LLORENÇ REIXAC AND JOAN LLEDÓ: REMARKS ON THEIR INTERVENTION IN THE CLOISTER OF THE CATHEDRAL OF BARCELONA

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Resum

La riquesa iconogràfica i estilística que presenta l’obra d’escultura de les galeries del claustre de la catedral de Barcelona és inqüestionable. La durada de les obres va permetre la intervenció de diversos artistes de diferents procedències i nivells professionals. En aquest estudi hem centrat la nostra atenció en un grup de treballs d’escultura situats en els pilars més occidentals de l’ala de tramuntana i els hem associat a les notícies registrades als Llibres de l’Obra custodiats a l’Arxiu Capitular. La possible vinculació d’aquests relleus amb l’escultor Llorenç Reixac assistit per Joan Lledó és més que probable.

Paraules clau: Escultura gòtica, Barcelona, Llorenç Reixac, Claustre

Abstract

The wealth of iconographic and stylistic features of the sculptures in the galleries of the cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona is unquestionable. The duration of the works allowed the participation of artists from various origins and professional backgrounds. In this study, we focus our attention on a group of sculptural works located in the western pillars of the north side of the cloister, linking them to several entries registered in the Llibres de l’Obra kept in the Chapterhouse Archive. The connection between these reliefs and the sculptor Llorenç Reixac, assisted by Joan Lledó, is more than likely.

Key Words: Gothic sculpture, Barcelona, Llorenç Reixac, Cloister
Introduction

The capitals of the cloister of the cathedral of Barcelona are arranged in an orderly and coherent iconographic programme depicting the most relevant scenes of the Old and New Testaments. These capitals carry the ribs of the ribbed vaults that close the galleries by attaching them to the pillars in the manner of imposts. The keystones of the vault, with the representation of the most relevant episodes of the life of Christ, and the corbels, located in the blind arches of the pillars, complement an extraordinary sculptural decoration that is completed with the majestic presence of the gargoyles designed to discharge rainwater from the roofs (Fig. 1). Although the carvings of these capitals have recently aroused some interest among historians, both as regards iconographic\(^1\) and stylistic\(^2\) issues, the corbels that decorate the trilobulated blind tracery of the pillars, mainly visible only from the cloister garden, are still completely overlooked. This circumstance has no justification given the iconographic and stylistic richness of the repertoire.

The themes represented in these corbels are quite varied with a predominance of profane scenes mixed with religious motifs. Throughout the cloister we can see entangled real and fantastic animals such as birds, reptiles, lions, dragons, and snails. In the west and north galleries there are several angels playing musical instruments such as the zambomba or friction drum, the harp, the lute, and the recorder, or simply holding scrolls, while in the east wing we find a stylistically homogeneous group of corbels. The latter depict ladies reading and correspond to the construction campaigns of 1444, that is, the years in which the Claperós had assumed the leading role in the sculptural works of the cloister.\(^3\) The corbels of the cloister of Barcelona also feature scenes of courtly love, Jews characterised by a tallit, or kings wearing heavy crowns. The extensive and varied repertoire does not seem to follow any pre-established order, as is the case with keystones and imposts, suggesting that sculptors might have enjoyed a certain degree of freedom when choosing decorative motifs for corbels and gargoyles. This alleged freedom is only apparent however, given that the scenes seem to be limited to the models that circulated through the sculpture and painting workshops of the time through samples and drawings that generally provided practical solutions to resolve each particular scene. Furthermore, in some cases, the iconographic theme has been placed in a strategic place within the cloister project, adding a symbolic value to each scene.

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\(^1\) Iconographic issues have been studied by a number of authors: Junyent 1935: 169-178; Duran Sanpera 1935: 5; Duran Sanpera 1947-1951: 1-13; Bassegoda 1991: 33-38; Sune 1997: 231-256; Jardi 2016a: 325-358.


\(^3\) This series of corbels located in the east wing and featuring scenes of ladies reading share the model of the groups of female readers carved on the front of the sarcophagus of Violant de Prades preserved in the chapel of Sanxa Ximenis in the same cathedral. On the sarcophagus, see Valero 2005-2006: 58. The same theme could also be found in the tomb of Elionor de Bellvei (d. 1448), abbess of Sant Pere de les Puelles, lost during the Spanish Civil War of 1936, Ainaud, Gudiel, Verrié 1947, Fig. 99. Female readers also appear in the sepulchre of Bernat de Pau in Girona, Prats 1994: 453-479. In the tomb of Isabel of Aragon, attributed to Blasco de Grañen, we also find ladies reading, Lacarra 2004: 164-166. The theme of the reading ladies is also depicted in the tomb of Cardinal Despujol in Vic, Valero 1995: 161-177. In the tomb of Dalmau Raset, the readers are monks. On the importance of books and reading in the role of women see Groag Bell 1982: 742-768.
Our aim is not to make a detailed analysis of each and every corbel, because the iconographic and stylistic variety is so great that it obviously exceeds the limits of this contribution. Thus, in this study, we would like to focus our attention on a group of sculptural works situated on the westernmost pillars of the north wing. Specifically, the pages below will analyse the pillar connected to the impost depicting the last episodes of the Exodus with Moses and his brother Aaron as protagonists, but also the corbels that decorate and complement this pillar and the next and, within this group, more particularly, on three iconographically exceptional corbels. One of them features a young maiden petting a unicorn while another animal stares at them from a distance (Fig. 2). The next corbel of the same pillar shows the confrontation between a unicorn and a lion (Fig. 3). In the third carving, another unicorn drinks water from a trough while a camel and a lion wait their turn. It should be noted that behind the unicorn hides a snake, which cannot be seen in the picture included in this paper (Fig. 4). Several animals and an angel playing the zambomba complete the pillar series. The corbels of the previous pillar, located in front of the wall that separates the refectory from the library, depict anthropomorphic animals, two male characters who are difficult to identify, two musician angels playing the harp, and naked children at play or perhaps fighting.

