

# A Renaissance Spanish knight in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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AN ALABASTER FUNERARY monument of a Spanish kneeling knight on display in the Gothic Gallery of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has until now remained unattributed and its sitter unknown (Fig. 1). Thanks to recent archival research both the knight and his sculptor can be identified and the sculpture's journey from Zamora to Boston can be described.

In 1592, the sculptor Antonio Falcote died in Zamora. His will, drafted on 14th June of that year, contains a list of the various sculptural commissions he had started to work on in the city and the bishopric of Zamora.<sup>1</sup> Prominent among them were two very similar sculptural monuments. One was the tomb of Antonio de Sotelo, placed in his own chapel in the church of S. Andrés in Zamora; a second tomb was not clearly identified: from the will we learn only that Falcote was making a tomb for the church of a monastery dedicated to S. Pablo, but we can now prove that it was the tomb of Alonso de Mera in the church of the monastery of S. Pablo and S. Ildefonso in Zamora. Both tombs owed their existence to the Patronato Indiano, which had been instituted by the Spanish monarchy to establish new religious foundations both in the Spanish Indies and in Spain. Antonio de Sotelo and Alonso de Mera had made their fortunes in Panama and Peru respectively and now wished to found institutions in their home city of Zamora. The supervision of the construction of the two foundations was entrusted to Gregorio de Sotelo, the executor of both estates.

Alonso de Mera was born in Benavente, a town near Zamora, and emigrated to Peru, where he amassed a considerable fortune.<sup>2</sup> On his return to Spain he decided to found a convent, but his health was failing and he could not supervise the work himself, only managing to leave instructions for the building in his will before he died on 22nd May 1553. In it he granted his executors full powers, charging them to build the convent according to his instructions. It was to be for Hieronymite nuns under the patronage of St Pablo and St Ildefonso, and an annual sum of 200,000 maravedís was set aside for its upkeep. The convent was obliged to receive three of his female relations who

would enjoy certain financial privileges. To ensure full compliance with the terms of the will 'according to the form and manner in which you or whomsoever of your applicants or agents, or those appointed, should execute my wishes as expressed', de Mera appointed as executors Gregorio de Sotelo, Alvaro de Guja of Benavente and Diego Grijalba de Robledo of Salamanca. De Guja and Grijalba de Robledo were to draw up an inventory of De Mera's estate, while Sotelo's responsibilities were heavier: he was to supervise the plans for the construction of the convent, seek out specialised builders and craftsmen, and choose the designs.<sup>3</sup>

Building work began in about 1555 after a plot of land,<sup>4</sup> already chosen by the patron, was purchased near the ancient church of S. Pablo.<sup>5</sup> The Romanesque church was demolished in the same year and the new one begun. From 1564 the work was carried out by Pedro de Ibarra and Pedro del Casar, presumably the architects of the project.<sup>6</sup> The church must have been completed before Ibarra's death in about 1568,<sup>7</sup> well within the deadline of three and a half years agreed with the new administrators appointed after the death of Gregorio de Sotelo in 1565. The new administrators were Hieronymite monks and included Brother Jerónimo de Alabiano, prior of the monastery of S. Jerónimo, Zamora.<sup>8</sup> Work on the convent proceeded slowly, and the list of builders and craftsmen involved in the construction was long. However, we know that by 1572 the building was inhabited.

During the following years, work on the construction of the living quarters continued. It was perhaps at this time, in the 1580s, that plans for De Mera's tomb were drawn up and contracted. Once again, De Mera's wishes, set out in his will of 1553, '*Institución, dotación y fundación*' (Establishment, endowment and foundation), were of crucial importance. He instructed that his body should be buried in the main chapel of the convent under a simple slab and forbade the installation of any other tombs in the chapel, the construction of arcosolia or the erection of any monuments or effigies along the walls of the nave. However,

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<sup>1</sup> S. Samaniego Hidalgo: 'El retablo zamorano a finales del siglo XVI: Montejo y Falcote', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 46 (1980), pp.331 and 342-46.

<sup>2</sup> Valladolid, Archivo de la Real Chancillería (cited hereafter as ARChV), Pleitos Civiles, Masas (F), inv. no.C. 3239-2, 4th September 1554-10th June 1556, Zamora.

