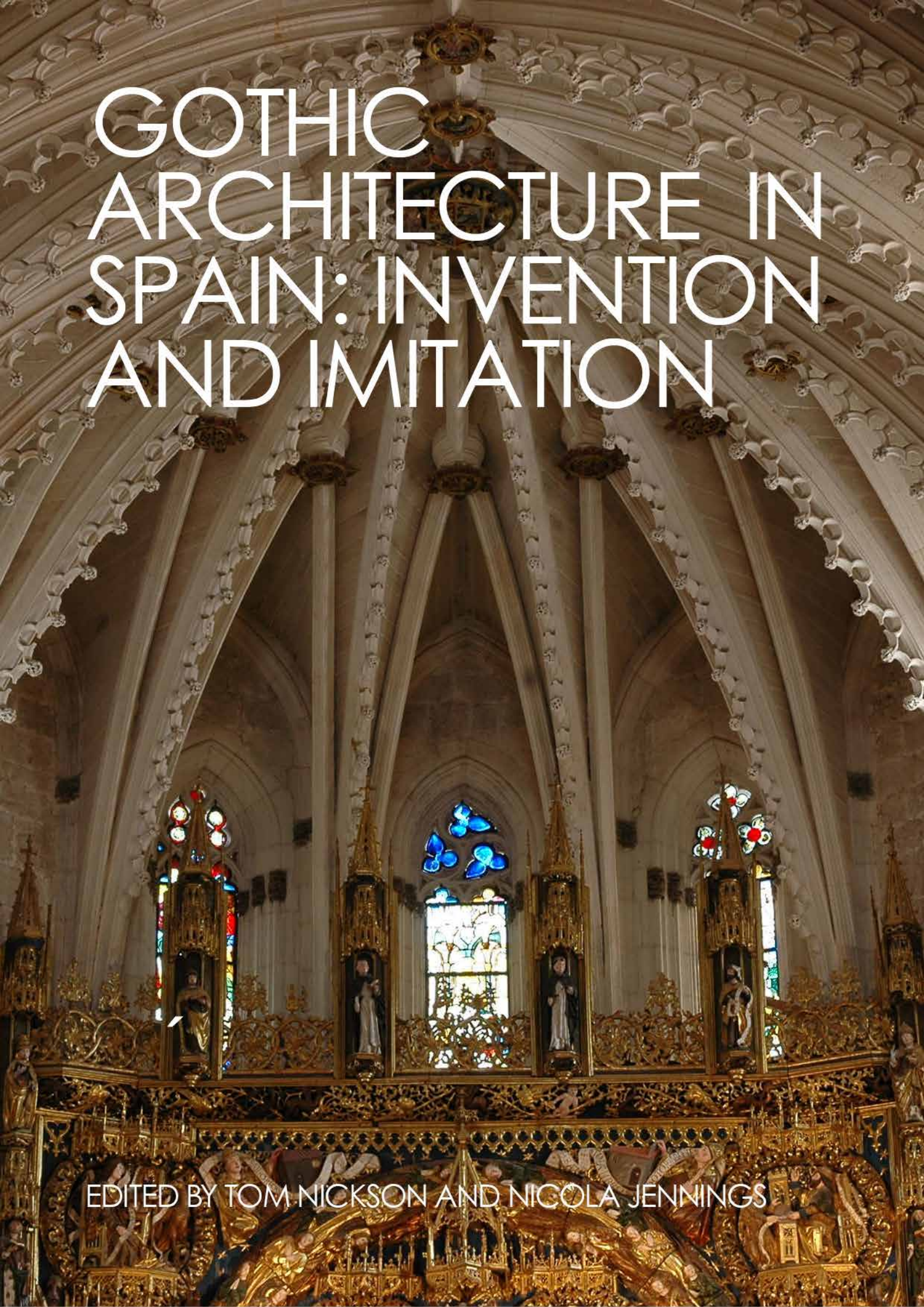
GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN: INVENTION AND IMITATION



EDITED BY TOM NICKSON AND NICOLA JENNINGS

GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN: INVENTION AND IMITATION

Edited by:
Tom Nickson
Nicola Jennings

THE COURTAULD

Gothic Architecture in Spain: Invention and Imitation

Edited by Tom Nickson and Nicola Jennings

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Cover image
Simon de Colonia, church of Santa Maria de Miraflores, vault of the capilla mayor (1480s).

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1

Gothic Architecture in Spain: Invention and Imitation

TOM NICKSON
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In the final pages of the 'General Summary' that concludes *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, the British scholar and architect, George Edmund Street, remarked on the combination of imitation and invention that characterises so much medieval architecture across Europe, Spain included:

> Just as we obtained a French architect for our Canterbury, as the people of Milan obtained one from Germany for their cathedral, as the architect of S. Mark at Venice borrowed from the East, as he of Perigueux from S. Mark, as he of Cologne from Amiens or Beauvais, so Spain profited, no doubt, from time to time, by the example of her French neighbours. But at the same time she formed a true branch of art for herself, and one so vigorous, so noble, and so worthy of study, that I shall be disappointed indeed if her buildings are not ere long far more familiar than they now are to English Ecclesiologists.[1]

Street would indeed be disappointed, for there has been no major scholarly survey of Spanish Gothic architecture in English since *Some Account* was published in 1865.[2] *Gothic Architecture in Spain: Invention and Imitation*—the fruit of a workshop, symposium and three lectures held at The Courtauld Institute of Art from 2015 to 2017—is in no sense intended to be a substitute for Street's magnificent study. But it is hoped that for Anglophone scholars and students—and indeed those working in any language—this essay collection may draw attention to the quality

Fig. 1.1. Tomb of King Peter III of Aragon (1291–ca. 1302) from the northeast, with the double tomb of King James II of Aragon and his wife, Blanche of France, in the background. Abbey church of Santes Creus, Catalonia.

Fig. 1.2. Double tomb of King James II of Aragon and his wide, Blanche of France (begun 1310, with minor alterations in the sixteenth century), located south of the crossing, detail of the east face. Abbey church of Santes Creus, Catalonia.

and vitality of recent scholarship on Gothic architecture in Spain, and encourage further research on the tremendous variety and interest of Gothic buildings in the Iberian Peninsula. In this Introduction I will briefly set out some of the key themes of the essay collection, exploring the architectural and rhetorical significance of invention and imitation, and then unpicking some of the issues raised by the idea of 'Gothic architecture in Spain'. I conclude with a sketch of some of the early historiography of Gothic architecture in Spain (especially in the English-speaking world), followed by short summaries of individual essays. Extensive bibliographic references in the notes will, I hope, provide useful orientation for those new to this field.

Invention and Imitation

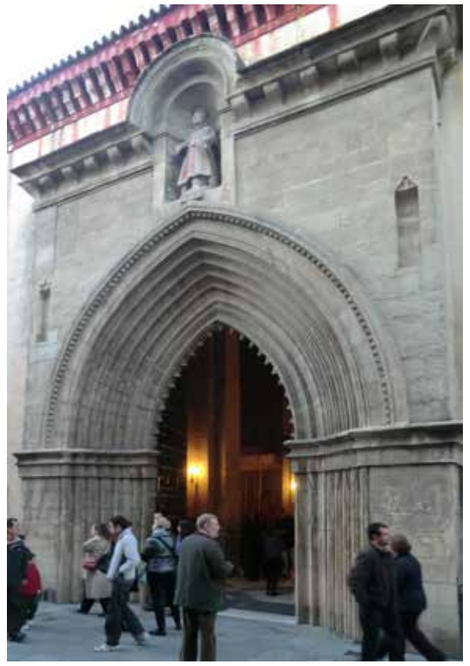
In modern English, invention and imitation stand at opposite poles of creativity. For the Oxford English Dictionary, to imitate is to 'take or follow as a model'; to invent is to 'create or design something (something that has not existed before); be the originator of'. But in Latin rhetorical theory and throughout most of the Middle Ages, *imitatio and inventio* were much closer in meaning, albeit rarely applied to architecture before the sixteenth century.[3] For Cicero and his many medieval followers, invention meant 'finding', or the selective gathering up of ideas: 'If we reconsider the origin of the word, what else does it sound like if not that "to invent" (*invenire*) is to "come upon" (*in* + *venire*) that which is sought for?' asks St Isidore.[4] *Imitatio*, meanwhile, was

a creative act, referring to the adaptation of well-chosen models, and a pre-condition for *inventio*.[5] As José Antonio Maravall brilliantly demonstrated, this definition of *inventio* and celebration of *imitatio* in no sense imply that modernity or novelty were not prized in medieval and Renaissance Spain, but in architectural contexts terms such as *ars, ingenium* and *opus* approximate more closely to the modern sense of invention.[6] To speak of imitation, meanwhile, is to recognise the agency of patrons and artists, who were very far from being the passive recipients of the 'influence'—French, German, Flemish, Italian, Byzantine, Jewish, Islamic or other—that has so often been discerned in Spain's 'aluvial' art.[7] In their medieval senses, *imitatio* and *inventio* instead combine to produce something rather similar to Richard Krautheimer's famously fluid definition of the medieval copy.[8] The essays in this collection consider ideas of *inventio* and *imitatio* as well as invention and imitation in their modern senses.

One way to identify invention and imitation in relation to Gothic architecture in Spain is to consider structures that were intended or said to be built 'ad modum et formam' as another.[9] This formula and its variations were widely and loosely employed, but in a Spanish context it is used especially tellingly in two letters sent by James II of Aragon regarding the tomb he intended to share with his late wife, Blanche of France, in the Cistercian Abbey of Santes Creus near Tarragona. Dated 16 January 1313, the near-identical letters to Pere, abbot of Santes Creus, and Pere de Prenafeta, the mason in charge of the tomb, insist that the canopy of Blanche's tomb be made 'of the same mode and form and measurements according to which the canopy of the tomb of the aforesaid king Peter, our father, is made and constructed'.[10] As built, the canopy over Blanche's tomb is indeed generally similar to that beneath which James's father, Peter III of Aragon, had been buried in 1302 (Figs. 1.1 and 1.2).[11] Deliberate similarity was a feature of several dynastic pantheons in thirteenth-century Europe and in this case was particularly desirable as James was Peter's second son, long absent in Sicily. But there are also differences between the canopies: Blanche and James's is taller, it has generous sprays rather than nobbly capitals, and the tracery motifs are sharpened and owe more to the new work at Saint-Nazaire de Carcassonne than to the structures in Troyes or Toulouse with which the tracery of Peter's tomb-canopy is most closely affiliated.[12] It is clear then that James's prescriptions left space for discreet *inventio* on the part of his masons, and a subtle critique and updating of the style and forms of Peter's tomb.

Peter's and Blanche's tombs, located within a few metres of one another in the same church, could be easily compared by King James, his masons and others. The same applies for the chapel of sent Joan Batiste (Saint John the Baptist) in Valencia Cathedral, begun in 1414, and its recorded model, the chapel of Santa Anna in the same cathedral.[13] But as Krautheimer showed, numbers and measurements could be transmitted across much greater distances with relative ease, enabling a form of numerical *imitatio*.[14] Spanish medieval examples of this phenomenon include the *Codex Calixtinus's* record of dimensions and enumeration of architectural elements in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela; the early fourteenth-century annotations to the *Anales toledanos* (III), giving measurements of several Roman churches and monuments; the recreation of Jerusalem's topography just outside Córdoba, coordinated by the Dominican friar, Álvaro de Córdoba (d. 1430), with distances between chapels very close to those in Jerusalem; or the 'Record of the sizes of the church and offices of Toledo, Seville and León cathedrals', collected in Segovia in the sixteenth century.[15]

Other features were not so readily imitated from afar, and their transmission depended on memory, verbal or written descriptions, or drawings. Evidence for the latter can be found in documents related to Bernat Dalguaire's journey to Avignon in 1346, made shortly after he was hired to begin construction on Tortosa's new Gothic cathedral. Along the way he made several drawings, and on his return spent seven days preparing a new project to show to the bishop and chapter, working with planks, nails and three assistants on what may have been a three-dimensional model or a full-scale plan.[16] Such drawings or models, in turn, assumed an authority of their own, as Encarna Montero discusses in her essay in this collection. Thus, in September 1424 it was agreed that the upper section of the bell tower of Valencia Cathedral should be made



[left] Fig. 1.3. Church of San Esteban, Seville, portal (before 1420, with seventeenth-century modifications in the upper parts).

[right] Fig. 1.4. Church of San Juan Bautista (San Juan de la Palma), Seville, portal (after 1420).

'according to the form and manner of the drawing (*mostra*) made by him (Martí Llobet, master of Valencia Cathedral) and given to the said chapter and traced out (*traçada*) by him in the garden of Pere Daries'.[17]

Other forms of architectural copying, sometimes at the recorded request of the patron, are discussed in other essays in this collection, especially those by Costanza Beltrami and Nicolás Menéndez. But I will conclude this section with one more example that demonstrates both *imitatio* and *inventio* at a relatively modest scale. In July 1420, Juan Rodríguez de Lebrija and Martín Martínez signed a contract to make the portal for the church of San Juan de la Palma in Seville, 'following and in the manner that the portal of the church of San Esteban in this city is made and worked'.[18] They also agreed to make a bell tower 'like that which is made in the church of Santa Ana de Triana'.[19] The original towers do not survive at either church, but the portals are clearly alike, and are typical of a dozen or so parish churches in medieval Seville (Figs. 1.3 and 1.4).[20] In both portals eight shafts rise in each jamb and carry eight orders of relatively plain mouldings, all beneath a hood moulding ornamented with large dog-tooth ornament. There is no tympanum. Two small image niches are set in the spandrels above, with another central niche and a horizontal corbel table higher up. At San Esteban the corbel table and central niche were altered in the seventeenth century, but even without these changes, a number of small differences between the medieval portals can nonetheless be discerned. Unlike the canopies at Santes Creus, these modifications do not obviously speak to artistic invention, but serve to underline the point that *imitatio* in the Middle Ages was never exact. More significantly, perhaps, the 'pick and mix' selection of elements at San Juan—its tower based on Sant'Ana de Triana and its portal modelled on San Esteban's—sits well with the rhetorical definition of inventio as the gathering up of suitable models, like Zeuxis's painting of Helen, based on five beautiful maidens from Croton, cited in Cicero's *De inventione*.[21] It may also suggest that the conformity of so many parish churches in Seville, Córdoba and elsewhere was led by patrons, not masons.

Fig. 1.5. Las Atarazanas (shipyards), Seville (begun 1252).

Gothic Architecture in Spain

These essays are intended to be a point of entry into the study of Gothic architecture in Spain, not a survey. Essays range from the early thirteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century, from Palma de Mallorca to León and Seville, but readers might reasonably quibble with all sorts of omissions: what about early Gothic architecture in Galicia and León, fourteenth-century Catalonia or Navarre, late-medieval Andalusia or Aragon, or even sixteenth-century Mexico, amongst many others?[22] And while the essays cover a wide variety of building types, including chapels, parish and monastic churches, colleges, palaces and cathedrals, treatment is inevitably uneven. Cathedrals

Fig. 1.6. Toledo Cathedral, west façade (largely fourteenth century, with late eighteenth-century additions).

arguably receive disproportionate treatment, while there is no consideration of mendicant architecture, and relatively little on secular buildings. If Gothic architecture were defined simply by the use of the pointed arch, then the new shipyards begun in Seville in 1252 and covering over fifteen thousand square metres would surely qualify as one of the most ambitious Gothic projects anywhere in Europe (Fig. 1.5). Moreover, Guillem Sagrera's designs for the Llonja in Palma or the late-medieval additions to the Aljafería in Zaragoza testify to the extraordinary inventiveness of Gothic architecture in mercantile and palatial contexts in medieval Iberia (Figs 1.8 and 1.9).[24] It is hoped that readers will be encouraged to investigate these lacunae for themselves.

No less problematic, perhaps, is the decision to focus on Spain and exclude Portugal.[25] Felipe Pereda has drawn attention to a series of octagonal funerary chapels in late medieval Portugal that can only be properly understood through reference to Spanish precedents, for example.[26] The Cantabrian origins of one of the most prolific architects of Manueline Portugal, João de Castilho (Juan de Castillo), also testifies to the movement of architects across the border between Spain and Portugal, while clergy and royal brides also frequently traversed the frontier.[27] Yet with the exception of one brief, contested interlude in the 1380s, Portugal was an independent kingdom throughout the period covered by these essays, and for this reason Gothic architecture in Portugal is not discussed in these essays, though it certainly deserves a study of its own. Moreover, architects and patrons also travelled regularly between Spain, France, England, Burgundy, the Holy Roman Empire and the Italian states, so in some respects any history of art that is premised on modern national boundaries is flawed. Can we then really speak of 'Spain' in the Middle Ages? It is true, of course, that Spain itself did not become a political reality until 1516, and, even then, it could hardly be considered united. But the idea of *España* or *Hispania* certainly was recognized throughout the period covered by these essays, and 'Spain' (rather than 'Iberia', which was almost

Fig. 1.7. León Cathedral, presbytery and south transept (begun 1250s, complete by 1303 or earlier).

never used in the Middle Ages) has the advantage of being concise and recognisable, without seeking to paper over the contested politics of the modern nation state that is home to many of the scholars cited in this essay collection.[28]

So should it be Gothic Architecture in Spain, or Spanish Gothic Architecture? Some years ago Fernando Marías drew attention to a small number of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources that apparently refer to a distinct Spanish style: Hieronymous Monetarius' description of the roof of the cloister of Zamora Cathedral, gilded 'ad ritum [*sic*] Hispanorum' (1495); Antonio de Lalaing's description of new houses in Granada, which were to be built 'à la fachon des maisons d'Espaigne' (1502); a 1502 contract for a painting in Rome 'ad modum Yspaniae'; and a contract for capitals 'al modo che core in Spagna' for the Casa de Pilatos (1529).[29] Despite Marías's cautionary comments, scholars have since enthusiastically adopted the idea of architecture 'ad modum Hispaniae'.[30] It should be noted, however, that none of the texts cited above refers to Gothic architecture (most seem to refer instead to domestic, possibly Mudéjar contexts), and although in this collection Henrik Karge and Begoña Alonso both highlight distinctive features of Gothic architecture in Spain at particular moments, any attempt to define a 'Spanish style' for the whole of the Gothic period would simply flatten the tremendous variety of architecture to which these essays collectively bear witness. In the section that follows I will trace the earliest uses of the term 'Gothic' in the Spanish context, before briefly sketching some of the early historiography of Gothic architecture in Spain.

From Modern To Gothic

As Marías has highlighted, one of the earliest Spanish uses of the term 'Gothic' in reference to architecture can be found in Juan Bravo de Acuña's unpublished 'Libro de la fundación de la sancta yglesia de Toledo', dated 1604, in which a plan of Toledo Cathedral is accompanied by a caption that reads, 'Its style (modo) of architecture is Gothic, which vulgarly is called modern to differentiate it from the Greek and Latin'. This terminology almost certainly derived from Vasari, whose *Vite* were well known in in late sixteenth-century Toledo (and who himself collected plans of several Spanish Gothic churches).[32] De Acuña was by no means the first person in Spain to distinguish a 'Gothic' style, however. Medieval Spanish texts frequently refer to Gothic laws, Gothic Gaul or Gothic script, as in the *Crónica de San Isidoro* of c.1385, in which 'letras goticas' are differentiated from 'letras griegas'.[33] But it was not until the sixteenth century that exposure to Italian ideas helped to introduce a new vocabulary of stylistic discrimination in relation to art and architecture in Spain.

A key role in the introduction of Italian forms and ideas was played by Íñigo López de Mendoza, the second Count of Tendilla (1442–1515), who spent time in Rome as a teenager, and again as an ambassador in the 1480s. He was closely associated with many of the earliest Italian Renaissance tombs in Spain, but also oversaw construction of Granada's royal chapel in a late Gothic idiom (indeed, he condemned the chapel's original plan as too dark, narrow and short, 'una amarga cosa').[34] In 1505 Íñigo wrote to Alonso Rodríguez, maestro mayor of Seville Cathedral, regarding the tomb of Íñigo's brother, Cardinal Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, asking for a drawing showing the 'form and manner' (*forma y manera*) of the tomb and insisting that 'nothing French, German or Moorish shall be mixed with the work, but that it should all be Roman'.[35] Although this suggests a rather modern definition of style based on national or confessional characteristics, Patrick Lenaghan has cautioned that the Count of Tendilla seems to have understood this Roman style as 'no more than superficial decorative features grafted onto a Gothic structure', easily learnt or adopted by a master who was more familiar with Gothic architectural traditions.[36] The same is implied by the city ordinances of Seville (1512), which required that those responsible for plaster decoration could work 'in diverse manners (*de diversas maneras*), whether in the Roman or

[left] Fig. 1.8. Guillem Sagrera, La Llotja, Palma de Mallorca (1426–1447).

[right] Fig. 1.9. Aljafería, Zaragoza, Gothic portal, (ca. 1488–1495).

geometrical styles (*de lazo*)'.[37]

In late sixteenth-century Spain, 'modern' or 'German' was still preferred to 'Gothic' to describe architecture, especially in opposition to the 'Roman' style. For example, in his translation of Vitruvius, drafted in Granada in 1577, Lázaro de Velasco wrote that 'there are several types (*maneras*) of churches suitable for Christian use, which are either the Roman style (*modo Romano*) that has been used in Spain, or the Teutonic style (*modo tudesco*) or of Germany, which they call modern (*al Moderno*), or the Roman use (*uso Romano*), which is employed now'.[38] Meanwhile, in the brief history of the arts in his widely circulated *Varia commensuración para la escultura y arquitectura* (1585), the goldsmith Juan de Arfe described how a new style of architecture was introduced following the Gothic invasions and collapse of Rome. This, he explained, was 'barbaric work (*obra barbara*), known as masonry work or cresting (*llamada maçoneria o cresteria*), or according to others, modern work (*obra moderna*), with which they built the cathedrals of Toledo, León, Salamanca, Burgos, Palencia, Ávila, Segovia and Seville'.[39]

By the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 'Gothic' was widely used in Spain and elsewhere to describe medieval architecture, albeit not without confusion. For example, in 1669, the diplomat and cleric François Bertaut, educated in Spain, opined that Seville Cathedral had been built 'more by the Goths than by the Moors'.[40] Modern scholars would most likely describe the tower of La Magdalena in Zaragoza as 'Mudéjar', but in his *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura* of c. 1675, Jusepe Martínez described the tower as 'á manera gótica', and distinguished between 'Gothic' and 'modern' (Renaissance) styles. Meanwhile, Madame d'Aulnoy's widely read *Relation du Voyage d'Espagne* (1691) offered a back-handed compliment to Burgos Cathedral, where 'the Architecture is so exquisitely wrought, that it may pass amongst the Gothick Buildings for a Master-Piece of Art: and this is so much the more remarkable, in that they build very sorrily in Spain'.[42]

Vasari's association of Gothic architecture with Goths and Visigoths had been clarified for French readers as early as 1687, when Jean-François Félibien distinguished between the solid, ancient Gothic style of architecture (what we might now call pre-Romanesque) and the delicate effects of 'modern' Gothic (equivalent to the modern sense of the word)—a clarification that found its way into Spanish via a translation of Charles Rollin's *Histoire ancienne*, published in Antwerp in 1745.[43] By this point the merits of Gothic architecture had been recognised by a small but important minority of French and English scholars who also offered alternatives models

[left]Fig. 1.10 Maestro Mateo, Pórtico de la Gloria, Santiago de Compostela (ca. 1188–1211). Photo: Charles Thurlston Thompson, 1866.

[right] Fig. 1.11 Real Colegiata de Santa María de Roncesvalles, Navarre (begun by 1214).

for its origins. As Matilde Mateo Seville has argued, the idea that Gothic architecture derived from Islamic architecture can be traced in France to 1679 and in England to 1713, and, early in the second decade of the eighteenth century, the French theologian and philosopher René-Joseph Tournemine formulated the notion that Gothic architecture had been invented in Spain by Christian architects who imitated their Muslim neighbours.[44] Ideas about Gothic architecture's 'Sarracenic' origins were not, however, widely disseminated until publication of Christopher

Fig. 1.12. Toledo Cathedral, presbytery vaults and triforium (ca. 1254–1274).

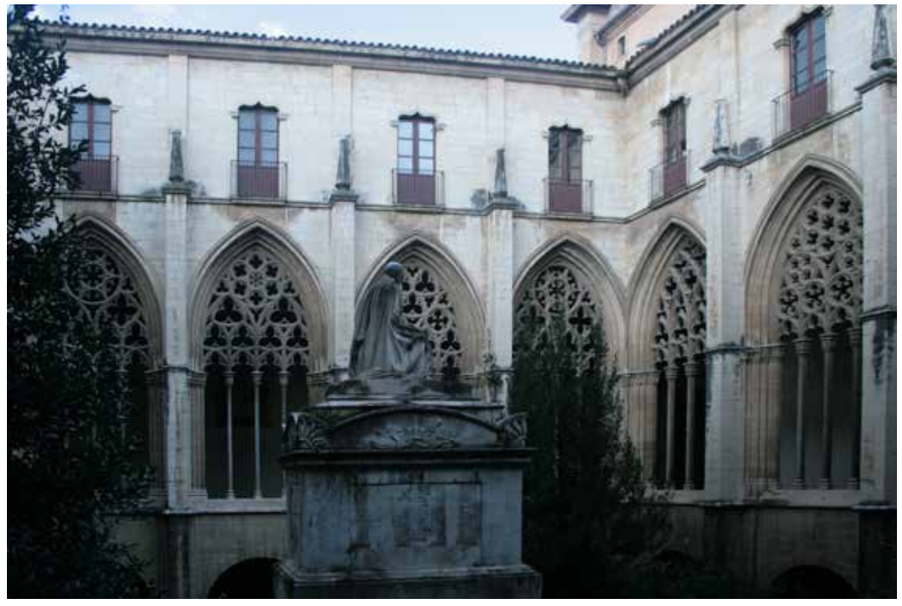


Fig. 1.13. Vic Cathedral, cloister (1323–1400).

Wren's *Parentalia* in 1750 and Diderot's *Encyclopédie* the following year.[45]

This is not the place to explore fully the attitudes to Spain's Gothic buildings among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travellers from abroad, and most anyway largely passed from brief praise of architecture to marvel at the riches of church treasuries or peculiarities of local rituals.[46] But it should be noted that British scholars and their correspondents played an important and early role in the appreciation of Gothic architecture in Spain. In the 1740s Horace Walpole's Austrian friend, Johann Heinrich Müntz, travelled to Valencia and Zaragoza and made sketches of Gothic or Mudéjar churches.[47] Several drawings of Gothic and Islamic buildings also survive from Thomas Pitt the Younger's detailed notes on his tour of Spain and Portugal in 1760—notes and drawings that apparently circulated relatively widely in Enlightenment England.[48]

These scholars and travellers helped to lay the foundation for a comprehensive reassessment of Gothic art and architecture in Spain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century amongst a circle of influential Spanish scholars that includes Diego de Villanueva, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Antonio de Capmany, Eugenio de Llaguno, Isidoro Bosarte, and especially Antonio Ponz.[49] In the very first volume of the *Viaje de España* (1772), Ponz applauded the proportions, solidity and elegance of Toledo Cathedral's Gothic architecture, citing Vasari's arguments for its German origins.[50] For Ponz it was the proposed neo-classical designs for Toledo Cathedral that were 'barbarous', and his intervention may have swayed the Toledan chapter the following year when they decided to restore the cathedral's west façade 'in the same Gothic as the original church' (Fig. 1.6).[51] But it is in his account of León Cathedral in volume eleven of the *Viaje de España*, published in 1783, that Ponz's most eloquent celebration of Gothic architecture is found (Fig. 1.7). Praising its delicacy and the elegance of its ornament, he concluded that 'the plan and elevations of the church are those habitual to the Gothic style or, to speak properly, of the German (style), for that is what we vulgarly call Gothic'.[52] Meanwhile, the Baroque remodelling of León Cathedral's presbytery prompted Ponz to deplore 'how little the Gothic period has been valued for most of our century'.[53]

The subsequent historiography of Gothic architecture in Spain has been well-studied by Matilde Mateo and others, and the number of scholars and publications is anyway too copious to consider properly in this Introduction.[54] But a brief roll call of the most important scholars of Gothic architecture in Spain would include Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, José Caveda, George Edmund

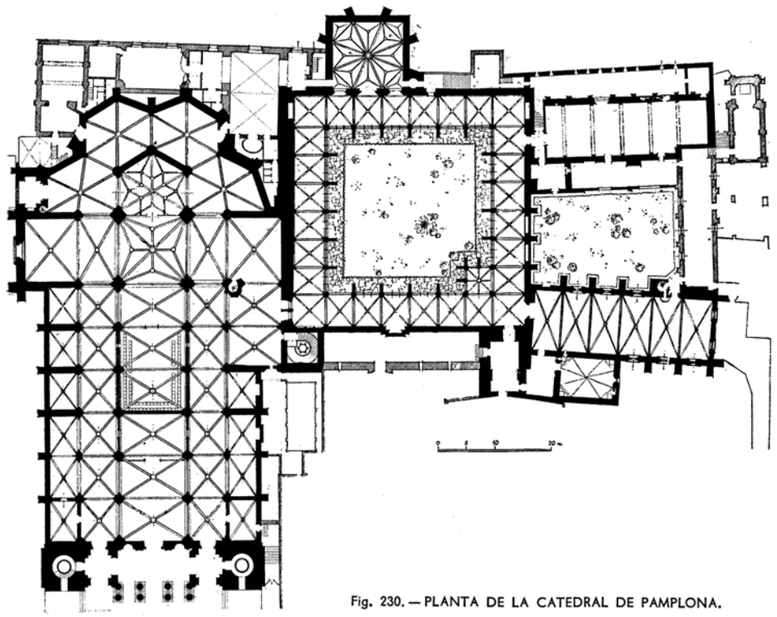


Fig. 1.14. Pamplona Cathedral, plan (begun 1394). Plan by José Yárnoz Larrosa, published in Leopoldo Torrres Balbás, *Arquitectura Gótica* (Madrid: Plus-Ultra, 1952), p. 277.

Fig. 1.15. Gerona Cathedral, east end (begun 1312), nave (begun 1347?). Photo from G. E. Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1865).

Street, Vicente Lampérez, Élie Lambert, and Leopoldo Torres Balbás, amongst many others.[55] Special mention should also be made of the archaeologist and literary historian, José Amador de los Ríos (1816–78), who in 1859 first formulated the idea of 'Mudéjar' architecture, a term that has since been widely employed to describe art or buildings made for Christian patrons but that refer to Andalusi visual and artistic traditions.[56] Although the essays in this collection only occasionally touch on overlaps between Gothic and Mudéjar traditions, the question of Islamic 'influence' or 'assimilation' has been a constant of all scholarship on Spanish medieval art since the nineteenth century. [57]

Scholarship on cross-confessional encounters and artistic pluralism has, indeed, been especially robust in the Anglophone world, especially since the quincentennial celebrations of 1992 and the renewed reflection prompted by 9/11 and the Madrid bombings of 2004.[58] So given that scholars in the US and UK have long maintained interests in Romanesque art and architecture and the Spanish Golden Age, it might reasonably be asked why so few Anglophone scholars since G. E. Street have seriously engaged with Gothic architecture in Spain.[59] This can be partly explained by the excellence of Street's study and its multiple editions, by long-standing perceptions of French and Italian cultural superiority (now increasingly challenged by the rise of Hispanic culture in the US), by British scholars' focus on Gothic architecture in Britain after World War II, by the endurance of the 'Black Legend', by the legendary inaccessibility of Spanish archives, and by the teaching and scholarship of a few influential individuals in other areas of Spanish art history (notably John Williams and Jonathan Brown in recent years).[60] But with regards to the study of Gothic architecture in Spain the exception perhaps proves the rule, at least in the UK, for the only major twentieth-century publication in English since Street's is John Harvey's *The Cathedrals of Spain* (1957).[61] Harvey was one of the leading scholars of English Gothic architecture in post-war England and his book contains a number of original observations, even if it is set out like a guide book.[62] But Harvey's conservatism made him an unpopular figure for many in England's liberal post-war universities, and in 2008 Graham Macklin revealed that Harvey had in fact been closely linked with the Fascist movement in the 1930s and 1940s.[63] It is unclear to what extent Harvey's political connections extended into Franquist Spain, and his prejudices do not surface clearly in *The Cathedrals of Spain*, but medievalists who knew Harvey nonetheless confirm anecdotally that many were deterred from working on Spanish Gothic architecture because of its association with Harvey and with Franco's regime.[64]

In Spain itself, Gothic architecture has traditionally played second fiddle to Romanesque. Compare the twenty-seven volumes of *Catalunya románica*, published with the support of the autonomous Catalan government between 1984 and 1998, and the ten volumes of *L'Art gotic a Catalunya*, begun only in 2002. The government of Navarre demonstrated similar priorities, supporting publication of the lavishly illustrated *El arte románico en Navarra* in 2004, followed by *El arte gótico en Navarra* in 2015. But the clearest example of Spain's preference for the Romanesque is the massive *Enciclopedia del Románico*, so far published in fifty-two volumes by the Fundación Santa María la Real in Aguilar de Campoo (Palencia) and covering all of Spain and Portugal.[65] There is simply no equivalent for Gothic architecture.

Despite these reservations, and the long-term consequences of the economic crash in 2008 (not least the paucity of jobs for post-doctoral students and of research leave for academics), this seems like a golden moment in the study of Gothic architecture in Spain. This is particularly noticeable in the flurry of recent conferences and publications on architecture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and in the publication of newly discovered written and graphic sources.[66] The professional lives of several prominent late Gothic architects have also been studied, and the vexed question of the relationships between Sondergotik and 'Catalan Gothic' has received new scrutiny.[67] Beginning with Henrik Karge's seminal study of Burgos Cathedral (1989), early Gothic architecture in the peninsula has also been newly studied, especially in the last twenty years.[68] Eduardo Carrero and others have done much to revitalise the study of relationships between Gothic architecture, ceremony and urbanism,[69] while holistic studies of art and architecture have

been attempted for some regions and buildings.[70]

Besides many other achievements, these recent studies have done much to draw attention to the inventiveness of Gothic architecture in Spain—often prompted by imitation of one kind or another.[71] Amongst other examples, we might cite the rib vaults of the Pórtico de la Gloria at Santiago de Compostela, transformed into a vision of the Apocalypse (Fig. 1.10).[72] Or the carefully downsized replica of Notre-Dame in Paris at the collegiate church at Roncesvalles (Fig. 1.11).[73] Or the presbytery at Toledo Cathedral, where the triforium offers a Gothic translation of Andalusi designs, and the vaults employ additional decorative ribs some years before the earliest lierne vaults in England (Fig. 1.12).[74] Or the twisting Solomonic columns employed in churches and markets in the Crown of Aragon, inspired by Solomon's Temple, and stereotomically complex (see Fig. 1.8).[75] Or the tremendous variety of tracery designs in the great cloisters at Lleida and Vic Cathedrals (Fig. 1.13).[76] Or the unusual plan of Pamplona Cathedral, with an irregular pentagonal eastern bay, and four huge and hexagonal vaults that unite the ambulatory and radiating chapels (Fig. 1.14).[77] Or the unprecedented width of the nave vaults of Gerona Cathedral (Fig. 1.15).[78] Or the precocious popularity of hall churches right across the peninsula.[79] It is impossible to do justice here to the creativity of Gothic architecture across Spain, but these examples, chosen more or less at random, offer some hint of the potential for further study. In the final section of this Introduction I will summarise the contribution of the essays in this collection to this burgeoning field.

The Essays

The nine essays are arranged in approximately chronological order. In the first essay, 'The "Sumptuous Style": Richly-Decorated Gothic Churches in the Reign of Alfonso the Learned', Henrik Karge examines the abundant vegetal ornament in Rayonnant architecture in the Crown of Castile. Karge's pioneering monograph on Burgos Cathedral (1989) and subsequent studies of Las Huelgas and León Cathedral helped to set a new standard for the rigorous scrutiny of building archaeology, written sources, and architectural contexts. Beginning with a careful study of the cloister of Burgos Cathedral, Karge here argues for the existence of distinct workshops of figural and decorative sculptors in Gothic building lodges. From Burgos he moves to Las Huelgas, Cañas, León, Cuenca and Toledo, and links the 'sumptuous style' he identifies in these buildings to the court of King Alfonso X of Castile and his imperial ambitions. Invention and imitation in Rayonnant buildings in Castile must be understood, he suggests, in relation to well-established traditions of ornament in the Iberian Peninsula, but also in the context of the networks of architects and patrons that stretched across the peninsula and into France and the Holy Roman Empire.

Javier Martínez de Aguirre's research and publications encompass both Romanesque and Gothic traditions and range impressively widely across the Spanish kingdoms. His essay, 'The King, the Architects and the Philosopher: Invention in Mallorcan Architecture around 1300' explores the design and early construction history of two extraordinary architectural projects in Mallorca: the cathedral of Palma, initiated in 1306, and Bellver Castle, begun at similar date. The geometry, numerology and orientation of Palma Cathedral's unusual east end are considered in relation to devotion to the Incarnation and to the Trinity, and thence to the contemporary Mallorcan scholar Raymond Llull, especially his *Liber de Trinitate et Encarnatione* and *Liber de geometria nova et compendiosa*. Ultimately Martínez concludes that innovation at Bellver and Palma occurred in their planning stages, and that both projects may reveal a distant awareness of Llull's ideas, with King James II as patron and possible intermediary.

In 'Architectural Practice in Spain 1370–1450: Documents and Drawings', Encarna Montero offers the first summary in English—albeit here focused on architecture, and expanded with new evidence and ideas—of her important PhD and subsequent book on the transmission of artistic knowledge in Spain between 1370 and 1450. She draws on new evidence from across

the peninsula, and especially from the rich archival holdings in Tortosa and Valencia that have been explored with renewed energy in recent years. With detailed study of apprenticeships and architectural drawings, she considers how innovation or imitation might have been encouraged by or despite long apprenticeships, and the role of architectural drawings in transmitting ideas and establishing new forms of architectural authority. Her recent discoveries in Valencia, Tortosa and elsewhere underline how much Spain has to offer historians of Gothic architecture more widely.

The fourth essay in the collection is by Amadeo Serra Desfilis, who has in many ways spearheaded the recent resurgence of medieval art history in Valencia, and done much to clarify artistic relationships between Italy and Spain in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. 'Patterns of intention: Royal Chapels in the Crown of Aragon (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries) and the Capilla de los Reyes in the Convent of Saint Dominic, Valencia' focuses on the remarkable royal chapel in the convent of Saint Dominic of Valencia, built between 1439 and 1463. Comparisons with the British Library's Psalter and Hours of Alfonso V, and with royal chapels in the crowns of Aragon and Castile, make possible a series of observations about the chapel's function and institutional structure. The chapel's spare grey walls and extraordinary diamond vaults are linked to the Dominican ideal of intense spirituality promoted by Saint Vincent Ferrer, and contrast with the rich settings of the relics that were kept and perhaps displayed in the chapel. Although it corresponds broadly to a wider typology of royal chapels in the Crown of Aragon, the royal chapel at the convent of Saint Dominic incorporates a number of innovations that can be understood as a response to the Mediterranean ambitions of Alfonso V and of the city of Valencia.

In '*Inventio* and *Imitatio*: the Appropriation of Valois Style by a *Converso* Contador Mayor', Nicola Jennings takes a holistic look at the funerary chapel of Fernán López de Saldaña in the convent of Santa Clara de Tordesillas, begun in 1430. Jennings's research explores relationships between Spain and northern Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries across a range of media, and here she focuses on an ensemble in which '*maestre* Guillén de Rohán' (probably from Rouen) and Isambart (documented in Picardy in 1399 and subsequently associated with a number of Spanish lodges) seem to have played an important role. Reconstructing the chapel's original design, she argues that the patron's choice of Norman and Flemish masons, stone-carvers and sculptors resulted in a mix of invention and imitation of Valois style which can be linked to Saldaña's dynastic ambitions and fluctuating political fortunes.

Diana Olivares Martínez shifts attention to collegiate architecture in the sixth essay, 'New Functions, New Typologies: *Inventio* in Valladolid's College of San Gregorio'. Olivares completed her doctoral study of the college in 2018 and has been extremely active in publishing on aspects of late medieval architecture and patronage, organising symposia and conference sessions, and editing an important volume of essays on art and architecture circa 1200. Her essay focuses on the College of San Gregorio in Valladolid, founded in 1487 by Alonso de Burgos and built by an anonymous but extremely creative architect. She examines the college's layout in relation to earlier traditions of colleges in Spain and beyond, as well as domestic and monastic complexes, and connects the prominent heraldry and varied and inventive designs of the college's courtyard, chapel and portal to Alonso's concerns to assert his status and express architectural magnificence.

Essay seven, 'Imitating a Model, Establishing an Identity: Copying San Juan de los Reyes at San Andrés, Toledo', shows how patrons sought the prestigious associations of San Juan de los Reyes by imitating its distinctive architectural idiom in the chapels they commissioned. Costanza Beltrami recently completed her PhD at The Courtauld and has published on aspects of late medieval architecture in Rouen. Her thesis seeks to re-examine the artistic identity of Juan Guas, one of the most celebrated architects of late medieval Spain. In this essay she focuses particularly on the capilla mayor of the Toledan parish church of San Andrés and its little-known clever adaptation of Guas's designs for San Juan. This should be understood, she argues, not only as the casual consequence of shared (and undocumented) master masons, but also in relation to the career and family of San Andrés's chief patron, Francisco de Rojas.

Turning to another eminent late Gothic architect and dynasty, Nicolás Menéndez González considers modifications to the design of the church of the royal Carthusian monastery of Miraflores, near Burgos, after Simón de Colonia assumed control of the project begun in the 1460s by his father Juan. 'Redesigning Miraflores: Simón de Colonia's Architectural Perception' teases out the church's relationship with Santa María de las Cuevas in Seville, on which the church of Miraflores was explicitly modelled, and relates the church's enrichment under Simón to the patronage of Queen Isabella. Innovative details of the church's façade and vault design are related to its setting and function as a royal funerary chapel, and reveal Simón's careful reflection on the designs of his father. The essay thus forms part of Menéndez's wider assessment of the Colonia dynasty, the subject of his doctoral thesis and recent book.

Begoña Alonso Ruiz contributes the collection's final essay, which appropriately includes a number of reflections on the historiography of Gothic architecture in Spain. Through multiple publications, conferences and edited volumes, Alonso has played a key role in establishing the vibrancy of the field of late Gothic architecture in Spain in recent years. '*Hallenkirchen* and Spanish Gothic Architecture: Historiographic Invention and Architectural Imitation' revisits the subject of hall churches across Spain, from the thirteenth century through to the sixteenth. Alonso explores the wider European context for the development of hall churches, and the ways in which Spanish examples have been understood in relation to German *Hallenkirchen*. The success of the type can be linked to a number of key architects and workshops, she suggests, but also depends on the relative economy with which impressive architectural effects could be created in parish churches.

Together these essays offer new and multiple visions of Gothic architecture in Spain, and explore the dynamic relationships between invention and imitation, architects and patrons, production and reception. Inventive in their own right, the essays nonetheless draw on the work of scholars old and new, and it is hoped that they will persuade readers of the interest of these buildings, and that Gothic architecture in Spain—no less than the broader artistic culture—deserves and rewards further study.

1. George Edmund Street, Some account of *Gothic architecture in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1865), p. 446.

2. *Some Account* was, however, reprinted in 1869, 1914, 1969, 1980 and 2016, with Spanish translations in 1926 and 2015.

3. Paul Binski, 'Notes on Artistic Invention in Gothic Europe', *Intellectual History Review* (2014): pp. 1-14, here p. 2; James S. Ackerman, 'Imitation', in Ackerman (ed.), *Origins, imitation, conventions: representation in the visual arts* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), pp. 125-141, here p. 126; José Antonio Maravall, *Antiguos y modernos: visión de la historia e idea de progreso hasta el Renacimiento* (Madrid: Alianza, 1986), pp. 299-317; Hans-Joachim Schmidt (ed.), *Tradition, Innovation, Invention: Fortschrittsverweigerung und Fortschrittsbewusstsein im Mittelalter* (Berlin; New York: Université de Fribourg. Institut des études médiévales, 2005), esp. pp. 7-49. In the context of Gothic architecture in Spain, see Henrik Karge, 'De Santiago de Compostela a León: modelos de innovación en la arquitectura medieval española. Un intento historiográfico más allá de los conceptos de estilo', *Anales de Historia del Arte (Ejemplar dedicado a: Cien años de investigación sobre arquitectura medieval española)* 1 Extra (2009): pp. 165-196; Amadeo Serra Desfilis, 'Promotores, tradiciones e innovación en la arquitectura valenciana del siglo XV', *Goya: Revista de arte* 334 (2011): pp. 58-73. *Inventio* and *imitatio* were used in relation to imaginary architecture, however: Mary J. Carruthers, 'The Poet as Master Builder: Composition and Locational Memory in the Middle Ages', *New Literary History* 24: 4 (1993): pp. 881-904.

4. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* as The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville, trans. Stephen Barney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Book X, section 122, p. 220. For a Spanish medieval theory of rhetorical invention, see Martinus Cordubensis, *Breve compendium artis rethorice* (sic), Ms 9309, fols 132-133v, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

5. Jan Ziolkowski, 'The Highest Form of Compliment: *Imitatio* in Medieval Latin Culture', in Marenbon (ed.), *Poetry and philosophy in the Middle Ages: a festschrift for Peter Dronke* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001), pp. 293-307. Also see Alina Alexandra Payne, 'Architects and Academies: Architectural Theories of imitatio and the Debates on Language and Style', in Clarke and Crossley (eds.), *Architecture and language: constructing identity in European architecture, c.1000-c.1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 195-202; Mario Carpo, 'How Do You Imitate a Building That You Have Never Seen? Printed Images, Ancient Models, and Handmade Drawings in Renaissance Architectural Theory', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64: 2 (2001): pp. 223-233; Christian Freigang, '*Imitatio* in Gothic Architecture: Forms *versus* Procedures', in Opačić and Timmerman (eds.), *Architecture, Liturgy, and Identity*. Album Amicorum Paul Crossley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 297-313.

6. Maravall, *Antiguos y modernos*, pp. 25-71; Alexandra Gajewski, 'The Choir of Auxerre Cathedral and the Question of a Burgundian Gothic Architecture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 171: 1 (2018): pp. 34-60, here pp. 41-2 (and bibliography therein); Binski, 'Notes on Artistic Invention', pp. 2, 7-9.

7. See, for example, Fernando Chueca Goitia, 'Invención y asimilación en el arte español', in Rumeu de Armas, Domínguez Ortiz, Seco Serrano and Benito Ruano (eds.), *España: reflexiones sobre el ser de España* (Madrid: Real Academia de Historia, 1997), pp. 535-546, here p. 538.

8. Richard Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an «Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture»', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): pp. 1-33 and Paul Crossley, 'Medieval architecture and meaning: the limits of iconography', *Burlington magazine* 130: 1019 (1988): pp. 116-122.

9. The phrase had been used in architectural contexts since at least the early eleventh century. See Victor Mortet and Paul Deschamps, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et à la condition des architectes en France au moyen âge. XI-XII siècles* (Paris: A. Picard, 1911), p. 29. For its use in Spain see, for example, Peter the Ceremonious's request in July 1338 for 'unum mapam mundi ad modum seu formam alterius illorum qui sunt in domo episcopi Valentie subtilibus figurati' in Francisco M. Gimeno Blay, '»Si necessitat s'esdevenia a escriure». Escritura y gobierno en la Corona de Aragón (siglo XIV)', in Sarasa Sánchez (ed.), *Monarquía, crónicas, archivos y cancillerías en los reinos hispano-cristianos: siglos XIII-XV* (Zaragoza: Institución «Fernando el Católico», 2014), pp. 185-222, here p. 215n117.

10. 'ad modum et formam et de easdem mensuras quibus tabernaculum sepulture dicti domini regis Petri, patris nostri, factum est et constructum'. In September 1312, James had written to Bertran Riquier, master of works on Barcelona's royal palace, asking him to measure Peter's tomb and begin preparations for a new tomb, 'similis illi in quo sepultum est corpus illustrissimi domini regis Petri'. These documents are now helpfully collected at http://santescreus.mhcat.cat/ca/el-projecte/apendix-documental-documentacio-medieval (accessed 1 February 2019), here docs. 83, 88 and 89.

11. For the date of the translation see http://santescreus.mhcat.cat/ca/el-projecte/apendix-documental-documentacio-medieval (accessed 1 February 2019), doc. 34.

12. Tom Nickson, 'The royal tombs of Santes Creus. Negotiating the royal image in medieval Iberia', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 72: 1 (2009): pp. 1-14, here pp. 8-9.

13. 'Primerament que lo dit en Pere Torregrosa sia tengut fer e fara una capella bella e notable, en lo loch de la capella de sent Joan Batiste, dins la seu, de la altitud amplea e forma de la de Sta Anna en la dita seu'. See Encarna Montero Tortajada, *La transmisión del conocimiento en los oficios artísticos: Valencia 1370-1450* (València: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2015), p. 123; José Sanchis Sivera, 'La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media, notas para su historia', *Archivo de arte valenciano* 10 (1924): pp. 3-29, here p. 29.

14. Krautheimer, 'Introduction', pp. 10-13.

15. Paula Gerson, 'De qualitate aecclesiae: Architectural Description in the Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela', in Nicolai and Rheidt (eds.), *Santiago de Compostela: Pilgerarchitektur und bildliche Repräsentation in neuer Perspektive* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2015), pp. 31-41, here pp. 37-40; Antonio C. Floriano, 'Anales Toledanos III', *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 43-44 (1967): pp. 154-187, here pp. 178-9; Felipe Pereda, 'Measuring Jerusalem: The Marquis of Tarifa's Pilgrimage in 1520 and its Urban Consequences', Città e Storia 7 (2012): pp. 77-102, here p. 94; María Teresa Cortón de las Heras, *La Construcción de la Catedral de Segovia (1523-1607)* (Segovia: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Segovia, 1997), p. 52.

16. María Victòria Almuni i Balada, *La Catedral de Tortosa als segles del Gòtic* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2007), 1: pp. 72-73. A slightly later drawing, marked 'en Antoni Guarc: mostra a portar', shows a plan for the new cathedral that differs from the extant structure, and in 1375, Andreu Julià, master mason at Tortosa and Valencia Cathedrals, was sent to visit several cities, and made a drawing of the bell tower of Lérida Cathedral. See Almuni i Balada, *La Catedral de Tortosa*, 1: pp. 104-6, 117, 455-6.

17. 'segons la forma e manera de la mostra per ell (Llobet) feta e donada al dit capitol e traçada per ell mateix en l'ort den Pere Daries'. See Arturo Zaragozá and A. García, 'El dibujo de proyecto en época medieval según la documentación archivística: el episodio gótico valenciano', in Docci (ed.), *Il disegno di progetto dalle origini al XVIII secolo* (Rome: Gangemi, 1993), pp. 41-44, here pp. 42-43.

18. 'segund e en la manera que está fecha e obrada la portada de la eglesia de Sant Esteuan desta dicha Çibdat'. See I. Ríos Collantes de Terán and Antonio Sánchez de Mora, 'El mudéjar en la iglesia parroquial de San Juan Bautista, vulgo de la Palma: a propósito de un documento', *Laboratorio de Arte: Revista del Departamento de Historia del Arte* 11 (1998): pp. 405-420, here p. 412.

19. 'tal commo el que está fecho en la esglesia de Santa Agna de Triana'. See Ríos Collantes de Terán and Sánchez de Mora, 'El mudéjar', p. 412.

20. For this group see Alfredo J. Morales, 'Los inicios de la arquitectura mudéjar en Sevilla', in Morales (ed.), *Metropolis totius hispaniae. 750 aniversario de la incorporación de Sevilla a la corona castellana* (Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1998), pp. 91-106.

21. Cicero, *De inventione* (Book II, part 1, i), discussed in Binski, 'Notes on Artistic Invention', p. 1. Compare Gabriel Byng, 'The Dynamic of Design: 'Source' Buildings and Contract Making in England in the Later Middle Ages', *Architectural History* 59 (2016): pp. 123-148, here pp. 134-35.

22. For Gothic architecture in Mexico, see, for example, Ana María Lara Gutiérrez, 'La Arquitectura gótica de la nueva España', in Jiménez Martín (ed.), *La piedra postrera. V centenario de la conclusión de la Catedral de Sevilla. Ponencias* (Seville: Tvrris Fortissima, 2007), pp. 281-303.

23. Leopoldo Torres Balbás, 'Atarazanas hispanomusulmanas', *al-Andalus* 11 (1946): pp. 175-209, here pp. 196-203.

24. Joan Domenge i Mesquida, 'Guillem Sagrera et «lo modern de son temps»', *Revue de l'art* 166: 4 (2009): pp. 77-90, here p. 86; Carmen Gómez Urdáñez, 'El palacio de los Reyes Católicos. Descripción artística', in Cabañero Subiza (ed.), *La Aljafería* (Zaragoza: Cortes de Aragón, 1998), pp. 229-287.

25. For an attempt at a pan-Iberian bibliography of medieval art and architecture see Tom Nickson, 'Art of Medieval Iberia', in *Oxford Bibliographies Online*, DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199920105-0140 (accessed 5 November 2019).

26. Felipe Pereda, 'Entre Portugal y Castilla: la secuencia formal de las capillas ochavadas de cabecera en el siglo XV', in Guillaume (ed.), *Demeures d'éternité: églises et chapelles funéraires aux XVe et XVIe siècles. Actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 11 au 14 juin 1996* (Paris: Picard, 2005), pp. 49-64.

27. María Ealo de Sá and Alberto Luna, *El arquitecto Juan de Castillo: el constructor del mundo* (Santander: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Cantabria, 2009). See, for example, Ana Maria S.A. Rodrigues, 'The Treasures and Foundations of Isabel, Beatriz, Elisenda, and Leonor: The Art Patronage of Four Iberian Queens in the Fourteenth Century', in Martín (ed.), *Reassessing the Roles of Women as Makers of Medieval Art and Architecture* (Brepols: Brill, 2012), pp. 903-934; María Victoria Herráez and María Dolores Teijeira, 'Entre Castilla y Portugal. El patronazgo de Vasco Fernández de Toledo (†1362)', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10: 3 (2018): pp. 341-363.

28. José Antonio Maravall, *El concepto de España en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1964).

29. Fernando Marías Franco, *El largo siglo XVI: los usos artísticos del renancimiento español* (Madrid: Taurus, 1989), pp. 98-99; Ludwig Pfandl, 'Itinerarium Hispanicum Hieronymi Monetarii, 1494-1495', *Revue Hispanique* 48 (1920): pp. 1-179, here p. 101; Louis Gachard, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas* (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1876), vol. 1, p. 205; Fernando Marías Franco, 'La magnificencia del mármol. La escultura genovesa y la arquitectura española (siglos XV-XVI)', in Boccardo, Colomer and Di Fabio (eds.), *España y Génova obras, artistas y coleccionistas* (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde Ediciones Centro de Estudios Hispánicos e Iberoamericanos, 2004), pp. 55-68, here p. 62.

30. For a recent (and otherwise excellent) example, see Palma Martínez-Burgos García, 'El mecenazgo artístico de Cisneros: gusto y manera «ad modum Yspaniae»', in Sánchez Gamero (ed.), *Cisneros: arquetipo de virtudes, espejo de prelados* (Toledo: Cabildo Primado, Catedral de Toledo, 2017), pp. 147-163.

31. Fernando Marías Franco, 'La memoria de la catedral de Toledo desde 1604: la descripción de Juan Bravo de Acuña y la planta y dibujos ceremoniales de Nicolás de Vergara el Mozo', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 21 (2009): pp. 105-120, here p. 119n30, implies that this term had already been employed in the 'Epístola al Lector' in M. Vitruvio Pollion, De architectura dividido en diez libros (Alcala de Henares: Juan Gracian, 1582), fol. 4v, but I can find no such reference.

32. See Xavier de Salas and Fernando Marías, *El Greco y el arte de su tiempo: Las notas de El Greco a Vasari* (Madrid: Real Fundación de Toledo, 1992); Giorgio Vasari and Virginia Stefanelli, *La città ideale: Piante di chiese [palazzi e ville] di Toscana e d'Italia* (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1970); José María Guerrero Vega, 'El plano de Vasari de la catedral de Sevilla', in Álvarez Márquez (ed.), *La catedral gótica Magna Hispalensis: los primeros años* (Seville: Aula Hernán Ruiz, 2008), pp. 89-121.

33. Regina Af Geijerstam and Cyntia M. Wasick (eds.), *Crónica de San Isidoro. Estocolmo D 1272a* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995), fol. 117r, accessed 9

February 2019, http://www.hispanicseminary.org/t&c/cro/icr/text.icr1.htm.

34. Emilio Meneses Garcia (ed.), *Correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1974), 1: p. 570; Patrick Lenaghan '»It shall all be Roman»: early patrons of Italian Renaissance tombs in Spain', in Schroth (ed.), *Art in Spain and the Hispanic world: Essays in honor of Jonathan Brown* (London: Paul Hólberton, 2010), pp. 213-234, esp. p. 220.

35. Lenaghan 'It shall all be Roman', p. 232n2. See also Begoña Alonso's essay in this collection.

36. Lenaghan 'It shall all be Roman', pp. 218-21.

37. *Ordenanças de Seuilla (1512): recopilacion de las ordenanças dela muy noble [et] muy leal cibdad de Seuilla* (Seville: Juan Varela de Salamanca, 1527), fol. 151.

38. Earl E. Rosenthal, *The Cathedral of Granada. A study in the Spanish Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 192, doc. 145; Antonio Urquízar Herrera and Alicia Cámara Muñoz, *Renacimiento* (Madrid: Editorial Universitaria Ramón Areces, 2017), pp. 44-5. The difference here between *uso* and *modo* is not clear.

39. Juan de Arfe y Villafañe, *Varia commensuración para la escultura y arquitectura* (Seville: Andrea Percioni y Juan de León, 1585), Book 4, fols 2r-v. Juan de Arfe's words carried a particular autobiographical relevance, for his grandfather, Enrique de Arfe, had in the early sixteenth century migrated to Castile from German lands, and the metalwork *custodias* and sceptres he made for Sahagún, León, Córdoba, Toledo and Oviedo constitute some of the most spectacular creations of late-Gothic microarchitecture in all of Europe. Juan's vocabulary was in turn echoed in his brief biography by the artist and theorist Antonio Palomino, published in 1723, in which Palomino credited Juan's father, Antonio, for abandoning this 'arquitectura bárbara gótica' in favour of a Roman style. See Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El museo pictorico y escala optica* (Madrid: Lucas Antonio de Bedmar, 1723), p. 393.

40. François Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne* (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1669), p. 142.

41. Jusepe Martínez and Valentín Carderera, *Discursos del nobilísimo arte de la pintura* (Madrid: Manuel Tello, 1866), pp. 170 and 179.

42. Madame d'Aulnoy, *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1691), 1: p. 212. The translation is taken from Madame d'Aulnoy, *The Ingenious and Diverting Letters of the Lady-(Marie Catherine, Baroness [or rather Countess] of Aulnoy) Travels into Spain ... The second edition* (London: Samuel Crouch, 1692), p. 50. Whence the judgement that Burgos cathedral 'is justly reckoned, among the most elegant Pieces of *Gothic* Architecture': Udal Ap Rhys, *An Account of the Most Remarkable Places and Curiosities in Spain and Portugal* (London: J. Osborn et al, 1749), p. 31.

43. Jean-François Félibien, *Recueil historique de la vie et des ouvrages des plus célèbres architectes* (Paris: Widow of Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1687), preface; Charles Rollin, *Rolin abreviado, ô compendio de la historia antigua* (Antwerp: Marc Miguel Bousquet, 1745), 6: pp. 86-7. Martín Sarmiento, *Viaje a Galicia* (1745) (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad, 1975), p. 61, describes semi-circular arches in the Torre de Oeste in Catoira (Galicia), 'which, as they are not 'modern', must predate the Gothic structure or order (*la fábrica o orden gótico*)'.

44. Jean-Louis de Cordemoy, *Nouveau traité de toute l'architecture, ou l'Art de bastir; ... Avec un dictionnaire des termes d'architecture, &c* (Paris: Chez Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1714), pp. 241-3; Matilde Mateo Sevilla, 'The Making of the Sarracenic Style: the Crusades and Medieval Architecture in the British Imagination of the 18th and 19th centuries', in Semaan (ed.), *The Crusades: other experiences, alternate perspectives* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Global Academic Pub., 2003), pp. 115-140.

45. Matilde Mateo Sevilla, 'In Search of the Origin of the Gothic: Thomas Pitt´s Travel in Spain in 1760', *Journal of Art Historiography* 15 (2016): pp. 1-22, especially pp. 9-11.

46. See, in general, José García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1952-62), and, for British travellers, Ian Robertson, *Los Curiosos impertinentes. Viajeros ingleses por España, 1760-1855* (Madrid: Serbal, 1988).

47. Mateo Sevilla, 'In Search', p. 11.

48. Mateo Sevilla, 'In Search', pp. 15-18.

49. See Ignacio Luis Henares Cuéllar, 'Arqueología e historia del arte islámico en el Siglo de las Luces. El informe de Jovellanos sobre los monumentos árabes de Granada y Córdoba', *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino 2* (1988): pp. 165-176, here p. 175; Nieves Panadero Peropadre, 'Teorías sobre el origen de la arquitectura gótica en la historiografía ilustrada y romántica española', *Anales de Historia del Art (Homenaje al profesor Dr. D. José María de Azcárate y Ristori)* 4 (1993-1994): pp. 203-211; José Enrique García Melero, *Literatura española sobre artes plásticas* (Madrid: Encuentro, 2002); Ramon Grau i Fernández and Marina López i Guallar, 'Origen de la revaloració del gòtic a Barcelona: Capmany, 1792', *Barcelona quaderns d'història* 8 (2003): pp. 143-177; Karge, 'De Santiago de Compostela a León', p. 169; Daniel Crespo Delgado, *Un viaje para la Ilustración: el 'Viaje de España' (1772-1794) de Antonio Ponz* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2012), pp. 233-41.

50. Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España ó Cartas en que se da noticia de las cosas mas apreciables, y dignas de saberse que hay en ella* (Madrid: D. Joachin Ibarra, 1772), pp. 36-7.

51. Ponz, *Viage*, pp. 44-5; Juan Luis Blanco Mozo, 'La restauración como problema: el arzobispo Francisco Antonio Lorenzana y Ventura Rodríguez ante las reformas de la catedral de Toledo (1774-1775)', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* 12 (2000): pp. 111-130, here p. 120.

52. Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España* (Madrid: Ibarra, 1783), pp. 219-20. See Crespo Delgado, *Un viaje para la Ilustración*, pp. 225-42. The echo (and inversion) of Christopher Wren's famous statement that 'what we now vulgarly call Gothic ought properly and truly be named Saracenic architecture' (Christopher Wren, *Parentalia* (London: T. Osborne, 1750), p. 297) is striking. This must have been written before Ponz's journey to England in 1783, but had he already encountered Wren's writings? See Mónica Bolufer Peruga, 'Visiones de Europa en el Siglo de las Luces: El «Viaje fuera de España» (1785) de Antonio Ponz', *Estudis: Revista de historia moderna* 28 (2002): pp. 167-204.

53. Ponz, *Viage de España*, p. 220. See, more broadly, José Enrique García Melero, *Las catedrales góticas en la España de la Ilustración: La incidencia del neoclasicismo en el gótico* (Madrid: Encuentro, 2002).

54. See, most recently, Matilde Mateo Sevilla, 'The Moorish-Gothic Cathedral: Invention, Reality, or Weapon?', in Glaser (ed.), *The Idea of the Gothic cathedral: interdisciplinary perspectives on the meanings of the medieval edifice in the modern period* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2018), pp. 47-80. See also Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, 'Teoría y método en la Historia de la arquitectura medieval. Algunas reflexiones', in Rosselló Bordoy (ed.), *Seminari d'estudis històrics 2007: Arqueologia de l'arquitectura* (Palma de Mallorca: Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana, 2008), pp. 5-27; Geneviève Barbé-Coquelin de Lisle, 'El arte medieval español visto por los historiadores del arte franceses en el siglo XX', in Cabañas Bravo (ed.), *El arte español fuera de España* (Madrid: CSIC, 2003), pp. 453-458; Philippe Araguas, 'La arquitectura medieval española vista por los <<hispanistas>> franceses', *Anales de Historia del Arte* supplementary volume (2009): pp. 9-26; Iñigo Basarrate, 'The British discovery of Spanish Gothic architecture', *Journal of Art Historiography* 19 (2018): pp. 1-30.

55. See, in particular, Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Descripción artística de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville: La viuda de Hidalgo y sobrino, 1804), pp. 17-18; Eugenio de Llaguno y Amírola, *Noticias de los Arquitectos y Arquitectura de España desde su Restauración* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1829), 1: xxxi and pp. 34-168; José Caveda, *Ensayo histórico sobre los diversos géneros de arquitectura empleados en España desde la dominacion Romana hasta nuestros dias* (Madrid: Saintiago Saunaque, 1849), pp. 249-417; Street, *Some account*; Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la edad media, según el estudio de los elementos y los monumentos, etc.* (Madrid: José Blass y Cía, 1908); Vicente Lampérez y Romea and España Comisaría Regia del Turismo, *La Catedral de Burgos* (Barcelona: H. de J. Thomas, 1911); Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Los grandes monasterios españoles* (Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1920); Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Arquitectura civil española de los siglos I al XVIII* (Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1922); Élie Lambert, *L'Art gothique en Espagne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1931); Élie Lambert, *Études médiévales* (Toulouse: Privat-Didier 1956-7); Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Arquitectura gótica* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1952); Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Obra dispersa* (Madrid: Instituto de España, 1981-5) http://oa.upm.es/view/creators/Torres_Balb=E1s=3ALeopoldo=3A=3A.html.

56. See especially José Amador de los Ríos, *Sevilla pintoresca o descripción de sus más célebres monumentos artísticos* (Seville: Francisco Álvarez y C[a], 1844); José Amador de los Rios, *Toledo pintoresca* (Madrid: Ignacio Boix, 1845); José Amador de los Ríos, *El estilo mudéjar en la arquitectura discurso del Ilmo. Sr. D. José Amador de los Ríos: leido en junta pública de 19 de junio de 1859* (Madrid: José Rodríguez, 1859); and scattered essays in *Museo Español de Antigüedades* (published in eleven volumes between 1872 and 1880) and *Monumentos Arquitectonicos de España* (published in series, between 1859 and 1895). See Antonio Urquízar Herrera, 'La caracterización política del concepto mudéjar en España durante el siglo XIX', *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie VII, Historia del arte* 22-23 (2009-10): pp. 201-216.

57. See, among other studies, María Judith Feliciano and Leyla Rouhi, 'Introduction: Interrogating Iberian Frontiers', *Medieval Encounters* 12: 3 (2006): pp. 317-328; Philippe Araguas, *Brique et architecture dans l'Espagne médiévale: XIIe-XVe siècles* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2003), pp. 137-41. At the conference from which this collection of essays is drawn, Elena Paulino Montero gave a paper on 'Architecture and aesthetic practices in fourteenth-century Castile', subsequently published as Elena Paulino Montero, 'Architecture and Artistic Practices in Fourteenth Century Castile: The visual memory of Alfonso XI and Pedro I under the first Trastamaran kings', *La corónica* 45: 2 (2017): pp. 133-163.

58. See, for example, Maya Soifer, 'Beyond convivencia: critical reflections on the historiography of interfaith relations in Christian Spain', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1: 1 (2009): pp. 19-35.

59. No major study has been published by French scholars since Lambert, *L'Art gothique* (1931). For Romanesque studies by Anglophone scholars, see, for example, Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston: Hacker Art Bks., 1965); Walter Muir Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1941); Charles Little (ed.), *The Art of medieval Spain*, A.D. 500-1200 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New York, 1993); Rose Walker, *Art in Spain and Portugal from the Romans to the Early Middle Ages. Routes and Myths* (Amsterdan: Amsterdam University Press, 2016).

60. See Matilde Mateo Sevilla, 'Breaking the Myth: Toledo Cathedral on the International Stage, a Review', *Journal of Art Historiography* 17 (2017): pp. : pp. 2-5. For Spanish archives, see the preface to Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the papacy in the thirteenth century* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

61. John Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1957).

62. His most important work is arguably John Harvey, *English mediaeval architects: a biographical dictionary down to 1550* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1984).

63. Graham Macklin, 'The two lives of John Hooper Harvey', *Patterns of Prejudice* 42: 2 (2008): pp. 167-190: esp. pp. 185-6, in which Macklin points to Harvey's celebration of Edward I's expulsion of Jews from England in 1290 and the period of 'enlightened nationalism' that followed.

64. Harvey's acknowledgements also reveal a network of friends with strong ties to Franco's regime.

65. Romanesque architecture is also especially well-served by numerous websites, of varying levels of academic reliability.

66. See especially the publications listed by the research group, http://tardogotico.net (accessed 15 February 2019), including Alfonso Jiménez Martín (ed.), *La piedra postrera. V centenario de la conclusión de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville: Tvrris Fortissima, 2007); Begoña Alonso Ruiz (ed.), *Los últimos arquitectos del gótico* (Madrid: Marta Fernández-Rañada, 2010); Begoña Alonso Ruiz (ed.), *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana entre Europa y América* (Madrid: Silex, 2011); Begoña Alonso and Fernando Villaseñor Sebastián (eds.), *Arquitectura tardogótica en la corona de Castilla: trayectorias e intercambios* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2014); Begoña Alonso Ruiz and Juan Clemente Rodríguez Estévez (eds.), *1514: arquitectos tardogóticos en la encrucijada* (Seville: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2016). For new graphic and documentary sources, or reappraisals of old ones, see, for example, Joan Domenge i Mesquida, 'Guillem Morey a la seu de Girona (1375-1397). Seguiment documental', *Lambard* 9 (1996): pp. 105-131; Joan Domenge i Mesquida, 'Le portail du mirador de la cathédrale de Majorque: du document au monument', in Bernardi, Hartmann-Virnich and Vingtain (eds.), *Texte et archéologie monumentale: approches de l'architecture médiévale* (Montagnac: M. Mergoil, 2005), pp. 10-26; Almuni i Balada, La Catedral de Tortosa; Begoña Alonso Ruiz and Alfonso Jiménez Martín, *La traça de la Iglesia de Sevilla* (Seville: Biblioteca autores sevillanos, 2009); Encarna Montero Tortajada, *La transmisión del conocimiento en los oficios artísticos: Valencia 1370-1450*; María Victoria Herráez Ortega and Santiago Domínguez Sánchez (eds.), *La actividad artística en la Catedral de Toledo en 1418: el Libro de obra y fábrica OF 761* (León: Universidad de León, Instituto de Estudios Medievales, 2017); Enrique Rabasa Díaz, Ana López Mozo and Miguel Ángel Alonso Rodríguez (eds.), *Obra congrua: Estudios sobre la construcción gótica, elaborados con motivo del 600 aniversario de la reunión de maestros convocada en 1416 para la consulta sobre la continuación de las obras de la catedral de Girona* (Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera, 2017).

67. John D. Hoag, *Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón: gótico y renacimiento en la arquitectura española del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Xarait, 1985); Joan Domenge i Mesquida, 'Guillem Sagrera, maître d'oeuvre se la cathédrale de Majorque', *Histoire & mesure* 16: 3/4 (2001): pp. 373-403; Begoña Alonso Ruiz, *Arquitectura tardogótica en Castilla: los Rasines* (Santander: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cantabria, 2003); Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozano and Joaquín Bérchez, *Pere Compte: arquitecto* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana: Ajuntament de València, 2007); Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza and Antonio García Flores, 'Ysambart y la renovación del gótico final en Castilla: Palencia, la Capilla del Contador Saldaña en Tordesilla y Sevilla. Hipótesis para el debate', *Anales de Historia del Arte* 19 (2009): pp. 43-76; German Andreu Chiva Maroto, 'Francesc Baldomar. Maestro de obra de la Seo: Geometria e inspiracion biblica' (PhD diss., Universitat Politecnica de Valencia, 2014). Costanza Beltrami, Juan Guas and Gothic Architecture in Late Medieval Spain: Collaborations, Networks and Geographies (unpublished PhD dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2020). On Sondergotik, see, for example, Joan Domenge i Mesquida, 'Santa Maria del Mar i la historiografia del gotic meridional', *Barcelona quaderns d'historia* 8 (2003): pp. 179-200.