We are particularly interested in these reliefs for two main reasons. On the one hand, because of the exceptionality of the presence in the cloister of the unicorn theme, inspired by the miniatures of the ancient Physiologus and medieval illuminated bestiaries. On the other hand, these corbels, together with certain battle scenes located on the impost of the pillar dedicated to Moses, associated with some entries recorded in the Llibres de l’Obra—a record of the works carried out in the cathedral—kept in the Chapter House Archive of the cathedral of Barcelona, suggest the possibility of a connection between these successful works made in Montjuïc stone and the sculptor Llorenç Reixac, documented in Barcelona working in the cloister galleries during the summers of 1440 and 1442.

The construction works of the north gallery

The construction of the chapels of the cloister began during the second half of the fourteenth century, coinciding with the tenure of Bernat Roca (1358-1388). During the first half of the fifteenth century, and largely under the direction of Bartomeu Gual (1413-1441), a gallery was begun that would be finished in 1449 under the direction of Andreu Escuder. Between 1436 and 1438 the works focused on the refectory and the library, however, the chapter house, started in the first decade of the fifteenth century would not be covered until 1454. Once the rooms of

\[4\] The presence of Llorenç Reixac is recorded between 4 June and 30 July 1440. Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona (hereinafter, ACB), Llibre de l’Obra, 1439-1441, fols. 86v–90v, edited in MAS DOMÉNECH 1913-1914: 117. Later on, his presence was also documented for three weeks in the summer of 1442, see VALERO 2009: 400.

the north wing were finished, efforts probably turned to building the gallery from which these rooms opened. It is worth recalling the relationship established between the patriarch Francesc Climent Sapera (1348-1430), bishop of Barcelona between 1410 and 1415—and still a second time between 1420 and 1430—and the iconographic programme of the cloister galleries. Sapera’s personal involvement in the completion of the cathedral, and especially in the construction of the cloister, has been confirmed thanks to a posthumous donation explicitly dedicated to the works of the cloister. Sapera, probably inspired by manuscript copies of the Biblia Pauperum and the Speculum Humanae Salvationis, imagined the cloister as a large Bibia Petra with a clear didactic and moralising function aimed especially at illiterate people who could only access sacred texts through images (JARDI 2016a: 325-358).

On 4 June 1440, when Llorenç Reixac joined the group of stonemasons and carvers of the cloister led by the master builder Bartomeu Gual, the two easternmost sections of the north gallery had already been covered. The pillar connecting the north wing and the east wing, which ran parallel to the church, was finished during the first months after the construction of the galleries began (1434). The section next to this pillar had been completed while Antoni Dalmau was in Barcelona in 1439 (JARDI 2016b: 63-79). At the end of 1440 and through 1441 work was already underway on the pillar linking the west and the north wings, located opposite the chapel of Saint Lucia. Let us also note that the keystones that corresponded to the two sections in front of the library and the refectory did not reach the cloister until September 1441. From this information we can easily deduce that the presence of Llorenç Reixac in the summer of 1440 coincided with the construction of the pillars located in front of the refectory and the library. In August 1441, at the same time that works were carried out in front of the chapel of Saint Lucia, another keystone arrived that was to complete the north wing and that logically must correspond to the keystone depicting two saints, Saint Albert and Saint Augustine.
As for the construction system of the galleries, we must bear in mind that in a good number of sections the same stylistic features are observed in the carvings of the capitals and in the corresponding keystones, which points to a certain chronological continuity between the erection of the pillars and the closing of the vault. In general, the gallery was built following this routine. However, in the specific section of the north wing discussed above, the data known to date suggest that, during the summer of 1440, after Antoni Dalmau’s intervention in the easternmost sector (1439), the central pillars were raised to the height of the capitals, but a decision was made to complete the section in front of the chapel of Saint Lucia before the corresponding vaults were covered. Once the north gallery was covered at both ends, it was probably the right time to finish the central vaults, and the scaffolding was put up. This matter can easily be deduced from the payments recorded in the Llibres de l’Obra and made to the carpenter Pere Blasco, who received four sous per workday, and to Simon, “mosso del dit Blasco” [Blasco’s assistant], who received three sous. The arrival in September 1441 of the keystones of the vault depicting the Descent of the Holy Spirit and the Ascension further confirm this hypothesis.

**Llorenç Reixac, citizen of Barcelona**

The documentary references to Llorenç Reixac (documented 1394–1449) are well known thanks to recent studies, and thus it is not necessary to repeat them here. However, it is interesting to note that Reixac was a sculptor deeply rooted in the city of Barcelona and especially connected to the construction of the cathedral. Between 1394 and 1442, the Llibres de l’Obra document his work in different spaces and during various stages of the construction process of the cathedral. Of December 1441 the workers ate mutton at the cathedral’s expense [19 December 1441] ACB, Llibres de l’Obra, 1441-1443, fol. 113v. Valero, 1993: 36.

10 This is the case of the keystone of the Holy Supper and the reliefs of one of the capitals of the pillar that supports it, attributed to Julià Nofre, Valero, 1999b: 59-76. The keystone of the vault depicting two angels bearing the coat of arms of the cathedral matches the style of the carvings of the capital of one of the pillars supporting it, dedicated to the allegory of the kings David and Samuel and attributed to Antoni Dalmau, JARDI 2016b: 63-79. The keystone of the Annunciation attributed to Pere Oller by Carreras i Candi and Duran Sanpere also has stylistic connections with the reliefs of its corresponding impost, although this issue has never been considered before. CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 304; DURAN SANPERE 1934: 29. The keystone featuring the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple and the capital dedicated to the Passion of Christ also suggest the work of a still unknown artist. The Baptism of Jesus exemplifies a similar case. Finally, we must add the capitals of the fountain which, together with the keystones of the vault of Saint George and the Deposition of Christ, are documented works of the Claperoses. JARDI, 2006: 60-61.

