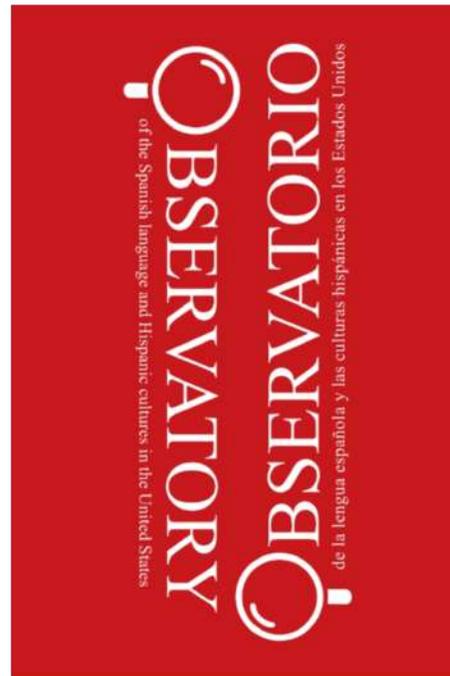
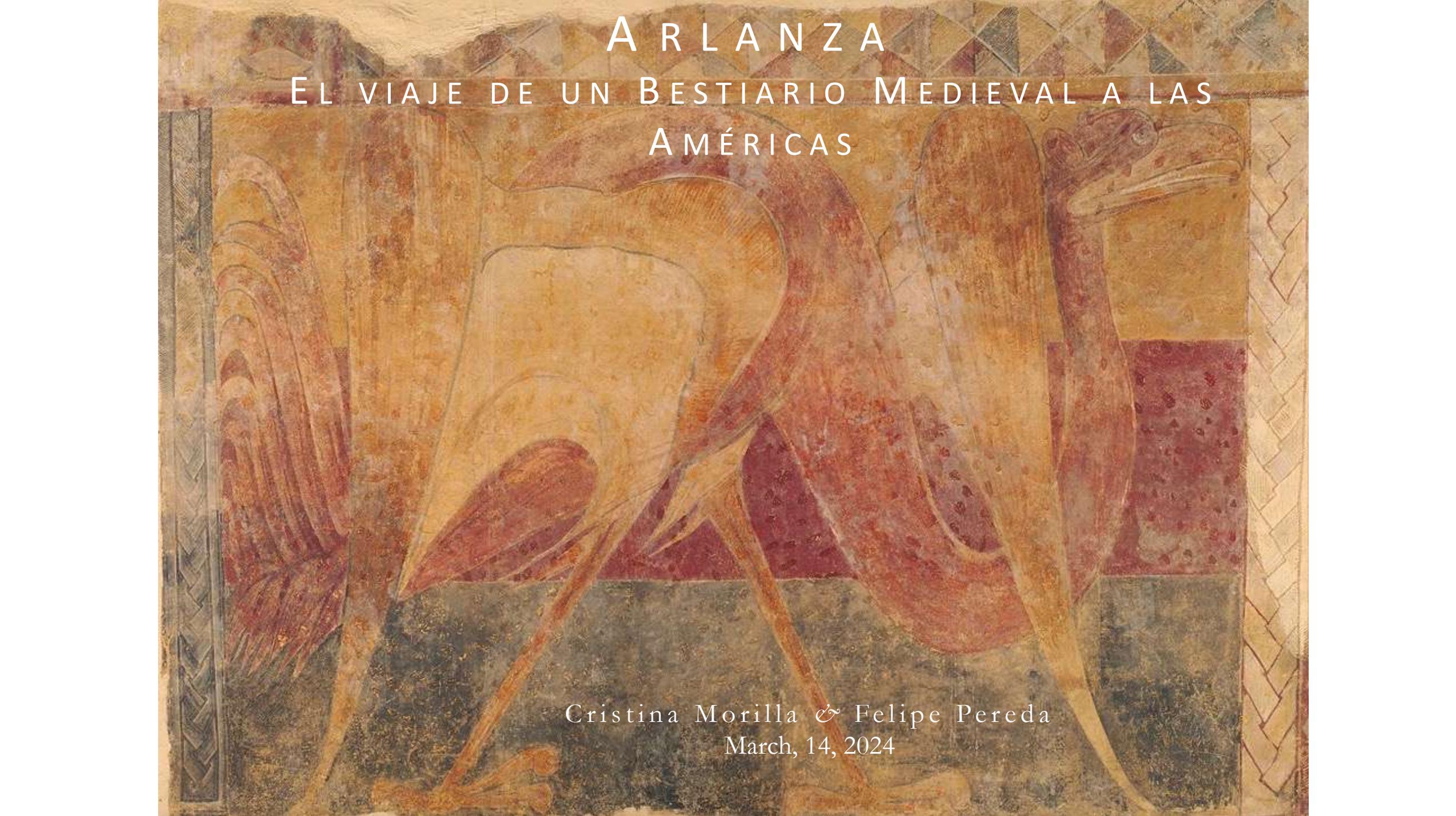


MATERIALES DEL OBSERVATORIO

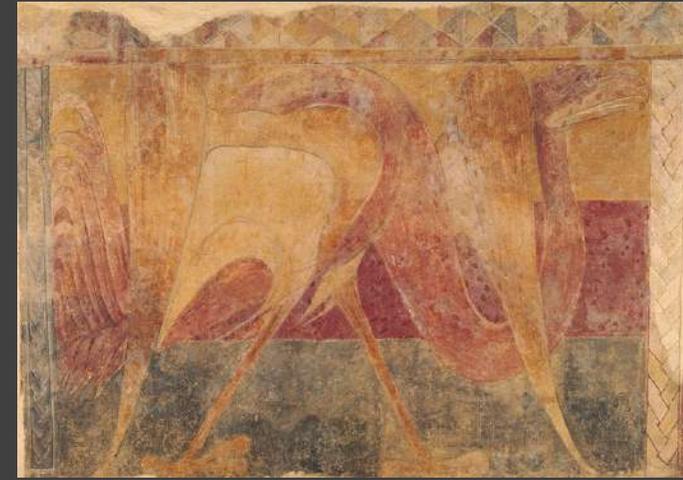
OBSERVATORIO MATERIALS





ARLANZA
EL VIAJE DE UN BESTIARIO MEDIEVAL A LAS
AMÉRICAS

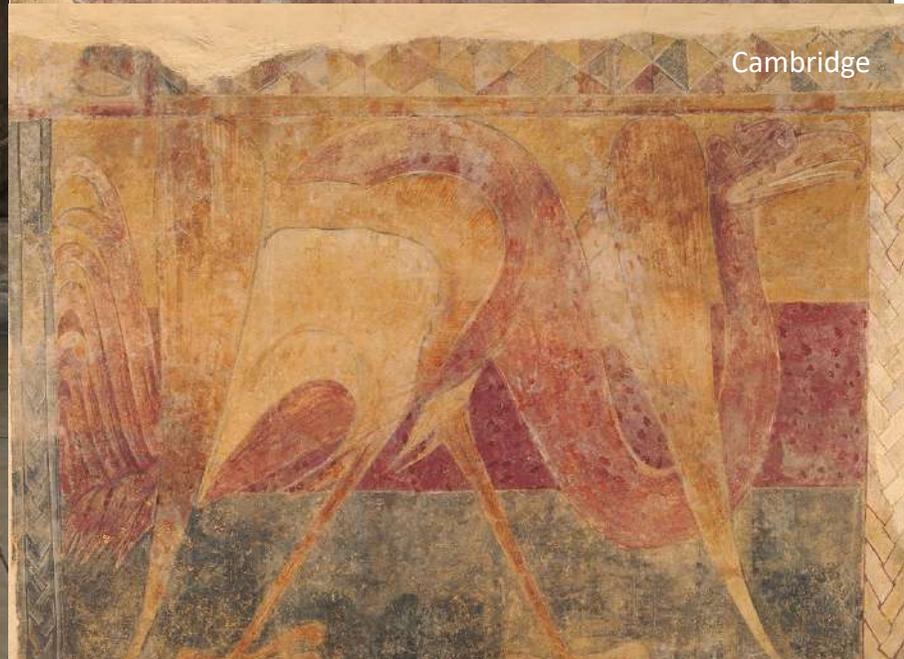
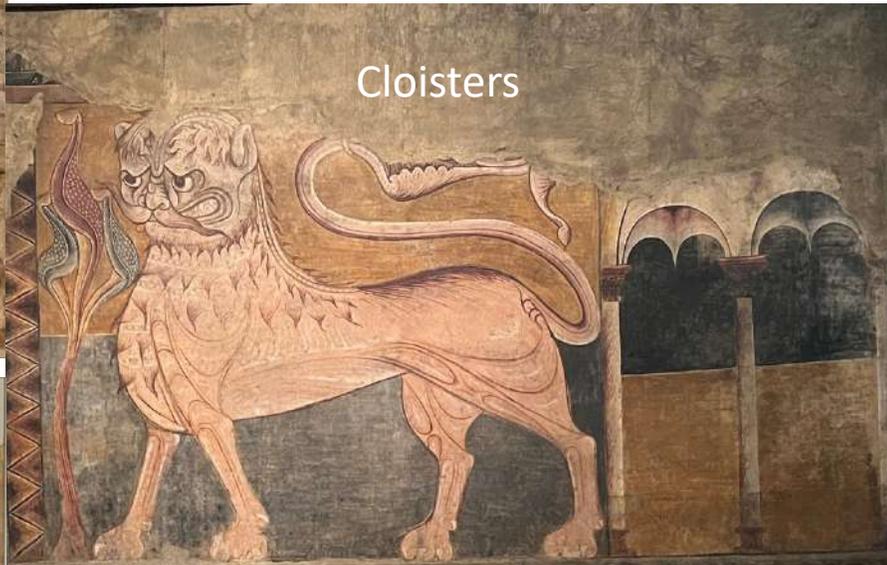
Cristina Morilla & Felipe Pereda
March, 14, 2024



Harvard Art Museums



SAN PEDRO DE ARLANZA



Cloisters

Cloisters

Recuperación

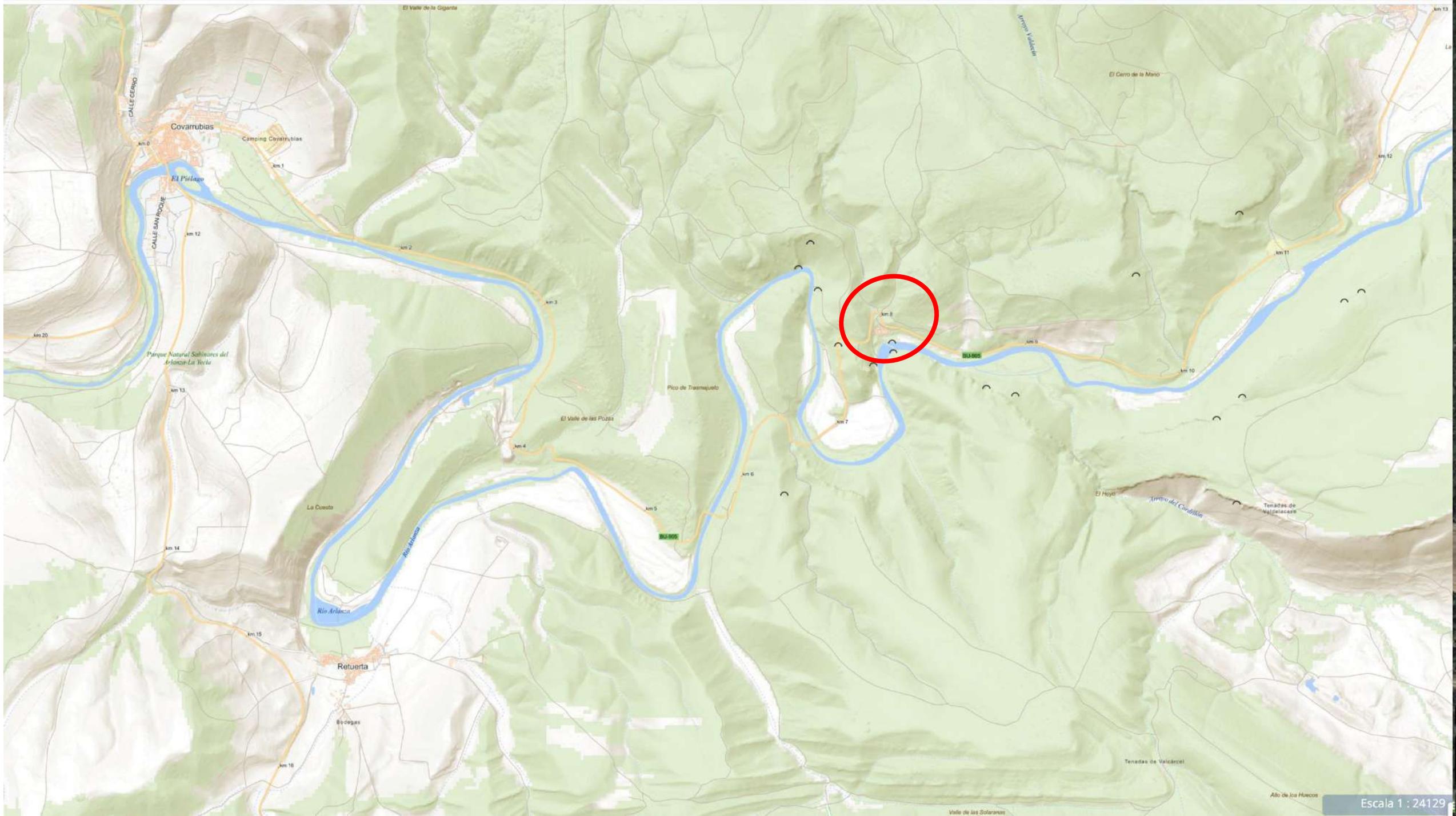
Estudio y docencia

Exposición

Cambridge

I.

