

# The Castle of La Calahorra: Its Courtyard conceived by a Florentine on the Work-site

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## RESUMEN

*Este artículo investiga la cronología y el papel de los dos arquitectos florentinos del Castillo de La Calahorra, con la forma única de su patio con bóvedas de arista en sus dos pisos, y en el anexo de su escalera axial.*

Italian elements of antiquity for sepulchres, chapels, and castles in Spain were advocated by aristocrats who traveled to the Kingdom of Naples and assembled in Rome and the Vatican. They met bankers, merchants, agents of marble-quarries in Carrara, and shippers in Genoa who sent merchandise to Valencia, Cartagena and Málaga. In Rome, Alfonso de Paradinas founded (1450) S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli. By the order (1480) of Ferdinand II of Aragon the church of S. Pietro in Montorio replaced the older buildings. Tombs and chapels of at least two cardinals are in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva.

This article depends entirely on the wisdom of scholars in Spain to inquire on the date of La Calahorra as residence, the unique form of its courtyard with quadripartite vaults built on two storeys, a western annex for a staircase on central axis. There are questions about the names and origin of the architects and dates of their work. Proof of the Castle's construction on two storeys around the open space has been found in documents of 1499 published years ago in an essay suggested to me by Fernando Marías.

## ABSTRACT

*This article inquires on the date of La Calahorra Castle as residence, the unique form of its courtyard with quadripartite vaults built on two stories, and its western annex for a staircase on central axis, and on its two Florentine architects.*

As impetus for the remarkable innovations at La Calahorra, two aristocrats guided a new direction on art and architecture. They were instrumental in arranging the import of marble from Carrara to build a part of the courtyard of the castle in the province of Andalusia conquered from the Moors<sup>1</sup>. Íñigo López de Mendoza (1442-1515; second Count of Tendilla) requested the antique ("a la antigua" o "al romano") style for his commissions of chapels and funerary monuments in Spain<sup>2</sup>. His journey to Rome (1485-86) involved the King of Spain's territories at the papal state Benevento near Naples, and he went to Florence where he met Lorenzo de Medici<sup>3</sup>. Probably at that time or soon thereafter, he was introduced to the banker, Martino Centurione of Genoa, whose export-import business was affiliated with Tommaso Lercario, owner of ships. The Catholic Monarchs (Ferdinand and Isabella) decreed (1493) the Centurione family naturalized Spaniards with trade privileges at Málaga where Martino Centurione resided in the large colony of Genoese settlers<sup>4</sup>. Transportation for finished pieces of Carrara marble went by ship from Carrara to the hegemony in Genoa



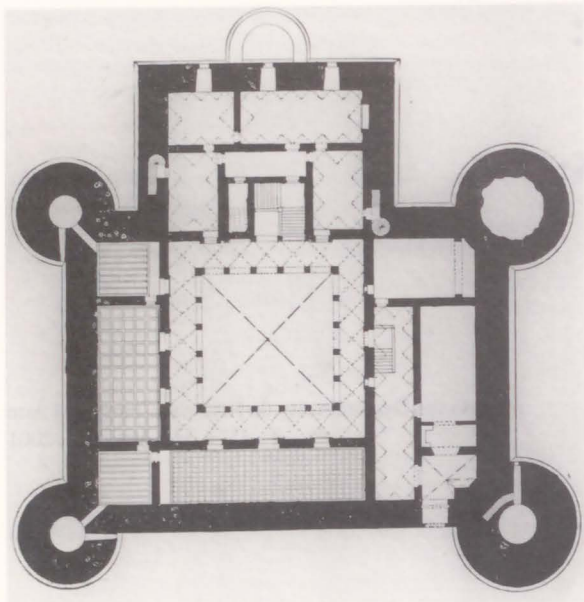


Fig. 1. *La Calahorra*, groundplan. (After V. Lampérez y Romea, "*La arquitectura civil Española*", vol. I, fig. 300).

where Centurione and Lercario prevailed for the commerce-route on the Mediterranean<sup>5</sup>.

#### LA CALAHORRA. ITS FOUNDER AND THE HEIR, RODRIGO DE MENDOZA

Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (1428-1495) made the first payment in Toledo (1491-92) for workmen to build a fort or castle on the hills of the Sierra Nevada in Andalusia, to the east of Granada ("gastos en la obra e labor de la fortaleza de La Calahorra")<sup>6</sup>. The Cardinal's first of three natural sons, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar y Mendoza (1473-1525), became the first Marquis of El Zenete (1492), Señor of El Cid (1492) by decree of his father<sup>7</sup>. He obtained his titles by deeds in the conquest (1489) of the Moors's territories, by his father's eminence, and he inherited La Calahorra.

A study by Fernando Marías tells that after the first construction in 1491 the final impulse to build occurred in 1501 when Rodrigo promoted the fort's conversion into his residence (figs. 1, 2)<sup>8</sup>. While the amount of construction was unknown, a residence was the whole structure on two storeys from its inception for Cardinal Mendoza: entrance-gate at east tower, central square for a courtyard, a western annex for a staircase to reach the salons of residence that extend to the outer walls and towers. The castle's foundation in 1491-92 was the structure we see today, excepting open space at the central square.

F. Marías considers the Italian courtyard with quadripartite vaults was designed after the Marquis returned

from his second voyage to Rome in 1506, the courtyard's symmetry derived from palace designs of Francesco di Giorgio or counterparts in Pavia, Ferrara, and in Rome on Palazzo della Cancelleria (1483-1517). However, the latter's rectangular courtyard with square vaults on one length, longer vaults on the other for two storeys in forward position of its halls was in construction when the Marquis was there<sup>9</sup>. Bramante designed some part of it when he came to Rome in 1503. The courtyard of the Ducal Palace designed by Luciano Laurana in 1464 in Urbino has five arcades on the shorter sides, six on the others, staircase in the left-hand corner.

