, "Rincones inéditos de antigua arquitectura española: El convento de Santo Domingo en Estella (Navarra)," Arquitectura: Organo oficial de la Sociedad Central de Arquitectos, III (1920), pp. 309-311.

Troescher, Georg, Die burgundische Plastik des ausgehenden Mittelalters und ihre Wirkungen auf die europäische Kunst, 2 vols. (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1940).

Uranga, José E., "Una fecha en la construcción de la catedral de Pamplona," Príncipe de Viana, IV (1943), p. 165.

----------, "El sepulcro de mosén Francés," Príncipe de Viana, X (1949), pp. 227-240.

Vázquez de Parga, Luis, "El claustro de la catedral de Pamplona, iconografía de los capiteles," Príncipe de Viana, VII (1946), pp. 621-627.

----------, "La dormición de la Virgen en la catedral de Pamplona," Príncipe de Viana, VII (1946), pp. 243-258.

----------, "El maestro del refectorio de Pamplona," Príncipe de Viana, IX (1948), pp. 145-152.

Vetter, Ewald M., "Iconografía del 'Varón de dolores,' su significado y origin," Archivo español del arte, XXXVI (1963), pp. 197-231.

Viñaza, [Cipriano Muñoz y Manzano,] conde de la, Adiciones al diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1889-[1894]).

Vitry, Paul, and Gaston Brière, L'église abbatiale de Saint-Denis et ses tombeaux (Paris, 1908).

Wixom, William D., "The Hours of Charles the Noble," The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, LII (1965), pp. 50-83.

Yanguas y Miranda, José, Adiciones al diccionario de antigüedades del reino de Navarra (Pamplona, 1843).

----------, Diccionario de antigüedades del reino de Navarra, 3 vols. (Pamplona, 1840).

----------, Diccionario de las palabras anticuadas que contienen los documentos existentes en los archivos de Navarra (Pamplona, 1854).

Yárnoz, José, "Palacio real de Olite, restauración de la torre de los cuatro vientos," Príncipe de Viana, II, no. 2 (1941), pp. 13-35.

Yárnoz Larrosa, José, and Javier Yárnoz Larrosa, "La restauración del palacio real de Olite," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, XVI (1925), pp. 315-376.

[Zubeldía Inda, Néstor], La s[anta] i[glesia] catedral de Pamplona: Descripción de la misma y relación de sus valores artísticos e históricos (Pamplona, 1930).

Zunzunegui, José, "El cardenal de Pamplona Martín de Zalba," Príncipe de Viana, II, no. 2 (1941), pp. 86-94.

----------, El reino de Navarra y su obispado de Pamplona durante la primera época del cisma de occidente (San Sebastian, 1942).

JEHAN LOME AND LATE GOTHIC SCULPTURE IN NAVARRE

Volume II

by
Richard Steven Janke

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History of Art)
in The University of Michigan
1973

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Emeritus Harold E. Wethey, Chairman
Associate Professor Ilene H. Forsyth
Professor Charles Gibson
Associate Professor Clifton Olds

APPENDIX

ILLUSTRATIONS

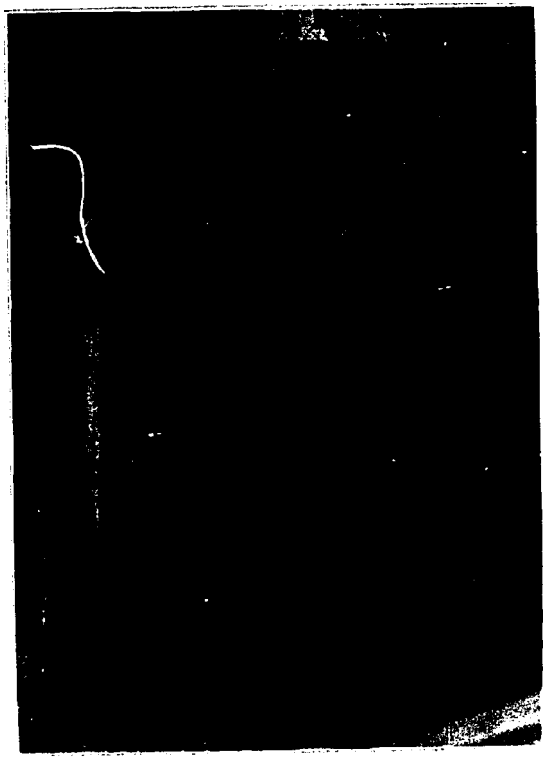


Fig. 1. Commemorative relief, Pamplona, Cathedral

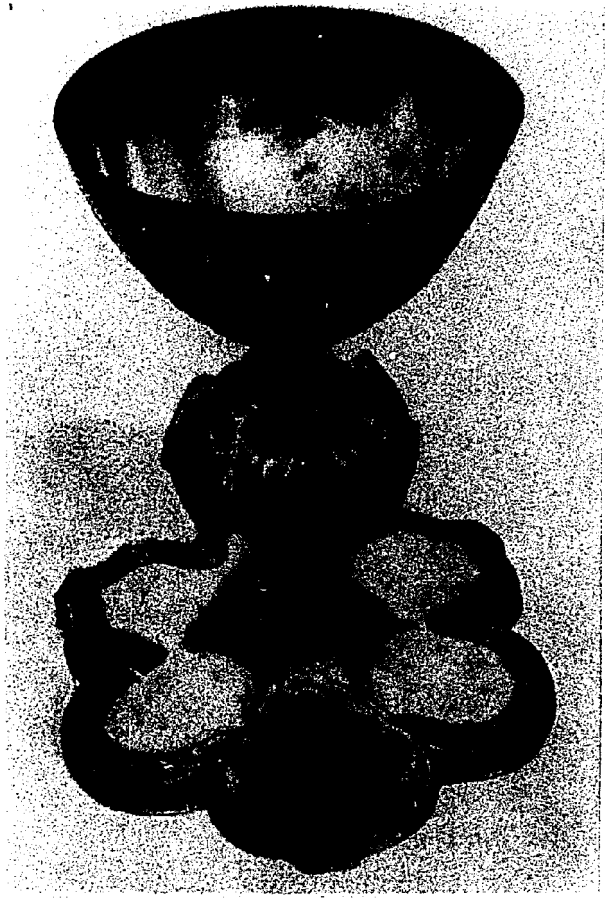


Fig. 2. Francesco de Sepúlveda, Chalice, Pamplona, Museo de Navarra (Photo: Castro)

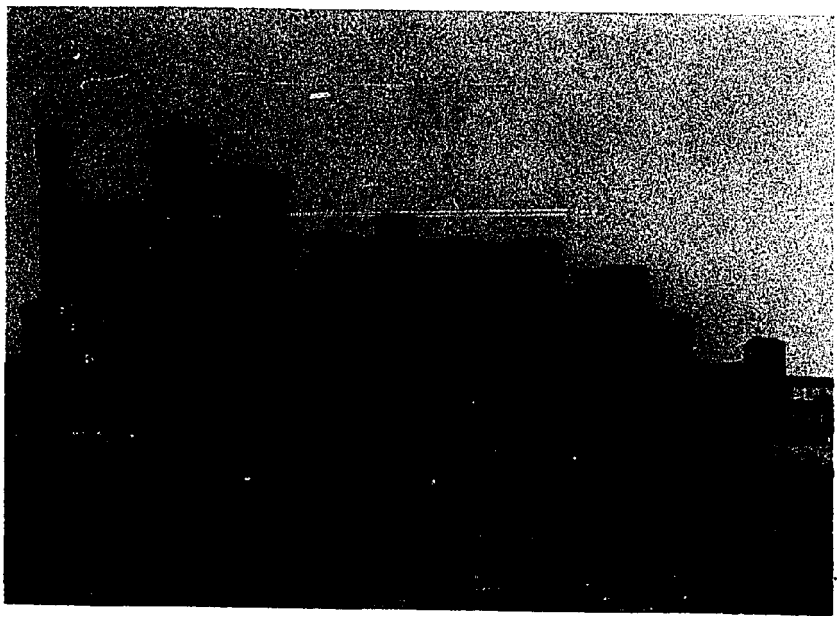


Fig. 3. Palace of Olite as seen in the nineteenth century (Photo: Madrazo)



Fig. 4. Palace of Olite after the restoration (Photo: Uranga)

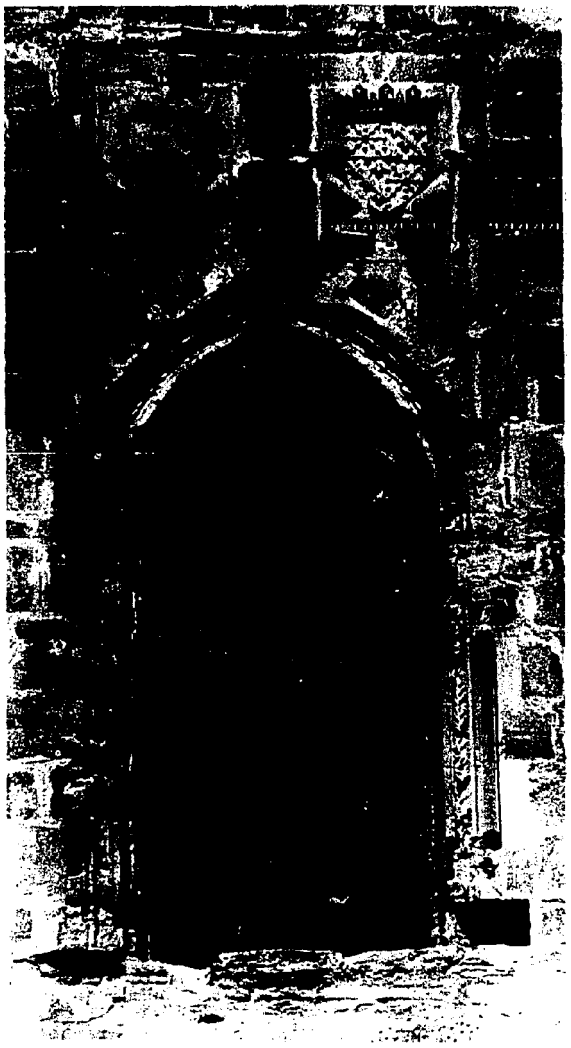


Fig. 5. First window of the Great Hall of the Palace of Olite, exterior

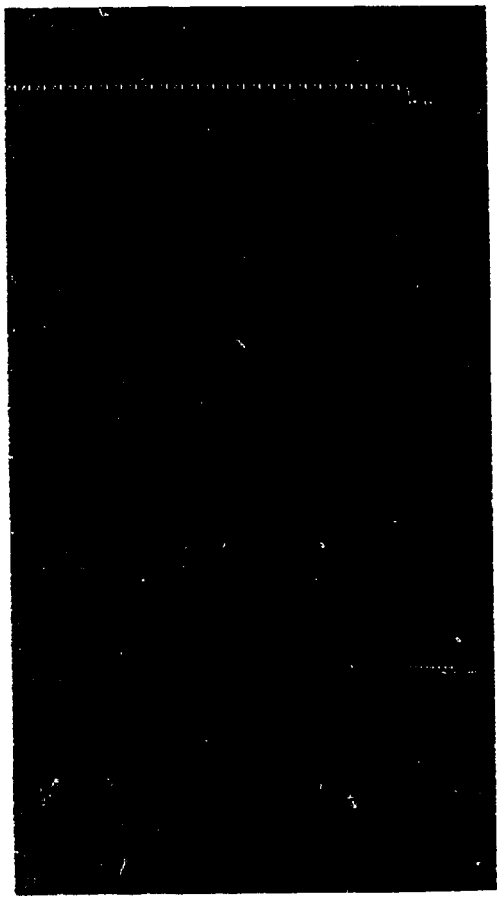


Fig. 6. First window of the Great Hall of the Palace of Olite, interior detail

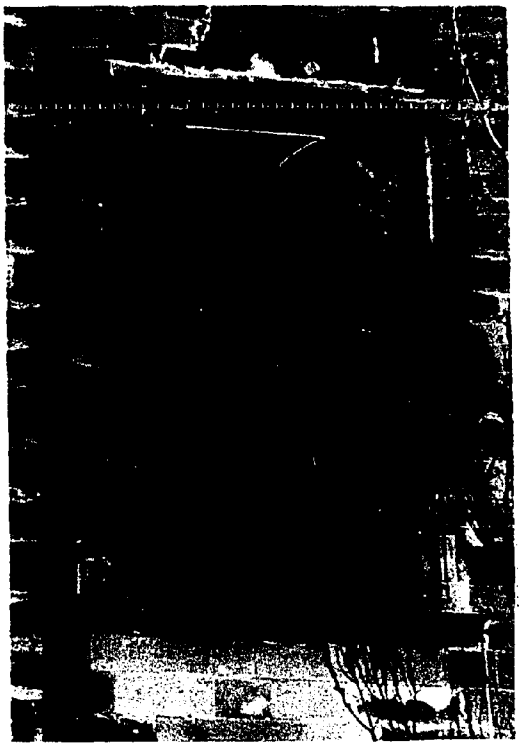


Fig. 7. Second window of the Great Hall of the Palace of Olite, exterior



Fig. 8. Corbel, Olite, Palace



Fig. 9. Corbel, Olite, Palace



Fig. 10. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, Pamplona, Cathedral (Photo: Roisin)

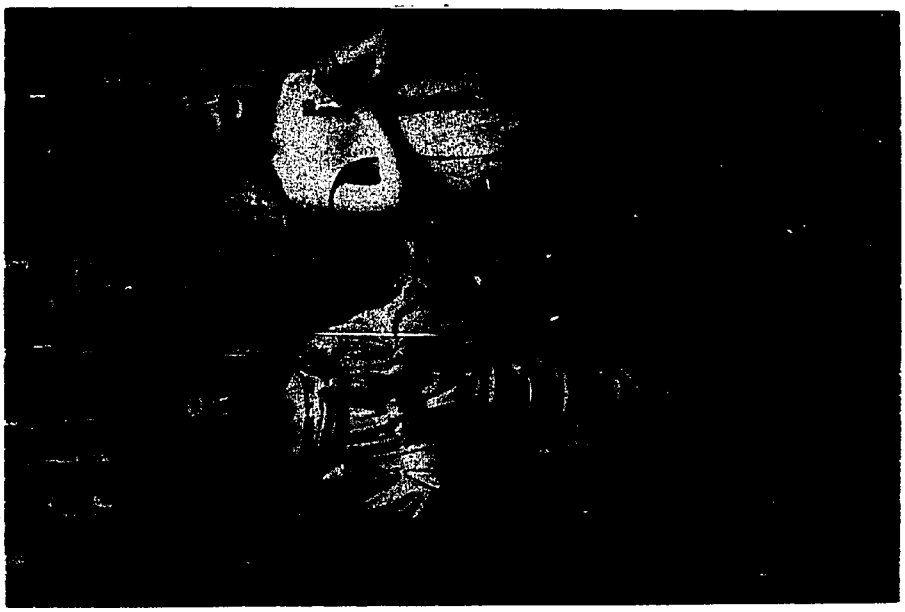


Fig. 11. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor (Photo: Archivo Mas)



Fig. 12. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, effigy of Charles III, bust



Fig. 13. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, effigy of Charles III



Fig. 14. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, effigy of Charles III, the lion



Fig. 15. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, effigy of doña Leonor, the dogs



Fig. 16. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, effigy of doña Leonor, bust

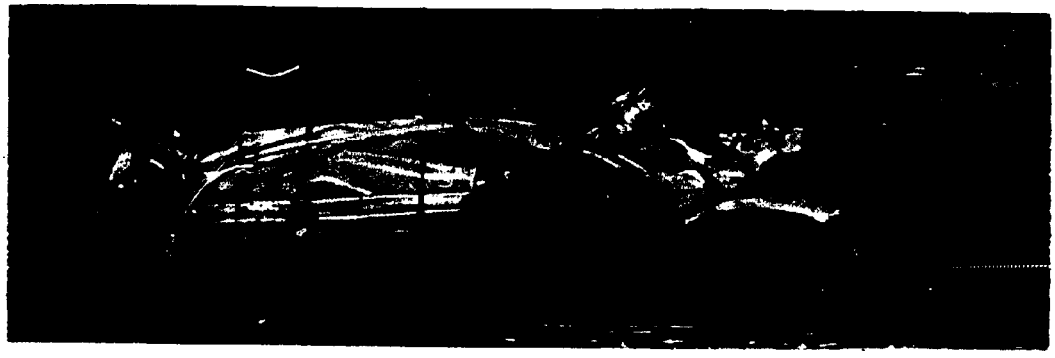


Fig. 17. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, effigy of doña Leonor



Fig. 18. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant, cardinal



Fig. 19. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant, cardinal



Fig. 20. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant, bishop



Fig. 21. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant, bishop

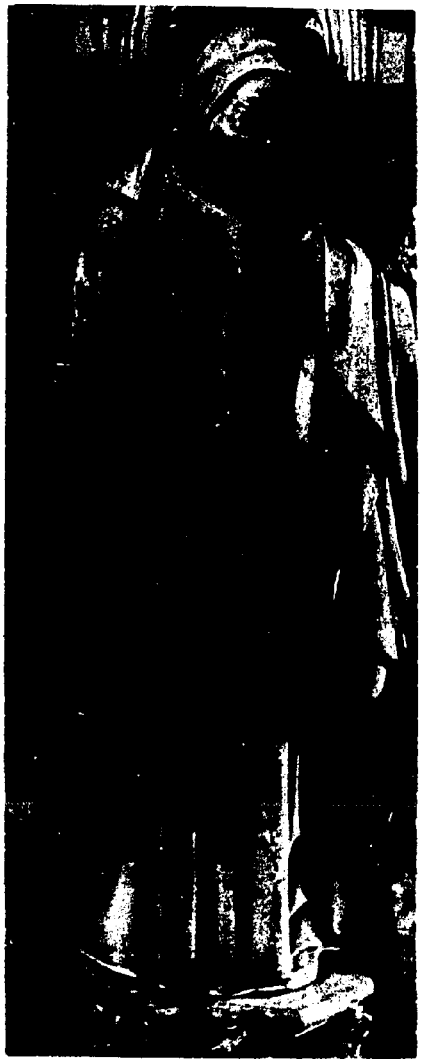


Fig. 22. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant, canon



Fig. 23. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant, canon



Fig. 24. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant

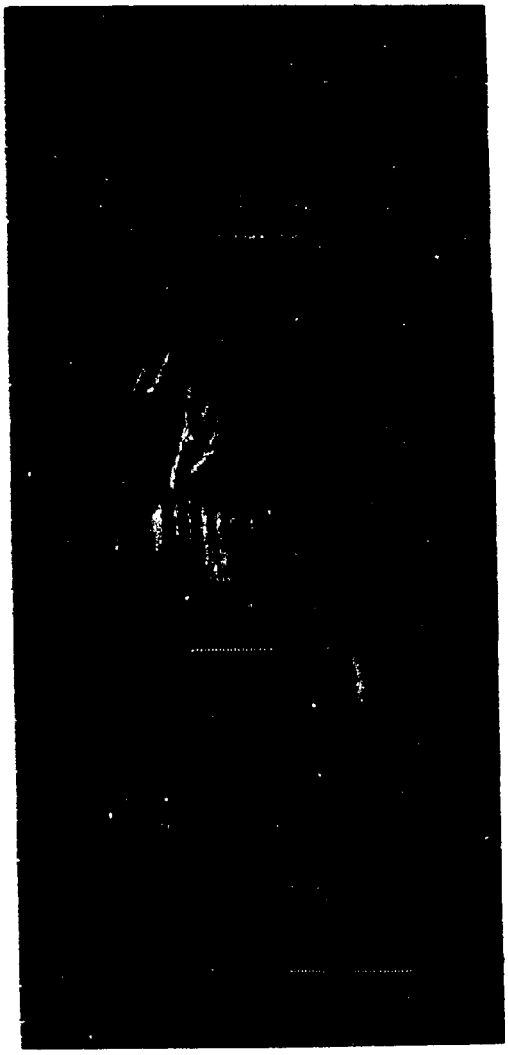


Fig. 25. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 26. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 27. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant

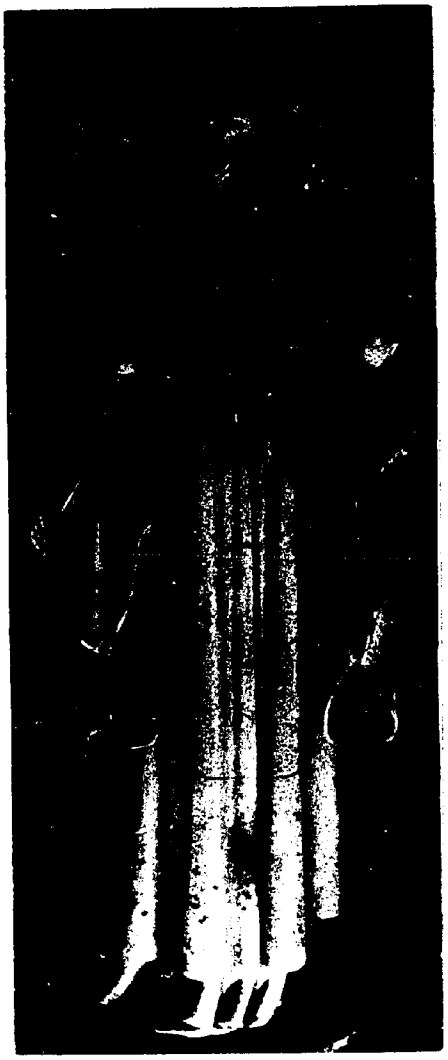


Fig. 28. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 29. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 30. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 31. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 32. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant

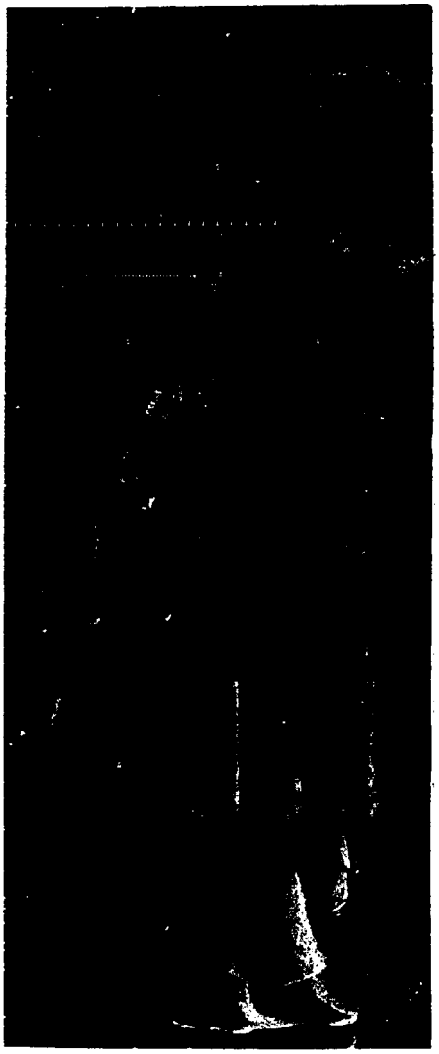


Fig. 33. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 34. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 35. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 36. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 37. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 38. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 39. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 40. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 41. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 42. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 43. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 44. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 45. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, pleurant



Fig. 46. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, canopies above pleurants (Photo: Archivo Mas)



Fig. 47. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, baldachin above the head of doña Leonor

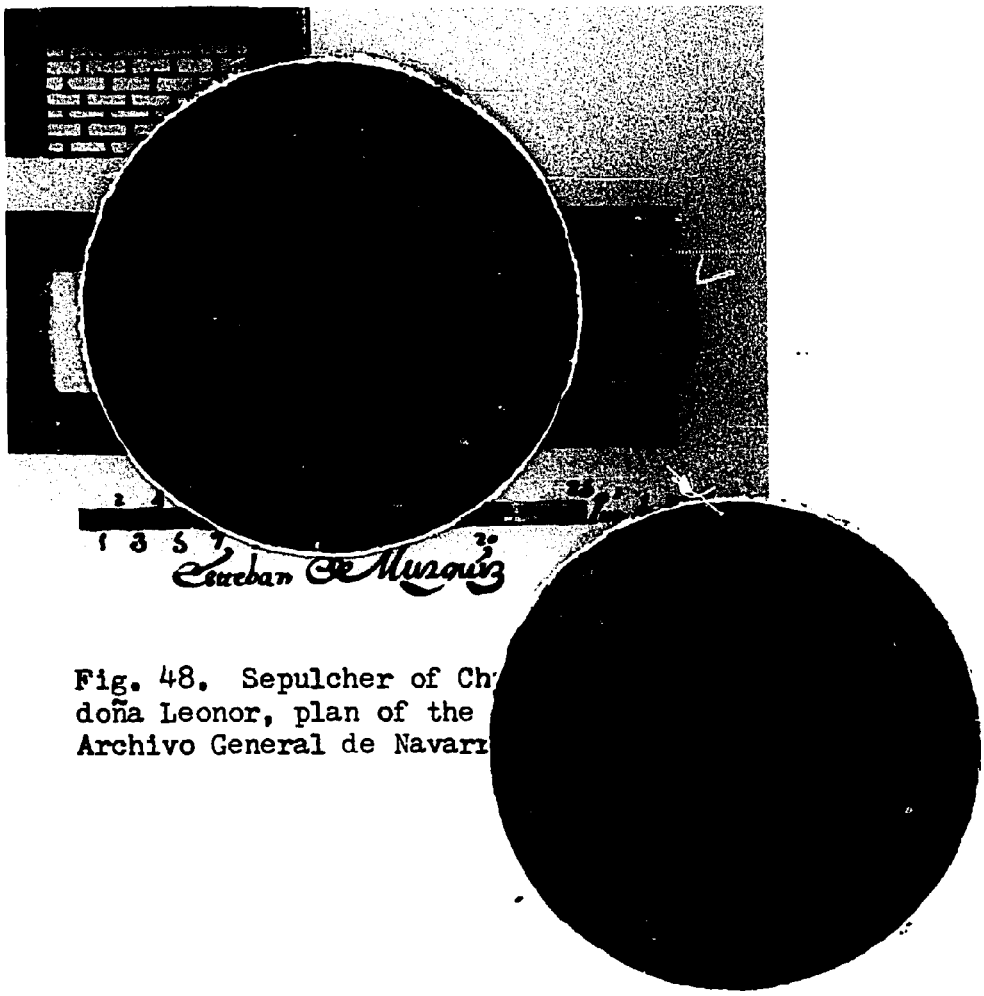


Fig. 48. Sepulcher of Ch
doña Leonor, plan of the
Archivo General de Navarr



TOMBEAU *de marbre au milieu de la Chapelle de S.te Hipolite dans l'Eglise de l'Abbaye de S.t Denis. Il est de* **BLANCHE DE NAVARRE**, *Seconde femme du Roy Philippes de Valois et de Jeanne leur fille, d'autour qui escrit.*

Cy gisent dames de bonne memoire madame blanche par la grace de Dieu royne de france fille de Philipe roy de navarre conte dEureux et de la royne Jehanne fille de roy de france royne de navarre de son heritage sa femme espouse jadis du roy philipe le veray Catholique et madame Jehanne de france leur fille qui trespasserent cest ajasoir ladite madame Jehanne a besiers le vj.e jour de septembre 1373, et ladite royne le 5.e jour de octobre 1398, priez pour elles.

Fig. 49. Tomb of Blanche of Navarre, from the Gagnières Collection (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

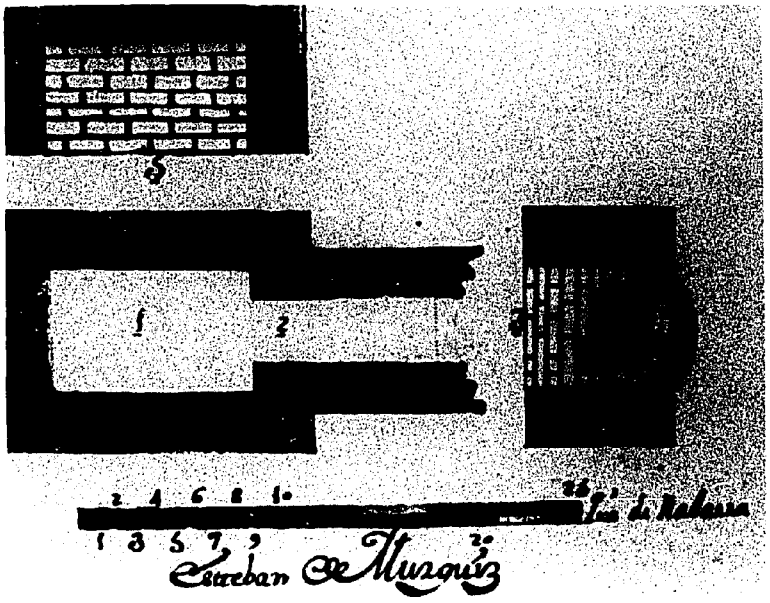


Fig. 48. Sepulcher of Charles III and doña Leonor, plan of the vault (Photo: Archivo General de Navarra)



TOMBEAU de marbre au milieu de la chapelle de St Hipolite dans l'église de l'Abbaye de St Denis. Il est de BLANCHE DE NAVARRE, seconde femme du Roy Philipes de Valois et de Jeanne leur fille. L'auteur dit ecrit.

Cy gisent dames de bonne memoire madame blanche par la grace de Dieu royne de france fille de Philipe roy de navarre conte dEureux et de la royne Jehanne fille de roy de france royne de navarre de son heritage sa femme espouse jadis du roy philipe le vray catholique et madame Jehanne de france iouuenille qui trespasserent cest assauoir ladite madame Jehanne a besiers le xx jour de septembre 1373. et ladite royne le 5 jour de octobre 1398. priez pour elles.

