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From Salamanca to Tarragona: Iberian engagement with English art and architecture 1260-1360

De Salamanca a Tarragona: Encuentro ibéricos con el arte y la arquitectura ingleses (1260-1360)

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Abstract
This paper reassesses some controversial or hitherto unexplored instances of artistic connectivity between Iberia and England. Because the political dynamic between the Iberian powers and England was very different from that between England and France, and because instances of the impact of Iberian visual culture in England remain unexplored, the argument here will concentrate on Iberia's receptivity to art and architecture under the Plantagenets into the third quarter of the 14th century. It will consider the wall paintings of Salamanca Old Cathedral, the movement of ideas from Avignon to Pamplona, and, in particular, the architecture and sculpture of the cloister of the Abbey of Santes Creus and the chapel of Santa Maria dels Sastres in Tarragona Cathedral. The last two will be examined from the perspective of Jean Bony's hypothesis regarding the European-wide impact of the English Decorated Style. To what extent were such surprising links a product of deeper, shared structures of culture which rendered Iberia and England, powers with long-standing Atlantic and Mediterranean interests, in some sense 'free' of the European-wide norms of French Rayonnant?

Keywords: patronage, exchange, Gothic, Salamanca Cathedral, Pamplona Cathedral, Avignon, Huesca Cathedral, Santes Creus, Tarragona Cathedral, architecture, sculpture, Mediterranean, English Decorated Style.

Resumen
Este artículo reevalúa algunos casos controvertidos, o hasta ahora inexplorados, de las conexiones artísticas entre Iberia e Inglaterra. Debido a que la dinámica política entre las potencias

ibéricas e Inglaterra era muy diferente a la de Inglaterra y Francia, y debido a que los ejemplos del impacto de la cultura visual ibérica en Inglaterra permanecen inexplorados, el argumento aquí se concentrará en la receptividad ibérica ante el arte y la arquitectura bajo los Plantagenets, en el tercer cuarto del siglo XIV. Se considerarán las pinturas murales de la Catedral Vieja de Salamanca, el movimiento de ideas desde Aviñón a Pamplona, y, en particular, la arquitectura y escultura del claustro de la abadía de Santes Creus y la capilla de Santa Maria dels Sastres en la catedral de Tarragona. Las dos últimas serán examinadas desde la perspectiva de la hipótesis de Jean Bony sobre el impacto a nivel europeo del estilo inglés decorado. ¿Hasta qué punto estos sorprendentes vínculos fueron producto de estructuras culturales más profundas y compartidas que hicieron de Iberia e Inglaterra, potencias con renovados intereses atlánticos y mediterráneos, en cierto modo "ajenas" a las normas centroeuropeas del arte Rayonnant francés?

PALABRAS CLAVE: patronazgo artístico, intercambio, gótico, catedral de Salamanca, catedral de Pamplona, Aviñón, catedral de Huesca, Santes Creus, catedral de Tarragona, arquitectura, escultura, Mediterráneo, estilo inglés decorado.

In comparison with the relationships between England, France, the Netherlands, Germany, Bohemia and the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages, that between England and Iberia has been considered much less thoroughly by art historians from both spheres. Such efforts as there have been to think of a 'Spanish' style in England in this period, for example, have been limited in number.[1] In this period, mutual political interests between the two zones were relatively few, though there were of course commercial ones.[2] Throughout, inter-dynastic alliances were certainly proposed between the royal houses of Iberia and the Plantagenets, but few were actually realized. Iberian powers in general (with the exception of Portugal) seem not to have seen alliances with England as serving any particular long-term interests.[3]

England, on the other hand, proposed alliances with Castile, Navarre and Aragon with particular respect to its one great territorial interest in the zone: that in western France,

[1] One example, with useful information, is T. TOLLEY, "Eleanor of Castile and the 'Spanish Style' in England", in W. M. ORMROD (ed.), *England in the Thirteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1989 Harlaxton Symposium. Harlaxton Medieval Studies*, I, Stamford, 1991, pp. 167-192. A valuable anglophone intervention on current Iberian studies is T. NICKSON, N. JENNINGS (eds.), *Gothic Architecture in Spain: Invention and Imitation*, Courtauld Books Online, 2020. See also M. BULLÓN-FERNÁNDEZ (ed.) *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th-15th century: cultural, literary, and political exchanges*, Basingstoke, 2007.

[2] For these, not least for English importations from Spain, see for example W. R. CHILDS, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, Manchester, 1978; and J. W. WATERER, *Spanish Leather: a history of its use from 800 to 1800 for mural hangings, screens, upholstery, altar frontals, ecclesiastical vestments, footwear, gloves, pouches and caskets*, London, 1971.

[3] I have found especially useful A. GOODMAN, "England and Iberia in the Middle Ages", in M. JONES, M. VALE (eds.), *England and Her Neighbours 1066-1453. Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, London, 1989, pp. 73-96; see also F. J. HERNÁNDEZ, 'Relaciones de Alfonso X con Inglaterra y Francia', *Alcanate. Revista de estudios alfonsíes*, 4, (2004-5), pp. 167-242 and O. MÉNDEZ GONZÁLEZ, 'Anglo-Iberian Relations 1150-1280: A Diplomatic History', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of East Anglia, 2013.

Gascony and Aquitaine.[4] In 1170 Henry II of England betrothed his daughter Eleanor to Alfonso VIII of Castile. Richard I married Berengaria the sister of Sancho VI of Navarre in 1191. The major alliance was certainly that formed between Edward I and Eleanor of Castile (queen 1272-1290), daughter of Ferdinand III and half-sister of Alfonso X of Castile. Even this was not disconnected from Henry III's aims of settling Alfonso's claim to Gascony. Edward I and Eleanor's eldest son was duly christened Alfonso; had Alfonso not died in 1284, England would have had a king Alfonso, breaking up the succession of Edwards, Henrys and Richards. Their younger son, later Edward II (1307-1327), was half Spanish and like his son Edward III in turn, was no less concerned with England's rights in France, as was his son Edward the Black Prince who fought at Nájera in support of the deposed king of Castile. Yet, again, marriage alliances were discussed only, and the major power in Iberia, Castile, was more inclined towards France.

From an historical and contextual point of view, then, my topic – the varying impacts that English art may have had in Iberia - is at first sight unpromising and elusive. We seem to pass directly from quite specific artistic translations to larger, yet nebulous, questions of patronage. Generally, *realpolitik* will not assist us. My aim is to focus on the few situations that have been regarded as important by art historians, to indicate those that have not been noticed or adequately stressed, and above all to see this phenomenon as entirely episodic, and not part of some larger 'movement' of art, style and culture. Throughout, I avoid the word 'influence'. On the whole the evidence suggests that the general direction of movement was indeed from England to Iberia, either in the form of gift giving, notably *Opus anglicanum* embroidery and, later, alabaster carvings, or the movement of forms and ideas. [5] We do not just need a history of the movement of things such as the beautiful belt, often stated to be English, found in the tomb of Fernando de la Cerda (d. 1275) at Las Huelgas.[6] My objects are not simply importations from England, but occasions, real or posited, of idiomatic transformation produced by thoughtful engagement.[7]

In pursuing the evidence from the century 1260 to 1360 I want as far as possible to avoid nationalistic leverage. Nor do I want to place the relation of English to Iberian art and architecture on any systematic footing. We know far too little to rule out causal explanations which might be 'top-down' or 'non-dominant'. If wealthy international courts hastened the circulation of ideas and fashions, why deny it? Were not social elites the most likely to be

[4] Goodman, "England and Iberia", pp. 83-85.

[5] I return to embroidery shortly. For alabaster exports to Iberia, see the early 15th-century Washington St George presumed to have come from the convent at Quejana, in R. Marks, P. Williamson (eds.), *Gothic. Art for England 1400-1547*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 2003, no. 84; and also the 1456 Goodyear altarpiece at Santiago, F. Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters*, Oxford 1984, pp. 22, 23 fig. 11, 47. See also M. A. Franco Mata, *El retablo gótico de Cartagena y los alabastros ingleses en España*, Murcia, 1999.