<sup>3</sup> Document cited at note 2, also the executor of the will in ARChV, Registro de Ejecutorias, inv. no.C. 881-51

<sup>4</sup> Document cited at note 2.

<sup>5</sup> F. Ferrero Ferrero: 'La configuración urbana de Zamora durante la época románica', *Studia Zamorensia* 8 (2008), p.29.

<sup>6</sup> Once the plots of land had been bought it seems the work was entrusted to Juan

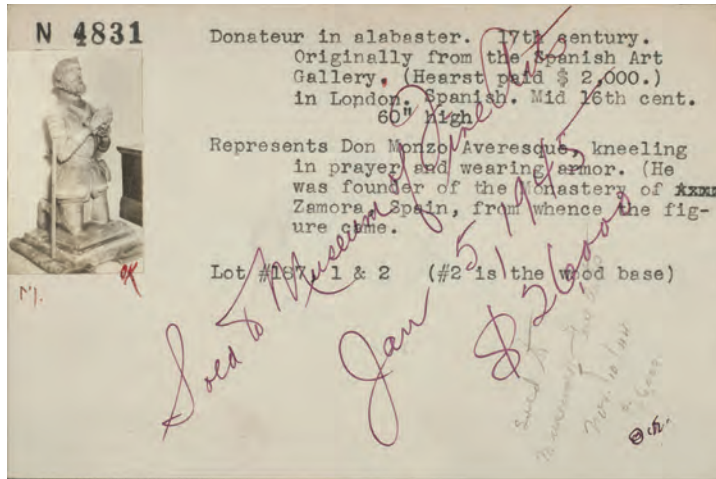
de Buega, Pedro de Ibarra and Pedro del Casar, although the extent and nature of their contribution are unknown; see A. Ramos Monreal and J. Navarro Talegón: 'El convento de San Pablo: Ambiente y contratiempos de una fundación monástica', *Studia Zamorensia* 3 (1982), pp.81-119, esp. p.84.

<sup>7</sup> C. Fernández Duro: *Memorias históricas de la ciudad de Zamora, su provincia y obispado*, Madrid 1883, II, p.335; M. Gómez-Moreno: *Catálogo Monumental de España, Provincia de Salamanca*, Valencia 1967, p.272.

<sup>8</sup> Although there has been controversy as to why the friars took on Gregorio de Sotelo's role, to our minds it was solely due to his death on 13th October 1565; see Fernández Duro, *op. cit.* (note 7), I, p.331. Sotelo's management was harshly criticised, as noted in the inquiry into the lawsuit against Juan Fernandez de Benavente; this also mentions another litigation with his first cousin's heir 'in order that the memory of the dead man should not be lost', and for having arranged matters 'against the will of the dead man'. In 1603 the Zamora council was informed of the negligence and delay in the foundation of the monastery; its members spoke to the bishop and the Cathedral chapter to ensure that the project was correctly executed; see F.J. Lorenzo Pinar: *Conventos femeninos y vida religiosa en la ciudad de Zamora*, Zamora 2004, p.46.



1. *Funerary statue of Alonso de Mera*, by Juan de Montejo. 1594. Alabaster, 152.4 by 63.5 by 77.5 cm. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).



2. Collection card N4831 for the funerary statue of Alonso de Mera, from the records of the Brummer Gallery, New York. Before 28th November 1940. (Digital copy in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Thomas J. Watson Library).



3. Reconstruction of the monument to Alonso de Mera, by Antonio Falcote and Juan de Montejo. (Drawing by M.A.M. Bailón).

Gregorio de Sotelo, the executor of the will, before his death in 1565, had made some radical alterations to the instructions left by the deceased.<sup>9</sup> First, he ordered the opening of an arcosolium in the wall of the north side, in which was to be placed an alabaster figure of De Mera, shown kneeling, with hands outstretched in prayer and his face turned towards the high altar. At the base of this monument an inscription was to bear the name of the founder of the convent, to signal the place of his burial. De Mera had decreed that his natural son and heir,<sup>10</sup> Pedro de Mera, and his descendants to four generations should be buried in this tomb. The rest of the chapel floor was reserved for other members of his family and for those who endowed places in the convent for nuns, although all free-standing monuments were forbidden. De Sotelo, however, wilfully misinterpreted the will and planned things very differently. He authorised the installation of other arcosolia in the walls of the chapel and tombs in the nave of the church, specifying that they should not interfere with the founder's monument. These additional tombs would raise an annual sum of 20,000 maravedís for the church.