SAN PEDRO DE ARLANZA





The image shows the interior courtyard of the ruins of the Monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza. The architecture is Romanesque, featuring thick stone walls, large arches, and several circular stone pillars. The ground is paved with irregular stones and has some patches of grass. In the background, a large, partially ruined tower with a crenellated top is visible. The sky is blue with some light clouds.

*Contra terras de Lara
faza una contrada/
En río de Arlanza
en una renconada/
Yaçie un monesterio
una casa onrada/
San Pedro de Arlanza
es por nombre clamada.*

Poema de Fernán González
1250 ca.



Virgen de las Batallas/ **Virgin of the Battles**
Limoges, 1225-35
Prado Museum, Madrid
[Sotheby's 1998]

Donación a San Pedro de Arlanza

- 278 Fallaron de marfil arquetas muy preçiadadas,
con tantas de noblezas que non serien contadas;
fueron pora San Pedro las *mas* d'aquellas dadas,
están *todas* oy día en su altar asentadas.
- 279 Tomaron d'esto todo lo que sabor ovieron,
mas *finco* de dos partes que levar non podieron;
las armas que fallaron dexar non las quisieron,
con toda su ganancia a San Pedro venieron.
- 280 Quand' fueron y llegados a Dios graçias rendieron,
todos, chicos e grandes, su oraçion fizieron,
todos por una boca «Deo gratias» dixeron,
cada uno sus joyas al altar ofreçieron.
- 281 De toda su ganancia que Dios les avie dado,
mando tomar el quinto el conde aventurado,
qualquier cosa que l' copo, ovo lo bien conprado,
mando lo dar al monje que le diera ospedado.
- 282 El conde e sus gentes e todos los cruzados
a la çibdat de Burgos fueron todos llegados;
folgaron e dormieron, que eran muy cansados,
demandaron maestros por sanar los llagados.

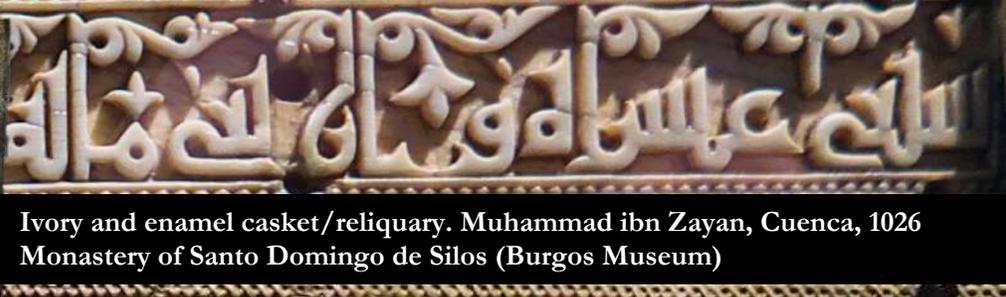


Arqueta de Silos

Taller de Cuenca (estructura y placas de marfil) / Taller de Silos (esmaltes)
Museo de Burgos

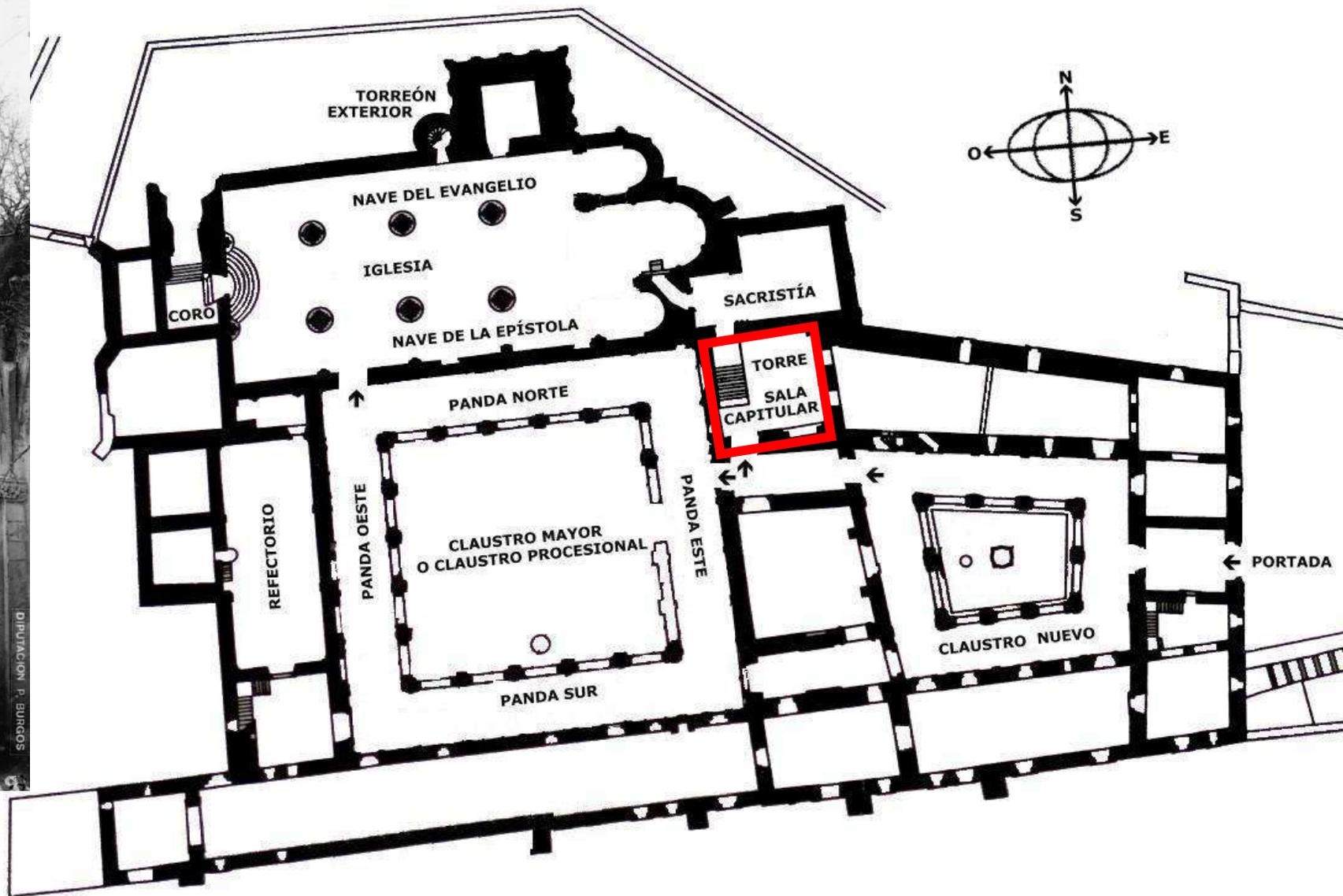


Arqueta y marfiles del siglo XI (1026). Placas esmaltadas: siglo XII.



Ivory and enamel casket/reliquary. Muhammad ibn Zayan, Cuenca, 1026
Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos Museum)







Arthur Kingsley Porter (1883–1933)
& Luci Wallace Porter

[1920/32]



Kingsley Porter
& Luci Wallace Porter

[1920/32]



2023



TREASURE TOWER



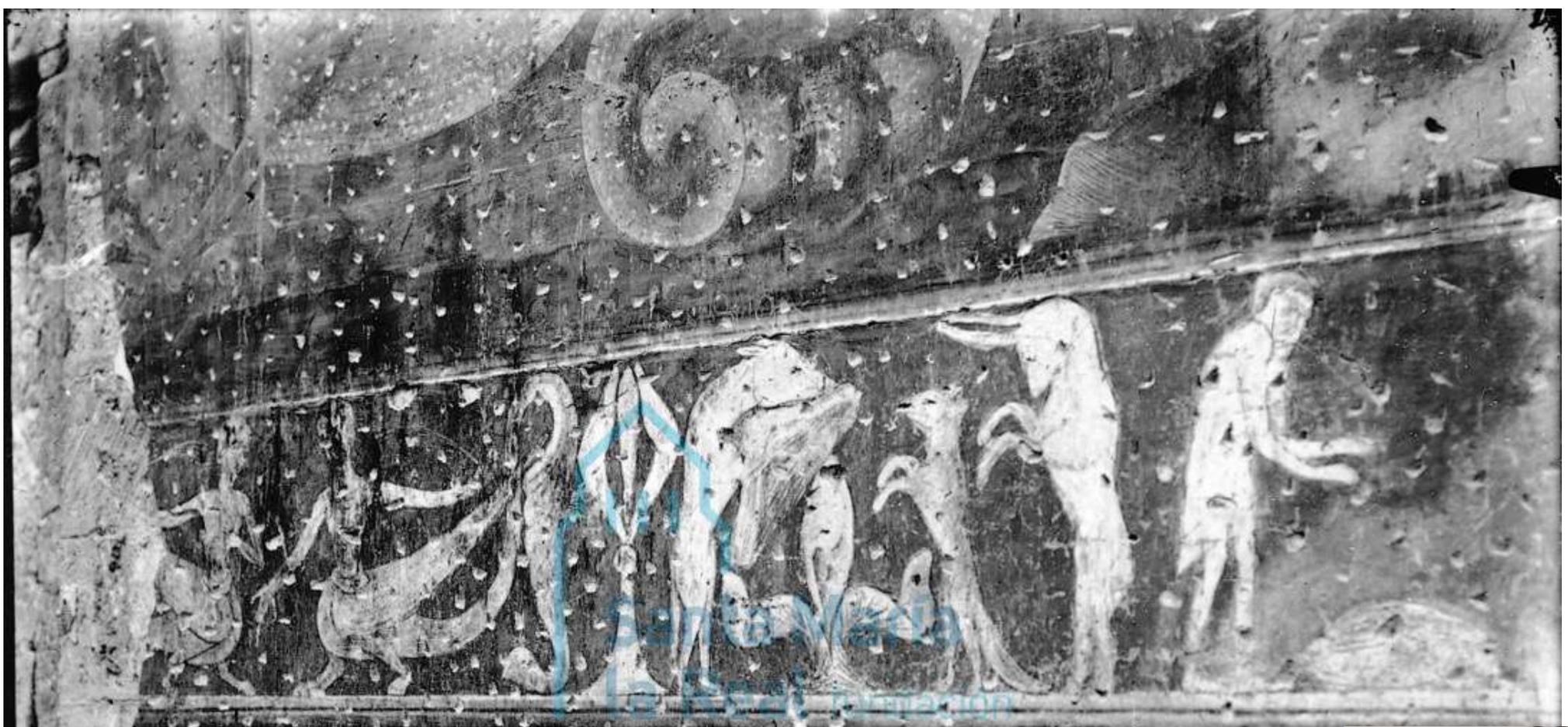


”Treasure”



