

Architecture and the arts in Catalonia during the Renaissance

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ABSTRACT

This is an overview of the process of transformation of the architecture, sculpture and painting of Catalonia during the Renaissance. It attempts to reconstruct the fundamental era of changes when the late Gothic models were replaced by the new Renaissance paradigm gestated in Italy, thus ushering in the modern cycle of arts in the country. Despite the relative dearth of a Catalan historiographic tradition that studies and explains the cultural heritage from this period – which was decimated by the massive destruction in the 19th and 20th centuries, which particularly targeted religious works – we begin to trace the major outlines of the process of assimilating the Renaissance which got underway in the 16th century and did not culminate until well into the 17th century. What emerges is the notable volume of artistic output undertaken, the main agents and factors in the transformation, the slow yet steady pace of the incorporation of changes, the long phase of hybridisation and the uneven acceptance of Renaissance features depending on the different parameters of architecture or figurative arts considered.

KEYWORDS: architecture, sculpture, Renaissance, Catalonia

The artistic output of the 16th century in Catalonia reflects processes of structural change which, just like in so many other national territories in Europe, took place and can be explained through the import of models originating in Italy. These models were gestated around the humanist movement and developed diversely over the course of the 15th and 16th centuries in Florence, Rome, Venice and other dynamic centres on the Italian Peninsula. However the term Renaissance – “arts of the Renaissance” – coined by Giorgio Vasari (*Le vite*, 1550 and 1568) to describe, from his viewpoint, the specific phenomenon of the discovery and revival of classical antiquity, with the vast cultural regeneration which also entailed a reworking of artistic activity as a referent, cannot be extrapolated to the situation of the arts in our country or in any other country in modern Europe without substantially adapting its meaning. Despite the fact that from the formal standpoint the architectural and figurative changes coming from Italy became a profoundly deep trickle which would end up wholly replacing the entire traditional Gothic model in place until then, they reflected the adoption of stylistic modalities – “Renaissancisms”, let us call them – that were at first bereft of most of the cultural implications with which they were indissociable at first.

Thus, instead of calling the works made in Catalonia following the new model the “arts of the Renaissance”, perhaps we should call them something more neutral and simpler, like “art from the Renaissance period”.¹

However, the changes noted in 16th-century Catalan arts are quite significant and broad in scope not only in relation to these imported Renaissance models but also, and more importantly, in relation to internal factors from the same society which was digesting them, beginning with those who were the most directly responsible for the creation and use of the works: both the clients that promoted them and defined the commissions and the artisans or artists who designed and executed them and the audience for whom they were meant. We should also consider the influence that the general political framework and the ideological, economic and symbolic factors involved in it had on the different aspects of production. They include the projection of the institutional powers and social leaders on the artistic commissions; the demographic and economic dynamism of the population, which is a crucial factor in earmarking resources and financing systems; the evolution of religious sentiment; and the doctrinal and institutional upheaval caused from the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic response to it, along with its strategies, which led to an intensification in the creation of works and to a streamlining of the design criteria and means of execution in terms of iconographic options and formal configuration.

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In passing, and without being able to digress into lengthy arguments or explanations, let us say that this process of introducing Renaissancisms dovetailed only approximately with the precise chronological framework of the 16th century. It was a slow transformation on the whole, and even though the different artistic languages underwent change at different paces, the culmination of the Renaissance model in both architecture and the figurative arts extended beyond the confines of the 16th century. In Catalonia, we can situate the first signs of change in around 1490, especially in the case of painting, while the acquisition of the new model cannot be regarded as widespread and consolidated until the first few decades of the 17th century, and perhaps even until 1630-1640.

A quick glance at the Catalan arts as a whole in the 16th century should first take note of the vast volume of output documented. This volume reveals an enormous overall outlay of resources and assumes a notable economic and demographic, and not just cultural, vitality in the communities that undertook and sustained the works. This large number of works and the expectations they implied correspond to a period of dynamism, stability and recovery, not the decline of both the society and country as historians stress today from other vantage points.² Secondly, we should note the – shall we call it – popular and mesocratic nature of this copious artistic output which was scattered about almost the entire country. The initiatives and the audience of the works can be found in parish groups, brotherhoods and guilds, local corporations and political entities, monastic communities and nunneries, cathedral chapterhouses and the Church or the petty civil aristocracy, while interventions and financing from the royalty, the upper nobility and the court elites were quite occasional and rare. Given this, we cannot expect very ambitious projects with huge budgets but instead modest works that match the needs and financial wherewithal of the promoters and the local audiences.

However, the proportion of the artistic heritage from the Modern Age that is conserved today is minuscule and bears hardly any relationship to the information conveyed by the known documentation. In any event, the current perception of the artistic activity of the era would be completely distorted if we only considered the works that have survived, that is, if we did not bear in mind the colossal proportions of the destruction suffered by the historical legacy of the period. We should bear in mind not only the more or less natural disappearance of the works over the course of time, changes in taste or upheaval and war, but also – or even more importantly – the 19th century, with the disentailment and its associated vandalism until the successive and repeated episodes of revolution and ideological iconoclasm, with arson and systematic, widespread destruction which reached its climax in the Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939. The devastation of religious buildings and other assets was so colossal, methodical and painstaking that today it is difficult to establish the historical and artistic profile of Catalan society during the Renaissance and Baroque.

Even a laborious devotion to study, with the insistent recourse to icon collections in the quest for photographic evidence of the lost works in order to boost the information from the written documents with images, cannot even minimally palliate the scope of the destruction and yield a less meagre reconstruction of the artistic and cultural reality of the period. Fortunately, in Northern Catalonia, the religious artistic heritage was largely safeguarded from the aforementioned episodes of mass destruction, iconoclasm and vandalism. In fact, in the French Republic, the revolutionaries seized ownership of the Church's assets (1789) instead of destroying them; thus, the altarpieces and other liturgical furnishings from the large secularised convents were redistributed among the parishes of Roussillon between 1790 and 1793, such that in Northern Catalonia the current status of the historical legacy and the conditions for studying it are not comparable to those in the Principality.³

The historiographic tradition of the arts of 16th-century Catalonia is still relatively recent and meagre, at least compared to the tradition of studies of mediaeval art and the art from the late decades of the 19th century until the contemporary world. In reality, the artistic historiography of the entire Modern Age is still inchoate. Since the romantic conceptions of the 19th century, this period has been stigmatised as an “era of decline” and, as such, of little interest to scholars, a prejudice which has persisted for a long time through inertia beyond circles of scholars and experts. Even though we cannot ignore the extraordinarily vast volume of information created by the heads of museums and Church archives, such as Josep Gudiol Cunill and Sanç Capdevila, just to mention two names,⁴ and by so many other archivists, historians and scholars since the start of the 20th century, studies on the arts of the Modern Age, in particular the 16th century, at least those which examine the changes towards the Renaissance, did not begin to take on notable volume and substance until the second third of the 20th century, and this momentum continues today.

Let us recall, for example, the works on architecture and sculpture by Cèsar Martinell,⁵ along with the vast archive explorations by Josep M. Madurell,⁶ the contributions of Agustí Duran i Sanpere⁷ and primarily of Joan Ainaud,⁸ the monumental work by Chandler Rathfon Post on painting⁹ and by Marcel Durliat on Roussillon,¹⁰ and even the syntheses and interpretations of the entire period – unevenly extensive and ambitious, we should admit – published in general works on Catalan art as a whole by Aymà (1958), the J. March Foundation (1978), Edicions Nauta (1983), Edicions 62 (1986 and 1997) and L'Isard (1998, 1999, 2001 and 2003).¹¹ From the late decades of the past century until now, the corpus of monographic and one-off studies available on the arts of the Renaissance and the Modern Age in Catalonia have experienced a considerable shift in terms of both their quality and breadth as well as their thematic variety and the richness of the methodological frameworks used. This has been made possible by the multiple, frequent initiatives

by publishing houses, either institutional or private, and even more prominently by the formidable onslaught of new generations of scholars and researchers, most of them trained at universities, museums or other historical and artistic research institutions. Fortunately, this powerful, dynamic influx has not stopped growing until today and has led to a considerably more consistent, refined understanding of the processes of transformation of the arts in the 16th century.¹²

ARCHITECTURE: CONTINUITIES AND HYBRIDISATIONS

An overview of the architectural activity of the period shows that the majority of constructions, both civil and institutional but especially those with a religious purpose, retain an essential continuity with traditional Gothic solutions until well into the mid-16th century. This continuity is manifested in all the parameters observed, that is, in the typological conformation of the works, in their planimetry and elevations, in their technical procedures and structural choices, and even – albeit to a much lesser degree – in the morphology of their ornamentation. Architectural morphologies, mouldings and decorative applications precisely became the earliest harbingers of the changes underway: they served as the first signs of the introduction of Renaissancisms, that is, of the hybridisation of the traditional structures with the new formal repertoire with “Roman”, or Italian roots. Subsequently, they also became the first evidence of the gradual prevalence of these new features in parallel to the regression of the Gothic system until it was totally stripped and dissolved.

The widespread construction of spacious places of worship such as parish churches offers an exemplary illustration of these inertias and continuities. All the buildings reflect a confirmed typological formula, which was now secular and known for its functional and formal efficacy: a single rectangular nave made up of a varying number of bays covered with ribbed vaults. The nave, which was enclosed by a polygonal chancel with five or six stretches and a radial vault, does away with the transept, but it expands into the smaller lateral spaces which serve as chapels housed in the outer buttresses which absorb the traction of the vault. The narthex of the church tends to house the intermediate platform of an elevated choir held up by a flat ribbed vault. The belfry, which was square in shape – hexagonal in exceptional cases – tended to be built in a chapel at the narthex and off to the side of the plane of the façade, although it did show several variations.

The elevation of the building also drew from recurring choices in Gothic works: the inner walls of the flanks of the nave, open to the side chapels, rose until the point of the formerets of the vault to house a continuous series of windows, which were also opened to the stretches of the chancel and to the plane of the walls of the narthex in the guise of an oculus or rose window. The ribbed vault which

inevitably covered the bays of the nave transferred the load of the wall through transverse vaults and cross vaults – not always formerets – projected in wall brackets that were embedded in the front bulk of the built-in buttresses. The base or resumption of the groin vaulting in simple isolated wall brackets, the most reductive version of those found in Gothic designs for the elevation of a nave, became common throughout much of the 16th century.

In fact, until the last third of the century – when the changes truly started becoming widespread – there is no common well-articulated composition of the interior elements either vertically or horizontally: vertically with the application of mouldings or pilasters embedded in the wall that extended the emergence of the transverse arches from the impost to the ground, making them like jambs; horizontally with mouldings and fascias that trace the perimeter of the nave to spotlight the level where the vaults start, sometimes from the parapet of the windows. Indoors the succession of the stretches of the vault and the rhythm of the chapels and windows, and outdoors the succession of the buttresses, shape the fundamental organisation of the space in this kind of building.

This schema makes several variations in the definition of the layout and elevation compatible, particularly two that became somewhat functionally and formally important, even though at first they were somewhat rare, if not strange, in the local architectural tradition. The first was the perforation of the buttresses with a continuous walkway between the chapels, which offers secondary routes around the perimeter in the form of embryonic side naves. And the second was the inclusion within the interior elevation of the nave of all the exterior spaces remaining between the buttresses through the opening of upper tribunes, that is, by setting up a second series of upper chapels superimposed on the lower ones with an elevated walkway around the perimeter between the chancel and the choir at the narthex, rising practically as far as the level of the intrados of the vault or leaving a small gap in the elevation, just enough to fit in a small oculus or exterior window.

The building methods used also reflect modalities that had been established back in the 15th century. The most prestigious option, albeit also the most expensive and unusual one, was general construction using carved stone, in both regular rows of ashlar for the walls and stereotomic pieces for the vaults. The alternative was based on construction using rubblework or masonry, which was much more economical and quicker, and this became the most common form that thoroughly predominated in 16th-century buildings regardless of their purpose: religious or civil, public or private. The walls, whose surfaces were rough or plastered, could be carved with faux regular ashlar painted indoors, and they were sometimes stuccoed or decorated with sgraffito outside. The stretches of the roof were resolved with stonemasonry vaults made of cut stone with small pieces of brick and lime mortar, or with the blocks of the vault made of flat bricks with the intrados plastered. In any event, brick constructions called for a certain propor-

tion of cut stone left exposed, which was set aside for the main elements of the construction, namely those subjected to the greatest force, served special purposes or were the most prominent: arches of vaults and chapels, moulding or wall brackets, keystones, jambs, lintels, groins, steps, mouldings, integrated ornaments and others.

The basic continuity which we can see also reflects the building forms, including most prominently the pointed shape of the arches, both those opened to provide access to the chapels and those that frame windows and doors, along with the arches used to shape vaults – the formerets and transverse arches of the groin vaulting. The Catalan Gothic tradition, in which semicircular arches were not at all rare, had a well-known tendency to shape Gothic arches with very wide spans – in which the two centres had a very accentuated curvature – such that in terms of both their constructive behaviour and their visual appearance they are quite similar to semicircular arches. In the 16th century, this tendency was magnified, and it truly took off especially in the second half of the century: pointed arches were shaped with centres that were close to each other, there was a plethora of semicircular arches in arcades and doorways, and even in the transverse arches of the vaults, which had a striking spatial impact, while segmental arches and three-centred arches also started to appear.¹³

Perhaps the clearest image of the continuity of the Gothic models, from the building systems to the morphology of the details, can be seen in the resumed construction on interrupted buildings with architectural programmes that were already clearly delineated and difficult to reverse, such as Santa Maria church in Balaguer (consecrated in 1558) and Santa Maria church in Palamós (completed in 1551). However, two special and quite formidable cases headline this group: the cathedral of Tortosa (c. 1500-1750) and the cathedral of Girona (1577-1603).¹⁴ They were the most important works underway in the 16th century in terms of both the quality and monumentality of their spaces and the enormous outlay of resources that they absorbed. Their longstanding history and the very uniqueness of their architecture makes them typological and stylistic exceptions within the output of that period, but we are obliged to highlight the economic resources mobilised and the impetus in building activity that they promoted in both Tortosa and Girona, with a high number of master craftsmen involved, including master builders, stonemasons and sculptors.

Beyond these major constructions, the continuity of the Gothic tradition within the parameters described in this article – the organisation of the layout and elevation and the most common constructive and formal options – can vaguely be glimpsed in countless churches built from scratch in the 16th century. Some of them are buildings of notable proportions, such as Sant Pere priory in Reus (1512), the church of the Convent dels Àngels in Barcelona (1562), Sant Nicolau parish church in Bellpuig (c. 1560), Santa Maria parish church in Palautordera (1562), Sant Joan parish church in Valls (1569, which followed

the model of Barcelona's Sant Agustí Vell, which dates from the 14th to 15th centuries), Sant Esperit church in Terrassa (1574), Santa Eulàlia church in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat (1579), Sant Pere church in Vilamajor (1581) and others. (The dates reflect the start of construction.)