[6] B. L. Wild, "Emblems and enigmas: revisiting the 'sword' belt of Fernando de la Cerda", *Journal of Medieval History*, 37:4 (2011), pp. 378-396.

[7] The essays in J. Dubois, J-M. Guillouët, B. Van Den Bossche (eds.), *Les Transferts Artistiques dans l'Europe Gothique. Repenser la circulation des artistes, des œuvres, des thèmes et des savoir-faire (XIIe-XVIe siècle)*, Paris, 2014 and M. A. Bilotta (ed.), *Medieval Europe in Motion: the circulation of artists, images, patterns and ideas from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Coast (6th-15th centuries),* Palermo, 2018, are of interest to this question.

able to form international contacts in the first place? The most powerful force for uniformity in the arts of Western Europe generally at this time was the Rayonnant architecture, emerging in Paris and the royal domain but in no sense dominated by court patronage later on. Spanish Gothic architecture is indeed generally, and rightly, treated as a response to French and not English architecture. We will return to this issue of dominance of idiom at the end. For the present, I will be making a more general distinction between 'simplexes', where works of art do not form part of a wider network of similarity and are essentially 'one-offs', and 'complexes', where the interconnectivity and so possibility of stronger corroboration is more evident.

Salamanca Old Cathedral, chapel of St Martin

We begin with wall painting. No account of the Anglo-Iberian nexus in the immediately pre-Gothic era could open without mentioning the extraordinary murals which until the Spanish Civil War adorned the chapter house of the Aragonese royal monastery at Sigena formally founded in 1188 by Sancha, Queen of Aragon (d. 1208), and daughter of Alfonso VII.[8] The murals consisted of a grand exposition of the Book of Genesis, iconographically consistent with Bible illustration in 12th- and 13th-century England, and stylistically close to certain hands working on the Winchester Bible, probably executed in the 1170s and 1180s. The comparisons have always been forceful and extend not merely to iconographies and human forms but also decorative details such as large 'Byzantine' blossoms. Seldom in the history of medieval art are murals and illuminators so closely related. Because these paintings probably pre-date 1200, I will not consider them further except to note that the most recent discussions have tended to amplify the question of royal engagement and connectivity: not only may Henry II of England have been in some way involved with the commissioning or circulation of the Winchester Bible but before his death in 1189 he may even have sent one of his painters to Sancha as a result of diplomatic activity.[9]

The indisputably Gothic mural on the east wall of the chapel of St Martin in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca (Fig. 1) poses questions of a quite different order. It shows a large Gothic architectural structure housing the meeting of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate, prophets, angels and originally, it must be assumed, a sculpted image of the Virgin Mary over the altar dedicated to St Martin below. It has no proven direct association with courtly patronage, and like the Sigena murals is isolated in idiom from anything else prior to it in Iberia. But whereas the Sigena murals demonstrate the connectivity of England and Aragon to the larger sphere of Byzantine art, the Salamanca image, it has been suggested, re-orientates the discussion towards Paris and London. The positive stylistic evidence for its exposure to Anglo-French Gothic art, and for its embodiment of an 'Immaculatist' theology, has been assembled by Fernando Gutiérrez Baños, who proposes a connection to Salamanca via Peter of Spain, a painter

[8] W. Oakeshott, *Sigena: Romanesque paintings in Spain and the artists of the Winchester Bible*, London, 1972.

[9] I refer to C. Norton, "Henry of Blois, St Hugh and Henry II: The Winchester Bible", in J. Camps et al (eds.), *Romanesque Patrons and Processes: design and instrumentality in the art and architecture of Romanesque Europe*, Routledge (online), 2018, pp. 333-392; and also N. Stratford, 'The Hospital, England and Sigena', in *Ibidem*, pp. 316-332.

Fig. 1. Salamanca Old Cathedral, chapel of St Martin, wall painting (Photo:)

documented in the service of King Henry III of England (1216-72) in the years 1253-62, and hence access of some sort to the court art of Westminster (and therefore Paris).[10]

The questions raised by this painting divide into two: the matter of its date, and the matter of its stylistic affiliations. Neither can possibly be resolved here. Much turns on the date 1262 provided by the inscription in the mural giving the date in the Castilian era: ESTA OBRA FIZ YO ANTON SANHZ DE SEGOUIA ERA DE MIL E CCC. It is generally assumed from the strong term 'fiz yo', ('I did') that Anton Sanchez was the artist not the patron, it being the equivalent of *fecit* rather than *fieri fecit*. The term 'fecit' is found commonly in 'signatures' on medieval paintings as well as 'pinxit', so we cannot be sure that the *obra* in question was something other than the mural, perhaps the sculpture of the Virgin Mary it framed, or indeed the altar and its

[10] F. Gutiérrez Baños, "Un castellano en la corte de Enrique III de Inglaterra: relaciones entre la escuela de Salamanca y el círculo cortesano de Westminster", *Boletín del seminario de estudios de arte y arqueologia*, 71 (2005), pp. 13-64; also *Idem*, "Picturing the Immaculate Conception in thirteenth-century Castile: the wall paintings of the chapel of San Martín in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca", *Iconographica*, XVII (2018), pp. 66-81. For the artistic context of these remarkable paintings see F. Gutiérrez Baños, *Aportación al studio de la Pintura de Estilo Gótico lineal en Castilla y León: precisiones cronológicas y corpus de pintura mural sobre tabla*, 2 vols., Madrid, 2005.

ensemble; had the patron been Salamanca's Bishop Pedro Pérez (d. 1264), and the purpose of the mural and sculpture to celebrate retrospectively the establishment of a funerary chapel here, the inscription would more probably have referred to Pedro as patron and used a version of *fieri fecit*.[11] Common sense – though not always an infallible guide - suggests the inscription refers to the painting. So Gutiérrez Baños very reasonably places the dated inscription at the centre of his discussion, and it is not readily gainsaid, since it is very unwise to overturn epigraphic evidence without good cause.

Yet, as some commentators have maintained, not everything about this mural 'adds up' at so early a date. This sense of tension in the evidence first arose in the work of Chandler Post in the 1930s: Post, though not nearly as well-informed as later art historians, thought that as a stylistic whole the Salamanca mural looks later than the 1260s.[12] Post's remarks of course predate the comprehensive repainting of the mural in 1950; earlier photographs reveal the true extent of the retouching. While there is no evidence that the 1950 work significantly falsified the inscription, the earlier history of this mural and the true history of its paintwork will not be elucidated without thorough scientific investigation.

If, for the present, the date is apparently unassailable, there remains significant room for debate about the stylistic background of this most unusual work, and particularly its relationship to English Gothic art. Gutiérrez Baños proposes that the mural shows knowledge of English illuminated manuscripts produced (according to different opinions) in the 1260s or 1270s, principally the Anglo-Norman illuminated Apocalypse manuscripts, and the copied evidence of murals formerly in the king's chamber or Painted Chamber of the Palace of Westminster (destroyed 1834), attributed by many writers to the 1260s. [13] One comparison drawn by him includes the bearded head of Joachim and the copy made in 1819 of the head of St John the Evangelist from the Painted Chamber, which can only be dated with any certainty after 1263, and so after the last documented reference to Peter of Spain in 1262. But similar as the heads are, the likeness must be understood within the wider reality of the French 'presence' at the Westminster court in the 1260s represented by the superlative Westminster Retable (Fig. 2) made for Westminster Abbey's high altar before 1269, whose suave style probably influenced that of the Painted Chamber murals. [14] The Retable was certainly made at the very least under French instruction, and raises the question just how solely 'English' this idiom was. The more general English analogues to Salamanca's vehement figurative style, such as the Gulbenkian

[11] I thank my colleague Dr Donal Cooper who notes numerous instances in Italy where *fecit* is used on paintings: Giunta Pisano's San Ranierino crucifix in Pisa; Margaritone d'Arezzo's Saint Francis panel in Arezzo and Virgin and Child in Washington, etc. For studies of signatures see for example M. M. Donato (ed.), *Opera, Nomia, Historia. Giornale di cultura artistica*, 1 (2009) (online: http://onh.giornale.sns.it/). For Salamanca's epigraphy, see F. Gutiérrez Baños, E. P. Rodríguez, 'Lo que un epitafio esconde: Pedro Pérez, obispo de Salamanca (1248-1264)', *Hispania Sacra*, 71/143 (2019), pp. 59-76, and for a similar expression ('lo fizo') on the mural at Salamanca of the Madonna of Mercy with St Peter, Gutiérrez Baños, *Aportación,* II, p. 179, no. 59.