Sacristy





Capitel
Museo Arqueológico Nacional
Provenance: San Pedro de Arlanza

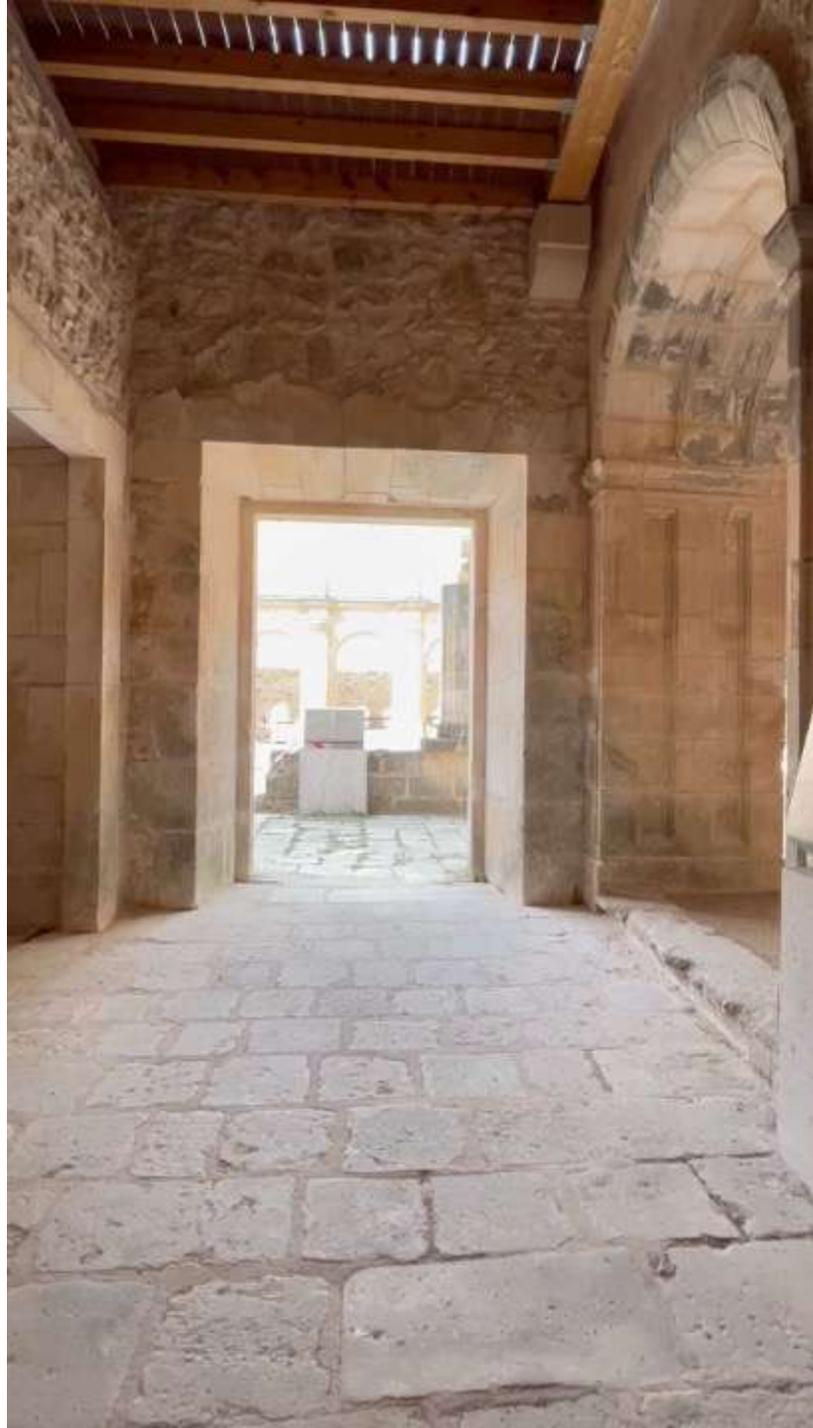


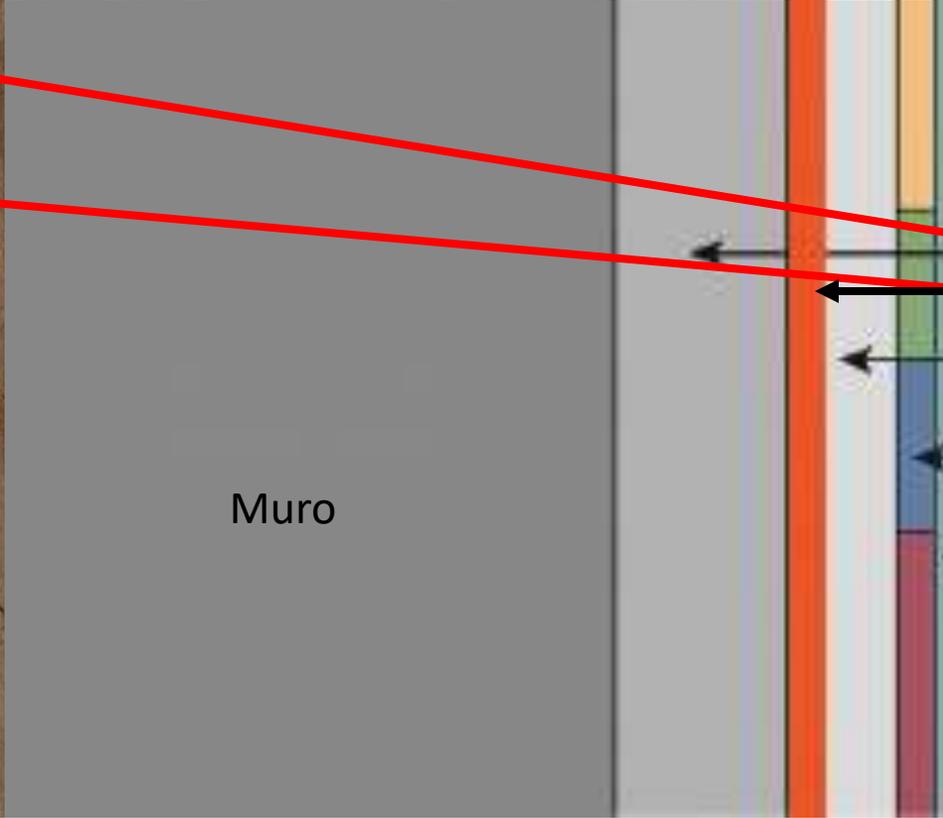
Sepulcro "de Mudarra"
Catedral de Burgos
Provenance: San Pedro de Arlanza





II. RECONSTRUCCIÓN



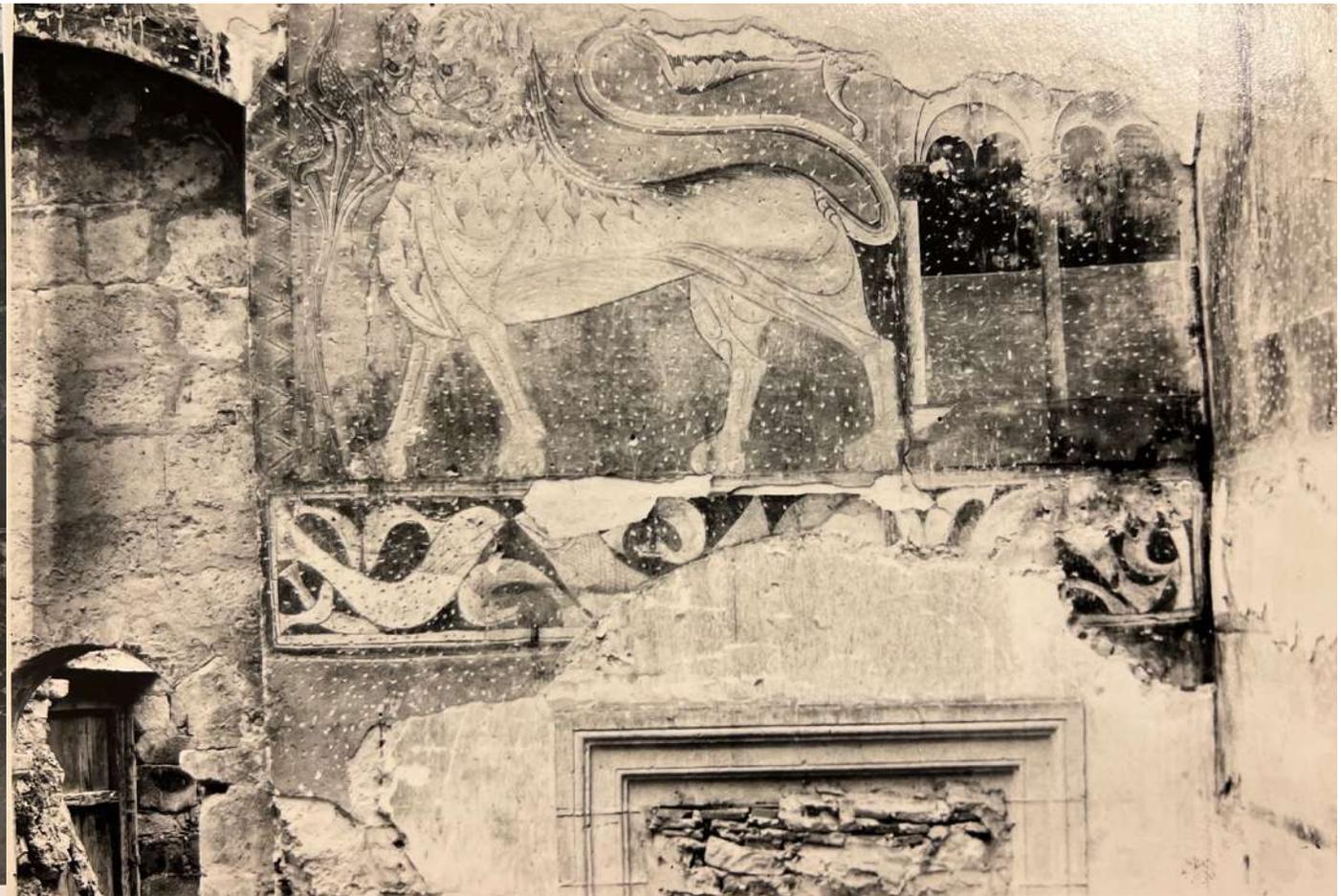


- Enfoscado
- Dibujo preparatorio
- Enlucido
- Color
- Superficie calcificada

Muro



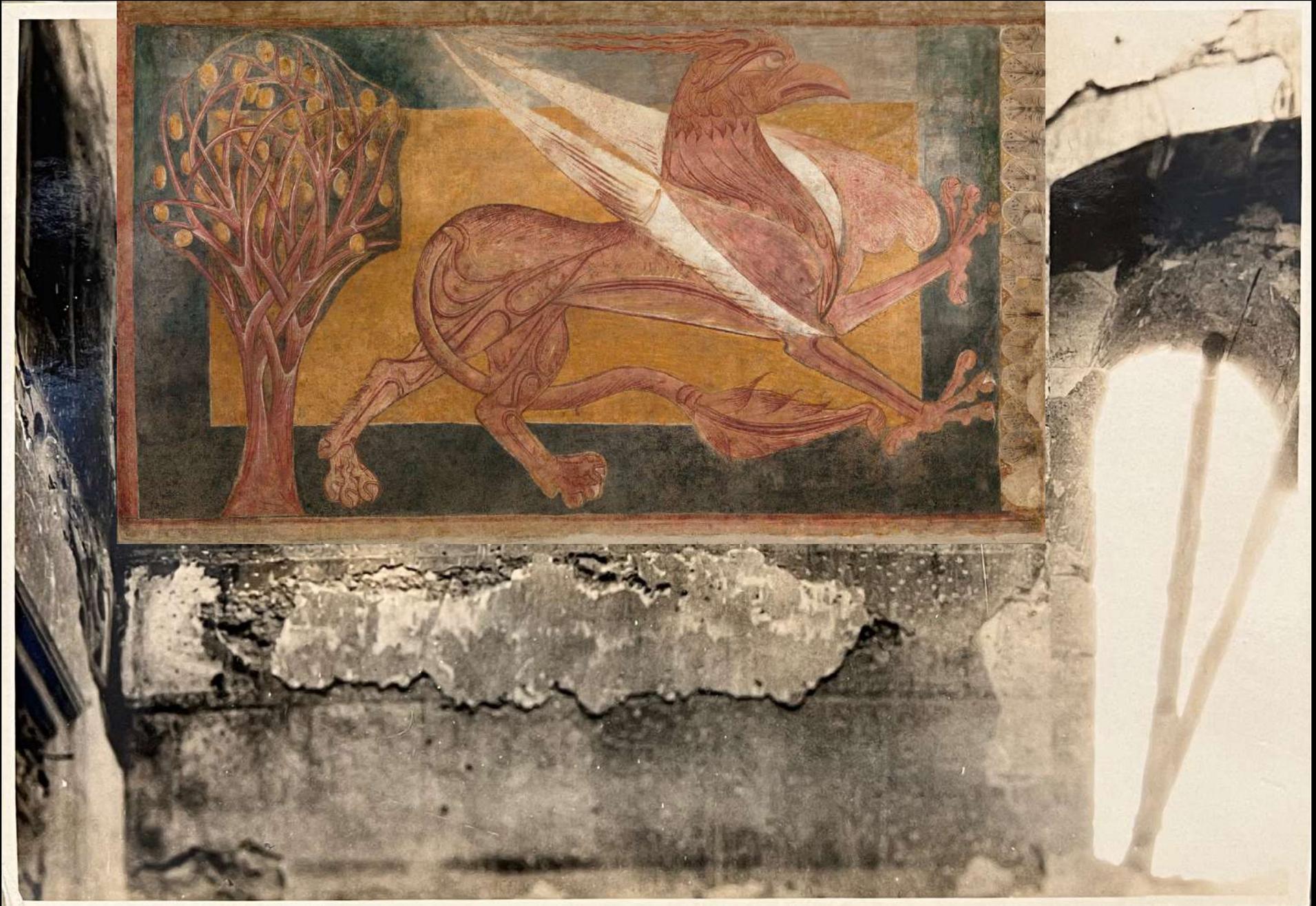




Kingsley Porter (1932)