Many of a more modest size, which emerged in large numbers all over the country, also precisely match the same typological and constructive features mentioned above. Limiting ourselves to just a few examples, we can mention a group of parish churches built throughout the century in the coastal area around Barcelona, especially in El Maresme (the dates correspond, again, to the start of construction), including Sant Romà in Lloret de Mar (1510), Sant Genís in Vilassar (1511), Sant Julià in Argentonà (1514), Sant Iscle and Santa Victòria in Dosrius (1526), Sant Martí in Arenys de Munt (1531), Santa Maria and Sant Nicolau in Calella (1539), Sant Feliu in Cabrera de Mar (1540), Sant Andreu in Llavanes (1561), Santa Maria in Vallvidrera (1566), Saints Justus and Pastor in Sant Just Desvern (1570), Sant Martí in Teià (1574) and Sant Pere in Canet de Mar (1579, both of which follow the model of Barcelona's Convent dels Àngels, from 1562), Sant Pere in Premià de Dalt (1588), Santa Maria in Arenys de Mar (1589), Sant Pol de Mar in the town of the same name (1590) and Sant Vicenç de Montalt (1591).¹⁵

Not a negligible amount of civil architecture, both public and private, clearly received these impulses of momentum from these local building traditions. Thus, not only was the expansion of Barcelona's Hospital de la Santa Creu – with the western wing or the “quadra de Sant Roc” added in 1511 – resolved identically as the pre-existing sectors, but the same typological patterns established were also adopted at the Hospital de la Santa Creu in Vic, which was built between 1539 and 1547. Likewise, patrician homes retained the organisation of the planimetry and most of the elevations unaltered until the second half of the century, including the very characteristic design of the courtyard and the main staircase. The changes recorded are accidental and restricted to decorative sculptural details on doorways or windows, which show an incipient process of hybridisation. This is illustrated in houses of Barcelona such as the house of the archdeacon Lluís Desplà, which was decorated with a striking hybridised “Roman” doorway (c. 1490-1514), Casa Padellàs as remodelled by Joan Hostalrich de Sabastida (c. 1497-1515) and the house of the Marquis of Llió, which was remodelled in the early 16th century. Other examples include the house of Bernat Xanxo on Carrer de la Mà de Ferro in Perpignan (c. 1508), and houses in Vic such as Casa Moixó and Càrcer in Mercadal, along with Casa Bru de Sala (c. 1505) and the Casa Miquel de Clariana (c. 1509).¹⁶

The hybridisation of ornamentation, based on mouldings or sculptural applications with Roman echoes superimposed upon the traditional structures, quickly intensified in the early decades of the century, but the most important changes, those that were typological in nature, penetrated very slowly. Thus, in addition to the notable decorative condensation “in the Roman style” of the inner doorways of

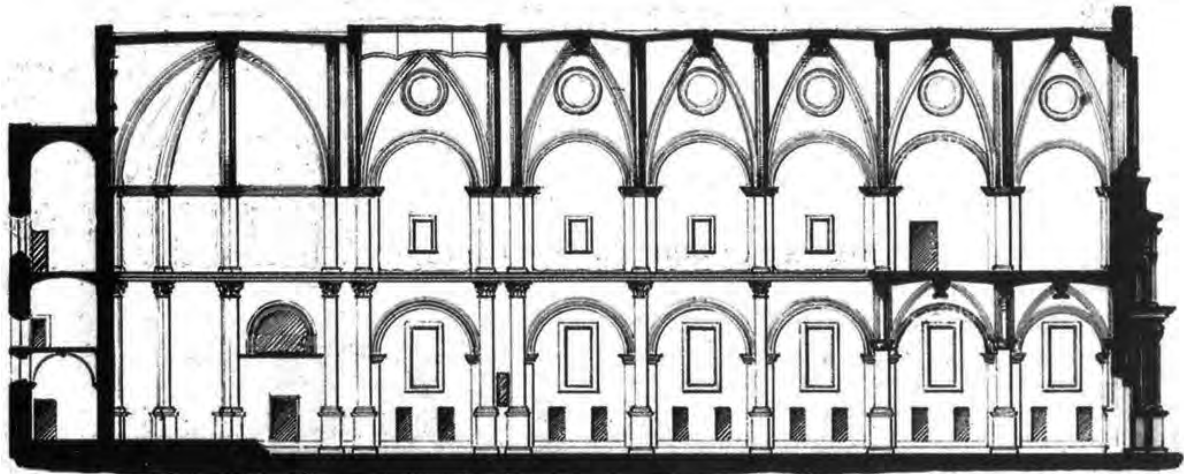
Barcelona's Palau Centelles (c. 1514), we should also highlight the intermediate solution of its main staircase: it is still located in the courtyard, but the second stretch was housed as a gallery inside a bay of the house, the same solution that we can find in the 16th-century Cervelló-Giudice palace on Carrer de Montcada in Barcelona.¹⁷

The next evolutionary step, which was extraordinarily important in terms of the reorganisation of the staircase and courtyard, appears in Barcelona's Casa Gralla (c. 1504-1531/1536), the first example of the complete displacement of the staircase to an interior bay, which allows a regular rectangular courtyard to take shape with all four sides free. The façade of this house also has an ornamental apparatus featuring an exuberant, modern grotesque repertoire, most likely attributable to the sculptor Damià Forment. However, the most eloquent episode of hybridisation can be found in the courtyard with its noble gallery that uninhibitedly combines formal Renaissance ele-

ments, such as the series of columns with Corinthian capitals and shafts with double grooving, with others that are unequivocally Gothic, such as the extreme stylisation of those columns and the pointed shape and noticeable moulding on the series of arches that rest on them.¹⁸

A less strident yet similar symbiosis of Gothic and Renaissance features reappears in the loggia on the west (1537-1541) and east (1545-1548) sides of the new Pati dels Tarongers courtyard in Barcelona's Palau de la Generalitat, executed by Gil de Medina following a design by Antoni Carbonell.¹⁹ The upper storey of the loggia, which culminated the façade of the expanded courtyard, was modelled with a continuous series of windows with three-centred arches punctuated by pinnacles and gargoyles, a strictly Gothic solution which Carbonell borrowed from the 15th-century courtyard by Marc Safont. The solution spread unchanged, as a way of unifying the entire courtyard, to the top of the enlargements on the northern side

1a



1b

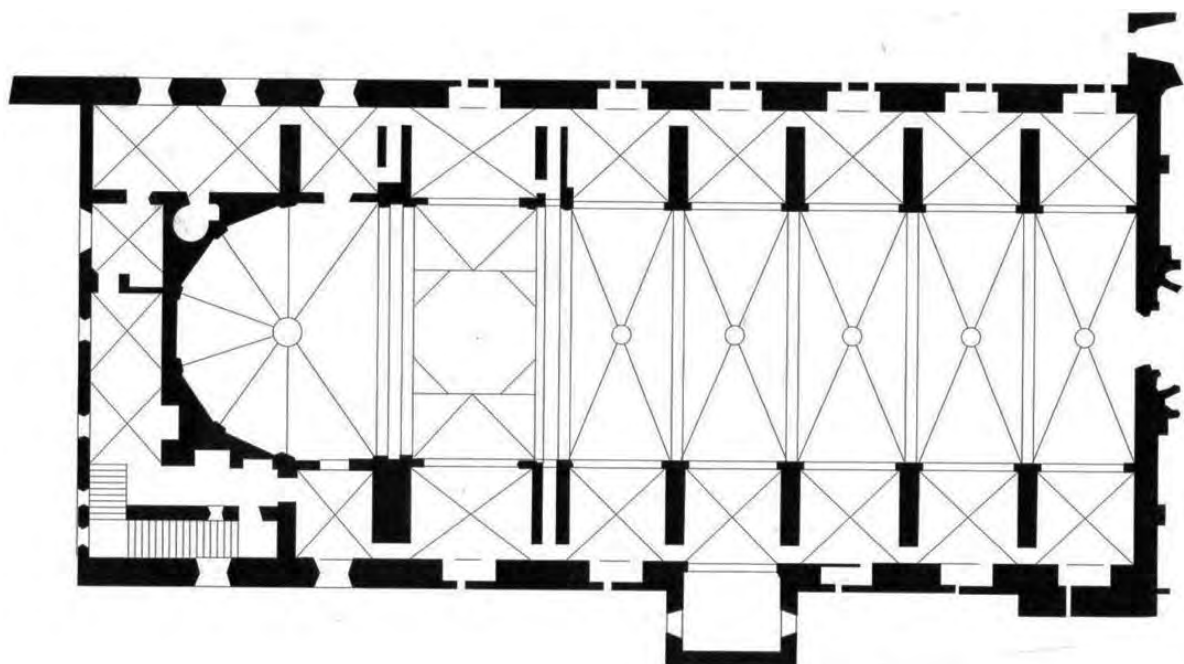


FIGURE 1. Miquel Sastre († 1586). *Church of Santa Maria de Montserrat, 1560-1592*. Layout. Lengthwise cross-section with estimated elevation between 1584 and 1586 (AHCAC - F. P. del Villar).

that the family line of the Ferrer master builders constructed between 1569 and 1638, this time rendered with severe Roman moulding.

The symbiosis of traditional elements and Renaissance features – the former displaced in favour of the latter – which has a clearly renovating projection in the religious architecture in the last third of the 16th century, can be found in the church of the sanctuary and monastery of Montserrat (1560-1592) built by Miquel Sastre († 1586), perhaps with traces from other authors as well. The work matches the established typological patterns which were constant fixtures in the country: it has a single nave with six bays covered with ribbed vaults, chapels between the buttresses, a chancel with seven bays with a radial vault and an elevated choir in the last two bays over flattened ribbed vaulting. On the other hand, it also includes familiar variations, such as the walkway around the perimeter of the buttresses and the tribunes or upper chapels, and a less frequent though not unusual variation, namely the octagonal cimborio open near the chancel in the first bay, which is slightly wider and acts as a pseudo-transsept.

However, the new and truly important addition consists of the compositional treatment of the elevations, whose general design was based on the formal Renaissance lexis and articulatory system. Thus, two new superimposed levels of embedded pilasters were added, the first to frame the arches of the lower chapels and the second for the tribunes. In the former, the pilasters have a pedestal and Corinthian capital and hold up an entablature which runs continuously around the entire perimeter of the nave, although it is reduced to a single architrave with neither frieze nor cornice. On the upper level of the tribunes, the pilasters have Doric-Tuscan capitals which also synthesise the entablature, which not only receives the archivolt of the tribune but also serves to support the transverse arches and cross vaults of the groin vaulting. All the arches that open up from the nave to the chapels and tribunes are semicircular, as are the transverse arches of the vault, yielding a powerful spatial effect; only the formerets retain their Gothic shape, although they also house perfectly circular oculi. Ultimately, the ribbed vaults of the nave are the only major element of the church in Montserrat that still preserves ties of continuity with the Gothic tradition. In contrast, we could say that both the formal organisation and the morphology of the ornaments and mouldings in the elevation fall within the new Renaissance system. In fact, this is the earliest large building in Catalan architecture that signals the decisive “first step” in the structural reception of the Renaissance compositional system and, in parallel, the dissolution of the Gothic system, despite its long, prestigious tradition. It was an emblematic step of vast proportions because it ushered in an irreversible change with no going back.²⁰

The church on Montserrat bears witness to a trend that gradually spread and soon became common. The normalisation of the Renaissance composition of the elevations, which were increasingly bare but easily combined

with the technical safety of the ribbed vault, is suggestively illustrated in the chapel of the Peu de la Creu (1568-1569) promoted by Bishop Joan Jubí in Barcelona’s Convent dels Àngels. In this chapel, the surviving ribbed roof coexists with a formal Roman lexis which can be associated with the Europe-wide dissemination of Sebastiano Serlio’s architecture treatise. Book IV on the five orders and book III on Roman antiquities were published in 1537 and 1540 and appeared together in a Spanish-language edition in 1552. It is quite likely that Serlio’s treatise, which was copiously illustrated, accelerated this normalisation we are observing. In any event, the Roman articulation of interiors came to the fore in the design of the majority of the larger churches built during the last third of the 16th century and the early decades of the following century, despite the insistent technical and formal resolution of the vaults with secular ribbing, even though the transverse arches were semicircular. Examples include the following parish churches: Assumpta in Alcover (1578-1630), Sant Llorenç in Vilalba dels Arcs (c. 1580-1601 and after), Santa Eulàlia in Esparreguera (1587-1612), Sant Jaume in Riudoms (1588-1617), Santa Maria in Igualada (1617 - *post* 1627), Sant Jaume in Calaf (1603-1639) and Sant Julià in L’Arboç (1631 - *ante* 1647). Nonetheless, the phenomenon persisted until quite late dates, as can be seen in the church of the Solsona-based Miracle sanctuary in Riner, which was built from 1652 to 1731.²¹

ADOPTION OF THE RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURAL SYSTEM

When the goal was not to cover large spaces and therefore the pretext for adhering to the safety of the traditional ribbed vaults disappears, many buildings unreservedly adopted the Renaissance language, perhaps with a few misunderstandings or awkward executions. Examples of them start mid-century, such as the early episode of the Reial Col·legi de Sant Jaume i Sant Maties in Tortosa (1544 - c. 1568), promoted by Charles I and then-prince Phillip. This school has a notable regular square courtyard with two levels of semicircular arcades which superimpose the Tuscan and Ionic orders; a third level was added later. The parapet of the second gallery was decorated not with balusters but with stone reliefs in the Aragonese or Castilian style, representing paired busts and the heraldry of the monarchs of the Crown of Aragon, from Ramon Berenguer IV and Peronella to Phillip II and Maria of Aragon. They were carved by Francisco Montermoso (1563), a sculptor hailing from Burgos.

Another regular, modern courtyard whose staircase was shifted into a bay of the building and covered by a magnificent wooden dome with a walkable gallery and a coffered vault is at the centre of the Palau del Lloctinent (1549-1557), the Barcelona residence of the viceroy built by Antoni Carbonell in a western wing of the former Palau Reial Major. Each side of the lower level of the court-

yard is opened by a large three-centred arch resting on corner pilasters with fascia moulding, while the upper level has a Tuscan gallery with semicircular arches and a parapet of balusters. Part of the portico (1559) with a spacious Serlio-inspired feel has survived from the old Trenenari in Barcelona's Casa de la Ciutat (it was rebuilt in 1929 at the narthex of the noble staircase), as has the Doric doorway with "triumphs" which was added in 1580, today the entrance to the Saló de Cent.

Works of this kind multiplied in the last third of the 16th century, but we shall limit ourselves to a brief glance at them. In fact, even though they may have been notable in their day, many of them have disappeared and we are only aware of them through documentation or from mere material remains or simple ruins that have been conserved on an exceptional basis. Thus, the value of those works undertaken in many of the large monastic complexes of Poblet, Santes Creus, Montserrat, Escaladei and others can be illustrated by the tiny fragments that survive in the new abbey palaces of Poblet and Santes Creus, or the one in Sant Cugat del Vallès with its upper cloister and new entrance staircase (1573-1589), along with the minor cloister in Escaladei, now rebuilt (2013).

The systematic and fully accepted application of the new model, with the necessary understanding of its basic concepts, reflected a series of factors beyond the gradual introduction of elements we have observed, including the documented circulation in Catalonia of the most rigorous, didactic, and influential Renaissance architectural treatise in Europe: Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola's *Regola delli cinque Ordini d'Architettura* (Rome, 1562), which we should add to the treatise by Serlio mentioned above. We should also include a plethora of information and occasional stimuli particularly from the new convent orders founded post-Tridentine – orders with close ties to Rome such as the Jesuits, Discalced Carmelites, Capuchins, etc. – without forgetting the remodelling of the monasteries or convents of religious orders that had been in the country for years, some of which are mentioned above. However, in the culmination of the model shift in Catalonia, the prime influences were the designer priest Jaume Amigó (1518-1590/1591), rector of Tivissa, and a group of churchmen from Tarragona including Pere Aguiló, the prior of the monastery of Escaladei, architect Pere Blai (1553-1621), a Barcelona-based master builder, and a handful of his colleagues and followers. They are the core of what was called the "School of El Camp" of Tarragona.²² Regarding Amigó, we should underscore that he had some direct knowledge of Italian works – we have documents proving three long stays in Rome, at least in the years 1547-1553, 1559-1561 and 1568-1569. Regarding Blai, we should note his contacts with the royal architect Francisco de Mora and perhaps with other master builders of El Escorial (1597 and 1599).

Amigó and Blai started their collaboration on the cathedral of Tarragona, for which the Renaissance case housing the main organ (1561) had already been de-

signed. The archbishop Antoni Agustín commissioned Amigó to design the chapel of the Santíssim (1582-1592), a transformation of the former canonical refectory that was begun by master builder Bernat Cassany from Riudecanyes and, when he died in 1583, was continued by Pere Blai until it was finished. Amigó enclosed the chancel with a Doric-Tuscan altarpiece made of jasper to resemble a triumphant arch, whose entablature traced the entire upper part as the impost of the pre-existing Gothic cannon vault, and he carved three semicircular chapels per side out of the plaster of the wall. He also perforated the vault with the hemispherical dome with a tambour and connected the chapel to the northern wing of the transept of the cathedral through a large Corinthian doorway. The granite shafts of its columns were sourced from the *visorium* of the Roman circus.