11 Carpenters used to produce a great variety of objects such as pieces for boats, furniture for houses, and pews for churches, but most also collaborated in the construction of houses by making shoring, doors, and windows. This seems to be the case for Blasco and Simon. Between August and September 1441, coinciding with the weeks prior to the arrival of the keystones depicting the Descent of the Holy Spirit and the Ascension, the presence of Pere Blasco is regularly documented in the cloister. [26 August 1441] ACB, Llibres de l’Obra, 1441-1443, fol. 58r et seq. Later, he appears regularly from 4 November to March 1442, fol. 63r et seq., coinciding with the direction of Bertomeu Alcàmora and the closing of an undetermined vault [08 February 1442], fol. 114r. CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 304; VALERO 1993: 36. From May 1442 onwards, and coinciding with the arrival of Pere Oller, the presence of both Pedro Blasco and Simon is again recorded, fol. 76v et seq.

12 On these references, see TEDES 1987a; VIDAL 2002; CONEJO 2003; VALERO 2009.
building. Most of these interventions have already been mentioned above, but at this time we would like to point out that between the months of June and July 1440, when the works focused on the cloister, Reixac is explicitly recorded carving capitals, specifically in the north wing, and later, during the months of June and July 1442, he worked there three more weeks, during which he coincided with Pere Oller. It should be noted that although the presence of Llorenç Reixac in the cloister galleries in the summers of 1440 and 1442 is well-known to art historians, the scope of his intervention has not been studied with sufficient rigour to date.

It is not difficult to understand the reasons that have postponed the challenge of identifying Reixac’s work in the cloister galleries with greater precision. On the one hand, the documentation shows continuous arrivals and departures of master stonemasons, stone cutters, apprentices of the master, and image-makers, who turned the construction process of the cathedral, and in our specific case of the cloister galleries, into a true permanent training workshop. This circumstance, together with the simplicity of the information gathered from the Llibres de l’Obra, makes the task of interpreting the documentation and associating it with the surviving work extremely difficult. On the other hand, despite the efforts of historians to identify the style of Llorenç Reixac, at present his extant documented work is essentially decorative with only two exceptions: two keystones located in the main hall of the old Hospital de la Santa Creu i Sant Pau in Barcelona featuring the apostles Saint Peter (Fig. 5) and Saint Paul (1414) and the altar frontal depicting the instruments of the Passion or Arma Christi commissioned by Bishop Sapera in 1430, a modest work preserved in the cathedral museum.

It is worth recalling that Llorenç Reixac had begun his professional career in the very heart of Barcelona’s cathedral as “mecip del mestre” [apprentice of Master] Pere Sanglada, coinciding with Francesc Marata. In 1394 he received three sous per workday, but his abilities were soon recognised and from the same year his salary was raised to three and a half sous per workday, until in 1397 he already received four sous and six diners per workday, that is, the same salary as Francesc Marata. The sources show that in addition to his work in the cathedral, Reixac also undertook other commissions, acted as a witness on several occasions, and was also involved in the sale of censals—perpetual annuities—all of which confirm his presence in the city of Barcelona on a more or less regular basis. Between the months of February and June 1441 he

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carved gargoyles for the absidal area of the new cathedral of Tortosa (Almuni 1991: 613; Almuni 2007: 232). As noted above, in 1442 he was documented again collaborating in the cloister of the cathedral of Barcelona, and in 1447 he was mentioned in Valencia as a citizen of Barcelona and described as an image-maker in a document linked to his son, the painter Joan Reixac, who named his father as procurator.19 The last known piece of information about Llorenç Reixac dates from September 1449, when he granted powers to his nephew, the carpenter Pere Reixac (Valero 2009: 400).

Leaving aside some scattered attributions20 and despite the difficulties presented by the study of the artistic personality of Llorenç Reixac, historiography has linked him to a series of works simultaneously associated with other artists such as Antoni Canet, Francesc Marata,21 Pere Oller,22 Antoni Claperós,23 and especially the hypothetical sculptor of Bishop Sapera, the anonymous artist responsible for several works located mainly in the bishop’s chapel, today chapel of the Immaculate Conception. In fact, on the basis of the contract of the altar frontal featuring the instruments of the Passion commissioned by Bishop Sapera in 1430, Maria Rosa Terés rightly suggested that the anonymous sculptor who created the sculptural works of Bishop Sapera’s chapel could be Llorenç Reixac himself. All these doubts around this group of works made by masters who inherited the novelties that characterised the international style directly from Pere Sanglada, are to be expected given that, with the exception of Antoni Claperós, all of them formed part of Sanglada’s workshop.24 Later on, they probably remained in contact, which necessarily implied sharing models and knowledge in a very similar way to that of the painting workshops of the time. As has been noted, thanks to cross collaborations the members of the same workshop were capable of adapting their own artistic language to the demands of each client, a language that naturally had to be unified in order to achieve coherence in each work. It goes without saying that the best known example in Barcelona is Jaume Huguet’s workshop (Molina 2006: 141).

