
THE EASTERN GALLERY OF THE CLOISTER OF THE CATHEDRAL OF BARCELONA: AN APPROXIMATION TO THE WORK OF ANTONI CLAPERÓS AND PERE OLLER

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Resum

Els *Llibres de l'Obra* de la catedral de Barcelona testimonien que durant el 1444 Antoni Claperós i Pere Oller van treballar a les galeries de l'ala de llevant del claustre de la catedral. A partir de l'anàlisi estilística de tota l'escultura que es conserva en aquesta zona hem pogut apropar-nos als relleus que cadascun d'ells podria haver realitzat o, si més no, dirigit. Les mateixes qüestions estilístiques ens alerten de la participació d'escultors propers als cercles d'ambdós mestres que haurien treballat sota la seva influència. En el present estudi intentem analitzar l'abast d'aquestes intervencions tenint en compte aquest considerable nombre d'escultors anònims que es detecten de manera força regular al costat d'ambdós mestres.

Paraules clau: Escultura gòtica, Barcelona, Antoni Claperós, Pere Oller, Francesc Oller, claustre

Abstract

The *Llibres de l'Obra* of the Cathedral of Barcelona reveal that Antoni Claperós and Pere Oller worked in the eastern galleries of the cathedral's cloister in 1444. On the basis of the stylistic analysis of the extant sculptures in this area we have been able to identify the reliefs that each of them could have carved or, at least, supervised. These stylistic features seem to suggest the involvement of sculptors that were close to the circles of both masters and whose work would have been influenced by them. The aim of the present study is to analyse the scope of the work of these two masters considering the remarkable number of anonymous sculptors that regularly worked with them.

Key Words: Gothic Sculpture, Barcelona, Antoni Claperós, Pere Oller, Francesc Oller, Cloister

One of the most intriguing documents that refers to the sculptor Antoni Claperós describes him as a master capable of directing the construction of a cathedral. In 1454, after the death of Jordi Safont, master builder of the cathedral of Lleida, the chapter of the cathedral of Barcelona recommended Claperós to replace him. We know that this recommendation did not meet with favor because in 1457 Andreu Pi was finally appointed as major master of the Cathedral of Lleida. According to the transcription published by Duran Sanpere, Claperós would have worked at the Cathedral of Barcelona for forty years. (DURAN SANPERE 1975: 57). This statement, whether or not it is true, suggests that the sculptor began to work in the cathedral of Barcelona around 1414, although the Books of the Work do not record him working on the lantern tower until 1422. Certainly, Antoni Claperós –assisted by his son Joan– in addition to making numerous reliquaries, had collaborated in the construction of the star-shaped volutes of the fountain (1448) and the chapter house (1451), two works of unquestionable architectural value. The document is even more remarkable if we take into account all the decorative sculpture preserved in the east and south galleries, as well as in the partially documented area of the fountain in the cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona.

Antoni Claperós was one of the most prominent sculptors of Barcelona in the mid-15th century. He married Agnès and had two children, Joan and Antoni, who soon joined the family workshop. Although little is known about his training, the extant work, especially in the area of the cloister of the cathedral, suggests that he must have been in contact with artists who were part of the international trends introduced by Pere Sanglada. However, although it is true that we have numerous documentary references that allow us to follow his activity as a sculptor, Antoni Claperós' style is still very unclear.¹ His collaboration with his son Joan, especially as a carver of the cloister of the cathedral, prevents us from easily identify his hand. Nevertheless, his professional profile can begin to be determined more precisely from the corbels he carved on the east wing of the galleries of the cloister of the cathedral between December 1443 and February 1444, a very well documented work.

Antoni Claperós and his son Joan are particularly well known for the keystone with the image of Saint George slaying the dragon in the presence of the princess, which closes the vault of the fountain of the cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona (1449), as well as for the partially preserved images of the twelve terracotta apostles (contracted in 1458) that, until the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) presided over the Gothic portal of the Cathedral of Girona (PUIGGARÍ 1880: 284-285). Traditional historiography has generally used these two works to determine the Claperós' professional profile. However, the relief of Sant Jordi cannot be considered the starting point for

¹ For a review of the available documents see JARDÍ 2006: 49-82, or VALERO 2005-2006: 60, note 105. On the work of Antoni Claperós at the Llotja of Barcelona see BERNAUS 2009: 315-316; BERNAUS 2015: 456, 474

the study of his artistic personality; on the contrary, it is the end result of an intense collaboration between the eldest of the Claperós, the undisputed leader and organiser of a diverse sculpture workshop that worked in the cloister's galleries, and a young and emerging Joan Claperós who, from 1448 onwards, and at the age of only 14, was striving to achieve the technique and skill that his father tried to transmit to all the members of the workshop, but especially to his sons. At the same time, in the same cloister galleries, a good number of reliefs that predate the keystone of Sant Jordi are preserved. The *Llibres de l'Obra* indirectly link these reliefs –which have received little attention from historians– to Antoni Claperós. Of all these reliefs, the corbels of the thirteenth and fifteenth pillars located on the east wing are particularly interesting because, as we will explain later, Antoni Claperós might have worked on them alone (figs. 1-4).²

We must also bear in mind that the keystone of Sant Jordi is the last element of a large-scale project begun a few years earlier to materialise the wishes of the bishop Francesc Climent Sapera (1348-1430): build the cathedral cloister as it was a *Bíblia Pauperum* made of stone. Sapera, probably inspired by the *Pauperum* bibles and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, would have pictured the cloister as a great *Bíblia Petra* with a clear didactic and moralising function. As I have already mentioned elsewhere, each and every one of the cloister's imposts is part of an extensive iconographic programme dedicated to the Old and New Testament, while the keystones that close the cloister gallery recount the most important episodes in the life of Christ. (JARDÍ 2016a: 325-358).

The work of Antoni Claperós on the reliefs of the galleries began in September 1442, six months after the appointment of Andreu Escuder as master builder. More specifically, Antoni Claperós is registered from 16 September to 19 October 1442, earning four *sous* and six *diners* per work day, while he is working on the keystone devoted to the Resurrection located in the west wing (fig. 5).³ Between December 1443 and February 1444, he was again recorded as being paid five *sous* per work day. At this time, as we will see later, the work was on the central pillars of the east wing.⁴ Claperós returned to work in the cloister between February and April 1445, when works were concentrated in the south wing, this time receiving the same salary as Pere Oller, four and a half *sous* per day.⁵ There is no data between 1445 and 1447, since the *Llibre de l'Obra* of this period is missing. At the start of the next available period (April 1447) we already find Antoni Claperós working with the assistance of his son Joan. Antoni and Joan will work together until the completion of the fountain.

² To further explore the themes of the capitals and keystones, see chart 1

³ Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona (ACB), *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1441-1443, fol. 86r-88r.

⁴ ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 89r-94r. See also JARDÍ 2006: 60-61.

⁵ ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 119v-125r. See also JARDÍ 2006: 60-61.

However, in order to study the professional profile of Antoni Claperós on the basis of the decorative sculpture of the east wing of the cloister of the cathedral, we have to take into account that, between the months of March and October 1444, Pere Oller and his circle of collaborators were working in the same gallery. Previous studies have linked Pere Oller to the keystone of Saint Luke (1434), a project that would have taken place during the first years of the cloister galleries (VALERO 2004a: 537-541). He has also been attributed –with quite solid arguments– the keystone representing the Annunciation to Mary (1444) (DURAN SANPERE 1934: 29), but his actual involvement in the carving of the imposts and corbels of any of the galleries has always been questioned.⁶ More recently, it has been argued that masters close to or working under the guidance of Pere Oller may have collaborated in the carving of the imposts of the sixth and eighth pillars (JARDÍ 2019: 14-19).

Pere Oller is a very well-known sculptor, but he is particularly noted for his work on the alabaster altarpiece devoted to the Virgin Mary and Saint Peter preserved at the Cathedral of Vic (1420).⁷ We know that Oller was trained by Pere Sanglada working in the Cathedral of Barcelona (TERÉS 1987: 26). Once he had completed his training, he moved to Girona, where he soon produced important works.⁸ It is worth mentioning that in 1444 Sança Ximenis de Cabrera i de Foix contracted Pere Oller to varve a sepulchre for his mother, Timbor de Prades, which is currently preserved in the chapel of Santa Clara and Santa Caterina in the Cathedral of Barcelona (VALERO 2005-2006: 47-66).