Meantime, in 1582 Amigó was charged with designing two parish churches, the one in Sant Jaume d'Ulldemolins, the village of his birth (for which he had already submitted a design back in 1568) and Sant Andreu church in La Selva del Camp, which he executed together with Pere Blai with the assistance of Pere Aguiló and the canon of Tarragona, Rafael Joan Gili. In 1582 as well, Blai was commissioned to build one-third of the structure in La Selva, the rest of which would be carried out by other master builders until around 1640. The design fit within the general scheme of a single nave, six bays with connected chapels amidst the buttresses and upper chapels or tribunes. However, it also incorporated significant new features: the nave was closed with a triumphal arch, at both the square chancel – which was surmounted by a hemispherical dome and tambour – and the narthex, and was covered by a semicircular barrel vault peppered with lunettes and punctuated by transverse arches. The chapels and tribunes also had barrel vaults attached to the buttresses. On the other hand, the elevation of the nave was decorated with a noteworthy version of the Doric order taken from Vignola, with mouldings featuring refined carvings that confirm a profound understanding of Roman architectural syntax.

The design was quite similar to the church in Ulldemolins, although the design devised by Amigó and built between 1584 and 1590 by two Basque master builders – Joan Sanç and Joan Garcia de Licergarate – also included a complex belfry with three bodies and a façade crowned by pediments. It was finished far before its counterpart in La Selva del Camp, but it was also much smaller in both area and budget, which meant a small-sized structure built with simpler materials. Still, we should note that the use of semicircular barrel vaults in large naves can be found for the first time in modern Catalonia in Ulldemolins and La Selva del Camp. Likewise, full mastery of Renaissance architectural composition in all sectors of the building can be found there, too, with a precise design of the formal lexis and a clear understanding of the proportional relationships between the elements that reflect an attentive, insightful study of Vignola's treatise and, at

least in the case of Jaume Amigó, direct experience and knowledge of contemporary Italian works.

After Amigó's death, Pere Blai took part in several other projects for the archbishopric of Tarragona, not only as an advisor or designer, like Amigó, but also as a builder. Among his most significant works we can spotlight the contiguous Sant Joan and Sant Fruituós chapels in the cathedral built by archbishop Joan Terés (1592-1612), a complex composed of semicircular arcades framed within an order of Corinthian pilasters with an entablature and barrel vault, with a shared entrance and sacristy and the monumental grave of Joan Terés housed in the middle buttress.

Meantime, in Barcelona Blai designed and built his most famous work, the "new building" of the Palau de la Generalitat (1596-1619). It consisted of the new Sant Jordi chapel – now the Saló – and adjacent rooms which were attached to the Gothic core of the institutional complex on the south: a large rectangular area with three naves of almost equal height defined by slender Doric pillars which support the vaults, and an elliptical dome on pendentifs near the chancel. Blai gave the outer wall facing the old Sant Jaume complex – which was torn down in 1824 to rebuild the façade of the Casa de la Ciutat in the neo-classical style and carve out the current square in front of it – the noble appearance of a palace façade, with a Doric doorway and large windows surmounted by a pediment. This was the first major civil façade in Catalan architecture composed in a clearly Renaissance language. Pere Blai worked in Madrid and El Escorial (1597), and he managed to forge a relationship with the royal architect Francisco de Mora, a friendship that was further cemented by Mora's visit to Barcelona in 1599. This relationship can also explain the affinities between the façade flanked by belfries and other sectors of Santa Maria de Cornudella church in Montserrat (c. 1598-1629), designed by Blai, and San Bernabé church in El Escorial (1593-1595), designed by Mora.

Pere Blai's "new construction" on the southern part of the Palau de la Generalitat, with the twofold purpose of religious space and civil façade, is symmetrical in the broadest stretch of the northern side built by the masters Ferrer – Pere Ferrer, the elder (1569-1599), his son Pere Ferrer (1596-1598, 1610-1640) and Pere Pau Ferrer (1632-1638) – with rooms opened to the elongated Pati dels Tarongers on the inside, and with the austere exterior façades in the Serlian tradition on Sant Sever, Sant Honorat and Bisbe streets. The work of Blai and the Ferrers, who completed the emblematic institutional building of the Generalitat, also culminated the incorporation of the new Renaissance model into 16th-century Catalan architecture.²³

FIGURATIVE ARTS: SCULPTURE

The Catalan figurative output in the 16th century primarily reflects subjects with religious purposes, objects for both public and private worship, including altarpieces

and liturgical furnishings, funerary works and architectural applications. Works with profane subjects – generic ones like portraits, landscapes, historical or mythological scenes, or heraldic elements and ornamental reliefs – do exist, but they are quite secondary in comparison, especially if we bear in mind the meagre number of works still conserved today. However, the documentation exhumed and some material testimonies that still survive – which future research will no doubt expand upon – open up a considerable margin of expectations on the effective presence of profane representations, especially in patrician homes and among the country's wealthier sectors. This can be gleaned from the numerous inventories and wills that have already been studied,²⁴ as well as a few residual pieces from old collections owned by the local aristocracy, such as the collection of the archdeacon of Barcelona Lluís Desplà († 1524) and Miquel Mai († 1546), the ambassador and vice-chancellor of Charles V.²⁵ Among portraits, we should include the significant gallery of the monarchs of Catalonia-Aragon painted by Filippo Ariosto (1587-1588) for the Palau de la Generalitat.²⁶

We should note that the majority of the sculptors – image-makers, stonecutters, altarpiece artists – and many of the painters active in Catalonia from the dawn of the 16th century until well into the 17th century were foreigners of diverse origins. That is, a substantial number of the local artistic commissions were resolved based on general culture and training, along with immediate learning of the trade in other European regions which today fall within France, the Netherlands, Germany, Portugal, Castile and Italy, without omitting those from other states within the Crown of Aragon. Therefore, in the sphere of the figurative, we have to assume works with highly heterogeneous stylistic accents. However, the first examples mediated by the Renaissance appeared among them, even though more traditional works predominated in the early 16th century.

In brief, these works could be described as fitting within Gothic models with Flemish undertones in their conception and design schemes, in their ornamental repertoire and in the anatomical conformation and draping of their figures. Limiting ourselves to just a few examples, we could mention the Sant Feliu altarpiece in Girona, carved with a leafy structure of exuberant traceries, canopies and pinnacles by Joan Venetria (1504-1507) and Pere Robredo (1507-1510), which featured images of its namesake with rigid anatomies and stiff folds with a Flemish tone carved by Joan d'Aragó (1505). We could also cite the rich late Gothic grave of Lluís de Requesens († 1509) in the family chapel of the Epiphany in La Seu Vella of Lleida, which was finished in 1511 by Pedro de Sarabia and Juan de Palacios. Similar works lasted until the middle of the following century in the midst of a gradual process of hybridisation; however, in parallel we should also note a very consistent, significant presence of Italianate works since the early decades of the century, even though they were not actually Italian or unequivocally Renaissance.

The earliest expressions of this sculpture in the new style are the monumental tombs brought from Italy, specifically from Naples, for members of the nobility or the royal administration who lived there for their jobs associated with the Crown of Aragon. Generally speaking, they were produced by Neapolitan or Lombard studios, which were often still anonymous and whose dates are imprecise. Examples include the graves of Joan d'Aragó († 1528) and Bernat de Vilamarí († 1512) in Montserrat; Ramon Folc de Cardona-Anglesola († 1522) in Bellpuig, the work of Giovanni da Nola; Guillem de Boil († 1532) in the cathedral of Girona; and Jeroni Descoll († 1553) in Sant Miquel church in Barcelona, now the Museu Diocesà.²⁷ Later, the studios and sculptors working in Catalonia gradually started to make monumental graves in line with the new Renaissance model, such as the ones in the cathedral of Tarragona dedicated to Jaume de Cardona and Na Timbor de Cardona (c. 1532-1535), a work attributed to Damia Forment,²⁸ and the graves of Gaspar Cervantes de Gaeta († 1575), Antoni Agustín Albanell († 1586) and Joan Terés Borrull († 1603).

Apart from funerary works, the works that signalled the most intense and genuine arrival of the Renaissance in

16th-century Catalonia came at the end of the second decade: the wooden screens of the choir and the marble retrochoir in the cathedral of Barcelona. In May 1517, they were commissioned to Bartolomé Ordóñez, a sculptor from Burgos who had been trained entirely in Italy. He had reached Catalonia from Naples, where he and Diego de Siloé had been in charge of the Caracciolo di Vico chapel in San Giovanni a Carbonara church. In October 1519, after the wood reliefs were ready and work on the retrochoir had begun, he headed back to Italy to purchase and smooth the marble needed and to deal with the royal commissions accepted during Charles V's stay in Barcelona, where the nineteenth chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece (5th to 8th March 1519) was held. However, in December 1520 he was caught off-guard by an illness and died suddenly, leaving all the works to which he had committed unfinished. The extraordinarily high-quality work on the choir that Ordóñez had already performed reflected the application of a type of *stiacciato* relief on both the wood and the marble that was the heir to Donatello, which the younger Michelangelo also used; this resource is extremely artistically effective for suggesting volumes and spatial depth in

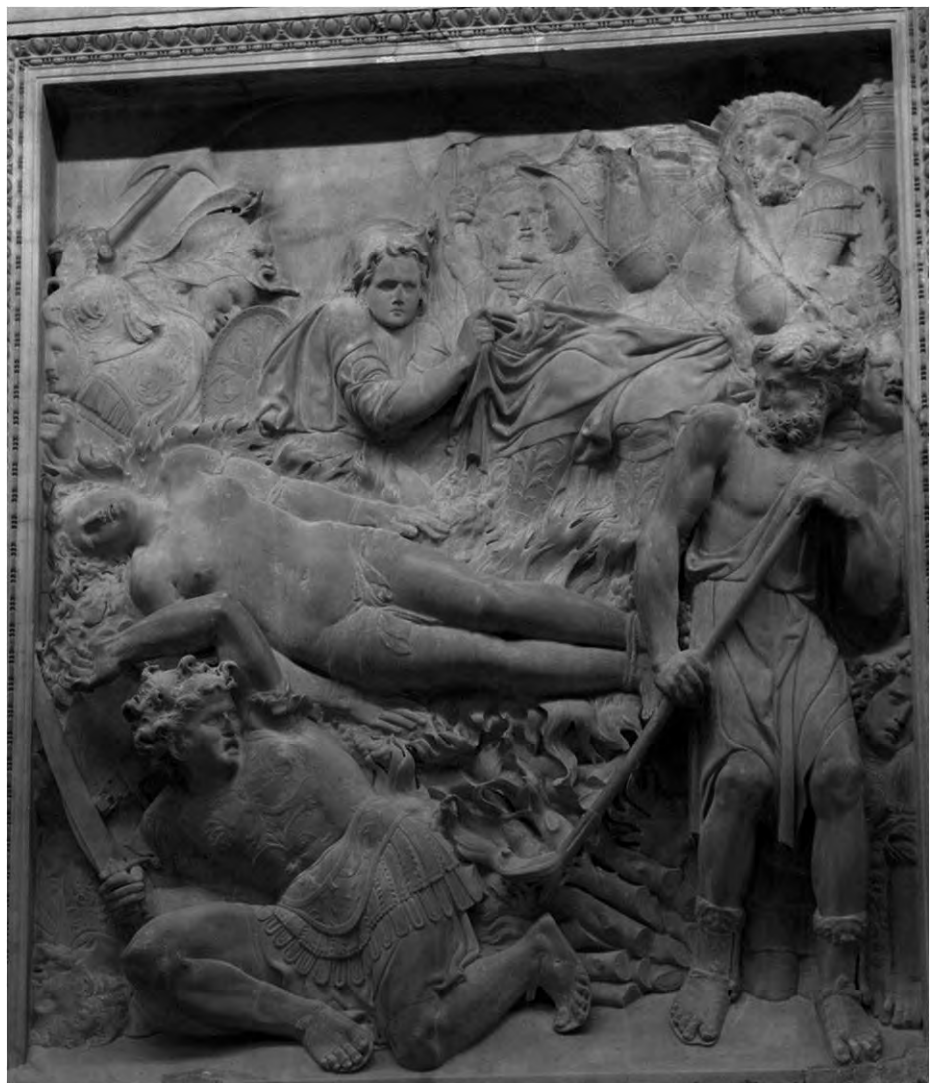


FIGURE 2. Bartolomé Ordóñez († 1520).
Saint Eulalia's martyrdom by fire.
 Retrochoir, 1519, marble, 137 × 127 cm.
 Barcelona, cathedral (photo: JGR).

chiselled surfaces and for transferring pictorial and atmospheric effects onto these surfaces. The anatomy of the figures, the composition of the scenes, the architectural frames and the grotesque decoration refer to Roman culture from the same period – perhaps in Raphael’s circles – and therefore to the very epicentre of creation of these models, inspired by the statuary and monuments of ancient Rome. The current retrochoir comes from a later period and is a redesign that includes all the works that Ordóñez had left – in addition to a relief by the Aragon native Pedro Villar (1563-1564) – and was based on his original design from 1517 but simplified and resized. The Burgundy-born sculptor Claudi Perret and master Gaspar Bruel from Tortosa completed it between 1615 and 1620 on the initiative of bishop Lluís de Sanç i Còdol.²⁹

We cannot even briefly do justice to the copious artistic output documented after the second third of the 16th century for all kinds of typologies and specific purposes, ranging from freestanding images and sculptural groups to carvings of altarpiece structures or figurative reliefs

and other ornamental applications for architecture. The works still conserved generally confirm a clearly updated artistic culture that was Renaissance in style, although not all show equivalent mastery of the trade and quality standards. The names mentioned the most frequently in the documentation, many of them French or Flemish in origin, include Joan de Brusselles, Enric de Borgonya, Jean de Tours, Guiu de Bell-lloc, Jacques Bruna, Huguet d’Artés and Pere Ostris. Illustrations of both the level of Renaissancisms and the quality standards of the work include the large stone baptismal fonts in the cathedral of Girona (by Guiu de Bell-lloc, intervention c. 1528-1539) and Saint Mary in Cervera sculpted by Jacques Bruna (1568), along with the new episcopal chairs added to the presbytery and the 15th-century choir in the cathedral of Tarragona (Enric de Borgonya and Jean de Tours, 1534-1535), enriched with full grotesque decoration and stylised Roman pinnacles packed with imagery.³⁰

Damià Forment (1480-1540), the most prolific, modern sculptor in the Crown of Aragon, deserves mention



FIGURE 3. Damià Forment († 1540). *Main altarpiece devoted to the Virgin Mary*, 1527-1529, alabaster, 21 × 8.4 m. Monastery of Poblet, abbey church (photo: CRBMC, Carles Aymerich).

of his own. He worked with the assistance of a large, well-organised studio, particularly in Zaragoza and Aragon, although he was also active in Catalonia. He was involved in a large body of work, but he is primarily remembered for the main altar devoted to Virgin Mary in the Cistercian monastery of Poblet. This monumental structure, chiselled out of alabaster between 1527 and 1529, posed a few execution challenges for which he was reproached, and which generated a long, noisy dispute that was further magnified by internal issues at the monastery and the intersecting professional interests of other colleagues. Yet despite the mutilations and vandalism that it suffered in the 19th-century disentailment, the altarpiece of Poblet is nonetheless one of the most formidable, sumptuous sculpture sets “*alla romana*” from 16th-century Catalonia.³¹