Courtyards with quadripartite vaults on ground-arcade and an enclosed storey on the upper were built in Florence, Pienza, Milan; none in Siena and Naples<sup>10</sup>. Their staircases are in a corner of the square. Accordingly, La Calahorra was unique from its inception in 1491 when a Florentine architect designed its staircase on the axial-line of the square space, which received quadripartite vaults on both storeys in 1509-10 (figs. 1, 2). The architect in 1491 who designed a structure for its projection forward from the salon-walls on two storeys adapted a Spanish tradition of courtyards for palaces and monasteries. Probably Cardinal Mendoza had made some demands in 1491, since he had founded his Castillo del Cid two years earlier. Who conceived La Calahorra's innovations will be probed hereafter.

I accept the hypothesis generously suggested by F. Marías, in correspondence as a revision with helpful criticism of my previous one, that 1506 was the year when a Florentine architect whom I call the second one came to La Calahorra with the Marquis. On the work-site, he made a model of his two-storey project of the arcade and loggia with quadripartite vaults, adapting them to the annex existing for the staircase. His model replaced a project formulated (1499) with timber ceilings on brick piers on two levels. Making a model was the custom in Florence, Milan, and Rome decreed by guilds and authorities or else the pope for new St. Peter's by Bramante (1506). The Florentine's model for the courtyard was the sole means for Michele de Carlone to produce measured drawings of structural elements required in Carrara so finished pieces that Carlone ordered (1509-10) could be made for the upper loggia and stairway (fig. 2).

Quadripartite vaults were innovated by Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) on principles of mathematics, whose advanced forms he learned from Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli (1397-1482) and Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439), the Camaldolese friar and teacher in the hermitage of Sta. Maria degli Angeli<sup>11</sup>. Brunelleschi's courtyards with quadripartite vaults on round arches for the arcade only, rooms of residence being on the upper storey, staircase in a corner, are preserved as the Cortile del Ospedale degli Innocenti, ca. 1420, and Palazzo Busini, ca. 1430<sup>12</sup>. His successors in Florence were Michelozzo di Bartolomeo, on Palazzo Me-





Fig. 2. La Calahorra, arcade, staircase and loggia on the courtyard. (After M. Gómez-Moreno in "Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología", vol. I, fig. 47).

dici, 1444; Bernardo Rossellino, on Palazzo Piccolomini in Pienza, ca. 1460<sup>13</sup>. In Spain, the traditional Hispano-Moresque or Gothic rib-vault and pointed arches could not be prototypes of quadripartite vaults any more than those vaults prepared Brunelleschi's invention, which terminated the Gothic and established the Renaissance style.

The Florentine architect's journey with the Marquis in 1506 is hypothetical, but other Italians had been conducted to Spain twenty years earlier by his cousin. Íñigo López de Mendoza brought from Rome (1487) the antiquarian, Pietro Martire d'Angheria (1459-1526). He met Rodrigo de Mendoza on the battlefield in Baza (1489), opened a literary school for the Queen in Salamanca, served as orator at the court in Zaragoza (1492), and ambassador to Cairo (1502) by crossland journey to Venice and Pola where he indulged his pleasure taking transcriptions of Latin epigrams<sup>14</sup>. His most devoted student was Pedro Fajardo y Chacón (1477-d.1526), Marquis of Los Vélez, whose castle at Vélez Blanco on the mountains of Almería in Andalusia was in construction (1506-15) at the time of La Calahorra, some parts of its courtyard reconstructed in rectangular form in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 4). Pietro Martire was at Granada (1503) when La Calahorra

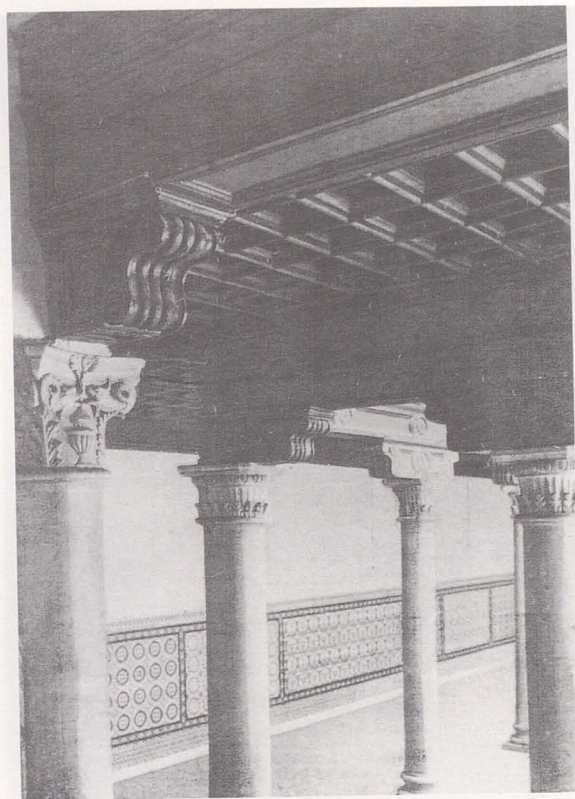


Fig. 3. Guadalajara. Monastery of La Piedad, Colonnade on loggia. (After M. Gómez-Moreno in "Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología", vol. I, fig. 41).

was in construction. His friendship with the Marquis surely favored their meeting in 1506 when he returned from Rome with the Florentine architect of the courtyard.

Another humanist came from Sicily, Lucio Marineo Siculo. As a scholar of Greek and Latin, he went to Naples and Rome, then to Salamanca (1484) as professor in the college sponsored by the monarchs, and became a close friend of Pietro Martire<sup>15</sup>. A Florentine artist, Andrea Sansovino, was sent (1491) by Lorenzo de Medici to build a palace for the King of Portugal in response to the King's request. Arriving in Seville enroute to Lisbon, he made a statue of St. Martin<sup>16</sup>. Returning to Florence, he went to Portugal again in late 1490s, and carried his sketchbook home<sup>17</sup>.