Pere Oller appears in the registers as working in the galleries of the cathedral between May and August, 1442 –at which time he worked with Llorenç Reixac in the west gallery– and later between March and October, 1444, as working in the east wing. Specifically, Pere Oller is documented between March 2 and 21, 1444, as working on the pillars that represent the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 6) and the Circumcision of Christ (fig. 13), as well as in the keystone devoted to the Annunciation.⁹

⁶ PIFERRER, PI I MARGALL 1884, vol. I: 280. The authors pointed to Pere Oller's participation in the cloister fountain together with the Claperós. Since then, their involvement has been dismissed (VALERO 2004a: 548-555; VALERO 2007: 117).

⁷ Pere Oller was the subject of the thesis of Joan Valero Molina, where the professional trajectory of the sculptor is extensively analysed. Subsequently, a synthesis was published that greatly facilitates the understanding of this trajectory (VALERO 2004a; VALERO 2007: 107-123).

⁸ On the sarcophagus of Cardinal Berenguer d'Anglesola (1409) see DURAN SANPERE 1934: 28; VALERO 2004b: 687-732. In 1417 Pere Oller was working on the sepulchre of Fernando de Antequera (1417); about this see CONDE DE VIÑAZA 1889: 110-111; ESPAÑOL 1998-1999: 81-106. On the sepulchre of Cardinal Bernat Despujol (†1434), see DURAN SANPERE 1934, vol. II: 27.

⁹ ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 95r-96r. VALERO 2004a: 527. As for the keystone of the Annunciation, it most probably arrived on February 2, 1444, when it is recorded the arrival of a keystone. During the week up until February 21, 1444, «Primo an Berenguer Samunta per una clau per la volta [...] Item al dit Samunta per redreçar la dita clau per un jornal a rao de III sous, [...] Item pagam an Thomas [...] V sous per portar la dita clau», ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 94r. A ram was bought in May 1444 for the workers involved in the construction of the vault in front of the chapel of Saint Helena. [May 18, 1444] «Compram un quarter de moltó que donam a tots los mestres quan agueren closa la volta davant senta allena, segons es acostumat de donar per cascuna volta, costa III sous». ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 150r. CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 134; VALERO 2004a: 534-535.

His presence is also documented between June 1 and 13, 1444, after the keystone depicting the Nativity had arrived to the temple,¹⁰ which means, that the pillar devoted to the Adoration of the Magi had already been completed. We know that he was also there from August 22 and October 10, 1444,¹¹ after the keystone of the Adoration of the Magi had arrived and, therefore, the fourteenth pillar was completed.¹² Thus, it is unlikely to find Pere Oller's work in the central area of the east wing. Nevertheless, and as we will see later, strictly stylistic issues lead us to the eighteenth pillar, but especially to the twentieth pillar located in the same wing, where we find the scenes of the Entombment and Resurrection of Christ (figs. 7-8), as well as the scene depicting the Supper at Emmaus (fig. 9).¹³ The present article will analyse the scope of Antoni Claperós and Pere Oller's contributions while bearing in mind the work of other anonymous sculptors also documented in the cloister.

1. Decorative Sculpture in the Galleries of the Cloister: A State of the Art

It is worth recalling that whereas the construction of the chapels of the cloister began during the second half of the fourteenth century, coinciding with the direction of Bernat Roca (1358-1388), the gallery was begun during the first half of the fifteenth century, which mostly concurred with the direction of Bartomeu Gual (d. 1442), and was completed in 1449 under the direction of Andreu Escuder. Regarding the construction process itself, it should be noted that the erection of the pillars was followed by the assembling of the formwork that was to provisionally support the arches and the placing of the keystone, and only then could the gallery vaults be closed (BASSEGODA NONELL 1977: 336-341; BASSEGODA NONELL 1989: 30-38). This system was systematically applied in all the galleries.

From 1433 onwards, the works focused, almost simultaneously, on two structurally opposite points, that is, on the one hand on the junction between the south and west wings and, on the other, on the junction between the north and east wings, which ran parallel to the church.¹⁴ In

¹⁰ ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 101v-102r (VALERO 2004a: 527). On May 30 arrives an undetermined keystone, which is probably the one featuring the Nativity. ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 101r. On July 3 an undetermined keystone was raised and on July 15, 1444, the record shows that «costà vn quarter de moltó qui pesà IIII lliures, IIII sous, que donam als mestres quant agueren closa la volta davant la capella de tots sants, segons es acostumat de donar per cascuna volta», ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 150v. CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 134. We can add that, on August 2, 1444, a gargoyle arrived, and it must be the one placed over the pillar featuring the Nativity or the one over the pillar featuring the Epiphany. ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 151r.

¹¹ ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 107v-110v. VALERO 2004a: 527.

¹² [August 7, 1444] During the first week of August 1444, an undetermined keystone arrived, probably the keystone devoted to the Epiphany. ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 106r. See also VALERO 2004a: 551, note 100.

¹³ Valero (2004a: 555) considers that Oller could have worked on the keystones featuring the Nativity and the Epiphany, and that these original keystones were replaced later by the ones currently in place. We do not agree with this analysis.

¹⁴ [March 7, 1434] The keystone featuring Saint Mark was deployed in its place, in front of the Chapel of Saint Severus, see CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 134, 510, note 491. Between August and September 1434, the records show the payment of «diversos jornals que los Mestres de cases havien permesos en la volta que ses feta davant la capella dels apostols en la claustra». *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1433-1435, fol. 31v. See VALERO (2004a: 539).

this first phase, it is worth mentioning the presence of Julià Nofre, who has been identified with Giuliano di Nofri di Romolo (ca 1397-1458) (VALERO 1993: 38; VALERO 1999b: 59-76). After working on the reliefs of the retrochoir of the cathedral of Valencia between 1418 and 1424 (GARCÍA MARSILLA: 2012: 58-61), Nofre moved to Barcelona where he is documented working in the cloister galleries of the cathedral between 1431 and 1435 for five *sous* a day. It has been suggested that Julià Nofre carved the keystone featuring the Holy Supper and the reliefs of the impost that gathers the ribs of the second pillar depicting the moment when Cain and Abel make their offerings to God the Father (1434) (VALERO 1999b: 62). The presence of Daniello Nicholai (ca 1404-1466), better known as Dello Delli, is also recorded during this early period. Nicholai arrived in Barcelona in 1433, perhaps fleeing from creditors.¹⁵ He is mentioned in the *Llibres de l'Obra* of the cathedral as having been paid five *sous* for a day's work. Dello must have carved the reliefs of the first impost where the story of Adam and Eve and their sons, Cain and Abel, is narrated (VALERO 2008b: 200-201). However, despite the efforts made to discover the identity of the sculptor behind the keystone of the vault of Saint Mark (1434), located at the junction between the north and east wings, he still remains anonymous (VALERO 1999a: 95).

Between 1436 and 1438 the work moved to the refectory and the library, although the works in the chapter house –started during the first decade of the 15th century– would not be finished until 1454.¹⁶ Once the rooms of the north wing had been completed, the works focused on the gallery located in front of them. At first, Pere Oller's collaborators worked on the reliefs of the eighth pillar (February 1439), which depicts the story of Moses (JARDÍ 2019: 19). During the month of March 1439, Antoni Dalmau joined to work on the tenth pillar and carve the first impost devoted to the Old Testament, specifically the Book of Kings, and the keystone that has two angels holding the arms of the Chapter (JARDÍ 2016b: 63-79). Then, from June 1440 onwards, Llorenç Reixac is documented as having worked on the ninth pillar, where we find the stylistic traits that distinguish his artistry in the reliefs of the impost and in the corbels of the pillar (JARDÍ 2018: 1-24). Although the north wing had not been completed–the keystones devoted to Saint Albert and Saint Augustine,¹⁷ the Ascension, and Pentecost,¹⁸ had yet to be completed– the works in the west wing started. From June 1441, Bertran Tolosa, assisted by Bernat Andreu and Manel Trescoll, was responsible for the reliefs located precisely in this area. By the time Tolosa finished his work in the cathedral, all the pillars of the west wing had been completed except for the sixth, devoted to the story of Abraham, where we can detect the hand of two anonymous sculptors close to the circle of Pere Oller.

¹⁵ See GRONAU 1932: 385; BAMBACH 2005: 75-83.

¹⁶ CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 305-306; TERÉS 1994: 389-411. On the involvement of the Claperós on the works in the chapter house see JARDÍ 2006: 64-67.