The sculptor Martí Díez de Liatzasolo († 1583), first Forment’s partner and later his outright adversary, was the author of numerous wooden altarpieces, either solo or in company, including the vanished two-sided main altarpiece of Sants Just i Pastor church in Barcelona (1531), for which he was initially contracted precisely in association with Forment and Jean de Tours. Given that none of these altarpieces survives today, to evaluate his oeuvre we have to resort to the only two documented works that do survive, both crafted of alabaster: the Sant Enterrament group in Sant Esperit in Terrassa (1539-1540) and the image of Mare de Déu de la Victòria in the church of the former Palau dels Requesens (1556) in Barcelona. Both works boast exceptional quality, forced classicism and intense emotiveness, even though some details in the anatomy and draping are somewhat coarse.³²

The widespread acceptance and capillary dissemination of the new formal models at this point in the century are clearly expressed by the activity of the Barcelona master Jeroni Xanxo († 1575), whose skilled craftsmanship was permeated with Renaissancisms from the north to the south of the country, from La Seu d’Urgell (the altarpiece of the Pietat (1548-1550) and the group depicting the Dormition (1549)), to Lleida (the Santa Maria l’Antiga (1559-1562) portal in La Seu Vella) and Tarragona (the case housing the main organ of the cathedral (1562-1566), designed by Jaume Amigó).³³

The heterogeneous, dispersed formal appearance of the set of images and reliefs from the last third of the 16th century, a relatively extensive and largely anonymous output – which, in fact, has scarcely been studied – leads us to conclude our compressed overview of the 16th century with a brief mention of several of the most remarkable sculptors and works. First, we should point out a notable anonymous work, the Sant Joan dels Fusters altarpiece in the cathedral of Barcelona (1577), which, just like others cited above – such as the alabaster one by Damià Forment in Poblet or the wooden one by Jeroni Xanxo in La Seu d’Urgell – replaced the compartments that depicted the narrative scenes through panel paintings, the most common technique in altarpieces, with compartments

that depict these scenes through polychrome reliefs. This replacement of paintings with reliefs reminds us of the general observation that in the late decades of the 16th and early 17th centuries, the altarpiece genre underwent remarkable changes. Beyond the fact that, just like liturgical furniture, they maintained and even reinforced their reticular architectural structure and abundant decoration, the proportions of altarpieces became so monumental that they came to occupy the entire surface of the chancel behind the altar. They assimilated and streamlined the Roman language of their design by bringing them closer to Vignola-esque models, and they tended to include a rising number of freestanding images in their different panels and wings. Most importantly, they tended to abandon the compartments of narrative painting in favour of sculptural reliefs. In fact, in the shift from the 16th to 17th centuries, altarpieces began to be wholly sculptural objects in which the painters’ work was circumscribed to the phase of surface finishes of the images and reliefs, that is, the final gilding and polychrome.³⁴

The sculptors devoted to designing and crafting altarpieces – both the architectural structure and ornamental and figurative carving – became the decisive agents of this process. We shall mention a few names and a selection of important works, without excluding types of sculpture other than altarpieces. We shall start with the example of Gaspar Huguet († 1585), the most interesting member of a family of image-makers originally from Burgundy but living in Barcelona with his grandfather Huguet d’Artés. He worked on the main altarpieces in the priory of Sant Pere in Reus (1582) and the Sant Andreu parish church in Llavanes (1582-1585, still conserved), which was completed by Joan Aragall (1594). Cristóbal de Salamanca († 1591), a native of Ávila, carved the choir chairs in the monastery of Montserrat (1578-1588), which was burned down by the French army in 1811, and the cathedral of Tortosa, which had been commissioned in 1587 and was completed by his collaborators in 1593, after the sculptor’s death. The extensive complex in Tortosa, with full-body figures depicted with vigorously modelled reliefs, is the only one from the 16th century with these features that survives virtually intact. Today it is on display in the former canon’s sleeping quarters.

Agustí Pujol the Elder (1554-1620/1621), the son of a stonemason of the cathedral of Tortosa who was accustomed to working in both stone and wood, completed the images on the priory altarpiece in Reus (1587-1589), many of which still survive. He also built the three-bodied façade of the church in Montblanc (c. 1590-1595), which is populated with stone sculptures and is also still standing. After 1603, he and his namesake son crafted the now-vanished main altarpiece in Vilanova de Cubelles. Another Tortosa native who was an expert in stone and marble, Onofre Fuster (1566 - c. 1620), is the author of the outstanding relief on the façade of Sant Martí Sacosta in Girona (1616) and the panels on the upper bench of the main altarpiece in Sant Joan in Valls (1618), all of which

are still conserved. Equally expert in marble and alabaster was the Burgundy-born sculptor, Claudi Perret († 1621), who received prestigious commissions. In addition to the retrochoir of the cathedral of Barcelona, cited above, we should also mention him because of his ambitious main altarpiece in Sant Joan cathedral in Perpignan, which he started in 1618 and which Jordi Lleonart finished shortly after his death. Here we should also hark back to a very significant import which affected such a famous work: the colossal main altarpiece of the new church in Montserrat that King Philip II offered to the sanctuary. He commissioned the design to the architect of El Escorial, Francisco de Mora (1593), and it was crafted by Esteban Jordán (c. 1530-1598), the most famous classicist sculptor of the day, who rendered it in his studio in Valladolid (1593-1597). The altarpiece was transported to Montserrat in 65 carriages in mid-1597 and placed in the church's presbytery, where it was polychromed and gilded (1598-1599). It vanished in 1811, burned by the French army.

We shall close this brief list of the sculptors and sculptures at the confluence of the 16th and 17th centuries with the name of the best Catalan sculptor of the Modern Age, Agustí Pujol (c. 1585-1628), the son of the sculptor of the

same name mentioned above. Though truncated by his premature death, his artistic career reveals works of exceptional quality which signal the culmination of Renaissance art in the country. Among his works, many of which vanished during the Spanish Civil War, we should spotlight the main altarpiece in Martorell (1610-1616) and the Roser altarpiece in Terrassa (1615-1168), only known by photographs; the Immaculate Conception altarpiece in Verdú (1623); the expansion of the main altarpiece in the priory church of Sant Pere in Reus (1625-1628), which is partly conserved; and the Roser altarpiece in the cathedral of Barcelona (1628), still *in situ*.³⁵

FIGURATIVE ARTS. PAINTING

The first important signs of Renaissancisms in the paintings that emerged from Catalan studios during the Renaissance³⁶ can be detected by the last decade of the 15th century. The changes are not very striking because of their structural nature, as they were limited to the spatial construction and subjects of the paintings, yet they are also unequivocal and determining, because they reflect such a defining factor of Italian Renaissance culture as the representation of "perspective". We should note that even though in theory the graphic procedures applied by local painters to spatial construction ultimately derived from the 15th-century perspective of Filippo Brunelleschi (optical experiments, c. 1410-1420) and Leon Battista Alberti (*De pictura*, 1435), and yet others, such as Piero della Francesca (*De prospectiva pingendi*, c. 1470-1482), from which the scientific tradition of perspective arose, in practice they are merely an echo: an artisan, partial version gotten through more indirect means.

The painters here operated with one point to effectively and simply resolve the foregrounding or vanishing point of the objects depicted in the painting, often a single object, particularly the floor. They also used a diagonal to resolve the horizontal sequences of depth, almost always those of the floor grid, but they used these graphic resources and simple geometric recipes or practical formulas without any awareness of the general optical and metric principles involved.³⁷ In addition to being fragmentary and lacking in theoretical awareness, the version of the Renaissance procedures on perspective introduced into the studios of the Principality should be attributed to the mediating influence of the northern painters from an artisan tradition as opposed to direct, genuine scientific interventions from Italy. The first examples of these spatial constructions with one point can be seen in works from after the death of Jaume Huguet († 1492) on the panels by the Master of Castelsardo, which completed the Huguenot altarpieces of Saint Vicent of Sarrià (c. 1500), in the work of a painter from the Vergós group who participated in the altarpiece in Sant Esteve of Granollers (c. 1495-1500), and also in the Annunciation in the altarpiece of Puigcerdà (c. 1490), which can be attributed to



FIGURE 4. Agustí Pujol (c. 1583-1628). *Christ's resurrection*. *Rosary Altarpiece* (close-up), 1617, polychrome wood. Barcelona cathedral (Roser chapel) (photo: JBB).

the Master of Perpignan, today all at the MNAC.³⁸ The Master of Perpignan, perhaps the canon from Roussillon, Rafael Tamarró, was active on either side of the Pyrenees from La Seu d'Urgell and Puigcerdà to Perpignan, Palau del Vidre and Canapost. Therefore, the northern influence, French in his case, seems quite plausible.³⁹

In fact, from 1490 until the first third of the 16th century, the archives in Catalonia record a large influx of northern European painters – Flemish, German, French – whose enormous activity is also confirmed by the formal features of many of the paintings conserved, some of them still anonymous. These painters should be assigned a prime role in the early stage of transformations towards the Renaissance, even though it was still incipient. For example, we should recall the anonymous masters of the Magrana altarpiece (c. 1500) and those of the shutter of the organ (1505) in the cathedral of Saint Jean in Perpignan, or the masters of Llupià and the predella and altarpiece in Argelers, also in Roussillon, works which are still conserved *in situ*.⁴⁰ The same holds true for the masters identified by the documentation who worked in Girona and Barcelona: Aine Bru († 1510?), Pere de Fontaines († 1518) and Joan de Borgonya († 1525).

The Brabant native Aine Bru, the author of the now-vanished Roser altarpiece in the convent church of Sant Domènec in Girona (1500-1501) and the main altarpiece in the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès (1504-1507) – of which only two panels still survive at the MNAC – is a painter of exceptional quality who seems to have transformed his Flanders-based training into a southern career in Avignon and Provence, the veritable crossroads of Franco-Italian contacts.⁴¹ In contrast, the only work by Pere de Fontaines that still remains of the plethora of documented pieces – the lower predella of Sant Feliu in Girona (1517-1518), now at the Museu d'Art de Girona – seems to be the work of a modest artisan; he often draws quite literally from the prints by engravers like Israhel van Meckenem, Martin Schongauer and Nicoletto da Modena. Regarding the use of engravings, beyond the personal case of Pere de Fontaines, we should note that they were used as figurative and compositional models in the processes of producing works, in particular painting and sculpture, part of a widespread phenomenon that was common around Europe throughout the entire Modern Age after the end of the 15th century.

The systematic use of engravings and their constant circulation around artistic studios – with different modes of application which reflect a broad casuistics, ranging from sheer copying to free inspiration – as well as the periodic updating or renovating of the repertoires became crucial in the evolution of the arts throughout the 16th century. The introduction of Renaissancisms and more widespread and structural changes in representation – in the sense of a certain standardisation, or internationalisation, of the figurative systems, with the epicentre in Italy – are decisively associated with the regular circulation of engravings, which conveyed a wide variety of specific

models and disseminated the work of renowned artists far and wide in a quick, capillary way. From the start until around 1530, “creative” prints by Nordic artists prevailed, including most importantly Albrecht Dürer and his oeuvre. Successively until around 1580, “translated” Italian works came to the fore, especially works by Marcantonio Raimondi and his circle, who spread the work of Raphael and other artists working in Rome. A third stage, which spanned from 1580 until well into the 17th century, enshrined the predominance of Italian “translated” prints, with engravers – with Flemish and Dutch roots as well – such as Cornelis Cort, Agostino Carracci, Federico Barocci, Cherubino Alberti, Jan Sadeler and the Wierixes, who disseminated a wide range of painters from the latest generation, including Titian, Andrea del Sarto, Correggio, Tintoretto, Veronese, Vasari, the Zuccari brothers, Orazio Sammachini, Luca Cambiaso and Marteen de Vos.⁴²

The Nordic painter who left the most extensive, original output, Joan de Borgonya, may have been from Alsace, although his work has affinities with the “Danube style” of the disciples of Michael Pacher, and there is proof that he had been working in Oriola and Valencia at least since 1503, before setting up his own studio in Barcelona in around 1510. From his stint in Valencia, we still have six panels of a Saint Andrew altarpiece in Miracle church, today the cathedral of Valencia. In Catalonia, we have documentation on an extensive output which included commissions such as the main altarpiece of Barcelona's Santa Maria del Pi (1512-1515), but just to limit ourselves to a few significant examples which are still conserved, we shall point out the Saint Mary Magdalen altarpiece in the monastery of Santes Creus (1510), *in situ*; and the main altarpiece in Sant Feliu in Girona (1518-1520), six panels of which are on display at the Museu d'Art de Girona; and the panel depicting The Madonna with Monkey (MNAC), which can confidently be attributed to him even though we are unaware of its provenance. His painting, featuring skilled yet concise draughtsmanship which is at times not very attentive to the anatomical and proportional structure of the figures, resolves the spatial composition of the scenes with artisan techniques discussed above. He always applied the colours in oil with fluid brushstrokes and an exuberant palette, and he shows a great deal of sensitivity towards the more decorative aspects of representation, sumptuous textures and the visual effects of the surface.⁴³

While Joan de Borgonya worked on the Saint Felix altarpiece and other works in Girona – such as the Saint Ursula altarpiece (c. 1520-1523), the Verònica reliquary (c. 1520-1523) and the design of the Sibilles stained glass window (1520) in the cathedral, in addition to the Saint Cyprian altarpiece in Esponellà (1520-1522), which is partly conserved – he sojourned in the native city, Murcia, of the painter Pere Fernández. There he was contracted, always in November 1519 and always associated with another painter, to render the main Saint Cyprian altar-

piece in Flaça with Gabriel Pou, the small Saint Helen altarpiece in the cathedral with Antoni Norri and the main altarpiece devoted to Saint Vincent in Llança with Antoni Norri as well. The only one that still remains, the Saint Helen altarpiece dated from 1521, reflects figurative and spatial resources which are alien to Catalonia and Spain during that period, yet they are coherent if we understand the painter to have intense Italian training, perhaps specifically in Lombardy. However, the paintings of Saint Helen, permeated with Da Vinci-esque stimuli and a modern, bold spatial conception, remain a unique case of early Renaissance penetration in Girona, albeit an isolated episode which had rather weak, superficial echoes in the local artistic culture.⁴⁴

The new developments introduced from the influx of masters from the north, with the additional impetus of the increasing circulation of engravings, transformed the majority of local studios in the first quarter of the century, although not all of them were equally attentive and sensitive to the changes. Some of them were not very receptive

at first, perhaps because of their initial ties with Huguenot epigones such as Joan Gascó († 1529), an outstanding painter by trade who participated in the Vergós altarpiece in Saint Stephen in Granollers (c. 1503). After that he moved to Vic, where his studio monopolised painting commissions from the bishopric until the mid-16th century. His oeuvre reflects a certain evolutionary shift in the Saint Peter altarpiece in Vilamajor (1513-1516) – which was destroyed in 1936 and is only known from photographs – but the changes did not gain momentum and consolidate until his son Perot Gascó (c. 1502/1506-1546), influenced by the work of Joan de Borgonya, took charge of the studio in Vic alongside his brothers. Indeed, a significant part of the Gascós' painting is housed in the Museu Episcopal of Vic.⁴⁵

The painter Pere Mates (c. 1490/1495-1558), Pere de Fontaines's collaborator on the polychrome on the Saint Felix altarpiece, exerted a similar monopoly in the bishopric of Girona, although the transformation in his painting can be seen instead by the attention he paid to the en-



FIGURE 5. Joan de Borgonya († 1525). *Saint Felix before Ruphinus*. Altarpiece of *Saint Felix*, 1519-1520, oil/panel, 200 × 152 cm. Girona, Museu d'Art (from the former main altarpiece of the collegiate church of Sant Feliu, Girona) (photo: JBB-JGR).

gravings by Dürer and especially by the influences from the oeuvre of Joan de Borgonya and probably Aine Bru or also Pere Fernández. As an illustration of Mates' art, we should recall the Saint Mary Magdelene (1526) altarpiece from the Tresor in the cathedral of Girona, and the altarpieces in Saint Mary de Segueró and Saint Peter de Montagut, today conserved in the Museu d'Art de Girona.⁴⁶

