

MATILDE MIQUEL JUAN — OLGA PÉREZ MONZÓN

# Politics, Art and Persuasion in 15th Century Castile

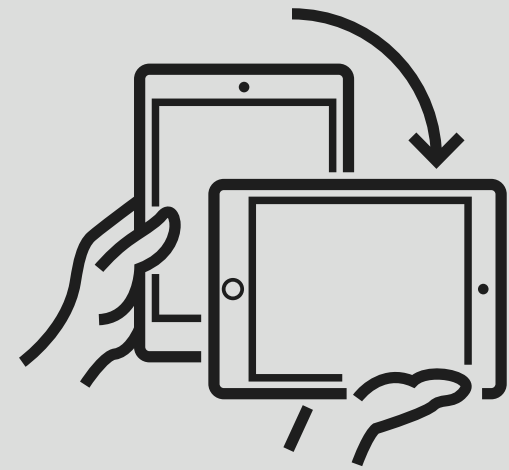
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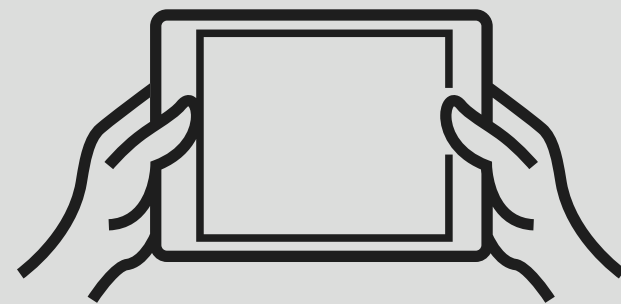


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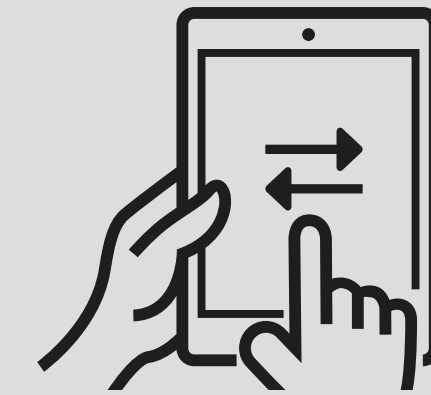
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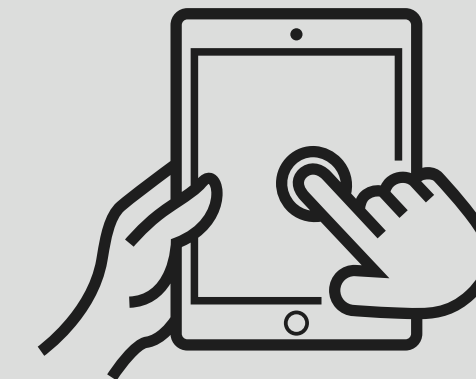
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ESTUDIOS HISTÓRICOS LA OLMEDA  
PIEDRAS ANGULARES COLLECTION

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Directors: Álvaro Díaz Huici  
Translation from Spanish: Iban Redondo Parés  
Design and typesetting: Cristina Carrascal and Kevin Mena,  
Carrascal&Co. Creative Studio

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tables and charts: Ana Albar Ramírez, David Blázquez,  
Cristina Castro Jara, Marisa Gómez González, Matilde  
Miquel Juan, Olga Pérez Monzón, Iban Redondo Pares and  
Carmen Vega Martín.

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*Matilde Miquel Juan — Olga Pérez Monzón*

# Politics, Art and Persuasion in 15<sup>th</sup> Century Castile

*With the special collaboration of the  
Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España  
and the S.I. Catedral de Toledo Primada de España*



“

*Ca piensa e considera, tú que lees lo aquí escrito,  
que el Maestre era un grand señor, e asimismo  
era muy discreto e magnánimo, e por semejante  
era de su propia natural condición grand  
festejador, e grand inventor de nuevos e esquisitos  
modos de portosos entremeses.*

Second Part of the Crónica de Juan II/La Historia del Ínclito don Álvaro de Luna, p. 246



# Authors' note

Sight, hearing, touch, word and emotion as bonds of a visual anatomy of Spanish late Gothic.

This editorial project arose with the initial motivation of transferring to the society the results of the research carried out in the chapel of Álvaro de Luna (*Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano: la capilla de Álvaro de Luna en contexto*, Madrid, 2018).

For this, under the same umbrella of scientific rigour and quality, we propose a work in a double format —online and printed— and in two languages —Spanish and English— which clearly enhances its perceptive and multisensory nature.

For this approach, the collaboration with the graphic designer Cristina Carrascal has been decisive. She has delicately and expertly edited our initial project. Likewise, we thank TREA for the editorial support and assistance in this initiative.

The visual approach determines that the anatomy of this study —the index— is structured in colours. These colours show the main axes of the work and, at the same time, reflect a symbolic reality: the blue, red and green mottos of the Mendoza and Luna lineages, the patrons of the commission as heraldic colours.

We are interested in the story but also in looking for interactive and multisensory ways which generate different bonds with the reader. The voice and sound flow through the links with the verses and musical dances dedicated to our main character, contributing to the climax of the narrative of events (pp. 26 and 49). The voice and the motion reappear in the video that was made during the intervention in the altarpiece (pp. 122 and 98). In just a few minutes, the assembly of the technical team of

the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España is evoked (a workshop on wheels), that is, the on-site execution of the works and the further laboratory and research process. Time and dedication developed first in the *Primada* Toledo Cathedral and afterwards in the IPCE laboratories.

This elaborate and necessary process has allowed us to approach the work from the visible image and its hidden reality. We have compiled different schemes of our own elaboration destined to comprise the measurement of the altarpiece and tomb, the creative process of the polyptych, the use and codification of models, the comparisons and links between foreign and Hispanic authors, crypto-portraits, and the confrontation and interrelation between the different image techniques of the works.

The learning included a fundamental chapter on image analysis methodologies in which we have included both the approach to the tools themselves (the description of precise machinery), and the assessment of the results through diagrams and microsamples that allow us to almost touch the pictorial reality.

Sight, hearing, touch, word and emotion as bonds of a visual anatomy of Spanish late Gothic.



# Anatomy of the study

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# Presentation





# Presentation

This publication is the result of the research conducted in the competitive projects “La formación del pintor y práctica de la pintura en los reinos hispanos (1350-1500)” [HAR 2012-32720-Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad], “Corte y cortes en el tardogótico hispano. Narrativa, memoria y sinergias en el lenguaje visual” [PGC2018-093822-B-100- Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades] and “Redes Pictóricas, Coleccionismo y Mercado de la Pintura Tardogótica en Castilla” [PR75/18-21601-Universidad Complutense de Madrid-Santander), aimed at explaining the creative art process during the Gothic period as well as the routes of artistic promotion of Castilian nobility during the second half of the fifteenth century.

Both focused on the study of the creative process of the Gothic period, and particularly in the ways of artistic creation of the royalty and the Castilian nobility during the second half of the fifteenth century. The efforts of a large group of researchers during nearly a decade, have had varied and multiple results. In the case at hand, we wanted to transcend from the purely academic field to that of informative transfer with a publication that narrates in images the story of Álvaro de Luna, his daughter María de Luna and the prestigious Mendoza family. Through art, specifically the commissioning of an altarpiece and a tomb, they managed to redeem the memory of a father ordered to be executed by the monarch Juan II of Castile, his best friend. At the same time, they managed to dignify him as a politician, a man of letters and a man who knew how to prepare for a good death. And, in the same way, the Mendoza family managed to appropriate one of the most significant burial spaces of the Middle Ages, one of the chapels of the presbytery of the *Primada* Toledo Cathedral.

The perfect combination of a convulsive story of grief, triumph and redemption within a strategy of geopolitics of power, becomes the framework of a book told through captivating images starring Álvaro de Luna and the Mendoza family, his staunch enemy, and subsequently his most faithful ally. Fortunately, the chapel with its decoration, altarpiece and tomb, have been preserved *in situ* and with few modifications throughout history. This, has allowed it to be studied as an artistic *exemplum*, which perfectly exemplifies the best artistic patronage, the contracting of Castilian and foreign artists and the creative process of the work. All with the combination of visual language and the most modern methods of historical, artistical and technical studies.

The story of Álvaro de Luna and the Mendoza family is told through the figure of María de Luna, who knew how to combine her own personal interests with those of her new political family. It is, therefore, a gender story, orchestrated by a woman, daughter of the great private of Juan II, the “king without a crown”, who fell into a sudden disgrace at the end of his life. It is the story of the political redemption of her father, of herself and her lineage. It is the story of the reestablishment of the good memory of her family using art as the main legitimating tool.

The visual study of this project is completed with the technical studies carried out by the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España; the most advanced technological means have unveiled the secrets and the main leaders of the commission of the altarpiece and the tomb.

It is intended not only to narrate the story, but also to inform about the current methods of art history which allow us to study the past.



# Presentation

The St. James altarpiece  
in Toledo Cathedral <sup>P. 13</sup>

Reasons of choice <sup>P. 15</sup>

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Juan II (1405-1454) <sup>P. 24</sup>

The breaking of a tradition <sup>P. 25</sup>

The reasons for the defenestration  
of Álvaro de Luna <sup>P. 27</sup>

The fall into disgrace of Álvaro de Luna in verse <sup>P. 28</sup>

The *Private Doctrinal* and the posthumous pardon <sup>P. 29</sup>  
by the Marquis of Santillana

Álvaro de Luna, a romantic myth <sup>P. 30</sup>

# The St. James altarpiece in Toledo Cathedral

The St. James altarpiece in the chapel of Álvaro de Luna, also known as the chapel of Santiago, in the *Primada* Toledo Cathedral was commissioned by his daughter María on December 21<sup>st</sup>, 1488. The aim was to adorn the altar of the family's funerary chapel which his father had built in the 1440's. The altarpiece is still preserved in its original location along with the tomb of Álvaro de Luna and his wife, Juana Pimentel. The tombs were also commissioned by their daughter a few days later, on January the 7<sup>th</sup> 1489, to the sculptor Sebastián de Toledo. The timing of both commissions confirms that they were part of the same memorial project.

As a *unicum* in the history of Castilian late medieval art, both pieces are preserved *in situ*. In addition, the preserved contracts of both works inform us of the characteristics and peculiarities of the funerary complex.

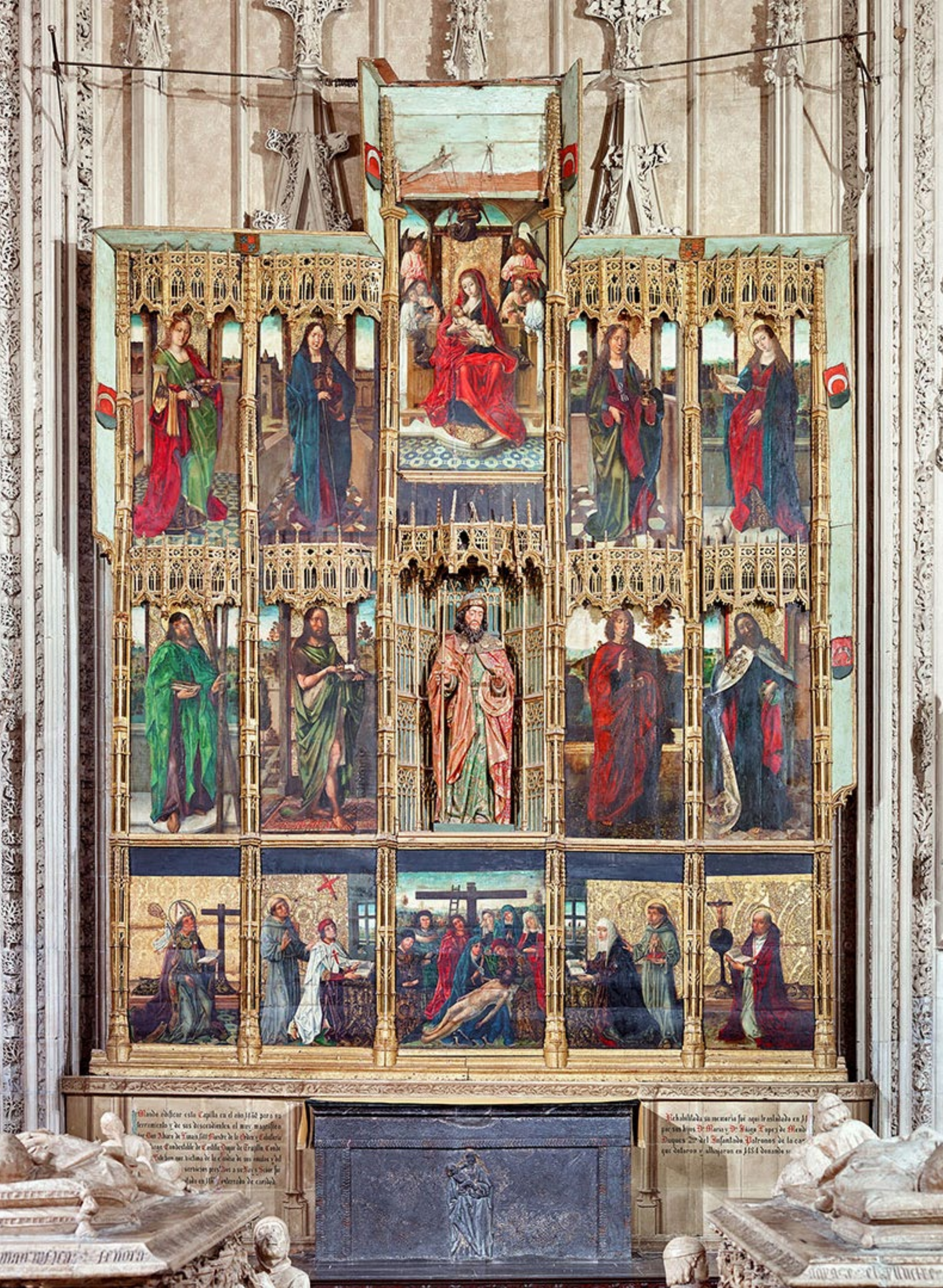
According to the document, the altarpiece was entrusted to the architect Pedro de Gumiel (resident in Alcalá de Henares) and the painters Sancho de Zamora and Juan de Segovia (residents in Guadalajara). However, the analyses performed in the artworks brought to light an interesting surprise: the participation of a fourth master, of great artistic quality. The research conducted has allowed its identification with the Estonian painter Michel Sittow, and with his first steps in Castilian lands as the famous painter of Queen Isabel I of Castile.

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An altarpiece or polyptych is a structure composed of different panels of wood, sculptures in wood or stone, which are organized with an aesthetic will. It either narrates a story or represent different figures or scenes in relation to the location in which they are located and to the client who commissioned it.

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Juan de Segovia, Sancho de Zamora and Michel Sittow, The St. James altarpiece, mixed technique on wood, ca. 1489-90, Luna chapel, *Primada* Toledo Cathedral.





# Reasons of choice

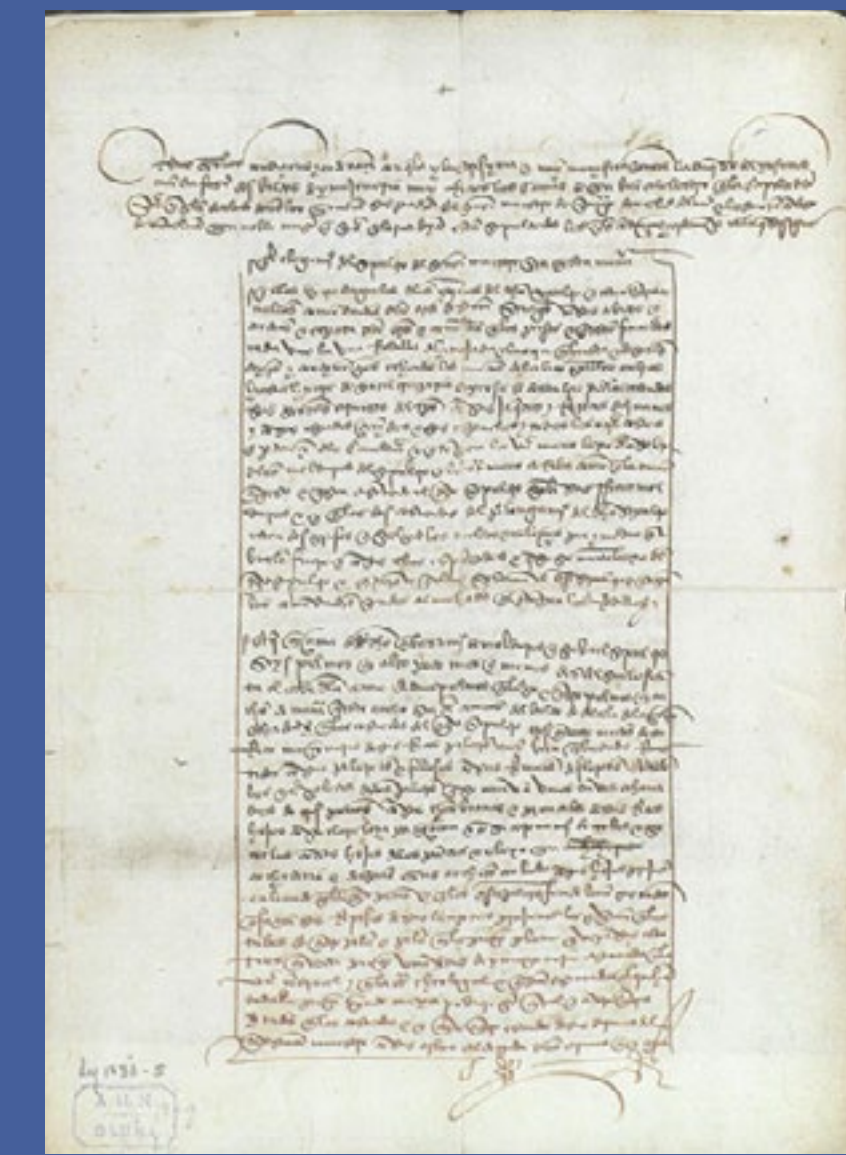
Luna Chapel



Preserved *in situ*



Documents



1488, December 21<sup>st</sup>

**Altarpiece contract**

Sancho de Zamora  
Juan de Segovia  
Pedro de Gumiel

Cost: 105,000 maravedís

1489, January 7<sup>th</sup>

**Tombs contract**

Sculptor: Sebastián de Toledo

Cost: 90,000 maravedís

Reasons of choice

↓ **Álvaro de Luna (c. 1390-1453)**

Álvaro de Luna in the court  
of Juan II of Castile

The chapel of Álvaro de Luna  
as a place of burial

The funerary chapel

The chapel and its decoration

Juan II (1405-1454)

# Álvaro de Luna

(c. 1390-1453)



He was the powerful favourite of King Juan II, also known as "the King without a Crown". He enjoyed extensive power and prerogatives in the government of the Kingdom of Castile.

- He held the positions of **Maestre of the Order of Santiago, Constable of Castile and Count of San Esteban of Gormaz.**
- He was a **military officer** of high rank, head of the most important military acts during the reign of Juan II, such as the battle of Higuera. The victory was solemnly celebrated in *Primada* Toledo Cathedral.
- **He promoted the arts** as it is exemplified by the magnificence of his civil residence —palace of Escalona— and his funerary monument —chapel of Toledo Cathedral— described in his Chronicle as: *"the most remarkable, rich and wonderful chapel and burial that in Spain, and even in most of the world, could be found"*.
- On April 18<sup>th</sup> 1430, the Archbishop of Toledo authorized the Constable to be buried in Toledo Cathedral in one of the most privileged areas of the temple, at the presbytery of the Toledo Cathedral, next to the chapel of the Archbishop and Cardinal Gil de Albornoz.
- His power was comparable to his fall from grace, he was exiled twice and his last public defenestration happened in the main square of Valladolid on June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1453.

In 1423 Álvaro de Luna received the honour of becoming Constable of Castile by Juan II. During the ceremony his words were:

“ *Plegue a Dios dar a mí tal gracia porque siempre, fasta en fin de mis días, sirva a vuestra muy alta Señoría como mi corazón desea, en servicios muy señalados, porque merezca a Vuestra Alteza e a la muy excelente corona de vuestros reinos la mucha merced que el día de hoy me fase.* ”



Luna family coat of arms.



Pimentel family coat of arms.

Tomb of Álvaro de Luna, commissioned to Sebastián de Toledo in 1489.

Álvaro de Luna

# In the educated court of Juan II of Castile

The creation and promotion of literature was one of the most valued courtly habits of the time. And, in this realm, the *Maestre* shone with his own light as:

- **Literary author** of *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mujeres*, similar to the treatise of *Claribus mulieribus* by Boccaccio, dedicated to exalting women. This attitude of phylogeny (women advocacy) contrasts with the more generalized misogyny of the time.
- **Protagonist of his own chronicle** (an old privilege reserved for kings), the *Crónica de D. Álvaro de Luna o Historia del ínclito don Álvaro de Luna* where he is described as the perfect knight:

“ Fizo muy vivas e discretas canciones de los sus amores, e muchas becas declaraba en ellas misterios de otros grandes fechos. Vistióse siempre bien, e así le estaba bien lo que traya, que si vestía de monte o de guerra, o de arreos, a todo parecía bien. Fue muy inventivo e mucho dado a fallar invenciones, e sacar entremeses en fiestas, o en justas, o en guerra; en las quales invenciones muy agudamente significaba lo que quería.

→ **Protagonist/character in important literary texts:**

- **Juan de Mena** in the *El laberinto de la Fortuna* (1444) he is defined as a wise and powerful ruler: “...¿cómo, indiscreto, y tú non conoces / al Condestable Álvaro de Luna?”
- **Jorge Manrique** in the *Coplas por la muerte de su padre* (1477), recalls his public execution as the paradigm of the transience of earthly things.
- **The Marquis of Santillana** dedicates to him the *Coplas contra don Álvaro de Luna*, (the biography of the *Maestre* focused in the life of Álvaro de Luna) and the *Doctrinal de Privados*, a contrite reflexion upon his life.

And regarding his execution, the Chronicle of Álvaro de Luna reports him as:

“ de la muerte del mejor caballero que en todas las Españas ovo en su tiempo, e mayor señor sin corona, el buen Maestre de Santiago.



Álvaro de Luna in the court  
of Juan II of Castile

# ↓ The chapel of Álvaro de Luna as a place of burial

P. 21 The funerary chapel

P. 22 The chapel and its decoration

Juan II (1405-1454)

The breaking of a tradition

The reasons for the defenestration

# The chapel as a place of burial



The space of the chapel is perfectly hierarchical. In the centre, the marriage of Álvaro de Luna (right) and Juana Pimentel (left). On the gospel side we find the Archbishop of Toledo Juan de Cerezuela († 1442), Álvaro de Luna's stepbrother, and Pedro de Luna († 1414), the constable's uncle. Whereas on the epistle side, the tombs of Juan de Luna († 1456?), don Álvaro's only son, and the one originally reserved for his father, Álvaro Martínez de Luna (epistle side) were laid out. However, the one that can be seen today is a modern work, and belongs to Cardinal Juan José Bonel y Orbe († 1857).

# Álvaro de Luna

## The funerary chapel

The Chapel of Santiago was built during the 1430s and 1440s by the Constable Álvaro de Luna as the burial place for himself and his wife, Juana Pimentel.

It stands on the space formerly occupied by the chapels of San Eugenio, Santo Tomás de Canterbury and Santiago within the scheme of the primitive ambulatory of Toledo Cathedral. The appropriation of these old chapels is a good example of the power achieved by Álvaro de Luna, as he was in charge of the government of the kingdom of Castile.

By choosing this privileged space, importance was given to the proxemic relationship established with the chapel of Santa Cruz, founded by Sancho IV (1284-1295) as the royal pantheon in the axial chapel of cathedral.

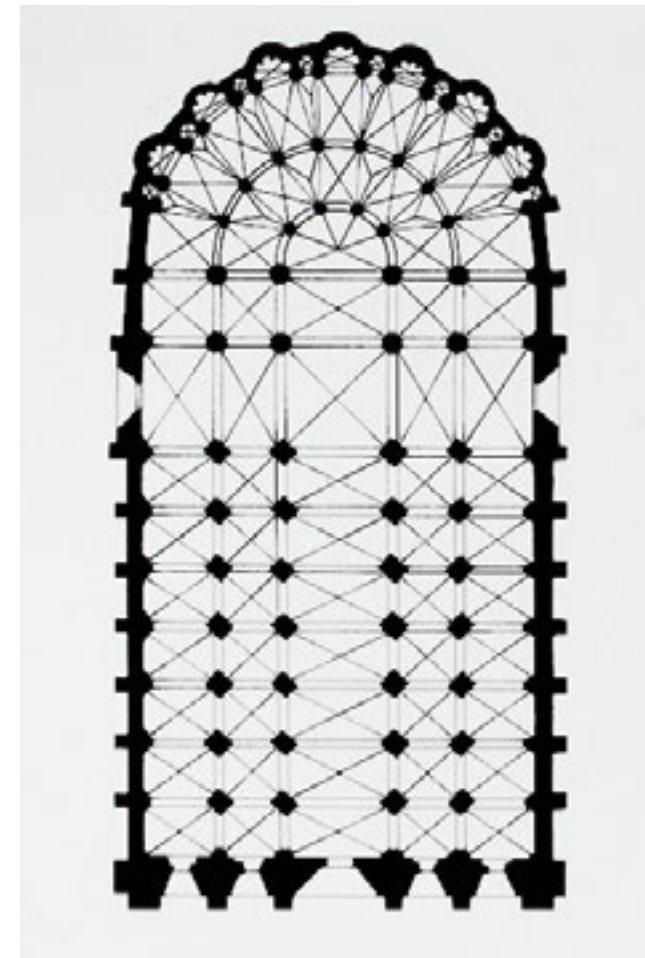
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The architect designer of the chapel must have been the Picardian master Pedro Jalopa, who collaborated with his colleague Isambart in the chapel of the *accountant* Saldaña in Tordesillas. The imprint left by both artists reflects the introduction of Flamboyant art and the renewal of late-Gothic Castilian architecture, which is visible in monuments such as the Corporales of Daroca chapel or the axial chapel of Palencia cathedral.

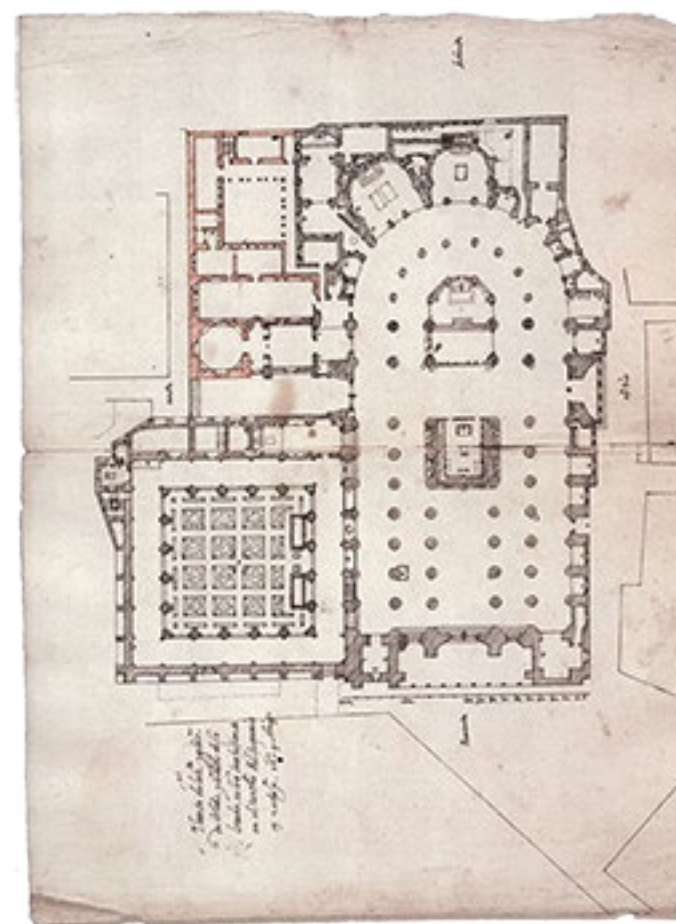
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The octagonal vault of the Luna chapel covers an imposing space with a centralized plan. With an irregular hexagon shape at its base, above it becomes an octagon, in a scallop shell form, like a canting symbol of the Order of Santiago and the Maestre Álvaro de Luna. Its measurements are 22.38 m high, and 14.72 m in diameter from north to south and 16 m from East to West.

The centralized plan typology reflects the tradition of the Roman martyria, the great imperial mausoleums, and emblematic buildings such as the Holy Tomb in Jerusalem. In the Hispanic sphere, this typology blends with the model of the qubba, present in all Muslim territories, reaching great prestige and a spectacular funerary scenography.



Original plan of the *Primada* Toledo Cathedral.



Historical plan of the *Primada* Toledo Cathedral, 1604. Archivo Catedral de Toledo.



# The chapel and its decoration



On both sides of the arcosolia there are corbels with the figures of the prophets, two of which still retain their original phylacteries with the text of their divinations. It was originally designed to support the sculptures of eight apostles. Between 1789 and 1790 these were replaced by the images of saints that can be seen today, made by the sculptor Mariano Salvatierra as part of the reforms undertaken in the cathedral at the end of the 18th century during the archbishopric of Lorenzana. Originally, apostles and prophets would configure a programme around the Double Creed.

In the eastern part, on the altarpiece, there is a decorative frieze with the figure of Santiago Matamoros from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The figure recalls the role of Santiago as a Castilian warrior saint, and in parallel the position of *Maestre* of Santiago of Álvaro de Luna.

The great use of heraldry defines one of the identity codes of the chapel. Coat of arms with the Luna (moon) symbol, scallop shells or Jacobean shells as an attribute of the order of Santiago and lion claws converted into the Constable's crest, adorn the different registers of the funerary chapel.

- In the vault, the emblem is located on the central keystone and on the angels holding the eight ribs, while the shell is placed on the secondary keystones.
- The Luna coat of arms is located on the upper part of the walls, surrounded by the Santiago scallop, a heraldic alternation of moons and scallops that can also be seen in the vault.
- Scallops and heraldic moons are held on the gables arranged over the arcosolia.

Musician angels accompany the entire funeral scene of Álvaro de Luna's burial, playing their instruments and perpetuating the scene eternally, together with the Santiago commanders who carry the tomb. The burial ceremony was actually never carried out in honour of Álvaro de Luna.

The insistence on the same themes, elements, and symbols is part of the rhetorical language of persuasion.

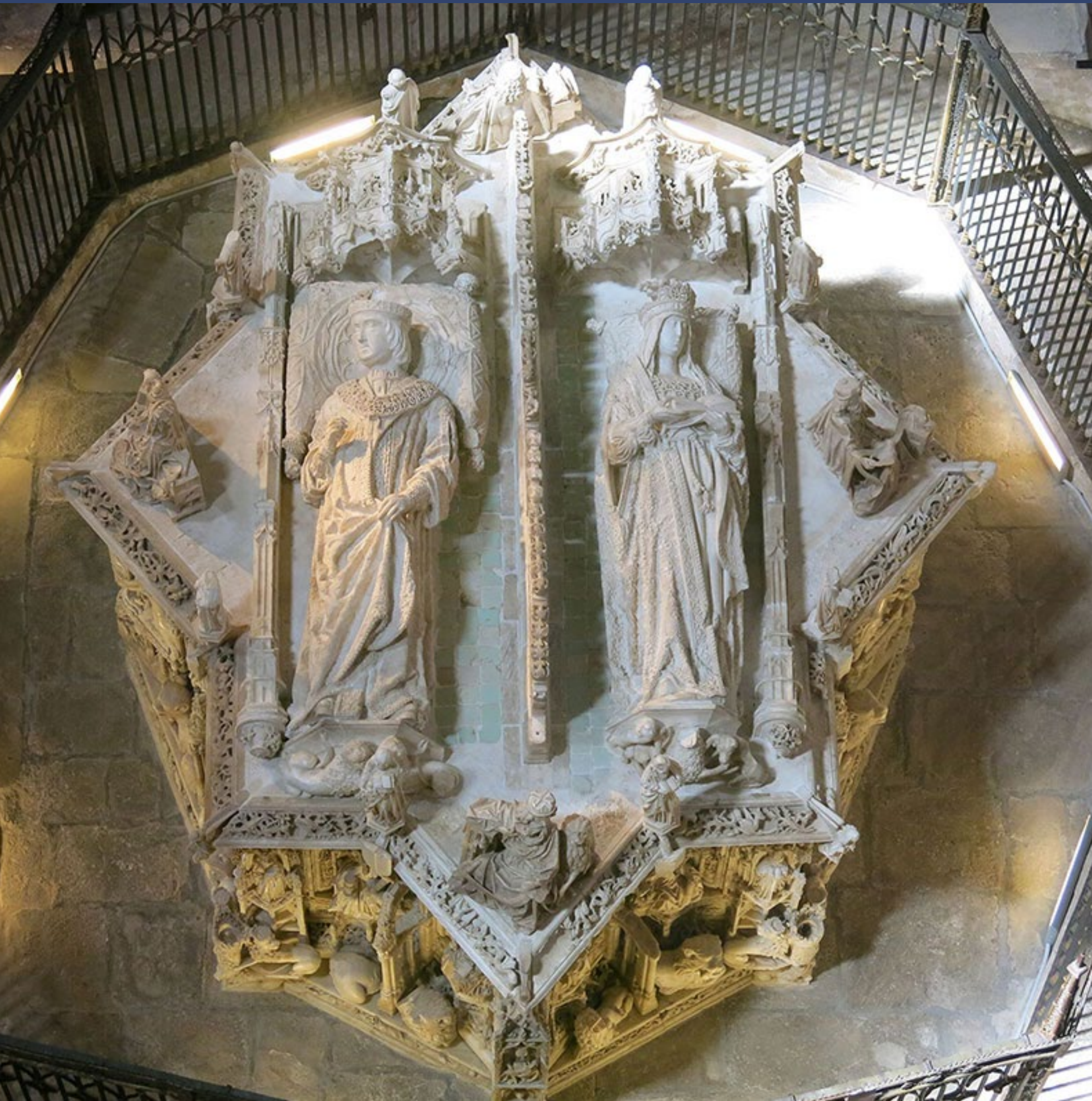


Access to the St. James chapel through the ambulatory of the *Primada Toledo Cathedral*.

The funerary chapel of Álvaro de Luna occupies the space of three chapels (two large and one small) of the original arrangement of the radial chapels of the 13<sup>th</sup>-century temple.

# Juan II of Castile

(c. 1405-1454)



- Son of the monarchs Enrique III and Catalina of Lancaster, he reigned for around 48 years, after the regencies of his mother and his uncle Fernando de Antequera due to his minority.
- Companion and "friend" of Álvaro de Luna, in his youth, he became a model of a man of letters and sword.
- He reached majority at the age of 13 and celebrated his first marriage with the infanta María of Aragón (daughter of his uncle, and future monarch of Aragón, Fernando I of Antequera). In 1447, he celebrated his second betrothal with Isabel of Portugal.
- He had a convulsive reign, with the victory of the battle of Higuera as a great military success, and plagues, famines and permanent conflicts with his cousins the infantes of Aragon and the co-governance of his favourite, Álvaro de Luna, nicknamed as the "king without a crown".
- The fall from grace of Álvaro de Luna deserved an exemplary trial that determined his public execution in the main square of Valladolid, on June 2nd, 1453. A year later, on July 21st, 1454, Juan II died.
- Gonzalo Chacón, tutor to Queen Isabel I of Castile, and author of the *History of the illustrious Don Álvaro de Luna (or Second Part of the Chronicle of Juan II)*, maintained a memory recovery strategy for the Constable.

**Tomb of Juan II and Isabel of Portugal in the Miraflores Charterhouse, by Gil de Siloe.**

The spectacular royal tomb has a star format and the shape of an octagon, formed by the overlapping of two rotated squares. Geometric forms of astral and cosmic evocation are dedicated to the memory of the king and his sacralising component.