#### LA CALAHORRA DESIGNED BY A FLORENTINE ARCHITECT IN 1491-92

To my mind, Cardinal Mendoza employed a Florentine architect in 1491-92, who designed the "fortaleza" as a castle-palace of two storeys around a square space for a courtyard and a western annex for the angular staircase (fig. 1). Questions of its form and how much was built in





Fig. 4. Vélez Blanco. Dolphin capital on the courtyard's arcade. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

and after 1492 remained unresolved until 1997 when new documents came to light<sup>18</sup>. The items listed in a contract bearing the Marquis's name as employer, dated 18 January, 1499 in Zaragoza, are for new work on the castle. It corroborates my opinion that a first Florentine architect laid out the castle's foundation in 1491-92 as a rectangle with massive outer walls and four round towers, an entrance-gate on east, a square space for a courtyard, a western projection with an open-well for an angular staircase to reach the salons on west, east, north and south. Round towers are like those of many contemporary fort-residences in Spain<sup>19</sup>. Square towers are characteristic of forts, although they are features of Vélez Blanco<sup>20</sup>.

The contract's details clarify the existence in 1499 of the inner walls of halls and salons on two storeys around a square space. The parts to be completed are all on center, in the staircase, halls, and salons. Among fifteen items to be made, a number of them, including so-called paths with brick-piers supporting timber ceilings, must duplicate those of Castillo del Cid, in Jadraque, province of Guadalajara, northwest of Madrid<sup>21</sup>. It was built (ca. 1489) for Cardinal Mendoza along the mountain slope. His son, Rodrigo, was Señor of El Cid (1492). Today, its internal divisions are a few lateral walls to external walls forming a long rectangle with half-round towers down the slope. Called a castle, its towers served as deterrents to strife like those of La Calahorra and other "castillo" and "palacio".

The contract of 1499 specifies each work to be made

and its location on each storey of the built-structure. At ground level: walls, stone foundation, and paths with brick piers as supports for timber ceilings; a handrail with gypsum traceries for a staircase; a door-frame; a large fireplace in the kitchen. On the upper loggia (fig. 2), the contract does not mention brick piers for paths, but timber coverings would be built, the staircase would have timber coverings, fireplaces would be made in three salons, door frames at the salons, one at the staircase, a hand rail on the staircase, a window frame, and wood-joists for hatch-covers.

On 18 February, 1499, all projects were postponed by a letter from Valencia (where the Marquis had residence while the castle was in construction) saying that Antón de Rabaneda, who supervised the project, awaits new orders from the Marquis "who is in Italy". Returning in 1500, he went to Rome again for two years (1504-06). No work was done on the courtyard and staircase until late 1509; the frames for windows and portals were made with figural reliefs in 1510-12. However, in 1502-03, Valencian workmen were building timber ceilings on three salons. No document has been found to learn what caused the Marquis to renounce the brick piers, timber ceilings, and gypsum hand rail.

Six years later, two orders on 22 December, 1509 and 8 May, 1510 by Michele de Carlone in the workshop include specifications and requirements about quantity of each piece in Carrara marble for the upper loggia and the staircase, its location on the salon walls, and a drawing with measurements of each piece. Parenthetically, my question about who designed La Calahorra's courtyard was initiated by a need to understand how Carlone could order Carrara marble by quantity, and make measured drawings of the capitals, columns, and balusters, when he had not seen Florentine vaults in context. He had worked exclusively on sculpture (1490, 1497, 1503, 1508)<sup>22</sup>. In Genoa, no palace had a courtyard or quadripartite vaults<sup>23</sup>. Carlone studied the model for his orders.

The quantities cited hereafter are the orders, some duplicated: columns (24, 20); capitals (20, 24); pedestals under columns (4, 24); bases (24); balusters for loggia (380, 220) and for stairway (60, 20); pedestals for stairway (6); cornices on balusters (62); black-stone consoles-*peducci* (70, 24, 56); black-stone blocks (300)<sup>24</sup>. Cornices on balusters (31) and *peducci* (24, 24) were delivered on 11 May, 1510. Documents must be lost for columns, capitals and others installed. An important fact is that round arches are not included in the orders to Carrara. Their smooth surfaces with squares carved on the under-sides (fig. 2) indicate the order for them is lost or else local stone was used.

The document of 1499 indicates that openings in the masonry for doors, windows, and the open-well existed. Then, in 1506, the second Florentine architect made his model with quadripartite vaults at both storeys of walls



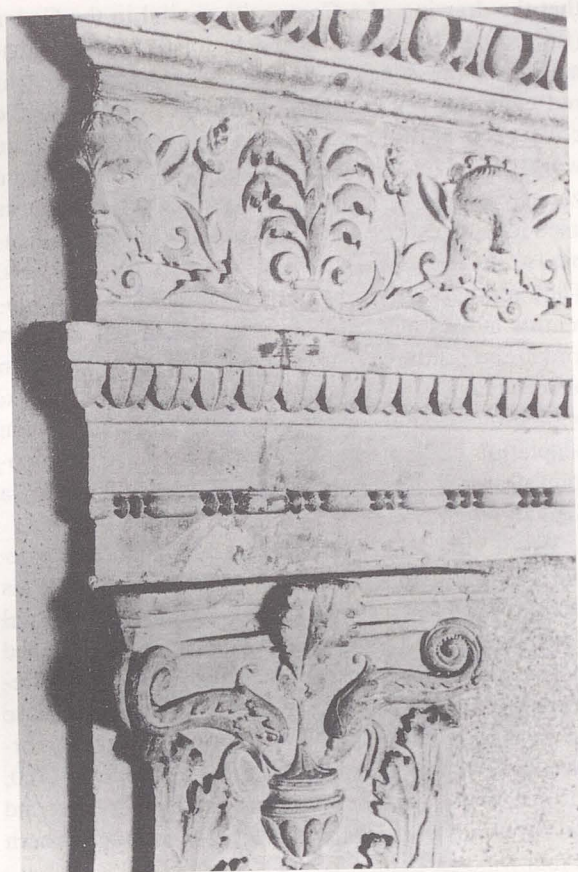


Fig. 5. *La Calahorra*. Dolphin capital on the fireplace now in the Palace of the Duke del Infantado. (After A. de Bosque. "Artistes italiens en Espagne", p. 444).

built in 1491-99. Symmetry was fundamental for both storeys in 1491 (figs. 1, 2). On the upper storey, a door in the salon on east is on the axial line to the central staircase on west (Salón principal de Occidente); on horizontal, a door from the corridor-hall on north is on line to a door on south (Salón de los Marqueses). Each door has two windows at its sides. All doors and windows are situated between the space of a vault flanked by consoles-*peducci*.