¹⁷ [August 12, 1441] «Item al dit Samunta per una clau de la claustra VI sous (...) Item an Pere Calbo carreter per port de la dita clau V sous», ACB, *Llibres de l'Obra*, 1441-1443, f. 157r.

¹⁸ [September 11, 1441] «Primo an Berenguer Samunta per dues claus per a les voltes davant la libreria e refetor per cadascuna VI sous», ACB, *Llibres de l'Obra*, 1441-1443, f. 59v; partially transcribed in VALERO 1993: 33; VALERO 2004a: 532.

At the same time, work in the northern sector continued to progress. In July 1441, Pere Blasco removed the scaffolding that had been used to build the vault devoted to Saint Matthew, located in front of the chapel of Saint Lucy¹⁹ and shortly afterwards, on August 12, 1441, another keystone arrived, probably that of Saint Albert and Saint Augustine. On September 1441 the keystones devoted to Pentecost and the Ascension arrived at the cathedral too. On February 1443, there were still people working on the roofs of this area.²⁰

2. Antoni Claperós joins the Staff. The Keystone of the Resurrection

Antoni Claperós joined the Andreu Escuder's team of sculptors for the first time on September 1442 –with a pay of four and a half *sous* per work day– when bishop Sopera's great *Biblia Pauperum* project was well advanced. One of the first reliefs that we can associate with Antoni Claperós is the keystone devoted to the Resurrection located on the west wing, a joint task with other sculptors. We must bear in mind that, between the summer and autumn of 1442, the vaults of the gallery between the door of Saint Eulalia and the chapel of Saint Lucy were completed. That is, the keystones devoted to the Flagellation, Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ arrived at the cathedral while first Pere Oller, then Llorenç Reixac (JARDÍ 2018: 13), and finally Antoni Claperós, were working there.²¹ The reliefs of the corbels and imposts devoted to the last episodes of the stories of Noah and Abraham had already been completed a few months earlier. Bertran Tolosa and his team worked on the story of Noah, while two or more men from Pere Oller's team worked on the story of Abraham. We know that work is being done in this sector of the cloister, because in August Pere Huguet painted the keystone devoted to the Flagellation.²² During the month of November 1442, the carpenter worked on the scaffoldings of these vaults located between the door of Saint Eulalia and the chapel of Saint Lucy,²³ and also in November an undetermined vault was completed,²⁴ probably the one devoted to the Resurrection.

Finally, on 15 December 1442, a gargoyle arrived, which has been erroneously identified as the gargoyle representing a princess holding a phylactery, destined for the corner of the cloister (JARDÍ 2019: 16). This gargoyle actually portrays an angel, and the one that represents a princess is in the area of the fountain.²⁵ During this period there was an error in the arrangement of the

¹⁹ [July 1, 1441] «Item an Pere Blasco fuster per I jorn e mig per desarmar la volta quis devant la capella de les Verges a raho de IIII lo dia». ACB, *Llibres de l'Obra* 1441-1443, f. 54r. VALERO 1993: 36.

²⁰ [February 23, 1443] «Item fou comprada una biga o jassenna de dr[...] per obs de la teulada damunt lo capitol, costa XVII sous. Item costa de port la dita jassenna, V sous». *Llibres de l'Obra*, 1441-1443, f. 97r. Partially transcribed in CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 306; VALERO 1993: 32.

²¹ ACB, *Llibres de l'Obra* 1441-1443, [June 16] f. 79r; [August 4] f. 82v; [August 11] f. 83r. CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 304; VALERO 1993: 36.

²² CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 304; VALERO 1993: 36; VALERO 2004a: 536.

²³ [November 3, 1442] «Item foren comprats CL taulars per a bastiment de las voltas. Costaren II sous VIII diners». ACB, *Llibres de l'Obra* 1441-1443, f. 89r. VALERO 1993: 36.

²⁴ ACB, *Llibres de l'Obra* 1441-1443, f. 115v.

²⁵ On this issue see CORNUDELLA, MACIAS (2015: 101).

keystones that were to follow a rigorous iconographic programme on the life of Jesus Christ: the keystone devoted to the Resurrection was placed after the one devoted to the Crucifixion, thus omitting the episode of the Descent from the Cross, which was incomprehensibly placed on the east wing.

We will not analyse the keystone featuring the Flagellation of Christ, carved by Pere Huguet in August 1442, because stylistically it has been linked to Llorenç Reixac, who worked in the cloister for three weeks between June and July 1442 (JARDÍ 2018: 13-15). We will not analyse either the keystone featuring the Crucifixion, since it has been linked to an anonymous artisan –close to Pere Oller– who would have worked on the reliefs of the sixth impost, which features Lot’s daughters and a scene of uncertain iconography, apparently related to the two angels that Lot welcomed at the door of the city of Sodom (JARDÍ 2019: 15).²⁶ The keystone that we will examine here is the one devoted to the Resurrection (fig. 5) where one can undoubtedly find the features characteristic of the circle of Antoni Claperós.

The figure of the resuscitated Christ is shown standing at the centre of the composition, with his left knee bent and stepping out of the sarcophagus from which he is about to emerge. His right hand is raised in a sign of blessing, and on the left hand he holds the cross with the banner, symbols of triumph over death. The tunic, half-wrapped around the body, allows us to see the wound on Christ’s side. The rest of the figures in the scene are arranged around the image of Christ, completely filling the available space in the *horror vacui* style. On the viewer’s right, we see the angel telling the women that Jesus, the crucified man they are looking for, has risen from the dead, and asking them to run and speak to his disciples. On the left of the composition, we find Mary Magdalene, bearer of the aromatic oil bottle (Myrrhbearer), Mary of Clopas, mother of James, and Salome, who had bought perfumes to anoint the body of Jesus. [Mc 16, 1]. At the bottom, three Roman soldiers, with their military equipment, lie on the ground, stunned by the event they have just witnessed. Two rocky ridges frame the composition in the shape of a semicircle.

From a stylistic point of view, a first glance allows us to clearly distinguish at least two well-differentiated hands. In particular, the first, quite expert hand is visible in the upper part of the relief, namely the figure of Christ, the three Marys and the angel. On the other hand, the soldiers on the ground, half-stunned, are disappointing in their simplicity and rigidity. The skill of the first sculptor can be appreciated in the way the folds of Christ’s tunic are resolved, but especially in the face, which is very similar to the face of Christ in the scene of the Temptations in the sixteenth impost at the fountain (fig. 10). We can attribute to the same hand the three women observing

²⁶ This collaborator of Pere Oller could be the same master that carved part of the altarpiece with the Christ *Baró de Dolors* preserved in the church of Sant Miquel de Campmajor (Pla de l’Estany) (VALERO 2008a: 121-123).

the scene, with their delicate faces and feminine contours. Note the inclination of the head of the woman in the background next to the rocky mountain range. There is no parallel in the entire cloistered enclosure that comes close in grace and delicacy.

The angel behind the sarcophagus, with rounded cheeks and exuberant curls, more anecdotal and stereotyped, must be linked to other examples of angels located in the reliefs of the east and south galleries that follow the same model, all of them close to the typology of this angel that is part of the keystone of the Resurrection. We find round-cheeked faces with exuberant curls on the angels of the keystone representing the Baptism of Christ (fig. 11), as well as on the impost representing the same scene, both reliefs stylistically linked to Antoni Claperós. Similar faces can be seen in the capital depicting the Temptations of Christ, at the end of the retinue of angels who set the table to serve Jesus the meal, which according to the text *De Vita Christi* by Francesc Eiximenis and the *Meditationes de Vita Christi* by Pseudo Bonaventura, the Virgin Mary had prepared for him (JARDÍ 2016a: 344). This is a very common model that also refers us to the archangel Saint Michael in the Museo Nacional de Arte de Cataluña, a free-standing sculpture of more than a metre in height and traditionally attributed to the Claperós family,²⁷ although recent studies suggest that it could be a work by Llorenç Reixac (MANOTE 2001a: 18; TERÉS 2007a: 60). In the same east and south wings there are other figures that are also notable for their rounded faces with well-defined cheeks, but which do not represent angels. We find these features, for example, in the people taking refuge in buildings of the sixteenth capital devoted to the Temptations (fig. 12) and in the reading ladies located on the corbels of the thirteenth pillar of the east wing. As for the stony landscape of geometric rocks, we also find them in the keystone featuring the Baptism of Christ and, once again, in the scene of the Temptations.