Fig. 49. Tomb of Blanche of Navarre, from the Gagnières Collection (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

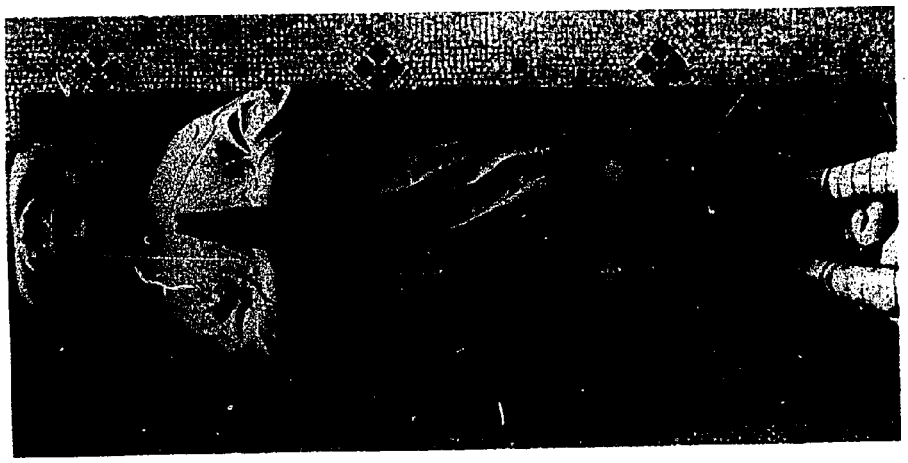


Fig. 50. Tomb of Pierre of Navarre-Evreux, effigy, Paris, Louvre (Photo: Foto Marburg)



Fig. 51. Tomb of Pierre of Navarre-Evreux, from the Gagnières Collection (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

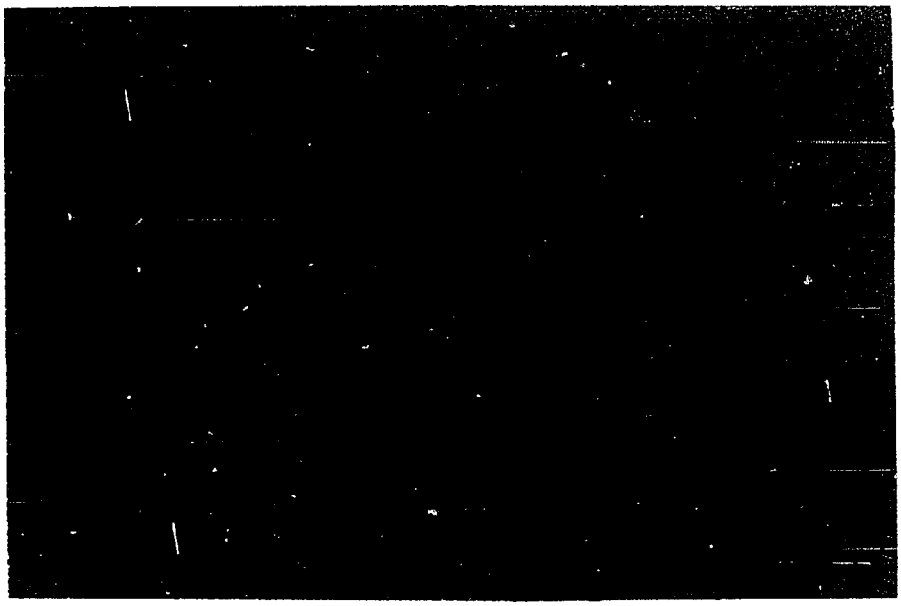


Fig. 52. Chair from the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo)



Fig. 53. Chair from the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo)

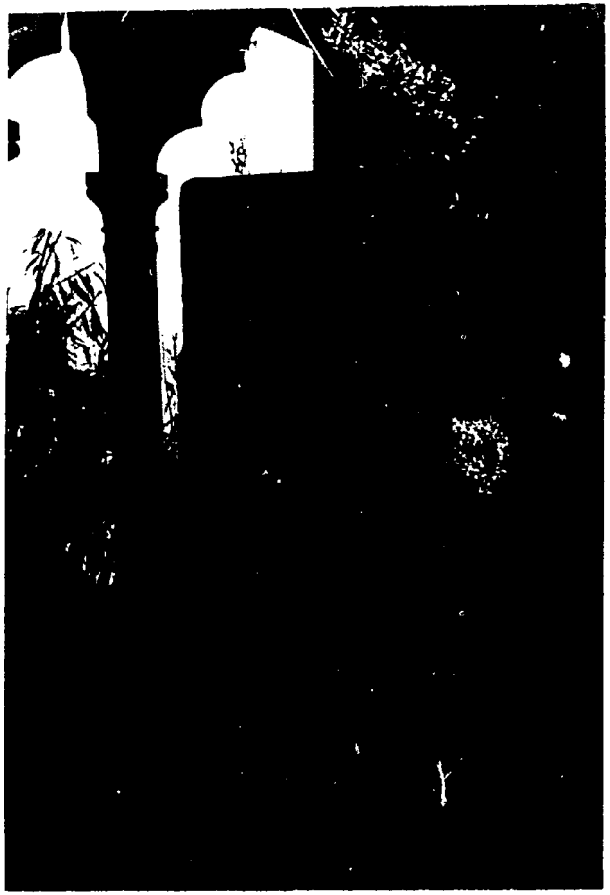


Fig. 54. Chair from the Palace of Tafalla, now in the possession of the Astrain family

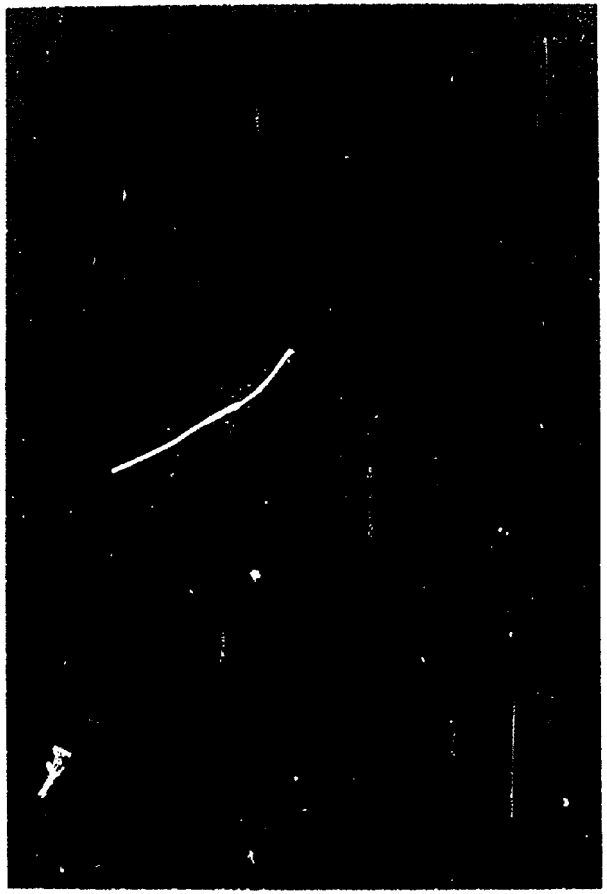


Fig. 55. Window of the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo)

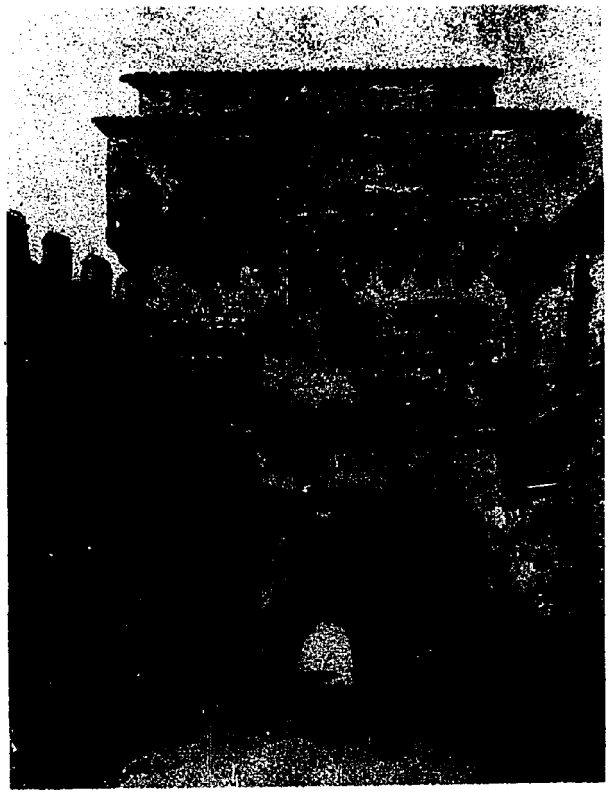


Fig. 56. Entrance tower of the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo)

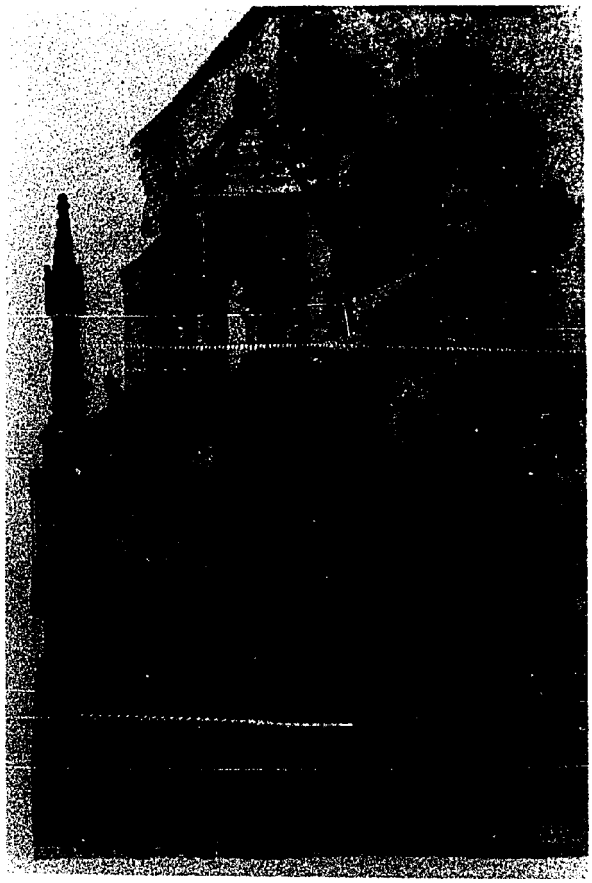


Fig. 57. View of the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo)



Fig. 58. Belvedere of the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo)

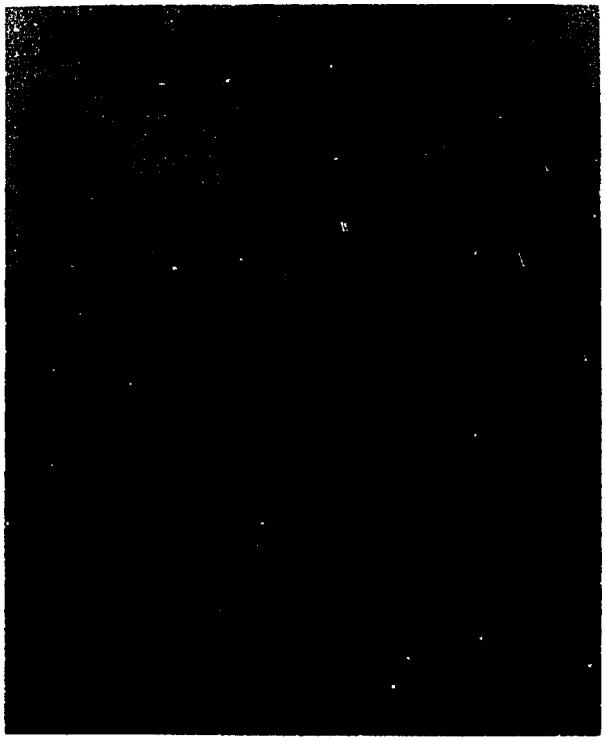


Fig. 59. Belvedere of the Palace of Tafalla (Photo: Madrazo)

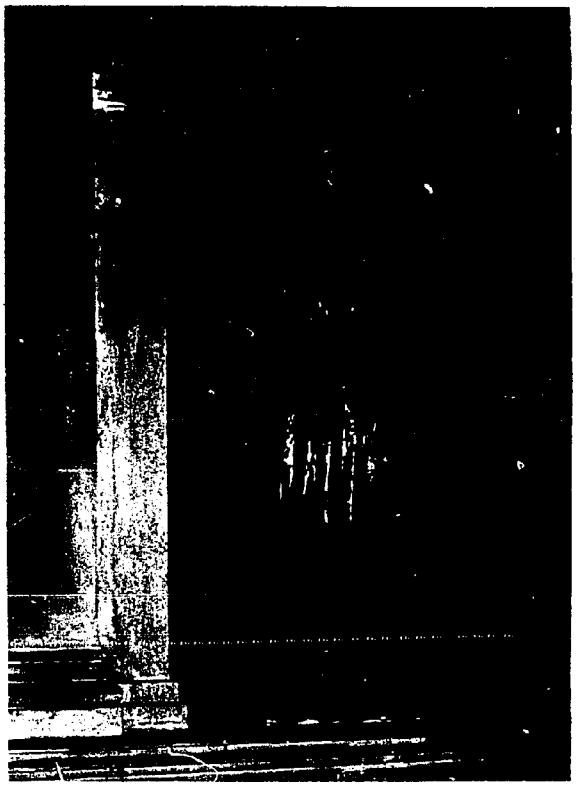


Fig. 60. St. Sebastian, Tafalla, Sta. María.



Fig. 61. St. Sebastian, detail

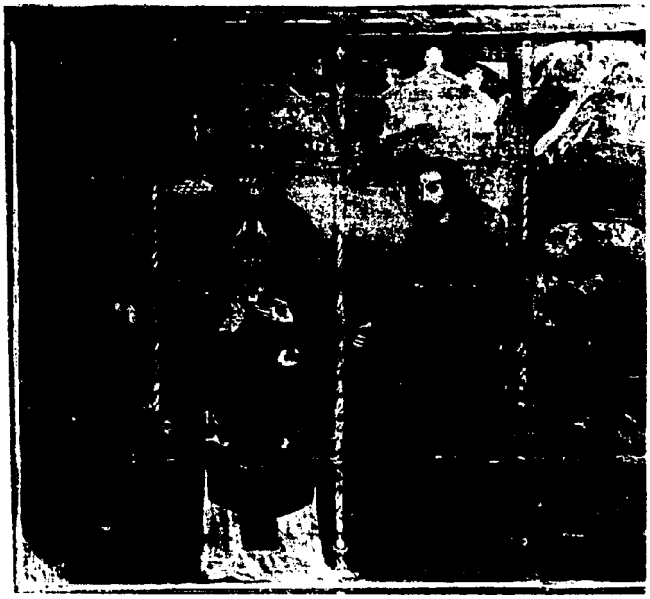


Fig. 62. Retable of SS. Sebastian and Nicasius, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Photo: Museo Arqueológico Nacional)



Fig. 63. St. Sebastian, Collection of J. Escudero, Corella, Navarre (Photo: Archivo Mas)

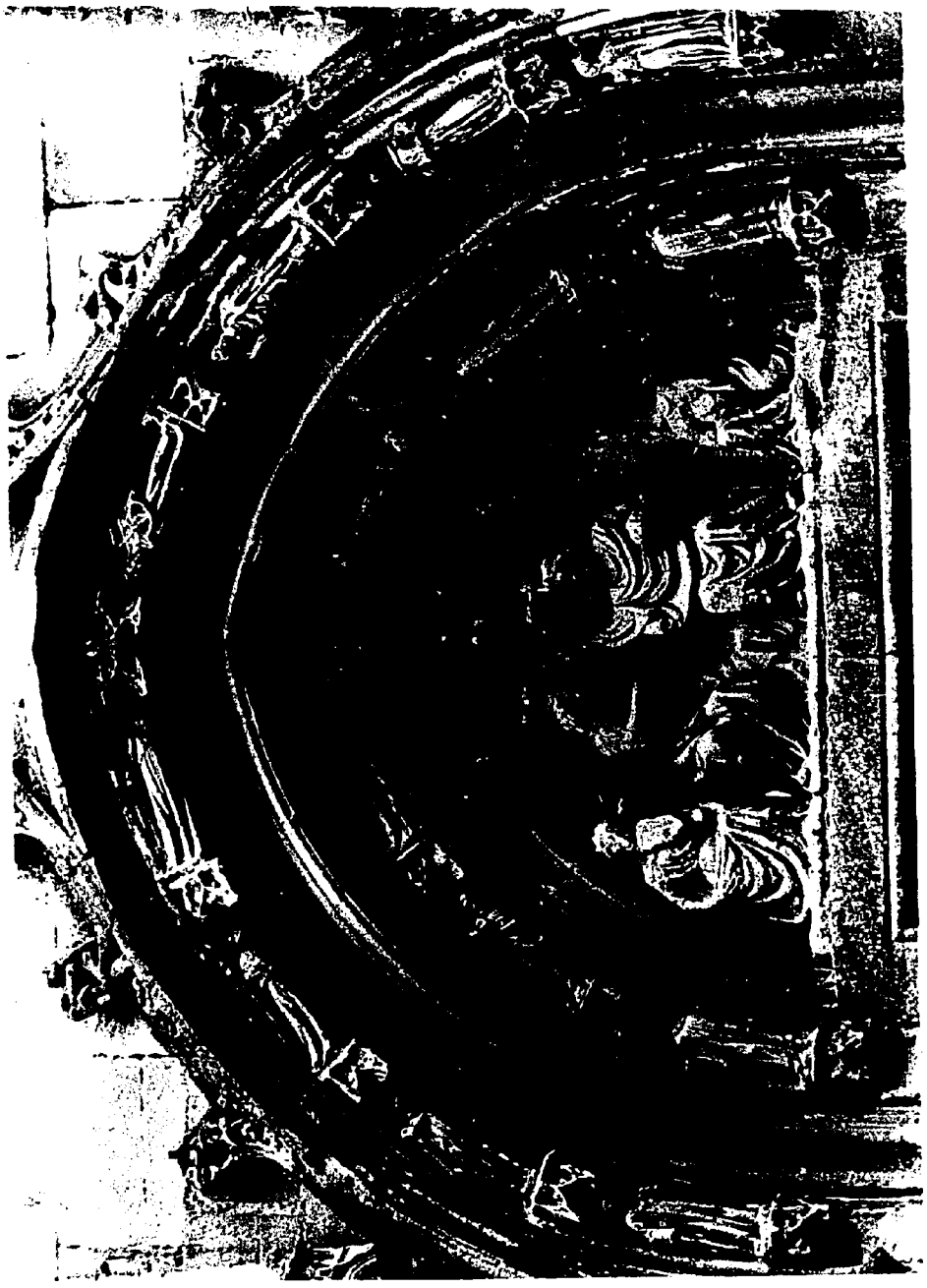


Fig. 64. North transept portal, archivolts and tympanum, Pamplona, Cathedral



Fig. 65. North transept portal, outer archivolt, top



Fig. 66. North transept portal, upper portion



Fig. 67. North transept portal, outer archivolt, top left

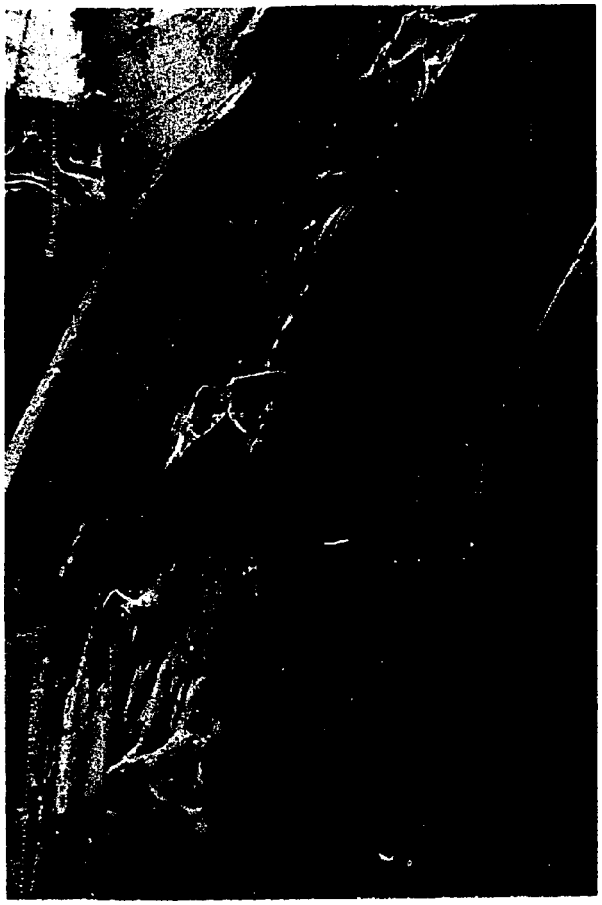


Fig. 68. North transept portal, outer archivolt, bottom left

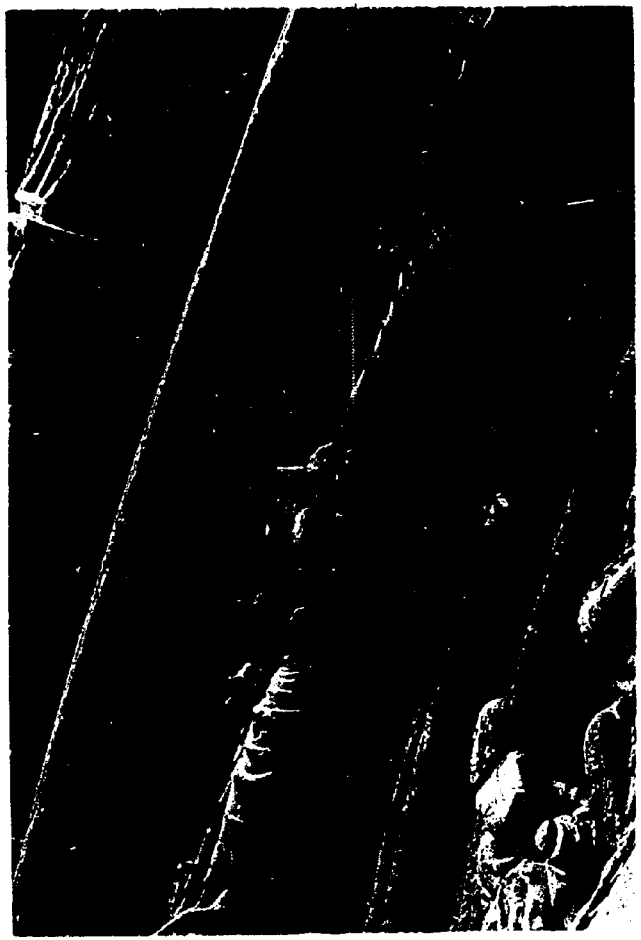


Fig. 69. North transept portal, inner archivolt, top left



Fig. 70. North transept portal, inner archivolt, bottom left

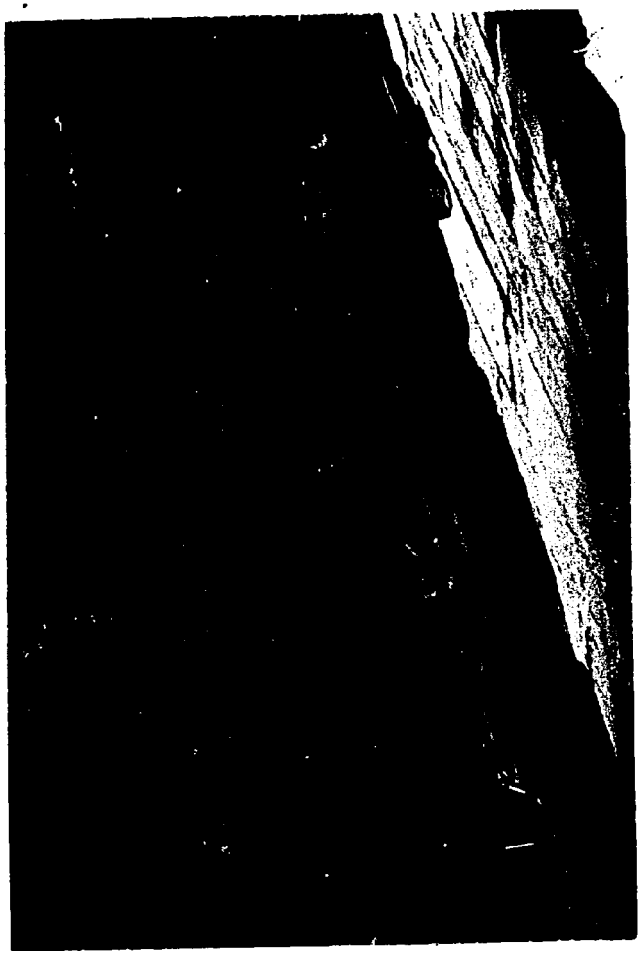


Fig. 71. North transept portal, outer archivolt, top right

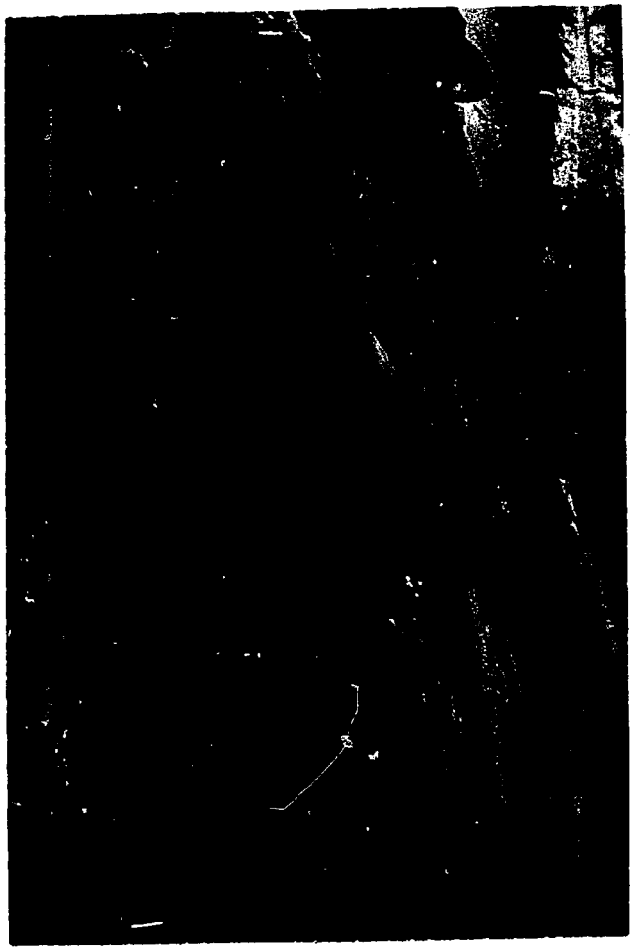


Fig. 72. North transept portal, outer archivolt, bottom right

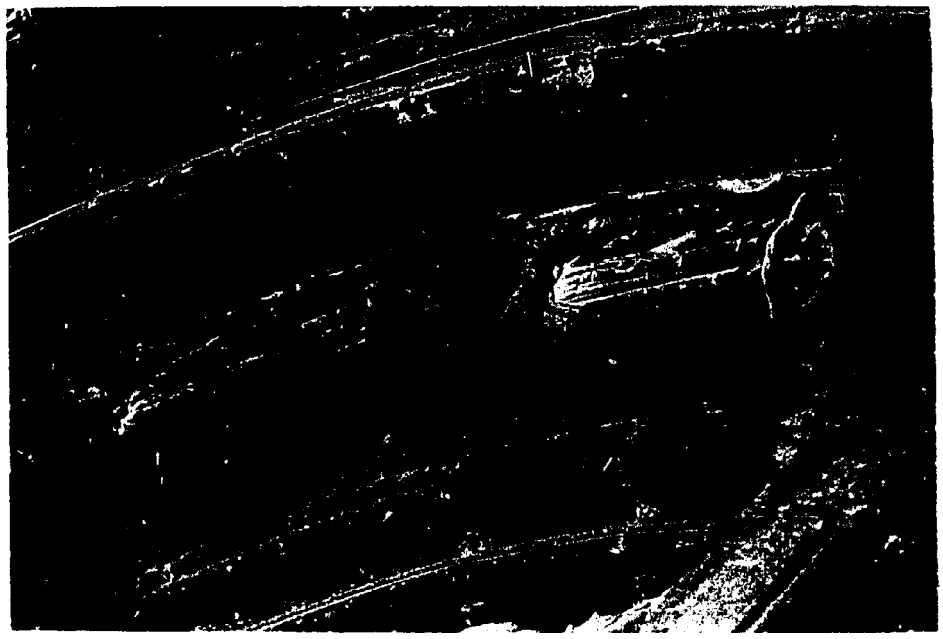


Fig. 74. North transept portal, inner archivolt, bottom right



Fig. 73. North transept portal, inner archivolt, top right



Fig. 75. North transept portal, angel corbel, left



Fig. 76. North transept portal, angel corbel, right

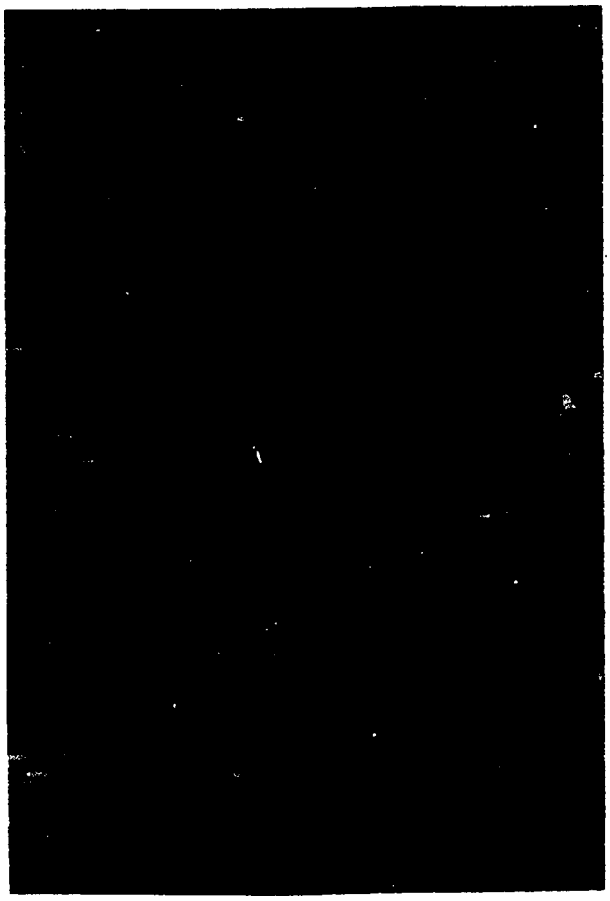


Fig. 77. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, Tudela, Sta. María

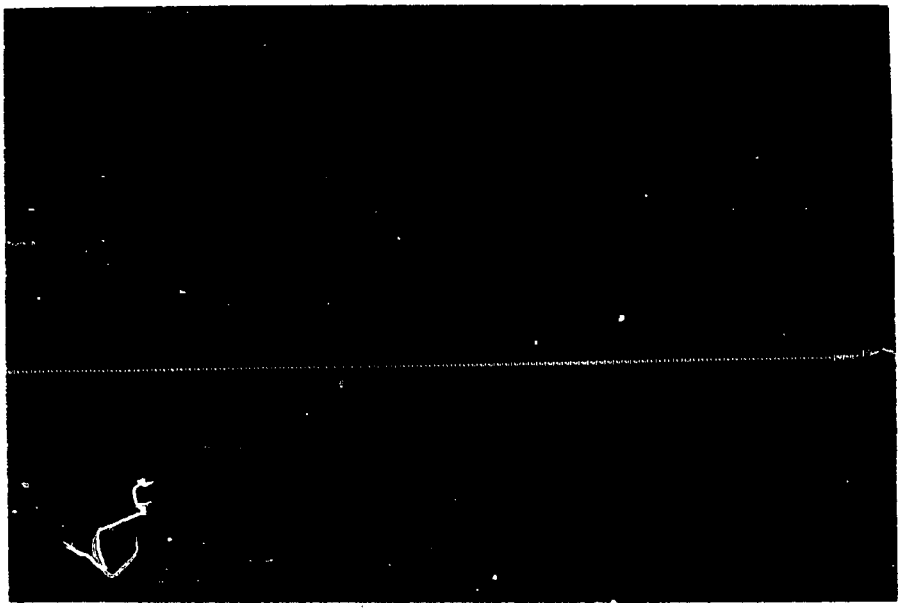


Fig. 78. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, effigy

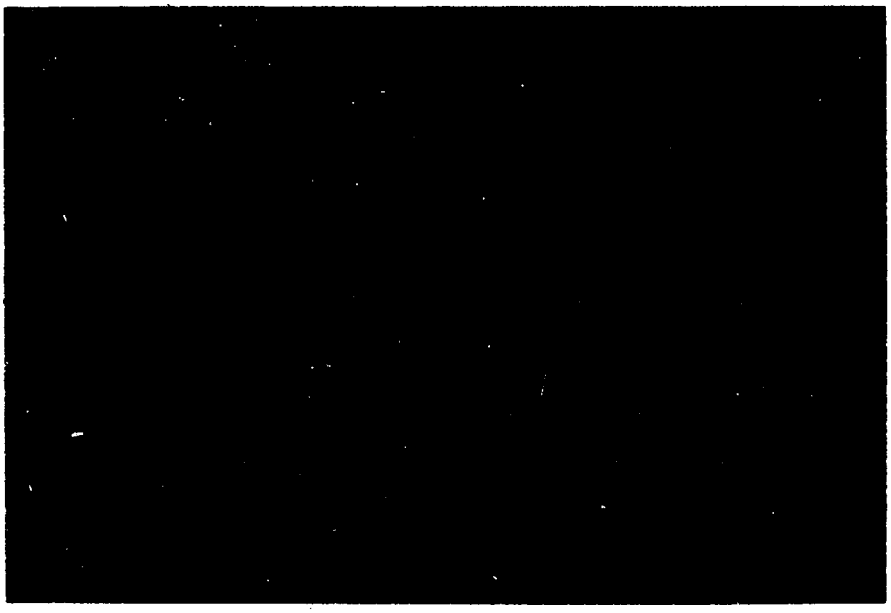


Fig. 79. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, effigy, head

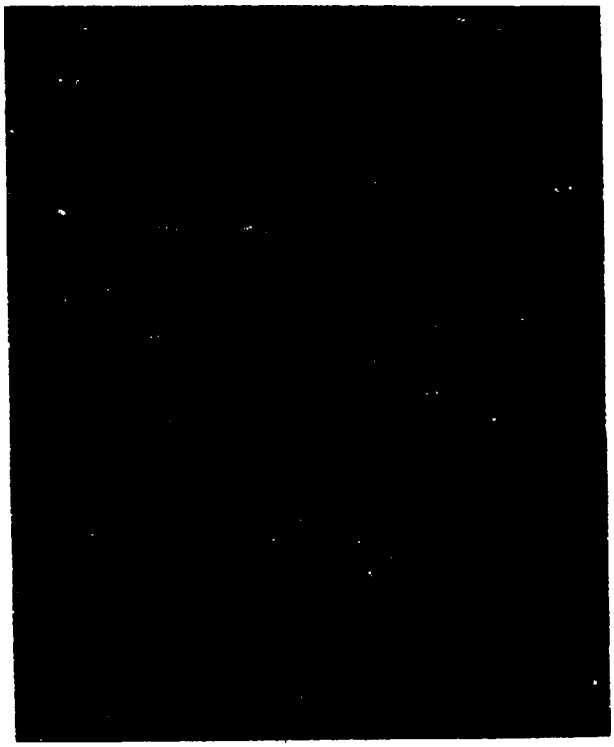


Fig. 80. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, effigy, detail



Fig. 81. Tomb of Miguel Sánchez de Asiain, Pamplona, Cathedral

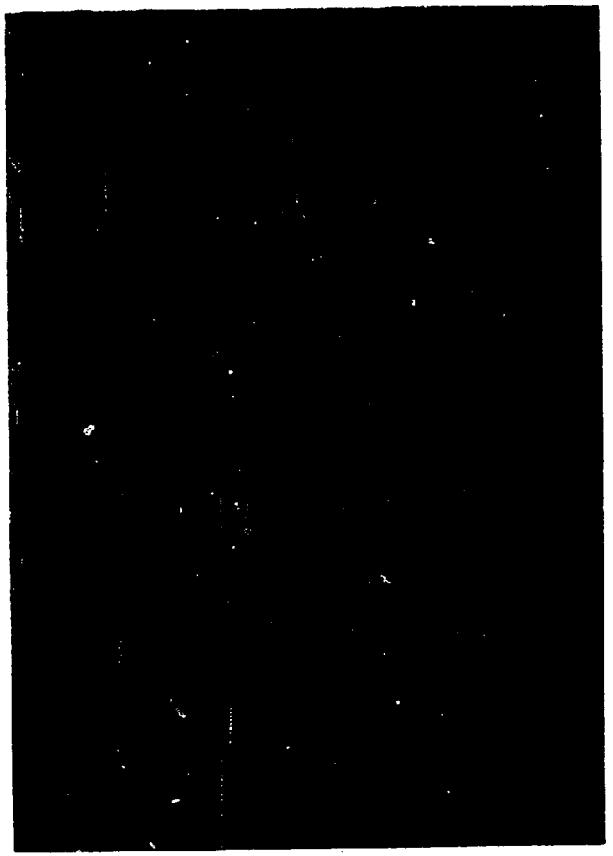


Fig. 82. Tomb of Miguel Sánchez de Asiain, detail (Photo: Archivo Mas)