The square courtyard, which received quadripartite vaults and round arches on its arcade in late 1509, on its loggia sometime after June, 1510, is a first and singular departure from the rectangular shapes of courtyards with timber ceilings in Spain like that of Vélez Blanco reconstructed as rectangular<sup>25</sup>. As stated, there are no Italian precedents for square courtyards with quadripartite vaults on two storeys in forward positions and a staircase on central axis. Palazzo della Cancelleria with staircases in corners was in construction when the Marquis was there and the Florentine came to La Calahorra workshop. The first Florentine had conceived the open-well and the staircase's



Fig. 6. *Guadalajara*. Portal of the Monastery of La Piedad before its loss of the pediment. (After F. Layna Serrano. "La Provincia de Guadalajara", fig. 42).

angular direction, which is called Spanish<sup>26</sup>. The second architect who came in 1506 conceived two other elements for La Calahorra, unprecedented in Italy: baluster-railing of the staircase, and baluster-railing between the loggia-columns (fig. 2). Vélez Blanco also has them.

Lorenzo Vázquez of Segovia (active 1487-1515) was hired (at least in 1508) to continue the construction, but his work during one year is not recorded, probably at the courtyard<sup>27</sup>. He built traditional timber ceilings, *mudéjar* railings for an angular staircase (not in an open-well), *mudéjar* railing between columns on the loggia in the Monastery of La Piedad (ca. 1507; 1520s) in the Mansion of Antonio de Mendoza (+ Oct. 1510) who was the son of Íñigo López de Mendoza, the Duke of Infantado. Vázquez built (ca. 1492-93) an angular staircase in the palace in Cogolludo (Guadalajara)<sup>28</sup>. After working one year, the Marquis discharged and imprisoned Vázquez for misconduct (June, 1509) until Íñigo López de Mendoza, the second Count of Tendilla, interceded<sup>29</sup>. He was freed, but it is not known whether he was reemployed.



## LA CALAHORRA'S COURTYARD DESIGNED IN 1506, BUILT IN 1509-10

Five months later, the master sculptor Michele de Carlone arrived from Genoa before December, 1509 to build the upper loggia over the arcade built some months earlier by Spaniards (fig. 2). The transaction for finished parts to come from Carrara dated 22 December, 1509 in Genoa, includes the names of witnesses and transactors present in and absent from the notary's office<sup>30</sup>: Martino Centurione (de Teramo in the valley of Lugano), "magister ad scultor" Michele de Carlone, who is not present because he is working for the Marquis of El Zenete. Michele de Carlone de Scharia (lifetime unknown) was born in the mountain-village, Val d'Intelevi at Como, where stone cutters went to Genoa for work controlled by the Centurione bankers. In all probability, the Marquis's business affairs in Valencia, Málaga or Rome (1499; 1504-06) led him to Centurione's acquaintance with Carlone who would come to finish the courtyard after Vázquez's dismissal six months earlier.

Using the Florentine architect's model of 1506, Carlone could calculate the size and quantity to order and measurements on drawings of columns, capitals, consoles-peducci, balusters and cornices for the loggia and staircase on 22 December, 1509 and 8 May, 1510. A small part of the order was delivered on 11 May, 1510. Then, in June, 1510, seven Lombard-Ligurian workmen and stone masons are named in the contracts to work here one year.<sup>31</sup> In all probability, their credentials for building vaults had been reviewed.

At this point, I must acknowledge that some months before Carlone's arrival in December, 1509, Spaniards built the arcade's quadripartite vaults, the first work since 1499. The arcade-columns in position facilitated Carlone's work (fig. 2). According to F. Marias's hypothesis, the Marquis brought the Codex Escorialensis as his possession in 1506. As I have stated in a separate study of the Codex, an aristocrat could not buy an artist's sketchbook; it reached La Calahorra by the Florentine artist himself in late 1509<sup>32</sup>. Ten drawings in his Codex had been copied by Giovanbattista Brunelleschi (active in Rome, 1509-13, +1574) into his copybook (Codex A 78.1, Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence) where he applied the date 20 May, 1509. Brunelleschi's copies include some from the Codex by a second or third hand, who had them from Giuliano da Sangallo's Libro; in turn, Sangallo's Libro has drawings copied from the Codex. Sometime after May, and some months before December, 1509, the Escorialensis Artist traveled here with his sketchbook. His death left his Codex in the workshop. We may recall Andrea Sansovino's safe return home twice from Portugal with his sketchbook.

The arrival-date of the Codex some months before December, 1509, not in 1506, is evidenced by the fact

that the drawing of a Composite capital in the Codex (fig. 7) had been reproduced in local stone by Spaniards for the arcade's sixteen capitals and four paired-capitals (fig. 2). The Florentine who made the courtyard-model in 1506 may have been on the work-site in 1509 to show Spaniards how to build the vaults, or else he had taught them earlier. Spaniards used local stone to make the arcade's columns and capitals, put them in position as supports of the vaults. They reproduced the model's round arches with Florentine motifs adapted from the antique: egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel mouldings, and rosettes on under-arches. Drawings of them are not in the Codex, but a prototype for them on the model of 1506 was an adaptation of Brunelleschi's initiative on church-colonnades in Florence by his successors like Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane<sup>33</sup>.

Was it Vázquez or Rodrigo Díaz de Mendoza who decided for local stone in 1506 or 1509, then changed his mind to finish with Carrara marble? It is odd that local stone was not used for the vaults' black-stone *peducci* and blocks. The large order for them (70, 24, 56, 300) in December, 1509 and May, 1510 poses a problem, because the vaulted arcade was standing when Carlone sent his orders. A discrepancy between his order for balusters (380, 220) and a count of them in place on loggia-railing and stairway leads me to notice balusters (6 or 8) set on each of four window-frames (fig. 2)<sup>34</sup>.