In this sense we can highlight an image of Saint Michael the Archangel that is preserved in the National Museum of Art of Catalonia and had traditionally been attributed to the Claperós.25 However, more recent studies indicate that it is more likely a work by the master of Bishop

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20 Vidal connects Reixac to the Font de l’Àngel in Tortosa. Vidal 2008: 110. Valero, in addition to the Font de l’Àngel, attributes certain sculptures of the baptismal chapel of the cathedral of Barcelona to Reixac, as well as the keystone depicting Santa Eulalia in the cloister and a relief dedicated to the Virgin that is kept in the Vicenç Ros Museum in Martorell. Valero 2009: 410-413.
21 Between 1407 and 1408 Reixac is mentioned as image-maker and, in collaboration with Antoni Canet and Francesc Marata, he was in charge of “fer les bases i capitells” [making the bases and capitals] of the entrance door to the chapter house, receiving five souls per workday. Téres 1983: 202. Téres 1993: 70. Téres 2007b: 62-73.
23 In 1421 he worked with Antoni Claperós on raising the lantern tower and on the four pendentives. Téres 1987a: 174-175; Téres 1994: 406.
Sapera who, as we have already noted, could be Llorenç Reixac himself (Manote 2001a: 18; Terés 2007a: 60). In the chapel of the Boixadors House, also known as Dalmases House, in Barcelona, an extraordinary vault is preserved in situ with the representation of musician angels surrounding the keystone of the central vault dedicated to the Epiphany, which has also been attributed to the Claperós (Lamana 1969: 23; Valero 2009: 414). This opinion is not unanimous though, given that other historians have considered it to be the work of the sculptor of Bishop Sapera.26

**Iconographic wealth and marginal decoration**

Be it in shaded areas or in spaces well illuminated by natural light, each and every corner of the cloister holds a surprise of unquestionable beauty and intriguing iconography. Great codices and medieval manuscripts were completed with a rich marginal decoration where vegetal motifs associated with fantastic beings and animals, starting from a decorated initial, were intertwined and scattered along the whole leaf highlighting the sacred texts. In the corbels and gargoyles of the cloister of Barcelona, the great *Biblia Pauperum* imagined by Bishop Sapera, they also act as a marginal decoration, enhancing the main text, that is, the narration of the Old and New Testament carved on the imposts. This complementary decoration does not develop independently of the rest of the iconographic programme of the cloister as a whole but, as it happened in most most codices and manuscripts, the corbels and gargoyles of the cloister also seem to have a distinct relationship with the text narrated on the capitals, reinforcing and complementing it. As we have already mentioned, three of these corbels depict the theme of the unicorn.

The old medieval illustrated bestiaries described the unicorn as a white horse with a long straight horn on its forehead, hooves, and sometimes a goat’s beard. It was an extremely ferocious creature, strong and fast, no hunter could catch it. According to literary sources, the unicorn, symbol of strength and virginity, could only be captured with the help of a virginal lady. Medieval tradition saw this virgin as the representation of the Virgin Mary and identified the unicorn with the figure of Christ. When the unicorn put its head on the lap of the maiden to be petted, this symbolized the incarnation of Christ through the womb of the Virgin Mary, and when it fell asleep and was easily captured by hunters, this was interpreted as Christ offering himself up for sacrifice. The one horn represented the unity of God and Christ, and the small size of the unicorn should be interpreted as a symbol of the humility of Christ as a human being.27 The presence in the galleries of the cloister of the cathedral of Barcelona of the young lady petting the unicorn is much more than an interesting, hitherto unprecedented example of this popular theme, since it is located precisely before the impost located in the south wing in which the Pharisees try to stone Jesus while he was walking under the porch of King Solomon, because as a man he called himself God—Jn 10: 22-40—(Jardi 2016a: 345).

In both episodes, the victim is harassed and takes refuge in the house of David, that is, the Virgin Mary in the case of the corbel and the temple of King Solomon in the impost of the south wing. While it is true that the next carving, which features the fight between the lion and the unicorn was meant to demonstrate the strength of the latter, we are interested in noting that the parallels between the unicorn and Christ are especially highlighted in the third corbel, where it appears drinking water from a trough. According to literary tradition, all the animals were going to drink water from a large lake that was poisoned by a snake. When the unicorn arrived it made the sign of the cross on the waters of the lake with its horn and the poison became harmless. All the animals, which in the cloister of Barcelona are represented by a camel and a lion, were then able to drink.  

The carvings on the impost associated with this pillar, located in front of the refectory, start with the siege of a city (Fig. 6) Next we observe the scene in which Moses receives the explorers of the Promised Land (Num.13: 1-33) and the death of Moses (Deut. 34:1-9) (Fig. 7). Aaron’s Priesthood (Ex 28:1-2; 29:4-7) precedes the battle between the Israelites, led by King Saul, and the Philistines (1 Sam 14: 15-52). In the last scene, David kills Goliath (1 Sam 17: 49). It should be noted that, according to an illustrated legend contained in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, a medieval manuscript compiled by Herrad of Landsberg (d. 1195), abbess of Hohenburg in Alsace, when Moses died at the age of 120, God the Father deposited his body in a sarcophagus while Saint Michael used his spear to repel Satan who intended to seize the corpse. The carving in Barcelona also depicts the burial of Moses, although without the figure of the archangel Saint Michael.