[12] C. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. 2, Cambridge MA, 1930, pp. 142-147.

[13] Gutiérrez Baños, "Un castellano", pp. 17-29 and 47-51 for the documentation for Peter; for Westminster, P. Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster*, London, 1986.

[14] See P. Binski, A. Massing (eds.), *The Westminster Retable: History, Technique, Conservation*, Turnhout, 2009 for an in-depth investigation.

and Douce Apocalypses, are now more usually dated to the mid or later 1260s at the earliest, rendering problematical Gutiérrez Baños's theory that, in effect, these styles existed in the period of Peter of Spain's activity at Westminster in the 1250s, in order that they might then find their way to Spain by 1262.[15] This is at present beyond proof, so the personal link remains tenuous. Nor does Gutiérrez Baños address why, if these murals were informed by some form of communication from Westminster via Peter of Spain, their painted architecture bears little relation either to current English practice in micro-architecture or painting, or to the idiomatically pure Parisian micro-architectural language of the Westminster Retable, itself almost certainly arguing for the involvement of a French goldsmith.[16] For example, the practice of placing crockets directly onto pointed arches rather than straight gables, known in Paris by 1260 (Sainte-Chapelle, St Germain-des-Près Lady Chapel), is unknown in England in the third quarter of the century.

Fig. 2. Westminster Abbey, Retable, St Peter, c. 1259-69 (photo: Hamilton Kerr Institute)

All the signs are that the Salamanca painter was familiar directly or indirectly with French, not English, art. The mural's 'Golden Gate' structure with a central field, stacked compartments with musical angels, and wider outer arched compartments containing the main figures, is obviously French in derivation, and we find instances of it as far-flung as Notre-Dame de la Belle Verrière at Chartres (as recast in the earlier 13th century), and in a devotional manuscript from the circle of Mahaut d'Artois of c. 1310-1315 (Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale Ms 87) in which an elaborate Marian tabernacle has narrow inner compartments filled in the same way with musical angels.[17] Gutiérrez Baños is absolutely right

[15] The datings to the period c. 1260 accorded to the Lisbon and Gulbenkian apocalypses which are key to the early chronology proposed by Gutiérrez Baños are increasingly under pressure, see D. Burrows (ed.), *The Abingdon Apocalypse*, Anglo-Norman Texts, Oxford 2017. For the Douce Apocalypse, see P. Binski, 'The illumination and patronage of the Douce Apocalypse', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 94 (2014), pp. 127-134.

[16] Binski, Massing, *Westminster Retable*, pp. 79-96.

[17] For the latter see P. Brieger, P. Verdier (eds.), *Art and the Courts. France and England from 1259 to 1328*, Ottawa, 1972, no. 18; illustrated in colour in H. Westermann-Angergausen, *Schatz aus den Trümmern. Der Silberschrein von Nivelles und die europäische Hochgotik*, Cologne, 1995, no. 51 and D. Gaborit-Chopin, et al, *L'Art au temps des rois maudits. Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285-1328*, Paris, 1998, no. 210.

to pursue detailed analogies to French architecture and microarchitecture, and we can add instances. For example, the principal canopy supports consist of thick-set stacked units faced with small crocketed gablets, lancet and quatrefoil lights and squat pyramidal pinnacles. These frame the marbled columnar supports for the cusped arches in a way consistent in principle with French practice, and might have been extrapolated from the study of small mid-century French objects or microarchitecture such as the canopy shown in the middle register of the Theophilus tympanum of the north transept of Notre Dame in Paris which distinguishes between the minor shafts and buttresses but which, it should be noted, shows a cluster of major and minor pinnacles consonant with French norms.[18]

But the actual outcome at Salamanca, whereby the rather coarsely-detailed buttress supports are joined to arches with crocketed arches of a type found in Paris by 1250, is sufficiently unorthodox to raise doubts as to how closely familiar this painter was with specifically Parisian practice. A better analogy, also noted by Gutiérrez Baños, is supplied by the Holy Cross reliquary of the Abbey of Floreffe, usually dated in the years after 1254. The reliquary has curled crockets on its arches, which, as at Salamanca, branch out to overlap the buttresses, and (on the back) similar tiered masonry shafts and plain pinnacles.[19] Yet the figure-styles do not correspond at all. Notwithstanding the presence at Burgos and León of French sculptors from Amiens, Paris and Reims, these forms cannot be found in Iberian portal sculpture in the key period before 1260.[20] And it is far from easy to find analogues in northern French art c. 1260 to the voluminously-draped, short-legged, strongly swaying and emphatically gesturing figures of Joachim, Isaiah and Daniel, which are much more in keeping with Franco-Netherlandish painting of a generation later, such as a small, probably Dominican, panel of c. 1300 now in Brussels, where the similar swaying figures also have sinuous drapery folds articulated with whiplash-thin pale lines.[21] I know of no analogy in Anglo-French art of c. 1260 to the dramatic pose of Joachim.

Some of the detailing is certainly inconsistent with a date c. 1260. For example, the major arch of the outer compartment over Joachim closely resembles the Pentecost scene in the *Somme le Roi* (London, Add. MS 54180, fol. 10v) from the Parisian workshop of Honoré, c. 1295.[22] They share the same broad crocketed arch with a soft pointed-leaf finial, and trefoil cusps filled with quatrefoils set at 45 degrees, the remainder of the cusp spandrels having tiny trefoil or triangular infills. Rotated trefoils or quatrefoils placed on cusps in this way can

[18] W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270*, London, 1972, pl. 186.

[19] Illustrated in Westermann-Angergausen, *Schatz aus den Trümmern*, pp. 300-303. Steeply pointed crocketed arches enclosing broader ones occur in the 'Aristotle' frontispiece of the Lapidary of Alfonso X dating probably to the 1270s, placed in the context of *Las Cantigas* by R. Cómez Ramos, "La arquitectura en las miniaturas de la corte de Alfonso X el Sabio", *Alcanate. Revista de estudios alfonsíes*, 6 (2008-2009), pp. 207-225, at pp. 223-225, fig. 9. For the date, see A. J. Cárdenas-Rotunno, 'El Lapidario Alfonsí: la fecha problemática del códice escurialiense h.I.15', in F. Sevilla Arroyo, C. Alvar Ezquerra (eds.), *Actas del XIII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas* (Madrid 6–11 julio 1998) (Madrid, 2000) I, pp. 81-87.

[20] P. Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300*, New Haven and London, 1995, pp. 225-241.

[21] E. Nyborg, "Danish Panel Painting until c. 1300", in J. Nadolny (ed.), *Medieval Painting in Northern Europe. Techniques, Analysis, Art History*, London, 2006, pp. 248-265, figs. 2-3.