Following my comments about Carlone's non-experience for construction work, it must be reported that he may have seen in Milan the first vaults with round arches on columns for the arcade by Bramante (1497-99) on Chiostro Dorico and Chiostro Ionico of Sant'Ambrogio<sup>35</sup>. When Carlone came to La Calahorra, its arcade was in place, and he worked with the model. Filarete's drawing of quadripartite vaults on columns for the arcade of Ospedale Maggiore in Milan has been claimed an influence on Carlone as designer of the two-storey La Calahorra, but the Ospedale was built after 1600<sup>36</sup>. A final comment. La Calahorra's vault system was adapted once again (1545-58) for the double courtyard at Hospital Tavera, Toledo<sup>37</sup>.

## LA CALAHORRA'S BALUSTER STAIRCASE AND BALUSTER RAILING OF THE LOGGIA

Two features of La Calahorra and Vélez Blanco are contemporaneous innovations by the Florentine architect in 1506 without precedent in Spain or Italy: marble baluster railing on the angular staircase; marble baluster railing between loggia columns (fig. 2). In Italy, palaces have staircases straight up between walls. Some experience in Spain inspired the Florentine architect to put baluster railing





Fig. 7. "Codex Escorialensis", fol. 22 r. Six Composite capitals. (After H. Egger, "Codex Escorialensis" in facsimile, 1905-6).



ling between columns. In Italy, balusters are features of various types of furniture, tables, stools, etc. In Rome, Bramante put balusters as ornament over the colonnade of his Tempietto beside S. Pietro in Montorio. On Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano, balusters are Giuliano da Sangallo's ornament along the terrace.

By tradition in Spain, a *mudéjar* railing was sometimes built between Hispano-Moresque columns or pillars of two-storey courtyards, for example (1473-80) the Castle of Real de Menzanas, Madrid; La Piedad in the Mansion of Antonio de Mendoza (fig. 3); Castillo de Villanueva de Cañedo, Salamanca; Palacio del Infantado, Guadalajara<sup>38</sup>. The *mudéjar* railing's proportions could be adjusted by the building master, whereas the length of the baluster railing between columns had to be calculated by the location of columns on the arcade previously built. The baluster railing on the loggia of Vélez Blanco with timber ceilings must be owed to that of La Calahorra. The idea is mistaken that La Calahorra's railing depends on Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome, where a solid parapet is between columns<sup>39</sup>. Balusters at windows or balconies in Milan, Pavia, and Venice have encouraged an hypothesis that the architect of La Calahorra and Vélez Blanco depended on Lombard tradition. Contrarily, their contexts are not courtyards.

#### CAPITALS WITH DOLPHINS ON INTERIOR-FURNISHINGS IN THE CASTLE

Giuliano da Sangallo's dolphin capitals made in 1469-72 on Palazzo Pazzi-Quaresmi was the archetype for those on La Calahorra's marble furnishings made in 1510-15 in two salons and the Chapel<sup>40</sup>. Dolphin-tails coil upward, mouths to a vase in center, a flower rising from it. A dolphin capital is on La Piedad's loggia (fig. 3), one on the arcade of Vélez Blanco (fig. 4). La Calahorra's decorative furnishings with dolphin capitals have been relocated in the palace of the Dukes of Infantado, Madrid: marble portal from the Salón de Justicia, and marble fireplace now in the dining-hall (fig. 5)<sup>41</sup>. The Chapel's marble portal went to a private collector, and is now in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Seville<sup>42</sup>. In Toledo, Spaniard

sculptors who yielded to Cardinal Mendoza's promotion of Italian "a la antigua" put dolphin capitals (ca. 1503) on his sepulchre<sup>43</sup>. Andrea Sansovino designed eight dolphin capitals on his drawing for the Tomb of Prince Alfonso of Portugal (d. 1491), commissioned on his arrival, but the tomb was never executed<sup>44</sup>.

#### MILITARY TROPHIES ON A PORTAL OF LA CALAHORRA

Trophies as victory symbols had a special place in the Aragon's kingdom of Naples where Spaniard artists came to work, and Italians went by ship to Spain. Florentines worked extensively in Naples since the Aragons chiefly turned to them for works of art. Giuliano da Maiano was summoned to Naples (1485) to build city-gates, Porta Capuana (1487-92) and Porta Napoli (1509), decorated with various military trophies<sup>45</sup>. Lorenzo Vázquez de Segovia carved trophies (1500-06) on pilasters of the portal of the Mansion of Antonio de Mendoza (fig. 6)<sup>46</sup>. Domenico Fancelli (1469-1519) combined trophies and personifications of Virtues for the tomb of Infante Don Juan (1511) in Santo Tomás, Ávila<sup>47</sup>.

In La Calahorra, the portal made in 1510-12 for the unnamed room sometimes called an armory on south arcade has reliefs of military trophies and clusters of fruit hanging on ribbons, motifs appropriate to commemorate Rodrigo's deeds in battle at Baza and Granada<sup>48</sup>. The trophies reproduce a drawing in Codex Escorialensis (fol. 50 v<sup>o</sup>), which is cross-marked to indicate its selection, as was done for the Composite capital on folio 22 r<sup>o</sup> (fig. 7).

In conclusion, two Florentine artists prevailed in designing La Calahorra's plan in 1491, its courtyard in 1506. The sketchbook of a third Florentine provided figural ornaments of ancient gods, heroes, and personifications carved (1510-12) on the portals and window frames by Michele de Carlone and his team of Spaniards and Italians. The Marquis of El Zenete came here in 1515, if not in 1510, from his residence in Valencia. It is unknown that he ever resided in his castle. His tomb is in the Capilla de los Reyes in the Convento de Santo Domingo in Valencia.