**The authors: Llorenç Reixac and Joan Lledó**

The corbels of the blind arches that decorate the pillars in front of the refectory and the library show a clear stylistic affinity. The author of these corbels had to be an artist with the ability to raise the figures from the stone block in order to achieve a successful high relief with rounded profiles that adapt perfectly to the shape of the corbels. All the scenes are skilfully gathered onto a minimal and delicate cornice made up of right angles that serves as the base for each group. This sculptor also appears to have been a keen connoisseur of the wealth of detail required by

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28 See *Bestiario Medieval* 1999: 146.
29 See *HERRAD, STRAUB* 1977: 53; *GREEN* 1979: Vol. I, Fig. 87; *RÉAU* 1999: 251-252.
30 The war scenes of this impost, that is, the siege of a city and the battle between Israelis and Philistines, also recall some scenes from the Hortus Deliciarum. The codex of Abbess Herrad depicts the fight between Joshua and the Amalemites [Ex 17: 8-16]. *HERRAD, STRAUB* 1977: 41; *GREEN* 1979: Vol. I, Figs. 59-60. In both cases, we see a violent confrontation between two groups of knights equipped with armours, helmets and breastplates. This reminds us of other well-known examples, such as the Romanesque portal of Ripoll, where it has been pointed out that the reliefs must have been inspired by old Catalan Bibles. *PJOAN* 1913: 475-507; *MÄLE* 1922: 20-22; *YARZA* 1987: 243-244.
the international style. For instance, the hair of the lady who pets the unicorn and the cuffs of her
dress are well defined despite the roughness of the material—Montjuïc stone—and the size of
the piece. Conversely, the analysis of the imposts in front of the refectory and the library do not
present the same stylistic unity. In fact, the relief in front of the wall separating the refectory from
the library suggests an intense collaboration between different craftsmen who probably worked
under the direction of Bartomeu Gual and deserves a separate study.31

At least two distinct hands can be found in the reliefs of the impost of the pillar where the
corbels depicting unicorns are located. The war scenes are stylistically linked to the carver of
these corbels. The coincidences between the two reliefs are evident in the rounded shapes of the
figures, in the ability to make the images stand out from the stone block, and in the attention to
detail. As we have already mentioned, these distinctive features point to a single hand which,
according to the information recorded in the Llibres de l’Obra, could be associated with the figure
of Llorenç Reixac.32 It is worth mentioning that the only extant documented works by Reixac
are two keystones of the old Hospital de la Santa Creu i de Sant Pau in Barcelona and the altar
frontal with the symbols of the Passion. Leaving aside the frontal due to its simplicity, we would
like to draw attention to the keystones of the Hospital where we can appreciate certain stylistic
connections with the reliefs of the cathedral cloister. The general conception of the figures and
the treatment of the clothes are particularly significant, although in our opinion, the distinctive
feature that stylistically links both works more convincingly is the peculiar way of resolving the
eyes. A small circle marked by a wavy line above it can be found both in the example of Saint
Peter in the keystone of the Hospital and in the eyes of the lady and even in the unicorns of the
cloister of the cathedral.

In addition to the craftsman responsible for the corbels and battle scenes to which we have
already referred, we must admit that a second not so successful artist intervened in the scenes
related to Moses, that is, Moses receiving the explorers of the Promised Land, the death of Moses
and the priesthood of Aaron, located in the pillar in front of the refectory. Perhaps we can also
include in this second stylistically cohesive group the moment when Moses receives the Tables
of the Law, a scene located in the previous pillar which, as we have already noted, presents an
extraordinary stylistic diversity resulting from the collaboration of several authors.

This is a second, not very skilful sculptor who, unlike the previous one, outlines elongated, ill-
defined figures and has problems raising their volumes from the stone block. The folds of the

31 The iconography of this impost features the scene in which Moses makes water spring from the rock of Horeb [Ex
17: 4-7], followed by Moses praying on Sinai [Ex 19: 1-25], and Moses receiving the Tables of the Law [Ex 20].
Finally, the impost also includes the depictions of the worship of the golden calf, Moses censuring the Jews, and the
punishment of the people [Ex 32].
32 On the basis of a stylistic reading, Valero suggested that Reixac should have intervened in the sculptural works of
the pillar that joins the west and the north wings. Valero 2009: 411-412.
clothes show great simplicity and the hair is barely noticeable. However, despite the difficulties in resolving the details, the abundance of figures in the scenes reminds us of the first author, characterized precisely by crowding battles with a large number of knights. As we understand it, this second craftsman followed and attempted to imitate the first one, albeit unsuccessfully.

At this point, it is essential to carefully review the Llibres de l’Obra in order to try to find out the name of this second craftsman. During the construction of a cathedral building the master builder concentrated all the responsibility for the execution of the architectural project, he organised the workshop, and supervised the daily tasks. The records in the Llibres de l’Obra of weekly payroll payments always began with a reference to the master builder, at that time Bartomeu Gual, who was paid four sous per workday. The names of the men who depended directly on the master were recorded below, with different salaries, for it was not uncommon for the master builder to be attended by apprentices and assistants.\textsuperscript{33} During the spring and summer of 1440 the presence of a certain “Joan del mestre” [literally, Joan of the master] is recorded earning four sous a day. This man should not be mistaken for the “Joan Lledó del mestre” [Joan Lledó of the master] who received a salary of three sous and a half a day. We also find a “Tomàs del mestre” [Tomàs of the master] who earned two sous and a half per workday.\textsuperscript{34} Next, other names are listed that were not accompanied by the distinctive “del mestre” [of the master], such as Bartomeu Alçamora and Pau Yvern, who were direct collaborators of Gual and were paid four sous daily each. In addition to cutting the stones with a greater degree of precision, the function of Alçamora and Yvern must have consisted in liaising the project of the senior master with the daily work of the stonemasons. They must have been responsible for outlining stone cuts and monitoring the assembly of the stones. It should be noted that during Gual’s illness, from November 1441 onwards, and after his death in January 1442, Bartomeu Alçamora supervised the works until Andreu Escuder was appointed master builder in March. The carpenters, Pere Blasco and Simon, “mosso del dit Blasco” [assistant of the said Blasco], to whom we have already referred, were usually registered below, but sometimes there were no carpenters working for weeks, given that their presence was associated with the assembly and disassembly of scaffolding and shoring for the covering of the vaults. Without the collaboration of carpenters, the work of the stonemasons could not be erected. Normally, if there were image-makers at work, the Llibres de l’Obra recorded their presence at the end of the list, as in the case of Llorenç Reixac from 4 June 1440 onwards. The payments for the purchase of material were recorded after the payrolls. Finally, in spite of the fact that the relationship between the stonemasons who worked in the cathedral and the quarrymen who supplied suitable stone blocks was essential, the payrolls of these two groups were registeres in the same page but in different lists. That is to say, the payments for the men who worked in Montjuïc extracting stone from the quarries and for the carters who transported the blocks to the

\textsuperscript{33} This issue has been pointed out for the cathedral of Mallorca. DOMENGE 1997: 234. On the flexibility of contracts and piecework in Seville, see also RODRÍGUEZ ESTÉVÉZ 2007: 165. On Mallorca, see JUAN VICENS 2014.