[22] Illustrated in E. Millar, *The Parisian Miniaturist Honoré*, London, 1959, pl. 3.

occasionally be found in smaller-scale French architecture from no later than mid-century, as on the west front of Bourges, the canopy over the tomb of Louis of France (d. 1235) formerly at Royaumont, and that over the tomb of Robert de la Houssaye, Bishop of Senlis (d. 1260) formerly at the abbey of Chaalis (the last two recorded by Gaignières).[23] However, together with the sharp spandrel infills, they are not at all normal in French painting, illumination and stained glass until the last two or three decades of the century, as in the *Somme le Roi* just cited.[24] The same is true of the thin, very elongated pointed trefoils in the spandrels by the rose in the main gable of the Salamanca image, which are also uncommon in French and English painting and glazing until the last decades.

Use, medium and context matter quite as much as motif-tracing. It is curious that motifs developed in architecture in the Paris region should have been used first by painters working in comparative isolation in Salamanca but not by French glaziers and illuminators at the same time. We do not find these forms, for example, in the superb and largely unpublished murals dating to no earlier than the 1260s in the apse of the Cathedral of Angers which reveal contact with then-current Parisian and Norman art. The pressure imposed by the 1262 date leads to the adoption of a form of 'earliest possible date' rule. This creates the impression that Salamanca was introducing innovations not apparent in French art for another few decades, without it being shown how such an advanced *tour-de-force* could have emerged in Castile without any local basis, or consequence. Such causal exceptionalism in effect establishes Anton Sanchez's 'paternity' of Gothic painting in Castile. Though there is clearly room for debate on the matter, in my opinion the other significant painted artefacts in the Old Cathedral at Salamanca, such as the tomb of doña Elena (d. 1272), don Alfonso Vidal (d. 1288 or 1289) and the Madonna of Mercy (early 14th century?) appear to belong far more securely within the mainstream of later 13th-century Gothic wall painting in western Europe as a whole, and show none of the conclusive signs of the influence of the work of Anton Sanchez that would be needed to prove the anteriority of the St Martin mural.[25] Nor does the mural accord especially well with the later emergence of 'Immaculatist' observation in the region of Compostela and Salamanca and which again might favour a later date: according to Gutiérrez Baños the feast of the Conception was not generalized in Castile before the 14th century and there are no records of its widespread celebration at Salamanca before 1335.[26] In short, the Salamanca mural is 'disruptive' and (this is my main point) the evidence for it reflecting activity at the English court is far from conclusive. The issue may not be a dependence of Iberian on English art, but rather the different ways that the court of Westminster and Salamanca Cathedral responded to a common body of French exemplars.

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[23] Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, pl. 293 (lower left) and pp. 459-460, fig. 82 for Louis of France. The detailing of the freestanding canopy of this tomb looks later than the 1230s; the Chaalis tomb probably post-dates 1260 given the short tenure of its occupant (1258-60). Rotated trefoils and quatrefoils in this position occasionally occur in English illumination in the same period but they are embedded in different systems of detailing.

[24] In the chapel of St Vincent at St-Pierre de Beauvais, see L. Grodecki, C. Brisac, *Gothic Stained Glass 1200-1300*, London, 1985, fig. 147, or in the nave and hemicycle of Saint-Père at Chartres, see M. P. Lillich, *The Stained Glass of Saint-Père de Chartres*, Middletown, 1978.

[25] Gutiérrez Baños, *Aportación*, I, pp. 476-481, II, pp. 167-180, nos. 56, 57, 59.

[26] I am most grateful to Professor Gutiérrez Baños for making the second part of his paper on the Immaculate Conception available to me prior to publication.

Pamplona Cathedral and Avignon

The evidence at Salamanca is more ambivalent than the one certain English presence in Castile at this date, *Opus anglicanum*. Here diplomatic channels and gift-giving opportunities, as exemplified by the Toledo *Bible Moralisée*, presumably a gift from Louis IX, must have been furthered if not started by Eleanor of Castile. Embroideries including a cope with 'London' orphreys were in Toledo by the mid-1270s; Eleanor of Castile gave Alfonso X a rich textile.[27] The magnificent early 14th-century cope in the possession of Toledo Cathedral is generally regarded as a later donation.[28] The impact of such embroideries in Iberia has yet to be considered fully but we might *en route* mention the fine, now detached, mural (1318-55?) of the *Pange Lingua* formerly in the cloister of the Cathedral at Pamplona.[29] This is not English work, but it has much more in common with English figurative style of the sort on the embroideries than does the Salamanca mural. And we also turn to Pamplona for actual evidence of a painter who assuredly worked with English and Norman associates: Juan Oliver, whose signature dated 1330 (or 1335) on the now-detached refectory mural of the Crucifixion (Museo de Navarra) (Fig. 3).[30] Oliver already had a documented career at Pope John XXII's curia at Avignon where he had worked around 1321 at the residence at Sorgues, higher in rank than his colleagues Jean Angles and Thomas Daristot, *pictor Anglicus*, but in a style which might itself speak of contact with English painting and illumination of the period, yet which

Fig. 3. Pamplona Cathedral, refectory mural by Juan Oliver, 1330 or 1335 (now Museo de Navarra, Pamplona) (photo: Larrion & Pimoulier, Museo de Navarra)

[27] T. Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral. Building Histories in Medieval Castile*, University Park PA, 2015, pp. 124-125.

[28] C. Browne, G. Davies, M. A. Michael (eds.), *English Medieval Embroidery: Opus Anglicanum*, London, 2016, no. 46.

[29] C. Lacarra Ducay, "Pintura mural gótica en Navarra y sus relaciones con las corrientes europas: siglos xiii y xiv", *Cuadernos de la cátedra de patrimonio y arte navarro*, 3 (2008), pp. 127-71, part. 137-141, fig. 2.

[30] G. G. Callahan, "Revaluation of the Refectory Retable from the Cathedral of Pamplona", *Art Bulletin*, 35/3 (1953), pp. 181-193 for an early assessment of the English links; Lacarra Ducay, 'Pintura mural', pp. 141-147; for the date, J. Martínez de Aguirre, F. Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, "Precisiones cronológicas y heráldicas sobre el mural del refectorio de la catedral de Pamplona", *Príncipe de Viana*, 57/207 (1996), pp. 5-17. I have discussed the Avignonese documentation and the mural in P. Binski, *Gothic Wonder. Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style 1290-1350*, New Haven and London, 2014, pp. 249-253.

Fig. 4. Pamplona Cathedral, refectory mural, head of Longinus (photo: Paul Binski)

Fig. 5. Avignon Cathedral, tomb of Pope John XXII (d. 1334) (photo: Paul Binski)

does not do so conclusively except for some specifics, such as the idiom of certain heads which strikingly resemble early 14th-century English illumination (Fig. 4).

Yet these snippets amount to little in comparison with the tomb of John XXII in Avignon Cathedral (Fig. 5), which, along with the octagon screen in the Cathedral of Trondheim in Norway is the most notable instance of English-derived architectural detailing of the period around 1330 beyond its shores (though see my remarks on Tarragona below). I have discussed the courtly and south-eastern English (or 'Kentish') aspects of this surprising monument elsewhere.[31] Here, in regard to the general narrative of our conference of translation, hybridization, and appropriation, I would simply observe that sudden stylistic events of this type are devoid of motivational context or explanation other than that enabled by high diplomatic exchange: John XXII (d. 1334) was himself French and had no explicit leanings towards English culture. In the 1330s he was still assuring the Italian populace of his intention to return to Rome, something that would have been hard to substantiate

[31] Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, pp. 253-259 for a discussion of the tomb and its possible patronage. See also J. Gardner, "Importation, hybridation ou innovation? Le tombeau du pape Jean XXII à Avignon dans son contexte européen", in Dubois, Guillouët, Van Den Bossche, *Les Transferts,* pp. 337-350.