#### NOTAS

- <sup>1</sup> Biographic data, genealogical tables, lifetime dates, and activities of individuals are in the following: Cristina ARTEAGA Y FALGUERA. *La Casa del Infantado*. Madrid, Duque del Infantado (1940): I: 231-268 (Íñigo López, 381, 410-20. Ángel GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA and Eugenio MELE. *Vida y obras de Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza [1503-1574]*. Madrid, Instituto de Valencia (1941): 3-28. Francisco LAYNA SERRANO. *Historia de Guadalajara y sus Mendozas en los siglos XV y XVI*. Madrid, Aldus (1942; 1993-96). Arthur S. AITON. *Antonio de Mendoza, 1490-1552. First Viceroy of New Spain*. Russell & Russell (1927; 1967). Beatrice C. PROSKE. *Castilian Sculpture. Gothic to Renaissance*. Hispanic Society of America, New York (1951). Erika SPIRAKOWSKY. *Son of the Alhambra. Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza 1503/4-1575/9*. Austin and London, Univ. of Texas Press (1970). Helen NADER. *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550*. New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers Univ. Press (1979).



- 2 José María de AZCÁRATE. *Ars Hispaniae. Historia Universal del Arte Hispanico. Escultura del siglo XVI*. Madrid, Ed. Plus-Ultra (1958): Vol. 13. A. de BOSQUE. *Artistes italiens en Espagne*. Paris, Le Temps (1965). pp. 365-366. Proske (n. 1): 298-303, and fig. 187; fig. 211. The executor of Pedro González de Mendoza's will was his nephew (Diego Hurtado [1443-1502], archbishop of Seville, second son of Diego Hurtado [1417-1479], who was Pedro's brother). Brief analysis of Íñigo López de Mendoza's role in bringing the Italian Renaissance style to Spain is presented by Fernando MARIAS. *El largo siglo XVI. Los usos artísticos del Renacimiento español*. Madrid, Taurus (1989).
- 3 Arteaga y Falguera (n. 1): I: 261 (visit of Pedro González de Mendoza in 1488/89). Palencia and Mele (n. 1): I: 6-14, 28. Íñigo López as the guest of Lorenzo de' Medici is cited by A. CONDORELLI in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. (1994): Vol. 44: p. 532 (Domenico Fancelli). For the activities in Rome, see: F. de B. SAN ROMÁN. "Las obras y los arquitectos del Cardenal Mendoza". *Archivo español de Arte y Arqueología*. (1931): VII: 153-161. Sergio ORTOLANI. *S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Rome*, Marietti (1969): 22-23, 78. He tells about the time of Cardinal Pedro González when (1492) the tablet fixed on the Cross of the Crucifixion was discovered.
- 4 José Enrique LÓPEZ DE COCA. *El reino de Granada en la época de los Reyes Católicos*. Univ. Granada (1989): II: 26-39, 44-51, 93. Also see: M. FALOMIR FAUS (n. 8; 1990, p. 267) who cites the finding by J. Guiral-Hadziiossef in 1989 that the Centurione family was established in Valencia in 1462/64.
- 5 Jacques HEERS. "Gènes au XVe siècle. Activité économique et problèmes sociaux. Affaires et gens d'affaires". *École Pratique des Hautes Études*. (1961): XXIV: 93, 544-546. J. HEERS. *L'Occident aux XIVe e XVe siècles. Aspects économiques et sociaux*. Paris, Presses Universitaires (1963): 164-166, and fig. 4. Christiane KLAPISCH-ZUBER. *Les maîtres du marbre Carrare, 1300-1600*. (École Pratique des Hautes Études. VIe section. Centre de recherches historiques, Vol. 25). Paris (1969): 108-149, and fig. 4. Arnold ESCH. "Roman Customs Registers, 1470-80. Items of Interest to Historians of Art and Material Culture". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. (1995): Vol. 58: 72-87.
- 6 Vicente LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA. "El Castillo de La Calahorra". *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* (1914): Vol. 22: 1-28, and pp. 15, y *La Arquitectura civil española de los siglos I al XVIII*. Madrid, Ed. S. Calleja (1922): I: 283-287, and figs. 301-304. F. de B. SAN ROMÁN. "Las obras y los arquitectos del Cardenal Mendoza". *Archivo Español de Arte e Arqueología*. VII (1931): 157. M. GÓMEZ-MORENO. "Sobre el Renacimiento en Castilla. Hacia Lorenzo Vázquez". *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*. (1925): I: 32-40, and figs. 47, 48. A fundamental study by Edward COOPER of documents, circumstances, and illustrations of groundplan and all structures standing in ruins has been translated; *Castillos señoriales de Castilla s. XV y XVI*. Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española (1980): I: 603-611; II: figs. 640-646.