68. Henrik Karge, *Die Kathedrale von Burgos und die spanische Architektur des 13. Jahrhunderts: französische Hochgotik in Kastilien und León* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1989); Gema Palomo Fernández, *La catedral de Cuenca en el contexto de las grandes canterías catedralicias castellanas en la Baja Edad Media* (Cuenca: Diputación de Cuenca, 2002); Arturo Zaragozá Catalán and Eduard Mira (eds.), *Una arquitectura gótica mediterránea* (Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura i Educació, Subsecretaria de Promoció Cultural, 2003); Henrik Karge, 'La arquitectura de la catedral de León en el contexto del gótico europeo', in Yarza Luaces, Herráez Ortega and Boto Varela (eds.), *La catedral de León en la Edad Media* (Leon: Universidad de León, 2004), pp. 113-144; Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, *Arquitectura gótica valenciana: siglos XIII-XV* (Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura, 2004); James D'Emilio, 'The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas: Dynastic Politics, Religious Reform and Artistic Change in Medieval Castile', in Lillich (ed.), *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture* (Dublin: Columba Press, 2005), pp. 189-280; Arturo Zaragozá Catalán and Vicent Gil Vicent (eds.), *Jaime I (1208-2008): arquitectura año cero* (Castelló: Museu de Belles Arts de Castello, 2008); Tom Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral: Building Histories in Medieval Castile* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2015); Gerardo Boto Varela, 'Morphogenesis and Spatial Organisation of Tarragona Cathedral (1150–1225)', in Boto Varela and Kroesen (eds.), *Romanesque cathedrals in Mediterranean Europe: architecture, ritual and urban context* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 85-105; Diana Olivares Martínez and Maria Poza Yagüe (eds.), *Alfonso VIII y Leonor de Inglaterra: confluencias artísticas en el entorno de 1200* (Madrid: Ediciones Complutenses, 2017).

69. See, e.g., Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, *Las catedrales de Galicia durante la Edad Media: claustros y entorno urbano* (La Coruña: 2005); Javier Miguel Martínez de Aguirre Aldaz, 'El componente artístico de las ceremonias de coronación y exequias en tiempos de Carlos II y Carlos III de Navarra', in Ramírez Vaquero (ed.), *Ceremonial de la coronación, unción y exequias de los reyes de Inglaterra* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2008), pp. 229-250; Eduardo Carrero Santamaría (ed.), *Arquitectura y liturgia: el contexto artístico de las consuetas catedralicias en la Corona de Aragón* (Palma, Mallorca: Objeto Perdido, 2014); Sonia Dauksis Ortolá (ed.), *Historia de la ciudad* (Valencia: Instituto para la Comunicación, Asesoría, 2000-2015); Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, *La catedral habitada. Historia viva de un espacio arquitectónico* (Barcelona: Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2019).

70. Javier Martínez de Aguirre, *Arte y monarquía en*

Navarra, 1328-1425 (Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1987); Francesca Español Bertrán, *El Gòtic Català* (Barcelona: Angle Editorial, 2002); Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral.*

71. See, for example, Rafael Cómez Ramos, 'Tradición e Innovación Artística en Castilla en el Siglo XIII', *Alcanate. Revista de estudios alfonsíes* 3 (2003): pp. 135-163; Domenge i Mesquida, 'Guillem Sagrera et «lo modern de son temps»'; Serra Desfilis, 'Promotores, tradiciones e innovación'.

72. Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'Dreams of Kings and Buildings: Visual and Literary Culture in Galicia (1157–1230)', in D'Emilio (ed.), *Culture and society in medieval Galicia: A cultural crossroads at the edge of Europe* (Brepols: Brill, 2015), pp. 695-764, here pp. 708-25. The author offered an extended version of this idea at the conference from which these papers derive, but unfortunately it was not possible for her to submit a paper of her own.

73. Javier Martínez de Aguirre Aldaz, Leopoldo Gil Cornet and M. Orbe Sivatte, *Roncesvalles. Hospital y santuario en el Camino de Santiago* (Pamplona: Fundación para la Conservación del Patrimonio Histórico de Navarra, 2012), pp. 38-48.

74. Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral*, pp. 81-94.

75. Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, 'Inspiración bíblica y presencia de la antigüedad en el episodio tardogótico valenciano', in Dauksis Ortolá and Taberner (eds.), *Historia de la ciudad II: Territorio, sociedad y patrimonio* (Valencia: Instituto para la Comunicación, Asesoría, 2000), pp. 166-183.

76. See Francesca Español Bertrán, 'El claustro gótico de la catedral de Lérida: forma y función', in Klein (ed.), *Der Mittelalterliche Kreuzgang: Architektur, Funktion und Programm* (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2003), pp. 352-367.

77. Leopoldo Torres Balbás, 'Filiación arquitectónica de la Catedral de Pamplona', *Príncipe de Viana* 7: 24 (1946): pp. 471-508, here pp. 487-502.

78. Rabasa Díaz, López Mozo and Alonso Rodríguez, *Obra congrua.*

79. Julio P. Polo, 'El Modelo 'hallenkirchen' en Castilla', in Alonso Ruiz (ed.), *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana entre Europa y AméricaSilex*, 2011), pp. 281-311. See also Begoña Alonso's essay in this collection.

2

The 'Sumptuous Style': Richly Decorated Gothic Churches in the Reign of Alfonso the Learned

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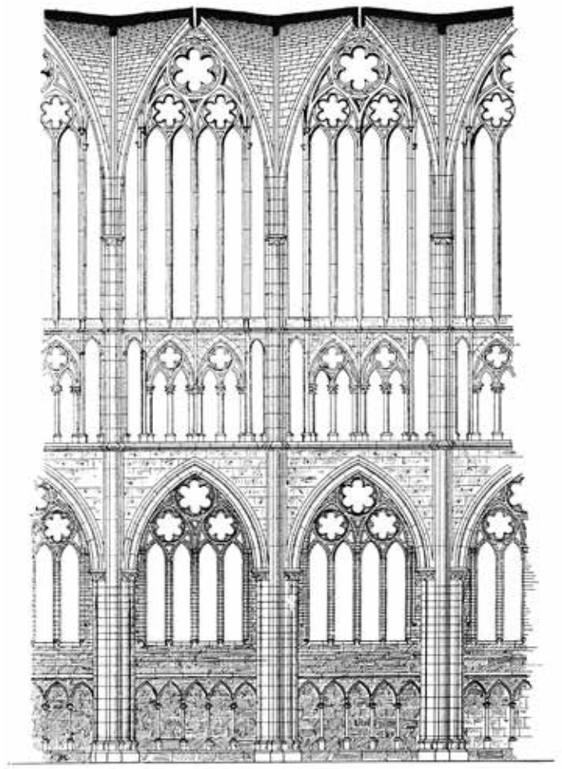

Fig. 2.1. León Cathedral, nave elevation. From Georg Dehio and Gustav von Bezold, *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, *atlas,* vol. 5 (Stuttgart: Cotta 1901), plate 523, 2.

There are few periods in the Middle Ages in which the vegetal and anthropomorphic forms of architectural ornament exhibit the same variety and artistic quality as in the later thirteenth century. Capitals and friezes of Gothic churches of this period are full of naturalistic leaves that vividly and seductively suggest the empirical discovery of nature. That this moment of apparent naturalism was far from inevitable is demonstrated by the new stylisation of artistic forms that emerged in nearly all European countries from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[1]

Considering the particular importance of naturalistic ornament in the thirteenth century, studies of the phenomenon are surprisingly rare.[2] This is probably due to dominance of geometrical patterns in Gothic architecture in the same decades in which naturalistic foliage was flowering. This new system of the so-called *style rayonnant*—the most famous example being the royal Sainte-Chapelle in Paris—was characterised by technical boldness and by geometrical designs, especially in window tracery, as a result of advanced planning methods and as an expression of the intellectualisation of architecture.[3]

The *style rayonnant*, elaborated in France under the reign of King Louis IX, generated a system of planning and constructing that became the dominant model for church building throughout Europe. Outside France the technological prerequisites for such systematic geometrical planning existed only in a reduced form. In other European countries, we find that only isolated formal motifs derived from the Rayonnant system were integrated into local building traditions. Examples include Westminster Abbey in England; the cathedral of Regensburg and the parish church of St. Marien in Lübeck, both in Germany; and the cathedral of Uppsala in Sweden.[4] In my view, there are only two 'pure' examples of Rayonnant architecture outside France: the cathedrals of Cologne in western Germany and of León in northern Spain (Fig. 2.1), of which only the latter was finished in the Middle Ages.

Indeed, the cathedral of León, built from 1255, can be considered an export work of the

French Rayonnant style, because its structure does not show any traces of Spanish traditions. Its first architect, Master Simon (mentioned in 1261), probably came to Spain together with a squad of skilled stonemasons from Champagne. This is confirmed by comparisons with several churches from that region: the plan of León Cathedral recalls that of the cathedral of Reims; the façade shows analogies with Saint-Nicaise at Reims, the inner structure with Saint-Jacques in the same town. The closest similarities are with the cathedral of Châlons-en-Champagne (ca. 1230–1260), and it is possible that Master Simon had been trained in its workshop. The architect included, moreover, references to French royal buildings such as Saint-Denis and the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.[5]

In this essay I will focus not on the geometrical systems of the *style rayonnant*, but instead on its rich sculptural decoration and naturalistic forms. Returning to the earliest phases of Gothic architecture, we find the substitution of the rich compositions of figurative scenes, leaves and ribbons that characterise late Romanesque decorations with standardised vegetal capitals in the form of buds, so-called crochets. But in the second quarter of the thirteenth century there evolved a more complex world of naturalistic foliage, including the precise imitation of particular kinds of leaves as a result of empirical studies of nature. This fascinating new process was pioneered at Reims Cathedral (Fig. 2.2), and several churches in Germany, such as Saint Elisabeth's in Marburg or Naumburg Cathedral (Fig. 2.3), exhibit famous examples of Gothic *imitatio naturae*.[6] Naturalistic foliage of the same type is found in some English buildings of the early Decorated Style, most famously the chapter house of Southwell Minster, built in the 1270s.[7]

To some extent such exuberant naturalistic foliage sits awkwardly with the refined geometry of Rayonnant buildings, and in most cases such ornament was restricted to discrete areas of the church, such as portals. If we disregard the special cases of Italy and England, where the French Rayonnant system was never adapted completely, there is only one group of buildings that combines rich vegetal decoration with the architectural system of the *style rayonnant*.[8] These are the ecclesiastical buildings created in the third quarter of the thirteenth century in the kingdom of Castile, buildings that represent a specific artistic current in the reign of King Alfonso the Learned (1252–1284). The most important examples are the cloister of the cathedral of Burgos, the presbytery of Toledo Cathedral, some portals in the abbeys of Las Huelgas de Burgos and Cañas (Rioja), and the triforium in the nave of the cathedral of Cuenca. These monuments have been examined thoroughly by various authors, but the lavish decoration of Spanish *style rayonnant* buildings has never been comprehensively studied.

Fig. 2.2. Reims Cathedral, on the south side of the nave. From Hartmut Krohm and Holger Kunde (eds.), *Der Naumburger Meister – Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2011), 1: p. 295, Fig. 2.

Fig. 2.3. Naumburg Cathedral, capitals of the western rood screen. From Hartmut Krohm and Holger Kunde (eds.), *Der Naumburger Meister – Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2011), 1: p. 267, Fig. 1.

The most important sculptural and ornamental ensemble of this group is the cloister, the Claustro Nuevo, of the cathedral of Burgos (Figs. 2.4 to 2.9) – part of a complex programme of extension realised after the consecration of the cathedral in 1260.[9] The result is one of the most striking Rayonnant ensembles of anywhere in Europe, and an unusual one in view of its high degree of ornamentation. The architecture of the cloister of Burgos Cathedral corresponds to a great extent to the technological and aesthetic system of the French *style rayonnant*, as demonstrated by the similarity of the window tracery (Fig. 2.4) to that of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.[10] Vegetal decoration in the Sainte-Chapelle is also quite rich, and on occasion strikingly naturalistic, but in the cloister at Burgos vegetal decoration has colonised a far greater proportion of the architecture than in other Rayonnant buildings. Leaves of remarkable plasticity not only fill the capitals of the

Fig. 2.4. Burgos Cathedral, cloister seen from north.

Fig. 2.5
Burgos Cathedral, cloister, south wing from east (1260s).

piers but also the arches that reinforce the outer walls of the cloister in two parallel lines (Figs. 2.5 and 2.7). Indeed, such is the opulence of the foliage that the geometrical logic of the arches is almost hidden. The leaves are elaborated to such a degree that numerous botanical species can be distinguished. In her important study of the cloister, the Swiss scholar Regine Abegg identifies vine, ivy, holly and other plants.[11] Various busts, human heads and grotesque figures also nestle amidst these leaves and in those of the consoles supporting the cloister's figural sculptures. As these consoles course with the walls of the cloister behind them, it is clear these little anthropomorphic figures were executed by the same sculptors responsible for the foliage elsewhere in the cloister.

Most scholars dealing with the Burgos cloister sculptures have focused on the sculpted figures on the outer walls and on the corner piers, some of which are of an extraordinarily high quality. The complex questions of their attribution to different artists or workshops cannot be treated here, but I have suggested elsewhere that they relate to Alfonso the Learned's imperial pretensions. There are several interesting parallels between a number of sculptures in the cloister and western towers of Burgos Cathedral and the famous founders' statues in the cathedrals of Naumburg and Meissen in Germany. I have argued, thus, that the statues of Emperor Otto I the Great and his wife Adelheid in the cathedral of Meissen, dating from the 1250s, served as relatively precise models for the commemorative sculptures of King Ferdinand III of Castile and his wife Beatrice of Hohenstaufen in the cloister at Burgos (Fig. 2.6). The latter's wedding in 1219 in Burgos' old Romanesque cathedral underpinned the imperial pretensions of their son, Alfonso X the Learned, who was elected Roman (German) king in Frankfurt in 1257. In the period of German-Castilian interchange that followed, a workshop of German sculptors must have been employed in Burgos Cathedral.[12] The artistic connection between Saxony and Castile has recently been supported by the observation that several masons' marks on the wall behind the statues of Ferdinand and Beatrice at Burgos are identical to those in the choir of Meissen Cathedral.[13]

Let us turn now to the decorative sculpture of the cloister at Burgos. Regine Abegg has already observed that those areas with the highest-quality figural sculpture, especially in the western wall of the cloister, are decorated with the coarsest and most repetitive vegetal ornament (Figs. 2.6 and 2.7). In contrast, very rich and finely elaborated and differentiated foliage can be found in the cloister's southeast corner and parts of the north walk, precisely those areas that are most distant from the cloister entrance, and where the figure sculpture is of lower quality and significance (Figs. 2.8 and 2.9).[14] One important conclusion can be derived from this at first sight paradoxical

Fig. 2.6. Burgos Cathedral, cloister, north wing, statues of Fernando III of Castile and his wife Beatrice of Hohenstaufen, before restoration (1260s).

observation: two different workshops worked independently, one responsible for the foliate decoration and small decorative figures, and another for the figure sculpture.[15] They may have worked simultaneously, but according to their own plans and rhythms.

In the cloister of Burgos Cathedral two different teams must then have been active, both directed by Master Enricus as the *magister operis* of the whole construction: on the one hand, the figure sculptors, divided into different teams and specialised in the artistic representation of human figures on a monumental scale; on the other, the decorative sculptors, also split into teams responsible for the ornamentation of capitals, consoles and arches. This latter group can be classified, as we will see, as a specialised branch of stonemasons that created in the cloister of Burgos Cathedral a whole microcosm of plants and little figures, often of a grotesque character.

It is difficult to prove this ramification of professions through documents.[16] All those who worked in stone—and not wood, the work of the carpenters—belonged to the branch of masons (pedreros in Castilian) regardless of their particular function, and often received the same salary.[17] There are cases in which stonemasons who worked on highly ornamented pieces were better paid, but it does not seem to have been a general rule.[18] Clear evidence for this is provided by the *Livre des métiers*, written by Etienne Boileau around 1268, exactly the period under discussion.[19] In this statute of the crafts and trades of Paris, we find a distinction between the professions of *imagiers-sculpteurs* on the one hand and *tailleurs d'images* on the other.[20] This seems to correspond to the difference between figural and decorative sculptors.

Fig. 2.7
Burgos Cathedral, cloister, west wing from south east (1260s).

Fig. 2.8
Burgos Cathedral, cloister, capital frieze in the north wing.

The famous lower scenes of the Saint-Chéron window in the great northern chapel of the ambulatory of Chartres Cathedral are very instructive.[21] They show bricklayers, stonemasons and sculptors. The activities of a bricklayer, who controls the regularity of a wall with a plumb line, and of three stonemasons, who carve simple and profiled ashlars, are gathered in the left scene, while the right is reserved for the sculptors of tall reliefs of kings. Stonemasons and sculptors are not distinguished by their dress, but the right scene gives a more relaxed impression because one sculptor is treating himself to a glass of water or wine, perhaps an indication of the higher social rank of his artistic profession. In any case, the scenes show a clear distinction between the work of stonemasons and sculptors. So in which category did the sculptor of decorative pieces, such as capitals, belong? A stained glass image in the Lady chapel of Saint-Germer-de-Fly (Fig. 2.10), a masterwork of Rayonnant architecture erected between 1259 and 1267 (and thus contemporaneous

Fig. 2.9
Burgos Cathedral, cloister, capital frieze in the south wing.

Fig. 2.10
Saint-Germer-de-Fly, Chapel of the Virgin, stained glass window showing the abbot, the architect, and the work of stonemasons. From *Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, Die gotische Architektur in Frankreich 1130–1270* (Munich: Hirmer, 1985), Fig. 445, after a drawing of Emile Bœswillwald.

with the cloister of Burgos), is very instructive in this respect as it implies that capital carving was one of the activities of stonemasons.[22] This is one more indication that the artisans who created the foliage and miniature figures at Burgos were classified as stonemasons, and should be distinguished from figure sculptors.

A history of ornamental or decorative sculpture, in which sculptors had considerable artistic freedom but not the particular skills required for figure sculpture, has yet to be written. Like certain other artistic genres, such as wooden reliefs in choir stalls or manuscript marginalia, ornamental sculpture offered a space where artists could experiment inventively with different subjects and iconography. Thus, not only can busts of angels be found on the pilasters of the cloister of Burgos, but also numerous head sculptures as well as animals and monsters, which are at least partially conceivable as genre representations or grotesques. The decorative sculpture of the cloister determines the overall impression to such an extent that the technological character and geometric aesthetics of the Rayonnant architecture have been considerably reduced. On the other hand, as the space most closely associated with the *cabildo*, the cathedral chapter, the cloister enjoys a splendour which is not found in comparable buildings in France.

Having recognised the autonomy of the workshop responsible for the decorative sculpture in Burgos Cathedral's cloister, it seems logical that the same workshop was active in another building project that was underway at around the same time on the outskirts of Burgos: the completion of the royal abbey church of Las Huelgas. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the church of this royal Cistercian nunnery was erected hurriedly in the first two decades of the thirteenth century, making it the first High Gothic building in Castile. The nave of the church was left semi-finished, however, with unfinished piers, uncarved capitals and no vaults (Fig. 2.11). The ribbed vaults of the nave were added in the second half of the thirteenth century, sometime before the documented consecration of the church in 1279, and probably in the context of the burial of the infante Fernando de la Cerda, who died in 1275.[23] As well as the tomb of Fernando de la Cerda in the north aisle, a new main portal was constructed in the northern transept façade around the time of the consecration of 1279. Three portals in the main cloister (now known as the cloister of San Fernando) that lead into the south aisle and sacristy, were built a little earlier, probably around 1270 (Fig. 2.12), and show close parallels with the cathedral cloister.[24] For example, segmented arches—unusual in French Rayonnant architecture—are employed both in these portals and in the entrance to the cathedral cloister. The very dense and naturalistic foliage that covers the archivolts and tympana of the abbey portals was certainly made by members of the decorative workshop active in the cathedral cloister.[25]

The naturalistic foliage of the two Burgos cloisters is developed further at the Cistercian convent in Cañas (Rioja), constructed in the last decades of the thirteenth century with forms that derive directly from Parisian Rayonnant architecture (Fig. 2.13). Raquel Alonso has noted that the vegetal decoration of the entrance portal of the chapter house at Cañas (Fig. 2.14) closely recalls the foliage of the Las Huelgas portals.[26] They cannot, however, have been carved by the same workshop: the leaves of the Cañas portal lack the plasticity and density of the foliage of the cloisters of Burgos Cathedral and Las Huelgas; instead each leaf is more clearly isolated and stylised—part of a wider tendency in several European countries at the end of the thirteenth century.[27]

As mentioned above, the cathedral of León is an exception within thirteenth-century Spanish architecture insofar as its constructional system is fully in line with the French *style rayonnant* as it was adopted in the churches of the Champagne region. This means that the conception of the walls, pillars and windows in León is shaped by clear geometrical forms and does not even come close to the decorative richness of the cloister of Burgos. In contrast, the portals of León Cathedral, which are equipped with elaborate sculptural programmes, have an abundant vegetable and heraldic ornamentation. It is no coincidence that these portal complexes, which are hardly connected to the cathedral's core structure, all refer to the model of Burgos Cathedral: the central southern portal is nearly a copy of the Puerta del Sarmental, and the central northern one of the Burgos cloister portal.[28] In all likelihood, this connection can be traced back to Master Enricus, documented in his year of death in 1277 as the magister operis of both the cathedral of Burgos, where his family lived, and that of León.[29]

Fig. 2.11
Abbey church of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, nave with nuns' choir. Lithograph after a drawing by Genaro Pérez Villaamil (ca. 1842–50). From Genaro Pérez Villaamil and León Auguste Asselineau, *España artística y monumental* (Barcelona: José Ribet, 1865), plate 50.

The most interesting example of lavish decorative sculpture with a clear relationship to the cloister of Burgos Cathedral is the triforium of the cathedral of Cuenca, at the southeastern border of the kingdom of Castile—a considerable distance from the old Castilian capital.[30] Work there was interrupted following the construction of the choir and transepts in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, so that the two-storey nave was erected only in the second half of the century (Figs. 2.15 and 2.16). Various parts of the cathedral, such as the circular windows in the aisles, refer to the model of the

Fig. 2.12
Abbey church of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos, western portal from the Claustro de San Fernando, ca. 1275.

abbey church of Las Huelgas and ultimately to Gothic buildings in the Parisian region, such as the church of Arcueil.[31] Most interesting is the nave triforium, which incorporates the clerestory windows. Here a particular tracery form was employed that consists of an oculus set over two trilobed arches. Sculptures of angels are attached to the mullions (Figs. 2.16 and 2.17).[32] The inclusion of monumental sculpture in the combined triforium and clerestory zone is unique in Gothic architecture: an extremely ambitious solution, it was probably realised under Bishop Pedro Lorenzo, who governed the diocese of Cuenca between 1261 and 1272 and was a close confidant of King Alfonso the Learned.[33]

The combination of tracery and statues in Cuenca's triforium recalls the galleries over the façades of Burgos Cathedral, especially that over the south transept, with statues of angels that ultimately derive from those at Reims and Saint-Denis.[34] The ornamental richness at Cuenca is comparable to the cloister of Burgos, but the elaboration of details differs somewhat and must be the responsibility of a different workshop. In the triforium of Cuenca the eye is caught by lines of rather curious elements, like rolled up leaves or snail shells, sometimes ending in miniscule grotesque heads. The trilobed arches are set with rows of buds, clearly imitating the crockets used

Fig. 2.13
Abbey church of Santa María de Cañas, La Rioja, presbytery vault (late thirteenth century).

Fig. 2.14
Abbey church of Santa María de Cañas, La Rioja, portal of the chapter house (northern part), from the cloister.

widely in thirteenth-century architecture in France. The numerous ornamental heads at Cuenca resist iconographic interpretation and can perhaps be best understood in terms of the grotesque. Similar lines of ornamental heads had been used in the triforium of the cathedral of Burgos from about 1230 onwards, and they appear again in the presbytery triforium of Toledo Cathedral in the 1250s (Fig. 2.19). [35]

The most interesting feature of the architectural and decorative system of Cuenca Cathedral is the combination of tall sculptures of angels with the ornamental sculpture that almost entirely covers the delicate Rayonnant architecture. In this case, I would suggest that there was no separation between ornamental and figural sculptors. In contrast to the angels in the transept gallery and

Fig. 2.15
Cuenca Cathedral, view from the southwest (2007).

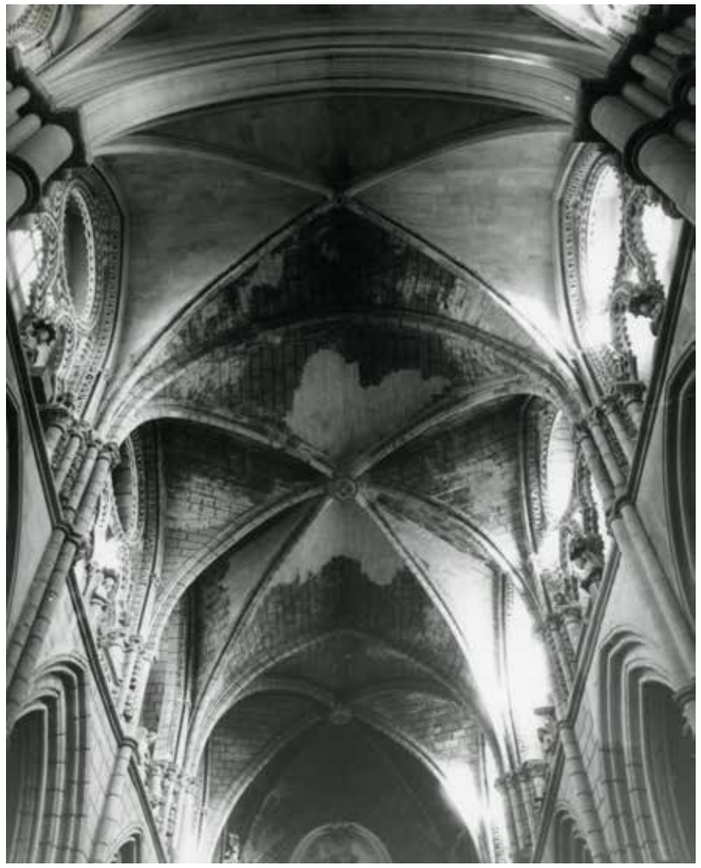

Fig. 2.16
Cuenca Cathedral nave vault and triforia (ca. 1250–1300).

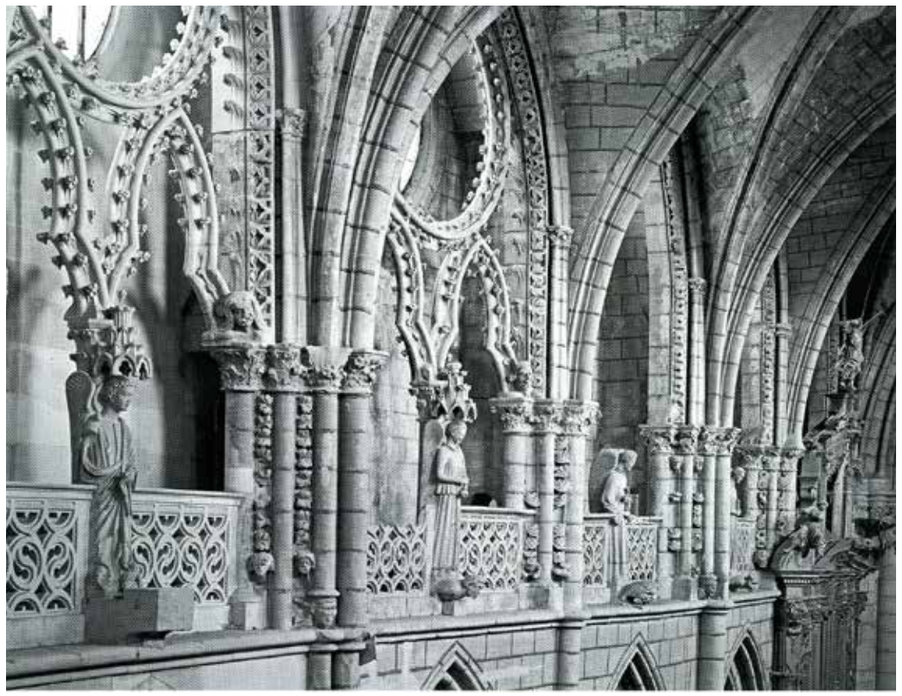

Fig. 2.17
Cuenca Cathedral, detail of the nave triforium and clearstory (ca. 1250–1300).

the kings and bishops in the cloister of Burgos Cathedral, the angels of Cuenca do not appear monumental, despite their size. Their members are not worked out organically, nor do they generate the impression of corporeality. Comparisons between the heads of the statues of angels and the small decorative heads around them demonstrate clearly that all these figures were made by the same workshop. In this special case, a workshop of decorative sculptors, accustomed to producing leaves and isolated heads, had to create complete sculptures of monumental size, and the result is not entirely convincing.

If we regard the phenomenon of a highly decorated Rayonnant architecture in Castile from a wider perspective, we can also take into account the Islamicate decorations of Toledo Cathedral.[36] In the ambulatory triforium, decorative motifs referring to Andalusi mosques and/or the earlier mosque-cathedral of Toledo were already installed in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The most striking references to Islamic traditions were, however, created after the middle of the century, under King Alfonso X.[37] These include the complex triforium decoration in the presbytery and the subtle plasterwork decoration of the tomb of the alcalde Fernán Gudiel (d. 1278), in the chapel of San Pedro on the south side of the nave (Figs 2.18–2.20).[38] The Arabic-style decorations include complex geometrical patterns that are fundamentally different from the structural logic of the *style rayonnant*, and in Toledo's presbytery they were incorporated within the Rayonnant system so that they appear like images of a foreign aesthetic culture exhibited within a modern architectural frame that was shaped by French models. The combination of both systems produced a level of artistic splendour that trumped any cathedral in Spain or France.

Fig. 2.18
Toledo Cathedral, presbytery, straight bay with the tomb of Cardinal Mendoza. Lithograph after a drawing of Genaro Pérez Villaamil (ca. 1835–40). From Genaro Pérez Villaamil and León Auguste Asselineau, *España artística y monumental* (Barcelona: José Ribet, 1865), plate 29.

In his monograph on Toledo Cathedral, Tom Nickson developed the convincing thesis that the star-shaped vaults of the presbytery, generally considered as an addition of the late fifteenth century, were in fact built in the early 1270s as the last part of the cathedral chevet. Indeed, the profiles and ornamentation of the ribs match the decoration of the presbytery walls, and the Y-shaped triradials of the high vaults, which include not only tiercerons but also liernes, are a logical continuation of the vault system of the two ambulatories, where tripartite and quadripartite vaults alternate regularly (Fig. 2.21). This means that it was in Toledo—and not in England—that Europe's first lierne vaults were developed and built.[39] What is more, the star patterns that result in the two presbytery vaults effectively crown the uniquely complex architectural system of the chevet, and increase its highly decorated appearance, transforming architectural structure into image and surpassing in richness all other cathedrals in France and Spain.

The presbytery of Toledo Cathedral thus belongs to a group of important and lavishly decorated church buildings in Castile that to some certain extent transformed the system of the

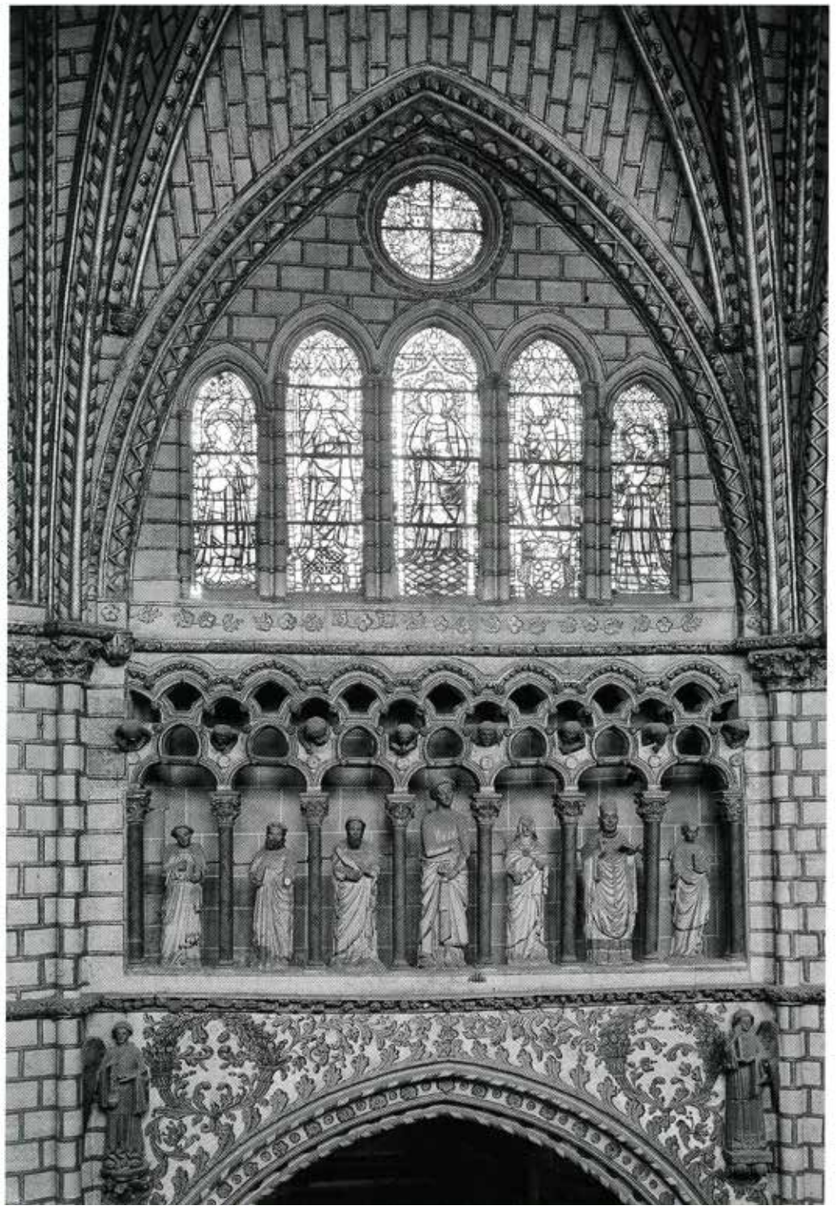

Fig. 2.19
Toledo Cathedral, presbytery, straight bay, triforium and clearstory (1250s).

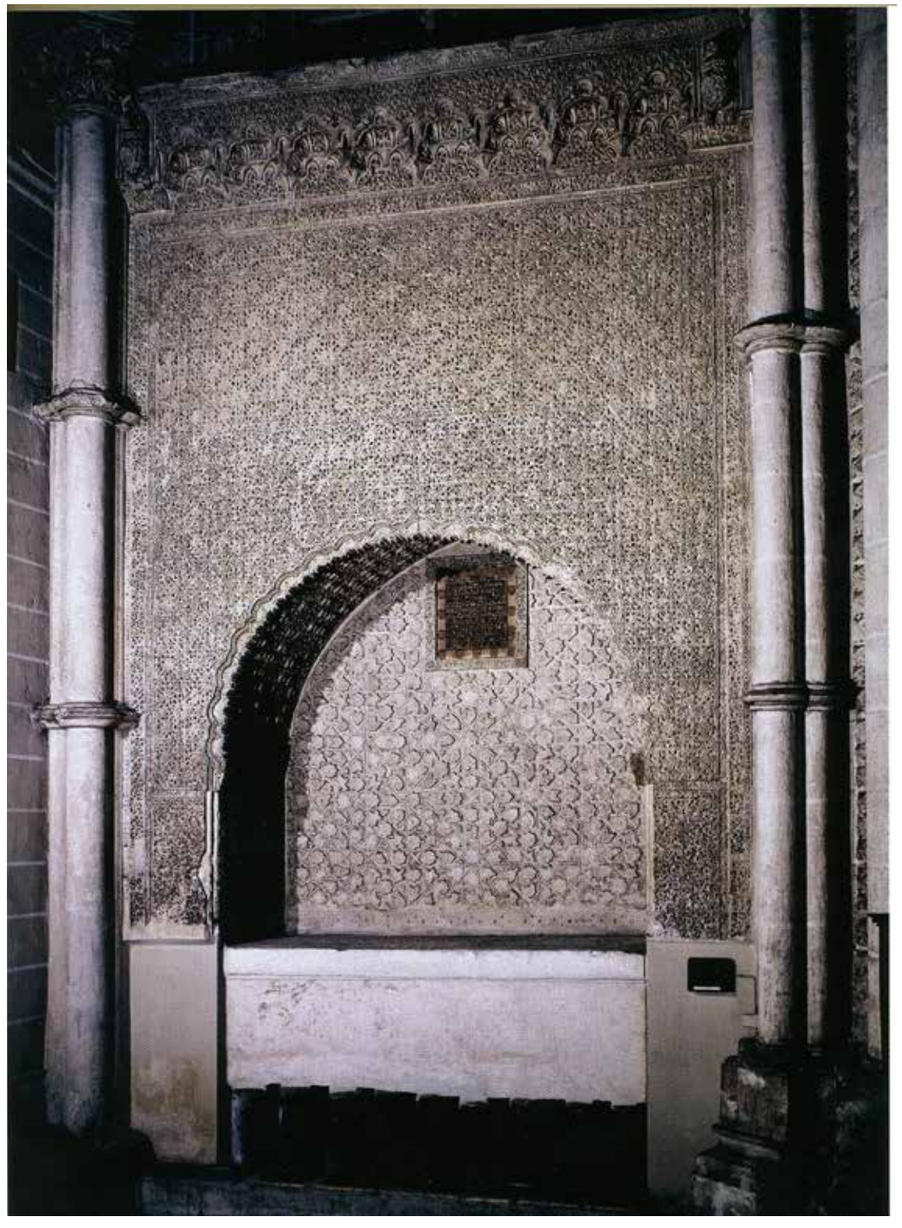

Fig. 2.20
Toledo Cathedral, Saint Peter chapel, west wall with the tomb of Fernán Gudiel (d. 1278).

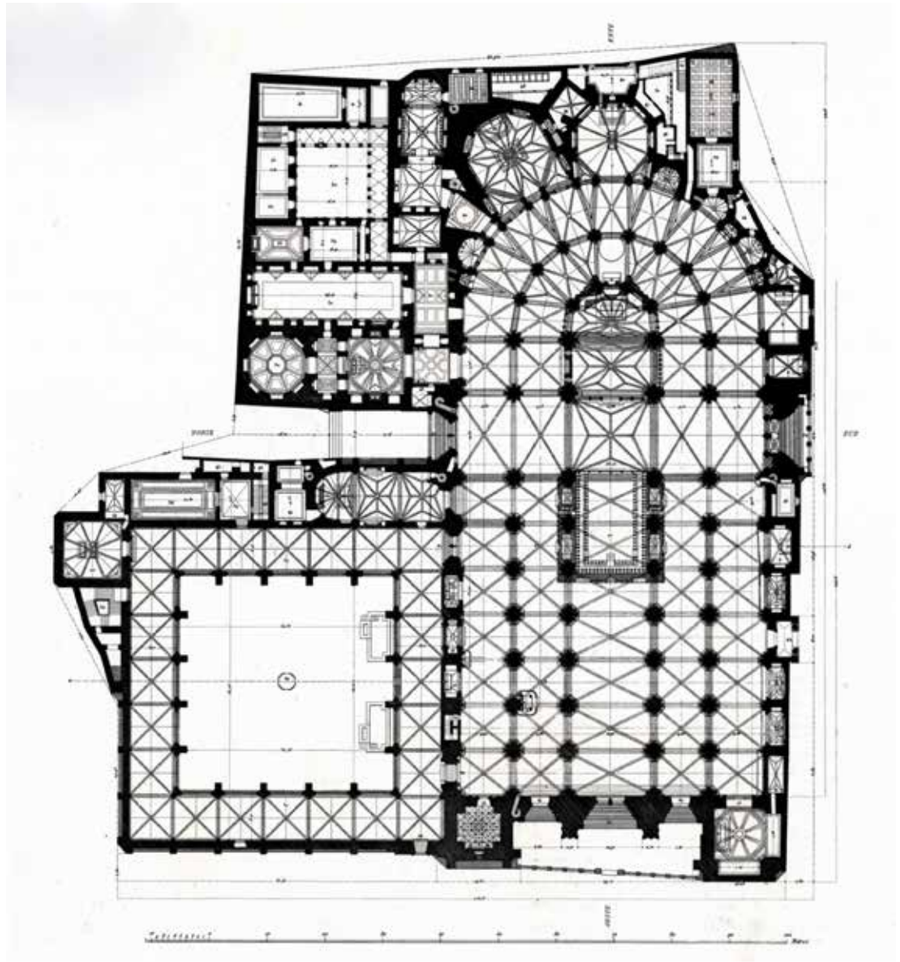

Fig. 2.21
Toledo Cathedral, plan. From Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos, *Monumentos arquitectónicos de España* (Madrid: Ministerio de Fomento, 1905).

style rayonnant adapted from French models. Geometrical purity was sacrificed for the sake of decorative splendour, which was surely regarded as a sign of the special dignity of the churches, and as an expression of magnificence. One could call it a 'sumptuous style', consistent with the terms of the papal indulgence issued in 1223 to allow Burgos Cathedral to rise 'nobly and indeed sumptuously'.[40]

It is no coincidence that this sumptuous style of architecture and decoration is characteristic of some of the most important cathedrals in Castile, or parts of them, built in the reign of Alfonso the Learned (1252–1284) (Fig. 2.22). The Castilian bishops, decisive promoters of cathedral construction, were dependent on the royal court to a higher degree than in other countries of Europe. They passed considerable parts of the year in Alfonso's court instead of their dioceses. Indeed, the two archbishops of Toledo who were responsible for the spectacular completion of the cathedral chevet, Sancho I of Castile (1251–1261) and Sancho II of Aragon (1262/66–1275), were even members of the royal family.[41] Above all, Cuenca seems to have been a staging post for ambitious clerics at the royal court. Pedro Lorenzo, former archdeacon of Cádiz, was bishop of Cuenca between 1261 and 1272—the period in which the lavish triforium of the cathedral was constructed—and at the same time was recognised as 'the king's closest collaborator'.[42] Several of his predecessors and successors left the see of Cuenca to continue their careers, often in Burgos,

Fig. 2.22
León Cathedral, stained glass window in the westernmost bay of the nave, image of Alfonso X the Learned as Holy Roman Emperor. From Carlos Estepa Díez et al., *La Catedral de León. Mil años de historia* (León: Edilesa, 2002), p. 282. Photo: Imagen M.A.S.

and occasionally even made it to the archbishopric of Toledo. This was the case of Gonzalo Pérez ('Gudiel'), an important collaborator in the literary enterprises of Alfonso the Learned. Having served as the king's notary between 1270 and 1272, Gudiel became bishop of Cuenca in 1273 and of Burgos in 1275; at the end of his career, between 1280 and 1299, he was archbishop of Toledo, becoming one of its most important archbishops in the Gothic period.[43]

It should also be mentioned that Alfonso X enjoyed a close relationship with Martín Fernández, who, as bishop of León between 1254 and 1289, oversaw construction of a cathedral distinguished not by sumptuous architectural decorations but by very close adaptations of French Rayonnant models.[44] In 1263, the king even sent the Leonese bishop to the papal curia in Rome to defend his imperial pretensions, but, having been forced into exile at the end of Alfonso's reign, Fernández turned against the king.[45] On the other hand, Bishop Fernando de Covarrubias of Burgos (r. 1280–1299) remained a loyal supporter of Alfonso right up until his death in 1284.[46]

The royal court was obviously a place where ecclesiastical careers were planned and probably where projects of representation, such as the construction and decoration of cathedrals, were discussed. This does not mean that the sumptuous decorative style of Castilian churches was centrally planned in the court of Alfonso the Learned, but it must be assumed that the strikingly decorative qualities of these cathedrals and of the royal abbey of Las Huelgas stem at least partly from a climate of cooperation and competition at the royal court.

Alfonso's court was, after all, the court of the elected king of Germany, which is to say the court of the Holy Roman Emperor, the highest secular dignity in the Christian world. It is true that Alfonso's expensive and futile efforts to achieve recognition as emperor by the papal court

and the electors of Germany ultimately cost him the support of the Castilian nobility and several previously faithful bishops.[47] But the reorganisation of the royal court that followed Alfonso's election did include the establishment of a special imperial notary, staffed with officials from Italy and separate from the royal notary.[48] In this sense, the architectural splendour and lavish decoration of Castilian churches under prelates in the courtly circle (namely the cathedrals of Toledo and Cuenca) or those close to the king (Burgos Cathedral and Las Huelgas) may be understood as an attempt to project a particularly high level of artistic formation, as appropriate to the representation of the Roman emperor.[49]

Some of these buildings were obviously intended to impress royal guests from abroad: Burgos was the favourite place for royal weddings, which occurred either in the cathedral, where the new cloister was the perfect place to commemorate the conjugal connection between Alfonso's father and Beatrice of Hohenstaufen, or in the royal monastery of Las Huelgas. Of particular importance were the wedding of the English heir, Edward, with Alfonso's sister, Eleanor, in 1254, and the marriage of Alfonso's son and heir, Fernando de la Cerda, with Blanche, the daughter of the French king Louis IX, in 1269. The latter was celebrated precisely fifty years after the Hohenstaufen wedding in the old cathedral of Burgos on which the imperial pretentions of Alfonso X were founded.[50] We should not underestimate the importance of ecclesiastical buildings in the staging of such royal ceremonies, and this political importance obviously called for a high degree of decoration that surpassed the geometrical purity of the *style rayonnant.*

1. Roland Recht, 'Le goût de l'ornement vers 1300', in Danielle Gaborit-Chopin and François Avril (eds.), 1300…: *L'art au temps de Philippe le Bel. Actes du colloque international, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 24 et 25 juin 1998* (Paris: Ecole du Louvre, 2001), pp. 149-161.

2. See, however, the classic study by Nikolaus Pevsner, T*he Leaves of Southwell* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1945). Mailan S. Doquang, *The Lithic Garden: Nature and the Transformation of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) was published as this essay came to press.

3. Major works of synthesis on the *style rayonnant* are still lacking. Two key studies are Robert Branner, *St Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London: Zwemmer, 1965); and Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur in Frankreich 1130-1270* (Munich: Hirmer, 1985), pp. 334-469. The dominance of geometric designs, extended to all genres of microarchitecture such as retables and reliquaries, continued to increase in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Christine Kratzke and Uwe Albrecht (eds.), *Mikroarchitektur im Mittelalter: ein gattungsübergreifendes Phänomen zwischen Realität und Imagination* (Leipzig: Kratzke, 2008), esp. Peter Kurmann, 'Mikroarchitektur im 13. Jahrhundert', pp. 83-97.

4. Most recently, Christopher Wilson, 'La cathédrale de Reims et l'abbatiale de Westminster', in Patrick Demouy (ed.), *La cathédrale de Reims* (Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2017), pp. 273-286.

5. Recent studies include Manuel Valdés Fernández (ed.), *Una historia arquitectónica de la catedral de León* (León: Santiago García, 1994); Henrik Karge, '"León en sutileza". La arquitectura medieval de la catedral de León', in Carlos Estepa Díez et al., *La Catedral de León. Mil años de historia* (León: Edilesa, 2002), pp. 49-87; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, María Victoria Herráez Ortega and Gerardo Boto Varela (eds.), *Congreso Internacional "La Catedral de León en la Edad Media"* (León: Universidad de León, 2004), esp. Henrik Karge, 'La arquitectura de la catedral de León en el contexto del gótico europeo', pp. 113-144, and María Victoria Herráez Ortega, 'La construcción del templo gótico', pp. 145-176. See, in general, Henrik Karge, 'De Santiago de Compostela a León: modelos de innovación en la arquitectura medieval española. Un intento historiográfico más allá de los conceptos de estilo', *Anales de Historia del Arte*, volumen extraordinario (2009), pp. 165-196.

6. See various articles in Hartmut Krohm and Holger Kunde (eds.), *Der Naumburger Meister – Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen*, 3 vols. (Petersberg: Imhof, 2011-2012), published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same title at Naumburg Cathedral, Schlöschen and Stadtmuseum Hohe Lilie, 29 June 2011-2 November 2011. In particular, see Elisabeth Harting, 'Der Stil der Naumburger Pflanzenwelt aus botanischer Sicht', 1: pp. 267-280; Lukas Huppertz, 'Voraussetzungen der Ornamentik des Naumburger Meisters', 1: pp. 294-300; Guido Siebert, '"Aeternitas est interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio." Sinnbildung und Naturstudium im Pflanzendekor des Rayonnant', 1: pp. 301-309. The classic work is by Lottlisa Behling, *Die Pflanzenwelt der mittelalterlichen Kathedralen* (Cologne/Graz: Böhlau, 1964), pp. 64-82 (for Reims) and pp. 90-112 (for Naumburg).

7. See Nicola Coldstream, *The Decorated Style. Architecture and Ornament 1240–1360* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), p. 33; Philip Dixon and Helene Seewald, '"The Leaves of Southwell." Höhepunkte englischer Laubwerkornamentik', in Krohm and Kunde, *Naumburger Meister*, 1: pp. 281-293 (compare note 2).

8. The famous examples of exuberant decoration in the English Decorated churches are only superficially comparable to the Spanish examples studied in this essay. See Jean Bony, *The English Decorated Style. Gothic Architecture Transformed 1250-1350* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1979), pp. 19-29; Coldstream, *Decorated Style*; Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170-1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 90-99; Peter Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic. Architecture and Identity* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 244-249.

9. See my earlier studies of Burgos Cathedral and Regine Abegg's monograph on the cloister: Henrik Karge, *Die Kathedrale von Burgos und die spanische Architektur des 13. Jahrhunderts. Französische Hochgotik in Kastilien und León* (Berlin Gebr. Mann, 1989), pp. 77, 177-180; *La Catedral de Burgos y la Arquitectura del siglo XIII en Francia y España* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León. Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1995), esp. pp. 109-110, 256-262; 'La arquitectura gótica del siglo XIII', in Luis García Ballester (ed.), *Historia de la Ciencia y de la Técnica en la Corona de Castilla*, vol. 1: *Edad Media* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León. Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 2002), pp. 543-599, esp. pp. 555-559 and 593-595. Also see Regine Abegg, *Königs- und Bischofsmonumente. Die Skulpturen des 13. Jahrhunderts im Kreuzgang der Kathedrale von Burgos* (Zurich: InterPublishers, 1999). For a recent study, see Henrik Karge, 'Les programmes sculpturaux des cathédrales de Reims et Burgos et leurs références royales', in Patrick Demouy (ed.), *La cathédrale de Reims* (Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2017), pp. 287-310. On the restoration of the Claustro Nuevo at the turn of the twentieth century, see Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, 'Restauración monumental y opinión pública. Vicente Lampérez en los claustros de la catedral de Burgos', *Locus Amoenus* 3 (1997): pp. 161-176, esp. pp. 163-169.

10. See Karge, *Catedral de Burgos*, p. 182.

11. See Abegg, *Königs- und Bischofsmonumente*, pp. 60, 78-79.

12. See Henrik Karge, 'From Naumburg to Burgos. European Sculpture and Dynastic Politcs in the Thirteenth Century', in *Hispanic Research Journal* 13 (2012): pp. 432-446; Henrik Karge, 'Meissen – Constance – Burgos. European Sculpture and Dynastic Politics in the Thirteenth Century', in Hartmut Krohm and Holger Kunde (eds.), *Der Naumburger Meister – Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2012), 3: pp. 242-252; Karge, 'Reims et Burgos, références royales', esp. pp. 305-310.

13. The research was undertaken in 2013 by Günter Donath, architect of Meissen Cathedral, his wife Maria Donath and the author of this essay. See Günter Donath, 'Zog die Naumburger Werkstatt von Meißen nach Burgos? Eine bauarchäologische Spurensuche im Kreuzgang der Kathedrale von Burgos', in *In situ. Zeitschrift für Architekturgeschichte* 6 (2014): pp. 39-52; Karge, 'Reims et Burgos, références royales', pp. 305-308.

14. Abegg, *Königs- und Bischofsmonumente*, pp. 60-62.

15. Abegg, *Königs- und Bischofsmonumente*, p. 62, reaches a similar conclusion.

16. There are some cases in which there is a differentiation between *lathomi* and *artifices* but no definition of the term *artifex*, for example in the *Vita Sugerii, abbatis Sancti Dionysii* written by the monk Guillaume. See Victor Mortet and Paul Deschamps, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et à la condition des architectes en France, au Moyen Âge (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Picard, 1929), pp. 86-88, esp. p. 87.

17. The general division of architectural practice into the branches of carpenters and masons is already found in the classification of the *artes mechanicae* by Hugo of St. Victor: *Hugonis de S. Victore Didascalion de studio legendi*, Book II, ch. XXIII (*Patrologia latina*, éd. Migne, vol. CLXXVI, col. 760-761; Mortet and Deschamps, *Recueil de textes*, pp. 21-22).

18. This is documented in the Fabric Accounts of Prague Cathedral. See Pierre du Colombier, *Les chantiers des cathédrales. Ouvriers – architectes – sculpteurs*, rev. ed. (Paris: Picard, 1973), p. 117. See also Joan Domenge i Mesquida, 'Le portail du mirador de la cathédrale de Majorque: du document au monument', in Bernardi, Hartmann-Virnich and Vingtain (eds.), *Texte et archéologie monumentale: approches de l'architecture médiévale* (Montagnac: M. Mergoil, 2005), pp. 10-26, esp. p. 12.

19. René de Lespinasse and François Bonnardot (eds.), *Le 'Livre des Métiers' d'Etienne Boileau*, Histoire générale de Paris, Collection de documents (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879).

20. See Colombier, *Chantiers des cathédrales*, pp. 136-137. For later examples of this distinction, see Joan Domenge i Mesquida, 'Guillem Morey a la seu de Girona (1375-1397). Seguiment documental', *Lambard 9* (1996): pp. 105-31, esp. p. 109.

21. For a summary of current research, see Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz and Peter Kurmann, *Chartres. Die Kathedrale* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2001), esp. pp. 133-136, 180, and Plate 71. See also Günther Binding and Norbert Nußbaum, *Der mittelalterliche Baubetrieb nördlich der Alpen in zeitgenössischen Darstellungen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978), pp. 154-155, and, Figs. 87 and 88.

22. Binding and Nußbaum, *Der mittelalterliche Baubetrieb*, pp. 166-167, Fig. 99; Kimpel and Suckale, *Gotische Architektur in Frankreich*, pp. 428-431, esp. p. 429 and Plate 445.

23. Henrik Karge, 'Die königliche Zisterzienserinnenabtei Las Huelgas de Burgos und die Anfänge der gotischen Architektur in Spanien', in Christian Freigang (ed.), *Gotische Architektur in Spanien. La arquitectura gótica en España, Ars Iberica* (Frankfurt am Main and Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 1999), pp. 195-222; 'La arquitectura gótica del siglo XIII', in Luis García Ballester (ed.), *Historia de la Ciencia y de la Técnica en la Corona de Castilla,* vol. 1, *Edad Media* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León 2002), pp. 543-599, esp. pp. 543-549. In these studies, I proposed that the beginning of the construction of the abbey church should be dated around 1200, on the basis of some key documents from 1203, and that this signified a radical predating of the church building in comparison to the traditional opinion of a construction around 1220 (cf. Torres Balbás, Lambert and others). In the meantime, James D'Emilio and Pablo Abella Villar have argued for an even earlier beginning, probably in the 1190s. See James D'Emilio, 'The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas: Dynastic Politics, Religious Reform and Artistic Change in Medieval Castile', *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture 6* (2005): pp. 191-282; Pablo Abella Villar, *Patronazgo regio castellano y vida monástica femenina: morfogénesis arquitectónica y organización funcional del monasterio cisterciense de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas de Burgos (ca. 1187-1350)*, 2 vols. (PhD diss., Universitat de Girona, 2015, dig. publ. 2016), esp. 1: pp. 702-745. See also Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'La memoria de un rey victorioso: Los sepulcros de Alfonso VIII y la Fiesta del Triunfo de la Santa Cruz', in Barbara Borngässer, Henrik Karge and Bruno Klein (eds.), *Grabkunst und Sepulkralkultur in Spanien und Portugal. Arte funerario y cultura sepulcral en España y Portugal* (Frankfurt am Main and Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2006), pp. 289-315; Gema Palomo Fernández and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, 'Nuevas hipótesis sobre Las Huelgas de Burgos. Escenografía funeraria de Alfonso X para un proyecto inacabado de Alfonso VIII y Leonor Plantagenêt', *Goya* 316-317 (2007): pp. 21-44.

24. See Abella Villar, *Patronazgo regio castellano*, 1: pp. 520-527.

25. See Abegg, *Königs- und Bischofsmonumente*, pp. 81-82. The ornaments of the tomb of Fernando de la Cerda and the northern portal of Las Huelgas show a slightly more developed style of vegetable decoration.

26. Raquel Alonso Álvarez, *El monasterio cisterciense de Santa María de Cañas (La Rioja). Arquitectura gótica, patrocinio aristocrático y protección real* (Logroño: Gobierno de La Rioja. Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004), esp. pp. 100-102.

27. The royal monastery of Santa María la Real de Nieva near Segovia, erected in the first half of the fifteenth century, shows how far the tendency of simplification of sculptural decorations could lead. See Diana Lucía Gómez-Chacón, *El Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Nieva. Reinas y Predicadores en tiempos de reforma (1392-1445)* (Segovia: Diputación de Segovia, 2016).

28. See Ángela Franco Mata, *Escultura gótica en León y provincial (1230-1530)* (León: Instituto Leonés de Cultura 1998), pp. 51-357; and 'Escultura medieval. Un pueblo de piedra para la Jerusalén Celeste', in Carlos Estepa Díez et al., *La Catedral de León*, esp. pp. 94-135. About the connections to Burgos, see Karge, *Catedral de Burgos*, pp. 187-193. Various tombs of clerics in the cloister of León which were created around 1260 also show rich vegetable decoration. See Franco Mata, *Escultura gótica en León*, pp. 401-412, and 'Escultura medieval', pp. 137-143.

29. The obituaries of both cathedrals record the same day of death, 10 July 1277. The indication in León runs as follows: 'VI. idus julii. Eodem die sub era MCCCXV obit Enricus magister operis.' Archivo de la Catedral de León, Obituario, fol. 97r. Note the spelling of the name Enricus without the initial H. See Karge, *Catedral de Burgos*, pp. 193-195.

30. See the fundamental monograph on this: Gema Palomo Fernández, *La Catedral de Cuenca en el Contexto de las Grandes Canterías Catedralicias Castellanas en la Baja Edad Media*, 2 vols. (Cuenca: Diputación Provinicial de Cuenca, 2002); and 'La catedral de Cuenca (siglos XII-XV)', in Pedro Miguel Ibáñez Martínez (ed.), *Cuenca, mil años de arte* (Cuenca: Asociación de Amigos del Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cuenca, 1999), pp. 115-186.

31. See Karge, *Catedral de Burgos*, p. 184, plates 187-189; Palomo Fernández, *Catedral de Cuenca*, 1: pp. 244-245.

32. For an architectural, sculptural and ornamental analysis of the triforium in Cuenca, see Palomo Fernández, *Catedral de Cuenca*, 1: pp. 239-249, and the plates on pp. 417-431.

33. Various documents prove the close relationship between the king and the bishop of Cuenca. See Palomo Fernández, *Catedral de Cuenca*, 1: pp. 153-155. The fact that bishop Pedro Lorenzo donated various personal goods at the end of his life for the construction of an altar frontal in his cathedral indicates that the architectural work of the nave including the triforium was completed before his death in 1272. See Palomo Fernández, *Catedral de Cuenca*, 1: pp. 154-155.

34. See Karge, *Catedral de Burgos*, pp. 184, 223; Karge, 'Reims et Burgos, références royales', p.302.

35. See Karge, *Catedral de Burgos*, pp. 175-177 (and

p. 152 for models in the Loire region); Tom Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral. Building Histories in Medieval Castile* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), p. 84, Figs. 43 and 47.

36. See Nickson's fundamental work, *Toledo Cathedral*, pp. 76-94.

37. See Henrik Karge, 'Die Kathedrale von Toledo oder die Aufhebung der islamischen Tradition', *Kritische Berichte* 20 (1992): pp. 16-28.

38. See Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral*, pp. 88-91, 116-120.

39. Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral*, pp. 92-94.

40. Luciano Serrano, *Don Mauricio, Obispo de Burgos y fundador de su catedral* (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1922), p. 65.

41. See Ramón Gonzálvez Ruiz, *Hombres y libros de Toledo (1086-1300) Monumenta ecclesiae toletanae historica* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1997), pp. 231-295; Francisco J. Hernández and Peter Linehan, *The Mozarabic Cardinal: The Life and Times of Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel* (Florence: Sismel, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004), pp. 75-82, 115-126.

42. See note 33.

43. See the important monograph by Hernández and Linehan, *The Mozarabic Cardinal*. Also see Gonzálvez Ruiz, *Hombres y libros de Toledo*, pp. 297-549, and Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral*, pp. 98-100. The epithet 'Gudiel' was not documented before the sixteenth century, but it has developed a particular historiographic tradition.

44. See Juan Manuel Nieto Soria, 'Los obispos y la catedral de León en el contexto de las relaciones monarquía-Iglesia, de Fernando III a Alfonso XI', in Yarza Luaces , Herráez Ortega and Boto Varela, *Catedral de León,* pp. 99-111, esp. p. 102; Karge, 'Arquitectura de la catedral de León', pp. 124-128; Gregoria Cavero Domínguez, *Martín Fernández, un obispo leonés del siglo XIII. Poder y gobierno* (Madrid: Ediciones de La Ergástula, 2018).

45. Karge, 'Arquitectura de la catedral de León', p. 125; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, 'Alfonso X and the Castilian Church', *Thought. A Review of Culture and Idea* 60 (1985): pp. 417-429, esp. p. 428.

46. O'Callaghan, 'Alfonso X and the Castilian Church', pp. 426-427. See, in general, José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Iglesia y poder real en Castilla. El episcopado, 1250-1350* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1988).

47. There is an abundant bibliography about the so-called *fecho del imperio*. See two recent publications from a German and a Spanish perspective: Bruno Berthold Meyer, *Kastilien, die Staufer und das Imperium. Ein Jahrhundert politischer Kontakte im Zeichen des Kaisertums, Historische Studien* (Husum: Matthiesen, 2002), esp. pp. 113-182; Carlos Estepa, 'El Reino de Castilla y el Imperio en tiempos del "Interregno"', in Julio Valdeón, Klaus Herbers and Karl Rudolf (eds.), *España y el 'Sacro Imperio'. Procesos de cambios, influencias y acciones recíprocas en la época de la 'europeización' (siglos XI-XIII)* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2002), pp. 87-100.

48. See Barbara Schlieben, *Verspielte Macht. Politik und Wissen am Hof Alfons' X. (1252 – 1284)* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), esp. pp. 166-292 and 194-202.

49. It is significant that the cope of the Toledan archbishop Sancho II of Aragón, still preserved in the sacristy of the cathedral, shows the German imperial eagles together with the Aragonese bars and the castles and lions of Castile and León. See Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral*, pp. 124-125 and Fig. 65. Archbishops Sancho I and Sancho II were members of the royal family but had relatively independent positions at court. See O'Callaghan, 'Alfonso X and the Castilian Church', p. 428. An image of Alfonso X as an emperor with the imperial eagle is found in one of the windows of the cathedral of León: see Estepa Díez et al., *Catedral de León*, p. 282.

50. Francisco J. Hernández, 'Two Weddings and a Funeral: Alfonso's Monuments in Burgos', *Hispanic Research Journal 13* (2012), pp. 405-31.

The King, the Architects and the Philosopher: Invention in Mallorcan Architecture around 1300

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'One of the most astoundingly original designs in existence and, beyond question, the work of one of the greatest masters of the Middle Ages'. With these words, the architect Ralph Adams Cram described in 1932 the cathedral of Palma de Mallorca (Fig. 3.1).[1] He could have claimed more or less the same for Bellver Castle, built at the same time and less than three kilometres from the cathedral (Fig. 3.2). Since the eighteenth century, much has been written about their history and their unusual architectural composition.[2] My approach aims to reflect on some aspects of the decision-making involved in the early stages of both projects.[3]

Why were a new cathedral and castle begun in Mallorca in the first years of fourteenth century? The answer to this question has a great deal to do with the consolidation of an extremely young kingdom, Mallorca, whose origins can be traced to James I of Aragon (1213–1276), who conquered the island of Mallorca in 1229 and the kingdom of Valencia in 1238. In his will of 1272, he divided the kingdoms and territories he possessed into two parts. His son Peter would inherit Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia. Another son, James, was given a new kingdom consisting of the islands of Mallorca, Ibiza, and Formentera, the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, and the seigneury of Montpellier (Fig. 3.3).[4]

When James I died in 1276, the division became effective. Peter III succeeded to the throne of Aragon, but he did not accept his father's decision, opposing James's inheritance. Some years later, given that he was married to Constance of Hohenstaufen (the granddaughter of Emperor Frederick II), Peter accepted the crown of Sicily as a consequence of the Sicilian Vespers (1282). His brother James then joined the French king, Philip IV, and Pope Martin IV against Peter (1283). Peter died in 1285, but the war went on. Alfonso III, Peter's son, attacked James of Mallorca in Perpignan and invaded the island. Alfonso's death in 1291 brought his brother, also called James, to the throne of

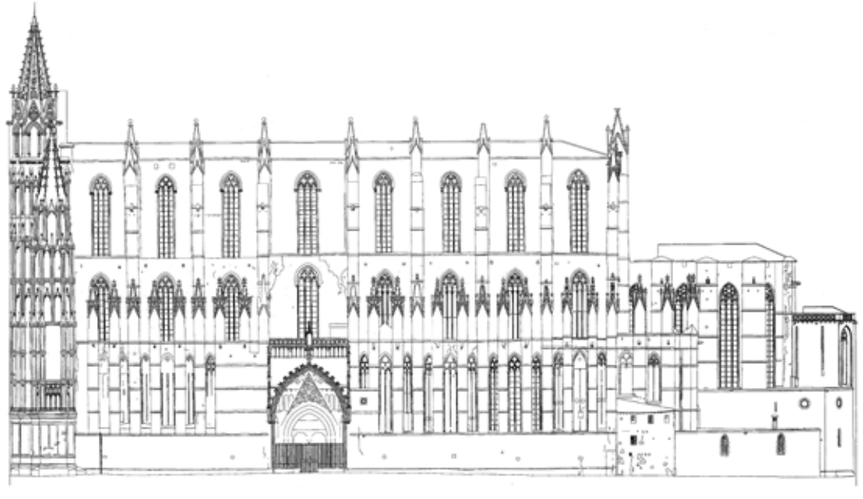

Fig. 3.1
Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, elevation. In Joan Domenge, *L'obra de la seu. El procés de construcción de la catedral de Mallorca en el tres-cents* (Mallorca: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 1997), Fig. 22.

Fig. 3.2
Bellver Castle, Mallorca, courtyard (begun before 1309).

Aragon. For twenty years, two kings—uncle and nephew—reigned with the same name and ordinal, James II, one in Aragon and the other in Mallorca (Fig. 3.4). In 1295, urged by Pope Boniface VIII, the nephew returned Mallorca to his uncle, who pledged fealty to him. James II of Mallorca could finally go back to the island, thus starting the second part of his reign, in which he undertook to completely transform Mallorcan society. He enacted laws, founded new towns, reorganised farming and—most pertinent to this essay—initiated large building projects.[5]

The need to defend the entrance to the city of Palma from the west, where the recent invasions had come from, represented more than sufficient reason to build Bellver Castle quickly. As for the cathedral, this was grounded in the wish to replace the former mosque which had been 'purified' and converted into a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. [6] The new building would also serve as a pantheon for the new dynasty.

Indirect sources tell us that the monarch, the clergy, and the faithful from the city and the diocese collectively bore the costs of building the cathedral. Unfortunately, we only have written testimony of the sovereign's wish. In a codicil added to his will in 1306, James II ordered a chapel dedicated to the Trinity to be built in a suitable place in Santa María, with enough space for his tomb.[7] He also provided the substantial sum of two thousand Mallorcan pounds for the cathedral works.[8] In 1309 he authorised collections in Menorca 'ad opus Ecclesiae Sedis Maioricarum'.[9] We do not know when building began, but from

Fig. 3.3
Map of the kingdom of Mallorca. In David Abulafia, *Un emporio mediterráneo: el reino catalán de Mallorca* (Madrid: Ediciones Omega, 1996), map 1.

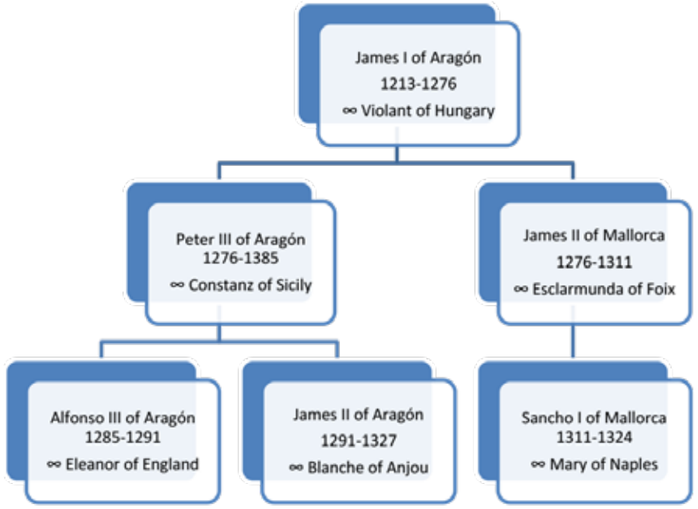

Fig. 3.4
Family tree of the Monarchs of Aragon and Mallorca (1229–1334) (produced by the author).

two other documents it can be inferred that it was before James II's death in 1311. The first document records that in 1313 payment was made for work done on the east end ('lo cap', or 'the head') following James II's instructions;[10] the second, a letter of 1327 from Prince Philip of Mallorca, affirms that the works in the cathedral east end were begun by his father James II.[11]

There is nothing unusual about these resolutions, but both patrons and architects opted for unique shapes in the cathedral and in the castle, substantially deviating from the norm. At first glance, Palma Cathedral consists of the juxtaposition of three architectural volumes in which right angles dominate, each larger than the other: the Trinity Chapel, the Royal Chapel, and the nave and aisles (Fig. 3.5).[12] Massive orthogonal buttresses flank the chapels, making a strong visual impact. Conversely, as Alexandre Cirici memorably described it, Bellver is a 'festival of circles', with a circular courtyard surrounded by a two-tier gallery with round arches in the lower part and intersecting pointed arches in the upper (Fig. 3.6).[13] Between the gallery and the external wall, also circular, are halls, rooms, stairs, a chapel, a kitchen, and so on. Three semi-circular towers mark the perimeter, alternating with four cylindrical defence posts. The entrance is protected by a fourth, larger tower on the outside, also circular. The plans for the cathedral and castle could not seemingly be more different from one another. Nevertheless, both are based on elementary geometrical shapes, combined to create designs that were extraordinarily unconventional at the time.

These differences have not prevented some academics from attributing at least one stage of both buildings to the same architect, Pons Descoll, who specialised in walls and fortresses. Writing in the nineteenth century, Jaime de Villanueva considered Descoll capable of leading the cathedral construction works.[14] He took part in the construction of La Almudaina (Mallorca's Royal Palace) in 1309 and in the royal palace of Perpignan (with a plan, according to Durliat, that rigorously combines squares and rectangles, inspired by the Emperor Frederick II's castle of Lagopesole in Basilicata).[15] Marcel Durliat agreed with Jean-Louis Biget in identifying Pons Descoll as the same master Pons who built Albi Cathedral in 1293–95.[16] For the cathedral's east end, another master has also been suggested: Jaume Fabre, who was on the island in the second decade of the fourteenth century, before being asked to resume Barcelona Cathedral's works in 1317.[17]

Some scholars state that the initial stage of the cathedral would have consisted solely of building the Trinity Chapel and the Royal Chapel, in order to connect them to the

former mosque which continued to be used for some decades.[18] One of the hurdles to understanding the initial design is the lack of information regarding the exact dimensions and location of the mosque. In 1238, nine years after the conquest, the Almudaina Mosque was consecrated as a cathedral and dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[19] The lapse between consecrating former mosques and replacing them with edifices more in keeping with Christian architectural tradition varied widely in medieval Iberian kingdoms.[20] In Mallorca, James II's decision to build a chapel for his tomb in 1306 is the first undisputed reference to the new cathedral.