# Juan II

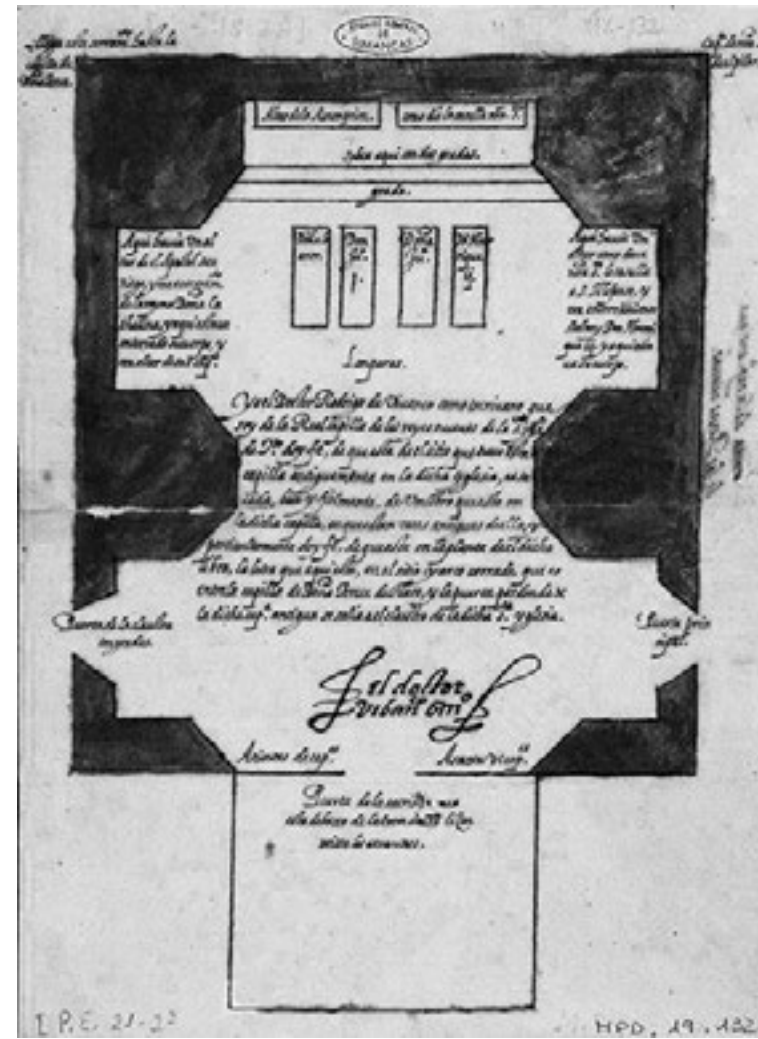
## The breaking of a tradition

From Toledo to Burgos as a funerary space

Enrique II, the founder of the Trastámara dynasty, created a family chapel in the *Primada* Toledo Cathedral, around the emblematic pillar of the Descent. His successors Enrique III and Juan I were buried there; in this same space, Juan II was to be buried.

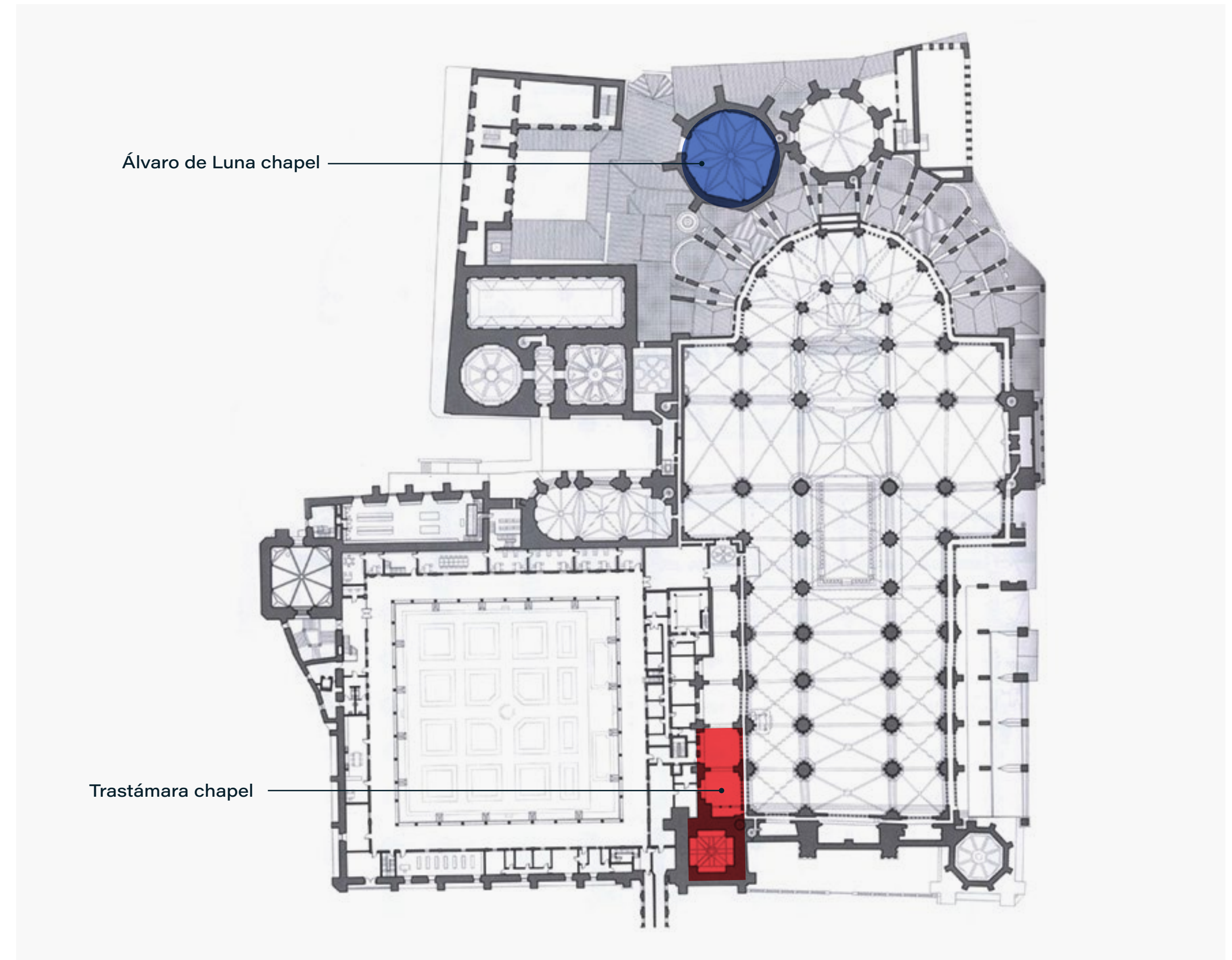
Against all odds, Juan II changed Toledo in favour of Burgos, and a new funerary space, the Miraflores charterhouse.

Of this primitive royal space, a plan is preserved which shows the placement of the royal tombs and the funerary sculptures transferred to a new royal chapel.



### Geo-politics of Juan II's decision:

- Breaking family tradition = symbolic communication gesture
- Separation of actions of his favourite and the funeral space chosen by him
- Counter criticism of his lack of effective government
- Desire for reaffirmation of the royal authority and ruling decision of the monarch



Juan II (1405-1454)

The breaking of a tradition

# ↓ The reasons for the defenestration of Álvaro de Luna

The fall into disgrace of Álvaro de Luna in verse

The *Private Doctrinal* and the posthumous pardon  
by the Marquis of Santillana

Álvaro de Luna, a romantic myth

# The reasons for the defenestration of Álvaro de Luna



“ ¡Oh alto Rey de Castilla! ¿Qué fases? Condenas a muerte al más leal servidor que jamás oviste nin avrás (...) ¿Sentençias deber morir el que por serviçio tuyo tobo en nada muchas veces el su vivir? ¿Mandas ser apartado de su vida el que por te servir muriendo se tenia por dichoso, que la muerte vivir le seria?

*Second Part of the Crónica de Juan II/La Historia del Ínclito don Álvaro de Luna, p. 426*

Although initially the king's private was the main character and of absolute obedience to the crown, his transformation into a political character and his independence from the sovereign government, resulted in the accusation of tyranny. This was a vice previously only linked to the king, but it gave enough reasons to the opponents of both Juan II and Álvaro de Luna.

The anti-Luna contingent accused the monarch of abandoning and annulling his power in favour of the Constable, to whom they considered a usurper. This became so unbearable, that after the two exiles of the private, the sovereign imposed his execution in the main square of Valladolid, with the public display of his body and head for three days for public shame.

Main public square of Valladolid, where Álvaro de Luna was executed in 1453.  
Map of Valladolid, made by Ventura Seco in 1738. Archivo de Valladolid. ©

# The fall into disgrace of Álvaro de Luna in verse

*Coplas contra don Álvaro de Luna* (fragment), Íñigo López de Mendoza

De tu resplandor, ¡O Luna!,  
te ha privado la fortuna.  
¡o luna, más luminosa  
Que la luz meridiana,  
clareciente, radiosa,  
prepotente, soberana!  
Tu claror universal  
Por el mundo era sonado:  
un ser atán prosperado  
No vio onbre terrenal.

¡O luna, qu' en toda España  
los tus rayos traçendían,  
de tu mirable fazaña  
Infinitos departían!  
Tu prolongado durar  
non se falla por estoria,  
nin por antigua memoria  
Se podría memorar.

¡O luna, que cuánto grado  
tus principios non sabidos,  
y tu pobre y baxo estado  
por notorios son ávidos!  
Pues, mira quán elevada  
de inmensa properidad  
te subió la Magestad  
con costança prolongada.  
....

¡O luna eclipsada  
y llena d' oscuridad,  
tenebrosa y fuscada,  
conplida de ceguedad!  
Toda negra ya paresçes  
de clareza careçiente,  
galardón equivalente  
reçibes segund mereçes.

## **Inbocaçión a Dios**

...  
Con magnífica paçençia  
esperas al pecador  
llamándole a penitençia  
con inçesable calmor.  
Al penitente converso  
reçibes a piedad,  
dañas con serveridad  
al obstinado perverso.  
...

## **A la Reina**

A vos, la muy generossa,  
exçelsa Reina, señora  
preclara, espeçiossa,  
la quarta liberadora,  
enxenplo y discreción,  
y roca de gran costança,  
tálamo de enperança  
y templo de perfección.  
...

## **Al Príncipe**

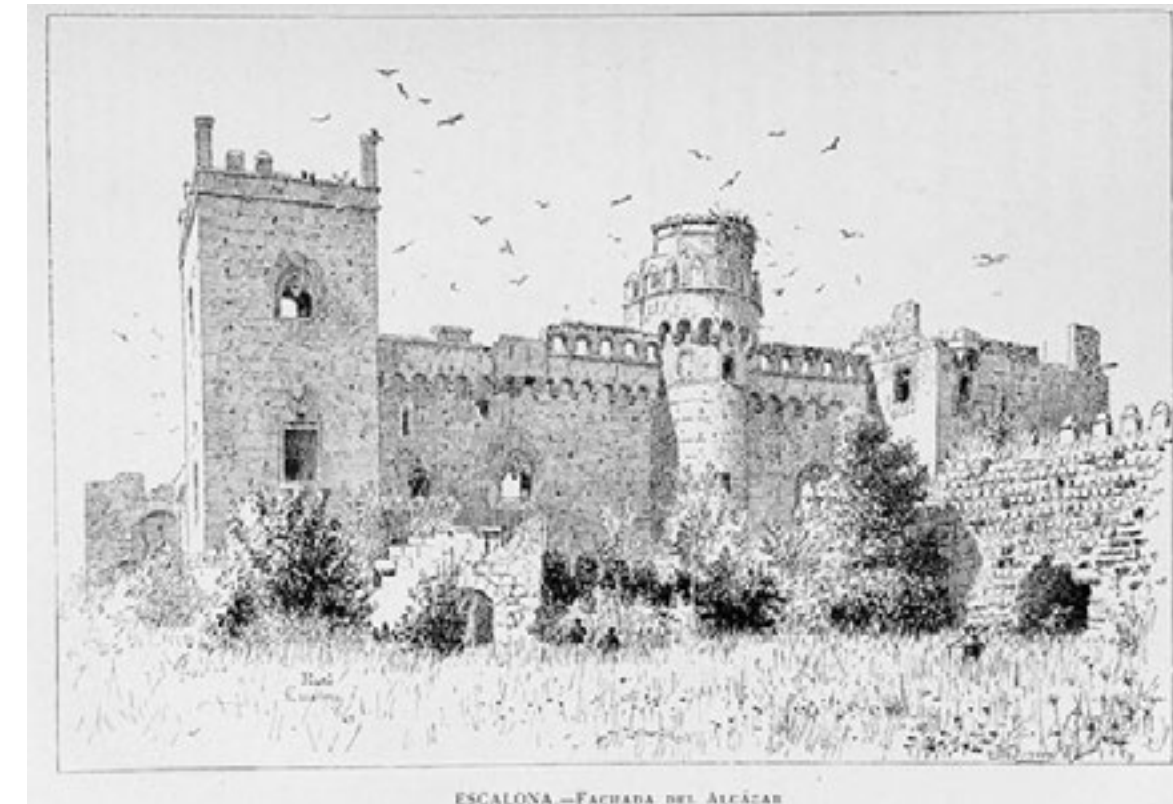
A vos, el muy virtuoso  
primogénito infante,  
príncipe muy viguroso,  
exçelente, ilustrante,  
la boca puesta en el suelo,  
fablaré con reverençia  
confiando en la clemençia  
de vuestro animoso zelo.  
...

## **Fin**

El mando a su señoría  
Y la execuçión a vos  
Por cumplir lo que pedía  
El santo David a Dios.

After the death of Álvaro de Luna, his great enemy, the Marquis of Santillana, Íñigo López de Mendoza, wrote the *Coplas contra don Álvaro de Luna* as a biography of power and his ups and downs on the wheel of fortune.

Don Álvaro de Luna was the main model of chivalry and its values, and with the *Second Chronicle of Juan II*, also known as the *Incredible Chronicle of Álvaro de Luna*, his figure was restored as the guarantor of virtues, good ruler, model knight and protector of the monarch.



**Castle-Palace of Escalona**, headquarters of the possessions of Álvaro de Luna and his main residence.

The *Chronicle* recounts the festivities and entertainment that the Constable held in this castle in honour of the monarch Juan II.

Engraving by Josep Pascó i Mensa, 1886. ©

At present, the castle of Escalona can be visited and some of the most significant rooms of the Álvaro de Luna period can be seen.

## Marquis of Santillana

# The *Private Doctrinal* and the posthumous pardon

Vi tesoros ayuntados  
Por grand daño de su dueño:  
Assí como sonbra o sueño  
Son nuestros días contados.  
E'si fueron prorrogados  
Por sus lágrimas a alguno,  
D'estos ya non veo uno,  
Por nuestros muchos peccados.

Abrid, abrid vuestros ojos,  
Gentíos, mirad a mi:  
Quanto vistas, quanto vi  
Fantasmas fueron e antojos.  
Casa a casa, ¡quay de mí!,  
E campo a campo allegué,  
Cosa ajena nondexé:  
Tanto quise quanto vi.  
Agora, pues, ved aquí  
Quánto valen mis riquezas,  
Tierras, villas, fortalezas,  
Tras quien mi tiempo perdí.  
...

D'este favor cortesano  
Lo que nunca sope, sé:  
Non advertí nin pensé

Quánto es caduco e vano.  
Así que de llano en llano,  
Sin algund temor e miedo,  
Quando me dieron el dedo,  
Abarqué toda la mano.

Lo que non fize, fazed,  
Favoridos e privados:  
Si queredes ser amados,  
Non vos teman, mas temed.  
Templad la cúpida sed,  
Consejad rectos juiçios,  
Esquivad los perjuizios,  
La razón obedesçed.  
....

Pero bien lo meresçí  
pues a quien tanto me fizo  
fize porque me desfizo:  
¿tanto m'ensobervesçí!  
Pues si yo non refferí  
las graçias que me fizieron,  
si non me las reffirieron,  
non pida lo que non di.  
...

Ca si lo ajeno tomé,  
lo mío me tomarán;  
si maté, non tardarán  
de matarme, ya lo sé.  
Si prendí, por tal passé;  
maltraí, soy maltraído;  
andove buscando ruido,  
basta assaz que lo fallé.  
...

### Confesión

Pues yo, pecador errado  
Más que los más pecadores,  
Mis delictos, mis errores,  
Mis graves culpas, culpado  
Confieso, muy inclinado  
A ti, Dios, Eterno Padre,  
A a la tu bendita Madre,  
E después, de grado en grado.  
...

Cavalleros e perlados,  
sabed e sapa todo hombre  
Que este mi sermón ha nombre:  
Doctrinal de los privados.  
Mis días son ya llegados  
e me dexan dende aquí,  
pues rogad a Dios por mí,  
gentes de todos estados.

The Marquis of Santillana, inspired by the fall of Álvaro de Luna, wrote the *Doctrinal of Privates*, as a contrite confession at the end of his life. Some philologists define it as a poetic revenge, however, the poem grants Álvaro de Luna his request for forgiveness and the confession of a proud and arrogant man, who at the end of his life recognized his mistakes and recommended others to behave well.



🔊 Danza Alta

Listen to the *Danza Alta* "La Spagna" (CMP 321), by Francisco de la Torre (c.1460 - c.1504), from *Cancionero Musical de Palacio*.

## Álvaro de Luna

# A romantic myth

Álvaro de Luna's chapel is represented in different 19<sup>th</sup>-century publications of encyclopedic and historical nature, such as *España Artística y Monumental* by Genaro Pérez Villaamil (Paris, 1842), *Toledo Pintoresco* by José Amador de los Ríos (1845), *Albúm artístico de Toledo* by Manuel de Assas (1848), *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España. Castilla la Nueva* by José María Quadrado (1853) and *Toledo en la mano*, by Sixto Ramón Parró (1857).

Romanticism and its sweetened vision of the medieval past revived the story of Álvaro de Luna, who became the main character of novels and paintings that recalled his life, his tragic death and the vagaries of history:

- In 1851 Manuel Fernández y González published in Madrid the most famous and well-known historical novel about the *Maestre of Santiago*, entitled: *El Condestable don Álvaro de Luna*.
- The poet Manuel José Quintana included his biography in the third volume of his work *Vida de los españoles célebres* (Madrid, 1833).
- Ángel de Saavedra, Duke of Rivas, incorporated in the second volumen of *El moro expósito o Córdoba y Burgos en el siglo décimo* (Paris, 1834) the romance *Don Álvaro de Luna*.
- Eugenio de Ochoa collected twenty-five anonymous ballads dedicated to Álvaro de Luna in his *Tesoro de los romanceros y cancioneros españoles históricos, caballerescos, moriscos y otros* (Barcelona, 1840).
- Antonio Gil y Zárate published his historical drama in five acts *D. Álvaro de Luna* (Madrid, 1840).



Genaro Pérez Villaamil, Capilla General. Burial of D. Alvaro de Luna and his Family in the *Primada* Toledo Cathedral (Private collection).



Federico de Madrazo, Don Álvaro de Luna on the gallows (Goya Museum, Castres).

# The memorial project of María de Luna

# The memorial project of María de Luna

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Female patronage <sup>P. 36</sup>

The Mendoza: genealogy <sup>P. 37</sup>

Memorial strategy of María de Luna <sup>P. 38</sup>  
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Contracts <sup>P. 39</sup>

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The authors of the altarpiece: <sup>P. 54</sup>  
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Sancho de Zamora <sup>P. 56</sup>

Juan de Segovia <sup>P. 58</sup>

Michel Sittow <sup>P. 60</sup>

Sittow, painter at the court of Isabel I of Castile <sup>P. 62</sup>

The artists of the Mendoza court <sup>P. 63</sup>

Identification of Sebastián de Toledo <sup>P. 64</sup>

Sebastián de Toledo and his context <sup>P. 65</sup>

The artist supervisor: Juan Guas (1430-1496) <sup>P. 66</sup>

Juan Guas, *ymaginer* and architect <sup>P. 67</sup>

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# María de Luna

(c. 1432-1497)

The daughter of the deposed Constable orchestrated the initiatives promoted to recover the good memory of the *Maestre* and, with it, of the Luna lineage through:

- The **alliance with the Mendoza**, thanks to her marriage to Íñigo López de Mendoza, II Duke of the Infantado in 1460, which ultimately defined them as successors and owners of the assets of the favourite.
- The **transfer of the body of Álvaro** from Valladolid to Toledo between 1464 and 1468.
- The **writing of the *Second part of the Crónica de Álvaro de Luna o Historia del Íncrito don Álvaro de Luna*** by Gonzalo Chacón. He was the faithful servant of Álvaro de Luna until his very last breath who also was adviser to Queen Isabel the Catholic, who thus would try to exonerate the decision of her father Juan II of condemning the Constable.
- **Liturgical endowment of the St. James chapel** by Juana Pimentel, widow of the *Maestre*, in 1488.
- **Decoration of the chapel through the commission of an altarpiece to the painters Juan de Segovia and Sancho de Zamora in 1488 and a double burial to Sebastián de Toledo in 1489.**



The **Palacio of the Infantado** (Guadalajara) was built by Íñigo López de Mendoza and his wife María de Luna as their main residence in the town of Guadalajara. The architect was Juan Guas, a master equally at the service of the Catholic Monarchs and responsible of the works in several cathedrals in Castile during those years.

Castle of Manzanares el Real by Juan Guas, as requested by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and Suárez de Figueroa, I Duke of Infantado.



# Female patronage

**María de Luna: oversees the contracted works, has the support of the Mendoza family, and the court artists (Sancho de Zamora, Juan de Segovia and the possible supervision of Juan Guas).**

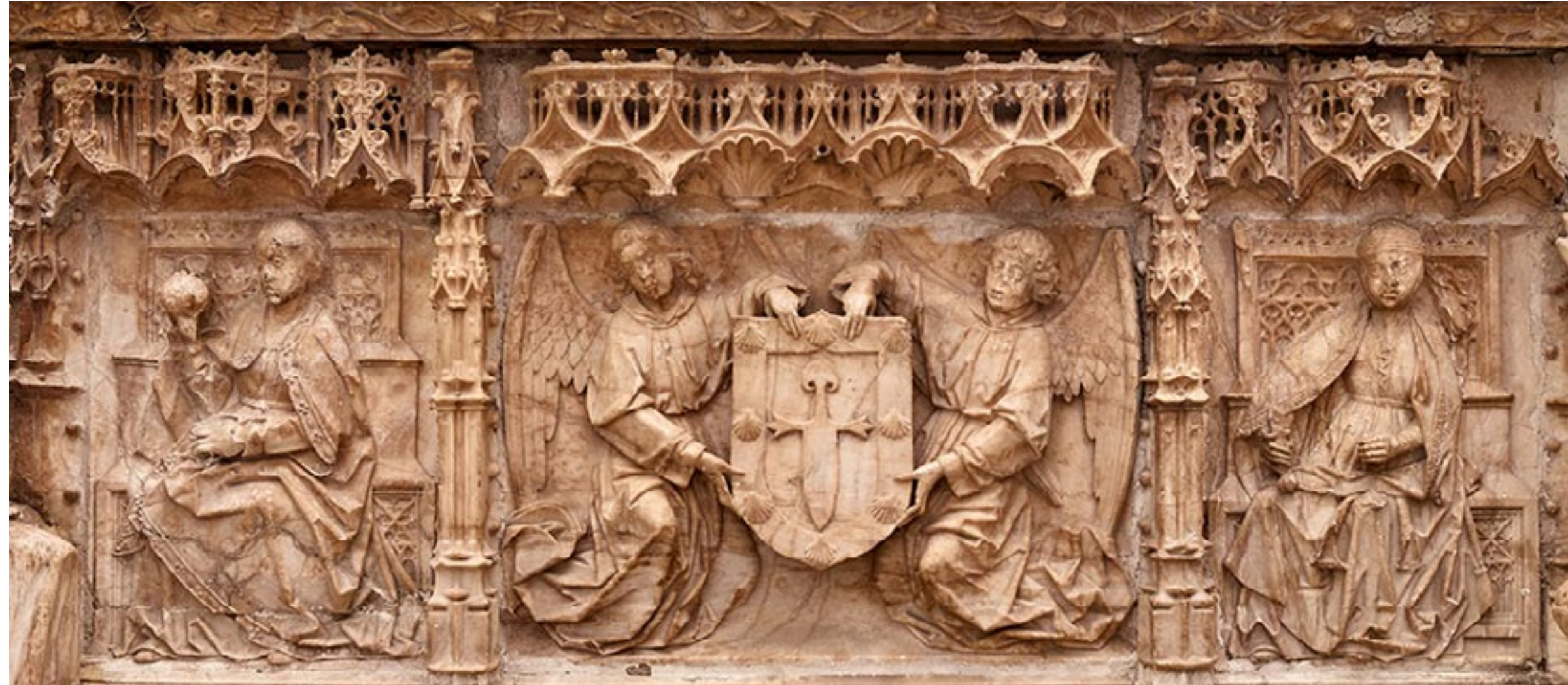
## → Altarpiece

Thematic precisions specified in the contract:

*“E que la ymaginería de todas estas piezas susodichas para en cada pieza su imagen que las mande dar su señoría por relación de las que su señoría le plasera e que aquellas mismas pongan los dichos maestros.”*

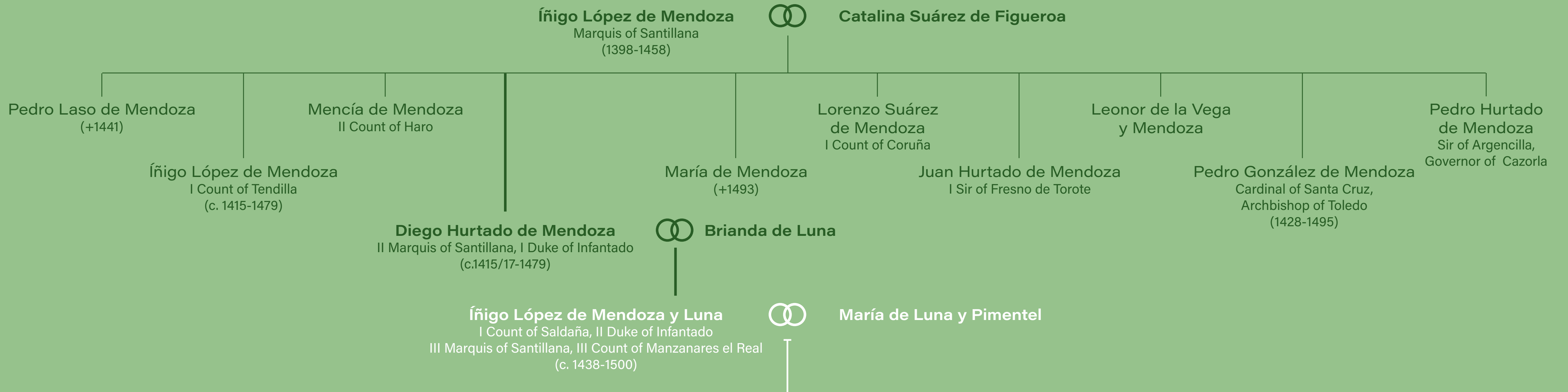
## → Tombs

**Requirement for the tombs to be made in Guadalajara, dwelling place of the noble lady, and not in Toledo, their final location, nor in Manzanares el Real, where the contract was signed. This requirement entails an additional cost, since the adequate transport of such complex and large funerary works could increase the final production costs by almost 50%.**



The tomb of Álvaro de Luna is decorated with the representation of the virtues of **temperance** (faith or prudence, mixing liquids between two containers), **fortitude** (with the lion at his feet), **justice** (with the sword, here disappeared) and **charity** (or magnanimity-with the bag of coins).

# The Mendoza: genealogy



## Works of art linked to the patronage of the Mendoza family



Castle of Manzanares del Real Madrid. Juan Guas (c. 1475).



Palace of Infantado, Guadalajara. Juan Guas (c. 1480). ©



Altarpiece and tombs of Álvaro de Luna, Toledo Cathedral (1488-1489).

# Memorial strategy of María de Luna and the Mendoza family

The will of María de Luna was to restore the memory of her father through a memorial strategy at different levels, all of which are independent and interrelated, aimed at promoting his good name and moral qualification:

- **Political level.** Clothing, coats of arms and inscriptions recall his status as private of Juan II and highest authority of the order of Santiago.
- **Military level.** The Constable of Castile and *Maestre* of the Order of Santiago was one of the achievers of the battle of Higuera. In his effigies of both the tomb and the altarpiece, under his *Maestre* cape, he wears a "rozagant" armour and a "gentle harness of his time".
- **Man of letters.** Receiver and protagonist of literary works such as *El laberinto de Fortuna* (1444) by Juan de Mena, *Coplas por la muerte de su padre* (1477) by Jorge Manrique, or the *Coplas contra don Álvaro de Luna* by the Marquis of Santillana. He was also a writer. His treaty of phylogeny, the *Libro de las Claras y Virtuosas Mugerres*, acted as an iconic source for the altarpiece of the Luna chapel.



Tomb of Álvaro de Luna with the Santiago knights who carried his funerary remains.



Female figure located at the foot of the tomb of Juana Pimentel carrying a book.



Saint Agnes with her book.



Sculpture of a Santiago knight.



The composition of the the altarpiece, tomb and chapel, is based on an iconography and visual rhetoric around symbols such as the scallop shells, the virtues of the constable and the representation of perennial funeral rites. It all defined one of the most beautiful chapels of the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which at the same time became the new prestigious burial site of the Mendoza family.

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Memorial strategy of María de Luna  
and the Mendoza family

## ↓ Contracts

P. 41 The altarpiece

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P. 54

The authors of the altarpiece:  
certainties and surprises  
of authorship

Sepan quitos esta a de obligacion Venera como yo Sancho de castilla  
e Juan de Segovia vesquos de la abadia de Santa de la villa de  
vesmo de la villa de calca de henares ayo de dho Sancho de castilla  
me obligo de fazer e dar e pagar ayo de dho Sancho de castilla  
dicha obligacion e pagar ayo de dho Sancho de castilla  
de castilla por dho ayo de dho Sancho de castilla  
tornamos a fazer e dar e pagar ayo de dho Sancho de castilla  
e mandamos e mandamos a los señores de la villa de  
pella de la villa de la villa de la villa de la villa de la villa de  
ende e de repulidos los villanos e villanos e villanos e villanos  
inmediate e de la villa de la villa de la villa de la villa de la villa de  
ayuntamiento de la villa de la villa de la villa de la villa de la villa de  
e de la villa de la villa de la villa de la villa de la villa de la villa de  
a que ante dho por p[er]to e carta de dho Sancho de castilla

# The contract of the altarpiece

1488, December, 21<sup>st</sup>. Manzanares [el Real] (Madrid)

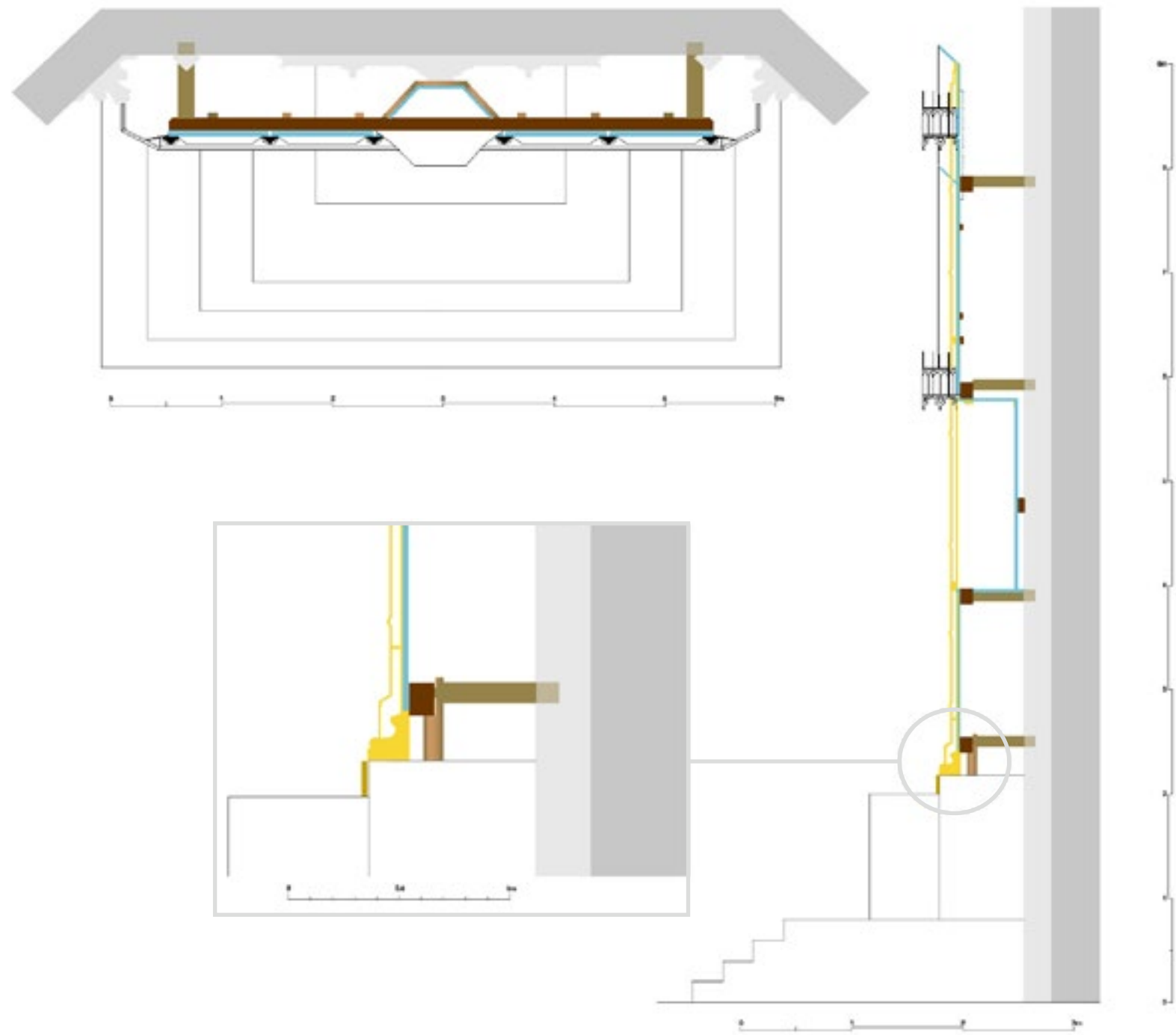
Letter of obligation granted by Sancho de Zamora on behalf of Juan de Segovia and Pedro de Gumiel, in favour of María de Luna, Duchess of the Infantado, to carry out an altarpiece in the *Primada* Toledo Cathedral, in the chapel where their parents lie, the *Maestre* of Santiago and the Duchess of Montalbán, for a price of 105,000 maravedís and under the conditions that are detailed.



AHN, Osuna. Leg.1734 nº 48

It is a notarial copy, that is, it is not the original document nor is it found in the original protocol of the notary, but it is an authorized and fully valid copy.

In medieval Castile, the length of a “palmo de vara” was 0.20 cm, which means that the altarpiece would have a total height of 6 metres and a width (including the dust-guard) of 5 metres.



Architectural sketches of the St. James altarpiece, intellectual property of Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España. Ana Carrassón and Javier Laguna.