Other notable examples of this transformation can be found in the paintings of the Roussillon native Jaume Forner († *post* 1559), the author of the altarpieces documented in Saint Michel de Viviers (1525) and the Madonna in Les Grades de Marcèvol (1527) (both conserved *in situ*), which are traditional in feel. However, once he was living in the southern Pyrenees, he was also the author of works such as the clearly evolved Saint Agnes altarpiece in Malanyanes (1535-15536), today in the Diocesan Museum of Barcelona.⁴⁷ The repertoire of changes, expanded with the inflow of engravings, was able to spread to quite remote locations depending on the painters' radius of action. In addition to Forner, we are also aware of the travels of the master Baltasar Guiu, perhaps actually the Blai Guiu who is recorded as being in Lleida during the 1530s and 1540s, who was responsible for the Saint Saviour altarpiece in Balaguer, a few panels and fragments of which are conserved in the Museu Comarcal of La Noguera. He is also behind the altarpiece of the Assumption (of the Virgin) chapel (1525) in the cathedral of Tortosa – the panels were repainted and reused in 1735 in the Baroque Sant Josep altarpiece – as well as the panels conserved in Santa Maria la Major in Alcanyís (c. 1520-1525). Similarly, in Tortosa we note the Dessis, well documented but with little work that has survived as the predella of Saint Mary Magdelene of the cathedral (1530), by Vicent Dessi the Elder.⁴⁸

In the city and archbishopric of Tarragona, we can mention similar cases of evolution during the same period, such as the paintings by an anonymous author which are provisionally gathered under the names of the Master of Alforja and the Master of Pere de Cardona, or the Masters of Saint Roch and Saint Thecla; also around mid-century, and the ones attributed to Francesc Olives, most of which are conserved in the Diocesan Museum of Tarragona and the cloister of the cathedral.⁴⁹

The northern European influence dimmed almost at once in the second third of the century, replaced by the entry onto the country's painting scene of a series of southern artists who revealed considerable mastery of the prestigious Italian model. They were painters with a Italianate training – clearly with the assistance of the engravings from Roman studios – some of whom were native to the Italian peninsula or had had substantial artistic apprenticeships there. At first, the most interesting personality in painting is the Portuguese master Pere Nunyes († *post* 1556), who secured the best commissions once Joan de Borgonya had passed, either alone or in the company of other painters like his fellow countryman Enric Fernandes († 1546), the Neapolitan Nicolau de Cre-

dença († 1558) and the painter-poet Pere Serafi "lo Grec" († 1567).

Of Nunyes' prolific output, which had started by 1513, a good number of paintings survive today, of which we shall cite at least the most important sets: the main altarpiece depicting Santa Maria and Sant Martí in Capella (1527-1533), today owned by the bishopric of Barbastre; the shutter of the Sant Eloi dels Argenters altarpiece in the church of La Mercè (1526-1529), today at MNAC; the Santa Creu altarpiece commissioned by Jaume Joan de Requesens for the family chapel in Sants Just i Pastor church (1528-1530), *in situ*; and the Sant Sever altarpiece in Hospital de Clergues (1528-1530), today in the Diocesan Museum, all three in Barcelona. Furthermore, the paintings on the old main altarpiece in the Miracle sanctuary in Riner (c. 1530-1532), now housed in a chapel of the current church, can almost certainly be attributed to Nunyes. He shared in the execution of two of the aforementioned works – the one in Capella and the one in Barcelona's Hospital de Clergues – with Enric Fernandes, who was, in turn, the author of a singular, surprising episode of trompe-l'oeil mural painting: the *architettura picta* of the graves of the Counts Berenguer I and Almodis (1545) in the transept of the cathedral of Barcelona.⁵⁰ Only a few panels from the Sant Iscle and Santa Victòria altarpiece in Dosrius (1565-1566), destroyed in 1936, survive from a little-known Portuguese painter, Joan Baptista.⁵¹

The painting by another poet, Pere Serafi, called "lo Grec" or "the Greek" († 1567) – perhaps from Cyprus or a stagiare in Italy, and in any case with a "Romanised" artistic culture – shows peerless levels of quality through his work with collaborators, but he embodies an intense evocation of graphic syntheticism and the classical monumentality of the Roman Renaissance culture. Suggestive examples of Serafi's Romanism still survive in the Sant Romà altarpiece in Lloret de Mar (1541-1555) and the Sant Martí altarpiece in Arenys de Munt (1543-1546) – both *in situ* – and especially in the shutter of the organ in of the cathedral of Barcelona (*ante* 1563) – today in the cathedral museum. In a few recent studies, this Romanism has inspired the somewhat exaggerated idea of the painter's direct, close connections with the Roman circles of Raphael.⁵²

In parallel, as the continuation of Serafi, the Monferrato native Pietro Paolo de Montalbergo († 1588), a painter who had been living in Catalonia since 1548, rose to prominence; and even more importantly Isaac Hermes – or Hermans – Vermey († 1596), who originally hailed from Utrecht, lived in Italy and reached Barcelona in 1573. Beyond his work as a painter, few samples remain: a panel of the altarpiece in Malla (1554), the shutter of the main organ in the cathedral of Tarragona (1563-1565) and the small altarpiece depicting the Resurrection in Vallespinosa (c. 1582-1583), now housed in the Diocesan Museum of Tarragona. Indeed, Montalbergo played a particularly prominent role in the dissemination of contemporary Renaissance models through his commercial



FIGURE 6. Pere Nunyes († 1556) and Enric Fernandes († 1546), *Altarpiece of Saint Severus* (predella, central compartment): *Transfer of the Relic of Saint Severus*, 1541-1542, tempera-oil/panel, 71 × 119.5 cm. Barcelona, Diocesan Museum (from the former Hospital de Sant Sever of Barcelona) (photo: Diocesan Museum of Barcelona).

activity. We have proof that at least between 1580-1582 and 1586 he imported several thousand engravings from Italy – some from the famous Roman studio of Cornelis Cort – along with copies of the architecture treatises of Antonio Labacco (1552) and Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (1562) to distribute in Barcelona.⁵³

The Catalan oeuvre of Isaac Hermes began in the palace owned by the Requesens family in Barcelona known as the Palau Reial Menor, when Lluís de Requesens entrusted Hermes to paint the side altarpieces and the main altarpiece of the chapel (1573 - *post* 1576). Just a single panel is conserved *in situ*, while the rest is only known through photographs. Hermes hailed from Milan, but he met Requesens in Rome when Requesens was Philip II's ambassador, and may have been under his service since 1556. He subsequently followed Requesens to Milan in 1572-1573, when Requesens was governor. After the works at the Palau, Hermes went on to render a significant body of work all over the country, beginning with the design of the main altarpiece of the priory of Reus (1576) with Pietro Paolo de Montalbergo, where he would also render paintings, today on display at the Museu de Reus, at a later date (1592-1593). He painted the main altarpiece in the royal chapel of Sant Domènec in Valencia (1583-1584) on commission from Mencia de Requesens, and the decoration of the Santíssim chapel in the cathedral of Tarragona (after 1586) for Archbishop Antoni Agustín. In Tarragona, too, he made the large panel on the altar in the

Saint Francis, Robuster and Nebot chapels. His last important work – conserved *in situ* just like the ones in Valencia and Tarragona – is the main altarpiece of Santa Maria in Palamós (1594-1596). Hermes' painting reflects the artistic ambiance of post-Tridentine Rome and later Mannerism.⁵⁴ These features are exemplified with more elaborate compositions and rather strong figures in the works of the church of the Palau and the cathedral of Tarragona, and with hastier, more repetitive – or fatigued – composition in the works from his later period, such as the ones in Palamós. At any rate, his oeuvre is a privileged vantage point to observe the Catalan clients' and audiences' acceptance of the new *koiné* or "international style" of painting coined in Italy in the latter decades of the 16th century, a figurative language that had adapted perfectly to the didactic and expressive needs of the culture of the Counter-Reformation.⁵⁵

The roster of Italian painters working in Catalonia in the span from the 16th to 17th centuries furnishes even more genuine examples of the late Mannerist language. One example is the Milanese Joan Baptista Toscano, the best of them all, who was hired to render numerous altarpieces in Lloret de Mar (1595), Cartellà (1599), Girona (1598), Figueres (1600) and Sant Andreu de Llavaneres (1600 and 1603) between 1595 and 1617. The All Saints altarpiece in the cathedral of Girona, the Virgin of the Rosary and the main altarpieces in Sant Andreu de Llavaneres and four panels of another one devoted to Saint



FIGURE 7. Isaac Hermes († 1556). *Stigmatisation of Saint Francis*, altarpiece panel in Saint Francis chapel, c. 1586-1587, oil/panel. Tarragona, cathedral (photo: CRBMC, Carles Aymerich).

James, of unknown provenance and date, are preserved today at MNAC.⁵⁶ Yet other painters from this era are also worth mentioning, including the Roman Cèsar Corona (1626-1627), who is well known and had vied for the contract for the main altarpiece in Llanvaneres, although none of his works survive today; the Genoese Joan Baptista Palma, documented in Vilafranca since 1596, whose altarpiece is conserved in Santa Maria in Terrassa (1611-1612), today in Sant Pere parish church;⁵⁷ and another Genoese, Jaume Giustiniano, recorded in Tarragona from 1612 until his death († 1627), two of whose large signed canvases still remain in the Saint Francis chapel in the cathedral of Tarragona.⁵⁸ The last Italian painter worth mentioning is the Savoy native from the bishopric of Nice, Lluís Gaudin, who was living with his brother Antoni in Barcelona by 1616. Shortly before he took his vows as a monk on Montserrat (1627), he painted the main altarpiece in Saint Martin in Teià (between 1617 and 1625), the only work of his we are aware of.⁵⁹

The paintings in the Roman style by Pere Nunyes and Enric Fernandes, or by Serafí and the other advanced masters of their generation, gradually inspired the output of the local painters and studios with which they were in con-

tact. In fact, after the second third of the century, works by local painters began to appear which revealed not only extraordinary skill but also notable compositional, figurative and chromatic modernity, with updated information in which they were able to fluently harmonise, without merely copying, such diverse graphic sources as both Dürer and Raimondi-Raphael. Eloquent examples are the magnificent paintings in the Saint John altarpiece in Caselles (1537) and Saint Michael altarpiece in Prats (c. 1537), and the altarpiece of the Andorran parish church in Canillo, commissioned to Miquel Ramells and Guiu Borgonyó (we have proof that Ramells had some sort of relationship with Fernandes, Nunyes' partner, by 1531).⁶⁰ The same holds true of those rendered by the painter from Vilafranca del Penedès, Jaume Huguet I († 1606), who apprenticed with Pere Serafí (1565). He shared a studio and the majority of commissions with his son and namesake, Jaume Huguet II († 1607), although only a handful of their works still remain, namely six compartments of the Saint Roch altarpiece (c. 1591-1594), the Ànimes altarpiece (1604) and the Saint Peter and Latin Fathers altarpieces from Santa Eulàlia de Provençana church, which are conserved at the Museu de l'Hospitalet de Llobregat. The same could be said for some of the panels from the destroyed main altarpiece in Santa Maria in Vallvidrera (1597) – two panels and some fragments of which are in the museum of the monastery of Poblet, while other panels are at the Museo Provincial de Valladolid – as well as the predella of the Rosary altarpiece (c. 1597), conserved *in situ*, along with the small altarpiece dedicated to Saint Raymond of Penyafort (1601-1607) and the Triptych of Bulls in Mura (c. 1598) at the Museu Episcopal de Vic; the Sainy Hyacinth and Jeremiah Prophet panels in the Diocesan Museum of Barcelona; and a few of the ones conserved in the Museu Comarcal de Manresa.⁶¹

From the last third of the century we can report on the unusual activity of a new – and lesser – painter-poet, Benet Sanxes Galindo († 1591), who was of Portuguese extraction. He was hired to craft the main altarpiece in Sant Benet monastery in Bages (1563), which was lost in 1633; the Saint Ponç altarpiece in Manresa (1569), now at the Museu de la Seu de Manresa; and the Saint Peter of Serrateix altarpiece (1570), today at the Museu Diocesà i Comarcal de Solsona. He also painted a Saint Anne altarpiece in Monistrol and decorated the Collació hall in the monastery of Montserrat (1574-1575), and then published the book of poems *Christi Victoria* (Barcelona, 1576). In addition to decorative works like the gilding of the altarpiece in the chapel of the Palau dels Requesens (1576), there is documentation of a host of works of which no vestiges remain, while eight panels of unknown provenance are displayed at the Museu Comarcal and the Museu de la Seu de Manresa which can clearly be attributed to him. And perhaps the fragment of the Santa Eulàlia banner housed at the Museu d'Història de la Ciutat de Barcelona corresponds to the painting that Benet Sanxes commissioned in 1582 with Antoni Toreno.⁶²

Joan Sanxes Galindo († 1621), the son of Benet and a painter himself, moved to Girona. There he had a sustained output which we are aware of through documents and a few examples still conserved. Works like the Roser altarpieces in Amer (c. 1595-1605) and Camallera (1603), now at the Museu d'Art de Girona, and the one in Santa Cristina d'Aro (1612), conserved *in situ*, show fine albeit expeditious, conventional craftsmanship, often resolved with a technique that imitates engravings.⁶³ Joan Mates († 1585), a native of Sant Feliu de Guíxols and son of the painter Nicolau Mates from a long line of painters in Girona, has numerous works documented in the bishopric of Girona, but with the exception of the little Sant Pere altarpiece in the monastery of Pedralbes (c. 1570-1585), only one of the works attributed to him has survived: the shutter of the Saint John Baptist dels Fusters altarpiece (1577) in the cathedral of Barcelona, which is two-sided through an ingenious solution of architecture in perspective and tapestry.⁶⁴ Mates went to Barcelona in around 1574 with his young helper and later partner Damià Vicens (1551-1612), who entered the monastery of Sant Jeroni de la Murtra when Mates closed his studio in 1584, where he became a novice and took his vows with the Hieronymus order in September 1585. Vicens continued his work as an artist as a man of the cloth and created and oversaw numerous paintings. Six panels in the Rosary altarpiece in the parish church of Sant Martí de Tous, painted in Murtra and dated 1596, are his only remaining testimonies; however, it is enough to show his outstanding artistry.⁶⁵

Within the framework of this notable surge of local studios, which was accentuated in the last third of the 16th century and the early decades of the 17th century, we shall cite a series of painters who, in addition to the skills and ingenuity that confirm their mastery of their art and trade, had clearly become up-to-date from the standpoint of both their digestion of the Renaissance parameters and the updating of the figurative repertoires through the prints of their contemporary artists that engravers and publishers swiftly distributed. We could highlight even more names in this resurgence who contributed from places all over Catalonia, but we have to limit ourselves to a brief mention of the activity of a few of the most important artists as a sample.