Logic leads us to link the upper figures of the keystone featuring the Resurrection to Antoni Claperós, who would have assigned the lower part to a collaborator. It should be noted that this initial analysis has already allowed us to attribute the authorship of a series of works located in the galleries: the impost and the keystone devoted to the Baptism of Christ, the corbels of the thirteenth pillar –which should be stylistically associated with the corbels of the fifteenth pillar– and the impost featuring the Temptations. The corbels of the seventeenth and eighteenth pillars in the south wing are stylistically similar to the corbels of the thirteenth and fifteenth pillars.

Precisely with regard to the reliefs of the Temptations, we would like to digress for a moment. On this occasion we cannot undertake a study of the decorative sculpture of the fountain, as we are focusing on the east wing and this would take too long. However, it is worth providing some information made available by Carreras and Candi that is crucial for understanding the

²⁷ Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, núm. de catàleg 024081-000. See DURAN SANPERE 1956: 247; GUDIOL 1974: 266; DURAN SANPERE 1975: 62; VALERO 2009: 414.

construction process of the fountain and grounding the works of Pere Oller and Antoni Claperós. During the month of April 1448, an impost destined for one of the four pillars of the fountain arrived in Barcelona:

Item lo dia mateix [13 abril 1448] donam an Enthoni Claperós CXXI sous per la smagneria dels capitels dels pilars de la volta del lavador qui es deuant de la seu los quals li foren donat asquarada.²⁸

It should be noted that this entry referring to the pillar “qui es deuant de la seu” [in front of the cathedral] cannot refer to the nineteenth pillar, also located in the font, where the cycle of the Passion is represented, because it was completed before the keystone featuring the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple was placed (February 1448).²⁹ Nor can it refer to the twenty-first pillar crowned with the impost featuring the testimony of the two sons of Simeon, Karinus and Leucius, resurrected with Christ, and the descent of Christ into hell –*Descensus Christus ad inferos*– because this pillar was certainly completed before the keystone devoted to the Exorcism of a Demoniac was put in place in June 1447.³⁰ Only two possibilities remain, the sixteenth and twentieth pillars. The reliefs on the twentieth pillar represent the Entombment, the Resurrection, the *Noli me tangere*, and the Supper at Emmaus, all of which, as we will see below, are stylistically linked to Pere Oller and his team, especially to the former, who was involved in the carving of some reliefs located in the east and south galleries, and also in the carving of the Circumcision located on the twelfth pillar, which corresponds to the keystone dedicated to the Annunciation. Thus, the one hundred and twenty-one *sous* that Antoni Claperós charged for an impost destined for the fountain probably corresponded to the payment for the reliefs representing the Temptations of Christ. However, although we can already present a first approximation to the decorative sculpture of the galleries that must have been made by Antoni Claperós or his team, the constant presence of other sculptors together with stylistic divergences between these same reliefs suggests caution, as we should not forget that we are dealing with a collective work.

²⁸ ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1447-1449, fol. 90v. CARRERAS I CANDI, 1913-1914: 512, note 497.

²⁹ [September 16, 1447] «Item mes donam an Samunta per lo talar duna clau e per lo [...] dretar, X sous. Item donam an Badya carreter per lo port de la dita clau, V sous». ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1447-1449, fol. 75v. [November 17, 1447] «Item a XVII del mes de novembre any MCCCCXLVII donam an Pe[re] Blascho fuster per III jorns que meta en la bastida de la volta davant sant Francesc a rao de IIII sous per jorn. Per la dita mat[ei]x[a] donam al fill del dit Pe[re] Blascho per III jornals que feu en la dita bastida a rao de II sous». [November 27, 1447] «Item an XXVIII del mes de novembre del dit any donam al dit Pe[re] Blascho fuster per V jorns que fa feina en la dita bastida de la volta davant sant Francesc a rao de IIII sous. Item donam al seu fill per V jorns que feu en la dita bastida a rao de II sous per jorn», ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1447-1449, fol. 147r. Partially transcribed in CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 135, 510. [February 3, 1448] «Item un hom qui feu I jorn com desfem la bastida de la volta de sant ff.», ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1447-1449, fol. 85v. CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 135. «Un quarter de moltó lo qual donam als mestres com fonch closa la uolta de la capela deuant sen ff.», CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 135.

³⁰ [June 23, 1447] «Al pintor Huguet per vermeló et negre per perfilar la volta qui es deuant la capella del sant spirit», CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 135 i 510, note 491.

3. Antoni Claperós and Pere Oller in the East Wing

After the keystone featuring the Resurrection, Antoni Claperós continued to work on the cloister intermittently, and often alternating with Pedro Oller. Before locating the work of both sculptors in a specific area of the galleries in 1444, it is worth noting that the south wing was not erected until 1447, or a few months earlier, and that during 1448 work was done on the vault of the fountain. In the east wing, the eleventh pillar –devoted to the story of Saint Anne and Saint Joachim up to the Nativity of Jesus– had already been completed at the beginning of the construction of the galleries (1434). The closing of the vault featuring the Annunciation in May 1444 marks the beginning of the covering of the east gallery, which, starting from this sector, would progress towards the font. We should remember that, on the opposite side, the keystone featuring the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple was not placed until February 1448.

In fact, everything seems to indicate that Andreu Escuder had the east wing parallel to the church built while the west wing was still incomplete. In August 1443, tiles had arrived, possibly destined for the roof of the north sector of the west wing, while work was also being done on the pillars of the east wing (VALERO 1993: 36-37). As we have already pointed out, once the pillars of the east wing were finished, the section in the northern sector was to be covered first, starting with the keystone featuring the Annunciation, and then moving towards the fountain. In July, the next vault –devoted to the Nativity– was completed, and then the vault featuring the Epiphany.

At this point, it is necessary to take a pause. The keystone devoted to the Epiphany is located in front of the chapel that has a keystone featuring a saint bishop and Saint Bernard. According to Father Mas, the chapel was originally dedicated to Saint Ivo and Saint Bernard, and later to Saint James and Saint Bernard. (MAS 1906: 62; BORAU 2003: 340 and 342). The chapel is currently dedicated to Saint Bernard. Carreras i Candi published that in December 7, 1444, Pere Huguet would have “sketched” the keystone located in front of the chapel of Saint Benedict, which features the Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane, and is located in the west wing.³¹ In our opinion, this is a completely understandable transcription error between “sant Bernat” [Saint Bernard] and “sant Benet” [Saint Benedict]. In other words, the keystone that Pere Huguet “sketched” in December 1444 was not the one devoted to the Prayer at Gethsemane, but the one devoted to the Epiphany. However, traditional historiography has always interpreted this transcription by Carreras i Candi as referring to the keystone featuring the Prayer in the Garden (VALERO 1993: 36; VALERO 2004a: 551-555).³² We stress the fact that the chapel of Saint Bernard

³¹ [December 7, 1444] «Cobrà n’Uguet pintor II sous VI per vermelló e tinta negra gomada per budellar la volta dauant sent Benet, II sous VI». ACB, Llibre de l’Obra, 1443-1445, fol. 151v, CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 134, 510, note 491.

³² Also in the plans of the cloister published in JARDÍ 2016a: 352; JARDÍ 2018: 23.

is located between the chapel dedicated to Saint Martin and the chapel of All Saints in the east wing, while the chapel of Saint Benedict is located next to the chapel of Jesus Christ in the west wing. It is only logical to think that after covering the vault featuring the Annunciation (in front of the chapel of Saint Helena) and the vault featuring the Nativity (in front of the chapel of All Saints), the keystone devoted to the Epiphany in front of the chapel of Saint Bernard –and not that of Saint Benedict, as Carreras i Candi pointed out–was the next work to be completed. Later, during the same month of December 1444, the vault devoted to the Baptism of Christ –located in front of the chapel of Saint Martin– was completed.³³

However, although it is true that the documentary evidence suggests that the east wing began to be covered from the northern sector moving southwards, stylistic issues that can be seen both in the impostes and in the corbels, contrasted with the information in the *Llibres de l'Obra*, lead us to believe that the raising of the pillars must have begun in the central area. According to stylistic criteria, the work of Antoni Claperós in this specific period, between December 1443 and February 1444, should be linked to the reliefs of the thirteenth pillar, devoted to the Epiphany, the fifteenth pillar, featuring the Baptism of Christ, and the corresponding corbels. We will go over this below, but we should not forget that the stylistic analysis of the keystone of the Resurrection had already led us to the reliefs of these specific pillars.