if a tomb had already been built for him at Avignon.[32] That suggests a date after 1334. He, or more probably his executors, eventually opted for a translation of French seigneurial canopied tombs which spoke with a distinctly English accent in regard to detailing. Nothing locally accounts for this: again, this is a 'simplex', a one-off, albeit a potentially influential one in Catalonia, and the primary route to its realization was almost certainly a contact of some sort between the curia and the English court of Edward III. As we will see shortly, the as yet inexplicable Avignonese situation under John XXII anticipates the fast-moving but not very deep-rooted culture of reference which opened out in the zone of Santes Creus and Tarragona in the thirty years between 1330 and 1360. On the subject of micro-architecture and sculpture we might equally point to the obvious sympathies between the extraordinary carving of foliage at Burgos Cathedral, Las Huelgas, Naumburg and (later) at Southwell Minster, around 1290. Southwell's delicate foliage-bedecked chapter house ensemble, certainly a *hortus conclusus*, was not inspired internationally so much as by the authority of the metropolitan Cathedral of York; but Heinrich Karge is to my mind right in seeing these exchanges as, broadly, dynastic in their rationale.[33] Was beautifully detailed, coloured and gilded foliage associated with *nobilitas* as the German vernacular grail poem *Jüngerer Titurel* states?[34]

Huesca Cathedral and Monastery of Santes Creus

My next and rather complex instances include one brief and questionable inference and two centres of extraordinary work where the 'English' question is posed acutely, and which in my judgement are complexes, not simplexes. The object of inference is the 14th-century work at the Cathedral at Huesca, where a master of the works called Guillermo Inglés, William the Englishman, is recorded in 1338 as *maestro maior* of the Cathedral works; the same mason can also be traced at Pamplona Cathedral.[35] In my larger study of the arts of this period I suggested that it is difficult, in the light of the surviving evidence, to know what to make of this, or indeed any, name (the *magister fabrice* of the spectacular Rayonnant church of Saint-Urbain in Troyes, after all, was one Jean Langlois, whose agency in regard to the construction of the church has understandably been disputed: the fact that Saint-Urbain was more influential in England than France is striking).[36] One possibility is to consider the detailing of the west tower and facade of Huesca Cathedral (Fig. 6). The tower, in building in the third quarter

[32] C. Bolgia, "Images in the City. Presence, absence and legitimacy in Rome in the first half of the 14th century", in E. Brilli *et alii* (ed.), *Images and Words in Exile. Avignon and Italy during the first half of the 14th century*, Florence, 2015, pp. 381-400, part. 388.

[33] H. Karge, "From Naumburg to Burgos. European Sculpture and Dynastic Politics in the Thirteenth Century", *Hispanic Research Journal*, 13 (2012), pp. 434-448.

[34] W. Wolf, (ed.), *Albrechts Von Scharfenberg Jüngerer, I.* Deutsche texte des Mittelalters, vol. 45, Berlin, 1955, pp. 83-110, lines 399-405, especially line 401.

[35] A. Zaragozá Catalán, J. Ibáñez Fernández, "Materiales, técnicas y significados en torno a la arquitectura de la Corona de Aragón en tiempos del Compromiso de Caspe (1410-1412) ", *Artigrama*, 26 (2011), pp. 21-102, p. 39 n. 85; *Idem*, "Hacia una historia de la arquitectura en la Corona de Aragón entre los siglos xiv y xv a partir de los testeros de los templos. Ábsides construidos, ábsides proyectados e ideales y ábsides sublimes", *Artigrama*, 29 (2014), pp. 261-303, part. 285.

[36] Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, p. 52 and note 133, also pp. 252-73 for names.

of the 14th century, is a work of marked severity which throws into relief the main tower apertures, each with three orders of extremely plain chamfered continuous mouldings. Such continuous orders were common in western English early Gothic as in the nave of Llanthony priory and, with hood moulds, the transept and nave of Wells Cathedral. But since they occurred both in Cistercian and increasingly in Rayonnant architecture, other routes are conceivable.[37] A connection to Wells might however reinforce the argument advanced by Arturo Zaragozá Catalán and Javier Ibáñez Fernández that the micro-architectural canopy-work on the underside of the projecting 'town canopy' over the image of the Virgin Mary on the earlier west portal's tympanum shows a miniature rendition of a vault-plan based on the east end of Wells Cathedral including its second transept and unusual early 14th-century polygonal (actually octagonal) Lady Chapel.[38] This argument only obtains if the portal was in fact prepared under Guillermo Inglés, however.[39] One such cross-reference to Wells might be accidental; two cross-references, if actual, typify a 'complex'.

Fig. 6. Huesca Cathedral, west tower (photo: Paul Binski)

I mention Huesca briefly not because it is at all conclusive, but because it anticipates the first of two instances, true complexes in my opinion, where the question of English authorship is posed vividly, if not fully answered.

The first is the Cistercian abbey and mausoleum of kings of Aragon at Santes Creus. Because this monastic complex, its tombs and its history are well known, I will move immediately

[37] J. Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries*, Berkeley and London, 1983, pp. 439-443.

[38] Zaragozá Catalán, Ibáñez Fernández, "Materiales", p. 39 and fig 1.3. *Idem*, "Hacia una historia de la arquitectura", fig. 12.1.

[39] The portal has however recently been dated to the episcopacy of Martín López de Azlor (1300-1313), so may predate the involvement of Guillermo Inglés: C. Garcés Manau, "La mezquita-catedral (siglos xii-xiii) y la construcción de la catedral gótica de Huesca (1273-1313): una nueva historia'" *Argensola*, 124 (2014), pp. 211-271.

to the cloister, rebuilt in the 14th century with an extraordinary quantity of figurative sculpture of a type that would have made St Bernard recoil in horror, and which is understandable as an instance of the gradual Cistercian accommodation of the 'courtly'. Here we encounter another named mason, whose artistic career was first discussed in 1921 by the eminent Catalan architect and historian Josep Puig i Cadafalch, namely Raynard de Fonoll (Fonoyll in the documents).[40] Puig i Cadafalch published a document in the diocesan archive of Tarragona, dated 1331, which records a deposition by *Raynardus de Fonoyll Anglicus lapicida* in connection with work to be done on the refectory and cloister of the abbey at Santes Creus.[41] Raynard de Fonoll had two apprentices and acted as *mandator* and *ordinator* of the works. He witnessed the employment of assistant masons in 1332 and was still there in 1340 when he was taking an apprentice, and it has been shown that subsequently, perhaps after 1341, he moved on to Montblanc and then to Tarragona Cathedral.[42] He was still alive in 1373, suggesting a birth date not much before 1300. Neither of his names is English (Fonoll is a settlement in the Conca de Barberà; Raynard is untypical), and it is most unlikely that he was anything other than a Catalan who as a result of his *Wanderjahre* claimed professional experience in England before 1331, though where and under what circumstances are unknown except by inference from his art.

The cloister was started in 1313 and the inference (possibly incorrect) is that by the time of Fonoll's employment, the north and east walks were complete but not the south and west walks. Like such cloisters as those at Burgos, Vic and Pamplona, the earliest traceried heads of the eight cloister openings on the north side are consistent in form, Rayonnant-derived, resembling the royal tomb of Pere III (d. 1285, tomb c. 1294-1300). The tomb of Jaime II (d. 1327, tomb complete c. 1330) was commissioned from masters from Tarragona, Barcelona and southern France some of whom worked on the cloister's north (Fig. 8, to right) and possibly east walks.[43] This indicates a continuum of royal patronage between the tombs and the cloister, in the wake of which the remaining cloister walks were erected. The situation in the east, south, and west walks is more complex. The tracery there has a marked *sui generis* character. Six bays of the east walk (Fig. 7, to left) introduce segmental-headed arches, quatrefoil circlets and heart-shaped motifs. We then note that the south-east corner has variant openings similar in form to one opening on the south-west corner and one at the north-west corner diagonally opposite (Fig. 8, third bay from right). The seven central bays of the south walk either side of the lavabo introduce cusped ogee-headed arches, soufflets and cusped circlets (Fig. 7, right). This trend is then taken furthest in the west walk (Fig. 8) with five central bays with flowing tracery consisting of ogee arches, cusped mouchettes and soufflets.