Until his death, Gregorio de Sotelo was also patron of his brother Antonio's foundation in the church of S. Andrés, and it seems clear that he wished to enlarge both buildings. In the case of his brother's foundation, he did not confine himself to following Antonio's instructions: lavish by nature, he also pledged money from his own estate. At S. Pablo and S. Ildefonso, on the other hand, funds for the foundation were much more limited, so some of Gregorio's changes can be attributed to economic necessity. Thus, his lax interpretation of the will in allowing more burials in the chapel was intended to swell the church's meagre income, which would in turn increase the number of nuns in the convent.

Whatever the truth of the matter, we know from Antonio Falcote's will that in 1592 the funerary monument of De Mera had not yet been installed in the church, although if we are to believe Falcote, it was nearly complete. There was no news of the project over the following two years, but some information is provided by a document in which Falcote's property was divided between his widow, Catalina de Ribera, and his nieces María and Juliana de Quiñones. The property left to his widow included 20 reales realised by the sale of some alabaster to 'Montexo', who can be identified as the sculptor Juan de Montejo, and six other blocks, costing one ducado and 18 reales, may have also been sold to him.<sup>11</sup> De Montejo's role in the transaction is confirmed in the documents left by Catalina, who records a payment of 100 reales on account for the work undertaken by the sculptor at S. Pablo (c.1592–94).<sup>12</sup> Bearing these and other payments in mind, it would appear that the monument to De Mera was installed in the main chapel of the church of S. Pablo by 1594 at the latest. Also in 1594, a quantity of sandstone was delivered to the church for the construction of a niche at a cost of 16 reales;

<sup>9</sup> Ramos Monreal and Navarro Talegón, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.84.

<sup>10</sup> ARChV, Registro de Ejecutorias, inv. no.C. 2354–5.

<sup>11</sup> Zamora, Archivo Histórico Provincial, Protocolo 536, fols.1130, 1132 and 1134v, September 1594, Zamora. We could surmise that the alabaster still in Falcote's house was not part of the 111 quintals (1 quintal equals 46 kilograms) that he had obtained in 1581 from the heirs of Juan de Juni; see M.A. Fernández Del Hoyo: 'Datos para la biografía de Juan de Juni', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 57 (1991), pp.333–40, esp. p.334; L. Vasallo Toranzo: *Sebastián Ducete y Esteban de Rueda: Escultores entre el manierismo y el Barroco*, Salamanca 2004, p.97; M.A. Fernández Del Hoyo: *Juan de Juni escultor*, Valladolid 2012, p.74.

<sup>12</sup> Ramos Monreal and Navarro Talegón, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.102.



4. Detail from the tomb of Simón de Galarza and Antonia Rodríguez, by Juan de Montejo. c.1583. Stone, 460 by 260 by 110 cm. (Convent of Discalced Carmelites, Alba de Tormes).

another 7 reales were paid to a mason involved in the construction. Once these tasks had been completed the alabaster was delivered, three porters being required to carry it; each porter was paid one real.<sup>13</sup> Only the appraisal of the monument remained to be carried out and this was entrusted to the sculptor Francisco de Ribas, who charged 4 reales for his work. Sadly, De Ribas's evaluation of Montejo's work does not survive.