- 7 Pedro González de Mendoza was the son of Íñigo López de Mendoza y de la Vega (1398-1458). ARTEAGA Y FALGUERA (n. 1): 63, 68, 79, 102, 138, 150. LAYNA SERRANO (n. 2): 3-80, 85-93, 216-241. Cardinal Pedro's two natural sons by Doña Mencía de Castro were Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar y Mendoza; Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (?-1536/39), Count of Mérito; by Inz de Tovar, a third son, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza y Tovar. Also see: F. MARIAS (n. 8; 1990): 121-125.
- 8 Fernando MARIAS. *El largo siglo XVI* (1989): 260-261 y "Sobre el Castillo de La Calahorra y el Codex Escorialensis". *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* (1990): II: 117-129, esp. 126. Also see: Miguel Falomir FAUS and F. MARIAS. "El primer viaje a Italia del Marqués del Zenete". *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* (1994): VI: 101-108. Here is a change of Rodrigo's birthdate. M. FALOMIR FAUS. "Sobre el Marqués del Cenete y la participación valenciana en el Castillo de la Calahorra". *Archivo Español de Arte*. 250. (1990): 263-269.
- 9 C. L. FROMMEL. *Der Römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*. Tübingen, E. Wasmuth (1973): pl. 161-b.
- 10 Ludwig H. HEYDENREICH and Wolfgang LOTZ. *Architecture in Italy, 1400-1600*. New York, Penguin Books (1974).
- 11 Giorgio VASARI. *Le Vite*. Milano, Club del Libro (1962): II: 247 (Life of Brunelleschi). Alessandro Dini Traversari. Ambrogio Traversari e i suoi tempi. Firenze, E. SEEBER (1912). Gustavo UZIELLI. *La Vita e i tempi di Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli*. Roma, Forzani & C. (1893). Piero SANPAOLESI. BRUNELLESCHI. Milano, Club del Libro (1962).
- 12 SANPAOLESI (n. 11): figs. 80, 85.
- 13 HEYDENREICH and LOTZ (n. 10): pl. 11 and fig. 11); fig. 16.
- 14 Biographical data about Pietro MARTIRE: Diego CLEMENCÍN. *Elogio de la reina Católica Doña Isabel. Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia* (1821): VI: 398-403, 482-489. Other details in: Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere e arte (1950): III: 308-9. R. ALMAGÍA, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. (1962): III: 257-260. José LÉPEZ de Toro translated Pietro Martire's letters and published them in chronological order: Pedro MÁRTIR DE ANGLERIA. *Epistolario. Estudio traducción. Documentos inéditos para la historia de España*. Madrid, Góngora, S. L. (1952-55): Vols. 9-12 include letters to friends in Italy, to various Mendozas, and more than two-hundred to Pedro Fajardo y Chacón. Henry R. Wagner. "Peter Martyr and his Works". American Antiquarian Society. Proceedings. (1946): LVI: 239-288. Pietro Martire's coming to Spain with Íñigo López and his participation in the war at Baza are facts noted by Palencia and Mele (n. 1): p. 9. Also see a quotation from the letter of Íñigo López de Mendoza about Pietro Martire and Pomponio Leto in the publication of F. MARIAS (n. 8; 1989): 257.
- 15 Caro LYNN. *A College Professor of the Renaissance. Lucio Marineo Siculo among the Spanish Humanists*. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago (1937): 93, 110, 249. Clemencin (n. 14): 398-403. M. FALOMIR FAUS and F. MARIAS (n. 8): 103.
- 16 Guido BATTELLI. *Andrea Sansovino e l'arte Italiana della rinascenza in Portogallo*. Firenze, Seeber (1936): 5-11. Sansovino's drawing of the tomb of Prince Alfonso of Portugal (d. 1491) is in the Uffizi.
- 17 G. HAYDEN HUNTLEY. *Andrea Sansovino. Sculptor and Architect of the Italian Renaissance*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press (1935): 32-41. He quotes Vasari who said he owns Sansovino's drawing of a palace with towers designed for the King of Portugal.
- 18 Carmen MORTE GARCÍA. "Pedro de Aponte en Bolea, y una noticia de La Calahorra". *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar*. (1977): LXVII: 95-106, esp. pp. 103-106 for transcription of the documents. I am privileged to know this publication by the kindness of F. Marias, who found it confirmed his finding of Rodrigo's travel to Italy in 1499-1500.
- 19 V. LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA (n. 6; 1922).
- 20 LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA (n. 6; 1922).
- 21 The contract's details clarify the existence in 1499 of the inner walls of halls and salons on two storeys around a square space. The parts to be completed are all on center, in the staircase, halls, and salons. Among fifteen items to be made, a number of them, including so-called paths with brick-piers supporting timber ceilings, must duplicate those of Castillo del Cid, in Jadraque, province of Guadalajara, northwest of Madrid. Francisco LAYNA SE-