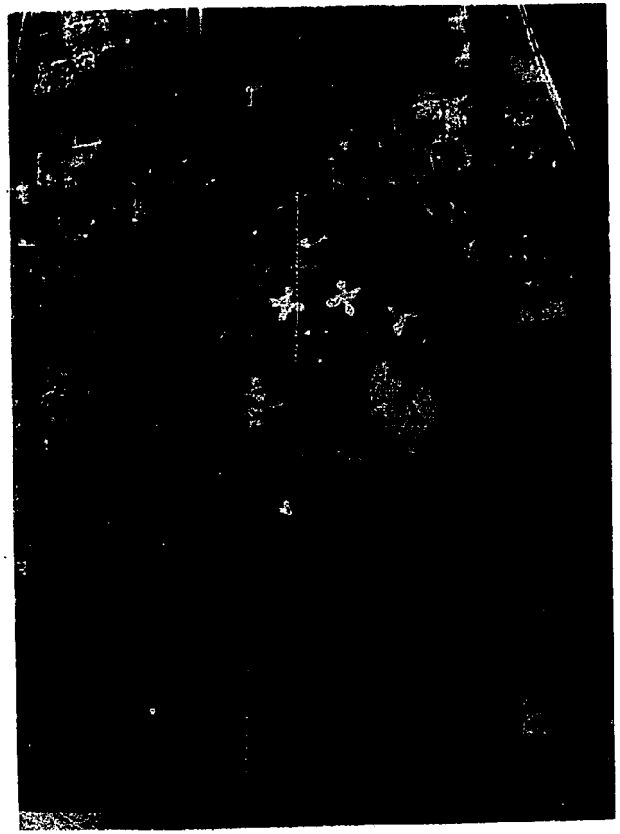


Fig. 83. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, Pamplona, Cathedral (Photo: Marichalar)

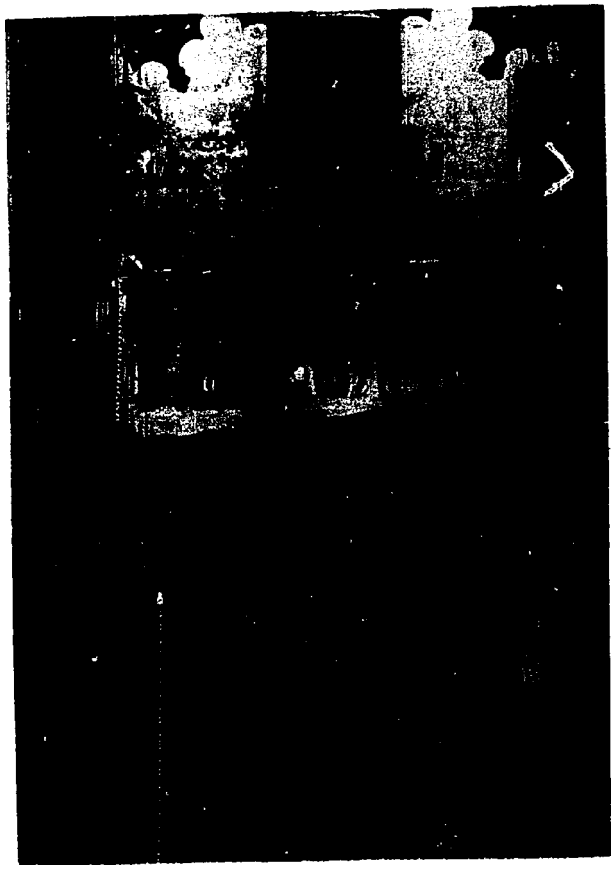


Fig. 84. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza (Photo: Archivo Mas)

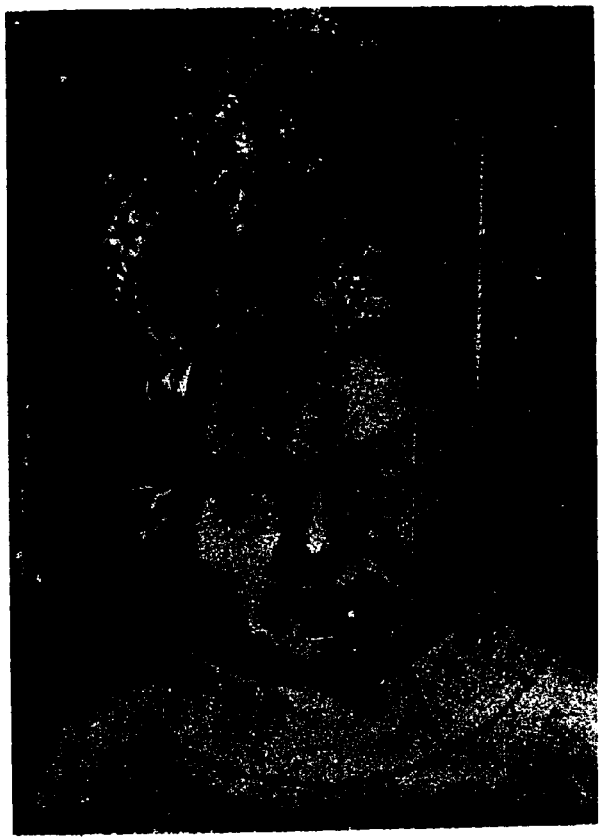


Fig. 85. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, face of effigy (Photo: Marichalar)

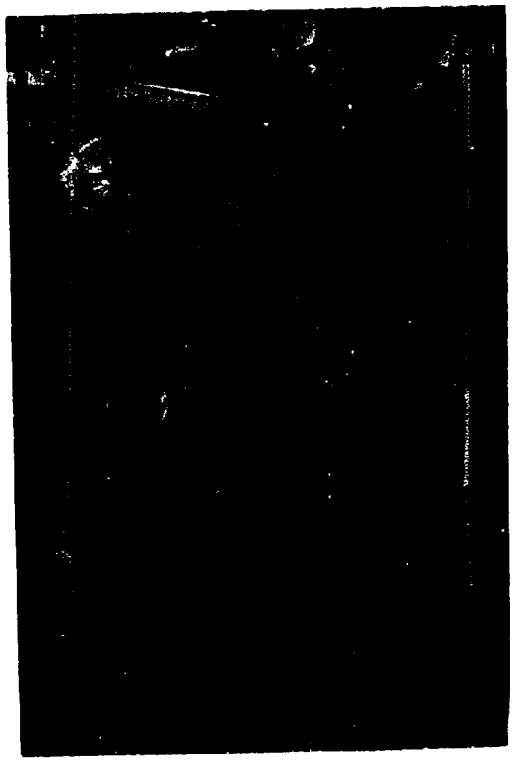


Fig. 86. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, relief, left wall



Fig. 87. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, relief, rear wall, left



Fig. 88. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, relief, rear wall, center



Fig. 89. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, relief, rear wall, right

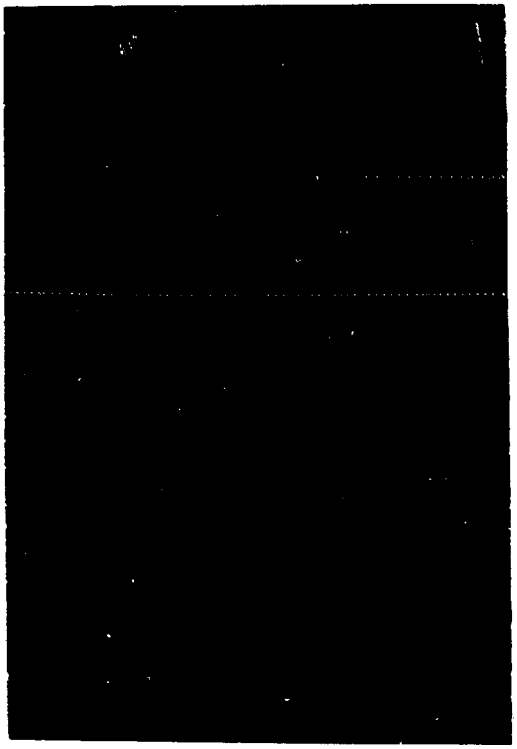


Fig. 90. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, relief, right wall

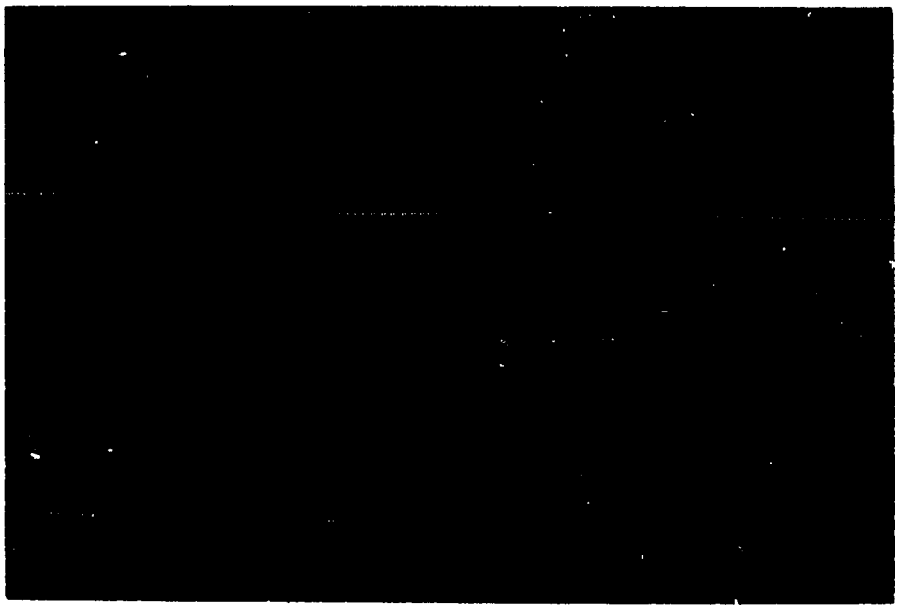


Fig. 91. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, weepers, left



Fig. 92. Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, weepers, right



Fig. 93. Villaespesa Sepulcher, Tudela, Sta. María (Photo: Archivo Mas)



Fig. 94. Villaespesa Sepulcher, effigies (Photo: Archivo Mas)

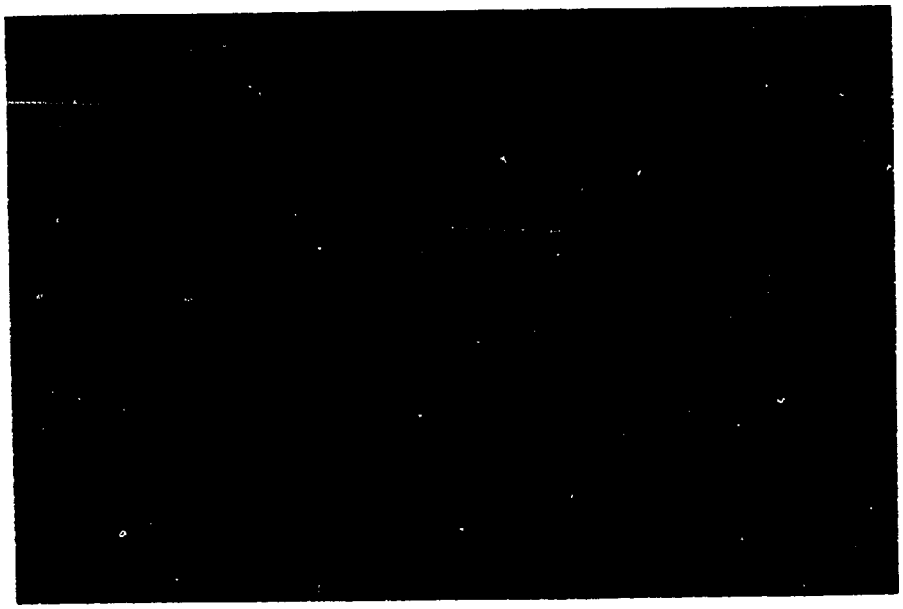


Fig. 95. Villaespesa Sepulcher, effigy of doña Isabel, head



Fig. 96. Villaespesa Sepulcher, effigy of mosén Francés, head

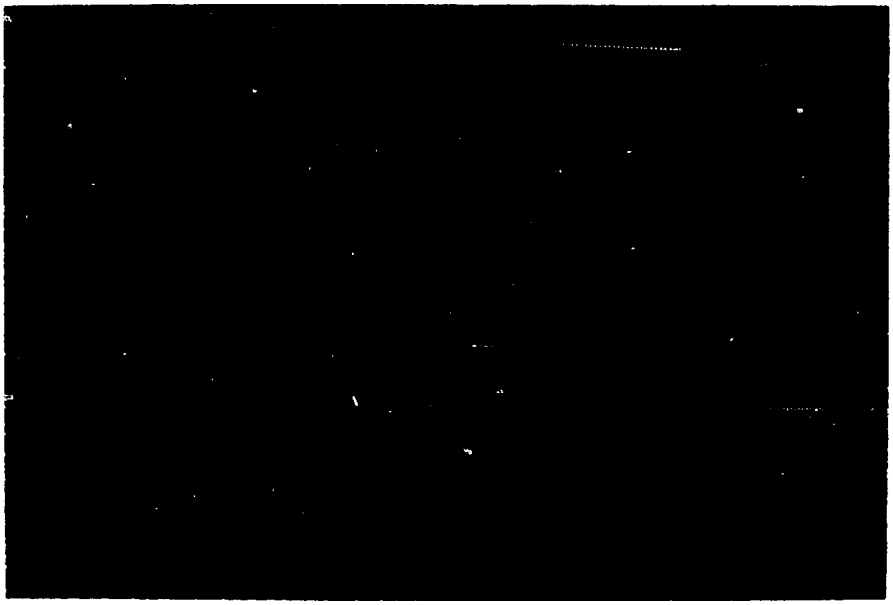


Fig. 97. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, Trinity and Man of Sorrows



Fig. 98. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, Man of Sorrows



Fig. 100. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, right wall

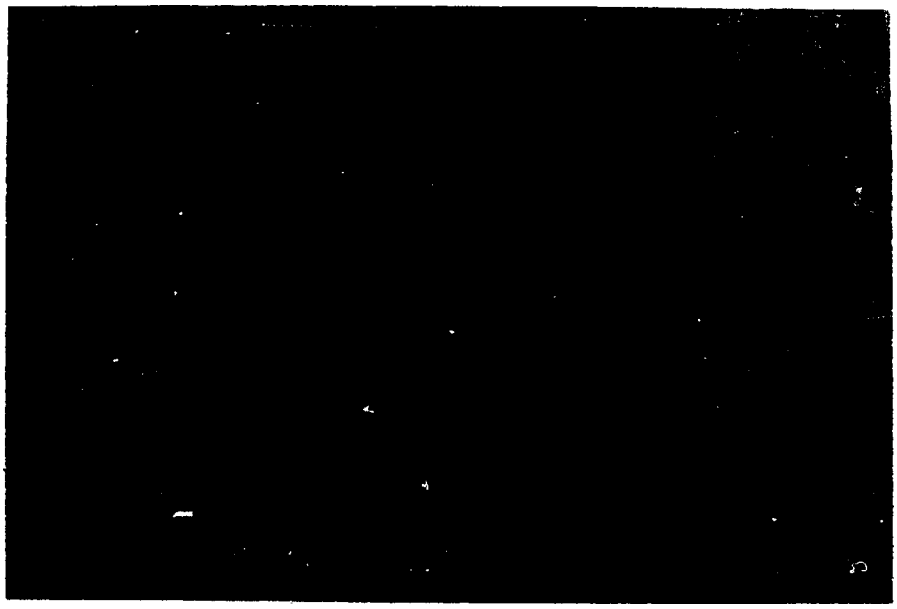


Fig. 99. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, left wall

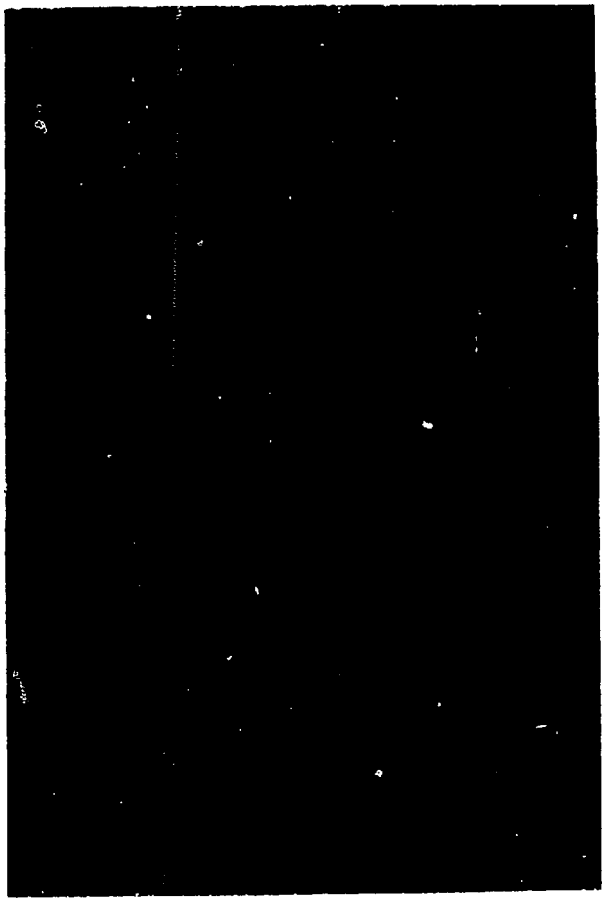


Fig. 101. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, obsequies, rear wall, left

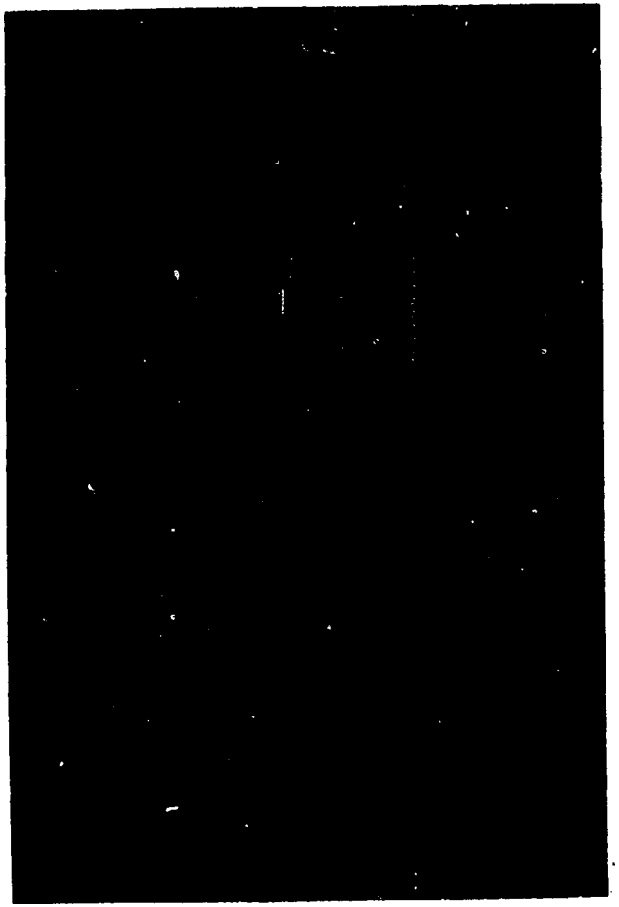


Fig. 102. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, obsequies, rear wall, right



Fig. 103. Villaespesa Sepulcher, reliefs, obsequies, rear wall, center



Fig. 104. Villaespesa Sepulcher, detail

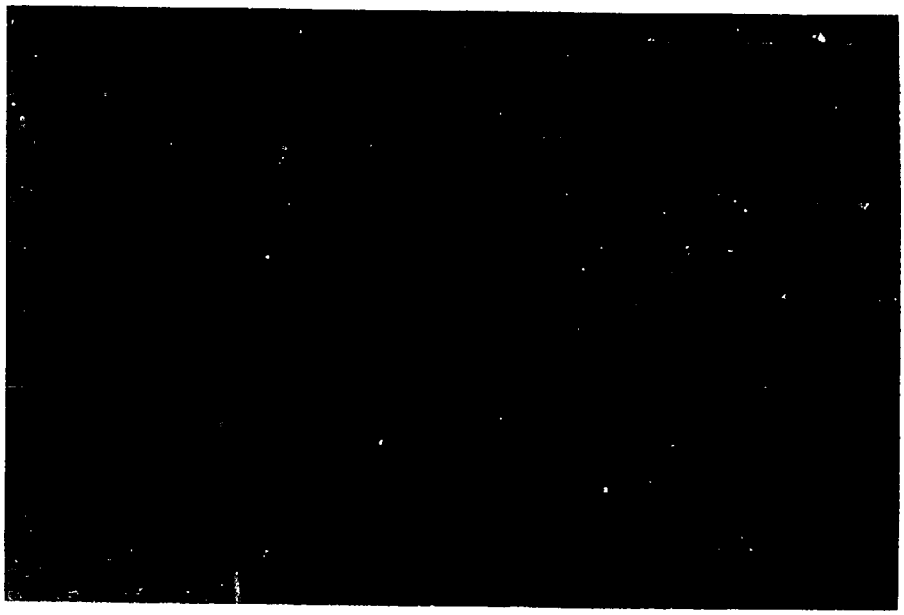


Fig. 105. Villaespesa Sepulcher, weepers, left

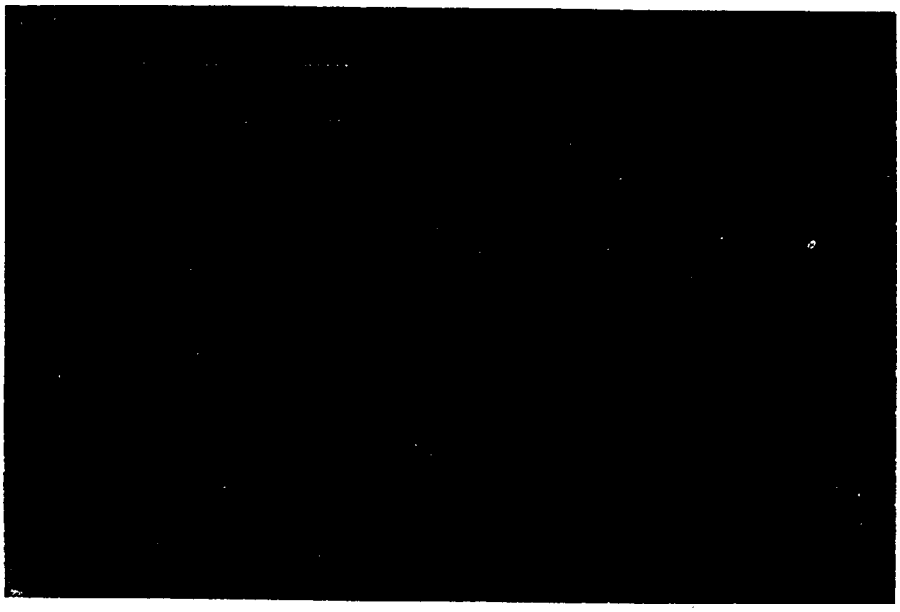


Fig. 106. Villaespesa Sepulcher, weepers, right

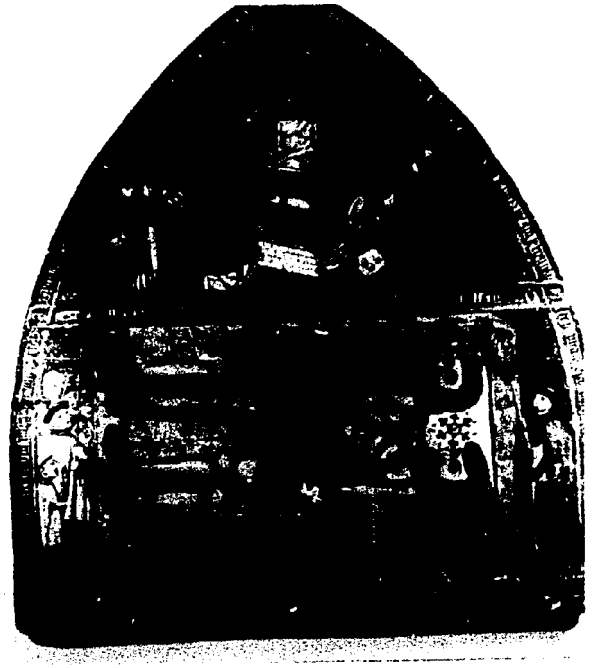


Fig. 107. Sepulcral panel of the Knights Juan Velasques, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Photo: Museo Arqueológico Nacional)



Fig. 108. Old Retable of San Benito el Real, Mass of St. Gregory, Madrid, Museo del Prado (Photo: Museo del Prado)

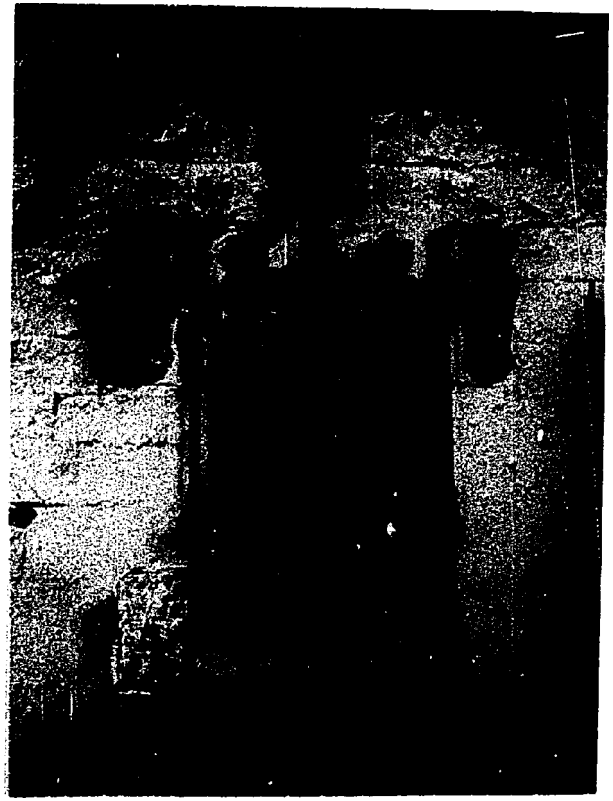


Fig. 109. Relief of the Mass of St. Gregory, Pisón de Castrejón, Parish church (Photo: Archivo Mas)

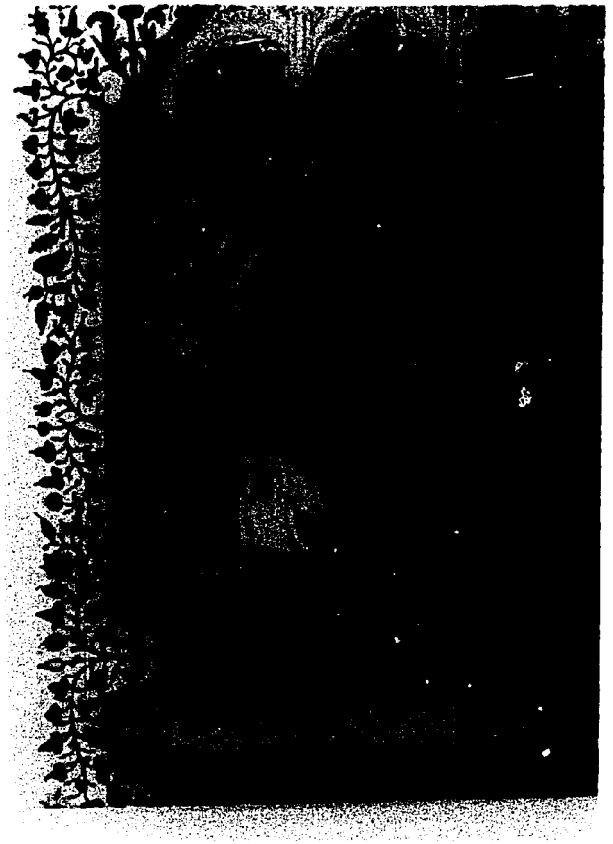


Fig. 110. Celebration of the Mass, miniature from the Tarleton Book of Hours. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan Museum of Art (Photo: University of Michigan Museum of Art

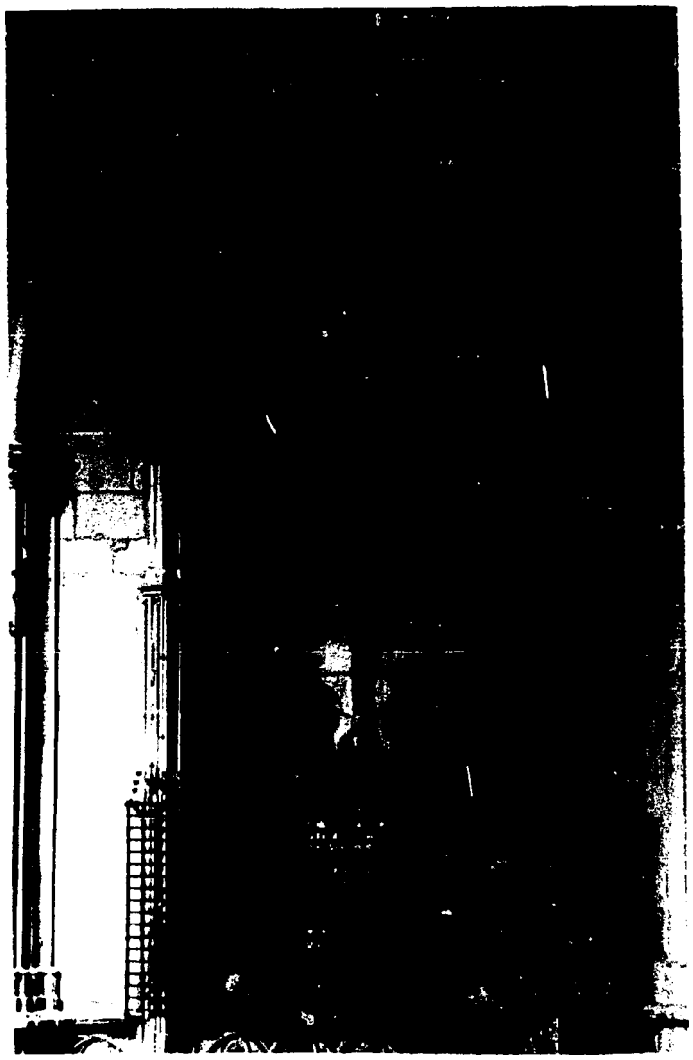


Fig. 111. Garro Tomb, Pamplona, Cathedral

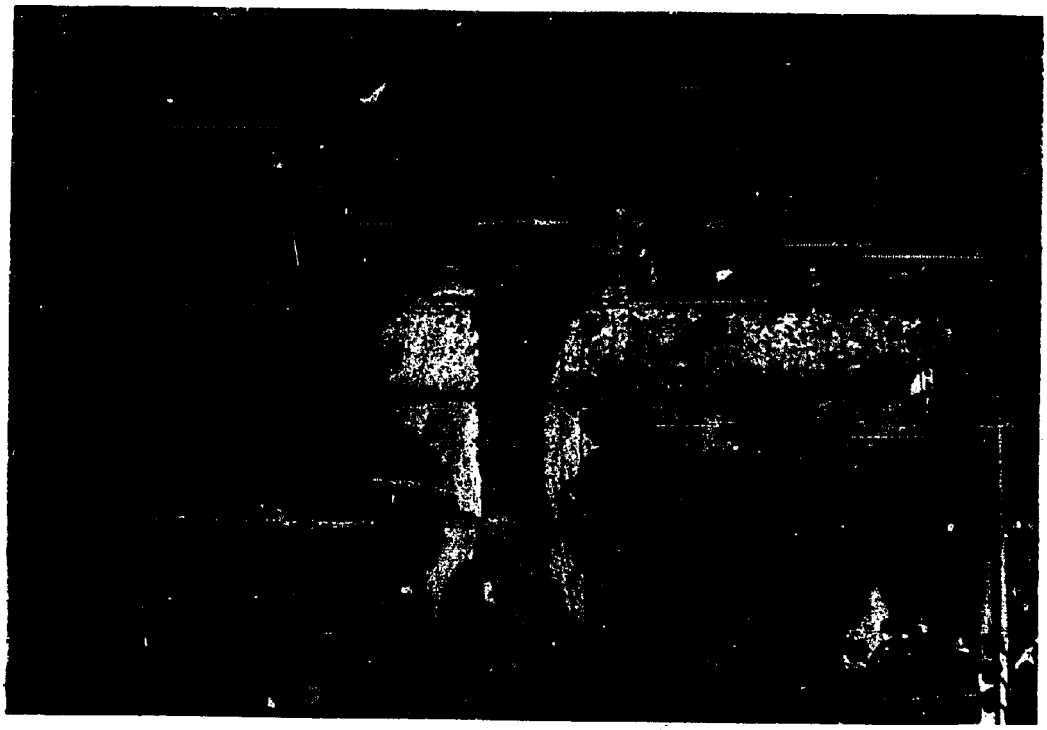


Fig. 112. Garro Tomb, Christ and six saints

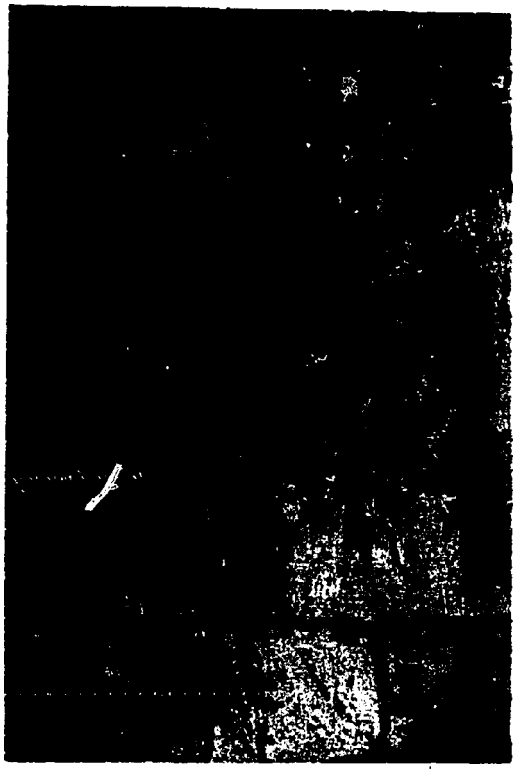


Fig. 113. Garro Tomb, St. John the Evangelist

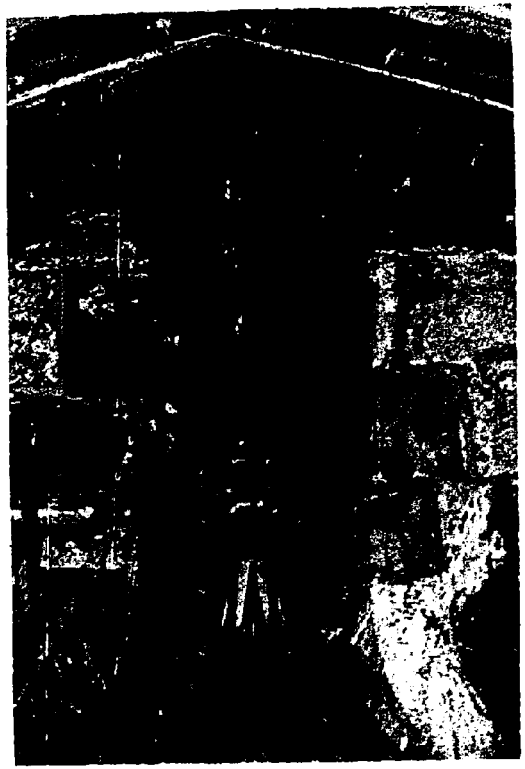


Fig. 114. Garro Tomb, God the Father



Fig. 115. Garro Tomb, effigies (Photo: Archivo Mas)