As Gerardo Boto has pointed out, choosing a cathedral as a burial place for the monarch was exceptional in the funerary tradition of the Aragonese dynasty, whose kings mostly preferred abbeys, but it was not uncommon in Castile, Navarre and other European kingdoms.[21] Furthermore, there were no important monasteries or collegiate churches on the island. The exceptionality of such a choice parallels the exceptional shape of the funerary chapel. James II's will does not specify its location. The Almudaina Mosque was probably too small to house the chapel, contrary to what happened with another royal chapel in another city conquered from Muslims, the amazing royal funerary chapel set up in Seville Cathedral, which took advantage of several aisles of the huge former mosque.[22]

Under James II's impulse, work on the innovative new cathedral started soon after 1306. The few references we have to the early years of construction make clear the lengths that were taken to achieve a magnificent cathedral. In order to make space for the cathedral's east end, the king commanded that part of the Mirador be pulled down.[23] The letter from the king to his representative in Menorca in 1309, granting permission to collect alms for the building, confirms that authorities were involved with the support of the local population.[24] It is important to point out that in at least one payment in 1313, the city contributed forty percent.[25] Joan Domenge has shown that the building of the cathedral was possible thanks to a confluence of initiatives.[26] Thus, the start of the new cathedral was an endeavour which included the participation of the monarch, the councillors of Mallorca, the clergy (Bishop Guillem de Vilanova, r. 1304–1318, gave 250 pounds) and the faithful of the diocese.[27] Prince Philip's letter of 1327 reveals that testamentary dispositions in favour of the cathedral building were numerous.[28] Although the Trinity

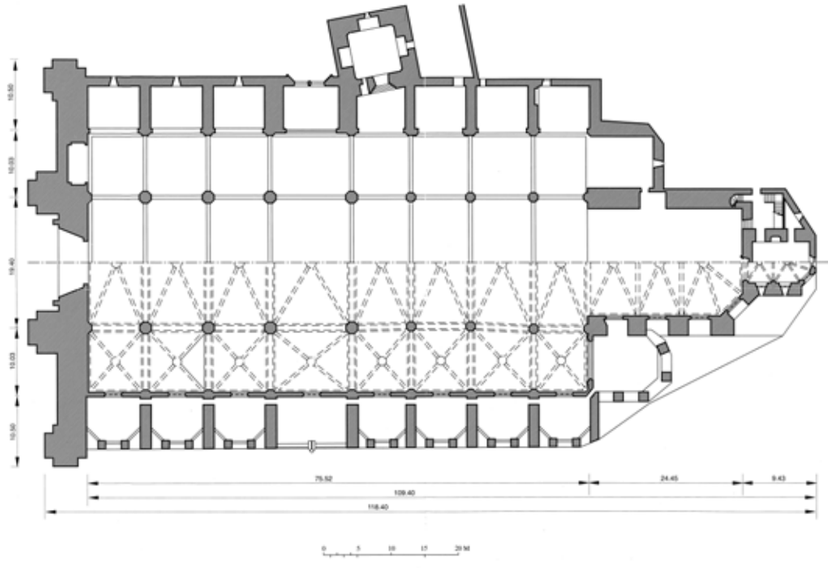

Fig. 3.5
Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, plan. In Joan Domenge, *L'obra de la seu. El procés de construcción de la catedral de Mallorca en el tres-cents,* Fig. 20.

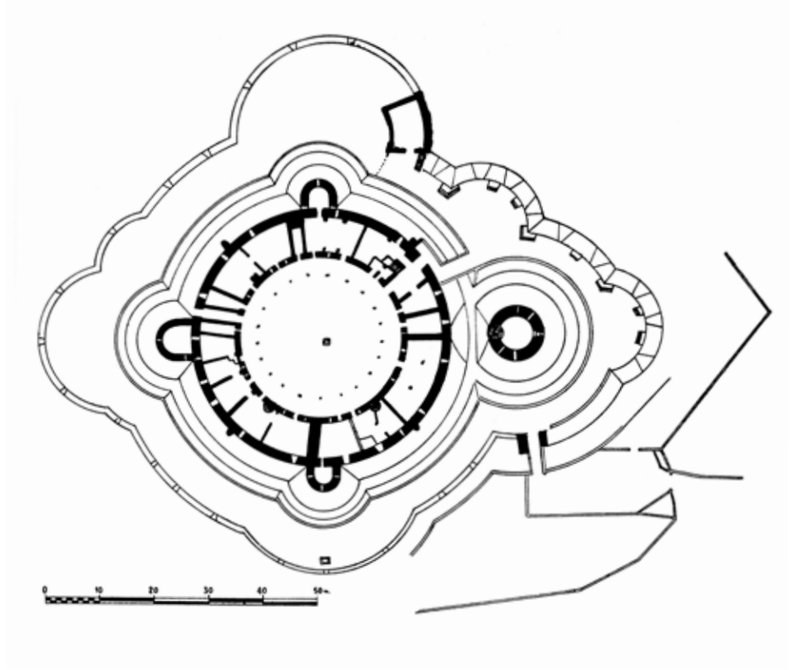

Fig. 3.6 Bellver Castle, plan. A. Jiménez in Marcel Durliat, *L'art en el regne de Mallorca* (Mallorca: Editorial Moll, 1989), Fig. 28.

Chapel was reserved for the sovereign, everything points to the clergy and populace being equally involved in the new edifice from the outset, as shown by the coat of arms of the city of Mallorca carved on a keystone of the Royal Chapel.[29] It is easier to understand the council's participation in a project that, from the very beginning, included not only places for the king and the canons, but also nave, aisles and chapels for the laity.

The Trinity Chapel is arranged on two levels, with subsidiary spaces in the ground floor (Fig. 3.7). Marcel Durliat believed it recreated a type of two-storied mausoleum of ancient origin.[30] Scholars have cited other funerary models, from the mausoleum of Theodoric in Ravenna to the royal chapels in Seville and Córdoba, and even San Isidoro in León.[31] Nevertheless, the intended funerary function of the lower room (Fig. 3.17) is more than doubtful. From the beginning, as evidenced by strainer arches built from the outset in the external walls (Fig. 3.8), arches were planned and built in both side walls of the upper chapel, probably to be used as funerary arcosolia (Fig. 3.9). Conversely, the rectangular room at the lower level, with a splayed window and covered with two rib vaults, contains nothing which makes its original purpose completely clear. The pointed niche set in the northern wall and the original niches in the southern room were probably intended to serve as reliquaries. Both corridors leading to the central room could be closed by means of doors (the northern one is currently preserved). Despite all this, when James II died in 1311 his corpse was not entombed in the Trinity

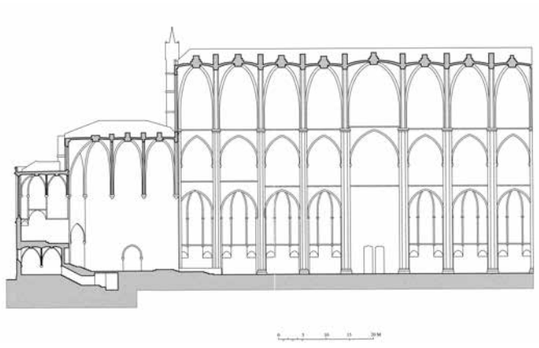

Fig. 3.7 Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, section. In Joan Domenge, *L'obra de la seu. El procés de construcción de la catedral de Mallorca en el tres-cents*, Palma, 1997, Fig. 21.

Fig. 3.8 Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, discharging arches in the external sides of the Trinity Chapel (left: north; right: south) (early fourteenth century).

Chapel.[32] This did not prevent the fact that some years later, in 1330, it was described as 'the chapel of the lord king James' ('la capeyla del senyor rey En Jacme').[33]

In 1929, the architect Guillem Forteza developed a hypothesis that gained much support. In his opinion, the Royal Chapel was conceived as a cathedral without aisles, and with six bays and a presbytery, that is to say, four more bays than it has today (Fig. 3.10).[34] Advocates of this hypothesis argued, among other reasons, that there is a long tradition of buildings with a single nave in southern France and in Gothic architecture in the Mediterranean in general. Although Forteza's supposition was rejected by Emilio Sagristà with solid arguments, and was described by Gabriel Alomar as a 'deceitful fantasy', the idea that the first plan included only the Trinity and Royal Chapels has had many followers, particularly Pierre Lavedan.[35] Marcel Durliat distinguished three successive projects and defended the idea that the first project, 'robust and a bit rude', included the Trinity and the Royal Chapels, which he attributed to Pons Descoll. For him, this first design had limited ambition.[36] The addition of aisles would thus have been part of a second project, more ambitious and refined, following a pattern very popular in large Gothic churches in Catalonia—though in order to maintain the Royal Chapel, the architect was prepared to forego an ambulatory, adding side apses instead. The third project, 'colossal' and definitive, would have raised the nave much higher (expressing what Durliat called 'geni barceloní', that is, a kind of Barcelonese ingenuity).[37] Recently Joan Domenge, author of the most comprehensive study on the fourteenth-century building process, referred to Forteza's proposal as 'plausible' and introduced some nuances to the three-stage process described by Durliat.[38]

Fig. 3.9 Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, funerary arcosolium in the Trinity Chapel (early fourteenth century).

In the face of the surviving evidence, certain hypotheses about Palma's building process have been gradually abandoned: for example, nobody asserts today that the cathedral was begun by James I the Conqueror. Nevertheless, there is still controversy over the relationship between

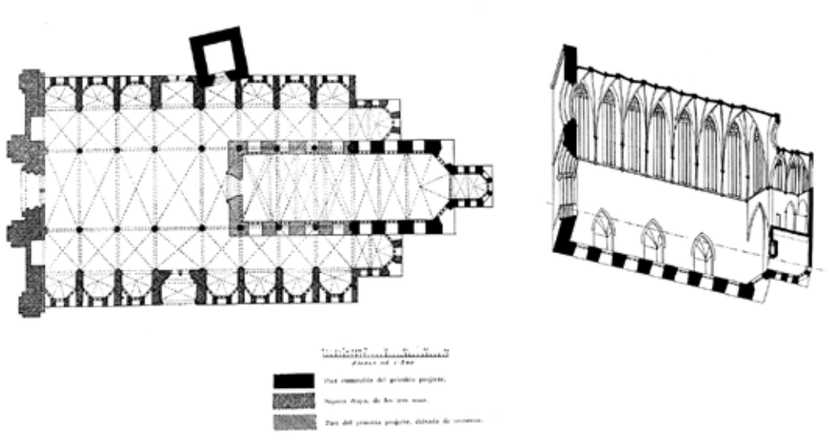

Fig. 3.10
Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, Guillem Forteza's hypothesis (black: first project built; diagonal lines: first project not built; crossed lines: second project). In Guillem Forteza, 'Estat de l'arquitectura catalana en temps de Jaume I. Les determinants gòtiques de la catedral de Mallorca', in Miquel Seguí Aznar (ed.), Guillem Forteza. *Estudis sobre arquitectura i urbanisme*, vol. 2 (Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1984).

the Trinity Chapel and the Royal Chapel, on the one hand, and between both chapels and the nave and aisles, on the other. Some find that the Trinity Chapel 'denotes in its style a date of construction earlier than the rest'.[39] Others, in accordance with Sagristà and in contrast to Forteza's followers, consider that the initial project envisioned the enormous church as it is today, with the Trinity Chapel, the Royal Chapel, the parallel apses, and a huge nave with aisles and chapels between buttresses.[40] It is this position with which I myself am aligned.

In fact, in addition to the reasons outlined by Sagristà, the inspection of masonry and the analysis of measurements suggest that the Royal Chapel was designed, from the very beginning, as the east end of a great building.[41] Where the Royal Chapel's lateral walls turn at the junction with the nave, they swell to form half-piers with uninterrupted masonry courses. As Joan Domenge notes, these half-piers are consistent with the octagonal piers that support the arcades between the nave and aisles (Fig. 3.11), and it is clear that they were intended to support enormous arches, rather than connecting permanently with the former mosque (the roof of the Almudaina Mosque must have been much lower than the vaults of the Royal Chapel, which rise to 27.4 metres).[42]

It must be remembered that Mallorca Cathedral is neither a parish nor a mendicant church, which in the Iberian kingdoms were the type that most often had a single nave. It is certainly the case that in southern France some cathedrals were designed in the last third of thirteenth century with a single nave, as at Albi, whose dimensions and monumental east end far exceed the Royal Chapel in Palma. In my view, it is unthinkable that, around 1300, a cathedral would be designed with a single nave 15.85 metres wide and 24.45 metres long (or more or less fifty metres according to Forteza's proposal). It would be too small compared to the other cathedrals of the time in Catalonia or southern France.[43] And not only in comparison with cathedrals: the parish church of Santa Eulalia in Palma de Mallorca, which held several major events for the Mallorcan monarchs and was built at a similar date to the cathedral, has three naves with chapels between the buttresses, plus an ambulatory opening onto three large polygonal and two rectangular chapels. It measures more than sixty metres in length and is twenty-seven metres wide.[44] The church of San Francisco in the same city, where mass was first held in 1286, has a single nave with chapels

more than seventy metres long and almost thirty metres wide. The Dominican church in Palma, no longer in existence, measured sixty metres long and thirty metres wide. Is it conceivable that a building destined to be the cathedral and royal pantheon would have been designed to be much smaller than the parish and conventual churches in the city?

Further reflection on the initial project may be useful. After 1250, cathedral buildings in the crown of Aragon were usually designed with a chevet composed of an ambulatory and radiating chapels. Why was this not done in Palma? Obviously, it was not a question of space. Mallorca Cathedral measures 118 metres from the east wall of the Trinity Chapel to the western façade, and its nave, aisles and side chapels are about sixty metres wide. By comparison, Barcelona Cathedral, which has an ambulatory, is ninety-three metres long and forty metres wide. The site in Palma certainly allowed for a large cathedral with ambulatory. But the architect and the sponsors preferred a very different and extremely original solution: on the one hand, the Trinity Chapel, reserved for the monarch, would occupy a place of honour both in location and elevation, and on the other, both clergy and laymen would have enormous and extraordinary spaces at their disposal. The most conventional feature of this solution, an east end with three polygonal apses, in fact has many parallels in southern French Gothic architecture.[45]

The existence of a single project is not incompatible with the partial modifications of details that can be seen in the building and that are attributable to the intervention of successive architects or different construction workshops. Although the walls demonstrate changes in various places, I do not think that during the first stage of construction alterations were sufficiently consequential to indicate the implementation of a second project. Constructed during the first phase were the walls flanking the Trinity Chapel, the lower levels of the side walls of the Royal Chapel up to the point where they meet the lateral apses (Fig. 3.12), and all of the Trinity Chapel, including the side spaces (very much modified during subsequent centuries).[46] By contrast, changes are evident in the elevations of the Royal Chapel. The Trinity Chapel squinches are half cones and the length of their diagonal front is equal to the distance between the squinches; meanwhile, the Royal Chapel squinches have ribs, and the length of their diagonal front is significantly smaller than the distance between them (Fig. 3.13). Likewise, while the three eastern

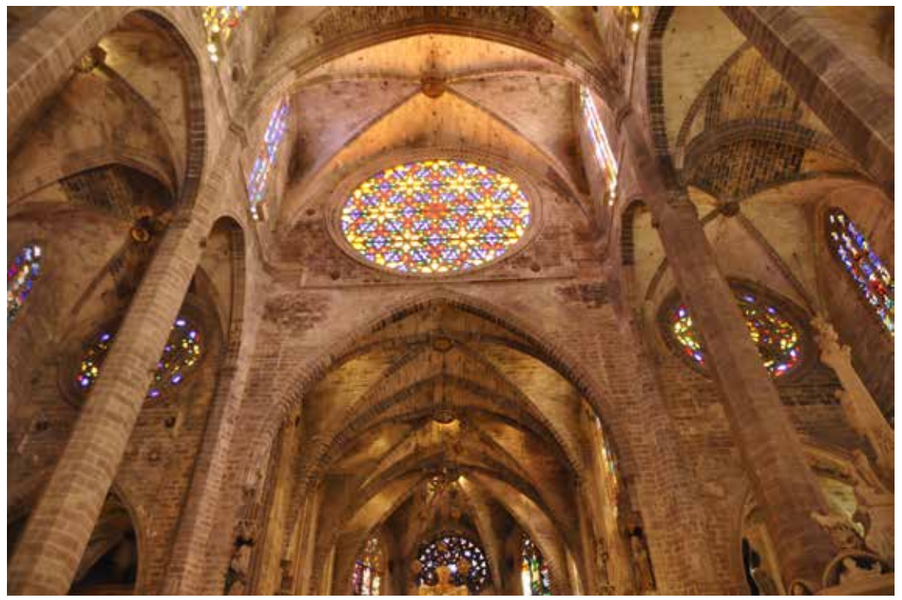

Fig. 3.11
Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, arch opening into the Royal Chapel, rose windows, pilasters, and pillars (fourteenth century).

Fig. 3.12
Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, east end (early fourteenth century).

windows of the Trinity Chapel are similar to each other—perhaps deliberately making reference to the chapel's dedication, and in contrast to the lack of light which enters through the lateral windows—in the Royal Chapel the arch which opens onto the Trinity Chapel is much wider and more luminous than the windows that flank it. Moreover, the mouldings of the tracery and window jambs of the Royal Chapel are different to those employed in the windows of the Trinity Chapel. Similarly, the southern buttresses of the Royal Chapel differ from the northern ones, both in terms of their dimensions as well as in the carving of the ashlar of the passageways that pierce them (Fig. 3.14).[47] All these differences lead one to think that the first architect was replaced during the Royal Chapel's construction. The new architect (Jaume Fabre?), or perhaps a third architect, would have designed the junction with the lateral apses.[48]

These modifications, which predate the obvious adjustments in the high level of the

Fig. 3.13
Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, squinches in the Trinity Chapel (left) and the Royal Chapel (right) (early fourteenth century).

Fig. 3.14
Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, passageways piercing the buttresses of the Royal Chapel (left: north; right: south) (early fourteenth century).

northern aisle's eastern wall observed by Alcover (and later by Durliat), do not necessarily imply deviation from the broad outlines of the initial design.[49] The greatest challenge came when the enormous nave was built. Octagonal piers 1.49 metres wide support diagonal pointed arches whose span reaches almost twenty metres, while the distance between piers is 17.81 metres. This makes Palma Cathedral one of the great creations of Gothic engineering (Fig. 3.15). José Carrasco noted that 17.81 metres is equivalent to nine Montpellier canas, the measurement then in use in Mallorca (with one cana equalling 1.98 metres), while the Royal Chapel's width (15.81 metres) equates to eight canas.[52] The most interesting thing is that, as calculated by Carrasco, the radius of the arches in the Royal Chapel and the main nave is the same—six canas—which allowed the architect to raise them with the same formwork. These coincidences lead one to think that the arches in the Royal Chapel and main nave might have been designed by the same architect. Of course, common units of measurement were used in the Trinity Chapel, the Royal Chapel and the nave.

From the very beginning, the cathedral's design included innovations not seen in the region. Each of its three sections—the Trinity Chapel, Royal Chapel, and nave and aisles—has a different height, ground level and layout. The Trinity Chapel has two different kinds of windows and lacks buttresses. The exterior of the Royal Chapel is strictly divided between windows and buttresses that are almost square in plan. The aisles have two buttresses per section, the same as the side chapels. Every chapel has the same rectangular layout, with the corners angled over squinches.

The absence of an ambulatory affects the hierarchical layout of chapels for worship. It is not likely that religious arrangements in the cathedral were left to the architect. The bishop and canons of Mallorca were well aware of cathedrals designed with a chevet (comprising an ambulatory and radiating chapels), such as those in Narbonne, Barcelona and Gerona. Guillem de Vilanova, bishop of Palma when work started (1304–1318), had formerly been a canon in Barcelona. Why would the clergy have accepted or encouraged such a different east end? Some transaction, or even an alignment of the king's intentions and those of the clergy, may have supported the initial decisions. The sponsors would have reached an agreement on the design of three sections laid out from east to west. In this way, the Trinity Chapel would be a royal space ('la capeyla del senyor rey En Jacme'), as

confirmed by the figure of the king praying to God in the keystones (Fig. 3.16).[54] What is now known as the Royal Chapel was never regal, as it was dedicated to the Virgin, with more than sufficient space for the choir of canons. The nave and aisles, with their many chapels, were the place of worship of prosperous Mallorcan lay society.

Scholars have not sufficiently considered the unusual geometrical complexity and careful distribution of rooms, doors and staircases in the east end, while some plans even lack the spaces flanking the Trinity Chapel, as if they were not part of the original project.[55] In my opinion, the adjective 'rude' employed by Durliat does not do justice to the design of the east end.[56] Architectural composition and circulation planning reveal a peculiar finesse (Fig. 3.17). Pairs of doors and corridors equate in dimensions, design, and stone-cutting, and spiral staircases are settled in the prolongation of the Royal Chapel side walls, beside the squinches, in such a way that their presence does not affect the building strength. This truly inventive solution is unparalleled in Gothic architecture, as far as I know, as are the side spaces and the elevation of the Trinity Chapel in relation to the Royal Chapel.

It is probably not by chance that the walls under the Trinity Chapel are exactly three Montpellier canas apart, that the Trinity Chapel height is almost exactly seven canas,[57] that each of the three sides of the east end measures almost exactly four canas,[58] and that the Royal Chapel's width is eight canas. These measurements were most likely used because of their symbolic value. Obviously, the number three refers to the Trinity. Could the number four, and its multiples eight and sixteen, be related to the quaternary systems so common in the books of Raymond Llull, of whom we shall say more below?[59] Arithmetic, numerology and geometry are the foundations of Palma's cathedral design, whose precision and absence of ornament made Forteza and Torres Balbás, *inter alia*, associate it with an architect specialized in fortresses such as Pons Descoll.[60]

The orientation of Palma Cathedral, pointing exactly at the spot where the sun rises at winter solstice, was highly unusual in medieval churches, particularly in Iberia. The first rays shine on the windows of the Trinity Chapel on Christmas Day.[61] It is not known whether the orientation of the cathedral was conditioned by that of the earlier mosque. Most scholars have suggested that the mosque was aligned with the cathedral tower, which is set at an oblique angle to the cathedral. If that is true, the qibla wall would correctly face

Fig. 3.15
Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, nave and aisles (fourteenth century).

Fig. 3.16
Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, keystone in the Trinity Chapel with the figure of the king praying to God (early fourteenth century).

Mecca.[62] In 1979 Gabriel Alomar sketched a hypothetical floor plan of the mosque which showed the minaret on the northern side of the courtyard (sahn), where the tower stands today.[63] His proposal is difficult to accept, because the qibla would be facing southwest. The discovery of Islamic tombs inside the cathedral in 1999, with a different orientation, also sheds doubt on his suggestion.[64] The issue will only be resolved by means of further archaeological evidence: only then will it be possible to confirm whether the mosque's orientation had a significant influence on the cathedral.

The orientation of the edifice towards the winter solstice shows a desire to praise the Nativity, celebrated with great splendour in medieval Mallorca. Although Palma Cathedral is dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin, the sculptures of the Annunciation in the middle of the Royal Chapel (Fig. 3.18) commemorate the Incarnation. The dedication to the Trinity reflected the devotion of the king and clergy: the compiler of the Palma Cathedral's *Llibre Vermell* in 1359 wrote that he dedicated his work 'in honour of the Holy Trinity, from which emanates all good, and in honour of the Virgin Mary, who is the head and room of the Cathedral of Mallorca'.[65] She is the head ('lo cap'), as the Royal Chapel is to the building as a whole; and she is the body, as in the Gothic tabernacle-sculpture of the Virgin Mary that presided over the main Gothic altarpiece of the Royal Chapel (Nostra Dona de la Seu, today in the Trinity Chapel),

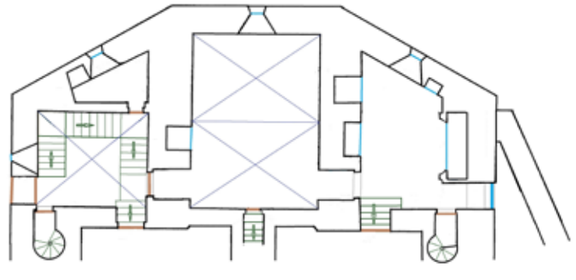

Fig. 3.17
Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, east end lower level plan (produced by the author).

Fig. 3.18
Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, the Royal Chapel (early fourteenth century).

with a receptacle at her side for the Host (Fig. 3.19). Trinity and Incarnation were united from the very first moment in the cathedral project.

It is appropriate here to remember that the Trinity and the Incarnation are the main subjects in the apologetics of the most famous medieval Mallorcan: Raymond Llull. Born at some time in the 1230s, Llull was a noble who changed his life after having five visions of the crucified Christ over five nights. From then on, he spent his life trying to find a way to persuade non-Christians, mostly Muslims but also Jews, of the truths contained in the Christian faith. Several passages in his prolific literary outpourings include imaginary dialogues among scholars from the three religions, through which Llull tried to demonstrate that the Christians were in possession of the truth. The two subjects treated in most detail in the discussions between Christian, Jew, and Muslim representatives were, in fact, the Trinity and the Incarnation.[66] Llull wrote a book on the subject (*Liber de Trinitate et Incarnatione*) in Barcelona in October 1305, a few months before James II of Mallorca expressed interest in building the Trinity Chapel.

Llull exerted a powerful influence over James II. Before his conversion, Llull was James's tutor, seneschal and steward. Years later, James II called him to Montpellier and supported him in founding Miramar Monastery, which Llull built on the island of Mallorca to train clergy who could preach Christianity in Arabic. At Llull's initiative, its church was dedicated to the Trinity.[67] Preaching to Muslims and debates among the three religions were a daily reality in Mallorca in the second half of the thirteenth century and concerned more than Llull. In 1313, Bishop Guillem de Vilanova bemoaned that, in the past, the number of Catholics on the island had been very small.[68]

Llull never lost contact with James II. He visited him at his headquarters and, following an absence of eighteen years, went to the island several times after 1299, during the period when the king began building grand edifices. It is not known whether James II's piety was as strong as Llull's, but it is clear that they shared a devotion to the Trinity, not uncommon at the time.[69]

The extent to which the king, bishop, canons, and the cathedral's first architect shared Llull's intellectual concerns, with geometry chief among them, is also unknown. In 1299 Llull wrote a book on the subject, the *Liber de geometria noua et compendiosa*, which included theoretical passages but also passages that applied to buildings.[70] Although it is obviously not necessary to be a follower of Llull to design such a strongly geometrical building as the cathedral of Mallorca, it is nonetheless striking that specific principles

in the composition of the cathedral remind us of Llull's specific interest in geometric and arithmetical combinations. A fundamental part of Llull's book is devoted to the way in which diverse geometrical figures contain others, a basic principle in the design of Mallorca Cathedral. Its east end consists of a segment of hexadecagon annexed to a rectangle.[71] The segment contains a second smaller rectangle (the Trinity Chapel), which in turn contains triangles in its plan (the squinches). Something similar happens with the Royal Chapel, the rectangular base of which joins the segment and contains the triangles of the squinches. This last solution is replicated in every chapel.[72]

Few studies link Llull to this cathedral, an area that deserves more study. Only Tina Sabater, on analysing the elevation of the Trinity Chapel six metres above the Royal Chapel, perceptively considered it 'an expression of the place James II gave to himself and was given to him by his contemporaries, a place between God and men, as Ramón Llull wrote in the *Doctrina Pueril*'.[73]

Conversely, academics have cited Llull in their writings on Bellver Castle. Alexandre Cirici based his study on fragments from Llull's *Arbre de Ciencia (Tree of Science)* to suggest that the architect used circles to create what Llull called the 'great edifice', mystically related to divinity.[74] In 1986, Yvette Carbonell-Lamothe relegated to a footnote her thought that Bellver Castle was a 'chateau de la philosophie', writing that 'the curious layout of its parts, the tendency for repeated circles, show that we are in a time of the philosophical ideas of Ramón Llull, a contemporary and perhaps partly inspiring the work'.[75] In an introduction to the castle in 2010, Pau Marimón writes that 'Bellver could have been created as a moral parable in Llull's style', although he defines this idea in vague terms only.[76] Joan Domenge considers that Llull's praise of circular shapes could have had an impact 'on the requirements the king assigned his architect'.[77] Finally, in September 2016, an exhibition on Bellver and Llull's squaring circle emphasised the relationships

Fig. 3.19
Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, Gothic image-tabernacle of the Virgin Mary (fourteenth century).

Fig. 3.20
Bellver Castle, Mallorca, upper gallery (begun before 1309).

between the castle and the Mallorcan philosopher.[78]

Bellver Castle has an extremely striking floor plan (see Fig. 3.6).[79] The construction did not follow the principle of adapting to the terrain, but to the finest geometry of the circle, which immediately evokes Llull's thinking. Observing the plan brings to mind the circular diagrams that Llull employed to give a visual demonstration of the principles of his art, diagrams that the philosopher explained using architectural terms, so that each of the subdivisions of the circle was called a 'chamber'.[80] Moreover, the *Liber de geometria noua et compendiosa* of 1299 dedicated several chapters to issues of applied geometry, reviewing the best shapes to be used for different types of building. Among these is a 'fortress with tower' and 'a church or palace with tower', although neither of these recommends circular shapes.[81] However, various passages in the second book confirm the importance of the circle with expressions such as 'The figure of the circle is the mother of all figures'.[82] In the chapters dealing with geometric figures, Llull explains how to draw a circle composed by an inner circle and two circular crowns, all three of them equal in surface area. It seems that the architect applied the formula to achieve a perfect division in Bellver Castle, where the surface area of open spaces, namely the courtyard and gallery, occupies as many square meters as the circular crown of rooms.[83]

However, despite opportunities to do so, Llull did not praise the role of architects or their art, from which one can deduce that it was not Llull who sought to embody his thoughts in specific edifices.[84] Construction elements in the cathedral, such as doors, arches, ribs and corbels, are very different from those in Bellver in terms of dimensions, stonecutting and mouldings (Fig. 3.20), which suggests that the construction warden was not the same person. Nevertheless, both buildings seem to take inspiration from Llull's principles of geometry. Could it have been the king who transmitted Llull's ideas to the architects, as Domenge supposed in the case of the castle? After all, James II proved to be especially interested in construction activities, not only by commissioning his own palaces and castles, but also in establishing regulations for towns, where he gave details of what had to be done with existing buildings that obstructed the new urban layout.[85] Furthermore, Llull finished his book on geometry 'in Paris in the month of July, year of

Our Lord 1299' shortly before going back to Mallorca, where he met the king. Works in the castle and the cathedral began soon afterwards.

In conclusion, the architectural programmes of Mallorca Cathedral and Bellver Castle were innovative from the initial plans onwards. In the cathedral, spaces, shapes and sculptures proclaim Christian dogmas particularly opposed to Islam. The organisation of the cathedral into three sections was determined before construction began and probably had as much to do with a symbolic intention as with marking out distinct areas for the three groups that co-financed the work (king, clergy and the faithful). The architectural plan and its uncommon forms—including the Trinity Chapel, the Royal Chapel, and the nave and aisles—reflected these intentions from the outset, and for the most part these plans continued to be respected during the long building process.[86] The architect who designed Mallorca Cathedral used geometric formulae in a manner that was unusual for cathedrals but which shares commonalities with Llull's book of 1299. In a similar vein, the shapes employed in Bellver also point to a higher principle, that of geometrical perfection based on a combination of circles. Even though the architect or architects cannot be identified with certainty (though for the cathedral it was most likely Pons Descoll), we find similarities in the creative processes, and we know there was a common sponsor for both buildings: King James II. Nevertheless, although it is tempting to relate spiritual intentions in the cathedral project and the application of geometry in both buildings to Ramón Llull's literary works, the idea that he played an active role in either project must, ultimately, be rejected.

1. Ralph Adams Cram, *The Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca: An Architectural Study* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1932), p. 5.

2. Joan Domenge i Mesquida, 'Traces d'una fortuna historiogràfica', in Aina Pascual (ed.), *La Seu de Mallorca* (Palma de Mallorca: José J. de Olañeta, 1995), pp. 11-15; Joan Domenge i Mesquida, *L'obra de la seu. El procés de construcción de la catedral de Mallorca en el tres-cents* (Palma: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 1997), pp. 25-48.

3. I am extremely grateful to Mercè Gambús and Catalina Mas for permission and help in inspection and measurement of Mallorca Cathedral. Likewise, I would like to express my gratitude to David L. Simon for his careful consideration of my paper.

4. David Abulafia, *Un emporio mediterráneo: el reino catalán de Mallorca* (Madrid: Omega, 1996), pp. 3-39; Pau Cateura Nennàsser (ed.), *El Regne de Mallorca a l'època de la dinastía privativa* (Palma: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 1998); María Barceló Crespí, *Jaume II de Mallorca, Savi e bon rei, Retrat d'un monarca* (Palma: Ajuntament de Palma, 2014), pp. 25-48.

5. Juan Vich y Salom and Juan Montaner y Bujosa, *Documenta Regni Majoricarum (Miscelánea)* (Palma de Mallorca: Amengual y Muntaner, 1945), pp. 67-74; Joan Domenge i Mesquida, 'Arquitectura palatina del reino de Mallorca. Símbolos de poder para una efímera dinastía', *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23, núm. esp. 2 (2013): p. 81; Mercè Gambús Saiz and Pere Fullana Puigserver (eds.), *Jaume II i la Catedral de Mallorca* (Palma de Mallorca: Catedral de Mallorca, 2012).

6. For the rhetoric of purification see, for example, Julie Harris, 'Mosque to Church Conversions in the Spanish Reconquest', *Art History* 158 (1997), pp. 158-162.

7. 'Item, volumus et mandamus quod, in dicta ecclesia Beatae Mariae Sedis Maioricarum, in loco decenti, construatur una capella intitulanda Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis et ibi sit spatium sufficiens ad sepulturas ubi volumus sepeliri … et ad haec facienda et complenda, si ea nos non compleverimus in vita nostra, adstringimus ipsum heredem nostrum universalem'. Marcel Durliat, *L'art en el regne de Mallorca* (Mallorca: Moll, 1989), p. 128n23.

8. 'Dimitimus operi ecclesie dicte sedis duo milia libras monete curribilis in Maioricis, sive ibi sepeliamur sive non'. Durliat, *L'art*, p. 130n33.

9. Durliat, *L'art*, p. 130n34.

10. 'Per la obra, la qual lo senyor Rey de bona memoria mana que fos feta en lo cap de lesgleya de la Seu'. Vich, *Documenta*, p. 108.

11. 'Cupientes insuper honorabile opus dudum inceptum in capite dicte ecclesie Beate Marie per illustrisimum dominum Jacobum memorie recolende Regem Maioricarum genitorem nostrum'. Emilio Sagristà, 'La catedral de Mallorca. El enigma de la Capilla de la Trinidad', *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cvltvra* 28 (1952): p. 27.

12. Since the beginning, the Trinity Chapel was reserved for royalty. Despite its name, what is called the Royal Chapel was, in fact, the presbytery. Because of building works, it was shared for years with the lay faithful. In fourteenth century, the Royal Chapel was called just 'the head' (*lo cap*).

13. Alexandre Cirici, *Arquitectura gótica catalana* (Barcelona: Lumen, 1968), p. 263.

14. Jaime de Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, vol. 26, *Viage a Mallorca* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1851), pp. 105-6.

15. Durliat, *L'art*, pp. 133 and 148-50. With respect to Bellver Castle, Pere Salvat headed the chapter of masters in the *Libre de Beilveer del ayn de M CCC IX*, with the highest salary and three 'macips' (apprentices, servants). See Jaume Sastre, 'El Llibre d'obra del Castell de Bellver (1309-10)', *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 63 (2007): p. 172. Durliat thought he was not an architect but a foreman. See Marcel Durliat, 'Les châteaux des rois de Majorque: origine de leurs partis architecturaux', *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 839 (1985): pp. 47-9.

16. Durliat, 'Les châteaux', p. 55.

17. Durliat, *L'art*, pp. 133 and 140.

18. Jaime Sastre Moll, 'El finançament de les obres (s. XIV i XV)', in Pascual, *La Seu*, p. 37.

19. Consecrating congregational mosques after conquest was common practice in Iberian cities, but it did not happen in Mallorca. Villanueva (*Viage literario*, pp. 75-98) thought that Almudaina Mosque was Mallorca's congregational mosque, an idea echoed by a large number of scholars, but he was probably wrong.

Ricard Soto i Company concludes that Mallorca's congregational mosque lies below the church of Saint Michael. See his 'Mesquites urbanes i mesquites rurals a Mayurqa (Estudi documental i problemes d'interpretació)', *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueologica Lul·liana 37* (1979): p. 116.

20. Sometimes, it was only decades, as in Zaragoza, Tudela and Lérida. Conversely, construction of the Gothic cathedral of Toledo, conquered in 1085, did not start until 1226. The mosques in Huesca and Seville stood for almost two hundred years after the Moors were expelled, and Córdoba Mosque still exists today.

21. Gerardo Boto, 'Panthéons royaux des cathédrales de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle et de Palma de Majorque. À la recherche d'un espace funéraire qui n'a jamais été utilisé', in *Espace ecclésial et liturgique au Moyen Âge* (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2009), p. 301.

22. Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza compares the Trinity Chapel in Mallorca with the Royal Chapel in Seville Cathedral because of their shared arrangement on two levels. See his 'Capillas Reales funerarias catedralicias de Castilla y León: Nuevas hipótesis interpretativas de las catedrales de Sevilla, Córdoba y Toledo', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte (U.A.M.)*, 18 (2006): p. 23.

23. 'Per exemplar la plassa del dit Mirador per lo cap de lesgleya de la Seu qui si deu fer'. Durliat, *L'art*, p. 130n35.

24. Durliat, *L'art*, p. 130n34.

25. Durliat, *L'art*, p. 130n35.

26. Domenge, *L'obra*, p. 87 and chapter 5; and Jaume Sastre Moll, 'El finançament de les obres (S. XIV i XV)', in Pascual (ed.), *La Seu*, pp. 37-9.

27. His successor, Ramón de Cortsaví, gave one hundred pounds to the Mirador's works ('operi miradorii civitatis Maioricensis'). The Mirador was partially destroyed to allow space for the new east end: Villanueva, *Viage literario*, pp. 177-8; Durliat, *L'art*, p. 131.

28. 'Relatu fidedigno noviter intelleximus quod ex ordinatione testamentaria et voluntate plurium defunctorum debentur per eorum heredes et manumisores diverse pecunie quantitates que converti debent iuxta illorum ordinationem ultimam et voluntatem tam operi ecclesie Beate Marie Sedis Maioricarum quam pro capullis [sic] construendis et hedificandis in eadem'. Sagristà, 'La catedral de Mallorca. El enigma', pp. 26-7.

29. Domenge, *L'obra*, plate 12.3.

30. Durliat, *L'art*, p. 129.

31. Boto, 'Panthéons', pp. 292-93.

32. According to Gabriel Alomar, James II's provisional sepulchre in the fourteenth century was between the Royal Chapel and the mosque. See Gabriel Alomar, 'La capella de la Trinitat i les tombes dels reis de Mallorca', in Pascual, *La Seu*, p. 212. In contrast, Gerardo Boto believes that James II's first tomb was placed in the Royal Chapel. See Boto, 'Panthéons', p. 294. Later, the tomb was located in the main nave. The current sepulchres of the Majorcan kings in the Trinity Chapel were produced in 1946.

33. Durliat, *L'art*, p. 129n27. The Trinity Chapel has been compared to two-storied palace chapels such as the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris or the Holy Cross in Perpignan, which have altars on both levels, unlike Mallorca. See Boto, 'Panthéons', pp. 292-3n75. In my opinion, it bears no significant relation with them. This is not the place to discuss the Trinity Chapel's rectangular plan or the use of squinches, which, as many scholars have pointed out, is similar to the chapel in the Royal Palace of Perpignan. See N. J. Stym-Popper, 'Séance du 28 Avril', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1948-1949 (1952): p. 5; Durliat, L'art, p. 129.

34. Guillem Forteza, 'Estat de l'arquitectura catalana en temps de Jaume I. Les determinants gòtiques de la catedral de Mallorca', in Miquel Seguí Aznar (ed.), *Guillem Forteza. Estudis sobre arquitectura i urbanisme* (Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1984), 2: pp. 5-28.

35. Emilio Sagristà, 'La catedral de Mallorca. Contribución a su estudio a propósito de una hipótesis propugnada por el arquitecto D. Guillermo Forteza sobre el primitivo proyecto de la catedral de Mallorca', *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura* 24 (1948): pp. 120-62 and 165-74. Pierre Lavedan, *L'architecture gothique religieuse en Catalogne, Valence et Baléares* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1935), p. 162 and thereafter. Lavedan still considers James I the Conqueror to have begun the new cathedral.

36. The design had 'la simplicitat del pla i la severitat de la maqueta'. Durliat, *L'art,* pp. 140-1.

37. Durliat, *L'art*, pp. 136 and 140-1.

38. Joan Domenge, 'La catedral de Mallorca: Reflexiones sobre la concepción y cronología de sus naves', in Christian Freigang (ed.), *Gotische Architektur in Spanien. La arquitectura gótica en España* (Frankfurt am Main and Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 1999) p. 161; Joan Domenge, *L'obra*, p. 132-63.

39. Gabriel Alomar Esteve, 'La capilla de la Trinidad, panteón de los reyes de la casa de Mallorca', *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 6:10 (1949): p. 21n1. Xavier Barral differentiates four stages, the first being the Trinity Chapel. See Xavier Barral 'Catedral', in Joan Sureda Pons, Baleares. *Mallorca, Menorca e Ibiza* (Madrid: Encuentro, 1994), p. 85. Still in 2010 Jaume Sastre affirmed that James II's intention was to build a royal chapel annexed to the apse of the converted mosque. See Jaume Sastre Moll, 'El finançament de les obres de la seu de Mallorca', *De computis. Revista Española de Historia de la Contabilidad* 12 (2010): p. 87.

40. 'Fue ya desde el primer momento, concebida para tener tres naves con sus tres ábsides, cual hoy los tiene'. Sagristà, 'La catedral de Mallorca. Contribución', p. 174. See also pp. 120-62 and 165-74. For a similar perspective, see Boto, 'Panthéons', p. 291.

41. Despite Sagristà's mistaken chronology, account must be taken of his comments on windows, canopies, buttresses, the thickness of the walls, arcosolia and access arches: Sagristà, 'La catedral de Mallorca. Contribución'.

42. Domenge, 'La catedral', p. 173.

43. Even single nave French cathedrals built in the twelfth century, like Toulouse, were wider.

44. On these churches, see Durliat, *L'art*, pp. 662-9 and 106-14.

45. Saint-Vincent in Carcassonne, Saint-Paul in Clermont-l'Hérault, Saint-André in Montagnac, the cathedral and Saint-Dominique in Perpignan, Saint-Laurent in Roujan, Notre-Dame-de-l'Asomption du Vigan, etc. See Raymond Rey, *L'art gothique du Midi de la France* (Paris: Laurens, 1934); Françoise Robin, *Midi Gothique. De Béziers à Avignon* (Paris: Picard, 1999). The apse's disposition and dimensions also bring to mind large Romanesque cathedrals in southern Italy and Sicily.

46. It is impossible to know what happened in the lower parts of the walls, completely hidden by choir stalls and liturgical furnishings.

47. In the southern wall buttresses, two courses meet at the apex of the arch vertex; in the northern wall buttresses the apex of the arch is carved from a single block.

48. The side apses were probably built later in order to allow access through provisional doorways.

49. Sagristà, 'La catedral de Mallorca. El enigma', p. 19; Durliat, *L'art*, p. 136.

50. 'Canne: mésure ancienne valant à Montpellier 1m, 984'. See J. Renouvier and A. Ricard, 'Des maitres de Pierre et des autres artistes gothiques de Montpellier', *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier* 2 (1841): p. 340. José Carrasco Hortal, 'La catedral de Mallorca. Mesures i models', *L'Avenç* 289 (2004): pp. 36-9. I replace Carrasco's measurements with my own, which are closer to the multiples of Montpellier canas.

51. As is well known, Gothic architects took full advantage or the potentialities of pointed arches, span and rise of which can be different using the same circumference.

52. The Trinity Chapel ground floor measures exactly three canas width (5.95 metres); the outside chevet eastern wall, four canas (7.93 metres); as we have seen, the distance between piers in the main nave measures nine canas (17.81 metres); the distance between piers sustaining diagonal ribs equates to ten canas (19.93 metres); and the nave octagonal piers' width reaches six hand spans (1.49 metres), the hand span being another unit of measurement from Montpellier, equivalent to one eighth of a cana.

53. M. Nebot, 'Don Guillermo de Vilanova cuarto Obispo de Mallorca (1304-1318)', *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueológica Lul·liana* 14 (1913): pp. 262-4.

54. The rhomboidal keystone in the northern room displays two pales, most likely James II's heraldic arms. Other rhomboidal keystones under or beside the Trinity Chapel probably originally had the same arms.

55. Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Arquitectura gótica. Ars Hispaniae, Historia Universal del Arte Hispánico* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1952), 7: p. 213.

56. Durliat, *L'art*, p. 140.

57. According to my measurements, it was 13.70 metres; seven canas make 13.88 metres.

58. According to my measurements, it was 7.86 metres; four canas make 7.93 metres.

59. Carles Llinàs, *Ars Angelica. La gnoseología de Ramon Llull* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2000), pp. 54-55.

60. Forteza, 'Estat de l'arquitectura' p. 24; Torres Balbás, *Arquitectura gótica*, p. 214.

61. As the orientation of Palma Cathedral is 123° from the north, and sunrise on the winter solstice at the latitude of Palma de Mallorca is 120°, the error is minimal, although very surprising for the period. Perhaps there is no error: the sun shines on the windows not quite at sunrise, but a few minutes later, when it rises on the horizon. I'm very grateful to José Puente Martínez for this information. The orientation of Palma Cathedral causes an effect of light that may have been planned from the start. On Candlemas (February 2), between 8:30 and 9:00 a.m. local time, the rays of the sun fall through the eastern rose window (*the oculus maior*) on the cathedral's west wall, just below the western rose window: Daniel Ruiz Aguilera and Josep Lluis Pol Llompart, 'Els efectes de la llum solar a la seu de Mallorca', *Actes d'Historia de la Ciència i de la Tècnica* 3:1 (2010): pp. 37-47.

62. The orientation of qibla walls in the mosques of al-Andalus varies widely, and there are instances close to the tower direction as well as to the cathedral's 123°. See Mónica Rius, 'La Alquibla en al-Andalus y al-Magrib al-Aqsà', *Anuari de filologia. Secció B, Estudis àrabs i islàmics* 3 (1998-1999), pp. 17-358.

63. G. Alomar Esteve, *Ensayos sobre Historia de las Islas Baleares hasta el año 1800* (Palma: Cort), 1979, p. 62.

64. Antonio Pons Cortés, *La Consueta de aniversarios de la Catedral de Mallorca y la documentación funeraria como fuente para la historia de la arquitectura medieval* (PhD diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2015), p. 146.

65. 'A honor de la Sancta Trinitat, de la qual tot be devayla e a honor de Madona Sancta Maria, la qual és cap e cambra de la Seu de Mallorchas'. Gabriel Llompart, 'L'escultura gòtica', in Pascual, *La Seu*, p. 54.

66. 'For Llull, the most negative thing about the Jews was their inability to see the inherent truth in his reasoning for the existence of the Trinity in the Godhead, and for the Incarnation'. See Harvey J. Hames, *The art of conversion. Christianity and Kabbalah in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 117.

67. Pere Villalba i Varneda, *Ramon Llull. Escriptor i Filòsof de la Diferència. Palma de Mallorca, 1232-1316* (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2015), pp. 145-52.

68. 'Cum aduch in dicta insula pauci catholici haberentur'. Vich, *Documenta*, p. 116.

69. Llull wrote of James II: 'tiene mucha devoción en cuanto al modo en que se debe honrar a Jesucristo, predicando entre los descreídos'. See Abulafia, *Un emporio*, p. 15.

70. Ramón Llull, *Nova et compendiosa geometria,* Biblioteca Pública del Estado en Palma de Mallorca, MS 1036, n.d., ca. 1401-1450, Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico, http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=397927 (English version: Raymond Llull, *The New Geometry. Liber de geometria nova et compendiosa*, accessed 31 January 2019, http://lullianarts.narpan.net/NewGeometry.pdf). For more on the *Liber*, see Carla Compagno, 'El *Liber de geometria noua et compendiosa* di Raimondo Lullo', *Àmbitos. Revista de Estudios de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades* 31 (2014): pp. 35-45.

71. The angles formed by each pair of the three eastern walls are around 23°. In a regular hexadecagon the angles are 22.5°. The first phase of the Llull's *Art* is known as the 'quaternary phase', because of the relevance of number four and its multiples (the principles were grouped up to sixteen units), later replaced by the 'ternary phase'. See Anthony Bonner, *L'Art i la lògica de Ramon Llull. Manual d'ús* (Barcelona: Publicacions I Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2012).

72. In Mallorca Cathedral the number three, related to the dogma of the Trinity to which James II dedicated his burial chapel, might be discerned in a number of elements that are otherwise unusual in fourteenth-century cathedrals: the building comprises three perfectly distinguishable and perfectly interrelated sections, and three huge circular windows dominate the eastern walls of the nave and aisles. The builders linked the Trinity Chapel to the Father, as his image dominates the keystone, while in the Royal Chapel the Son is referenced through the mystery of the Incarnation, as seen in the statues in the centre of its side walls. Did they think of the Holy Spirit when designing the eastern rose window that illuminates the central nave? Light, fire, illumination, and spiritual unction are other attributes of the third person in the Trinity that would be perfectly mirrored in the light flooding the area for the faithful through a star formed by twelve triangles. This perhaps alluded to the twelve fruits of the Holy Spirit, as enumerated by St. Paul in the epistle to the Galatians. As far as I know, the tracery on the eastern rose window is unique in Gothic architecture, consisting of a Star of David formed by twelve isosceles triangles (and by the intersection of six triangles that are sub-divided exactly like one of the figures in Llull's book on geometry. See *Llull*, *Nova*, fol. 28v. The rose window has been repaired on several occasions, so it is not clear whether the design is exactly the same as that drawn up in the fourteenth century. It is probably also not coincidental that the Royal Chapel area is seven times larger than that of the Trinity Chapel.

73. Tina Sabater, 'Jaume II promotor de les arts. La Capella de la Trinitat de la Seu de Mallorca', in Rosa Alcoy Pedrós and Dominique Allios (eds.), *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge: ommande, production et réception de l'oeuvre d'art; mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet* (Paris: Picard, 2012), p. 204.

74. Cirici, *Arquitectura*, pp. 262-3.

75. Yvette Carbonell-Lamothe, 'Les relations artistiques entre le royaume de Majorque et le Midi de la France: bilan des connaissances et perspectives de recherche', in *IV Jornades s'Estudis Històrics locals. El Regne de Mallorca i el Sud francés* (Palma de Mallorca: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 1986), p. 57n17.

76. Pau Marimón Ribas, *El descubrimiento de un símbolo. Guía temática del Castillo de Bellver* (Palma: Ajuntament, 2011), pp. 11-13. With no other argument than numerical coincidences, he relates the four watch posts to the four elements, the three main towers to the powers of the soul, and the twenty-one supports and arches in the lower gallery to the result of multiplying the seven virtues by the three powers.

77. Joan Domenge, 'Les residencies dels reis a Mallorca', in Olivier Passarrius and Aymat Catafau (eds.), *Un palais dans la ville*, vol. 1, *Le Palais des rois de Majorque à Perpignan* (Canet: Trabucaire, 2014), p. 328.

78. *Ramon Llull i Bellver. La quadratura del cercle*, exhibition in Bellver Castle, 21 September 2016–31 October 2018.

79. On its design, see Jos Tomlow, 'Castillo de Bellver auf Mallorca. Ein Versuch zur Deutung der Entstehung und Gestalt eines Unikats', in Freigang (ed.), *Gotische Architektur*, pp. 227-49.

80. In Llull, the word 'chamber' (*camera* in Latin) refers to any box with something written inside. Bonner, *L'Art*, p. 35.

81. *Llull, Nova*, fols 26v and 27v: a fortress and a church or palace with a tower, or a hall with no tower.

82. *Llull, Nova*, fol. 33v.

83. *Llull, Nova*, fol. 9v: 'In this figure of three circles, a doctrine is provided for placing circles within one another, where each circle is equivalent in containing capacity to each of the others, regardless of the fact that one is located inside another'. This proportion also brings to mind Villard de Honnecourt's formula to design a cloister 'autretant es voies com el prael'. See MS Fr 19093, fol. 20r, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ark:/12148/btv1b10509412z.

84. Time and again Llull explains the usefulness of his geometric figures without including architects among potential recipients. When he wrote on mechanical arts, he preferred car-

penters to builders because their work in wood brought them close to the Cross. See Ricardo da Costa, 'Las definiciones de las siete artes liberales y mecánicas en la obra de Ramón Llull', *Anales del Seminario de Historia de la Filosofía* 23 (2006): p. 140.

85. Vich, *Documenta,* pp. 71-4.

86. The bishop and canons agreed in 1386 to continue the original and magnificent building design: 'et sicut alia construantur in altum, et iuxta formam magno decore conceptam et inceptam fieri in ipsius primario fundamento'. Sagristà, 'La catedral de Mallorca. El enigma', p. 17n2.

4

Architectural Practices in Spain, 1370-1450: Documents and Drawings

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Although the current volume follows directly in the illustrious tradition forged by Llaguno, Ceán Bermúdez and George Edmund Street, the issues tackled in this essay have as much to do with social history as with architecture.[1] Numerous published and unpublished documents shed light on the practice of late Gothic architecture. Sometimes these documents confirm what scholars have long suspected, but often they also challenge long-held assumptions. This is the subject of the current essay, which focuses on material in Valencia's archives, but will also widen the horizons to consider other material too.

The essay's first part will focus on apprenticeship in building trades. The second will deal with architectural drawings. But first it is helpful to say something about place and time. Previously under Muslim control, the Kingdom of Valencia was located in the eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula conquered by King James I of Aragon between 1232 and 1245. For this, James was praised highly by Matthew Paris in his *Chronica Maiora*, and across Europe his campaigns were perceived as a Crusade that strengthened Christendom and pushed Islam to the borders of the continent.[2] From the very beginning, James, who was named the Conqueror, provided his southern territory with its own laws and institutions, thus creating a kingdom in its own right, politically and institutionally different from the other territories of the Crown of Aragon. Valencia was a land of many opportunities that consolidated and replaced Catalonia as the flagship of the Aragonese Crown in the fifteenth century, despite the Jewish pogroms of 1391, conflicts between urban factions, epidemics, famines, plunder, and closed borders with Castile.

The period 1370–1450 was not an easy time, but it can be said that there was a long period of economic growth, altered episodically by local or regional problems. This period coincides with a blossoming of the arts that is recorded in notarial documentation from those same years. Building projects grew in quantity and price, and the epicentre of this architectural activity was the capital, where newly arrived stonemasons from other peninsular kingdoms or beyond the Pyrenees engaged closely with a local work force and with customers who paid willingly for innovative structures.

Like several other Mediterranean territories, Valencia preserves a great quantity of documentation from the fourteenth century onwards. In the research conducted into the transmission of knowledge in artistic trades, the main source of information has been private records, such as last wills, inventories and apprenticeship contracts. In particular, the notarial archive of the colegio del Corpus Christi, Valencia, is a treasure trove that has provided almost all the evidence described in the first part of this text. Taking into account that architectural projects were often collective enterprises promoted by civil or religious authorities, it has been necessary to consult other holdings, such as the municipal and cathedral archives in Valencia. Both of these archives hold detailed accounts of the building processes and maintenance works of impressive structures, such as city gates or the lantern tower of the metropolitan cathedral.

The career path of the figures constructing these buildings always started in the same way: an apprenticeship in late childhood and early youth with an experienced professional.[3] This process was based on the master-apprentice relationship, on the early involvement of the adolescent in labour activities (not practice tasks, but real acts that had an impact on construction), and on the progressive supply of knowledge, depending on the capability and skills of the apprentice. In fact, this kind of training has all the conditions of significant learning, in modern pedagogical terms. In Herbert Kessler's words, 'Craft traditions themselves helped to perpetuate both forms and styles, sometimes over long periods. The apprenticeship system was fundamentally conservative. The training of artists reflected the attitude: *Nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum*'.[4]

How then could innovation emerge out of this seemingly fixed process of intergenerational transmission? First, although the training method remained stable precisely because it was so effective, the syllabus was mutable. In other words: different forms and styles were taught in the same way, certainly between 1370 and 1450, and

Fig. 4.1
Pinnacle (ca. 1440). Polychrome wood, 150 cm high. Museo de la Ciudad, Ayuntamiento de Valencia.

probably long before and after. The documents that most clearly describe this kind of training are apprenticeship contracts. Unfortunately, there are few extant examples from Valencia, perhaps because it was only after 1514 that such arrangements had to be signed before a notary. In Castile and other European territories this kind of record is even scarcer. This accords with what we know about other artistic professions: painters' apprentices could be bound to their masters by a document (called a *carta*), but also by means of an oral agreement. This makes it difficult to say anything very definite, and before briefly analysing those apprenticeship contracts that do survive from Valencia, it is necessary to elucidate two ideas. The first concerns these documents' exasperating silence about the specific skills that were the real object of the economic transaction. The second regards the proper definition of an apprenticeship contract.

Starting with the first question, the arrangements were not explicit about skills because it was not necessary or required; it was not possible to efficiently codify technical training in a treatise for teaching purposes. Certainly, nobody learnt a trade by reading a book. As Cennini put it, 'you can read this book night and day, but if you do not follow a good master, you will not learn anything'.[5] Of course, there were technical texts about artistic trades, but they summarised a tradition that was vanishing (such as the *Libro dell'Arte* itself, regarding post-Giottesque painting, or the northern masons' books of the late fifteenth century), were not intended to be canonical treatises, or even were not

Fig. 4.2
Convent of San Francisco de Teruel, model of window tracery (unknown date). Clay, 18.5 x 8 cm. Museo Casa Benlliure, Valencia.

written by an artist, being understood as such only later (Villard is the obvious example here). The documents that were nearest to workshop practice were, in fact, compilations of colour recipes such as the French Jehan Le Bègue's.[6] Regarding the proper definition of an apprenticeship contract: in Catalan, the verb *afermar* (to bind two people by mutual agreement) is always used in these registers, but it does not automatically imply a didactic act.[7] Sometimes this also involves teaching a profession, and sometimes not. All apprenticeship contracts include the verb *afermar*, but not all *afermament* contracts are related to apprenticeship. This leads to the differentiation of two documentary types: apprenticeship agreements and job agreements. These categories were sometimes fluid, however, as we will see below.

In Valencia, published apprenticeship contracts concerned with building trades are few in comparison with those related to painting. If we turn to hiring, there is almost no evidence. This is because, for more than a century, local scholars have focused principally on painters and altarpieces. We can, however, take advantage of this by comparing new data about architecture to the reasonably solid history of painting in Valencia between 1370 and 1450. There are several extant apprenticeship contracts in this period that involve builders or stonemasons (although the terminology in late medieval documents is extremely variable, with the same worker named as 'master stonemason', 'mason', 'builder' or 'sculptor').[8]

All present similar characteristics, quite different from other artistic trades. The ages of apprentices are remarkably high, the training period is short, and the reward at the end surpasses the usual maintenance and clothing, consisting instead of masons' tools. For instance, on 12 April 1385, Joan Franch, stonemason, agreed with Jaume Bonet that he would instruct Bonet's son Joan, for three years. At the end of the training period, besides some clothes, the master would give the apprentice two axes, a set-square, a chisel and a mallet.[9] On 25 November 1390, Joan Lobet the Elder, a master stonemason, agreed with Vicent Cubells, a stonemason, that he would teach Cubells' son Antoni for nine years (perhaps the longest period known for such agreements).[10] On 29 August 1415, Pere Riera, son of a Catalan stonemason, agreed with the stonemason Julià Martinez that

he would serve Martinez for three and a half years. At the end, Riera would be given several tools.[11] On 16 August 1423, the builder Miquel Roda agreed with Pere Punyet, guardian of Pere Sanchez de Favavuig, to teach his art to Pere for four years. At the end of the training period, Roda would give Sanchez the usual tools given to novices at the end of their apprenticeship.[12] On 16 June 1434, the builder Antoni Ferrer agreed with carpenter Domènec Eiximeno that he would instruct Eiximeno's fourteen years old son Joan, for three years.[13] On 12 June 1438, Martí Lobet, 'picapedrerio et magistro operis sedis Valencie', agreed with Guillem Dezplà, stonemason, that he would teach his art to Dezplà's fourteen year old son Jaume for four years from 1 April 1439. At the end of the training period, the master would give the apprentice the usual tools.[14]

It seems that we are dealing with a stage of advanced learning in which the enrolled boy had already mastered some building skills. The expertise acquired during those three or four years distinguished him from lower paid and less skilled craftsmen. Suspiciously often, the youth was the son of a builder, which leads to the idea of a professional custom—perhaps established more firmly than normally presumed—that compelled the youngest members of the clan to seek innovations outside the family workshop.

Among the cases listed above, we have two paradigmatic examples referring to the educational trajectory of well-known professionals: Joan Franch and Martí Lobet, both masters of Valencia Cathedral. Joan Franch directed works there from 1388 to 1399, Lobet between 1428 and 1439 (although he was considered a skilful builder well before that). It was Lobet who oversaw construction of the highest level of the bell tower, raised the lantern tower to its definitive height, and built the so-called new library, introducing a significant new element derived from works by the famous Majorcan architect Guillem Sagrera: spiral columns. Lobet had, in fact, a very interesting professional trajectory, and had already mastered a very wide range of graphic skills when hired to oversee the bell tower project. He was also able to negotiate with a Muslim stone supplier, and himself owned at least four quarries near the city.[15]

Other masters of Valencia Cathedral, such as Antoni Dalmau and Francesc Baldomar, are named in *afermament* contracts, but in these cases the agreements seem to imply service, not learning. For one, there are no verbs referring specifically to pedagogy such as *addiscere* or *docere*. Furthermore, those bound to the masters are adults and are described as stonemasons. In this type of contract, the final reward is money, not tools. On 19 June 1449, Antoni Dalmau hired Pere Gironés and Martí Pi, both Catalan stonemasons, for two years. At the end of the period, Dalmau would pay 20 florins to each.[16] In 1463, Baldomar, who is considered the principal innovator in mid-fifteenth-century Valencian masonry, hired one Juan de León, described as 'moço del mestre' (the master's assistant) in a document in the cathedral archive from the same year.[17] Can we deduce that these *afermaments* with no specific didactic component were the next step in the career of a young mason who had finished his training? To work alongside the best masters in the early stages of a professional life is a good beginning. We cannot say anything more in this case, but it is probable that further evidence is to be found in the archives of many different towns, as the second part of the training seems inextricably bound with travel. Be it as it may, apprentices and assistants were differentiated groups in work forces undertaking construction. These young men were in the first and second stages of a journey towards professional independence and the financial rewards that went with it.

One of the key skills of a successful master was the ability to draw. Most of the few architectural drawings that have come down to us are demonstrations of constructive geometry derived from procedures acquired during the learning process. These resources formed part of a wider, structured body of knowledge which, needless to say, was transmitted by channels other than treatises: words, graphic puzzles (presumably on perishable media) and early entry into the world of work (in the stonemason's yard). Such unwritten transmission of knowledge has often been identified as hermeticism.

In the particular case of architecture, this supposition of professional secrecy has taken root especially in the collective imagination, not only since the eighteenth century when British masons' lodges adopted much of the imagery associated with the stonemason's craft, but also as a result of inaccurate information in popular historical novels. People seek out drawings associated with medieval architectural practice in the hope of finding traces of this encrypted knowledge, the most common example being mason's marks. Independently of this, scholars have also sometimes puzzled over the interpretation of these drawings, mainly for two reasons: first, in this type of document it is the graphic element that contains the fundamental information; and second, there is usually no written text to help with the interpretation of the imagery, and any notes which are supplied are very brief. The explanation lies, of course, in geometry, a tool with which most historians are relatively unfamiliar. Architectural drawings are not undecipherable hieroglyphics; in most cases, when basic precepts of geometry are applied, these drawings can be interpreted without too many problems. Without these, they remain unintelligible because they are taken out of context and without the formulas that help us understand how the forms are developed.[18]

First, we should make a preliminary distinction between drawings made for the patron (in the examples that have come down to us, almost always a *fabrica ecclesiae*, or religious building fund), and those intended to solve a specific problem in construction, usually in 1:1 scale, close to the work being carried out and connected to the practice of architecture. Within the group of drawings which were held by the commissioning body, we can also differentiate between so-called 'presentation' drawings and what would now be called architectural projects, namely floor plans and sections (although sometimes floor plans and sections could be included in the documents used to explain the work to the patrons). A paradigmatic example of the first sub-group would be drawings of façades, worked in extraordinary detail and including sculptures. Here it should be clarified that although the artistic element was just as important as the technical drawing in presentation models, the main working instrument was still geometry. Everything was ultimately governed by geometry and measurement, and we can find this even in the most decorative designs. With façade drawings, architects called on another skill learned in the stonemason's yard: ornament, which they could also draw skilfully and later transfer to sculpture. Thus, we can find both measurement (the guarantee of *firmitas*) and beauty (*venustas*) in late medieval architectural drawings.

Within the second group of drawings—those intended to solve a specific construction problem, usually on a 1:1 scale)—there is a wide variety which will be reviewed in detail below, although not many examples have survived due to their function. They are ephemeral by nature, being directly connected to work at the building site: designs scratched into walls or other parts of a building, measurements relating to perimeters (as recorded in contemporary documentation), templates for use in carving mouldings (typically described in medieval sources as 'patrons', 'moles', or 'gabarits'), or pieces that were difficult to define stereotomically. All such drawings were necessary and indeed essential for construction to continue.[19]

In short, the idea proposed here is that drawings on parchment or paper, usually kept in the archives of chapter houses and dioceses, were not designs to be used on site, but rather explanatory documents *ad alienos*: an illustration and a guarantee for the patrons, and also a general guideline for the future master builder who would eventually take over the work.[20] This is obvious from the drawings' state and place of conservation and must always be borne in mind when analysing these drawings. They formed part of the *fabrica ecclesiae* and were not connected to the work on site, although they could not be fully understood without architectural knowledge, and non-experts needed the explanations of the draughtsman to make sense of them (then as now).[21] Meanwhile, any master builder taking over the leadership of the project could easily read these documents, and would be able to project his knowledge onto the plan, deducing from it with perfect clarity how to resume work.[22] Important examples in the Castilian area of influence include the plan for Seville Cathedral (ca. 1481, a copy of another drawing of ca. 1433); the designs for the Velasco tomb in Guadalupe (ca. 1464); and the drawing of the capilla mayor of San Juan de los Reyes (ca. 1484). In Catalan-Aragonese territory they include the floor plan of the bell tower of Sant Feliu in Gerona (ca. 1368); a design for Tortosa Cathedral (ca. 1379–1382); the elevation of a pinnacle in the archives of Lérida Cathedral (ca. 1400); the design for the façade of Barcelona Cathedral (1408); and perhaps the project to enlarge the parish church of San Bartolomé in Jávea (ca. 1513).[23]

The list of 1:1 scale drawings on building walls and floors is longer than one would expect. In Castile, there is a scale drawing for a rose window incised into a flat stone, dating from the late thirteenth century (León Cathedral Museum).[24] Traces have also been found, for instance, in Cuenca (also late thirteenth century, on the inner wall of the lantern), and in Seville (ca. 1450–1475, in different parts of the cathedral).[25] In Aragon there is a graffito in the church tower of Santa María la Mayor in Alcañiz, which is a design for the east end of the church, and a sketch for the construction of window tracery in an inner passage of the apse of La Seo in Zaragoza.[26] A recently discovered room on the ground floor of Benisanó Castle, Valencia, is also full of *mostres* on plaster, which are still being studied (researchers have identified various designs for vaults with curved ribs, which seem to have been produced as part of a discussion, and for a gatehouse).[27] There are documents indicating that there was a *casa de la traça* in Seville, in El Escorial and in Granada Cathedral.[28] The designs in these locations are closely related to the on-site drawings mentioned above, although the latter were also often institutional, becoming almost a piece of architectural performance art (for example, the setting out of the dimensions of the bell tower of Valencia Cathedral by Andreu Julià and two assistants on 3 July 1380, before a magistrate, the city's jurymen and the chapter).[29]

Occasionally this demonstration would be accompanied by the delivery and explanation of a drawing of the finished project, like today's models and projections, meaning that the on-site design and the presentation drawing formed a dual entity. Perhaps we could regard this as the combination of two complementary modes of graphic expression to defend a given architectural idea (for example, returning to the events of 3 July 1380 in Valencia Cathedral, a parchment was bought for the master to draw the bell tower).[30] Following this line of reasoning, the extant drawings could be supposed to form part of a more extensive set of representations (some ephemeral, others not) in the initial phase of a stonemason's workshop, or in another decisive moment in its history. This would be another argument in favour of the theory that sees medieval architectural drawings as graphic documents that must be placed in context, not easily understood in isolation.

In addition to the example from Valencia Cathedral, we can add a reference from the *Sotsobreria de Murs i Valls* to building work on the bridge of la Trinidad in Valencia, begun in the mid-fourteenth century. On 3 November 1401, three and a half *cahíces* of plaster were bought to make a *mostra* (model). Given that this was a large amount of plaster (2103 litres), it has been surmised that the material was not intended for making a scale model, but would be used to plaster a large wall in one or more layers for a 1:1 working drawing of one of the great arches of the bridge.[31] In other words, sometimes a temporary drawing surface might be created, to be used in the same way as a tracing floor was used in the tracing house of cathedral projects. This is the case, for example, of the Capilla Real of the former convent of Santo Domingo in Valencia, where an even larger amount of plaster was paid for on 10 July 1451 (four and a half *cahíces*, the equivalent of about 2704.5 litres). This, together with payments for red ochre, suggests a surface was plastered so the chapel vault could be drawn at 1:1 scale.[32] However, the use of plaster for tracing designs could include also the consideration of variant shapes in order to make a

final decision.

Templates, like 1:1 scale drawings on the building site, were graphic expressions which were not meant to last. There are many records of this practice in the archives, as well as material evidence of their use. The ability to produce these was vitally important, as it made the work of the stonemasons more efficient and, above all, could speed up the construction process.[33] References to templates, although somewhat dispersed, are frequent in specialist literature, and it is difficult to gather a significant number of monographic publications on the subject.[34]

Many materials were used to make templates: canvas, wooden boards, or ideally, a sheet of metal.[35] A review of the documentation published in the Catalan-Aragonese sphere provides some specific examples. The inventory of the assets of Pere Mates, a businessman and stonemason of Mallorca (20 November 1358) includes 'quandam quantitatem de moyles de ferro' and 'unum caxonum cum VIII mollos stagni et plumbi'.[36] Zaragozá and Gómez-Ferrer also mention several cases in Valencia which show the use of templates.[37] Records show the use of wooden *molles* (shapes made of glued paper), like those used by Dalmau in the retrochoir of the cathedral and Baldomar in the capilla real in the convent of Santo Domingo, and metal patterns, as used by Compte in the Lonja.[38] The working method was simple:

> It consisted of drawing on the block the profiles given by the patterns made to full scale by the masters, roughing them out with the help of the scantillons (*galgues*), the sliding T bevel (*sentenella*) and the curved bevel (*sentenell*), to obtain ashlars (*carreus*) and other pieces … The *galga* was a small wooden bar with a grove which indicated a given measurement, used to adjust the size and shape of the piece.[39]

Obviously, this was usually not a simple stone block, but rather a standard moulding of the sort required in bulk: friezes, cornices, blind arches, bases, capitals, some elements of the vaults, triforia, tracery, piers and so forth.[40] The importance of these templates should not be underestimated, because they required a preliminary design which in some cases has also been linked with the emergence of exact and scaled architectural drawing.[41] This task of designing templates has also been shown to relate to the gradual separation of the master craftsman from the building site.[42]

In the crown of Aragon, there are well-documented cases of mass production of marble capitals in Roussillon dating from the twelfth century, and shafts and capitals in Gerona. There are also records of various orders for the Royal Chancellery of Valencia during the reigns of Peter IV and Alfonso V of Aragon.[43] The use of templates furthermore explains certain architectural forms by Guillem Sagrera that predate any similar examples in the European context by more than a century. The *tas-de-charge* which emerge cleanly from the wall and spiral fluted columns in Palma's Lonja required preliminary stereotomic definition; Sagrera must have created templates for the keys of the rib vaults and for the column bases, as this was the only way such complex volumes could be translated into stone.[44] In the case of Valencia, the series of documents relating to the Trinidad bridge again provide significant information. A note from 17 November 1401 specifies spending on paper, starch and glue to make *mostres*.[45] Zaragozá and Codoñer suggest that these samples could actually be templates for the stonemasons. Similarly, in 1415 Jaume Esteve was to be paid 2000 sueldos 'per raho de tallar motles e haver menestrals' (for cutting shapes and hiring workers) in the project for the choir entrance in the cathedral.[46]

Three-dimensional models, which were rarely preserved before the sixteenth century, are less ambiguous as objects intended for the patron. These scale models were not intended to solve structural problems, but to persuade a patron of the excellence of a given project, explaining just how the future building would look. Their use appears to increase from the fourteenth century onwards, and is most often documented in Italy.[48] In August 1345, Bernat Dalguaire worked for seven days on a structure of this type, to be shown to the bishop and chapter of Tortosa Cathedral for approval.[49] The model for the spire of the bell tower of Valencia Cathedral, made by Antoni Dalmau in 1442, may bear some relation to the painted wood pinnacle from a guildhall, now conserved in the Valencia's Museo Municipal (Fig. 4.1).[50] The structure, on an octagonal plan, is 1.5 metres tall. Another example of three-dimensional models made for the patron may be a clay model of a window tracery in the Museo Casa Benlliure in Valencia, which according to the note on the back came from the church of San Francisco in Teruel (Fig. 4.2).[51] The piece is an irregular shape, approximately eighty millimetres wide and 185 millimetres tall. Its thickness ranges from thirteen millimetres at the base to eight millimetres at the top. It is thought to be a terracotta tile with a layer of plaster on top which was used to model the window. The date of the relief has not yet been determined. It could be possible that it was part of the church's late nineteenth-century restoration, although there are no obvious similarities with windows there.