Over the subsequent centuries the monastery of S. Pablo and S. Ildefonso failed to attract funds and its revenue fell,<sup>14</sup> and after the Napoleonic wars the subsequent process of exclaustation led to the neglect and abandonment of monasteries. Yet in 1861 José María Quadrado claimed that the church was still virtually complete, with a Gothic nave and rib vault, the statue of the founder still kneeling in the chancel in a Renaissance niche, and at his feet a beautiful pageboy lay sleeping on his helmet.<sup>15</sup> In 1883, Fernández Duro praised the church for its beauty, the breadth of its rectangular nave, its elegant vaults, magnificent high altar and the monument to its founder, and he lamented the government's decision to sell the land. In 1895, Eduardo J. Pérez described the alabaster figure on the north side of the chancel as a knight in full armour with his helmet and gauntlets at his feet. He was the first person to transcribe the epitaph attached to the lower part of the monument: 'Here lies the honourable knight Alonso de Mera, who founded and endowed this church and convent in the year 1553'.<sup>16</sup> The last description of S. Pablo was given by Gómez-Moreno, who compiled a catalogue of the monuments of Zamora (1903–05). Although the church apparently did not interest him

greatly, he wrote that the statue of the founder of the church was shown kneeling 'within a seventeenth-century arch'.<sup>17</sup> His comments, however, must be based on Quadrado's description, for by the time Gómez-Moreno visited the convent the statue had already been sold, apparently in 1901.

We now know that the statue ended up at the Spanish Art Gallery in London. This gallery was established in 1898 at 44 Conduit Street by the antiques dealer Lionel Harris (1862–1943) and his son Tomás Harris (1908–64), who took over from his father in the 1930s.<sup>18</sup> The family had close ties with Spain. Lionel's wife, Enriqueta Rodríguez y León, was from Seville and also belonged to a family of antiques dealers. The Harrises scoured the country in search of treasures. Some objects were purchased on the spot, others through the shop they ran for many years in Madrid; many items were exported to their gallery in London. In spite of the closure of the Madrid shop in 1900, Lionel maintained fruitful contacts with Spain, and during the early years of the twentieth century acquired church monuments – tombs and effigies – of exceptional quality. These included the tomb of García de Osorio and Doña María de Perea, bought in 1906 from the town of Ocaña in the province of Toledo (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) and tombs from the monastery of S. Francisco de Cuéllar, purchased from the Duke of Albuquerque in 1905 (Hispanic Society of America, New York). In 1912 the Harrises obtained the tomb from the cathedral of Valladolid, then identified as that of Juan Ruiz de Vergara, but more recently as that of Brother Martin de Duero Monroy (St

<sup>13</sup> Document cited at note 11, fols.1135, 1135v, 1137 and 1138, September 1594, Zamora.

<sup>14</sup> Lorenzo Pinar, *op. cit.* (note 8), pp.43–55; J.M. Quadrado and F.J. Parcerisa: *Recuerdos y bellezas de España, Valladolid, Palencia y Zamora*, Barcelona 1861, p.417.

<sup>15</sup> The year of De Mera's death is also given, presumably taken from his epitaph.

<sup>16</sup> Fernández Duro, *op. cit.* (note 7), II, pp.260–61; E.J. Pérez: *Guía del viajero en Zamora*, Zamora 1895, p.32.

<sup>17</sup> M. Gómez-Moreno: *Catálogo monumental de España, Provincia de Zamora*, Madrid 1927, pp.179–80.

<sup>18</sup> S.L. Stratton-Pruitt: 'Lionel Harris, Tomás Harris, The Spanish Art Gallery

(London) and North American Collections', in S.L. Pérez Mulet and I. Socías Batet, eds.: *La dispersión de objetos de arte fuera de España en los siglos XIX y XX*, Barcelona 2011, pp.303–11; J.M. Merino de Cáceres and M.J. Martínez Ruiz: *La destrucción del Patrimonio artístico español. W.R. Hearst: 'El gran acaparador'*, Madrid 2013, pp.145–46 and 243–51; M.J. Martínez Ruiz: 'Depredadores de conventos: Comercio de antigüedades en el entorno de las clausuras españolas', in E. Alsina Galofré and C. Beltrán Catalán, eds.: *El reverso de la historia del arte: Exposiciones, comercio y coleccionismo (1850–1950)*, Gijón 2015, pp.171–200; see also Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: <http://www/mfa.org/collections/object/kneeling-knight-128531>, accessed 23rd February 2014.