Fig. 116. Garro Tomb, Christ



Fig. 117. Garro Tomb, Christ, detail



Fig. 118. Garro Tomb, arms of the Garro family



Fig. 119. Garro Tomb, arms of the Beunza-Larréa family

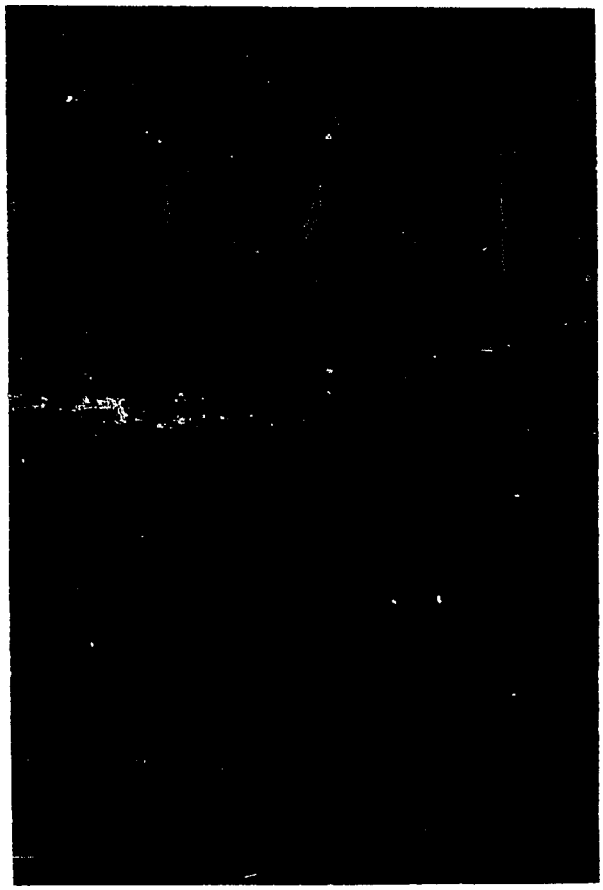


Fig. 120. Baquedano-Palomeque Tomb, Estella, Sto. Domingo



Fig. 121. Baquedano-Palomeque Tomb, effigy of doña Teresa, Pamplona, Museo de Navarra (Photo: Museo de Navarra)

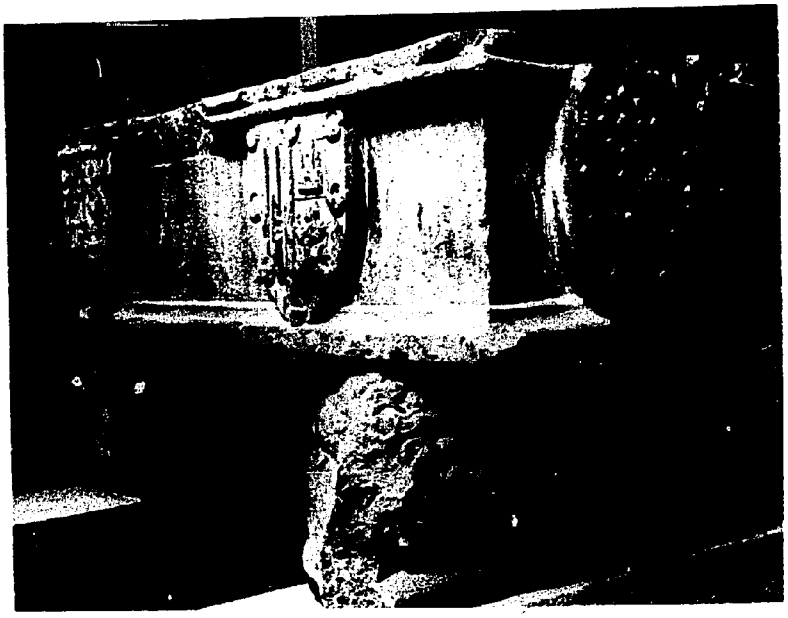


Fig. 122. Tomb of the princess doña Juana, Pamplona, Museo de Navarra (Photo: Museo de Navarra)



Fig. 123. Tomb of the princess doña Juana, effigy (Photo: Poleró y Toledo)



Fig. 124. Tomb of a Navarrese princess, Pamplona, Cathedral

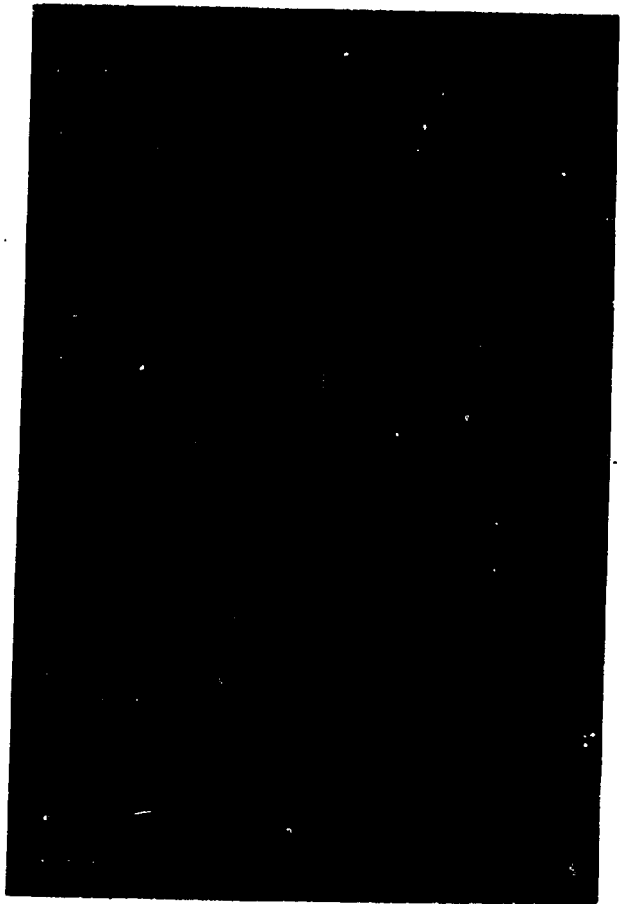


Fig. 125. Tomb with the arms Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain, Olite, San Francisco

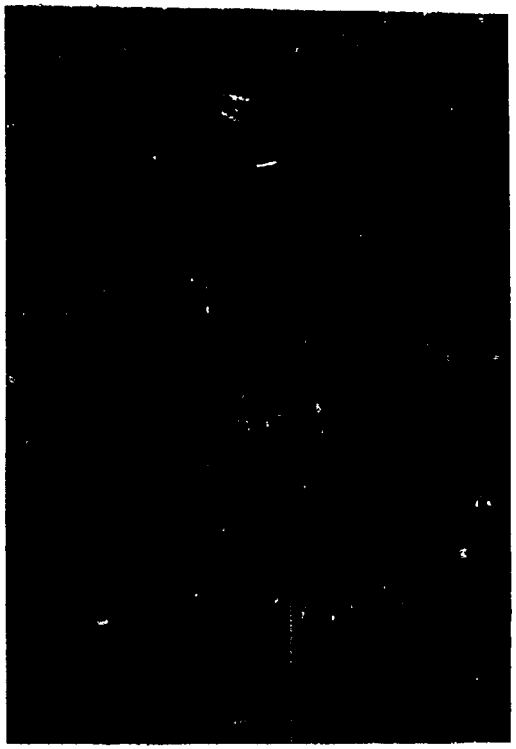


Fig. 126. Tomb with the arms Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain, St. Michael



Fig. 127. Tomb with the arms Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain, spandrels with arms of the Garay and Asiain families

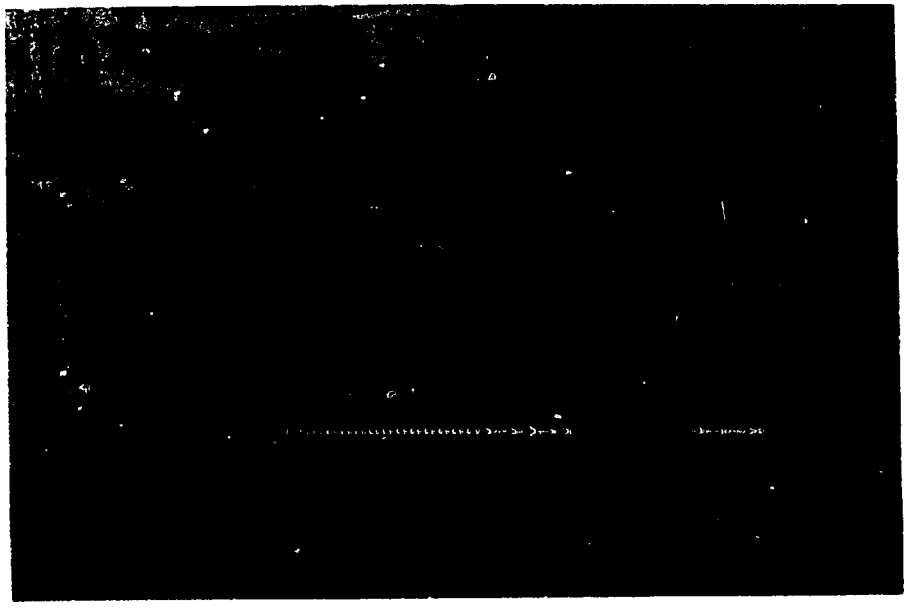


Fig. 128. Tomb with the arms Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain, front with arms of the Zuria and Añués families



Fig. 129. Tomb with the arms Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain, effigies, detail



Fig. 130. Tomb with the arms Zuria, Añués, Garay, and Asiain, effigies

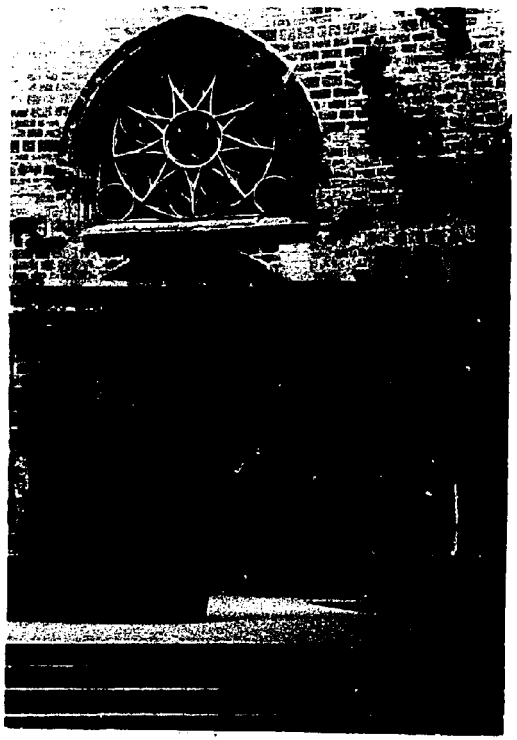


Fig. 131. Atrium entrance, Olite, Sta. María



Fig. 132. Atrium entrance, doña Blanca

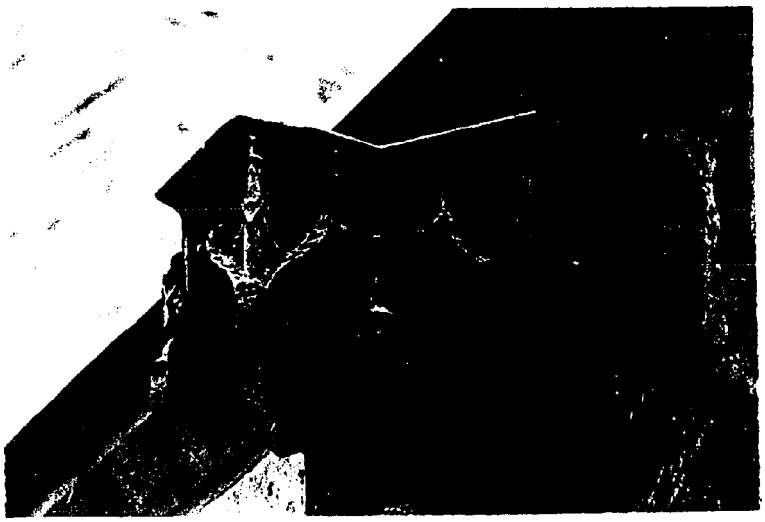


Fig. 133. Atrium entrance, canopy over doña Blanca

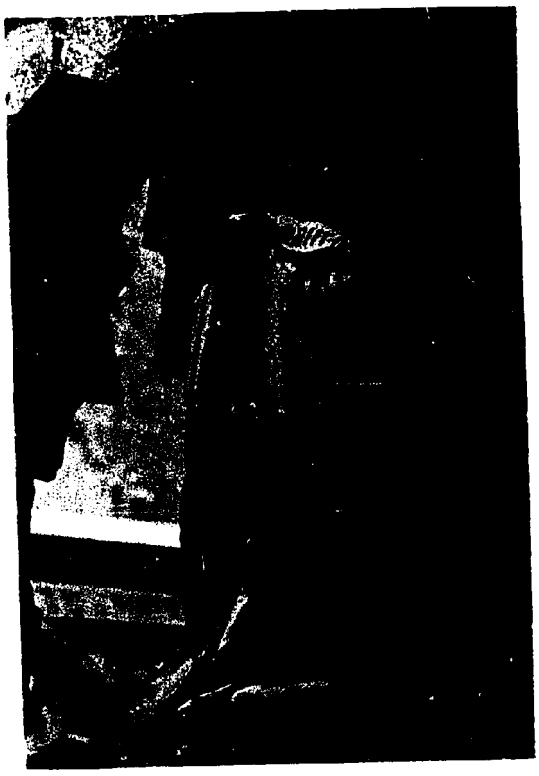


Fig. 134. Atrium entrance, doña Blanca



Fig. 135. Atrium entrance, doña Blanca

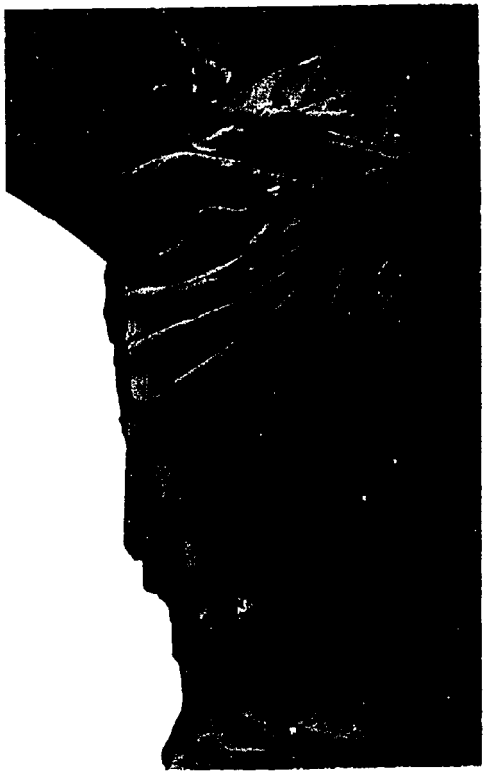


Fig. 136. Atrium entrance, Virgin and Child

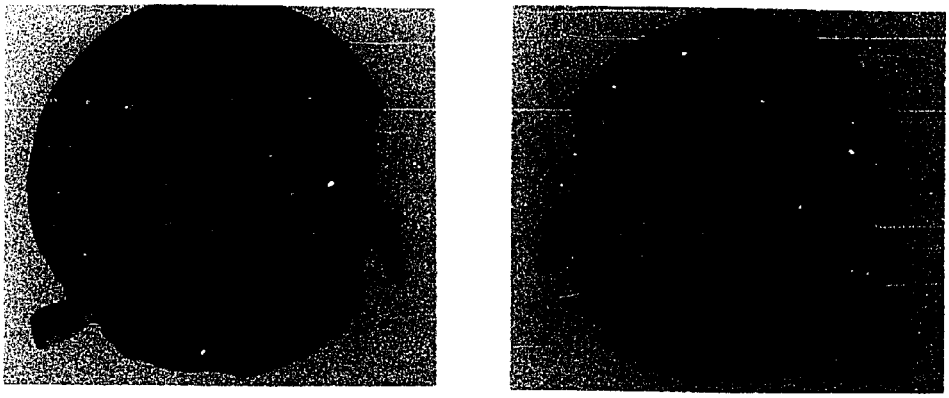


Fig. 137. Seal of the Chancellery of doña Blanca and don Juan, Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra (Photo: Archivo General de Navarra)



Fig. 138. Relief of Enequo Pinel, Olite, San Pedro (Photo: Archivo Mas)

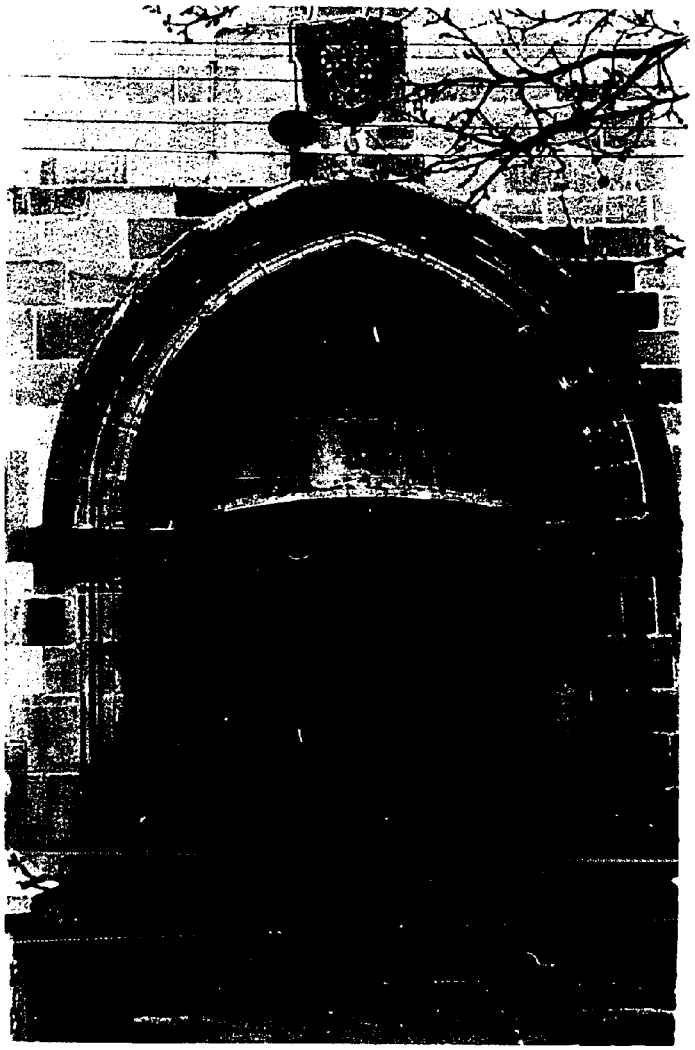


Fig. 139. Portal of San Francisco, Olite



Fig. 140. Portal of San Francisco, angel in dexter position



Fig. 141. Portal of San Francisco, angel in sinister position

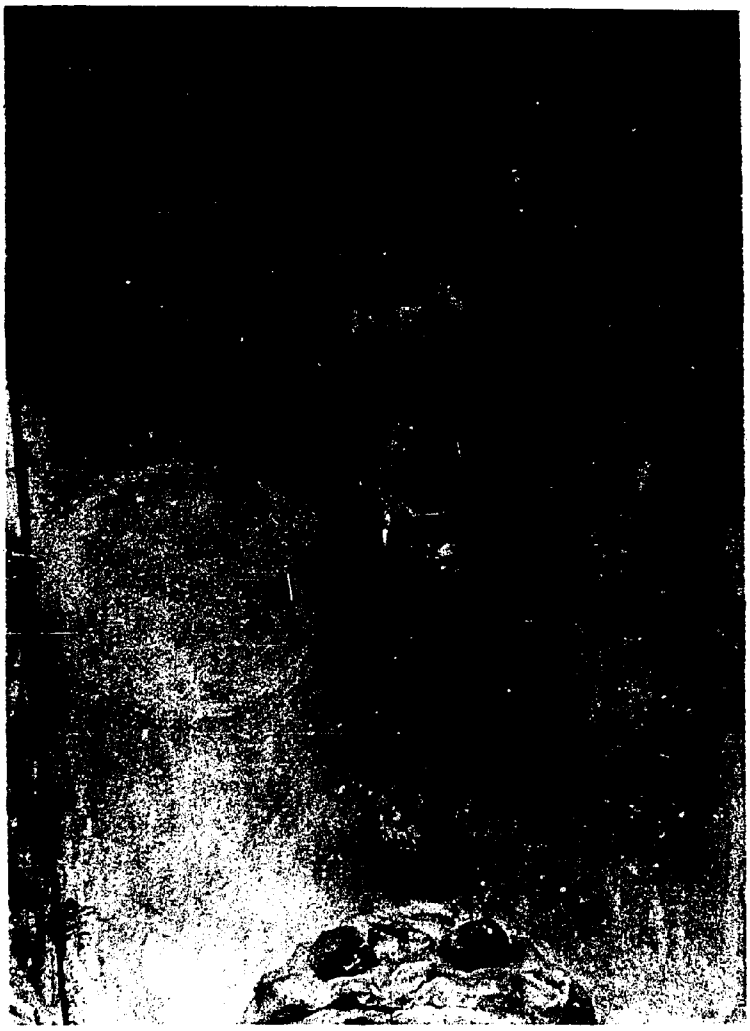


Fig. 142. Portal of San Francisco, tympanum, crucifix

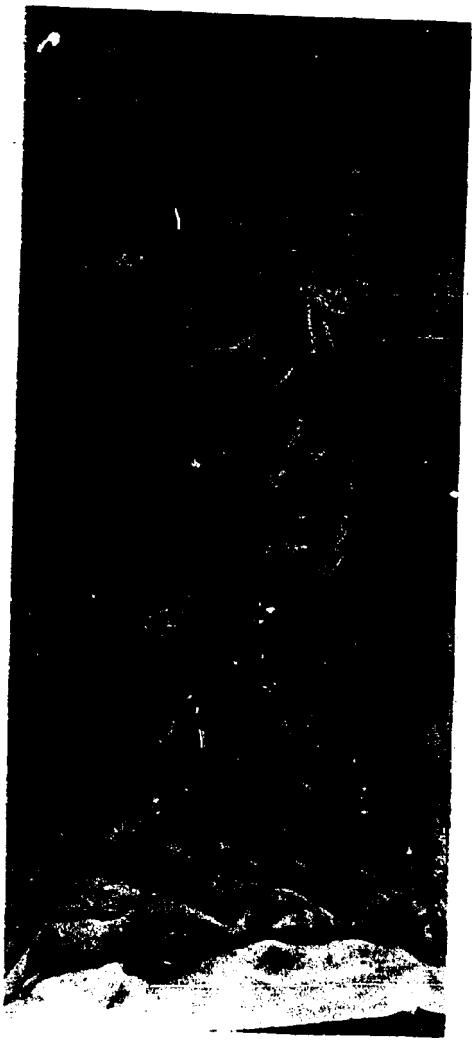


Fig. 143. Portal of San Francisco, tympanum, Virgin



Fig. 144. Portal of San Francisco, tympanum, St. John



Fig. 145. Portal of San Francisco, canopy

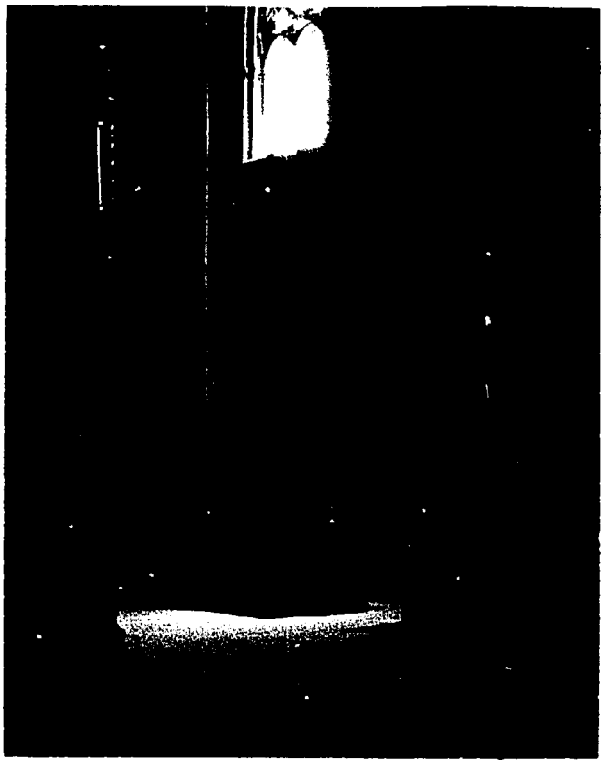


Fig. 146. Chapel of St. Catherine, Pamplona, Cathedral

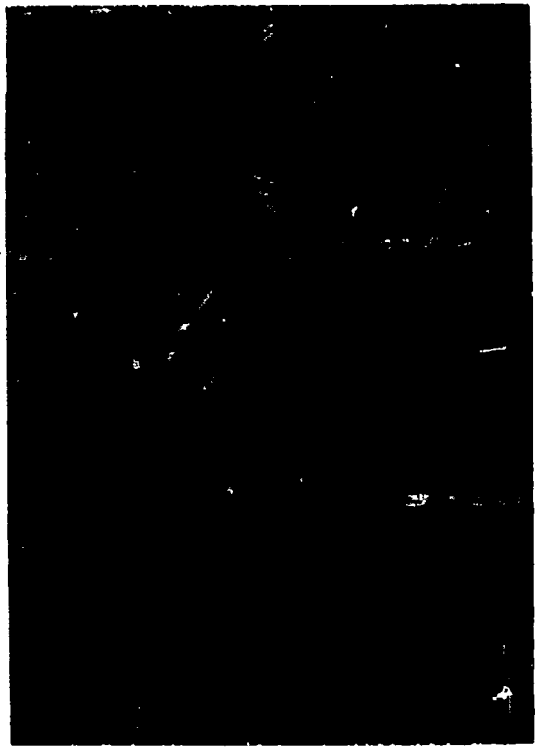


Fig. 147. Chapel of St. Catherine, Virgin

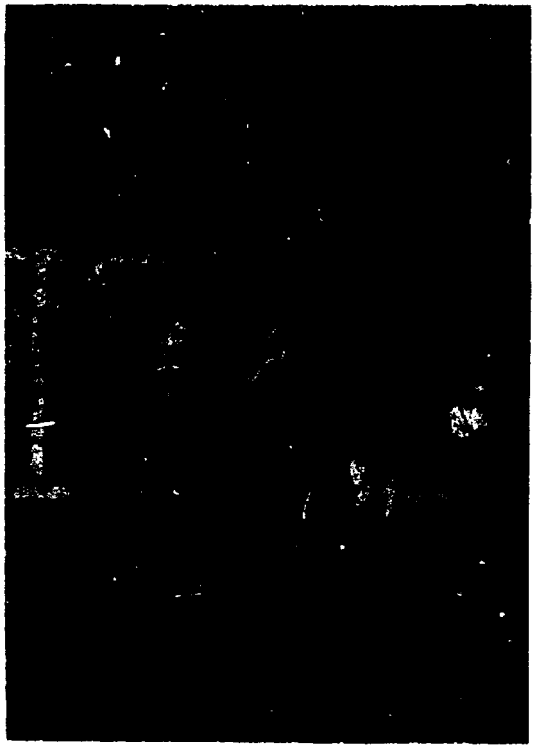


Fig. 148. Chapel of St. Catherine, St. John



Fig. 150. Virgin and Child, detail



Fig. 149. Virgin and Child, Ollte, San Francisco

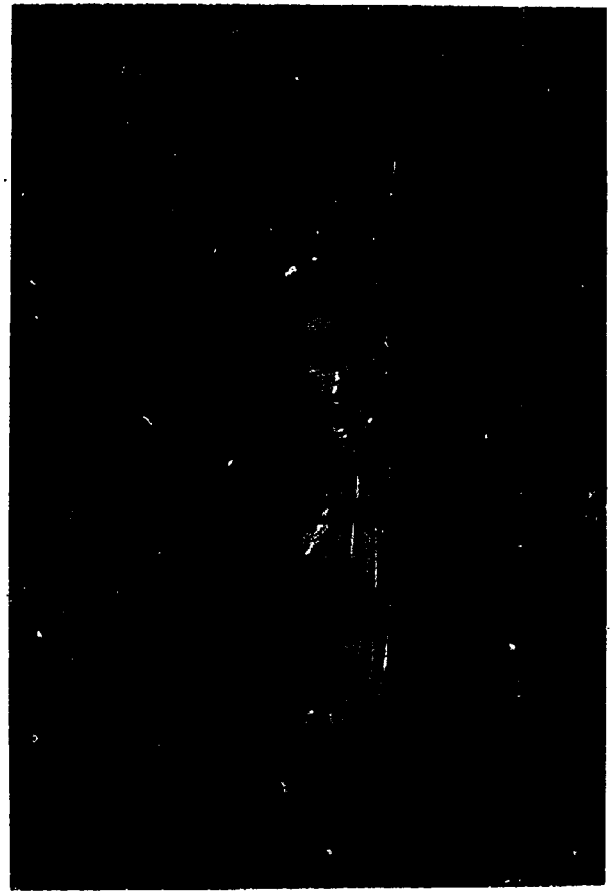


Fig. 151. Virgin and Child, Huarte, Parish church

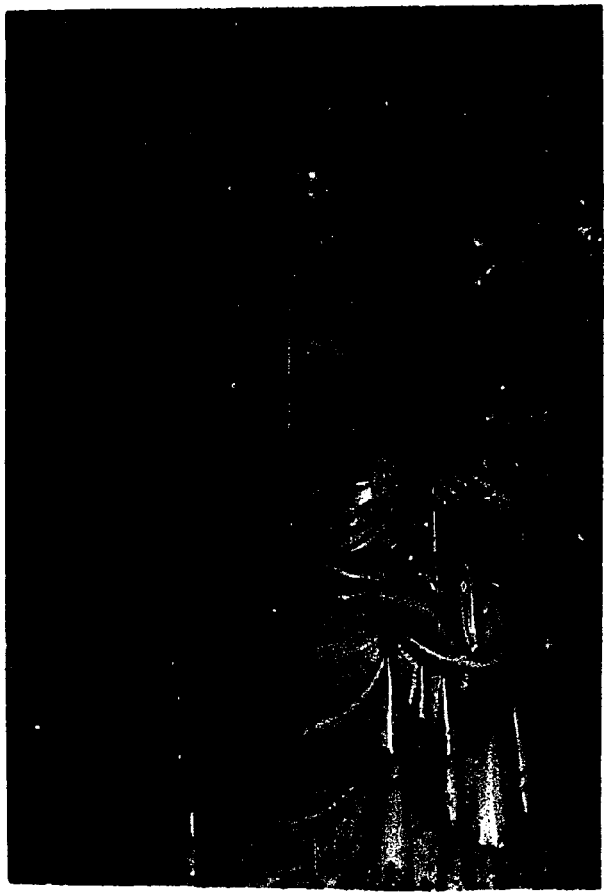


Fig. 152. Virgin and Child, detail



Fig. 153. Virgin and Child, Liédena, Parish church

APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS

1394

1. A Lancelot, fijo bastart del Rey, de dono, et lo puso en el día que començaron poner et asentar el cimiento de los pillares en Santa María de Pamplona de ius la piedra al asentamiento que asentó la primera piedra en hombre [sic] del Rey por mandamiento dat. xxvii día de mayo lxxxxiii ... I florín valle xxvi sueldos. (Archivo General de Navarra, Reg. 219, fol. 69v. Hereafter cited as AGN, Reg.)