E



S



W

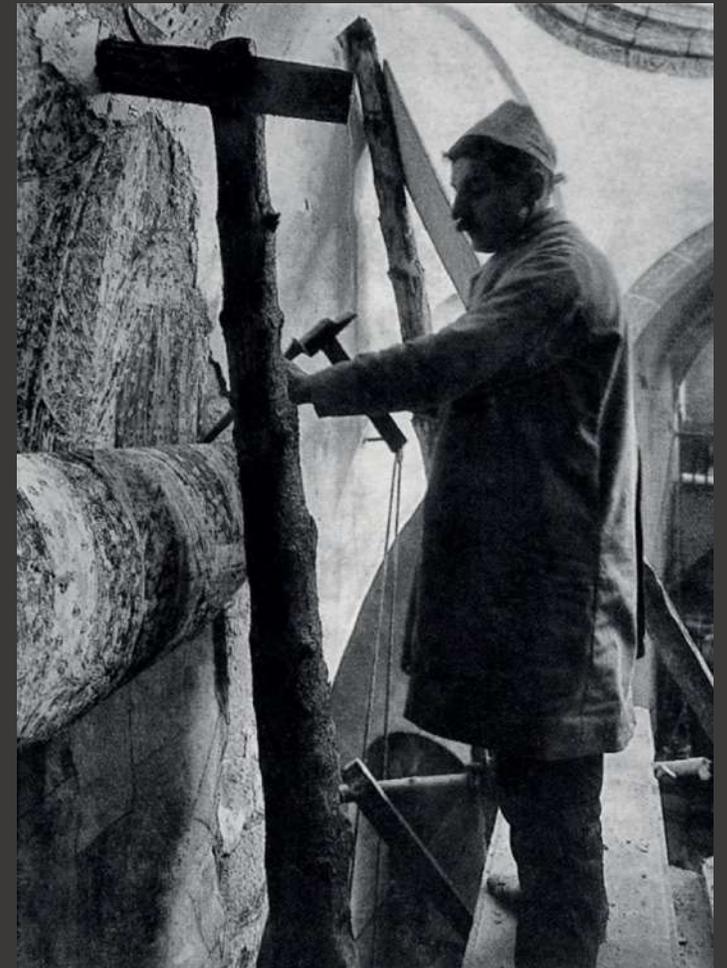


III.

S T R A P P O

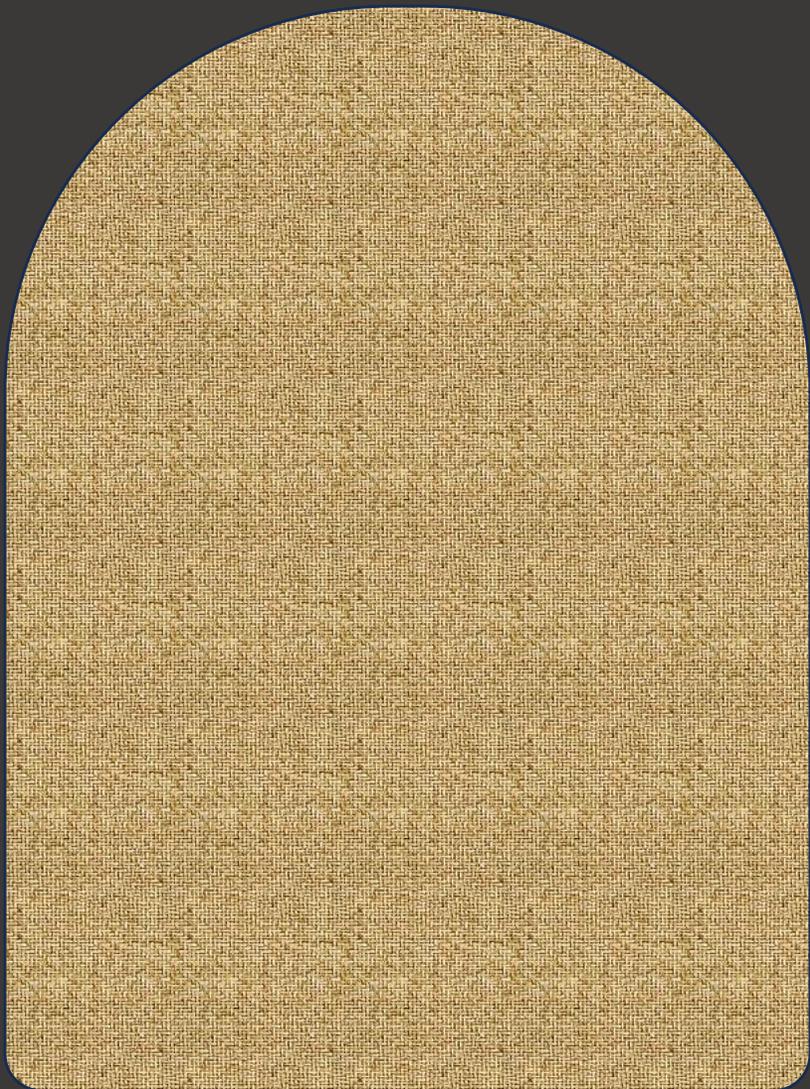


Sistema de arranque de pintura mural o *strappo*



Arturo Dalmati, 1924

1. Arranque



Arturo Cividini, 1927, Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona

2. Refuerzo del reverso



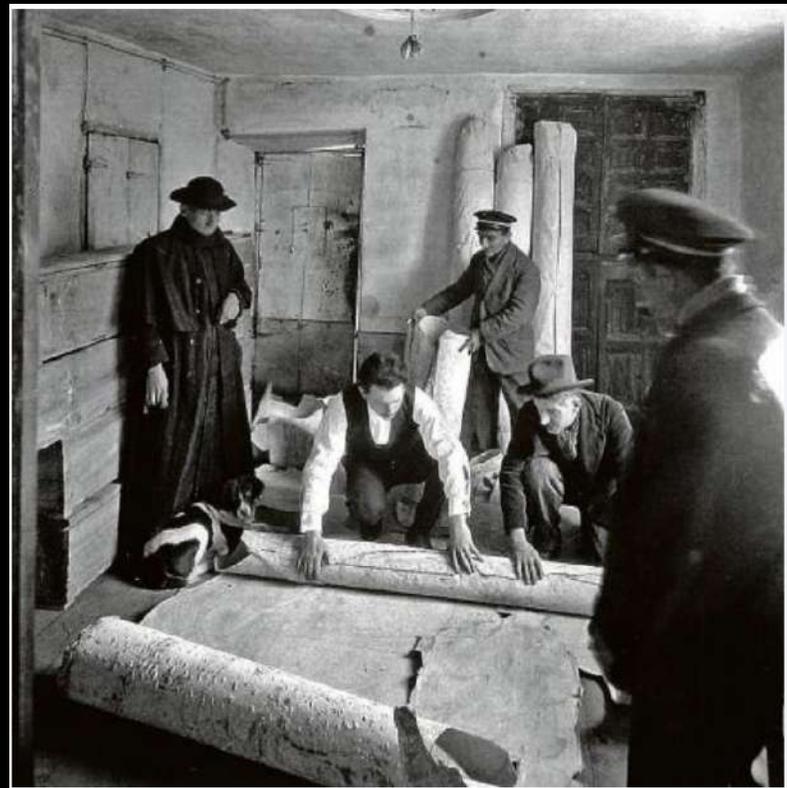
+



+



Adhesivo de caseína y cal





Adhesivo de harina y cola



+



+

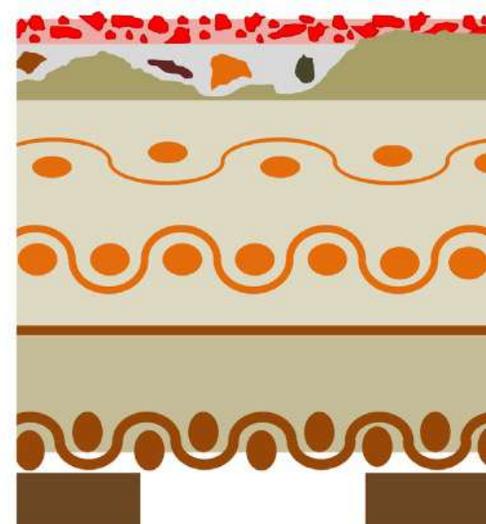
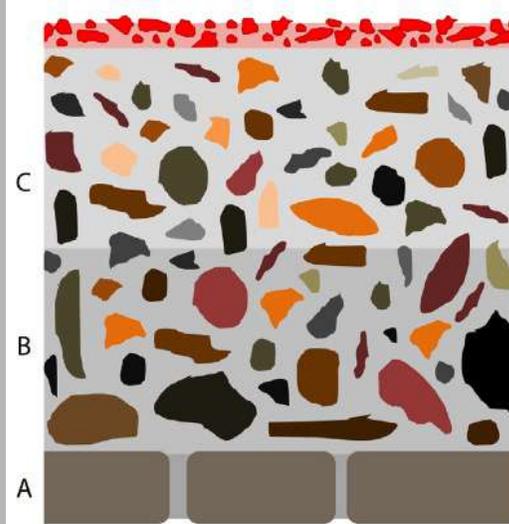


Arturo Cividini, 1927
<https://blog.museunacional.cat>





Pintura mural *in situ*



Pintura mural arrancada

Oriols Plandevall et al., "Estado de conservación de los estratos de intervención con caseína, en la pintura mural arrancada y traspasada de la colección del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya", *La Ciencia y el Arte*, 2015



Museo Nacional de Arte de Cataluña. Inaugurado en 1934

IV.