What this slightly baffling and certainly unusual mixture indicates for sure is that curvilinear tracery was already emerging in the cloister's east and south walks, probably erected

[40] J. Puig i Cadafalch, "Un mestre anglès contracta l'obra del claustre de Santes Creus', *Anuari: Institut d'estudis catalans, secció històrico-arquelògica*, 7 (1921–6), pp. 123-138.

[41] *Ibidem*, pp. 123-125.

[42] For a useful account see E. Liaño Martínez, "Reinard de Fonoll maestro de obras de la seo de Tarragona: una hipótesis sobre su obra", in *Miscellania en homenatge al P. Agustí Altisent*, Tarragona, 1991, pp. 379-402.

[43] T. Nickson, "The royal tombs of Santes Creus: negotiating the royal image in medieval Iberia", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 72 (2009), pp. 1-14, pp. 4, 9.

Fig. 7. Santes Creus, cloister, east walk with south walk and lavabo to right (photo: Paul Binski)

Fig. 8. Santes Creus, cloister, west walk with north walk to right (photo: Paul Binski)

before the west walk. For example, the use of heart-shaped motifs can be found solely in Gothic tracery in the east of England in the second quarter of the 14th century: in York Minster's west window (1339) and Beverley Minster's screen interior to name two instances.[44] *Sui generis* experiments of this type are entirely characteristic of English curvilinear tracery, and entirely uncharacteristic of French Rayonnant practice. The west walk tracery could, in principle, just be a further development of this curvilinearity. Tracery with trios of soufflets enclosing

[44] I discuss heart forms in tracery in Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, pp. 174-175.

Fig. 9. Beeston parish church, Norfolk, c. 1330 (photo: Paul Binski)

cusped mouchettes had already emerged by 1331, but only in England: as Puig i Cadafalch first noted, examples with a trio of soufflets occur in Norfolk at Great Walsingham, to which we can add the parish churches at Mileham and Beeston (Fig. 9) also in Norfolk, and the same 'flowing' techniques are apparent on the shrine and high altar screen at Beverley Minster of c. 1330.[45] Between 1300 and 1330 displays of prodigiously complex curvilinear tracery were becoming typical of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Norfolk, in other words eastern England as opposed to London and the south-east, as represented by the tomb of John XXII. It has long been recognized that Flamboyant tracery in France was not only anticipated by, but dependent upon, the tracery experiments conducted in England in the so-called Decorated Style substantially earlier.[46] The stylistic situation in the cloister is somewhat more complex than has tended to be acknowledged, and raises a question about how the chronology of curvilinear tracery can be coordinated with the documented work of Fonoll after 1331.

Indeed, in 1985 Francesca Español i Bertran published new material about Fonoll as well as an alternative hypothesis about this tracery, proposing that it was executed during a much later campaign on the cloister in 1503 by Guillem Moreau from Burgundy who 'obrat en las claravollas de la claustra': therefore, the curvilinear tracery was introduced by a later French

[45] Puig i Cadafalch, "Un mestre anglès", pp. 129-135; my remarks here are a refinement of my views in Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, pp. 268-269, and for Santes Creus as a whole, including the sculpture, pp. 266-273.

[46] C. Enlart, "Origine anglaise du style flamboyant français", *Archaeological Journal*, 63 (1906), pp. 51-96.

'flamboyant' mason.[47] It should be noted that the exact location, nature and cost, hence extent, of this work in unknown.

This is a useful suggestion because we must always be careful about later repairs: the cloister arcade arches are grooved in such a way that their tracery could be removed and reinserted at any time, not least in repair, and the tracery throughout the cloister has been subject to significant levels of regeneration. It is certainly possible to find cognate forms to those at Santes Creus within the ambit of late-medieval Flamboyant tracery in France, though not necessarily in Burgundy. Similar instances can be found, for example, in the archdioceses of Rouen and Tours, as in the Isle of Jersey. More work on the chronology and early development of curvilinear forms in all these regions is needed. But this argument also needs to take into account the possibility that tracery introduced or renewed c. 1500 simply followed what was in those bays before, the present designs being a 'Flamboyant' renewal of similar older 14th-century curvilinear work. This is entirely hypothetical but, as noted, the curvilinear tendency had already emerged in the east walk and more pronouncedly in the ogival south walk openings. It may not be coincidence that the form of curvilinear tracery chosen for all these bays descends ultimately from exactly the same range of tracery types developed before 1350 in the east of England.

Despite the theory that the west walk cloister together with its tracery required comprehensive repair around 1500, the adjacent sculpture is quite evidently of 14th-century date, and intact. The prodigious figurative sculpture of the cloister capitals (Figs. 10 and 11) including its western walk also reveals similarities in inventive outlook and aesthetic with English art produced in exactly the same regions as those producing the model curvilinear tracery, namely eastern England. This point was overlooked even by Puig i Cadafalch in 1921 quite possibly because the English *locus classicus* of such marginalia, the celebrated Luttrell Psalter, was not published extensively in facsimile until 1932.[48] The Luttrell Psalter was made between the 1320s and 1340s for a family of landowners at Irnham in Lincolnshire, in the heartlands of English curvilinear tracery. Throughout Provence and Catalonia, I know of nothing which resembles the sculpture of Santes Creus so much as the marginalia in the Luttrell Psalter, for while the hands at Santes Creus are variable (often superb) and the 'touch' generally quite different, the inventive outlook and repertory is very similar: we find the same fantastic combinations of winged creatures with projecting tongues and pricked up ears, winged bishops, bats, owls, faces framed with odd serrated haloes, and a similar haunting power. In both works *varietas* is taken to prodigious lengths.

These sculptures have not been studied properly. But they suggest that this entire repertory of sculpture and tracery could have been formed by the later 1320s and 1330s at least partly as a result of English professional experience somewhere in the east of England. Whether or not this might explain the accord between the balustrade of the diagonally-set buttress-like patio staircase of the royal palace in the monastery, and the extraordinary crossing

[47] F. Español i Bertran, "Remarques a l'activitat de mestre Fonoll i una revisió del 'Flamíger' de Santes Creus", *D'art: revista del Departament d'historia de l'art*, 11 (1985), pp. 123-131.

[48] E. G. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter*, London, 1932; for a colour facsimile, M. Brown, *The Luttrell Psalter*, London, 2006, and for marginalia of this type Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, pp. 283-305.

Fig. 10. Santes Creus, cloister capitals, west walk (photo: Paul Binski)

Fig. 11. Santes Creus, cloister capitals, south walk (photo: Paul Binski)

of buttress and mullion forms in the south transept of Gloucester Cathedral of the 1330s, emphatically in the west of England, is another matter.[49]

Tarragona Cathedral

The second and final instance is at Tarragona. If, to accept the hypothesis, curvilinear tracery was cultivated at Santes Creus in the 1330s, what was its fate? There are some isolated later regional instances of intersecting curvilinear tracery. A triplet window of the royal apartments of the nearby abbey of Poblet of c. 1400 picks up an English type of mid-14th-century

[49] A. Zaragozá Catalán, J. Ibáñez Fernández, "Microarchitecture in the Iberian context between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries", in J. M. Guillouët, A. Vilain (ed.), *Microarchitectures Médiévales. L'échelle à l'epreuve de la matière*, Paris, 2018, pp. 47-56, part. 47, figs. 1a-1b. Similar cross-buttressing, for the crossing tower begun in 1357, can be observed in the east bay of the nave of Worcester cathedral.

intersecting ogee and mouchette tracery, used later in Burgundy. But whatever we make of Poblet, a second more complex monument is the so-called Taylors' chapel devoted to the Virgin Mary, Santa Maria dels Sastres, on the north flank of the east end of Tarragona Cathedral. While this chapel has been admirably discussed in relation to the authorial question of Fonoll's activities, it has not been analyzed comparatively.[50] Comparative discussion shows beyond all reasonable doubt that what happened at Santes Creus may not have been a one-off simplex, but part of a narrative, fragmentary and difficult to explain, of the reaction to non-Iberian Gothic outside of the zone of Rayonnant control, explicitly England.