## Transcription

*Sepan quantos esta carta de obligaçion vieren como yo Sancho de Çamora / e Juan de Segovia, vesinos de la çibdad de Guadalajara, et Pedro de Gomiell, / vesino de la villa de Alcalá de Henares, et yo el dicho Sancho de Çamora / me obligo de faser, estar e pasar a mi (...) por todo lo que en esta / dicha obligaçion sera contenido, todos tres de mancomun, e el dicho Sancho / de Çamora por si et por el dicho su (...) otorgamos et conoscemos que / tornamos a faser et nos obligamos de faser a vos la muy illustre / e magnifica señora duquesa del Ynfantado etc, un retablo en la ca- / pilla de la santa iglesia catredal [sic] / dela muy noble çibdad de Toledo, / donde estan sepultados los yllustres e muy magníficos señores el / maestre de Santiago et la condesa de Montalvan, us padres, cuyas / ánimas santa gloria ayan, el qual dicho retablo nos obligamos / de faser e dar fecho en la manera siguiente e con las condiçiones / aqui contenidas, por presçio e contia de çiento e çinco mill maravedis pagados / en quatro terçios del año; el primero terçio luego para començar la obra et que / lo den fecho e acabado desde esta Navidad primera que viene de la fecha de esta carta en un / año, puesto en la dicha capilla a contentamiento de su señoria e de ofiçiales, / so pena de dies mil maravedis et la pena pagada o non pagada que todavía queden / e fincan obligados e se obligan a dar fecho el dicho retablo en la manera siguiente:*

*Primeramente / Que ha de ser el dicho retablo en esta manera, que aya en el ancho del veynte e dos palmos de / quatro palmos de vara en ancho, e en los guardapolvos tres / que son veynte e çinco palmos / de vara en ancho como dicho es, et que aya en alto / del fasta la punta de en medio treynta / palmos, en tal manera que quedan / en el quadrado syn la punta que sube veynte et çinco palmos de vara, et aqui / en el repartimiento deste bulo e esquadra le van repartidas en el vanco sobre / una rica solera de molduras sobre que vaya su vanco que es el fundamento / del dicho retablo çinco piezas, la de en medio de seys palmos con sus pilares, / et las quatro que van en cada costado a quatro palmos de ancho, et las del / vanco que vayan deste mismo ancho, et el alto de todas estas dichas piezas / han de ser las del vanco de çinco palmos en el alto e las piezas de los costados / altas e baxas han de ser ocho piezas en que ha de aver en cada una nueve / [va çima de la, vala] // palmos en alto que ha de aver dos piezas de en medio ençima / del vanco en que ha de aver en cada pieza seys palmos de ancho, / et en la primera pieza donde ha de venir el Santiago de bulo ha / de ser de honse palmos, et la pieza somera de encima ha / de ser de trese palmos en alto. /*

# The contract of the altarpiece

## Continuation

Hanse de mover sobre la solera del pie sus ricos en vasa- / mentos del arte de cantería e de alli surcan sus pilares / en arista de pieça en pieça fasta los remates del dicho / retablo, todos que vayan huecos de su archenteria e maço- / neria con sus nudos de molduras revestidos con sus pila- / retes, et en las copadas que hatan con el entablamento sobre / la maçoneria de las pieças que vengan sus gentiles fojas / françesas, revestidas con sus molduras del dicho entabla- / mento et en las pieças altas que aya un cordon de sant / Françisco rico. /

Et ençima de la maçoneria del dicho vanco sobre que han de / yr las pieças que corra otro entablamento con una copada / de un cordón de sant Françisco et que vaya bolteando por derre- / dor de los pilares. /

Otro sy ha de ser las chanbranas del vanco que venga dos dedos / enlevadas, en que fagan una arista en medio con su pinaculo / de fojas por el arista e a los dos costados otras dos pinaculos de fojas et su archentería con su claravoya et con sus archetes / de corlas pinjantes e con sus fojas e con sus pilaretes. /

Otrosy que toda la maçoneria de las otras pieças de arriba, los / de los costados que vayan con sus ricas tuvas enlevadas / e ochovadas, et en cada ochavo que vayan sus chanbranas / de fojas con su pinaculo e su archentería e sus claraboyas / de rica maçoneria con su coronamiento de sus fojas, con sus / pilaretes en arista, con sus repisas de molduras e con sus / remates con sus caracoles en arista et con sus arcos //

encorlados con sus fojas enbolcadas pinjantes et con sus ver- / dugos enroscados a par de los pilares con sus vasetas e capi- / teles. /

Otro sy en la maçoneria de las dos pieças de en medio que aya / en la baxa una tuba enlevada con dos paños enviaxados / a los costados de en cabo et un arista en medio que lleve en cada / paño una chanbrana de fojas con su pinaculo et en los / dichos paños que corra por çima su claraboya con sus moldu- / ras et con su encoronamiento de sus corlas e sus hojas que corran / por çima e con sus pilaretes en el arista en rincones de la dicha tuba / con sus repisas et crestas de coracoles y remates, et en los paños / desta dicha tuba su archenteria con sus archetes de luxo de sus cor- / las et hojas pinjantes con unos verdugos a los costados de los pila- / res encorchados con sus vasetas et capiteles et ençima desta linterna / que se retreche otra menor e de poca cantidad con sus pilaretes que sobre / pujen sobre el encoronamieto et desta misma manera y forma commo / esta dicha tuba va sea la de arriba la del remate, salvos que ha de subir / la linterna de arriba un poco mas que esta baxa porque tiene lugar / de sobir mas e que quede llana la pieça de arriba para faser una ymagen / de Nuestra Señora de pinsel. /



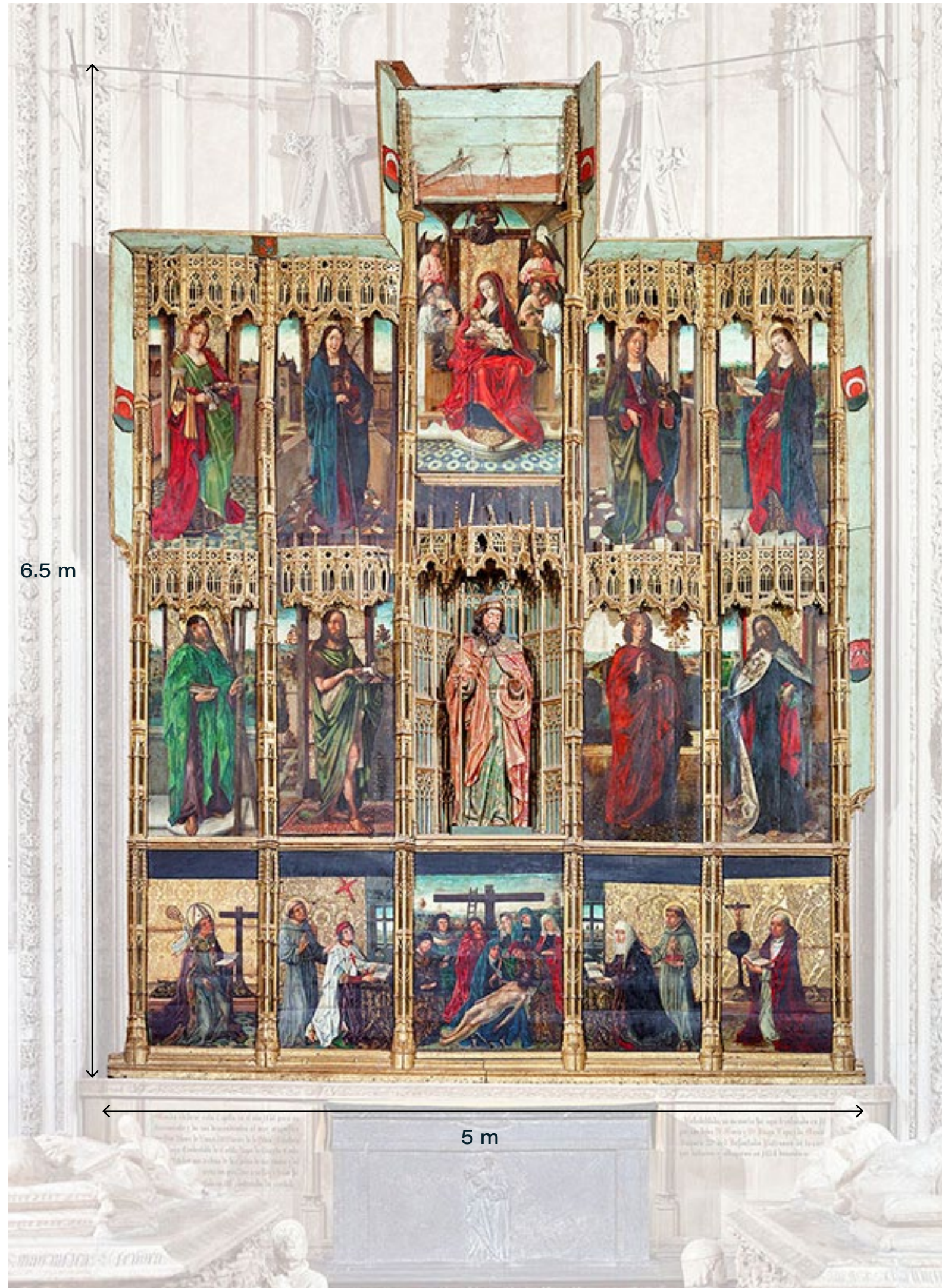
## Transcription rules:

The "i" and "y" have been respected, as they are indistinctly used with the same vowel value, in case it is of interest to identify the words properly in the text.

As required by the standards, abbreviations have been developed, and the letters that appear omitted in the text, for abbreviation, although it is not mandatory, have been placed in italics for better understanding.

A question mark (?) means a doubtful interpretation. The slash (/) means change of line and the double slash (//) a change of page.

# The contract of the altarpiece



For the programmed memorial restoration, María de Luna had the media support of her in-laws and the architects integrated into her House and Court.

## Continuation

*Et en la pieça prinçipal de abaxo que en el campo de ella que se faga un encasa- / mento ochavado que sea incorporado fasia adentro, en que aya debaxo de la / tuba del capitel una graçiosa boveda de su cruseria con unos fila de / ruelas de hojas en las claves et con sus pilaretes en los rincones de los / ochavos, con sus rincones e capiteles para en que venga una rica ymagen / de bulto del señor Santiago que sea tamaño como el natural quanto quepa / en el alto de la pieça et que sus costados de las paredes desta bóveda sean / labrados de su archenteria de talla. /*

*Otro sy en la pintura et dorado de la maçoneria que dicho es a de ser desta ma- / nera, ha de ser que la dicha maçoneria ha de ser vien dorada de su oro fino e bru- / ñido e con los respaldos de las pieças todos con su gentiles brocados de en / prenta / [va sobre raído o dis tuba no lee...] //*

*Otros sy en la pintura del pinsel de la ymagineria que ha de venir en las / pieças de en medio ha de ser en el una ymagen de Nuestro Señor como la / tiene Nuestra Señora en sus braços como le desçienden de la crus e en los dos / pieças que estan a los costados, en la de a mano derecha el señor maestre de / Santiago fincado de rodillas re[costa] do sobre su sitial de almohadas / et brocados et con su libro e su abito de maestre et su crus e venera / en los pechos et con una clamellona colorada en la cabeça, e echado / el abito por çima de los onbros*

*que descubra una ropa roçagante con / su aforro de martas çebellinas, con sus mangas de brocado sacadas / por la ropa, con unos unas guardas en los cobdos dorados et con su espada / et espuelas doradas, et por detras señor ant Francisco como le tiene e / le representa a Nuestro Señor et con su dosel de brocado a las espaldas; / et en la pieça de la mano syniestra la señora condesa de Montalban fin- / cada de rodillas con sus tocados honestos como su señoria solia traer / et con un mongil de terçiopelo et su manto de costado atras que descubra / mucho el mongil y rescobdada sobre un rico sitial de brocado sobre / sus almohadas de brocado et su alcatifa et resando en su libro e / sus cuentas en la çinta e puesta en rico doser de brocado et sant Anto- / nio como la representa a Nuestro Señor. /*



# The contract of the altarpiece



For the programmed memorial restoration, María de Luna had the media support of her in-laws and the architects integrated into her House and Court.

## Continuation

*Et en la pieça prinçipal de abaxo que en el campo de ella que se faga un encasa- / mento ochavado que sea incorporado fasia adentro, en que aya debaxo de la / tuba del capitel una graçiosa boveda de su cruseria con unos fila de / ruelas de hojas en las claves et con sus pilaretes en los rincones de los / ochavos, con sus rincones e capiteles para en que venga una rica ymagen / de bulto del señor Santiago que sea tamaño como el natural quanto quepa / en el alto de la pieça et que sus costados de las paredes desta bóveda sean / labrados de su archenteria de talla. /*

*Otro sy en la pintura et dorado de la maçoneria que dicho es a de ser desta ma- / nera, ha de ser que la dicha maçoneria ha de ser vien dorada de su oro fino e bru- / ñido e con los respaldos de las pieças todos con su gentiles brocados de en / prenta / [va sobre raído o dis tuba no lee...] //*

*Otros sy en la pintura del pinsel de la ymagineria que ha de venir en las / pieças de en medio ha de ser en el una ymagen de Nuestro Señor como la / tiene Nuestra Señora en sus braços como le desçienden de la crus e en los dos / pieças que estan a los costados, en la de a mano derecha el señor maestre de / Santiago fincado de rodillas re[costa] do sobre su sitial de almohadas / et brocados et con su libro e su abito de maestre et su crus e venera / en los pechos et con una clamellona colorada en la cabeça, e echado / el abito por çima de los onbros*

*que descubra una ropa roçagante con / su aforro de martas çebellinas, con sus mangas de brocado sacadas / por la ropa, con unos unas guardas en los cobdos dorados et con su espada / et espuelas doradas, et por detras señor ant Francisco como le tiene e / le representa a Nuestro Señor et con su dosel de brocado a las espaldas; / et en la pieça de la mano syniestra la señora condesa de Montalban fin- / cada de rodillas con sus tocados honestos como su señoria solia traer / et con un mongil de terçiopelo et su manto de costado atras que descubra / mucho el mongil y rescobdada sobre un rico sitial de brocado sobre / sus almohadas de brocado et su alcatifa et resando en su libro e / sus cuentas en la çinta e puesta en rico doser de brocado et sant Anto- / nio como la representa a Nuestro Señor. /*





*El señor maestre de Santiago fincado de rodillas recobdado sobre su sitial de almohadas e brocados con su libro e su ábito de maestre e su crus e venera en los pechos e con una clamellona colorada en la cabeça e echado el ábito por çima de los hombros que descubra una ropa roçagante con su aforro de martas cibellinas con sus mangas de brocado sacadas por la ropa con unas guardas en los cobdos doradas e con su espada e espuelas doradas e por detrás señor sant Francisco como le tiene e le representa a Nuestro Señor e con su doser de brocado a las espaldas.*

Clause related to the portrait of Álvaro de Luna in the contract: The portrait of Álvaro de Luna in contemporary terms despite the 35 years that elapsed between the life of Álvaro de Luna and the making of the altarpiece.



# The contract of the altarpiece

## Continuation

*Et en la pieça de en medio de arriba ha de aver Nuestra Señora la Virgen María con / Nuestro Señor en sus braços puesta en tribuno et en grande majestad e con ciertos / angeles al derredor et con estrumentos dyversos et sus canpos de brocado. /*

*Otrosy que su señoria de la señora duquesa mande haser en todas las pieças costa- / neras en cada una, una ymagen que sea ricamente labrada de çinco palmos / e medio que casy sea como el natural, estas muy labradas al proprio, muy / ricos colores et de oro en el lugar donde pertenesçiere e en los respaldos de / sus ricos brocados de oro e azul e de carmesy e sus pavimentos de gentilesas / de sus ricos asulejos. /*

*Et toda esta dicha maçoneria susodicha bien dorada como dicho es de su oro / fino bruñydo e todos los canpos donde fueren neçesarios metidos de su / azul fino et toda la ymageneria et brocados de su fino azul e carme- / sy fino et la ymageneria de pinsel de muy gentiles ordenanças [del arte] / nueva e de muy finas colores labrados a olio e de gentiles carmesies // tras floreanos acidententales e de gentiles autos e conteneçias / e graçiosos rostros e / estrangeros. /*

*Et en la ymageneria de todas estas pieças susodichas para en / cada pieça su ymagen que las mande dar su señoria por re- / laçion de las que su señoria le plasera e que aquellas mis- / mas pongan los dichos maestros. /*

*Para lo qual todo como dicho es obligaron asy mismos e a todos sus / bienes muebles e rayses*

*avidos e por aver, por doquier que los ellos ayan / o qualquier o qualesquier dellos, et dieron poder a las justiçias / de la casa e corte de nuestros señores los reyes o de qualquier çibdad villa / e lugar ante quien esta carta e escriptura paresçiere que gelo lo fagan conplir, / guardar e tener e faser, sobre lo qual renunçiaron todas e / quales quier leyes fueros e derechos e ordenamientos e / toda carta de privilejo de merçed de reyna o reyna [sic] o otro señor qual- / quier et la ley del dolo de la mytad del justo presçio e la ley / del derecho en que fabla e dise que general renunçiaçion non vala, / et por que esto fuese çierto e non viniese en dubda otorgaron esta / carta ante mi el escribano e testigos de yuso escriptos que fue fecha / e otorgada en la villa de Mañanares veynte e un dias del / mes de diyembre año del nascimiento de nuestro salvador Ihesucristo / de mil e quatroçientos e ochenta e ocho años, testigos que / fueron presentes el comendador Ferrando de Arse e el contador de la / dicha señora Pedro Gonzales de Toledo et Juan de Cordova alcayde de Mañanares / e Nuño (?) de Riomoros, criados de su señoria et yo Ferrand Gonzales de Santa María (?) escribano / público en la dicha villa e todo su real e condado fuy presente a todo lo que / dicho es en uno con los dichos testigos e por ende fis aqui este mio / sygno a tal en testimonio de verdad. /*

*[Signo] [Ferrand Gonzáles / escribano: firmado y rubricado]*

Transcription by M<sup>a</sup> Ángeles Benavides.



Commander Fernando de Arce, father Martín Vázquez de Arce, also known as the squire of Sigüenza, signed the document as a witness.



**Contract of the tomb of Álvaro de Luna and Juana Pimentel.**  
Sebastián de Toledo, 7th of January 1489)  
Price: 90,000 maravedís

# The contract of the tombs



## Transcription

*Estas son las condiçiones y ordenanças con que la ylustrysyma e muy manifica señora la duquesa de Ynfantado / manda faser dos bultos de ymajeneria, muy ricas las camas de su buen alabastro, en la capilla de la / santa yglesia de Toledo, donde los señores sus padres, el señor maestre de Santiago don Alvaro de Luna e la señora condesa / de Montalvan su noble muger, que santa gloria ayan, estan sepultados, las quales condiçiones y ordenança es la que se sigue /*

*Que el elegimiento del sepulcro del señor maestre sea en esta manera : /*

*Que a los quatro angulos de las esquinas del dicho sepulcro que esten quatro ca- / valleros comendadores de la Orden del señor Santiago, con sus abitos e / cordones e espada de la orden de cavallería en los pechos, e que esten fincados / cada uno la una rodilla ahinojada e la otra enhiesta e de gentiles / ayres y contynençias, echados los mantos del abito sobre los onbros / hasta huera de gentil trapería e ayrosa que descubra por los costados / sus gentiles arneses del tiempo con sus jaquetas e ropetas alimanas / y con sus espadas çeñydas e sus espuelas y todas las otras cosas / que perteneçen a la cavallería, e que tengan la una mano baxo de la solera / de las molduras del sepulcro e la otra mano arriba commo que la tienen / en peso e que sea asentado el dicho sepulcro sobre sus ricas mol- / duras, e que en los dos costados del prolongamiento del dicho sepulcro / esten dos*

## Contract of the tomb by Sebastián de Toledo 1489, January 7<sup>th</sup>. Manzanares

Conditions for the completion of the tomb of Álvaro de Luna and his wife, the Countess of Montalbán and the commitment of Sebastián de Toledo, image carver, to carry it out, at a cost of 90,000 maravedís.

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### General characteristics

**Dates:** 1489, January 7<sup>th</sup>. Manzanares.

**Duration:** 1 year (from start until delivery in the *Primada* Toledo Cathedral).

**Work place:** Guadalajara.

**Material:** Alabaster (from the quarries of Sigüenza, one of the best in the Iberian Peninsula).

### Measures:

Height of the case from the floor: 1.2 m

Length: 2 m

Width: 0.80 m (these measures are very similar to those of the final work)

**Cost:** 90,000 maravedís (Way to pay: 25% for the material, 25% half way of the project, 25% when finished and 25% once delivered to the *Primada* Toledo Cathedral).

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# The contract of the tombs

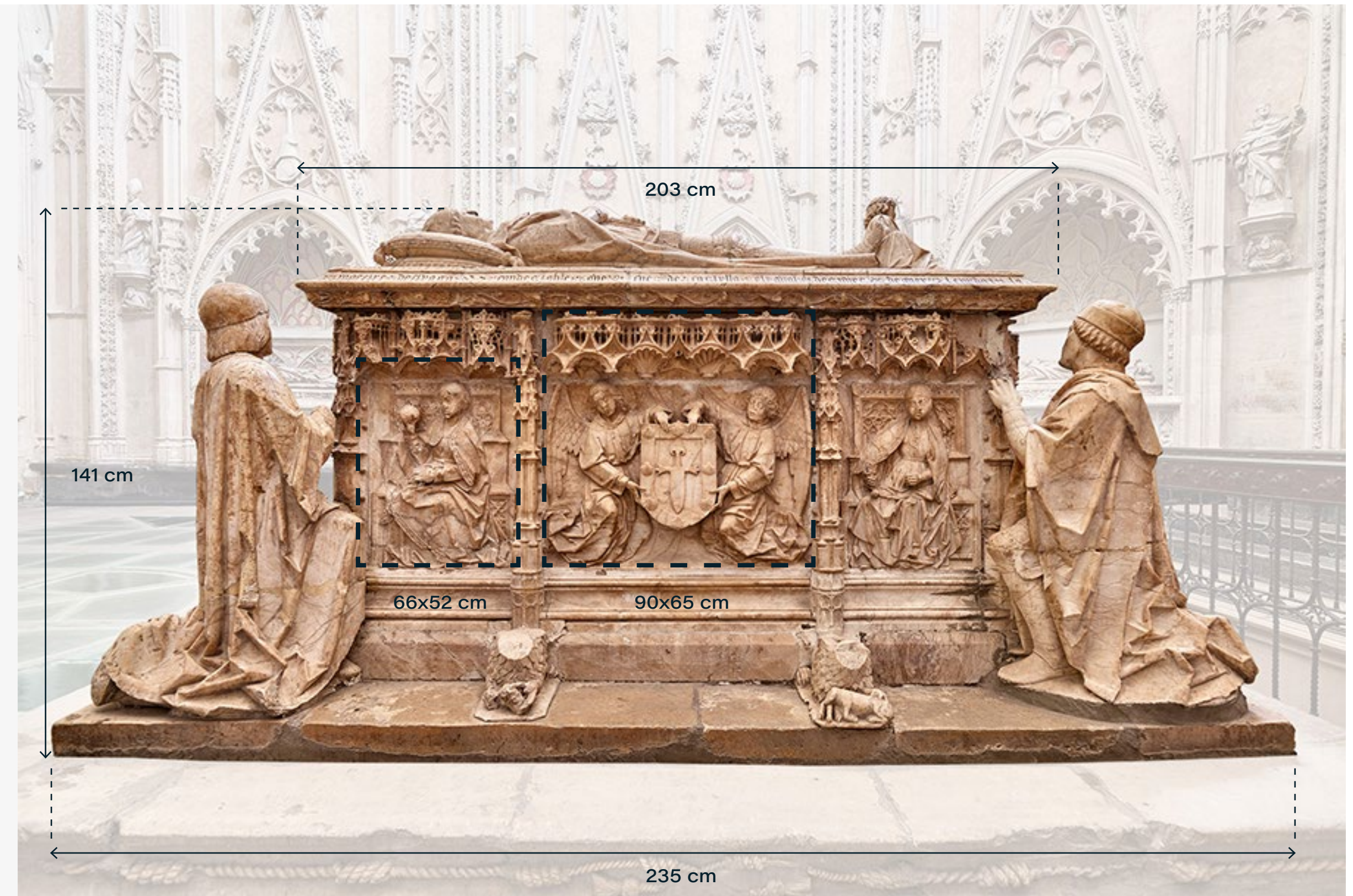
## Continuation

*grifos que salgan los cavallos e cabeças pie y medio, que / buelen fuera e con sus alas esparsidas que se sometan baxo del / dicho sepulcro e que parezca que ellas sostienen el dicho sepulcro, e que tengan / los comendadores sendas almohadas en que tengan las rodillas. / Et que ençima deste dicho enbasamiento de molduras que suba el sepulcro / seys palmos en alto poco mas o menos, desde suelo fas- / ta el cubo de la cama et dies palmos en largo e quatro palmos en an- / cho, de manera que este ancho sea del tamaño del bulo de Alcalá del Arçobispo. /*

*Et ha de aver en los costados del dicho sepulcro tres encasamientos de su / rica maçoneria de sus ricos pilares muy bien enbastados, reves- / tidos con sus pilaretes e fillojas con sus remates de florones et desde / las gargolitas destes pilares que se muevan unas tuvas ochava- / das de tres paños con sus chanbranas e pinaculos de sus ricas / hojas, con su claraboya por ençima e con su coronamiento de corlas e su- / corlas con sus hojas a las puntas e abaxo su / archeteria e después sus archetes corlados*

*e sus hojas pinjantes / enlevado sobre el dicho paño, e que los dichos pilares han de levar sus nudos / que fagan sus repisas de sus lanpetas pinjantes los que vienen en las / tubas et entre pilar e pilar en la pieça plana que vaya sus esto- / rias en cada pieça una virtud de ymageneria asentada, en la / una cardinal y en la otra theologal, e que sean asentadas que hinchen / toda la pieça quanto mayor podiere ser, en tal que avra quatro / virtudes en los costados, e que aya quatro escudos de sus armas del / dicho señor maestre con sus orlas alderredor de las armas en que aya // echo veneras y entiendese quatro escudos en derredor del dicho sepulcro, / uno a la cebeçera y otro a los pies e otros dos en medio de los costa- / dos, metydos dentro en sus encasamientos de las chanbranas con dos / angeles en cada escudo que los tengan con sus alas. / Et por çima de todos estos paños alderredor del sepulcro que corra un / entablamento de un verdugo e una naçela ancha que vaya un letrero / de título y memoria del dicho señor commo su señoria lo diere ordenado, / de letras*

**Tombs of Álvaro de Luna.** The case includes the virtues and coats of arms of the Constable. The figures on the edges are the commanders who, as *Maestre* of the Order of Santiago, would have carried his funeral tomb.



The inscription that surrounds the funeral cover reiterates—in the sense of rhetorical persuasion—the biography of the Master visually signified in the altarpiece and the tomb:

*“Aquí yase el yllustre señor don Alvaro de Luna, maestre de Santyago, condestable que fue de Castilla, el qual después de aver tenydo la gobernacyon destes rregnos por muchos anos, fenescio sus dyas en el mes de jullyo año del señor de mil CCCLIII”.*

# The contract of the tombs



## Continuation

*francesas muy largas que vayan en arista cavadas e levadas / con sus nudos y grupos et debaxo desta ha de aver otra naçela que vaya / entablada o de fojas de parras bixigadas con sus rasimos en gentil / arte muy nueva en un bastago corchado y ençima de la naçela / de letrero que quiebre un canton con una colcha de pie derecho de un rico / brocado que ha de andar en derredor de la cama y por el plano de / ençima de lo que paresçiere debaxo de los bultos e que los dichos verdugos / debaxo de las fojas del tablamento que sea un cordon de san Françisco. /*

*Otrosy aya ençima de la cama un bulto del dicho señor maestre en muy / gentil abto y continençia, echado sobre dos coxiles y con sus borlas / con sus nudos o copas de perlas y con sus cayreles de dos en dos con / una obra rica entre medias, et el dicho bulto tenga vestydo un abito / de la Orden de Santiago conplido, e con la crus y venera en los pechos e el / manto del abito que esté el un cabo echado sobre el onbro con una / carmeñola en la cabeça e un rico joyel en ella, e las manos jun- / tas*

*puestas en oraçion, ansy la traperia commo esta en un dibuxo / que dio el alcayde Juan de Cordova y con su gentyl arnes del tiempo con su / falda de jaseran e con una gentil copa gorja de armas en la çima. / Et a los pies deste bulto esté un paje con una ropeta corta / alimana, echado et recobdado levantado al medio cuerpo e la / mano puesta en la mexilla recobdado sobe una rica çelada / guarneçida de perlas e ricos joyeles e un follaje por las orlas / de la dicha çelada, e que tenga en la una mano un estoque muy / rico labrado q que tenga en la mano del estoque colgado un libro de resar. /*

*Otrosy se han de faser otro rico bulto de alabastro para la señora con- / desa de Montalvan en que aya una cama muy rica que tenga toda la / obra de maçoneria e molduras e follajes y letrero e con sus naçe- / las de hojas de parras con sus rasimos y casamentos e pilares / y grifos por la misma orden e forma que va la cama del dicho señor / maestre, salvo que ha de aver mudança en la ymageneria de las esto- / rias en esta manera, que en los quatro*

**The contract establishes the similarity of the tomb of Juana Pimentel, with her husband's.** However, this is a valid resemblance in format but not in concept. The document insists on this "mudança" (change). So, the place of the commanders is occupied here by Franciscan friars and that of the virtues by pairs of apostles. In short, politics is replaced by piety.

Around the case there is an inscription in black:

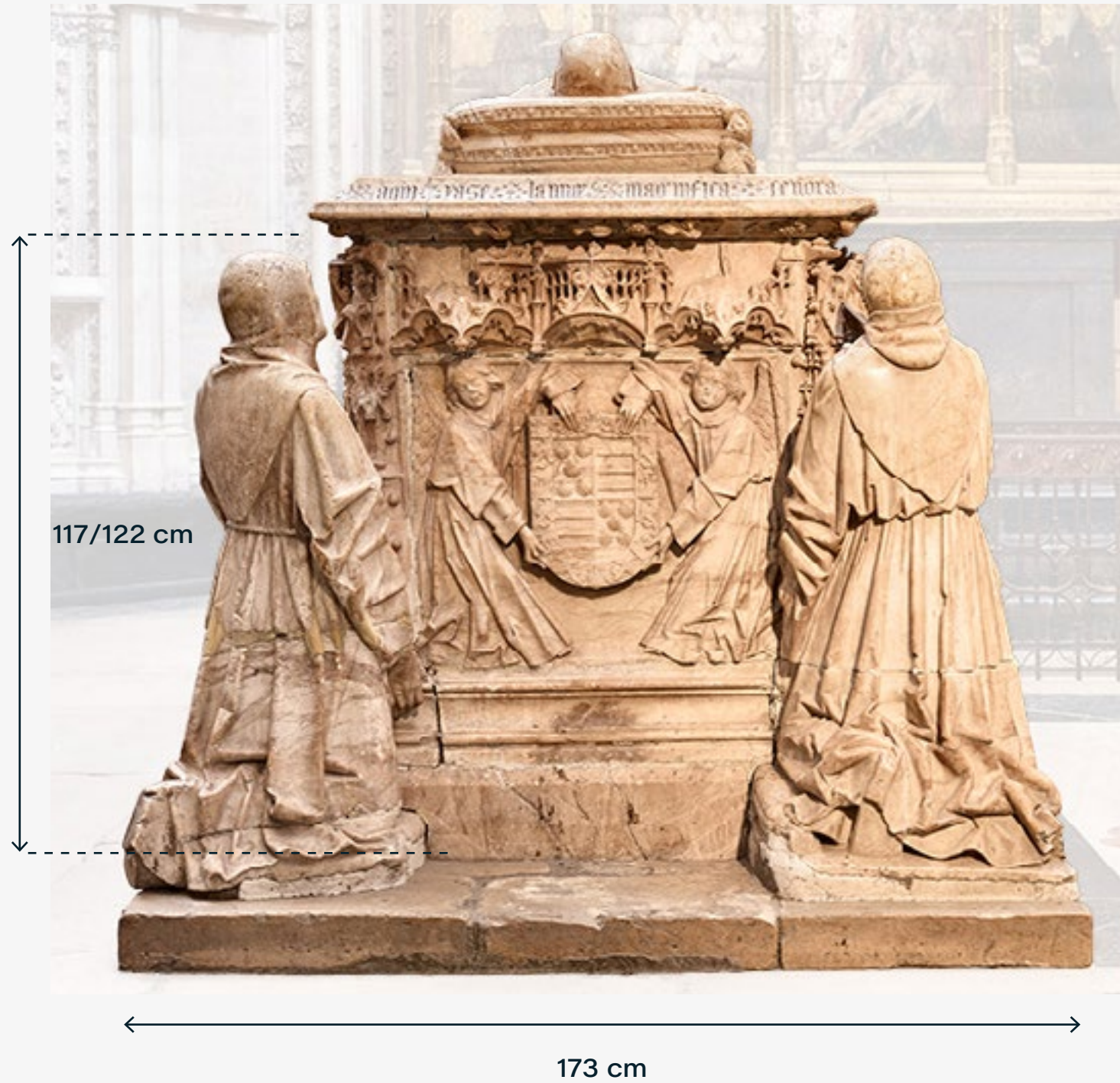
*"Aquí yase la muy magnifica señora condesa doña Juana Pimentel, mujer que fue del maestre don Álvaro de Luna, la qual paso desta presente vida en seis días de noviembre año del señor de mil CCCCLXXXVIII".*

# The contract of the tombs

## Continuation

*angulos de las esquinas de la dicha / cama que aya quatro santos frayles de la orden que su señoria man- // dare que se fagan et que aya otros quatro escudos en la misma manera / quel sepulcro del señor maestre, e en los quatro encasamientos que / sean ocho apóstoles que fassen el credo e que sean de sus gentiles / ymagenes.*

*Otrosy quel bulto desta señora que esté echada en la dicha cama / sobre sus almohadas como susodichas son en el otro bulto, / sobre su colcha de gentil brocado e con su manto estando de muy / gentil trapería e con un libro en las manos resando, con / sus guantes con unas cuentas colgadas y como muestra un mon- / gil de damasco de labores labradas en alabastro de su alcorcho- / ferin con sus follajes segund el tiempo, e que muestre debaxo su / brial llano con su tocado de tocas llanas y onestas commo su / señoria se tocava, e a los pies una donsellá echada o re- / cobdada sobre una almohada e en cabello con una trença commo / oy se acostunbra y con un libro de oras en la otra mano e la vesti- / dura de un mongil de damasco, e por debaxo que paresca su / brial con su cortapisa e bordes, todo esto susodicho que sea / de su fino alabastro muy blanco, lo mejor que se podiere aver / et que se de bien*



Tomb of Juana Pimentel with her coat of arms directed to the worshippers in the chapel.



Tomb of Álvaro de Luna with the coat of arms of the Luna family, and the Santiago knights, which reminds us his position as *Maestre* in the Order of Santiago.

# The contract of the tombs

## Continuation

*fecho e acabado a vista de ofiçiales y a contenta- / miento de su señoria, / la qual dicha labor y obra con las dichas condiçiones tomó a faser e / labrar de la dicha señora duquesa Sevastian de Toledo, entallador / de ymageneria, e se obligó de lo labrar en la çibdad de Guadaluja / e lo començar luego et desde oy día de los Reyes en un año de lo / dar acabado et asentado en la dicha capilla a su costa, por rason / que su señoria le mando dar y pagar por ello noventa mill maravedís pagados / en esta manera, luego la quarta parte para conprar el alabastro, lo restante / començando la obra, la quarta parte, mediada la obra, la quarta parte, a- / cabada la obra, la otra quarta parte acabada de labrar y asentar e acabado / de pagar. E sy antes de conplido el dicho año se acabare de labrar / que antes se acabe de pagar.*

*El dicho Sebastián se obligó de lo conplir / e obligó sus bienes para que sy no lo fisiese que a su costa se haga / su señoría, prometió e dió palabra de lo*

*mandar pagar e conplir a los / dichos terminos, lo qual pasó asy en la villa de Mançanares a siete / dias de enero, año del nasçimiento de Nuestro Señor Ihesucrhispto de mill y quatro- / çientos e ochenta y nueve años /*

*Sevastian [Firmado y rubricado]*

*Testigos que fueron presentes e vieron otorgar esta escriptura, el comendador Pedro / Gonçales e Hontiveros sastre e Juan Baylen criados de su señoría / y yo la synare syendome demandado.*

*Fernand Alonso [Firmado y rubricado]*



Transcription by M<sup>a</sup> Ángeles Benavides



🔊 Ay triste que vengo

Listen to the secular carol by Juan de la Encina, *Ay triste que vengo*. Text based on a musical score of a courtly love poem originally from the "Cancionero musical de Palacio", dated around 1496.

↓ The authors of the altarpiece:  
certainties and surprises of  
authorship

P. 56 Sancho de Zamora

P. 58 Juan de Segovia

P. 60 Michel Sittow

P. 62 Sittow, painter at the court of Isabel I of Castile

P. 63 The artists of the Mendoza court

## The authors of the altarpiece

# Certainties and “surprises” of authorship

Studies conducted in the altarpiece allow us to reach the following identifications:

### Pedro de Gumiel

Neighbour of Alcalá de Henares, in charge of the rich and complex masonry and structure of the retable (and the sculpture of Santiago?) in the Álvaro de Luna chapel.

Carver, subsequently an architect.

Main architect in service of cardinal Mendoza and the archbishop Cisneros in the Toledo cathedral. He also worked in the design of the high altar of the Toledo Cathedral, in the painting of the library of the hospital of the Saint Cross of Valladolid.

His epitaph is inscribed with the word architect.



Main chapel and high altar of Toledo Cathedral, at present.

### Sancho de Zamora

Neighbour of Guadalajara, painter (1494-1495). Worked in Guadalajara in the altarpieces of Celada and Chiloeches, lands of the Mendoza.

He is identified with Master of the Luna-Mendoza.

The paintings of the Virgin nursing the Child, Lamentation, Triptych of Christ tied to the column, or San Antonio of Padua (Museo Nacional del Prado) are attributed to him.



Virgin Nursing the Child.



Lamentation.

### Juan de Segovia

Documented between 1483 and 1485 as a painter in the palace of Infantado in Guadalajara, and in 1497 as neighbour of Guadalajara.

He is identified with the Master of Miraflores.

His name is derived from this altarpiece, dedicated to Saint John, originally in the Miraflores Charterhouse. The group of paintings is made in tempera on panel, ca. 1490-1500. At present, some panels are in the Museo Nacional del Prado while some others are in deposit in the Burgos Art Museum.

#### Authors' reconstruction hypothesis

The Visitation, The Baptism of Christ, The Birth of Saint John the Baptist, The Arrest of Saint John the Baptist, The Preaching of Saint John the Baptist, The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist.



### Michel Sittow

Born in Reval, currently Tallin (Estonia), it seems that he trained as a painter in the workshop of Hans Memling in Bruges. He developed an itinerant activity in Europe at the service of the Castilian, Austrian and Danish monarchies.

He worked in the service of Queen Isabella the Catholic in Castile, earning the highest salary in the Castilian court. He first appears documented in the Iberian Peninsula in 1492.



Michel Sittow, Dyptich of Diego de Guevara (Washington, National Gallery, 54.9 x 46.3 cm) and Virgin with Child (Berlín, Gemäldegalerie), 1515/1518.

This is a workshop work in which several masters took part. Different levels of care and attention to detail are appreciated, such as:

- The lack of homogeneity in quality and finish.
- Use of patterns.
- Confusion in the position of the panels of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Catherine.