5. Detail of St Joseph from the *Nativity of Christ*, by Juan de Montejo. c.1598. Polychromed wood, overall dimensions 200 by 170 cm. (Chapel of Cardinal Mella, Zamora Cathedral).



6. Detail of Fig. 1.

John's, Clerkenwell).<sup>19</sup> To this list we should now add the statue from the convent of S. Pablo and S. Ildefonso in Zamora.

The Harrises sold the statue to William Randolph Hearst, who valued it at \$2,000,<sup>20</sup> and shipped it to America, possibly for one of his properties, which included a castle at San Simeon in California; he had already bought other works of art from the Harrises for this property. By 1938, however, Hearst's business empire was in crisis. On 28th November 1940, possibly against his own better judgment, Hearst consigned the Spanish statue for sale, and a few days later an auction of his property was held at the Saks Gallery on Fifth Avenue, New York,<sup>21</sup> many of the items being sold for much less than the tycoon had paid for them.

<sup>19</sup> M. Trusted: 'A Work by Esteban Jordan: An Effigy of a Spanish Knight of the Order of St John', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 52 (1987), pp.351–59; *idem*: *Spanish Sculpture: A Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London 1996, pp.23–28; J. Urrea: 'Caballeros de la orden de San Juan de Malta en Valladolid', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 75 (2009), pp.157–68; B.I. Gilman: *Catalogue of Sculpture (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries) in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*, New York 1930, pp.3–29.; M. Levkoff: 'William Randolph Hearst's Gifts of European Sculptures to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art', *Sculpture Journal* 4 (2000), pp.161–71.

<sup>20</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Thomas J. Watson Library, Digital Collections: The Brummer Gallery Records (hereafter cited as Brummer Records), (<http://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/landingpage.collection.p16028coll9>), Collection cards N4831r–v and N4832r–v; accessed 11th November 2015.

<sup>21</sup> Merino de Cáceres and Martínez Ruiz, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp.408 and 617–21.

<sup>22</sup> Founded in Paris in 1909 by John Brummer (1883–1957). In 1914 he and his brother Imre transferred to New York to expand the business, eventually setting up premises in the heart of the art dealers' district. The third brother, Ernest, remained in Paris to manage the shop. The business was successful until the German invasion

of Paris in 1940 forced Ernest into exile in New York; see C.E. Brennan: 'The Brummer Gallery and the Business of Art', *Journal of the History of Collections* 27, 3 (2015), pp.455–68.

Thus, for \$1,000, exactly half of the amount it had cost Hearst, the Brummer brothers of East 57 Street, New York, were able to buy the statue (Fig.2). Added to the lot was a table 'from the period of Henry II' of France. Ironically, after years of being a prestigious client of the Brummers, Hearst now became their supplier, either in person or through various auctions. Between 1924 and 1949 during the Great Depression and the post-War period, the Brummer Gallery, under Joseph Brummer (1883–1947), played an important role in the formation of many of the great American collections.<sup>22</sup> Among its beneficiaries were municipal and university museums and institutional collections. It was a particularly good

of Paris in 1940 forced Ernest into exile in New York; see C.E. Brennan: 'The Brummer Gallery and the Business of Art', *Journal of the History of Collections* 27, 3 (2015), pp.455–68.

<sup>23</sup> According to the Brummer papers, the sale took place on 10th November. An invoice confirms payment was made on 5th January 1945; Brummer Records, collection cards N4831r–v; sold inventory binder no.1, p.4 and New York Ledgers: sales 1st January 1940, 31st December 1946, pp.114–15; accessed 11th November 2015. It is worth noting that according to the Register of Institutions (Address Cards: Institutions: Museum of Fine Arts, M20-Nf\_r), the Brummers did business with the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in particular. A date entry appears that predates the final sale. On 28th April 1944 an agreement was made with a Mr J.L. Smith for \$35,000 for the item 'N 4831 Kneeling life-size figure of a donor', undoubtedly our sculpture; accessed 11th November 2015.