\textsuperscript{34} The different salaries of “Joan del mestre” and “Joan Lledó del mestre” allow us to tell them apart.
cathedral were listed at the foot of the page. This routine when it came to recording payments could be a little different depending on the book and the clerk responsible for writing down the payrolls but it did not usually vary much. In this context, one name has come as a surprise: Joan Lledó.

Joan Lledó appears for the first time in the *Llibres de l’Obra* on 5 April 1438 as “Joan del mestre” earning two and a half sous per workday for four days; however, we do not find him working regularly and continuously and earning three sous a day until 30 May 1439. From 18 July 1439 onwards, he was listed as “Joan Lledó del mestre” and continued to earn three sous a day until 3 October 1439, when he began to earn three and a half sous per day worked. He kept appearing as “Joan del dit mestre”, “Joan Lledó del mestre”, or “Lledó del mestre”. His name is always recorded at the beginning of the list, together with the other apprentices and youths who depended directly on Bartomeu Gual. It should be noted that from 4 June 1440 onwards the presence of Llorenç Reixac, image-maker, was recorded in the following terms “obra capitells dels pilars de la claustra” [works on the capitals of the pillars of the cloister]. According to our hypothesis, Reixac was working on the corbels and on one of the impost of the north wing. Starting the following week, that is to say, from 10 June 1440 onwards, and coinciding with the arrival of Reixac in the cloister, the name of Joan Lledó disappears from the group of youths and apprentices who depended directly on Master Bartomeu Gual and is listed instead next to the name of Llorenç Reixac. At the same time, the characteristic “del mestre” [of the master] that had accompanied him until the previous week also disappears. As noted above, Reixac only collaborated in the works of the cloister during the months of June and July, but the presence of Joan Lledó, who during this period was always listed alongside Llorenç Reixac, would continue until 22 October 1440, when he was paid three and a half sous per workday. It must be admitted that in no case does the record say that Lledó worked as an image-maker, but we know of other artists who, despite providing services as image-makers, are not mentioned as such in the *Llibres de l’Obra*. Unfortunately, the search for other pieces of evidence referring to Lledó has been unsuccessful. We have only been able to locate one Berenguer Lledó, a painter from Barcelona documented in 1338 (Madurell 1952: 11-12, doc. 373) and one Joan Lledó, a merchant from Barcelona, documented on 6 November 1421.

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35 Berenguer Samunta was paid four sous per day and one sou for the services of the mule. He was accompanied by Pere Paschal and Arnau Paschal. Pere Esteve was a muleteer. This organization of labour was briefly outlined in Valero 2004: 528-529. The difficulties involved in transporting the stone from the quarries to the site have been studied in detail and rigorously for the cathedral of Seville. Rodríguez Estévez 2007: 182-186.

36 The *Llibres de l’Obra* list him as Johan Lado, which, in accordance with orthographic normalization we transcribe as Joan Lledó. ACB, *Llibre de l’Obra*, 1437-1439, fol. 125r and 1439-1441, fol. 65v.

37 ACB, *Llibre de l’Obra*, 1439-1441, fol. 69r.

38 ACB, *Llibre de l’Obra*, 1439-1441, fol. 74r.

39 ACB, *Llibre de l’Obra*, 1439-1441, fol. 74v and fol. 80v.

40 ACB, *Llibre de l’Obra*, 1439-1441, fol. 80r.

41 ACB, *Llibre de l’Obra*, 1439-1441, fol. 96v.

42 Arxiu Biblioteca de Catalunya (hereinafter, ABC), Documentary fonds and collections of the Historical Archive of the Library of Catalonia, call no. 22576, 1421, November, 6.
As we have already discussed, it does not seem unreasonable to propose identifying the most successful craftsman with Llorenç Reixac, who would have been responsible for most of the images that make up the corbels and the battle scenes of the impost located right in front of the refectory. Everything seems to indicate that, once the level of the corbels was reached or nearly so, work began on the capitals. Reixac would have produced the reliefs that depict the siege of a city and the battle between the Israelites and the Philistines. Joan Lledó must have assisted him by carving the scenes of Moses and Aaron, but Reixac left the cloister when the work had not yet been completed. Let us recall that in 1441 Reixac was documented in Tortosa. Joan Lledó would continue in solitary until October 1440 finishing the impost that Reixac had begun and perhaps starting the next one, specifically the scene in which Moses receives the Tables of the New Law. As pointed out above, these reliefs are the result of the collaboration between various artists.

**Llorenç Reixac at the west wing of the cloister**

We cannot resist trying to explain what Reixac did during the three weeks of the summer of 1442 when he returned to collaborate in the galleries of the cloister of the cathedral of Barcelona. It should be born in mind that Bartomeu Gual had died a few months earlier, in January 1442, and that from March onwards Andreu Escuder replaced him. It is also interesting to note that at this time the sculptural works were the responsibility of Pere Oller, who had joined Escuder’s group in May 1442. Oller earned four *sous* and six *diners* per workday and his presence is documented until August 1442. Later, between the months of March and October 1444, coinciding with the absence of Antoni Claperós, Oller is again documented working in the cloister galleries. Furthermore, an unspecified keystone arrived in June 1442, that is, when both Llorenç Reixac and Pere Oller were working in the cloister, and shortly afterwards, in August 1442, Pere Huguet painted the keystone depicting the Flagellation of Christ (Fig. 8).