The authors of  
the altarpiece:  
Sancho de Zamora  
Juan de Segovia  
Michel Sittow



# The authors of the altarpiece: Sancho de Zamora

Identified as the Master of the Luna-Mendoza

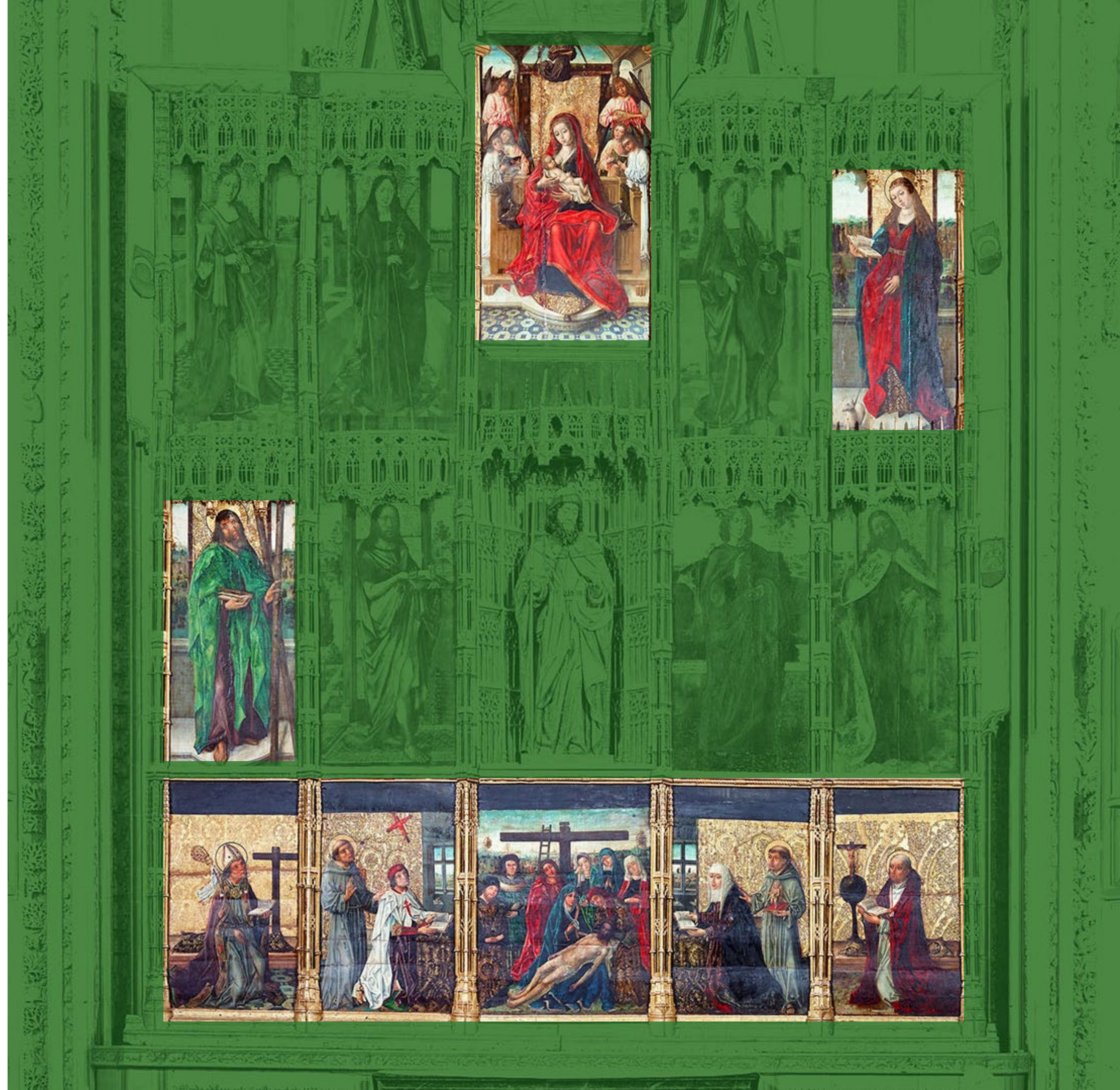
“ Sancho de Çamora / me obligo de faser, estar e pasar a mi (...) por todo lo que en esta / dicha obligaçion sera contenido.

Sancho de Zamora, probably a painter in the service of the Mendoza, committed himself with María de Luna by contract, on behalf of Juan de Segovia and the architect Pedro de Gumiel, to make and finish the St. James altarpiece in the Luna chapel.

He worked in Guadalajara in the altarpieces of Celada and Chiloeches, both in the Mendoza territories. The paintings of the Virgin nursing the Child, Lamentation, Triptych of Christ tied to the column, or San Antonio de Padua, now at the Museo Nacional del Prado, are attributed to him.



Pietà, attributed to Sancho de Zamora.

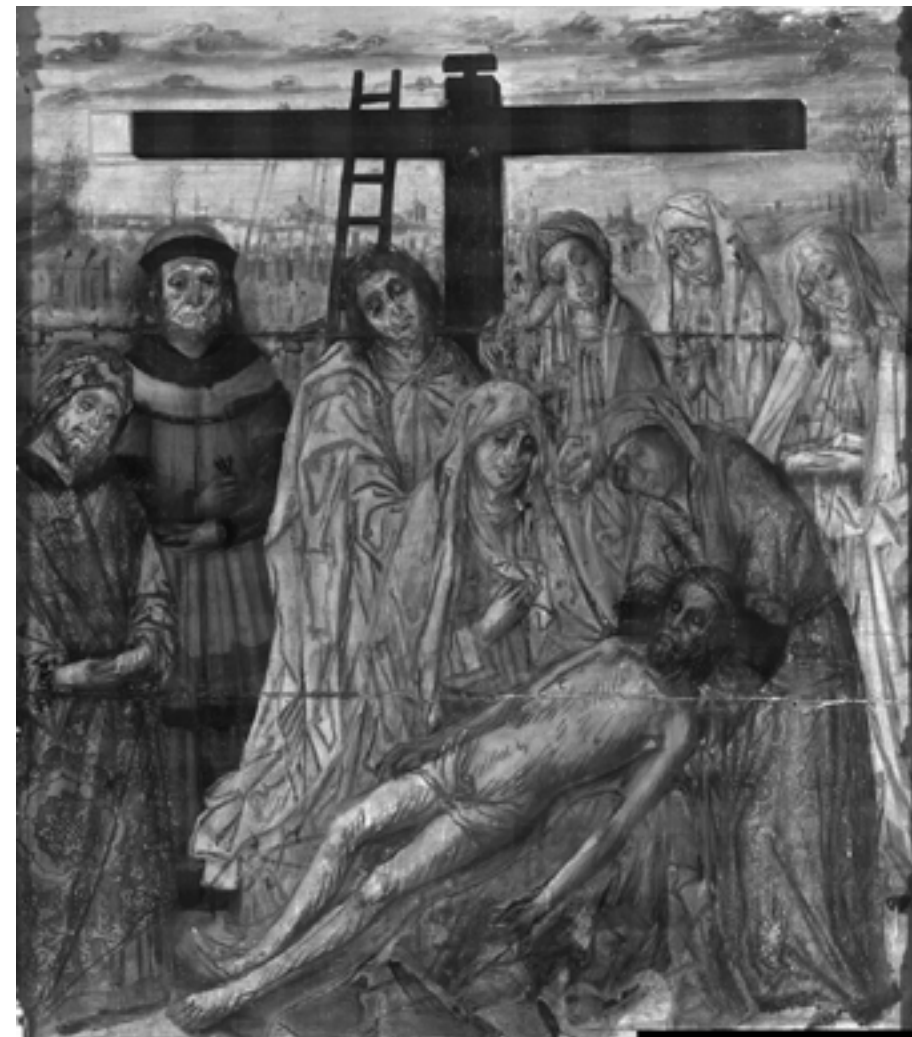


# The authors of the altarpiece: Sancho de Zamora

Identified as the Master of the Luna-Mendoza

His work matches with a thick and irregular brush drawing, a design with little fluidity, lack of shading and a pronounced diagonal in the disposition of the head.

He made the predella, the top panel —the most important area of the pictorial ensemble—, and intervened in some panels of the upper registers (Saint Agnes and Saint Andrew).



Reflectography of the Pietà.  
Image property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España,  
made under the project HAR2012-32720.



# The authors of the altarpiece: Juan de Segovia

Identified as the Master of Miraflores

“ *Juan de Segovia, vesino de la çibdad de Guadalajara.*

The second master in the contract is Juan de Segovia, an elusive master who, after the technical and visual studies that were carried out, we have been able to identify as the so-called Master of Miraflores.

This association includes, in his biography, the panels of the cycle of Saint John the Baptist, from the Miraflores Charterhouse near Burgos, today in the Museo Nacional del Prado. Burgos and Toledo are therefore the recipient cities of his work, both united by a common patronage: the Mendoza family.

His work in the Guadalajara area since the 1480s and his long-term registration as a citizen, allow us to argue a relationship between the master and the Mendoza lineage. As one of the painters of the Mendoza home, he would have worked for the powerful archbishop Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza.



Face of Saint Agatha.



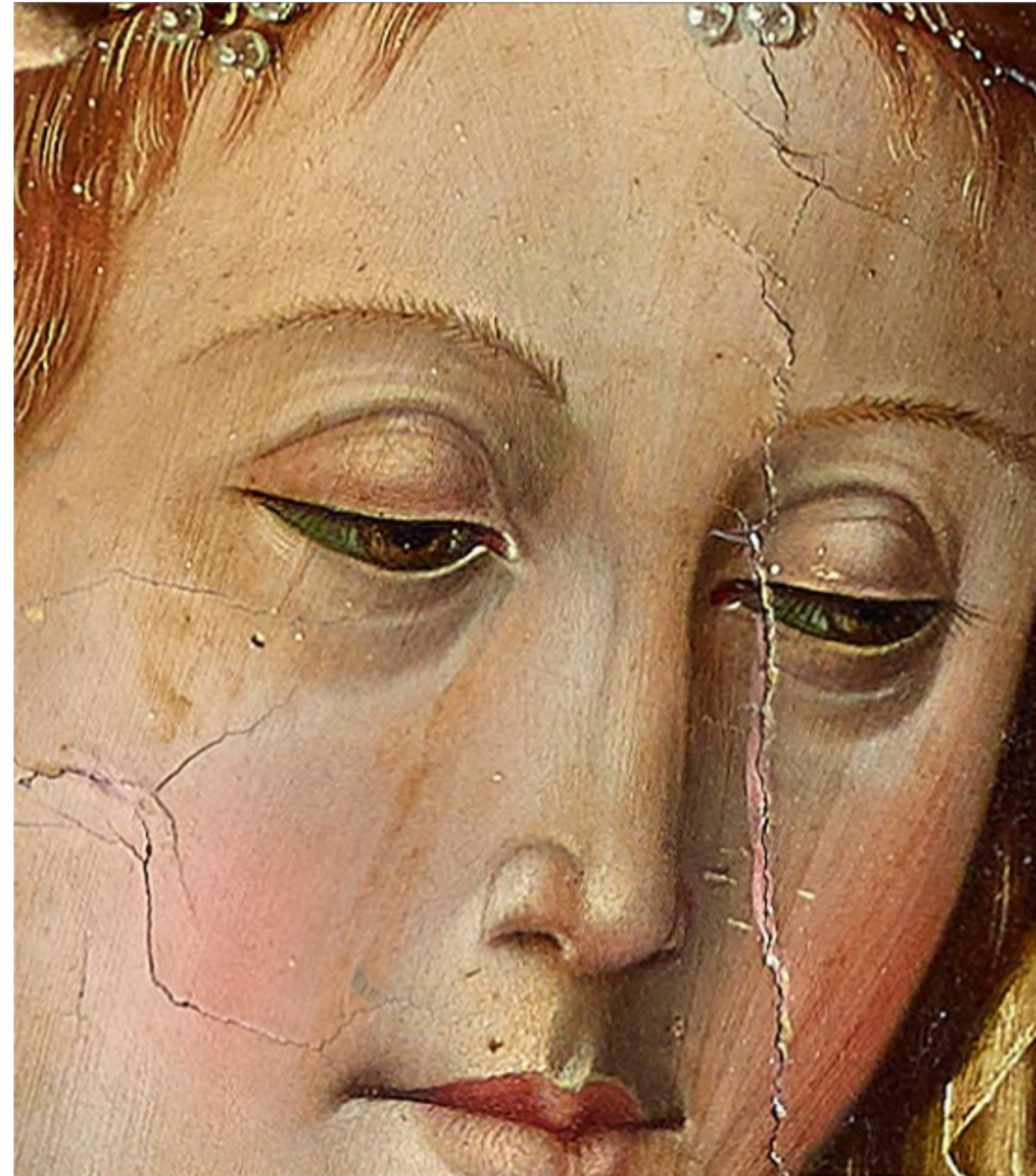
## The authors of the altarpiece: Juan de Segovia

Identified as the Master of Miraflores

Probably trained in the noble house of Mendoza with Sancho de Zamora as the master of reference, his participation in the Luna altarpiece allowed him to have a close contact with Michel Sittow, the future painter of Isabel I of Castile (see following pages).

His style is defined by a solid drawing of slimmed-down profiles —the contrast with Zamora's thick lines is apparent— and a meticulous work of shading based on parallel lines of similar inclination and length capable of defining all the elements, from the folds of clothing to body parts.

His design can be seen in three of the females panels of the upper register (Saint Agatha, Saint Catherine, Mary Magdalene) and another panel of the lower register (the unknown apostle).



Face of Saint Agatha.



Reflectography of the face of Saint Agatha.  
Image property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.

# The authors of the altarpiece: Michel Sittow

(Tallin, 1468/69 - 1525/26)

The study of the Luna altarpiece brought a great surprise: the presence of a third master, author of the panels of the two saint Johns. A master of exceptional quality with impeccable drawing, colour gradation and concern for the landscape. A master not mentioned in the contract who provided the model to the other panels and for the other masters.

A master clearly indebted to Hans Memling's workshop, who demonstrates direct knowledge of the Bruges master's work.

The analysis of these elements led us to identify him with a young Michael Sittow, who would later become painter of Isabel I.



## The authors of the altarpiece: **Michel Sittow**

(Tallin, 1468/69- 1525/26)

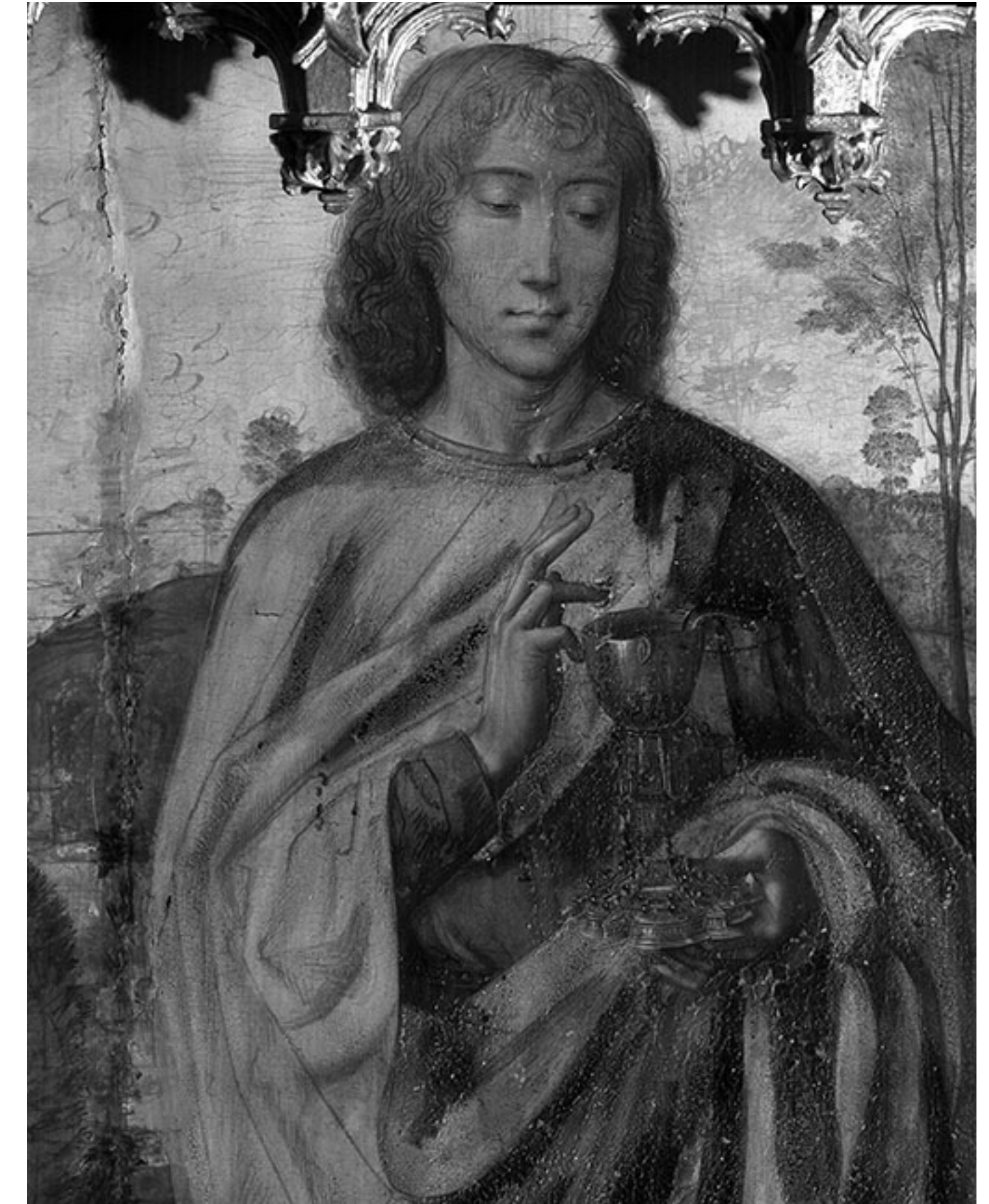
Important biographical information about Sittow is known. Born in Reval (Estonia), son of the painter Claves van der Sittow, he trained in Bruges in Hans Memling's workshop, and spent much of his life travelling at the service of important European princes such as the Dukes of Burgundy or Margaret of Austria.

A plethora of illustrious names among which the Castilian queen Isabel I stands out. The inventories of the royal palace confirm that, in 1492, a young Sittow received a salary of 50,000 maravedís. A significantly high salary—higher than that of Juan de Flandes, another of the great court painters— which reflects a recognition of his expertise and of his first professional career in Castile for which there are no news.

The Luna studies have shed light on this subject, by dating his previous work in Toledo in the circle of the Mendoza family, contractually hidden due to possible guild restrictions that prevented him from assuming or signing contracts. He was active in a very enriching environment defined by a prone committee who recognized artistic quality.



Saint John the Evangelist.



Infrared reflectography of Saint John the Evangelist.  
Image property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.

# Sittow: painter at the court of Isabel I

- The contractual precisions “*la ymageneria de pinsel de muy gentiles ordenanças... colores labrados al olio*”, the precision about “*gentiles carmesíes trasfloreanos*” or the request for “*graciosos rostros e extranjeros*” allow us to deduce that Michael Sittow was present at the time of signing the contract.
- His presence in the the St. James altarpiece in the Toledo Cathedral from 1489, marks the beginning of his career in Castile. Firstly, in connection with the Mendoza family, and particularly with Pedro González de Mendoza, who could facilitate the relations with the royal court.
- Given the lack of artists trained in the portrait genre, and given its importance in the royal courts, one of the main tasks of Michael Sittow would be making the portraits of the royal family.
- Michel Sittow worked along with the also painter Juan de Flandes at the service of Isabel I of Castile. We know that both collaborated in the completion of the queen’s personal polyptych, currently dismembered and scattered throughout museums around the world.



The presence of the high altar of Najera made by Hans Memling and its arrival in the Iberian Peninsula, opens up a path to understand the arrival of Michael Sittow in Castile.



Hans Memling, God the Father with Singing and Music-Making Angels, inv.no. 778-780, photo: Rik Klein Gotink, Collection KMSKA - Flemish Community (CC0).



Michael Sittow, Dyptich of Diego de Guevara (Washington, National Gallery, 54.9 x 46.3 cm ) and Virgin with Child (Berlín, Gemäldegalerie), 1515/1518.

This diptych is one of the few pieces reliably attributed to Sittow, and was made at the end of his career as a painter.

P. 62 Sittow, painter at the court of Isabel I of Castile

# ↓ The artists of the Mendoza court

P. 64 Identification of Sebastián de Toledo

P. 65 Sebastián de Toledo and his context

P. 66 The artist supervisor: Juan Guas (1430-1496)

P. 67 Juan Guas, *ymaginerero* and architect

P. 69 Workshop practice: use of models and patterns

P. 72 The workshop practice: use of models and patterns

# Identification of Sebastián de Toledo



Two contemporary sculptors are reflected in late medieval documents, named Sebastián de Almonacid and Sebastián de Toledo. It has not been possible to specify whether they are the same person. Some support the identity of both names due to the relationships with the architect Juan Guas, his links with the Mendoza family and his tasks in important cathedrals such as Toledo and Seville.

**Tombs of García de Osorio (d. after 1502) and María de Perea (d. 1499), attributed to Sebastián de Toledo.**

From the church of St. Pedro de Ocaña (Toledo), a town that belonged to the order of Santiago. The reference to this institution is manifested in the scallop of García de Osorio's hat. They are currently in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London.

(Alabaster, 198 x 40.5 x 64 cm).

# Sebastián de Toledo and his context

According to the contractual obligation, the tombs of Álvaro de Luna and Juana de Pimentel had to be made in Guadalajara, and not in Toledo as it would have been easier, which testifies the strong motivation and interest of María de Luna for this work.

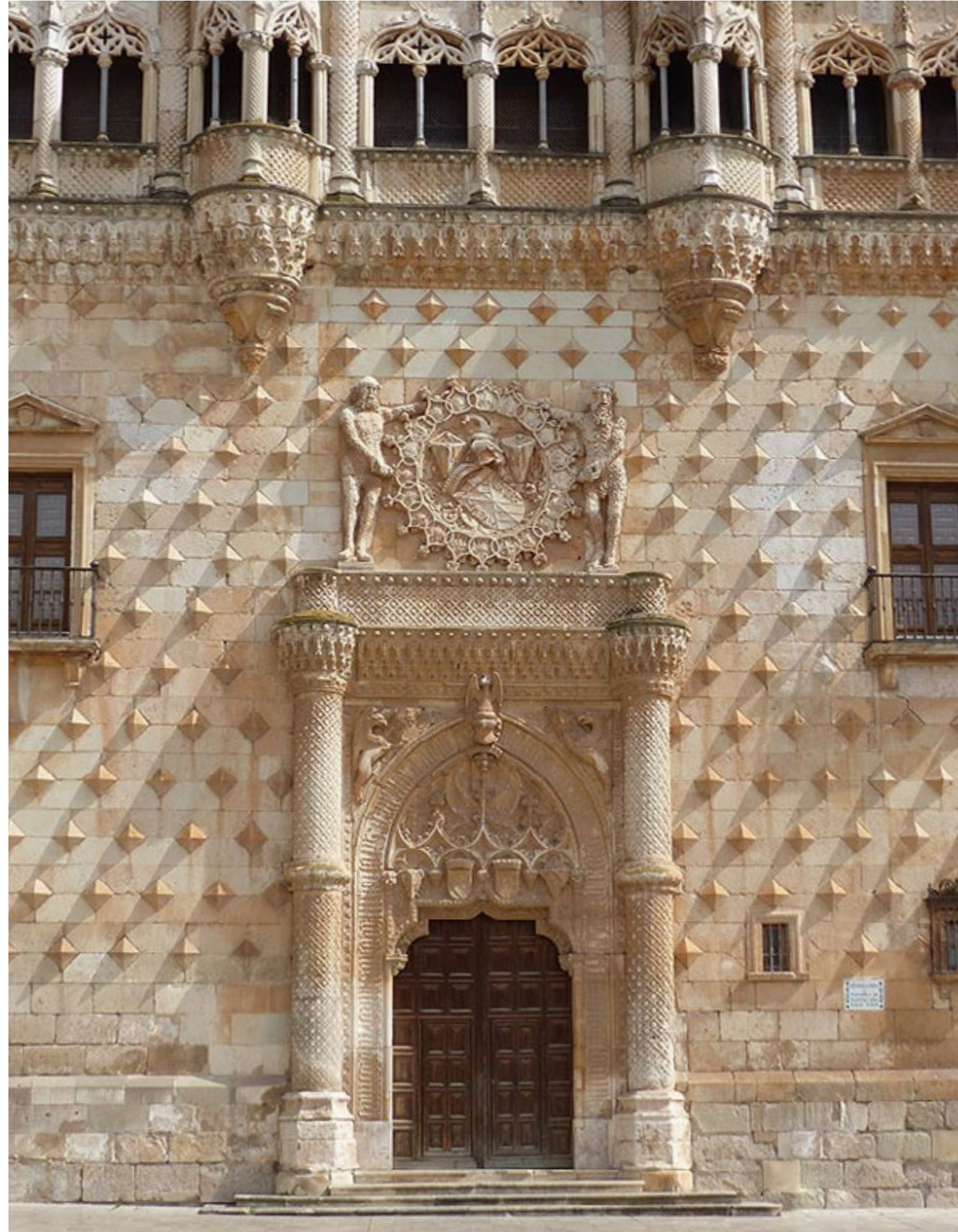
In addition, the contract limits the time of execution to one year, which required Sebastián de Toledo to establish his residence in Guadalajara, the epicentre of the Mendoza court.

The artistic derivations of this fact are still being studied, as shown by the celebrated tomb of Martín Vázquez de Arce — the popular squire from Sigüenza—, a young commander of Santiago who died in the Vega de Granada and an outstanding member of the noble Arce family with close ties to the Mendoza family. The links between both families and the aesthetic similarities between both funerary works, allow us to suggest the participation of Sebastián de Toledo and his workshop in the sculptural work of the Sigüenza Cathedral.



Tomb of Martín Vázquez de Arce  
(Saint Catherine chapel, Sigüenza Cathedral).

# The artist supervisor: Juan Guas (1430-1496)



The relationship between Juan Guas and the Mendoza family has been the subject of important historiographical publications, with the castle of Manzanares el Real and the palace of the Infantado as the main works. The study of the Luna altarpiece emphasizes another work area of the renowned architect: project designer.

His geometer mind and his mathematical knowledge are behind the drafting of the contracts for the altarpiece and the tombs of the Luna chapel. They are exceptional for the richness of their technical vocabulary and the content of their different clauses. Likewise, his imprint can be seen in the execution of both works, particularly in the microarchitectures executed and their innovative designs that refer to the professional work of the master.

Palace of Infantado (Guadalajara). ©

Façade of the Cloister, Segovia Cathedral.  
Sebastián de Toledo and Juan Guas.

# Juan Guas, *ymaginerero* and architect



Juan Guas is the most important Castilian architect of the second half of the fifteenth century. In 1453, his name appears on the lions gate of the *Primada* Toledo Cathedral. From that date until his death, the most important ecclesiastical (cathedrals of Toledo, Segovia and Ávila), noble (the Mendoza family) and royal patrons (Isabel I of Castile) requested his services.

If we consider the role of Guas as supervisor of the works carried out in the Luna chapel, this unravels the main enigma: the absence of a top-quality master in one of the most outstanding projects in Castile at the time. In fact, this was not the case. The Constables of Castile hired the Colonia family for their funerary chapel and Isabel I employed Gil de Siloe for her father's memorial project in the Miraflores charterhouse. Likewise, the Luna-Mendoza requested the design of the chapel of Santiago to a leading artist. This is part of the thought of the time in which the quality of a project was based, amongst other things, on a select authorship.

## Locations

**Locations where Juan Guas' work is documented:**

- Toledo Cathedral.
- Ávila Cathedral.
- Segovia Cathedral.
- Monastery of Parral (Segovia).
- San Juan de los Reyes (Toledo).
- Monastery of Guadalupe (Cáceres).
- Castle of Manzanares el Real (Madrid).
- Palace of Infantado (Guadalajara).
- Alba de Tormes (Salamanca).

## → Collaborators

**Juan Guas organized a network of collaborators, which allowed him to work in the design of works and to travel to control the diverse tasks of architecture, sculpture and imagery that he undertook throughout his life:**

- Sebastian de Almonacid — Segovia Cathedral.
- Pedro de Gumiel — Toledo Cathedral.
- Juan de Segovia — Painter at the palace of Infantado in Guadalajara (1483-1485).
- Martín de Lezcano — Segovia Cathedral.



Castle of Manzanares el Real.



Church of San Juan de los Reyes. ©



Vault of the high altar and inside gate, Monastery of Parral.



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Identification of Sebastián de Toledo

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Sebastián de Toledo and his context

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The artist supervisor: Juan Guas (1430-1496)

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Juan Guas, *ymaginerero* and architect

↓ Workshop practice: use of models and patterns

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Transfer of the creative and learning processes

# Workshop practice: use of models and patterns

The work and the understanding of the productive strategies in the workshop, are the key to understanding the creative process of the works and the affiliation of each one of the panels.

Only the different use of the symbol of each saint allows their correct identification: Saint Agatha with the breasts, Saint Catherine with the sword and broken sprocket, Saint Mary Magdalene with the box of ointments, and Saint Agnes with the little lamb).



Saint Agatha.



Saint Catherine.



Saint Mary Magdalene.



Saint Agnes.

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To enliven the sequence of female figures, the painter has decided to change the orientation of saint Agnes, turning the pattern used to outline the contours of the figure.

Design and composition of the upper body of the saints of the the St. James altarpiece. All the saints share the design pattern that defines their outline.



Saint Agatha.



Saint Catherine.



Saint Mary Magdalene.



Saint Agnes (rotated).

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With the design of Mary Magdalene superimposed on the other saints, the use of a single model which is reused in all the figures is better understood.



Saint Agatha.



Saint Catherine.



Saint Mary Magdalene.



Saint Agnes (rotated).

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Only the different use of the symbol of each saint allows their correct identification: Saint Agatha with the breasts, Saint Catherine with the sword, Saint Mary Magdalene with the jar of ointments, and Saint Agnes with the little lamb).

To enliven the sequence of female figures, the painter has decided to change the orientation of saint Agnes, turning the pattern used to outline the contours of the figure.

Design and composition of the upper body of the saints of the Santiago altarpiece. All the saints share the design pattern that defines their outline.

With the design of Mary Magdalene superimposed on the other saints, the use of a single model which is reused in all the figures is better understood.

Possibly the original model is the Saint John the Evangelist made by Michel Sittow, the painter of highest quality, and who determines both the model of the figures and the faces of the female saints.



Saint Agatha.



Saint Catherine.



Saint Mary Magdalene.



Saint John the Evangelist.

# Transfer of the creative and learning processes

Hans Memling → Michel Sittow



Hans Memling (ca. 1423-1494), Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine. C. 1479. Brugge. Memling Museum.



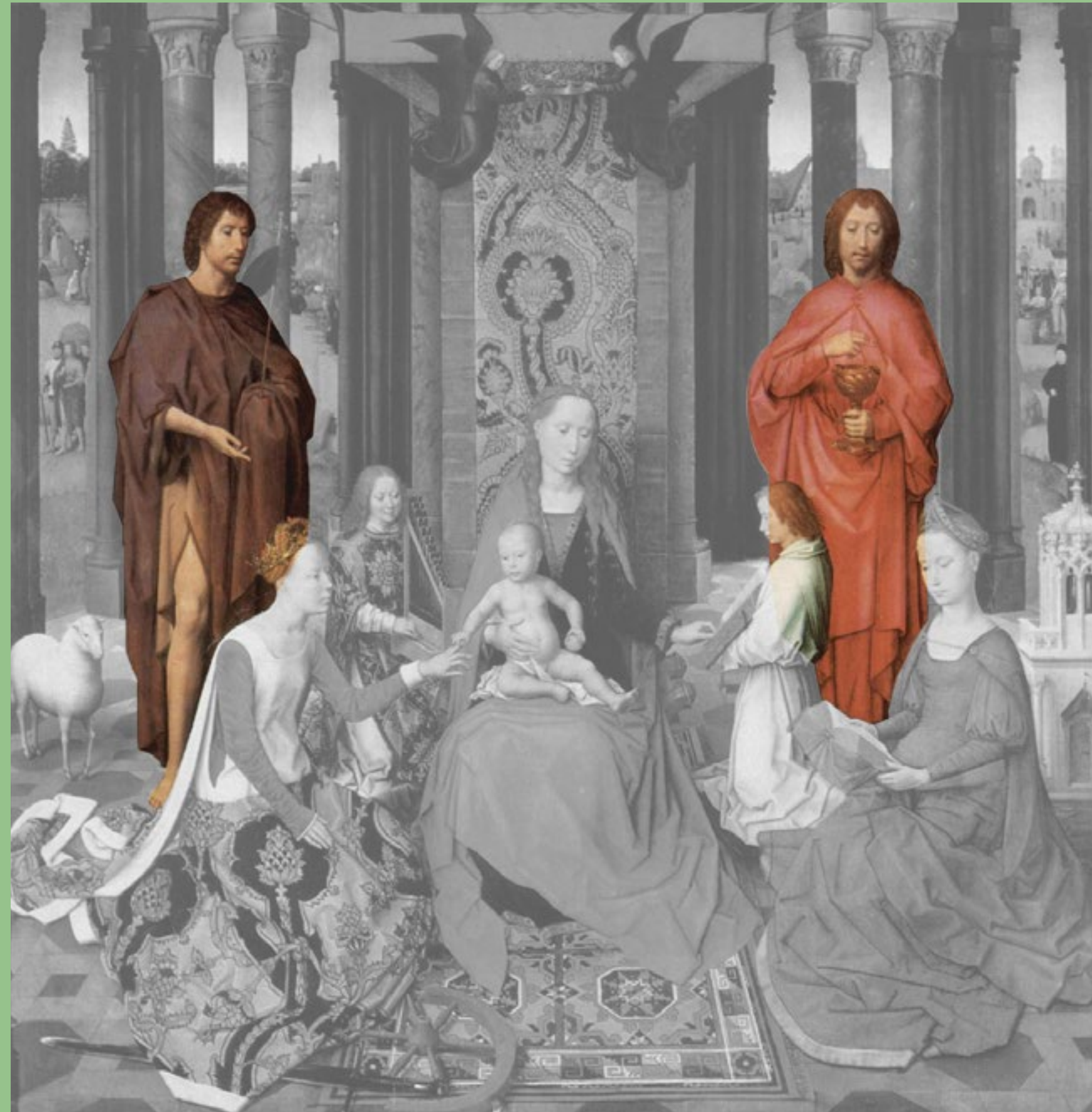
Michel Sittow (1468/9–1525/6), St. John the Evangelist, St. James altarpiece, Toledo Cathedral.

Models by the master Hans Memling are reinterpreted by Michel Sittow and reused by Spanish painters.

# Transfer of the creative and learning processes

Hans Memling → Michel Sittow

→ Juan de Segovia



Hans Memling (ca. 1423-1494), Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine. C. 1479. Brugge. Memling Museum.



Michel Sittow (1468/9-1525/6), St. John the Evangelist, St. James altarpiece, Toledo Cathedral.



Juan de Segovia, Mary Magdalene, St. James altarpiece, Toledo Cathedral.

Models by the master Hans Memling are reinterpreted by Michel Sittow and reused by Spanish painters.