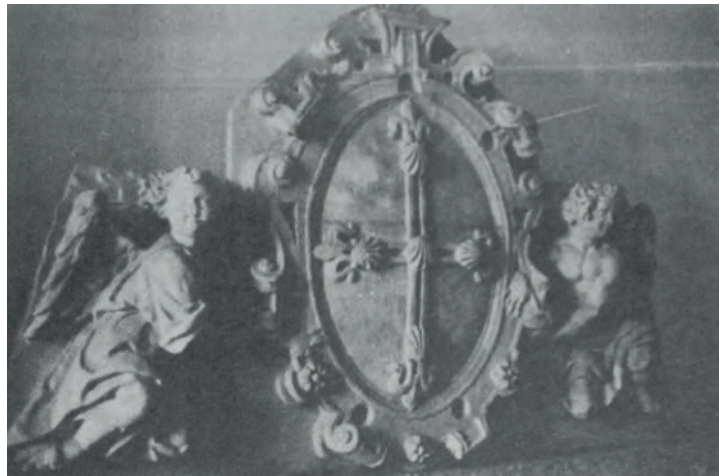
<sup>24</sup> When it was acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts it was attributed to Pompeo Leoni; see G. Swarzenski: 'A Statue by Pompeo Leoni and its Relation to Greco', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 43, 253 (1945), pp.42–53.

<sup>25</sup> L. Vasallo Toranzo: 'A propósito del escultor Juan de Montejo', *Goya* 299 (2004), pp.68–79.

time for purchasing for the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. On 9th November 1944, the Brummer Gallery sold the statue of the Spanish knight to the Boston Museum for \$26,000.<sup>23</sup>

Now that the statue's provenance is established, we need to consider its sculptor.<sup>24</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century, Juan de Montejo was the most important sculptor in Zamora and Salamanca. Thanks to the popularity of his work with clients in those cities he was able to maintain two studios, one in each city, for most of his professional life.<sup>25</sup> He was responsible for several funerary monuments in the monastery of the Discalced Carmelites in Alba de Tormes, all carved in stone from Villamayor,<sup>26</sup> including those of Francisco Velázquez (d.1574) and Teresa Laiz (d.1583). The esteem in which this and other double tombs were held, still *in situ* although somewhat altered, was such that he was given further commissions, such as that to sculpt the praying figures of the banker Simón Ruiz and his various wives in Medina del Campo, although this was never made because of the sculptor's death in 1601.<sup>27</sup>

Thanks to Gregorio de Sotelo's description and the details given by late nineteenth-century chroniclers we can reconstruct an approximate image of the original appearance of De Mera's funerary monument (Fig.3). Stylistic analysis of the effigy, plus the original documentary evidence, suggests Juan de Montejo was indeed the sculptor.<sup>28</sup> The figure is shown in full armour, with all the symmetry and rigidity that this implies, which makes it difficult to distinguish the sculptor's style. Nevertheless, it has elements in common with the recumbent figure of Simón de Galarza, lying beside his wife, Antonia Rodríguez, in the monastery of the Discalced Carmelites in Alba de Tormes (c.1580–83; Fig.4), or the figure of St Joseph in the wooden nativity group in the chapel of Cardinal Mella in Zamora Cathedral (c.1598; Fig.5), carved at the height of Montejo's career.<sup>29</sup> All these figures share sharp facial features that convey a certain spiritual tension combined with strong naturalism (Fig.6). The sculptor's skill with the chisel allowed him to represent the knight's tightly curling hair, forked pointed beard and the central tuft of hair on his forehead. Other characteristics that recur in Montejo's work are the open mouth – influenced by Juan de Juni – and the disposition of the hands, with the third and fourth fingers together, a detail borrowed from Mannerist prints. The attention to detail and the exceptional quality of the carving are evident in the treatment of the armour, with its rivets, mouldings and buckles, in the skirt just showing beneath the armour and the delicately rucked fabric at the wrists and neck of De Mera. No



7. Pediment of the tomb with two cherubs holding an oval shield bearing the arms of Alonso de Mera, by Juan de Montejo. 1594. Alabaster, dimensions unknown. (Whereabouts unknown; photograph courtesy of J. Navarro).

trace is visible of the pageboy or of the helmet and gauntlets that once appeared at the knight's feet. They may have become separated from the group, and did not reach the Brummer Gallery with the rest of the monument; nothing has been found in the inventories that could match their description.<sup>30</sup>