Finally, there is a series of documents relating to Valencia Cathedral from September 1424.[52] On 18 September 1424, a settlement was reached between the Valencian chapter

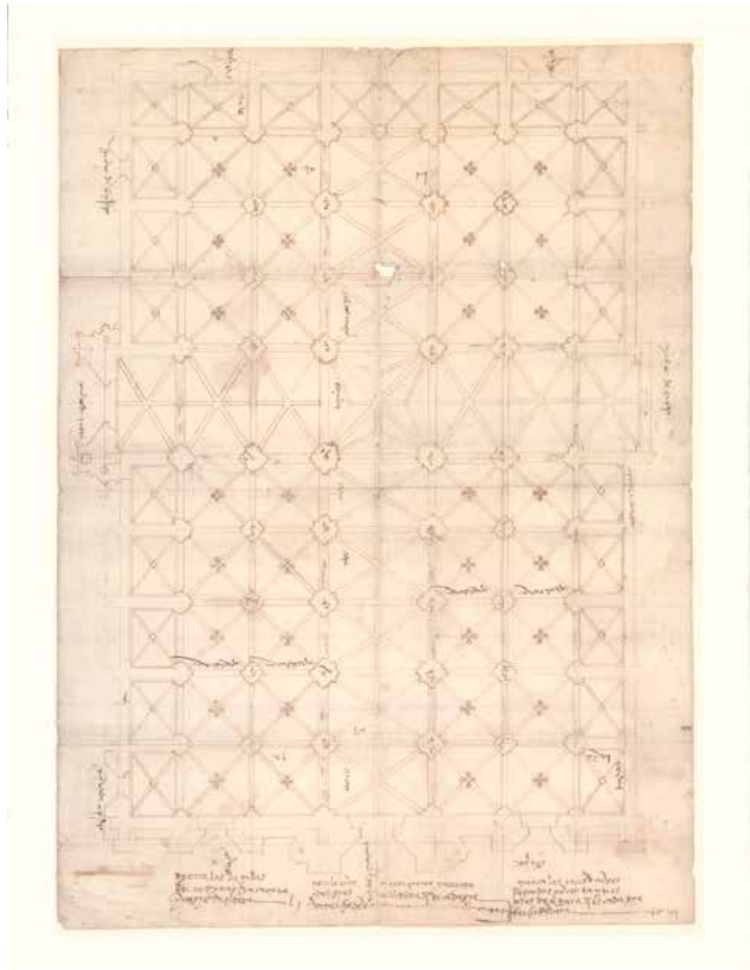

Fig. 4.3
After Maestre Ysambarte (?), plan of Seville Cathedral (ca. 1481, copy of an earlier project of ca. 1433). Ink on paper, 57 x 41.1 cm. Convent of Santa Clara de Bidaurreta, Oñate (Guipúzcoa).

Fig. 4.4
Egas Cueman, project for the Velasco Tomb in the chapel of Santa Ana (ca. 1464). Ink on paper, 45 x 21 cm. Monastery of Guadalupe, Guadalupe (Cáceres).

and Martí Lobet to build the terrace and parapet of the cathedral's bell tower. The clauses refer to a *mostra* of tracery in the possession of the chapter, drawn by Lobet in a patch of land belonging to Pere Daries. Three days before the contract was signed, the master was paid for drawing several samples of the tracery, spire and altarpiece of the cathedral.[53] It is worth noting the relationship between this graphic series and an imminent but still unsigned contract: the type of commissions a master builder could get depended on his drawing skills. These details of the completion of the Campanar Nou of Valencia Cathedral repeat those from the start of work in 1381 under Andreu Julià, when its preliminary designs were set out for the authorities, the dimensions of its foundations calculated in a plot in Ruzafa, and a drawing on parchment produced.[54]

This raises the controversial question of the use of scale in architectural drawings in the late Middle Ages. A lack of a linear scale has often been taken to mean there was no scale in a drawing, but the fact that no notation explicitly states the proportion used does not mean there is no system of reference. Franklin Toker, in his study of the contract for the Sansedoni house in Siena, clearly explains this misunderstanding:

> Preserved together, the Sansedoni elevation, the contract, and the palace seem to constitute a unicum in Gothic architecture, but there is no evidence that the drawing itself was unique. Many more surviving architectural graphics should qualify as 'working drawings' once their specific Gothic contexts are explored. The question of scale is a good case in point. It is widely reported that medieval architectural drawings were not drawn to scale. What is meant is simply that scales rarely appear on such plans. The 1:48 scale of the Sansedoni elevation can rapidly calculated from the measurements on the drawing. Had there been no measurements, traditional formulas governing the widths of doors, piers, and windows would have given the scale. When such 'hidden' scales are decoded it becomes apparent that it was not the scaled drawing but the un-scaled drawing that was a rarity in the Middle Ages.[55]

In this way, after a specific study of the context in which each drawing was created, Toker proposes restoring their status as working documents, not because they were used on site, but because they contained information which could be used to construct a specific building. Alfonso Jiménez Martín concludes that, in fact, just a few scales were used, 'no more than six', depending most of all on the size of the construction.[56] Thus, plans of the largest buildings, such as churches with three naves, would be at drawn at a scale of 1:144; reasonably large single-naved churches and courtyards would be at 1:108; and smaller buildings at 1:96 or 1:48. Larger scales would be used for detailed designs. It is not so surprising, then, that the plan of the bell tower of Sant Feliu in Gerona fits a 1:100 scale reasonably well, or that the plan by Antoni Guarc for Tortosa is at 1:75 [57] (both examples do not correspond exactly to the scales described by Jiménez Martín, but at least are not far from them.)

The custody of architectural designs linked to projects that were never completed in the archives of chapter houses and similar collections of documents prompts some reflections on the concepts of authorship and intellectual property in the late Middle Ages. Acceptance of a specific architectural proposal after it was properly presented usually involved execution by the author of the drawing, if available. If for any reason the project did not go ahead, the documents linked to its presentation remained in the possession of the patron who paid for it. This did not imply a lack of appreciation for the specific skills of a given master builder. For example, in 1392 Joan Franch drew the entrance to the retrochoir for Valencia Cathedral 'per tal quel ves lo senyor cardenal' (in order to be shown to Lord Cardinal), although he is not thought to have directed the construction.[58]

It is now time to consider the most significant Spanish architectural drawings dating from 1370 to 1450, starting with Castilian examples. The plan for Seville Cathedral was discovered in June 2008 in the archive of Bidaurreta's Clarissan convent, and it has since been transferred to the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Guipúzcoa (Fig. 4.3). It is drawn on paper and dated circa 1481, and is thought to be a copy of an earlier project, drawn on parchment in 1433. The plan is quite complex, with three parts: the ground level (a five-aisle church with chapels along the perimeter), the vaults, and the plan of a pinnacle placed in the western edge of the northern part of the transept. According to Begoña Alonso and Alfonso Jiménez, who undertook a thorough study of the drawing, it was not drawn to scale, but is very carefully proportioned on the basis of a rigid modular scheme.[59] It seems thus to be something like a working drawing, because 'the author left all the necessary measures; using them, the modular scheme, the style conventions and the master's experience, it should be possible to build the plan with exactitude'.[60]

Alonso and Jiménez attribute the 1433 original design on parchment to 'Maestre Ysambarte', a French architect documented in Seville Cathedral in 1433 and 1434 who worked previously in Lérida, Daroca, Zaragoza, and Palencia.[61] In the spring of 1435, his successor was 'Mestre Carlí', another northern mason who had already worked in

the cathedrals of Barcelona (1408), Lérida (1410–1427) and Valencia (1428). At this point, it is interesting to remember that Antoni Dalmau—the Valencian architect we have already encountered—was summoned by the canons of Seville between 1446 and 1449. He went to work in the *Magna Hispalensis* but imposed several conditions: he would be the sole master, could choose any assistants he wanted, and would receive 6000 maravedis a year, a certain amount of wheat, and a house. His duty was to supervise masonry works and to make *muestras*.[62] The presence in Seville of at least two masters from Aragonese territories can be understood as a symptom of the dynamism of the building centres of northeastern Iberian Peninsula in the first half of the fifteenth century. Barcelona, Gerona, Lérida and Valencia attracted foreign professionals who then moved on to other cities. In this context, the Bidaurreta plan is quite significant: it is a copy of the first general plan of the cathedral, one presumably used by Carlí, Dalmau and others. More than forty years after its completion, the 1433 project was still substantially valid.

The second Castilian example is quite different. Here, we are dealing with a sequence of three designs for the tomb that the Velasco family built in the chapel of Santa Ana, in Guadalupe (Fig. 4.4).[64] The drawings are linked to a contract dated 12 September 1467. All are signed by the sculptor Egas Cueman and the notary before whom the agreement was arranged. Retaining their documentary context, the drawings clearly demonstrate the legal validity of these kind of sketches. Even a first-rate artist such as Cueman was obliged to work according to this kind of binding preliminary project. The first of the three designs shows the plan for a rib vault. The second is an elevation of the Velasco tomb with the recumbent figure leaning towards the observer to make visible as many details as possible; the third depicts an angel to be set in the nearest pier to the entrance. In short, the three drawings provide all the information needed to imagine how the commission would be materialised.

Fig. 4.5
Juan Guas (?), presbytery of San Juan de los Reyes (1485–1490). Ink on parchment, 194 x 96 cm. Museo del Prado (inv. D05526), Madrid.

The design of the presbytery of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo is the third and last of the extant examples of Castilian works (Fig. 4.5).[65] It is an ink on parchment drawing of considerable size, kept in the Prado since 1872. Traditionally, it has been attributed to Juan Guas, thought to have come from Brittany, although this assignment is not unanimous. The design shows an interior view of the presbytery, a cavalier projection that has been outlined with extraordinary accuracy. Prolix sculpted ornamentation spreads across piers, friezes, spandrels, cantilevered vaults, and arches. The draughtsman also included a sketch of the main altarpiece of the church. This particularly sumptuous project was, however, never built. Teresa Pérez Higuera has attempted to determine the drawing's chronology and attribution on the basis of the known building process. In 1484, Queen Isabella spent Easter in Toledo.

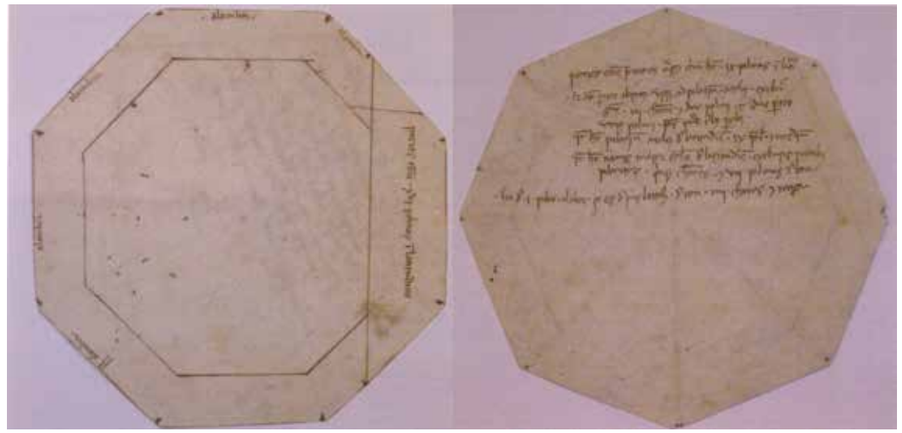

Fig. 4.6
Pere Sacoma (?), plan of the bell tower of Sant Feliu de Gerona (ca. 1368). Ink on paper, 16 x 16 cm. Arxiu Diocesà de Girona, Gerona.

This sojourn has been connected with the new conception of the presbytery as a royal funerary chapel, becoming a virtually independent space.[66] The drawing must predate 1492, for the shield of Granada is not included in the heraldry. From 1494 to1496 the project was partly abandoned because Ferdinand and Isabella decided to be buried in Granada instead.[67] On this basis, Pérez Higuera concludes that the Prado drawing must have been drafted between 1485 and 1490, when Guas and Egas Cueman conducted the work on San Juan. Sergio Sanabria, on the other hand, dated the drawing to 1479–1480, in the very first years of the building process.[68] According to this idea, this cavalier projection was a presentation device which, given the extraordinary ornamental programme, must have required the participation of someone acquainted with heraldry and court customs. When Guas died in 1496, Enrique and Antón Egas assumed responsibility for San Juan, agreeing to follow the changes specified in a drawing that was made and signed by 'maestre Simón'.[69] This has been considered an argument for attributing the Prado projection to Simón de Colonia, who also worked in this Franciscan church at that time, although this possibility seems rather unlikely, as Pérez Higuera suggests. Despite its fame, this extraordinary document still awaits a thorough study.[70]

Let us now look at the eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula. Four extant drawings dating between 1368 and 1408 have remained in Aragonese territories. The first example of this series is a plan for the bell tower of Sant Feliu church in Gerona (Fig. 4.6). This design on paper was discovered by Josep Maria Marquès and has since been analysed by Miguel Ángel Chamorro Trenado and Arturo Zaragozá Catalán.[71] The plan was kept as a loose paper among the libros de obra of Gerona Cathedral dated between 1365 and 1391, and first exhibited in 2002. It can be stated with confidence that the design was drawn around 1368, when Master Pere Sacoma began work on a new bell tower for Sant Feliu. In fact, at the beginning of the summer of that year, Sacoma traced the plan of the tower on site, prior to signing a contract that September.[72] The plan is a regular octagon, generated from a square with sides of sixteen centimetres. On the recto, there is a slightly irregular polygon with several ink manuscript notes including alambor (slope) and 'paries omnes XVI palmos latitudine'. On the verso is an account of the dimensions of that part of the church adjacent to the bell tower, written in Latin and Catalan. It is clear that this plan was attached to the contract of September 1368. Its purpose was to resolve the junction of the western wall of the church and the bell tower.[73] When comparing the dimensions of the drawing with the actual size of the church, the correspondence is specific: 1:100. Finally, the peculiar format of the drawing suggests that it may have been fixed to a plan of the entire church, measuring approximately eighty-five by thirty-five centimetres.[74]

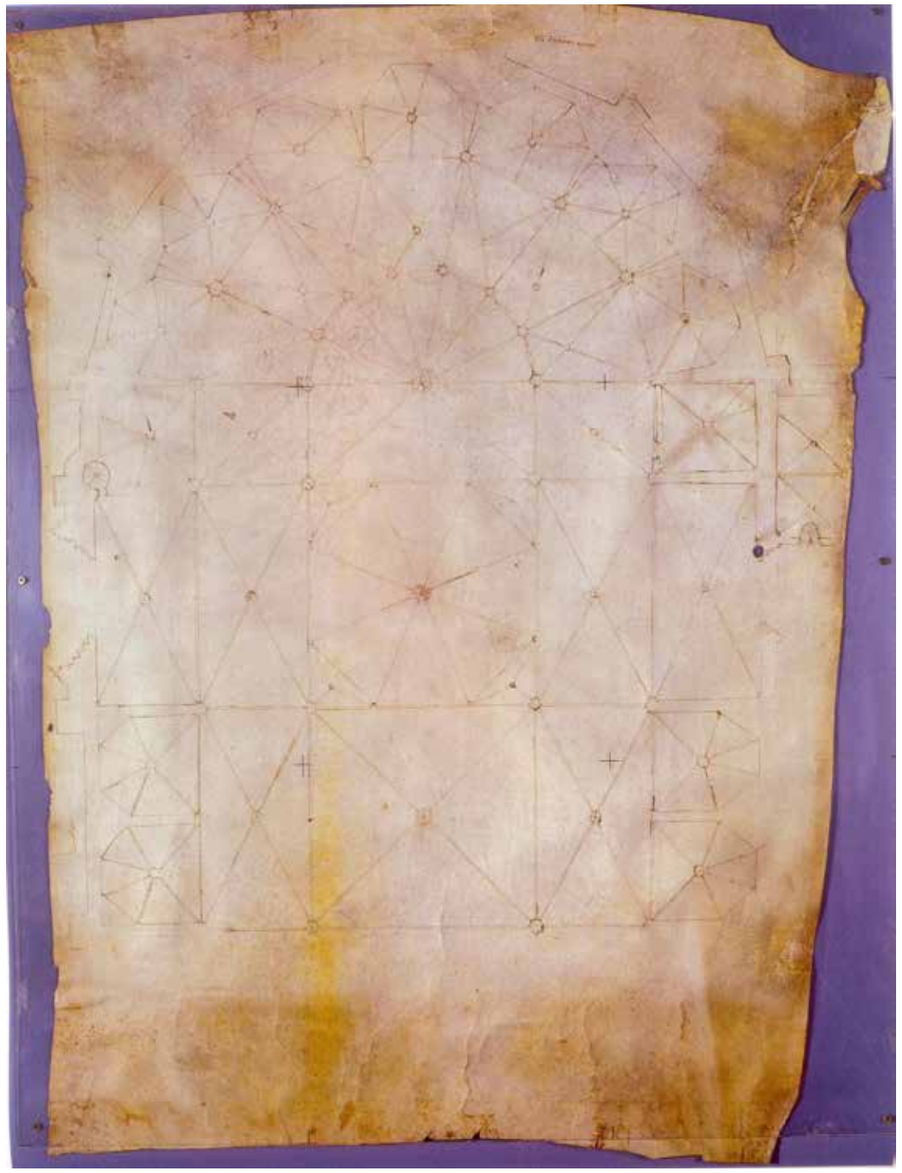

Fig. 4.7
Antoni Guarc or Andreu Julià, plan of Tortosa Cathedral (ca. 1379–1382). Ink on parchment, 89.3 x 62 cm. Archivo Capitular de Tortosa, Tortosa.

The second Catalan drawing is related to Tortosa. It is an ink on parchment plan of Tortosa Cathedral, dated between 1379 and 1382 (Fig. 4.7).[75] Another drawing of the cathedral, which disappeared at the beginning of the twentieth century, showed the elevation of one of the radiating chapels, and was signed by Benet Basques de Montblanc and drawn in 1345–47 or 1375.[76] The plan includes traces of scratches produced by the use of styluses and compasses. The reference measures were the span and its multiple, the cane. Comparing the drawing to the actual size of the cathedral, we can again deduce the scale, 1:75, although this is not definite because the project was never built.[77] However, this has not prevented architects from recreating the volume of the virtual building using the information provided by the sketch, which clearly shows the potential of many medieval architectural drawings to serve as working tools. Perhaps the most intriguing elements of the plan are two manuscript notes: on the recto can be read 'Antoni Guarc', and on the verso 'mostra a portar' (design to be taken). The attribution to Master Guarc seems clear. The meaning of the verso text is less certain and may imply the involvement of another prominent mason. On one hand, it has been suggested that the plan was made for discussion elsewhere, possibly in Valencia, where the former master of Tortosa Cathedral, Andreu Julià, was working.[78] On the other hand, some think that the parchment was a copy of the original project for Tortosa, probably designed by Julià, who lived there until 1380 when, as we have seen, he was required by the canons in Valencia to design the plan of the bell tower.[79] In any case, the plan's non-local origin seems likely, for Julià may have been Guarc's advisor or even master. It would be very interesting if Andreu Julià had provided designs for Tortosa Cathedral from afar. In that case, Antoni Guarc would be the recipient of this *mostra a portar*, and both manuscript notes would make sense. Unfortunately, there is no document to confirm this, although Guarc appears as *magister imaginum* in Valencia Cathedral in 1385, and he was extraordinarily well paid for his work in the Santa Ana Chapel.[80] Guarc could thus have been a mason trained under Julià, who remained in Tortosa conducting the building process according to his master's guidelines.

The third example of a Catalan architectural drawing is also kept in a cathedral archive. It is a design in ink on paper of circa 1400 showing a pinnacle in elevation, apparently drafted as part of the project to complete the bell tower of the old cathedral of Lérida (Fig. 4.8).[81] It has been attributed to Guillem Solivella, who directed building works there from 1396. It certainly seems to be much simpler other examples, but it offers a good sample of a sketch aimed at showing the minutiae of a project.

A paradigmatic case of this kind of presentation object is the drawing for the west façade of Barcelona Cathedral (Fig. 4.9).[82] Like other façade drawings, it is very large, accurately executed, and includes rich ornamentation. It has been attributed to Master 'Carlí' or 'Carlín' and dated to 1408. It was formerly an ensemble of twelve parchment pieces, of which only eight remain. The left side is entirely lost.[83] The drawing now measures 311 centimetres (six Catalan spans) by 140 centimetres, and the scale used is 10:1, remarkably large compared to other examples.[84] This was probably because of the specific nature of façade projects, but we can also consider the special significance of this work for Master Carlí. The Norman stonemason had just arrived in the city, perhaps from Perpignan, where his brother Rotllí was registered in 1410.[85] Carlí spent fifty-two days drafting the design, and Barcelona's canons paid him six *sueldos* for each day's work.[86] He also provided a model for the cloister chapel of San Felipe and Santiago el Menor.[87] It seems that Carlí was determined to become master architect of Barcelona Cathedral, a prestigious position. We know that six years earlier Arnau Bargués had delivered a design for the façade that was rejected. In Carlí's proposal, the debts to Rouen Cathedral in the tracery patterns, the gable, and the pinnacles are easily identifiable, hardly surprising given his probable origin.[88] The door is profusely decorated. Yet this marvellous elevation was never built. Carlí appears in the account books of Lérida Cathedral between 1410 and 1427, in those of Valencia Cathedral in 1428, and in those of Seville in 1439, where he stayed till 1454.[89] The drawing lay neglected in the cathedral archive until 1843, when it was published in a Parisian journal.[90] It was later engraved, and was key to the project to complete the façade that was presented circa 1860. Moreover, Oriol Mestres, the architect of Barcelona Cathedral, found at the end of the nineteenth century the foundations of several buttresses that were laid according to Carli's designs.[91]

The designs of Seville, Guadalupe, Toledo, Gerona, Tortosa, Lérida and Barcelona offer a consistent image of architectural practice in Spain between 1370 and 1450 that concurs with what is known from documentary evidence. In late medieval Iberia, as in other European territories, geometry was the principal working tool, even in façade elevation designs with their heavy ornament: all was ruled by proportion. It is thus possible, as suggested above, to find measure (a guarantee of *firmitas* in the Vitruvian sense) and beauty (*venustas*) in medieval architectural drawings.

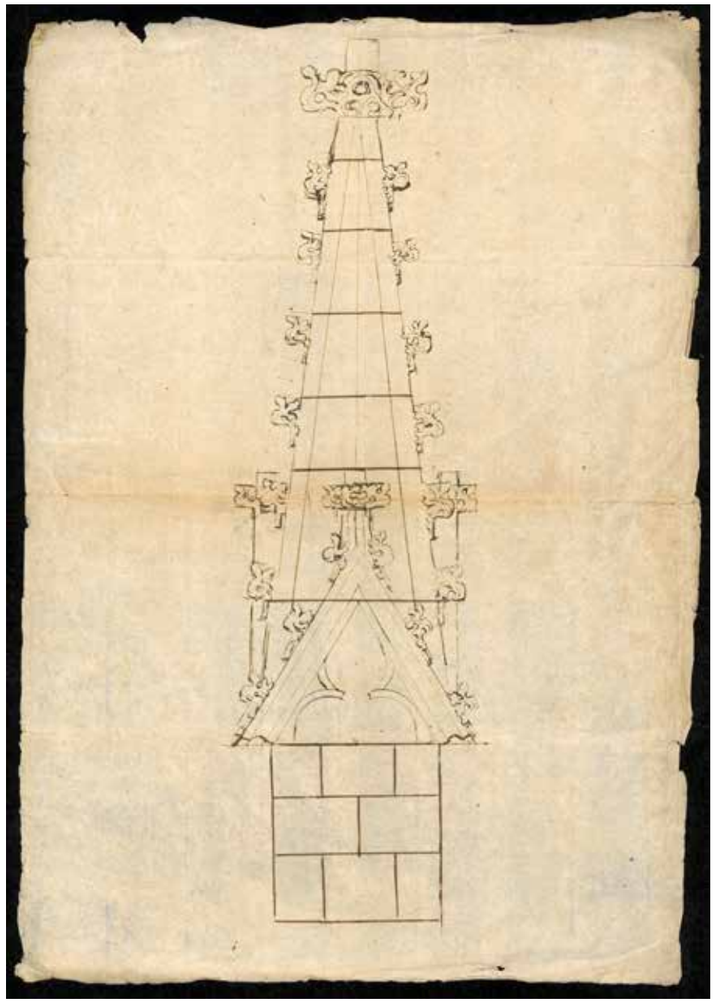

Fig. 4.8
Guillem Solivella (?), elevation of a pinnacle (ca. 1400). Ink on paper. Arxiu Capitular de Lleida (inv. P0148), Lérida.

Having briefly inventoried and contextualised the extant physical objects relating to architectural practice, we should consider the function of drawings in the communication of knowledge. To start with, all the examples we have seen refer to large-scale projects, with all that implies in terms of planning, financing and hiring renowned professionals. The average project did not require such a high-powered graphic production.[92] Even so, when designs are provided, they begin from the same empirical basis: the manipulation of simple shapes that give way to increasingly complex developments: to what has been called 'practical geometry' or 'constructive geometry'.[93] This is geometry based on proportional measurements but not on arithmetical calculation, a working method which was already defined by the early fourteenth century.[94] In the words of Shelby, it is a prescriptive geometry, but not rigidly restrictive, that is, the steps to follow are well-established but they can be changed according to the master stonemason, limited only by his skills, his inventiveness, and his desire for innovation.[95] It is not, therefore, the Euclidian geometry that was taught in the quadrivium, but rather, knowledge linked to specific problem solving, mainly transmitted through spoken instructions and ephemeral drawings.[96]

Ownership of geometry books in the fifteenth century would not have been restricted to universities or court libraries such as that of Martin I of Aragon. The 1461 inventory of Francisco de la Barcerola, a carpenter, mentions 'hun llibre appellat de Jeumetria ab cubertes vermelles' and 'hun llibre appellat de Jeumetria ab cubertes de pergami' (a book entitled *About Geometry* with red covers, and a book entitled *About Geometry* with parchment covers).[97] Even so, not all builders could master the art of drawing. The ability to measure 'a raho del compas' (using the compass) and geometrically define a building, ensuring it was both well-built and beautiful, was a specialisation beyond many apprentice builders. It would compensate the hard-working student with contracts for building projects in which he would have to revalidate the skills acquired together with his master.

Finally, we must review the subject of travel as an opportunity for the transfer of constructive knowledge, and, with this in mind, note the possibility of directing a project remotely with the help of drawings.[98] The journeys of architects to see buildings and structures which could serve as models for a current project are well-documented in the kingdom of Aragon. In the spring of 1346 Bernat Dalguaire travelled with an assistant to Avignon and other places 'per cerquar e veure obres' (to seek and to see works) that could be useful in the construction of Tortosa Cathedral.[99] He also brought samples from his travels. Pere Balaguer travelled to Catalonia twice, on the orders of two different patrons. In 1392 the Valencian municipal authorities sent him to look at portals which could serve as reference for the construction of the Serranos Gate, and in 1414—with Valencia's own bell tower waiting to be finished—the Valencian chapter paid for a trip to see bell towers.[100] Travelling in the opposite direction shortly afterwards, Bertomeu Gual and the carpenter Joan Anyugues left Barcelona to see 'lo simbori' (the lantern) of Valencia Cathedral in April–May 1418.[101]

Like architects, drawings could also move. A drawing depicting one of Gerona's bridges over the River Ter, for example, was brought to Valencia in 1446 for consultation.[102] Two years earlier, in Valencia, the stonemason Miquel Sánchez de Cuenca demanded that Jacquet de Vilanes, formerly living in Orihuela, return a 'mostram unius tabernacle ab son legiment in pergameno' (the model of a tabernacle with its explanation on parchment).[103] There was a fairly clear limit on the distance travelled, which mostly coincided with the territories of the kingdom of Aragon, Catalonia and the South of France. Craftsmen of other types were rarely required to travel so far. Painters, for example, did not travel to see artworks but instead to train in more active and innovative centres; the presence of foreign painters and their works in Iberia in turn provided useful insights into innovations in other centres. Of course, the *afermaments* of foreign apprentices also took place in the stonemason's yard, and workers had to follow the work: there are frequent mentions in Valencian documentation of stonemasons from Castile, Biscay, or France.[104]

There was, however, another type of professional travel, specific to stonemasons who wanted to increase their knowledge by viewing and studying other buildings. This would require some type of notes or sketches to record the main characteristics or details of constructions for future reference. It is noteworthy that as well as finished buildings, the travellers would also learn new technologies. Dalguaire and his assistant brought 'treeslats i mostres' (copies and drawings) to Tortosa in 1346.[105] This is an invaluable reference because it proves that graphic documentation was created on these journeys, which would then pass to the *fabrica ecclesiae*. The value of these models is made clear in the clauses of contracts specifying that the designs must be kept by the patrons, as is the case of the samples which Guillem Sagrera provided for the building work in Mallorca's Lonja.[106] Sometimes the buildings themselves offer the only evidence for the circulation of such drawings: the tower finials of Burgos Cathedral, for example, seem to be inspired by the spires of Cologne Cathedral, still unfinished when Juan de Colonia (or Johannes von Köln) arrived in Castile.[107] This suggests that the foreign masters not only visited works under construction, but also had access to their drawings if the process was still ongoing.

The question of travel finally leads to the problem of remote control of the building project. The master stonemason was often required to be physically present. This

Fig. 4.9
Maestre Carlí (?), drawing for the main façade of Barcelona Cathedral, detail (ca. 1408). Ink on parchment, 311 (6 Catalan spans) x 140 cm. Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona, Barcelona.

is attested, for example, by the contract for the bell tower of Sant Feliu, Gerona (1368), which specifies that Pere Sacoma could not leave the site unless he was working on the bridge over the Ter. Even in these circumstances he was required to devote an hour to supervising the project, and always leave a second-in-command in charge.[108] We can also consider the case of Andreu Julià, resident in Tortosa when he began work on the Campanar Nou of Valencia Cathedral (1380). He was in charge of the construction and moved to the city to direct work on site. We have already seen Julià's design skills three times in relation to this commission: setting out the building on the building site with ropes, pegs and canes; producing a drawing on parchment, with costs defrayed by the chapter; and calculating the measurements of the tower's foundations in a plot in Ruzafa. The presence of the master builder elsewhere (as in this case) could result in another of project lacking leadership: indeed, the fact that the design for Tortosa Cathedral, dated to between 1379 and 1382 by Lluís i Guinovart, has been assigned to Antoni Guarc, then working in Tortosa, may be a result of Julià's absence. If so, this case would be a perfect example of the transmission of an architectural design, although Guarc would only be providing a few drawings, not directing the project.

In conclusion, it is worth reconciling the intense graphic activity which can be intuited for some projects with the terse clauses which governed the final moments in the lives of well-known master builders, such as the provisions of their wills. This is the case for Francesc Canals, 'mestre d'obra de vila' (master mason), and even more for Martí Lobet.[109] The wills of these two masters specify the form of their tombs, their funeral rites and the distribution of their goods, without any mention of their professional tools. The artistic commissions, epitaphs, and last wills of Francesc Canals, Martí Lobet, Antoni Dalmau and Juan Guas were certainly consistent with their professional role and their

works at the service of distinguished patrons such as kings, canons, and noblemen.[110] The most outstanding builders reached prominent social position by means of carefully selected apprenticeship contracts, travels, development of drawings skills, and an absolute mastery of geometry. These are the virtues and merits that should symbolically ornament their tombs, rather than any other coat of arms.

1. Architecture formed only one part of my PhD research into the transmission of knowledge in artistic trades in Valencia between 1370 and 1450, research that also required me to investigate practice in other peninsular territories, especially the crown of Aragon. See Encarna Montero, 'La transmisión del conocimiento en los oficios artísticos' (PhD diss., University of Valencia, 2013; published as *La transmisión del conocimiento en los oficios artísticos* [Valencia, Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2015]).

2. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* (London: Roll Series, 1872-1883), 3: p. 517.

3. About apprenticeship of artistic trades in the crown of Aragon, see Montero, *La transmisión del conocimiento*, pp. 17-75.

4. Herbert L. Kessler, 'On the State of Medieval Art History', *The Art Bulletin* 70:2 (1988): pp. 182-3.

5. 'ché molti son che dichono che senza esser stati con maestri ànno imparato l'arte. No'l credere, che io ti do l'essempro: di questo libro, studiandolo di dì e notte e ttu non ne veggia qualche pratica con qualche maestro, no ne verrai mai da niente; né cche mai possi chon buon volto stare tra i maestri.' Cennino Cennini, *Libro dell'Arte*, ed. Fabio Frezzato (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 2012), p.137.

6. For this issue in Valencia, see Encarna Montero Tortajada, 'Recetarios y *papers de pintura* en la documentación bajomedieval. Valencia, 1452: el ejemplo de Andreu Garcia', in *Libros con arte, arte con libros* (Extremadura: Universidad de Extremadura-Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2007), pp. 507-517.

7. 'Afermar: 5. Unir una persona amb un altra per conveni mutu. a) Llogar un fadrí amb un mestre per apendre un ofici. Molts fadrins o macips qui se affermen e estan ab lurs maestres per appendre lur offici, doc. a. 1393 (Col. Bof. XLI). Si algun hom s'afermarà ab altre per estar ab ell... per soldada, Cost. Tort., II, 4.' Antoni M. Alcover, Francesc de Borja Moll and Manuel Sanchis Guarner, *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (Palma de Mallorca: Moll, 1993), 1: pp. 241-242.

8. For the full list, and an accurate analysis, see Amadeo Serra Desfilis, 'Diventare maestro nei mestieri della costruzione a Valencia, secoli XIV-XV. Apprendistato, pratica e mobilità', *Lexicon* 22-23 (2016): pp. 13-23.

9. Bertomeu Martí, no. 76, 12 April 1385, Archivo de Protocolos del Corpus Christi de Valencia.

10. Protocolos notariales, Garcia Sancho, no. 2058, 25 November 1390, Archivo del Reino de Valencia, cited in Ximo Company et al. (eds.), *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna I (1238–1400)* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2005), p. 343.

11. Protocolos notariales, Andreu Julià, no. 1264, 29 August 1415, Archivo del Reino de Valencia, cited in José Sanchis Sivera, 'Maestros de obras y lapicidas valencianos en la Edad Media', *Archivo de Arte Valenciano* 11 (1925): p. 38.

12. Joan Çaposa, nº24713, 16 August 1423, Archivo de Protocolos del Corpus Christi de Valencia.

13. Ambrosi Alegret, nº20702, 16 June 1434, Archivo de Protocolos del Corpus Christi de Valencia.

14. Lluís Despuig, nº22028, 12 June 1438, Archivo de Protocolos del Corpus Christi de Valencia.

15. For the Muslim stone supplier, see Encarna Montero Tortajada, 'Moro Petit: los trabajos de un picapedrero musulmán en una ciudad militantemente cristiana (Valencia, 1407-1440)', *Saitabi* 66 (2016): pp. 27-39.

16. Vicent Camarasa, no. 20916, 19 June 1449, Archivo de Protocolos del Corpus Christi de Valencia, cited in Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer, 'La cantería valenciana en la primera mitad del siglo XV: el maestro Antoni Dalmau y sus vinculaciones con el área mediterránea', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid IX-X* (1997-1998): pp. 100-3. Begoña Alonso points out that the master of a cathedral typically hired two youths to serve him. See Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 'El maestro de obras catedralicio en Castilla a finales del siglo XV', *Anales de Historia del Arte* 22 (2012): p. 236.

17. Zaragozá and Gómez-Ferrer, *Pere Compte*, p. 253.

18. All the references to architectural design can be read in Spanish, at greater length, in Montero, *La transmisión del conocimiento*, pp. 287-322.

19. See, in general, James S. Ackerman, 'Architectural Practice in the Italian Renaissance', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 13:3 (1955), pp. 3-11; Valerio Ascani, *Il Trecento disegnato: le basi progettuali dell'architettura gotica in Italia* (Roma: Viella, 1997); Malvina Borgherini, *Disegno e progetto nel cantiere medievale. Esempi toscani del XIV secolo* (Venise: Marsilio Editori, 2001); Francis Bucher, *Architector. The Lodge Books and Sketchbooks of Medieval Architects* (New York: Abaris Books, 1979), vol. 1; Michael T. Davis. 'Science, Technology, and Gothic Architecture', *Avista Forum* 8:2 (1995): pp. 3-6; Alfonso Jiménez Martín, 'El arquitecto tardogótico a través de sus dibujos', in Begoña Alonso Ruiz (ed.), *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana entre Europa y América* (Madrid: Sílex, 2011), pp. 389-416; Arnold Pacey, *Medieval Architectural Drawing. English Craftsmen's Methods and Their Later Persistence (c.1200-1700)* (Stroud: Tempus, 2007), especially chapters 2 and 3; Enrique Rabasa Díaz, *Forma y construcción en piedra. De la cantería medieval a la estereotomía del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Akal, 2000); Roland Recht, *Le Dessin d'architecture* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1995); Helen Rosenau, *Design and Medieval Architecture* (London: Batsford, 1934); Jesús Miguel Rubio Samper, 'La figura del arquitecto en el período Gótico. Relaciones entre España y el resto de Europa', *Boletín del Museo e Instituto 'Camón Aznar'* 22 (1985): pp. 101-15; Lon R. Shelby, 'The Education of Medieval English Master Masons', *Medieval Studies* 32 (1970): pp. 1-26; Lon R. Shelby, 'The Geometrical Knowledge of Mediaeval Master Masons', *Speculum* 47 (1972): pp. 395-421.

20. About the collective nature of architectural projects, see Castellani, 'Il cantiere medievale', p. 20.

21. 'Because of the technical inadequacy of architectural drawings, the master mason and the patron could not have completely agreed upon the details of the building, or in some instances even the overall design, before construction got underway. Frequent—sometimes daily—consultations between the master mason and the patron or his representative were the normal routine in medieval building.' Shelby, 'The Education', p.17.

22. For a definition of architectural drawing, see Franklin Toker, 'Gothic Architecture by Remote Control: An Illustrated Building Contract of 1340', *The Art Bulletin* 67:1 (1985), p. 88.

23. An updated census of Gothic drawings can be found in Jiménez, 'El arquitecto tardogótico', pp. 407-11. See also Begoña Alonso Ruiz and Alfonso Jiménez Martín, *La traça de la iglesia de Sevilla* (Seville: Dereçeo, 2008), pp. 103-17.

24. Alonso and Jiménez, *La traça de la iglesia de Sevilla*, pp. 96-7.

25. José Antonio Ruiz de la Rosa, 'Dibujos de ejecución. Valor documental y vía de conocimientos de la Catedral de Sevilla', in Alonso Jiménez Martín et al. (eds.), *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: fundación y fábrica de la 'obra nueva'* (Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad, 2006), pp. 300-47.

26. M. Siurana Roglán, 'Un grafito, posible cabecera de la iglesia de Alcañiz', *Teruel* 68 (1982): pp. 163-74; T. Thomson Listerri, *Iglesia de Santa María la Mayor de Alcañiz* (Alcañiz: Centro de Estudios Bajoaragoneses, 2006), pp. 16-19; Arturo Zaragozá Catalán and Javier Ibáñez Fernández, 'Materiales, técnicas y significados en torno a la arquitectura de la Corona de Aragón en tiempos del Compromiso de Caspe (1410-1412)', *Artigrama* 26 (2011): pp. 40-1 (Fig. 1.6) and 52-3 (Figs. 4.4 and 4.7).

27. Arturo Zaragozá Catalán and Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozando, *Pere Compte: arquitecto* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana-Ajuntament de València-Centro UNESCO Valencia, 2007), p. 222.

28. José Calvo López and Marcos Ros Sempere, 'Los instrumentos de los canteros en la transición del Gótico al Renacimiento', in Alonso, *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana*, p. 418. The authors link this practice to the controversial definition of *ichnographia* by Vitruvius.

29. Arturo Zaragozá Catalán and Ángela García Codoñer, 'El dibujo de proyecto en época medieval según la documentación archivística: el episodio gótico valenciano', in Michela Cigola and Tiziana Fiorucci (eds.), *Il disegno di progetto dalle origini al XVIII secolo* (Rome: Gagemi Editore, 1997), p. 42.

30. Zaragozá Catalán and García Codoñer, 'El dibujo de proyecto', p.42.

31. *Sotsobreria de Murs i Valls*, 1401-1402, f. 139v, Archivo Histórico Municipal de Valencia, cited in Zaragozá and Codoñer, 'El dibujo de proyecto', p. 44.

32. See Amadeo Serra Desfilis' essay in this collection, as well as Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, 'La Capilla Real del antiguo Monasterio de Predicadores de Valencia', in *La Capella Reial d'Alfons el Magnànim de l'antic Monestir de Predicadors de València* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1997), 1: p. 33. See the transcription of the document in 2: p. 82: 'Item, donà a·N Gregori Castellà, algebçer, per IIII caffichos e mig de algebs que de aquell foren comprats per ops de fer mostres de la volta de la capella en la dita obra, que muntà XVIIIss'.

33. Dieter Kimpel notes the importance of separating the cutting of the stones from their placement. 'Le développement de la taille en série dans l'architecture médiévale et son rôle dans l'histoire économique', *Bulletin Monumental* 135 (1977): pp. 195-222. See also Castellani, 'Il cantiere medievale', p. 27.

34. Although there are a number of references to templates in specialist literature, they are dispersed and difficult to locate. Francesca Espanyol Bertran, 'Los materiales prefabricados gerundenses de aplicación arquitectónica (S. XIII-XV)', in Joaquín Yarza and Francesc Fité (eds.), *L'artista-artesà medieval a la Corona d'Aragó* (Lérida: Universitat de Lleida, Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1999), pp. 77-127; Víctor Iñurria, 'Las herramientas de la construcción en el siglo XV', *Loggia* 7 (1999): pp. 76-91, esp. p. 87; Joaquín Yarza Luaces and Francesca Español Bertran, 'Diseño, modelo y producción industrial en la Edad Media', in *El Diseño en España: antecedentes históricos y realidad actual* (Madrid: Ministerio de Industria y Energía, 1985), pp. 29-30; Francesca Español, 'Las manufacturas arquitectónicas en piedra de Girona durante la Baja Edad Media y su comercialización', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 39:2 (2009): pp. 963-1001.

35. Coldstream, *Medieval Architecture*, p. 80; Bessac, 'Outils et techniques spécifiques', p. 176. In an email to the author on 18 December 2004, the stonemason Rodrigo de la Torre expressed his reservations about the use of wooden templates, being more inclined to believe that metal scantillons were employed.

36. Gabriel Llompart, 'Pere Mates, un constructor y escultor trecentista en la "Ciutat de Mallorques"', *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana* 34 (1973): p. 105.

37. Zaragozá and Gómez-Ferrer, *Pere Compte*, p. 221.

38. See Luisa Tolosa Robledo and Mª del Carmen Vedreño Alba, 'Cronologia de la construcció de la Capella Reial', in *La Capella Reial d'Alfons el Magnànim*, 1: pp. 85-110, especially the years 1439, 1446, 1447 and 1450-1453. Also see Zaragozá Catalán, 'La Capilla Real del antiguo Monasterio de Predicadores', p. 33. Baldomar designed templates on many occasions, both for the building site in Valencia and for the quarries at Sagunto.

39. Iñurria, 'Las herramientas de la construcción', p. 87.

40. Kimpel, 'Le développement de la taille en série', p. 199.

41. Kimpel, 'Le développement de la taille en série', p. 217.

42. Davis, 'Science, Technology, and Gothic Architecture', p. 3; Toker, 'Gothic Architecture by Remote Control', p. 89.

43. Yarza and Español, 'Diseño, modelo y producción industrial', pp. 29-30; Español, 'Las manufacturas arquitectónicas', pp. 977 and 980. This last page refers to some interesting full-scale drawings of the section needed for the gadrooned column shafts ordered by Alfonso V in 1446. The designs have been preserved in the corresponding records of the Cancillería Real (reproduced in Fig. 13 of the article). The Chancellery record is 2269, f. 217.

44. Enrique Rabasa Díaz, 'Plantillas y maclas', in Alonso, *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana*, pp. 439-40.

45. *Sotsobreria de Murs i Valls, años* 1401-1402, f. 140v, Archivo Histórico Municipal de Valencia, cited in Zaragozá Catalán and García Codoñer, 'El dibujo de proyecto', p. 44.

46. José Sanchis Sivera, 'La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media. Notas para su historia', *Archivo de Arte Valenciano* 10 (1924): p. 6; 'Arquitectos y escultores de la Catedral de Valencia', *Archivo de Arte Valenciano* 19 (1933): p. 18.

47. Coldstream, *Medieval Architecture*, p. 79; Alonso and Jiménez, *La traça de la iglesia de Sevilla*, p. 83. Ackerman proposes instead that 'drawings were not the chief means of communication between architects and builders. The enormous expense and effort devoted to the construction of models for the larger projects suggests that much of the designing went on in plastic form at this stage. Builders, rather than work with detailed specifications, got the gist of the design from the model, and when they encountered problems, they simply got the answer from the architect or supervisor by word of mouth.' Ackerman, *Origins, imitation, conventions*, p. 8.

48. Rubio Samper, 'La figura del arquitecto en el periodo Gótico', p.110. Also see Bruno Klein, 'Simili ma diversi: perché esistevano a nord delle Alpi riproduzioni gotiche di architettura, ma non modelli gotici per l'architettura', in Tassin and Frommel (eds.), *Les maquettes d'architecture: fonction et évolution d'un instrument de conception et de réalisation* (Paris: Picard, 2015), pp. 37-46.

49. Josep Lluís i Guinovart and Victòria Almuni Balada, 'La traça de la catedral de Tortosa. Els models d'Antoni Guarc i Bernat Dalguaire', *Lambard* 9 (1996): p. 23. Alonso and Jiménez note that this would not be anything important, merely a sketch of the volumes of the building, as ten or fifteen days' work was normal, with a few exceptions. Alonso and Jiménez, *La traça de la iglesia de Sevilla*, p. 83.

50. Zaragozá Catalán and García Codoñer, 'El dibujo de proyecto', p. 43. See also Zaragozá and Gómez-Ferrer, *Pere Compte*, p. 223 (illustration on p. 221).

51. Zaragozá Catalán and Ibáñez Fernández, 'Materiales, técnicas y significados', pp. 52, 53 (Fig. 4.6) and 54.

52. Zaragozá Catalán and García Codoñer, 'El dibujo de proyecto', pp. 42-43.

53. Sanchis Sivera, 'Maestros de obras y lapicidas', p. 40.

54. Sanchis Sivera, 'Maestros de obras y lapicidas', p. 44.

55. Toker, 'Gothic Architecture by Remote Control', p. 89.

56. Jiménez, 'El arquitecto tardogótico', pp. 402-3.

57. Miguel Ángel Chamorro Trenado and Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, 'La traza de la torre campanario de la iglesia de San Félix de Gerona', *Goya* 338 (2012): p. 8; Lluís i Guinovart and Almuni i Balada, 'La traça de la catedral de Tortosa', p. 28.

58. José Sanchis Sivera, *La Catedral de Valencia* (Valencia: Imprenta de Francisco Vives Mora, 1909), p. 214, footnote 3.

59. Alonso and Jiménez, *La traça de la iglesia de Sevilla*, p. 25.

60. Alonso and Jiménez, *La traça de la iglesia de Sevilla*, p. 26.

61. See Antonio García Flores and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, 'Ysambart y la renovación del gótico final en Castilla: Palencia, la Capilla del Contador Saldaña en Tordesillas y Sevilla. Propuesta de trabajo', *Anales de Historia del Arte* 19 (2009): pp. 43-76; Javier Ibáñez Fernández and Jesús Criado Mainar, 'El maestro Isambart en Aragón: la Capilla de los Corporales de Daroca y sus intervenciones en la Catedral de la Seo de Zaragoza', in A. Jiménez Martín (ed.), *La piedra postrera. V Centenario de la conclusión de la Catedral de Sevilla, Simposium internacional sobre la Catedral de Sevilla en el contexto del gótico final* (Seville: Cabildo Metropolitano, 2007), 2: pp. 75-114; J. Ibáñez Fernández, 'Con el correr del sol: Isambart, Pedro Jalopa y la renovación del Gótico final en la Península Ibérica durante la primera mitad del siglo XV', *Biblioteca* 26 (2011), pp. 201-226.

62. Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer, 'La Cantería Valenciana en la primera mitad del siglo XV: El Maestro Antoni Dalmau y sus vinculaciones con el área mediterránea', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid IX-X* (1997-1998): p. 101.

63. See, here again, Ibáñez Fernández, 'Con el correr del sol'. Also see Javier Ibáñez and Zaragozá Catalán, 'Materiales, técnicas y significados'; Javier Ibáñez Fernández and Marco Nobile,, 'Unidad y diversidad en la arquitectura de la Corona de Aragón durante los siglos XIV y XV / Unità e diversità nell'architettura della Corona d'Aragona tra il XIV e il XV secolo', in L. Agustín, A. Vallespín and R. Santonja, *Un alma común. Arquitectura sículo-aragonesa / Un'anima comune. Architettura sículo-aragonese* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2014), pp. 12-22; J. Ibáñez Fernández, 'The Northern Roots of Late Gothic Renovation in the Iberian Peninsula', in K. Ottenheym (ed.), *Architects without Borders. Migration of Architects and Architectural ideas in Europe 1400-1700* (Florence: Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte 2014), pp. 15-27.

64. See Diego Angulo and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Spanish Drawings, 1400-1600* (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), pp. 17 and 18, Plate 4, Figs. 1, 2 and 3; Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Historia del dibujo en España de la Edad Media a Goya* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1986), pp. 112-14; Ángel Fuentes Ortiz, 'La Capilla de Gonzalo de Illescas en el Monasterio de Guadalupe: un proyecto de Egas Cueman recuperado', *Archivo Español de Arte* 90: 358 (2017): pp. 107-124.

65. Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Museo del Prado. Catálogo de dibujos I. Dibujos españoles siglos XV-XVII* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1972), pp. 17-19, Plate 1; Angulo and Pérez, Spanish Drawings, p. 18, Plates 1-3 (Figs. 5, 5a and 5b); Pérez, *Historia del dibujo en España*, pp. 111-112; Sergio L. Sanabria, 'A Late Gothic Drawing of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo at the Prado Museum in Madrid', *Journal of the Society of Architecture Historians* 51 (1992): pp. 161-173.

66. Teresa Pérez Higuera, 'En torno al proceso constructivo de San Juan de los Reyes en Toledo', *Anales de Historia del Arte* 7 (1997): p. 16.

67. Pérez Higuera, 'En torno al proceso', p. 19.

68. Sanabria, 'A Late Gothic Drawing', pp. 161-73.

69. Pérez Higuera, 'En torno al proceso constructivo', p. 19.

70. It will feature prominently in a forthcoming PhD dissertation on Juan Guas by Costanzi Beltrami at The Courtauld.

71. Chamorro and Zaragozá Catalán, 'La traza de la torre campanario', pp. 3-15. See also Zaragozá Catalán and Ibáñez Fernández, 'Materiales, técnicas y significados', p.60.

72. Chamorro Trenado and Zaragozá Catalán, 'La traza de la torre campanario', p.12. See also Zaragozá and Ibáñez, 'Materiales, técnicas y significados', p.60.

73. Zaragozá Catalán and Ibáñez Fernández, 'Materiales, técnicas y significados', p.60n150.

74. Chamorro and Zaragozá Catalán, 'La traza de la torre campanario', p. 8.

75. See Lluís i Guinovart and Almuni i Balada, 'La traça de la catedral de Tortosa'; Chamorro Trenado and Zaragozá Catalán, 'La traza de la torre campanario', p. 15n39 (citing Josep Lluís i Guinovart, Geometría y diseño medieval en la catedral de Tortosa. La catedral no construida (PhD diss., Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de la Universitat Internacional de Catalunya, 2002), p.115 and thereafter); Victòria Almuni Balada, *La catedral de Tortosa als segles del gòtic* (Benicarló: Onada Edicions, 2007), 1: pp. 462-65 and 2: appendix, figs. 20 and 21.

76. Almuni in Balada, *La catedral de Tortosa*, 1: p. 453

77. Chamorro Trenado and Zaragozá Catalán, 'La traza de la torre campanario', p. 10.

78. Chamorro Trenado and Zaragozá Catalán, 'La traza de la torre campanario', p. 10.

79. Almuni, *La catedral de Tortosa*, vol. 1, p. 464.

80. Bertomeu Martí, no. 76, 14 April 1385, Archivo de Protocolos del Corpus Christi de Valencia.

81. See Francesc Fité i Llevot, 'Pináculo-Dibujo de la catedral de Lérida', in Joan Ainaud et al. (eds.), *Cataluña Medieval.* Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1992, p. 310. Exhibition catalogue. See also Francesc Fité i Llevot, 'Dibuix de pinacle', *Seu Vella. L'esplendor retrobada* (Lérida: Generalitat de Catalunya-Fundació La Caixa, 2003), pp. 57-8.

82. See Elias Feliu, *La catedral de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Barcino, 1926), pp. 83-4; Juan Ainaud and José María Gudiol, *Catálogo monumental de Barcelona* (Madrid: CSIC, 1945), pp. 48 and 88; Angulo and Pérez, *Spanish Drawings*, p.17, Plate 3, Figs. la and I; Joan Bassegoda i Nonell, 'La fachada de la catedral de Barcelona', *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona* 45 (1981): pp. 263-307; Bassegoda i Nonell, *Els treballs i les hores*, pp. 18-19 and 151-172. The drawing was exhibited in 1968 and in 1986. See, respectively, *La fachada de la catedral de Barcelona, 1887-1913* (Barcelona: Colegio de Arquitectos, 1968), and catalogue entry no. 6 in Josep M. Guix Ferreres et al (eds.), *Thesaurus. L'Art als bisbats de Catalunya (1000-1800)* (Barcelona: Fundació Caixa de Pensions, 1985). A recent image is available in Marià Carbonell Buades, 'Consuetud i canvi en l'arquitectura del Principat de Catalunya a l'entorn de 1400', in Rafael Cornudella (dir.), *Catalunya 1400. El Gòtic Internacional* (Barcelona: MNAC, 2012), p. 105.

83. Bassegoda i Nonell, *Els treballs i les hores*, pp. 18 and 151.

84. Jiménez, 'El arquitecto tardogótico', p. 403.

85. Serra Desfilis, 'La arquitectura del tardogótico en la Corona de Aragón', p. 476.

86. Bassegoda i Nonell, *Els treballs i les hores,* p. 151.

87. Bassegoda i Nonell, *Els treballs i les hores*, p.151.

88. Serra Desfilis, 'La arquitectura del tardogótico en la Corona de Aragón', p. 476.

89. Serra Desfilis, 'La arquitectura del tardogótico en la Corona de Aragón', pp. 476-77.

90. Bassegoda i Nonell, *Els treballs i les hores*, pp. 118-19.

91. Bassegoda i Nonell, *Els treballs i les hores*, pp. 151-72.

92. 'But the importance of models should not be overestimated: like the presentation drawings they rarely represent the structure that ultimately was built, and in any case they were made only for the most grandiose structures. I think that the average palace and church was built from rough plans and a batch of details.' Ackerman, *Origins, imitation, conventions*, p. 8.

93. Shelby, 'The Geometrical Knowledge', pp. 409 and 420.

94. Bucher, 'Micro-Architecture', p. 74. See also Juan Carlos Navarro Fajardo, *Bóvedas de la arquitectura gótica valenciana. Traza y montea* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2006).

95. Shelby, 'The Geometrical Knowledge', p. 420.

96. Shelby, 'The Geometrical Knowledge', p. 420; Davis, 'On the Drawing Board: Plans of the Clermont Cathedral Terrace', in Nancy Wu (ed.), *Ad Quadratum. The practical application of geometry in medieval architecture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 190; and Davis, 'Science, Technology', p. 4.

97. Zaragozá Catalán and Gómez-Ferrer, Pere Compte, pp. 219-20. Two more early sixteenth-century examples are cited, one in Tortosa and the other in Valencia.

98. See Amadeo Serra Desfilis, 'La logia abierta: transferencias y movilidad en la arquitectura tardogótica hispánica', in Begoña Alonso Ruiz and Juan Clemente Rodríguez Estévez (eds.), *1514: arquitectos tardogóticos en la encrucijada* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2016), pp. 339-52.

99. Almuni i Balada, La catedral de Tortosa, pp. 72-74; Amadeo Serra Desfilis, 'La arquitectura del tardogótico en la Corona de Aragón: intercambios y trayectorias', in Alonso, *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana*, p. 466. The trip was funded by

the bishop and chapter.

100. Serra Desfilis, 'La arquitectura del tardogótico', p.466. See also Matilde Miquel Juan, 'Entre la formación y la tradición: Martí Lobet a cargo de las obras de la catedral de Valencia', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 7: 22-23 (2009-2010): pp. 13-44.

101. Bassegoda i Nonell, *Els treballs i les hores*, p. 152.

102. Chamorro Trenado and Zaragozá Catalán, 'La traza de la torre campanario', pp. 10-11. See also Zaragozá Catalán and Gómez-Ferrer, *Pere Compte*, pp. 24-8; and Javier Ibáñez Fernández and Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, *'Inter se disputando*. Las juntas de maestros de obras y la transmisión de conocimientos en la Europa medieval', in Enrique Rabasa, Ana López and Marta Alonso Rodríguez (eds.), *Obra Congrua. Estudios sobre la construcción gótica peninsular y europea* (Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera – ETSAM, 2018), pp. 113-29.

103. Lluís Masquefa, no. 22198, 26 March 1444, Archivo de Protocolos del Corpus Christi de Valencia (also published in Zaragozá and Gómez-Ferrer, Pere Compte, p. 219). We will inevitably wonder what 'legiment' might mean. It was not to be found in the Alcover-Moll *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear*, but it can be assumed that the word refers to a brief text explaining the measurements or details of the structure.

104. Vid. Joaquín Aparici Martí, 'Obra en piedra. Maestros vizcaínos en la Plana de Castelló', *Millars. Espai i història* 29 (2006): pp. 113-50.

105. Almuni i Balada, *La catedral de Tortosa*, pp. 72-74; Serra Desfilis, 'La arquitectura del tardogótico en la Corona de Aragón', p. 466.

106. Coldstream, *Medieval Architecture*, pp. 80-81. Coldstream refers to Llaguno, *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España*, 1: p. 96 (the document is transcribed in the appendix, doc. XXIX-2, p. 277).

107. Yarza and Español, 'Diseño, modelo y producción industrial', p. 28.

108. Chamorro and Zaragozá, 'La traza de la torre campanario', p. 4.

109. Lluís Despuig, no. 22028, 20 April 1439, 15 July 1439, Archivo de Protocolos del Corpus Christi de Valencia.

110. Alonso, 'El maestro de obras catedralicio', pp. 239-40. The author lists the tombs of other master stonemasons, such as Juan de Cándamo or Guillén de Rohan. Costanza Beltrami recently presented a paper on the funerary chapel of Guas: 'Burying the builder: a case study of the funerary chapel of Juan Guas (active 1453-1496) in San Justo y Pastor, Toledo', *Loci Sepulcrales, Pantheons and Other Places of Memory and Burial in the Middle Ages* (Santa Maria da Vitória Monastery, Batalha, Portugal, 21-23 September 2017).

5

Patterns of Intention: Royal chapels in the Crown of Aragon (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) and the Capilla de los Reyes in the Convent of Saint Dominic, Valencia[1]

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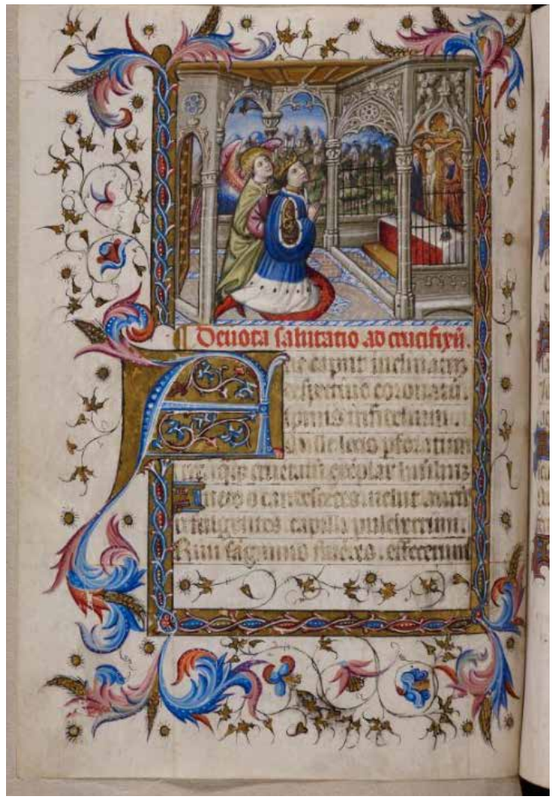

Fig. 5.1
Leonard Crespí, King Alfonso V, supported by an Angel, praying in front of the Crucifixion (ca. 1436–1443). Miniature in colours and gold on parchment (in book), 22.5 x 15.5 cm. © British Library Board, Ms. Additional 28962, f. 44v.

The British Library collections include an exceptional manuscript illuminated in Valencia for Alfonso V, King of Aragon, Sicily and Naples.[2] This lavish book of prayers, or psalter and hours, copied and illuminated in Valencia by Leonard Crespí and other artists between 1436 and 1443, was soon sent to Naples, where the king had established his court, although it was probably conceived for use in Valencia. A significant number of the miniatures illustrate royal devotion in various settings, ranging from grand chapels to private oratories or even what appears to be a royal chamber (Fig. 5.1). Despite efforts to identify such settings with the halls, rooms and royal chapel in the Palau del Real in Valencia, inevitably there has been confusion, since this royal residence was demolished during the Peninsular War in 1810.[3] We can, however, consider one well-known and exceptionally well-preserved building, commissioned by the king himself, and (re)consider its possible function(s), or, in Baxandall's terms, assess the intentions behind its founding. I refer to the exceptional chapel, famous for its tenebrous grey diamond vaults, that was built within the convent of Saint Dominic in Valencia between 1439 and 1463 (Fig. 5.2). According to Francisco Sala's unpublished history composed in 1608, the capilla de los Reyes (King's Chapel) was designed to be the burial place of Alfonso V and his wife, Maria of Castile, but there is no earlier evidence for this.[4] Moreover, Sala was drawing on oral sources rather than documents, in the context of the transfer of Alfonso's body from Naples to the king's final resting place in the Aragonese royal pantheon in the monastery of Poblet.[5] When Emperor Charles V, heir of the kings of Aragon, donated the *ius sepelendi* of the Valencian chapel to Mencía de Mendoza and her parents, the Marquises of Zenete, he referred to it as a 'royal chapel which is founded under the invocation of the three kings'.[6]

It was a royal chapel indeed. Founded by the king in 1437, it belonged to a tradition

of places of worship associated with royal residences in different cities in the Crown of Aragon, an entity composed by three kingdoms and a principality that were united only by the rule of a single dynasty. In an age of itinerant kingship, it was imperative to display magnificence, not only through palaces and residences, but also through chapels, cathedrals, monasteries and oratories. These religious spaces functioned as stages of royal piety, underscoring the king's special relationship with the sacred in a context of rivalry with other Iberian and European monarchies.[7]

From 1277, the court moved from kingdom to kingdom, transporting the royal chapel from one residence to another.[8] But a substantial change took place during the reign of Peter IV (1336–1387), when the king decided to establish chapels endowed with a set of images and liturgical objects in every major royal residence. In addition, ceremonies had to be performed in the same way in every kingdom, according to the *Ordinacions de Cort* or Court Ordinances, a ceremonial established by Peter IV, closely following the precedent of the *Leges Palatinae* of the kingdom of Majorca (1337).[9] As a result of these decisions, a cohesive image of monarchic piety took shape through ceremonies and the appearance of high altars, as well as through the number of priests and acolytes celebrating the Divine Office in the royal chapels. These included Zaragoza and Huesca in Aragon, Valencia (Palau del Real), and Barcelona and Lleida in Catalonia, though the Almudaina Palace in Majorca and the Castle of Perpignan were soon added to this list, following the annexation of this independent kingdom.[10] One of the principal ceremonies was the veneration and display of the royal reliquary, sumptuously furnished and exhibited with a silver altarpiece in the chapel, and attended by the king on special occasions.[11]

These architectural settings should be analysed in terms of local traditions, international models from other courts, and occasional innovations—albeit within tight constraints.[12] The chapel was only one part of a castle or palace, built in a long process of consecutive interventions by several members of the dynasty or inherited from former owners, as in the case of the Palace of the Kings of Majorca in Perpignan, dating from the early fourteenth century, or the chapel of Castel Nuovo in Naples, the only part of the Angevin residence to be carefully preserved by Alfonso in the extensive reconstruction of the fortress in the mid-fifteenth century.[13] This local tradition and sense of place were sometimes overwhelming, as in the case of Palermo's Cappella Palatina, an extraordinary chapel that was

Fig. 5.2
Francesc Baldomar, Kings' Chapel (capilla de los Reyes) (1439–1463). Convent of Saint Dominic, Valencia.

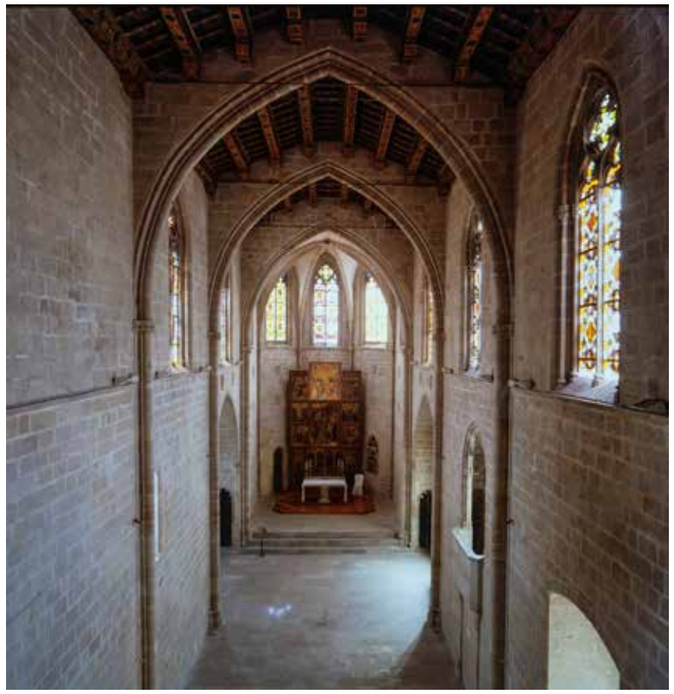

Fig. 5.3
Bertran Riquer, Royal Chapel of Santa Ágata (ca. 1302). Royal Palace (Palau Reial major), Barcelona. © Ramon Manent.

lavishly decorated with mosaics and a sophisticated *muqarnas* ceiling, surely regarded as an intangible legacy of those kings of Aragon who had previously been kings of Sicily, such as James II or Martin I.[14] It has also been suggested that Barcelona Cathedral may have been conceived as a palatine and episcopal church. Although this project was eventually frustrated, it would nevertheless explain some unusual features of this building, such as its western tribune, which offers an uninterrupted view of the crypt of Saint Eulalia.[15]

Given their strong diplomatic and cultural relations, it is almost certain that the kings of Aragon kept an eye on other royal chapels in the neighbouring kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, Portugal and particularly France.[16] Cultural exchange between Paris and the court of Aragon intensified during Peter IV's reign due to the successive marriages of his son and successor, future King Juan I with two French princesses (Mata of Armagnac and Violant of Bar, niece of Jean de Berry).[17] The French model of the Sainte-Chapelle was not overlooked when the monarchs of Aragon erected a royal chapel based on relic worship in the fourteenth century: we know that in 1398 Martin I asked Charles VI for detailed information about rites and customs in Paris, so that they could be observed in Barcelona.[18] A copy of the service of the relics has been linked to the chapel in Barcelona; dating from circa 1400–10 and of Spanish origin, it is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.[19] The kings of Aragon were following the example of French princes and aristocrats close to the Valois dynasty, who founded royal chapels similar to the Parisian Sainte-Chapelle in a fashion characterised by relic worship and a significant connection to the royal sanctity of Saint Louis.[20] In this way, they distinguished themselves from their counterparts in Castile, where the court chapel was itinerant and oriented towards ordinary cult in the *palatium*, while royal chapels in cathedrals or monasteries were devoted to funerary rituals and dynastic commemoration. Moreover, in the royal pantheons in cathedrals such as Toledo and Córdoba, interference by bishops and chapters in the sculptural decoration and architectural setting could not be avoided.[21]

Different patterns of intention can be suggested for other initiatives, such as the construction after 1302 of the royal chapel in the palace in Barcelona by architect Bertran Riquer, in accordance with the will of James II (Fig. 5.3). It has been convincingly argued that the choice of a painted wooden ceiling on diaphragm arches in this oratory was linked to the Franciscan spiritual movement and the ideas conveyed by authors such as Arnau de

Vilanova (ca. 1240–1311). More specifically, these values were visualised in the ceremony of *Mandatum* on Maundy Thursday, when the king washed the feet of twelve poor men to commemorate the actions of Jesus Christ and his disciples before the Last Supper.[22] This custom was ritualised by subsequent members of the dynasty but found its most suitable setting in the royal chapel of the palace in Barcelona.

The tradition of having a royal residence within abbeys and convents prompted the creation of oratories or chapels for royal services.[23] Given that Martin I built a royal residence in Poblet, the chapel of Saint Martin in the former Carthusian monastery of Valldecrist (Altura, Castellón) might well be explained by the king's devotion to relics and his original intention to participate in monastic life there. Pope Benedict XIII granted indulgences to those who attended the display of the relics in Valldecrist (1413).[24] This chapel with a crypt was covered by an innovative Gothic timbrel vault consisting of two layers of intersecting bricks forming a kind of shell. It was built by Pere Balaguer and consecrated in 1401, and it provided an oratory for the king and for Queen Maria de Luna close to their lodging in the monastery; the crypt may have been a burial place serving as an alternative to the royal pantheon in the Cistercian abbey of Poblet (Fig. 5.4).[25]

As these examples show, we should not examine royal chapels from a strictly formal standpoint, and we must certainly not consider their condition stable, even though ceremonies were ritualised and dynastic continuity was reinforced in these places of magnificence and royal piety. Despite the efforts of Peter IV to enforce homogeneous decoration in his kingdom's royal chapels through the appointment of painters such as Ferrer Bassa and Ramon Destorrents and goldsmiths like Pere Bernés, there were a variety of altarpieces which could be silver-gilt or painted and, on occasion, even included sculpted images. Reliquaries were no less varied in terms of form and material; the only requirement was that their contents be visible. The mobility of the court was a common trend that demanded frequent travelling with the royal chapel, but even if a long stay took place in one palace, the liturgical calendar prompted changes in the staging of its chapel. This staging included the altarpiece and the furnishings that displayed the relics, as described by messengers from Barcelona who visited the palatine chapel of Naples' Castel Nuovo on the Feast of Saint Eulalia in 1452.[26]

Fig. 5.4
Pere Balaguer, Saint Martin's Chapel (ca. 1401). Charterhouse of Valldecrist, Altura (Castellón).