A R L A N Z A :

Simulation to Recovery



San Baudelio de Berlanga
(Soria)

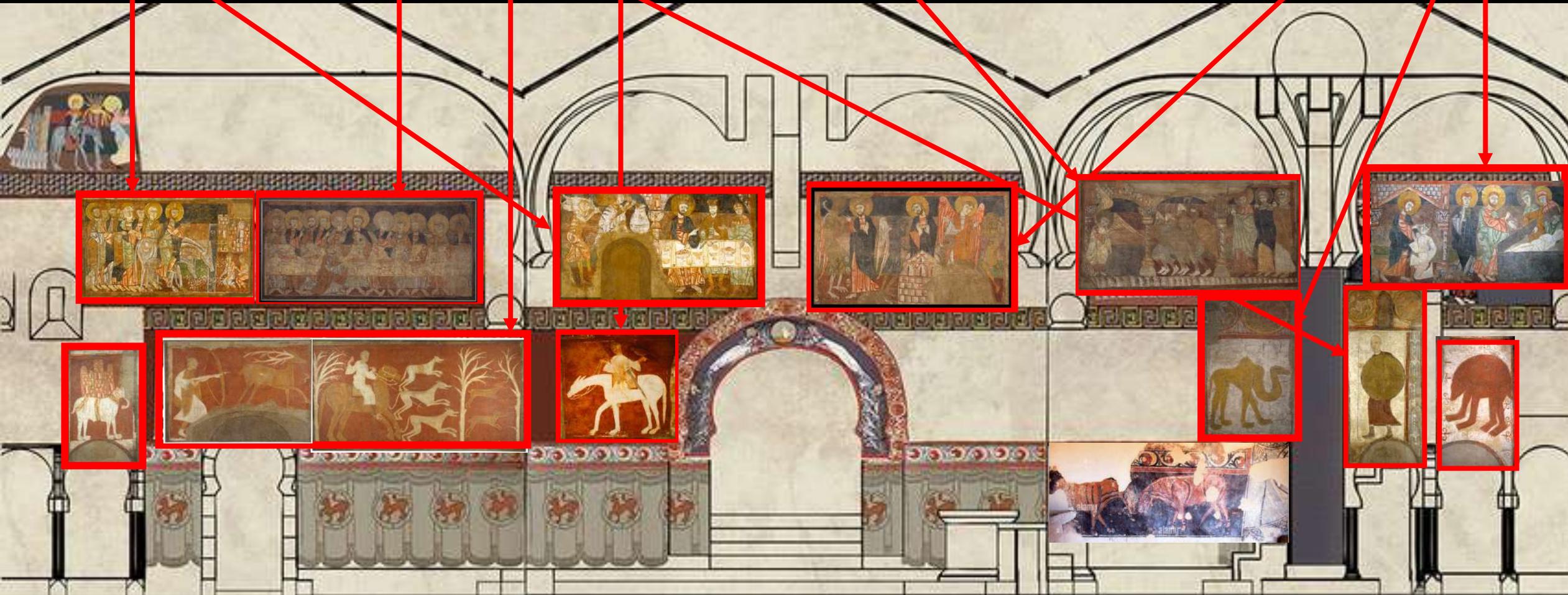
Painted a. 1085

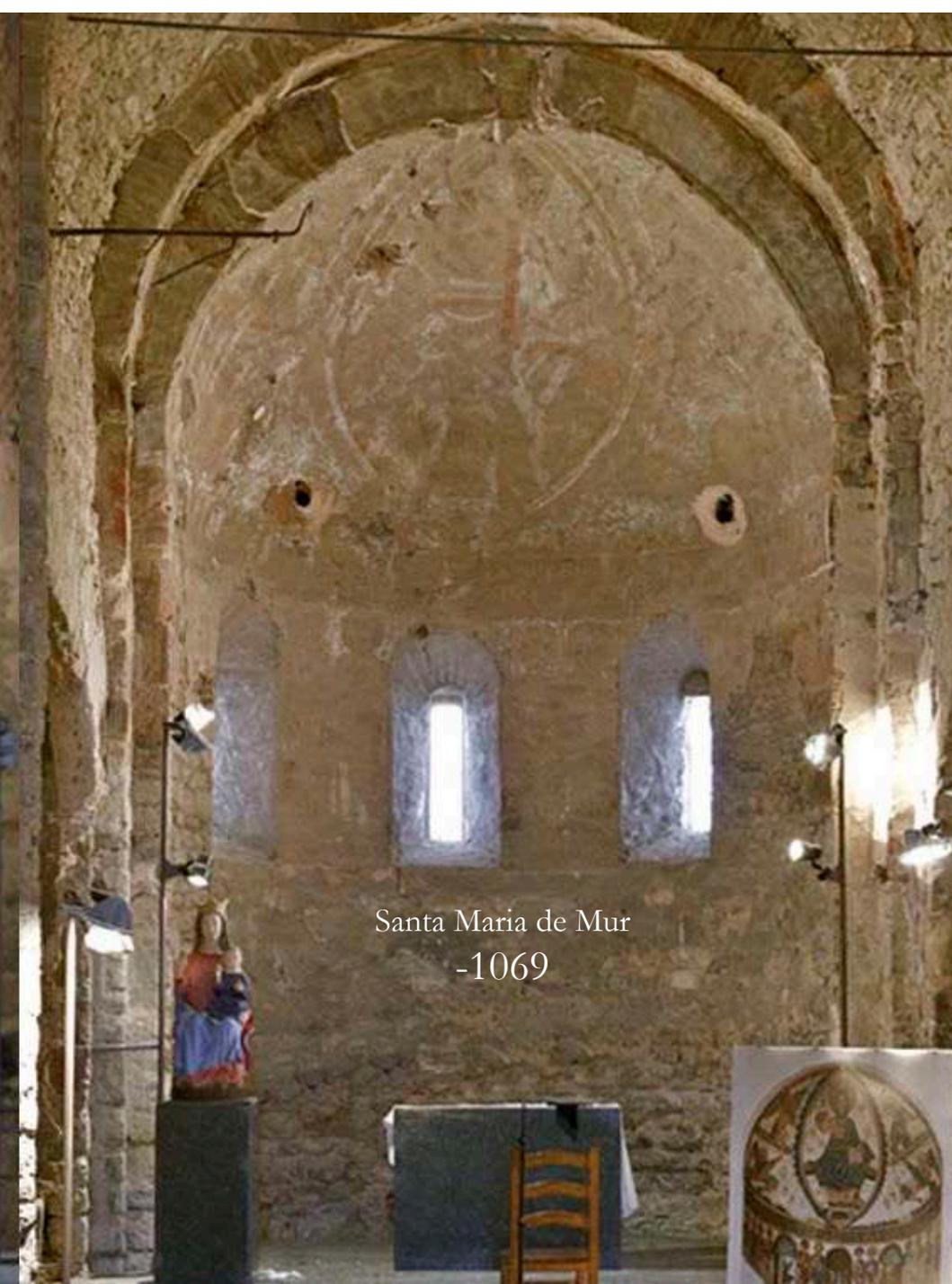
Sold: 1930



Toledo (Ohio) 1941







Santa Maria de Mur
-1069



MURAL PAINTING FROM THE
APSE OF THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA DE MUR
CATALONIA, SPAIN, 12TH CENTURY
Purchased 1921



MFA, Boston
Adquirido en 1921

COMO SE FORMO LA COLECCION DE PINTURA ROMANICA, UNICA EN EL MUNDO, DEL MUSEO DE ARTE DE CATALUÑA

LAS AVENTURAS DEL ARRANQUE Y TRASLADO DE LOS RESTOS ROMANICOS DE LAS IGLESIAS PIRENAICAS CATALANAS (1922-1924)

por JOAQUIN FOLCH Y TORRES



LA COLECCION ROMANICA ENTRE LOS AÑOS 1912 A 1916

EN 1912, a mi ingreso al servicio técnico del Museo, la colección constaba de doce esculturas, dos de ellas —que resultaron ser las de mayor antigüedad— ya existentes en el pequeño museo de objetos reunidos por el señor Puiggarí en el primitivo museo Municipal del Ayuntamiento, y los otros, en su mayoría, por las compras de Pijoán en sus excursiones, y algunos pocos fueron comprados por la Junta, después, en el comercio de antigüedades. Además, se hallaban expuestas al lado de los frontales de madera, las copias de las pinturas murales de que ya se trató, publicadas en los fascículos que editó el «Institut d'Estudis Catalans».

En 1916 la Junta me encargó especialmente de la Sección de Arte Medieval y se nombró una sección que cuidara de ella y propusiera sus acuerdos, en forma de dictamen, al pleno. La Junta la presidió entonces el gran escultor José Llimona, y esta comisión, al vocal diputado provincial, abogado y poeta Jaime Bojell y Mates.

Seguendo al ejemplo que nos había dado Pijoán, propuse a la Comisión un viaje de exploración y compra hechas directamente a los poseedores de objetos que pudieran interesarnos, tal como lo habían los anticuarios, y el vocal tesorero de la Junta, don José Rogent, abogado y concejal, hijo del famoso arquitecto restaurador de Ripoll, me entregó cincuenta mil pesetas, que deposité en lugar conveniente, y me fui hacia la Seo de Urgel a dar una vuelta, acompañado de un fotógrafo y con una carta de la infantía Isabel que recomendaba al cardenal Bellot, obispo de la Seo y príncipe de Andorra, los deseos del Museo de Barcelona.

No sin dificultades llegamos a romper la costumbre de los párrocos de las iglesias rurales, a vender, sin responsabilidad, a los anticuarios los objetos más o menos maltratos abundantes en el pavimento de las iglesias. Objetos muebles fuera de uso o del culto, a veces importantes, como un famoso copón románico incompleto, pues actualizada a la manera de Limoges, de gran interés, que hallé en manos de un comerciante de antigüedades de la Seo de Urgel.

A la vuelta de estas primeras exposiciones se realizó en el Museo de la Ciudadela una exposición de lo adquirido, y tal fue la sorpresa, la importancia y la belleza de las cosas expuestas que don Luis Plandura, hasta entonces recopilador de pinturas contemporáneas, se convirtió en coleccionista de antigüedades, y en consecuencia y competencia con el Museo, siguiendo la traza de sus andanzas, adquirió gran parte de lo que yo por falta de dinero, de recuerdos y trémulos, de lo que no debe presindir una entidad pública, no pude comprar.

Fue en 1919 cuando se promovió la famosa disputa para la posesión del terreno de San Valero de la catedral de Lérida, del que un día hablaremos.

LAS PINTURAS MURALES ROMANICAS DEL CASTILLO DE MUR QUE ESTAN EN EL MUSEO DE BOSTON (E. U.)

Un día del año 1919 tuvimos conferencia de que dos señores extranjeros, teniendo a su servicio un pequeño equipo de técnicos italianos prácticos en arrancar de los muros las pinturas al fresco, sabíamos de arrancar las que decoraban el ábside de la iglesia de Mur, que aquí se reproducen de la copia, a la acuarela, que de las mismas un día mandé hacer la Junta de Museos para que las publicara el «Institut».

Mur está situado en la Canea de Tremp (Lérida), y el templo que sirve a la parroquia formó parte de un edificio fortificado cuyas ruinas se mantienen a su alrededor. Hay noticias del templo desde 1160 y el conjunto de la decoración mural de su ábside, obra del siglo XII, es uno de los más completos y mejor conservados de nuestros conjuntos murales conocidos. Hoy, su original está en el Museo de Boston de los Estados Unidos.

Como se ve, pues, la noticia del arrancamiento no llegó a tiempo y no se pudo evitar su salida. Salida que ningún texto de ninguna ley del Estado prohibía, ni ningún texto defendía, ni ninguna comisión de monumentos tenía registrada.

Copia directa de las pinturas de la iglesia de Mur, en la Canea de Tremp, hechas antes de ser arrancadas y vendidas al Museo de Boston, por encargo de la Junta de Museos de Barcelona y publicadas por el «Institut d'Estudis Catalans», en el año 1910.



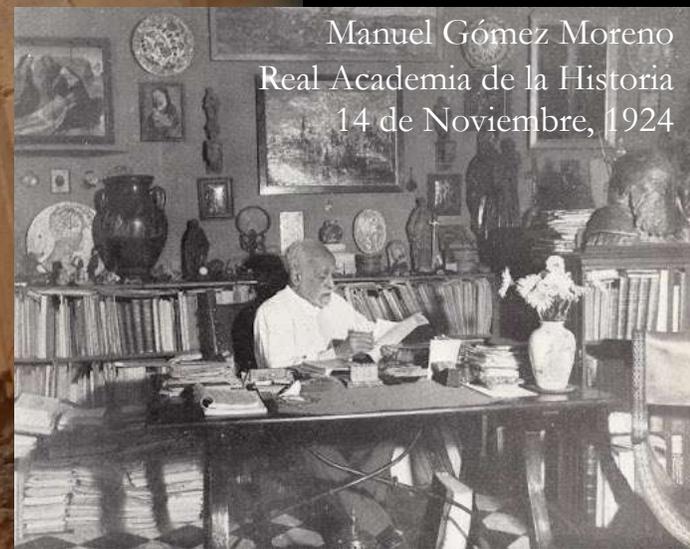
El operador Arturo Dalmati arrancando del muro del templo de Bohi la corteza o revoque del mismo que contiene la pintura. Véanse en la parte del nuevo descubierto, los restos de los colores que penetraron más allá del grueso del revoque



Josep Gudiol i Cunill (1872-1931)

Tabull S. Climent.