The ancient monastery of S. Pablo and S. Ildefonso in Zamora suffered a worse fate. Increasingly ruinous, it was finally demolished in the 1970s. The remains of the founder's tomb apparently stayed in place to the bitter end and then were moved to a private collection in Zamora.<sup>31</sup> The decorative border of the niche carved from local sandstone was recovered; it consisted of a plain entablature projecting at either end above the façade and a cornice fitted to the entablature. Supporting this were two pilasters decorated with plant motifs on two brackets bearing Mannerist decorations. Most interesting of all was the pediment on which two kneeling cherubs supported an oval shield bearing the arms of De Mera: a floral cross with five scallop shells (Fig.7).<sup>32</sup> The muscular cherubs, their fine vestments and the treatment of the faces and hair are all in the style of Juan de Montejo.<sup>33</sup> This would seem to confirm the fact that, after the death of Antonio Falcote, Montejo took over the sculpture of the monument. Falcote was best known as an *entallador*, a craftsman who carved intricate decorative motifs, rather than as a sculptor of figures, like Montejo. The relief was sold to an antiques dealer in Madrid in the 1990s, since when all trace of it has been lost. But in compensation we have the rediscovery of the funerary statue of Alonso de Mera.

<sup>26</sup> A. Casaseca and S. Samaniego Hidalgo: 'El testamento de Juan de Montejo', *Studia Zamorensia* 9 (1988), pp.37–41; J.L. Gutiérrez Robledo: 'El proceso de construcción de la iglesia del convento de la Anunciación de Carmelitas Descalzas de Alba de Tormes', *Actas del Congreso V Centenario del Nacimiento del III Duque de Alba Fernando Alvarez de Toledo*, Ávila 2008, pp.683–716.

<sup>27</sup> Casaseca and Samaniego Hidalgo, *op. cit.* (note 26), p.41; M. Arias Martínez, J.I. Hernández Redondo and A. Sánchez del Barrio: *Catálogo monumental de la provincia de Valladolid, Medina del Campo*, Valladolid 2004, XIX, pp.37–38.

<sup>28</sup> Boston Museum of Fine Arts: <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/kneeling-knight-128531>; accessed 23rd February 2014. When the museum bought the sculpture it was said to represent a certain 'Monzo Aversque, founder of a monastery in Zamora'. Both this identification and the provenance from Zamora are shown in the files of the Brummer Gallery. According to the Brummers, the statue was carved in the seventeenth century; however, when Hearst bought it in London it had been dated to the sixteenth century.

<sup>29</sup> L. Vasallo Toranzo: exh. cat. *Kyrios: Las Edades del Hombre*, Salamanca (Cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo) 2006, pp.163–64, no.48.

<sup>30</sup> The seventeenth-century helmet and gloves recorded in an acquisitions book

belonging to the Brummer Gallery might raise some hopes. These items were acquired at an earlier date, however, 20th July 1927, from Charnoz, New York, for 1,500 French francs (\$58.95 at the rate of exchange of the day); this explains the French origin always attributed to them. In addition, they were carved in grey marble, not in alabaster; materials apart, the differences in carving and decoration are substantial – as can be appreciated by looking at the buckles, mouldings and rivets. Brummer Records, collection cards P4049r–v and New York Ledgers, Purchase Book 1927–28, p.13; accessed 11th November 2015. On 22nd December 1948 the helmet and gloves were sold as part of a lot containing over one hundred items to the Fogg Museum, Harvard University, accessioned in 1949 (collection card N536); inv. no.1949.47.24, <http://www.harvardartmuseum.org/collections/object/311485?position=179>; accessed 15th February 2016.

<sup>31</sup> Ramos Monreal and Navarro Tategón, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.96, note 68.

<sup>32</sup> The bosses from the church vault, partially preserved in a private collection in Zamora, also show these arms; they are not those of the Order of Santiago, as has been claimed, although Alonso de Mera was a member of the order.

<sup>33</sup> Ramos Monreal and Navarro Tategón, *op. cit.* (note 6), pp.96 and 102, were already aware of the remains. They also attributed the reliefs to Montejo.