The chapel of Santa Maria dels Sastres consists of a vaulted five-bay apsidal structure with a relatively plain lower zone, a very ornate gallery with tracery balustrade, paired sculpted images below the vault springers and five window bays, two of which are blind and three illuminated. The building is comparatively well documented, as according to an agreement with the glazier Guillaume Lantungart it was '*constructa'* and available for glazing by August 1359.[51] Its construction should therefore have occupied a portion of the later 1340s and 1350s. The chapel has only slightly later tombs, liturgical apparatus and murals.[52]

Fig. 12. Tarragona Cathedral, chapel of Santa Maria dels Sastres (photo: Marta Serrano Coll)

This dated chapel (Fig. 12) is of unusual interest for our subject. First, the vault (Fig. 13) is of a conventional triradial design not uncommon in Iberia and France at this date, with one exception: it has short ridge-ribs, and the triradials (i.e. Y-shaped forms) in the narrow westernmost bay adjacent to the chapel's entrance arch are inverted to produce two short ribs on either side, liernes, which is to say ribs which touch neither the main keystone nor the springers. Liernes generated from triradials first appear in Castile in the chevet vault of Toledo Cathedral built in the 1270s, though with ridge-ribs, a typical feature of English vaulting, they were used

[50] Liaño Martínez, "Reinard de Fonoll", pp. 389-400 for a good description.

[51] J. Ainaud De Lasarte et al, *Els vitralls de la catedral de Girona,* Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Barcelona, 1987, pp. 201 and also p. 185.

[52] Ainaud De Lasarte, *Els vitralls*, pp. 268-269 for the murals; for the memorials, see for example G. Boto Varela, M. Serrano Coll, "The Tombs of Tarragona's Archbishops in the Middle Ages: Locations, Layouts and Settings", *Hortus Artius Medievalium*, 25 (2019), pp. 579-588, and also "Acción constructiva y memoria monumental de los arzobispos de Tarragona en los escenarios de la catedral (siglo xiv)", in M. V. Herráez et al (eds.), *Obispos y Catedrales. Arte en la Castilla Bajomedieval*, Bern, 2018, pp. 565-611.

Fig. 13. Tarragona Cathedral, chapel of Santa Maria dels Sastres, vault (photo: Xènia Granero)

to prodigious effect in England from the late 13th century at Westminster, in the vault of the lower chapel of St Stephen in the Palace of Westminster (1292-1350), at Pershore abbey, and at Norwich and Ely in the first decades of the 14th century.[53] To what extent these Spanish and English lierne vaults developed independently is as yet unknown, but the possibility that the ridge-rib lierne vault specifically at Westminster may have been known in Catalonia is strongly indicated by the vault of St Ursula's chapel at the west end of the nave of Tarragona Cathedral, probably underway by 1340, which is a ridge-rib lierne vault in plan almost exactly like that at St Stephen's Chapel which was certainly installed by that date (Figs. 14 and 15).

The 'afterlife' of such vaults needs further research. Liernes become a speciality of English 14th-century vault design and it is worth noting that in their late-medieval Iberian form (as at Jaca Cathedral) they found their way to Mexico (Huejotzingo). The later St Anne chapel at Burgos has cusped 'kite' motifs on the model of the St Stephen's chapel vault, and more specifically Bristol Cathedral's early 14th-century choir vault where such cusps are first developed. We might add early 15th-century Iberian triradial vaults with rose-window motifs of the sort at Santa Maria de Morella (between Tarragona and Valencia), patterns perhaps formed in the knowledge of the lierne vaulting and window-like motifs in the choir of Tewkesbury abbey.[54]

[53] Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral*, pp. 92-94. In general, see the concise survey in J. Bony, *The English Decorated Style. Gothic Architecture Transformed 1250-1350*, Oxford, 1979, pp. 46-48.

[54] Zaragozá Catalán, Ibáñez Fernández, "Materiales", pp. 45 fig. 2.8, 46. For Tewkesbury, Bony, *English Decorated Style,* pp. 51-52 and pl. 302.

Fig. 14. Tarragona Cathedral, chapel of St Ursula, vault (photo: Marta Serrano Coll)

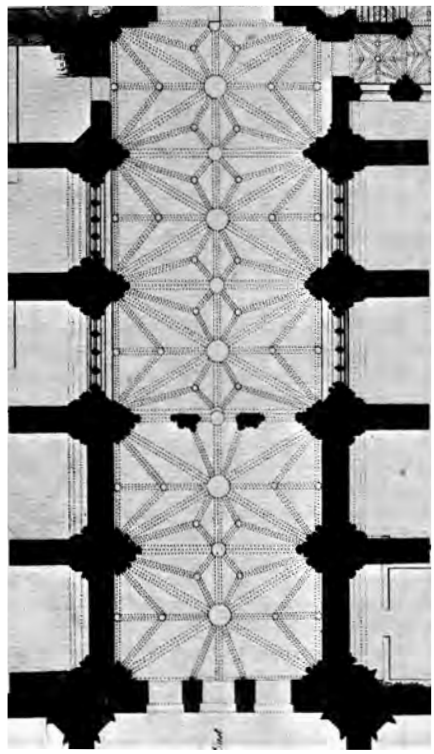

Fig. 15. St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, lower chapel plan and vault (after Topham, 1834)

That English vaults of the type at Canterbury and Ely remained objects of interest for later-medieval architects in Poland is now firmly established.[55]

The second feature of note in the chapel of Santa Maria dels Sastres is the blind tracery in the two southern bays next to the main apse (ills. 12 and 13). This consists of stilted three-light windows with ogee-reticulated cusped tracery in the window heads, the three lowest ogees of which have drop tracery with no sustaining shafts. The outermost reticulations are 'cut' by the window arch. All these details cannot be later repairs and are consistent with the ogival reticulated tracery developed exclusively in England in the period 1300-1350, with early instances (after 1298) in the cloister (and probably chapter-house) of Westminster Abbey (Fig. 16) and then throughout much of England. An instance in Iberia of uncertain date is found in the chapter house of the collegiate church at Roncesvalles.[56] But otherwise such tracery is totally isolated in Iberia and, again, unknown at this date in Rayonnant France. Indeed the

[55] J. Adamski, "The Influence of Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century English Architecture in the southern Baltic region and Poland", in J. Munns (ed.), *Decorated Revisited. English Architectural Style in Context, 1250-1400*, Turnhout, 2017, pp. 143-171.

[56] Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, pp. 249-251.

Fig. 16. Westminster Abbey, east walk tracery, early 14th century (photo: Dean and Chapter of Westminster)

curvilinear patterns at Santes Creus are no more than elaborations of this basic reticulated motif. Even in comparatively minor English locations such as Beeston in Norfolk by the 1330s, we find these types of tracery side-by-side (Fig. 9).