- RRANO. *Castillos de Guadalajara*. Nuevas Gráficas (1933): 172-193. Also see: Cooper (n. 6). See slightly curved arches and timber ceilings on the following castles: LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA (n. 6; 1922). See groundplans and structural remains of these castles and others studied by E. COOPER (n. 6): I: 650-611; II, figs. 640, 641, 643 (La Calahorra); I: 341-348; II, figs. 275, 276, 277 (Vélez Blanco). FRANCISCO LAYNA SERRANO. *El Palacio del Infanzado en Guadalajara*. Madrid, Hauser & Menet (1941): pl. 19 (arcade and loggia facing the garden built in 1496 by Lorenzo de Trillo).
- 22 Biography of Michele Carlone in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. Roma (1977): XX: 382. Carlone made sculptures in Genoa on Palazzo di San Giorgio (1490), the portal of Palazzo Pallavicini (1503); at the Cathedral in Savona (1508). R. W. LIGHTBOWN. "Three Genoese Doorways". *Burlington Magazine* (1961): CIII: 412-417, and fig. 11. THIEME-BECKER. *Künstler-Lexikon*: VI: 8 (Michele Carlone).
- 23 F. Marías has suggested to me the Palazzo della Rovere in Savona. HEYDENREICH AND LOTZ (n. 10; pp. 138-40) discuss the design by Giuliano da Sangallo in 1490s and illustrate the facade, but do not refer to a courtyard. The building is now Palazzo Gavotti.
- 24 Hanno-Walter KRUFT. "Ancora sulla Calahorra: Documenti". *Antichità Viva* (1972) IX, 1: 35-45. There are some ambiguities about the counting. My citations include the requirement of drawings with measurements (documents 3, 4, 6, 7).
- 25 LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA (n. 6; 1922): I.
- 26 George KUBLER and Martin SORIA. *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions. 1500-1800*. Penguin Books (1959): 2. Catherine WILKINSON. "La Calahorra and the Spanish Staircase". *L'Escalier dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*. Paris, Picard (1985): 153-158.
- 27 Vázquez' design of the Mansion of Antonio de Mendoza, which includes the Monastery of La Piedad, is published by FRANCISCO LAYNA SERRANO. *Los Conventos antiguos de Guadalajara*. Madrid, Artes Gráficas (1943): pp. 183-210. F. LAYNA SERRANO. *La provincia de Guadalajara*. Madrid, Hauser & Menet (1948). Here is also a biography of Antonio de Mendoza, history of his Mansion, the founding and bequest of the Monastery.
- 28 Information given me by F. Marías. Compare the date 1500 by Lampérez y Rimea (n. 6; 1922, p. 474) for Palacio de Cogolludo, Guadalajara, for D. Luis de la Cerda y Mendoza, first Duke of Medinaceli.
- 29 GÓMEZ-MORENO (n. 6): 33-34. A biography of Vázquez in THIEME-BECKER. *Künstler Lexikon*, XXXIV, p. 150.
- 30 KRUFT (n. 26): 35-45.
- 31 KRUFT (n. 26): 41-42.
- 32 My typescript is: "The 'Codex Escorialensis' Brought to La Calahorra by the Artist in Late 1509". It was the opinion of Hanno-Walter KRUFT ("Un Cortile rinascimentale italiano nella Sierra Nevada: La Calahorra". *Antichità Viva* (1969): VIII: 35-50) that Rodrigo brought it away in 1508 to use as a model-book for decorating his castle. Most recently, M. Faus and F. Marías (n. 8; 1994) have cited Rafael Moreira's suggestion that Andrea Sansovino brought the Codex to La Calahorra. Sansovino cannot have travelled with another artist's sketchbook.
- 33 SANPAOLESI (n. 11): pl. 42 (S. Lorenzo); pl. 61 (S. Spirito); pl. 99 (S. Domenico, Fiesole). HEYDENREICH AND LOTZ (n. 10): fig. 188 (Montepulciano, Madonna di S. Biagio by Antonio da Sangallo the Elder); pl. 12 (Pistoia, S. Maria delle Grazie by Michelozzo di Bartolomeo, ca. 1452). Rosettes on under-sides of arches made of Carrara marble appear on the remains of the courtyard of Palacio Vich, now in Museo de Bellas Artes, Valencia, illustrated by A. de BOSQUE (n. 2; pp. 455-6), by an Italian architect in the circle of Sangallo and Bramante for the ambassador to Rome, Jerónimo Vich.
- 34 Balusters on two windows beside the staircase and two beside the portal at south-arcade. See the longitudinal and cross-section elevations in LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA (n. 6; 1914): 19, 20. Photographs in KRUFT (n. 34): figs. 4, 6, 7, 17. Also see Marías's opinion (n. 8; 1990, p. 119) about the discrepancy.
- 35 Constantino BARONI. *Bramante*. Bergamo, Arti Grafiche (1944): pls. 82, 87. See Kruft's interpretation (n. 34; p. 43) of courtyards in Milan and Pavia.
- 36 KRUFT (n. 34): 43. The design of Filarete in 1457 was completed in 1624 by Francesco Richino, according to Baedeker's guidebook on Northern Italy (1906).
- 37 Damien BAYON. *L'Architecture en Castille au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris, Klincksieck (1967): 128-130, 235, no. 47, pl. 35 (Toledo, Palace-Hospital Tavera). Marías (n. 8; 1992): pl. p. 88.
- 38 See castles listed in note 20.
- 39 KRUFT (n. 34): 43. FROMMEL (n. 9): pl. 161-b.
- 40 Heydenreich and Lotz (n. 10): fig. 13-f. Dolphin capitals are also on the Piccolomini altar in the Cathedral of Siena beside the relief of St. Francis by Pietro Torregiani (BOSQUE, n. 2: 385-398), on a console of Pal. Piccolomini and in Ospedale della Scala, Siena. Dolphins by Bramante are in the Canonica of S. Ambrogio, Milan, and S. Maria presso San Satiro. See: *La scultura decorativa del primo rinascimento. Atti del I. Convegno Internazionale di Studi*. Pavia, 16-18 Settembre, 1980. Roma, Viella (1983): Luisa GIORDANO. "Tipologia del capitelli dell'età Sforzesca: prima recognizione", pp. 178-206, and pl. LXXXIV, fig. 43. Christine DENKER. "I capitelli del Bramante Milanese", pp. 159-163, and pl. LXVIII, fig. 3.
- 41 BOSQUE (n. 2): 440 (Portal from Salón de Justicia); 442, 444 (fireplace from Salón de Justicia); 447 (window frame now in Monastery of St. Jerome, Granada). LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA (n. 6; 1914): 13-28, and unnumbered illustrations. Miguel Ángel LEÓN COLOMA. "Un programa ornamental italiano. La portada del palacio de La Calahorra". *Cuadernos de Arte. Universidad de Granada*. (1995): XXVI: 345-356. Rosa LÓPEZ-TORRIJOS. "Las medallas y la visión del mundo clásico en el siglo XVI español". *VI Jornadas de Arte. Le visión del mundo clásico en el arte español*. Madrid, Alpuerto (1993): 93-104.
- 42 BOSQUE (n. 2): pl. p. 438. I am indebted to F. Marías about the information that the portal is now in the museum.
- 43 See note 2, above. Dolphin capitals are also discussed by F. MARÍAS (n. 8; 1990): 126.
- 44 BATTELLI (n. 17): fig. 4. Sansovino's drawing is inscribed: "Andrea Contucci del San Sovino scult".
- 45 Roberto PANE. *Il Rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*. Ed. Comunità (1977): Vol. 2: figs. 11, 12 (Porta Capuana); figs. 41, 42 (Porta Napoli). For the military trophies on the Monument of the Viceregent, Ramón Folch de Cardona, made in Naples and shipped to the Monastery church in Bellpuig, see: Pane, fig. 191; Marías (n. 8; 1992): pl. p. 79; (n. 8; 1989): 259.
- 46 ARTEAGA Y FALGUERA (n. 1): 223-224. GÓMEZ-MORENO (n. 6): fig. 42. The motifs were appropriate for Antonio who fought in Granada (1484).
- 47 Manuel GÓMEZ-MORENO. *La escultura del Renacimiento en España*. Barcelona, G. Gili (1931): pl. 6. Jesús HERNÁNDEZ PERERA. *Escultores Florentinos en España*. Madrid, Instituto D. Velázquez (1957): 8-13.
- 48 LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA (n. 6; 1914): p. 19. He noted (p. 23) that these rooms could have functioned as an armory. Kruft (n. 26): figs. 6, 16 (misabeled).