# Visual inventions

# Visual inventions

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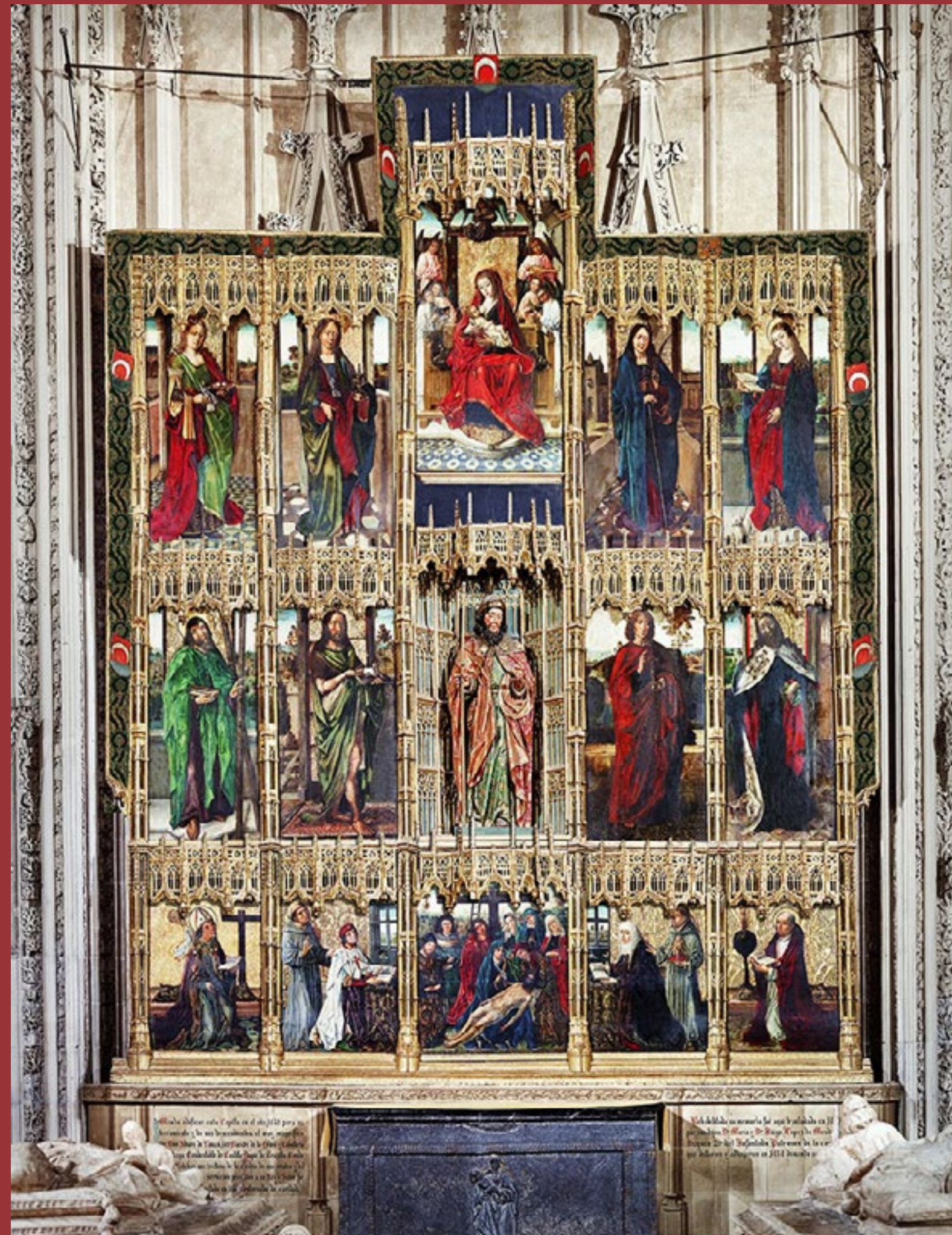
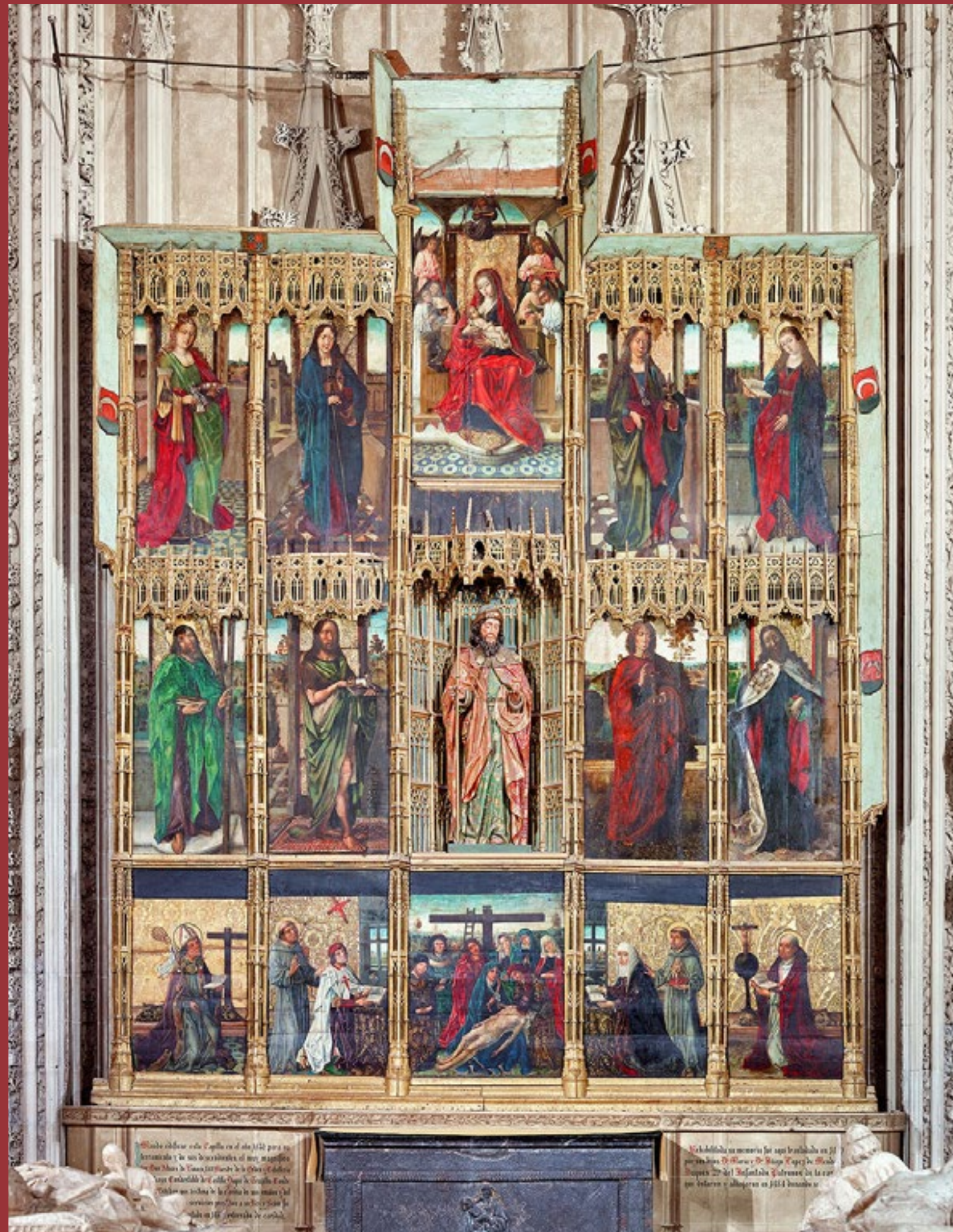
P. 89 The rendering of a lineage

# Chromatic motto

Altarpiece in its current state



Hypothetical reconstruction



With the restitution of the cresting of the upper panel of the Virgin (some remains are preserved), the predella and the dust cover with the Luna coats of arms on its original chromatic background (today covered by a later repainting), the colour in the Luna altarpiece has a plastic, symbolic and representative value.

The pre-eminence and alternation in the clothing of the red and blue, and green and red, turns into a language of propaganda: the chromatic motto, respectively, of the Luna and Mendoza lineages.

Red and blue colours → Luna



Red and green colours → Mendoza



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# Literature and art

All the female saints are Paleo-Christian martyrs whose lives are narrated in the *Third Book of Tratado de las Claras y Virtuosas Mugerres* written in 1446 by Álvaro de Luna against the misogyny of the time. These saints suffered and underwent martyrdom, but they are remembered as the image of virtue, faithful to Christianity and Christ. Possibly for María de Luna, these saints represent the virtues that Álvaro de Luna showed throughout his life to the king and the Crown of Castile:

**Saint Agatha**, symbol of chastity. She was a holy virgin who remained pure before the emperor Quintilian.

**Saint Catherine**, symbol of wisdom. She overcame with his erudition the emperor Maxentius and his sages.

**Saint Mary Magdalene**, allegory of penitence, her repentance led to Christian salvation.

**Saint Agnes**, personification of fidelity, represented with the lamb.



Saint Agatha.



Saint Catherine.



Saint Mary Magdalene.



Saint Agnes.

# Literature and art

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**Saint Agnes**, personification of fidelity, represented with the lamb.

The representation of the female saints connects with the treatise of philogy by Álvaro de Luna.



Saint Agatha.



Saint Catherine.



Saint Mary Magdalene.



Saint Agnes.

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## Pedro González de Mendoza

# Crypto-portrait

The great devotion of Pedro González de Mendoza for the Franciscan saint Buenaventura, leads him to cryptically identify with him. The links between both figures are due to their piety for the Holy Cross. In addition, the prelate, with his choice, presents the Franciscan devotion almost as a sign of devotion of his family.



### Definitions of cryptoportrait:

- A credible portrait of a person through the "disguise" of a hagiographic character.
- In a broad metaphorical sense, he is linked to the environment of artifice typical of the time which provided a credible representation of lineages, collectives, spaces, territories or scenery through "ingenious" visual codes.

Pedro González de Mendoza as San Buenaventura. Predella of the St. James altarpiece, Toledo Cathedral.

## → PEDRO GONZÁLEZ DE MENDOZA Archbishop of Toledo and cardinal of the Santa Cruz



Virgen of the Misericordia with the family of the Catholic Monarchs (c. 1485, Monastery of Santa María la Real de las Huelgas, Burgos). Pedro González de Mendoza with members of the royal family.



The Preaching of Saint John the Baptist — Juan de Segovia (c. 1485, originally from the Miraflores charterhouse, it is currently preserved in the Prado National Museum). It is of political nature linked to monarchical spaces. Collective portrait of different members of the Mendoza family.



Mendoza Memory. Altarpiece of san Francisco de Guadalajara. Mendoza family pantheon. Image of magnificence and ecclesiastical power.



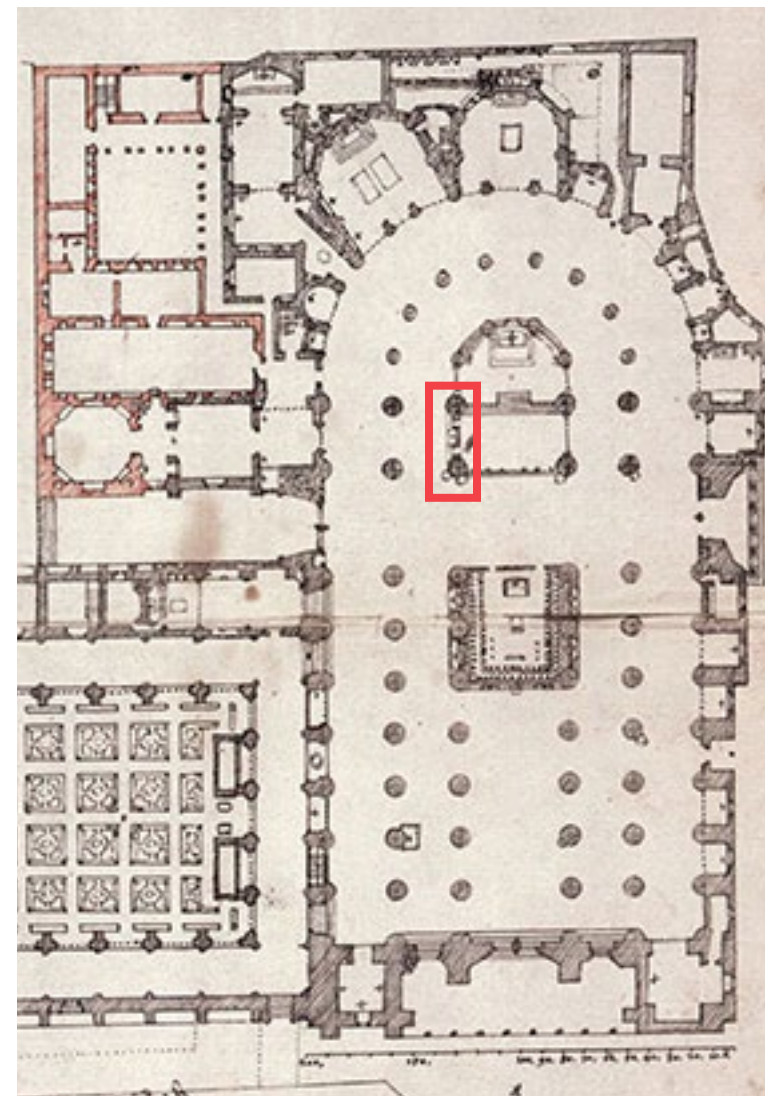
Anonymous. Hispano-Flemish school. 1490-1495. Museo Nacional del Prado. On deposit in the Museo de Santa Cruz of Toledo. The cardinal Pedro de Mendoza praying before Saint Peter.

# Pedro González de Mendoza

## Burial

The Cardinal of the Holy Cross, Pedro González de Mendoza, detailed the construction of a double tomb in the high altar of the *Primada* Toledo Cathedral.

His kneeling effigy, protected by Saint Peter and receiving the cross from Saint Helena, recalls the importance of the passionist symbol in the conquest of Toledo, and the great founder of the new gothic building and defender of the Toledo Cathedral, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.



Double tomb of Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, from the ambulatory (above) and from the high altar (below), respectively.

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# Crypto-landscapes

The desire for verisimilitude of the time, which was prone to making portraits with physiognomic value or crypto-portraits, also extended to the landscape and urban environments. Critics have named the evocation of contemporary monumental landscape, which is credible but not photographic, as architectural portraits. There are examples in the Luna altarpiece and in works linked to its masters, such as the aforementioned tomb of Martín Vázquez de Arce.

The well-known image of the Commander of the Order of Santiago reading, is completed with an upper pictorial lunette. In it we can see, behind a scene of the Passion, a skyline of the city of Sigüenza in later medieval times, with its western façade still unfinished and the presence of a wall that was demolished around 1500.



Arcosolium of the burial of Martín Vázquez de Arce, known as the Squire, Sigüenza Cathedral.



Profile of the Sigüenza Cathedral in the painting of the upper lunette.



Current image of the Sigüenza Cathedral, with the two lateral towers completed.

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# The rendering of a lineage through art

The use of Flemish models as a symbol of collection and prestige by the Mendoza family, eventually codified pictorial networks.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the copies of certain works could be used as a hallmark or identity sign of a collection. The Durán Madonna by Roger van der Weyden was a celebrated work at that time and widely copied, resulting in versions of different scales and materials. A significant number of them—including the upper panel of the Luna altarpiece—are found in works linked to the Mendoza as collectors, which allows us to consider that the original was part of the family's assets. The Mendoza lineage as a way of dynastic pride liked to reproduce this composition of Virgin, with *variatio*.



Roger van der Weyden, Virgin with Child, or Madonna Durán, 1431-1438, oil on panel, 100x52 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado.



Madonna col. Wynn Ellis, oil on panel, 135x68 cm, 1480-1500. Mendoza and Quiñones coat of arms. Sotheby's 1996.



Virgin Nursing the Child, 185x102.5 cm, c. 1489-1490, main Toledo Cathedral.



Virgin with child, lost statue, from the chapel of Santa María de Afuera, owned by the Mendoza, in Guadalajara.

# Methodologies for the study of the pictorial heritage

# Methodologies for the study of the pictorial heritage

## Technical studies <sup>P. 93</sup>

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Assessment of the technical analysis <sup>P. 102</sup>

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Classification of the pictorial technique <sup>P. 110</sup>

Analysis without samples <sup>P. 111</sup>

Analysis with samples <sup>P. 112</sup>

Morphological analysis <sup>P. 115</sup>

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# ↓ Technical studies

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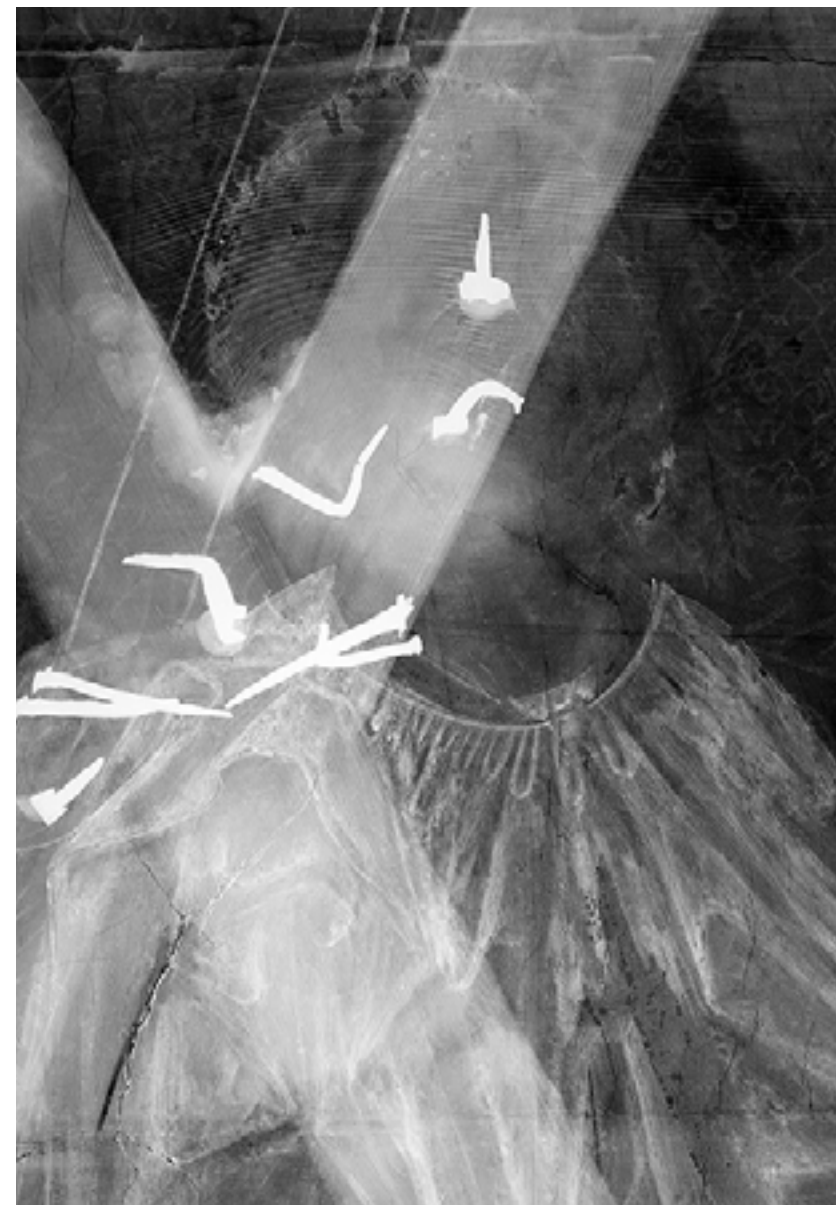
P. 111 Analysis without samples

P. 112 Analysis with samples

# The radiography

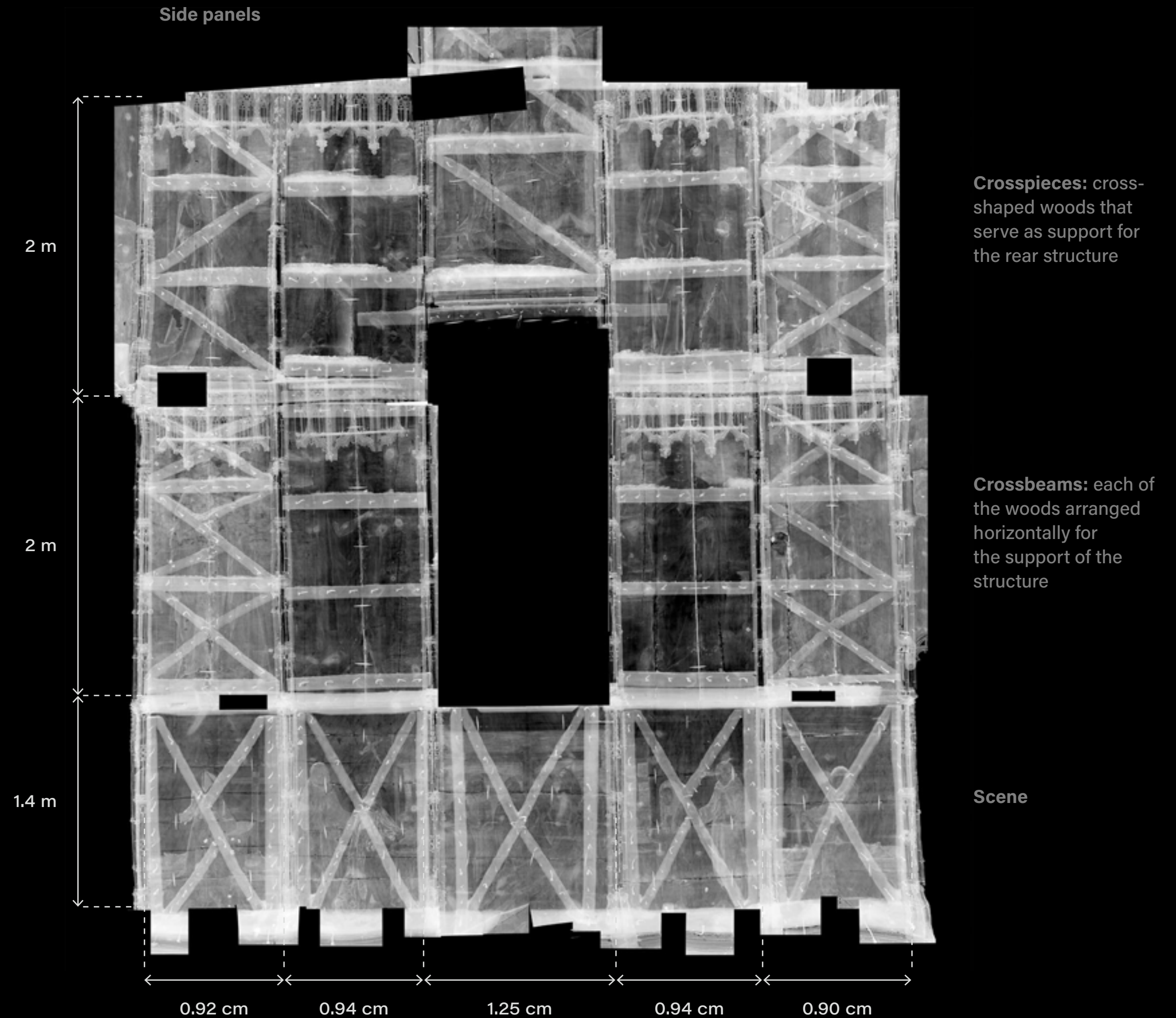
The information provided by the X-ray, supports the conservation and restoration processes as well as the historical studies.

In the case of panel painting, it provides relevant data on the state of conservation of the work, the way in which the painting panels were assembled, the preparation of the wooden surface before painting it and on the pictorial layer itself. Thus, it is possible to know the technique used by the assemblers of the time, the way of working the altarpieces in the painter's workshop and the structural characteristics of the most superficial layers of the works: deterioration, types of brushstrokes, types of gilding, areas of repainting, corrections, reuses, etc.



X-ray with the portrait of Álvaro de Luna, in which the nails used in the application of the crossbars can be seen.

General X-ray and detail of the St. James altarpiece.  
Image property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.



# The radiography

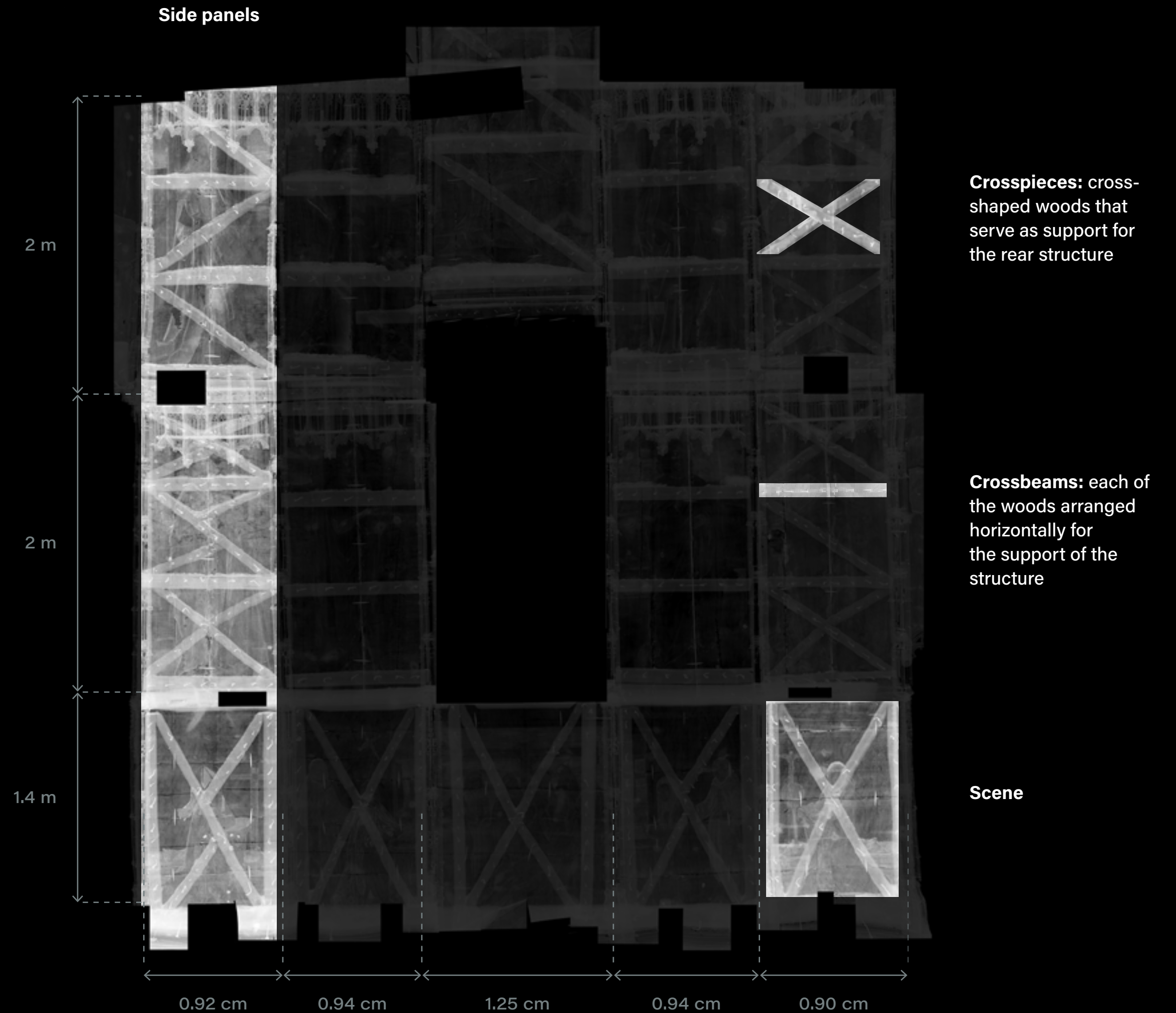
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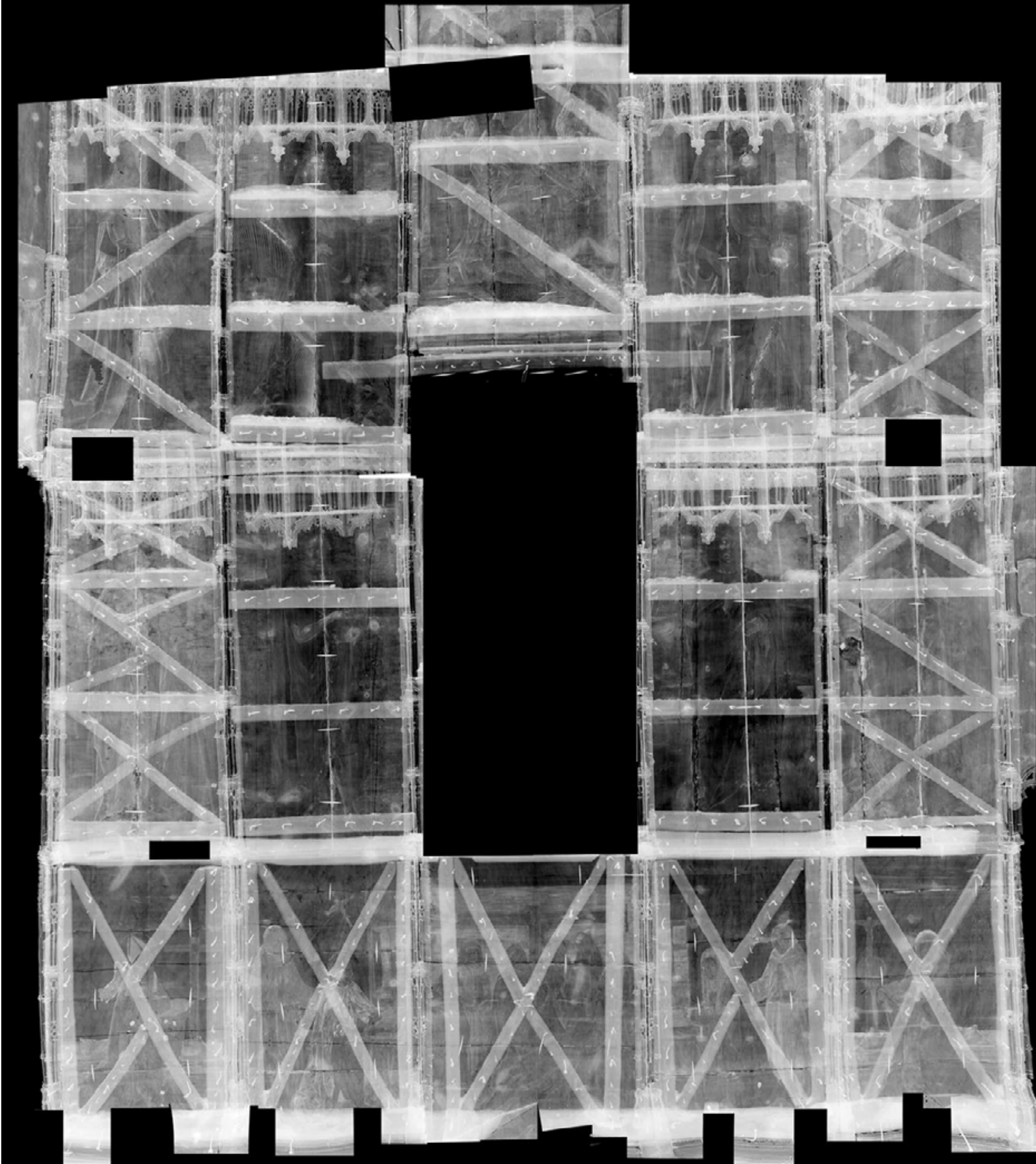


# The radiography

Non-invasive technique that provides images in which information about the work is revealed that cannot be obtained by direct observation.

In a workshop or polyptych where several masters take part, there is generally a work organisation that allows speeding up the tasks and making the most of the capacities and abilities of each one of the members of the workshop.

This practise explains the distribution of the panels and their execution by different artists.



The darkness and lightness of the panels which is visible in the radiograph, reflects the different types of preparation.

The different types of preparations of the wood is another indicator of the different artists who participated in the pictorial ensemble. The attributions of each one of the panels match with those observed in both the reflectography (underdrawing) and the painting.

X-ray of the St. James altarpiece.  
Image property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.

# The radiography

Non-invasive technique that provides images in which information about the work is revealed that cannot be obtained by direct observation.

In a workshop or polyptych where several masters take part, there is generally a work organisation that allows speeding up the tasks and making the most of the capacities and abilities of each one of the members of the workshop.

This practise explains the distribution of the panels and their execution by different artists.

→ **SANCHO DE ZAMORA**

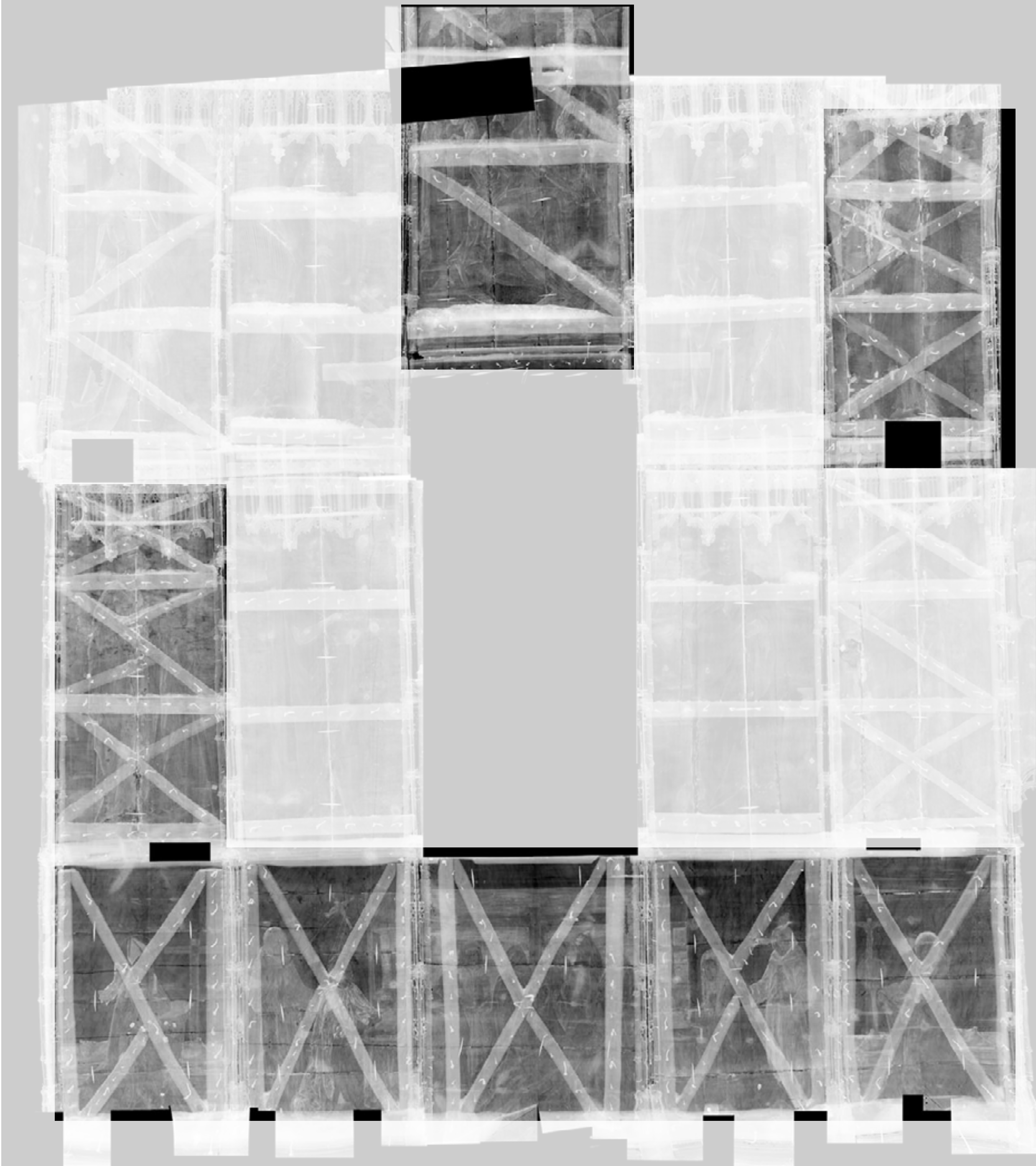
→ JUAN DE SEGOVIA

→ MICHEL SITTOW

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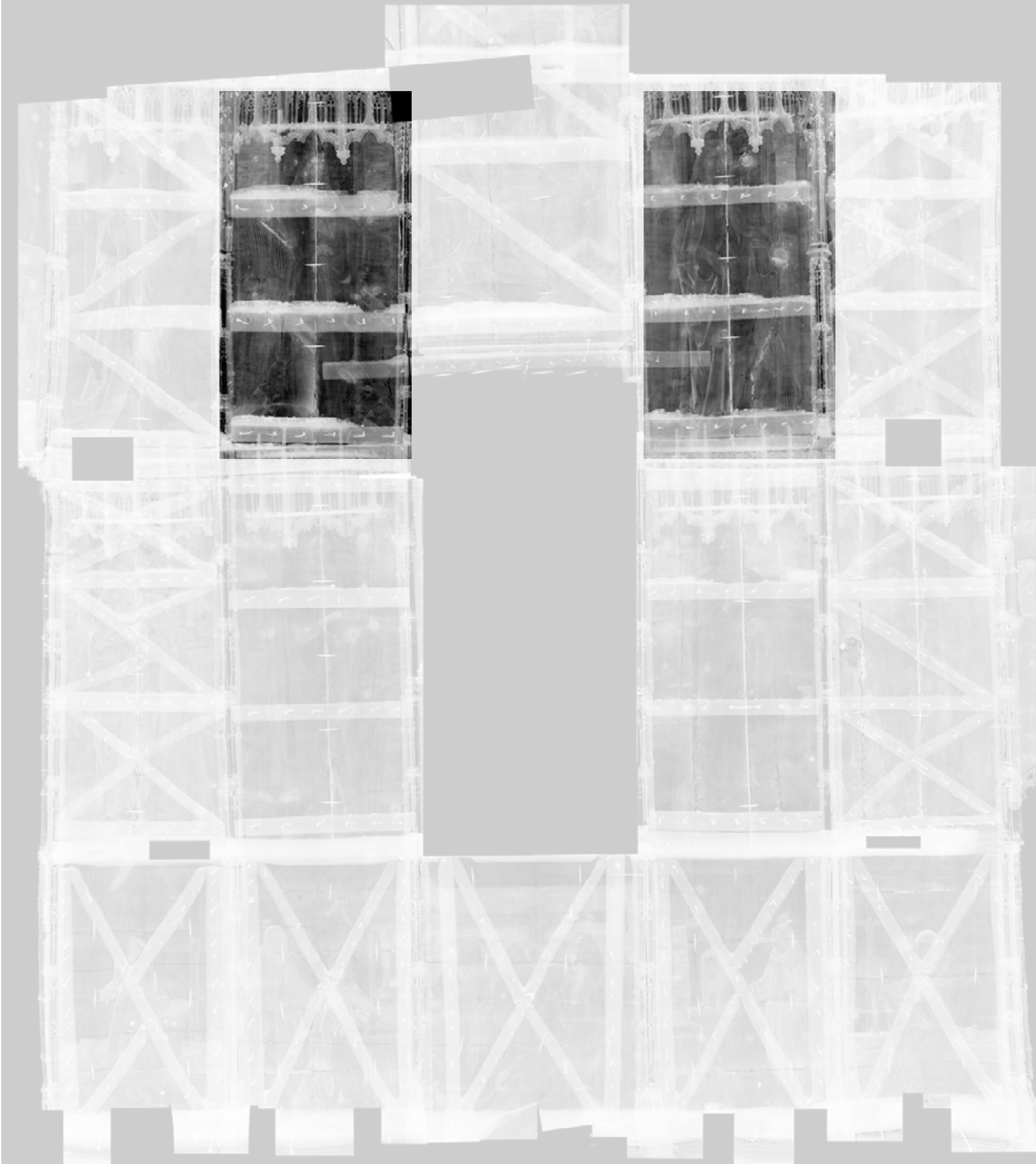
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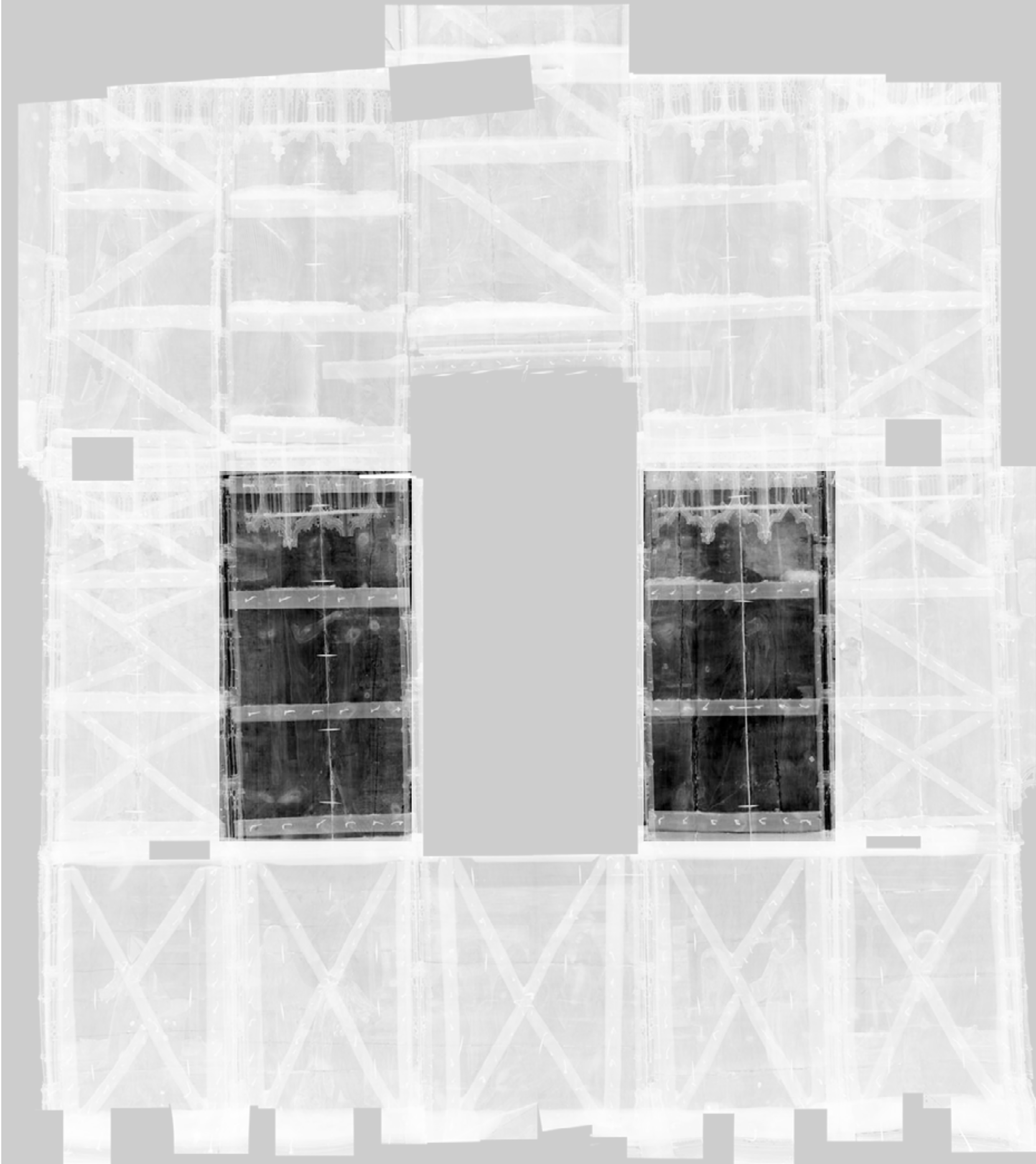
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X-ray of the St. James altarpiece.  
Image property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.