Bibliography: José Zunzunegui, El reino de Navarra y su obispado de Pamplona durante la primera época del cisma de occidente (San Sebastian, 1942), p. 289, from which the transcription is taken.

2. A Ferrando argentero por vn caliz de plata dorado a las armas realles pesant IIII° marcos II esterlines e demi que dio el Rey a Sancta Maria duxua, a XV florines obra fecha por marco. Montan LX florines V sueldos. De la quoal suma son rebatidos al dicto Ferrando XIIII florines III sueldos sobre la resta que el deuia de vn compto de don Garcia Loppiz thesorero. Restan XLVI florines II sueldos. Item a maestre Robert por el stuy del dicto caliz LII sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 229, fols. 38v-39r.)

Bibliography: José Ramón Castro, Carlos III el noble, rey de Navarra (Pamplona, 1967), p. 224, from which the transcription is taken. Hereafter cited as Castro, Carlos III.

1397

1. Carlos, por la gracia de Dios Rey de Navarra, y Conde de Evreux, &c. A nuestro amado, y fiel Tesorero. Como dias ha fuesse caido el cuerpo de nuestra Iglesia de Santa Maria de Pamplona, la qual despues acà està toda abierta en estado inhonesto à muy grande deshonor de la dicha Iglesia, y de los Fundadores, como porque aquella fue fundada, et edificada et dotada por los Reyes de buena memoria, nuestros Predecessores, que fueron, en la qual todos ellos fueron coronados, et sus Cuerpos sepilidos, et Nos asimismo avemos sido coronados, et por nuestra sepultura eleido, quando Dios querrà hacer su voluntad, &c. Et con mandamiento de Nos, damos en ayuda à la construccion, y reparacion de la dicha Iglesia para doce años cumplidos primeros vinientes, et siguientes, à comenzar en este presente año, en que estamos, en

cada año la quarentena parte de todas, y qualesquiera rentas ordinarias, que Nos avemos, y pertenecen à Nos en nuestro Reyno en Christianos, Judios, y Moros, &c. Dates en nuestra Villa de San Juan de Pie del Puerto à 24 dias del mes de Mayo año de la Gracia de 1397.

Bibliography: Francisco de Alesón, Annales del reyno de Navarra, IV (Pamplona, 1766), p. 276. The document, transcribed from Alesón, is lost.

2. Anno Domini m°ccc°xc°vii°. ix dia de nouienbre en pomplona en cort en juyzio leida vna citacion fecha contra ochoa loppiz de xauier vezino de sanguesa, fecha a instancia del procurador del seynnor Rey & de Johan bodin procurador en cort & como mostrador duna carta publica de deuda enla quoal parescia que el dicho ochoa lopiz de xauier deue dar & pagar a maestre perrin de simur maçonero la suma de xl libras x sueldos carlines & por Razon que el dicho ochoa lopiz nin su procurador poreill non parescio al dia dela dicha citacion exceptado al tercero dia daqueilla, por esta razon el dicho ochoa lopiz o su procurador poreill fuese condempnado dar & pagar la penna delos dichos tres dias, es asaber por dia v sueldos, la meatat pora el procurador del seynnor rei & la otra meatat pora la part ata de oy en diez dias. Presentes los tres alcaldes. Nota Johan amicx el Jouen. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, 2a serie, Leg. 2ter, no. 121, XIX.)

Dr. José Goñi Gaztambide, canon and archivist of the cathedral of Pamplona, kindly provided a photocopy and transcription of this unpublished document.

1403

1. De martin periz desteilla maçonero et cabeçallero del ultimo testamento de maestre perrin de simur maestro mayor delas obras de maçoneria en la yglesia de Santa Maria de pomplona que fue. Delivrado delo dela dicha cabeçallia en emprestamo por la necessidat et servicio del Seynnor Rey & los recebio pere andreu de boneta thesorero delas obras del dicho Seynnor Rey en Olit por conuertir en aqueillas. Et por que el dicho pere andreu los Rende por su compto fecho con el thesorero se renden aqui - ii^{c} xlii libras xix sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 273, fol. 20v.)

1409

1. A maestre Johan Lescuyer carpentero frances Al quoal en el aynno m°cccc°vi° que el Rey nuestro seynor veno de francia lo fizo venir part daqui por laurar de su officio enlos pallacios de Ollit. Et li ordeno de boqua que ouiesse ad auer de gages por dia viii° sueldos fuertes. Et xxx francos de pension por aynno durante el tiempo que continuaria en las dichas obras. Dela quoal ordenança en partida fue pagado segunt los tiempos por mossen huillart Recebidor general delos dineros delos coffres del dicho seynnor Rey. Ata el aynno m°cccc°viii° seguient que el dicho seynnor fue con de cabo en francia. Aeill aqui que la seynnora Infanta primogenita li fizo deliurar en Restitucion

de loque li podia ser debido de Resta de sus dichos gages et pension Tanto del tiempo del dicho mossen huillart Como despues el partimiento del dicho seynnor Rey entra francia que de suso faze mencion. Ata el xxii° dia de março m°cccc°ix° que el dicho maestre Johan partio de su mouimiento a yr en francia. [Illegible word] de la dicha Resta no ouiesse documento alguno ni pesciesse a derecho como cumple pagados aeil porel thesorero contenido por mandamiento dela dicha seynnora Infanta En absencia del Rey nuestro seynor & dela seynnora Reyna. Datum en Ollit viii° dia de mayo m°cccc°ix° - xl florines a xxix sueldos pieça que vallen lviii libras. (AGN, Reg. 301, fol. 60v.)

2. A iiii° maestros franceses qui de grisso et de piedra obrauan En Vquar Enlos pallacios de mossen leonel Alos quoalles la dicha seynnora [Juana, infanta primogenita] los fizo venir a Ollit por y reuisitar las paretes de maçoneria caydas enlos pallacios del Rey nuestro seynnor de dono pora vna vez quieto de xx^no que la dicha seynora lis dio por sus expensas del dicho viage pagados porel dicho thesorero contenido enel dicho mandamiento lvi sueldos. [Datum en Ollit el xxii° dia del dicho mes de junio m°cccc°nono.] (AGN, Reg. 301, fol. 54r-54v.)

3. A Esteuenin le Riche maestro de carpenteria qui el Rey nuestro seynnor fezo venir de francia en Navarra enuers la seynnora Infanta primogenita por obrar en su officio en algunas cosas necessarias en los palacios del dicho seynnor en Ollit assi en las feniestras como en puertas setios et otras muchas obras menudas. Al quoal la dicha seynnora Infanta que estonz gouernaua el Regno en absencia del dicho seynnor Rey et dela seynnora Reyna Considerado que pues el dicho Esteuenin auia de continuar en el seruicio del dicho seynnor ala faiçon de sus dichas obras era justo et Razonable de seer li proueydo de algun salario por mantenimiento de su estado. Li ordeno que commençando el primero dia de junio m°cccc°ix° en adelant durant la voluntat del dicho seynnor Rey ouisse ad auer et recebir de salario a causa de su officio en et sobre la thesoreria del dicho seynnor aquoarteres de aynno por equoalles pagas la suma de l libras carlines por cadaun aynno. Como desto et otras cosas por las lettras dela dicha Seynnora Infanta dadas en Ollit el dicho primero dia de Junio m°cccc°ix° mas al largo es fecha mencion. A eill aqui pagados por el dicho thesorero por lo del dicho primero dia de Junio ata el primero dia de deziembre del ayno seguient m°cccc°x° en que son vi quoarteres et vn mes. lxxix libras iii sueldos iiii dineros. (AGN, Reg. 309, fol. 61.)

1411

1. Seppan todos que io John̄ le hom̄e de tornay taillador de imaginnes otorgo auer ouido et Recebido de garcia loppiz de Roncesvailles thesorero de nauarra por mi sallario et trauaillo de taillar vna imagin de sant Johan bbaptista porel seynnor Rey siete scudos et i florin que vallen xvii libras xviii sueldos. Delas quoalles dichas xvii libras xviii sueldos me tengo por bien pagado por testimonio deste mi Recognoscimiento signado de mi. Datum en pamplona xx° dia de agosto Aynno

a natividate domini millesimo cccc° undecimo. Jañn Lome tailleur dimages. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 106, no. 4, VIII.)

Bibliography: Emile Bertaux, "Le mausolée de Charles le noble à Pampelune et l'art franco-flamand en Navarre," Gazette des beaux-arts, L/2 (1908), pp. 100-101. Hereafter cited as Bertaux, "Mausolée." Julio Altadill, "El arte sepulcral en Navarra, mausoleo del canciller Villaespesa en Tudela," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, XVII (1926), p. 42. Hereafter cited as Altadill, "Arte sepulcral." José Ramón Castro, ed., Archivo General de Navarra: Catálogo de la sección de comptos, documentos, XXVIII, no. 1144. Hereafter cited as Castro, Catálogo.

2. A Johan lehomi de tornay Al quoal le auemos fecho fazer et entretaillar la ymagin de sant Johan bbaptista por nuestros palacios dollit et le fizimos dar & deliurar por la pena & trauaillo que Passo en la fazer vii escudos et vii florines que vallen xvii libras xviii sueldos. [Decree of Charles the Noble issued at Estella, December 1, 1411.] (AGN, Comptos, caj. 99, no. 44, IX.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXVIII, no. 1352. There is also a copy of this document which gives the name as "Johan lomme de tournay taillador de ymaginies." See AGN, Reg. 313, fol. 27v.

1412

1. Al thesorero qui ha expendido por mano de Semeno de miraglo Recebidor dela merindat de tudela por fazer renquar ciertas piedras de alabastro en las pedreras dablitas pora fazer ciertas ymagines en los palacios del Rey en Ollit las partidas dela dicha expensa contenida en vn plego de papel Signado dela mano de maestre Simon nauar secreptario del dicho Seynnor. Que montan todas contenidas por mandamiento del dicho Seynnor. Datum en Sanguessa xxv° dia de Jenero m°cccc°xii° rendido de suso en comun expensa sobre la lignea de ciertos Juglares de tudela. lxxxv libras xvi sueldos vi dineros. (AGN, Reg. 318, fol. 40v.)

2. Seppan todos que yo petrico de senosiayn morant en pomplona Otorgo auer ouido et Recebido de Johan periz de thaffailla contraRollor en el hostal del Rey nuestro Seynor Et comentido por eill a tomar & Recebir los dineros ordenados poner en sus cofres pora fazer mis expensas et yr con lettras del Rey nuestro dicho seynnor de pomplona a thaffailla a mossen micholau de Roncesuailles dailli aolitt al maçonero qui taja las ymagines dailli acaparrosso al baille et dailli al abbat dela olliua ... Datum en pomplona el vi dia de agosto - laynno del Nascimiento de nuestro seynnor de mil cccc^os & doze. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 101, no. 59, XVII.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXIX, no. 687; Castro, Carlos III, p. 456.

1413

1. Seppan todos que yo Johan des bordes vezino et morador en ollit Otorgo auer ouido et Recebido de vos machin de çalua clerigo de las finanças ordenadas poner poner [sic] en los cofres del Rey nuestro seynnor los quoalles el Rey nuestro dicho seynnor me ha fecho dar & deliurar por doze cobdos de paynno Rosset de tarba que eill ha fecho comprar de mi et los ha dado a Johan lome maestro de fazer ymagines para doblar su hoppa a diez sueldos el dobdo montan la Suma de seys libras de dineros gros comptando en ii sueldos de la quoal dicha Suma de vi libras yo me tengo por bien pagado et por bien entegrado. Por testimonio deste me Recognoscimiento a mi grant Requesta et Rogavia signado de la mano de maestre Simon Nauar Secrectario del Rey nuestro dicho seynnor. Datum en ollit el xiii dia de abril laynno de mil cccc^{os} et treze. S Nauar. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 106, no. 14, IV.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXX, no. 317.

2. A Johan de bordas en ollit el sobre dicho xiii^{o} dia de Abril por xii coubdos de paynno Rosset de tarba que nos auemos dado A Johan lome pora dobladura de la hoppa que li auemos fecho deliurar a otra part por nuestro thesorero a x sueldos el coubdo que vallen vi libras. [Datum en olit so nuestro sieillo de la chancelleria el xxviii^{o} dia de abril laynno de mil quatrozientos & treze.] (AGN, Comptos, caj. 102, no. 41, VIII.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXX, no. 344. There is also a copy of this document, AGN, Reg. 330, fol. 69v.

3. Seppan todos que yo pere andreo della boneta clerigo dellas obras que el Rey faze fazer a presente enla villa de Olit Otorgo auer ouido et Recebido de machin de çalua Recebidor general dellas finanças ordenadas poner enlos cofres del dicho seynor Rey los quoalles el Rey nuestro dicho seynor me ha fecho dar et deliurar pora pagar a dos maçoneros franceses qui obran enlas ymagines dellos reyes Et asi bien pora pagar a martin guillen et a sus compayneros de lv braças del asiento del pavamento del portal del fenero la Suma de cient dos libras de dineros gros contado en ii sueldos della quoal dicha suma de c ii libras me tengo por bien pagado Et por bien entregado por testimonio deste me Reconoscimiento en el quoal he puesto mi nombre con mi propia mano. Datum en olit xxix dia de agosto layno del nascimiento de nuestro seynor de mil cccc^{os} & treze. P de boneta. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 103, no. 24, VII.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXX, no. 711; Castro, Carlos III, p. 456.

4. A Eneco pinel vezino dollit & portero del Rey nuestro Seynnor el quoal el dicho Seynnor Rey ha querido & ordenado de nuevo que eill aya a continuar & continue en la cort mayor & sea present en todas las audiencias que los alcaldes dela dicha cort terran [?] por tal cite & llame adaqueillos que mandado li sera por los dichos alcaldes o por los procuradores o quoalquiere deillos & faga caillar las gentes en la audencia & sierua en todo aqueillo que a su dicho officio sera

expedient & necessario & por los dichos alcaldes et procuradores o qualquiere deillos mandado li sera. Et affin que el dicho portero se pueda meior sostener et continuar en la dicha cort como dicho es Por esto el Rey nuestro dicho Seynnor ha querido & ordenado que començando primero dia de Septiembre m°cccc°xiii° & dȳ adlant continuadament durant el tiempo delas dichas audiencias eill continuando en aqueillas aya adauer & tomar de gaiges por cadaun dia que ȳ continuara iii sueldos carllines en & sobre las receptas dela procuracion fiscal como todas estas cosas por las lettras del dicho Seynnor Rey. Datum sobre esto en ollit xxiiii° dia dagosto m°cccc°xiii° De que ha ouido aqui pagado a eill por mano de Pere periz dandossieilla procurador fiscal del Rey nuestro dicho Seynnor por lo de un aynno començado el iii° dia de Septiembre m°cccc°xiii° & finido por el ii° dia de Septiembre seguient m°cccc°xiiii° comptado por Racta del tiempo xlii libras xv sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 332, fols. 16v-17r.)

5. Miercoles xxii dia de Nouienbre [de 1413] ... Maçoneros en la obra dela sepultura. A Johan de lisla x sueldos. A michel de Reyems x sueldos. A aneqin de sorça x sueldos. A vincent huyart x sueldos. A Johan de borgoyna x sueldos. A Thierry plomero x sueldos. A su moço sandre vi sueldos. A martin frances x sueldos. A Jacobo con ii moços en la vis xxvi sueldos. A Simonet x s. A Johan dolit viii sueldos. A penxa viii sueldos. A muça qui cose las napas vi sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 4v.)

6. Jueues xxx° dia de nouiembre [de 1413] ... A Johan lome por su salario del dicho mes de nouienbre xx iii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 7r.)

1414

1. Lunes xxii dia de Jenero [de 1414] ... A Johan dalmarca maçonero por vna partida delo que li puede ser deuido por la piedra de los Reyes que Ranca en la pedrera dazcona. El quoal ha Rancado x piedras para los Reyes con sus Repissas & con sus tabernacles por este aqui c libras. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 21r; see also fol. 181v.)

In the particular case of this account book, not only is the formal record preserved, but most of the original daily record is bound together with it in Reg. 331. In eách instance where both records are preserved, both folia references have been given.

2. Miercoles xxxi dia de jenero [de 1414] ... A Johan lome maçonero por su salario de todo este mes de Jenero x escudos vallen xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 23r; see also fol. 184r.)

3. Miercoles xxviii° dia de febrero [de 1414] ... A Johan lome maçonero por su salario deste mes de febrero xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 28v; see also fol. 190r, where the entry specifies "Johan lome maçonero delas ymagines."

4. Sabbado xxxi dia de março [de 1414] ... A John lome maestre de

fazer las ymagines por su salario deste mes de março xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 37v; see also fol. 200v.)

5. Lunes xxx° dia de Abril [de 1414] ... a Joñn lome por su salario deste mes de abril xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 43r; see also fol. 207r.)

6. Lunes xiiii° dia de mayo [de 1414] ... A Johan dalmarca maçonero por la compossicion que fizo con el dean [de Tudela, Sancho Sanchez de Oteiza,] por Rancar ciertas piedras por fazer los ymagines de los Reyes enla pedrera dazcona por fin de paga lo que deue auer l libras. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 46r; see also fol. 210v.)

7. Jueues xxxi dia & postremero de mayo [de 1414] ... A Joñn lome por su salario deste mes de mayo xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 50r; see also fol. 215v.)

8. Sabbado ix dia de Junio [de 1414] ... A don pedro miguel baraylla por [vi] dozenas de clauillotes de fierro pora fazer la loia para los maçoneros qui obran la sepultura jus la galeria de la Reyna dozena xx dineros vallen [x sueldos]. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 53r; see also fol. 219r. The quantities within brackets are given only on the latter folio.)

9. Sabbado xxx° dia de Junio [de 1414] ... A Joñn lome maçonero por su salario deste mes de junio xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 58r.)

10. Martes xxxi dia de Julio [de 1414] ... A Joñn lome por su salario del dicho mes xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 64r.)

11. Jueues ii° dagosto [de 1414] ... Maçoneros en la finiestra dela cambra luenga. A aneqin de sora x sueldos. A Johan de Borgoyna x sueldos. A michel de Reyems x sueldos. A Johan de tolossa que mida con los maçoneros qui lauran la finiestra ii sueldos vi dineros.

A Joñn lome por la fayzon dela fusta de un banco enque lauran en la loia et por las expensas & jornales de iii viages que ha fecho en yr a pomplona & a tudela por todo aqui viii libras. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 64r-64v; see also fol. 232r.)

12. Jueues ix dia dagosto [de 1414] ... A perryn jalopa maçonero por x dias que lauro enla finiestra de sobre la puerta al dicho prescio [x sueldos] por dia valen c sueldos. A Johan de dros por los dichos x dias que lauro enla dicha finiestra al dicho prescio vallen c sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 66r.)

13. Viernes xxxi dagosto [de 1414] ... A Joñn lome por su salario deste mes dagosto xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 70v; see also fol. 238v.)

14. Domingo xxx° dia de setienbre [de 1414] ... A Joñn lome por su salario del mes de setienbre xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 79r; see also fol. 248r.)

15. Miercoles xxxi dia doctobre [de 1414] ... A Joñn lome por su salario deste mes doctobre xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 89r; see also fol. 258v.)

16. Viernes xxx° dia de nouienbre [de 1414] ... A Joñn lome por su salario de todo el mes de nouienbre xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 98r; see also fol. 267v.)

17. Lunes x° dia de dezienbre [de 1414] ... Carpenteros ... A Johan de lisla que laura enlas dichas puertas [de las finiestras de jesso en la cambra luenga] x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 143r.)

18. Lunes xxxi° dia de dezienbre [de 1414] ... A Joñn lome maçonero por su salario deste mes de dezienbre xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 103v; see also fol. 273r.)

19. Suma toda dela expensa deste libro començando ix° dia de nouiembre et todo el mes de deziembre Anno mccccxiii° et de si todo el aynno m°cccccxiiii° con la expensa dela cambra luenga onze mil ochocientas quatorze libras siete sueldos tres dineros / Vera. (AGN, Reg. 331, fol. 149r.)

1415

1. A Johan lome maestro de taillar & fazer ymagines de piedra en dono & gracia special por vna vez al dia que fezo sus bodas en presente dos taças en que auia dos marquos de plata & costaron xxii florines que a xxix sueldos pieça contenido en el dicho mandamiento vallen xxxi libras xviii° sueldos. [Record of cedula of Charles the Noble dated at Olite, July 29, 1415.] (AGN, Reg. 337, fol. 60r.)

Bibliography: José Goñi Gaztambide, "El sepulcro de Carlos III el noble," Pregón: Revista gráfica Navarra, XXVIII (Autumn, 1969), [1 (of article)]. Hereafter cited as Goñi Gaztambide, "Sepulcro de Carlos III."

2. Karlos por la gracia de dios Rey de Nauarra duc de Nemouz. A nuestros amados & fielles las gentes oydores de nuestros comptos Salut. Cierta Recepta expensa & distribuccion de dineros ha seydo fecha por nuestro & fiel Secretario & comettido al ófficio dela cambra alos dineros maestre martin de Sant martin por la fiesta dela venida de nuestra muy cara et muy amada fija primogenita La Reynna de Sicillia en nuestro Reyno fecha en esta nuestra villa dolit en los seyseno seteno & ocheno dias deste presente mes de septiembre. Dela quoal dicha expensa han seydo fecha excroas et contraRolle apart dela expensa ordinaria de nuestra casa. Si vos mandamos que el compto dela dicha expensa delos dichos tres dias fecha en la dicha fiesta dela venida de nuestra dicha fija la Reynna oygad̄ Cada que el dicho maestre martin yra comptar por ante vos. Et todo lo que vos pareztra porel contraRolle fecho por la expensa dela dicha fiesta auer seydo expendido en los sobre dicho tres dias Le Recebad̄ en compto. Et Rebatad̄ dela Recepta que fecho auia pora distbuyr en la dicha fiesta

Por testimonio delas presentes tan solament sin alguna difficultat. Non obstant quoalesquiere ordinanças inhibitiones o dessensas a esto contrario. Datum en Olit so nuestro sieillo dela Chancelleria el quizeno dia de Septiembre Laynno del nascimiento de nuestro seynnor mil quoatrozientos & quinze. Por el Rey S Nauar, S dotheica. (AGN, Reg. 342, fol. 221ter.)

3. A Johan lome a p° por tela vieilla ... & otras muchas menudas cosas por fazer los entremeses sobre dichos por todo lxx° un sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 342, fol. 220v.)

This entry appears in the daily accounts which are written in a nearly illegible scrawl. Two other entries also pertain to the festivities; in the one Lome is concerned with candles and torches, and in the other Estevenin le Riche receives wood to make objects for the entremets. See Reg. 342, fols. 218r and 220v.

4. A Rolin pintor por su trauaillo a obrar de noches por fazer los entremeses deste fiesta lx sueldos. A dos compaynones que han aquedado a obrar de noche a fazer los dichos entremeses por esto lx sueldos. A Johan lome por auer fecho los moldes delos dichos entremeses xxx s. (AGN, Reg. 342, fol. 221r.)

1416

1. A mahoma el halli moro ferrero de tudela por vii cuynnas xiiii falcas dos palancas de fierro & tres axadas amplas pagado por Simeno de miraglo Recebidor de la Ribera Segunt se contiene por mandamiento. Datum en ollit xiii° dia de febrero Anno m°cccc°xvi°. xi libras iiii sueldos viii dineros.

A farach de motarra moro ferrero de tudela por iiii° picos iiii° axadas con sus picos et costan contenido en lo dicho mandamiento iiii° libras.

A ybray madexa moro ferrero de tudela por vna maça de fierro pesant xlvii libras & costa contenido en lo dicho mandamiento iiii° libras x sueldos.

A Gil dezcana morant en tudela por xii mangos para las dichas axadas & picos contenido en lo dicho mandamiento xiiii sueldos.

A ferrando de mena vezino de tudela por lo loguero deill et de dos bestias que leuaron toda la dicha ferramenta de tudela a sastago que es del Regno daragon por viii° dias que estudo en yr & Retornar a xx sueldos por dia contenido en lo dicho mandamiento vallen viii° libras. La quoal dicha ferramenta el Rey ha fecho deliurar a Joñn lome maestro maçonero de fazer ymagines de labastre por Rancar piedra de labastre con otros compayneros en lo dicho logar de Sastago por las obras et ymagines de las sepulturas del Rey nuestro Seynnor et bien assi del Rey su padre aqui dios perdone que ha fecho o entiende fazer fazer por lo dicho Joñn lome en la eglesia de santa maria de

pomplona. (AGN, Reg. 344, fol. 15r.)

Bibliography: Pedro de Madrazo [y Kuntz], España sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza é historia: Navarra y Logroño, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1886), I, 1-li. Hereafter cited as Madrazo, Navarra y Logroño. Bertaux, "Mausolée," p. 92.

2. A Pere andreu de la bonneta Recebidor delas obras que el Rey faze fazer en sus palatios dollit Alquoal el Rey li ha fecho dar et deliurar por pagar clxx quintales de piedra dalabastro que ha fecho trayer de sastago pora la sepultura del Rey segunt paresce por su Recognosimiento del xiii° dia de Jullio laynno de mil cccc^{os} & xvi. cxiii libras ii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 344, fol. 35v.)

Bibliography: Madrazo, Navarra y Logroño, I, li. Bertaux, "Mausolée," p. 92. Goñi Gaztambide, "Sepulcro de Carlos III," [1 (of article)].

1418

1. Lunes xxxi dia de jenero [de 1418] ... A Joñan lome por su salario de este mes de jenero xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 8v.)

2. Lunes xxviii dia de febrero [de 1418] ... A Joñan lome por su salario de todo este mes de febrero xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 16v.)

3. Miercolles xxiii dia de março [de 1418] ... Compra ... A el [Esteuanin carpentero] un troço de nozal por la figura dela sepultura del Rey xx sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 23v.)

4. Jueues xxxi dia de março [de 1418] ... A Joñan lome por su salario de todo este mes de março xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 26r.

5. Sabado xxx° dia de abril [de 1418] ... A Joñan lome por su salario de todo este mes de abril xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 35r.)

6. Martes xxxi dia de mayo [de 1418] ... A Joñan lome por su salario de todo este mes de mayo xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 45r.)

7. Jueves ix° dia de junio [de 1418] ... Maçoneros ala sepultura. A aneqin de sora x sueldos. A collin de Rems x sueldos. A michel de Rems x sueldos. A johanto de tolossa vi sueldos. A johan sanchiz caretero por el loguero de un carro con sus bueyes que trayo una piedra dela pedrera por ala sepultura del Rey nuestro seynor viii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 48r.)

8. Jueves xxx° dia de junio [de 1418] ... A Joñan lome por su salario de todo este mes de junio xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 53v.

9. Miercolles xiii^{o} dia de jullio [de 1418] ... Compra ... A Joñan lome que pago por i^{a} piedra que fizo traer de la pedrera por la sepultura viii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 58r.)

10. Domingo xxxi dia de jullio [de 1418] ... A Joñan lome por su salario de todo este mes de jullio xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 66r.)

11. Lunes xxii dia de agossto [de 1418] ... Compra ... A nicollas desgroz [?] vii libras de olio de linosso por la sepultura por libra iii sueldos vallet xxi sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 75r.)

12. Miercolles xxxi dia dagosto [de 1418] ... A Joñn lome por sallario deste mes de agosto xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 78v.)

13. Miercolles xxi dia de setiembre [de 1418] ... A martin periz maçonero por puntas que han fecho en su fereria a los maçoneros de la sepulltura del Rey por . C . vi sueldos vallet lx sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 86v.

14. Viernes xxx^{o} dia de setiembre [de 1418] ... A joñan lome por su salario de todo este mes de setiembre xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 89r.)

15. Sabado xv dia de otobre [de 1418] ... Compra ... A joñan de Sancho bueno por iiii q^{o}luedas [?] de cada vi^{cn} [?] coudo por ala sepultura del Rey nuestro seynor xii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 94v.)

16. Lunes xvii dia de octobre [de 1418] ... Compra ... A el [pere andreo] dos grandes escamelles por a los caros que lieuan la sepultura del Rey nuestro seynnor xii sueldos. ... A Joñan de conalieda por su jornal que lauro los grandes axas por liuar la dicha sepultura vi sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 95r.)

17. Miercolles xix^{o} dia de octobre [de 1418] ... A bertollomeo caretero que en axa los carros por liuar la sepultura por su jornal vi sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 96r.)

18. Jueves xx^{o} dia de otobre [de 1418] ... Compra ... A lalcalde de santa cara por iii dozenas de cabrios de chipo por apareyllar los lechos de los caros en que lieuan la sepultura del Rey nuestro seynor por dozena ii Realles vallet xxi sueldos iiii dineros. A pere andreo i^{a} q^{o}lueda [?] de Robre de vi^{cn} [?] coudo por la dicha sepultura iii sueldos. ... A pedro de uillaua vi uagas por a los bueyes que lieuan la dicha sepultura xii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 96v.)

19. Martes xxv dia de otobre [de 1418] ... Maçoneros a la sepultura los quoalles uan conla dicha sepultura ha ponplona. A aneqin de sora x sueldos. A collin de Rems x sueldos. A michel de Rems x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 98v.)

20. Lunes xxxi dia de otobre [de 1418] ... A Joñan lome por su salario de todo este mes de octobre xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg.

355, fol. 100r.

21. Jueves iii° dia de nouiembre [de 1418] ... Compra ... A joñanto carayllero por iiii clangllotes grandes de fiero & ii grapas por a los lechos de los carros que lieuan la sepultura xxix sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 101r.)

22. Miercolles xxx° dia de nouiembre [de 1418] ... A Joñan lome por su salario de todo este mes de nouiembre xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 114r.)

23. Martes xx° dia de deziembre [de 1418] ... A dicho esteuanin [carpentero] por iiii cofres en clauados por los tabernacles de la sepultura iiii libras xii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 122v.)

24. Sabado xxxi dia de deziembre [de 1418] ... A johan lome por su salario de todo este mes de deziembre xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 355, fol. 126r.)

25. Seppan todos que yo Garcia Loppiz de Roncessuailles Tesorero de Nauarra Reconozco auer ouido et Recevido de Johan periz de taffailla Recebidor de la merindat dollit Sobre lo que eill deue o puede deuer de su colleta del segundo quoart de los iiii° que al Rey nuestro seynnor fueron otorgados en ollit en el mes de Nouiembre . Anno m°cccc°xvii° las quoales por mi ha pagado & deliurado A mosen bertran de lacarra Cauaillero & cambarlent del Rey nuestro dicho seynnor que el dicho seynor li dio en dono pora en ayuda de fazer su sepultura la suma de dozientos florines que a xxix° sueldos pieça vallen dozientas & nonanta libras fuertes delas quoalles dichos ii° florines al dicho precio & por la dicha cause me tengo a bien contempto & pagado por testimonio deste Recognocimiento signado de mi nombre con mi propia mano Escripta el xii° dia de febrero Anno anativitate domini m°cccc° xviii°. GL de Roncesuailles. (AGN, Comptos, Caj. 105, no. 13, XXXVI.)

26. Otrossi ordeno & mando que cada que dios aura por bien ordenar de mi fuera de la cibdat de tudela que mi cuerpo sea leuado ala dicha ciubdat de tudela e sepelido en la sepultura que tengo ay fecha segunt a mi estado pertenesce con dos dozenas de torchas & doze cirios segunt la costumbre dela yglesia de tudela enla capiella de sant Johan euangelista de la dicha yglesia si en mi vida no fuere promouido aotra mayor dignidat. Item en caso que yo fuesse promouido aotra mayor dignidat ordeno & mando que enla yglesia do sera promouido sea mi cuerpo sepellido bien & honrradament segunt la decencia de mi perssona. ... Fecho octorgado firmado & testigado fue este present testament enla villa desteilla el sezeno dia del mes de Septiembre Anno a nativitate domini m°cccc° decimo octavo. [Extract from the testament of don Sancho Sanchez de Oteiza.] (Archivo de la Collegiata Sta. María, Tudela, Libro titulado "viejo" y "nuevo" de capellanias y misas, ms., fols. 75 and 80v. Hereafter cited as ACSM, Libro "viejo" y "nuevo.")