That this is not, in fact, coincidence, is indicated by the third and very eye-catching feature of the chapel at Tarragona, its triforium-like gallery consisting of a projecting arcaded balustrade of six lights per side, each light having a cusped ogee arch with crocket foliage and intervening buttress shafts with pinnacles aligned with a string course. On the course above are sculpted heads placed at intervals. Such ogival headed and crocketed openings framed by buttress shafts are a *cliché* of English Decorated architecture of the previous two or three decades, commonly found on sedilia and other church furnishings, and occasionally on a larger scale. The motif occurs on 14th-century English church screens and in works datable before the 1340s such as the sedilia at Navenby (Fig. 17) (late 1320s?) and on the choir screen at Southwell.[57] An instance with 'nodding' ogees is the blind gallery on the west front towers of York Minster, erected in the 1330s; the adjacent window tracery of the Minster's towers may well be the source for the windows of the elegant ridge-rib vaulted chapel built for Jean, Duc de Berry, at Riom later in the century.[58] It should be noted that cusped and crocketed ogival arches of markedly English type are to be found on the flanks of the tomb of Pope John XXII, already noted, and on the tomb of Cardinal Bertrand de Déaux (d. 1355) on the north side of the choir of the church of St Didier in Avignon, built in the years 1356–1359.[59] Ogival and cusped arcading had just begun to appear, but with much more thick-set detailing, on the

[57] Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, pls. 207, 224 (Southwell, Hawton).

[58] Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, p. 277 and pls. 246, 247.

[59] Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, pp. 261-262, pl. 222.

Fig. 17. Navenby, Lincolnshire, sedilia, late 1320s? (after Sekules)

tomb chests of high-status tombs in southern and south-western France: on the entrail tomb of Philippe III of France erected in Narbonne Cathedral around or after 1344, and on the tomb of Bishop Hugues de Chatillon (d. 1352) in the Cathedral of Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges. [60] But the detailing and arrangement of the gallery arcade at Tarragona is far closer to longer-established English practices, which is why emphasising the 'complex' at work there –the unusual combination of reticulated tracery, ogival arcading and complex vaulting– is diagnostically valuable in suggesting that the sources in question known at Tarragona may not have been French, but English.

All these features point to the conclusion that the same English-informed, if not purely English, idiom was at work at Santes Creus and Tarragona. At Tarragona it should be noted that these diagnostic motifs are embedded in a system of detailing that includes much less distinctively English features, such as the French-style stilted window heads with crocketed arches, the French Rayonnant tracery of the open window lights and the row of robust cusped ogee arches which support the balustrade. Motifs of certain English origin, in other words, were being selected tactically and the result, if not exactly hybridization (which implies purity), is certainly mixture. That this situation is consistent with a complex will be evident, since with one motif others seem to flow consistently and coherently as part of a design package consonant with the movement of organized and thoughtful labour, even in conditions where the patronage and motivation are entirely uncertain and where the overall control was not English. By 1352 Raynard de Fonoll was working at Montblanc, only becoming master of the works

[60] For Narbonne, see F. Baron *et alii*, *Les Fastes du Gothique. Le siècle de Charles V*, Paris, 1981, no. 59, and J. Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara. Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 146, 153, and fig. 185.

at Tarragona at some point after 1362 but before 1373 when he is described as *maestro de obras de la Seo de Tarragona*, so his direct agency in the matter cannot be established even if his association with Tarragona is certain.[61] But the fact of his continuing activity in Catalonia between the 1330s and 1370s is notable in so far as it lends some sort of human coherence to the story.

So I think it helpful to stress the agency and particular circumstances of architects and craftsmen, as opposed to old-fashioned abstract notions of the movement of style so beloved of the formalists, especially Jean Bony, who first explored the interest shown in English 14th-century architecture throughout Western Europe, and indeed saw the English Decorated style as a generator of renewal in late Gothic as a whole throughout Europe. We note the, again inexplicable, employment of one Pere ça Anglada, Peter the Englishman, with two probably German or Netherlandish craftsmen concerning the choir stalls of Barcelona Cathedral in the 1390s, producing misericords with the typical English two-branched form.[62] Other evidence should be mentioned, much less explicit about agency as it is. We recall also that it was in the mid-14th century that the extraordinary late 12th-century Canterbury Psalter (Paris BNF MS lat. 8846), a copy in the Utrecht Psalter tradition of illustration, was completed by Catalan illuminators in the circle of Ferrer Bassa, the Psalter having left Canterbury at some undisclosed date before the later 13th century.[63] MS 8846 almost brings us full circle to the era of Sigena.

Conclusions and speculations

In this paper I have been careful not to pursue a nationalist agenda in regard to English art and architecture in Iberia in these centuries. I have, for example, expressed scepticism about the murals at Salamanca, though I think the murals at Sigena constitute an undoubted Anglo-Iberian nexus. Caution is also needed in regard to the work at Pamplona. At Huesca the evidence is both nominal (Guillermo Inglés) and possibly formal. The cases of Santes Creus and Tarragona, however, seem to me both evidentially richer and more complex, and in the case of Tarragona much less easy to circumvent: the chapel of Santa Maria dels Sastres is, I think, the clearest larger-scale instance of an eruption of English motifs so far identified in 14th-century Iberia, almost on a level with the octagon screen at Trondheim and the tomb of John XXII at Avignon. In almost all these cases English designs were mediated by, and embedded in, local practice. This was the episodic pattern across much of Western Europe, and it will be for others to explore the afterlife of this episode in the later Middle Ages.

I have also considered the general discourse of transmission proposed for the monographic issue of this journal, and can only conclude that the picture is complex and fragmented. I cannot see serious evidence in any of the instances cited of cultural colonialization or reciprocal exchange. But I also cannot help noting that, in a number of cases (Sigena, possibly Salamanca, Pamplona and Santes Creus, together with the tomb of John XXII), either the patronage or the artists, or both, may have had a courtly background even if *realpolitik* or direct royal

[61] Liaño Martínez, "Reinard de Fonoll", pp. 381, 389-400 and 401-402.

[62] Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, p. 272.

[63] For a facsimile and discussion see *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, Barcelona: M. Moleiro, 2005, p. 10.

involvement was not at work. This looks like a 'dominance' model, though one to a strikingly limited extant involving the keyword 'exchange'. Scholarly efforts to 'Iberianize' English Gothic court culture have (to my mind) been both limited in number and success.[64] But it is not a model wholly defined by hegemony, because we have no evidence at all as to why some of our contacts, for example at Tarragona, developed at all. We can argue about where Raynard de Fonoll might have studied in England, but not why he did.

Arguably the artistic predicaments of England and Iberia had further points in common aside from court connections. Bearing in mind the appearance of English-style multi-cusped flowing tracery in the cloister of the Premonstratensian abbey of Bellapais in Cyprus, under Lusignan patronage, it might be possible to think of a wider courtly circulation of such motifs in the Mediterranean zone.[65] How significant was the costal position of, for instance, Valencia, Tarragona and Barcelona *en route* to Avignon and the wider Mediterranean? I have on another occasion noted the links that could spring up between the architecture of major trading centres and ports in England – London, Bristol, Norwich, Kings Lynn and the Yorkshire coast.[66] How useful were these sea-going channels? The visual cultures of England and Iberia also had an agonistic relationship with what was undoubtedly the most dominant aesthetic 'model' in much of Western Europe between Poland, Scandinavia and France: French Rayonnant. The English Decorated style was formed in the midst of speculations about Rayonnant that, as Jean Bony showed, exhibited extraordinary creative freedom.[67] The impact of this style in Europe tended not to be in the heartlands of Rayonnant architecture.[68] 13th- and 14th-century Iberian great church building too was not programmatically aligned with Rayonnant formulas generated in Paris in the mid-13th century. In fact Iberia and England have in common the possession of only one orthodox Rayonnant great church each, León Cathedral and York Minster: Rayonnant-derived idea were usually deployed on a smaller scale, if at all. Perhaps we can think of Anglo-Iberian exchange taking place within a shared, alternative zone of freedom, one which doubtless recognized the gravitational 'pull' of Rayonnant, but which succeeded in spite of it.

NOTES

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[64] Tolley, "Eleanor of Castile".

[65] M. Olympios, "Courtly Splendours. Hugh IV's Bellapais Abbey and the English Decorated Style", in Munns (ed.), *Decorated Revisited,* pp. 173-196.

[66] Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, pp. 238-239.

[67] Bony, *English Decorated Style.*

[68] Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, pp. 231-279.