# Infrared reflectography



The reflectography applied to a gothic panel, allows us to observe the underdrawing. This information is certainly relevant to get to understand the creative process of the work.

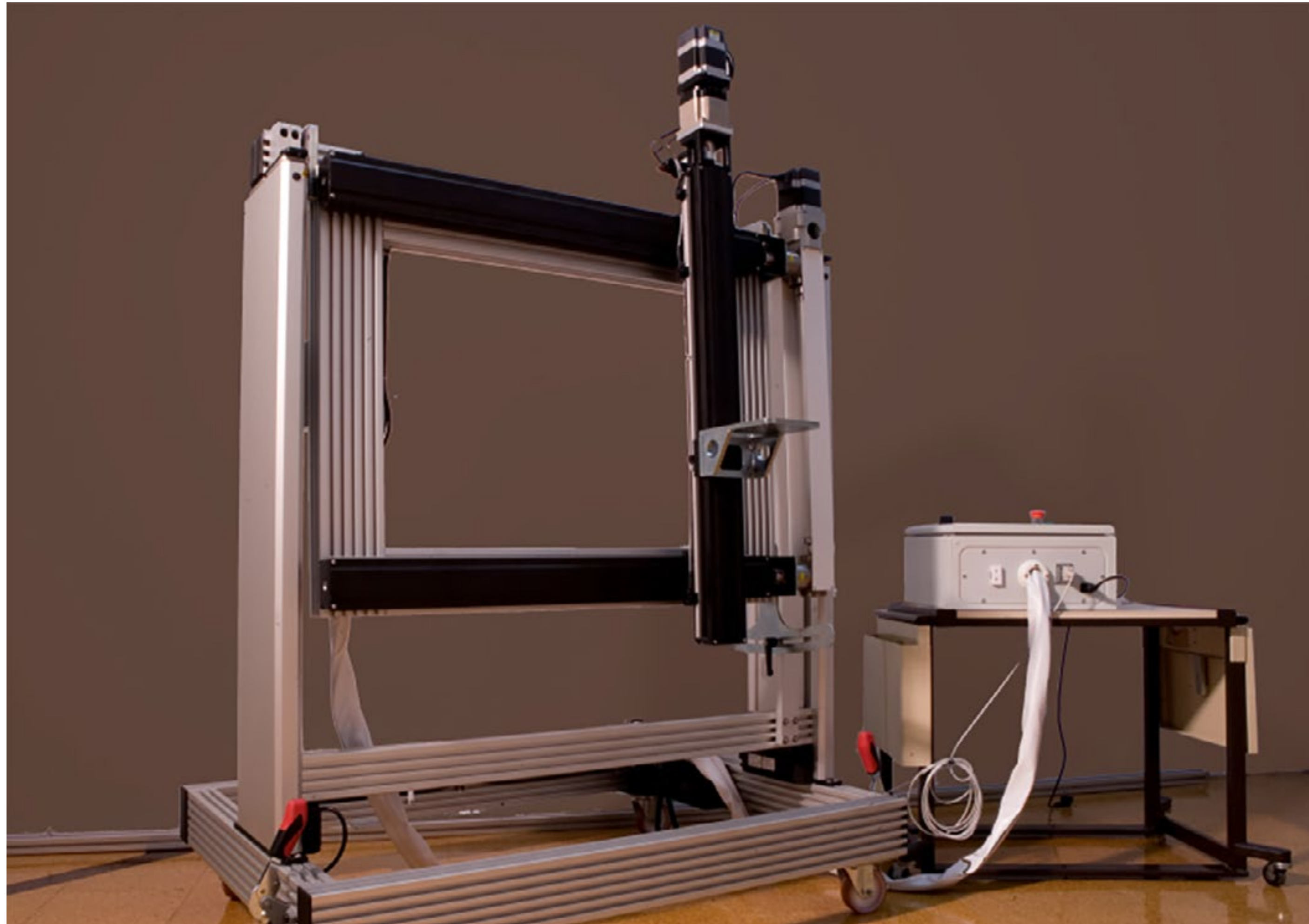
If the physical-chemical characteristics of the materials used in the painting concur in a favourable way, it is possible to obtain quite clear images of the preparatory drawing made by the painter in the previous stage of the scene to be painted. This drawing, made to be hidden and protected by paint for centuries, is the most reliable document of the painter's creative process in the first moments of the design of the final work.

## **Infrared reflectography.**

Underdrawing by Juan de Segovia (saint Agnes) and by Sancho de Zamora (Virgin with Child).

Image property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.

# VARIM 2.0



Base and automatic frame for the movement of the camera of the VARIM 2.0 system.

This structure allows the camera displacement frame to be raised to a maximum height of 2.5 metres from the ground.

For the study of the Álvaro de Luna altarpiece, a total of 2,630 reflectograms were taken. Its assembly allowed to obtain the infrared reflectography images which show the underlying drawing of each of the panels.



▶ See how it works

Click on the image to see how the VARIM 2.0 and the digital imaging process work.

# Assessment of the technical analysis

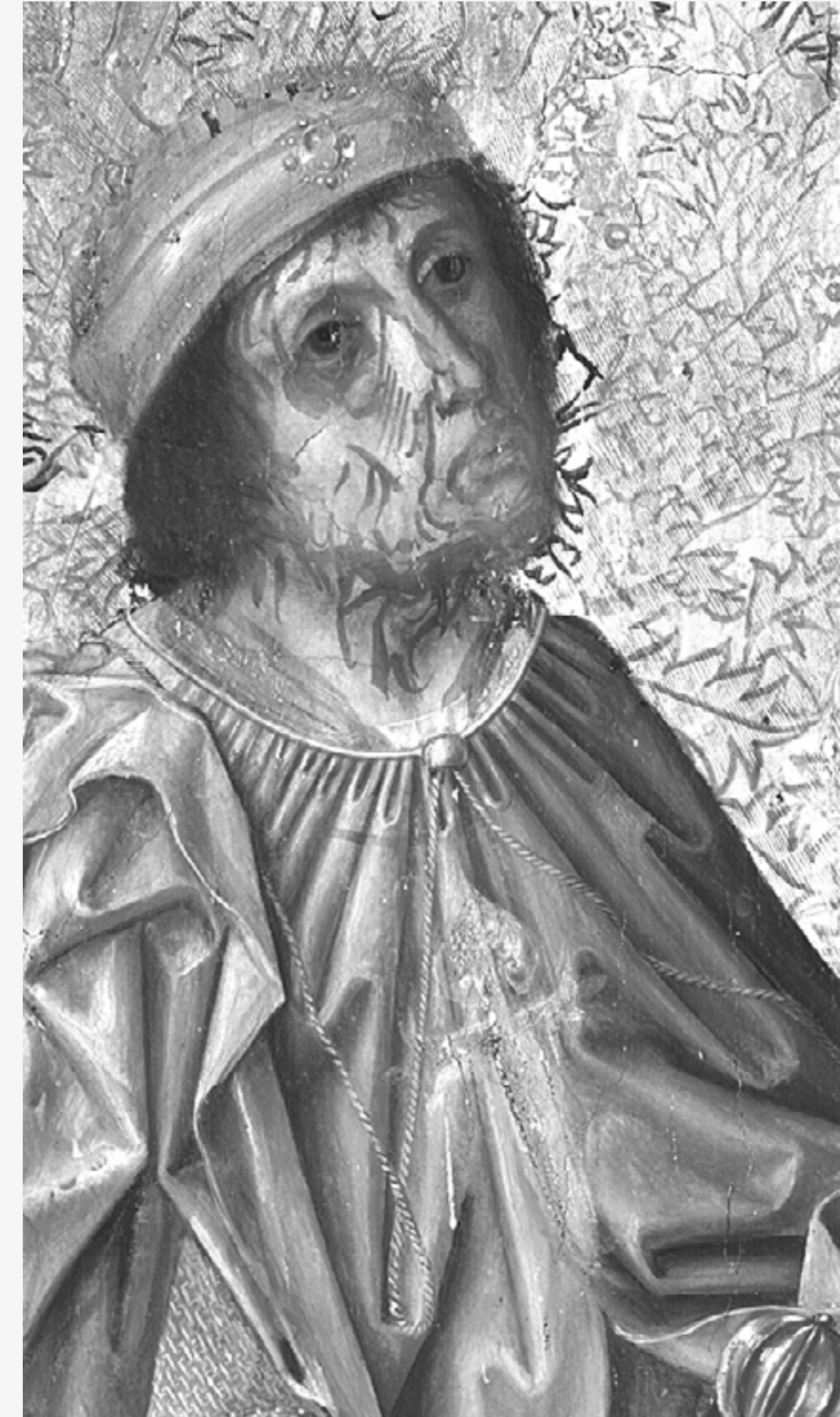
Photograph



X-Ray



Reflectography



The **visible image** provides information about the application of the colour and the final forms of the paint.

The **radiographic image** reveals the wood structure and the preparatory coating prior to the color layers.

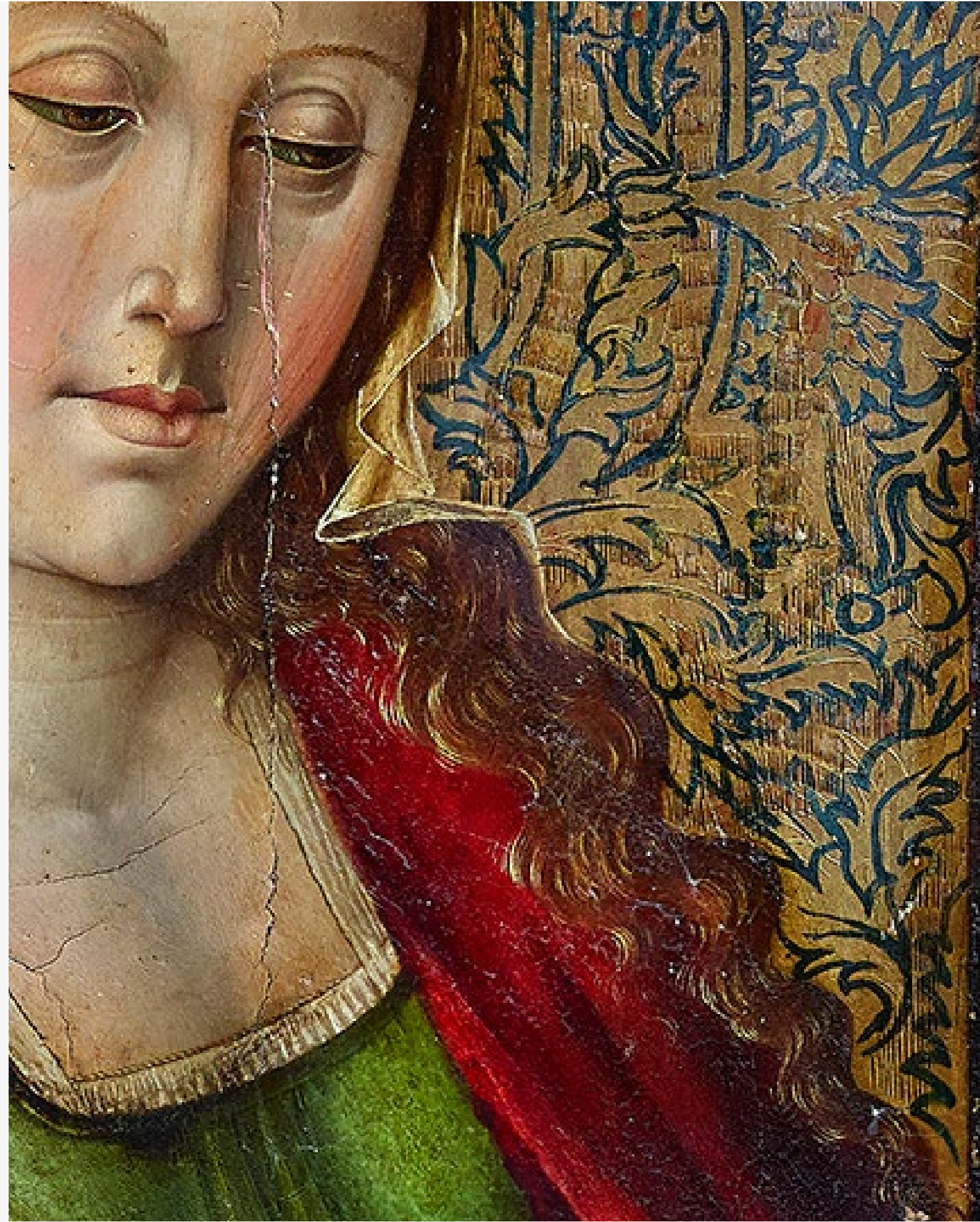
The **reflectographic photograph** provides information about the preparatory drawing made by the author.

X-ray and infrared reflectography of the face of Álvaro de Luna.  
Images property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.

*Second part of Crónica de Juan II/La Historia del Íncrito don Álvaro de Luna, p. 451*

*“Aqueste muy virtuoso Maestre trabajó por que en su tiempo viniese en grand perfeçion la polidez e gentileza en la nación española así en los fechos de Caballería como en todos los otros actos e cerimonias que a la magestad real, e a la su prehemineçia e corona son debidos; tanto que en muchos de la nación castellana por la su virtuosa industria fueron abituadas e convertidas en costumbre las virtudes”*

# Assessment of the technical analysis



Saint Agatha

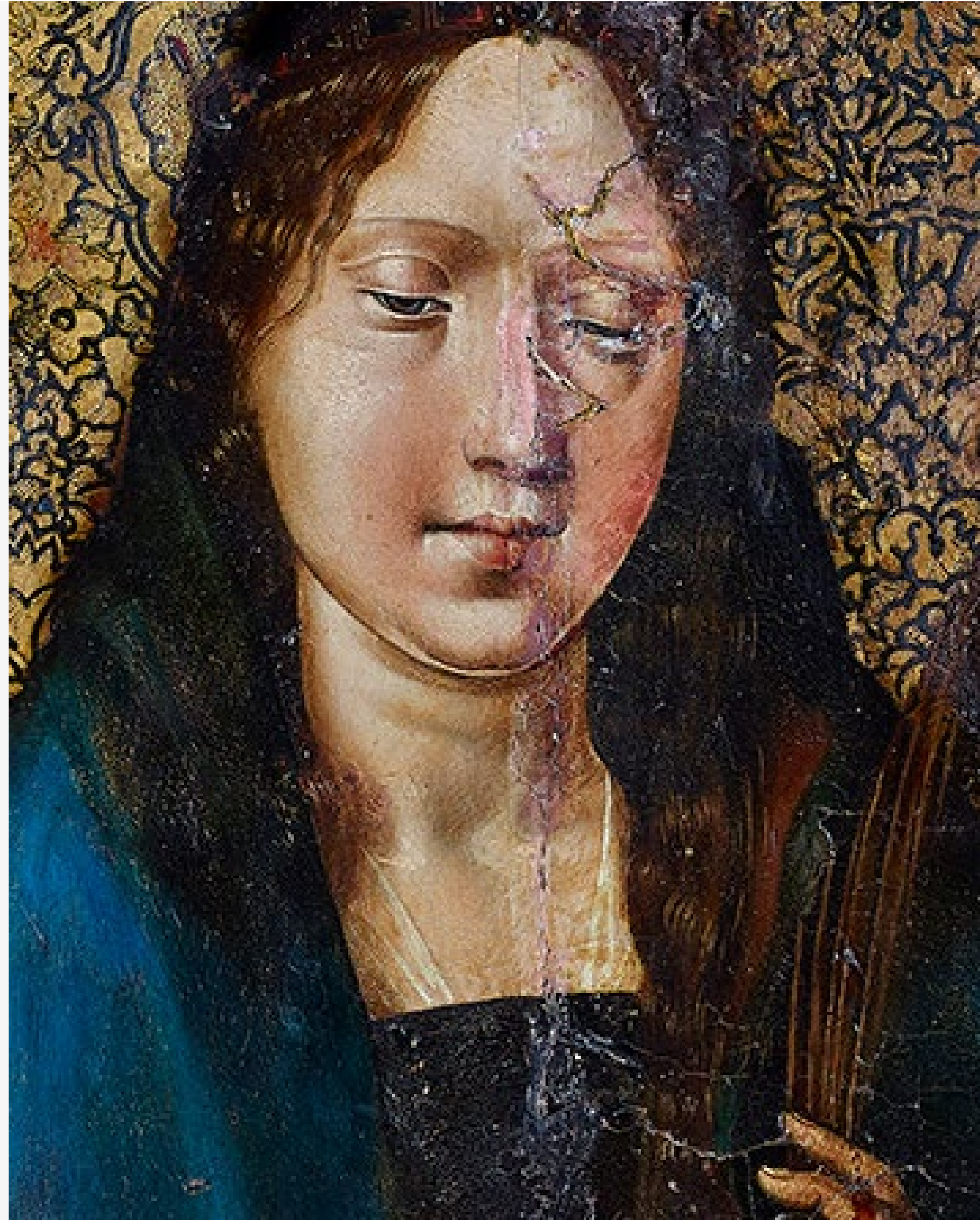


## Reflectography of St. Agatha.

It shows the underdrawing of the design by Juan de Segovia and Sancho de Zamora.

Infrared reflectography property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.

# Assessment of the technical analysis



Saint Catherine



## Reflectography of St. Catherine.

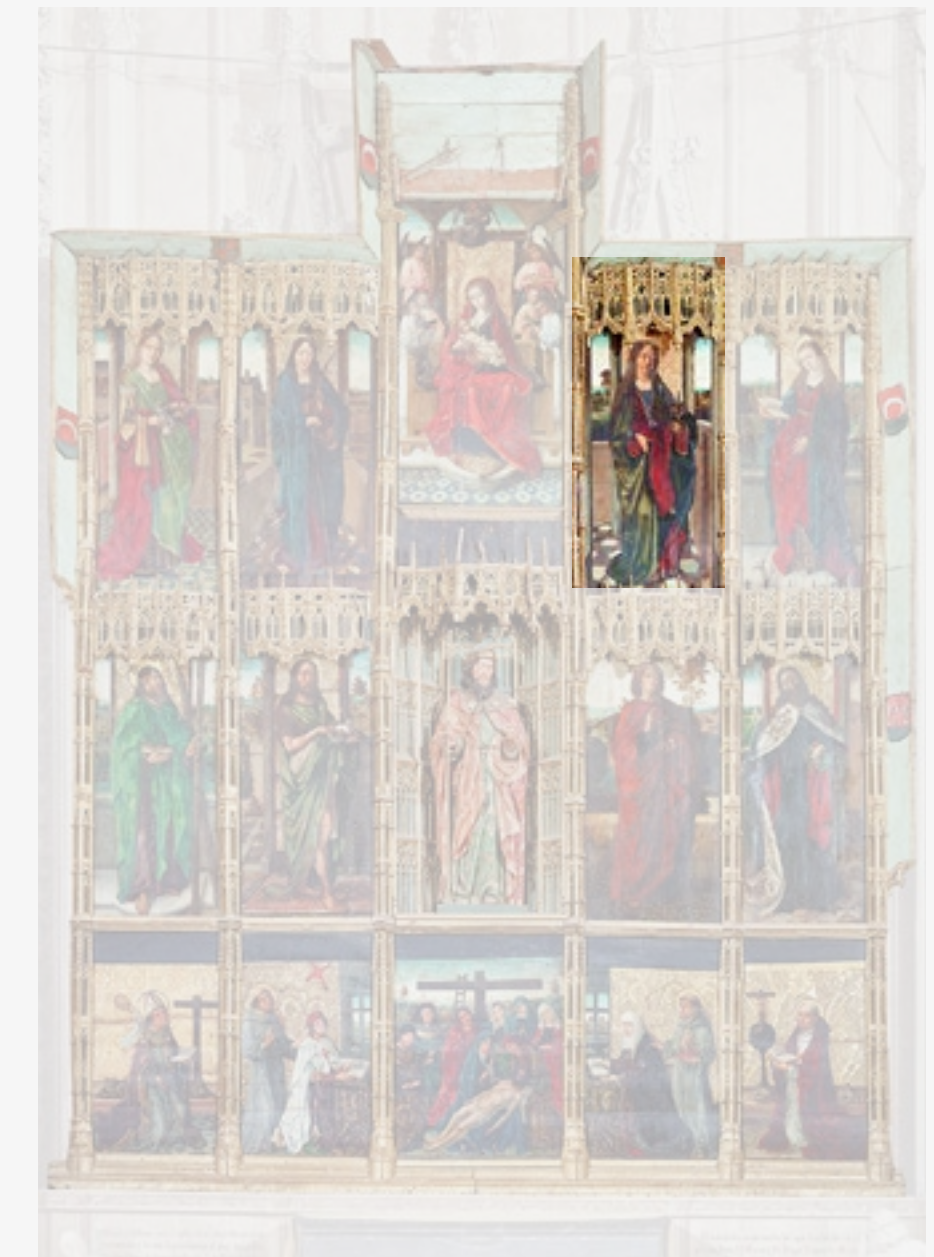
It shows the underdrawing by Juan de Segovia and the way in which he copies the shading of the face of St. John the Evangelist by Michel Sittow.

Infrared reflectography property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.

# Assessment of the technical analysis



Saint Mary Magdalene



## Reflectography of St. Mary Magdalene.

It shows the underdrawing by Juan de Segovia and its stylistic relation with the drawing by Michel Sittow.

Infrared reflectography property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.

# Assessment of the technical analysis



Saint John Evangelist



## Reflectography of St. John the Evangelist.

The delicate underdrawing of this figure is linked to the activity of Michel Sittow and departs from the other two masters.

Infrared reflectography property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.

# Assessment of the technical analysis



**Catherine of Aragon as Mary Magdalene.**  
Michel Sittow, oil on oak panel,  
47x40,6x6,5cm. Detroit Institute of Arts.



Saint John Evangelist.



Saint Mary Magdalene.



Saint Catherine.

# ↓ Chemical studies: introduction

P. 110 Classification of the pictorial technique

P. 111 Analysis without samples

P. 112 Analysis with samples

P. 115 Morphological analysis

P. 116 Elementary analysis

P. 118 Evaluation of chemical analysis

P. 120 Compositional analysis

P. 123 Vegetation of the panel of Saint John the Evangelist

# Chemical studies: introduction



The chemical method is an essential part of the technical studies of works of art, and guarantees the correct interpretation of the results.

The starting point, before the experimental study to identify the existing materials, is the visual inspection and the choice of sensitive points or elements, in order to achieve direct knowledge of the main aspects to be determined.

Secondly, we conduct the reading in order to know all the information through the specialized bibliography.

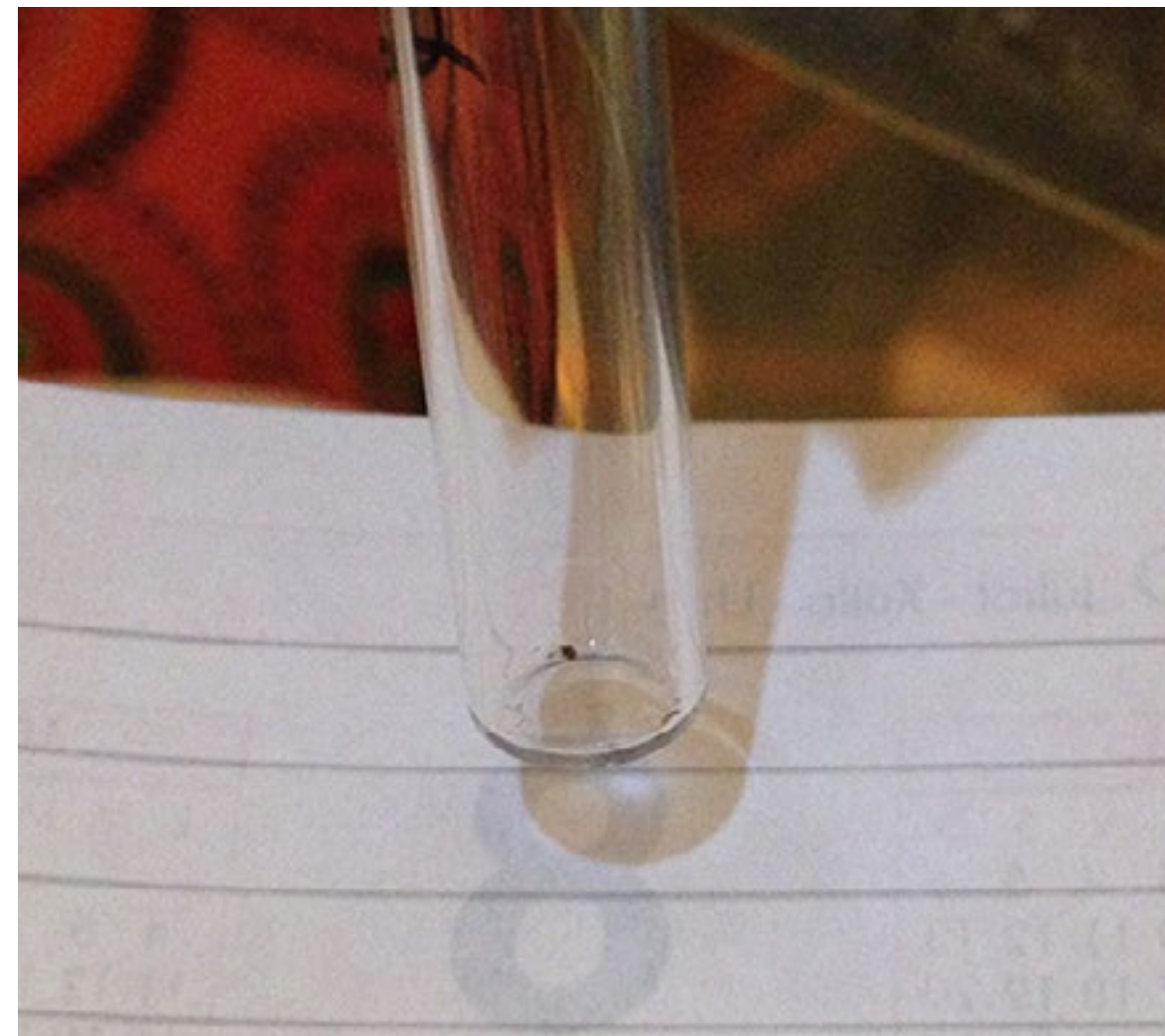
---

Prior to the analysis, it is necessary to have an extensive knowledge of the results of the physical work of radiography, reflectography or ultraviolet light, mainly to specify the most interesting aspects and to avoid possible contamination.

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Marisa Gómez, Ana Albar and Rocío Bruquetas during the process of direct visual inspection of the altarpiece of Álvaro de Luna during the intensive work days carried out by the Instituto de Patrimonio Cultural de España between the 30th of June and the 18th of July 2014.

# Classification of the pictorial technique



The study of the materials bases its results on the chemical analysis of the micro samples taken from the pictorial ensemble. The choice of sample and size depend mainly on the data that we wish to obtain, the nature or location of the material, among other issues, and the instrumental method used (limit of the detection of technique, interferences due to possible contaminants, etc).

The microsamples are always less than 1 mm (tenths of a millimetre).

# Analysis without samples

- Surface tracking.
- Taking microphotographs of the areas which are representative of the pictorial technique.
- At the same time, the points of interest are noted: colours, different pictorial techniques, imitations of gold and silver.
- We begin with the direct study without taking samples:
  - Video microscope
  - USB microscope
  - X-ray fluorescence (EDXRF)

---

Thanks to the magnifying instruments paired with the computer (which identify the shape, color and texture of the pigments), this part of the work serves as basic documentation for the morphological knowledge and also as a first approach to elemental analysis (identification of the elements in the surface by X-ray fluorescence).

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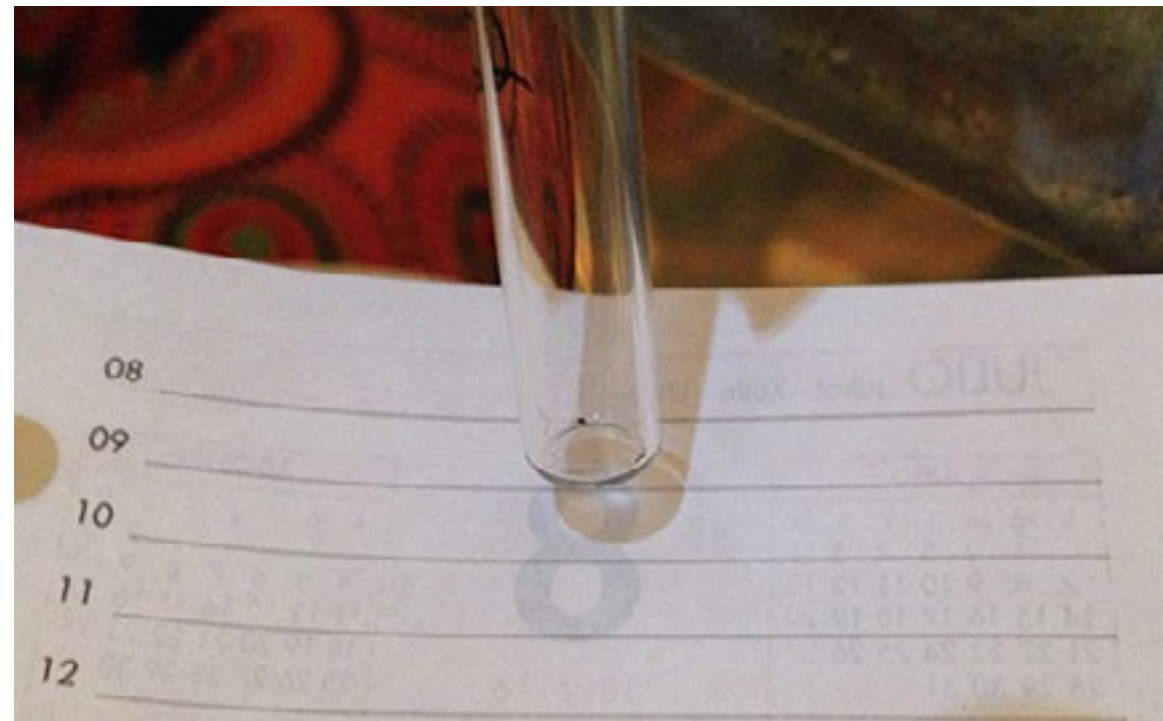
**Enlarged image of the surface:**  
transition between the white veil and the background in the panel of Juana Pimentel.

# Analysis with samples

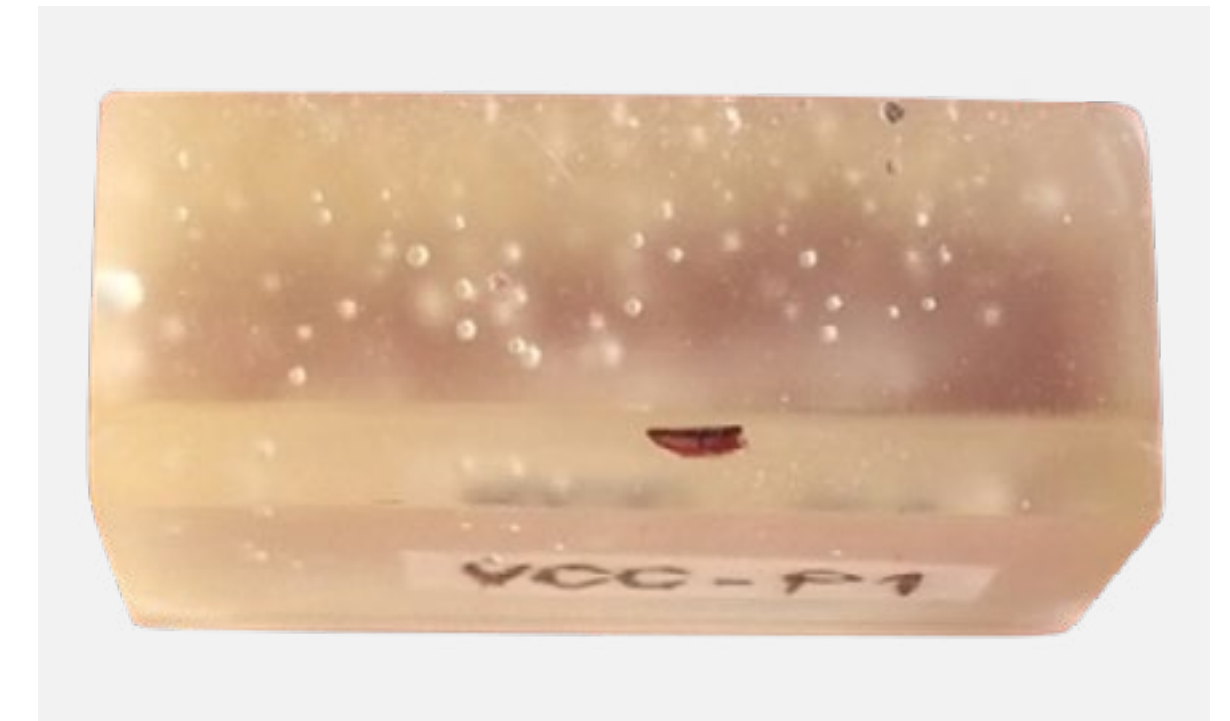
Taking of the micro sample



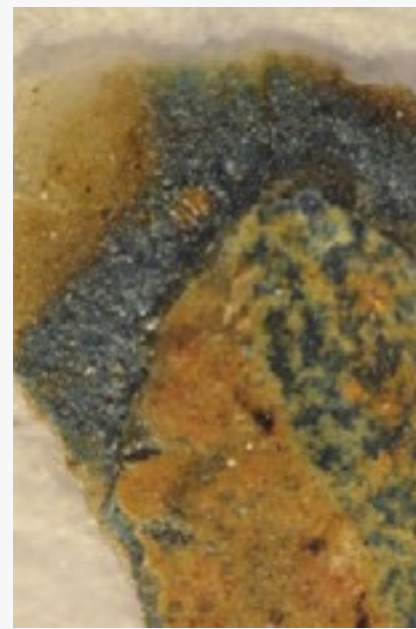
Preservation of the micro sample



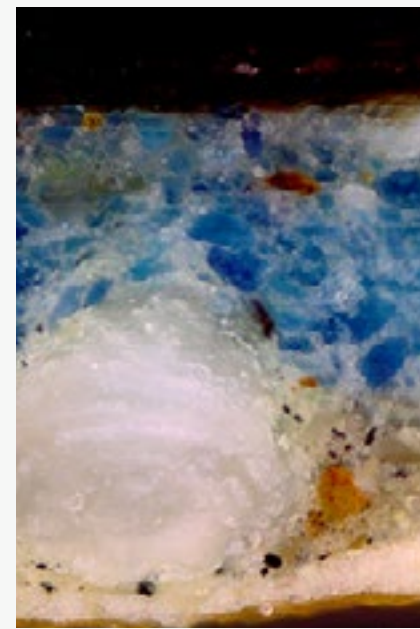
Polished transparent resin employed in the material analyses



## MORFOLOGICAL



ME-SM image.