Manuel Gómez Moreno
Real Academia de la Historia
14 de Noviembre, 1924

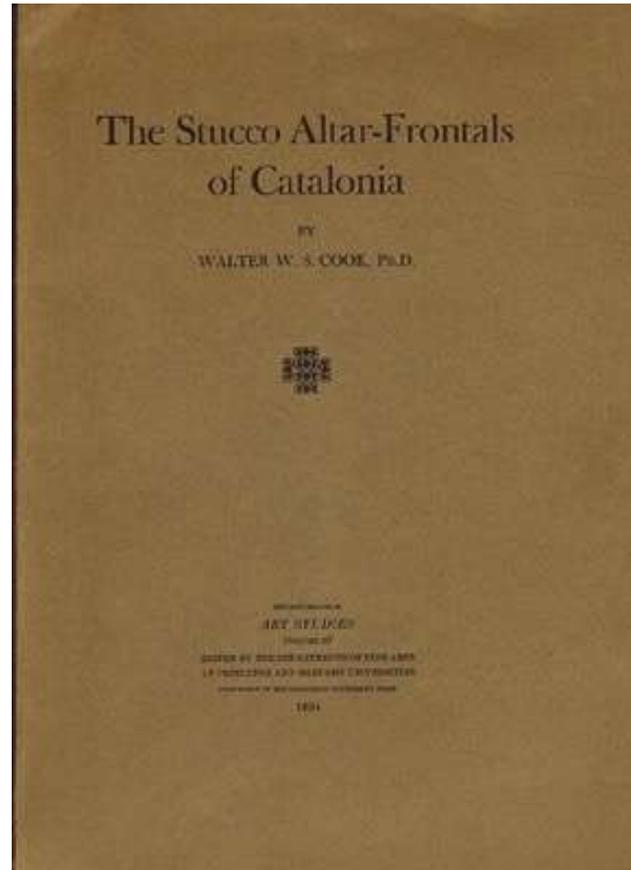
Aludiendo a ellas, el señor Huidobro ha publicado ahora, en el *Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Burgos*, cierta referencia, como tomada de una historia de Arlanza, donde se consigna que el “frater Xemeno”, autor de la torre del monasterio, encargó al pintor Gudesteo que “adorne las paredes del convento con *escenas de cetrería en los ámbitos y pasillos*, de la Sagrada Biblia en la sala capitular y de la Pasión de Nuestro Señor en la iglesia”. Como, según la misma referencia, Xemeno había erigido antes la torre de la iglesia de Távara, y ésta fué consagrada en 1132, la fecha de tales pinturas no le andaría lejos. Es deseable la publicación del texto original; mas por hoy, aun la existencia de dicho códice se recata misteriosamente.

Por estos indicios cabe presumir que se trata de obras importantes y singulares en su género: por consiguiente, su conservación es de honor histórico nacional y debe procurarse asegurarla por los medios adecuados. Se habla de peligros de una desaparición inminente por efecto de la intemperie; quizá haya interés en exagerar esta inminencia; pero queda descontada la necesidad de arrancar las pinturas de su sitio, operación delicada y costosa, estando a tal altura y siendo tan grande la superficie que ocupan; además, como los riesgos de un fracaso en dicha operación no pueden disimularse, la prudencia aconseja obtener previamente fotografías y copias en color. Para todo ello quizá cuente con medios técnicos el personal de la

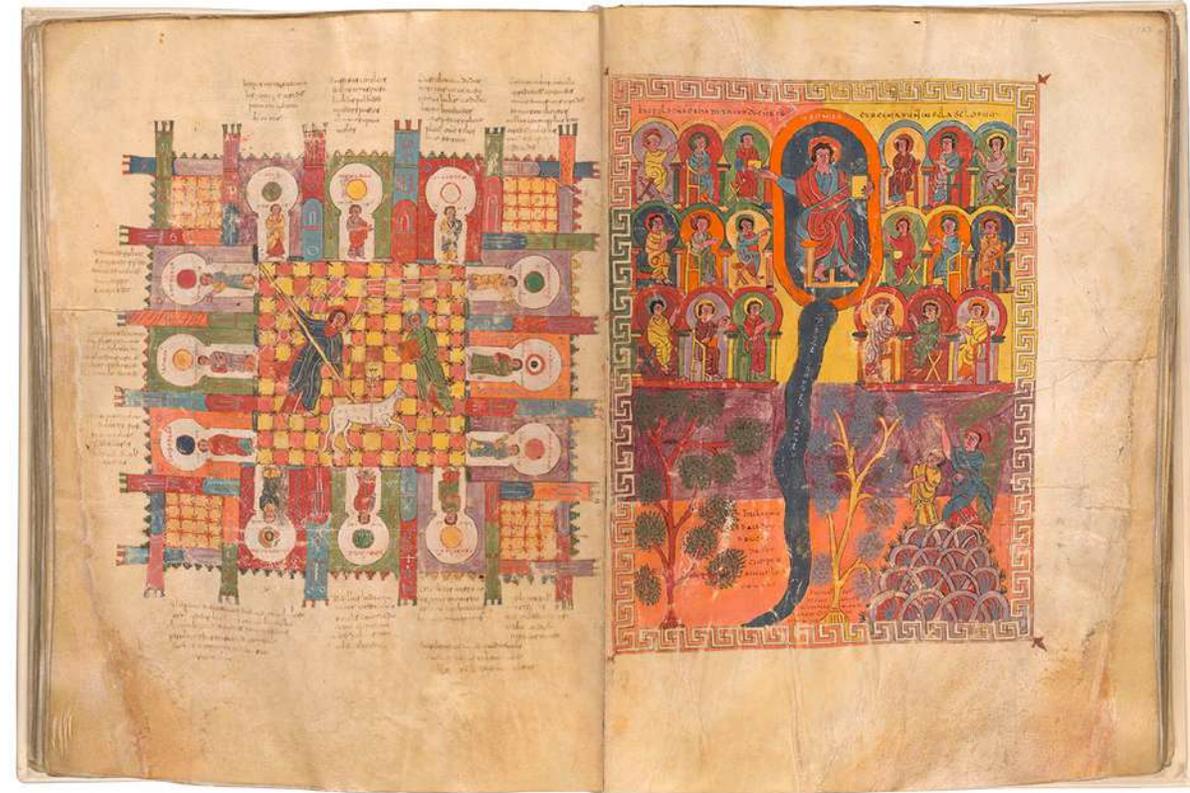
particular de dichas pinturas, esta Academia se inhibe de dar informe, por no ser asunto de su competencia.

M. GÓMEZ-MORENO.

Aprobado por la Academia en sesión de 14 de noviembre de 1924.



Walter S. Cook
1888-1962



"Morgan Beatus"
(London, Sotheby's, June 3, 1919, lot 21) to Quaritch
for John Pierpont Morgan
(1867-1943)

A HISTORY OF SPANISH PAINTING

BY
CHANDLER RATHFON POST
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

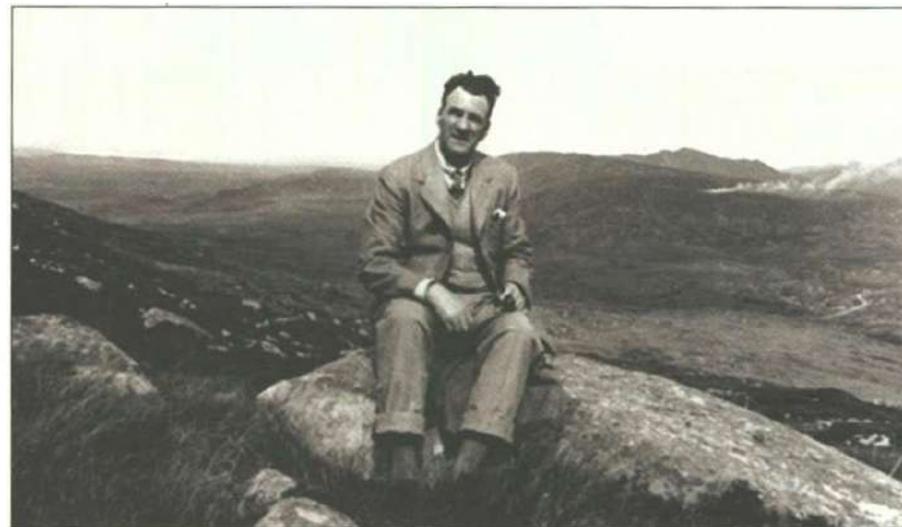
VOLUME I



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1930



1881 - 1959



Arthur Kingsley Porter

WESTERN PART OF THE PENINSULA 191

frescoes or panels of the introduction of these symbols into the iconography of the glorified Saviour. In distinction from the Morgan manuscript, where they appear simply as in nature, the sun contains a countenance, and the head of a woman rises between the horns of the moon. The personification of the moon as a woman, however, is a commonplace of mediaeval iconography, and there are also other instances, besides that of the Beatus manuscript, of the appearance of the sun and moon



FIG. 40. SECTION OF FRESCOS IN CHAPTER-HOUSE, S. PEDRO DE ARLANZA

(Photo. Porter)

with the Pantocrator, as well as in the Crucifixion, Ascension, and even the Baptism and Assumption. Their accompaniment of the Saviour in Cappadocian apses has already been noted. At Arlanza the face of Our Lord, having been obliterated, was filled in, at some period or other, with a subsequent drawing, and it is probable that the countenance in the sun and the woman in the moon are retouched. The most memorable things in the painting of this niche are the masterfully drawn heads and forequarters of the two beasts that constitute the ends of the Pantocrator's throne. The Evangelistic signs are relegated to the soffit of the arch that frames the niche. The vertical surface

ARS HISPANIAE
HISTORIA UNIVERSAL DEL ARTE HISPÁNICO

VOLUMEN SEXTO

PINTURA E IMAGINERÍA ROMÁNICAS

EDIT. WALTER WILHELM SPANER COOK

1957

1028 PÁGINAS

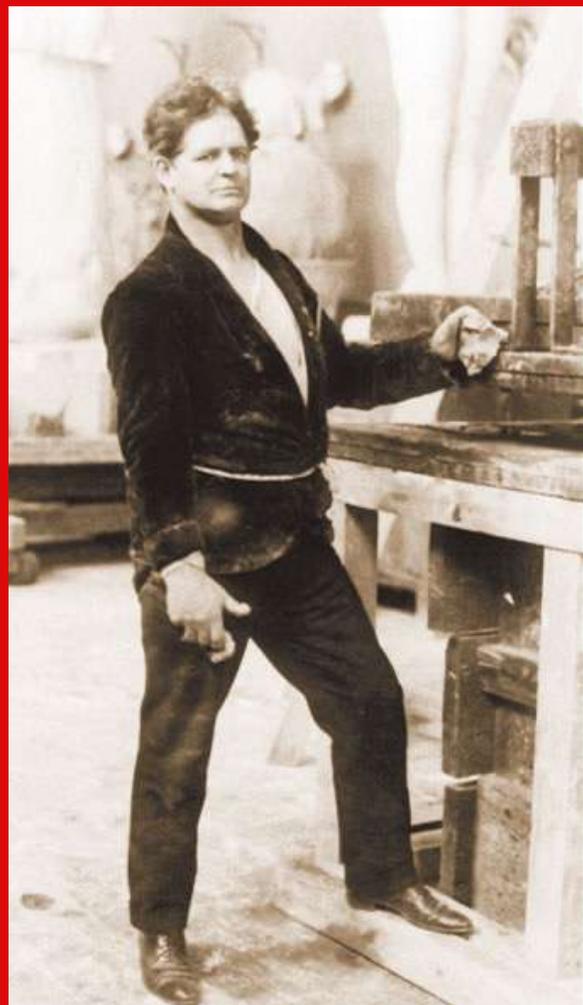
EDITORIAL PLUS-ULTRA
MADRID



José Gudiol
(1904–1985)