Bibliography: Vicente de la Fuente, España sagrada, L, Las santas iglesias de Tarazona y Tudela (Madrid, 1866), p. 319.

27. Seppan e conozcan que yo ysabel de uxue muger del muy noble senor mi senor mossen frances de Villa espesa cabellero doctor en decretos & chanceller de nauarra mi marido seyendo en mi bueno & sano entendimiento maguer enferma con hija del dicho mi marido qui es present & por delant cassando & anullando todos e qualesquiere otros testament o testamentos por mi ante de agora fechos saluo cierto testament o ordenança por mi oy en este dia con el dicho mi marido ensemble de mi sepultura & cierto dotamiento de capellania considerando que perssona alguna en carne puesta la muert corporal escapar non puede obiendo en memoria la sancta passion de nuestro senor iñu xp̄o ffago dispono & ordeno este mi ultimo testamento codicillo o vltima voluntat & disposicion de mis bienes en la forma e manera que se sigue. ... Item ordeno & mando que como el dicho mi sennor chanceller & marido & y aotro present aymos ordenado & esleydo oy en este dia los dos ensemble nuestra sepultura enla yglesia de santa maria de tudela en la capiella de sant gil & dotada & fundada cierta capellania perpetua segunt mejor podra parescer por carta publica de testament o ordinacion o dotamiento fecha oy en este dia por el nottario inffrascripto & en la qual son contenidos por testigos Johan desbordes prevost dela villa de olit e pedro dela boneta vezinos dela dicha villa obiendo por bueno e valedero todo lo fecho dicho & ordenado por mi ensemble con el dicho mi marido o otrament enla dicha carta contenidos ordeno & mando que luego como de mi deueniere desta enffermedat o de qualquiere otra enffermedat en quoalquiere logar que mi cuerpo sea lebado ala dicha ciudat de tudela & sea soterrado bien & onorablement enla dicha capilla de sant gil en la sepultura por el dicho mi senor chanceller & marido & jus ordenada Et que sea fecho bien & complidament mi enterrorio iii° dia nobena tretena & cabo dannyo con su capellania & con su oblada & candela segunt a mi perteneçe a bien vista de mis cabecalleros de juso escriptos. [Primero dia de octobre El Anyo m cccc xviii° . en olit . johan pasquier notario.] (ACSM, Libro "viejo" y "nuevo," fols. 34v-35v.

1419

1. Lunes xvi dia de jenero [de 1419] ... Compra ... A joñan lome por xii libras de estopa por fornir los cofres de los tabernaches de la sepultura x sueldos x dineros. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 298v.)

2. Miercolles xviii dia de jenerro [de 1419] ... A johan periz mulatero de artaxona por el loguero de vi mullos en dos viages que leuaron de la obra de la sepultura laurada de olit a ponplona por mullo xi sueldos vallet lxvi sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 299r.)

3. Miercoles xxv dia de jenerro [de 1419] ... Compra ... A johan periz mulatero de artaxona por el loguero de xii mullos que han leuado de la obra de la sepultura del Rey de olit ha ponplona. Por bestia xi sueldos vallet vi libras xii dineros. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 301v.)

4. Martes xxxi dia de jenerro [de 1419] ... A joñan lome por su salario de todo este mes de jenerro xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 303r.)

5. Martes xiii° dia de febrero [de 1419] ... Compra ... A joñan lome que ha pagado ha bartolomeo caretero por traer ii ceynnas de tafailla a olit viii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 306v.)

6. Martes xxviii° dia de febrero [de 1419] ... A johan lome por su salario de todo este mes de febrero xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 309v.)

7. Miercolles xxii dia de março [de 1419] ... Compra a esteuan carayellero de ponplona por vna partida de la obra de fierro dela cacha de la sepultura del Rey xx florines pieça xxx sueldos vallet xxx libras. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 314v.)

8. Lunes xxvii dia de março [de 1419] ... Compra ... A el [Thierry relogero] por xii grapas de fierro por las ymagines de la sepultura xxiiii sueldos. A el por xii clauos grandes por la sepultura del Rey xii sueldos. A el por c & xx caches con sus gō por las ymagines dela dicha sepultura pieça x dineros vallet c sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 316r.)

9. Martes xxviii° dia de março [de 1419] ... Compra ... A el [Esteuanin carpentero] por iiii cofres por meter las imagines de la sepultura iiii libras. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 316v.)

10. Viernes xxxi dia de março [de 1419] ... A joñan lome por su salario de todo este mes de março xxiii libras x sueldos. Compra ... A Johanto el çarayllero por goarnir dos grandes axos de fierro & dos grandes clauillas de fierro & dos arpones por los carros que lieuan las lapidas de la sepultura por todo xxvi sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 317v.)

11. Viernes xxi dia de abril [de 1419] ... A joñan sanchiz caretero por el loguero de un caro que lieua dos tabernacles de la sepultura a ponplona xxxii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 322v.)

12. Miercolles xxvi° dia de abril [de 1419] ... Compra ... A joñan sanchiz caretero por poco comido en el xxi dia de este mes de dos juntas de bueyes que levaron dos grandes tabernacles de la sepultura xii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 323v.)

13. Sabado xxix dia de abril [de 1419] ... Maçoneros ala sepultura. A Johan lome maestro de la sepultura del Rey por lures [?] los jornalles de dos braceros que han andado xxxvi dias en escobrar la tierra de la sepultura en pomplona a cada uno por dia vii sueldos vallet xii libras xii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 324r.)

14. Domingo xxx° dia de abril [de 1419] ... A johan lome por su salario de todo este mes de abril xxiii libras x sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 324r.)

15. Lunes xxix dia de mayo [de 1419] ... A joñan de la garnia en picardia por sus jornalles del mes de febrero março abril & mayo postremerment pasado que lauro en pamplona en la sepultura del Rey

por cada mes xxii dias obrant que son lxxxviii jornalles por dia x sueldos vallet xliiii libras. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 331r.)

Bibliography: Julio Altadill, "Artistas exhumados," Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra, 2a época, XVII (1926), p. 147.

16. Martes xviii dia de jullio [de 1419] ... A pere andreo que ha dado ha domenion argentero por dorar los dobletes de piedras de la sepultura vii ducados xliii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 341r.)

1420

1. A nuestro amado & fiell thesorero garcia loppiz de Roncesuailles en vez & nombre del quoal ha seydo deliurado a Johan lome maçonero sobre lo que li hera deuido a causa delas obras et algunas expensas que por eil han seido fechas en nuestra sepultura 1 florines doro de cuyno daragon que a xxx sueldos pieça vallen lxxv libras. ... Datum en pomplona, so nuestro siello de la chancelleria xii^{o} dia de junio laynno del nascimiento de nuestro seynnor mil cccc^{os} & xx^{te}. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 118, no. 69, I.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXIII, no. 257; Castro, Carlos III, p. 456; and Goñi Gaztambide, "Sepulcro de Carlos III," [1-2 (of article)]. There is also a copy of this document; see AGN, Reg. 350, fol. 58v.

1421

1. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome maçonero ottorgo auer ouido & Recebido de Garcia loppiz de Roncasuailles thesorero de Navarra & por mano de machin de calua goarda de los coffres del Rey nuestro seynor en aubsencia del dicho thesorero de los dineros ordenados poner en los dichos coffres pora fazer mis expensas a yr en val de Roncal con maestre aznar ensemble por mandamiento & seruicio del Rey nuestro dicho seynor la Suma de tres florines que a xxx sueldos pieça vallet iiii libras x sueldos de la quoal dicha suma de iii florines al dicho preçio me tengo a bien pagado & contento por testimonio deste mi Recognocimiento signado de mi mano el xxi^{o} dia de febrero Anno a nativitate domini m^{o}cccc^{o}xxi^{o}. Jehan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 107, no. 13, XXXII.)

Bibliography: Bertaux, "Mausolée," p. 105; and Castro, Catálogo, XXXIII, no. 507. There is also a copy of this document; see AGN, Reg. 365, fol. 33r.

2. Seppan todos que yo maestre menaut de sant pelay valet dela goarda Roba del Rey - Otorgo auer ouido et Recebido de don garcia loppiz de Roncesuailles thesorero de Nauarra de los dineros ordenados poner en los coffres del dicho seynor Rey deliurados en su aussencia por mano de pere decharry su clerigo - sobre la suma de cient florines que el

dicho seynor Rey me dio en donno ante dagora por pagar vna vina vn jardin vna pieça que yo compre pora mi del dicho Johan lome en ollit aqui la Suma de cinquoanta florines doro que a xxx sueldos pieça vallen lxxv libras de la quoal dicha suma de l florines al dicho preçio me tengo por bien pagado et entegoado - En testimonio deste Recognocimiento En el quoal he puesto aqui mi nombre con mi propia mano El x° dia de março - laynno mill cccc^{os} xxi°. Menaut. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 107, no 6, XLVIII.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXIII, no. 556. There is also a copy of this document; see AGN, Reg. 365, fols. 72v-73r.

1422

1. Sabado postremero dia de Jenero [de 1422] ... A Johan lome maçonero por vi jornalles que ha puesto en poner los fieros dela pesguera & poner larcao de recto que es en la fonda por rotener los pieces & por fayçonar & foradar vna grant piedra do cõerã las agoas del corralet de dama Johana & por foradar iii piedras pora sentar los dichos fierros dela pesguera por dia viii sueldos montan xlviii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 371, fol. 175r.)

2. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome maçonero Recognosco auer Recebido de vos Johan periz de taffailla Recebidor de la meryndat dolit & clerigo de las obras realles en taffailla por dos catedras de piedra que yo he labrado & sentado enel pauado de baxo con vna gargailla de leon que es por do caye lagoa ala pexguera de composicion fecha la suma de cient veynte libras fuertes delas quoalles dichas cxx libras me tengo abien contento & pagado por testimonio deste Recognocimiento signado de mi nombre con mi propia mano fecho xii° dia de febrero Anno a nativitate domini m°cccc°xxii. Jehan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 7, CII.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXIV, no. 98; and Castro, Carlos III, p. 528.

3. Martes xiiii dia abril [de 1422] ... A pico caretero porel portage de v caretadas de filas pora la obra de johan lome que a iii sueldos vi por caretada valen xvii sueldos vi dineros. A danton senblament por el portage de iiii caretadas xiiii sueldos, A pascoalla viuda senblament por el portage de v caretadas xvii sueldos vi dineros. (AGN, Reg. 371, fol. 212v.)

4. Viernes xvii dia abril [de 1422] ... A pico caretero por el portage de v carretadas de las grandes piedras pora la obra de johan lome que a iii sueldos vi dineros por caretada vallen xvii sueldos vi dineros. A danton senblament por iiii caretadas xiiii sueldos. A pascoalla senblament por v caretadas xvii sueldos vi dineros. (AGN, Reg. 371, fol. 214r.)

5. Lunes xxvii dia de abril [de 1422] ... A rodrigo calcinero porel portage de v carretadas de grandes piedras pora johan lome que a iii sueldos vi dineros por caretada valen xvii sueldos vi dineros. A pico

senblament por x caretadas al dicho precio valen xxxv sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 371, fol. 218r.)

Those persons who merely drove carts and oxen supplied by the king received only 7 sueldos per day. Thus the apparently high daily wage for these persons is due to the fact that it includes "rental" of the oxen and carts.

6. Sepan todos que yo Johan lome maçonero Recognosco auer ouido & Recebido de vos Johan periz de taffailla Recebidor dela meryndat dolit et clerigo delas obras Realles en taffailla porel pinacle que yo he fecho sobre la cambra fria dos dreçadores de piedra enel pauado baxo tenient al jardin et por vna catedra de piedra tenient ala torrella morisqua de composicion fecha con mi la suma de dozientas veynte quoatro libras fuertes delas quoalles me tengo por bien pagado por testimonio deste Recognocimiento signada de mi nombre con mi propia mano fecho x dia de mayo Anno a nativitate domini m°cccc°xxii°. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 7, XCIII.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXIV, no. 343.

7. Sabado xxiii dia de mayo [de 1422] ... A pico caretero por el portage de x caretadas de piedras grandes pora johan lome pora conuertir en las fuentes que a iii sueldos vi dineros por caretada valen xxxv sueldos. A danton senblament por el portage de viii caretadas al dicho precio de iii sueldos vi dineros por caretada vallen xxviii sueldos. A pascoal de tudela caretero senblament por ix caretadas al dicho precio de iii sueldos vi dineros por caretada valen xxxi sueldos vi dineros. A rodrigo calcinero senblament por xii caretadas al dicho precio de iii sueldos vi dineros por cada caretada vallen xlii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 371, fol. 239r.)

8. Viernes xvii dia de julio [de 1422] ... A johan lome maçonero porel levantar & Resentar enel pavado de suso i^{a} braca en anplo & todo a luengo del dicho pavado enel quoal ha puesta v maçoneros a viii sueldos por maçonero vallen xl sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 371, fol. 279r.)

9. Sauado primero dia de Agosto [de 1422] ... A johan lome maçonero porel maçonar de agrapar & enplomar las dichas agrapas delos carneles & tablas de piedra & puerta de fiero que el lasa asentada enel pasage dela agoa enla pesguera Enel quoal ha entrado iii maçoneros ultra los detras Escriptos que a viii sueldos por maçonero valen xxiiii sueldos. (AGN, Reg. 371, fol. 286v.)

10. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome maçonero Recognosco auer Recebido de vos Johan periz de taffailla Recebidor dela meryndat dolit & clerigo delas obras Realles en taffailla porel maçonar Rancar la piedra labrar abo q̃ destroadra [?] & sentar aquilla en los setios al derredor del pauado baxo & iiii°° catedras con sus setios en las iiii°° torres del jardin & por las dos fuentes que yo he labrado cerque del portal de speragrano con sus dos grand pilas de conposicion fecha con mi iiii^{c} libras. Item por el creix de obra que yo he fecho de maçoneria en las dichas placas ultra lo desus las partidas de dineros que se siguen. Primero

que he metido en las iiii° torrelas del jardin viii° grand perpeaynos que a manera de antepechos que a lxxv sueldos pieça vallen trenta libras et por el pauamento delas dichas iiii° torrelas que contiene v bracas & media a xliiii sueldos por braca vallen xii libras ii sueldos. Item por mis jornalles que he puesto en fayzonar & labrar de architreria vna catedra de jesso que es enel cabo dela galeria baxo del jardin xlv sueldos & por maçonar & sentar los setios tenient a la catedra que es tenient a la torrela morisqua con sus antepechos x libras que montan estas partidas quoatrozientas cinquoanta quoatro libras siepte sueldos fuertes delas quoalles me tengo por bien pagado por testimonio deste Recognocimiento signado de mi nombre con mi propia mano fecho xii° dia de Agosto Anno a nativitate domini m°cccc°xxii°. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 7, LXXXIV.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXIV, no. 558.

11. Sepan todos que yo johan lome maçonero Reconozco auer ouido Receuido de vos johan periz de thafailla Recebidor dela merindat dolit & clerigo delas obras Reales en tafailla por coatros arcos que yo e maçonado dejus la tor del Reloge entre la galeria de las natas & la cambra fria fecha conposicion en xxiii libras de li de Rancar la piedra laurar & asentar de las coales veinte tres libras me tengo por bien pagado vos do esta cedulla de Reconocimiento sinado de mi nombre con mi propia mano fecho el xiii dia de Septiembre Anno domini mil iiii° xxii. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 7, LXXXII.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXIV, no. 628.

12. Por esto todo primerament ordeno dispono et mando que quando quiera que nuestro seynnor dios fiziere su comiendamiento de mi et la mi Anima partiere deste mundo al otro que los mis cabecalleros juso escriptos fagan soterrar el mi cuerpo en la claustra de la yglesia catedral de santa maria de pomplona en la sepultura nueva que yo he fecho fazer. Et mando que sean fechos el dicho mi enterrorio novena et cabo dayno bien et honradament de mis bienes por mano de mis cabecalleros de juso escriptos. ... Assaber es sendas capeillanias en cada uno de los dichos aynnos et por las animas de mis padre et madre Et por la Anima de dona Johana de beunça mi muger que fue. ... Primerament a la obra de la dicha yglesia catedral santa maria de pomplona quoaranto florines doro del dicho cuyno daragon. ... Item a la yglesia de santa maria de bon lot en la quoal mis padre et madre fueron sepelidos pora celebrar el diurno officio de nuestro seynnor dios hun caliz de plata dela vallor et montanca de veynte florines doro del dicho cuyno. ... Facta carta de testament en el dicho logar de Colina xviii° dia de febrero Anno a nativitate domini m°cccc°xx secundo. [Extract from the testament of Pere Arnaut de Garro.] (Archivo del Duque de Villahermosa, Madrid, Sección: Archivo del Duque de Granada de Ega, Leg. 65, let. F, Año 1422, no. 4.)

Bibliography: Francisco Escalada, Documentos históricos del castillo de Javier y sus mayorazgos, I (Pamplona, 1931), p. 60; and Marqués de Montesa, "El sepulcro de don Leonel: Prueba de armas," Príncipe de Viana, VI (1945), pp. 148-149.

13. En el nombre de la sancta trinidat . el padre el ffijo et el sancto espiritu . el signe de la crus delante puesto yo simon nabar . Secretario del rrey nuestro sennor considerando que en este mundo no ay cossa tan cierta como la muerte ni tan incierta como la sona de aquella ... Item ordeno dejo et mando a la obra de la yglessia de sennor Sancto Sebastian de taffalla para ffacer de piedra vna figura et ymagen de san sebastian para poner en el altar de la dicha yglessia quarenta florines de oro segunt que yo e debissado a Juan lome . et seran puestas mis armas en vna piedra de jus la dicha ymagen. ... Ano a natibitate domini mill . quatrocientos y veynte dos . el deciseys seno dia de nobiembre en la villa de Sanguesa fue testiguado este presente testamento et Recebido en nota por mi Juan de leet secretario del Rey nuestro dicho sennor. [Extract from the testament of Simon Navar, here transcribed from a notarized copy of August 19, 1598.] (Archivo Municipal, Tafalla, Antecedentes del Convento de San Sebastian, Leg. 3, "Proceso sobre escudo de armas," fol. [3r]. Hereafter cited as AMT, Antecedentes, "Proceso.")

Bibliography: José Cabezudo Astrain, "Historia del real convento de San Sebastián de Tafalla," Príncipe de Viana, XII (1951), pp. 174-175. Hereafter cited as Cabezudo Astrain, "San Sebastián."

1423

1. Sepan todos que yo johan lome maçonero otorgo auer ouido Receuido de vos johan periz de tafailla Recebidor dela merindat de olit & clerigo delas obras Reales en tafailla por x filades de perpianes que yo e maçonado i asentado en la torrella del Reloge de conposicion fecha con vos & los otros obreros en sisanta & siete libras de carlines fuertes dela coal dicha Suma de lxvii libras me tengo por bien pagado por testimonio deste Recognocimiento sinado de mi nombre con mi propia mano fecho el vi dia de março Ano anativitate domini m°cccc° xxiii. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 21, LXXX.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXV, no. 116.

2. A Ochoa derniarde machin de grecieta et michel de alquiça maçoneros el xxix° dia de março anno xxiii° porel maçonar delas pietras dela tor del passage conel estaçan en que la dicha tor carga et con las finiestras cruzadas & fazoñs de puertas con la corbella dura & perpianes dela galeria dela dicha tor & con fayzon dela chaminea de piedra que es enla dicha tor exceptado que porel plazer del Rey nuestro seynnor & sus expensas del dicho seynnor fue refecha el manto dela dicha chaminea por los maçoneros de Johan lome a jornal los quoales jornalles son escriptos enel libro mayor delos peones enel aynno passado xxii° - Aqui alos dichos Ochoa machin & michel por todo el sobre plus ultra los jornalles del manto dela chaminea como dicho es que el Rey paga aquilla porel plus & de composicion fecha con eillos en v^{c} . lxxx florines que vallen viii^{c} lxx libras. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [32r].)

3. Seppan todos que yo Johan periz de thaffailla Recebidor dela

merindat dolit & clerigo delas obras Realles que el Rey nuestro seynnor faze fazer en thaffailla Reconozco auer ouido & Recebido de don garcia loppiz de Roncesvailles thesorero de Nauarra et en su absencia por mano de machin de calua goarda de los dichos coffres la Suma de cient libras carlines fuertes los quoalles el dicho seynnor Rey me a fecho dar & deliurar para conuertir & distribuir en las dichas obras & las ouo [?] Johan lome maçonero Sobre lo que li es deuido a causa de su dicho officio en las dichas obras Dela quoal dicha Suma de c libras me tengo por bien pagado & contenpto Por testimonio deste me Recognocimiento signado de mi propia mano el xxiii dia dabril Anno m°ccccxxiii°. JP de taffailla. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 13, XIX.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXV, no. 285.

4. Seppan todos que yo Johan periz de thaffailla Recebidor dela merindat dollit et clerigo delas obras Realles que el Rey faze fazer en thaffailla Otorgo auer ouido & Recebido de don garcia loppiz de Roncesuailles thesorero de Nauarra de los dineros ordennados poner en los coffres del Rey nuestro seynnor deliurados por mano de machin de calua goarda delos dichos coffres pora conuertir et distribuir en las dichas obras las partidas de dineros et por la causa que se sigue. ... Item deliurados & pagados el xiii° & xxv° dias de Jullio a Johan lome maçonero sobre lo que li es deuido acausa de las dichas obras xxxiiii° . libras x sueldos. ... Por testimonio deste mi Recognocimiento Enel quoal he puesto mi nombre con mi propia mano - El xxix° dia de agosto - Laynno mil cccc°s vint & tres - JP d taffailla. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 10, XV.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXV, no. 528.

5. Sepan todos que yo ochoa dernialde maçonero otorgo auer ouido Receuido de vos johan periz de tafailla Recebidor dela merindat dolit & clerigo delas obras Reales en taffailla por cient & sisanta caretadas de piedra que de mi an seydo conpradas las quoales caretadas de piedra yo las Ranque & desgaste enla pedrera & pora las obras que se han fechas por mano de johan lome maçonero en quinze liuras de carlenes de carlines [sic] prietos dela quoal suma de xv libras me tengo por bien conptento & pagado por testimonio deste Recognocimiento sinado dela mano de m^e simon de leoz secreptario del Rey nuestro Seynor enel viii° dia de deziembre anno a nativitate domini m°cccc°xxiii°. S de Leoz. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 21, LXXVIII.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXV, no. 894. There is also a copy of this document; see next entry.

6. A Ochoa dernialde maçonero por comprar de clx piedras [sic] que de eil an seydo conpradas pora el arquo con el pilar que s̄ a fecho en el jardin del prado pora do decendra la fuent pora vna finiestra de arco punto vii catiedras en el dicho jardin los quoales seran lauradas por mano de Johan lome & composicion fecha con el dicho ochoa porel Rancar & desgastar dela dicha piedra xv libras. [El xxix dia de nouiembre.] (AGN, Papeles sueltos, 1a serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [14r].)

7. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome maçonero Ottorgo auer ouido & Recebido de vos Johan periz de taffailla Recebidor dela merindat de Ollit & clerigo delas obras Realles de taffailla porlas fayzones de vna finiestra que yo he maçonado enlas dichas hobras ha maynel & sus claraboyas baxo & assi bien de suso la quoal finiestra es crozada sobre larquo a demey Ront & a molura & otra finiestra tenient ala tor del pasage Et por las dos grandes finiestras que son en el grant jardin a claraboyas baxa & a molura & de suso quinientas treinta siete libras seze sueldos carlines prietos & por el maçonar de vn marcha pie pora puyar acauaillo pora el seynor Rey delant el portal delos palacios de Ollit deuers la villa El quoal dicho marcha pie fizi por mandamiento del seynor Rey quoatro libras que montan las dos partidas quinientas quoaranta vna libras seze sueldos carlines prietos Dela quoal suma de v^{c}xli libras xvi sueldos me tiengo por bien contento & pagado por testimonio deste Recognocimiento signado de mi nombre con mi mi [sic] propia mano El xv^{o} dia de deziembre Anno anatiuitate domini m^{o}cccc^{o}xxiii^{o}. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 11, XLII.)

Bibliography: Bertaux, "Mausolée," p. 105; and Castro, Catálogo, XXXV, no. 914. There is also a copy of this document; see AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [37].

8. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome maçonero delas obras del seynor Rey en taffailla Ottorgo auer ouido & Recebido de vos Johan periz de taffailla Recebidor dela merindat de ollit & clerigo delas obras Realles de taffailla Por vna maca & ii palancas & iiii cuynnos & doze fueillas de fierro que de mi an seydo compradas pora Romper las peynnas pora auer dela piedra pora fazer el grant maciço del grant jardin la suma de siete libras diez sueldos carlines prietos Dela quoal suma de vii libras x sueldos me tengo por bien contento & pagado por testimonio deste Recognocimiento signado de mi nombre con mi propia mano El xxviii^{o} dia de deziembre Anno cccc^{o}xxiii^{o}. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 108, no. 14, XXXVII.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXV, no. 967. There is also a copy of this document; see AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [15r].

9. A John lome maçonero por liura vigua de pino que deill ha seydo comprada por el estayillo dela galeria luenga do el princep s̄ a lojado el xxi^{o} dia de Septiembre xlii sueldos. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp 2, fol. [5r].

10. A johan de bermeo maçonero el sobre dicho dia [iiii^{o} dia de deziembre de 1423] por conprar de xxviii caretadas de piedra que el las Rancā en la pedrera con otros compayneros & s̄ a distribuydos enplegada en el arquo dela fuente que s̄ a la desendida del jardin del prado iiii libras iiii sueldos. A dandr̄u dorty en el sobre dicho dia por conprar iii fustes viejas pora la loia de Johan lome que a xx sueldos pieça vallen lx sueldos. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [14v].

11. Seppan todos que yo johan lome maçonero ottorgo auer ouido Receuido de vos johan periz de tafailla Recebidor dela merindat dolit & clerigo delas obras Reales de taffailla los quoales el Rey nuestro Seynor me los a fechos dar & deliurar por mi trauajo & sostenimiento de mis espensas enel tiempo que la catiedra que es enel jardin del prado tenient a laurel se fazia por quanto yo non tenia obra alguna a vna part ny jornales de mi persona non se contanan en este comedio la suma de veinte nueue liuras de carlines prietos dela quoal Suma de xxix libras me tengo por bien conptento por testimonio deste mi Recognocimiento sinado de mi nombre con mi propia mano enel postremero dia de dezienbre anno a nativitate domini m°ccccxxiii°. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 2, I.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXIV, no. 938. Castro assumes the date (December 31, 1423 of the year of the nativity of Christ) to be old style and consequently places the document in his listings for 1422. However, a copy of the document (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [38v]) occurs in a chronological listing of documents for 1423. The document, therefore, belongs to the latter year.

1424

1. A Johan lome maçonero enel sobre dicho dia [xiiii dia de febrero de 1424] por compra de vna sarraja con su borrojo & claue pora la grant puerta dela escudria xv sueldos. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [17v].)

2. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome Maçonero Recognosco auer ouido & Recebido de Johan periz de taffailla Recebidor dela merindat dollit & clerigo delas obras Realles de taffailla las partidas de dineros & por la forma & manera que se sigue. Primo por el Reffazer delos perpeaynnos del Jardin del prado enlos ii cantones del dicho Jardin deurs la Rua de spagrano & tornar aqueillos a fayzon de cerchas & sentar aqueillas de composicion fecha con vos & con los otros obreros en xxxvi libras vi sueldos Et por la fayzon de xxx carnelles que yo he laurado & sentado enla corona dela fuent sobre los arquos a xlv sueldos pieça vallen lxvii libras x sueldos. Item que he maçonado & sentado dos foyllolas vltra de mi composicion xxx libras. Item por ciertas piedras grandes que de mi han seydo compradas tanto pora fazer la grant catiedra que es tenient a laurel como por otras cosás viii libras que montan estas partidas la suma de cient quoaranta vna libras seze sueldos. Dela qucal suma de cxli libras xvi sueldos me tengo por bien contento & pagado por testimonio deste me Recognocimiento signado de mi nombre con mi propia mano Enel postremero dia de febrero Anno m°cccc°xxiiii°. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 5, XLIV.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXVI, no. 102. There is a copy of this document; see AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fols. [42v and 44v]. Fol. 44v is mistakenly dated the last day of February 1425.

3. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome maçonero morant en pomplona -

Otorgo auer ouido & Recebido de don garcia Loppiz de Roncesuailles thesorero de nauarra delos dineros ordenados poner en los coffres del Rey nuestro seynor & deliurados en su aubsencia por mano de machin de calua goarda delos dichos coffres - Sobre C libras que an deuido pora obrir la puerta denta el jardin & Refazer de nuebo et fazer de perpeaynnos la escalera daquilla enlos palacios Realles de Ollit - La Suma de cinquoanta libras carlines prietos - De que me tengo por bien pagado & por bien entegrado - Por testimonio deste mi Recognoscimiento - En el quoal he puesto mi nombre con mi propia mano - Enel xx° dia de mayo - Anno anativitate domini m°cccc°xxiiii° - Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 7, LXVIII.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXVI, no. 321.

4. A martin martinnez de aoiz mercadero en la ciudat de ponplona enel xxv dia de junio [de 1424] por conpra de medio quintal de staino pora la soldura delos caynnos de plomo pora la fuent ix libras. A Remon tornero enla dicha ciubdat de ponplona enel sobre dicho dia por conpra de iiii cuerdos de arquos que del fueron comprad pora guilem periz tornero pora la senblament delos caynos dela fuent que a vii sueldos pieça montan xxiiii° sueldos. A Esteuan deses saraillero en la dicha ciubdat de ponplona enel sobre dicho dia por conpra de iii taladros que el fezo por guilen periz tornero & a su advis pora forador las fustas dela fuent ii florines & medio que a xxx sueldos pieça vallen lxxv sueldos. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [18v].)

5. Seppan todos que yo mahoma helleli ferrero vezino dela ciubdat de tudela Ottorgo auer ouido & Recebido de johan periz de taffailla Recebidor dela merindat dollit & clerigo delas obras realles de taffailla por iii grandes taladros que de mi han seydo comprados pora foradar las fustas dela fuent que deue venir al palacio del seynnor Rey en taffailla & las faze por lauis de John lome maçonero por la suma de nueue libras dizenueue sueldos fuertes dela quoal suma de ix libras xix sueldos me tengo por bien pagado por testimonio deste Recognocimiento enel quoal a puesto su nombre con su propia mano el dicho Johan lome por quoanto yo non se escriuir a Rogaria & Requesta mia Enel ii° dia de Jullio laynno del nascimiento de nuestro seynnor m°cccc°xxiiii°. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 2 IX.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXVI, no. 430. There is also a copy of this document; see AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [18v].

6. A furtuynno barailla tendero enla vila dolit enel viii dia de julio por conpra de c clauos de clauilotes pora el engenio dela obra que johan lome faze a iii dineros el par vallen xii sueldos vi dineros. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [19r].)

7. A John lome maçonero enel sobre dicho dia [xi dia de julio de 1424] por ii libras de bora descalata que el compro enla ciubdat de ponplona pora mezclar conel carmin pora las pinturas delas torrelas moriscas a

vi sueldos por libra xii sueldos. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [19v].)

8. A pascoal de garas tendero enla vila de olit enel xiiii dia de julio por conpra de c clauos de clauilotes pora el engenio que Johan lome obra ultra otros c deçaga escriptos aqui a el por estos c clauos xv sueldos. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [19v].)

9. A johan lome maçonero enel xvi dia de agosto porel Refazer dela corbeladura dela teraça del grant maciço el quoal fue deriuada por comadamiento del Rey nuestro Seynor por [illegible word] la dicha teraça de conposicion fecha con el dicho johan lome en viii libras. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [42r].)

10. Sepan todos que yo johan lome maçonero otorgorgo [sic] auer ouido Receuido de johan periz de taffailla clerigo delas obras Reales dela dicha vila de taffailla porel Remaçonar del antepecho dela teraça del grant maciço del grant jardin & alargar sobre corbeles la Suma de ocho liuras de carlines fuertes dela quoal Suma de viii libras me tengo bien pagado & contento por testimonio deste Recognocimiento sinado de mi nonbre con mi propia mano enel xvii° dia de agosto ano a natiuitate domini m°cccc°xxiii°. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 2, IV)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXVI, no. 466.

11. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome maçonero Otorgorgo [sic] auer ouido & Recebido de vos John periz de taffailla Recebidor dela merindat dolit & clerigo delas obras Realles de taffailla porel maçonar delas dos delanteras delas dos fuentes vltra loque ha seydo escripto enlos libros mayores a jornal & de composicion fecha con vos & con los otros obreros la suma de trenta libras carlines prietos Dela quoal suma de xxx libras me tengo por bien contento & pagado por testimonio deste Recognocimiento signado de mi nombre con mi propia mano El ix° dia de ottobre Anno m°cccc°xxiiii°. Item mas otorgo auer Receuido del dicho Johan periz porel asentar de vna raxa que es enel maciço enel muro dela vila sisanta sueldos. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 5, XLIII.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXVI, no. 557. There is also a copy of this document; see AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fols. [42v and 44r].