MO-PLM image.



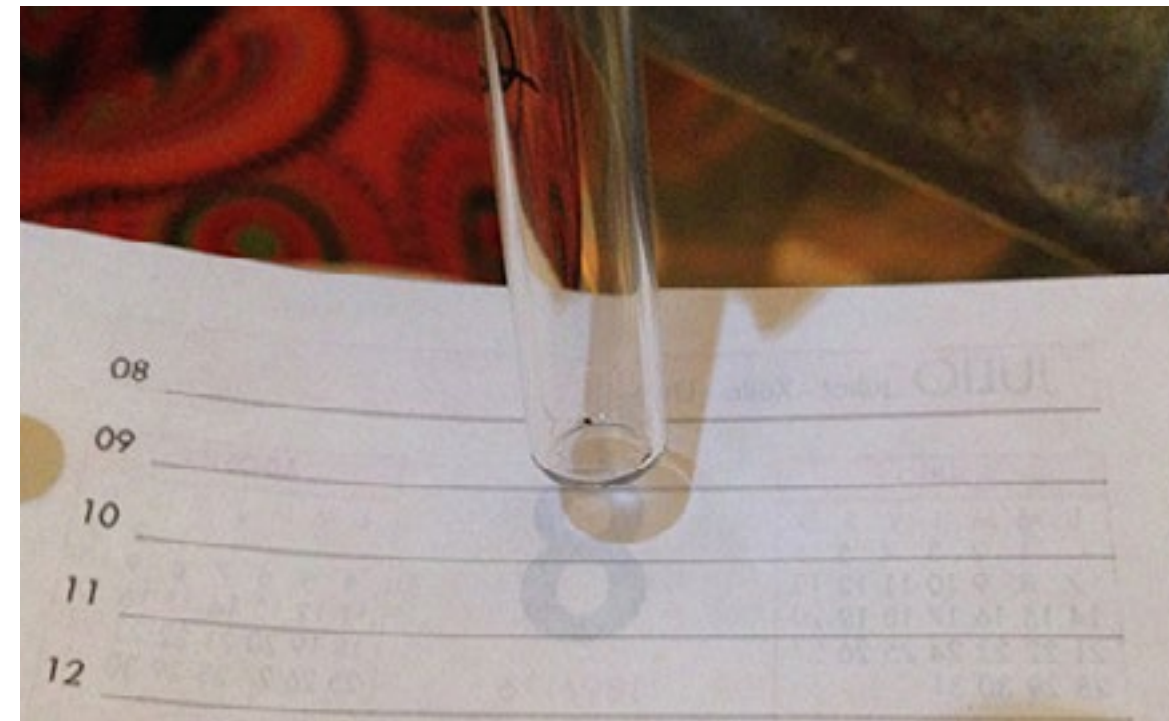
MO-FLM image.

# Analysis with samples

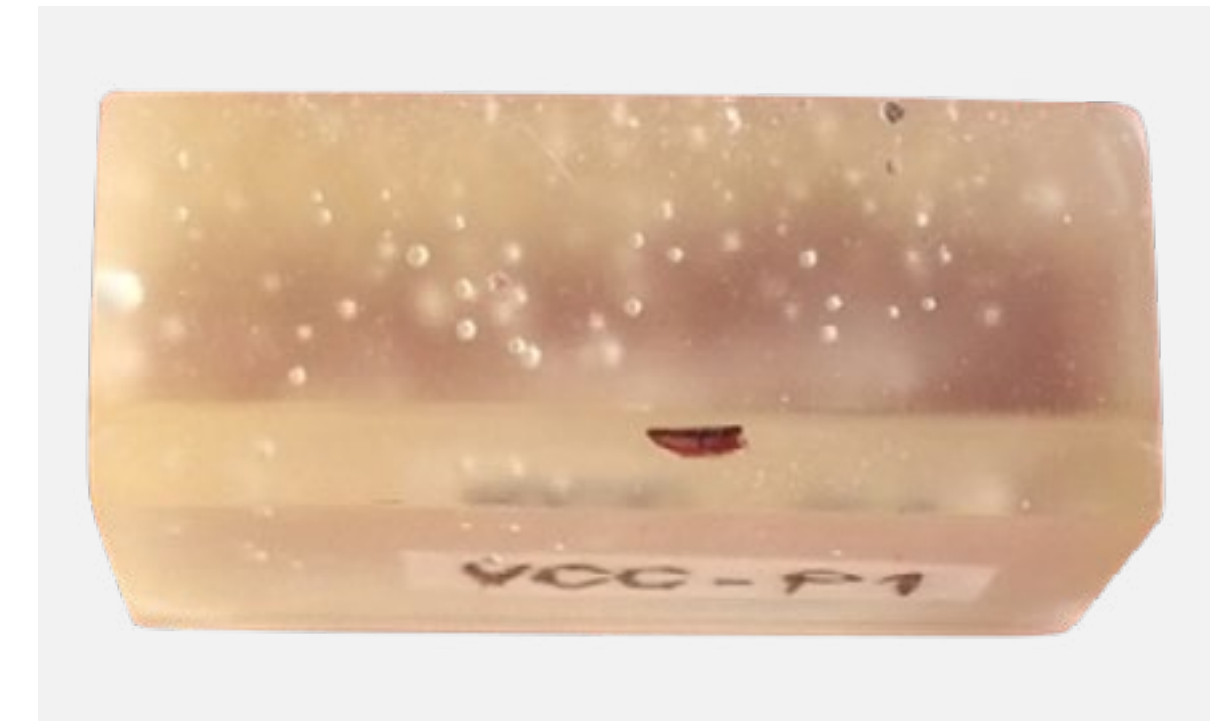
Taking of the micro sample



Preservation of the micro sample



Polished transparent resin employed in the material analyses



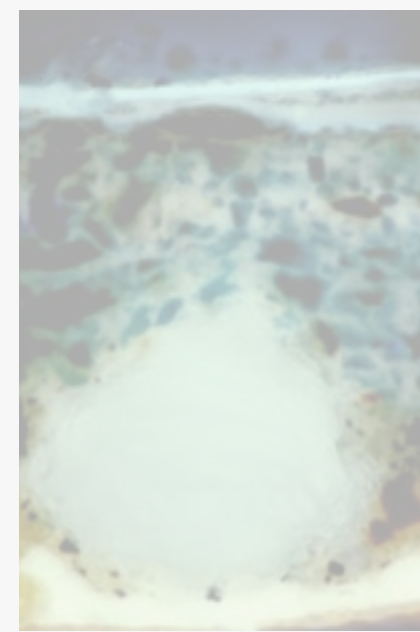
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MO-PLM image.



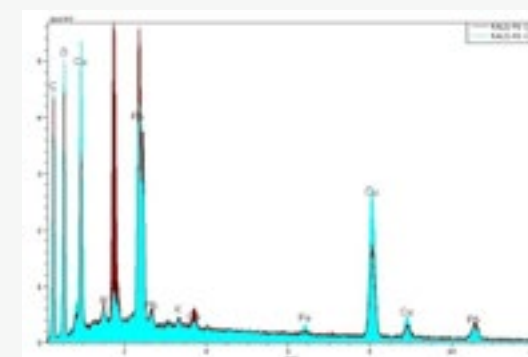
MO-FLM image.

Images of morphological, elemental and compositional analysis property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.

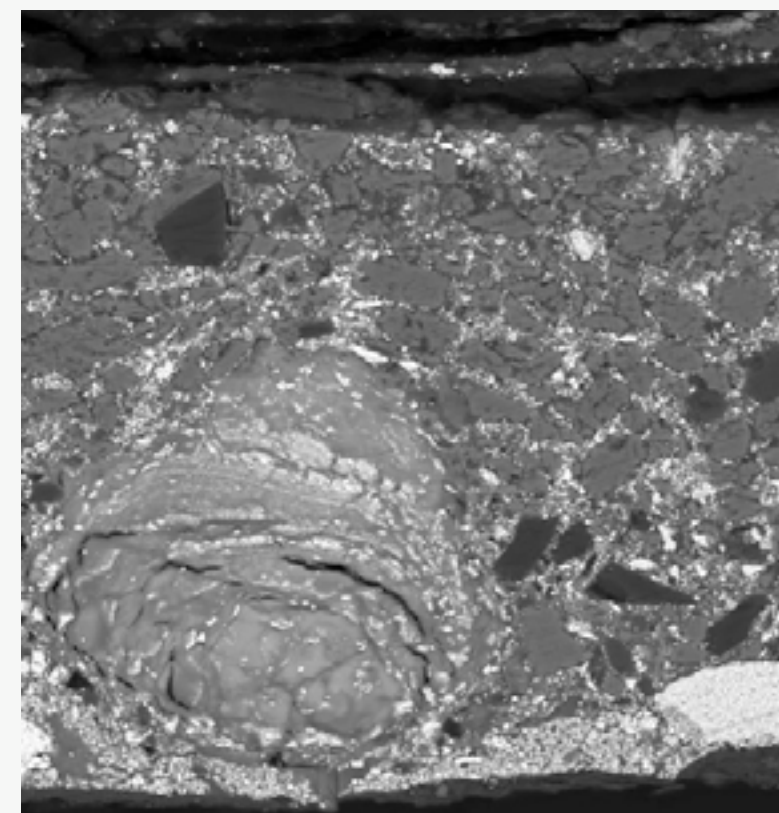
## ELEMENTAL



SEM-EDX.



RX dispersion spectrum (EDX detector).



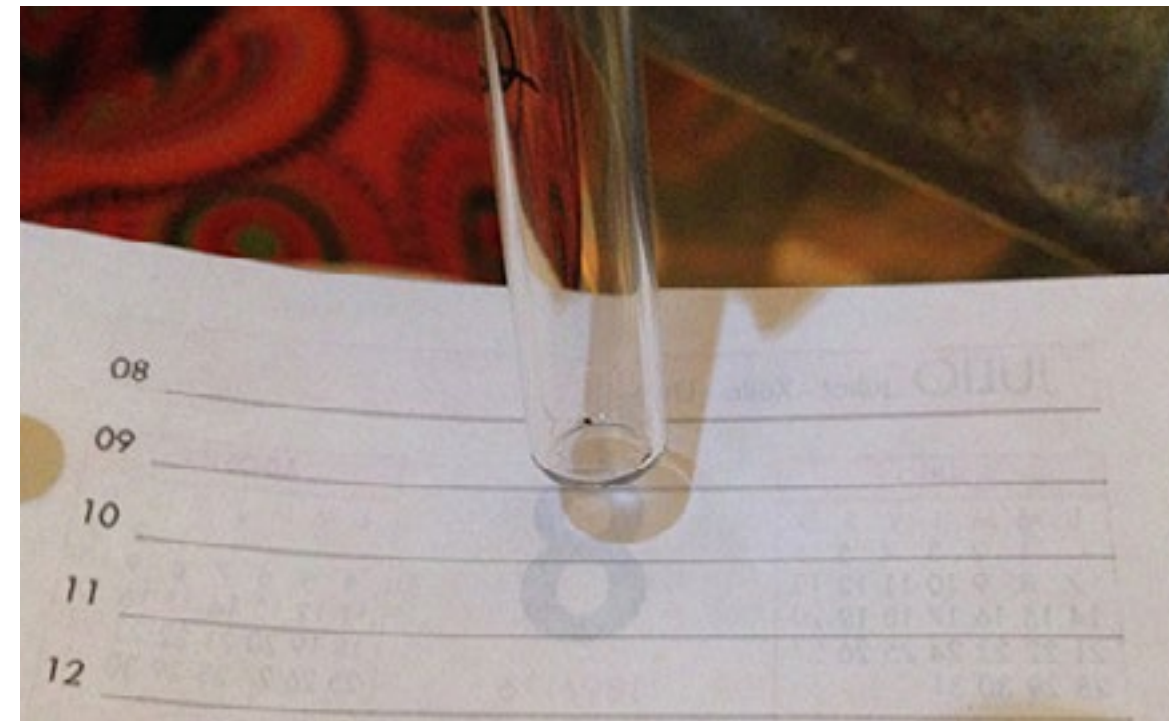
BSE image.

# Analysis with samples

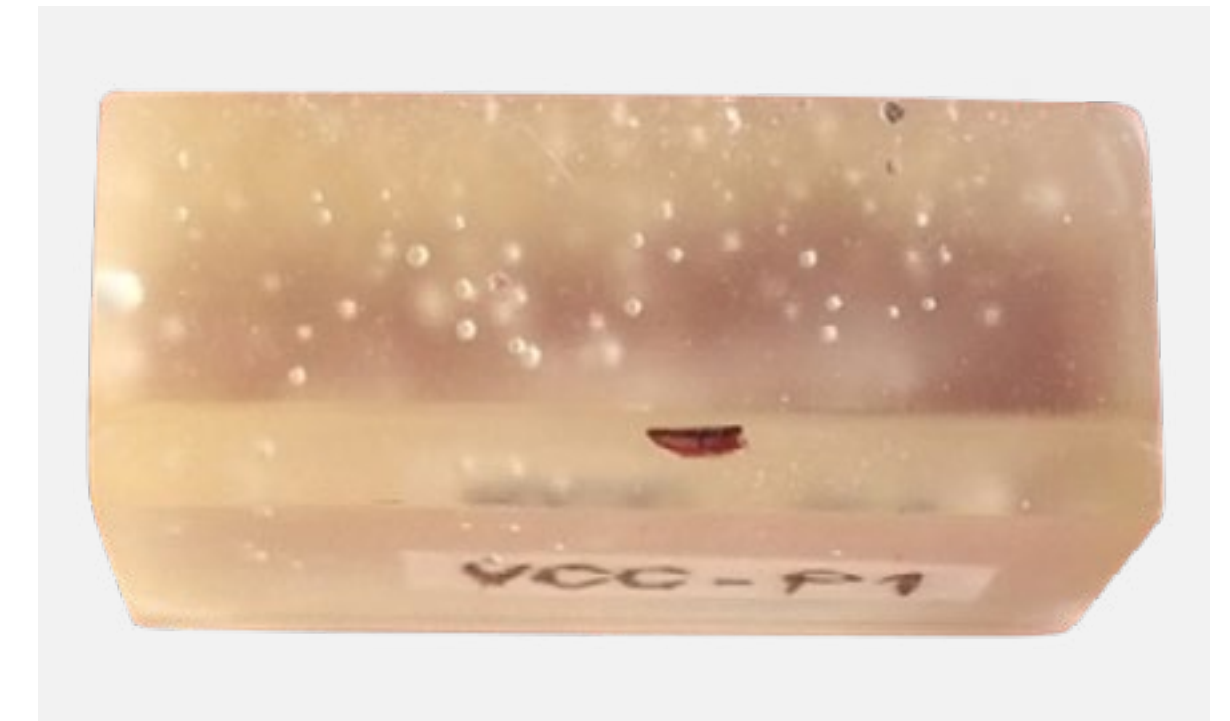
Taking of the micro sample



Preservation of the micro sample



Polished transparent resin employed in the material analyses



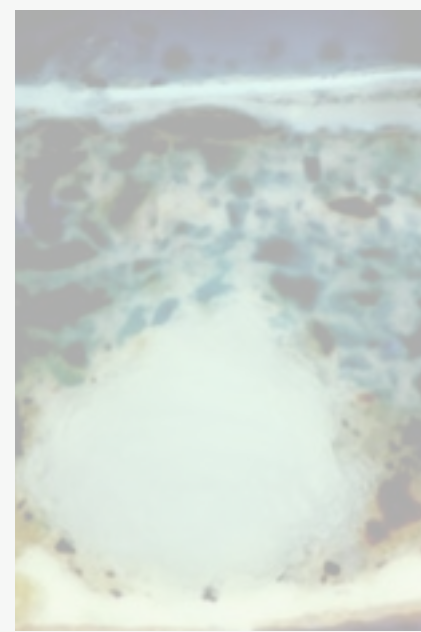
## MORFOLOGICAL



ME-SM image.



MO-PLM image.



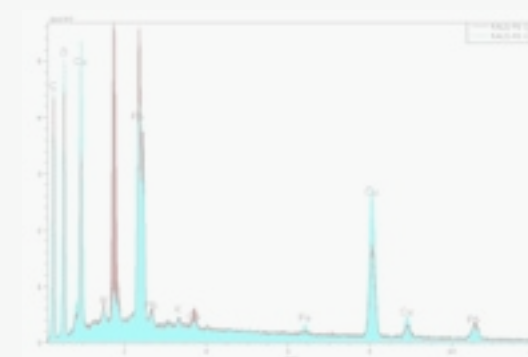
MO-FLM image.

Images of morphological, elemental and compositional analysis property of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, made under the project HAR2012-32720.

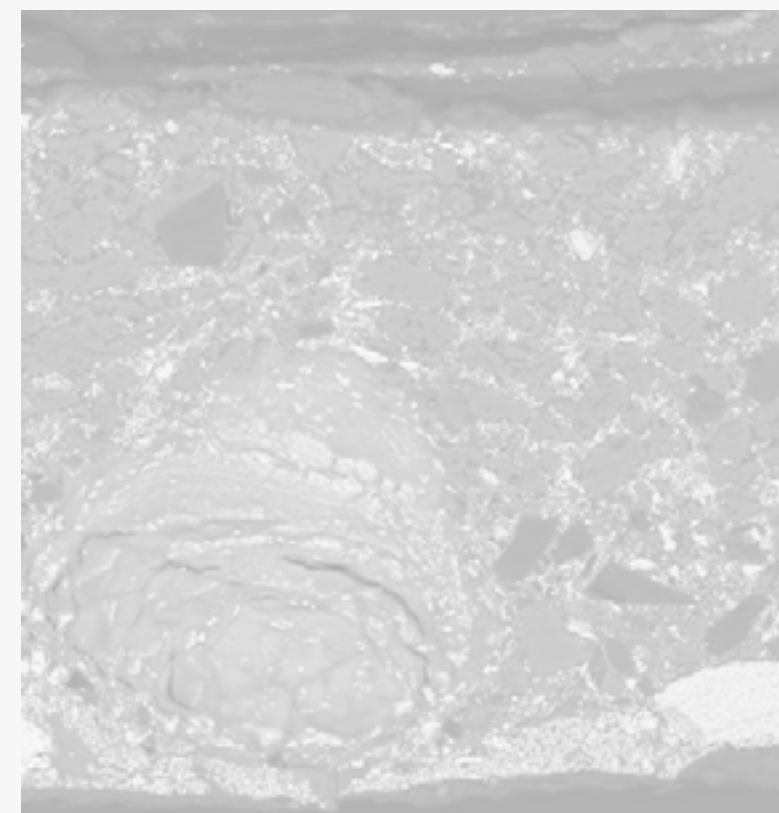
## ELEMENTAL



SEM-EDX.



RX dispersion spectrum (EDX detector).



BSE image.

## COMPOSITIONAL



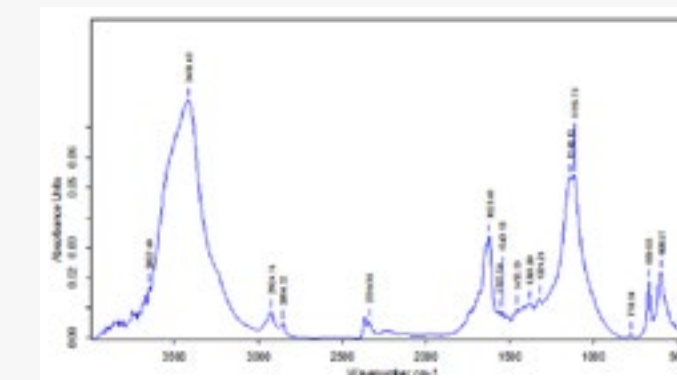
FTIR.



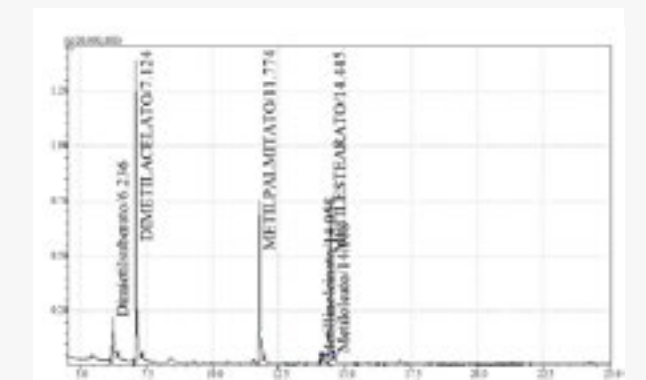
LC-DAD-QTOF.



Gas chromatograph. Mass spectrometre.



Molecular spectrum FTIR.



GC/MS chromatogram of flax oil.

# Morphological analysis



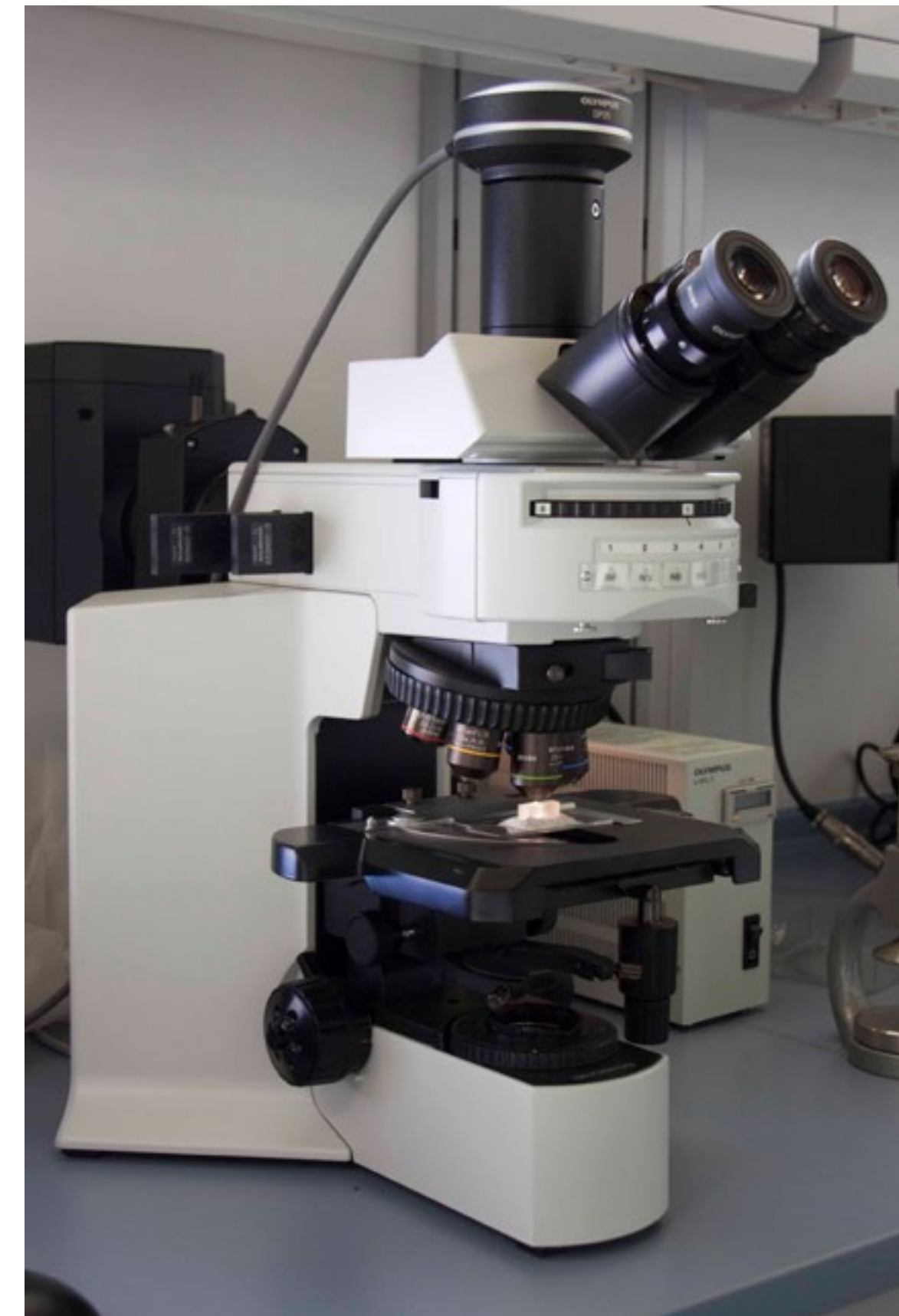
Stereoscopic microscope (SM).



ME image.

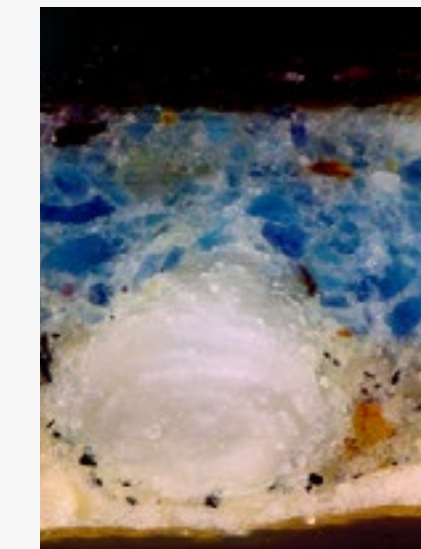
### Stratigraphic section

**Preview and sample selection.**  
Magnified image in three dimensions provided by the stereoscopic Microscope.



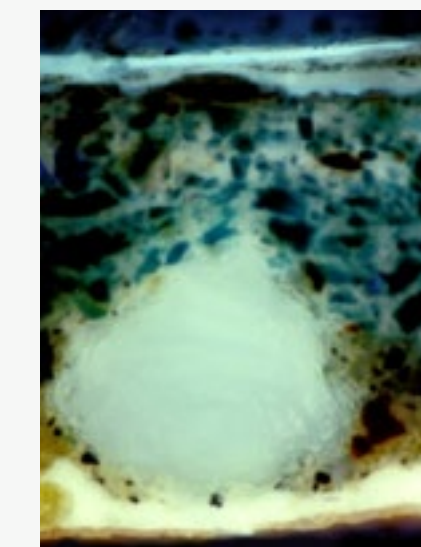
Optical microscope (MO).

The optical microscope provides:



Magnified image of a flat microscope slide.

MO-PLM image.



Magnified image of organic components and other fluorescent materials such as whites.

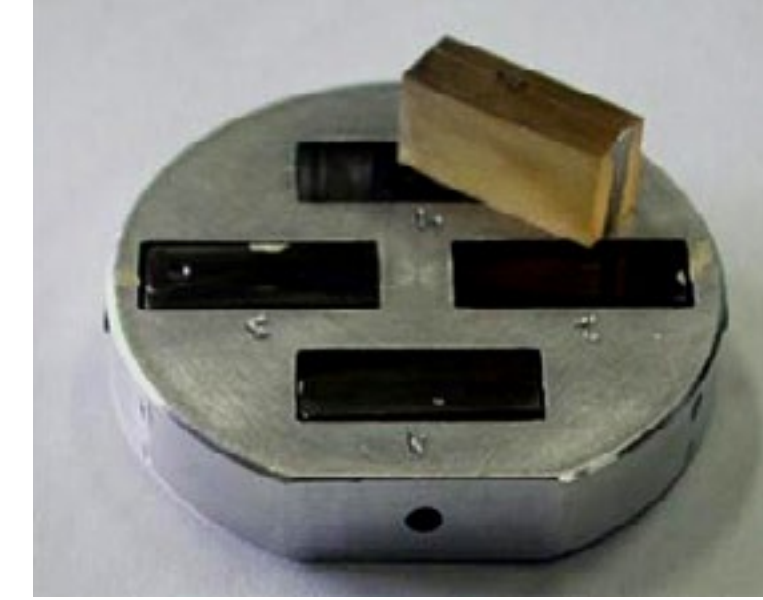
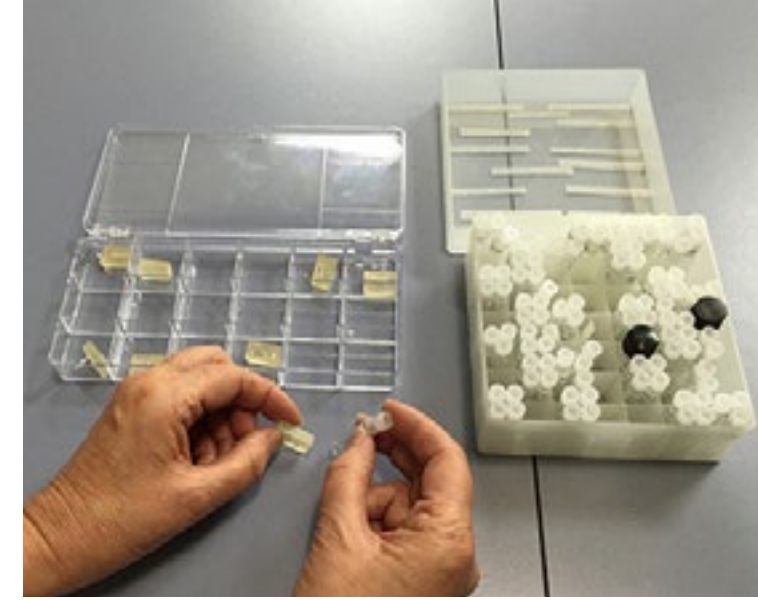
MO-FLM image.

# Elementary analysis

The elemental study allows, through an elemental analysis, a study of the inorganic compounds (most of the pigments and components of the preparation).

The scanning electron microscope (SEM) required for elemental analysis has three coupled detectors:

- a picture of secondary electrons (SE)
- backscattered electron Image (BSE)
- RX dispersion spectrum (EDX)



Sample coated with conductive material.



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The elementary study uses electron microscopy, which has a greater power than the optical one, used in the morphological study.

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# Elementary analysis

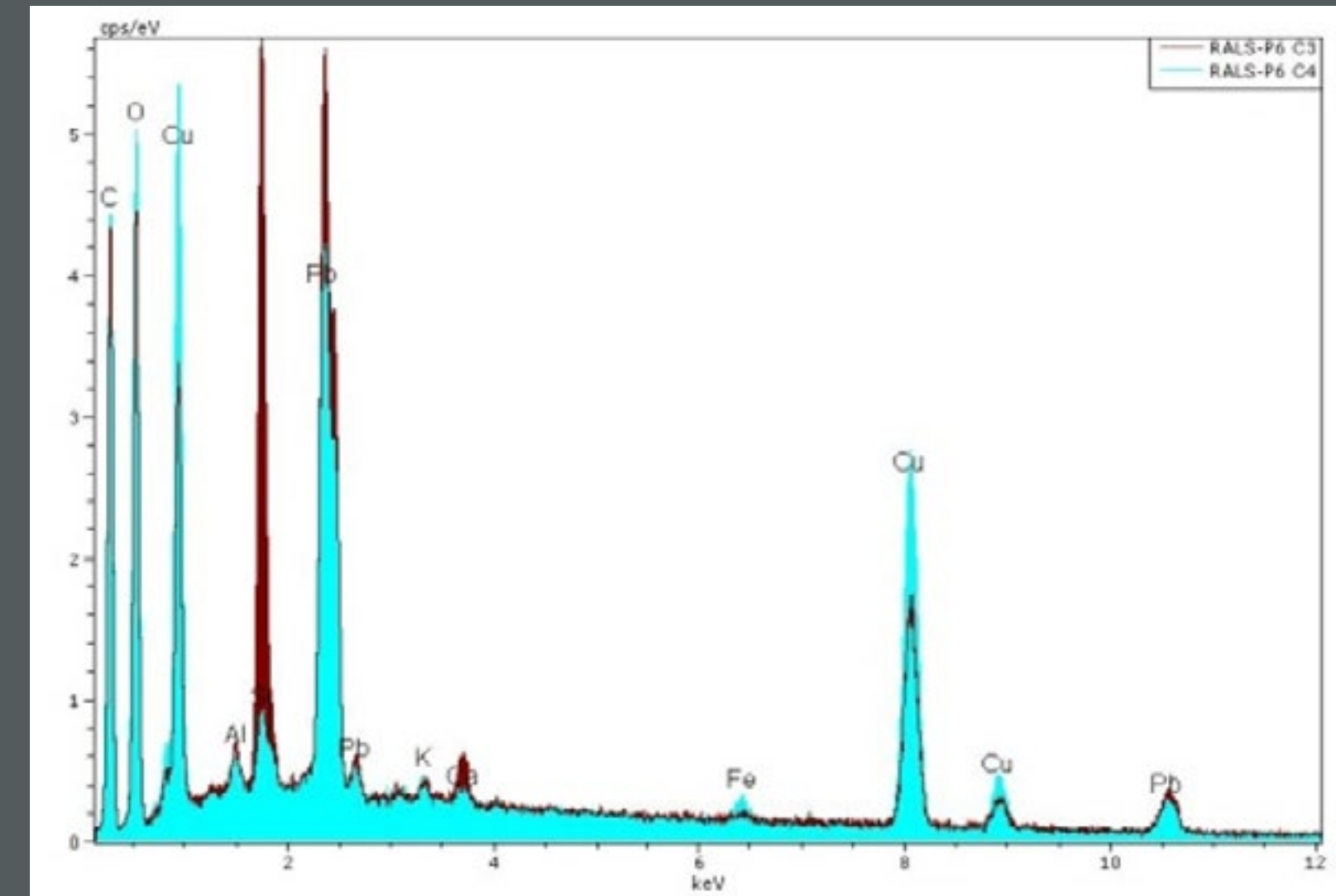
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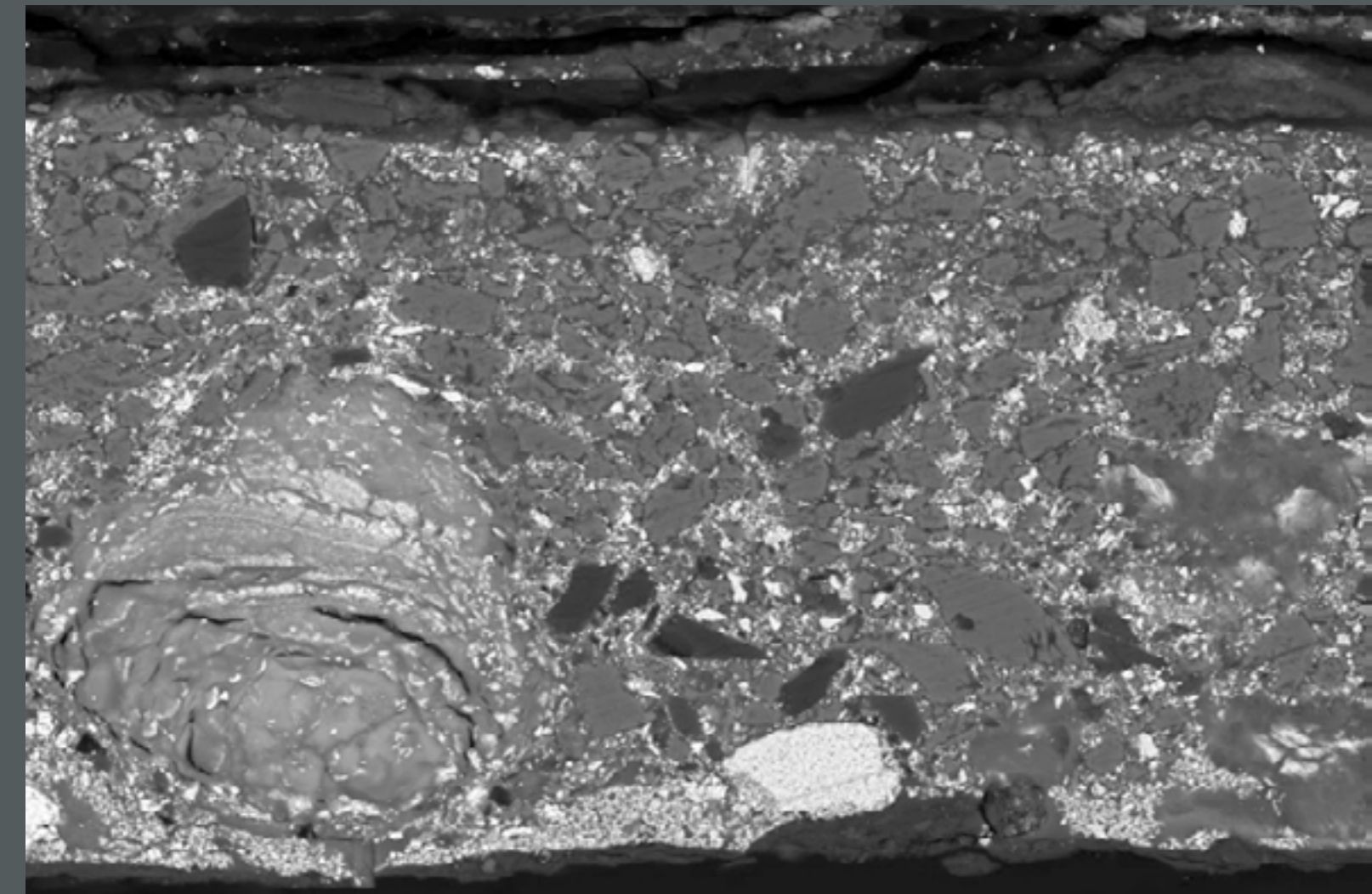
- a picture of secondary electrons (SE)
- backscattered electron Image (BSE)
- RX dispersion spectrum (EDX)

With the first two, grey images related to the relief (SE) and the atomic number of the elements (BSE) of the sample are obtained, respectively, contributing to the microscopic morphological analysis at high magnifications.