To unpick those patterns of intention that

Fig. 5.5
Royal Palace (Palau Reial major), Barcelona, oratories and royal tribune in Royal Chapel of Saint Agatha (ca. 1302–1406). © Ramon Manent.

reveal royal ideals and forms of devotion, it is essential to examine closely the Aragonese kings' various initiatives regarding the spaces and functions of their royal chapels. First and foremost, ceremonies had to be adapted to different spaces: even though it was very common to have two chapels in royal residences (one for the king, one for the queen), it was not necessarily so if the queen had her own palace, as was the case in Barcelona.[27] Some queens even managed to introduce more intimate places of prayer: Maria of Navarre, Eleanor of Sicily and Maria de Luna did precisely this in the royal chapel in Barcelona (Fig. 5.5).[28]

By the mid-fourteenth century, the *Ordinacions de Cort* had defined a calendar of ceremonies and liturgical endowments, but this text pays no attention to architectural setting. However, a gallery or platform is a common feature in most of the chapels, including that of Santa Ágata (formerly devoted to Saint Mary) in Barcelona and the one built by Peter IV in Lleida Castle.[29] Both were probably linked to relic worship, and to the need to see the high altar and highlight royal presence in the chapel while keeping the monarch separate. We even know that raised platforms or balconies were built onto royal apartments to overlook the church, as was done for Martin I in Poblet. The king requested a similar structure to attend services at the Carthusian monastery of Valldecrist in 1406.[30] The introduction of new forms of devotion was an essential prompt for the construction of such oratories, described by Francesc Eiximenis as 'a little house where they can pray almost in secret'.[31] Much more private than a royal tribune, these oratories can be connected to such texts as the *Quarentena de contemplació* by Joan Eximeno or others by authors such as Eiximenis who exerted a great influence at court.[32]

Both kings and queens nonetheless established chapels, oratories and chambers in monasteries and convents in the Crown of Aragon, sometimes as part of a project including a pantheon, church and royal residence. That is certainly the case with Santes Creus and

Poblet, the two Cistercian monasteries in Catalonia. It was almost mandatory to entrust worship in a royal chapel to a religious community, since they offered continuity and vigour in Divine Office prayers.[33] Martin I chose the Celestines for the royal chapel in the palace of Barcelona, erected on the precedent of the Sainte-Chapelle, though he had also established oratories in the very same royal palace (the Chapel of Saint Michael) and in Barcelona Cathedral.[34]

The Capilla de los Reyes (Kings' Chapel) in the Convent of Saint Dominic, Valencia

Alfonso V (1396–1458), the second king from the House of Trastámara to occupy the throne of Aragon, modified the traditions of his predecessors. Having transferred the royal chapel in the palace of Barcelona to the Mercedarian friars in 1423, he eventually abandoned Martin I's project in that city and ordered that the reliquary, augmented by Martin I not long before, be moved to Valencia.[35] Several reasons may explain this change in favour of Valencia. First, the city, which had been emerging since the late fourteenth century as one of the capitals of the Crown of Aragon, supported Alfonso's ambitions to conquer the kingdom of Naples, and defended his family interests in neighbouring Castile by offering financial contributions to both initiatives.[36] Meanwhile, the king himself ordered an extensive programme of work on his residence, the Palau del Real, and was arguably flattered by the city's efforts to welcome him as a prince in 1414, to celebrate his marriage to Princess Maria of Castile the year after, and, finally, to commemorate his royal entry in 1424.[37] The Aragonese court's temporary stay in Valencia, improvements to the Palau del Real, and the commissioning of Valencian artists and architects further

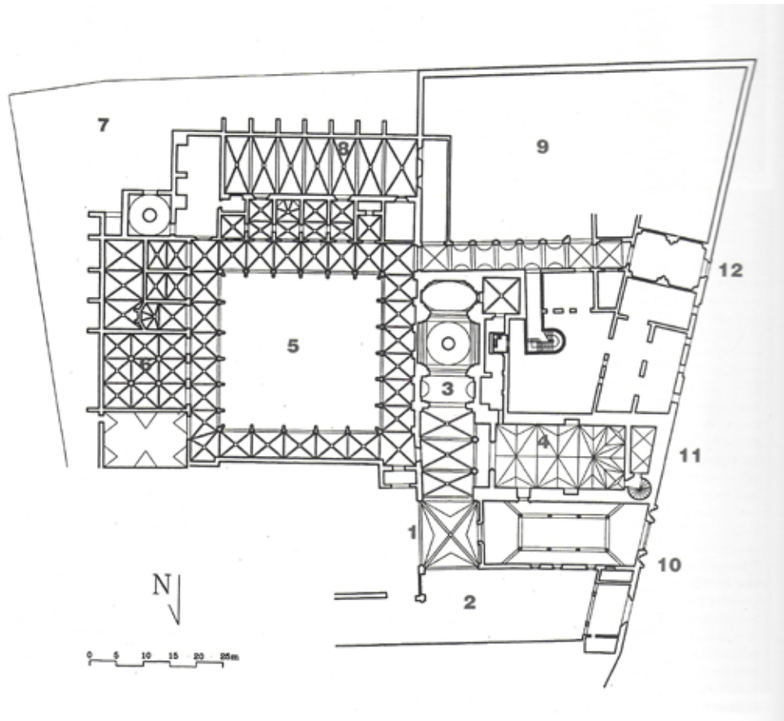

Fig. 5.6
Former Convent of Saint Dominic, Valencia, plan in its present state. 1. Only remaining bay of the conventual church. 3: Saint Vincent Ferrer Chapel. 4: Kings' Chapel. Produced by Arturo Zaragozá, Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico, Conselleria d'Educació, Investigació, Cultura i Esport de la Generalitat Valenciana, Valencia.

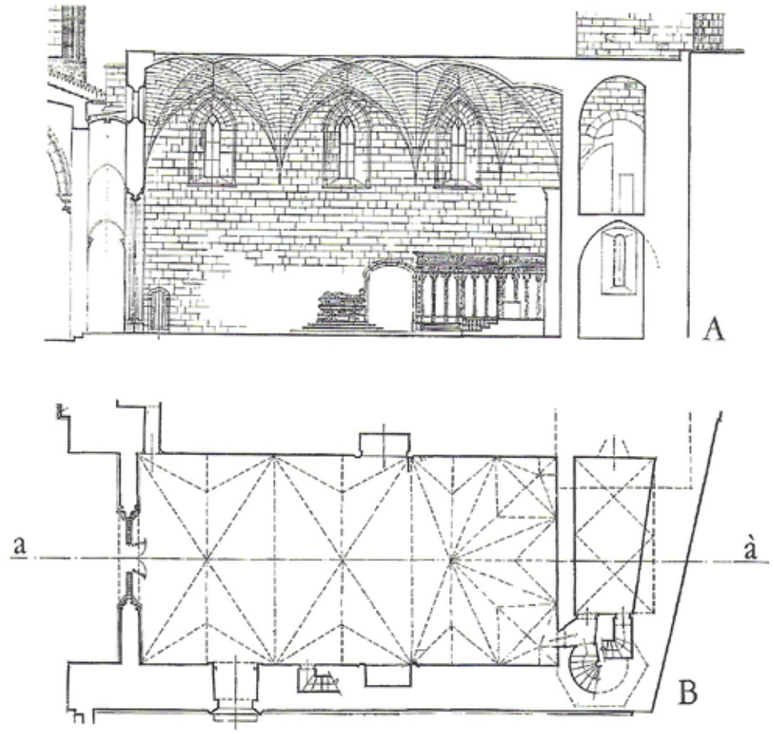

Fig. 5.7
Former Convent of Saint Dominic, Valencia, plan and section of Kings' Chapel in its present state. Produced by Arturo Zaragozá, Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico, Conselleria d'Educació, Investigació, Cultura i Esport de la Generalitat Valenciana, Valencia.

strengthened the king's relationship with the city.[38]

Did Alfonso V always intend to transfer the royal chapel (and relics) from Barcelona to the new chapel in the Convent of Saint Dominic in Valencia, as Francesca Español wondered some years ago? Or is it the case, as is more commonly believed, that the relics ended up there because they were offered as security for a loan to Alfonso V from the cathedral's treasury in 1437?[39] This possibility is further explored below, as it offers meaningful insights into the type, functions and particular features of the chapel in the convent of Saint Dominic (Fig. 5.6).

Built between 1439 and 1463 by architect Francesc Baldomar, the chapel still makes a powerful statement within the convent of Saint Dominic, thanks to its external grey wall with Alfonso's heraldry on Plaza de Predicadores.[40] Its monumental presence is, however, only completely revealed when the rectangular space (eleven by twenty-two metres inside) is entered, with walls two and a half metres thick, covered with a diamond vault made up of two rectangular bays with a pointed groin vault, with lunettes and another bay that creates the effect of a semi-octagonal apse on the western side, with pointed squinches in the corners (Fig. 5.7).[41] The bricks and mortar used in central European diamond vaults were rarely used in Valencian vaults in this period, but the grey limestone chosen for royal chapel was equally unusual.[42] It was brought directly from the Sagunto quarries, about twenty-five kilometres away, whereas most Valencian Gothic buildings used local white limestone from Godella; the latter was more convenient as it is was both nearer and suitable for stonecutting.[43] The records of work on the chapel mention frequent sharpening of tools, probably due to the hardness of the grey limestone. One reason to employ this hard, dark grey stone could be its prestige, which derived from its use in ancient monuments in

Fig. 5.8
Francesc Baldomar, Kings' Chapel (1439–1463), main entrance from the convent atrium. Convent of Saint Dominic, Valencia.

the region and its provenance from Saguntum with its Roman ruins and theatre.[44]

The choice of the grey stone, the location of the chapel near the main access to the church of the Predicadores and the presence of two niches at each side of the nave have all been explained as a consequence of its funerary function.[45] Valencian citizens and noble families were enthusiastic patrons of the Dominican convent, making it their preferred burial location, and the monarchy had protected the friars since the Christian conquest in 1238.[46]

Less attention has been paid to other intriguing features, such as the presence of one opening high on the south side, close to the apse at the west end; a chamber covered with an irregular groin vault, thought to be a sacristy behind the semi-octagonal apse; and two intertwined spiral staircases, one reaching a terrace with a small well in the centre (a type known as *caracol de Mallorca*), the second connected to an opening in the centre of the apse. A pulpit and a narrow staircase have been excavated out of the northern wall. What is certainly beyond any doubt is the royal patronage of the chapel, even if it is not recorded in written sources: the heraldry of the kingdoms of Aragon, Sicily and Naples is proudly exhibited above the main entrance from the convent atrium (Fig. 5.8).

The origins and construction of the chapel can be followed from the accounts in the Archivo del Reino de Valencia.[47] In these and other associated records, there is no mention

Fig. 5.9
Leonard Crespí, King Alfonso, Queen Mary and their court attending mass at a royal chapel (ca. 1436–1443). Miniature in colours and gold on parchment (in book), 22.5 x 15.5 cm. © British Library Board, Ms. Additional 28962, f. 281v.

of the chapel's funerary use: it is always referred to as the 'capilla de los Reyes' or the chapel ordered to be built by King Alfonso. The only reference to the niches is to the *retret del senyor rey* and *retret de la senyora reyna*, using a Catalan term roughly equivalent to the French *retrait*, which refers to small niches in the wall to be occupied by the king and the queen, as the heraldry once again confirms. In 1443 five chaplaincies were each endowed with one thousand sous a year to celebrate Masses for the king.[48] When concealed with curtains, the niches probably looked similar to the famous miniature depicting Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, at prayer inside an oratory while attending Mass.[49]

Comparison with other funerary chapels and royal pantheons in the Crowns of Aragon (Poblet, Santes Creus) and Castile (Miraflores, royal chapels in Sevilla, Córdoba and Toledo) raises questions about the location of the tombs—if they were really intended for the Valencian chapel—and their relationship to the *retrets*.[50] It is hard to imagine that the royal sepulchres were to be placed in the *retrets*, leaving almost the whole width of the chapel free: it is more likely that they were intended for the centre of the chapel. Both niches remained empty anyway, since Alfonso was buried in Naples until his corpse was transferred to Poblet in 1671 (by order of the Spanish viceroy of Naples, Peter Antonio de Aragón), while Maria of Castile founded a convent of Poor Clares in Valencia where she chose to be buried in a tomb without an effigy, decorated only with personal heraldry.[51] Not even King Juan II made use of this extraordinary shrine, even though he took on responsibility for finishing the chapel, and commissioned the painter Joan Reixach to make an altarpiece for it. He was instead buried in the royal pantheon at Poblet.

There is little evidence for the function of the chapel before Emperor Charles V passed it on to Mencía de Mendoza as a burial place for her parents, the Marquises of Zenete.

Initial intentions for the chapel seem to have been condemned to oblivion, unless we turn to circumstantial insights into the original conception of this structure which has long been admired as a masterpiece of late Gothic stonecutting and innovative vault design.[52]

The first piece of evidence is found in the psalter and hours of King Alfonso, located at the British Library in London.[53] In some of the miniatures, we see the king in intimate prayer inside small shrines or oratories, in a setting similar to the royal chapel in Valencia, then at an early stage of its construction. These miniatures convey an image of monarchic piety not only on a courtly stage—as in the miniature identified with the palatine chapel (fol. 281v) (Fig. 5.9)—but also in more intimate chambers and shrines located in or outside the royal residence (fol. 14v, in the royal chamber; fol. 38r, of interest because of the textile oratory; 44v, in front of a crucifix within a small chapel; fol. 106v, before an oratory in a garden; fol. 263v, inside a mendicant church; fol. 312r, with a vision of the Virgin inside a chapel) (Figs 5.10 and 5.11).[54] It should be noted that this prayer book was originally commissioned by Cardinal Joan de Casanova, a Dominican friar and royal confessor whose influence was probably key in the choice of iconography and decision to make this book 'for the need and use of the royal person'. The laudatory biography by Antonio Beccadelli, *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis Aragonum*, stresses the king's commitment to the Liturgy of the Hours under all circumstances and his special veneration of the Eucharist, while the prayer book confirms royal devotion to the Seven Joys of Mary and to the Passion.[55]

The refined simplicity of the architectural setting for royal piety represented by the chapel in the convent of Saint Dominic is consistent with the Dominican ideal of intense spirituality promoted by Saint Vincent Ferrer, the preacher and later saint who played a decisive role in both Alfonso's father election as King of Aragon at Caspe (1412), and in the Observant reform implemented in Santa María la Real de Nieva (Segovia) under the patronage of Catherine of Lancaster and Maria of Aragon, Alfonso's aunt and sister respectively.[56] Indeed, a chapel dedicated to Saint Vincent Ferrer after his canonisation was built in front of the entrance to the capilla de los Reyes, as can be observed in a plan of the convent from 1842 (Fig. 5.12). Never painted, the austere grey walls interrupted by the two oratories and the interior pulpit would have been suitable for concentration during personal prayer, outside of public ceremonies, with the help of a text such as the manuscript of Francesc

Fig. 5.10
Leonard Crespí, A chapel with an office being celebrated in front of an altarpiece of three Dominican saints (ca. 1436–1443). Miniature in colours and gold on parchment (in book), 22.5 x 15.5 cm. © British Library Board, Ms. Additional 28962, f. 263v.

Fig. 5.11
Leonard Crespí, King Alfonso at prayer (ca. 1436–1443). Miniature in colours and gold on parchment (in book), 22.5 x 15.5 cm. © British Library Board, Ms. Additional 28962, f. 38r.

Eximenis's *Psalterium alias Laudatorium*, lavishly illuminated by Pere Bonora and Leonard Crespí for Alfonso in 1443. Dedicated to Antipope Benedict XIII, this Latin text, which complemented Eximenis's *Vita Christi*, became a challenging and enlightened collection of prayers and contemplation for popes and kings.[58]

A second indirect piece of evidence is provided by the transfer of the Crown of Aragon's collection of relics from Barcelona to Valencia, where it was deposited in the cathedral in 1437, the very same year in which the chapel's foundation is first recorded.[59] Although Alfonso needed to borrow money from the cathedral chapter and city authorities, it is difficult to imagine that he was indifferent to the symbolic value of this treasure amassed by his predecessors and augmented by him with the reliquary of Saint Louis of Toulouse, seized in Marseille in 1423.[60] It is worth remembering that among the relics delivered to Valencia Cathedral were such pieces as the Virgin's Comb, the Holy Grail, a Veronica of the Virgin and a reliquary of Saint George, patron saint of the Crown of Aragon.[61] Some of these relics remained there on a temporary basis and were occasionally exhibited in the chapels of the Palau del Real, where the upper chapel was dedicated to Saint Catherine and the lower chapel to Saint Mary of the Angels.[62] For a short time, King Alfonso seemed keen to convey an image of piety in these chapels, enriching them with a crucifix of Flemish provenance (1425), acquired for 300 gold florins, and a 'wooden oratory of some labour' for 1,100 *sous*, to be maintained by carpenter Pasqual Esteve.[63]

It is perhaps not coincidental that building work started on the convent of Saint Dominic at a date very close to the transfer of relics to Valencia. An unexplained feature of the chapel is the presence of a side window, which could be identified as a hagioscope or squint and can still be seen on the southern wall of the chapel (Fig. 5.13). A hagioscope was deemed necessary when a chapel became a public space and so a separate oratory was

constructed to enable members of the royal family to attend ceremonies.[64] After reforms and the demolition of most of the surrounding buildings in the convent, no oratory or private chamber connected to the squint has been preserved, but something similar survives in Maria of Castile's oratory at the church of the Santísima Trinidad in Valencia where she was buried in 1458.[65] Moreover, a plan of the convent shows that this side of the chapel was in the immediate vicinity of the porter's lodge, a space to receive laymen and adequate to accommodate a royal apartment if required (see Fig. 5.12).[66]

A second opening, now blocked by the sixteenth-century altarpiece, remains accessible via a spiral staircase and is linked to a room set over the groin vaults of the sacristy. An oblique round-arched doorway leads to the sacristy and the two intertwined spiral staircases, which in turn give access to the upper room and to an exterior pulpit. Such an arrangement would have been useful for displaying relics or the Holy Sacrament, permitting a few privileged faithful to venerate them and get a closer view. This is not inconceivable, since the king exhibited the relics in the palatine chapel in Barcelona on such occasions as the feast of Passio Imaginis (11 November) or of the Assumption (15 August), at least under Martin I.[67] In the palatine chapel of the Palau del Real, Maria of Castile presented the True Cross relic for public veneration.[68] In 1449, Alfonso paid the German artist Pere Staxar for a stone sculpture of the Passion for a royal chapel; this may have been in Naples but is more likely to have been in Valencia as the iconography was especially appropriate for a site where relics were displayed.[69]

The layout of the chapel was not dissimilar to the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, with two lateral niches, a squint and stairs to an upper platform over the sanctuary.[70] Nor was it very different from the later and chronologically-closer example of Vincennes.[71] The interior of the chapel, with the lateral niches, would have ensured the visibility of the relics or Holy Sacrament in sharp contrast to the dark grey walls in the background. The unexpected lack of sculpted or painted décor, apart from the altarpiece, contributed to the uncanny nudity of the walls under the austere and yet spectacular diamond vault (Fig. 5.14). The question of whether the Eucharist or the relics from the royal treasure were displayed remains elusive, but it is certainly possible: the collection of *sacra pignora* in the palatine chapel included the Holy Grail, and Alfonso made use of the badge of the burning seat or 'Siege Perilous' (kept vacant for the knight who accomplished the quest in the Arthurian legend) at least from 1426 in Valencia, before conquering Naples, his

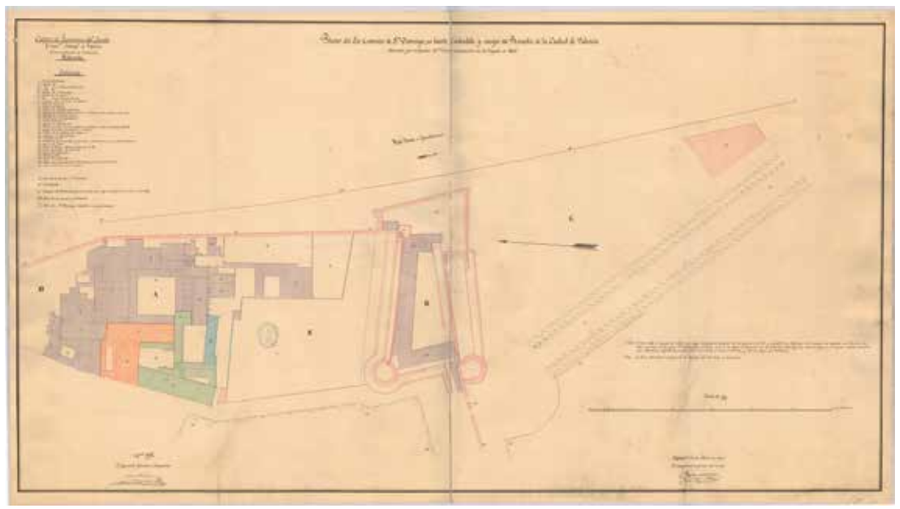

Fig. 5.12
Vicente Casanovas, Plan of the former Convent of Saint Dominic (1847). © España. Ministerio de Defensa. Archivo General Militar, Madrid: B-1-21, plano V-6-14.

Fig. 5.13
Francesc Baldomar, Hagioscope on the eastern wall of the Kings' Chapel (1439–1463). Convent of Saint Dominic, Valencia.

Fig. 5.14
Francesc Baldomar, Kings' Chapel (1439–1463), view from Saint Vicent Ferrer Chapel. Convent of Saint Dominic, Valencia.

victory usually identified with this symbol.[72] The royal chapel included valuable Marian relics, especially the Virgin's Comb given by the Duke of Berry in 1394, as well as the Veronica, and the Trastámara dynasty reinforced its association with the Virgin Mary in Ferdinand's reign.[73] The altarpiece, painted by Joan Reixach (1457–1463), showed the Virgin of the Expectation (*Virgo expectans*) flanked by Saints Ildefonso and John, patrons of King Alfonso and of his brother and successor Juan II. As well as Alfonso's onomastic saint, Ildefonso was a distinguished defender of the virginity of Mary before and after Jesus's birth.[74] Marian devotion and Eucharistic cult provided a public representation of the monarchy within an urban context in one of the major mendicant convents in Valencia, and were combined with more popular celebrations in local festivals, such as the royal entrances and Corpus Christi processions celebrated on a regular basis.[75] Court and city could converge in these festivals, sharing their devotion and experiencing the presence of the relics in Valencia as a true donation instead of a temporary deposit, bringing them from the royal residence to the capilla de los Reyes in Saint Dominic and, eventually, to the cathedral.

In chapter 189 of the novel *Tirant lo Blanc*, written by the knight Joan Martorell in Valencia while the capilla de los Reyes was under construction, the protagonist, who saves the Byzantine Empire from destruction, joins a tournament wearing on his helmet a crest with a comb and the Holy Grail 'like the one conquered by Sir Galahad, the good knight'.[76] Already confined to the world of fiction, the ideal of a Crusade to rescue the imperial capital of Constantinople was no longer a royal priority, but might well have been meaningful at the time of the foundation of this chapel.[77] The royal chapel in Saint Dominic is undeniably a masterpiece of late Gothic architecture, but the patterns of intention for its function remain blurred and subject to further research. This was also one of a series of shrines where monarchic ideals of piety and proximity to the sacred could be made manifest: values of particular significance for a dynasty that made no claims to sacral kingship, but which nonetheless required a sense of royal sovereignty linked to holiness. To bolster Alfonso's Mediterranean ambitions, it was therefore in the dynasty's best interests to communicate the power and prestige of the king to other European kingdoms and Italian princedoms, and to a large and varied audience in a city with strong aspirations to be considered the new capital of the Crown of Aragon.[78]

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2. MS Additional 28962, British Library. On the manuscript see Francesca Español Bertran, 'El salterio y libro de horas de Alfonso el Magnánimo y el cardenal Joan de Casanova', *Locus amoenus* 6 (2002-2003): pp. 91-114; Josefina Planas, 'Valence, Naples et les routes artistiques de la Méditerranée: Psautier-Livre d'Heures d'Alphonse le Magnanime', in Christiane Raynaud (ed.), *Des heures pour prier: Les livres d'heures en Europe méridionale du Moyen Age à la Renaissance* (Paris: Léopard d'Or: Cahiers du Léopard d'Or 17, 2014), pp. 65-101; Josefina Planas Badenas, 'El Salterio-libro de horas del rey Alfonso V de Aragón', in Sophie Brouquet and Juan Vicente García Marsilla (eds.), *Mercados del lujo, mercados del arte* (Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de Valencia, 2015), pp. 211-37.

3. Josep Vicent Boira (ed.), *El Palacio Real de Valencia: los planos de Manuel Cavallero (1802)* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2006).

4. 'y como tenemos por tradición dicen que fueron hechas para en ellas hazer dos sepulturas y en ellas poner los cuerpos de las dos personas reales de dichos dos reyes y como mudaron de parescer pusieron dos retablos, el uno del prendimiento del Señor en el guerto y el otro de Su Sanctissima Coronación'. Francisco Sala, *Historia de la Fundación y cosas memorables del Real Convento de Predicadores de Valencia,* Manuscript, Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València, MS 163, pp. 16-17.

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6. Luis Tramoyeres Blasco, 'Un tríptico de Jerónimo Bosco en el Museo de Valencia', Archivo de Arte Valenciano 1:3 (1915): pp. 87-102; Luisa Tolosa Robledo, María Teresa Vedreño Alba, Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, *La Capella Reial d'Alfons el Magnànim de l'antic monestir de Predicadors de València I: Estudis* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1997); Noelia García Pérez, 'Modelos de enterramiento, modelos de patronazgo: la Capilla de los Tres Reyes del convento de Santo Domingo de Valencia y los Marqueses del Zenete', *Imafronte* 19-20 (2007-2008): pp. 63-74.

7. Rita Costa-Gomes, 'The Royal Chapel in Iberia: Models, Contacts, and Influences', *The Medieval History Journal* 12:1 (2009): pp. 77-111.

8. Francesca Español Bertran, 'Calendario litúrgico y usos áulicos en la Corona de Aragón bajomedieval', *Studium Medievale: Revista de Cultura visual-cultura escrita* 2 (2009): pp. 185-212.

9. Francisco M. Gimeno et al. (eds.), *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort de Pere el Cerimoniós* (Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2009), pp. 203-34, attests to the special attention given to the royal chapel and the festivals to be celebrated there.

10. Johannes Vincke, 'Das Patronatsrecht der aragonesischen Krone', in *Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 12 (1955): pp. 55-95; Günther Röhfleisch, 'Der Ausbau der Pfalzkapelle zu Valencia durch Peter IV von Aragón', in *Homenaje a Johannes Vincke* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963), 1: pp. 187-92; Johannes Vincke, 'El derecho de patronato de la Corona de Aragón en el Reino de Valencia', in *Primer Congreso de Historia del País Valenciano* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 1980), 2: pp. 837-49.

11. Gimeno et al., Ordinacions, pp. 206-7; Alberto Torra Pérez, 'Reyes, santos y reliquias. Aspectos de la sacralidad de monarquía catalano-aragonesa', in *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Jaca, 1993)* (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, 1996), 1:3, pp. 495-517, esp. pp. 507-10; Español Bertran, 'Calendario litúrgico', pp. 193-9.

12. On the limits of variability concerning the transmission of models, see Costa-Gomes, 'The Royal Chapel in Iberia', pp. 87-94.

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27. Español Bertran, *Els escenaris*, p. 114.

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29. Español Bertran, 'Calendario litúrgico', p. 195.

30. Serra Desfilis, Miquel Juan, 'La capilla de San Martín', p. 69; Español Bertran, 'La Santa Capella', pp. 29-30 (Poblet) and 33 (Valldecrist). Español Bertran connects this royal gallery to the main church instead of to the Chapel of Saint Martin.

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55. Antonio Beccadelli, 'De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis Aragónum', MS 445, fols. 77r-79r, Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València, with particular mention of the ceremony on Maundy Thursday; see also Español Bertran, 'El salterio y libro de horas', p. 94; Planas Badenas, 'El Salterio-Libro de Horas', pp. 214-32.

56. Philip Dayleader, *Saint Vincent Ferrer. His World and Life: Religion and Society in Late Medieval Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Diana Lucía Gómez-Chacón, 'Reinas y predicadores: el Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Nieva en tiempos de Catalina de Lancaster y María de Aragón (1390-1445)', in Teijeira et al. (eds.), *Reyes y prelados*, pp. 325-40; Gómez-Chacón, 'Arte y reforma dominicana en el siglo XV: Nuevas perspectivas de estudio', *Erasmo. Revista de historia bajomedieval y moderna* 4 (2017): pp. 87-106. For observance during the fifteenth century, see Emilio Callado Estela and Alfonso Esponera Cerdán, '1239-1835: Crónica del Real Convento de Predicadores de Valencia', in *El Palau de la Saviesa. El Reial Convent de Predicadors de València i la Biblioteca Universitària* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2005), p. 133.

57. MS 726, Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València. Amparo Villalba Dávalos, *La miniatura valenciana en los siglos XIV y XV* (Valencia: Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1964), pp. 91-3, 142-5, 233-4, 237-40; Josefina Planas Badenas, 'Los códices ilustrados de Francesc Eiximenis: análisis de su iconografía', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 9-10 (1997-1998): pp. 73-90, esp. pp. 77-8.

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59. Tolosa Robledo, Vedreño Alba, 'La Capella del Rei', pp. 62-3.

60. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, pp. 114 and 117.

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62. Amadeo Serra Desfilis, '"Cort e Palau de Rey". The Real Palace of Valencia in the Medieval Epoch', *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum* 1 (2007): pp. 121-48, here p. 137.

63. José Sanchis Sivera, 'La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media', *Archivo de Arte Valenciano* 10 (1924): 16-17; Luis Fullana Mira, 'El Palau del Real', *Cultura Valenciana* 2 (1927): 153-6; García Marsilla, *Art i societat*, p. 252.

64. Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, 'The Hagioscope in the Princely Chapels in France from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century', in Jiri Fajt (ed.), *Court Chapels of the High and Late Middle Ages and their Artistic Decoration* (Prague: National Gallery of Prague, 2003), pp. 171-8.

65. Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, 'Real Monasterio de la Trinidad', in Joaquín Bérchez (ed.), *Valencia, arquitectura religiosa* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1995), p. 144; Benito Goerlich, *El Real Monasterio*, p. 89.

66. Archivo General Militar, Madrid, B-1-21, Plan of the former Convent of Saint Dominic (1847). This area (number 11 in the plan) had been rebuilt between 1789 and 1800 as part of the new façade project, whereas Capilla de los Reyes is identified by number 6.

67. Torra Pérez, 'Reyes, santos y reliquias', pp. 510-11; Español Bertran, 'Calendario litúrgico', p. 210.

68. Fullana, 'El Palau del Real', pp. 153-6; Serra Desfilis, 'The Real Palace', p. 137.

69. Sanchis Sivera, 'La escultura valenciana', p. 22.

70. Peter Kovâc, 'Notes on the Description of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris from 1378', in Fajt (ed.), *Court Chapels*, pp. 162-70, here, p. 163; Meredith Cohen, *The Sainte-Chapelle and the Construction of Sacral Monarchy* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 159-64.

71. For Vincennes, see Odette Chapelot et al., 'Un chantier et son maître d'oeuvre: Raymond du Temple et la Sainte-Chapelle de Vincennes', in Odette Chapelot (ed.), *Du projet au chantier. Maîtres d'ouvrage et maîtres d'oeuvre aux XIVe-XVIe siècles* (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2001), pp. 433-88. For its relationship with the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris and successive imitations in Aachen and Westminster, see Dany Sandron, 'La culture des architectes de la fin du Moyen Âge. À propos de Raymond du Temple à la Sainte-Chapelle de Vincennes', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 150: 2 (2006): pp. 1255-79, esp. pp. 1260-79. Connections between decorative sculpture in late fourteenth-century France and the Crown of Aragon have been observed by Maria Rosa Terés in 'La escultura del Gótico Internacional en la Corona de Aragón: los primeros años (c. 1400-1416)', *Artigrama* 26 (2011): pp. 147-81.

72. García Marsilla, 'El poder visible', pp. 39-40; first mentioned in the sources in 1426: Rafael Beltrán Llavador, 'Los orígenes del Grial en las leyendas artúricas. Interpretaciones cristianas y visiones simbólicas', *Tirant: Butlletí informatiu i bibliogràfic* 11 (2008): pp. 19-54.

73. Francesc Ruiz i Quesada, 'Els primers Trastàmares. La legitimació mariana d'un llinatge', in Maria Rosa Terés (ed.), *Capitula facta et fermata. Inquietuds artístiques en el Quatre-cents* (Valls: Cossetània, 2011), pp. 71-112, esp. pp. 99-101.

74. For an eighteenth-century description of the old altarpiece, displaced and moved to the chapter house, see José Teixidor, *Capillas y sepulturas del Real Convento de Predicadores de Valencia* (Valencia: Acción Bibliográfica Valenciana, 1949) 2: pp. 418 and 424.

75. Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, *Memorias de la Ciudad. Ceremonias, creencias y costumbres en la historia de Valencia* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2003), pp. 69-100.

76. Beltrán Llavador, 'Los orígenes del Grial', pp. 44-6.

77. Joan Molina Figueras, 'Un trono in fiamme per il re. La metamorfosi cavalleresca di Alfonso il Magnanimo', *Rassegna storica salernitana*, 28: 56 (2011): pp. 11-44, here pp. 28-30.

78. Andrea Longhi, 'Palaces and Palatine Chapels in 15th-Century Italian Dukedoms: Ideas and Experiences', Beltramo et al. (eds.), *A Renaissance Architecture of Power*, pp. 82-104.

6

Inventio and *Imitatio*: The Appropriation of Valois Style by a Converso Contador Mayor [1]

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The magnificent funerary chapel of Contador Saldaña in the Royal Monastery of Santa Clara de Tordesillas—built between 1430 and 1435, according to the painted frieze on its walls—is without local precedent (Figs. 6.1 & 6.2).[2] In contrast to the classic Gothic and Mudéjar styles characteristic of most contemporaneous buildings, its flamboyant tracery, gabled niches, figured corbels, and shield-bearing angels recall those from Charles VI's programme at the Sainte-Chapelle de Vincennes; its carved and gilded retable with folding wings is of the same type as those installed by Duke Philip the Bold at the charterhouse of Champmol; its naturalistic alabaster effigies are in the style of those commissioned by members of the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Valois courts; and its limestone apostles—described by Clementina Julia Ara Gil as one of the 'purest' manifestations of Burgundian influence in Castile—are comparable with those in the Duke of Berry's Saint-Chapelle in Bourges.[3]

Although historians have been fascinated by this chapel since the middle of the nineteenth century, little is known about its commissioning and construction, and many questions relating to its original appearance remain outstanding. This essay seeks to answer some of them by focusing on the physical evidence, interpreting it in relation to the rise and fall of the chapel's patron, an ambitious *converso* at the court of John II of Castile. Reassessing what the chapel's interior originally looked like, the essay considers what the mix of imitation and invention tell us about Contador Saldaña's efforts to make his mark during one of the most turbulent periods of Castilian history.

Fernán López de Saldaña (c. 1400–1456) was one of several converts from middle-class Jewish backgrounds who, under Álvaro de Luna's patronage, became the backbone of John II's new court apparatus.[4] Named secretary to the king in 1422, Saldaña soon married the daughter of a member of the Royal Council, Elvira de Acevedo, and by 1429 he was Contador Mayor (chief comptroller) and on the Royal Council himself.[5] By this time he had also amassed a great deal of land and income, and he soon secured permission to construct a funerary chapel at Santa Clara de Tordesillas. Elvira died in 1433—as we know from the painted frieze—leaving Saldaña with four surviving children; within a decade he had not only fathered two more children by his second wife, Isabel Vélez de Guevara, but also defected to the cause of the Infantes (John II's

Fig. 6.1.
Royal Convent of Santa Clara de Tordesillas (with Saldaña Chapel on far right), Castile, Spain.

Fig. 6.2
Saldaña Chapel, Santa Clara de Tordesillas, interior view facing east (1430–1435).

cousins) who were determined to wrest power from the king.[6] When King John's forces won a resounding victory at the Battle of Olmedo in 1445, Saldaña was forced to flee to Aragon where he died eleven years later.[7] Pérez de Guzmán, the well-known *converso* chronicler and loyalist, described him soon afterwards as 'a small and base man (*un pequeño e raez hombre*) to whom too many people had shamefully bowed down'.[8]

Funerary chapels like Saldaña's enabled wealthy Castilians to seek salvation at the same time as making extravagant displays of material wealth and heraldry.[9] Perhaps the most ostentatious was the chapel of Santiago in Toledo Cathedral, commissioned by Saldaña's mentor, Álvaro de Luna. Saldaña's selection of a site at Santa Clara was inspired: not only was this one of the most important royal foundations, but the new chapel's river-frontage enabled the young *contador* to show off his newly-acquired status in a highly visible location. The contract between the nuns and Saldaña's nominees refers to 'well-polished and expensively-worked stone', which emphatically contrasts with the brick from which the rest of the monastery was built and confirms the importance to the ambitious courtier of material display.[10] As in early Renaissance Italy, such display was associated by fifteenth-century Castilians with magnificence and nobility.[11] Saldaña's fellow courtier and *converso*, Alonso de Cartagena, had in 1422 discussed the concept of magnificence in a compendium of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*, asserting that expenditure on objects was both pleasing to God and beneficial to society.[12]

Commissioning a tall northern European structure, Saldaña was clearly looking to fashion himself as a new kind of noble, deserving of status thanks his service to the king, just as Burgundian figures such as Nicolas Rolin were honoured for serving John II's contemporary, Philip the Good.[13] Despite the import of increasing quantities of Flemish tapestries and other luxury goods, many chapels commissioned by wealthy Castilians in the first half of the fifteenth century were built in the Mudéjar style, out of inexpensive brick and stucco.[14] Saldaña's chapel was built out of limestone, with slender buttresses, large windows and a pitched roof, and its gabled interior niches (Fig. 6.3) and shield-bearing angels (Fig. 6.4)—a motif directly associated with the Valois monarchy—imitated those at the Sainte-Chapelle at Vincennes and the Palais des Comtes at Poitiers.[15] It is likely to have influenced the choices made by Álvaro de Luna, who was granted permission to demolish three existing chapels in Toledo Cathedral for his own

Fig. 6.3
Saldaña Chapel, Santa Clara de Tordesillas, gabled niches next to entrance arches (1430–1435).

project just as work started in Tordesillas.[16] Although construction must have been advancing under the direction of cathedral's Castilian *maestro mayor* Alvar Martínez when Luna is visited in 1435, the chapel's spectacular flamboyant decorative programme is thought to have taken shape only after 1437 when the French mason Pierre Gelopa (known locally as Pedro Jalopa) took over.[17] Gelopa came from La Ferté-Milon in northern France and no doubt trained in the shadow of Louis d'Orléans's nearby châteux of Pierrefonds, completed c. 1407.[18]

The only craftsman's name to be documented in relation to the Saldaña Chapel is that of '*maestre* guillem de roam' (probably a hispanised version of Guillaume of Rouen), who, according to an epitaph carved in Gothic script on one of the exterior walls, was the chapel's *aparejador* or clerk of works.[19] A second name which has been associated with the chapel in recent years is that of Isambart, who is documented as working at Pierrefonds (under the name of Jehan Ysambart) in 1399.[20] They were both part of a network of northern European masons and sculptors who arrived in the Iberian Peninsula in the early fifteenth century,

Fig. 6.4
Saldaña Chapel, Santa Clara de Tordesillas, relief of shield-bearing angel inside tomb niche (1430–1435).

working in a number of sites that includes the cathedral of Pamplona, then being rebuilt by Charles the Noble, grandson of the Valois king, Jean II.[21]

Scholars have long been intrigued by several questions relating to disruptions, breakages, and apparent lack of finish in some areas of the Saldaña Chapel, and by the combination of diverse materials and styles. What are the identities of the four effigies, and why is one of them made from limestone while the other three are alabaster, smaller, and carved by a different workshop? Were the four tomb-niches, with their blank armorial shields, originally polychromed? What was the function of three seated limestone saints, now free-standing but clearly designed to be attached to a stone surface (Fig. 6.5)? Begoña Alonso Ruiz has hypothesised that a break in the building line visible on the external wall and a diagram on the corresponding wall inside may relate to the death of Guillem de Rouen.[22] Ara Gil has speculated that Guillem's death might also explain the change in style between the shield-bearing angels and apostles, and that the incompleteness of the set of apostles might indicate this aspect of the original project was left unfinished.[23] A carved relief on the outside wall, which displays the heraldry of the king, Saldaña, and his wives, includes an intriguing depiction of the arms of Álvaro de Luna at the centre of the relief with Saldaña's hanging from them (Fig. 6.6). This striking armorial reference to Saldaña's patron has led to the suggestion that Luna's first wife, Elvira de Portocarrero, might be buried in the chapel.[24] However, such an unusual arrangement would surely have been mentioned in Saldaña's contract with convent (signed in 1432, several years after Portocarrero's death) which specifies only that the chapel should house those tombs and funerary monuments specified by Saldaña or the heirs to his *mayorazgo*.[25] Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza has written about the southern portal to the main church, which bears the arms of the family of Isabel de Guevara and was shifted, probably in the eighteenth century.[26]

Fig. 6.5
Saldaña Chapel, Santa Clara de Tordesillas, seated female saint (c. 1437–1445). Limestone, 135 x 62 x 50 cm.

One problem with some of these arguments may be the assumption that the chapel as it appears now is largely intact, and that the date inscribed in its frieze marks the end of work.[27] This assumption is likely to be false. Isabel de Guevara—first documented as Saldaña's new wife in December 1436—is not mentioned in the frieze (which was presumably completed by the end of 1435), but her arms appear inside the chapel and on the stone relief on the exterior wall.[28] Close reading of the physical evidence indicates that work may have continued well beyond 1435, and, when examined in relation to biographical information, can help to answer some of the outstanding ques-

tions and to understand Saldaña's programme as one of appropriation, rather than pure imitation, of the Valois model.

The Identity and Original Location of the Effigies

With nothing painted on the shields above the tombs and no epitaphs, there has been considerable debate about the identity of the portrait-like effigies in the chapel's four niches. These effigies are laid directly on the plinths rather than on raised beds, as was conventional.[29] The limestone effigy, representing a man in his late forties or early fifties dressed in a full-length formal gown, measures 205 by 67 by 52 centimetres; two of the alabaster effigies, representing young adult women, measure 190 by 47 by 30 centimetres; the third alabaster represents a man in his late thirties or early forties.[30] The alabaster effigies are thus considerably smaller than the limestone one and, as Ara Gil remarked, appear too small for their niches.[31] The female effigies are dressed in *hopas* belted above the waist (as was fashionable from about 1440) worn over laced *briales*, with elaborate head-dresses and necklaces, and *chapines* on their feet.[32] The male alabaster figure is dressed in a knee-length *ropa*, with short gathered sleeves and a belt at the waist, as was fashionable in the late 1430s and 1440s.[33] All four effigies are carved with great skill, although the limestone figure is stylistically very different to the other three, which all appear to have been carved by the same hand.

At least one of the male effigies almost certainly represents Fernán López de Saldaña, whose name is inscribed in the frieze above the tombs, and whose heraldry features prominently in and outside the building.[34] Although Saldaña was originally buried at the convent of San Francisco in Borja (Aragon), it is known from the will of his son Pedro Vélez de Guevara that he had been reburied in the chapel by 1477.[35] Another of the effigies is likely to be Elvira de Acevedo, who is also mentioned in the frieze. The couple's shields figure on the stairs leading down to the crypt beneath the chapel.[36] The second female effigy is likely to represent Isabel Vélez de Guevara, Saldaña's second wife whose arms also appear on the crypt stairs.[37]

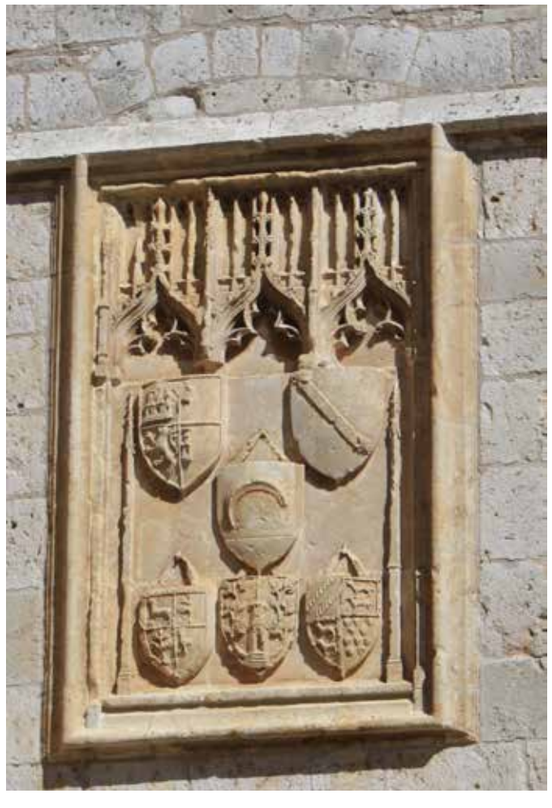

Fig. 6.6
Saldaña Chapel, Santa Clara de Tordesillas, relief, exterior west wall (c. 1435–1441).

The first scholar to publish illustrations of the chapel, Valentín Carderera y Solano, writing in the 1850s, identified the male alabaster effigy wearing the knee-length *ropa* as Saldaña.[38] However, in the 1860s José María Quadrado claimed that Saldaña was instead represented by the limestone effigy wearing the more traditional *ropaje talar* associated with a *contador*. Most scholars have

accepted Quadrado's identification, although the figure appears to be considerably older and dressed differently to the donor in the retable on the chapel's altar, which has been dated, like the alabaster effigy's knee-length *ropa*, to the mid-1430s.[40] In this painting, Saldaña is dressed identically to the alabaster effigy, with the same distinctive haircut, and it is difficult to disagree with Carderera that the alabaster effigy is intended to represent Saldaña himself.[41] Alabaster was, after all, the material chosen by high-status Castilians for their effigies.[42]

Fig. 6.7
Villaespesa Chapel, Tudela Cathedral, tomb niche (c. 1425).

Is it possible that both the alabaster and the limestone figures represent the *contador*? The limestone figure appears to have been carved by the same sculptor as that of the polychromed limestone effigy of Francisco de Villaespesa (d. 1421), Chancellor of Navarre under the Valois-born Charles the Noble, in the Chancellor's funerary chapel in Tudela Cathedral. The relationship between the design of Villaepesa's tomb niche— produced by a team of northern-European masons who had worked under Isambart in the chapel of the Sagrados Corporales in Daroca—and that of the niches in Tordesillas was first highlighted by Ara Gil (Fig. 6.7).[43] Although the latter are not polychromed, they reprise not only the decorative tracery but also the innovative display of heraldry in the spandrels. Saldaña is likely to have visited Tudela in the late 1420s as part of negotiations with the infante Juan, who was by then consort of Juana of Navarre. Saldaña may have commissioned his effigy at that time, long before he commissioned the alabaster figures, which, as discussed below, were probably not made until approximately 1440. Given Saldaña's apparent admiration for all things related to the Valois, this hypothesis is worth further investigation.

These issues beg the question of whether the current position of the effigies is original. The description and illustration published by Carderera in the 1850s implies a different arrangement to that known since the early twentieth century, when the first photographs of the chapel were published. One of the most consistent features of the monuments commissioned by well-to-do early fifteenth-century Castilians such as Aldonza de Mendoza and Gómez Manrique was their placement directly in front of the altar, often almost touching the steps below it and accommodating both the donor and his or her spouse(s).[45] The disruption of the neatly laid paving stones in the centre of the eastern half of the Saldaña Chapel indicates that there was originally a structure which stood there, between the altar and the entrance to the crypt (see Figs. 6.2 and 6.8). The measurements of the relaid area, approximately 237 by 307 centimetres, are consistent with a large tomb accommodating the three alabaster effigies. Saldaña would lie in the middle, with Elvira dexter (as his first wife) and Isabel sinister (as his second).

Although there is no documentary evidence of a central tomb and its destruction, there is physical evidence of undocumented change within the chapel (such as the displacement of the seated saints from their original location) as well as in its vicinity (such as the movement of the entrance portal with the arms of the Vélez de Guevara family). There are also many precedents for the re-siting and removal of tombs in the decades and centuries following their construction.[46] The tombs of Pedro Fernández de Velasco and Juan Fernández de Velasco in the monastery of Medina de Pomar, for example, were re-sited from the middle of the *capilla mayor* into niches by Juan's son when he rebuilt the church in 1436.[47] Monuments could be removed to make way for new benefactors or if the chapel was to be re-dedicated. Burial rights were an important source of income, and the forfeiting of patronage rights if donors did not maintain private spaces according to the terms of their contracts was common.[48] Royal confirmations of the López de Saldañas' rights in the chapel issued in 1489 and in 1509 may have been instigated by the nuns to remind Saldaña's descendants of their obligation to pay the annual fee.[49]

The siting of important tombs featuring portrait-like alabaster effigies in front of altars was also a feature of Valois funerary chapels such as the Duke of Berry's Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges and Philip the Bold's tomb at Champmol, designed, like Saldaña's, to be seen on all four sides and centrally positioned in the monks' choir facing an altar.[50] Given the regular diplomatic and mercantile exchanges between Castile and Flanders, eyewitness reports brought back by travellers such as Pedro Tafur, and growing fascination with *vivre noblement* in the Burgundian fashion, Saldaña must have heard about Champmol even if, to the best of our knowledge, he never left the Iberian Peninsula.[51] He must certainly have known about the magnificent and innovative carved and gilded *Altarpiece of the Crucifixion* in the choir at Champmol, as he commissioned a similar work for his own chapel (see Fig. 6.2). This object was the first of its kind in Iberia and one of the earliest T-shaped carved retables of the type which would be exported to Castile from the southern Netherlands in large numbers from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.[52] Given the proximity of the no-longer-extant tomb-chest to the altar, the Saldaña group effigies would likely have been closer to it than Philip the Bold's in the larger and more formal space of the monk's choir in Champmol. Saldaña thus succeeded in referencing the grandeur of the Burgundian duke whilst at the same time placing himself and his spouses in almost direct physical contact with site of the transubstantiation.

Fig. 6.8
Saldaña Chapel, Santa Clara de Tordesillas, crypt entrance and re-laid paving stones in between the crypt and the altar.

Fig. 6.9
Saldaña Chapel, Santa Clara de Tordesillas, *Saint Andrew* (c. 1437–1445). Limestone, 136 x 55 x 54 cm.

The existence of a central tomb would, furthermore, make sense of the chapel's four niches which would have remained empty according to our hypothesis. When building started in 1430, Saldaña must have anticipated burial spaces not only for himself and Elvira in a central tomb but also for their four surviving children: Fernán (a.k.a. Ferrando, c. 1428–1496), Sancho (d. 1444), Elvira (d. 1454), and María (d. 1491).[53] His contract with the monastery specifically mentions the burial rights inherent in his *casa*, so it is likely that he planned space for the four surviving children from the outset. However, Saldaña's daughters Elvira and María both appear to have been buried in the convents in Toledo and Salamanca where they died, and his son Sancho, who died fighting with his father and the rebels at the Battle of Olmedo, would not have been granted burial in the chapel after his father's betrayal of the king.[54] The only son by Elvira whose bones may be amongst those in the crypt is Fernán, who left two wills, one asking to be buried in Tordesillas, the other in Salamanca.[55] The absence of effigies corresponding to these individuals and the lack of polychromy on the shields above the niches tends to confirm that none of them were ever buried in the chapel.

Inventio and The Seated Saints

The existence of a central tomb also answers the question about the original location and function of the seated saints representing Andrew (Fig. 6.9), an unidentified Franciscan, and an unidentified female (see Fig. 6.5). On one side of each sculpture, a rough-surfaced square of stone projects outwards, clearly designed to anchor the figure to another stone surface. The detailed carving on all three other sides indicates that they were designed to remain visible: for example, a long braid hangs down the female saint's back (Fig. 6.10). In two cases, the projecting square is on the left, and in the third it is on the right. *Saint Andrew*, whose right elbow is bent, with a ledge cut out from its underside, would have leant on the left side of the tomb chest. Although this ensemble represents an unprecedented design, the tradition of saints praying for the effigy—and often rea-

Fig. 6.10
Saldaña Chapel, Santa Clara de Tordesillas, seated female saint, back view (ca. 1437–1445).

ding from the scripture—was well-established, featuring, for example, in Queen Beatriz de Portugal's tomb at the nearby monastery of Sancti Spiritus at Toro (c. 1420).[56] The design can, furthermore, be related to that of the tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza in Tudela, attributed to Jehan Lome, where two young deacons, on either side of Oteiza's head, read the scripture (one of them holding a hand to his face, like one of the angels on Claus Sluter's *Well of Moses*) (Fig. 6.11).[57] The parallel between the bent elbow resting on the bible held by one of the Tudela deacons and *Saint Andrew*'s elbow resting on the tomb in Tordesillas seems too close to be coincidental.

The reconstruction of the tomb proposed on this basis is illustrated in Figs. 6.12 and 6.13. *Saint Andrew*, on the left of the tomb chest, prays for Isabel, whose arms prominently figure the saint's cross. The Franciscan is likely to be Fernán's name saint, Saint Anthony of Padua (who was baptised by the name of Fernando), often represented with a book. The female saint, who prays for Elvira, may represent Saint Catherine of Alexandria, a model of wifely virtue whose monastery on Mount Sinai was a popular destination for fifteenth-century pilgrims.[58] The sculptors of these figures must have had the opportunity to see the finished effigies as the seated *Saint Catherine* wears the same laced *brial* and belted *hopa* as those worn by Elvira de Acevedo and Isabel Vélez de Guevara. The result is both imitative of the contemporary Castilian and Valois preference for a central tomb with alabaster effigies, and inventive in its inclusion of the three seated saints.

The ledge under *Saint Andrew*'s arm, approximately 95 centimetres from the ground, indicates the height of the tomb chest. This corresponds approximately to the

height of the chest of the near-contemporary tomb of Gómez Manrique and Sancha de Rojas, now in the Museum of Burgos.[59] The fact that the seated figures of *Saints Andrew*, *Anthony* and *Catherine* gaze in the direction of their respective namesakes confirms this arrangement. As Jeffrey Hamburger and others have underlined, seeing was an important vehicle for salvation,[60] and gaze was important element in the empathic meditation which became popular in the Iberian Peninsula in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[61] The accuracy of the arrangement is confirmed by the effigies' gazes too: Saldaña's looks straight ahead at the altar, while Elvira's and Isabel's look towards the altar from their respective sides. Although this design was clearly unconventional, the tomb of Alfonso Enríquez, admiral of Castile, which featured a similarly unconventional boat, was built around 1431 in front of the altar in the monastery of Santa Clara de Palencia.[62]

The Apostles: Unfinished *Imitatio* or *Inventio*?

On the walls above the niches in the Saldaña Chapel are seven unpolychromed limestone sculptures of the apostles, all approximately 180 centimetres in height. They are stylistically different to the relief carvings around the tomb niches and alabaster effigies but appear to be by the same workshop as the seated saints. Whereas stone apostles had often featured on Iberian cathedral portals and were depicted on columns in the Cámara Santa in Oviedo, their placement against the interior walls of churches was strongly associated with Valois structures such as the Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges which Saldaña's northern craftsmen are likely to have known.[63] Ara Gil concludes, no doubt correctly, that Saldaña's intention was for a set of twelve.[64] It is possible that one of the missing apostles is the seated *Andrew*, and that the other four were intended for the four empty niches on the piers between the chapel and the main church (see Fig. 6.3). These niches are approximately 210 centimetres high, the right size to have accommodated the sculptures

Fig. 6.11
Tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza, Tudela Cathedral, detail of deacon (c. 1418).

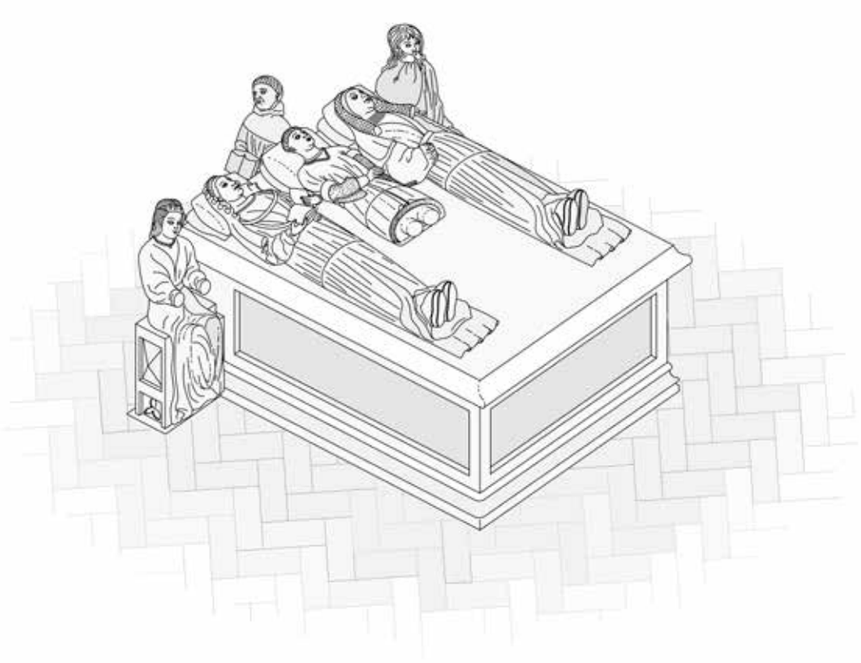

Fig. 6.12
Saldaña Chapel, Santa Clara de Tordesillas, Proposed reconstruction of central tomb with alabaster effigies and seated saints. Drawing by Matilde Grimaldi.

which are 180 centimetres high. Whether these sculptures were produced (and, if so, destroyed or removed), or whether the project was left unfinished, is unknown.

The question of whether Saldaña intended the sculptures of the apostles and seated saints to be polychromed is also intriguing. The stone apostles commissioned by the Duke of Berry for the Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges were polychromed, as were those from the same period in the Sint-Martinusbasiliek in the Flemish town of Halle, although those in Saint Peter's in Liège (as depicted in Rogier van der Weyden's *Exhumation of Saint Hubert*) were not.[65] According to a 1988 communication from the Patrimonio Nacional, no traces of polychromy were found on any of the limestone sculptures during the 1988–90 restoration campaign.[66] As noted above, showing off the cost of the stone and the skill with which it was carved was clearly an important consideration for Saldaña, and it may be that he intended minimal polychromy from the outset. This would have been a bold choice in a visual culture which expected and valued colour.

Nevertheless, considering the absence of polychromy on the shields and the surprising lack of decoration on the tomb fronts, it seems more likely that the work was left unfinished when Saldaña fled to Aragon in 1445.[67] The blank shield on the pillow of the limestone effigy in the Saldaña Chapel indicates that the original intention must have been to polychrome at least that. As Kim Woods and others have underlined, most early fifteenth-century sculpture in northern Europe was fully polychromed or intended for polychromy.[68] Susie Nash stresses the vital contribution polychromy made to effect and meaning.[69] It is possible that the polychromy of the shields was left for completion when Saldaña's children were buried in the chapel which, as we have seen, did not happen.

A New Chronology of the Saldaña Chapel

Previous scholarship on the Saldaña Chapel has taken the inscription in its frieze at face value, concluding that the structure and all its contents were completed by 1435. The text should, however, be treated with caution. The difficulty of evaluating inscriptions is well-known, and not only are the opening words missing here but the circumstances of its production are unknown.[70] The start of construction in 1430 is confirmed by a papal bull issuing indulgences to visitors, by a contract between Saldaña and the monastery of 1432, and by the no-longer visible epitaph of '*maestre* Guillem', who died in 1431.[71] Despite the fact that of *maestre* Guillem's death, given the scale and nature of the work there is no reason to doubt that the basic structure was indeed complete by 1435. This would include the four tomb niches and most of the integral decorative carving on the arches and corbels, although certain tasks, such as the painting of the heraldry pertaining to the niches, appear to have been left unfinished. The inscription itself must have been carved in 1435: Elvira had died by then but the inscription does not mention Isabel, who is first named as Fernán's wife in a legal document of December 1436.[72] The Saldaña Retable, in which Saldaña is accompanied by neither Elvira nor Isabel, is likely to have been produced sometime between the middle of 1433 (after Elvira's death) and early 1436.[73]

Additional work must have been carried out between late 1435 and 1445, the year in which Fernán and Isabel fled to Aragon with two young children (Pedro Vélez de Guevara, 1442–1477, and Costanza Vélez de Guevara, c. 1443–1505).[74] This included the arms of Isabel Vélez de Guevara and other heraldry on the chapel's exterior west wall (see Fig. 6.6). The fact that the display sits under a load-bearing arch indicates that the tablet on which it is carved replaced the original one installed in around 1430 when Saldaña was still married to Elvira de Acevedo.[75] Isabel's arms provide a terminus post quem for the display as it appears now of late 1435 or 1436, and Álvaro de Luna's shield at the centre of the relief provides a terminus ante quem of June 1441 (the date of Luna's exile).[76]

Work carried out after 1435 would also have included the installation of the central tomb and limestone apostles. The effigies may have been commissioned soon after Saldaña's betrothal to Isabel in 1436, but the

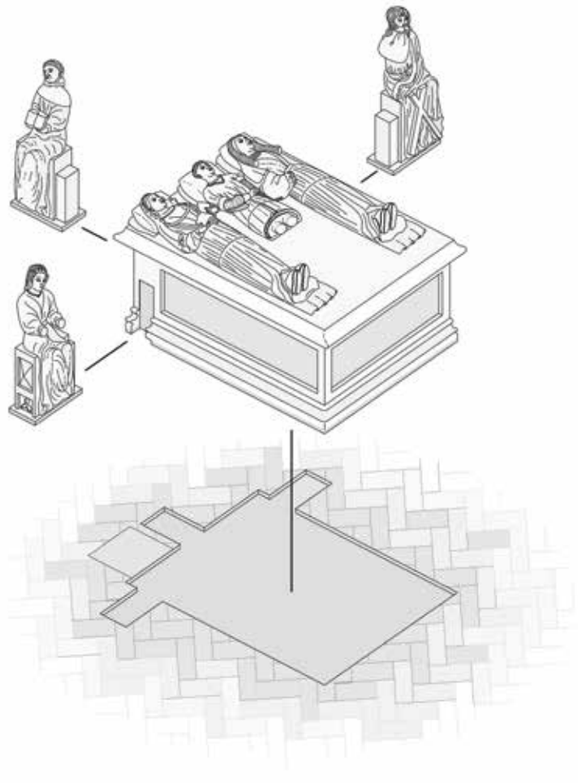

Fig. 6.13
Saldaña Chapel, Santa Clara de Tordesillas, Proposed reconstruction of central tomb with alabaster effigies and seated saints. Drawing by Matilde Grimaldi.

Fig. 6.14
Santa Clara de Tordesillas, south portal (1460s?), detail of the arms of Fernán Lopez de Saldaña (L); and of the Vélez de Guevara and Ayala families impaled dexter with castle and lion of Castile and León (R).

production of the seated saints must have come a year or two later given the relationship between the garment worn by *Saint Catherine* and those worn by the effigies representing Elvira and Isabel. It may be that the tomb with the saints around it was installed in 1441, when the couple's marriage contract was signed. Even if Saldaña had intended to commission a central tomb earlier, Elvira's sudden death and the pressures of political life in the 1430s may have prevented this. As noted above, the production of the effigies between approximately 1436 and 1438 fits well with the clothes and hairstyles, and that of the seated saints and apostles towards the end of the decade explains the change in style noted by Ara Gil between them and the shield-bearing angels produced eight or nine years earlier.[77]

When the couple fled, they would thus have left behind their finished tomb, the apostles, and the altarpiece (commissioned, as noted above, before 1435), but the four niches appear to have been left empty. We can infer this from Pedro Vélez de Guevara's wish to be buried there with his own alabaster effigy, and from a similar request in 1496 by Saldaña's son by Elvira de Acevedo, Ferrando López de Saldaña. Why, then, were none of the children commemorated in the chapel? The answer may relate to the confusion which reigned for several years after Saldaña's exile over who had the right to be buried in the chapel, as well as to continuing political upheaval. García de Salazar's account states that Saldaña lost all his assets upon fleeing Castile.[79] Ceballos-Escalera y Gila provides a breath-taking summary of these assets as well as an account of their expropriation.[80] Ferrando, who had remained in Castile, had a long-running dispute with the monarchy over his father's estates, although it is not clear whether Saldaña's rights in the chapel at Tordesillas were part of this.[81] In 1455, just before Saldaña died, these rights were confirmed in a royal charter, probably as a result of an extraordinary 'deal': shortly after the beheading of Álvaro de Luna in 1454, Saldaña sent word from Aragon to John II asking for pardon and the return of his position and assets in return for revealing where Luna had hidden some of the treasure he had accumulated in office, said to be worth more than 800,000 gold *doblas*.[82] Castile's political situation continued to be difficult after Saldaña's death and things only began to settle down in 1474, when Isabella of Castile ascended to the throne.

Whether or not Pedro was interred in the crypt in 1477, the arms that appear on the surviving entrance to the monastery church appear to be his (Fig. 6.14).[83] This entrance may have also been commissioned after Saldaña fled to Aragon. Although it repeats some elements of the interior portals, its decorative scheme is simpler, not unlike the portals Juan Guas produced for Ávila Cathedral in the 1460s. By this time Pedro was *maestresala* to Enrique IV.[84]

In conclusion, the revisions proposed here provide possible answers to questions relating to the physical evidence remaining inside the Saldaña Chapel. They make sense, for example, of the seated saints and unfinished appearance of the tomb niches. But they also help us to understand the chapel's design more clearly as an expression of Fernán López de Saldaña's dynastic ambitions, and as part his efforts to ensure that he stood out in relation to his peers. By highlighting not only those features in the existing ensemble that were modelled on Valois commissions but those which no longer survive, the revisions allow us to consider this *converso* patron's use of imitation and innovation as part of a strategy to fashion himself as a new kind of noble serving the emerging Castilian state.

1. This essay is based on a chapter from Nicola Jennings, 'The Chapel of Contador Saldaña at Santa Clara de Tordesillas: New Proposals about its Original Appearance and Role in the Fashioning of Identity by an Early Fifteenth-Century *Converso*', unpublished doctoral thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2015. My thanks go to a number of friends and colleagues for their guidance and support, in particular my supervisor, Susie Nash, and to Rose Walker, Tom Nickson, Phillip Lindley, Kim Woods, Javier Martínez de Aguirre, Diana Olivares, Carmen García Frías, María Jesús Herrero, and Ángel Balao. I also thank the reviewers of this essay for their very constructive comments.

2. Since Manuel Gómez-Moreno's article, 'Jooskén de Utrecht, arquitecto y escultor?', *Boletín de la Sociedad castellana de excursiones* (1911): pp. 63-66, many articles have appeared on the chapel. For a comprehensive bibliography, see e.g., Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 'Una montea gótica en la capilla Saldaña de Santa Clara de Tordesillas', in S. Huerta & F. López Ulloa (eds.), *Actas del octavo congreso nacional de historia de la construcción* (Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera, 2013), 1: p. 35.

3. Clementina Julia Ara Gil, *Escultura gótica en Valladolid y su provincia* (Valladolid: Institución Cultural Simancas, 1977), p. 194. On the conservative nature of Castilian architecture in the first few decades of the fifteenth century, see Begoña Alonso Ruiz and Martínez de Aguirre, 'Arquitectura en la Corona de Castilla', *Artigrama* 26 (2011): pp. 103-147.

4. Saldaña's Jewish background is mentioned, for example, by L. García de Salazar in *Las bienandanzas e fortunas: Códice del siglo XV. Libro XX* (Bilbao: A. Rodríguez Herrero, 1955), p. 58. Several historians have discussed the close relationship between Luna and the *conversos*. See, for example, F. Márquez Villanueva, 'Conversos y cargos concejiles en el siglo XV', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 63: 2 (1957): p. 510.

5. See Alfonso de Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, 'Generación y semblanza de Fernán López de Saldaña', *Medievalismo* 21 (2011): pp. 170n25 (citing, legajo 34.318, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejos Suprimidos) and 174. He was one of three treasurers responsible for all the Crown finances.

6. Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, 'Generación y semblanza', pp. 180 and 183.

7. Cayetano Rosell (ed.), *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla: Desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1877), pp. 628-29.

8. Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones y semblanzas,* ed. Robert Brian Tate (London: Tamesis Books, 1965), 2: p. 112.

9. There is a great deal of literature on funerary chapels in fifteenth-century Castile. See, for example, E. Paulino Montero, 'Patrocinio religioso, patrocinio artístico e identidad familiar a finales de la Edad Media. El caso de los Fernández de Velasco', *eHumanista*, 24 (2013): pp. 411-432; Isidro Bango Torviso, 'El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española', *Anuario del Departamento de historia y teoría del arte 4* (1992): pp. 93-132; and Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'La capilla funeraria hispana', in Manuel Núñez and Eugenio Portela (eds.), *La Idea y el sentimiento de la muerte en la historia y en el arte de la Edad Media: Ciclo de conferencias celebrado del 1 al 5 de diciembre de 1986* (Santiago de Compostela: Servicio de publicaciónes e intercambio científico de la Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1988), pp. 67-91.

10. 'Vna capilla de piedra e obra muy polida e costosa', Caja 2, Expt. 22, Archivo Santa Clara de Tordesillas (henceforth abbreviated to ASCT).

11. See, for example, Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 'La Nobleza en la ciudad: arquitectura y magnificencia a finales de la Edad Media', *Historia Moderna* 24 (2012), pp. 213-49; Richard Goldthwaite, 'The Empire of Things: Consumer Demand in Renaissance Italy', in Francis Kent, John Eade and Patricia Simons (eds.), *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 166.

12. Jeremy Lawrance, 'Alfonso de Cartagena y los conversos', in Ralph J. Penny and Alan Deyermond (eds.), *Actas del primer congreso anglo-hispano* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1993), 2: p. 109.

13. For a more extended discussion of Saldaña's self-fashioning as a converso homo novus serving the emerging Castilian state, see Nicola Jennings, 'The Chapel of Contador Saldaña at Santa Clara de Tordesillas and the Fashioning of a Noble Identity by an Early Fifteenth-Century *Converso*', *Hispanic Research Journal* 17 (2016): pp. 1-17.

14. Examples of Mudéjar chapels built in the first half of the fifteenth century include the capilla del Crucifijo at the monastery of Olmedo commissioned by don Velasco Fernández circa 1411, the chapel of the Villagómez in Santa María de Arbas in Mayora built in 1422, the chapel of Diego Gómez de Sandoval, c. 1420, in the Franciscan convent of Sahagún, and the chapel of the Riberas at Santa María de las Cuevas in Seville, dated 1411. See M. Valdés Fernández, 'Patronazgo señorial y arte mudéjar en el Reino de Castilla', in J. Yarza Luaces and M. Melero Moneo (eds.), *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval* (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2001); María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, *Arte mudéjar en Aragón, León, Castilla, Extremadura y Andalucía* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, Excma. Diputación de Zaragoza, 2006).

15. The iconography of supporting angels was developed in France in the late fourteenth century by the Valois monarchy, and in the 1390s Charles VI adopted an image of a heraldic angel as his counterseal. See E. Taburet-Delahaye (ed.), *Paris, 1400: Les arts sous Charles VI; Exposition présentée à Paris, Musée du Louvre, 22 mars-12 juillet 2004* (Paris: Fayard, 2004), p. 31.

16. C. González Palencia, 'La capilla de Don Alvaro de Luna en la Catedral de Toledo', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 5: 13 (1929), pp. 109-122.

17. On Martínez's involvement, see e.g., José María Azcárate, 'El Maestro Hanequín de Bruselas', *Archivo Español de Arte* 21: 83 (1948), p. 177. On Jalopa, see Amalia María Yuste Galán, 'La Introducción del Arte Flamígero en Castilla: Pedro

Jalopa, Maestro de los Luna," *Archivo Español de Arte* 77: 307 (2004), pp. 291-300; Victor Daniel López Llorente, '"Las Más Suntuosa Capilla de España". Poder y Magnificencia en la Arquitectura de la Capilla de Álvaro de Luna', in Matilde Miquel Juan, Olga Pérez Monzón and María Martínez Gil (eds.), *Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano. La capilla fúnebre de Álvaro de Luna en contexto* (Madrid: Silex, 2018), pp. 335-351.

18. Javier Ibáñez Fernández, 'Con el correr del sol: Isambart, Pedro Jalopa y la renovación del gótico final en la península ibérica durante la primera mitad del siglo XV', *Biblioteca: Estudio e investigación* 26 (2011): p. 206.

19. The epitaph, which is no longer visible, read: 'Aquí yace maestre guillem de roam, maestro de la iglesia de leon, y aparejador de esta capilla, que dios perdone, et finó á vii. de deciembre año de mil, et cccc et xxx et un años'. Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España: En que se da noticia de las cosas mas apreciables, y dignas de saberse, que hay en ella*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Por don Joachin Ibarra, 1776-1788), p. 138. It was mentioned by several nineteenth-century visitors, including Richard Ford, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1847), p. 620. It is not known when or how the epitaph disappeared, but it was clearly still there when Gómez-Moreno visited the chapel c. 1911.

20. See for example Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza and Antonio García Flores, 'Ysambart y la renovación del gótico final en Castilla: Palencia, La capilla del contador Saldaña en Tordesillas y Sevilla. Hipótesis para debate', *Anales de Historia del Arte* 19 (2009): pp. 43-76; Ibáñez Fernández, 'Con el correr del sol', pp. 205, 220-26; Alonso Ruiz, Martínez de Aguirre, 'Arquitectura en la Corona de Castilla', p. 125; Fernando Villaseñor Sebastián, 'Nuevas aportaciones a la historia constructiva de la capilla del contador Saldaña (Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas) (c. 1430-1435) y su importancia en la renovación del gótico castellano', in Santiago Huerta and Fabián López Ulloa (eds.), *Actas del octavo congreso nacional de historia de la construcción*, Madrid, 9-12 October, 2013 (Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera, 2013), 2: pp. 1037-46.

21. See, for example,, Javier Martínez de Aguirre, 'El siglo XV en las catedrales de Pamplona y Palencia', in Alfonso Jiménez Martín (ed.), La Piedra postrera. *Simposium internacional sobre la catedral de Sevilla en el contexto del gótico final* (Seville: Cabildo Metropolitano de Sevilla, 2007), 2: pp. 115-48; Javier Ibáñez Fernández and Jesús Criado Mainar, 'El maestro Isambart en Aragón: La capilla de los Corporales de Daroca y sus intervenciones en la catedral de la Seo de Zaragoza', in *La piedra postrera*, 1: pp. 75-113; Ruiz Souza and García Flores, 'Ysambart y la renovación del gótico final en Castilla', pp. 43-76; Alonso Ruiz, Martínez de Aguirre, 'Arquitectura en la Corona de Castilla', pp. 125-47; Ibáñez Fernández, 'Con el correr del sol', pp. 220-226.