Next, work must have been done on the twelfth pillar devoted to the Adoration and Circumcision, which must have been erected during the month of March 1444, when Pere Oller's was in the cloister, that is, when the vault of the Annunciation was completed. It is worth mentioning here that the keystone of the vault of the Annunciation, located on the twelfth pillar, has been linked to Pere Oller with sufficiently solid arguments, and the reliefs of the impost of this pillar do not stray too far from the style that characterises his circle of collaborators. It is also worth highlighting the master who worked on the Circumcision scene (fig. 13), given that, as we have already noted above, his hand can also be seen in other areas of the galleries.

After a break of almost three months, Pere Oller reappears in the records working in the galleries. Specifically, for two weeks in June 1444, when the two pillars devoted to the Adoration and the Epiphany had already been completed. We have already pointed out that the keystones of the Nativity and the Epiphany cannot be related to the circle of Pere Oller, since they must be linked to a master from the Fourteenth century, probably of Italian origin, as yet unidentified. Nor can the keystones featuring the Baptism and the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, or the pillars that support them, be related to Pere Oller or his circle. The fifteenth pillar, and the keystone devoted

³³ [August 18, 1444] A keystone arrived, probably the one featuring the Baptism of Christ, ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 151v. CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 134.

[December 9, 1444] «Compram vn quarter de moltó que donam als mestres de la seu axí com es acostumat com an clós vna volta: es per la volta de sent martí, costà III sous III», ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 151v. CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 134; VALERO 1993:36.

to the Baptism of Christ must be stylistically associated with Antoni Claperós, while the keystone of the Presentation was placed in 1448 and made by a not very skilled master, probably linked to the Claperós workshop. So, in which area of the cloister did Pere Oller work during the month of June and between the months of August and October 1444?

Although it is true that the documentary evidence does not provide any specific data that would allow us to locate Pere Oller's work during this brief period, the stylistic analysis leads us to the twentieth pillar –which is already part of the fountain's structure– as well as to the eighteenth pillar –in the south wing– and specifically to the group of Pharisees, the ones furthest away from Jesus, who try to stone him at the entrance to Solomon's temple.³⁴ Of all the scenes that make up the impost of the twentieth pillar, the closest stylistically to Pere Oller are the Entombment, the Resurrection and the Supper at Emmaus (fig. 9). The rest of the scenes again show the distinctive features of the same master who would have collaborated on the carving of the Circumcision scene on the twelfth pillar. In other words, the master of the Adoration, possibly Pere Oller, and the master of the Circumcision must have first worked on the twelfth pillar (March 1444) when the central pillars had already been completed –when Antoni Claperós was also working there– and then moved on to the twentieth pillar located at the opposite end of the east wing, and to the eighteenth pillar located in the south wing (June 1444, and between August and October 1444).

4. Stylistic Analysis of the Reliefs

Of all the reliefs on the east wing, the corbels of the thirteenth and fifteenth pillars are particularly interesting, stylistically similar in terms of quality and iconographic diversity, and typical of an artist of great skill that we can only associate with the only sculptor who at that time earned five *sous* per work day: Antoni Claperós. In the corbels of both pillars there is a clear desire to fill all the available space –in the *horror vacui* style– that we already saw in the keystone of the Resurrection. All the figures are treated with a skilful high relief, the forms are soft and rounded but with forceful volumes. The way in which the available space is used, especially the corbels of the fifteenth pillar, together with the treatment of the details, allows us to classify them fully within the international trend. All the reliefs on the corbels of the thirteenth pillar are devoted entirely to the theme of female reading. On each corbel there are between three and five female figures with puffy, fleshy cheeks, and all of them hold a book in their hands or share it with their companion.

The corbels of the fifteenth pillar are iconographically characterised by the diversity of fantastic characters, such as monsters, lions and snails, which are intermingled with a warrior, an angel musician... The figures fill the available space completely and without any apparent connection.

³⁴ We have been able to link this small group of Pharisees to Pere Oller with the help of two old photographs, given the poor state of conservation of the stone.

These are recurring themes in the decoration of marginal spaces such as the borders of illuminated manuscripts, the misericords of choir stalls or simply secondary spaces of architectural sculpture, as is the case with this corbels. Precisely in the face of the musician angel we can recognise the faces of the lady readers on the thirteenth pillar and, once again, the faces of the people taking refuge in the buildings in the scene of the Temptations on the sixteenth pillar. The same stylistic features can be seen in the corbels of the seventeenth and eighteenth pillars located in the south wing and featuring a wildly imaginative iconography, although some of them are badly damaged. Here the themes range from monstrous animals and musicians to lustful scenes that, once again, refer us to the decoration of the marginalia or choir misericords. On one of the corbels of the eighteenth pillar we once again recognise the face of Christ carved in the relief of the Temptations. Let us not forget that the central pillars of the south wing must have been built during 1444 and the following years, that is, the period for which we have no data, namely (1445-1447).

On the other hand, on the fourteenth pillar, where unfortunately one of the corbels is missing, the figures are more widely spaced, which is a similar situation to that of the corbels on the twelfth pillar. Both pillars also have the same iconographic theme of children playing or fighting with fantastic beings, a very recurrent theme in the decoration of marginal spaces. Despite the iconographic affinity, the corbels of the twelfth pillar are superior in technique and quality to those of the fourteenth. All of them clearly differ from the characteristics of the previous corbels that we have associated with Antoni Claperós.

As for the impostes, the conclusions are similar. On the thirteenth and fifteenth pillars we can recognise the hand of one of the sculptors who also worked on the relief featuring the Temptations –located on the sixteenth pillar– namely Antoni Claperós, while the twelfth pillar has greater similarities with the work of the circle of Pere Oller. On the fourteenth pillar, besides a relief that is difficult to identify given the advanced deterioration of the stone –it could be the Finding in the Temple– we find the scene of the Flight into Egypt in which the Master of the Abadessa of Bellveí –a sculptor also linked to Pere Oller who had previously worked on the galleries, specifically on the impost of the sixth pillar– could have been involved. (JARDÍ 2019: 14-18).

The scene of the Epiphany on the thirteenth pillar, and those of the Preaching of John the Baptist and the Baptism of Christ on the fifteenth pillar do indeed refer to the image of Jesus tempted by the devil. However, if we compare them with the corbels, these scenes are less carefully finished, which leads us to think that other members of the workshop were involved. For example, we should pay attention to the relief depicting the Epiphany. While it is true that the group formed by the Virgin and Child together with Saint Joseph, the midwife, and the kneeling figure of king Melchior can be stylistically linked to the same master who worked on the relief of the Temptations, the same cannot be said of the rest of the relief, where the cavalcade is depicted.

Both the figures of the kings Gaspar and Balthasar and the rest of the composition reveal the work of a less-skilled master. On the other hand, the group of Jews dressed in rich clothing and listening to the Preaching of John the Baptist on the fifteenth pillar are depicted with a remarkable mastery that we do not find in any other relief. The Jewesses –grouped behind the men– listening to the Baptist and characterised with the bun, once again refer us to the sculptor who would also have worked on the scene of the Circumcision on the twelfth pillar. It should be remembered that we have linked the twelfth pillar to Pere Oller and his collaborators. The scene of the Baptism of Christ is closer to the circle of Antoni Claperós.

On the impost of the twelfth pillar, where the Adoration, the Circumcision and a group of priests pointing to the star of Bethlehem in the sky can be seen, we can identify at least three different hands. The first sculptor, responsible for the scene of the Adoration of the Shepherds, is characterised by his short figures and a special attention to detail and gesture, which makes him a skilled and accomplished master. On the other hand, the sculptor of the scene of the Circumcision is clearly a disciple of the first, but simplifies the details as much as possible, which considerably detracts from the final result. A third master would have been in charge of working on the impost area featuring the priests. This last sculptor also follows the canon established by the first sculptor in the scene of the Adoration of the Shepherds but, unlike the second, he works the clothes with mastery, and the faces acquire quite remarkable physiognomies similar to those of the apostles who follow Christ in his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, a scene located on the eighteenth pillar of the south wing.

In our opinion, and following stylistic criteria that do not contradict in any way the records from the *Llibres de l'Obra*, Pere Oller must be identified as the author of the Adoration scene, where the faces are very similar to the alabaster mourner from Poblet, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (1417), especially in the way the eyes are carved. Also quite significant is the fact that Saint Joseph –in the Adoration– follows the canon of the soldiers lying at the foot of the sarcophagus in the scene of the Resurrection in the altarpiece of the Cathedral of Vic (fig. 15) and also that of the mourners on the sarcophagus by Bernat Despujol.