One is Antoni Toreno († 1598), the son of a decorative painter by the same name from Barcelona. We have proof of his activity after he moved his studio to Mataró (1589) and executed the altarpiece of El Corredor sanctuary (1589-1590), which is still conserved *in situ*. In addition to winning the competition to paint and gild the main altarpiece in Sant Andreu de Llavaneres (1595), although it was never executed, he was also hired for other works: the Rosary altarpiece in Sant Genís de Vilassar (1592), the Saint Hiacinth altarpiece in Saint Domènec monastery in Vic (1595), Saint Eligius and Saint Anthony in Mataró (1596), the Rosary altarpiece in Santa Maria de Palautordera (1597) and the Saint James altarpiece for a private

chapel in Teià (1598). They have all vanished, with the exception of the altarpiece for El Corredor, a panel of which depicting Saint Katherine in the Museu Episcopal de Vic, and perhaps another one in the Museu de Mataró.⁶⁶

We should also note the career of the painter Antoni Peitavi († 1592), originally from Toulouse, who travelled along the entire length of the Pyrenees from La Seu d'Urgell and the Cerdanya to Perpinyà. He took a symmetrical route to what the Master of Perpinyà did centuries earlier, which he might have repeated in around 1620-1640 with the presence similar paintings, the work of an artist of that era who is still anonymous but whose style resembles that of the Rigaus and is provisionally called the Master of Ansalonga, detected from the valleys of Andorra to the beaches of Argelers in Roussillon. Antoni Peitavi started his career in Puigcerdà and then moved to Perpignan prior to 1562. From there, in association at first with the painters Josep Brell from Perpignan and Joan Perles from Peralada (1564-1565), he was hired to paint altarpieces for Cabestany, Torrelles, Viliella, Nyer, Oceja, El Puig and Vallcebolera. The ones in Oceja and El Puig are partly conserved today. After 1565, when he had a studio of his own with the franchise of the guild, he worked either alone, such as on the altarpieces of Molig and the cathedral of Perpignan (1567), or in conjunction with Miquel Verdaguer from Lleida, such as on the Saint Michel altarpiece in Ribesaltes (1569) and the Saint Fructuosus altarpiece in Iravals and Quers (1572), still conserved. In 1570, he moved his studio back to Puigcerdà. From there, Peitavi polychromed and gilded the Pietat altarpiece (1573), still conserved, and painted the Holy Week monument (1574) for the chapterhouse in La Seu d'Urgell. If not before 1565, by that time he must also have worked on local altarpieces which have survived and are attributed to him: Saint Vincent in Saneja, now in the Museu Episcopal de Vic; Saint Stephen in La Tor de Querol, from which one panel in Iravals remains; and Saint Martin in Ur, still *in situ*. Other paintings conserved in the Conflent region can also be attributed to Peitavi, such as the Rosary altarpiece in Èvol (1578) and the little Saint Lli altarpiece in Orellà (c. 1580), and in Roussillon works remain such as the re-composed Rosary altarpiece in Palau del Vidre (c. 1580-1590), probably executed with an important intervention by Miquel Verdaguer.⁶⁷

Antoni Peitavi monopolised painting in Roussillon in the last third of the 16th century, but far from leaving a void in local painting, his death (1592) and that of his associate in Lleida Miquel Verdaguer (between 1586 and 1595) gave way to a new generation of more cultivated, brilliant painters who fulfilled not only the usual commissions in parish churches but also – the more ambitious of them with more resources and discernment – the monasteries and new religious orders of the Counter-Reformation. The first series of commissions was carried out by Honorat Rigau “the Elder” († 1621), the founder of a dynasty of painters that culminated with the great Jacint

Rigau (1659-1743), a portraitist in the court of Louis XIV. Only one documented work survives today, the tabernacle of the church of Palau del Vidre (1609), although we can also confidently attribute the Montalbà altarpiece of Vallespir to him. His eldest son, Honorat Rigau “the Younger” († 1625), is the author of a single documented work, the Sant Ferriol altarpiece (1623) conserved in the convent in Perpignan, today Sant Jaume church. No works by the painter’s second son, Jacint Rigau († 1631), remain today.

In contrast, a conspicuous group of paintings, not documented, in the parish church of Argelers reflects the style of the Rigaus or a similar painter, also similar to the Andorran Master of Ansalonga: the Sants Joans altarpiece, with the sculptural carving commissioned in 1620; the Saint Isidre and Saint Galderic altarpiece, shortly after the authorisation of the work in 1626; the Rosary altarpieces which are part of a false altarpiece from the 19th century, which has been associated with Honorat Rigau “the Younger”; and six panels depicting saints also housed within a modern altarpiece in the Saint Sebastian chapel. Along the same lines, we can add the works by the painter Bartolomé González, a native of Puebla de Lilla within the bishopric of Astorga in León, who moved to Perpignan prior to 1609. He hired the Madonna altarpiece in Espirà

de l’Aglí (1616), which survives today, along with numerous works in the church in Oleta (1621-22), some of which are still *in situ*. He is also attributed the altarpieces in Calce, except for the doors; the work comes from the monastery of Els Mínims in Perpignan. Finally, González has also been attributed the Saint Antony of Padua altarpiece in Vilafranca de Conflent, and perhaps others in Vinçà and Ribesaltes.

The second series of commissions should be illustrated by mentioning at least four works, two of them quite fragmentary and two of them more complete, or almost complete, but all of them outstanding and to date anonymous: the doors of the main altarpiece in Calce; two panels in Brullà, which come from an altar in the convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Perpignan; the Sant Jacint altarpiece in Jóc, which comes from the Dominican monastery in Perpignan and seems to date from just after the canonisation of the saint (1594) – the attribution to Honorat Rigau “the Elder” seems misguided; and the main altarpiece in the Sant Genís monastery in Fontanes, dated from 1635, which has two compartments and boasts extraordinary quality in the episodes depicting the condemnation and death of Sant Genís, along with an exquisitely decorated tabernacle with a suggestive trompe-l’oeil inside.⁶⁸

The overview of Renaissance transformation of the arts summarised thus far should conclude with a mention of the most celebrated Catalan-born painter of his day, Francesc Ribalta, whose local training reveals the effective culmination of the process. He earned his well-deserved fame outside of Catalonia, but he was born in Solsona in 1565⁶⁹ and was trained and had his professional exordium in Barcelona. His personal qualities, as well as the artistic training he attained when he was around 17 years old, are revealed unequivocally in a canvas signed and dated 1582 – *Nailing to the Cross*, today at the Hermitage Museum – with which he announced himself as a painter in Madrid. In the capital of Spain, and especially in the formidable artistic hub of El Escorial, Ribalta had the occasion to acquire considerable knowledge of the art and craft of painting. In 1599 he moved to Valencia, where he worked as a painter for the remainder of his life and died in 1618.



FIGURE 8. Francesc Ribalta (1565-1618). *Nailing to the Cross*, 1582, oil/canvas, 144.5 × 103 cm. Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum (photo: Hermitage Museum).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- [1] This issue has been examined in greater depth in Joaquim GARRIGA. “L’art cincentista català i l’època del Renaixement: una reflexió”. *Revista de Catalunya* [Barcelona], no. 13 (November 1987), pp. 117-144.
- [2] Regarding the socioeconomic background of the period, see for example: Albert GARCIA ESPUCHE. *Un siglo decisivo. Barcelona y Cataluña 1550-1640*. Alianza, Madrid 1998; Xavier TORRES and Eva SERRA. “El pactisme català davant l’absolutisme dels Habsburg”. In: *Crisi institucional i canvi social: segles XVI i XVII*. Enciclopèdia Catalana, Barcelona 1997, pp. 15-68.

- [3] Cf. Marie-Hélène SANGLA. "Le déplacement du mobilier conventuel de 1790 à 1793: aux sources de la conscience patrimoniale dans les Pyrénées-Orientales". *Domitia* [Universitat de Perpinyà Via Domitia], no. 7 (2006), pp. 35-44.
- [4] For an overview of Catalan churchmen's dedication to the history of art and architecture, cf. Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. "Els eclesiàstics arqueòlegs a Catalunya". In: *The-saurus. L'art als bisbats de Catalunya 1000 / 1800*. Fundació Caixa de Pensions, Barcelona 1985, pp. 76-103. Exhibition catalogue.
- [5] His most emblematic work for the entire Modern Age must be added to the reference from note 11: Cèsar MARTINELL. *Arquitectura i escultura barroques a Catalunya*. Alpha, Barcelona 1959-1963, "Monumenta Cataloniae: collection. 3 vol.
- [6] This is an inexhaustible avalanche from which we shall only extract two examples: Josep M. MADURELL MARIMON. *Pedro Nunyes y Enrique Fernandes, pintores de retablos (Notas para la historia de la pintura catalana de la primera mitad del siglo XVI)*. Separata from *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona (1943-1944)*. Barcelona 1944; Josep M. MADURELL MARIMON. "El arte en la comarca alta de Urgel". *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, vol. IV, no. 1-2 (1946), pp. 9-172.
- [7] An essential compilation of his contributions is published in Agustí DURAN I SANPERE. *Barcelona i la seva història*. Vol. 3: *L'art i la cultura*. Curial, Barcelona 1975.
- [8] In addition to the references in note 11, we should refer to the compilation of his bibliography published by Mercè Ribas and Joan-Francesc Ainaud in *Miscel·lània en homenatge a Joan Ainaud de Lasarte*. Vol. I. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 1998, pp. 15-27.
- [9] Chandler Rathfon POST. *The Catalan School in the Early Renaissance. A History of Spanish Painting*. Vol. XII/1-2. Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.) 1958.
- [10] Marcel DURLIAT. *Les arts anciens du Roussillon*. Conseil Général des Pyrénées-Orientales, Perpignan 1954.
- [11] Cèsar MARTINELL. "L'arquitectura. L'escultura (L'art renaixentista i barroc)". In: *L'art català*. Vol. II. Aymà, Barcelona 1958, pp. 17-72; Joan AINAUD. "La pintura dels segles XVI i XVII". In: *L'art català, op. cit.*, pp. 73-124; Joan AINAUD. "Arte. El Renacimiento, el Barroco y el Neoclásico". In: *Tierras de España*. Vol. II: *Cataluña*. Noguer and Fundación Juan March, Barcelona 1978, pp. 73-132; Santiago ALCOLEA GIL. "El Renaixement". In: *Gran enciclopèdia temàtica catalana*. Vol. I: *Art a Catalunya*. Nauta, Barcelona 1983, pp. 155-188; Joaquim GARRIGA. *L'època del Renaixement*. Edicions 62, Barcelona 1986, "Història de l'art català" collection, no. IV. In conjunction with Marià Carbonell; Joaquim GARRIGA and Joan BOSCH. "L'arquitectura i les arts figuratives dels segles XVI-XVII". In: *Història de la cultura catalana*. Vol. II: *Renaixement i Barroc. Segles XVI-XVII*. Edicions 62, Barcelona 1997, pp. 193-238; Joan Ramon TRIADÓ. "Escultura moderna". In: *Art de Catalunya / Ars Cataloniae*. Vol. 7: *Escultura moderna i contemporània*. L'Isard, Barcelona 1998, pp. 12-127; Joan Ramon TRIADÓ. "Arquitectura religiosa moderna". In: *Art de Catalunya / Ars Cataloniae*. Vol. 8: *Arquitectura religiosa moderna i contemporània*. L'Isard, Barcelona 1999, pp. 10-145; Joan Ramon TRIADÓ and Rosa Maria SUBIRANA. "Pintura moderna". In: *Art de Catalunya / Ars Cataloniae*. Vol. 9: *Pintura moderna i contemporània*. L'Isard, Barcelona 2001, pp. 11-163; Antònia M. PERELLÓ FERRER. "Renaixement i Barroc. Arquitectura civil i urbanisme". In: *Art de Catalunya / Ars Cataloniae*. Vol. 3: *Arquitectura civil i urbanisme*. L'Isard, Barcelona 2003, pp. 172-243.
- [12] A historical overview of the studies of the art of the Renaissance and Baroque in Catalonia published to date can be found in Sílvia CANALDA. "Renaixement i Barroc". In: *Art de Catalunya / Ars Cataloniae*. Vol. 1: *Art i nació catalana*. L'Isard, Barcelona 2003, pp. 200-235.
- [13] For more detailed coverage, cf. Joaquim GARRIGA. "L'arquitectura religiosa gòtica del segle XVI". In: Eduard RIU-BARRERA (coord.). *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Arquitectura (Catedrals, monestirs i altres edificis religiosos, 2)*. Vol. II. Enciclopèdia Catalana, Barcelona 2003, pp. 262-287.
- [14] Regarding the construction of the cathedrals of Tortosa and Girona in the Modern Age, cf. Pere FREIXAS CAMPS. "La catedral de Girona". In: Eduard RIU-BARRERA (coord.). *L'art gòtic..., op. cit.*, pp. 288-295 (esp. pp. 293-295); Victòria ALMUNI I BALADA. "La catedral de Tortosa". In: Eduard RIU-BARRERA (coord.). *L'art gòtic..., op. cit.*, pp. 296-298.
- [15] More information, with bibliographic references, is found in Joaquim GARRIGA. "L'arquitectura religiosa gòtica...", pp. 270-280.
- [16] Cf. Eduard JUNYENT. *La ciutat de Vic i la seva història*. Curial, Barcelona 1976, pp. 187-192; *Catàleg del Patrimoni Arquitectònic Històrico-Artístic de la Ciutat de Barcelona*. Ajuntament de Barcelona, Barcelona 1987, plates no. 707 (Ardiaca), no. 670 (Padellàs) and no. 499 (Marquès de Llió).
- [17] Cf. *Catàleg del Patrimoni Arquitectònic..., op. cit.*, plates no. 756 (Centelles) and no. 508 (Cervelló-Giudice).
- [18] Little more was preserved of Casa Gralla, which was torn down in 1856 and is only known from documents and a handful of pictures and drawings, than the galleries on the courtyard, which are reconstructed today in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat (1996). Cf. Agustí DURAN I SANPERE. "La Casa Gralla". In: *Barcelona i la seva història*. Vol. 1: *La formació d'una gran ciutat*. Curial, Barcelona 1972, pp. 535-541; *El patio de la Casa Gralla. Una reconstrucció*. Prosegur, Madrid 1997; Joaquim GARRIGA. "La peripècia de la casa Gralla i un quadern d'Elies Rogent de 1856". *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi* [Barcelona], vol. XVIII (2004), pp. 211-231. Regarding the drawings by Soler Roviroso (1857), cf. Xavier de SALAS. "Escultores renacientes en el Levante español". *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, vol. I, no. 1 (1941), pp. 80-84; Judith UR-