22. Alonso Ruiz, 'Una montea gótica', p. 40.

23. Ara Gil, *Escultura gótica en Valladolid*, p. 203.

24. Caja 2, Expt. 22, ASCT. On the suggestion that Elvira de Portocarrero is buried in the chapel, see González Hernández, 'Un enterramiento en la capilla de Saldaña en el monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, 58 (1992): pp. 301-12. It has also been ventured the Infanta Beatriz of Portugal may have been buried there. See Magdalena Santo Tomás Pérez, 'Beatriz de Portugal y el hospital Mater Dei de Tordesillas', in María Isabel del Val Valdivieso and Pascual Martínez Sopena (eds.), *Castilla y el mundo feudal: homenaje al profesor Julio Valdeón* (Valladolid: University of Valladolid, 2009), pp. 5-6.

25. Clementina Julia Ara Gil proposes a more convincing interpretation of the armorial depiction, relating it to Saldaña's description in the *Crónica de Álvaro de Luna* (started while its subject was still alive and finished soon after his death) as the condestable's 'criado y fechura', his 'dependent and his product'. See Ara Gil, *Escultura Gótica*, pp. 195.

26. The reason for the shift appears to have been a change in floor levels due to constant flooding of the terrace just beneath the church and chapel: Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, 'La iglesia de Santa Clara de Tordesillas. Nuevas consideraciones para su estudio', *Reales Sitios* 140 (1999): pp. 9-10.

27. See, for example, Ara Gil, *Escultura Gótica*, pp. 201-202; Javier Castán Lanaspa, *Arquitectura gótica religiosa en Valladolid y su provincia* (siglos XIII - XVI) (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 1998), p. 565; Villaseñor Sebastián, 'Nuevas aportaciones', p. 1039.

28. For the marriage, see M-71, fols. 193v-197, Colección Salazar y Castro, Real Academia de Historia (henceforth abbreviated to CSyC RAH). The marriage contract was not, however, signed until 1441: Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, 'Generación y semblanza', p. 179.

29. See Ángela Franco Mata, 'Iconografía funeraria gótica en Castilla y León (siglos XIII y XIV)', *De arte* 2 (2003): pp. 67-69. The Saldaña Chapel niches can be compared, for example, to those in Álvaro de Luna's chapel of Santiago in Toledo cathedral, built in the same period, where all the effigies lie on raised beds.

30. The author is grateful to the Patrimonio Nacional for providing these measurements. The male alabaster's legs have been broken off, but, based on the size of the upper body and its height and width, it must have been of similar length to the female effigies.

31. Ara Gil, *Escultura gótica*, p. 202. On the importance of 'measurements and proportions … satisfying to the eye' and relating to the belief that God had created man in his own image, see N. Saul, 'Patronage and Design in the Construction of English Medieval Tomb Monuments', in Paul Binski & Elizabeth A. New (eds.), *Patrons and Professionals in the Middle Ages*: *Proceedings of the 2010 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington: Shaun Tyas/Paul Watkins, 2012), pp. 322-24.

32. C. Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria medieval española* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1956), pp. 49-50. For Burgundian fashion in this period, see for example François Boucher, *A History of Costume in the West* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), pp. 206-8.

33. C. Bernis Madrazo, 1956, pp. 44-45. Belts had been worn lower down from 1420-1435.

34. The inscription reads, '[Esta obra mando fazer] Fernand lopez : de : Saldaña : contador : mayor: del virtuoso : rey : don : john et : su : camarero : et su chanceller e del su conseio et : fue : et : es : comencada en el : año : del : nascimiento : del : nro : salvador : jhu xpo : de mill : et : quatrocientos : et : treynta : años : et acabose : en el : ano : del : nascimiento : del : nro : salvador: jhu xpo : de mill : et : quatrocientos : et : tre: ynta et : cinco años : a : honor et : reverencia : de : nra : señora : a quien: el : siempre: tovo et tiene por protetora : et : abogada : en todos sus : fechos : et esta : aqui esta enterada Elvira: de : Azevedo: su muger que /Dios perdone la qual fino en Toledo viespera : de : Pascua : mayor : que : fue a honze dias de abril del ano de mil et quatrocientos et treinta : et tres : anos. Gloria in excelsis Deo et in tera pax hominibus bone voluptatis, laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramos te, glorifi'. Francisco Molina de la Torre, *Valladolid (siglos X-XV), Corpus Inscriptionum Hispaniae Mediaevalium* 3 (León: Universidad de León, 2017), pp. 180-81.

35. Caja 22/1, ASCT. Saldaña's death in Aragon is recorded in the Cronicón de Valladolid: 1333-1539. See Pedro Sáinz de Baranda (ed.), *Cronicón de Valladolid* (Madrid: Viuda de Calero 1848), 13: pp. 26-27. His burial at San Francisco is recorded on a family tree compiled by J. Pellicer de Osau. See 26.385, D 31, fol. 22v, CSyC RAH.

36. This crypt contains the remains of five unidentified bodies. This information appears in Patrimonio Nacional, 'Acta de Investigación, 29 enero 1991', unpublished.

37. Although this seems to be the accepted view, Ángel González Hernández believes this is Álvaro de Luna's wife Elvira de Portocarrero. However, even if a letter of 8 March 1433 (Caja 4916, Expt. 12, ASCT) confirms that his wife was buried in the monastery, it would be extraordinary for her to be buried in the Saldaña Chapel, and there is no mention of this in Saldaña's contract with the monastery of 1432. González Hernández bases his hypothesis on the presence of Luna's shield on the stone relief on the chapel's exterior walls (see Fig. 5). But as Ara Gil has stated, the way that this is depicted, with Saldaña's shield hanging off it, clearly indicates Saldaña's status as Luna's 'criado e fechura suya' (as he is described in the *Crónica del halconero de Juan II*) rather than Portocarrero's burial in the chapel. See Ara Gil, *Escultura gótica*, p. 195. If Elvira were buried there, her own arms rather than her husband's would be displayed both outside and inside the chapel, and this is not the case.

38. Valentín Carderera y Solano, *Iconografía española: Colección de retratos, estatuas, mausoleos y demás monumentos inéditos de reyes, reinas, grandes capitanes, escritores, etc. desde el siglo XI hasta el XVII* (Madrid: Impr. de R. Campuzano, 1855-64), plate 25.

39. José María Quadrado, *Valladolid, Palencia y Zamora. Recuerdos y bellezas de España* (Madrid: Imprenta de López, 1865), 10: p. 242.

40. On the dating of the retable, see Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, 'Maestre Nicolás Francés, pintor', *Archivo español de arte y arqueología* 1 (1925): pp. 16-17; Sánchez Cantón, *Maestre Nicolás Francés* (Madrid: CSIC, 1964), pp. 20-21.

41. The male alabaster effigy has been linked to Pedro Vélez de Guevara on the basis that Pedro's will of 1477 stated that he wished to be buried in his father's chapel with an alabaster effigy: Paulina Junquera de Vega, 'La pintura en el monasterio de Santa Clara', *Reales Sitios* 14 (1967): p. 43. However, as Ara Gil points out, the figure's pudding-bowl haircut was out of fashion by 1450. See Ara Gil, *Escultura gótica*, p. 201. This is confirmed by pictures of Castilian courtiers from the 1470s published in Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria medieval*, Figs. 159-162.

42. The 1435 will of Aldonza de Mendoza, for example, specifies a tomb which is 'de alabastro convenyble a my persona': Francisco Layna y Serrano, *Historia de Guadalajara y sus Mendozas* (Madrid: Aldus, 1942), p. 310.

43. Clara Fernández Ladreda-Aguadé, 'Escultura: Jehan Lomé y los talleres coetaneos', in C. Fernández-Ladrade (ed.), *El arte gótico en Navarra* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2015), p. 540. This relationship was first highlighted in Ara Gil, *Escultura gótica*, p. 205. On the Sagrados Corporales, see Javier Ibáñez Fernández and Jesús Criado Mainar, 'El maestro Isambart en Aragón: La capilla de los Corporales de Daroca y sus intervenciones en la catedral de la Seo de Zaragoza', also in Alfonso Jiménez Martín, *La piedra postrera*, 1: p. 79.

44. On the innovation represented by the display of heraldry in the spandrels, see Javier Martínez de Aguirre and Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, *Emblemas heráldicos en el arte medieval navarro* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educación, Cultura, Deporte y Juventud, 1996), pp. 53-57.

45. Tombs positioned in this way include those of Pero López de Ayala and his wife, Gómez Manrique and his wife, and Aldonza de Mendoza. Gómez Manrique's will, drafted in 1410, states: 'mando que entierren mi cuerpo en la capilla mayor del monasterio, que yo fago en Santa María de Fresdelval e que me entierren en la sepultura de alabastro que ay tengo fecha, delante del altar mayor'. See Sección de Clero, Legago 1053, Archivo Histórico Nacional. Aldonza's will includes similar instructions: Layna y Serrano, *Historia de Guadalajara*, p. 310.

46. See, for example, Clementina Julia Ara Gil, 'Monjes y frailes en la iconografía de los sepulcros románicos y góticos', in José Ángel García de Cortázar (coord.), *Vida y muerte en el monasterio románico* (Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, Centro de Estudios del Románico, 2004), p. 175.

47. Clementina Julia Ara Gil, 'Sepulcros medievales en Medina de Pomar', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 40-41 (1975): pp. 201-202.

48. S. Rodríguez Guillén, 'El monasterio de Santa María la Real de Tordesillas (1363-1509)' (unpublished PhD diss., Alcalá de Henares, 2010), p. 266. There are various instances over the centuries of Spanish churches and convents selling property to raise funds as well as rededicating chapels. It was also common practice in Italy. See J. Burke, *Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), p. 123.

49. Caja 3, Expt. 19, ASCT; S/H 347/25, Archivo General del Palacio, Madrid.

50. Sophie Jugie, Dossier, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, 2003, accessed 18 January 2019, http://www.musees-bourgogne.org/fic_bdd/dossiers_fichier_pdf/dossier_ducs_bourgogne.pdf. Also see the diagram provided by Cyprien Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon d'après les documents des Archives de Bourgogne* (Montreuil-sur-Mer: Imprimerie Notre-Dame des Pères, 1898), 1: p. 54. The exact position of the duke's tomb will be discussed by Susie Nash in a forthcoming article.

51. Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures*, 1435-1439, trans. and ed. Malcolm Henry Ikin Letts (London: G. Routledge, 1926), chapter 23. See Jennings, 'The Chapel of Contador Saldaña at Santa Clara de Tordesillas and the Fashioning of a Noble Identity', pp. 4-5.

52. See Nicola Jennings, 'Made in Iberia: A New Look at the Retable of Contador Saldaña in Santa Clara de Tordesillas', in Daan van Heesch, Robrecht Janssen and Jan Van der Stockt (eds.), *Netherlandish Art and Luxury Goods in Renaissance Spain* (London/Turnhout: Harvey Millar, 2018), pp. 27-44.

53. For the López de Saldaña family tree, see Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, 'Generación y semblanza', p. 163. Their first-born, Leonor, died circa 1430.

54. On the burial places of Saldaña's daughters, see Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, 'Generación y semblanza', pp. 195-6.

55. Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, 'Generación y semblanza', pp. 195.

56. Diana Lucía Gómez-Chacón, 'Religiosidad femenina y reforma dominicana: el sepulcro de Beatriz de Portugal en el monasterio del *Sancti Spiritus* de Toro', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 47:2 (2017): pp. 607-64.

57. On the tradition of accompanying angels, see for example Franco Mata, 'Iconografía funeraria gótica en Castilla', pp. 71-73. On the innovation represented by the Oteiza tomb and its relationship to sculpture at the charterhouse of Champmol in Dijon, see Fernández Ladreda-Aguadé's articles 'Escultura: Jehan Lomé y los talleres coetaneos', pp. 524-7; 'La escultura en Navarra en la primera mitad del siglo XV, Johan Lome y su círculo', *Anales de historia del arte 22* (2012): pp. 7-37; and 'La escultura en Navarra en tiempos del Compromiso de Caspe', *Artigrama* 26 (2011): pp. 203-7. The first to study of Lomé's work in depth was Janke. See R. Steven Janke, *Jehan Lome y la escultura gótica posterior en Navarra* (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1977).

58. See, for example, Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, trans. Sarah Lawson (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 146. Pedro Tafur, for example, went to Sinai. The seated saint closely resembles a polychromed Saint Catherine in León Cathedral: Gómez Moreno, 'Jooskén de Utrecht', p. 65.

59. For a description of this tomb, see M. J. Gómez Bárcena, 'El sepulcro de Gómez Manrique y Sancha de Rojas', *Reales Sitios 83* (1985): pp. 29-36.

60. See, for example, Jeffrey Hamburger, 'The Visual and the Visionary: The Changing Role of the Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions', *Viator 20* (1989): pp. 161-82.

61. The influence of Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae Christi and Ludolph's Vita Christi* in Catalonia by the late fourteenth century has been widely published. The arrival of empathic devotional practices in Castile is less well documented, but it is clear from the popularity of, for example, the iconography of the Pietà by the early fifteenth century that it was already gaining ground. See, for example, Matilde Miquel, 'Pintura, devoción y piedad en Toledo a principios del siglo XV', *Boletín del Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao* 7 (2013): pp. 49-87. For a brief summary of the spread of Christocentric devotional practices in Iberia see Justin Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy: the Medieval Altarpiece in the Iberian Peninsula* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), pp. 355-361.

62. Bango Torviso, 'El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados', p. 118. The choice of three figures positioned in this way rather than four may seem odd, but it is not in itself unique. Jacques Moreau designed a tomb circa 1451 for René d'Anjou which was to be surrounded by three standing knights and three seated ladies reading their Books of Hours: R. A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Le Roi René, sa vie, son administration, ses travaux artistiques et littéraires, d'après les documents inédits des archives de France et d'Italie* (Paris: Firmin-Didot frères, fils et cie, 1875), 3: pp. 99-104.

63. See Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Jean de Cambrai. Sculpteur de Jean de France, duc de Berry', in *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 63 (1980): pp. 167-86; Susie Nash, 'The works for Jean de Berry at Bourges and Mehun-sur-Yèvre', in Susie Nash (ed.), *No Equal in Any Land*, pp. 144-77.

64. Ara Gil, *Escultura gótica*, pp. 196-97.

65. On the Berry figures, see Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Jean de Cambrai', p. 157; on the figures in Halle see J. W. Steyaert et al., *Late Gothic Sculpture: The Burgundian Netherlands* (Ghent; New York: Harry N. Abrahams, 1994), p. 68; on those depicted by van der Weyden, see Susie Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 243.

66. M. Grandmontagne, 'Fassungslose Figuren'.

Materialkonzepte zweier spanischer Grablegen im Spiegel von Claus Sluters Werken für die Kartause von Champmol', in B. Borngässer Klein, H. Karge & B. Klein (eds.), *Grabkunst und Sepulkralkultur in Spanien und Portugal. Arte funerario y cultura sepulcral en España y Portugal* (Frankfurt am Main; Madrid: Vervuert, Iberoamericana, 2006), p. 95n13.

67. The Castilian convention of decorating tomb chests with narrative imagery, saints, weepers, and heraldry is demonstrated, for example, in María Jesús Gómez Bárcena, *Escultura gótica funeraria en Burgos* (Burgos: Diputacíon Provincial de Burgos, 1988).

68. See, e.g., K. Woods, 'The Master of Rimini and the Tradition of Alabaster Carving in the Early Fifteenth-Century Netherlands', in A. S. Lehmann, F. Scholten and P. Chapman (eds.), *Meaning in Materials: Netherlandish Art, 1400-1800* (Leiden: Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, 2012), p. 62.

69. S. Nash, '«The Lord's Crucifix of Costly Workmanship»: Colour, Collaboration and the Making of Meaning on the Well of Moses', in V. Brinkmann, O. Primavesi, & M. Hollein (eds.), *Circumlitio: The Polychromy of Antique and Medieval Sculpture* (Munich: Hirmer, 2010), pp. 356-381.

70. See, e.g., Molina de la Torre, *Valladolid*, pp. 40-41. The ongoing debate over the quatrain on the Ghent Altarpiece illustrates the difficulties inherent in evaluating medieval inscriptions.

71. Caja 7, Expt. 13, ASCT, and Caja 2, Expt. 22, ASCT. Villaseñor claims that construction must have been ended by 1431 on the basis the bull, but it seems more likely that of the bull was obtained in advance of the chapel's completion. See Villaseñor Sebastián, 'Nuevas aportaciones', p. 1039.

72. See above and note 28.

73. Nicolás Francés, to whom the Saldaña Retable is attributed, is documented as having completed the huge *retablo mayor* of León Cathedral by 1434, making another commission in the run up to its completion unlikely. See Sánchez Cantón, *Nicolás Francés*, p. 9.

74. These children were Pedro Vélez de Guevara, circa 1442-1477; and Constanza Vélez de Guevara, circa 1443- 1505.

75. My thanks to Javier Martínez de Aguirre and Tom Nickson, whose explanations about the construction process and possible revisions to it have been extremely helpful.

76. The shields are unlikely to have been commissioned after Luna's return to court in 1443 as by then Saldaña had gone over to the rebels.

77. Clementina Julia Ara Gil, 'El siglo XV. Influencia europea y singularidad castellana', in A. García Simón (ed.), *Historia de una cultura: Castilla y León en la historia de España* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1995-1996), p. 115.

78. It may be that Pedro's and/or Ferrando's bones were interred in the crypt where at least five skulls have been found. Only the arms of Fernán López de Saldaña and his two wives appear on the stairs leading down to the crypt.

79. García de Salazar, *Las bienandanzas e fortunas*, p. 58.

80. Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, 'Generación y semblanza', pp. 181-83 and 188-90, notes 101-9.

81. This is documented in F-6, fols. 1-42v, CSyC RAH; M-71, fols. 214-218, CSyC RAH; and M-108, fol. 14, CSyC RAH.

82. Gonzalo de la Hinojosa, *Continuación de la crónica de España*, ed. Feliciano Ramírez de Arellano (Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1966), p. 137. A Castilian dobla was worth 200 maravedis, and it was clearly considered at the time to be an extraordinary sum.

83. The right spandrel displays the arms of the Vélez de Guevara and Ayala families impaled dexter with the castle and lion of the monarchy. As this quartering is not found elsewhere in relation to Isabel Vélez de Guevara, these arms are likely to belong to Pedro, perhaps granted to him on account of the military service which led to his premature death in 1477. On this type of concession, see A. García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica hispano-americana* (Madrid, 1919), 9: p. 204. These arms to do not appear on the steps leading down to the crypt.

84. Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, 'Generación y semblanza', p. 196.

7

New Functions, New Typologies: *Inventio* in Valladolid's College of San Gregorio

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Fig. 7.1
College of San Gregorio, Valladolid (1488–1496), main courtyard.

Despite the considerable quantity of colleges built across Europe in the fifteenth century, no standard typology had been established when in the 1480s Alonso de Burgos, bishop of Palencia, decided to endow his great foundation in Valladolid, the College of San Gregorio (Fig. 7.1). Yet, as I will show, the layout of this purpose-built Dominican college differs significantly from other university buildings in late Gothic Castile. It was probably planned by the knowledgeable and experienced architect Juan Guas, who devised a new distribution of rooms based on a 'double-L' structure. Moreover, in order to meet the needs of the students and ensure the preservation of his own memory, Alonso de Burgos provided his foundation with the best artists in Castile, who lavished the college with a façade that truly celebrates *inventio*, and a magnificent decorative scheme that makes it one of the most important late Gothic buildings in Castile.

Inventio is one of the five steps needed to elaborate speech according to the art of rhetoric, a discipline that was essential to the education of every medieval student. It was a creative process which consisted in discovering (rather than creating ex *nihilo*) the most appropriate arguments in order to compose a speech that could charm, persuade or unsettle. Rhetorical notions of *inventio* may also help to understand the creative process that produced some of the architectural and sculptural novelties at the College of San Gregorio in Valladolid, a beautiful late Gothic building that now houses the Museo Nacional de Escultura.[1] Much of the *inventio* identifiable at San Gregorio stems from the fact that it represents a relatively new architectural type, the university college.

University colleges and architecture

In the fifteenth century university colleges were private educational institutions, generally founded by prelates or town councils to meet students' need for housing. Colleges enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy in selecting their own members and managing their financial affairs. The European collegiate movement is a theme of cardinal importance for the history of medieval universities: colleges became a cornerstone for university development during the late Middle Ages, not only in the well-known universities

of Paris, Oxford or Cambridge, but also in Italy, Spain and Portugal.[2] Moreover, the officers, ecclesiastical dignitaries and regents who founded these colleges regarded their foundations as charitable and pious ventures that would enshrine their memory.[3] These privileged institutions also guaranteed their members the best conditions for work and study, provided they were prepared to tolerate the highly disciplined environment.[4] In other words, colleges aimed to establish a scholarly elite.

Until the fourteenth century, students lived where they could find accommodation compatible with their means. As this posed a major problem of discipline for university authorities, they decided that the long-term solution was to house them in purpose-built colleges where a strict way of life was imposed. Whereas previously classes had taken place in cloisters or in the naves and chapels of churches or cathedrals, new and specialised teaching spaces were built, and libraries became increasingly important. Wisdom was progressively building its own house. At first, extant buildings were reused as colleges, but gradually, buildings organised around a central courtyard came to be preferred, such as those founded by Robert Sorbon in Paris (1257), Walter de Merton in Oxford (1263) or Hugo de Balsham at Peterhouse, Cambridge (1284). Over the following decades, other important colleges in France and England started to erect new buildings.

According to Michael Kiene's studies, the variety of local conditions resulted in multiple different solutions.[5] The common element to collegiate architecture across Europe was not unity of type or style but the desire to create a functional space. Prototypes in England, France and Italy appeared almost simultaneously around 1370, giving importance to scholars' lodgings, the library and, particularly after construction of the College of Spain in Bologna, classrooms. Functional challenges were met in similar ways, all aimed at separating collective and residential spaces to guarantee silence for studying.[6]

English colleges have their own special features, but even there, no model was uniformly followed. Generally, small and medium colleges were built in parts at different times, until a quadrangle—more or less square—was achieved.[7] The most significant elements were the chapel and the hall. At Merton College in Oxford—whose first quadrangle was finished in 1379—the hall was not integrated into the courtyard, but it was an integral element of the courtyard of New College in Oxford (1380-1400) and in Queen's College,

Fig. 7.2
College of San Clemente, Bologna (1367), main courtyard.

Cambridge (1448).

Colleges spread in the fourteenth century to southern European universities. The evolution of French and Italian models is closer to those in Castile than the English prototypes. In 1359, the now destroyed College of Saint Martial in Toulouse was commenced, supported by Pope Innocent VI. Its regular plan included rooms on two floors around a courtyard with galleries, and it has been considered an important antecedent of the Spanish College in Bologna.[8]

Founded by the Spanish cardinal Gil de Albornoz in 1367 and designed for Spanish and Portuguese students, the College of Spain or of San Clemente in Bologna was a key reference for later university buildings across Europe.[9] It was a new and regular building designed by Matteo Gattapone da Gubbio to meet all the needs of students. Its simple structure is organised around a central courtyard with galleries, two floors, and an axis of symmetry marked by a double-height chapel (Fig. 7.2). Scholars have not yet come to an agreement about the origin of this architectural prototype, and its innovative and functional constructive plan has been connected with monastic buildings, as well as with secular architecture such as urban palaces.[10] Recently Amadeo Serra has proposed a link between the concept of cloister developed in the charterhouses and the individual collegiate cells in Bologna.[11] In any case, the Spanish College became a symbol and reference for Castilian colleges, although its influence was more a question of concept and institutional layout than a real architectural one.

The College of San Bartolomé in Salamanca was the first in Castile to be provided with a new and specially designed building.[12] Founded in 1414 by bishop Diego de Anaya (with the same statutes as the Spanish College), it had fifteen rooms around a courtyard with two floors: a chapel and kitchen on the ground floor, a refectory and library on the first. Although the original construction does not survive, old descriptions show that the layout of this college was different from the Spanish College. In fact, the original layouts of several colleges founded at the end of the fifteenth century are closer to Salamanca than to Bologna.

The typological experimentation that took place during the first decades of the fifteenth century in France and Italy led to the creation of a model for Castilian colleges that was

Fig. 7.3
College of Santa Cruz, Valladolid (1486–1491), façade.

Fig. 7.4
Portrait of Alonso de Burgos, College of San Gregorio, detail from the façade (ca. 1499).

first imitated in Salamanca, with the new building of its *Estudio* General or University, and later in other university towns. An example can be found in the plan of the College of Santa Cruz in Valladolid, founded for twenty students by Cardinal Mendoza and built between 1486 and 1491 after the model of San Bartolomé (Fig. 7.3).[14]

The College of San Gregorio in Valladolid

The college of San Gregorio, also in the city of Valladolid, was endowed by Alonso de Burgos in 1487 (Fig. 7.4). Although Alonso's origins are unknown, the assumption that he was a converso has persisted, especially because of his closeness to the Santa María family in Burgos (which includes heraldic similarities).[15] Alonso de Burgos professed as a Dominican friar in the convent of San Pablo in Burgos, although he finished his degree in San Pablo of Valladolid where he became master and lecturer of theology. He became one of the confessors and closest collaborators of Queen Isabella when she was a princess, and he would develop an impressive career both at court, as the chief chaplain and Queen's confessor, and in the Church, as bishop of Córdoba, Cuenca and Palencia. His artistic patronage increased as his career progressed, as can be seen in Cuenca and Palencia.[16] His heraldic emblem, the fleur-de-lis, populates keystones and triforium balconies, recording his generous gifts and reforms (Fig. 7.5).[17] He nonetheless elected burial in a foundation related to the Dominican Order, the College of San Gregorio in Valladolid.

Alonso's choice of Valladolid was not casual. This Castilian city had continued to grow in importance since the beginning of the thirteenth century.[18] Thanks to its central and strategic position between Burgos, León, Segovia and Toledo (among other

Fig. 7.5
Alonso de Burgos' coat of arms, College of San Gregorio, detail from the façade (ca. 1499).

reasons), it was frequently visited by members of the royal family, and was the target of important endowments from the most prominent religious orders.[19] All these elements motivated the frequent presence of the court, which contributed to the development of an aristocratic neighbourhood close to the Plaza de San Pablo and to the installation of the Royal Chancery in the Vivero Palace in 1485.[20]

These circumstances propelled the development of the University of Valladolid, which was first established in the thirteenth century, largely to satisfy the need for administrators for the court and lawyers for the chancery.[21] New university buildings (demolished in 1909) were built there in the last decades of the fifteenth century, and the Colleges of Santa Cruz and San Gregorio became the first university colleges in the city.[22] The foundation of these colleges belongs to a wider political project initiated by the Catholic Monarchs in the effort to control key institutions with close allies educated in their ideals and goals. The endowment of these colleges thus implied a decrease in both power and autonomy for the university.

The origins of San Gregorio go back to 1486, when the Dominican convent of San Pablo donated the land as an expression of gratitude for the 'many honours and favours they had received from the most illustrious lord Dr Alonso de Burgos', and for Alonso's financial support for the convent's refurbishment.[23] The College of San Gregorio did not have the category of a *studium* of the mendicant order; it was a university college devoted to Theology.[24] In the statutes drafted by Alonso de Burgos in 1499, he stated that his aim was to improve the clergy's learning by encouraging wisdom, preaching ability, and knowledge of the Scriptures in those with a natural talent for studying but a lack of economic resources.[25] To be eligible to study at San Gregorio, friars had to be aged

between nineteen and twenty-eight and have prior knowledge of grammar, logic, arts and theology, enabling them to follow lectures in theology, logic, and natural and moral philosophy. The statutes also describe parts of the building that have not survived such as the infirmary, lavatories, well and vegetable garden.

Thanks to political support in Rome provided by the monarchs, Alonso was able to obtain a papal bull confirming the foundation of a university college for sixteen (ultimately twenty) Dominican observant friars.[26] Work on the chapel started in 1487, and construction of the college began in 1488.[27] We can assume that it was carefully planned from the start. The college was in use by 1496, although some works were still in progress after the death of Alonso de Burgos in 1499.

It is very likely that the college was designed by Juan Guas, who was master of royal works and is documented as working in the chapel in 1488, together with Juan de Talavera.[28] As I argue below, the college must have been planned by a knowledgeable and experienced architect who was able to devise an ingenious variation on the distribution of rooms—someone like Juan Guas, with a considerable degree of inventio. Alonso de Burgos also hired many other leading artists for this project: Gil de Siloe created the altarpiece in the college chapel together with Diego de la Cruz, while Simón de Colonia built the sacristy, Alonso's funerary monument, and the chapel's internal façade.[29]

The absence of documentation concerning construction, and the college's uncertain position between Gothic and Renaissance, probably explain the relative scholarly neglect of San Gregorio. It has traditionally been understood as an example of the Gothic tradition, whereas similar and closely contemporary buildings such as Santa Cruz were identified with the 'revolution' represented by the Renaissance (Fig. 7.6).[30] With no obviously Italianate features, San Gregorio was described by early twentieth-century scholars as 'decadent' or 'motley'.[31] However, analysis of the Dominican foundation reveals that it can claim a number of innovations, especially in terms of its architectural layout. Its decoration shows the impact of new artistic vocabularies brought by architects and artists from northern Europe, who had recently established workshops in Castile, especially in Burgos and Toledo, and created decorative schemes with an unprecedented richness that did not go unnoticed (Fig. 7.7). Contrary to the judgement of twentieth-

Fig. 7.6a. College of San Gregorio, main courtyard (above).

Fig. 7.6b. College of Santa Cruz, main courtyard (below).

Fig. 7.7
College of San Gregorio, façade (detail) (ca. 1499).

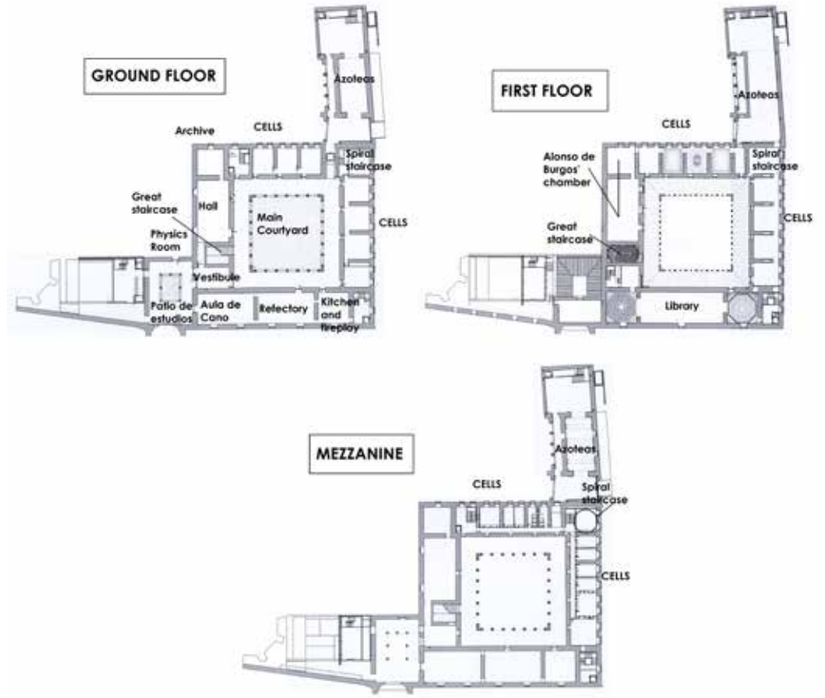

Fig. 7.8
College of San Gregorio, ground floor, mezzanine and first floor. Notes from the author over plans from Nieto Sobejano Arquitectos published in http://arqa.com/arquitectura/internacional/ampliacion-del-museo-nacional-de-escultura-de-valladolid-espana.html.

century historians, this creative atmosphere was far from the cliché of decadence and exhaustion that was traditionally linked to the Spanish Flamboyant Gothic style.[32]

In fact, if we turn to sixteenth-century travellers' accounts, the Italian elements incorporated into certain buildings as an erudite form of quotation—as boasted for Santa Cruz by some historians—were not seen as something novel, but as a point of continuity in the development of a local and eclectic tradition.[33] What is more, some of those who travelled to Valladolid gave similar descriptions for both colleges. For example, in 1517, Laurent Vital—a member of the party of Charles V—praised San Gregorio for its beauty and resemblance to the 'tall and bright' buildings of Flanders, making no equivalent comment about the Italianate features of Santa Cruz although he praised the latter's library for being finer and richer than San Gregorio's.[34]

The layout of this purpose-built Dominican college differs significantly from other university buildings in late medieval Castile (Fig. 7.8). This is partly due to the fact that the college chapel, which was also the bishop's funerary chapel, lies outside the courtyard and is connected to the church of San Pablo. However, its main novelty is in the layout of the buildings around the courtyard, which, as we will see, represents *inventio* in response to the building's functions and patron's brief.

The façade of the College of San Gregorio leads to the Patio de Estudios, one of the courtyards around which the quarters are arranged (Fig. 7.9). The statutes of 1499 distinguish two areas: the *escuela* or 'school', articulated by the Patio de Estudios; and the *colegio* or 'college', by the main courtyard, where the residential quarters were located. In the *escuela* there were two big lecture rooms with gilded and decorated wooden ceilings, although only the Aula de Cano (a lecture theatre) remains. This small courtyard in turn gave access to the corridor that connected this area with the chapel, a lower hall and the chaplains' chambers. This distinction between the teaching area and the lodgings was

Fig. 7.9
College of San Gregorio, Patio de Estudios.

unparalleled in other university colleges, notably the Spanish College in Bologna or Santa Cruz in Valladolid.

The most striking aspect of this layout is the ground plan of the main courtyard and its remarkable distribution of spaces, functions, and levels.[35] Superficially it seems homogeneous, with four galleries around a square courtyard, famous for its characteristic twisted columns and decorated first floor. However, the courtyard contains a double-L structure that is quite different from what was usual in contemporary secular and religious buildings. The rooms in the southeastern and southwestern sides of the ground floor are high and have richly ornamented entrances. They include the archive, the assembly hall, the Aula de Cano with access from the Patio de Estudios, the refectory, the kitchen and the fireplace. Given that these two sides of the courtyard are widest, it follows that they were

Fig. 7.10
College of San Gregorio, interior of the Assembly Hall (1488–1496).

Fig. 7.11
College of San Gregorio, entrance to Alonso de Burgos' chamber (1488–1496).

the most important.[36] They were also embellished with beautiful wooden ceilings (Fig. 7.10).

A great staircase was located between these monumental spaces, providing access to the first floor. As on the ground floor, both the southeastern and southwestern sides house the most important rooms, notably the magnificent library (which was already commonly located on the upper floor in other convents and colleges) and a room whose tripartite distribution brings to mind a monastic chapter house (Fig. 7.11). José Ignacio Hernández Redondo has recently made the convincing suggestion that these were Alonso de Burgos's private chambers.[37]

Fig.7.12
College of San Gregorio, window and doors from the spiral staircase (1488–1496).

Fig. 7.13
College of San Gregorio, main courtyard (1488–1496).

In contrast to the two-floor arrangement of the southeastern and southwestern sides of the courtyard, the other two sides have three storeys: the ground floor, mezzanine and first floor. They housed the chambers of the students, rector and lecturers, all behind humbly but individually decorated doors. There were twenty-four cells with a study and a bedroom in each one, although the original arrangement of the cells, especially in the mezzanine, is still unknown. Obliquely placed doors and windows in one corner reveal the existence of a now missing spiral staircase, which gave access to this residential area (Fig. 7.12). The use of these oblique elements was an architectural boast (indeed, it may be one of the first examples in Castile), which implies not only the designer's knowledge of recent architectural innovations in Valencia, but also his desire to make an erudite quotation referring to the *fenestras obliquas* of Solomon's Palace (1 Kings 6:4), together with the torch columns and the simulated textiles of the main courtyard (Fig. 7.13).[38]

Fig. 7.14
College of San Gregorio, main staircase (1488–1496).

The main staircase is therefore located in the area of greater importance, with access from the main courtyard, and beside the vestibule that connects both courtyards.[39] It constitutes a magnificent space, the sole entrance to the main floor, where the most important rooms were

Fig. 7.15
College of San Gregorio, first floor of the main courtyard (detail) (1488–1496).

located. It was conceived as a place of representation which invited recreation, reflected refinement, and flaunted the patron's social power (Fig. 7.14). But its relationship to the building typology and distribution of rooms has not always been understood. Although the emergence of a first floor in monastic cloisters has been interpreted as a response to the change from common dormitories to individual cells brought on by the mendicants, they did not generate substantial staircases before the sixteenth century. In secular architecture, however, the notion of *planta noble* (piano nobile) led to the development of monumental staircases in French palaces, a structure that soon spread to other regions.[40] Through the course of the fifteenth century, the palaces of the Castilian nobility increasingly incorporated large and regular courtyards, with ceremonial chambers and galleries on the first floor, as at the Casa del Cordón (Burgos) or Cogolludo Palace (Guadalajara), and suitably grand staircases leading up to them.

San Gregorio was neither a monastic nor a domestic building. Thanks to the three-storey arrangement, the residential cells could be incorporated in one of the 'L's described above, leaving the remaining areas available for public spaces, including the staircase. This arrangement was similar to that developed contemporaneously in such noble palaces and castles as Manzanares el Real, el Infantado in Guadalajara and la Casa del Cordón in Burgos. Indeed, the residential area might be best compared with the efficient use of space in conventual architecture, whereas ceremonial areas more closely recall palaces.[41]

Hernández Redondo's idea that the bishop's chamber at San Gregorio was located on the first floor, linked to the library and near the staircase, would justify the palatial nature of the first floor. The entrance to the chamber is formed by a very ornate door between late Gothic windows, making this space stand out from the rest of the building (Fig. 7.11). The bishop's room would be located in the west corner, connected to the rest of the chamber and built over the archive room, which is covered with a stone vault. The layout and decorative richness of the first floor, dominated by the fleur-de-lis, further suggests that this room could have been used mainly as Alonso de Burgos' chambers (Fig. 7.15). The structure of these chambers—with a large hall and smaller, more private *retrete*—recalls a number of palaces in Castile and Navarre, and ultimately their French models.[42]

Alonso de Burgos, who moved to Valladolid and even lived in the college, played an

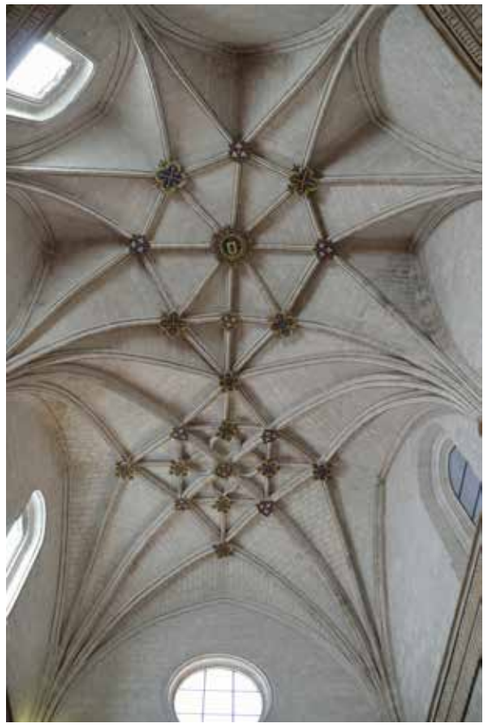

Fig. 7.16
College of San Gregorio, vaults covering the chapel (1488–1496).

active role in its construction.[43] One of the few surviving documents pertaining to San Gregorio is a protest from the bishop against the masons before the Royal Council: asking for an inspection of the works by other masons, Alonso de Burgos claimed that 'the works in the chapel are bad and false, there are many holes and cracks; the chapel has so many flaws that it is in danger'.[44] The most striking feature of the chapel, built by Juan Guas and Juan de Talavera from 1487 to 1490, is perhaps the aisleless nave, covered by an innovative ribbed vault. Here, on the vault, the ribs of the western bay create a pattern of rotating squares, whilst the masonry is set concentrically in the vault webs of the unusual and irregular septagonal eastern bay (Fig. 7.16).[45] The keystones of the vault are decorated with the heraldry of the bishop and of the Dominican order, and an inscription covers the walls.[46] Besides the magnificent altarpiece by Diego de Siloe and Diego de la Cruz,[47] the greatest innovation in the chapel was, in all likelihood, the now missing funerary monument of Alonso de Burgos, carved by Simón de Colonia, who also designed the façade of the chapel that faces San Pablo.

The choice of funerary monument was one of the most important decisions made by princes, nobles and prelates, who sought materials, designs and artists of the highest quality.[48] Described in the sixteenth century by Antoine de Lalaing and Laurent Vital, the funerary monument of Alonso de Burgos was unique in Castile.[49] Made of alabaster (the stone of choice for elite tombs) and with an unusual design comparable to the ensemble of Miraflores, it consisted of a seven-metre tall monument featuring a portrait of Alonso behind a pulpit, in the act of preaching.[50] Even more striking is the identity of his listeners, all shown seated: the Catholic Monarchs, Prince Juan with Margaret of Austria, and the rest of their daughters (presumably Juana, María and Catalina), together with other important aristocrats. Bishop Alonso thus employed the greatest artists in the kingdom to create an extraordinary chapel that would perpetuate his memory by asserting his magnificence, drawing on an Aristotelian concept that was a common mark of power, ethics and virtue in fifteenth-century Castile.[51]

The façade of the college was the last part to be finished, and has also aroused most scholarly interest due to its profuse decoration, complex iconographic interpretations, and the difficulty of attributing it to particular artists (Fig. 7.17).[52] It has generally been attributed to Gil de Siloe on account of its vegetal imagery which is similar to other works of vegetal microarchitecture that this artist developed in Burgos. Vegetal forms play a leading role in the façade, composed as an altarpiece in three storeys, and dominated by a huge royal coat of arms over a pomegranate tree emerging from a fountain (Fig. 7.18). It appears to have been conceived as an emblem, where characters such as wild men or soldiers stand together with more predictable figures, such as the founder (as donor) along with saints Gregory, Paul, and Dominic.

[left] Fig. 7.17
College of San Gregorio, façade (ca. 1499).

[right] Fig. 7.18
College of San Gregorio, façade (detail) (ca. 1499).

In my opinion, it is possible to identify a consistent and coherent iconographic programme in the portal that relates to the function of the building behind it, and that spells out a specific programme related to science, the acquisition of knowledge and virtue, constructed from literary metaphors, popular culture and visual models.[53] This programme, which I have explored elsewhere, must have been devised by Gil de Siloe—drawing on his experience of designing altarpieces in Burgos—with advice from a learned Dominican.[54] It would have been a creative process that established a new iconography of wisdom, appropriate to San Gregorio's function as a temple of knowledge, and equivalent to the great sculpted façades of cathedrals and collegiate churches. It was the very first time in Castile that such a façade was created for a building other than a church, and, like a fine speech, it was intended

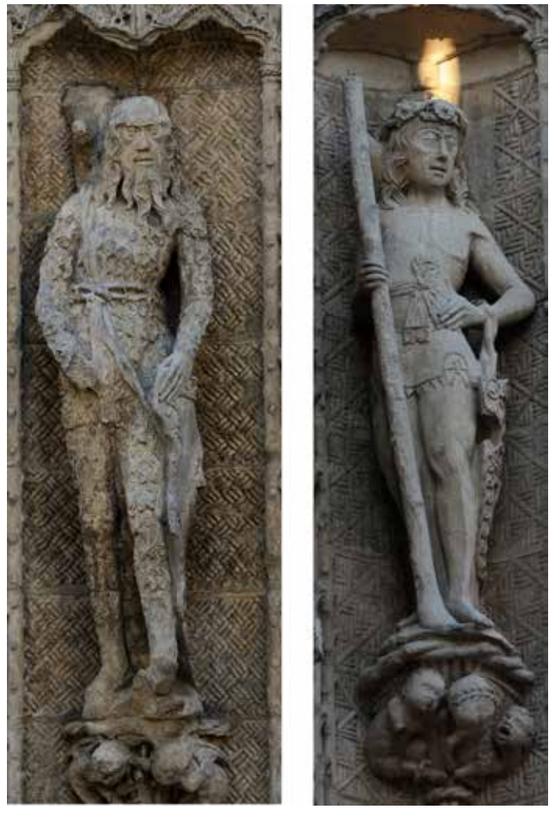

Fig. 7.19
College of San Gregorio, wild men from the façade (ca. 1499).

Fig. 7.20
College of San Gregorio, ornamental details (1488–1496).

to charm, persuade and unsettle those that gazed upon it (Fig. 7.19). The choice of the topics and the multiple levels at which it can be read—its *dispositio*—correspond with the characteristics of a persuasive speech according to traditional rhetorical theory. Whoever designed the façade drew on both popular and high literary culture in order to create a façade that would communicate to different viewers, signalling the existence behind it of a building dedicated to knowledge.

As for the choice of architecture, in the period around 1500 this style was not only the preference of the majority of European elites but was also one where new forms and design strategies were employed.[55] The imaginative and novel use of ornament was as important for architects as the revision of spatial properties and structural challenges. The scholarly inattention suffered by such buildings stems in part from a long-standing dismissal of ornament and from prejudices against rich decoration as a symptom of decadence and decline.[56] From Paris to Vienna, Prague, Nuremberg, Strasbourg or Düsseldorf, these kinds of ornamental patterns—where microarchitecture achieved a great prominence—mark a resistance to Italian forms that were already known thanks to the circulation of prints and portable objects.

We might say that the decorative idiom of the College of San Gregorio, always described as 'opulent' and deeply rooted in the Gothic tradition, belongs to the much wider European phenomenon of *Astwerk* or 'branches-work', the Iberian reception of which remains largely unstudied.[57] The whole college abounds with vegetal imagery, from the courtyard to the façade, with angels, textile strips, pomegranates, pearls and fleurs-de-lis, all covering the stone like a tapestry (Fig. 7.20). Indeed, the choice of this architectural and ornamental style, closely connected with French and German designs, could be said to make San Gregorio a more original or distinct building than the markedly Italianate College of Santa Cruz, also in Valladolid.

San Gregorio was arguably Alonso de Burgos's greatest artistic commission,

notwithstanding his patronage at Palencia Cathedral, or even at the convent of San Pablo in Valladolid. The fact that he did not come from a high noble family suggests, perhaps, that the heraldic exuberance of San Gregorio was a form of assertiveness in the sole place where the preservation of Alonso's memory was guaranteed. He also sought to maintain his memory by means of portraits, at least of four of which were located in the confined perimeter of the college.[58] Magnificence was of a great importance in this endowment. It represents a new attitude towards the arts associated with the virtues of nobility, transforming architecture into the material expression of the founder's splendour.[59] Inventio was central to that expression, both in the design of the courtyards and in the overtly rhetorical message of the façade.

1. The building was the main subject of my PhD Dissertation, 'Alonso de Burgos y el Colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid: saber y magnificencia en el tardogótico castellano', supervised by Javier Martínez de Aguirre and finished in April 2018 at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

2. Alan B. Cobban, 'The Role of Colleges in the Medieval Universities of Northern Europe, with Special Reference to England and France', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 71 (1989): p. 50.

3. A. Gabriel, 'Motivation of the Founders at Mediaeval Colleges', *Beiträge zum Berufsbewusstein des Mittelalterlichen Menschen* 3 (1964): p. 61.

4. Jacques Verger, 'Patterns', in Walter Rüegg (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe, vol. 1, Universities in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: University Press, 1992), p. 60.

5. Michael Kiene, 'L'università nelle città europee', in G. P. Brizzi and Jacques Verger, *Le Università dell'Europa dal Rinascimento alle riforme religiose* (Milan: Silvana, 1993), p. 32.

6. The topic of university colleges as an architectural typology around Europe has been studied by several authors. See Nikolas Pevsner, 'Universities Yesterday', *Architectural Review* 122 (1957): pp. 235-9; Konrad Rückbrod, *Universität und Kollegium. Baugeschichte und Bautyp* (Darmstadt: Brepols, 1977); Michael Kiene, 'Die Grundlagen der europäischen Universitätsbaukunst', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 46 (1983): pp. 63-114; 'Die Bautätigkeit in den italienischen Universitäten von der Mitte der Trecento bis zur Mitte des Quattrocento', *Mitteilungen der Kunsthistorischen Institut in Florenz* 30 (1986): pp. 433-92 and 'Colleges, 'Palaces of Wisdom' and University Buildings in Europe before 1500', in A. Savini (ed.), *Collegiate Learning in the Middle Ages and Beyond* (Pavia: Monduzzi Editoriale, 2012), pp. 57-68; Felipe Pereda, 'El estudio y el problema de la tipología del colegio universitario', *La arquitectura elocuente. El edificio de la Universidad de Salamanca bajo el reinado de Carlos V* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000), pp. 17-75; Rui Lobo, 'Urbanismo y arquitectura universitarios en la Península Ibérica. Algunos apuntes', in Luis Rodríguez-San Pedro and José Luis Polo Rodríguez (eds.), *Imagen, contextos morfológicos y universidades. Miscelánea Alfonso IX*, 2012 (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2013), pp. 39-68.

7. Robert Willis, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: University Press, 1988); Robin Darwal, 'The Medieval Buildings of University College, Oxford', *Oxoniensia* 70 (2005): pp. 9-26.

8. Kiene, 'L'Università', p. 27.

9. See, amongst others, Michael Kiene, 'L'architettura del Colegio di Spagna di Bologna: organizzazione dello spazio e influssi sull'edilizia universitaria europea', *Il Carrobbio* 9 (1983): pp. 234-42; Ignacio González-Varas, *Dietro il muro del Collegio di Spagna* (Bologna: Clueb, 1998); Amadeo Serra, *Matteo Gattapone, arquitecto del Colegio de España* (Bologna and Zaragoza: Publicaciones del Real Colegio de España, 1992); Amadeo Serra, 'El Colegio de España en Bolonia y la arquitectura universitaria del primer Renacimiento en Italia y España', in *España y Bolonia: siete siglos de relaciones artísticas y culturales* (Madrid: Fundación Carolina, 2006); Amadeo Serra, 'Bolonia y la definición de un tipo en la arquitectura universitaria europea', in Luis Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares and Juan Luis Polo Rodríguez (eds.), *Imagen, contextos morfológicos y universidades* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2013), pp. 19-38.

10. Konrad Rückbrod, *Universität und Kollegium. Baugeschichte und Bautyp* (Darmstadt: Brepols, 1977), p. 27; J. Winckelmann, 'Universitá e Collegi. Sviluppo e modelli architettonici. Nota su un recente libro', in Emilio Verdera y Tuells (ed.), *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España* (Bologna and Zaragoza: Cometa, 1979), p. 37; Gottfried Kerscher, 'Palazzi prerinascimentali: la rocca di Spoleto e il Collegio di Spagna a Bologna. Architettura del cardinale Aegidius Albornoz', *Annali di architettura* 3 (1991): pp. 14-25.

11. Serra, 'El Colegio de España en Bolonia', pp. 22; 29.

12. Pereda, 'El estudio y el problema', pp. 27-31; Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, 'Noticias documentales sobre el Colegio de San Bartolomé de Salamanca', *Archivo Español de Arte* 302 (2003): pp. 187-205; Nieves Rupérez, *El colegio de San Bartolomé o de Anaya* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2003); Nieves Rupérez, 'El Colegio de San Bartolomé antes de las reformas del siglo XVIII', in Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares and Polo Rodríguez, *Imagen, contextos morfológicos y universidades* (Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 2013), pp.159-210.

13. These ideas have been developed by Felipe Pereda. See L*a arquitectura elocuente. El edificio de la Universidad de Salamanca bajo el reinado de Carlos V* (Madrid, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000), p.44.

14. This building has been recently studied by Rui Lobo, although it requires a detailed and an up-to-date analysis. See Luis Cervera Vera, *Arquitectura del Colegio Mayor de Santa Cruz de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1982); Salvador Andrés Ordax y José Rivera Blanco (eds.), *La introducción del Renacimiento en España. El Colegio de Santa Cruz* (1491-1991) (Valladolid: Instituto Español de Arquitectura – Universidad de Valladolid, 1992); Miguel Ángel Zalama, 'Arquitectura y estilo en la época de los Reyes Católicos', in *La magnificencia de un reinado. Catálogo de Exposición* (Salamanca: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), pp. 127-40; Salvador Andrés Ordax, *El Colegio de Santa Cruz de Valladolid. Más de quinientos años de historia* (Valladolid: Diputación y Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 2015); Rui Lobo, 'El primitivo edificio del Colegio Mayor de Santa Cruz de Valladolid y la consolidación del tipo colegial castellano, *Goya: Revista de arte* 352 (2015): pp. 192-207.

15. Pablo de Santamaría (formerly Solomon Ha-Levi) and his son Alonso de Cartagena (both of whom were bishops of Burgos) were all members of an extended converso family, most of whom bore the names Santamaria or Maluenda. All shared the same heraldic emblem: a single fleur-de-lis, representing the Virgin, which Pablo (the initial convert in the family) presumably chose to relate to his adopted Christian name. For more information on Alonso de Burgos, see Diana Olivares Martínez and Gema Palomo Fernández, 'Escudos con flor de lis o la huella de un prelado promotor: Alonso de Burgos, obispo de Cuenca (1482-1485)', *Lope de Barrientos. Seminario de cultura* 6 (2013): pp. 93-124; Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, 'Fray Alonso de Burgos. Un prelado al servicio de la monarquía castellana en la segunda mitad del siglo XV', in H. Vasconcelos and M. J. Branco (eds.), *Ecclesiastics and political state building in the Iberian monarchies, 13th-15th centuries* (Coimbra: Publicaçoes do Cidehus, 2016), pp. 147-82.

16. The relationshop between Alonso de Burgos's patronage and income has been studied in Diana Olivares Martínez, 'Los Reyes Católicos y la financiación de las empresas arquitectónicas de Alonso de Burgos', in María Dolores Teijeira et al. (eds.), *Reyes y Prelados. La creación artística en los reinos de León y Castilla (1050-1500)* (Madrid: Sílex, 2014), pp. 417-35.

17. Fleurs-de-lis can be found in the keystone of the transept vault in the cathedral of Palencia, as well as in the dismantled balcony from the triforium in the cathedral of Cuenca, among other locations.

18. Julio Valdeón, 'Valladolid de Villa a Ciudad', in *Valladolid. Historia de una ciudad*, vol. 1, *La ciudad y el arte. Valladolid Villa (época medieval)* (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 1999), pp. 181-92.

19. Adeline Rucquoi, *Valladolid en la Edad Media*, vol. 2, *El mundo abreviado (1367-1474)* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1987), pp. 519-24; Pascual Martínez Sopena, 'La capital del rigor. Valladolid y los movimientos observantes del siglo XV', in Javier Burrieza (ed.), *La ciudad del Regalado* (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 2004), p. 39.

20. María Antonia Varona, *La Chancillería de Valladolid en el reinado de los Reyes Católicos* (Valladolid: Universidad, 1981); Jesús Urrea, *La plaza de San Pablo: escenario de la Corte* (Valladolid, Diputación de Valladolid, 2003).

21. Elena Sánchez Movellán, 'La Universidad Medieval', in José María Palomares (ed.), *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1989), 1: pp. 25-72.

22. Amalia Prieto Cantero, 'El antiguo edificio de la Universidad', in *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid,* 2: pp. 645-8; María José Redondo Cantera, *Una casa para la sabiduría. El edificio histórico de la Universidad de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2002).

23. *Libro Becerro del colegio dominico de San Gregorio de Valladolid*, códices, libro 1260, fol. 263, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (henceforth AHN). The donation became effective from 9 January 1487. See Clero secular-regular, legajo 7872, AHN.

24. Traditionally, the Dominican friars studied at the universities of Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, but during the fifteenth century, students elected to study across Europe. The Western Schism forced the Observant friars to register in universities other than Paris, such as the Bologna Theology Faculty. With the Hundred Years' War, however, Spanish and Portuguese students were granted permission to register at Valladolid University, where theology was taught from 1418. See Santiago Aguadé, 'Las universidades y la formación intelectual del clero castellano en la Edad Media', in *Universidad, cultura y sociedad en la Edad Media* (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad, 1994), p. 192.

25. The statutes (Clero secular-regular, carpeta 3500/5, pos. 3125, AHN) have been transcribed and studied in Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, 'Alonso de Burgos y la fundación y primeros estatutos del colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid. La regulación de la vida religiosa y académica de los dominicos observantes en la Castilla del siglo XV', *Cuadernos de historia del derecho* 23 (2016), pp. 41-100.

26. The bull was granted by Pope Innocent VIII on 15 December 1487 and is transcribed in Gonzalo de Arriaga, *Historia del Colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Tipografía Cuesta, 1928), 1: pp. 68-9. See R. J. Clemente y B. Hidalgo, 'Colección diplomática del Archivo Histórico Dominicano de la Provincia de España, *Archivo Dominicano. Anuario* 34 (2013), p. 97n25.

27. The chapel's construction is recorded in an inscription. See Francisco Javier Molina de la Torre, 'Los estudios epigráficos desde la teoría de la comunicación: el friso de la capilla del Colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid', *Documenta & Instrumenta* 11(2013): pp. 141-70.

28. Registro General del Sello, legajo 148812,131. 1488, 12, 4, Archivo General de Simancas. See Esteban García Chico, 'Juan Guas y la capilla del Colegio de San Gregorio', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 16 (1949-1950): pp. 200-1; María López Díez, *Los Trastámara en Segovia. Juan Guas, maestro de obras reales* (Segovia: Caja Segovia, 2006).

29. *Libro Becerro del colegio dominico de San Gregorio de Valladolid*, Códices, L.1260, fols. 263-4, AHN; Anton Mayer, 'El escultor Gil de Siloe', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 31 (1923): pp. 252-7; Filemón Arribas, 'Simón de Colonia en Valladolid', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 5 (1933-1934): pp. 153-66; Manuel Gómez-Moreno, 'A propósito de Simón de Colonia en Valladolid', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 30 (1934): pp. 181-4; Isabel Fuentes Rebollo, 'El maestro Simón de Colonia en San Pablo y San Gregorio (Nueva lectura documental)', *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Escultura* 3 (1998-1999): pp. 7-10.

30. See Zalama, 'Arquitectura y estilo'.

31. Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Arquitectura Civil Española de los siglos I al XVIII,* vol. 2, *Arquitectura pública* (Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1922), p. 156; Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Las águilas del Renacimiento español: Bartolomé Ordoñez, Diego Siloé, Pedro Machuca, Alonso Berruguete* (Madrid: Xarait, 1941), p. 185. For the historiography, see Diana Olivares Martínez, '"Del más abigarrado y barroco estilo Isabel". La historiografía como condicionante para el estudio del tardogótico hispano: el colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid', in Fernando Grilo et al. (eds.), *Da traça à edificaçao: a arquitetura dos sèculos XV e XVI em Portugal e na Europa* (forthcoming).

32. See especially Begoña Alonso Ruiz, *Arquitectura Tardogótica en Castilla: los Rasines* (Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 2003); Alonso, 'Los tiempos y los nombres del tardogótico castellano', in *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana entre Europa y América* (Madrid: Sílex, 2011), pp. 43-80.

33. Zalama, 'Arquitectura y estilo', p. 139.

34. José García Mercadal, *Viajes de Extranjeros por España y Portugal. Desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XX* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León – Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1999), 1: p. 672.

35. I have studied this in relation to the main staircase in more detail. See Diana Olivares Martínez, 'La escalera del colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid, espacio y representación', in *Sevilla*, 1514: *arquitectos tardogóticos en la encrucijada* (Seville: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2016), pp. 369-81.

36. The southeast and southwest sides are wider than the northeast and northwest ones, giving clear proof of the different importance given to each area. For instance, the southwest side measures 10.6 metres in width whereas the northwest is 9.8 metres.

37. José Ignacio Hernández Redondo, 'El Colegio de San Gregorio, fundación de fray Alonso de Burgos: reflexiones y propuestas', in *Conocer Valladolid* (Valladolid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de la Purísima Concepción, 2014), p. 101.

38. Based on Arturo Zaragozá, 'Inspiración bíblica y presencia de la Antigüedad en el episodio tardogótico valenciano', in *Historia de la Ciudad*, vol. 2, *Territorio, sociedad y Patrimonio: una visión arquitectónica de la historia de la ciudad de Valencia* (Valencia: Colegio de Arquitectos, 2002), pp. 165-83. I have explored this more deeply in '*Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum*: el Colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid y el imaginario salomónico', in Alexandra Uscatescu and Irene González (eds.), *En busca del saber: arte y ciencia en el Mediterráneo medieval* (Madrid: Ediciones Complutense, 2018), pp. 367-79.

39. See Diana Olivares Martínez, 'La escalera del colegio'.

40. Jean Guillaume, 'Genèse de l'escalier moderne', in Jean Guillaume (ed.), *L'Escalier dans l'architecture de la Renaissance* (Paris: Picard, 1985), p. 10.

41. The idea of specialization in fifteenth-century Castilian palaces has been developed by Elena Paulino Montero. See especially 'El Alcázar de Medina de Pomar y la Casa del Cordón. La creación de un palacio especializado nobiliario, en *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23 (2013): pp. 521-36.

42. For Castilian examples, see the Casa del Cordón and the so-called Felipe el Hermoso rooms; the 'retrait' had been used in the palaces of Olite and Pamplona in Navarre since the fourteenth century. See Paulino Montero, 'El Alcázar de Medina de Pomar', p.553; Javier Martínez de Aguirre, 'Lancelot en Olite: paradigmas arquitectónicos y referentes literarios en los palacios de Carlos III de Navarra (1387-1425)', *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23, número extraordinario 2 (2013): pp. 191-218.

43. In his will he refers to the sale of the houses where he had lived before his move to the college. See Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, 'El testamento del obispo Alonso de Burgos: religiosidad, construcción de la memoria y preeminencia eclesiástica en Castilla a fines del siglo XV', *Estudios de historia de España* 10 (2017): p. 134.

44. Registro General del Sello, legajo 148812,131. 1488, 12, 4, Archivo General de Simancas. García Chico, 'Juan Guas y la capilla', p. 201.

45. Juan Guas also set masonry concentrically in the vaults of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo.

46. See note 27 above.

47. The altarpiece was made of walnut and included 'twenty-two stories and effigies of saints'. Its cost was comparable to Luis de Acuña's altarpiece in Burgos Cathedral. See Códices, L.1260, fols. 263-4, AHN.

48. Milena Bartlova, '*In memoriam defunctorum*: visual arts as devices of memory', in L. Dolezalová (ed.), *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 473-86.

49. García Mercadal, *Viajes de Extranjeros*, pp. 423 and 674.

50. See Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 194.

51. C. Stephen Jaeger (ed.), *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics. Art, Architecture, Music* (New York: Pallgrave Macmillan, 2010); Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 'La nobleza en la ciudad: *Arquitectura y Magnificencia a finales de la Edad Media', Studia Historica. Historia Moderna* 34 (2012): pp. 215-51.

52. See especially María Lozano de Vilatela, 'Simbolismo de la portada de San Gregorio de Valladolid', *Traza y Baza* 4 (1974): pp. 7-15; Clementina Julia Ara Gil, 'Las fachadas de San Gregorio y San Pablo de Valladolid en el contexto de la arquitectura europea', *Actas del Coloquio La arquitectura gótica en España* (Göttingen: Vervuert, 1999) pp. 317-34; Felipe Pereda, 'The Shelter of the Savage: From Valladolid to the New World', *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010): pp. 268-359.

53. For the notion of a 'programme', see B. Boerner, 'Sculptural Programs', in Conrad Rudolph (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Art* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 557-76; Michel Pastoreau, 'Programme. Histoire d'un mot, histoire d'un concept', in Jean-Marie Guillouët and Claudia Rabel (eds.), *Le Programme. Une notion pertinente en histoire de l'art médiéval?* (Paris: Le léopard d'Or, 2011), pp. 15-25.

54. I give a fuller account of the iconography in my doctoral dissertation which I hope to publish shortly.

55. Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, p. 4.

56. Ethan Matt Kavaler, 'Renaissance Gothic: Pictures of Geometry and Narratives of Ornament', *Art History* 29 (2006): p. 4.

57. See Pereda, 'The Shelter', p. 269.

58. On the façade, the altarpiece of the chapel, the tomb monument, and the door which linked the chapel to the church of San Pablo, as well as on the façade of San Pablo.

59. Alonso Ruiz, 'La nobleza en la ciudad', p. 216.

8

Imitating a Model, Establishing an Identity: Copying San Juan de los Reyes at San Andrés, Toledo[1]

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Fig. 8.1
Church of San Andrés, Toledo, interior looking east towards the Epiphany Chapel (church constructed in the second half of the twelfth century; nave reconstructed 1630–7. Epiphany Chapel established 1503, probably built in the 1510s).

In 1957 the eminent art historian José María de Azcárate published an article dedicated to the master mason Antón Egas (doc. 1475–ca. 1531). Azcárate's reconstruction of Antón Egas's life and works briefly considers the Epiphany Chapel in the presbytery of San Andrés, a parish church in Toledo (Fig. 8.1), and the Franciscan convent of Santa María de Jesús in Torrijos, destroyed in the nineteenth century.[2] While both buildings are scarcely documented, Azcárate attributes them to Antón Egas on the basis of their visible or documented similarity to San Juan de los Reyes (Fig. 8.2), the Toledan convent established by the Spanish monarchs Isabella and Ferdinand shortly after the battle of Toro (1476), a decisive event in the War of Succession that eventually confirmed Isabella's accession to the throne of Castile.[3]

Fig. 8.2
Convent of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, interior looking east (convent established in 1477, church completed ca. 1503).

Initially overseen by the administrator (*mayordomo*) Mendo de Jahén, the master mason Juan Guas, and his long-time collaborator Egas Cueman, the construction of the convent—especially the cloisters and the church's east end and crossing dome—was completed by Cueman's sons Enrique and Antón Egas after Guas's death in 1496.[4] Built by some of

the leading architects of the late fifteenth century, and conceived in thanks for the victory at Toro, San Juan de los Reyes was charged with great political and religious significance from its inception. It was dedicated to Isabella's patron saint, John the Evangelist, and inhabited by the Observant Franciscan order, which played a role in the Catholic Monarchs' attempts to achieve religious reform.[5] San Juan de los Reyes was also initially conceived as a pantheon for the royal couple, a function transferred to the Capilla Real in Granada after the conquest of the city in 1492.[6] During the war that preceded this conquest, the Monarchs decorated the exterior of the convent with the chains of liberated Christian prisoners, turning it into a monument to their military success.[7] As David Nogales has recently suggested, the celebration and memorialisation of the convent's royal founders was further articulated in the conventual library, richly endowed with panegyrics and other political and historical texts favourable to the royal couple.[8]

Fig. 8.3
Church of San Andrés, Toledo (church constructed in the second half of the twelfth century; bell tower completed 1759).

Given the list of outstanding craftsmen employed in the construction of San Juan de los Reyes and the strength of the Catholic Monarchs' personal involvement in its establishment and endowment, it is perhaps not surprising that the convent, and its church in particular, should have served as architectural model for other sites. In their evident imitation of San Juan de los Reyes, Santa María de Jesús and the Epiphany Chapel can thus be considered as particularly remarkable examples of a wider phenomenon, one which has so far received only scant scholarly attention.[9] Azcárate only mentioned it in passing and focused exclusively on questions of authorship. For him, architectural similarities among the three sites resulted from the close personal relationship between Antón Egas and Juan Guas, which encouraged the repetition of successful models established by the older artist.[10] However, due to the absence of documentary evidence, neither Santa María de Jesús nor the Epiphany Chapel can firmly be attributed to either architect. Attempting to circumvent this absence and deepen our understanding of the phenomenon, this essay will explore architectural imitation from the perspective of patronage.

Information on the design and construction of Santa María de Jesús and the Epiphany Chapel may be limited, but both buildings were commissioned by eminent figures at the royal court whose biography and aspirations are relatively well documented. Destroyed in the nineteenth century, Santa María de Jesús offers limited possibilities of analysis. Introducing it as a revealing comparison, I will here focus instead on the Epiphany Chapel in order to sketch a portrait of the social and personal circumstances which may have led an early sixteenth-century patron to commission a building modelled on San Juan de los Reyes. As I will argue, the design of the chapel draws on that of the convent be-

Fig. 8.4
Church of San Andrés, Toledo, east end in its urban context (Epiphany Chapel established 1503, probably built in the 1510s).

cause the latter contained a flexible range of ideologically charged design elements which could be adapted to promote the personal achievements and dynastic aspirations of the chapel's patron Francisco de Rojas, while mediating between his individual decisions and the conflicting interests of his family.

Wonderful Emulation: Santa María De Jesús

Little survives of Santa María de Jesús, the richly endowed convent established in 1492 by Gutierre Cárdenas and Teresa Enríquez.[11] The foundation nevertheless offers an ideal starting point for my discussion, as its connection with San Juan de los Reyes was explicitly acknowledged in a history of the Franciscan order written in 1587 by Francesco Gonzaga, General Minister of the Observant Friars. Discussing the piety of the convent's patrons and the expense of its construction, Gonzaga exclaims:

> What could then be more wonderful [than this convent], which is not surpassed in any way by any other Franciscan house, not even San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, according to which model, not to say emulation, it was built?[12]

While Francesco Gonzaga does not explicitly attribute the decision to copy San Juan de los Reyes to Santa María de Jesús's patrons, his discussion of the site is entirely focused on their praiseworthy munificence, desire to be buried within the convent, and furnishings which they commissioned for the foundation, suggesting that he interpreted the architectural imitation of San Juan de los Reyes in terms of patrons and their choices.

Indeed, a brief summary of these patrons' biographies reveals persuasive reasons for copying the Toledan convent. Always a loyal supporter of Isabella, Gutierre was a central figure at court, holding the offices of chief treasurer (*contador mayor*), commander-in-chief (*comendador mayor*) of the military order of Santiago for the province of León, and distinguishing himself for his courage during the war against Granada.[13] His wife,

Teresa Enríquez, became one of Isabella's closest ladies-in-waiting.[14] Teresa was known for her great devotion, earning the nickname 'mad for the Sacrament' (*loca del Sacramento*) from Pope Julius II on account of her devotion to the Host.[15] Following the death of her husband in 1503, she ensured the completion of the convent and fulfilled her husband's dying wishes, including the commission of rich sepulchres which survived the destruction of Santa María de Jesús and are now located in Torrijos' collegiate church. As requested by Gutierre's will, the sepulchres are carved in marble, and his recumbent effigy is decorated with the Cross of Santiago.[16]

Studying the Epiphany Chapel in San Andrés through the lens of patronage will reveal several commonalities with Santa María de Jesús, namely a personal link to the Catholic Monarchs and the papacy; a personal experience of warfare; and a connection to Santiago and the other military orders. These similarities help to explain why two apparently contrasting buildings—one a 'rural' convent, the other the principal chapel of an urban parish church—both copy the same model.

Compare and Contrast: San Andrés and San Juan de los Reyes

Seen from the square in front of its main entrance, San Andrés appears like one of many twelfth-century brick-and-rubble churches typical of Toledo (Fig. 8.3).[17] Like San Román and San Lucas, it does not have buttresses and its low nave remains covered with a wooden roof, in spite of significant seventeenth-century reconstruction.[18] In contrast, the Epiphany Chapel at the building's east end makes a strong statement in its urban context. Although located in the presbytery of the parish church, this chapel was conceived as a private funerary space. Built in finely cut stone, it has robust buttresses and is strikingly taller than many surrounding structures (Fig. 8.4). The Epiphany Chapel was likely the fourth ashlar building to be erected in the city, preceded by the cathedral, San Juan de los Reyes, and the Hospital de Santa Cruz, the latter begun around 1503.[19] The idiosyncratic nature of working in stone in this city is expressed in the structure of the heraldic decoration and window openings on the chapel's exterior: these elements are carved in more expensive, whiter limestone, inserted in the granite wall without structural continuity.[20] The contrast

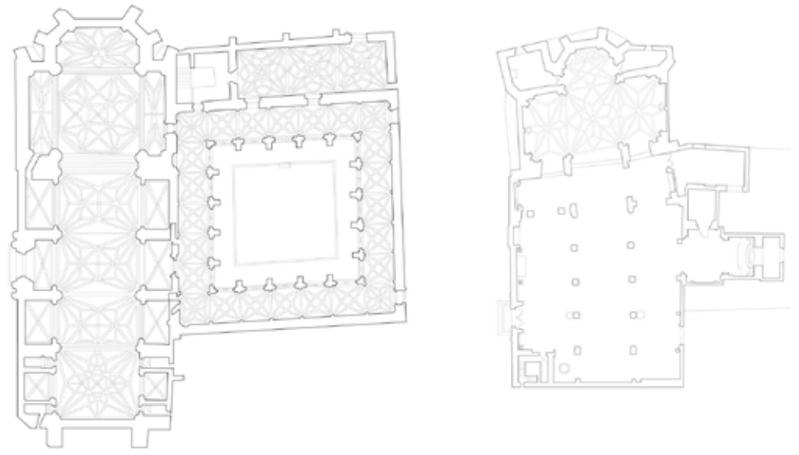

Fig. 8.5
Plans of San Juan de los Reyes (left) and San Andrés (right).

Fig. 8.6
Convent of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, vaults of the east end, transept and crossing dome (convent established in 1477, church completed ca. 1503).

of forms and materials is particularly noteworthy on the inside, where a large pointed arch marks the rupture between the Gothic crossing and apse, and the basilican nave with its horseshoe arches (See Fig. 8.1).