THE
MET

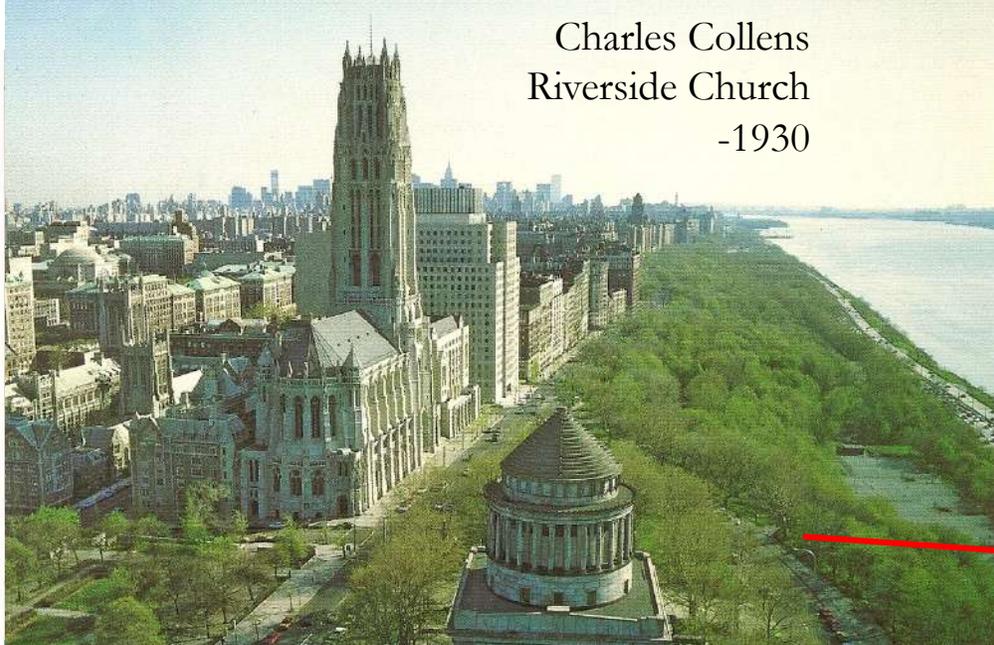


George Grey Barnard

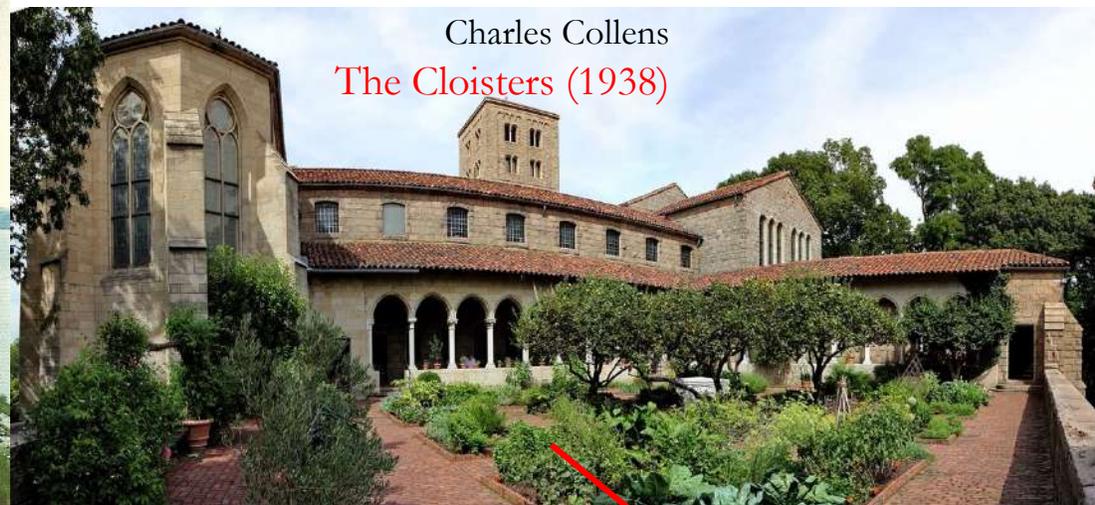




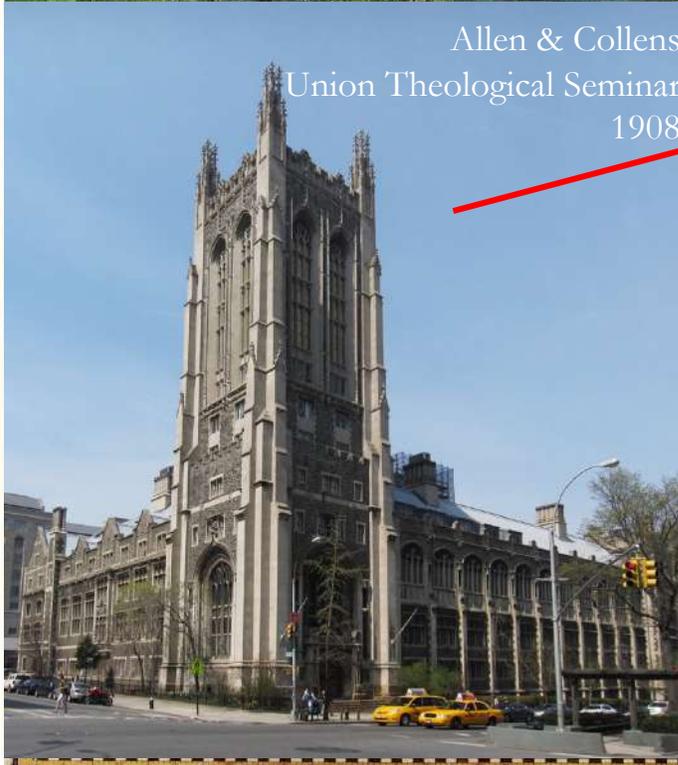
San Miguel de Cuixá
The Cloisters,
Metropolitan Museum of Art



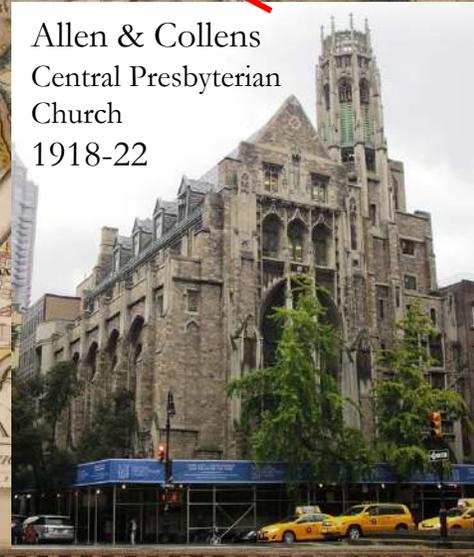
Charles Collens
Riverside Church
-1930



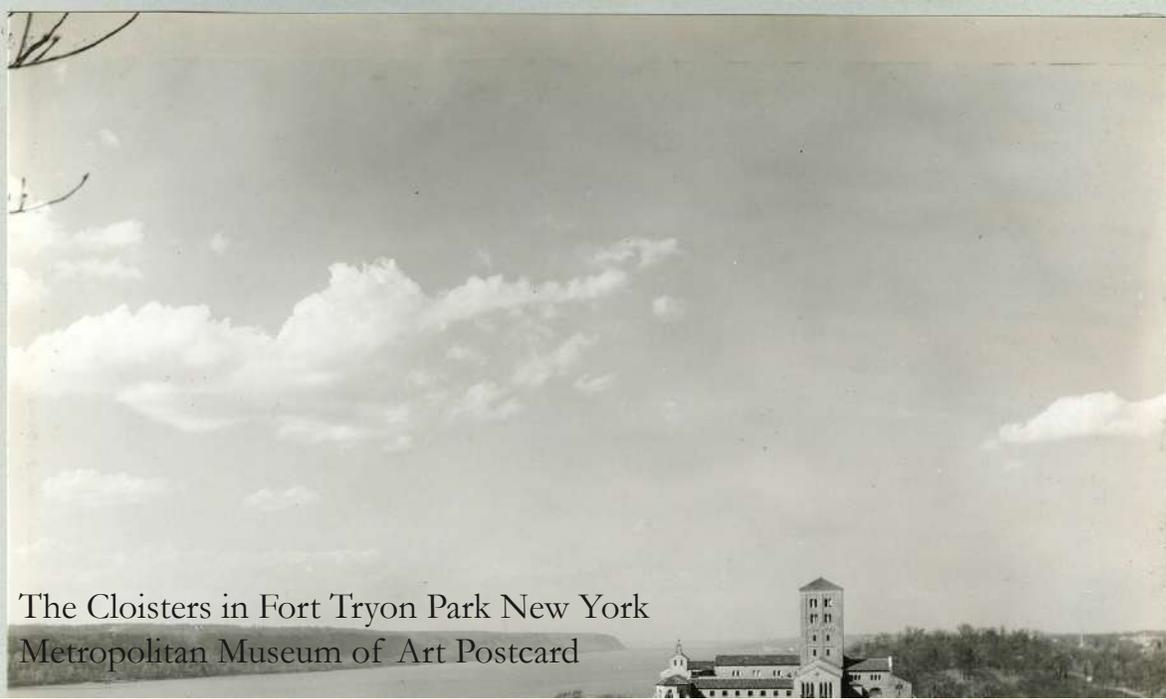
Charles Collens
The Cloisters (1938)



Allen & Collens
Union Theological Seminar
1908

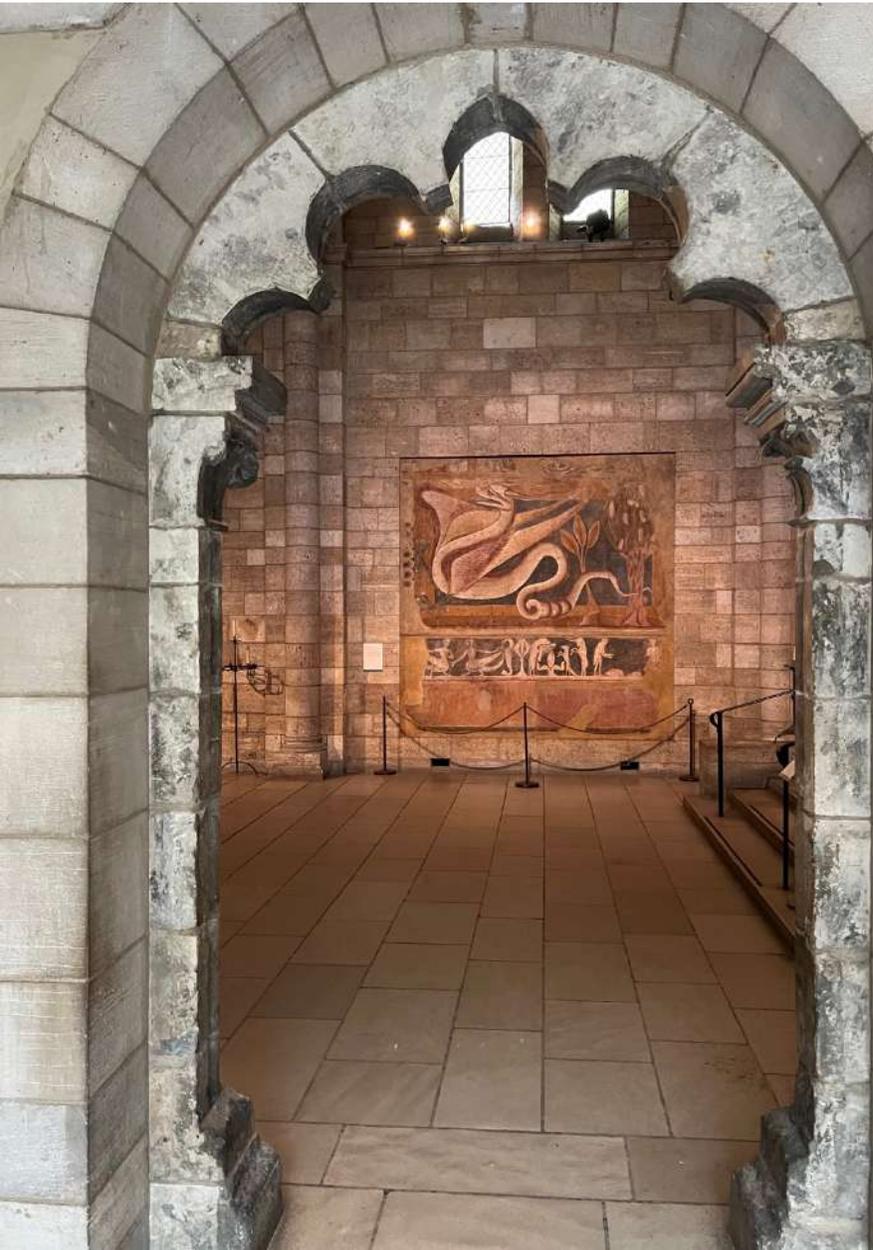


Allen & Collens
Central Presbyterian
Church
1918-22



The Cloisters in Fort Tryon Park New York
Metropolitan Museum of Art Postcard





RESEARCH INSTITUTE
OF THE
COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION
20 WEST 58TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

October 9, 1930.

Professor Paul J. Sachs,
Associate Director,
Fogg Art Museum,
Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.

My dear Paul:

I take pleasure in introducing Mr. Josep Ricart Gudiol of Barcelona. Mr. Gudiol is a nephew of Josep Gudiol i Cumill, Director of the Episcopal Museum at Vich, Catalonia.

Mr. Gudiol has just finished his course in architecture at the University of Barcelona, and has come to this country to study modern American architecture and to visit the principal public and private collections in the East. He has been in New York for six weeks and is now taking a trip to visit other museums and galleries.

Aside from his work in architecture Mr. Gudiol has also been associated for the past two years with the Barcelona art dealer, Josep Colominas, and represents him in this country. It may interest you to know that Colominas now has the Spanish mural paintings from the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza. These have been successfully transferred to canvas and this work of transferring was done entirely by Gudiol, who plans to offer these for sale in this country to some American museum. I saw some of these mural paintings last year in Spain after they had been transferred and they were in excellent condition and had not been retouched.