12. Seppan todos que nos perico & anton carreteros Ottorgamos auer ouido & Recebido de Johan periz de taffailla Recebidor dela merindat dollit & clerigo delas obras Realles de taffailla las partidas de dineros & por la forma & manera que se siguen. Primero porel carreo de iii^{m} piedras que nos auemos traydo de candarayz ha taffailla alas obras las quoalles piedras han seydo conuertidas enlos arcos & pillares dela corona dela fuent & han seydo maçonadas & puestas por Johan lome & de composicion fecha con vos & los otros obreros en ii^{c} xxv libras Et por ii^{c}xvii carretadas de fustes Redondes pora la fuent & coartizas pora las bottigas que nos auemos traydo delos montes de alayz & son escriptido por menudo enel libro grant a xx sueldos por

carretada & contentamos a traer los dichos fustes del vi° dia de Jullio ata el xxiiii° dia de octtobre deste present aynno que montan estas partidas la suma de ii^{c} xlii libras que montan estas dos partidas la suma de quoatrozientas quoaranta & dos libras carlines prietos dela quoal suma de iiii^{c} xlii libras nos tenemos por bien contentos & pagados por testimonio deste nuestro Recognocimiento signado a nuestra Rogaria por quanto non sabemos escriuir de la mano de martin periz - Enel xxviii° dia dottobre Anno m°cccc°xxiiii°. MPDe taffailla. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 1, VI.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXVI, no. 642. There is also a copy concerning the first item; see AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [45r].

13. Sepan todos que yo johan lome maçonero ottorgo auer ouido Receuido de johan periz de tafailla Recebidor dela merindat dolit & clerigo delas obras Reales de taffailla porlas obras que yo e tajado & maçonado sobre el grant maciço del grant jardin tanto delos ix arquos conlos ix pilares & xii pilaretes a filolas sobre los dichos arquos con la faizon dela finiestra que es de bers la carcana conel pauamentado de sobre el dicho maciço conlas perpianaduras que son enla dicha placa conla faizon dela grant escalera conel pilar & bacin dela dicha placa conel arquo & drecador conlos ii bacines que son enel jardin del prado ala decendida dela agoa dela fuent conposicion fecha conel et con los otros obreros en dos mil & cient liuras de carlines prietos dela quoal Suma de ii^{m} & C libras me tengo por bien contento et pagado por testimonio deste Recognocimiento sinado de mi nonbre con mi propia mano fecho enel xvi dia de nouienbre laynno del nacimiento del nuestro seynor de mil iiii^{c} & xxiiii°. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 5, LI.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXVI, no. 688; and Castro, Carlos III, p. 529. There is also a copy of this document; see AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [43r].

14. A john de bermeo maçonero enel dia vt supra [xvi de nouiembre de 1424] porel Rancar de iii^{m} piedras que el lasa Rancadas en el ayno pasado et en este present aynno ata este dia [illegible]s a sauer las mil piedras carecales & las mil piedras de perpianes & [illegible] otra mil piedras de a pilares las quoales iii^{m} piedras han seido enplegadas en las paretes delos pilares & arquos & perpianes de sobre el maciço enel grant jardin & an seido lauradas por mano de Johan lome & conposicion fecha conel Johan de bermeo en ii^{c}l libras. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [43v].)

15. Seppan todos que yo Johan de grecieta vezino & morador en alquiza Ottorgo auer ouido & Recebido de vos Johan periz de taffailla Recebidor dela merindat dollit & clerigo delas obras Realles de taffailla los quoalles eil me lo deliuro sobre loque li era deuido a mi fijo machin de grecieta el quoal tomo a vna parte toda la obra que ha seydo fecha en las cambras delos Retraytes que son tenientes a la tor del pasage a doble perpeayn & deuia aver a vii libras de carlines por braça contando bazio [?] con el maciço & contiene la dicha obra vynte siete braças & hun quoart de braça quoal dicho precio montan cient

nouanta libras quinze sueldos. Et por vna chaminea que eill ha fecho enla dicha cambra estimada por m^e Johan & Johan lome en quoaranta cinquo libras dela dicha moneda las quoalles obras & chaminea yo he fecho maçonar a jornal empues la fin del dicho mi fijo que montan las dos partidas sobre dichas la suma de dozientas trenta cinquo libras quinze sueldos carlines prietos. Dela quoal suma de ii^c xxxv libras xv sueldos me tengo por bien contento & pagado por testimonio deste mi Recognoscimiento signado a mi Rogaria & Requesta por quanto yo non se escriuir de la mano de martin loppiz Relayn - alcalde dela villa de taffailla El xxviii^o de nouiembre Anno m^o cccc^o xxiiii^o. M̄tin L̄z Relayn. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 5, L.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXVI, no. 719. There is also a copy of this document; see AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [43v].

16. Seppan todos que yo Johan periz de taffailla Recebidor dela merindat dolit et clerigo delas obras que el Rey faze fazer en taffailla Otorgo auer ouido & Recebido de don garcia loppiz de Roncesuailles thesorero de Nauarra delos dineros ordenados poner enlos coffres del Rey nuestro seynnor deliurados en su aussencia por mano de machin de calua goarda de los dichos coffres las partidas de dineros et por las causas que se siguen. Primero pora conuertir et distribuyr en las dichas obras dela semana que començo el xi^o dia deste present mes de deziembre et finido el xvi^o dia del dicho mes en seguient cxvi libras viii^o sueldos vi dineros. Item deliurado por mi a Johan lome Sobre lo que a eill lies deuido acausa dela obra delos canales del jardin et del prado xlv libras que montan estas dos partidas La Suma de cient sixanta vna libras ocho sueldos et seys dineros carlines prietos. Dela quoal dicha suma de clxi libras viii^o sueldos vi dineros por la dicha causa me tengo por bien pagado et entegoado Por testimonio deste mi Recognocimiento Enel quoal he puesto mi nombre con mi propia mano El xxi^o dia de deziembre Laynno mil cccc^os vint & quoatro. JP d taffailla. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 6, XVII.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXVI, no. 792.

17. Primeramente ordeno e mando que Cada que de mi deueniere mi cuerpo sea soterrado en la yglesia del monasterio de Sanct domingo de estella en la fuessa do los frayles han dado para mi e para dona teressa palomeque mi muger que es dentro de la dicha yglesia en la sepultura que esta enla parte de la dicha iglesia cerca del altar mayor ala parte yzquierda. Et que El dicho mi enterrorio me sea hecho bien y cumplidamente segun a mi pertenesce. [Extract from the testament of don Gonzaluo Ramirez de Baquedano, dated March 9, 1424.] (AGN, Dominicos de Estella, Leg. único, no. 3, fol. [2r].)

Bibliography: José Goñi Gaztambide, "Historia del convento de Santo Domingo de Estella," Príncipe de Viana, XXII (1961), p. 24. The transcription of this passage is taken from a copy of the testament dated July 24, 1563.

1425

1. A petrin de garinoain & garo ferreros los quoales han deliurado a maoma halhali moro el quoal ha laurado de fiero pora las obras a jornal et asi bien a daniel argentero que a obrado enel grifon desde el xxv dia de jenero [de 1425] ata oy el xxvi dia de febrero [de 1425] incluso el dicho dia dia [sic] xlix saquos de carbon a vi sueldos por saquo montan Et asi bien a daniel argentero el quoal ha obrado enel grifon dela fuent xiiii libras xiiii sueldos. A los sobre dichos petrin & garo en vii dias de de [sic] lauor ata oy vii dia de março [de 1425] al moro & argenteros xiii saquos de carbon a vi sueldos por saquo montan lxxviii sueldos. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [25r].)

2. La fuent de manos de Johan lome con lo que lies deuido primero el fara & asentara laros a las pilas como dicho es & fara hun bacin chico que saldra de jus el maciço dela torela del Rey hun bacin chico con su mainel & fara & asentar la otra catiedra por todo poquo mas o menos pagando todo lo que lies devido iii^{c}xx libras. Item dela grant pilla que ha primera composicion C lxxx libras & que li auemos menester dar la fusta & vbrir el camino por todas cosas ii^{c} x libras. Suma lo de Johan lome v^{c} xxx libras. (AGN, Reg. 272, fol. 411v.)

3. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome maçonero Ottorgo auer ouido & Recebido de vos Johan periz de taffailla Recebidor dela merindat dollit & clerigo delas obras Realles de taffailla las partidas de dineros & por la forma & manera que se sigue. Primero por lxxi bracas de caynos de piedra que yo he laurado & sentado sobre la perpenadura del jardin del prado pora passar la fuent a Razon de lx sueldos por braca montan ii^{c} xiii libras. Item por la piedra que yo he laurado - esta toda piestra pora sentar hun arquo a chambran sobre dos pillares & deuia ser puesta enla puerta del palacio deuant las bottigas do la agoa dela fuent deuia sayllir - composicion fecha con vos & los otros obreros en cxxx libras delas quoalles me aued̄ Rebbattido por el sentar del dicho arquo & pillares xxx libras por el plus c libras. Item por vna cuba & bacin de piedra que yo he laurado & sentado enel jardin del prado tenient ala puerta de spagrano do lagoa del Regacuello saille l libras. Item por xxxvi bracas de caynnos de piedra que yo fecho & sentado enel dicho jardin en trā̄ por do passa la dicha agoa del Regacuello a xlv sueldos por braca montan lxxxi libras. Item por hun drecador de piedra que yo fecho & puesto enel pauado del maciço & por vna quatiedra a faus lestuy que esta puesta jus la finiestra cruzada tenient al al [sic] arco dela fuent enel dicho jardin xlviii^{o} libras. Item por vn otro bacin & cuba que yo he fecho & puesta enel dicho jardin delant la galeria l libras. Et por la fayzon de Rancar laurar la piedra de vna grant pilla que esta delant el palacio por la quoal deuia auer de composicion fecha conel Rey que dios aya clxxx libras & daqueillas me ha Rebbattido los obreros por ciertas obras de mas que yo deuia fazer por causa dela dicha pilla lx libras porel plus cxx libras delas quoalles he Recebido en deducion & part de paga xii libras viii sueldos Que montan las sobre dichas partidas por mi Recebidas de vos el dicho Johan periz de taffailla clerigo delas dichas obras la suma de quinientas cinquoanta quoatro libras ocho sueldos carlines prietos. Dela quoal suma de v^{c}

liiii libras viii sueldos me tengo por bien contento & pagado por testimonio deste Recognocimiento signado de mi nombre con mi propia mano Enel xxvi° dia de septiembre Anno m°cccc°xxv°. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 109, no. 19, XXXIV.)

Bibliography: Castro, Catálogo, XXXVII, no. 20. There is also a copy of this document; see AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fols. [48v-49r]. See the next entry. We may also note here that the bookkeeper made an error in Lome's favor; the sums due him total 544 libras 8 sueldos rather than the 554 libras 8 sueldos paid him.

4. A el [Johan lome] por la fayzon de vna grant pila que esta delant la puerta del palacio & conposicion conel Rey ha qui dios aya en clxxx libras delas quoales clxxx libras s el Rehacen de vii° leones que el deuia fazer pora do la dicha pila deuia ser puesta sobre aqueillos & asi bien que el dicho Johan lome deuia laurar la dicha pila a boca descoda lx libras aqui porel plus cxx libras de que no passan aqui sequient su mandamiento sino xii libras viii sueldos. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg 67, carp. 2, fol. [48v].)

5. A sobre dicho johan lome maçonero el quoal deuia auer porel laurar Rancar la piedra & asentar delas finiestras & puertas que deuian ser a orba boyas & foylolas sobre el maciço dela grant plaça delant los Retraites de conposicion fecha conel porel seynor Rey en vi^{c} libras presentes el tesorero machin de calua & enecot de ygurpide sobre las quoales vi^{c} libras ha Receuido iii^{c} de deducion & partida de paga deliurada por mano de johan periz de taffailla clerigo delas obras iii^{c} libras. (AGN, Papeles sueltos, la serie, Leg. 67, carp. 2, fol. [49r].)

6. A Johan lome maçonero que deuidos li son de Resta de maçoneria que eill ha obrado enlos pallacios Realles cvii libras xii sueldos. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 145, no. 1, fol. [14v].)

Bibliography: Florencio Idoate, ed., Archivo General de Navarra: Catálogo de la sección de comptos, documentos, XXXVIII (1965), no. 955. Hereafter cited as Idoate, Catálogo. This account book (consisting of fifteen folia of text) of Johan Periz of Tafalla, receiver of the merindad of Olite, was drawn up by order of doña Blanca, queen of Navarre, in October 1425. It contains the most general summary of expenses for the period October 9, 1420, to September 9, 1425. Except for the above entry, it gives totals of payments to all workers in semi-annual statements.

1430

1. Primerament acomiendo a Dios et a la Virgen sancta Maria su Madre la mi anima et ofrezco el mi cuerpo para cuando Dios fiçieze su Comandamiento de mi que lo aya a finar et partir deste mundo al otro que el mi cuerpo sea soterrado dentro En la Yglesia del Monasterio de sancto Domingo de Esteilla enla sepultura donde jace el sobre dicho

Mossen Gonçaluo mi marido que Dios aya. [Extract from the testament of doña Teresa de Palomeque, dated January 6, 1430.] (AGN, Dominicos de Estella, Leg. único, no. 3, fol. [1r].)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Santo Domingo de Estella," p. 24. The transcription of this passage of the testament is taken from a copy dated January 1682.

1433

1. Al dicho Recebidor que ha pagado & espendido de comandamiento del Rey & dela Reyna nuestros seynnores en fazer ciertas obras en los pallacios Realles que los dichos seynnores han en la villa de Sanguesa enlos aynnos m°ccccxxx . xxxprimero et . xxxii . postremerament passados las quoalles dichas obras han seydo pagadas porel dicho Recebidor delas Receptas extrordinarias A ssaber es en compra de fustas grandes medianas & chicas piedra losa calcina carraillas borroros claues despuero et de cenia et otras cosas ala dicha obra pertnesçientes et logidas de maestros maçoneros et braceros como mas largament es contenido porel libro delas dichas obras signado en cadaynno dela mano del Secretario enel mandamiento contenido que montan en Suma de . vi^{m} . cli libras xiii sueldos . iii dineros carlines prietos Segunt contiene todas estas cosas et otras por mandamiento delos dichos seynnores Rey & Reynna Datum sobre esto en ollit . a xix . dias de febrero Anno a nativitate domini m°ccccxxxiii°. Por esto puestos aqui en expensa las dichas . vi^{m} . cli . libras xiii sueldos . iii dineros de que non passan en este compto segunt la Relacion fecha al Rey nuestro seynnor porque delas otras se destaga a ssaber es porel compto del prestamo dela placa dela dicha merindat de Sanguessa . mil . viii^{c} . xxxix . libras xii . sueldos vi dineros et aqui passan . ii^{m} . xlviii . libras. (AGN, Reg. 408, fol. 91r.)

1435

1. Seppan todos que io Johan lome maçonero en pomplona Otorgo auer Recebido de garcia lopiz de Roncesvailles thesorero de Nauarra por xxiii cobdos de touallas de flandes amplas que de mi han seido comprados pora el seruicio de la seynora Reyna a xxvi sueldos cada montan la Suma de veynte nueue libras dizeocho sueldos fuertes dela quoal dicha suma de xxix libras xviii sueldos fuertes me tengo por bien contento & pagado por testimonio deste mi Recognocimiento Signado A mi Requesta & Rogaria por quoanto yo finquo ocupado en mi mano dela mano de Johan fourment cambrero dela seynnora Reyna del xxiii° dia de mayo laynno del Nascimiento de nuestro seynnor mccccxxxv. Fōmēt. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 138, no. 9, II.)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLII, no. 141.

1439

1. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome de tornay maçonero vezino dela ciubdat de pomplona & maestro maor delas obras de maçoneria del Rey & dela Reyna nuestros seynnores ottorgo auer ouido & Recebido de Johan martiniz desquioz Recebidor de pomplona & merindat delas montaynas en paga de mi penssion que la Seynnora me da por diez kahices de trigo mesura Real del ayno xxxviii^{o} postremerament passado es a saber la suma de veynte libras fuertes delas quoalles me tengo por contento por testimonio del present Recognocimiento signado de mi nombre con mi propia mano enel xxiiii^{o} dia de febrero Anno a nativitate domini mccccxxx nono. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 142, no. 16, I.)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLIV, no. 87; and José Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos sobre la catedral de Pamplona, II," Príncipe de Viana, XVI (1955), p. 157. Hereafter cited as Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II."

2. A Johan lome maçonero et maestro mayor delas hobras Realles de maçoneria deliurados por ciertas hobras que eill feze Enlos pallacios Realles dela villa de ollit quoarenta florines de moneda que a xxx sueldos por florin vallen Como contiene por mandamiento del Rey et dela Reyna nuestros seynores Datum en la Ciudat de pomplona a x dias de mayo layno del nascimiento de nuestro senyor mil ccccxxxix. Rendido de suso En el titullo de paynnos sobre la linea de karlos mercadero lx libras de que non passan segunt el recognocimiento que xlv libras. (AGN, Reg. 435, fol. 49r.)

3. A Johan lome maestro mayor delas obras de maçoneria vezino & morador en la ciubdat de pomplona por sus gages & penssion que eil lieua del Rey & dela Reyna nuestros seynnores acausa de su officio dela dicha maçoneria en & sobre las Rentas ordinarias que el dicho Recebidor [Johan martiniz dezquioz] faze en la dicha merindat [de las montaynas] durant el tiempo que el dicho Johan lome tendra cargo delas dichas obras delos dichos seynnores la Suma de xx kahices de trigo segunt contiene mas largament porel compto del aynno mccccxxxvii do la liura fue Rendida por esto Aqui a el que ha ouido en este aynno [1439] x kahices. (AGN, Reg. 407, fol. 232r.)

4. Viernes xvi^{o} dia del dicho mes [de abrill de 1439] lauaron los que se siguen enla dicha obra adesuaillar la lossoa que estaua sobre la capieilla de sancta maria sobre el altar mayor. Primero miguel dayzpun maçonero . ix sueldos. Johan de fontarrauia - vii sueldos. pedro de fontarrauia - vii sueldos. johan de berastegui vii sueldos. (Archivo de la Catedral de Pamplona, Arca fabricae, no. 26-2^{o}, fol. 3v. Hereafter cited as ACP, Arca fab.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 158. This and other items in the Appendix 1439, 4-28, are taken from the "Libro de la expensa de la obra de sancta Maria de pomplona fecho por mi Johan desteilla capeillan de la dicha obra de la començando el aynno primero dia de Jenero Anno a nativitate domini m^{o}cccc^{o}xxx^{o}ix^{o} & finez-tra xxiiii^{o} de deziembre seguient," consisting of 89 folia.

5. Lunes xx° dia del dicho mes [de abrill de 1439] ... a Johan de lerga ferrero vezino de pomplona por xvi focetas [?] de fierro que eill fezo pora la pedrera de guendullayn le fueron pagados x sueldos. Item enel dicho dia al dicho Johan de lerga ferrero por compra de vna axada nueva de fierro que deill fue comprad pora la pedrera xii sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 4v.)

6. Martes xxi dia del dicho mes [de abrill de 1439] lauraron los maçoneros enla pedrera de guendullayn a Rencar piedra et asi bien a fazer mortero enla obra de pomplona . maçoneros & braceros xiiii . v libras x sueldos. Primo miguel daizpun ix . sueldos. Johan darratia ix . sueldos. martin de durango ix . sueldos. Ocho de arpide ix . sueldos. francisco dela goardia ix . sueldos. Ochoa de vrdaya vii . sueldos. Johan de fontarrabia ix . sueldos. Sabastian de çarauz vii . sueldos. martin darratia vii . sueldos. Johan de berastegui vii . sueldos. Johan de Segura vii . sueldos. pedro de garro vii . sueldos. Johan de Sant Johan vii . sueldos. Martin de andoayn vii . sueldos. Enel dicho dia carpenteros enla obra a fazer vnas Ruedas pora fazer vn carreton de nuevo pora la dicha obra . carpenteros . iiii . xxxiii sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 5r.)

Bibliography: Mariano de Arigita y Lasa, La asunción de la santísima Virgen y su culto en Navarra (Madrid, 1910), p. 40. Hereafter cited as Arigita y Lasa, Asunción.

7. Jueues xxiii° dia del dicho mes [de abrill de 1439] ... Item enel dicho dia fueron comprad de dos hombres de berrioçaz dos cargas de troncos grandes de olmo pora fazer carretones pora carrear las piedras que jazen enel cimiterio que costaron xiiii° sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 6r.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 158.

8. Viernes xxiiii dia del dicho mes [de abrill de 1439] ... Enel dicho dias carpenteros afazer el lecho del carreton nuevo . carpenteros iii . xxiii sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 6v)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 158.

9. Lunes xxvii° dia del dicho mes [de abrill de 1439] ... Item en este dia fuemos ala pedrera de guendullayn el chantre Johan lome & yo Johan desteilla con tres caualgaduras & dos moços por visitar los maçoneros que sacauan piedra espendiemos pan vino carne et ceuada - xiii° sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 7v.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 158.

10. Miercolles xxix° dia del dicho mes [de abrill de 1439] ... Enel dicho dia a esteue carragero por dos clauilotas & dos agujas grandes de fierro que eill fezo pora el carreton grande viii° sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 8v.)

11. Jueues postremero dia del dicho mes [de abrill de 1439] ... A

miguel de berrioçain porel portage delas vi Ruedas pora los carretones grandes que eill traxo en vi bestias del dicho logar de berrioçaz ala obra de pamplona es a saber del olmo que ailli fue comprado et serrado en esta semana fecha conpossicion conel chantre le fue pagado la suma de xxiiii° sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 9r.)

12. Sabbado . ii° . dia del dicho mes [de mayo de 1439] lauraron enla dicha pedrera en Rencar piedra Primero Johan de colinas ix sueldos. Johan darratia ix sueldos. Diago de bellaunça ix sueldos. Ochoa de arpide ix sueldos. martin de durango ix sueldos. miguel dayzpun ix sueldos. francisco dela goardia ix sueldos. Johan de berastegui vii sueldos. sabastian de çaurauz vii sueldos. Johan lome maestro mayor dela obra xv sueldos. Enel dicho dia braceros Primero Johan de Segura vii sueldos. martin darratia vii sueldos. pedro de garro vii sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 9v.)

13. Sabbado . ii° . dia del dicho mes [de mayo de 1439] ... a martin periz de guendullayn ostallero qui Recuylle et da possada alos maçoneros et braceros en su casa qui sacan & Rencan piedra enla pedrera de guendullayn pora la dicha obra contando del martes xxi dia de Abrill fasta el Sabbado . segundo dia de mayo delas dos semanas postremerament passadas trobanse por compto segunt las huestas del dicho martin periz et otra su ygoal que tenian los maçoneros aver lojado . cvii personas pagado a iiii° dineros por persona que montan.- xxxv sueldos viii° dineros. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 10r.)

A second payment was made to Martin Periz de Guendullayn on May 16 (fol. 16v); the third and final payment was made on May 23 (fol. 20r).

14. Sabbado xvi dia del mes [de mayo de 1439] ... Enel dicho dia fueron alogad quoatro bestias con sus moços por sacar del escombro que jazia enel cimiterio atenient ala tor del seynnor obispo por mandamiento delos jurados dela ciudat al chantre como obrero que ouiesse fazer sacar segunt que otras fazian sopena de la hordenaça delos dichos jurados pague asi bien porla expensa de los moços como los logueros delas bestias por todo la suma de - xxxviii sueldos viii dineros. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 16r.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 158.

15. Lunes xviii° dia del dicho mes [de mayo de 1439] ... Enel dicho dia lauraron enla obra de pomplona martin de lombier et sancho de yturel carpenteros a fazer vn carreton de nueuo ouieron de jornal cada ix sueldos que montan xviii sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 17r.)

16. Sabbado xxiii dia del dicho mes [de mayo de 1439] ... A pedro periz de fontarrauia ferrero vezino & habitant a present enel logar de guendullayn por aguzar & Reparar las ferramentas de los maçoneros que han continuado en v° semanas postremerament passados en Rencar et sacar piedra en la pedrera del dicho logar de guendullayn pora la dicha obra lo quoal dicho pedro periz li era deuido segunt que mostro por su

huesta concordant con otra su ygoal que tenia los maçoneros que se troban enlas dichas huestas . iii^{c} . puntas pagadas a viii^{o} sueldos el ciento vallen xxiiii^{o} sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2^{o}, fol. 20r.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 158.

17. Jueues xxv dia del dicho mes [de junio de 1439] lauraron los maçoneros enla dicha obra. Primero Johan lome maestro xv sueldos. Johan de colinas ix sueldos. Johan darratia ix sueldos. miguel dayzpun ix sueldos. diago de bellaunça ix sueldos. ochoa de arpide ix sueldos. martin de durango ix sueldos. francisco dela goardia ix sueldos. ochoa de aya vii sueldos. Johan de berastegui vii sueldos. martin de andoayn vii sueldos. Sebbastian de çarauz vii sueldos. Johan de Segura vii sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2^{o}, fol. 31r.)

18. Sabbado xxvii^{o} dia del dicho mes [de junio de 1439] ... En este dia començaron adasentar los maçoneros atenient ala enfermereria. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2^{o}, fol. 31v.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 159. The list of masons varies from that on fol. 31r in that it includes Johan de brucellas at x sueldos (second in the list) and omits Johan de Segura.

19. A pernaut de huart ferrero vezino habitant en la ciudat de pomplona por a guzar et Reparar las ferramientas de los maçoneros que han continuado laurar enla dicha obra començado Jueues xxviii^{o} dia de mayo postremerament passado ata oy sabbado xxvii^{o} dia del dicho mes de Junio lo quoal dicho pernaut de huart li era deuido segunt que mostro su huesta con cordant con otro a su ygoal que tenian los maçoneros que se trobaron por compto . viii^{c} puntas pagadas a vii . sueldos el ciento que montan lvi sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2^{o}, fol. 32r.)

Pernaut de Huart received further payments for the same work on August 22 (fol. 54v), September 26 (fol. 69v), October 24 (fol. 81v), and November 7 (fol. 87r).

20. Martes vii^{o} dia del dicho mes [de jullio de 1439] ... Enel dicho dia por compra de quatro espuertes pora sacar la tierra del huerto dela enfermerceria aygualar el pauado dela obra nueua costaron a . ii . sueldos pieça vallen - viii^{o} sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2^{o}, fol. 35v.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 159.

21. Sabbado xi dia del dicho mes [de jullio de 1439] ... Enel dicho dia por compra de vna tabla de fondon de Rouo pora Johan lome maestro por fazer vn molde que costo ii sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2^{o}, fol. 37v.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 159.

22. Martes . xxi dia del dicho mes [de jullio] ... Enel dicho dia pague a ezteue carrgero por tres s̄ciellos de fierro que eill fezo pora los carretones chicos - viii° sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 42.)

23. Sabbado primero dia de Agosto [de 1439] ... A Johan de ataondo mercadero vezino de pomplona por compra de quoatro baras de fierro quoadradas pora vna sepultura nueue que a present se fazer enla obra nueua los quoalles pessaron vn quintal que costaron la suma de -xxxviii sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 46r.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 159.

24. Lunes tercero dia del dicho mes [de agosto de 1439] ... Maçoneros ... Johanto lome sobrino del dicho maestro iiii sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 46v.)

Johanto Lome is listed the following day as "Johanto lome aprendiz - iiii sueldos," (fol. 47r). He is continuously listed as working until August 8 (fol. 48v); after a lapse of some days, he begins work again on August 26 (fol. 55v) and continues until September 19 (fol. 66r).

25. Viernes xxx° dia del dicho mes [de octobre de 1439] ... a garcia dezati fustero por compra de vna viga de xxii cobdos tirant de dos pares de bueyes que deill fue comprada pora gamlan [?] del torno grande fecha conposicion el chantre et Johan lome por suma de - 1 sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 83v.)

26. Lunes . ii° . dia del dicho mes [de nouiembre de 1439] ... A Johan lome maçonero maestro mayor de la obra fueron deliurado et pagado por mi John desteilla cappeillan dela dicha obra segunt puede paresce por su Recognocimiento del dicho Johan lome por su pension del present aynno començando primero dia de Jenero Anno m°cccc°xxxix° et finido postremero dia de deziembre seguient la suma de xlv libras carlines prietos. (ACP, Arca fab., 26-2°, fol. 84v.)

Bibliography: Arigita y Lasa, Asunción, p. 39; and Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 158.

27. Martes . x° dia del dicho mes [de nouiembre de 1439] lauraron los maçoneros en la dicha obra fasta medio dia ... En este dia cessaron de laurar los maçoneros & tomaron cognocencia dela obra. ... Enel dicho dia por compra de dos cargadas de solinas de vi^{cn} [?] cobdo quoatro en la carga pora las puertas del portal de la obra nueva a Razon de vi sueldos carga que montan xii sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 88r.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 159.

28. Jueues xii° dia del dicho mes [de nouiembre de 1439] lauraron los carpenteros en Reparar las puertas viejas pora poner enel portal dela obra nueva. Primero martin de lombier ix sueldos. garcia de cenoz ix

sueldos. pedro de Janariz ix sueldos. martin de cia iiii sueldos vi dineros. machin de cenoz iiii sueldos vi dineros. A diago maçonero por ciertos foraď que fezo enel portal iii sueldos. (ACP, Arca fab., no. 26-2°, fol. 88v.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 159.

29. Item nos esleyemos nuestra sepultura & mandamos que nuestro Cuerpo sea Sotterrado en la Yglesia de Sant Maria de Ujue ----- e queremos hordenamos & mandamos que luego Como nos Habemos fecho nuestro traspasamiento desta present Vida si nos en nuestra Vida ----- que nuestros Caueyaleros Ymfrascriptos fagan facer Sepultura de piedra alauastre que sea Sobre seis Colunas bien fecha & hordenada & sobre aquella sea fecha e labrada nuestra Ymagen bien & deuidamente et alrededor de nuestra dicha Sepultura sea puesta Vna Reja de fierro bien labrado e hordenado segunt Cumple ala honrra de nuestra Dignidad Real. [Extract from the testament of doña Blanca, queen of Navarre, dated February 17, 1439.] (AGN, Comptos, caj. 161, no. 4bis, fol. [1v].)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLIV, no. 78. The original testament is preserved in the Archivo de Navarra (Comptos, caj. 161, no. 4); however, the first section is now in great part illegible. The transcription given here is from a copy of October 6, 1713; the lines in the text are given as such in the copy, showing that portions of the testament were already illegible in the eighteenth century.

1440

1. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome maestro mayor delas obras Realles de maçoneria ottorgo auer ouido & recebido de Johan martiniz dezquioz Recebidor dela ciubdat de pomplona & merindat delas montaynas por mis gages & penssion dela dicha maçoneria que la Seynnoria mayor me da cadaun ayno porel ayno mccccxxxix postremerament passado por x kahices de trigo mesura Real Es asaber la Suma de veynte libras fuertes dela quoal dicha Suma de xx libras me tengo por contento & entegrado por testimonio del present Recognocimiento scripto de mano privada & signado de mi nombre con mi propia mano enel xi° . dia de febrero laynno mcccc^{os}quoaranta. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 147, no. 3, LVII.)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLIV, no. 564.

1441

1. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome maestre mayor de las obras Realles de maçonerya Otorguo auer ouido et Recebido de don Johan ibaines de mont Real Thesero de Nauarra La Suma de veynte ocho florines doro que a xxxvii sueldos pieça vallen cinquoanta vna libra seze sueldos fuertes. Los quoalles el seynor princep me mando dar et delivrar pora vn ayuda delas expensas de mi et de diez compayneros maçoneros por yr debers el Rey nuestro seynor en Castilla por fazer cosas que cumplian a su

seruicio Es assaber por los diez compayneros a Razon de dos florines doro por cada uno et por mi mesmo ocho florines doro que montan los dichos xxviii florines doro. Dela quoal dicha suma de veynte ocho al dicho precio por la dicha causa me tienguo por bien paguado et contento Por testimonio deste mi Recognocimiento firmado de mi nombre con mi propia mano En pomplona iii° dia de mayo Laynno de nuestro seynor mccccxl vno. Jeñan Lome. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 147, no. 11, VIII.)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLV, no. 258. There are also copies of this document; see AGN, Comptos, caj. 149, no. 11, IV, and Reg. 451, fol. 32v.

2. A Johanto de Alquiça et otros dos sus compayneros maçoneros qui enel xxv° . dia seguient del dicho mes de octobre fueron imbiad por el senyor princep al logar de Cuellar por mandado de su padre el Rey nuestro senyor A ffin que ajudassen a Johan lome maestro delas obras de maçoneria del dicho senyor qui y obraua porel tiempo lis fueron dados por lures expensas del dicho viage iii florines de moneda que a xxx sueldos por florin vallen pagad a ellos por el dicho thesorero contenidos enel dicho mandamiento iiii libras x sueldos. ... Datum enla villa de Sant Viçent el postremero dia del dicho mes de octobre m°ccccxli°. (AGN, Reg. 451, fol. 34v.)

3. According to Idoate, Catálogo, XLV, no. 51, Jehan Lome received 20 libras on March 18, 1441, as pay for his work of the previous year. Idoate gives the signature of the document as AGN, Comptos, caj. 147, no. 10, LXV; the document could not be found in that location in the spring of 1970.