With its stone structure, so unusual in its local context, the Epiphany Chapel in San Andrés echoes the striking architectural splendour of San Juan de los Reyes, which did not fail to impress visitors. For example, in 1495 the German traveller Hieronymus Münzer remarked that the convent was 'built … newly so finely with cut and squared stone that it is a wonder.'[21] Beyond this general resonance, the Epiphany Chapel has a number of clear design similarities with San Juan de los Reyes. The east end of both churches is a shallow pentagonal apse attached to non-projecting, rectangular transepts (Fig. 8.5), although the crossing of San Juan de los Reyes is marked by a dome (Fig. 8.6) much grander than the vault of San Andrés (Fig. 8.7). Notably, San Juan de los Reyes's plan design was also reproduced in the Capilla Real in Granada, whose construction was completed around 1517 by Enrique Egas, Antón Egas's brother and collaborator.[22] Significantly, this ground plan differs from the trefoil-shaped design introduced in

Fig. 8.7
Church of San Andrés, Toledo, vaults of Epiphany Chapel (established 1503, probably built in the 1510s).

Fig. 8.8.
Church of San Andrés, Toledo, detail of the apse, Epiphany Chapel (established 1503, probably built in the 1510s).

the second half of the fifteenth century by Juan Guas and associates at the monastery of El Parral, a foundation established by King Enrique IV in the late 1440s and then transformed into a private funerary chapel by the Pachecos, close allies of this king and powerful opponents of Isabella during the War of Succession.[23] As explored by Begoña Alonso Ruíz, the innovative trefoil plan of El Parral would cast an influence of its own on the design of several sixteenth-century presbyteries with a funerary destination.[24] Consideration of design and politics suggest that these two chains of architectural imitation were parallel and even competing phenomena.

In addition to significant similarities in their ground plan, the Epiphany Chapel and San Juan de los Reyes share several decorative details. While the quantity of heraldic decoration on the convent's walls far surpasses that of San Andrés, both feature analogous

Fig. 8.9
Convent of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, detail of the east end (convent established in 1477, church completed ca. 1503).

Fig. 8.10
Convent of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, Portada del Pelícano (late fifteenth century, moved to its present location in the mid-twentieth century).

inscriptions which extend along all the walls. Each inscription is designed to angle around the altarpiece, forming an architectural frame (Figs. 8.8 and 8.9).[25] The Epiphany Chapel's altarpiece and inscription are crowned by a cross (Fig. 8.8) with rich decoration that recalls the one once decorating the entrance to San Juan de los Reyes's cloister (Fig. 8.10).[26] In the chapel, the base of the cross features the Five Wounds of Christ and is comparable in design to the coat of arms of the Franciscan Observants carved above the doorway leading from church to cloister in San Juan de los Reyes (Fig. 8.11). The crosses and coats of arms are closely comparable in their detail, as is the foliage decorating the pilasters in both churches (Figs. 8.12 and 8.13). The altarpieces in each are flanked by empty niches (Figs. 8.14 and 8.15), perhaps intended to contain sculptures.[27] The east end of both churches originally featured three altars, still present at San Andrés and known to have existed at San Juan de los Reyes, thanks to a royal document of 1534 and a ground plan made that year for an Inquisition trial.[28]

The plan of 1534 shows a sepulchre in the centre of the crossing at San Juan de los Reyes, probably the proxy catafalque installed by Charles V in memory of his grandmother Isabella. Documents referring to its upkeep reveal that this was a semi-temporary wooden structure draped with carpets of black velvet and covered by a velvet baldachin.[29] Although the crossing of this church was never occupied by stone sepulchres, temporary structures were erected there for funerals and anniversaries. Similar possibilities existed at San Andrés, where the contract signed between the chapel's patron Francisco de Rojas and the church's curate on 7 January 1504 acknowledged that funerary monuments might be placed before the high altar.[30] Such sepulchres were indeed provided for in the second will of Francisco's brother, Alonso de Escobar y Rojas, drawn up in 1531.[31] However, they were then explicitly forbidden by the regulations he introduced in 1533, and no tombs were erected there in the sixteenth century.[32] Members of the family could be buried in the crypt of the chapel and commission monuments in some of the arcosolia on the sides of the church, but the central space was reserved for temporary structures, notably the 'coffin covered with brocade' around which Alonso de Escobar wished his funeral and memorials to take place.[33] In both churches, the architectural structure was completed by

fittings and ceremonial displays that are all but lost today.

A Complex Foundation

This short discussion of funerary practices at San Andrés has referred to the chapel's patron, Francisco de Rojas, and his brother, Alonso de Escobar, and to one of their many changes of mind on matters of construction and design. Such wavering is typical of the Epiphany Chapel's institutional history, partly complicated by the coexistence of long- and short-distance patronage.

Francisco de Rojas, patron of the Epiphany Chapel, served a long career as ambassador for the Catholic Monarchs. Between 1488 and 1507, he was almost uninterruptedly absent from Spain. He resided in Italy, mainly at the papal court, from 1501 to 1507 when the most important steps for the creation of the Epiphany Chapel took place.[34] Francisco's brother Alonso de Escobar thus made decisions and carried out negotiations on site. For example, it was Alonso who signed the contract of 7 January 1504 with the church's curate, had it confirmed by the church's parishioners (5 January 1505), and convinced Toledo's civic authorities to allow the chapel to extend over a nearby street (20 May 1504), a potentially complex matter in a city as built-up as Toledo.[35]

Yet, in spite of his commitments abroad, Francisco was not a passive patron. He used his privileged position at the papal court to obtain the bulls that made the chapel possible: first, the authorisation to establish a chapel, endow it with vacant benefits from Toledo Cathedral and nominate chaplains (26 December 1503); second, permission to be buried outside the convent of Calatrava la Nueva and to dispose freely of his possessions, disregarding the regulations of the Order of Calatrava, of which he was a member (21 August 1504); third, several confirmations of these rights, which had been challenged by the cathedral and the order.[36] He not only made essential contributions to the economic and liturgical endowment of the chapel, but also decisions regarding its appearance: Alonso de Escobar's second will (1537) reveals that Francisco had returned from Rome with blocks of marble and porphyry to be transformed into the chapel's pulpit and sepulchres.[37] Francisco's activity increased after his return to Toledo, as he commissioned three

Fig. 8.11
Convent of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, detail of the doorway leading from the church to the cloister (late fifteenth century).

Fig. 8.12
Convent of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, detail of foliage decoration on the crossing piers (late fifteenth century).

altarpieces for the chapel from the painters Juan de Borgoña and Antonio de Comontes, and exchanged letters with the ironworker Juan Francés, who made an iron grille commissioned by Francisco for the convent of Calatrava la Nueva and probably also worked at San Andrés.[38]

Combining short- and long-distance patronage required compromise: Francisco's initial petition to the pope and his positive reply do not seem to require that the chapel of the Epiphany be located in the presbytery of San Andrés.[39] Although Rojas may have aspired to this prime location, the idea of establishing his chapel in San Andrés's east end may have been promoted by the curate and parishioners. This is suggested by the confirmation of 5 January 1505, which expands on the wording of the 1504 contract, to frame Francisco de Rojas's foundation as a charitable solution to overcrowding in the church, and especially in the apse. As underlined in the confirmation, such expansion involved the purchase of houses located east of the church and was beyond the economic means of the parish alone.[40] It is perhaps such a juxtaposition of local and distant interests which resulted in the unusual difference in dedication between the church of San Andrés and its presbytery.

While Francisco's endowment may have solved overcrowding in the parish, transforming San Andrés's high chapel was beset with challenges of its own. The houses existing on the site were owned by another religious institution, the Colegio de Santa Catalina, and their purchase required complex negotiations and two papal authorisations which dragged on until 1512.[41] Moreover, the existing chapel was under the patronage of a Francisco Suárez, whose family initially refused to sell. The lengthy and fraught process of purchasing the site and obtaining permission to translate the corpses of Francisco Suárez's parents, buried in the chapel, extended until 1514.[42]

Fig. 8.13
Church of San Andrés, Toledo, details of foliage decoration on the piers of the east end (probably 1510s).

Such complex bureaucracy delayed construction, and the institutional and architectural history of the chapel is one of fits and starts, with many questions still to be answered despite Paulina López Pita's detailed studies.[43] For example, how is it possible that, in 1513, Francisco had already commissioned the making and fitting of the Epiphany Chapel's altarpieces when he only acquired the chapel space from the Suárez family in 1514? Questions such as this are probably unanswerable due to the loss of the documents seen by Rafael Ramírez de Arellano and Verardo García Rey in the church's archive in the early twentieth century.[44] The wider context in which the chapel was created can nonetheless be reconstructed through the wills of Francisco de Rojas's parents and brothers (Fig. 8.16) preserved at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. Although not unknown to scholars, the wills have never before been used to illuminate the chapel's architecture. While several questions remain unanswered regarding the foundation and construction of the chapel, examining these wills and Rojas's correspondence, now in the Salazar Collection of the Real Academia de la Historia, reveals why the Epiphany Chapel is so closely modelled on San Juan de los Reyes.

Blood Ties and Bloodshed

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's mid-sixteenth-century *Batallas y quinquagenas* portrays Francisco de Rojas as a self-made man, successful thanks to his virtue and special relationship with the Catholic Monarchs.[45] Studies have consequently emphasised Rojas's role as the founder of a dynasty established on the entailed estate (*mayorazgo*) of Layos.[46] Yet the desire to establish a dynasty was already a feature of the wills of Francisco de Rojas's parents, Alonso de Cáceres and Marina de Rojas. In 1465, they bequeathed to Francisco, their eldest child, a *mejoria* (a share of inheritance additional to the amount required by law), based on the revenue of their pasture land (*dehesa*) in Villamejor.[47] Inherited according to rules similar to those of a *mayorazgo*, the *mejoria* constituted a custom equivalent to the *mayorazgo* before it was officially instituted in 1505.[48] The estate was part of Marina de Rojas's dowry, and its evident importance for the family's economic aspirations may have determined the continuing use of the Rojas name and arms by Francisco de Rojas and his brothers.[49]

Francisco was thus emulating his parents' actions when, in 1513, he established the two *mayorazgos* of Móstoles and Layos, the latter tied to the patronage of the Epiphany

Chapel.[50] Neither *mayorazgo* was intended for Francisco's own descendants as he did not marry. Around 1487, the Catholic Monarchs had rewarded Francisco's first diplomatic services with the estates of Mestanza, Puertollano, Almodóvar del Campo, and Aceca, which belonged to the Order of Calatrava, an order which required its members to remain celibate.[51] He therefore always intended the *mayorazgos* to support the descendants of his brothers Alonso de Escobar and Juan de Rojas.[52] Francisco's success as a diplomat close to the Monarchs had clearly translated into significant personal wealth. Such circumstances may have led his mother to reconsider the size of her son's inheritance. After the death of her husband, sometime between 1492 and 1498, Marina de Rojas added four codicils to her will, each expressing yet another change of heart as to whether Francisco should really be favoured with the *mejoria*. She eventually resolved to let him enjoy it during his lifetime, as, being celibate, he could not have any legitimate heirs.[53]

Marina de Rojas's codicils also reveal a growing preference for Alonso de Escobar. They explicitly praise Alonso as her ever-present son who helped her greatly and honestly during her old age, and single out various financial rewards to thank him for his affection.[54] Marina further indicates, implicitly, her greater respect for Alonso by referring to him as 'commander' (*comendador*), by virtue of his position in the Order of Santiago. In contrast, Francisco is not given the same title, although by the time the codicils were written he held the same status within the Order of Calatrava.[55] The same title is consistently used for their father, also a commander of the Order of Santiago, suggesting that membership of this order may have been a matter of family identity for the Rojas. This is underscored by a codicil added in 1475 to Alonso de Cáceres's will. In this note he requested that the golden scallop shell of his uniform should no longer go to his daughter Inés, as he had previously wished, but to his son Alonso, since, like his father, he had become a knight and commander of the order. Alonso should additionally inherit his father's copy of the order's regulations and other documents, which would enable him to learn how to be a good knight.[56] The tradition would continue in later generations, as most of Francisco's recorded descendants—from Antonio de Rojas in the late sixteenth century to Joseph de Rojas Pantoja in the seventeenth—are connected to the Order of Santiago.[57]

Fig. 8.14
Church of San Andrés, Toledo, Epiphany Chapel, north wall of the apse (established 1503, probably built in the 1510s).

Alonso de Cáceres's will made other significant testamentary

donations to his children. Alonso de Escobar would also receive some of his father's military equipment, namely a steel crossbow, a cuirass, leg armour and helmet. Similar gifts of military character were made to four of his six male sons, not all of whom would reach maturity. For example, Diego received his father's tent and various weapons, including another crossbow. Some sons also received specific books. Pedro was left a sword, a crossbow, a cuirass, a copy of Boethius's *De consolatione*, a book on household management and one on agriculture. Only Juan and Francisco de Rojas did not receive specific arms. With respect to books, the latter was left a richly bound Latin breviary, perhaps in acknowledgement of the studies at which he excelled in his youth.[58] In spite of its rich binding, Francisco's Latin breviary seems somewhat impersonal when compared to the more specific donations made to his brothers. Alonso de Cáceres does not seem to have taken into account that Francisco was also training to be a knight: he left for his first military campaign in 1475, the same year that Alonso composed his will.[59] Perhaps the choice of donations suggests the dissatisfaction of Alonso de Cáceres and Marina de Rojas with a career which had not begun as they had hoped. While this can only be speculation, what is certain from the list of gifts is that the first generation of the Rojas family had a strong military ethos which conditioned the aspirations and occupations of all members of the family. Indeed, when writing to King Ferdinand around 1513 to ask for benefices, an old and ill Francisco reminded the sovereign not only of his own diplomatic activity, but also of the whole family's participation in the War of Granada, and in particular of their role in the conquest of Loja, where his brother Juan was gravely wounded and his brother Martín killed and cut into pieces by the enemy.[60]

Fig. 8.15
Convent of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, north wall of the apse (convent established in 1477, church completed ca. 1503).

Collectively, this summary of Francisco's biography and of the expectations his parents placed on him reveals several contradictions: the founder of a dynasty who could not marry; a successful son favoured by the Catholic Monarchs but perhaps not by his own parents; a knight who inherited books rather than arms. Constructing the family chapel on the model of San Juan de los Reyes—a building which he could have seen almost completed while in Castile between 1497 and 1501—Francisco could express and mediate these contradictions.

Copying San Juan de los Reyes

Most explicitly, choosing San Juan de los Reyes as a model enabled Francisco to express his personal connection to the Catholic Monarchs, one founded on the letters of trust written by the Monarchs for their ambassador and substantiated by the intense epistolary exchange between Francisco and King Ferdinand during the former's second stay in

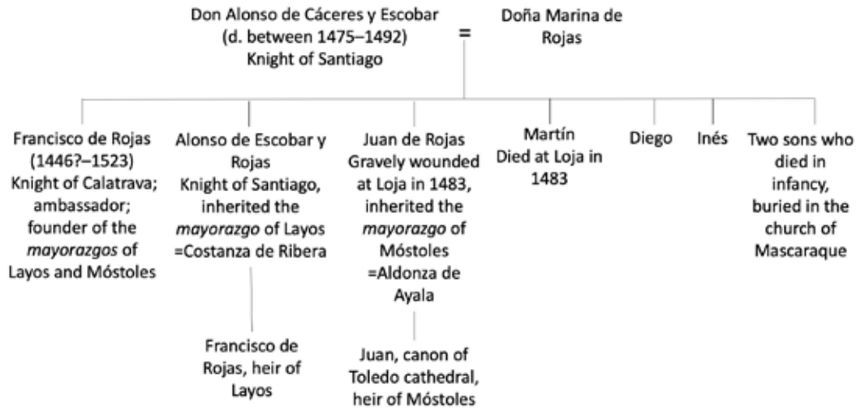

Fig. 8.16
Francisco de Rojas' family tree. Produced by the author.

Rome (1501–7).[61] As noted above, San Juan de los Reyes was a royal foundation of great importance to its patrons. This personal connection was clearly articulated in the building's rich heraldic decoration: the joint coat of arms of Aragon-Castile, created after the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand (and never previously used by any Iberian monarch), their personal devices of the yoke and arrow (Fig. 8.17) and the joint representation of their initials on the piers of the crossing (Fig. 8.18).[62] These arms and devices referred to Ferdinand and Isabella individually, rather than through their dynasties. The two inscriptions which run around the nave and crossing of the church similarly emphasise the Catholic Monarchs' personal achievements by referring to their matrimonial unification of Aragon and Castile and praising their personal involvement in the foundation and construction of the convent.[63]

While Ferdinand and Isabella are the only figures celebrated in the sculptural de-

Fig. 8.17
Convent of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, coats of arm of Aragón-Castile and personal devices of Ferdinand and Isabella on the south wall of the transept (late fifteenth century).

Fig. 8.18
Convent of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, detail of the decoration of the crossing piers, showing the initials of Ferdinand and Isabella (late fifteenth century).

coration and inscriptions of San Juan de los Reyes, the Epiphany Chapel functioned as a family pantheon for successive generations, and is therefore decorated with Rojas and Escobar coats of arms, and those of other families related to them by marriage (Fig. 8.19).[64] Nevertheless, the church contains a direct reference to Francisco in the form of his personal motto, 'Light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it.' Drawn from the Gospel of Saint John, the motto suggestively faces the Evangelist's eagle and the royal coat of arms in the Isabella Breviary, a manuscript commissioned by Francisco as a gift for Isabella while negotiating the matrimonial alliance between the children of the royal

Fig. 8.19
Church of San Andrés, Toledo, detail of the heraldic decoration in the east end (probably 1510s).

Fig. 8.20
Convent of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, exterior of the east end (convent established in 1477, church completed ca. 1503).

couple and those of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I.[65] Personal achievement is strongly emphasized in the Epiphany Chapel's inscription, which overlooks Francisco's membership of the Order of Calatrava to underline his role as royal ambassador instead. In the space of just 116 words, this inscription contains as many as five references to the Catholic Monarchs and their territorial possessions.[66] Connections between Francisco de Rojas and the Monarchs were underscored in the Epiphany Chapel's liturgical calendar, with anniversary masses for the souls of Isabella and Ferdinand said each year on the day of Saint John before the Latin Gate (*Sancti Ioanne ad Portam Latinam*), the same dedication as San Juan de los Reyes.[67]

Apart from establishing a connection with the Catholic Monarchs and thus promoting Rojas's personal achievements, the architectural imitation of San Juan de los Reyes also acknowledged the military ethos celebrated in the wills of Francisco de Rojas's parents. As mentioned above, the exterior of San Juan de los Reyes is decorated with the chains of Christian prisoners liberated during the war against Granada, a conflict which had a strong personal significance for Francisco and his brothers. The decoration is completed by statues of heralds, significantly restored in the nineteenth century (Fig. 8.20).[68] Heralds typically preceded and announced monarchs in their public appearances. Thus, the statues on the outside of San Juan de los Reyes immediately advertise its royal connection.[69] Moreover, heralds played a major role in grand funerary ceremonies.[70] Yet they also performed important roles on the battlefield, where they initiated battles, identified enemies, lined up troops, named the dead, recorded acts of courage and established the victor of a skirmish.[71] The chains and sculptures on the exterior of San Juan de los Reyes thus endowed it with a militaristic spirit that must have resonated with the Rojas family. While neither the chains nor the statues were replicated in the Epiphany Chapel, their existence and significance may have drawn Francisco de Rojas and Alonso de Escobar to consider San Juan de los Reyes as a model. Viewers familiar with the latter building may also have recalled those decorations when observing the chapel, located in the same city.

The absence of chains or heralds in San Andrés makes any reference to a military ethos indirect at best, however much it may have recalled San Juan de los Reyes. This may have been the result of a conscious choice to strike a compromise between Francisco's personal membership of the Order of Calatrava and his family's long-standing connection

with that of Santiago. As suggested by a fragmentary letter of 1503, Francisco had initially planned a funerary chapel in an institution connected to both orders, the Toledan convent of Santa Fe, in the possession of the Order of Calatrava until 1494, and later owned by the Order of Santiago.[72] He later changed strategy, choosing the parish church where he had been baptised, a building with a strong connection to the history of his family but with little relation to the military orders.[73] Although Francisco Suárez, the previous patron of San Andrés's presbytery, was a member of the Order of Santiago, Rojas's reconstruction of the east end effectively erased the memory of Suárez and of Santiago from the church's architecture.[74] Moreover, the newly constructed chapel remained free of sculptural or pictorial references to the Order of Calatrava. Nor did the symbols of this order feature prominently on the chapel's movable fittings. The oldest surviving inventory of liturgical furnishings, dating to the seventeenth century, lists only one textile decorated with the Cross of Calatrava.[75] The absence of explicit references to Calatrava contrasts sharply with the decoration of another chapel connected to Francisco, the Capilla Dorada in the convent of Calatrava la Nueva. Francisco initially owned this space but sold it after choosing San Andrés as his burial site. It was acquired by the *comendador mayor* García de Padilla, who requested Crosses of Calatrava to be painted onto the altarpiece and stained-glass windows, and to be sculpted in various locations on the walls. Moreover, he specified, the lettering on his sepulchre had to start with a reference to his role within Calatrava.[76] Such an emphasis is partly justified by Padilla's role as *comendador mayor*, more important than that of simple *comendador* as held by Francisco, and also by the chapel's location within the order's principal seat. Yet, the accumulation of references to Calatrava contrasts markedly with their absence in the Epiphany Chapel, where there is no explicit reference to any one of the military orders, and where the architectural emulation of San Juan de los Reyes may instead have created a more general evocation of the War of Granada in which several members of the Rojas family had taken part.

As suggested by this military echo, San Juan de los Reyes offered a flexible model. Its architectural design was both rich in meaning and adaptable in form. The contract of 7 January 1504 established that the Rojas funerary chapel should feature ten piers with rich bases.[77] Ten decorated piers do indeed enclose the whole structure: four in the apse, two at either side of the crossing, and two supporting the arch leading to the chapel. The same number defines the east end of San Juan de los Reyes, as is most evident in the famous late fifteenth-century drawing of the church's crossing.[78] The drawing eclipses the church's nave to focus on the east end only, and its impossible perspective reveals the ten piers simultaneously.[79] It also emphasises the crossing by absurdly reducing the apse to nothing more than the size of the altar table. While these modifications offer a distorted impression of the interior of the church, the east end as built is certainly spacious and luminous, in contrast to the relatively modest nave. As discussed by Rafael Domínguez Casas, such inflated space provided a perfect stage for funerary liturgies.[80] In San Andrés's Epiphany Chapel, the proportions of this grand funerary space were modified to suit a more modest foundation, while still offering an ideal stage for funerary celebration. Thus, the monumental crossing dome, delineated so carefully in the Prado drawing, was significantly reduced and became a simple vault in the Epiphany Chapel. Instead, the drawing's small apse and altarpiece were increased in size, conforming to typical Spanish practice, but perhaps also in response to the different liturgical obligations of a parish church. The private, monastic and royal arena of the convent became the shared space of the parish church, where the Epiphany Chapel's chaplains and the curate celebrated masses within the same walls, shared precious liturgical objects and collaborated in the celebration of feast days, as required by the chapel's constitutions of 1533.[81]

This adaptation was possible because San Juan de los Reyes possessed a set of defining features which could be suited to different contexts without losing their significance. Reproducing the shape, inscription and sculptural details of San Juan de los Reyes, the

Epiphany Chapel could express a personal connection to the Catholic Monarchs together with dynastic exaltation and military ethos. These features captured the achievements and aspirations of Francisco de Rojas and his relatives. Azcárate's suggestion that the Epiphany Chapel may have been designed by Antón Egas, a master mason with an intimate knowledge of San Juan de los Reyes, is likely, but at present undocumented. Yet, architectural imitation did not depend only on the repetition of successful models on the part of the architect. By exploring the personality and aspirations of Francisco de Rojas, the present essay has argued that copying San Juan de los Reyes enabled this patron to establish and promote a carefully crafted and lasting identity for himself and his family.

1. This essay is based on research undertaken as part of my PhD degree, supported by supported by CHASE and the British Archaeological Association at The Courtauld Institute of Art. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

2. José María de Azcárate Ristori, 'Antón Egas', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA 23* (1957): pp. 9, 12.

3. While recognising Antón Egas as the primary author of both buildings, Azcárate noted that his brother Enrique may also have played a part in the early stages of the Epiphany Chapel's design. See Azcárate Ristori, 'Antón Egas', p. 10.

4. On the construction history of this building, see among others María Teresa Pérez Higuera, 'En torno al proceso constructivo de San Juan de los Reyes en Toledo', *Anales de Historia del Arte* 7 (1997): pp. 11–24.

5. Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Isabel la Católica: promotora artística* (León: Edilesa, 2006), p. 16; José García Oro, 'Reforma y reformas en la familia franciscana del Renacimiento', in María del Mar Graña Cid and Agustín Boadas Llavat (eds.), *El franciscanismo en la Península Ibérica. Balance y perspectivas* (Barcelona: G.B.G., 2005), pp. 235–54. For a more critical analysis of the Catholic Monarchs' religious reforms, see Henry Kamen, *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth and National Identity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 87.

6. Rafael Domínguez Casas, 'San Juan de Los Reyes: espacio funerario y aposento regio', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA 56* (1990): p. 369.

7. Fernando del Pulgar, *Crónica de los señores reyes católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel de Castilla y Aragón* [completed 1492] (Valencia: Imprenta de Benito Monfort, 1780), p. 259; Hieronymus Münzer, 'Itinerarium Hispanicum Hieronymus Monetarii 1494–1495', ed. by Ludwig Pfandl, *Revue hispanique* 48:113 (1920): pp. 119–20.

8. David Nogales Rincón, 'La capilla real de Granada. Fundamentos ideológicos de una empresa artística a fines de la Edad Media', in Diana Arauz Mercado (ed.), *Pasado, presente y porvenir de las humanidades y las artes* (Zacatecas: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2014), 5: p. 200.

9. Imitations of San Juan de los Reyes are discussed more fully in my PhD thesis, 'Juan Guas and Gothic Architecture in Late Medieval Spain: Collaborations, Networks and Geographies', Courtauld Institute of Art, 2020.

10. Azcárate Ristori, 'Antón Egas', p. 17.

11. On the recent rediscovery of part of the convent's foundations, see 'Síntesis cronológica del rescate del yacimiento in 'Santa María de Jesús: "El otro San Juan de los Reyes". Una década de lucha pertinaz', special issue, *Cañada Real* 15:16 (January 2016): pp. 13–18.

12. 'Quid tamen mirum, cum nulli alteri Fransciscane domui, sive etiam de sancti Ioannis Regum Toletana agatur, ad cuius exemplar, ne dicā aemulationem, costructum extitit, aliqua ex parte cedatur?' Francesco Gonzaga, *De origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae, eiusque progressibus, de Regularis Observantiae institutione, forma, administrationis ac legibus, admirabilique eius propagatione* (Rome: Typographia Dominici Basae, 1587), part 3, p. 631.

13. John Edwards, *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474–1520* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 14–15, 20–21.

14. María del Mar Graña Cid, 'Religión y política femenina en el Renacimiento castellano. Lecturas simbólicas de Teresa Enríquez', in Ana Isabel Cerrada Jiménez and Josemi Lorenzo Arribas (eds.), *De los símbolos al orden simbólico femenino* (ss. IV–XVII) (Madrid: Asociación Cultural Al-Mudayna, 1998), p. 147.

15. Graña Cid, 'Religión y política femenina en el Renacimiento castellano', p. 149.

16. Rosa López Torrijos and Juan Nicolau Castro, 'La familia Cárdenas, Juan de Lugano y los encargos de escultura genovesa en el siglo XVI', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA* 68 (2002): pp. 173¬–75.

17. Antonio Miranda Sánchez, *Muros de Toledo* (Toledo: Delegación en Toledo del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Castilla La Mancha, 1995), p. 34.

18. Fernando Marías, *La arquitectura del Renacimiento en Toledo* (1541–1631) (Toledo: Publicaciones del Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1983), 3: p. 7.

19. Miranda Sánchez, *Muros de Toledo*, p. 63; Rosario Díez del Corral Garnica, 'La introducción del Renacimiento en Toledo. El Hospital de Santa Cruz', *Academia: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* 62 (1986): p. 166.

20. Miranda Sánchez, *Muros de Toledo*, p. 64.

21. Hieronymus Münzer, Doctor *Hieronymus Münzer's Itinerary* (1494 and 1495); and *Discovery of Guinea*, trans. and ed. James Firth (London: James Firth, 2014), p. 120. The original Latin reads: 'Rex Ferdinandus cum sua Regina novam illam fabricam edificat ex secto et quadro lapide adeo superbe et splendide, ut mirum sit…' Hieronymus Münzer, 'Itinerarium Hispanicum Hieronymi Monetarii 1494–1495', pp. 119–20.

22. For a recent discussion of the Capilla Real in Granada in the context of other royal pantheons, especially San Juan de los Reyes, and further bibliography, see Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 'Las capillas funerarias de los Trastámara: de la creación de la memoria a "la grandeza humillada"', in Olga Pérez Monzón, Matilde Miquel Juan, and María Martín Gil (eds.), *Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano. La capilla fúnebre de Álvaro de Luna en contexto* (Madrid: Sílex, 2018), pp. 163–70.

23. María López Díez, *Los Trastámara en Segovia: Juan Guas, maestro de obras reales* (Segovia: Caja Segovia. Obra Social y Cultural, 2006), pp. 196–215.

24. Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 'Un modelo funerario del tardogótico castellano: las capillas treboladas', *Archivo Español de Arte* 78:311 (2005): pp. 277–95.

25. The altarpiece now in San Juan de los Reyes is not the original, destroyed in a fire in 1808. Daniel Ortiz Pradas, *San Juan de los Reyes de Toledo. Historia, construcción y restauración de un monumento medieval* (Madrid: La Ergástula, 2015), p. 65.

26. The sculpture group was moved to its present location, above the modern entrance to the convent, in the mid-twentieth century. See Daniel Ortiz Pradas, 'Herederos de Juan Guas. Arquitectos de San Juan de Los Reyes en los siglos XIX y XX', *Anales de Historia del Arte* 22 (2012).

27. No contemporary documents describe the content of these niches. The niche on the south wall of the Epiphany Chapel is now occupied by the sculpture of a female saint, but this can hardly be the original arrangement as neither the statue's size nor the shape of its pedestal fit the space. In 1848 one of the two niches in San Juan de los Reyes also contained a 'large sculpture carved in the round'. See Manuel de Assas, *Album artístico de Toledo: colección de vistas y detalles de los principales monumentos toledanos* (Madrid: Litografía de D. Bachiller, 1848), n.p. (see under 'Hornacina lateral de la Capilla Mayor').

28. Filemón Arribas Arranz, 'Noticias sobre San Juan de los Reyes', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA* 29 (1963): p. 72n24, and Inquisición, 3079, no. 7 (M.P.D., 112), Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN).

29. Domínguez Casas, 'San Juan de Los Reyes: espacio funerario y aposento regio', pp. 373–34.

30. Rafael Ramírez de Arellano, *Las Parroquias de Toledo. Nuevos datos referentes a estos Templos sacados de sus archivos* (Toledo: Talleres Tipográficos de Sebastián Rodríguez, 1921), p. 12.

31. Alonso de Escobar's will of 17 June 1531 requested the construction of a pulpit and centralised sepulchre, specifying that materials were already available (see below). Consejos, 32586, leg. 3, no. 10, fols. 242 and 242v, AHN.

32. The regulations of 1533 confirm that relatives could be buried beneath the floor of the chapel, but without decorated tombstones (*piedras de sepulturas*) or statues (*bultos*). IV/1863, s.f., Archivo Diocesano de Toledo (hereafter ADT). However, in 1791 the chapel's patron ordered that a tomb be moved away from the centre of the space. See Paulina López Pita, *Layos: origen y desarrollo de un señorío nobiliario, el de los Rojas, condes de Mora* (Toledo: Caja de Ahorros, 1988), p. 114.

33. 'solamente se ponga un ataud con el pano de brocado en la capilla…' 'Testamento que hiço Alonso de Escobar' (17 de junio de 1531), Consejos, 32586, leg. 3, no. 10, fol. 239r, AHN.

34. For Rojas's activity in Rome, see Álvaro Fernández de Córdova Miralles, 'Diplomáticos y letrados en Roma al servicio de los Reyes Católicos: Francesco Vitale di Noya, Juan Ruiz de Medina y Francisco de Rojas', *Dicenda. Estudios de lengua y literatura españolas* 32 (2014): pp. 113–54; Alessandro Serio, 'Una representación de la crisis de la unión dinástica: los cargos diplomáticos en Roma de Francisco de Rojas y Antonio de Acuña (1501–1507), *Cuadernos de historia moderna* 32 (2007): pp. 13–29.

35. Ramírez de Arellano, *Las Parroquias de Toledo*, p. 13. The expansion was allowed with the proviso that enough space was left unencumbered to ensure an alternative passage. See Paulina López Pita, 'Fundación de la capilla de la Epifanía en la iglesia de San Andrés de Toledo', *Beresit: Boletín de la Cofradía Internacional de Investigadores* 2 (1988): pp. 135, 138. The city was so built-up that in 1538 the city authorities requested the king to prohibit the institution of new hospitals, monasteries or convents within the walls. See Linda Martz and Julio Porres Martín-Cleto, *Toledo y los toledanos en 1561* (Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigación y Estudios Toledanos, 1974), p. 43.

36. López Pita, 'Fundación de la capilla de la Epifanía'; Paulina López Pita, 'Francisco de Rojas y su vinculación con la Orden de Calatrava', in Jerónimo López-Salazar Pérez (ed.), *Las órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica, vol. 2, Edad Moderna* (Toledo: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2000), pp. 2229, 2231.

37. Consejos, 32586, leg. 3, no. 10, fols. 242–42v, AHN; Inocencio Cadiñanos Bardeci, 'Precisiones acerca del Tránsito de la Virgen de Juan Correa de Vivar', *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 24:42 (2006): p. 12n4.

38. Verardo García Rey, 'Historia de la pintura española. Fe de errores a una obra', *Arte Español. Revista de la sociedad de amigos del arte* 19:2 (1930): p. 58, doc. 1; Duke of Berwick and Alba (ed.), *Noticias históricas y genealógicas de los estados de Montijo y Teba, según los documentos de sus archivos* (Madrid: Imprenta Alemana, 1915), 20: p. 75; Francisco de Borja de San Román, 'Documentos inéditos. Testamento del maestro Juan Francés (23 de diciembre 1518)', *Toletum: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo* 18/19 (1924): p. 111.

39. López Pita, 'Fundación de la capilla de la Epifanía', pp. 132–33.

40. Leg. 23, no. 1, Archivo Conde de Mora, in López Pita, 'Fundación de la capilla de la Epifanía', p. 135.

41. López Pita, 'Fundación de la capilla de la Epifanía', pp. 138–41.

42. López Pita, 'Fundación de la capilla de la Epifanía', p. 142.

43. Notably, López Pita, *Layos*; 'Fundación de la capilla de la Epifanía'; 'Francisco de Rojas y su vinculación con la Orden de Calatrava'.

44. Ramírez de Arellano, *Las Parroquias de Toledo*; García Rey, 'Historia de la pintura española. Fe de errores a una obra'.

45. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Batallas y quinquagenas*, edited by José Amador de los Ríos y Padilla and Juan Pérez de Tudela y Bueso (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1983), p. 271.

46. For example López Pita, *Layos*.

47. 'Testamento que hicieron Alfonso de Caceres…y Doña Marina de Roxas…' (22 May 1475), Consejos, 23827, leg. 1, no. 7, AHN, esp. fol. 9v.

48. Jean-Pierre Molénat, 'La volonté de durer: majorats et chapellenies dans la pratique tolédane des XIIIe–XVe siècles', *En la España medieval* 9 (1986): p. 690.

49. Pedro de Rojas, *Discursos ilustres, históricos i genealógicos* (Toledo: Ioan Ruiz de Pereda, 1636), 172v. Pedro de Rojas, knight of Calatrava, count of Mora and lord of Layos, was a descendant who wrote a history of the family in the seventeenth century. He listed the children of Alonso de Cáceres and Marina de Rojas in a section dedicated to the surname Escobar, yet styled each of them as 'Rojas', including 'Alonso Escobar y Rojas'. Adoption of the Rojas name was a condition for inheriting the *mayorazgos* of Layos and Móstoles. See Paulina López Pita, 'Fundación del Mayorazgo de Móstoles', *Anales toledanos* 25 (1988): pp. 100–1.

50. López Pita, *Layos*, p. 61.

51. López Pita, 'Francisco de Rojas y su vinculación con la Orden de Calatrava', p. 2227; Francisco Fernández Izquierdo, *La orden militar de Calatrava en el siglo XVI: infraestructura institucional, sociología y prosopografía de sus caballeros* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992), p. 64.

52. López Pita, *Layos*, p. 61.

53. The codicils are dated to 15 June 1492, 7 April 1494, 14 September 1495 and 17 January 1498. See 'Cuaderno de codicilo que dio Doña Marina de Rojas, mujer que fue de Alfonso de Cáceres', Consejos, 23827, leg. 1, no. 9, AHN, especially the first, second and fourth codicils, fols. 3, 5, 8.

54. 'Cuaderno de codicilo que dio Doña Marina de Rojas, mujer que fue de Alfonso de Cáceres', Consejos, 23827, leg. 1, no. 9, AHN, especially the first and third codicils, fols. 2, 6.

55. Fernández Izquierdo, *La orden militar de Calatrava en el siglo XVI*, p. 122ff.

56. 'Testamento que hicieron Alfonso de Caceres…y Doña Marina de Roxas…' (22 May 1475), Consejos, 23827, leg. 1, no. 7, fol. 3v, AHN. In 1514 Alonso would nevertheless transfer from Santiago to Calatrava, as suggested by a royal permission he obtained for the purpose. Duke of Berwick and Alba, *Noticias históricas y genealógicas*, 39: p. 93.

57. As evident from the wills preserved in Consejos, 23827, AHN.

58. 'Testamento que hicieron Alfonso de Caceres…y Doña Marina de Roxas…' (22 May 1475), Consejos, 23827, leg. 1, no. 7, fols. 4–5v, AHN. For information about Francisco de Rojas's studies and career, see Fernández de Córdova Miralles, 'Diplomáticos y letrados en Roma al servicio de los Reyes Católicos', esp. p. 128; Jesús Félix Pascual Molina and Irune Fiz Fuertes, 'Don Francisco de Rojas, embajador de los Reyes Católicos, y sus empresas artísticas: a propósito de una traza de Juan de Borgoña y Antonio de Comontes', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA Arte* 81 (2015): p. 61.

59. According to Pedro de Rojas, Francisco's first military campaign took place in 1475, during the War of Succession. Pedro de Rojas, *Discursos ilustres* (Toledo: Ioan Ruiz de Pereda, 1636), 200v.

60. Antonio Rodríguez Villa (ed.), *D. Francisco de Rojas, embajador de los Reyes Católicos. Documentos justificativos* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2006), pp. 8–9, accessed 10 March 2019, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcks732. For the battle of Loja, Edwards, *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs,* p. 105.

61. Fernández de Córdova Miralles, 'Diplomáticos y letrados en Roma', p. 131.

62. Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, 'Las armas de los Reyes Católicos', *Hidalgos: la revista de la Real Asociación de Hidalgos de España* 525 (2011): p. 24.

63. The inscriptions are transcribed in Antolín Abad Pérez, 'San Juan de los Reyes en la historia, la literatura y el arte', *Anales toledanos* 11 (1976): p. 169.

64. Alonso de Escobar's will for example requested the arms of Escobar, Rojas, Ribera, Guzmán, Roelas and Gadieles to be placed above the sepulchre he would share with his wife Constanza de Ribera. 'Testamento que hiço Alonso de Escobar' (27 January 1531), Consejos, 32586, AHN.

65. British Library, Add MS 18851 ('The Breviary of the Queen of Castile'), fols. 436v–37r; Janet Backhouse, *The Isabella Breviary* (London: The British Library, 1993), pp. 12, 17.

66. The inscription reads: 'El muy noble caballero Francisco de Royas mandó fundar esta capilla para reposo de sus padres y delos susçesores dellos, estando en Roma por embaxador de los muy católicos Reyes y Señores Don Fernando e Doña Isabel, Rey y Reyna de las Españas e de las Siçilias aquen e allende el faro e de Jerusalem, negociando entre otros muy ardos negocios de sus magestades e por su mandado la empresa y conquista del dicho Reyno de Siçilia aquende el faro que vulgarmente llaman el reyno de Napoles y Jerusalem, la qual y todas las victorias puso al servicio de las Santisima Trinidad y de la gloriosisima Virgen Santa María, Nuestro Señor y de todos los Santos'. López Pita, *Layos*, p. 113.

67. Ramírez de Arellano, Las Parroquias de Toledo, p. 15; Balbina Martínez Caviró, *El Monasterio de San Juan de los Reyes* (Bilbao: Iberdrola, 2002), pp. 13–14.

68. Ortiz Pradas, *San Juan de los Reyes de Toledo*, p. 196.

69. Domínguez Casas, 'San Juan de Los Reyes: espacio funerario y aposento regio', p. 366.

70. Rafael Domínguez Casas, 'Exequias borgoñonas en tiempos de Juana I de Castilla', in Miguel Ángel Zalama Rodríguez (ed.), *Juana I en Tordesillas: su mundo, su entorno* (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Tordesillas, 2010), pp. 262, 265 and passim; Javier Arias Nevado, 'El papel de los emblemas heráldicos en las ceremonias funerarias de la Edad Media (siglos XIII–XVI)', *En la España medieval* 1 (2006): pp. 49–80.

71. Martín de Riquer, *Heráldica castellana en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos* (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1986), p. 48.

72. A transcription of the letter in Duke of Berwick and Alba (ed.), *Noticias históricas y genealógicas*, 19: p. 73. On the succession of the orders, see María José Lop Otín, 'Las autoridades eclesiásticas de Toledo y las órdenes militares a fines del siglo XV', in Ricardo Izquierdo Benito and Francisco Ruiz Gómez (eds.), *Las órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica*, vol. 1, *Edad Media* (Toledo: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2000), p. 1074. On the architectural history of the convent in the early sixteenth century, see Clara Delgado Valero, Yolanda Guerrero, Francisco Masa and Blanca Piquero, 'La iglesia de Santiago en el convento de Santa Fe, de Toledo: una obra documentada de Antón Egas,' *Goya: Revista de arte* 211/212 (1989): pp. 34–43.

73. López Pita, 'Fundación de la capilla de la Epifanía', p. 132.

74. López Pita, 'Fundación de la capilla de la Epifanía', p. 141.

75. López Pita, *Layos*, Appendix, p. 256.

76. Very little survives of the chapel today. A detailed description is however contained in an anonymous manuscript of 1644. Vicente Castañeda y Alcover, 'Descripción del sacro convento de Calatrava la Nueva', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 28 (1928): pp. 402–43. For an extensive discussion of the chapel, its patron and decoration, see Irune Fiz Fuertes and Jesús Félix Pascual Molina, 'La Capilla Dorada del convento de Calatrava la Nueva. Precisiones iconográficas y patronazgo', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 28 (2016): pp. 97–112, accessed 12 September 2018, doi:10.15366/anuario2016.28.005.

77. Ramírez de Arellano, *Las Parroquias de Toledo*, p. 12.

78. Juan Guas, *Capilla mayor de San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo*, 1485–1490, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, D00552.

79. For a more extensive discussion of the drawing's artificial perspective, Sergio Sanabria, 'A late Gothic drawing of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo at the Prado Museum in Madrid,' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51:2 (1992): pp. 161–73.

80. Domínguez Casas, 'San Juan de Los Reyes: espacio funerario y aposento regio', p. 366.

81. 'Capilla de la Santa Epifanía en la Iglesia Parroquial de San Andrés de Toledo. Copia autorizada de las constituciones y modificaciones en ellas introducidas en virtud de la bula de Clemente VII', IV/1863, ADT, especially 'Las fiestas de la capilla. Cómo se han de celebrar', VII–IX; see also the earlier regulations established by Francisco de Rojas, transcribed in López Pita, *Layos*, p. 109.

9

Redesigning Miraflores: Simón de Colonia's Architectural Perception

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In January 1476, at the request of the Condestable Pedro Fernández de Velasco, and the Duke of Villahermosa, Isabella I of Castile travelled from Valladolid to Burgos to oversee the triumphant recovery of the city's castle. She encountered a devastated city. The city had been transformed into a battlefield since the rebellion of Álvaro de Zúñiga in May 1475 and the ensuing siege on the castle by troops loyal to Isabella and Ferdinand of Aragon. During her stay, as Hernán del Pulgar relates, Isabella dedicated herself to the reorganisation of the local political and military power structures as well as the reconstruction of the castle.

Although there is no record of a visit by Isabella to the Carthusian monastery of Santa María de Miraflores at that time, it seems that the queen somehow became aware of the dilapidated state of the unfinished funerary church of her father, King John II, following twelve years of standstill at the site (Fig. 9.1).[3] Isabella remained in the city until 5 February, probably visiting the monastery to pay homage to her father, just as Ferdinand did when he came to Burgos in June 1475.[4] Be as that may, two months after Isabella's stay in Burgos, when victory at the battle of Toro had assured her the Castilian crown, all royal privileges to the Carthusian monastery were confirmed.[5] One year later, in February 1477, a ceremony was held to lay the foundation stone of new work in the church of Miraflores.[6]

According to the author(s) of the *Breve noticia de la fundacion de la Real Cartuja de Miraflores*, drafted under prior Manuel de Aldea (1780–1789), it was Isabella who ordered the resumption of construction.[7] This claim has consistently been repeated in subsequent studies, though it is entirely unsupported by documentary evidence.[8] It is in fact unclear whether it was Isabella or the Carthusian community that ordered the resumption of construction. Lacking a proper church, the Carthusians had been using the refectory for liturgical celebrations since 1460.[9] If it was the queen that ordered

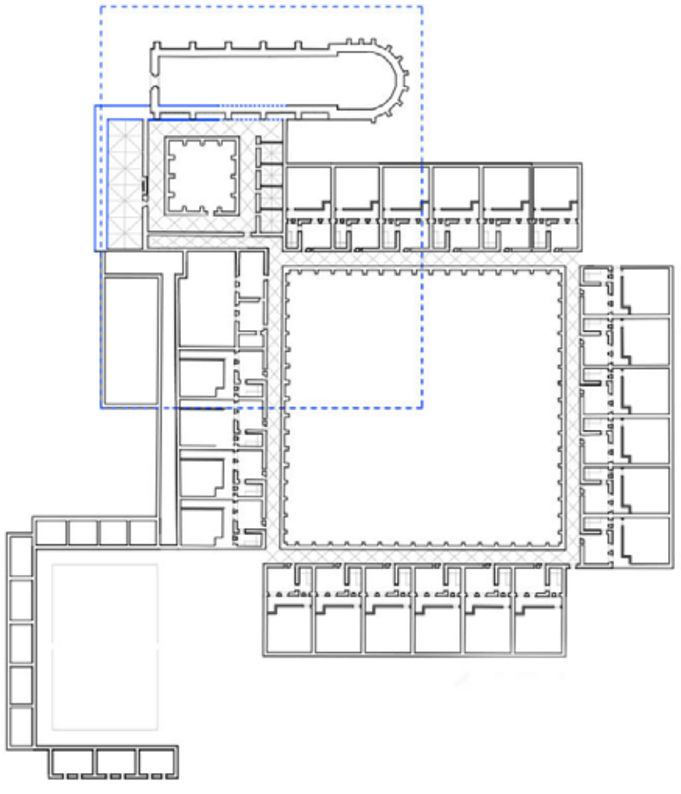

Fig. 9.1
Santa María de Miraflores, Burgos (ca. 1465), plan. Produced by N. Menéndez, C. Pérez de los Ríos, A. Kobe, and R. Köpf.

Fig. 9.2
Astorga Cathedral, unfinished buttress at the east end (1470–90s).

the works, it seems that her order was not accompanied at that time by direct financial support.[10] Although the Cortes celebrated at Segovia and Madrigal in April 1476 offered Isabella a budget of 168,000,000 maravedis, the economic situation of the Castilian crown was fragile.[11] Allocating resources was one thing, paying hard cash was quite another. The expenses of the conflict in Burgos alone were estimated to be 34,560,000 maravedis.[12]

An Unsuccessful Resumption of Works: Garci Fernández at Miraflores

In February 1477, when construction reportedly resumed, work was carried out under the direction of Garci Fernández de Matienzo. According to the *Fundacion de la Cartuja de Burgos* and to the *Cartuja de Miraflores*, drafted in the last third of the eighteen century, Garci Fernández was appointed master of works because of the death of Juan de Colonia, the renowned German architect who began construction of the monastery in the 1450s.[13] By these accounts, Garci Fernández was thus appointed while logistical reorganisation of the project was developing. Whatever the case, Garci died on 10 February 1478,[14] and so any attribution of works to Garci Fernández is highly questionable. The chronicles that assert this are also contradictory. According to one version, the walls of the church were completed in their entirety under Garci's direction and he also oversaw the closing of presbytery vaults.[15] According to a second version, only the walls were built under Garci.[16] This second version has been widely accepted by scholars.[17] But analysis of the construction of Miraflores casts doubt on the completion of the walls in 1477. Hereafter, I will focus on three issues.

Fig. 9.3
Church of Santa María de Miraflores, from the northwest.

Firstly, we must take into account that in the mid-1460s, when construction of the church stalled, the walls had been raised up to different heights. According to a description of the church, recorded in the *Noticia vreve* and probably extracted from a report similar to the famous *Memorial del plan y obras*,[18] the north wall stood at twenty feet high and the south wall at thirty-six and a half feet.[19] Furthermore, given the joint structure of masonry at the junctions of the buttresses and walls, we can deduce that the buttresses were built in the 1460s, before the walls. Indeed, given that funding problems caused construction of the church to stall, it is likely that the buttresses had been built to a higher level than the walls.[20] Archaeological remains of this common constructive strategy are preserved, for instance, at Astorga Cathedral (Fig. 9.2) and at Seville Cathedral, both buildings related to the Colonia dynasty.[21]

Fig. 9.4
Gil Siloe, Tomb of Juan II and Isabel de Portugal (ca. 1489–93). Alabaster. Santa María de Miraflores.

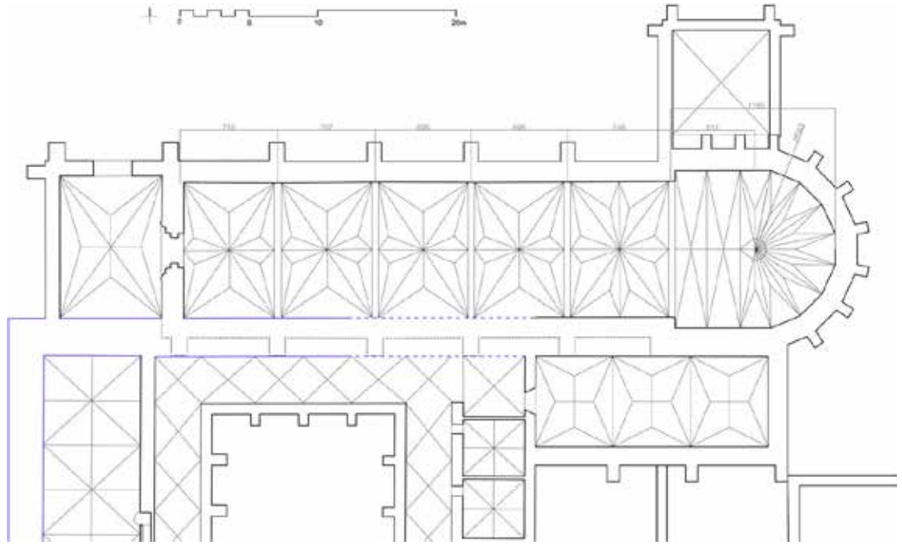

Fig. 9.5
Church of Santa María de Miraflores (ca. 1490), plan. Produced by N. Menéndez, C. Pérez de los Ríos, A. Kobe, and R. Köpf.

Second, it is important to recognise that winters in Burgos are too cold to set mortar safely. Assuming that funds were ready, the workshop organised, and the supply of materials ensured, stonecutting might conceivably have started in 1476. Even if this were the case, it is unlikely that the building process was underway before the spring and summer of 1477, 'quando est tempus edificandi', as the bishop of Burgos, Alonso de Santa María (himself a great patron and connoisseur of architecture), reminds us in his will.[22] It is also unlikely that the building process was underway in the winter of 1477/8.

Third, there is strong evidence that the walls of the church were still under construction in summer 1484. In June, the angel holding Isabella and Ferdinand's coat of arms was installed on the west façade, as well as a crucifix on the top of the pediment (Fig. 9.3).[23] A year later, the installation of the window tracery was still ongoing.[24] We can thus assume that the stained glass was not commissioned until that moment, at least for the nave windows.[25] These three pieces of evidence suggest that little was built in the church until the 1480s. More precisely, it was under Prior Juan Temiño (1483–1487) that we can trace the building process more closely and also assess Isabella's active role in the project.

A New Building Programme under Isabella's Patronage

After the civil war, Isabella's personal and political dedication to endowing her father with a sumptuous burial place led her to go beyond the funerary dispositions of John II.[26] Under Isabella, the church at Miraflores was conceived as the pantheon for a new constellation of royal bodies, namely the first-degree members of Isabella's family. Besides John II, it was to house the tombs of Isabella's mother and brother: Queen Isabella of Portugal (John's second wife) and the infante Alfonso. Petrified in alabaster, the tombs would have made tangible—in space and until the end of time—the restored prestige of the Castilian royal family (Fig. 9.4).[27] The tombs also implied that Isabella belonged to an unbroken line of Castilian monarchs.

Architecture was implicated in this new scheme, and Simón de Colonia was the architect responsible for it.[28] Indeed, despite the claims of the Carthusian authors of the Miraflores chronicles (or the scholars who have paraphrased them), Juan de Colonia's

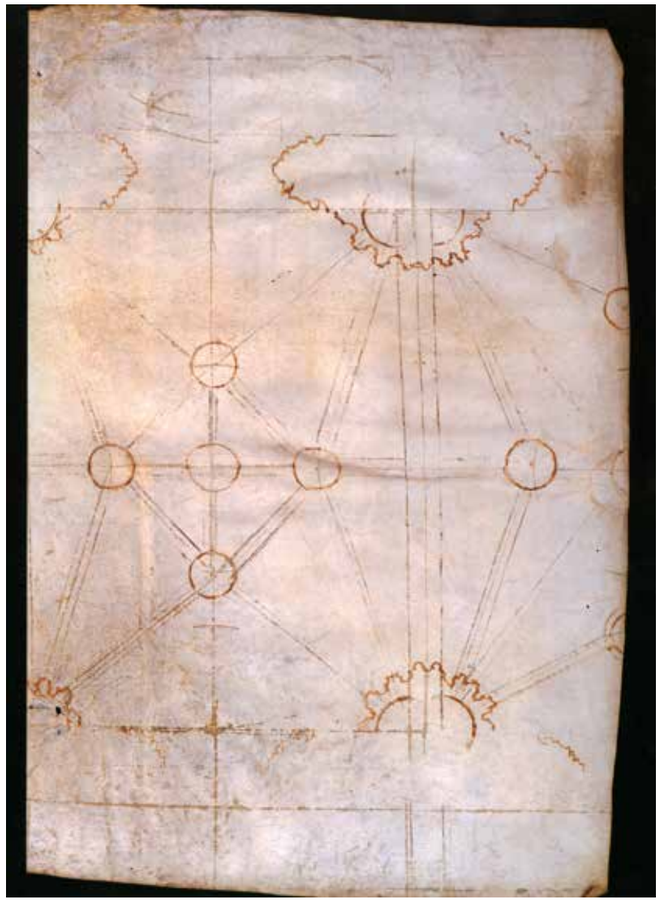

Fig. 9.6
Simón de Colonia (attributed), proposals for the design of the vaults and clearstory of the church of Santa María de Miraflores. Compass, stylus and ink on parchment, 33.3 x 21.2 cm. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero regular, carpeta 259, legajo 6.

original architectural drawings for Miraflores were revised and it was decided to redesign the project as well as expand it.[29] This is clear not only from the plans for a narthex and new main portal, originally installed on the north side of the narthex (Figs. 9.5 and 9.10),[30] but also from the fragment of a parchment drawing with six different designs or proposals for the resolution of the clearstory and the vaults of the church (Fig. 9.6).[31] In fact, everything suggests that the ascetic character of the church designed by Juan de Colonia did not fulfil the queen's expectations of the architectonical decorum and magnificence appropriate for a royal foundation. In order to understand this issue, we must go back to the 1450s, when the building of the charterhouse of Miraflores was first conceived.[32]

As originally planned, John II wanted to convert the palace of Miraflores into a Carthusian monastery by reforming the existing building and expanding it with the construction of his burial church. Because this plan was rejected by the Carthusian Order, the king promised to build a new monastery outside the palace's walls.[33] Nevertheless, John II's original plan was not abandoned until October 1452, when the palace was destroyed by fire. It was then that the Carthusian community, which had gained major decision-making capacity, developed a building programme 'al modo de la dicha horden', devised by Juan de Colonia. The institutional and personal relations between Miraflores and the Sevillan charterhouse of Santa María de las Cuevas played a key role in this, as witnessed by the selection of architectural models derived from the Sevillan charterhouse for the construction of the new foundation.[34] These included the church

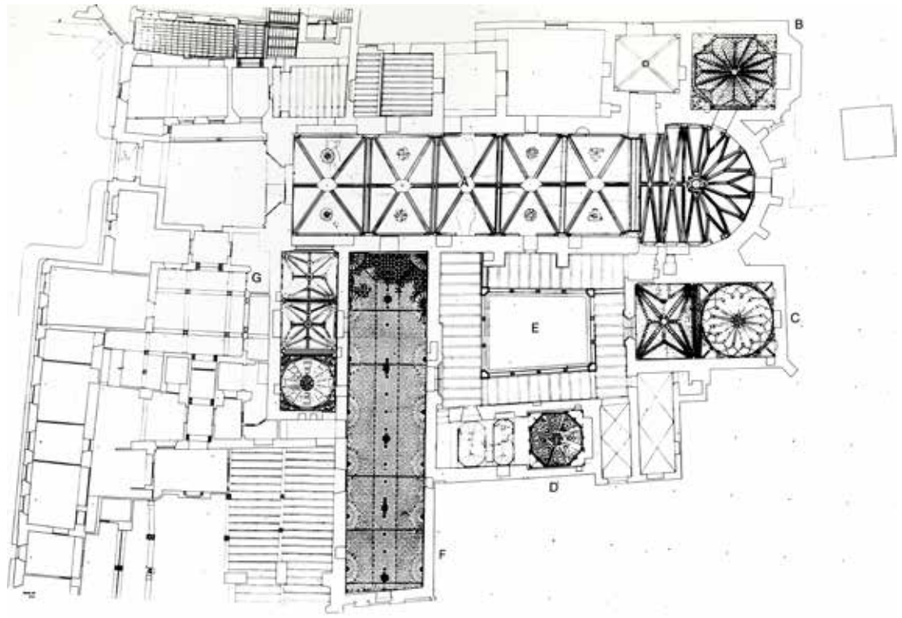

Fig. 9.7
Church of Santa María de las Cuevas, Seville (ca. 1410–19), plan.

Fig. 9.8
Juan de Colonia, portal of the church of Santa María de Miraflores (ca. 1460–44).

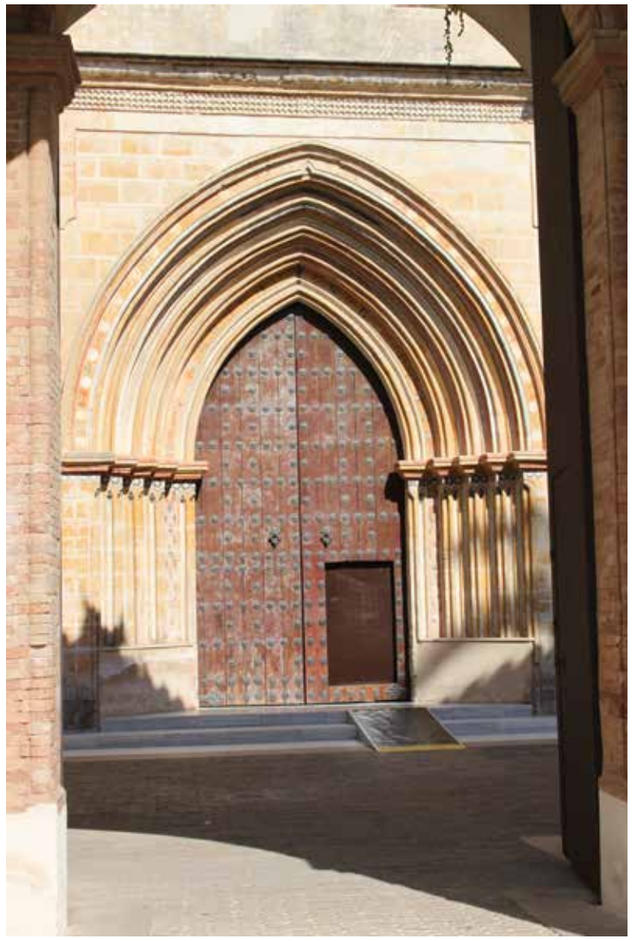

Fig. 9.9
Church of Santa María de las Cuevas, Seville, portal.

(Fig. 9.7). As recorded in the *Memorial del plan y obras*, the church was to be built in 'la forma de la yglesia que fiso el adelantado pedro afán de Ribera en las cuevas de sevilla'. Given that John II never visited Seville,[36] the king could only have known about Santa María de las Cuevas from architectural drawings.[37] That is to say that he could have only seen the archetype—as suggested in the *Memorial*—elected and proposed by the Carthusians.

As the church at Miraflores shows, Juan de Colonia closely imitated the design of Santa María de las Cuevas, adopting not only its plan but also its architectural language (see Figs. 9.1 and 9.7). This can be seen, for example, in the design for the original main portal of Miraflores (Fig. 9.8), effectively an architectural paraphrase of that at Las Cuevas (Fig. 9.9). According to the ascetic aesthetics of the Carthusian order, neither heraldic emblems nor sculpture decorate Miraflores's portal. Its design is reduced to architectural forms. Simón de Colonia's portal suggests, however, that Isabella and her deputies considered the aniconism and lack of heraldry in Juan's portal to be inappropriate for a royal foundation.

Comparing the original main portal with the new one (Figs. 9.8 and 9.10), it is easy to identify the paradigm shift between Juan de Colonia's models and stylistic parameters adopted by his son three decades later. Rejecting his father's ascetic abstraction, Simón employed the same formal repertoire that he used in contemporary buildings in Burgos Cathedral, such as the chapel of La Concepción or the chapel of the Constable, and later in parish churches such as San Nicolás in Burgos, where the main portal follows that at Miraflores.

The clearstory and vault plan of Miraflores clearly show this new architectural orientation. The three-light windows of Miraflores and the Constable's Chapel display the same basic design, as well as similar tracery designs, mouldings, capitals and bases (Figs. 9.11 and 9.12).[38] By contrast, the capitals on the formerets seem to go back to the elevation devised by Juan de Colonia. The same configuration appears earlier in the choir of San Pedro de Cardeña.[39] In the same way, Simón de Colonia retained his father's design for the vault of the *capilla mayor*, which follows that at Santa María de las Cuevas.[40]

The young architect nonetheless introduced new designs in the nave vault that are much more elaborate than those in the nave of Las Cuevas (see Figs 9.5 and 9.7).[41] They share only one feature: the ridge-rib.

Monumental Scenography: Architecture in Space

Unlike the project of the 1450s, the creation of an impressive external view for the church played a pivotal role in the new building programme. As discussed, Miraflores became a monument to the Castilian monarchy under Isabella's patronage, placing the queen in an unbroken dynastic line even if this status could not easily be proclaimed, given the church's location in a Carthusian monastery three kilometres from Burgos, visited by few and partly veiled from sight.

Simón's design did not start *ex nihilo*. As noted above, the church's walls rose several metres above ground and the main portal was already installed on the west façade (see Figs. 9.1 and 9.8). Not only was the portal considered inappropriate, but so too was Juan de Colonia's façade, which also imitated Las Cuevas. Construction of a new narthex solved these problems (see Fig. 9.5), making it possible to carve a new portal to be placed to the north side of the narthex. The monumentality of the church's north façade was thereby enhanced, effectively becoming the church's main façade.

In order to understand Simón de Colonia's design, we have to take into account the position of the church within the monastery, as well as the topography of the leafy parkland around Miraflores. Simón had known the monastery and its surroundings since childhood, so was fully aware that those coming to Miraflores would travel along the so-called *camino de Burgos*. Likewise, the young architect knew that the first visual contact with the church would be from the northwest.

Fig. 9.10
Simón de Colonia, church of Santa María de Miraflores, portal of narthex (ca. 1486).

Although there is no documentary evidence about this precise stretch of the *camino de Burgos* at the end of the fifteenth century, it cannot have been very different from what is now known as the Camino de la Paz (Fig. 9.13). This provided the main access to the monastery until the construction of a paved road and seems to correspond to the route of the *camino de Burgos* represented in several maps and descriptions of the

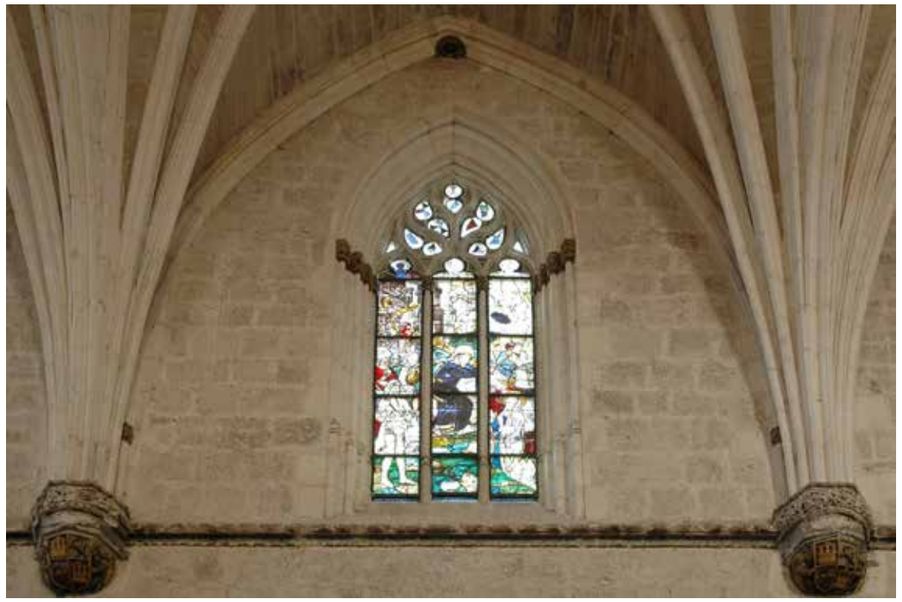

Fig. 9.11
Simón de Colonia, church of Santa María de Miraflores, clearstory (1480s).

Miraflores parkland from the eighteenth century (Fig. 9.14).[42] At that time, points of entry were opened in what remained of the boundary. Built in the time of Enrique III, the founder of the old palace of Miraflores, the Puerta Real—later known as La Vieja—provided the main entrance to the Miraflores estate from the *camino de Burgos*.[43] Two other entries were provided for the roads from Cardeña and Cardeñadillo.

Crossing the Puerta Real, the *camino de Burgos* bifurcated at the monastery. The southern branch followed the monastery's vegetable garden. The northern branch led to Miraflores's gatehouse, passing through La Tejera and La Cruz. Following this branch, the visitor first had clear sight of the church from a similar perspective to the one enjoyed by those entering via the Camino de la Paz. This powerful visual experience is described by authors at the end of nineteenth century.[44] Indeed, the construction of the

Fig. 9.12
Simón de Colonia, Chapel of the Condestable, Burgos Cathedral (1480/90s).

Fig. 9.13
Current means of access to Santa María de Miraflores.

paved road impacted not only the historical topography of Miraflores estate, but also the way that the modern visitor perceives the church's exterior.

Everything indicates that this choreography corresponds to the topographical situation at the time of Simón de Colonia. In addition to the pictorial and textual sources, the ground floor of Miraflores paupers' guesthouse demonstrates that the old camino de Burgos entered the monastery forecourt at the same point as the camino de la Paz—from the first third of the sixteenth century, at least (see Fig. 9.13). At that time, the architect was forced to adapt the ground floor of this building to the camino de Burgos, breaking with the orthogonality of the rest of the monastic complex.

Knowing that the visitor would first spot the church from the northwest, Simón conceived the elevation of the north and west façades so that they appeared from this perspective as a unitary monumental scene. This explains the unusual asymmetrical elevation of the west façade, in which the slender southern buttress dies into the wall just above the level of the rose window, but the thicker northern buttress folds round onto the north façade, rising to the base of the gable (see Fig. 9.3). Approaching from the northwest, the massive volume of the northern buttress creates a strong visual axis for the north façade and west end, like a kind of optical hinge. From an oblique perspective, the disparities in the buttresses and the uninterrupted projection of the cornice emphasise the impression of depth, an impression not visible when viewed frontally. The position of the north window of the church's western bay offers further proof of Simón Colonia's scenographic manipulation, for it is the only one nudged away from the centre of the bay (Fig. 9.15). On the exterior, this compensates for the projection of the buttress so that the window appears to be located at the centre of the bay (see Fig. 3).

Shaping Architectural Spaces

Simón de Colonia's project embraced not just an update of Juan de Colonia's architectural vocabulary, but also spatial redefinition. In addition to the relocation of the main portal on the church's north side, the construction of the narthex itself implied the creation of an antechamber that was open to the faithful. Unlike the direct access devised by Juan de Colonia, the narthex displays a transitional architectural space that

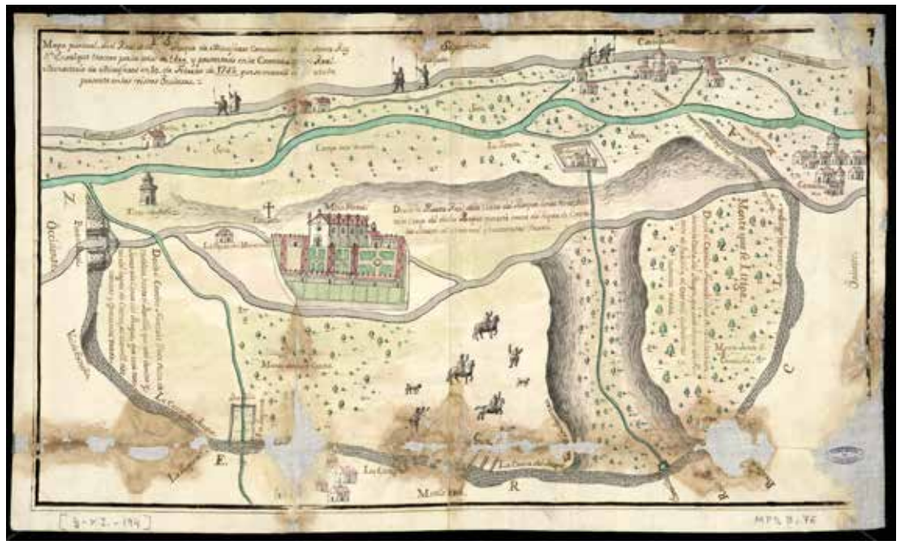

Fig. 9.14
Miraflores Parkland (1742). Ink and gouache on paper, 33.5 x 56 cm. Archivo General de Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, Legajos, 00194.

Fig. 9.15
Simón de Colonia, church of Santa María de Miraflores, north window of western bay (1480s).

Fig. 9.16
Church of Santa María de Miraflores, from the western bay.

connects the exterior and the interior of the church. Whether intentionally or not, the narthex influenced and still influences the visitor's perception of the church's architectural space. Crossing the main portal, the faithful entered, as now, a space covered by a tierceron vault and scarcely lit by a small rose, originally on the west side of the narthex.[45] Alternating in each corner, the emblems of the Order of the Band and Castile decorate the shafts, referring again to the monastery's founder. Crossing the church portal from darkness of the narthex, visitors enter a space that is dramatically larger and bright, during daylight hours at least (see Fig. 9.9). A similar effect has been observed in the old chapel of San Pedro that precedes the Constable's Chapel in Burgos Cathedral, though this may have been prompted by other factors.[46]

In Miraflores, beyond the old church portal, the space opened to the faithful was the westernmost bay of the church.[47] This space is separate from the lay brother's choir by a grille. The current iron grille was installed in the nineteenth century, although the original grille, '*la reja grande*', was also iron.[48] Installed in 1493, the original grille was decorated with the royal coats of arms and, very likely, two sculptures of angels by Gil de Siloe.[49] Nowadays, if the screen is closed, the beholder can hardly see the royal tombs from the west end of the church, and this seems to have been the case at the end of the fifteenth century. Placed below the exuberant presbytery vault and before the richly carved retable, the tomb of John II and Isabella of Portugal is more than 31.5 metres from

Fig. 9.17
Simón de Colonia, church of Santa María de Miraflores, vault of the capilla mayor (1480s).

the grille. Observed from the west bay, only its pale profile can be perceived (Fig. 9.16).