Mr. Gudiol is an extremely intelligent young man and he is in close touch with the art world in Spain, and I know that you will be very glad to know him personally, as so few Spanish dealers come to this country. He has an unusually wide knowledge of mediaeval art in Spain and I know he'll be very grateful if you can arrange so that he can see all the Spanish art objects in your Museum.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Walter W. S. Cook



Harvard University, Harvard University Archives, W288430_1



Harvard University, Harvard University Archives, W271949_1

Fogg Museum
1927



31.33

NEW YORK, February 24, 1931

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

To J. Gudiol, Agent Dr.

c/o Hotel Estacion, 220 East 47th Street

New York City

2 large panels - one with lion, one with serpent	\$25 000 00
2 small panels - one with fish, one with sea and animals	
Frescoes originally from the Chapter House of San Pedro de Arlanza, Spain	
Please make check payable to Banco Aleman Transatlántico, Sucursal de Barcelona for the account of J. Colomina	

PLEASE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO
E. T. FOOTER, Assistant Treasurer
FIFTH AVENUE & 86th STREET, NEW YORK

RECEIVED PAYMENT,

<https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/locus.365>

LOCVS AMGENVS 18, 2020 203 - 222

La venda de les pintures medievals de la Torre del Tesoro de San Pedro de Arlanza: un negoci?

Immaculada Socias Batet
Universitat de Barcelona
isocias@ub.edu

I have been thinking over the problem of the Arlanza frescoes. I am going to ask you, as a personal favor to me as well as out of regard for the Metropolitan Museum, not to speak in Spain or elsewhere about these frescoes. It is really a very serious matter, and we are desirous not to have it known that we have obtained some of these panels. **Josep Gudiol, of whom you spoke, was not the owner of the frescoes, but merely employed to do certain work of transferal and to help us in dealings with certain of the owners.**

77. MMAA, carta de James Rorimer a Chandler R. Post, 16 d'abril de 1931, Office of the Secretary Records.



HOTEL NACIONAL
MADRID

September 6, 1926

My dear Paul:-

Your cable reached me today and I thank you very much for your thoughtfulness in notifying me so promptly.

I am very sorry that the proposed benefactor is unwilling to underwrite our plans for a Spanish Institute, but I had not allowed myself to be over-optimistic, so that I am less discouraged than I might otherwise have been. It has been my hope that this might go through as a Harvard and Fogg Museum affair, so that Harvard could reap whatever credit may eventually come from my publications, and I feel especially sorry that nothing has come from all the energy, time and effort which you have put into it.

In view of this situation I shall not return to New York late in September, as I had originally planned, but shall continue my work in Spain for another two months at least, returning some time in November. This will enable me to finish much of the Spanish Beatus work, as far as notes and photographs go, so that I will have this if I cannot return here next year.

As far as the Spanish Institute is concerned, I feel more strongly than ever before that the idea is sound, and I am resolved to see the project launched in some fashion or other, the latter part of this year, in time to make an announcement at the Harvard Meeting of the College Art Association late in December. It may be necessary for me to work on much less, and without a publication fund, and the special photograph and book funds which we had previously planned for.

For the present, however, I think that it will be impossible to do anything. I shall take no steps whatsoever to have anything done in New York before I return, and in view of what you have already done, I shall, of course, say nothing and do nothing until I have returned and have discussed any future plans with you. Miss Greene is now in Venice, and I might see her in Paris or here before she returns, but if so I will tell her that nothing is to be said or done for the present, until after I have seen you in Cambridge in November. Even though you may wish to drop the matter entirely I shall nevertheless wish to have your good advice, for I have implicit confidence in your judgement about such matters,

In the meantime I wish you to know how deeply I appreciate all the efforts which you have made on my behalf. I certainly do feel grateful to you, and your interest in the project has been and will continue to be a great source of inspiration to me. I only hope that your appeal to the proposed benefactor will not make him any less willing to contribute to some other aspect of the Fogg Museum work. Whatever the final solution may be I sincerely

hope that Harvard and the Fogg Museum will reap whatever benefit may come from publications in the Spanish field, for you certainly deserve it.

I have arranged matters in New York, so that I will be entirely free the first semester. This will give me the time to work on this project after my return without any worry about teaching. If it proves impossible to do anything whatsoever, then I will give the Graduate course there the second semester, but I hope that the people who might possibly contribute to such a project will make a fairly quick decision, so that the Institute can be started at once and I will then be free to devote all my time to publication.

Again thanking you for all the interest and time which you have devoted to this, and hoping you are having a complete rest and a good vacation with your family, I am

Sincerely yours,

Walter W. S. Cook.

% Morgan, Harjes & Cie, 14 Place Vendome, Paris.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDING MEMBERS,

Hitherto most institutions of this sort have been conceived purely on nationalistic lines, and are often frankly Chauvinistic in purpose. In as much as there are now no other foreign foundations for art in Spain, there is no reason why foreign students should not also work with our Spanish Institute, as well as American Students. In order to encourage foreign students to work with us in Spain, we ought to ask foreign scholars like the following to serve as corresponding members:-

- Pierre Paris - Official Representative of the French Government at Madrid.
- Gabriel Millet - Member of the Collège de France, Academie des Inscriptions etc.
- José Puig y Cadafalch - President of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona.
- M. Gómez-Moreno - President of the Centro de Estudios Historicos, Madrid.
- Prof. Wilhelm Housas - University of Bonn.
- Geh. Prof. Paul Glemsen - Bonn University.
- Prof. Panowski, - Hamburg.
- Dr. Warburg, - Hamburg.
- Prof. Adolf Goldschmidt - Berlin University, member of the Prussian Academy.
- Prof. Bezenekon - Leipzig University.
- Prof. Artur Haseloff, - Kiel University.
- Dr. August L. Meyer - Director of the Pinakothek, Munich.
- Prof. E.A. Lowe - Prof. of Palaeography, Oxford University, England.
- O.M. Dalton - Director of the Department of Mediaeval Antiquities, British Museum, London.

THE SCHOOL YEAR IN EUROPE

As stated above, the Director would plan to spend a certain number of months each year in the three centers - Barcelona, Madrid, and Seville. Generally speaking, the school year would last for nine months, most of which would be spent in the Peninsula. It is also possible that for four or six weeks of each year, the Director might work in Italy, at the Vatican and Turin; in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale; in England at the British Museum and in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, since in all these places there are many important Spanish manuscripts on which he is working, and which he expects to publish as a part of the Beatus publication. Normally, there would be at least two expeditions, but these would probably be in the Spring and Summer. He would probably return to America in the Fall of each year and be there until early in January. We would wish him to be present at the annual meetings of the College Art Association and of the Archaeological Institute of America, in order to keep up contacts with the Corresponding Members of the School, and thereby know what to expect the following year, as far as students are concerned.

THE STUDENT

Only such students would be accepted as members of the school, who possess the necessary mental endowment and equipment for research. Generally speaking, the student would already have had at least one year of graduate work in a reputable institution, and it is highly probable that many of the students would be working in Europe on a Travelling Fellowship. Each year, at least twenty-five are now being sent abroad by the Carnegie Corporation, and some of these would certainly come to Spain. The type of person whom we most encourage would be those students who have already passed their General Examinations for the degree of Ph. D. and who come to Europe to write their thesis. In general, one could not expect to have more than four or five at a time, as it would be impossible, if there were too many, to guide them properly. Each student who came to Spain would be expected to concentrate upon productive work, since the Harvard Department has reached the stage where it desires and may expect to produce research scholars.

as I know from personal experience, are far removed from the railroad lines. Unlike most teachers in America, our Director would have no fixed abode, but would be forced to live twelve months of the year in hotels. Hotels are expensive, and in Spain I have found that the best are none too good. Our Director could not live in cheap hotels; whenever I attempted that, myself I immediately suffered from intestinal and stomach trouble. The transportation of books and boxes of photographs from place to place is also expensive, but these are absolutely essential.

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

AN ENDOWMENT AFTER THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD.

On the whole it would perhaps be best for you not to commit yourself for longer than a five-year period at present, so that we may prove the worth of the undertaking to you, to the world of scholars, and to ourselves.

I hope and believe, however, that at the end of five years you will wish to endow the Institute (which is to bear your name) permanently. I say this, because I am confident that within five years the Institute will have so much serious publications and research to its credit that you and the rest of us will be proud to see it permanently endowed.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL EXPENSES.

- (1) Salary of the Director:-
\$5,000 for the first two years,
thereafter \$5,500.
- (2) Travelling Expense Account:..... \$1,500.
- (3) Publication Fund \$4,000.
- (4) Spanish Book Fund for the Harvard College Library..... \$1,000.
- (5) Spanish Photograph Fund for the Fogg Art Museum \$1,000.

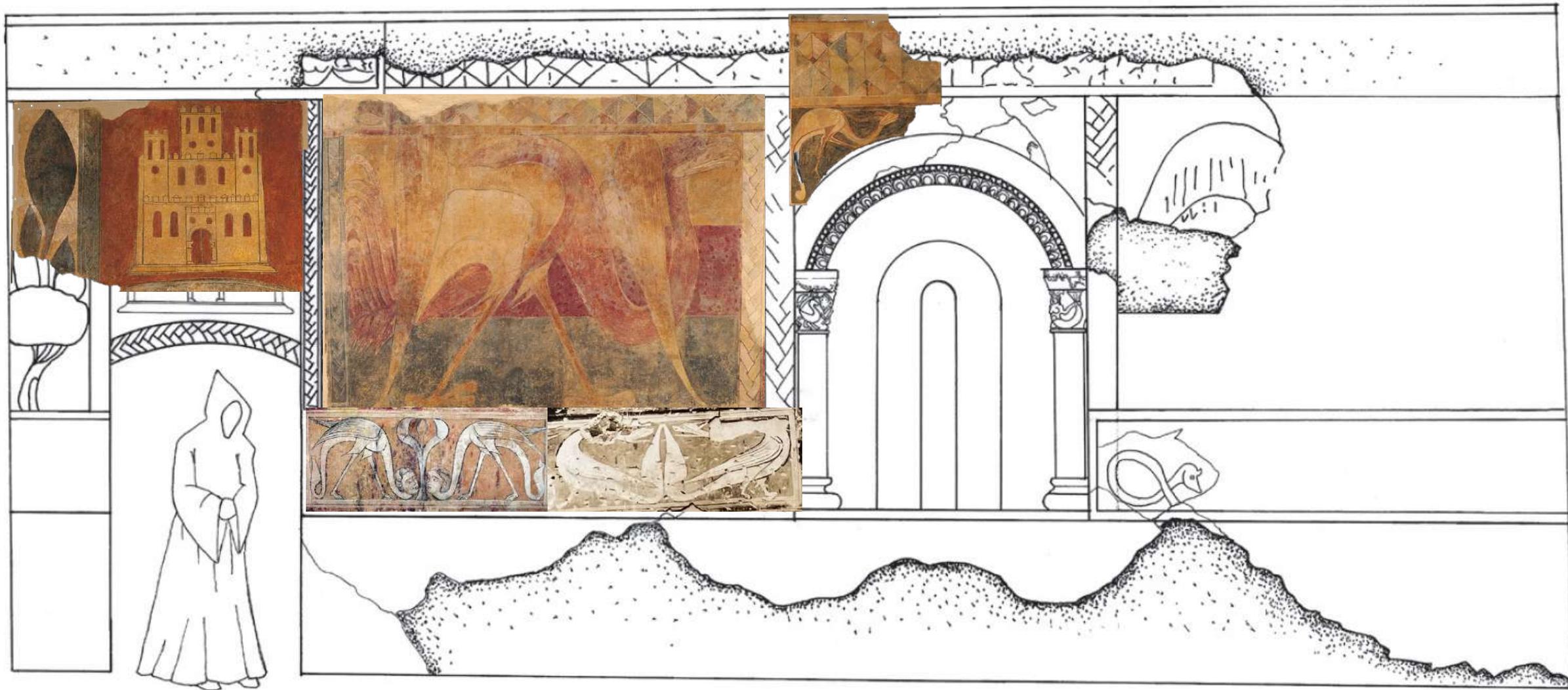
Total annual expend. \$ 13,000.
Total necessary for five years. \$ 65,000.

or (whenever you are ready) a Permanent Endowment of \$300,000.



V.

S O S T E N I B I L I D A D



After Gudiol/J. L. Senra (2018)



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