Naturally, it should be noted that the similarities are primarily in composition and that there are certain differences between the relief of the Adoration and the works we have just mentioned, such as the variation in the materials used and the quality of the finishes, which are inferior to those of the cloister. On the other hand, it would not be the first time that the same artist who worked on a specific keystone in the cloister galleries was also involved in the reliefs of the pillar, as for example in the case of the keystone featuring the Annunciation. However, the authors of the scene of the Circumcision and the priests would be two members of Pere Oller's workshop who worked under his direction.³⁵

³⁵ The presence during the 1430s of masters close to Pere Oller's circle taking part in the cathedral's decorative sculpture work had already been suggested by Joan Molina (1999: 39).

We have already mentioned that Oller may have been involved in the eighteenth pillar, in the carving of a group of Pharisees who try to stone Jesus at the entrance to Solomon's temple, and in the scenes of the Entombment, the Resurrection and the Supper at Emmaus, located on the twentieth pillar. All these figures are also particularly similar to the reliefs on the altarpiece in the Cathedral of Vic devoted to Saint Peter and the Virgin. Particularly interesting is the comparison between the face of Jesus emerging from the sarcophagus –in the twentieth pillar of the cloister galleries– with the face of Jesus in the scene in which Saint Peter walks on the water in the altarpiece of Vic, as well as with the physiognomy of the Virgin of Bruguers, a not very well-known small alabaster figure by Pere Oller (fig. 16).³⁶ The shape of the face, the way the hair is sculpted and the carving of the eyes are similar.

In short, Pere Oller would have been involved, or directed other sculptors, in the east wing, in the south wing and in the fountain area. Specifically, on the impost of the twelfth pillar, on the keystone featuring the Annuciation, and on the imposts of the eighteenth and twentieth pillars.

5. The Master who Carved the Prior Mateu Fernando

The master that carved the scene of the Circumcision – who also worked in the Collegiate Church of Santa Anna in Barcelona– deserves special attention, as he could be a regular and very close collaborator of Pere Oller. We know that between 1422 and 1465 the prior Mateu Fernando promoted the construction of the lower cloister and the chapter house of the collegiate church, which was crowned by a keystone featuring the Resurrection of Christ that has been stylistically linked to Antoni Claperós (VALERO 1999a: 96). The extant records show that in 1448 the chapter house and a small chapel attached to it were already built (VALERO 1999a: 88-89; ADELL 2002: 130-132). Recent studies have suggested that the keystone that closes the small chapel, where Prior Mateu Fernando is possibly represented kneeling next to Saint Augustine, the chapel's titular saint, (fig. 17) together with one of the four corbels, specifically the one devoted to Saint Eulalia, could have been carved by a master close to Pere Oller (VALERO 1999a: 99). We can add that this anonymous master should be identified with the master who carved the scene of the Circumcision in the galleries of the cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. In other words, the master who carved the keystone depicting Prior Mateu Fernando and the corbel featuring Saint Eulalia in the Collegiate Church of Santa Anna in Barcelona could be the artist of moderate quality that played a fundamental role in the sculptural decoration of the east and south galleries of the cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona, given that his style is recognisable in a good number of reliefs found in these wings. This justifies the name by which he will be known from now on: Master of the Prior Mateu Fernando.

³⁶ The Virgin of Bruguers had been attributed to Pere Oller (JARDÍ, TERÉS 1989: 378), but according to Montserrat Pagès, the image would be the result of a collaboration between Pere Sanglada and a young Pere Oller (PAGÈS 1992: 281-282; PAGÈS 1994: 387). Although this attribution has been questioned by Valero, who claims that the image dates from the second quarter of the 15th century, and links it again to the circle of Pere Oller (VALERO 2004a: 611-616; VALERO 2006: 124; VALERO 2007: 118-119). Terés had already argued that Pere Oller worked in the area of the fountain (TERÉS 2002: 300).

It is worth remembering that the scene of the Circumcision is located on the twelfth pillar, after the Adoration of the Shepherds, a relief that we have directly linked to Pere Oller. This association of the anonymous master of the prior Mateu Fernando with Pere Oller occurs again in the eighteenth impost, where the Master of the prior Mateu Fernando would have carved the scene of the Pharisees when they try to stone Jesus. We have linked a small group of Pharisees, the most distant from Jesus, directly to Pere Oller, while the anonymous Master of the prior Mateu Fernando would have carved the other Pharisees and the figure of Jesus himself. This co-occurrence can be found again in the twentieth impost, where the Master of the prior Mateu Fernando would have been involved in the scene in which Jesus appears to the apostles after his resurrection, while we have stylistically associated Pere Oller with the reliefs of the Entombment, the Resurrection, and the Supper at Emmaus. We can also attribute to the same Master of the prior Mateu Fernando three apostles who travel with Jesus in the scene of the *Descensus Christus ad inferos* –from the Gospel of Nicodemus– in the twenty-first pillar.

Also in the cloister galleries, the master of the prior Mateu Fernando could have worked on the keystones that cover the south gallery. Specifically, on the keystone featuring the Raising of Lazarus,³⁷ the male figures in the background of the composition, despite being in the distance, are larger than the figures of Jesus and Lazarus himself. We can also add the two apostles witnessing the Pardon of the Adulteress, a scene represented in the following keystone placed during the period for which we have no data, between May 1445 and April 1447. It should be remembered that when we have data again, the keystone representing the Miracle of the Démoniac was already being completed.³⁸ These two vaults rest on the pillars devoted to the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple and the Pharisees trying to stone Jesus, which we have also stylistically linked to Pere Oller and the Master of the prior Mateu Fernando.

Moving beyond the cloister galleries, we can also observe the hand of the Master of the prior Mateu Fernando in the keystone that covers the chapter house, where we find the Descent of the Holy Spirit, a work linked to Joan Claperós. However, he would not have carved the central scene of the keystone, but the male figures on the side, possibly the apostles (CIRICI, GUMÍ 1977: 163-164).

It has been suggested that one of Pere Oller's regular collaborators was his son Francisco, documented between 1438 and 1491.³⁹ The problem with Francesc Oller is that, despite having some records available, no documented work has been preserved, which makes it difficult to study his professional trajectory. We know that he was a sculptor of images, lived in Petritxol

³⁷ This keystone arrived possibly during the week of April 10, 1445, “[...] Item al mateix Samunta per una clau VI sous e per redreçar la dita clau IIII sous [...] An Calvo traginer per lo port de la dita clau V sous”, ACB, *Llibre de l'Obra*, 1443-1445, fol. 123v. Vegeu CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 134.

³⁸ [June 23, 1447], see CARRERAS I CANDI 1913-1914: 135 and 510.

³⁹ Some scholars had suggested that the sarcophagus of Timbor de Prades, executed by Pere Oller, was the result of a collaboration between various sculptors. One of these could be Francesc (VALERO 2005-2006: 47-66, 58).

street and his wife's name was Eulalia. Francesc Oller, about 10 years older than Joan Claperós, was 24 years old when the work was focused on the east gallery of the cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona, and he was probably 27 when the south gallery was being completed. The construction of the chapter house with the small adjoining chapel in the church of Santa Anna in Barcelona, was completed in 1448. The keystone of the vault in the chapter house, which features the Resurrection of Christ, has been stylistically linked to Antoni Claperós. We have records of Francesc Oller working together with Joan Claperós for the Constable Pedro de Portugal. Francesc Oller completed the tomb that the Constable had initially contracted with Joan Claperós, who died before finishing it.⁴⁰ The continuous association of reliefs linked to Pere Oller that are always located close to the reliefs made by the Master of the prior Mateu Fernando, could not be a coincidence. The anonymous Master –whether or not he was Francesc Oller– must have joined the workshop of Antoni Claperós after his years of apprenticeship with Pere Oller, and when Pere Oller died, he must have joined the Claperós workshop, which was larger and more complex than that of Oller.