Analysis of the interior suggests that Simón de Colonia was fully aware of this situation when he conceived the inner elevations. Unlike the nave vaults, the ribs of the presbytery vault are decorated with delicate tracery (Fig. 9.17). Simón de Colonia had used the same feature to decorate the ribs of the Conception Chapel in Burgos Cathedral, as well as the arch separating the Constable's Chapel from chapel of San Pedro. Although this form has been associated with a dubiously semantic load, it seems to be no more than a decorative device that enhanced the richness of the vaults. What is noteworthy is not Simón's use of this vocabulary, but rather its manipulation to create different aesthetic effects depending on the standpoint of the beholder. I will illustrate this point by comparing the vaults at Miraflores with this in the Conception Chapel in

Fig. 9.18.
Simón de Colonia, Burgos Cathedral, vault of the Conception chapel (ca. 1483).

Fig. 9.19
Simón de Colonia, church of Santa María de Miraflores, vault of the second bay counting from the west (1480s).

Burgos Cathedral.

In the vault of the Conception Chapel, the tracery springs from the lateral sides of the ribs, creating a delicate border along their entire length. Observed from the interior of the chapel, the ribs resemble a dynamic floating structure, detached from the vault webs (Fig. 9. 18). The drama of this illusion is increased by delicate polychromy. Below the webs, which were probably painted in blue, the ribs were painted in gold, remnants of which are still visible. In Miraflores, on the contrary, the tracery work hangs from the intrados of the main ribs of presbytery vault and from the transverse arch separating the capilla mayor from the nave (see Fig. 9.17). The tracery visualises the spatial division between the presbytery and the nave, in accordance with the decorum of both spaces. As the church has only a single nave, this formal variation was one of the few

Fig. 9.20
Simón de Colonia, church of Santa María de Miraflores, vault of the eastern bay (1480s).

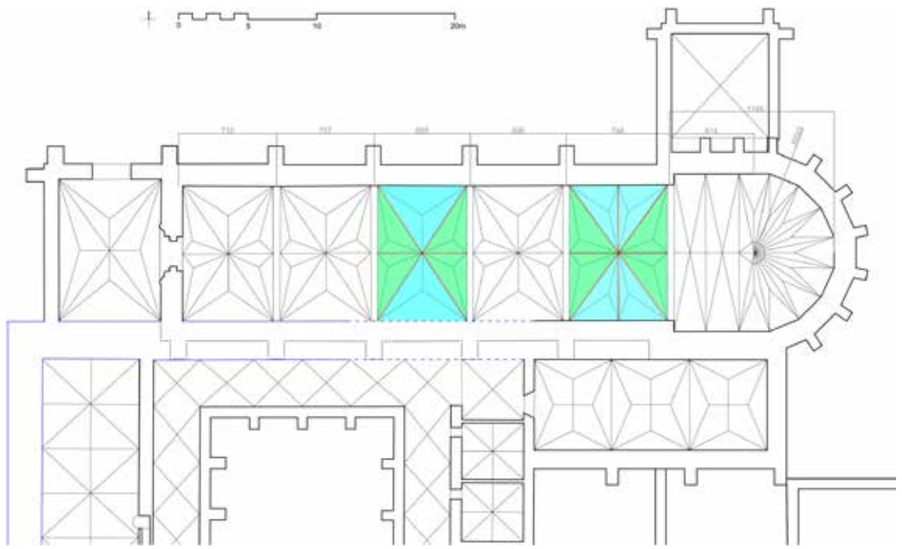

Fig. 9.21
Church of Santa María de Miraflores, vault plan. Produced by N. Menéndez, C. Pérez de los Ríos, A. Kobe, and R. Köpf.

means available to Simón to differentiate the two spaces.

Comparing both vaults, we can conclude that the Conception Chapel's vault was conceived to be observed from below, within the chapel. But the vaults of the *capilla mayor* at Miraflores were to be observed obliquely, particularly from the westernmost bay of the nave. By examining the design procedures and creative strategies codified in the parchment fragment from Miraflores, I will show how Simón carefully considered the church's spatial organisation when designing the vaults.

Like the vaults drawn on the parchment fragment, the vault of the church at Miraflores includes a ridge rib (see Figs. 9.5 and 9.6). This seems to have been planned by Juan de Colonia, following the vault plan of Las Cuevas (see Fig. 9.7). In the vaults of the four western bays of the nave, the ridge rib and diagonal ribs form six compartments, which are subdivided by tiercerons (the transversal compartments) and triradials (the longitudinal compartments) (Figs. 9.19 and 9.21). The vault of the eastern bay includes an extra transverse rib, creating eight compartments, each articulated by triradials (Figs. 9.20 and 9.21). One might think that Simón wanted to emphasise spatial differentiation in the nave, but as originally planned, the monks' choir was and is located in the two eastern bays.[50] That is to say that both bays constitute a unified space from a functional point of view.

The purpose of this design variation emerges clearly only when the interior is observed from the westernmost bay. As discussed above, the space in the church opened to the faithful. Indeed, looking from this standpoint, the eastern bay vault seems to be similar to the other vaults of the nave. It suggests that Simón manipulated the vault plan so that the nave's inner space appeared from the perspective of the faithful as a unitary space, an optical illusion that Simón de Colonia shaped by displacing the position of the bosses from the transversal axis (see Fig. 9.16).

Conclusions

At the request of Isabella I of Castile, Simón de Colonia modified the church of the charterhouse of Miraflores, as designed by his father in the 1450s. All the evidence suggests that the queen did not consider the original church's plain style appropriate for

a royal foundation. Besides a clear stylistic paradigm shift, Simón de Colonia's architecture reveals a thoughtful reflection on the perception of architectural spaces and forms, in which the potential viewpoint of the beholder played a key role. In other words, Simón conceived his architecture to be seen from key viewpoints, both within the church and outside it. If his father's design largely imitated the plan and vocabulary of Santa María de las Cuevas, Simón invented new modifications to the church at Miraflores, creating subtle visual illusions and radically new aesthetic effects.

1. See Luciano Serrano, *Los Reyes Católicos y la ciudad de Burgos (Desde 1451 a 1492)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1943), pp. 142-66.

2. 'E luego el bastardo hermano del Rey, y el Condestable, escribiéron á la Reyna que estaba en Valladolid, que veniese á asentar el partido, é á recebir su fortaleza. La Reyna vistas las letras del Duque é del Condestable, partió de Valladolid, é vino para la cibdad de Búrgos, é posó en las casas del Obispo. É allí viniéron á ella personas diputadas por parte del Alcayde, é de los que estaban con él en el castillo: é perdonólos, é mandóles restituir sus bienes, é recibió el castillo, en el qual puso por Alcayde á Diego de Ribera, Ayo que fué del Príncipe Don Alonso su hermano: é dió órden en el bastimento é reparo del castillo, y en la justicia, é guarda de la cibdad. Esto fecho, volvió luego para Valladolid, é dende vino para Tordesillas, por estar mas cerca de Toro é de Zamora para proveer las cosas necesarias á la guerra'. Hernado del Pulgar, *Crónica de los Señores Reyes Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragón, escrita por su cronista Hernando del Pulgar cotexada con antiguos manuscritos y aumentada de varias ilustraciones y enmiendas* (Valencia: Imprenta de Benito Monfort, 1780), p. 74.

3. Franciso Tarín y Juaneda, *La Real Cartuja de Miraflores (Burgos). Su historia y descripción* (Burgos: Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1897), pp. 138-9.

4. Tarín y Juaneda, *La Real Cartuja*, pp. 138-39; Ronda Kasl, *The Making of Hispano-Flemish Style. Art, Commerce, and Politics in Fifteenth-Century Castile* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), pp. 107-8.

5. '76.- A 23 de Abril confirmaron todos los privilegios los Reyes Don Fernando y Doña Ysabel'. *Noticia vreve y compendiosa de la fundacion desta Real Cartuja de Miraflores sacada del Libro del Becerro, con otras noticias dignas de saberse (hereafter Noticia vreve)*, Carpeta 377, Documento 6, Archivo Cartuja de Miraflores (hereafter ACM).

6. 'A 26 de Febrero se volvio a proseguir la obra de la iglesia'. *Noticia vreve*, ACM. The date given in the *Noticia vreve* as the start of works seems to refer to the ceremony.

7. 'Año de 1476 junto con su Marido Don Fernando el Catolico confirmo todos los privilegios de esta Casa, y despues año de 1477 mando proseguir la fabrica de la Yglesia'. *Breve noticia de la fundacion de la Real Cartuja de Miraflores*, Proyecto de continuación de la España Sagrada, Documento 1, Real Academia de la Historia.

8. Juan Arias de Miranda, *Apuntes históricos sobre la Cartuja de Miraflores, de Burgos* (Burgos: Imprenta de Pascual Polo, 1843), p. 39; Manuel de Assas y Ereño, *La Cartuja de Miraflores, junto á Burgos* (Madrid: José Gil Dorregaray, 1880), p. 21; Kasl, *The Making of Hispano-Flemish Style*, p. 108.

9. *Noticia vreve*, ACM; Tarín y Juaneda, *La Real Cartuja*, pp. 124, 153.

10. The first recorded spending by the Crown for Miraflores dates from 1480. See Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real castellana entre 1480 y 1492* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1967), p. 73.

11. Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *La España de los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2015), p. 64.

12. See Eduardo de Oliver-Copons, *El Castillo de Burgos* (Barcelona: Imprenta de Henrich y Compla en Comandita, 1893), pp. 200-4.

13. Fundacion de la Cartuja de Burgos (hereafter *Fundacion de la Cartuja*), Carpeta 377, Documento 1, fol. 1v, ACM; Inuentario del Archivo Común y Cofre del Cid, *Cartuja de Miraflores* (hereafter *Cartuja de Miraflores*), fol. 321v, Archivo Histórico de la Catedral de Burgos (hereafter ACB). For Juan de Colonia's biography and work, see Manuel Martínez y Sanz, *Historia del templo catedral de Burgos* (Burgos: Imprenta de don Anselmo Revilla, 1866); Carl Justi, 'Die kölnischen Meister an der Kathedrale von Burgos', *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden in Rheinlande* 93 (1892): pp. 1-30; Vicente Lampérez y Romea, 'Juan de Colonia. Estudio biográfico-crítico', *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones* 19 (1903): pp. 351-356 and 22 (1904): pp. 403-415; Hugo Kehrer, 'Die Türme der Kathedrale von Burgos und Hans von Köln', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 4 (1928): pp. 477-489; August Liebmann Mayer, *Gotik in Spanien* (Leipzip: Klinkhardt & Biermann Verlag, 1928), pp. 31-4; Teófilo López Mata, *La catedral de Burgos* (Burgos: Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1950); Matías Martínez Burgos, 'En torno a la catedral de Burgos. II Colonias y Siloes. Juan de Colonia', *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González* 128 (1954): pp. 215–226; Nicolás Menéndez González, 'Juan de Colonia en los inicios del tardogótico burgalés', in Juan Francisco Jiménez et al. (eds.), *Actas IV Simposio de Jóvenes Medievalistas. Lorca 2018* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2009), pp. 145-160; María Pilar García Cuetos, 'En los límites de la sombra como arquetipo historiográfico. La llegada de Juan de Colonia y su aportación a la arquitectura tardogótica en Castilla', in Begoña Alonso Ruiz (coord.), *Los últimos arquitectos del Gótico* (Madrid: Grupo de Investigación de Arquitectura Tardogótica, 2010), pp. 71-146; Nicolás Menéndez González, 'Juan de Colonia and the west façade of Burgos cathedral: 1442-1458', *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 16 (2010): pp. 333-339; Nicolás Menéndez González, 'Ecclesia ecclesiarum et civitas civitarum Castelle. La instrumentalización retórica de la arquitectura en la obra política de Alonso García de Santa María', in María Dolores Teijeira Pablos, María Victoria Herráez Ortega and María Concepción Cosmen, *Reyes y prelados. La creación artística en los reinos de León y Castilla (1050-1500)* (Madrid: Sílex, 2014), pp. 371-388; Nicolás Menéndez González, *Studien zum empirischen Konstruieren Juan de Colonias († 1476/78). Form- und Herstellungswissen im Protostadium einer Ära des Architekturtraktats*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Kölner Architekturstudien, 2018), and for his death, see 1: pp. 83-6.

14. *Noticia vreve*, ACM; Arias de Miranda, *Apuntes históricos*, p. 39; Tarín y Juaneda, *La Real Cartuja*, p. 145.

15. *Fundacion de la Cartuja*, fol. 1v, ACM; *Cartuja de Miraflores*, fol. 321v, ACM.

16. *Noticia vreve*, ACM; *Noticia breve y compendiosa de la fundacion de esta Real Cartuja de Miraflores, sacada del libro de Becerro, con otras noticias dignas de saberse* (hereafter *Noticia breve*), Cuaderno 375, fol. 19, ACM.

17. See Arias de Miranda, *Apuntes históricos*, p. 39; Juan de Dios de la Rada y Delgado, 'Sepulcro de Don Juan II en la Cartuja de Miraflores de Burgos', *Museo español de antigüedades* 3 (1874): p. 302; Manuel de Assas y Ereño, *La Cartuja de Miraflores, junto á Burgos* (Madrid: José Gil Dorregaray, 1880), p. 21; Tarín y Juaneda, *La Real Cartuja*, p. 145; Kasl, *The Making of Hispano-Flemish Style*, p. 108; Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 'Las capillas funerarias de los Trastámara: de la creación de la memoria a "la grandeza humillada"', in Olga Pérez Monzón, Matilde Miquel Juan and María Martín Gil (eds.), *Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano. La capilla fúnebre de Álvaro de Luna en contexto* (Madrid: Sílex, 2018), p. 157.

18. Transcribed by Tarín y Juaneda, *La Real Cartuja*, pp. 562-4.

19. The south wall was a remnant of the old palace built by king Enrique III of Castile. On the palace of Miraflores, see Luciano Huidrobro y Serna, 'El antiguo palacio real de Miraflores', *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos de Burgos* 14 (1935): pp. 209-14.

20. On this procedure in Miraflores's cloisters, see Menéndez González, *Studien zum empirischen Konstruieren Juan de Colonias*, 2: pp. 137-54.

21. For Astorga Cathedral, see Pablo de la Riestra, *La catedral de Astorga y la arquitectura del gótico alemán* (Oviedo: Museo de la Catedral de Astorga, 1992); Pablo de la Riestra, 'La catedral de Astorga y sus referentes alemanes', in Christian Freigang (ed.), *Gotische Architektur in Spanien. La arquitectura gótica en España* (Frankfurt am Main and Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 1999), pp. 273-288. For Seville Cathedral, see Alonso Jiménez Martín (ed.), *La piedra postrera*, 2 vols. (Seville: Tvrris Fortíssima, 2007); Juan Clemente Rodríguez Estévez, 'Cambio y continuidad en el proyecto gótico de la catedral de Sevilla', *Laboratorio de Arte* 23 (2011): pp. 33-64; Alfonso Jiménez Martín: *Anatomía de la catedral de Sevilla* (Seville: Diputación de Sevilla, 2013).

22. See Matías Martínez Burgos, 'Don Alonso de Cartagena, obispo de Burgos. Su testamento', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 63 (1957): p. 91.

23. *Noticia vreve*, ACM; Tarín y Juaneda, La Real *Cartuja*, p. 143.

24. '85. se puso el lazo, o clarauoia en el obalo de la yglesia encima de la puerta'. *Noticia vreve*, ACM.

25. For the two groups of stained glass in the church of Miraflores, see Jan van Damme, 'Niclaes Rombouts y las vidrieras de la Cartuja de Miraflores', in *La Cartuja de Miraflores*, vol. 3, *Las vidrieras* (Madrid: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007), p. 52. Scholars normally date the commission of the stained glass to ca. 1482-84: Assas y Ereño, *La Cartuja*, p. 21; Fernando Cortés Pizano, 'Vidrieros de los Paises Bajos en España', in *La Cartuja de Miraflores*, 3: pp. 20-22; van Damme, 'Niclaes Rombouts', pp. 41-53; Kasl, *The Making of Hispano-Flemish Style*, pp. 21-4. However, the first payment for the acquisition of the stained glass in Flanders dates to 1486. Two other payments were made in 1487 and 1488: 'Dieronse Diego de Soria un gran mercader de Burgos para que comprase en Flandes las vidrieras de la iglesia el año 1486 26.500', *Cartuja de Miraflores*, fol. 322, ACB.

26. Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Los Reyes Católicos. Paisaje artístico de una monarquía* (Madrid: Nerea, 1993), pp. 54-64.

27. On the tombs, see María Jesús Gómez Bárcena, *Escultura gótica funeraria en Burgos* (Burgos: Diputación Provincial de Burgos, 1988) pp. 203-21; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Los Reyes Católicos*, pp. 59-64; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'Los sepulcros reales de la Cartuja de Miraflores', in *La Cartuja de Miraflores*, vol. 1, *Los Sepulcros* (Madrid: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007), pp. 15-73; Kasl, *The Making of Hispano-Flemish Style*, pp. 122-53. For the tomb of John II and Isabella of Portugal, see Felipe Pereda, 'El cuerpo muerto del rey Juan II, Gil de Siloé, y la imaginación escatológica (Observaciones sobre el lenguaje de la escultura en la alta Edad Media)', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte (U.A.M.)* 13 (2001): pp. 53-85. For the tomb of the Infante Alfonso, see María Jesús Gómez Bárcena, 'El sepulcro del Infante Alfonso', in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Gil de Siloe y la escultura de su época* (Burgos, Institución Fernán González, 2001), pp. 189-206; María Dolores Teijeira Pablos: 'Un ejemplo de iconografía marginal funeraria: la orla del sepulcro del infante Alfonso en la Cartuja de Miraflores', *Reales Sitios* 133 (1997): pp. 35-43.

28. For Simón de Colonia's biography and work, see Martínez y Sanz, *Historia del templo catedral; Justi, Die kölnischen Meister; Mayer, Gotik in Spanien*, pp. 150-167; Filemón Arribas Arranz, 'Simón de Colonia en Valladolid', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 11 (1933-4): pp. 153-166; López Mata, *La catedral de Burgos*; Matías Martínez Burgos, 'En torno a la catedral de Burgos. II. Colonias y Siloes. Juan y Simón de Colonia.- Gil de Siloe', *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González* 130 (1955): pp. 433–459; Rafael Domínguez Casas, *Arte y etiqueta de los Reyes Católicos. Artistas, residencias, jardines y bosques* (Madrid: Editorial alpuerto, 1993), pp. 51-7; Felipe Pereda and Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, 'Coeli enarrant gloriam dei. Arquitectura, iconografía y liturgia en la capilla de los Condestables de la Catedral de Burgos', *Annali di architettura: rivista del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura* 9 (1997): pp. 17–34; Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso, 'Simón de Colonia y la ciudad de Burgos. Sobre la definición estilística de las segundas generaciones de familias de artistas extranjeros en los siglos XV y XVI', in: *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Gil de Siloe y la escultura de su época* (Burgos, Institución Fernán González, 2001), pp. 51-69; Felipe Pereda, 'La morada del salvaje. La fachada selvática del colegio de San Gregorio y sus contextos', in Begoña Alonso Ruiz (coord.), *Los últimos arquitectos del Gótico* (Madrid: Grupo de Investigación de Arquitectura Tardogótica, 2010), pp. 149–217; Menéndez González, *Studien zum empirischen Konstruieren Juan de Colonias*; Nicolás Menéndez González, 'Una traza original de Simón de Colonia procedente de la Cartuja de Miraflores (Observaciones sobre las estrategias del diseño arquitectónico en el Cuatrocientos hispano)', *Medievalia* 22 (forthcoming).

29. Menéndez González, *Studien zum empirischen Konstruieren Juan de Colonias*, 2: pp. 172-88. Following the chronicles, it has been hitherto assumed that Garci Fernández de Matienzo and Simón de Colonia had continued construction of the church following Juan de Colonia's designs. See Arias de Miranda, *Apuntes históricos*, p. 39; Rada y Delgado, *Sepulcro de Don*, pp. 302-3; Assas y Ereño, *La Cartuja*, p. 21; Tarín y Juaneda, *La Real Cartuja*, p. 145.

30. '[1486] Se hizo la capilla á la entrada de la iglesia con una portada magnifica: en ella se colocó una estatua de la Compasion de Nuestra Señora, y un óvalo pequeño en frente de la puerta de la iglesia. Esto se mudó por los años de 1658, como se dirá'. *Noticia breve*, fols. 21-2, ACM. Indeed, the portal was dismantled and moved to its current location under prior Juan de Santoya (1648-1661), as part of an extensive renewal programme of the church: 'El año de [16]57 se empezó á componer la iglesia; se blanqueó toda; se hizo la cornisa, la que se construyó sobre la que tenia, que apenas se divisaba: se pusieron todos los Cuadros con sus adornos, y cuatro vidrieras de la capilla mayor; óvalo de la iglesia: se abrio el óvalo que está sobre la puerta de la iglesia, y se le puso vidriera; / se muda la puerta: se mudó la puerta primera del lado del regañon, á donde está ahora; y el óvalo pequeño que estaba donde está la puerta, se puso donde estaba antes la puerta.' *Noticia breve*, fols. 41-2, ACM. The main portal had been relegated to a second plane since the 1530s by the construction of chapels on the church's north side and the gatehouse.

31. Clero regular, Carpeta 259, Legajo 6, Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN). On this architectural drawing, see Menéndez González, *Studien zum empirischen Konstruieren Juan de Colonias*, 2: pp. 189-204; Nicolás Menéndez González, *Una traza original de Simón de Colonia*.

32. See Menéndez González, *Studien zum empirischen Konstruieren Juan de Colonias*, 2: pp. 112-33.

33. As is clear from the letter from John II to the Prior General of the Order, Francisco Maresme, in which he formally offered the palace's donation and the monastery's foundation: 'nos place de ofrecer a la dicha buestra horden los nuestros Palacios de Miraflores, que son situados cerca de la nra. mui noble Cibdad de Burgos caveza de Castilla nuestra Cámara que es a media legua de la dicha Cibdad. E si por ventura los dichos Palacios al modo de la dicha horden non pudieren asi ser dispuestos a nos placera con consejo de Personas de la dicha horden mandar construir e facer fuera de los dichos Palacios celdas para doce Monjes e ocho hermanos legos, e asi mesmo entendemos edificar Iglesia e Claustro e oficinas al modo de la dicha horden'. Tarín y Juaneda, *La Real Cartuja*, p. 532.

34. On the transfer of architectural models from Seville to Miraflores, see Menéndez González, *Studien zum empirischen Konstruieren Juan de Colonias*, 2: pp. 116-33.

35. Tarín y Juaneda, *La Real Cartuja*, p. 101.

36. See Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez, *El itinerario de la corte de Juan II de Castilla* (1418-1454) (Madrid: Sílex, 2007).

37. Kasl, The Making of Hispano-Flemish Style, p. 107; Menéndez González, *Studien zum empirischen Konstruieren Juan de Colonias*, 2: pp. 100-1.

38. The stonecutting technique is more precise in the Constable's Chapel, where the pieces were elaborated with accurate, sharp edges and intersections. The mouldings are also decorated with vegetable ornament.

39. For San Pedro de Cardeña, see Menéndez, *Studien zum empirischen Konstruieren Juan de Colonias*, 1: pp. 135-45.

40. Miraflores' main chapel vault repeats the form of Nuestra Señora de las Cuevas. That is the reason why we can assume that this form goes back to the vault plan devised by Juan de Colonia.

41. This analysis refutes the historiography concerning the authorship of Miraflores vault plan. The attribution of the vaults of the capilla mayor to Simón de Colonia on account of their tracery decoration, and those the nave to his father, is unconvincing. See Elena Martín Martínez de Simón, 'Arquitectura religiosa tardogótica en la provincial de Burgos (1440-1511)' (PhD diss., Universidad de Burgos, 2013), p. 1191; Alonso Ruiz, *Las capillas funerarias*, p. 157.

42. Gracia y Justicia, Legajos, 00194, Archivo General de Simancas. See Sec. Consejos, Mapa no. 760, AHN; Sec. Consejos, Mapa no. 761, AHN. Both are reproduced in *Burgos. La ciudad a través de la cartografía histórica* (Burgos: Instituto Municipal de Cultura, 2002), pp. 98-9.

43. The portal has been located on the wall adjacent to the church's sacristy since 1956.

44. See B. de A., *La Cartuja de Miraflores* (Burgos: Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1899), p. 10.

45. In 1657 the rose was relocated on north side of the narthex. See note 30.

46. See Elena Paulino Montero, '"Ea quae insignite fiunt sepulcra mortuorum". La capilla de la Purificación de la catedral de Burgos y la creación de la memoria', in Olga Pérez Monzón, Matilde Miquel Juan and María Martín Gil (eds.), *Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano. La capilla fúnebre de Álvaro de Luna en contexto* (Madrid: Sílex, 2018), p. 247.

47. Tarín y Juaneda, *La Real Cartuja*, pp. 328-9; Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso, *Edificios e imágenes medievales. Historia y significado de las formas* (Madrid: Historia 16, 1995), pp. 85-7.

48. *Noticia breve*, fol. 44, ACM.

49. 'este año [1493] se concluio la reja de la yglesia, que divide el coro de los conversos, y seculares'. *Noticia vreve*, ACM. 'Los Angeles que habia en la reja grande, y tenían dos caras la una de hombre y la otra de mujer, los hizo el Maestro Gil, (el mismo que hizo los sepulcros) y costaron 16.000 maravedíes'. *Noticia breve*, fol. 44, ACM.

50. As recorded in the *Memorial del plan y obras*: 'E en la nave de la yglesia deve aver a lo menos quatro cruseros | de los quales los dos cruseros que son mas cercanos a la capilla an de ser coro de los monges. E el tercero crusero ha de ser coro de los frayles barbudos. El cuarto para los seglares.' Transcribed by Tarín y Juaneda, *La Real Cartuja*, p. 562. Nevertheless, the nave was built with five bays.

10

Hallenkirchen and Spanish Gothic Architecture: Historiographic Invention and Architectural Imitation

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In the second half of the fourteenth century, the great building lodges of the Holy Roman Empire and Central Europe revitalised the Gothic architectural idiom that had been developed in twelfth- and thirteenth-century France, enriching its formal repertoire and seeking greater spatial integration. In this essay I will focus on a similar process in the Iberian Peninsula, most notably the rejection of the basilica plan in which a high central vessel was flanked by lower aisles. I will consider the earliest Castilian examples of hall churches or *Hallenkirchen* in the fifteenth century, their possible German origins, and the evolution and development of this typology in Iberia in the centuries that followed. I will also explore the economic advantages of hall churches and processes of copying and emulation in parish churches.

The German Model and Historiography

The *Hallenkirchen*, built in Germany from the middle of the fourteenth century, not only dispensed with the traditional staggered heights of the nave and aisles associated with the *basilical* plan and *ad triangulum* sections of French High Gothic churches, but also pulled together the nave and aisles into one integrated spatial unit. Projecting transepts and ambulatories with radiating chapels were also abandoned, so that plan, elevation, and section were all designed *ad quadratum*. As the nave and aisles were of equal height, windows could be placed only in the aisles and, in some cases, at the west end and in the eastern apse. The result was more even lighting, but less of it. Externally, the architects of these churches emphasised their volumes and flat surfaces by dispensing with the staggered massing, protruding forms and rich ornamentation associated with Gothic churches in thirteenth-century France.

Some of these characteristics appeared already at the church of Saint Elizabeth in Marburg (after 1235), Minden Cathedral (1267–1290), the Dominican church in Colmar (1283 until the second quarter of the fourteenth century), Heinrich Parler's church for Schwäbisch-Gmünd, and in the work of his son, Peter, at Prague Cathedral. In the fifteenth century this typology was further developed in the apse of the Franciscan church

Fig. 10.1
Church of Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome (begun 1431).

Fig. 10.2
Church of Santiago de los Españoles, Rome (1450–58).

in Salzburg (begun in 1406), the church of Saint Lawrence in Nuremberg (1439–1477), and in Saint Georg in Dinkelsbühl in Swabia (1448–1499), and was employed with particular brilliance by Benedikt Ried (1451–1534), especially in his designs for the church of Saint Barbara in Kutna Horá, now in the Czech Republic. It is surely significant that the German church in Rome, Santa Maria dell'Anima, was begun in approximately 1431 with a plan that follows the hall church, even if it was built with a largely classical architectural vocabulary (Fig. 10.1). The same plan was chosen for another church in Rome, Santa Maria della Pietà, begun in 1501 in the German Cemetery.[1]

These innovations were clear to travellers to Germany in this period. Several of those who attended the Council of Basel (1431–35), for example, commissioned new works on their return that were clearly inspired by the buildings they had seen. The clearest example of this is Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II (r. 1458–64), who commissioned the architect Bernardo Rosellino to build a cathedral in Pienza (Italy) similar—as he wrote in his correspondence—to those 'beautiful and luminous' churches he had seen in southern Germany.[2] Construction of the Castilian church in Rome, Santiago de los Españoles, built between 1450 and 1458 and the first hall church linked to Castile, was also connected to Rosellino and to Pius II (Fig. 10.2).[3] Alonso de Cartagena, who was appointed bishop of Burgos in 1435, was present at the Council of Basel from 1434 onwards. His trip to northern Europe has long been associated with the arrival in Burgos of Juan de Colonia, who was entrusted with the completion of the cathedral's western spires, supposedly inspired by north tower of Basel Cathedral, amongst others.[4]

From the work at Pienza and Burgos it seems that high spires and hall structures were considered the most interesting new elements of Gothic architecture in Central Europe. The new type of decoration associated with these structures—quite distinct from French Gothic traditions—presumably moved the second Count of Tendilla, Íñigo López de Mendoza, when in October 1505 he wrote to the master mason of Seville Cathedral, Alonso Rodríguez, to request that the decoration of the tomb of Cardinal Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (Íñigo's brother) in this cathedral should 'mix nothing French, German or Moorish, but should be only Roman'.[5]

It was the German scholar Georg Weise (1888–1978) who, in three seminal publications, first systematically investigated hall churches in Spain.[6] His work was fundamental in underlining the tremendous vitality of this type in the peninsula, and belongs to a historiographical tradition that interpreted Hallenkirchen as a 'symbol of German identity'.[7] The idea was Romantic in origin, and can be traced back to Wilhelm Lübke's *Die mittelalterliche Kunst in Westfalen* (1853), in which the term Hallenkirchen was first coined. Lübke's ideas were subsequently developed by scholars from the Vienna School in the context of their praise for the final phases of styles, such that the spatial integrity of hall churches came to be understood as a northern parallel to developments in Italian Renaissance architecture of the same period.[8]

Kurt Gerstenberg and Georg Dehio further consolidated the argument that Hallenkirchen represented an expression of the national German spirit, and it was Gerstenberg's notion of a 'special Gothic', the 'deutsche Sondergotik', that especially inspired Weise.[9] For Gerstenberg, and consequently for Weise, German Gothic was special because the Hallenkirchen epitomised the idea of unified space, as opposed to the hierarchical spaces of so-called 'classic' French Gothic churches and the basilical plan. According to this model, space flowed uniformly through the church, with all vaults at the same height rather than separated by transverse or longitudinal arches, and with no

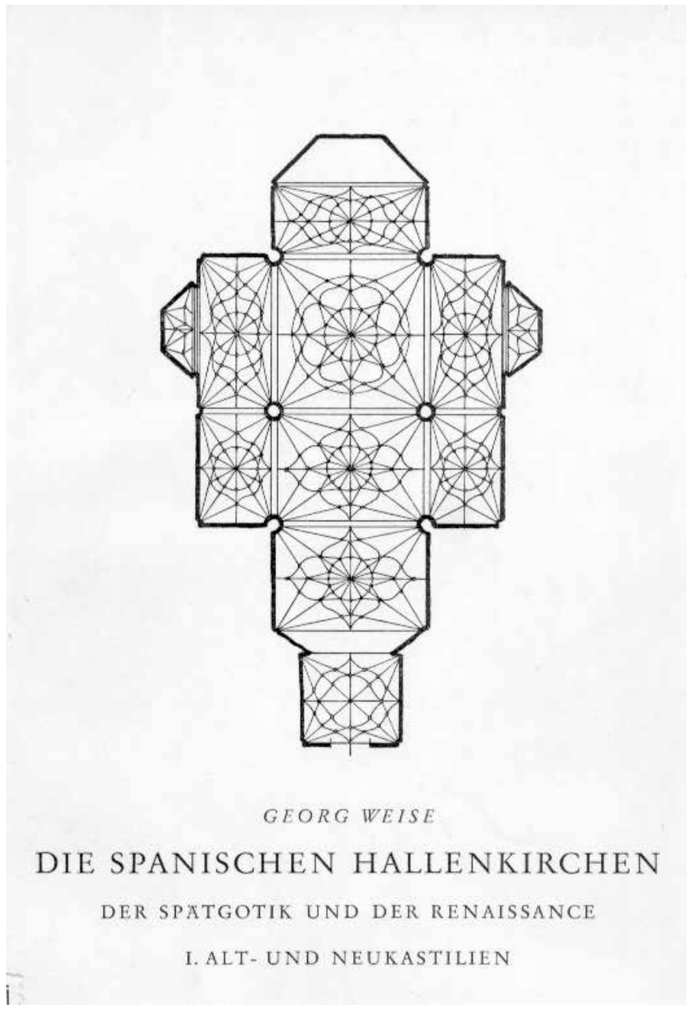

Fig. 10.3
Frontispiece, George Weise, *Die spanischen Hallenkirchen der Spätgotik und der Renaissance. I. Alt- und Neukastilien* (Tübingen: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität, 1953).

hierarchy in the organisation of supports. Churches with these characteristics could be found across Germany and beyond. This typology was seen as an expression of Germanic spatial perception and became an epitome of national Germanic identity, an 'indigenous stylistic development' that could even be traced back to German Romanesque churches.[10] For French scholars, by contrast, this type of church was nothing more than a modified basilica, a 'nave without windows', and thus derived from French rather than German roots.[11]

Weise's understanding of Late Gothic architecture in Spain—and its connections to Germany—was premised on the idea that neither Spain nor Germany had created their own architectural styles (unlike France or Italy), but had instead assimilated and transformed styles that originated elsewhere. But at the end of the Gothic period, according to Weise, Spain and Germany reinvented Gothic architecture to create their own variant of Gothic. Weise was in fact the first scholar to use the term 'Late Gothic' to describe late medieval architecture in Spain.[12]

Professor of the History of Medieval and Modern Art at the University of Tübingen, Weise was in 1933 accused by the National Socialist authorities of rejecting Germanic art, and instead favouring art from elsewhere. These accusations were based on Weise's frequent trips to Spain, at a time when he was chiefly interested in sculpture. Thereafter Weise cancelled his trips to Spain, and only returned in the 1950s, when, as Claudia Ruckert has suggested, Spain's new political situation attracted a revival of interest from German scholars.[13] As Ruckert has argued, this political context strongly inflected Weise's scholarship (Fig. 10.3). He began by cataloguing different types of hall church, tracing their evolution and distribution across Spain. By his account, cathedrals and monastic churches were almost never built as hall churches, but the type flourished in parish churches. Most importantly, he distinguished between churches with plain piers and no impost, characteristic of churches before the sixteenth century, and churches with moulded cylindrical supports, constructed in the first half of the sixteenth century. Weise's claims of German influence found support in Vicente Lampérez y Romea's seminal *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la Edad Media según el estudio de los elementos y los monumentos* (1908), in which the Spanish scholar and architect had already connected Late Gothic architecture in Spain to the migration of German and Burgundian artists to Castile.[14] Supported by such distinguished scholars from Spain and Germany, the hypothesis that German architects had brought the German Hallenkirchen to Castile soon became fact.

This is not the place to create an alternative historiographic invention, this time powered by Spanish nationalism.[15] But it is important to understand that studies of hall churches have developed considerably since the 1980s, complementing and nuancing Weise's pioneering studies. On one hand, Spanish scholars have uncovered documentary evidence that now makes it possible to date quite precisely certain buildings that were hitherto only very loosely dated.[16] And on the other hand, the possible means of transmission of hall church designs to Castile has been much more closely analysed. Two divergent models have been used to understand transmission. One connects transmission to the migration of foreign masons to Castile, and thus underlines the German origins of hall churches.[17] The other emphasises a long Spanish tradition of spatial unification in church architecture, from which hall church designs may have emerged.[18] This second line of explanation, which in many cases also acknowledges the first, underlines the widespread trend in the fifteenth century to raise the aisles to the same height as the nave, as had happened earlier in Santa Ana in Triana (Seville), Santa Cruz in Medina de Pomar (Burgos) and in Catalan Gothic churches, such as in the aisles of Barcelona Cathedral.

Much more is known now than in Weise's day. He measured and photographed 150 Spanish hall churches. Today, more than three hundred pre-1700 hall churches have been recorded, scattered across Spain, except in Galicia, Catalonia, Balearics and Valencia,

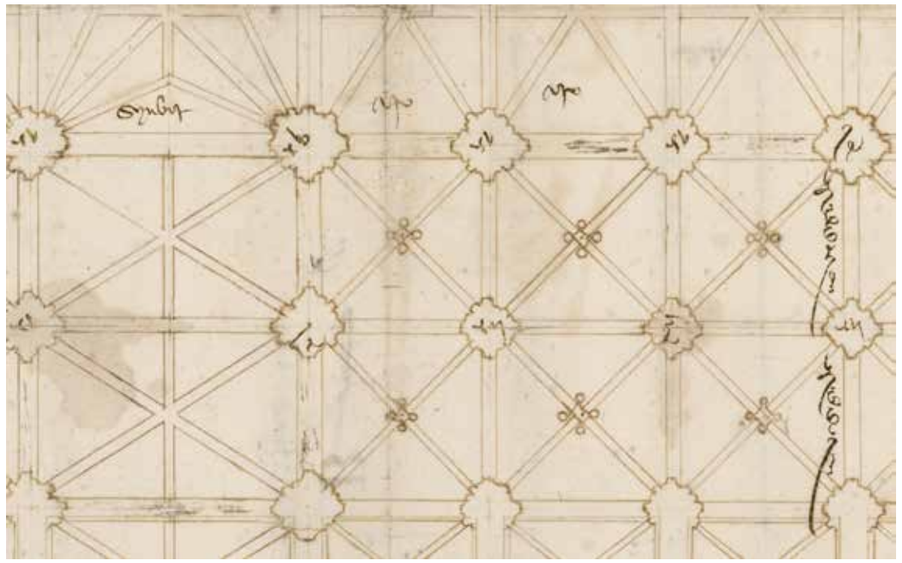

Fig. 10.4
Seville Cathedral, plan (fifteenth century) (detail). Monasterio de la Santísima Trinidad de Bidaurreta, Oñate, Guipúzcoa.

and with scant presence in territories such as Asturias, Navarre and Extremadura. Two areas boast more hall churches than any other: the ecclesiastical provinces of Toledo and Burgos.[19] Contrary to Weise's suggestions, a number of cathedrals and monastic churches have also been identified as hall churches.[20]

Origins in the Crown of Castile?

As suggested above, in the thirteenth-century church of Santa Ana in Triana and parts of Barcelona Cathedral built in the fourteenth century, the aisles rise to almost the same height as the nave. But Seville Cathedral offers perhaps the most striking example of spatial unification in peninsular Gothic architecture. There, the double aisles are of equal height and approach that of the central vessel; on these grounds it has been related to Hallenkirchen.[21] Its design is owed to foreign artists not from Germany but from France, and especially Normandy. It was begun in 1433 to the design of Isambart, Master Ysanbarte, or Ysember, who worked in Seville in 1433 and 1434, and was probably a Frenchman christened as *Isembertus*. He was a versatile, seasoned architect whose work is documented in numerous Spanish cities, beginning with Lleida in 1410. Since he was well-versed in structural matters, he was summoned to Zaragoza in 1417 as a designer and director of works for highly complicated chapels. He demonstrated his skill in Daroca, near Zaragoza (1417–22), and directed major works at Palencia Cathedral from 1424 to approximately 1437.[22] The next master mason who is documented as head of the lodge in Seville is Master Carlín—Charles Gautier from Rouen—who was Ysanbarte's former superior at Lleida and was paid as head of the team of stonemasons and labourers 'who cut stones and took them to the new works' at Seville in 1435.[23] Following Carlín's disappearance (he probably died in 1454), continuity of the works was guaranteed by the wardens who stayed on. The first of these was another Frenchman, Jean Normant, his name rendered in Castilian as Juan Normán, master mason from 1454 until his retirement in 1478.[24]

By the 1470s, it was already clear from the height of its aisles that Seville Cathedral would not follow the traditional basilical model of Gothic cathedrals. It must have been around this this time that a plan of Seville Cathedral was drawn up. This plan is now in the archive of the convent of La Santísima Trinidad de Bidaurreta, Oñate, Guipúzcoa.[25] The

heights of all the freestanding piers are written beside them, with 'XV' repeated on those in the nave and transepts (including the crossing), and 'XII' on the remainder (Fig. 10.4). The result was a cathedral which resembles a hall church, quickly imitated nearby in such fine examples as the churches of Utrera, Carmona and Aracena.[26]

According to Paul de la Riestra, the first church in the crown of Castile to be a true hall church was Astorga Cathedral, León.[27] It is also the only Spanish hall church to be attributed to a German master, Juan de Colonia. The theory exposed by De la Riestra holds that Colonia designed the cathedral in approximately 1471 on the model of a hall church, a plan that was subsequently altered, but only when work on the presbytery had advanced considerably. The interrupted buttresses in the lateral apses (Fig. 10.5) and the absence of transepts (Rodrigo Gil would add them later) suggest that the cathedral of Astorga was planned as a hall church, possibly related to the Mortizkirche in Halle an der Saale in Saxony, Germany. The possibility that Astorga was designed by a German master cannot be confirmed through written sources, however, and Juan de Colonia's early works in Castile scarcely resemble Astorga Cathedral. It is hoped that further investigation may shed light on this early example of a Spanish hall church.

Recent research has also enhanced understanding of Zaragoza Cathedral, traditionally thought to be the second true hall church in Spain, its nave and double aisles raised to the same height at the end of the fifteenth century. It is now known that in the fourteenth century a new Gothic church was begun to a basilical plan, and with single aisles. The additional aisles were added after 1490, and in 1519 new vaults were added to the nave, below the level of the fourteenth-century vaults.[28] Zaragoza's hall church design was not planned from the start but followed multiple interventions, including the addition of a transept. For this reason, it cannot be considered one of the earliest hall churches in Spain.

Fig. 10.5
Astorga Cathedral, apse (begun ca. 1471).

At Plasencia Cathedral there is clear documentary evidence that the chapter wished the nave and aisles to be of the same height. The cathedral was begun in 1498 by Enrique Egas, architect of Toledo Cathedral, and work continued under Juan de Álava, architect of Salamanca's New Cathedral. In 1522 the chapter demanded that Juan 'raise the transepts to the same height' as the capilla mayor and to keep this height for the remaining parts of the church, all of which indicates that reference was being made to the hall model.[29] The architect further reinforced the cathedral's spatial continuity by using fascicle piers with no

Fig. 10.6.
Juan Gil de Hontañón, interior, church of San Antolín (begun 1521). Medina del Campo (Valladolid).

capitals, emphasising the continuity of ribs and responds from the ground to the vaults.

If the example of Plasencia shows that cathedral chapters took an interest in hall churches, then the case of Salamanca demonstrates that this was also a concern for architects. In 1523 a conference in Salamanca drew together architects from the great lodge at Toledo (Enrique Egas and Vasco de la Zarza), from the employment of the Constable of Castile (Juan de Rasines), and from Salamanca itself (Juan Gil de Hontañón and Juan de Álava) to consider how to terminate the nave and aisles of the new cathedral. In those discussions, and in others from 1531 and 1533, the possibility of finishing the cathedral as a hall church was raised.[30]

It should be noted that all the protagonists at this conference were born in Castile, and that many had experience of hall churches in the construction of parish churches—arguably the most important field of experimentation with this typology in the Iberian Peninsula. Hall churches are especially common in the most ambitious collegiate and parish churches: the collegiate church of San Antolín in Medina del Campo, built by Juan Gil de Hontañón from 1521 onwards (Fig. 10.6); the collegiate church of Berlanga de Duero in Soria, begun by Juan de Rasines in 1526; the parish church of Villacastín (Segovia), begun in 1539 by Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón; the church of Yepes in Toledo, begun by the Renaissance architect Alonso de Covarrubias in 1534; the parish church in Haro (La Rioja), where Juan de Rasines was active in 1534; and the parish churches of Briones (La Rioja), Roa (Burgos), and numerous others (Fig. 10.7). Indeed, as John D. Hoag notes, 'During the first half of the sixteenth century parish churches of the two Castillas that were not conceived as hall churches with three equal aisles are rare'.[31]

Economy and Imitation

Direct imitation of other churches can very clearly be discerned amongst parish churches, subject to two key factors. On one hand, this imitation can be understood in the context of the socio-professional environment of those who erected the churches,

Fig. 10.7
Church of Roa de Duero, Burgos, interior (finished 1566).

notably the unusually cohesive group of masons from the northern part of the peninsula who clung to the same technical solutions for generations. In this respect, erecting vaults at the same height created minor complexity for the master in the use of templates (*monteas* and *plantillas*), and it was cheaper than cut stones for a basilical church that requires more templates. It has long been noted that Cantabrian and Basque masters played an important role in the diffusion of hall church designs in the sixteenth century and part of the seventeenth.[32] But it is also now possible to emphasise the special role of certain Cantabrian masters in the construction of hall churches. The workshop of Juan Gil de Hontañón played a particularly important role in diffusing the type across Castile: his son, Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón, built no fewer than fifteen churches of this type, while Juan's disciple, Juan de Rasines (followed by his son, Pedro, and grandson, Rodrigo), also spread the model, especially at parish level.[33]

The second reason for the success of hall churches was economic. As numerous sources make clear, hall churches offered clear economic and structural advantages. In

Fig. 10.8
Almería Cathedral, interior (1522–1564).

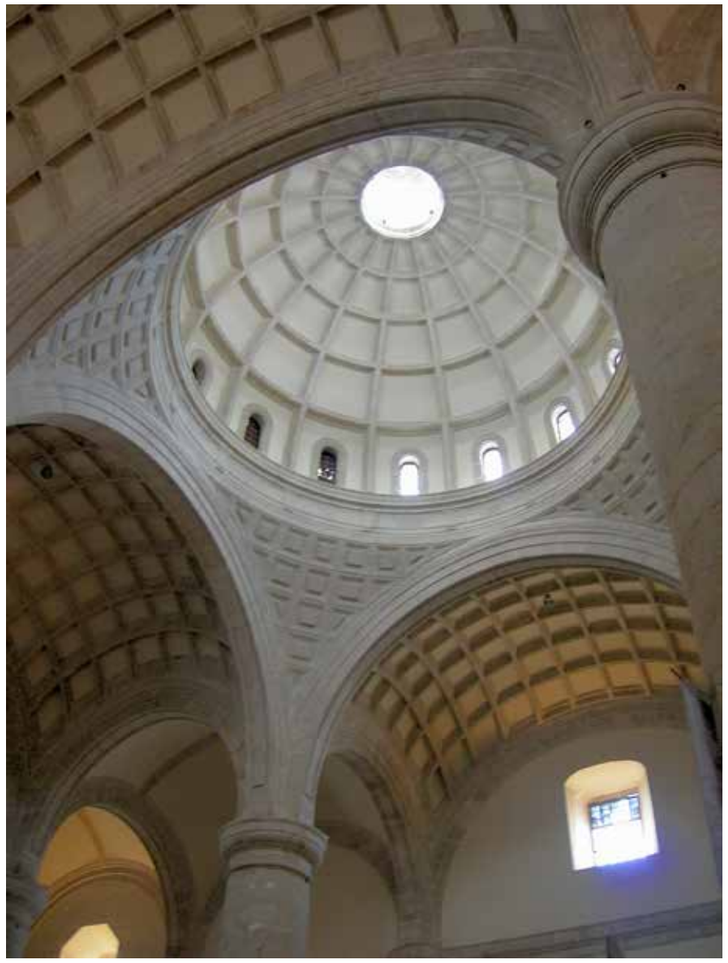

Fig. 10.9
Mérida Cathedral, Yucatán, interior (1562–1598).

favouring this solution for Salamanca's New Cathedral, Juan de Rasines and the sculptor Vasco de la Zarza declared:

> If the work is done in this way it will be much stronger and smarter, since we see every day the omissions and errors in the old works because the nave and aisles are of unequal height, and how, if the aisles stay lower than the nave, the arches break and the arcades crack, as we can see every day in many parts. If it is done in the other way, the building remains very strong and safe and does not need any flying buttresses, and moreover costs are considerably reduced.[34]

The same advantages were also described by Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón in the manuscript that informed Simón García's famous late seventeenth-century *Compendium of architecture and symmetry*. In a section on hall churches, García claimed:

> When [the aisles] rise to a single height it means that such a body is headless; all is strong and good, being well-made and planned and conceived … the building that rises to a single height is thus stronger because each part supports the other, which does not happen when the central vessel rises higher because the side aisles provide support to the central vessel, while the thrust of the aisles is met only by empty space, and is met instead by flying buttresses, and thus it cannot rise to a single height, to the detriment either of costs or lighting, which, were it of a single height would make one appreciate only the one aisle.[35]

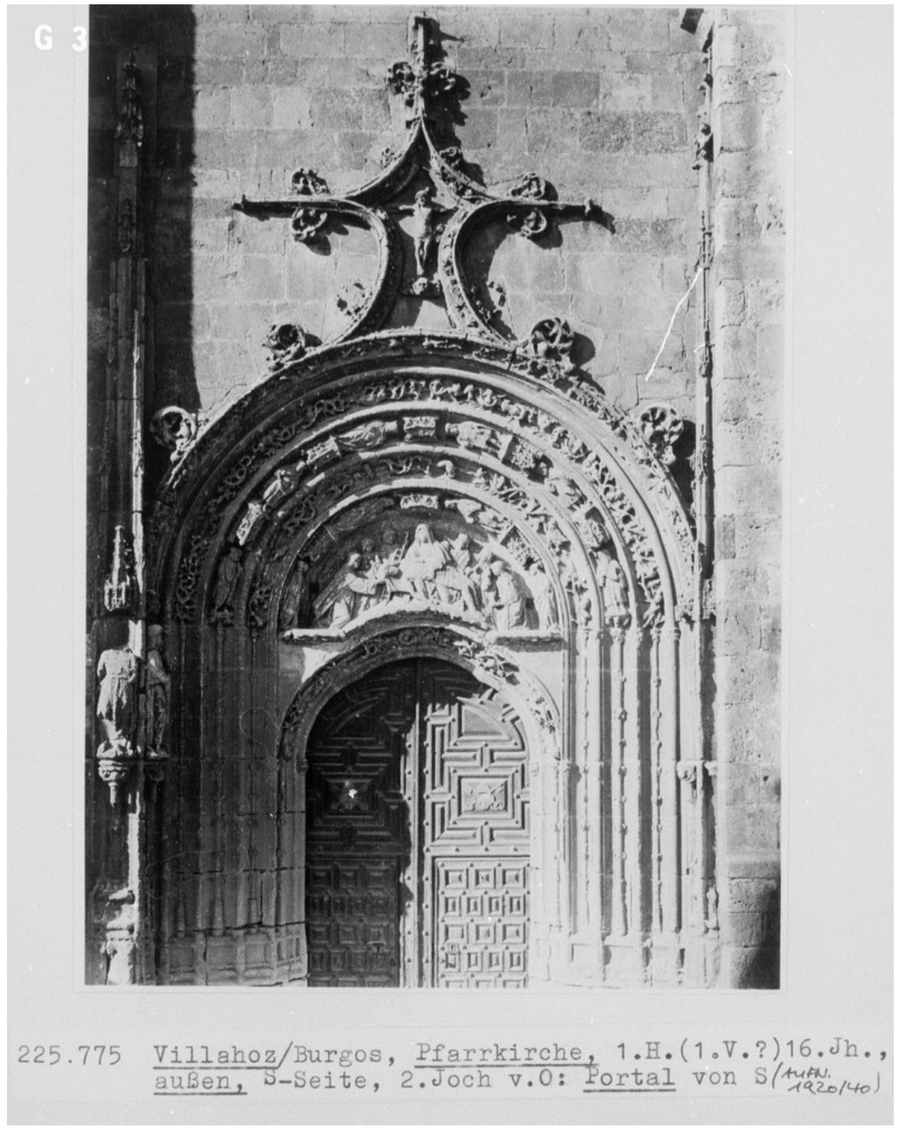

Fig. 10.10
Church of Villahoz, Burgos, main portal (c. 1500-1510). Photo: from the archive of Georg Weise (University of Malburg, Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

In the end cathedral chapters proved relatively hostile to hall churches because they lacked the authority of the basilical model adopted by the great cathedrals such as Toledo and León. Enrique Egas, the royal architect from Toledo, summarised this position when he complained in 1533 that hall churches 'resemble a warehouse rather than a church'.[36] It is probably for this reason that the hall church model was ultimately rejected for the cathedrals of Astorga, Salamanca, Segovia, and Las Palmas, Gran Canaria. Nevertheless, it was accepted in Plasencia, as we have seen, in Barbastro (Juan de Sariñena, ca. 1518), and in an important group of Andalusian cathedrals (Guadix, Baza, Baeza, Jaén and Almería)

(Fig. 10.8). It was also exported to cathedrals in Mexico City, the Yucatán, and Peru, albeit invariably with an Italianate all'antica vocabulary rather than a Gothic or German one (Fig. 10.9).[37] However, at parish level, the model was widely accepted, especially for growing new towns and villages.[38] Such churches were impressive and cheaper to build than basilican churches, whilst still providing sufficient space for burial. Indeed, Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón (via Simon García) directly connected the choice of hall churches to their funerary use.[39]

Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón's own works testify to the tremendous vitality of this form. He built numerous hall churches, in the provinces of Valladolid, Guadalajara, León, Madrid, Palencia and Segovia. Through his designs and those of other Castilian architects, such as Juan de Rasines in Soria and La Rioja and Juan Martínez de Mutio in the Basque Country, the typology of Hallenkirchen was adopted in a vast number of Castilian villages in the early modern period. It was a phenomenon of rapid imitation, in which parish churches adopted a model for their design that satisfied the local population, clergy and patrons—in other words, everyone involved. For example, the parish church of Villahoz, Burgos, offers a rather different example of a successful hall church design, one that served as the model for a whole series of churches along the River Odra in the diocese of Burgos. These include the churches of Santa María in Sasamón, San Esteban in Los Balbases, la Asunción in Melgar del Fernamental and San Juan in Castrojeriz.[40] Such churches were planned at the end of the fifteenth century with a basilical plan and apse, but in a second phase of construction, under the influence of nearby Villahoz, they were continued as hall churches.[41] Francisco de Colonia's interventions can perhaps be detected in the main portals of some of these churches, as at Villahoz (Fig. 10.10). The current state of research does not allow us to speculate further about the role of Juan de Colonia's grandson—born in Burgos to the son of an inhabitant of Burgos—in the dissemination of the model of hall churches throughout Castile.

Clearly, then, it is still not possible to state with confidence how the model of the hall church came to Castile. Architects assuredly played a key role in church design, but numerous other factors also affected it. Ambitious churches in sixteenth-century Castile came about as the result of the economic efforts of whole communities and persons with diverse agendas: designers and patrons were both concerned with questions of safety, rapidity and efficiency, tradition and imitation. The arrival and dissemination of hall church designs in Castile can only be understood as a combination of these factors.

1. On the origins of *hallen* in Germany and Central Europe, see Kurt Gerstenberg, *Deutsche Sondergotik* (München, 1913); Elisabeth Fink, *Die gotische Hallenkirchen in Westfalen* (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1934); Friedhelm Wilhelm W. Fischer, *Unser Bild von der spätgotischen Architektur des XV. Jahrunderts* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1984); Norbert Nussbaum, *Deutsche Kincherbaukunst der Gotik. Entwicklung und Bauformen* (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1985); Constanza Caraffa, 'Le Hallenkirchen tardogotiche dell´Alta Sassonia. Annaberg e la sintesi di vecchio e nuovo', in *L´architettura del Tardogotico in Europa. Atti del Seminario Internazionale* (Milan: Guerini e associati, 1995), pp.137-143; Gunter Brucher, *Gotische Baukunst in Österreich* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1990). For Rome, see A. Tönnesmann and U.V. Fischer Pace, 'Santa Maria della Pietá. Die Kirche desCampo Santo Teutonico in Rom', in *Der Campo Santo Teutonico in Rom* (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1988), 2: pp.302-305; R. Samperi, 'La fabrica di Santa Maria dell´Anima e la sua facciata', *Annali di Architettura, Rivista del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio di Vicenza* 14 (2002): pp.109-128. Also see Begoña Alonso Ruiz, *Arquitectura tardogótica en Castilla: los Rasines* (Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, Colegio Oficial de arquitectos de Cantabria, 2003), pp.107-113.

2. Pius II, *Comentarii* (Libro IX, cap.24): 'tres, ut aiunt, naves aedem perficiunt, media latior est, altitudo omnium par: ita Pius iusserat, qui exemplar apud germanos in Austria vidisset. Venustius ea res et luminosius templum reddit'. Cited in Eugène Müntz, *Les Arts à la cour des Papes pendant le XVe et el XVIe siècle* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1983), p. 358.

3. Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 'Santiago de los Españoles y el modelo de iglesia salón en Roma', in Carlos J. Hernando Sánchez (ed.), *Roma y España. Un crisol de la cultura europea en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2007), 1: pp. 173-188.

4. See Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Juan de Colonia. Estudio Biográfico-Crítico* (Valladolid: Imp. La Nueva Pincia, 1904). See also Javier Gómez Martínez, 'El arte de la montea entre Juan y Simón de Colonia', in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Gil de Siloe y la escultura de su época* (Burgos: Institución Fernán González, Academia Burgense de Historia y Bellas Artes , 2001), pp. 356-57; Robert Bork, *Skyscrapers of the New Jerusalem: The Great Spires of Gothic Europe* (Cologne: Kolner Architekturstudien, 2003), p. 259; María Pilar García Cuetos, 'Una síntesis de la arquitectura de torres europea: La fachada de la catedral de Oviedo y la llegada de las flechas caladas a Castilla', *Ars Longa*, 22 (2013), pp. 27-42. For another point of view, see Nicolás Menéndez González, '"Sunder von vil andern grossen berumbte maisteren". Las obras de la capilla de la Visitación y la fachada de la catedral, marco de la aparición de Juan de Colonia en la ciudad. La reestructuración del taller catedralicio (h.1444-1447)', in 1514. *Arquitectos tardogóticos en la encrucijada* (Seville: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2016), pp. 92-106.

5. 'Mi voluntad es que no se mezcle con la otra obra ninguna cosa françisa, ni alemana ni morisca sino que todo sea romano'. In *Epistolario del Conde de Tendilla* (1504-1506), eds. José Szmolka Clares, María Amparo Moreno Trujillo, María José Osorio Pérez (Granada, Universidad de Granada, 1996), p. 504.

6. *Studien zur spanischen Architektur der Spätgotik* (Reutlingen: Gryphius-Verl, 1933); 'Die Hallenkirchen der Spätgotik und der Renaissance im mittleren und nördlichen Spanien', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 4* (1935): pp. 214-227 and *Die spanischen Hallenkirchen der Spätgotik und der Renaissance. I. Alt- und Neukastilien* (Tübingen: Kunsthistor. Institut d. Universität, 1953).

7. Claudia Ruckert, 'Georg Weise y la Hallenkirche española', *Anales de Historia del Arte*, volumen extraordinario (2009), pp. 339.

8. Rafael Cómez Ramos, 'La iglesia de Santa Isabel de Marburgo del Lahn, un ejemplo del nacionalismo en la Historia del Arte', *Laboratorio de Arte* 16 (2013): p. 19.

9. See Jan Bialostocki, 'Late Gothic: Disagreements about the concept', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 29 (1966): pp. 76-105; Caraffa, 'Le hallenkirchen tardogotiche dell´Alta Sassonia', pp. 137-41; Cómez Ramos, 'La iglesia de Santa Isabel', p. 19; and Robert Bork, *Late Gothic Architecture. Its Evolution, Extinction and Reception* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 423-425.

10. H. J. Kunst, 'Hall church', in Jane Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art* (New York: Grove, 1996), 14: p. 80.

11. Cómez Ramos, 'La iglesia de Santa Isabel', p. 18.

12. Alonso Ruiz, *Arquitectura tardogótica en Castilla*, p.20.

13. Rückert, 'George Weise', p. 341.

14. See Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la Edad Media según el estudio de los elementos y los monumentos*, 3rd ed. (Valladolid: Ámbito, Junta de Castilla y León, 1999), 2: p. 178, where he wrote that 'el sistema de naves iguales adquiere su generalidad en el final del siglo XV, sin duda por la invasión de artistas alemanes y borgoñones'.

15. For alternative historiographic models, consider Castor de Uriarte's assertion that hall churches with columnar supports were Basque in origin, or the long historiography on 'Hispano-Islamic' features in Late Gothic architecture. See Castor de Uriarte, *Las iglesias salón vascas del último período del gótico* (Vitoria, 1978); Roberto González Ramos, 'The Hispano-Islamisms of Juan Guas. The fabrication of a Historiographical Stereotype', *Mirabilia Ars 2. El poder de la Imagen. Ideas y funciones de las representaciones artísticas* (2015): pp. 105-139.

16. The Hispanic bibliography was collected in Julio J. Polo Sánchez, 'El modelo Hallenkirchen en Castilla', in Begoña Alonso Ruiz (coord.), *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana entre Europa y América* (Madrid: Sílex, 2011), pp. 281-312.

17. See, for example, B. Bevan, *Historia de la arquitectura española* (Barcelona: Reverte, 1950), p. 199; Áurea de la Morena, 'Iglesias columnarias con bóvedas de crucería en la provincia de Madrid', *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 8 (1972): pp. 1-9; José Luis Pano Gracia, 'Introducción al estudio de las Hallenkirchen en Aragón', *Artigrama* 1 (1984): pp. 113-45; José Luis Pano Gracia, 'Arquitectura religiosa aragonesa durante el siglo XVI: las Hallenkirchen o iglesias de planta de salón', *Artigrama* 4 (1987): pp. 327-39; José Luis Pano Gracia, 'El modelo de planta de salón: origen, difusión e implantación en América', in María del Carmen Lacarra (ed.), *Arquitectura religiosa del siglo XVI en España y Ultramar* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2004), p. 40; Fernando Marías, *El largo siglo XVI. Los usos artísticos del Renacimiento español* (Madrid: Taurus, 1989), p. 106. Javier Gómez Martínez, *El Gótico español de la Edad Moderna. Bóvedas de crucería* (Valladolid: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1998), p. 206, identified the phenomenon with the work of Juan and Simón de Colonia in the area around Burgos.

18. Fernando Chueca Goitia, *La Catedral nueva de Salamanca. Historia documental de su construcción.* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1951), pp. 76-77; Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Historia de la arquitectura española. Edad Antigua. Edad Media* (Madrid, 1965), pp. 393-394; José Ángel Barrio Loza y José Gabriel Moya Valgañón, 'El modo vasco de producción arquitectónica en los siglos XVI-XVII', Kobie 10 (1980): p. 315; Cómez Ramos, 'La iglesia de Santa Isabel', pp. 15-16; Alonso Ruiz, *Arquitectura tardogótica en Castilla*, p. 113.

19. Polo Sánchez, 'El modelo Hallenkirchen en Castilla', pp. 281-312.

20. They include the Benedictine abbey church of Yuso in San Millán de la Cogolla, La Rioja; the church of San Benito in Alcántara, Cáceres, which belonged to the military order of the same name; and the Dominican church of Santillana del Mar, Cantabria. See Gómez Martínez, *El Gótico Español de la Edad Moderna*, p. 220. Cathedrals based on the *hallen* model in Spain are Plasencia (Cáceres), Almería, Guadix, Jaén, Málaga, Baza and Baeza.

21. Chueca Goitia, *Historia de la arquitectura española*, pp. 341-53 and Marías, *El largo siglo XVI*, p. 101.

22. Alfonso Jiménez Martín, 'Los primeros años de la catedral de Sevilla', in Begoña Alonso Ruiz (ed.), *Los últimos arquitectos del Gótico* (Madrid, 2010), pp. 15-69.

23. Alfonso Jiménez Martín, 'Las fechas de las formas', in *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: Fundación y fábrica de la obra nueva* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2006), p. 52.

24. Jiménez Martín, 'Las fechas', pp. 70; 76.

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26. Juan Clemente Rodríguez Estévez, 'El gótico catedralicio. La influencia de la catedral en el arzobispado de Sevilla', in Alfonso Jiménez Martín (ed.), *La piedra postrera. Simposio Internacional sobre la catedral de Sevilla en el contexto del gótico final*, vol. 1, *Ponencias* (Seville: Tvrris Fortíssima, 2007), pp.175-255.

27. Pablo De la Riestra, *La Catedral de Astorga y la arquitectura del Gótico alemán* (Astorga: Museo de la Catedral de Astorga, 1992), pp. 32-35; 'Die Kathedrale von Astorga und die Architektur der deutschen Gotik', *Mitteilungen der Carl Justi-Vereinigung* 6 (1994): pp. 109-11; 'La catedral de Astorga y sus referentes alemanes', in Christian Freigang (ed.), *Gotische Architektur in Spanien. La arquitectura gótica en España* (Frankfurt am Main and Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 1999), pp. 273-88; 'La catedral de Astorga y sus trazas germanas', in *Simposio sobre la catedral. Astorga, 9-11 de agosto de 2000* (Astorga: Centro de Estudios Astorganos 'Marcelo Macías', 2001), pp. 157-71.

28. Javier Ibáñez Fernández and Jorge Andrés Casabón, *La catedral de Zaragoza de la Baja Edad Media al primer quinientos. Estudio documental y artístico* (Zaragoza: Fundación Teresa de Jesús, 2016), pp. 144, 186-87.

29. 'Que alçase el cruzero en el mesmo alto que la capilla, de manera que moviesen las bueltas de la capilla y del cruzero de un alto y la ordenança fuese como a el le paresçiese, con tal que haga el hedifiçio nuevo responsyon para adelante'. See Ana Castro Santamaría, "El problema de las trazas de la Catedral de Plasencia', in *VIII Centenario de la Diócesis de Plasencia (1189-1989). Jornadas de Estudios Históricos* (Plasencia: Obispado, 1990), pp. 467-76.

30. Ana Castro Santamaría, 'La polémica en torno a la planta de salón en la Catedral de Salamanca', *Academia* 75 (1992): pp. 389-422; Alonso Ruiz, *Arquitectura tardogótica en Castilla*, pp. 118-28.

31. John D. Hoag, *Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón. Gótico y Renacimiento en la arquitectura española del siglo XVI* (Marid: Xarait, 1985), p. 20.

32. Chueca Goitia, *La Catedral nueva de Salamanca*, pp. 76-77; De la Morena, 'Iglesias columnarias con bóvedas', pp. 1-9; Barrio Loza and Moya Valgañón, 'El modo vasco', p. 315; Hoag, *Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón*, pp. 20-21; Antonio Casaseca Casaseca, *Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón (Rascafría 1500-Segovia, 1577)* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1988); Julio J. Polo Sánchez 'El modelo 'hallenkirchen' en la arquitectura religiosa del Norte Peninsular: el papel de los trasmeranos', in María del Carmen Lacarra (ed.), *Arquitectura religiosa del siglo XVI en España y Ultramar* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2004), pp. 189-236.

33. Polo Sánchez, 'El modelo Hallenkirchen en Castilla'; Casaseca Casaseca, *Rodrigo Gil*, pp. 45-66; Miguel Ángel Zalama Rodríguez, *La arquitectura del siglo XVI en la provincia de Palencia* (Palencia: Diputación Provincial, 1990), pp. 89-91. For Juan de Rasines and his family, see Alonso Ruiz, *Arquitectura tardogótica en Castilla*, pp. 136-39.

34. 'Haziéndose de este parecer la obra, será muy más fuerte y más galana por quanto vemos cada día las faltas e hierros que ay en las obras antiguas por no quedar en alto las tres naves, y quedando baxas las unas más que las otras azen quebrar los arcos y rebentar los pilares torales, lo qual se puede ver cada día en muchas partes, y haziéndose de esta manera queda muy fuerte y segura y no tiene necesidad de ningún arco botante e demás desto se ahorra mucha costa'. See Chueca Goitia, *La Catedral nueva de Salamanca*, p. 72.

35. 'Quando van a un alto significa que el tal cuerpo es sin cabeza; todo es fuerte y bueno estando bien fabricado y monteado y estribado ... yendo así a un alto es el edificio más fuerte porque se ayuda uno a otro lo qual no hace cuando la principal sube más porque es menester que desde la colateral se le de fuerza a la mayor e desde la ornacina a la colateral, lo cual se da con arbotantes y acese asi que no se puede subir a un alto, o por menoridad de gastos o por las luces, que si fuesen a un alto no se podrían dar que gozase más de la una nave'. See Simón García, *Compendio de architectura y simetría de los templos conforme a la medida del cuerpo humano con algunas demostraciones de Geometría. Año de 1681. Recoxido de diversos autores naturales y estrangeros por Simón García architecto, natural de Salamanca*, pp. 35-36, Ms 8884, fol. 8v, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000042291&page=1. In Cuenca, in 1554, Sancho de Legarra offered a very similar testimony about the advantages of constructing the church of San Clemente as a Hallenkirche; see Chueca Goitia, *La Catedral nueva de Salamanca*, p. 316.

36. 'porque la iglesia no quedaba alumbrada como conviene, y parescería antes otra cosa que iglesia … yo e visto iglesia de tres naves que mueven las dos hornezinas y la de en medio de una altura y, en verdad, que tiene más corte de bodega que no de iglesia'. Enrique's comments survive as part of the discussions regarding the design of Salamanca Cathedral; two years earlier, Diego de Riaño claimed that hall churches were not suitable for cathedrals: 'mande llamar cinco o seis [arquitectos], los más ábiles que aya en España, que sepan qué cosa son obras de iglesia catedral'. See Alonso Ruiz, *Arquitectura tardogótica en Castilla*, pp. 134-5.

37. Gómez Martínez, *El Gótico Español de la Edad Moderna*, pp. 209-10.

38. Alonso Ruiz, *Arquitectura tardogótica en Castilla*, p. 136.

39. 'Algunos abisados modernos suelen mirar la gente que ay en el tal pueblo, y si es de trato que tengan entendido que se aumentarán, y conforme á regla de ganancias, de 10 a 20, o de 30 por 100. Suelen diuidir la grandeza dando a cada vecino su sepultura de 7 pies de largo y 3 de ancho, y más otra terçia parte de los que así salen. Supongo que es para un pueblo de 100 vezinos, que son aora, y sácase que en 100 años aumentarán 30, son 130, pues cada uno de 7 de largo y 3 de ancho, son 3.640 quadrados, habiéndole añadido la una tercia parte para la disposición y paseos; pues de esta manera se podrá ver que aya de tener un templo para el tal pueblo, porque si fuere como paralelogramo, puédese saber qué pies cuadrados tiene y la longitud y latitud que a menester; diremos que le cabrán treinta de ancho y 120 de largo su lado u nabe, y más un terzio de pié; en esto no será menester mirar de estos rostros. Así que por esta regla se podrán hacer otros cualesquiera'. See Simón García, *Compendio de architectura,* pp. 25-26.

40. In an initial phase, at the end of the fifteenth century, Melgar del Fernamental had a plan with a nave, aisles and transepts. See Elena Martín Martínez de Simón, 'Arquitectura religiosa tardogótica en la provincia de Burgos (1440-1511)' (PhD diss. University of Burgos, Spain, 2016), p. 149. As she notes on p. 148, the church of San Esteban de Los Balbases began as a structure with a nave and aisles of five bays, later modified with the addition of an apse, crossing, and the setting of the first three bays of the nave and aisles at the same height.

41. Francisco de Colonia was responsible for transforming Villahoz's basilical plan into a hall church. See Polo Sánchez 'El modelo 'hallenkirchen' en la arquitectura religiosa', pp. 211-14; Elena Martín Martínez de Simón and René J. Payo Hernanz, 'La actuación de Francisco de Colonia en la iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Villahoz, Burgos', in Begoña Alonso Ruiz (coord.), *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana entre Europa y América* (Madrid: Sílex, 2011), pp. 149-57.

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GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN: INVENTION AND IMITATION

From the dazzling spectacle of Burgos Cathedral to the cavernous nave of Palma Cathedral or the lacy splendour of San Juan de los Reyes, Spain preserves a remarkable variety of inventive but little understood Gothic buildings. Yet Gothic architecture in Spain and the Spanish kingdoms has traditionally been assessed in terms of its imitation of northern European architecture, dismissed for its 'old-fashioned' or provincial quality, and condemned for its passive receptivity to 'Islamic influence'. But did imitation really triumph over invention in the architecture of medieval Iberia? Are the two incompatible? Can inventio and imitatio offer useful or valid analytical tools for understanding Gothic architecture? And to what extent are invention or imitation determined by patrons, architects, materials or technologies? This essay collection brings together leading scholars to examine Gothic architecture from across Iberia from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, and provides the first significant account of Spanish Gothic architecture to be published in English since 1865.