Recognising the hand of the author of the lady of the unicorn and of the war scenes of the north wing in the west wing area near the chapel of Saint Lucia is not an easy task, neither in the corbels nor in the imposts. However, at this point it is worth recalling that the keystone of the Flagellation, located precisely in this sector of the cloister, was attributed by Francesc Carreras i Candi to the sculptor Pere Oller, although this attribution was subsequently revised and questioned. Carreras i Candi based his hypothesis on the fact that between the months of May

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43 Antoni Claperós is listed between 16 September and 19 October 1442 earning four *sous* and six *diners* per workday. ACB, *Llibre de l’Obra*, 1441-1443, fol. 86r–89r. Between December 1443 and February 1444 he received a salary of five *sous* per day. ACB, *Llibre de l’Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 89r–93v. Between February and October 1444 he was replaced by Pere Oller, who was paid four and a half *sous* per day’s work, fol. 95r–110v. Pere Oller left the works in October and Claperós was again enrolled between February and April 1445, although this time he received the same salary as Pere Oller, four and a half *sous* per day worked, fol. 119v–125r.


46 Valero saw a certain resemblance between the combed hair of the executioner standing to the right of Christ in the keystone of the cloister of Barcelona and the hair of Saint Hippolytus in the altarpiece dedicated to the Virgin and
and August 1442, when Oller was in the cloister, the works in the west wing were ongoing. But it seems that the illustrious historian failed to notice the presence in the cloister of Llorenç Reixac during the summer of 1442, coinciding with Pere Oller. In fact, neither Carreras i Candi nor more recent studies have contemplated the possibility of Reixac working in the west wing but, according to documentary evidence, Llorenç Reixac could have been the author of the keystone of the Flagellation.

There are some compositional and typological aspects of this key that are particularly interesting. Christ, tied by the wrists to the shaft of a column, inclines his torso, looking at the ground with humility and resignation, while with his right foot he steps on the quadrangular base. He has lost his right hand. The column, centred in the middle of the composition, separates two well-differentiated zones. To the left of the viewer two executioners or soldiers accompany the figure of Christ. The one standing holds the scourge tightly in order to whip Christ while the other seems to be sitting directly on the ground, although in fact he probably represents a crouched figure. The opposite space is completely filled with a single executioner with his back to the viewer who, raising his right arm, also prepares to whip Christ. A border formed by intertwined acanthus leaves outlines the key surrounding the group that appears on a fine and polished concave surface. It is particularly difficult to analyse in detail the decoration of this border. However, despite the difficulty and the lack of definition, it seems very close to the borders made of acanthus leaves which, with the same difficulty, can be identified in the keystones of the old Hospital de la Santa Creu i de Sant Pau in Barcelona featuring the representations of the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul and produced by Llorenç Reixac. The concave and well-polished surface of the background of the keystone of the cloister is also similar to that of the keystones of the Hospital, and turns away from other examples of the cathedral cloister that present a certain horror vacui, such as the keystone of the Annunciation attributed to Pere Oller or other productions of the circle of the Claperós, among them the keystone dedicated to Saint George located at the fountain. The rounded shapes of the figures and the way of resolving the eyes, which remind us of the image of Saint Peter in the keystone of the Hospital vault and of the corbels of the unicorns in the cloister of Barcelona, are especially close to the figure of the Christ of the Flagellation and refer us once again to Reixac’s style.

The composition of the keystone of the Flagellation clearly shows that the author was reproducing a completely generic pattern. The executioner with his back turned to the viewer and his crouching companion, who occupies the opposite space, were not exclusive to the theme of the Flagellation or to sculpture, for they were prolificly and repeatedly used in other historical periods and even in

Saint Peter, currently kept in Vic. However, he distanced the keystone of Barcelona from the personal work of Oller and admitted that it could have been the work of an assistant, without mentioning the presence of Reixac. Valero 2004: 536-537.

47 This feature can also be found in the keystones of the Calvary and Saint Eulalia.
the representation of other scenes. Jordi de Déu (ca.1418), disciple of Jaume Cascalls (ca.1345), had already adopted this motif in the soldier with his back turned who lashes Saint Lawrence in the altarpiece of the saint destined for the church of Santa Coloma de Queralt (1386-1387). Moreover, the well-known Parement of Narbonne, a silk fabric from the second half of the fourteenth century painted in grisaille and now displayed in the Louvre, features a figure similar to the executioner who turns his back to the viewer, both in the representation of the Flagellation and in the Path to Calvary. Likewise, an also similar composition can be found in the scene of Calvary depicted in the manuscript of the Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame conserved in the BnF (Fig. 9).

These same typologies can also be recognised in different engravings by Martin Schongauer (1445-1488), such as Christ before Pilate and the Flagellation itself. A private collection in Switzerland includes a panel painting with a representation of the Flagellation attributed to Schongauer’s workshop where the figures of the executioners are organised around Christ tied to the column in the same way as in the keystones of Barcelona. The typological coincidences are remarkable in the image of Christ but especially in the placement of the executioners surrounding the column although in the case of the keystones the number went down from five to three. In the Swiss panel painting, the crouching executioner is clearly busy tying the branches of the scourge. The figure with his back turned to the viewer became a recurring resource also among the followers of Schongauer, as can be seen for instance in the Arrest of Christ, by Master A.G. (1475-1490).