- BANO. *Eclecticisme i arquitectura. August Font i Carreras (1845-1924)*. Dux, Barcelona 2013, pp. 150-155; Judith URBANO. "Noves aportacions sobre la façana i el pati de la Casa Gralla". *Matèria. Revista Internacional d'Art*, no. 8 (2014), pp. 157-168.
- [19] Cf. Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. *El Palau de la Generalitat, del gòtic al primer Renaixement*. Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona 2003.
- [20] The complete history of the work with its vicissitudes – the construction, sacred furnishings, additions, destructions and reconstructions until the recent restoration – is thoroughly documented and explained in Francesc Xavier ALTÉS I AGUILÓ. *L'església nova de Montserrat (1560-1592-1992)*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 1992; cf. too Joaquim GARRIGA. "L'arquitectura religiosa gòtica...", pp. 280-283.
- [21] Magdalena MÀRIA I SERRANO. *Renaixement i arquitectura religiosa. Catalunya 1563-1621*. Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, Barcelona 2001, pp. 67-130; Joaquim GARRIGA. "L'arquitectura religiosa gòtica...", pp. 283-287; Cebrià BARAUT. *Santa Maria del Miracle*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 2001 (1st ed. 1962), pp. 32-33.
- [22] Beyond the seminal publication by Joan Francesc RÀFOLS. *Pere Blay i l'arquitectura del Renaixement a Catalunya*. Associació d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, Barcelona 1934, and with regard to the works and the masters or architects from what is called the "Escola del Camp" (School of El Camp), cf. Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. *L'escola del Camp de Tarragona en l'arquitectura del segle XVI a Catalunya*. Tarragona, 1986; Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. *L'arquitectura classicista a Catalunya (1545-1659)*. Doctoral thesis. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 1989. Microfiche no. 969, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 1991; Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. "Mossèn Jaume Amigó i l'església d'Ulldemolins". In: *L'església de Sant Jaume d'Ulldemolins*. Ulldemolins 1995, pp. 7-89; Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. "Antoni Agustí i la capella del Santíssim Sagrament de la catedral de Tarragona". In: *Antoni Agustí, bisbe de Lleida i arquebisbe de Tarragona (1517-1586)*. Amics de la Seu Vella, Lleida 1995, pp. 217-248; Magdalena MÀRIA I SERRANO. *Renaixement i arquitectura religiosa...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-230.
- [23] Cf. Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. "L'expansió cap a tramuntana. L'obra dels Ferrer". In: Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. *El Palau de la Generalitat...*, pp. 13-24; Joaquim GARRIGA. "L'obra nova de la part de Sant Jaume". In: Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. *El Palau de la Generalitat...*, pp. 61-75. Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. "Una església vestida de palau, tant insigne e singular y de tant gran cost y gasto". In: Marià CARBONELL I BUADES (dir.). *El Palau de la Generalitat de Catalunya. Art i arquitectura*, vol. II, Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona 2015, pp. 432-487.
- [24] Cf. Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. "Pintura religiosa i pintura profana en inventaris barcelonins, ca. 1575-1650". *Estudis Històrics i Documents dels Arxius de Protocols*, vol. XIII (1995), pp. 137-190. Examined in greater depth until the 17th century, cf. Santi TORRAS TILLÓ. *Pintura catalana del barroc. L'auge colleccionista i l'ofici de pintor al segle XVII*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, Universitat de Girona, Universitat de Lleida and Universitat de Tarragona, Barcelona 2012, "Memoria Artium" collection, no. 11, pp. 90-136.
- [25] Cf. Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA. "Relleus renaixentistes amb bustos de Cèsars i de Virtuts de la 'collecció' de Miquel Mai". *D'Art*, no. 15 (1989), pp. 135-166; Joan BELLSOLELL MARTÍNEZ. "Notícies sobre Miquel Mai, el seu retrat i la decoració artística del seu casal barceloní". *Locus Amoenus*, no. 10 (2009), pp. 103-111.
- [26] Rodolfo GALDEANO CARRETERO. "La sèrie iconogràfica dels comtes i comtes-reis de Catalunya-Aragó, del pintor Filippo Ariosto, per al Palau de la Generalitat de Catalunya (1587-1588). Art, pactisme i historiografia". *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*, no. 7 (2003), pp. 51-70; Rodolfo GALDEANO CARRETERO. "Historiografia i iconografia: la sèrie icònica dels comtes de Barcelona del Palau de la Generalitat de Catalunya (1587-1588)". *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, vol. 25 (2006), pp. 375-409.
- [27] Joan YEGUAS GASSÓ. *El mausoleu de Bellpuig. Història i art del Renaixement entre Nàpols i Catalunya*. Saladrigues, Bellpuig 2009; Joan YEGUAS GASSÓ. *La glòria del marbre a Montserrat. Els sepulcres renaixentistes de Joan d'Aragó, Bernat de Vilamarí i Benet de Tocco*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 2012; Joan YEGUAS GASSÓ. "Jeroni Descoll, una trajectòria com a polític i mecenes". *Pedralbes. Revista d'Historia Moderna*, no. 18 (1) (1998), pp. 349-362; Jaume MARQUÈS CASANOVAS. "El bisbe de Girona Guillem Boil i el seu mausoleu". *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, vol. XXXII (1993), pp. 65-77.
- [28] Joan YEGUAS I GASSÓ. *L'escultor Damià Forment a Catalunya*. Universitat de Lleida, Lleida 1999, pp. 127-154; Carmen MORTE GARCÍA. *Damián Forment, escultor del Renacimiento*. Caja Inmaculada, Zaragoza 2009, pp. 307-315.
- [29] Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. "La producció artística del coro de la catedral de Barcelona en la època del Toisón de Oro". In: Ernest BELENGUER CEBRIÀ (coord). *De la unió de coronas al Imperio de Carlos V*. Vol. 3. Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V. Madrid 2001, pp. 181-214; Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. "Bartolomé Ordóñez i el cor de la catedral de Barcelona". *Locus Amoenus*, no. 5 (2001), pp. 117-147; Joan BOSCH I BALLBONA. "Pedro Villar, Claudi Perret, Gaspar Bruel i el rerecor de la catedral de Barcelona". *Locus Amoenus*, no. 5 (2001), pp. 149-177.
- [30] Regarding these sculptors and many others who were active in the first third of the century, cf. Josep M. MARDURELL MARIMON. "Escultores renacentistas en Cataluña". *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*,

- vol. v, no. 3-4 (1947), pp. 205-339; Pere FREIXAS. "Documents per a l'art renaixentista català. L'escultura gironina a la primera meitat del Cinccents". *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, vol. xxviii (1986), pp. 245-279; Joaquim GARRIGA. "Un 'escultor sin obra' del siglo XVI: 'mestre Joan de Tours, imaginaire, ciutadà de Barcelona'". In: *Estudios de arte. Homenaje al profesor Martín González*. Universidad de Valladolid, Valladolid 1995, pp. 343-355; Montserrat JARDÍ ANGUERA. "L'aportació dels escultors alemanys a la producció catalana de retaules de finals del segle XV". *Locus Amoenus*, no. 9 (2007-2008), pp. 79-99.
- [31] Xavier de SALAS. "Damià Forment i el monestir de Poblet". *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, no. XIII (1928), pp. 445-484; Xavier de SALAS. "Escultores renacientes en el Levante español". *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, vol. I, no. 1 (1941), pp. 79-92; vol. I, no. 2 (1942), pp. 35-87; vol. I, no. 3 (1943), pp. 93-118; Agustí ALTISENT. *Història de Poblet*, Abadia de Poblet, L'Espluga de Francolí, 1974, pp. 426-433; Joan YEGUAS I GASSÓ. *L'escultor Damià Forment...*, *op. cit.*; Carmen MORTE GARCÍA. *Damián Forment...*, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 266-287 and 297-326.
- [32] Xavier de SALAS. "Escultores renacientes...", vol. I, no. 3, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-118; Josep M. MADURELL MARIMON. "Los maestros de la escultura renaciente en Cataluña. Martín Díez de Liatzasolo". *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, vol. III, no. 1 (1945), pp. 7-62; Joan YEGUAS I GASSÓ. "Sobre l'escultor Martí Díez de Liatzasolo (circa 1500-1583)". *Locus Amoenus*, no. 5 (2001), pp. 179-194.
- [33] Ximo COMPANYY. "Las portadas clásicas del claustro de la Seu Vella". In: *Congrés de la Seu Vella de Lleida. Actes*. Pagès, Lleida 1991, pp. 295-310.
- [34] Cf. Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA. "Escultores y retablos renacentistas en Cataluña (c. 1500-1640)". In: M. Carmen LACARRA DUCAY (coord.). *Retablos esculpados en Aragón. Del Gótico al Barroco*. Institución Fernando el Católico, Zaragoza 2002, pp. 259-302.
- [35] Fernando MARÍAS. "Esteban Jordán, Francisco de Mora y el retablo mayor de Montserrat". *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* [Valladolid], no. XLVIII (1982), pp. 383-389; Francesc Xavier ALTÉS I AGUILÓ. *L'església nova...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-109 and 149-153; Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA. "Els avatars i els artistes del retaule de Sant Pere de Reus: una revisió documental". *D'Art*, no. 16 (1990), pp. 173-181; Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA. *El retaule major de la prioral de Sant Pere de Reus*. Edicions del Centre de Lectura and Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, Reus 1997; Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. "La façana renaixentista de Santa Maria de Montblanc". In: Joan FUGUET and Carme PLAZA (ed.). *Història de la Conca de Barberà. Història de l'art*, Cossetània, Valls 2008, pp. 332-337; Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. *Agustí Pujol. La culminació de l'escultura renaixentista a Catalunya*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, Universitat de Girona, Universitat de Lleida and Universitat de Tarragona, Barcelona 2009, "Memoria Artium" collection, no. 7.
- [36] In addition to the works cited in note 11, cf. Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia. El canvi de model en la pintura catalana del segle XVI: el bisbat de Girona*. Museu d'Art de Girona, Girona 1998. Exhibition catalogue; Sofia MATA DE LA CRUZ. *La pintura del Cinc-cents a la diòcesi de Tarragona (1495-1620)*. Diputació de Tarragona, Tarragona 2005; Mauro SALIS. *Rotte mediterranee della pittura. Artisti e committenti tra Sardegna e Catalogna nella prima età moderna*. Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, Perpignan 2015.
- [37] That is, they did not understand the point as the projection of the eye or the vantage point within the painting, and therefore they did not grasp the necessary unification of all the objects depicted: the necessary unity of the painting as a scene – as a "cross-section of the visual pyramid" in Alberti's terms. And they failed to relate the diagonal to the distance between the eye and the painting, and therefore never drew the diagonal from a point of distance, meaning the rotation of the viewpoint over the horizon of the painting. Therefore, in these paintings not only is there no construction with a vanishing point, the very concept of a commensurable distance between the eye that is looking that the thing seen does not exist. The graphic procedure and the very idea of the precise reduction of things according to the position they occupy within the painting and their distance from the eye-point is absent from these painters' spatial practices. Cf. Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA. *Qüestions de perspectiva en la pintura hispànica del segle XVI. Criteris d'anàlisi perspectiva i aplicació al cas de Catalunya*. Doctoral thesis. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 1990 (digital publication: <http://hdl.handle.net/2445/35608>).
- [38] We shall limit the bibliographic information to the spatial behaviour of the painters mentioned: cf. Joaquim GARRIGA. "Imatges 'amb punt': el primer ressò de la perspectiva lineal en la pintura catalana vers 1490-1500". *D'Art*, no. 16 (1990), pp. 59-79; Joaquim GARRIGA. "L'impianto spaziale di dipinti catalani e sardi del Quattrocento e due passi del *Libro dell'arte* di Cennino Cennini". In: Caterina LIMENTANI VIRDIS and Maddalena BELLAVITIS (ed.). *Nord/sud. Presenze e ricezioni fiamminghe in Liguria, Veneto e Sardegna (secoli XV e XVI). Prospettive di studio e indagini tecniche*. Il Poligrafo, Padova 2007, pp. 61-71 and 182-185, plate IX.
- [39] Rafael CORNUDELLA. "El Mestre de la Llotja de Mar de Perpinyà (alias Mestre de Canapost; alias Mestre de la Seu d'Urgell)". *Locus Amoenus*, no. 7 (2004), pp. 137-169.
- [40] For all the painters from Roussillon, cf. Marcel DURLIAT. *Les arts anciens...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-159 ("VII. La Renaissance"). Regarding the Master of Llupià, cf. Jean-Bernard MATHON (dir.). *Le Maître de Llupià. Un peintre en Roussillon au début du XVIIe siècle. Découverte-restaura-*

tion. Silvana, Perpignan, 2013. Exhibition catalogue. A text containing references on the painting context: Stéphanie DOPPLER. "Peindre en Roussillon au début du xvie siècle", pp. 27-33. Regarding the painter's artistic culture: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. "Le Maître de Llupià: la mystérieuse identité d'un peintre centro-européen en Roussillon", pp. 34-42.

- [41] Joaquim GARRIGA. "De noms dits a noms escrits: una hipòtesi sobre l'antropònim del pintor 'Aine Bru'". In: Xosé AVIÑO (ed.). *Miscel·lània Oriol Martorell*. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 1998, pp. 267-279; Rafael CORNUDELLA. "Aine Bru. Retaule de Sant Cugat. Sant guerrer, 1502-1507". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, op. cit., pp. 45-51; Joaquim GARRIGA. "Biogr. 2. Aine Bru (Heine de Bruyn?), notícies 1500-1510? (†)". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, op. cit., pp. 178-179; Rafael CORNUDELLA. "Aine Bru. Santo guerrero (¿San Cándido?), 1502-1507". In: MAURO NATALE (comiss.). *El Renacimiento Mediterráneo*. Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid 2001, pp. 574-578. Exhibition catalogue (Madrid and Valencia, 2001); Joaquim GARRIGA and Rafael CORNUDELLA. "Aine Bru: l'itinéraire méridional d'un peintre du Brabant". In: Jean-Louis BIGET (ed.). *Sainte-Cécile d'Albi et le décor peint à la première Renaissance*. Éditions Midi-pyrénéennes, Portèth de Girona 2015, pp. 69-79.
- [42] Regarding Pere de Fontaines, cf. Joan MOLINA I FIGUERAS. "Pere de Fontaines. Retaule de Sant Feliu. Epifania, c. 1515-1518". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, op. cit., pp. 52-54; Joaquim GARRIGA. "Biogr. 5. Pere de Fontaines, notícies 1500-1518 (†)". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, op. cit., pp. 189-191. Regarding engravings, we should first note that with regard to Catalonia, the issue is examined in a study by Diego ANGULO. "Durero y los pintores catalanes del siglo xvi". *Archivo Español de Arte*, no. xvii (1944), pp. 327-330. Among current scholars, Joan Bosch has studied the phenomenon extensively — spanning the entire figurative output of the Modern Age, situating it within the general frame of art and documenting it quite extensively. For example, cf. Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. "La culture artistique au service de l'art de dévotion: exemples en Catalogne à l'époque moderne". In: Sophie DUHEM (dir.). *L'art au village. La production artistique des paroisses rurales (xvi^e-xviii^e siècles)*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes 2009, pp. 167-189.
- [43] Cf. Sofia MATA DE LA CRUZ. "El retaule de Santa Maria Magdalena de Santes Creus (1510-1511)". In: *Imatges de la Llegendada Daurada. El retaule de Santa Maria Magdalena de Santes Creus*. Tarragona 1997, pp. 50-69. Exhibition catalogue (Tarragona 1997-1998); Isabel COLL MIRABENT. *Els Credeça, pintors del segle xvi*. Grup d'Estudis Sitgetans, Sitges 1998; Joaquim GARRIGA. "Joan de Borgonya. Retaule de Sant Feliu, Sant Feliu davant de Rufi, 1519-1520"; "Joan de Borgonya. Retaule de Santa Úrsula i les Onze mil verges, Santa Úrsula, c. 1520-1523"; "Joan de Borgonya. Reliquiari de la Verònica. Mare de Déu amb el Nen, Jesucrist Salvador, c. 1520-1523"; "Biogr. 1. Joan de Borgonya, notícies 1503-1525 (†)". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, op. cit., pp. 55-61, 62-69, 70-75 and 175-177; Pere FREIXAS. "Joan de Borgonya. Retaule de Sant Cebrià d'Esponellà. Calvari. 1520-1522". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, op. cit., pp. 76-78; Joaquim GARRIGA. "Joan de Borgonya, pintor del xix^e capítol de la orden del Toisón de Oro". In: Ernest BELENGUER CEBRIÀ (coord.). *De la unió de coronas...*, op. cit., pp. 121-180; Joan-Hilari MUÑOZ SEBASTIÀ. "El pintor Joan de Borgonya al bisbat de Tortosa: els retaules d'Horta de Sant Joan i Arenys de Lledó". *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, no. 82 (2006), pp. 307-321; Joan YEGUAS. "Joan de Burgonya. Negativa de sant Andreu a fer sacrificis a l'ídol. Flagel·lació de sant Andreu (Col·lecció particular)". In: Cristina MENDOZA and Maria Teresa OCAÑA (dir.). *Convidats d'honor*. Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona 2009, pp. 196-201. Exhibition catalogue.
- [44] The Santa Helena altarpiece, a commission by the beneficiary of the cathedral of Girona, Narcís Simon, was documented in Pere FREIXAS. "Documents per a l'art renaixentista català. La pintura a Girona durant el primer terç del segle xvi". *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, vol. xxvii (1985), p. 176, no. 25 and doc. 6; Pere FREIXAS. "El pintor Pere Fernández a Girona". *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, vol. xxxii (1993), pp. 79-95. A comprehensive study of the altarpiece, which also examined the complex parallel question of the identification — especially by a group of Italian scholars — of its author, Pere Fernández, as the painter working in Italy tentatively known as Pseudo-Bramantino, can be found, along with all the corresponding bibliographic information, in Joaquim GARRIGA. "Antoni Norri i Pere Fernández. Retaule de Santa Helena, 1519-1521"; "Biogr. 4. Pere Fernández, notícies 1519-1520"; "Biogr. 14. Antoni Norri, notícies 1517-1519". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, op. cit., pp. 79-92, 182-188 and 213-214. Cf. the recent publication, written from a different perspective as well as bibliographic information (until 2007), by Mario MARUBBI. "Pere Fernández. L'apòstol sant Felip. L'apòstol Jaume. Crist de Pietat (Cremona, Museo Civico Ala Ponzone)". In: Cristina MENDOZA and Maria Teresa OCAÑA (dir.). *Convidats d'honor*, op. cit., pp. 202-209.
- [45] Joaquim GARRIGA. "Sobre el pintor Perot Gascó (segle xvi)". *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*, no. 1 (1993), pp. 117-143; Miquel MIRAMBELL I ABANCÓ. "Joan Gascó. Retaule de Sant Joan Baptista. Sant Jaume. 1527-1528"; "Pere Gascó. Retaule de Sant