6. Female readers: an Exceptional Iconography

We cannot conclude this study without mentioning the exceptional iconography depicted on the corbels of the thirteenth pillar. The Church, through plastic representations, encouraged women to practise reading and writing for their own benefit and that of their children. (FRÍAS 1993: 583-589; PLANAS 1989: 99). The topos of the reading female was very frequent in depictions of the Annunciation, where the Virgin Mary is visited by the Archangel Gabriel while reading or praying with the help of a book, as well as in depictions of the *Deesis*, as in the case of the Ghent polyptych by Jan van Eyck (1432); Reading was also a common occupation for saints, in fact many of them have a book as an attribute. Women also tended to take on the role of teachers. Saint Anne teaches the Virgin Mary to read, and she herself teaches the infant Jesus to read (GROAG 1982: 767). Apart from the episodes referring to the infancy of Jesus, funerary art also provides us with interesting examples. The devotional book as an attribute of a lady already features on the sarcophagus of Sancha Ramírez (†1097), daughter of Ramiro I of Aragon and Ermesinda of Bigorre, and the widow of the Count Ermengol III of Urgell. In a scene on the front of the sepulchre, the Countess is shown seated on a folding chair with a book in her hand and accompanied by her sisters Urraca and Teresa (GUDIOL RICART, GAYA NUNO 1948: 148). Perhaps it does not exactly fit the topos of female reading, given that Sacha's book remains closed, but the presence of the volume can be interpreted as a symbol of prestige and distinction. Needless to say, many books, genuine objects of great artistic, not to say economic, value, were bound with leather and precious stones, and the inside pages often feature miniatures adorned with gold. The extant examples, as well as the documentary references,⁴¹ amply illustrate the extent to which these books could become true jewels. Peter III of Aragon commissioned one of the most

⁴⁰ See MASÍÀ 1932: 302-306; MARTÍNEZ 1936; MARTÍNEZ 1960: 75-82; VALERO 2004a: 653.

⁴¹ On the taste of Queen Violante de Bar for reading and luxury books, see TERÉS 2009: 31-39.

beautiful and celebrated copies of all those that have come down to us, the *Book of Hours of the Queen Maria of Navarre* (1342). This lavishly decorated volume was a wedding gift for his first wife Maria.⁴² Owning one of these books was a privilege and a distinction, both for women of the nobility and the bourgeoisie. The surviving documentation seems to indicate that during the 14th and 15th centuries the number of women book-owners increased considerably (GROAG 1982: 744). It should come as no surprise, then, that the topos of reading also appeared more frequently in the decorations of sepulchres.

We do not intend to give an exhaustive review here, but we would like to highlight a few successful examples. There are three sepulchres in the Cathedral of Lisbon, all three dating from the 14th century, where each of the ladies of the Portuguese nobility has a book as an attribute. The three recumbent figures have been represented as reading ladies. Maria de Vilalobos reads while holding a book in which the epigraphy allows us to distinguish the Our Father and the Hail Mary. The tomb of Constanza, daughter of the Infante Afonso of Portugal and Violante Manuel of Castile, is similar to that of Maria de Vilalobos. Constanza, who died when she was only eight years old, has her eyes open and in her book we can read *Miserere*. The reclining figure of Margarita de Albernaz, wife of Nuno Fernandes Cogominho, is similar to the two previous ones.⁴³ The sepulchre of Queen Beatrice of Portugal (1373-c. 1420) –at the monastery of *Sancti Spiritus* (Toro)– shows her in a similar position with a book between her hands (GÓMEZ-CHACÓN 2017: 607-645). The sepulchral box of Isabella of Aragon (†1434) has been preserved in the church of Santa Maria in the Monastery of Sijena. This box has been attributed to Blasco de Grañén, and at the foot of the recumbent image of the deceased, a female figure is reading a book –with the help of spectacles– that remains open on her lap.⁴⁴ Two ladies reading could also be seen in the tomb of Leonor de Bellveí (†1448), abbess of the monastery of Sant Pere de les Puel·les, and unfortunately lost during the Spanish Civil War.⁴⁵ Queen Maria of Castile (†1458) was portrayed reading in three different instances (VICENS 2009: 195-207).

The topos of the cultivated lady who reads could also be suitable for the tombs of religious men, such as that of Bernat de Pau (†1457), currently in the chapel of Saint Honoratus, formerly Saint Paul's Chapel in the Cathedral of Girona (PRATS 1994: 469).⁴⁶ In the tomb of Canon Bernat Despujol in Vic (†1434) –documented as a work by Pere Oller– the readers are mourning monks, and one of them has lost the attribute, possibly the book. (VALERO 1995: 161-177). The readers are also monks in the tomb of the archdeacon Dalmau de Raset (†1448), currently at the chapel of Sant Damià and Sant Jordi of the Cathedral of Girona (MOLINA 2006: 35; MOLINA 2008: 49).

⁴² See YARZA 1996; ALCOY 1988: 105-134.

⁴³ According to Francisca Sobral, the sepulchre of Constanza corresponds to a different noblewoman (SOBRAL 2011: 66). On a possible identification of this noblewoman see VARELA (2006: 212-213).

⁴⁴ See DURAN 1993: 420-421; ALCOY 1993: 96-97; LACARRA 2004: 164-166; VELASCO 2016: 221-226.

⁴⁵ See PAULÍ 1945: 81; PÍ I MARGALL 1842: 81; PEÑARROJA 2007: 386; AINAUD, GUDIOL, VERRIÉ 1947, vol. I: 24 and vol. II, fig. 99; ZARAGOZA 1997: 180-181.

⁴⁶ The lady could be reading a psalter (ESPAÑOL 2001: 441).

Returning to the topos of female readers associated with funerary art, we would like to highlight the sarcophagus of a lady belonging to one of the most distinguished lineages of the Catalan aristocracy of the time, which is preserved in the former chapel of Saints Clare and Catherine, now dedicated to Saints Cosmas and Damian: Timbor de Prades, daughter of the count Joan de Prades and Sança Ximenis d'Arenós (VINYOLES 2009: 263-279). The sarcophagus was commissioned by Sança Ximenis de Cabrera, daughter of Timbor, to the sculptor Pere Oller. It is worth noting that on the front of the sarcophagus two series of mourners flank the central scene occupied by five ladies dressed in religious habits. The middle figure, adorned with rosaries around her neck, sits on a footstool with an open book in her hands. The other four women accompanying her show an attitude of prayer and recollection.

The records show that Pere Oller must have worked on the sarcophagus for Timbor while he was working in the east gallery of the cathedral cloister –between March and October 1444– since we have records of two payments made in October and December 1444 for the sarcophagus. (VALERO 2005-2006: 52). The simultaneity of the topos of the female reader in the east gallery of the cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona and on the front of the sarcophagus commissioned by Sança Ximenis cannot be a coincidence. If our proposal to link the reliefs on the corbels of the thirteenth pillar to Antoni Claperós is correct, we must also consider a certain degree of collaboration between Claperós and Oller, given that Oller had already depicted this theme on the tomb of Canon Despujol and would do so again on the tomb of Timbor de Prades. This suggestion, which points to a certain degree of collaboration between the two masters, is reinforced by the fact that, when Antoni Claperós left the galleries probably to attend to other commissions, Pere Oller joined the work in the cloister to give continuity to the sculptural work.

It is also worth mentioning that the themes of the decorative sculptures of the imposts were predetermined and totally dictated by the common representation of scenes from the Old and New Testament. In contrast, the reliefs depicted on the corbels seem to be the result of the sculptor's creative freedom, given the diversity of motifs represented. In the same vein, the topos of the female reader is depicted on the corbels of the thirteenth pillar without the rigour and solemnity required by funerary art. The ladies on the corbels do not seem to be very focused on the reading, but rather talk about it, whisper and seem to be amused. In other words, Antoni Claperós takes a common topos in funerary art and adapts it to the architecture of the cloister as if it were marginalia.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ A reading woman can be seen in the marginalia of a book of prayers dated between 1420 and 1440, and preserved in the Library of the University of Barcelona. The woman has a tentacle instead of legs. *Oracional*, ms. 760, f. 72v. <https://bipadi.ub.edu/digital/collection/manuscripts/id/51959> [2020/01/05]

7. Conclusions

The stylistic analysis of the decorative sculpture of the east wing and its association with the aforementioned masters has allowed us to understand the construction process of the gallery. Everything seems to indicate that Antoni Claperós and Pere Oller, along with members of their respective workshops, worked together in the sculptural projects. The thirteenth and fifteenth pillars must have been erected during the presence of Antoni Claperós, between December 1443 and February 1444, while the work of Pere Oller, from March 1444 onwards, must be associated with the carving of the twelfth and twentieth pillars and the completion of the first sector of the gallery devoted to the Annunciation. Both sculptors would have been assisted by a group of collaborators who, after this projects, would have continued working on the south wing and the fountain, except for the ‘Master of the abbess Bellveí’ –also close to Pere Oller– who had already worked on the west wing and whose hand cannot be found in either the south wing or the fountain.