At any rate, it is also interesting to highlight the typological connections between the executioner of the cloister of Barcelona and the soldier who tightens the rope depicted on the panel of the Path to Calvary that formed part of the predella of the altarpiece of Saint Augustine, commissioned in 1463 by Jaume Huguet and today kept in the Museu Marès. In the panel of the Museu Marès, the executioner, richly attired and with his back to the viewer, seems to have been inspired by the same model as the one used by the sculptor of the cloister of Barcelona. Attention should be paid to the gesture of both soldiers, as much in the keystone of the cloister as in the altarpiece of Saint Augustine, and to the way in which both are characterized with similar clothes. Let us not forget either that the Vergós, in the same scene of the Path to Calvary that belonged to the altarpiece of Sant Esteve de Granollers (1491/95-1500) (RUIZ I QUESADA 1997: 76; GARRIGA 1998: 25-26), reproduced a composition similar to that of the altarpiece of Saint Augustine, although in Granollers, the soldier, dressed as luxuriously as in the two previous examples, was turned towards the audience. We must bear in mind that the keystone of the cloister of Barcelona was carved in 1442, that is, before the altarpieces of Huguet and the Vergós were made and ahead of Schongauer’s engravings. Nor should we forget that the keystone of the Flagellation of the cloister galleries was actually carved by Jaume Huguet’s uncle, Pere Huguet, who in

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49 Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF). MS 3093, fol. 197r.
50 Museu Frederic Marès, call number MFM 970. SUREDÁ 1991: 446-447.
1430 had settled in Barcelona, near Bernat Martorell’s workshop, to work as a gilder. All these coincidences only demonstrate once again the exchange of samples and drawings so frequent during the period presently under consideration.

Conclusions

The iconographic and stylistic splendour of the sculptures in the galleries of the cloister of the cathedral of Barcelona is unquestionable. The duration of the works allowed and encouraged the intervention of several artists from different backgrounds and with different professional skills who had to adapt their own artistic language to the demands of such an ambitious project, namely, the construction of a great *Biblia Pauperum*, the major aspiration of the bishop and patriarch Francesc Climent Sapera.

Admittedly, comparing the information provided by the *Llibres de l’Obra* with the different reliefs located in the galleries of the cloister is quite risky, but recent studies have confirmed the presence of the Florentine Julià Nofre (1431-1435) (*Valero* 1999b: 59-76) and of Danielo Nicolai (1434), better known as Dello Delli (*Bambach* 2005: 75-83; *Valero* 1999a: 93-95), working in the south sector of the west wing just at the beginning of the construction of the galleries. Although the construction of the galleries had to be interrupted when efforts were concentrated on the chapterhouse, refectory and library, when the works were undertaken again, Antoni Dalmau’s collaboration was crucial. In this instance we have tried to approach as far as possible the intervention of Llorenç Reixac which, although known, had never been analysed with sufficient rigour before. It was a surprise to learn that Joan Lledó might have been the assistant who helped Reixac while he was working in the cloister.

Reixac would return to the cloister in the summer of 1442 when the works were advancing simultaneously in the west and east wings. Thus, despite the difficulty of recognising there the style of the master of the lady and the unicorn and the battle scenes of the north wing, we have dared to suggest Reixac’s possible involvement in the production of the keystone depicting the Flagellation.

The studies on the sculptors who collaborated in the construction of the galleries cannot end here. The well-known presence of Pere Oller since 1442, to which we have referred above, and especially the arrival of the Claperós in September 1442, are still waiting for the attention of historians.
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Fig. 1 Plan of the cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Published in JARDÍ 2016a: 352.

Capitals
1 Adam and Eve
2 Cain and Abel
3 Legend of the Tree of the Cross
4 Story of Noah
5 Story of Noah
6 Story of Abraham
7 Story of Moses
8 Story of Moses
9 Story of Moses
10 Kings
11 Story of Saint Joachim and Saint Anne
12 Nativity
13 Epiphany
14 Flight into Egypt
15 Baptism of Jesus
16 Temptations
17 Jesús seeks refuge in the Temple
18 Entry into Jerusalem
19 Passion of Jesus
20 Resurrection and post-resurrection appearances
21 Harrowing of Hell

Keystones
A Annunciation
B Nativity
C Epiphany
D Baptism of Jesus
E Presentation at the Temple
F Descent from the Cross
G Saint John the Evangelist
H Wedding at Cana
I Exorcism
J Pardon of the adulteress
K Raising of Lazarus
L Saint Luke
M The Last Supper
N Agony in the Garden
O Saint Eulalia
P Flagellation
Q Crucifixion of Jesus
R Resurrection
S Saint Matthew
T Ascension
U Pentecost
V Saint Albert and Saint Augustine
W Emblem of the Cathedral
X Saint Mark
Y Saint George and the Princess
Fig. 2 Young maiden petting a unicorn. Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. © Fundació Institut Amatller d’Art Hispànic. (Photo: Institut Amatller CB-1422/1930).

Fig. 3 Fight between a unicorn and a lion. Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. © Fundació Institut Amatller d’Art Hispànic. (Photo: Institut Amatller CB-1422/1930).
Fig. 4 Unicorn drinking water from a trough. Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. © Fundació Institut Amatller d’Art Hispànic. (Photo: Institut Amatller CB-1422/1930).

Fig. 5 Saint Peter. Great hall of the old Hospital de la Santa Creu i de Sant Pau, Barcelona. Photo: Antoni Conejo da Pena.
Fig. 6 City under siege. Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Photo: Rafael Mundó i Sanromà.

Fig. 7 Death of Moses. Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Photo: Rafael Mundó i Sanromà.

Fig. 8 Keystone depicting the Flagellation of Christ. Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. © Fundació Institut Amatller d’Art Hispànic. (Photo: Institut Amatller CB-1278/1930).
Fig. 9 Flagellation of Christ. Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame. Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF). MS 3093, fol. 197r.