- Esteve. Resurrecció de sis morts davant les relíquies de sant Esteve. Enterrament de sant Esteve a la sepultura de sant Llorenç, c. 1529 i 1546"; "Biogr. 6, Joan Gascó, not. 1503-1529 (+)"; "Biogr. 7, Pere o Perot Gascó, c. 1502/05-1546 (+)". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, op. cit., pp. 93-95, 103-105, 192-193 and 194-195; Miquel MIRAMBELL I ABANCÓ. *La pintura del segle XVI a Vic i el taller dels Gascó*. Patronat d'Estudis Osonencs, Vic 2002; Rafael CORNUDELLA. "La pintura de la primera meitat del segle XVI al Museu Episcopal de Vic". *Locus Amoenus*, no. 6 (2003), pp. 145-185; Miquel MIRAMBELL I ABANCÓ. "Joan Gascó". In: Joan SUREDA (coord.). *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura, III: Darreres manifestacions*, Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, Barcelona 2006, pp. 274-281; Marc SUREDA I JUBANY. "Sant Bartomeu destruïnt l'ídol, de Joan i Perot Gascó (MEV 64). Nova aportació a la col·lecció de pintura renaixentista del Museu Episcopal de Vic". *Quaderns del Museu Episcopal de Vic*, no. 3 (2009), pp. 143-169; Stéphanie DOPPLER. "Un Gascó à Perpignan (1542)". *Quaderns del Museu Episcopal de Vic*, no. 5 (2012), pp. 79-95.
- [46] Miquel Àngel ALARCIA. "C1 a C 4. Francesc Espinosa. Pere Mates. El retaule de Sant Icle i Santa Victòria de Millàs", "C5-6. Pere Mates. Retaule de Sant Pere de Montagut". In: Miquel Àngel ALARCIA (ed.). *El Renaixement a Catalunya: l'Art*, Ajuntament de Barcelona, Barcelona 1986, pp. 51-56. Exhibition catalogue (Fundació Joan Miró, 1983); Miquel Àngel ALARCIA. "Pere Mates. Retaule de Santa Magdalena"; "Pere Mates. Retaule de Sant Pere Cercada"; "Pere Mates. Epifania". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, op. cit., pp. 96-97, 98-100 and 101-102; Joaquim GARRIGA. "La geometria espacial de Pere Mates". *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, vol. XXXI-II (1994), pp. 527-562; Joaquim GARRIGA. "Biogr. 11. Pere Mates, c. 1490/95-1558". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, op. cit., pp. 205-207.
- [47] Isabel Coll. *L'edifici i el retaule de l'Hospital de Sant Joan de Sitges*. Grup d'Estudis Sitgetans, Sitges 1990; Rafael CORNUDELLA. "La pintura de la primera meitat...", op. cit., pp. 182-183; Rafael CORNUDELLA. "Epifania. Jaume Forner, c. 1530-1550". In: Marià CARBONELL, Anna CASTELLANO and Rafael CORNUDELLA (comiss.). *Pedralbes. Els tresors del monestir*. Ajuntament de Barcelona, Barcelona 2005, pp. 155-157. Exhibition catalogue (Museu Monestir de Pedralbes, 2005).
- [48] The painter has been known by the conventional name of the Master of Balaguer since the publication of Chandler Rathfon POST, *The Catalan School...*, op. cit., pp. 280-285. Cf. Joaquim GARRIGA. "El retaule de l'església de Sant Salvador de Balaguer". In: *El Mestre de Balaguer (segle XVI)*. Museu Comarcal de la Noguera, Balaguer 1995, pp. 9-20; Joan-Hilari MUÑOZ. "Els Garret i la capella de l'Assumpció de la catedral de Tortosa". In: *Butlletí Arqueològic*, no. 25 (2003), pp. 301-316, esp. p. 313; Joaquim GARRIGA. "Baltasar Gui, antes denominado 'Mestre de Balaguer'. San Cristóbal, San Roque, ca. 1525-1530". In: *Obras maestras del Museo de Montserrat en BBVA: de Caravaggio a Picasso*. Palacio del Marqués de Salamanca, Madrid 2008, pp. 84-87. Exhibition catalogue; Teresa THOMSON LLISTERRI. "El conjunto de tablas renacentistas de Santa María la Mayor". In: *Catálogo artístico y monumental del Bajo Aragón*, Fundación Quílez Llisterri, Alcanyis 2012 (http://www.fqll.es/catalogo_detalle.php?id=266); Jacobo VIDAL FRANQUET. "Blai Guiu, pintor de Lérida: un nombre para los maestros de Balaguer y Alcañiz". *Artigrama*, no. 28 (2013), pp. 341-348.
- [49] Sofia MATA DE LA CRUZ. *La pintura del Cinc-cents...*, op. cit., pp. 217-233 (Masters of Alforja and Pere de Cardona) and 261-274 (Francesc Olives).
- [50] Josep M. MADURELL MARIMON. *Pedro Nunyes y Enrique Fernandes...*, op. cit.; Nicole DACOS. "Il 'criado' portoghese di Michelangelo: il Maestro della Madonna di Manchester, ossia Pedro Nunyes". *Bollettino d'Arte*, no. LXXVII (1993), pp. 29-46; Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. "Pere Nunyes i Henrique Fernandes. Retaule de Sant Sever. Martiri de sant Sever, Trasllat de les relíquies de sant Sever"; "Biogr. 3. Henrique Fernandes, not. 1525-1546 (+)"; "Biogr. 15. Pere Nunyes, not. 1513-1556". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, op. cit., pp. 106-110, 180-181 and 215-218; Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. "Un 'miracle' per a Pere Nunyes". *Locus Amoenus*, no. 6 (2002-2003), pp. 229-256.
- [51] Josep M. MADURELL MARIMON. *L'art antic al Maresme*. Caixa d'Estalvis Laietana, Mataró 1970, pp. 67-68, doc. 42; Francesc MIRALPEIX VILAMALA. "Precisions sobre el Pare Etern del Museu de Mataró". *Rescat*, núm 18 (2010), p. 16 (https://www.academia.edu/2011967/Precisions_sobre_la_taula_Pare_Etern_del_Museu).
- [52] Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. "Pere Serafi, Jaume Forner II i Jaume Fontanet II. Retaule de Sant Romà de Lloret. El turment de la llengua, Pujada al Calvari, 1541-1555"; "Pere Serafi i Jaume Fontanet II. Retaule de Sant Martí d'Arenys de Munt. Els sants Abdó i Senén davant Deci, 1543-1546"; "Biogr. 20. Pere Serafi, not. c. 1534-1567 (+)". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, op. cit., pp. 111-116, 117-121 and 227-229; Santi TORRAS TILLÓ. "El 'retaule de santa Bàrbara' de Castellar del Vallès i la qüestió de la formació artística de Pere Serafi". *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*, no. 4 (2000), pp. 181-189; Nicole DACOS. "Un raphaélesque calabrais à Rome, à Bruxelles et à Barcelone: Pedro Seraphin". *Locus Amoenus*, no. 7 (2004), pp. 171-196.
- [53] Josep M. MADURELL MARIMON. "Petro Paulo de Montalbergo, artista pintor y hombre de negocios". *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, vol. III, no. 3 (1945), pp. 195-229; Joaquim GARRIGA. "Petro Paulo de Montalbergo. Retaule de Sant Vicenç de Malla. Oració de Jesús a Getsemaní. 1554"; "Petro Paulo de Montalbergo. Retaule de la Resurrecció, c. 1582-83"; "Biogr. 13. Pietro Paolo de Montalbergo, not. 1548-1588 (+)". In: Joan

- BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-128, 129-133 and 210-212; Joaquim GARRIGA. "Pietro Paolo de Montalbergo, pintor italià, ciutadà de Barcelona". In: *Miscel·lània en homenatge a Joan Ainaud de Lasarte*. Vol. II. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 1999, pp. 5-40. For a more compressed version in Italian, cf. Joaquim GARRIGA. "Un pittore monferrino del Cinquecento in Catalogna: Pietro Paolo de Montalbergo, o de Alberghis". *Bollettino della Società Piemontese di Archeologia e Belle Arti*, no. XIX (1997), pp. 101-117.
- [54] For a detailed account of late Mannerism, cf. Antonio PINELLI. *La bella Maniera. Artisti del Cinquecento tra regola e licenza*. Einaudi, Turin 1993, esp. "Il tramonto della Maniera", pp. 166-200.
- [55] Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA. "Els avatars i els artistes...", *op. cit.*, pp. 173-181; Sofia MATA DE LA CRUZ. *Isaac Hermes Vermei, el pintor de l'Escola del Camp*, Diputació de Tarragona, Tarragona 1992; Marià CARBONELL I BUADES. "Antoni Agustí i la capella...", *op. cit.*, pp. 229-236; Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA. *El retaule major...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-47, 58-60, 102-110, 163-164 and 166; Marià CARBONELL. "Isaac Hermes Vermei. Retaule de Santa Maria de Palamós. Adoració dels pastors, Epifania, 1594-1596"; "Biogr. 8. Isaac Hermes (Isaac Hermansz Vermei), not. c. 1566-1596". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-137 and 196-198; Sofia MATA DE LA CRUZ. *La pintura del Cinc-cents...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-320.
- [56] The painter is finally the subject of a study that does him justice: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. "El periple pictòric d'un pintor milanès a Catalunya: Joan Baptista Toscano, actiu entre 1599 i 1617". *Locus Amoenus*, no. 11 (2012), pp. 97-127.
- [57] Josep M. MADURELL MARIMON. "Unos retablos de Bautista Palma, pintor genovés, de los Conventos Capuchinos de Olot, Lérida y Blanes". *Estudios Franciscanos*, no. 50 (1949), pp. 453-463; Rafael CORNUDELLA. "Joan Baptista Palma. Retaule de Santa Maria de Terrassa. Epifania, Martiri de sant Esteve, 1611-1612"; "Biogr. 16. Joan Baptista Palma (o Battista Palmaro), not. 1609-1631". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-146 and 219-220.
- [58] Marià CARBONELL BUADES. "Angèlica Justiniano, una pintora catalana del segle XVII". In: *Miscel·lània. Homenatge a mossèn Jesús Tarragona*, La Paeria, Lleida 1997, pp. 373-384; Sofia MATA DE LA CRUZ. *La pintura del Cinc-cents...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-381.
- [59] Francesc Xavier ALTÉS I AGUILÓ. *L'església nova...*, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Teresa AVELLÍ. "Lluís Gaudin. Aparició de la Mare de Déu, santa Tecla i santa Agnès a sant Martí (1617-1625)". In: Joan BOSCH and Marina OROPESA (ed.). *Llums del Barroc*. Fundació Caixa de Girona, Girona 2004, pp. 44-45. Exhibition catalogue; Santi TORRAS TILLÓ. *Pintura catalana...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-202.
- [60] These paintings, among com others, had been grouped under the conventional name of the Master of Canillo based on Chandler Rathfon POST, *The Catalan School...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 364-378. A fortunate search by Joan Bosch Ballbona in the Arxiu Nacional d'Andorra, as part of the studies for the "Catàleg d'època moderna a Andorra", exhumed the contractual document of the Sant Joan altarpiece in Caselles agreed to between the parish leaders of Canillo and the painters Miquel Ramells and Guiu Borgonyó (7 July 1537). This catalogue, with the corresponding study of the paintings, is currently at press: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Francesc MIRALPEIX VILAMALA. *L'Art d'època moderna a Andorra (segles XVI-XVIII)*. Govern d'Andorra, Andorra la Vella 2016. Meantime, cf. Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. "Els retaules de Sant Miquel de Prats i de Sant Joan de Caselles". In: *Benvinguts a casa vostra! Les obres d'art patrimonials fora d'Andorra*. Govern d'Andorra, Andorra la Vella 2014, pp. 99-109.
- [61] Alícia SUÀREZ. "Jaume Huguet I. Retaule de Sant Roc. Mort de sant Roc. 1594". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162; Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. "Biogr. 9. Jaume Huguet I, c.1540/7-1606 (†). Jaume Huguet II, not. 1573-1607 (†)". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-201; Irene ABRIL VILAMALA. "Les taules de sant Ramon de Penyaforat del Museu Episcopal de Vic (MEV 772-774). Una nova mostra de la pintura del taller dels Huguet". *Quaderns del Museu Episcopal de Vic*, no. 5 (2012), pp. 97-116.
- [62] Joaquim GARRIGA. "Benet Sanxes Galindo, pintor i poeta del segle XVI a Catalunya". *Estudi General*, no. 21 (2001), pp. 69-129.
- [63] Dora SANTAMARIA COLOMER. "Joan Sanxes Galindo. Retaule del Roser. Pentecosta i Nativitat, Resurrecció i Anunciació. 1603". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-166; Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. "Joan Sanxes Galindo. Retaule de Santa Cristina d'Aro. Mort de santa Cristina. 1612"; "Biogr. 19. Joan Sanxes Galindo, not. 1586-1621 (†)". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-172 and 225-226.
- [64] Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. "Joan Mates. Retaule de Sant Joan Baptista dels fusters. Sarges. 1577"; "Biogr. 10. Joan Mates, not. 1570-1585 (†)". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-151 and 202-204; Joan BOSCH BALLBONA. "Retaule de Sant Pere. Joan Mates. 1570-1585". In: Marià CARBONELL, Anna CASTELLANO and Rafael CORNUDELLA (comiss.). *Pedralbes...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-161.
- [65] Sergi PLANS. "Damià Vicens. Retaule del Roser. Nativitat, Adoració dels reis, Resurrecció"; "Biogr. 22. Damià Vicens, 1551-1612 (†)". In: Joan BOSCH BALLBONA and Joaquim GARRIGA RIERA (ed.). *De Flandes a Itàlia...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-155 and 232-233; Carme GIRALT, Rosa JUNYENT and Sergi PLANS. *El retaule del Roser de Sant*

Martí de Tous. Centre d'Estudis Comarcals d'Igualada, Sant Martí de Tous 1998; Santi TORRAS TILLÓ. *Pintura catalana...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 146-205.

- [66] Cf. Joaquim GARRIGA. "El retaule major de Nostra Senyora del Socors i la formació del santuari cincentista de la serra del Corredor". *Locus Amoenus*, no. 6 (2002-2003), pp. 187-227.

- [67] Cf. Marcel DURLIAT. *Les arts anciens...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-185 ("VIII. Antoine Peytavi").

- [68] Cf. Marcel DURLIAT. *Les arts anciens...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-223 ("IX. Honoré Rigau et Barthélemy Gonzalez").

- [69] Josep M. MADURELL MARIMON. "Francisco Ribalta, pintor catalán". *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, vol. v, no. 1-2 (1947), pp. 9-31.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Joaquim Garriga's research has focused on topics related to the Renaissance in Europe, particularly in Italy and Catalonia. He has studied treatises and other texts on artistic activity from modern Europe. He researches the genesis of modern procedures of representing perspective and its spread around painters' studios in the 15th and 16th centuries, especially in artisan milieus. He studies Renaissance architecture (religious, civil and rural), sculpture and painting in Catalonia from both a theoretical and aesthetic framework and from a socioeconomic and cultural standpoint. He has contributed to scholarly studies aimed at documenting and disseminating Catalonia's historical and artistic heritage. He is a member of the "History of the Art of the Renaissance and Baroque" research group at the Universitat de Girona.