The most elaborate and stylistically unitary pieces are undoubtedly the corbels of the thirteenth and fifteenth pillars, which must be linked to Antoni Claperós for two reasons: firstly, due to stylistic links with other pieces associated with the same sculptor located in the east and south wings, and in the area of the fountain, especially the relief of the Temptations which we have been able to associate with Claperós thanks to the records on the *Llibres de l’Obra*. Secondly, because the salary he receives –five *sous*– shows he is the most skilled of all the sculptors who worked in this area. In order to determine and define the professional profile of Antoni Claperós, it is necessary to start from the corbels of the thirteenth and fifteenth pillars, and not from the keystone of Sant Jordi and the princess that covers the fountain, given that it was made under the supervision of Antoni Claperós, but his very young son work there too. In contrast, the corbels of the thirteenth and fifteenth pillars were made by Antoni Claperós alone, without the iconographic limitations of the impostes, subject to the limited stylistic variety of the Old and New Testament. Once the stylistic features of Antoni Claperós have been identified, it is necessary to delve more deeply into the identification of his collaborators –a task that is still pending– as well as the study of the construction of the south wing and the fountain.

As for Pere Oller, we will only note the possibility that he may have worked on a few more reliefs than previously believed: a scene on the twelfth pillar, a couple more on the twentieth and a small group of Pharisees on the eighteenth pillar. However, perhaps the most interesting aspect of the figure of Pere Oller we have been able to study is precisely the profile of his disciples or, if we prefer, collaborators. Previous studies detected the hand of masters close to Pere Oller in the sixth and eighth pillars, and among them the master of the Abbess of Bellveí. In this study we have highlighted the work of the anonymous master of the prior Mateu Fernando, perhaps Francesc Oller.

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Fig.1 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Corbels of the thirteenth pillar. © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.

Fig.2 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Detail of the corbels of the thirteenth pillar. © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.



Fig.3 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Corbels of the fifteenth pillar. © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.



Fig.4 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Detail of the corbels of the fifteenth pillar. © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.

Fig.5 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Keystone featuring the Resurrection of Christ. © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.



Fig.6 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Impost of the twelfth pillar: Adoration of the Magi. Foto: Rafael Mundó i Sanromà.



Fig.7 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Impost of the twentieth pillar: Entombment of Christ. Photo: Rafael Mundó i Sanromà.



Fig.8 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Impost of the twentieth pillar: Resurrection of Christ. © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.



Fig.9 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Impost of the twentieth pillar: Supper at Emmaus. Photo: Rafael Mundó i Sanromà.



Fig.10 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Impost of the sixteenth pillar: Temptations. Photo: Rafael Mundó i Sanromà.

Fig.11 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Keystone featuring the Baptism of Christ. © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.



Fig.12 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Impost of the sixteenth pillar: Temptations. Foto: Rafael Mundó i Sanromà.

Fig.13 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Impost of the twelfth pillar: Circumcision of Christ. © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.





Fig.14 Cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Impost of the twentieth pillar: Appearance of Jesus before the apostles. © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.

Fig.15 Altarpiece of the Cathedral of Vic devoted to Saint Peter and the Virgin. Photo: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/monestirspuntcat/5680096470/> [2020/01/05].



Fig.16 Virgin of Brugueres.



Fig.17 Chapter house of the Collegiate Church of Santa Anna de Barcelona. Keystone featuring the prior Fernando agenollat al costat de sant Agustí. © Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. Arxiu Mas.

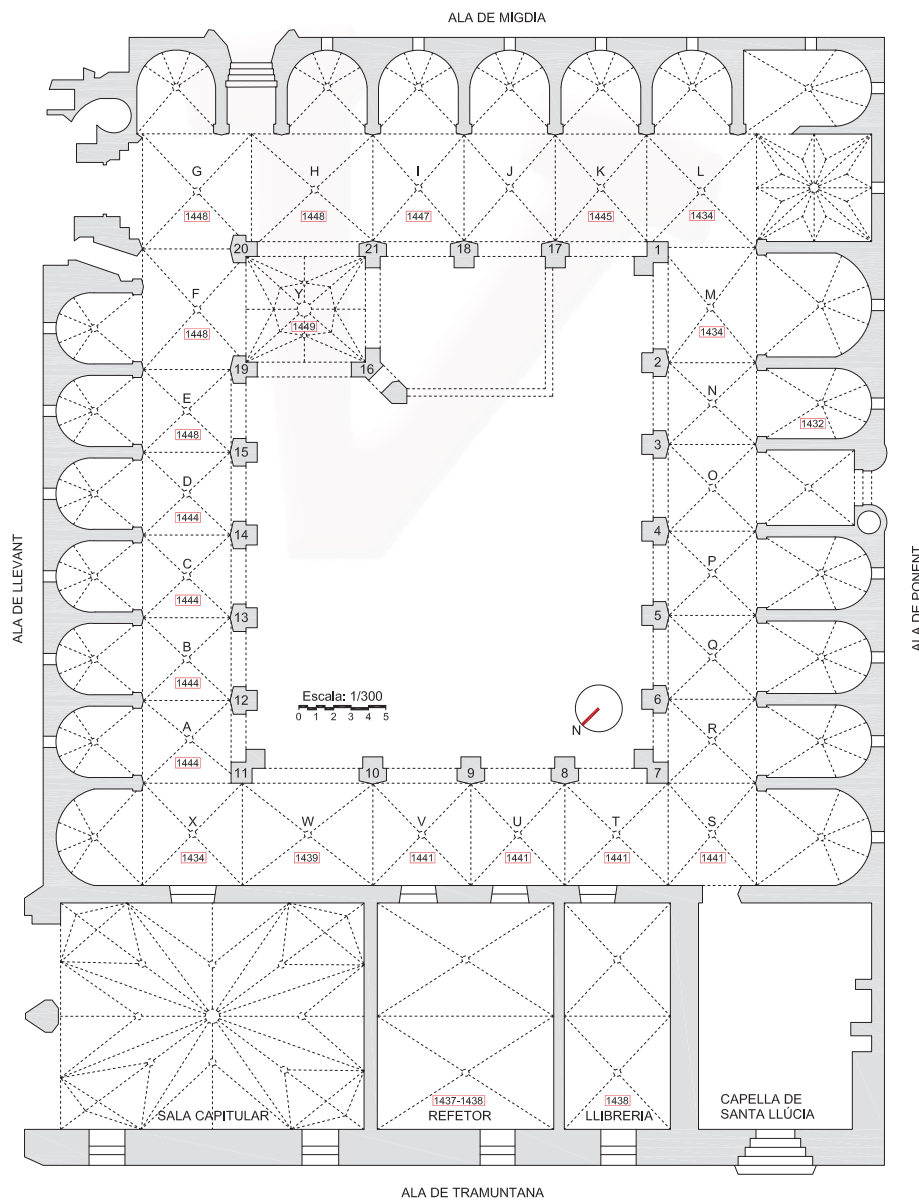


Fig.18 Plan of the cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Revised in JARDÍ (2016a) and JARDÍ (2018)

	Legend of the 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 Mosses
8	Story of Mosses
9	Story of Mosses
10	Magi
11	Story of Saint Joachim and Saint Anna
12	Nativity
13	Epiphany
14	Flight into Egypt
15	Baptism of Christ
16	Temptations
17	Jesús at the temple
18	Entry into Jerusalem
19	The Passion
20	Resurrection and Appearances
21	Descent of Christ into Hell

	Legend of the keystones
A	Annunciation
B	Nativity
C	Epiphany
D	Baptism of Christ
E	Presentation of Jesus at the temple
F	Descent from the Cross
G	Saint John the Evangelist
H	Marriage at Cana
I	Miracle of the Demoniac
J	Pardon of the Adulteress
K	Raising of Lazarus
L	Saint Luke
M	Holy Supper
N	Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane
O	Saint Eulalia
P	Flagellation
Q	Crucifixion
R	Resurrection
S	Saint Matthew
T	Ascension of Jesus
U	Descent of the Holy Spirit
V	Saint Albert and Saint Augustine
W	Arms of the Chapter
X	Saint Mark
Y	Saint George and the Princess

Chart 1: Legends of the capitals and keystones (JARDÍ 2018:23)