1442

1. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome maçonero & maestro mayor enlas obras delos seynnores el Rey & el princep enel dicho officio de maçoneria ottorgo auer ouido & Recebido de John martiniz dezquioz Recebidor dela Ciubdat de pomplona & merindat delas montaynas por mi penssion que los dichos seynnores me dan cadaynno Es assaber diez kaffizes de trigo mesura Real por la paga del aynno precedent mccccxlvno en Rebatimiento de mayor suma de los quoalles dichos x kaffizes de trigo por la dicha causa me tengo por bien contento & pagado por testimonio del present Recognocimiento signado de mi nombre con mi propia mano el xxvi° dia de febrero Aynno mccccxldos. Jeñan Lome maçonero. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 147, no. 20, XLVI.)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLV, no. 337.

2. Seppan todos que yo Johan lome maçonero otorgo auer ouido & Recebido de don Johan ybaines de mont Real thesorero de Nauarra por fazer mis expensas et de veynte otros maçoneros que con mi fueron en Castiella por mandamiento del seynnor princep en seruicio del Rey nuestro seynnor La suma de xxii florines doro que a xxxvii sueldos por florin vallen xl libras xiiii sueldos fuertes delas quoalles dichas quaranta libras quatorze sueldos fuertes pagadas a mi porel dicho

thesorero por la dicha causa me tengo por contento en testimonio delo quoal he signado el present Recognocimiento de mi nombre con mi propia mano enel ix dia del mes de abril del ayno m^{l}ccccxlii. Jeñan Lome maçonero. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 147, no. 20, LXVII.)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLV, no. 617. There are also copies of this document; see AGN, Comptos, caj. 149, no. 46, VII, and Reg. 451, fol. 20v.

1443

1. Sabent todos que jo Jeñan lome maçonero atorgo auer euido et Receuido de vos Joñan martiniz decuieuz Receuidor de les montaingnies et de la merintat de ponpellone la some de diex caffizes de trigo mezure Real en pago et a cauze de my pension que el sinor Rey me da por cadun ainynio de vinte caffizes de trigo et del ainynio mil quatre C . xlii . me tiengo por bien contente et bien padodo testimonie de verdat vos da jo a este Reconissemente escrite et sinade de my propie mano en el xv^{e} dio de marco ano de mil quattro c xliii. joñan lome maconero. (AGN, caj. 147, no. 22, LV.)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLV, no. 984.

2. Sepan todos que nos gil de mares & joñan lome maestres Reconocemos auer ouido & Recebido de don John ybaines de Mont Real Thesorero de Nauarra Et por mano de Andru periz de boneta los quoales nos liuro por mandamiento del seynnor princep porlas spensas que fizemos en yr a tudela por visitar & fazer avix delas obras que eran Necessarias fazer enel castillo de tudela et en los muros de aqueill La Suma de Seys libras carlines Et por que nos tenemos por bien pagados dela dicha Suma damos este Recognocimiento Signado dela mano del Notario dejus A propia Rogaria et Requesta nuestra por quanto no sabemos scriuir fecho El xxii dia de marco aynno xliii. JDeVilanueua. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 147, no. 21, XLI.)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLV, no. 1139. There is also a copy of this document; see the next entry.

3. Primero El xxii dia de março aynno xliii A Joñan lome & giles de mares que fueron de mandamiento nuestro a tudela ad auisar los muros del castillo de la dicha ciudat Et a saber en tala part del campo El toro que yban acaer & por fazer sus spensas vi libras. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 150, no. 52, VI.)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLV, no. 1159.

1444

1. Sabent todos que jo Johan lome Reconosco auer euido et Receuido de vos Johan desquieus Receuidor de les montaingnies diex caffizes de trigo mezure Real a cauze de my pension que el seinor Rey me da por

cadun ainynio de los qualles diex caffiszes me tiengo por bien pagado et por testimonio del verdat vos da jo esto my Reconissemento escrite et synado de my propie mano en el ii° dio de octobre ano de mil quattre C xliiii. Jeñan Īome maconero. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 152, no. 4, XXI.)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLVI, no. 172.

1446

1. Item a maestre Johan loma & Gil de mares el ix° dia de dicho mes de março a los quoales fizimos deliurar para fazer sus spensas en la yda venida & estada en tudela por deuisar & fazer el avis de las obras por nos hordenadas fazer en el castiello de Tudela xv libras. [Cedula of Charles, prince of Viana, dated in Tafalla, March 27, 1446.] (AGN, Comptos, caj. 154, no. 6, V.)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLVI, no. 522. There is a copy of this document; see AGN, Comptos, caj. 153, no. 10, fol. [7v].

2. Seppan todos que yo Joñan lome maçonero otorgo & Reconosquo aver hobido Receuido de vos Johan desquioz Receuidor de las montaynas de ponplona la Suma de diez cafizes de trigo dela mesura Real sobre mi pension de los veynte cafizes de trigo que la seynnora Reyna que dios perdone me hordeno & asino en vos por cada hun aynno de los quoalles dichos diez cafizes de trigo me tengo por bien contento del aynno mil quoatro zientos & quoarenta & sinquo & por testimonio de verdat vos do este present Reconocimiento sinado de mi nombre con mi propia mano a xvi março ano mil cccc xlvi. Jeñan Īome maconero. (AGN, Comptos, caj. 152, no. 13, XLVII.)

Bibliography: Idoate, Catálogo, XLVI, no. 577.

1449

1. Los finados enla merindat & ciudat de pomplona que son a notar & memoriar ... Johan lome maçonero fino en viana al principio del mes de genero Anno m cccc xlix°. (AGN, Reg. 498, fol. 114r.)

Bibliography: Antonio Marichalar, "Vera efigie del obispo de Pamplona don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza," Príncipe de Viana, IV (1943), p. 214, says that Etayo discovered the document, but he does not give its source. Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Filiación arquitectónica de la catedral de Pamplona," Príncipe de Viana, VII (1946), pp. 481 and 507, note 45, publishes the date of Lome's death correctly as 1449 in the text, but he mistranscribes the document giving the year erroneously as "m cccc xliv." This latter date "1444" has unfortunately been taken up in later publications.

1509

1. Memoria sea que en el aynno mil quinientos & nueve Sabado dezeno dia del mes de março Los cuerpos delos sobre nombrados don karlos iiii° e de dona leonor su muger por complir conel testamento que ordenado del logar donde staban enterrados delante el altar mayor de la seu de pomplona fueron trasmudados dentro enel coro dela dicha seu donde de presente estan puestos & soterrados por que delante staban enta el altar mayor por [illegible word] delo quoal se puso este memorial presentes lo senor de Redin & lo senor de [illegible name] oydores delos Comptos Realles. (AGN, Reg. 498, fol. 113v.)

Bibliography: Arnaldo de Oyenart, Noticia de las dos Vasconias, la ibérica y la aquitana, trans. by P. Javier Gorosterratzu (San Sebastián, 1929), p. 263; and Goñi Gaztambide, "Nuevos documentos, II," p. 157.

1598

1. Antonio nabar vezino desta villa de Tafalla viznieto de maestre Simon nabar secretario que fue del Rey Don Carlos que fue deste Reyno dize que el año mil quatrocientos y veinte y dos a diez y seis dias del mes de nobiembre en la villa de Sanguesa deste Reyno ordeno su testamento y dejo por executor sobre los albaceas del dicho testamento a Don Sancho de Oteiça obispo de pamplona y entre otras cosas que ordeno fue vna que dexaba quarenta florines doro para que se hiziese vna imagen de sanct sebastian para este conbento, y debajo de la imagen se pusiesen sus Armas que son vnos Castaños con vnos lobos en campo dorado y colorado y siendo esto ansi abra quatro años poco mas o menos que tratandose de Reparar la capilla mayor del dicho conbento fue necesario deshazer vn Reparo que avia para detener el dicho santo que no se cayese por aversele quebrado vna pierna y siendose deshecho el dicho Reparo parecio el dicho escudo de armas puestas y esculpidas en piedra y en vna que sirbe de peana al dicho santo como y de la manera que estaba ordenado por el dicho testamento y la dicha piedra nacia de dentro dela pared y muralla dela dicha capilla mayor que denotaba aberse puesto de muy antiguo y largo tiempo como sirbiendose v. p. deverlo ocularmente se hechara de ver, y siendo esto ansi, parece ser que abra vn año poco mas que haziendose dorar la dicha imagen y estando el dicho escudo muy patente y auiendole visto el dicho Conbento y sus Religiosos que a la sazon estaban y muy grande parte de los vezinos de la dicha villa, el dicho escudo lo pico alguna persona y barro las dichas Armas y se le hizo echar vn bernir sobre la pica duras dellas y aunque el suplicante y sus deudos ansentido este agrauio mucho, no lo antratado de Remediar asta esta ocasion para lo qual pide y suplica slv. p. sea servido de recevir informacion sobre delo y ver el testamento que delo abla y constandole de la Razon que pide, mandalo desagrauiar mandando poner de nuebo el dicho escudo y esculpir enel las dichas armas probeyendo decensuras contra los Religiosos, que trataren de quitarlas y del mejor Remedio que para conserbacion dello se pueda dando al suplicante patenta para ello, y ordenando al guardian y religiosos lo cumplan que en ello [illegible

words] y pide justicia. Antonio nabar. [August 19, 1598.] (AMT, Antecedentes, "Processo," fol. [2r-2v].)

Bibliography: Cabezudo Astrain, "San Sebastián," pp. 174-175. The notarized portion of the pertinent passage from the testament of Simon Navar is given above as Appendix 1422, 13.

1755

1. 1. Lo que contiene esta demarcacion del Panteon de los Reyes es solo de lo interior, y profundo, que viene asta igualar al piso del Choro, mas es conveniente dejar razon individual de como se compone lo que lebanta asta las Estatuas de los señores Reyes don Carlos 3º y su Muger, y dela forma como se descubriò lo interior, y casualidad de ello, ià que los antiguos no reservaron escrito alguno, que diesse noticia à los venideros, y por tanto se ignoraba totalmente.

2. Sobre las Paredes de piedra, que sobstienen en lo interior la Bobeda estan formadas otras quatro de Ladrillo entero, que corren la latitud, y longitud de lo exterior del sepulcro: como al medio de este prolongo quadrado de pared, promedia otra desde el lado de la Epistola al del Evangelio de medio Ladrillo, y en lo exterior cada uno de los quatro costados està cubierto con una lossa de piedra arensica, las quales estan puestas de esquina, y trabadas con sus ierros: à estas losas se conoce que en lo antiguo se les dió color negro, y estan unidas y sobre puestas à ellas con sus ierritos los varios adornos, y estatuas de alabastro, que à los quatro lados adornan el sepulcro.

3. Sobre dichas paredes de ladrillo que forman el cruzado descansan dos lossas grandes tambien de la misma calidad de piedra, que cubren el todo del sepulcro, y tienen à sus extremidades sus labios labrados, y dorados, y en ellos la continuacion del Epitaphio del dicho Señor Rey Don Carlos, que empieza en la piedra, que haze solio à su Real corona, y sigue rodeando todo el sepulcro, a distincion del de la señora Reina su Muger, que empieza, y concluie en la piedra, que haze, y sirve de solio, o Dosal: Las dichas dos piedras tambien estaban dadas de color negro, y sobre ellas descansan, y estan fijadas las dos estatuas de alabastro de dos señores Reyes, y las piedras que sirven de Almoadas à las Cabezas, como tambien las que forman solio a las Realles figuras, que todo es de igual alabastro.

4. Con la serie de tantos años, la frequencia conque los Infantillos estan cerca del sepulcro delos Reyes, y la natural inclinacion propia a su edad, muchas de las piezas sobre puestas de alabastro estaban vnas rotas, y algunas sacadas de sus puestos, y faltaban otros, à mas de que las existentes estaban ennegrecidas por haverseles empañado el polvo de tanto tiempo.

5. A la Lossa, y piedra, que haze frente à la puerta del Coro se le soltò un pedazo, sea por algun esfuerzo de los muchachos, o porque la qualidad de la piedra quebrantò alguna hebra: con esto se viò que detras avia pared de Ladrillo. Quisosse componer, limpiar todo, quitandose para este efecto la rexa, que cubre el sepulcro, y a poco

soltar las piezas de alabastro sobre puestas, se reconocio, que la lossa dicha de frente à la Puerta se hallaba en varias partes quebrantada naturalmente. Descubierta por esto la pared, que avia tras de la piedra, ocurriò el que èra mejor romper unos quantos ladrillos, y ver lo que avia dentro: quitados bien pocos se vio con una candela el hueco de asta la metad del sepulcro, y que nada avia en el, sino en su plano, que correspondia al igual del suelo del Choro se descubria un abujero formado en quadro aunque mas ancho, que largo.

6. Turgandose èra capaz, de que por el entrasse un hombre se delibero quitar mas ladrillos a la pared, que hacia frente à la puerta del Choro, de suerte que entrando un hombre despues penetrasse por el dicho auxero, y diesse noticia de asta donde, y por donde corria la dicha cueba, pues se crehia à lo menos se extenderia à todo el Choro, y otros por lo que avian oido, suponian tiraba, y ocupaba aun la Capilla Mayor, y que todo lo del Crucero, y entra Puliptos èra entierro de los diversos señores Reyes sepultados en esta Santa Iglesia, y nadie sabia, ni avia oido por donde estaba la puerta, ò abertura para entrar los Cadaveres, y tampoco se encontraba señal, que pudiesse aludir à ello.

7. Entro primero vn muchacho Albañil, y promptamente diò noticia delo poco, à que se extendia, y su corta profundidad, y luego se vaxò vna acha, con la quoal facilmente se pudo ver todo, y assi descendieron diferentes, atandolos con cuerda para subirles por el mismo ahujero, en que descendian, y ultimamente se hizo vaxasse el Oficial, que hizo la Descripcion, dandole orden tomasse las medidas para dejar memoria a los venideros; porque quando la señora Reina Doña Mariana Neburg Viuda de el señor Rey Carlos 2º estùvo en Pamplona, y tùvo alguna destemplanza de salud, por su crecida edad se temiò fallesciesse aqui, y con este motivo fuè precisso, discurrirse donde tendria la puerta el tal sepulcro Real, y nadie daba en ello, de suerte que, si dicha Señora Reyna huviera muerto en esta Ciudad, temo que en diversas partes dela Santa Iglesia se huviera cabado, y segun despues se viò, serià en vano, porque nadie daria en ello.

8. Supuesto pues lo que es dicho sepulcro Real, ai con todo algunos, que pensaron, que el Cañon del numero 2º sigue por entre los dos Pulpitos, y que llegarà asta la Capilla maior; pero es error; porque si considerassen la altura, que toma el Choro en las gradas de su entrada, y laquoal corresponde a las siete lossas, que cubren el Cañon del numero 2 an dever que no puede tener vastante, para penetrar por debajo del plano del suelo de la Santa Iglesia.

9. Haviendome hecho yo cargo del todo dela fabrica, mi discurso es, y tengole por cierto, que en lo antiguo el Choro no tendria Rexa, y si la tenia antes de ponerse la silleria actual, seria con dos puertas subiendo por gradas dejando en medio el sepulcro de los Reies; y que cuando se puso el rejado, y se reglo tuviesse sola vna entrada las gradas del Choro se colocaron, cerrando el Cañon de la entrada al Panteon, la qual antes estaria descubierta, y patente, como lo demuestra el tener aldabon la piedra del numero 4, y por esto no quedo señal alguna del ingresso, lo qual seria sin duda despues dela vnion de este

Reyno à Castilla, y quando se discurriò, que ià los señores Reyes jamas se sepultarian en esta santa Iglesia de Pamplona.

10. Todo esto es patente, porque si oyse huviesse de buscar el ingresso à dicho Cañon, para llegar à la dicha piedra numero 4 sera precisso remover, y quitar las escaleras de la entrada del Choro; lo qual me haze persuadir à que en lo primitivo no estùvo assi, pues ià se vè el inconveniente de removerlas en qualquiera caso de muerte de los señores Reyes; y siendo precissas gradas, para entrar al Choro desde el suelo de la santa Iglesia, considero, estarian por los dos costados al modo, que por causa semejante en la Parroquial de San Pedro de Estella estan las Gradas para subir al Altar maior. Este, aunque discurso mio, es el unico adaptable a las circunstancias dela Fabrica.

11. Quando se hizo esta abertura, que fue con là causa dicha y unico fin de componer el sepulcro Real y limpiarle, como se executò, y de suplir, aunque de otra calidad a Piedra las diversas piezas, que enteramente faltaban; no dejo de hablarse en la Ciudad, como que se abria hecho con alguna otra idea; tambien hùvo quien lo imaginò desacato, que sin Real licencia se pasasse à ello, y de hecho sea por curiosidad, ò de misterio, algunos de los Oidores de Comptos se llegaron à la Santa Iglesia y assi, para evitar motivos de hablar, se accordò, que luego promptamente se cerrasse, renovando la pared de ladrillo, y despues se limpiaron las piezas de alabastro, y se colocaron, con la differencia, de que en lo antiguo los vultos de dos Cardenales, dos Obispos, y dos Canonigos estaban en la textera del sepulcro, por lo que mira al Atril del Choro, y aora se colocaron à los pies delos Reyes, haciendo frente à la puerta, y Altar mayor. Y tambien como las piezas nuevamente hechos eran de otra calidad inferior de piedra, aunque blanca, se pusieron acia el Atril, donde son menos notadas.

12. Todo esto se costeò por la Santa Iglesia, volviendo à poner la Rexa como antes estaba sobre dicho sepulcro; y paraque haia la conveniente noticia, se hizo hazer la planta, y poner este papel de advertencia con ella en el Archivo y firmè en Pamplona à 12 de Agosto de 1755. Fermin dl lubian. (ACP, Arca Lit. B, no. 82.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Sepulcro de Carlos III," passim.

2. No. 1. Planta del Pantion del entierro delos Reyes que se halla en el Centro del Coro del Cavildo dela Santa Iglesia Cathedral de Pamplona el que se descubrio el dia 4 de Agosto del año de 1755 en presencia de Señor Don Fermin Hermoso, Notario Apostolico, en el que se encontraron tres Atabutes ò caxas de madera, en dos de ellas los vestigios ò forma de dos cadaberes, con el Armazon, tan solamente de sus Calaberas y los demas Huesos Correspondientes, y en la tercera quatro Calaberas, y diferentes Huessos.

No. 2. La entrada á dicho Pantion la que Corresponde por debajo de la escalera para la subida de dicho Coro, y va continuando hacia el Cuerpo dela Yglesia por medio de entre los dos Pulpitos por lo que se

da á Conocer sin embargo que debajo dela primera grada subiendo á dicho Coro se alla mazizado de piedra mampostenia sentado con mortero el hueco, ó entrada á dicho Pantion donde ba demostrado en dicha Planta con vna linia punteada.

En el numero 3. Perfil que corresponde acia la entrada de dicho Pantion.

En el numero 4. El Hueco que tiene el sitio para la introducion á dicho Pantion en el que al Remate de el, y al principio de dicho Pantion se alla cerrado dicho hueco con vna losa arenisca, con su Aldabon de Ierro, la que se alla para poderse quittar, y de Cubierta se allan siete Losas encima de dicha entrada al Pantion.

En el numero 5. Perfil del costada que corresponde entrando á dicho Coro á la mano derecha del suelo de dicho Pantion se alla enlosado, y las paredes de el de piedra silleria, como tambien su Cubierta que es echa de vn Cañon de boveda, y en el medio de el, ai vn auxero el que tiene por ·· lado 15 onzas y por el otro 23 onzas que Corresponde debajo dela., estatuas y Tumbano, que se alla en el Cuerpo de dicho Coro con su Rexa de Ierro, y á espaldas de este hacia las puertas principales dela Iglesia esta el Atril para Cantar los oficios Divinos y las medidas para todo ello estan dispuestas con el Pitipié que presento con toda Justificazion. (ACP, Arca Lit. B, no. 82.)

Bibliography: Goñi Gaztambide, "Sepulcro de Carlos III," passim. This document is written entirely with double t's; here they are given singly.

1866

1. Acta continuo acordó oficiar al Sr. Gobernador de la provincia para que se sirva preguntar á los Alcaldes de Tudela y de Tafalla acerca de los sepulcros de la infanta Da. Juana, hija de los Reyes de Navarra Dn. Juan y Da. Blanca, y de Da. Leonor Reina de Navarra, el primero de los cuales existia en el convento derruido de San Francisco de dicha ciudad de Tudela, y el segundo en el de la misma orden de Tafalla; pues aunque han desaparecido, es muy posible que se encuentren todavia algunos restos apreciables, haciendo diligencias para ello. [January 25, 1866.] (Pamplona, Museo de Navarra, Biblioteca, ms., Actas de la sesiones de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Navarra [21 de diciembre 1865-4 mayo 1876], pp. 6-7. Hereafter cited as MdN, Actas de la Comisión.)

2. ...se dió cuenta de un oficio del Sr. Gobernador de la provincia trasmitiendo otro del Alcalde de Tafalla fechado en veinte & siete del mes último en que manifiesta que hasta ahora se podido hallarse el sepulcro de la Reina de Navarra Da. Leonor; pero que cuando para [illegible word] la iglesia del convento de Sn. Francisco donde existió el dicho sepulcro, tendra cuidado, al tiempo de la demolicion de la misma, de ver si se encuentra: y con este motivo acordó la Comisión.

Tambien se vio otra communicacion della referida Autoridad trasladando un oficio del Alcalde de Tudela en que se contiene la manifestacion hecha por el Exmo. Sr. Marques de Sn. Adrian, relativa al sepulcro dela Infanta Da. Juana, y supuesto que de ella aparece que existe en la casa del citado Sr. y que no tiene inconveniente de que sea trasladado, se dispuso que el vocal Dn. Maximiano Hijon examine este sepulcro cuando vaya á Tudela y forisse el presuppuesto aproximado del coste que podrá tener la traslación. [February 1, 1866.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, pp. 7-8.)

3. Tambien se dispuso que se pasara una comunicacion al presbitero Dr. Ramon Yribas de Tafalla nombrandolo corresponsal de este Comisión de Monumentos en aquel punto, y recomendandole que haga cuantas perquisas le sugiera su buen celo para averiguar el lugar donde se halla el sepulcro de Da. Leonor, reina de Navarra, que antes existía en el hoy extinguido convento de San Francisco de Tafalla. [September 20, 1866.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, pp. 25-26.)

1868

1. Sabiendo esta Comisión que en la Yglesia arruinada del Crucifijo de Puente [la Reina] existe un sepulcro, que se creé ser del fundador de dicha Yglesia, el cual merece conservarse, se acordó el oficiar al Sr. Gobernador á fin de que dé orden de que se entregue á la Comisión. [July 16, 1868.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, p. 74.)

1870

1. Teniendo en cuenta los datos que obran en este Secretaría referentes al sepulcro de la infanta de Navarra Da. Juana, que existía en el derruido convento de San Francisco de Tudela, y que hoy guarda el Sr. Marqués de San Adrian, se acordó traerlo, con destino á la coleccion arqueológica de la Comisión, oficiando antes al dicho Sr. Marqués para que manifieste si se halla conforme en cederlo a la misma. [January 20, 1870.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, p. 115.)

2. En seguida se leyó una comunicacion del Sr. Marqués de San Adrian, contestando á la que le dirigió esta Comisión, en la cual manifiesta dicho Sr. estar dispuesto á entregar los restos del sepulcro de la Infanta Da. Juana. [January 27, 1870.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, p. 116.)

3. Acto continuo, y en vista de lo manifestado por el Sr. Marqués de San Adrian y de Castelfuerte en su comunicación de 25 del pasado de que se dió lectura en la última sesion, se acordó que pase el vocal secretario á la ciudad de Tudela á fin de recoger y disponer el transporte á este Capital de los fragmentos del sepulcro de la Infanta Da. Juana. [February 3, 1870.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, p. 117.)

4. El vocal secretario dió cuenta de su viage á Tudela y presentó la cuenta de gastos de traslacion del sepulcro de Da. Juana, de Tudela á

Pamplona, la cual fue aprobada. Se dispuso pasar una comunicacion al Sr. Marqués de San Adrian y de Castelfuerte dandole las gracias por la cesión del mencionado sepulcro y participarla por oficio tambien al Sr. Gobernador de la provincia. [February 11, 1870.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, p. 118.)

5. Tambien se acordó que el vocal secretario pasara á Puente la Reina para examinar los restos del sepulcro del fundador del convento titulado del "Crucifijo," autorizandole desde luego á traerlos á esta Capital si su merito lo exigiera. [March 3, 1870.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, pp. 121-122.)

6. El vocal Secretario dió cuenta de su viage á Puente [la Reina], manifestando que despues de algunas investigaciones logró encontrar el sepulcro del fundador del Crucifijo, oculto entre los escombros de otra iglesia; pero que su estado es tal, que no merecen los restos que de el quedan que se haga gasto alguno para conducirlos á esta ciudad. [March 10, 1870.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, p. 123.)

7. Acto continuo se leyó una Comunicacion del Sr. Gobernador, fecha 21 del corriente (contestacion á la que esta Comisión le dirigió el 19) incluyendo un oficio para el Alcalde de Tafalla, dandole orden de que entregue á esta Comisión todos los objetos y restos del Palacio de Tafalla que a juicio de la misma merezcan considerarse. [March 24, 1870.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, p. 125.)

8. El vocal Secretario dió cuenta de su viage á Tafalla, haciendo relacion del estado en que se hallan los restos del Palacio Real de aquella ciudad y presentando las notas y diseños que había tomado de los fragmentos que presentan algun interés artístico y hay posibilidad de transportar á esta Capital.

Se leyó un oficio del Sr. Conde de Guendulain manifestando que para la debida formalidad y para que su responsabilidad, como alcaide que habia sido del dicho palacio real, quedase á salvo, deseaba se le dirigiera un oficio comunicandole el proyecto de traer los restos de este edificio, á lo que el desde luego desea contribuir por ser el unico medio de salvarlos.

En vista de lo espuesto por el Sr. Conde de Guendulain, y aunque la Comisión no creé necesitar de su permisó para realizar su idea, acordó se le contestase que cumpliendo con los deberes que le marca el reglamento, había dispuesto trasladar los fragmentos de que se ha hecho merito á esta ciudad, salvandolos así de su completa ruina, y que contaba con su aprobacion.

Tambien se acordó oficiar al Sr. Gobernador de la Provincia para que el lo haga al Alcalde de Tafalla encargandole no se toque ni estraiga objeto alguno del Palacio sin su permiso, recordandole que está obligado á evitar cualquier sustracción bajo su responsabilidad. [May 5, 1870.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, pp. 128-129.)

1873

1. Despues de esto, uno de los Señores vocales manifestó que había llegado á su noticia, que se habían empezado á demoler los restos del Palacio Real de Tafalla por orden de la Autoridad militar, y que aunque la noticia no tenía caracter oficial había motivos para creer que fuese cierta.

La Comisión oyó lo que antecede con profundo sentimiento, pues antes de proceder al derribo de dichos restos hubiera debidose oir su informe, pero comprendío que en el estado de guerra en que se encuentra la provincia sería inutil cualquier gestión que se hiciese para que se suspenda la demolicion y por lo tanto se limito á hacer cuanto pudiese para salvar algunos curiosos fragmentos de aquellas notables ruinas.

Para conseguirlo acordó que se dirija una comunicacion al Sr. Alcalde de Tafalla manifestandole el Sentimiento con que la Comisión había tenido noticia del derribo susodicho, cuando ya si era tiempo de evitarlo, y la estrañeza con que ha visto el silencio del Sr. Alcalde ó Secretario del Ayuntamiento, siendo asi que este asunto habia sido objeto de comunicaciones, y que ultimamente se prometió p̄ dicho Sr. Secretario á uno de los individuos de esta Comisión de Monumentos, portador de un oficio del Sr. Gobernador Civil, que si se trabase de derribar los restos del Palacio se avisaría oportunamente á la misma, y por último, diciendole se sirva recoger y guardar cuidadosamente hasta que la Comisión disponga de ello, la fuente en forma de arca ogival que se halla en los jardines, las ventanas esculpidas de los patios, los sillones de piedra, las rejas de los muros que dan á la carretera y cuantos objetos puedan encontrase. [February 3, 1873.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, pp. 182-183.)

2. En seguida se leyó un oficio del Sr. Alcalde de Tafalla (contestando al de esta Comisión fecha 4 del corriente) al que acompaña otro que dicho Sr. Alcalde dirigía al Sr. Gobernador en 28 de Enero pasado al que no se le dió curso por haber sabido que no se había tocado a ninguno de los objetos señalados p̄ esta Comisión, habiendose limitado el Sr. Alcalde á recoger una piedra con las armas reales de Navarra, una cadena que sostenia una puerta y una columnita, todo lo cual tiene á disposicion de esta Comisión de Monumentos. [February 12, 1873.] (MdN, Actas de la Comisión, p. 184.)

1929

1. ... En ello habra de atemperarse estrictamente a lo que la veracidad del monumento artístico, estilo y magnificencia del Templo catedralicio reclaman de consuno; no, inventando cosa alguna, sino instaurando, con toda escrupulsidad, lo que fué suyo, a fín de reintegrarlo, en conjunto y detalle en la idea primordial que lo informara, y motivó su erección; y seguramente, a entera satisfacción de V. E., cuyos deseos cree interpretar dando inmediatemente comienzo a los preliminares de las obras (labor silenciosa, de cartabones, medidas, planos, medios idóneos de ejecución, materiales &. &.), a fín de imprimir en

ellas la mayor celeridad posible; bien entendido que, apesar de todo, no podrán estar terminadas antes de un plazo prudencial, que no exederá de unos cuatro meses, poco mas o menos. ... [November 27, 1929, letter from J. Onofre Larumbe to the Most Excellent Chapter of the Cathedral of Pamplona concerning the restauration and the rehabilitation of the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist.] (ACP, W° 33.)

1930

1. 1° -"Después de haber estudiado el trabajo que es necessario ejecutar para la restauración en la Capilla de Dn. Sancho de Oteiza que existe en la Iglesia Catedral de Pamplona, me compromente a ejecutar dichos trabajos en la cantidad de seis mil Pesetas (6.000 ptas): es a saber --

"Restauración del sepulcro con la colocación de la figura de Don Sancho; restauración de la tracería de debajo del arca; restauración de las dos pilastras laterales con sus correspondientes pinaculos de la parte superior del arco siendo todo este trabajo en piedra con much [sic] esmero y a entera satisfacción de Vds. - Pamplona 25 de Noviembre de 1929 Tomás Perurena - Rubrica."

[An item for the altar of the chapel follows as no. 2.]

3° Son a saber; Primero: Colocación y restauración de las figuras del podio tumular, labor delicada que ha de encomendarse a escultor de reputada calificación en nuestro País, y segundo construcción de und grada para el altar y de un zócalo para el retablo. ...

Habiendo de ser el sepulcro, como de derecho le corresponde, ejemplar capital en el arte funerario de España, a par de los más suntuosos en su género cuando menos, y, la capilla, gala preciosa de nuestra Catedral, me permito suplicar y espero merecer del patriotismo, cultura y excelente disposición de ánimo de V. E. todo eficaz apoyo para la reunión y repristinacion, en su sitio nativo de los diversos elementos y fragmentos que le pertenecieron y andan en el dia dispersos por las diversas dependencias de nuestra Catedral. ... [December 18, 1930, letter from J. Onofre Larumbe to the Most Excellent Chapter of the Cathedral of Pamplona.] (ACP, W° 50.)

1931

1. 1° - El frontal y laterales de lo que es hoy altar del Cristo de Caparroso, en la Capilla donde se sienta el M. I. Sr. Penitenciario.

2° - Estos fragmentos se completan con otro existente hoy en el patio de la llamada Capilla de San Francisco Javier (antiguo Refectorium), donde yace confundido en un montón informe de escombras. ...

Empero los tableros corresponden a la época actual de nuestro Templo, como lo demuestran esas figuras borgoñonas de Plorantes,

análogos a los que se muestran en el zócalo del soberbio cenotafio de Carloz [sic] el Noble existente en el coro, y salidas probablemente de la propia mano de Jean Lome de Tournay; y más aún los arquitos conopiales finamente tallados y trebolados que las cobijan.

Indumwntaria [sic], actitud, expresión y escula son las mismas; esto es producto de aquella famosa escula de Dijon, que, naciendo del enlace de las Reales estirpes Flamenca y Borgoñona, esparció, después de recibir la sabia de maestros españoles, navarros y aragoneses, su eficaz influencia no solo por Francia, donde tuvo su cuna, sino por toda la Europa meridional a virtud de los célebres pintores flamencos sobre todo, y arquitectos y escultores que sirvieron de vehículo y dejaron particularmente en nuestro suelo obras maestras de primer orden y de incomparable belleza, como lo son, entre otras, estos dos soberbios sepulcros, junto con el de Mosén Francés de Villaespesa en la Catedral de Tudela.

A mayor abundamiento, todos estos fragmentos reunidos están perfectamente de acuerdo en altura y en largura con las medidas del batiente del podio tumular donde ha de ir recostado el bulto sepulcral del Obispo Don Sancho; y conviene recogerlos cuanto antes para su repristinación y la más pronta colocación en su propio sitio; labor un tanto difícil, y delicada en extremo. [January 14, 1931, letter from J. Onofre Larumbe to the Most Excellent President and Chapter of the Cathedral of Pamplona, requesting that all the dispersed fragments belonging to the sepulcher of don Sancho de Oteiza be brought together.] (ACP, W° 2.)