The elemental microanalysis is performed with the X-ray scattering detector coupled to a scanning electron microscope (SEM-EDX).

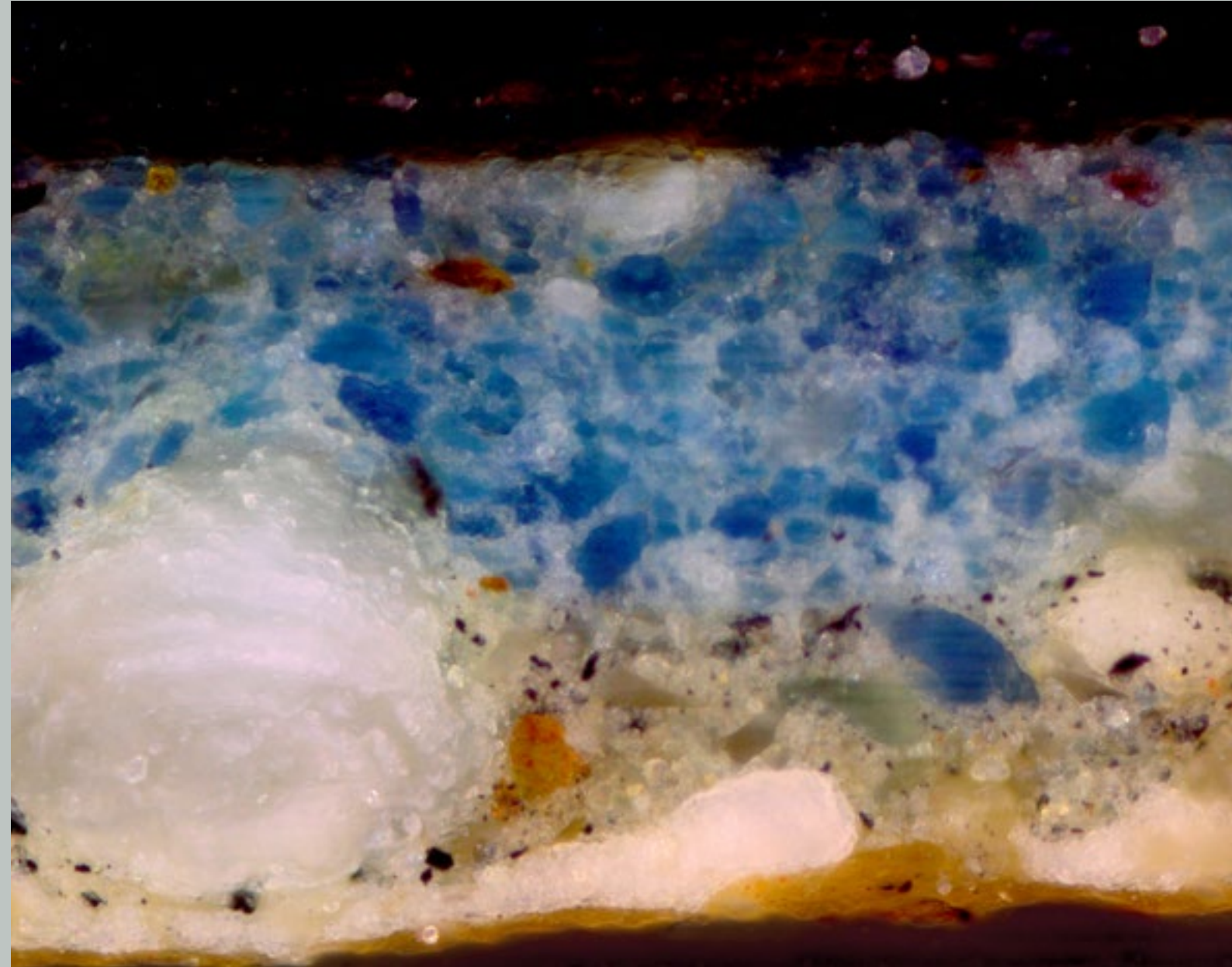


RX dispersion spectrum (EDX detector), which allows a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the present elements.

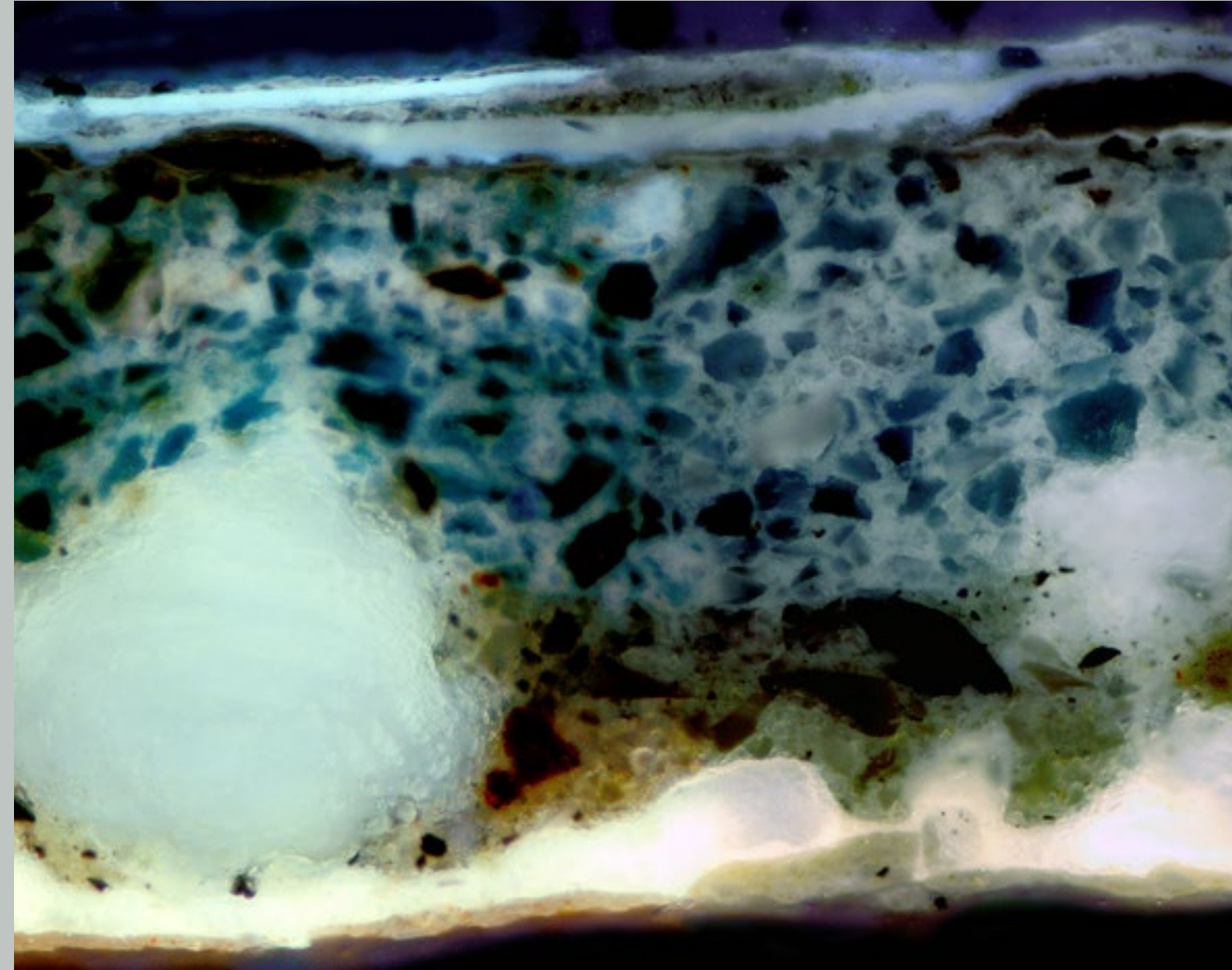


Backscattered electron imaging (BSE).

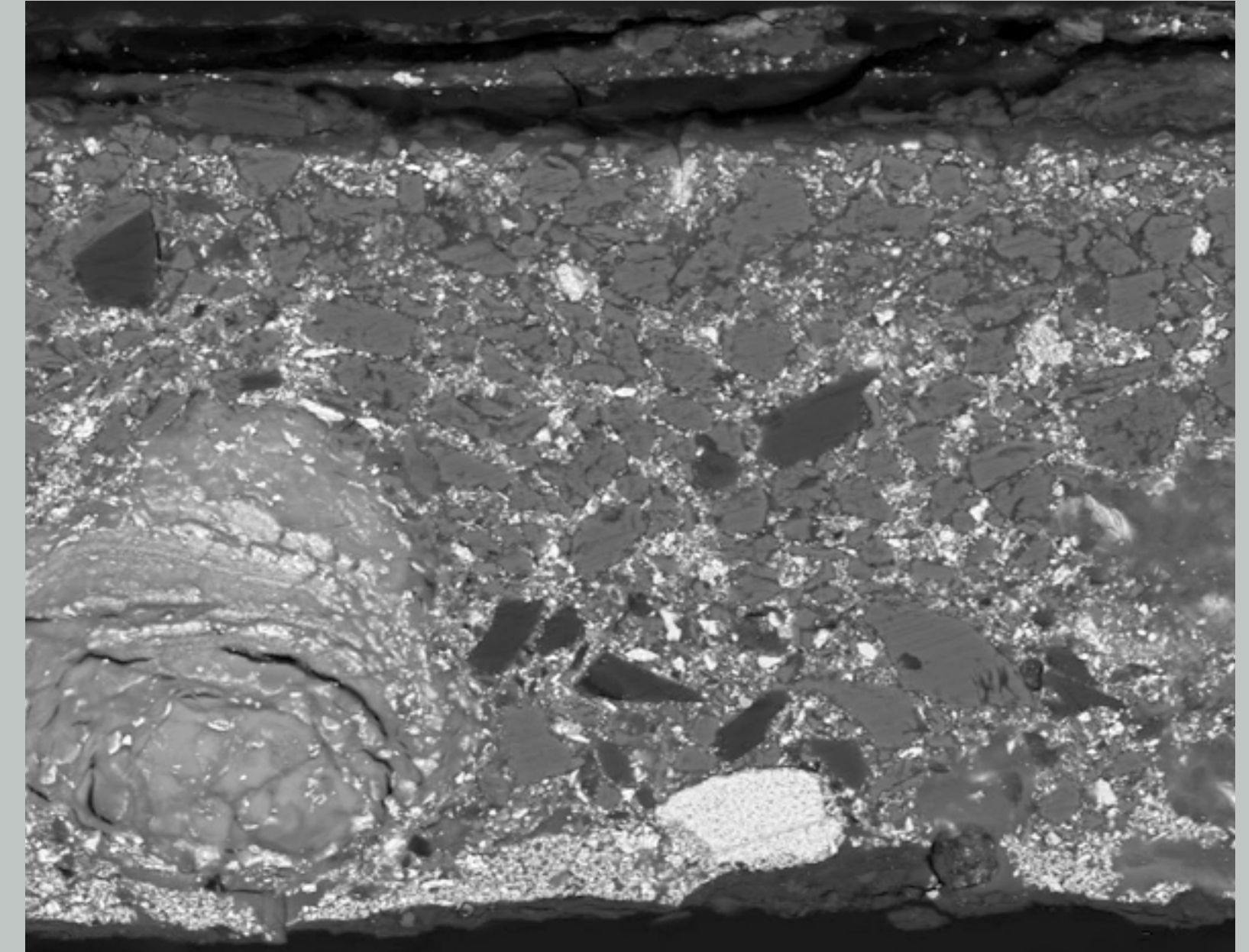
# Evaluation of chemical analysis



Polarization microscopy image (PLM).



Fluorescence microscopy image (FLM).



Backscattered electron image (BSE).

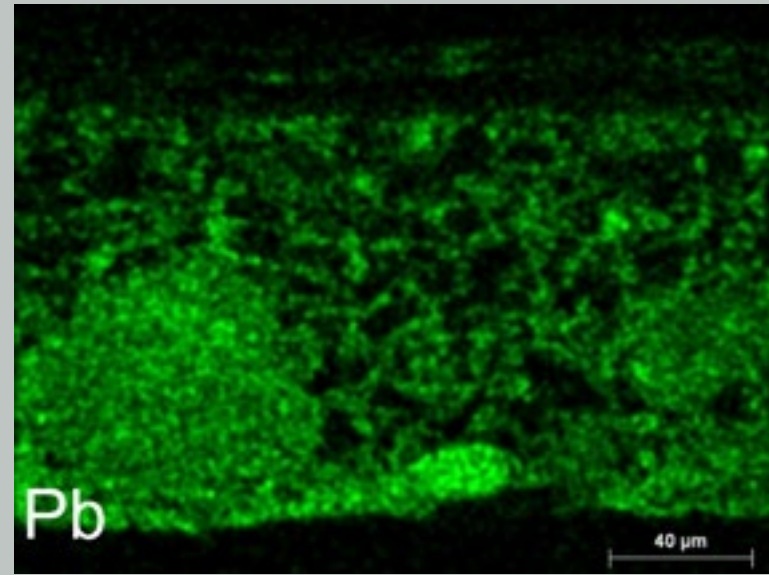
Comparative images of a microscope preparation with the polarization microscope with reflected light (PLM), fluorescence with UV radiation (FLM) and with the scanning electron microscope and a backscatter detector (BSE).

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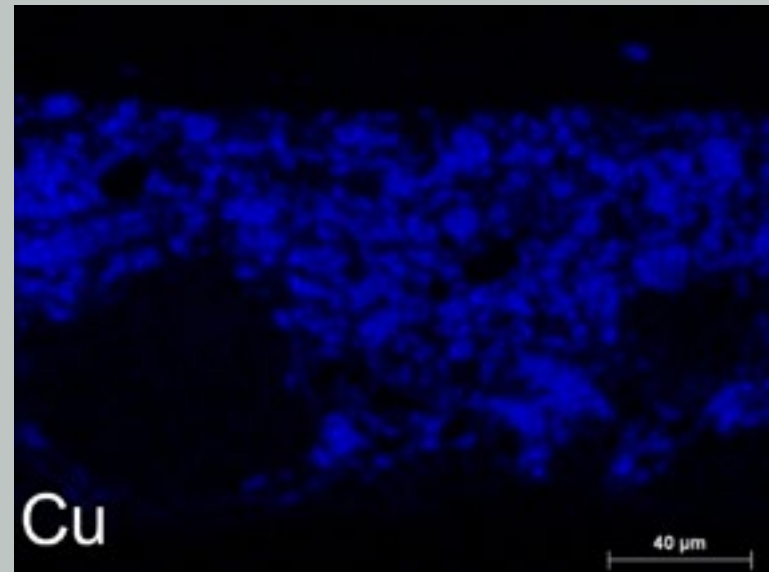
The images are from the panel of Álvaro de Luna, blue detail of the tile on the left side. St. James altarpiece, Luna chapel, Toledo Cathedral.

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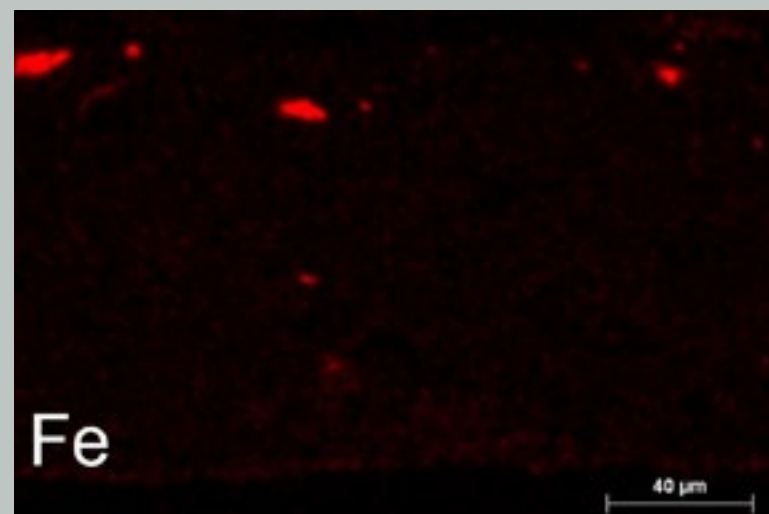
# Evaluation of chemical analysis



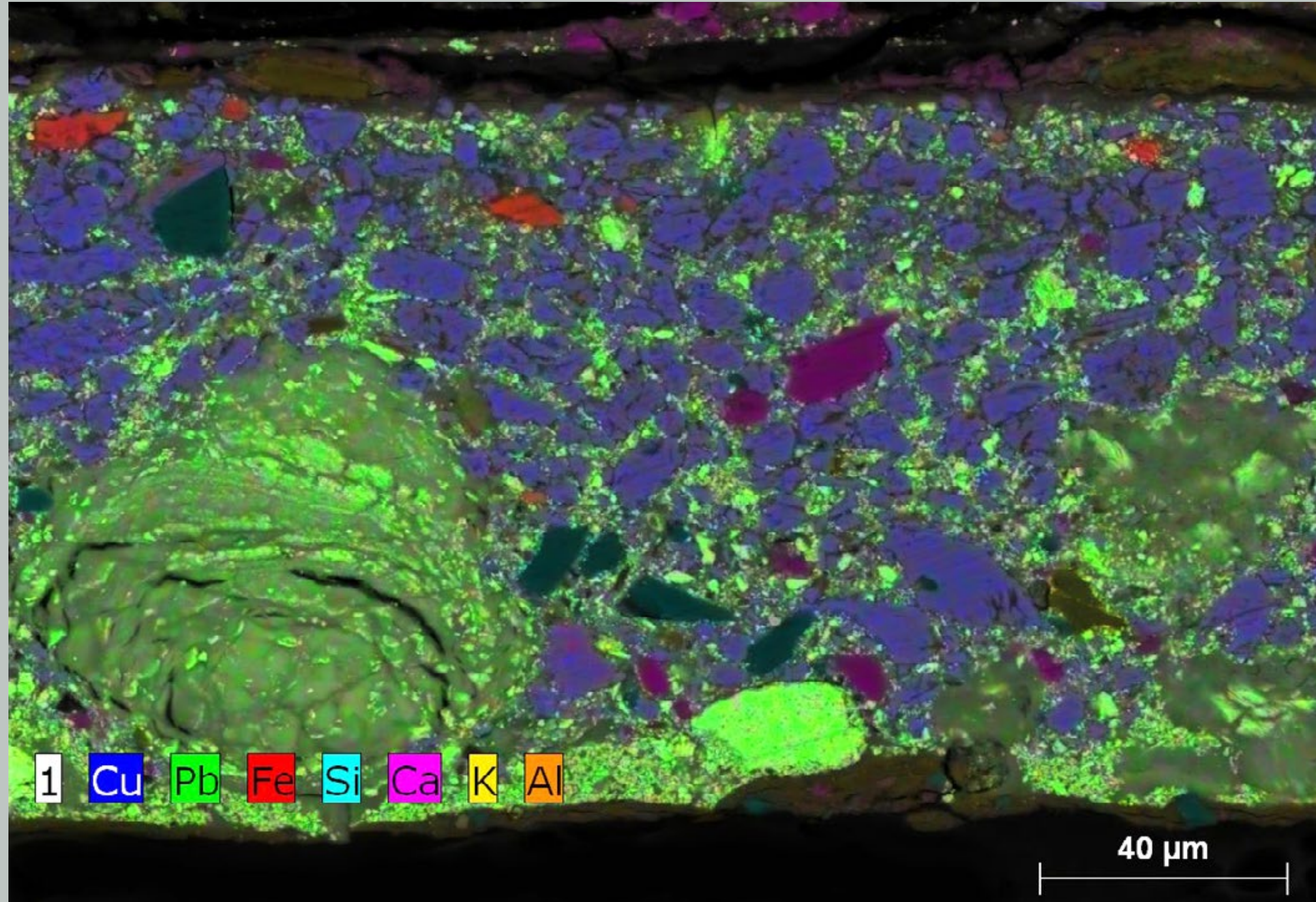
Pb (white lead).



Cu (azurite).



Fe (natural azurite impurities).



Elemental distribution map of the elements of the pictorial layer, as the result of scanning electron microscopy and microanalysis by X-ray energy dispersion.

**Element distribution map:**  
Pb (white lead), Cu (azurite), Fe (impurities of natural azurite), and combined (Cu, Pb, Fe, Si, Ca, Ca, K, Al), corresponding to the panel of Álvaro de Luna, blue of the tile on the left side. St. James altarpiece, Luna chapel, Toledo Cathedral.

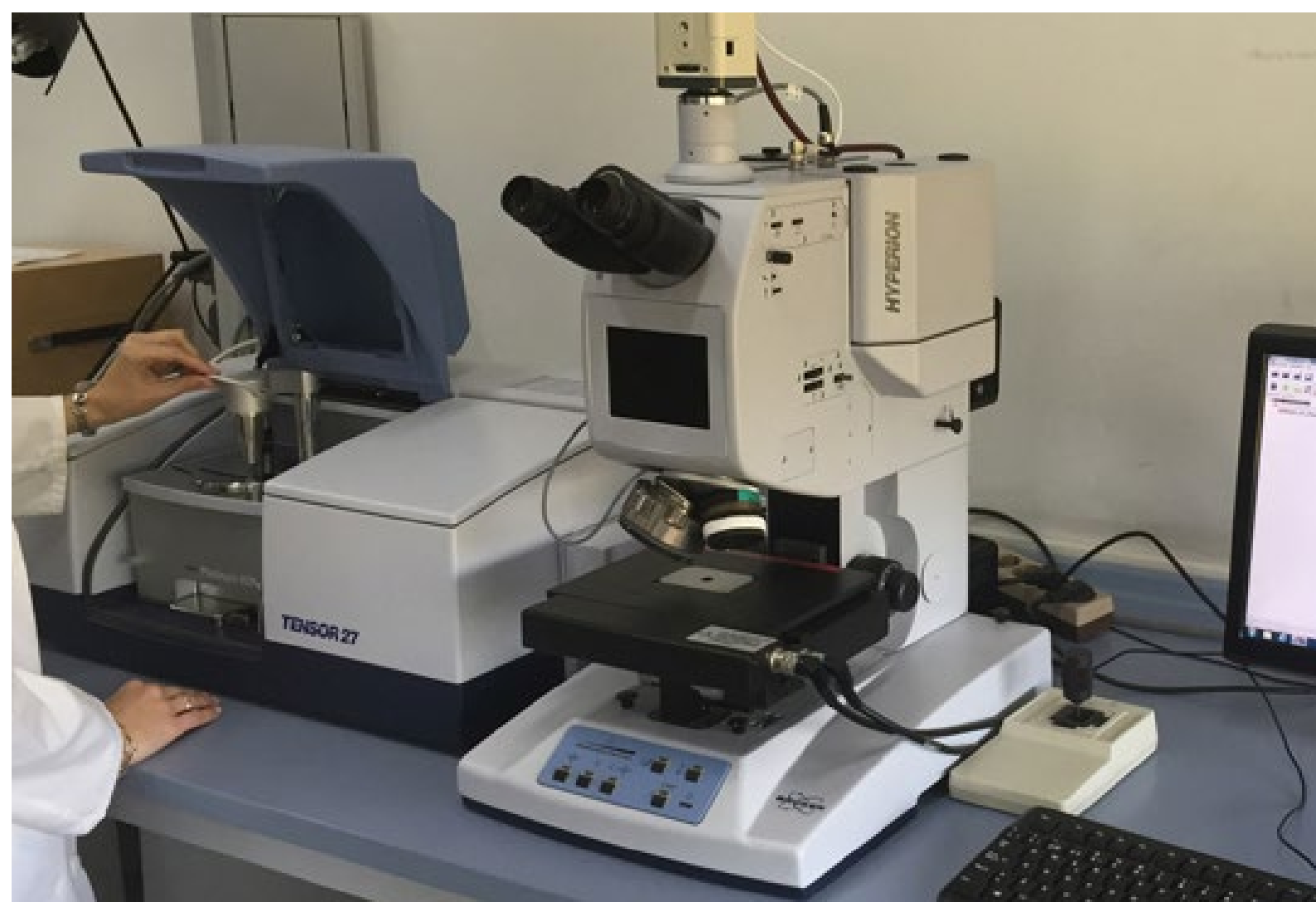
# Compositional analysis

The compositional study uses infrared spectrometry (FTIR)

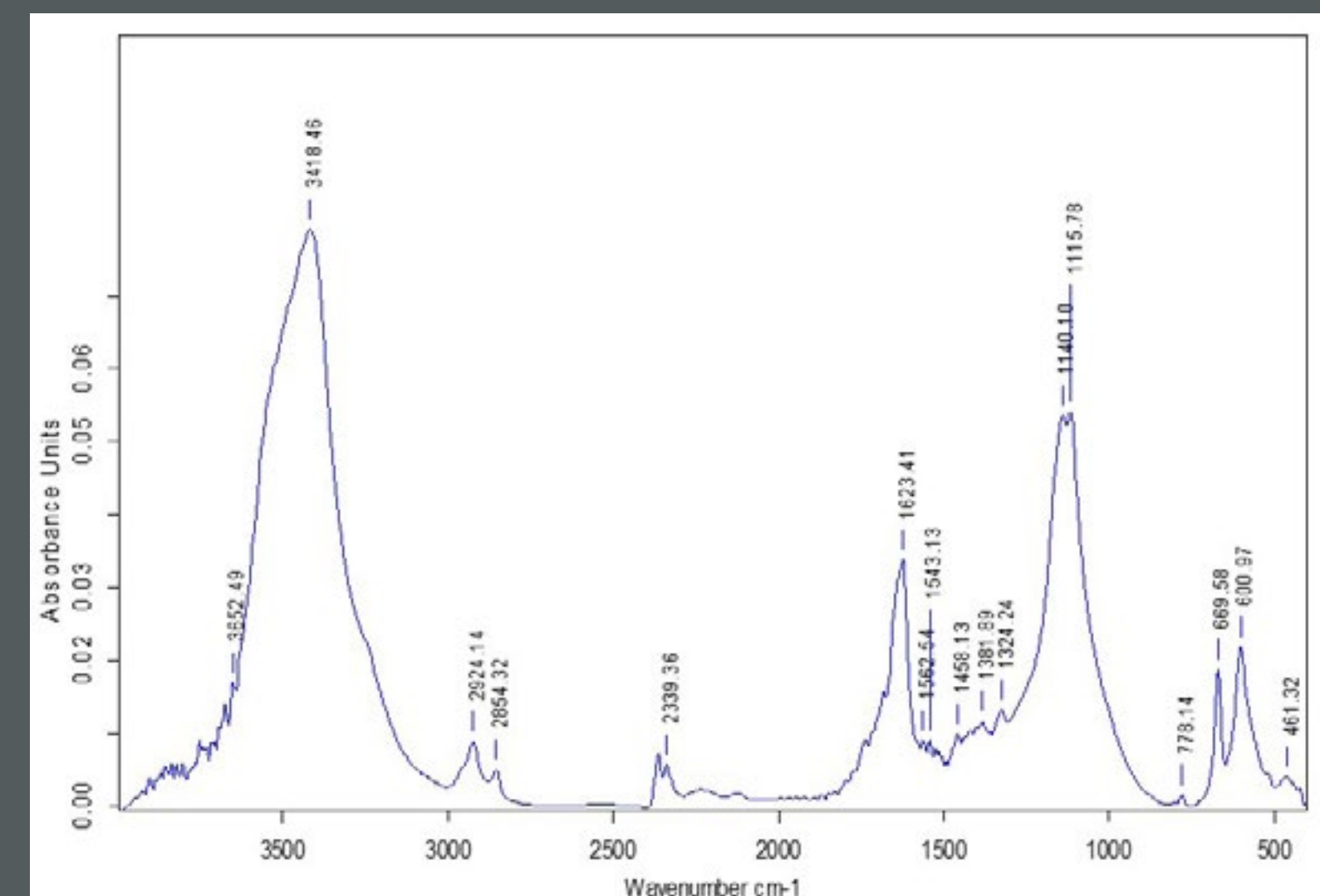
→ Inorganic components: carbonates, sulfates, etc.

→ Organic components: binders, varnishes and adhesives

The results of the chemical analyses confirm the realization of the altarpiece within Castilian artistic practices and the collaboration of several painters, as well as the probable presence of a high-quality master in some specific details, identified in the present study as Michel Sittow.



Bench with attenuated reflectance device (left) and IR microscope (right).



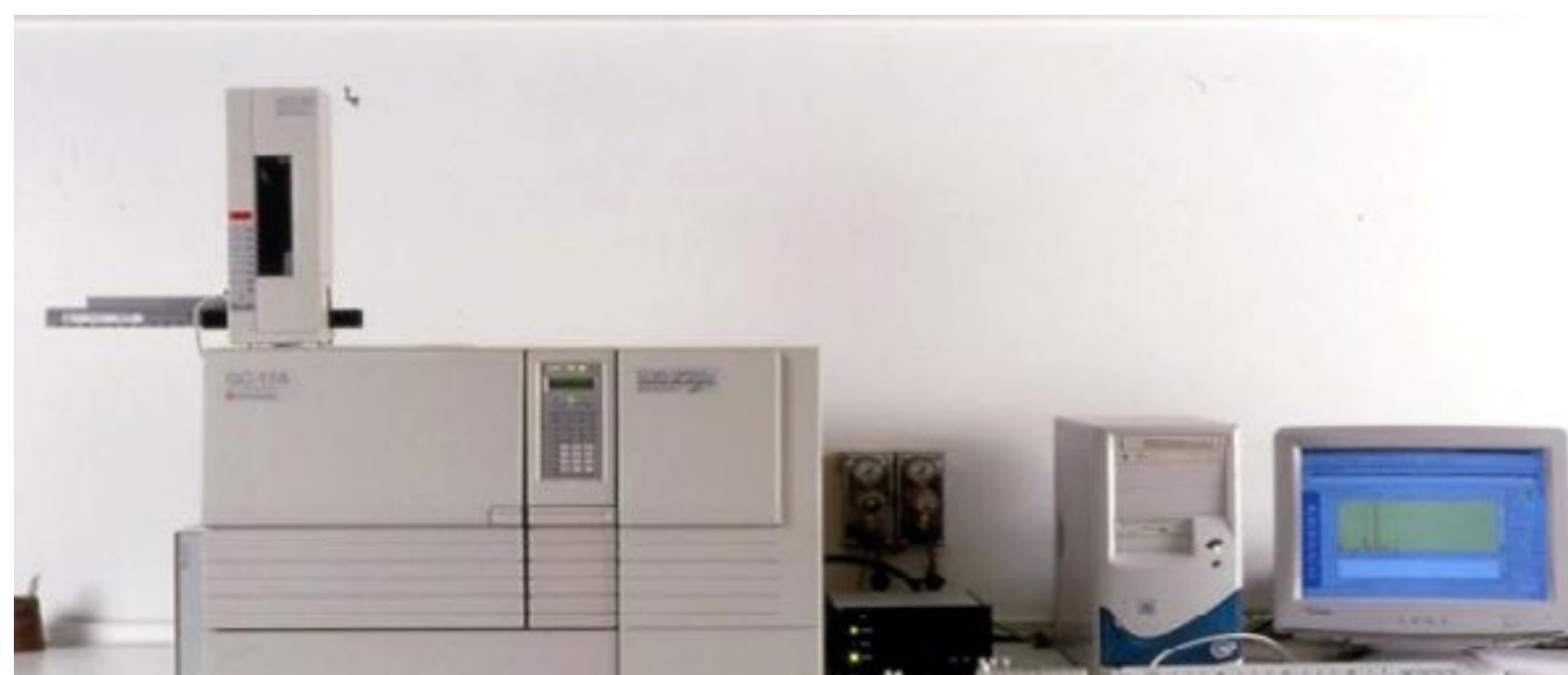
Molecular spectrum FTIR.

# Compositional analysis

The compositional study uses gas chromatography coupled to a mass spectrometer (GC/MS)

→ Identifies:

- Binders
- Varnishes
- Adhesives

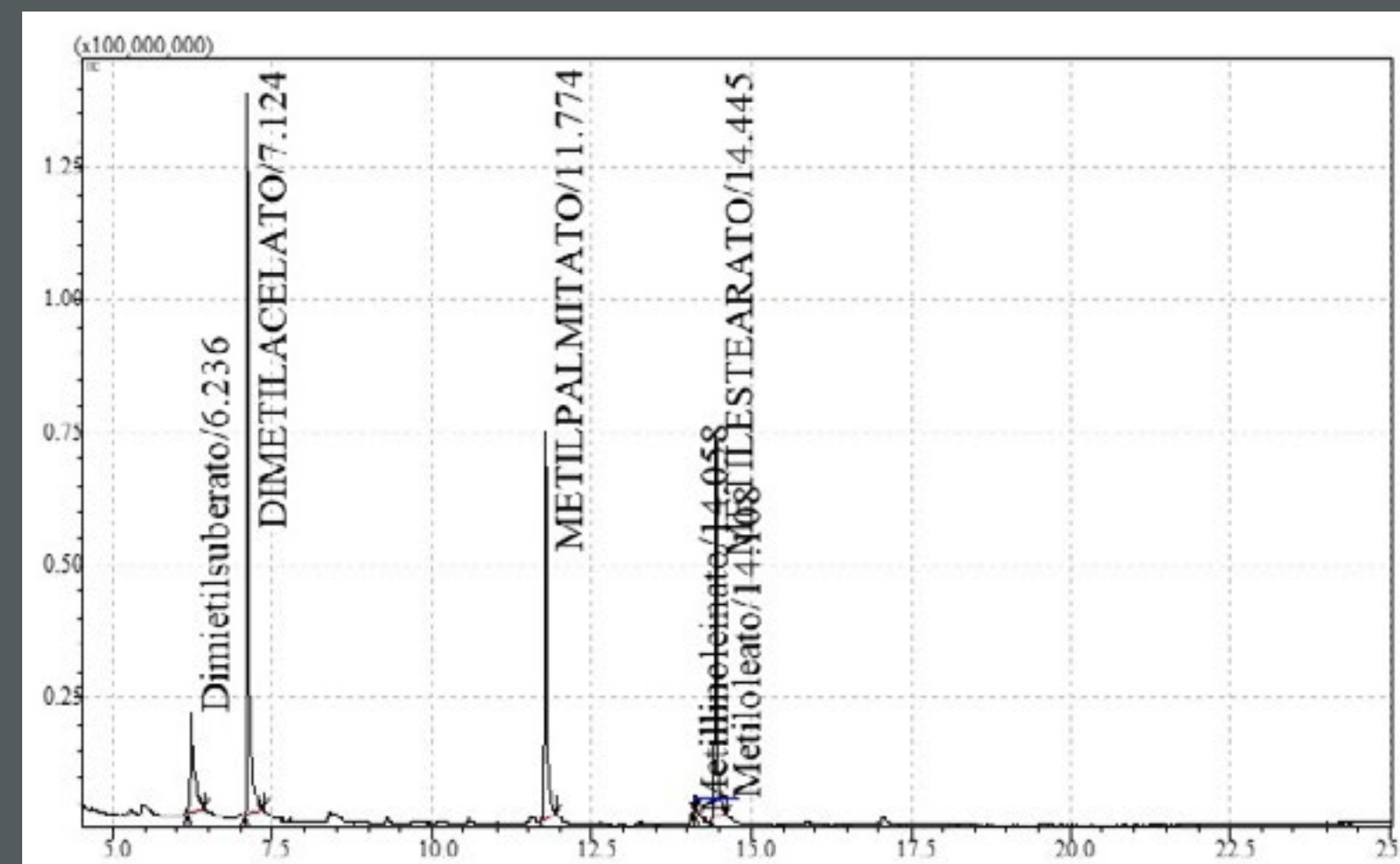


Organic solvent extracts of swabs.

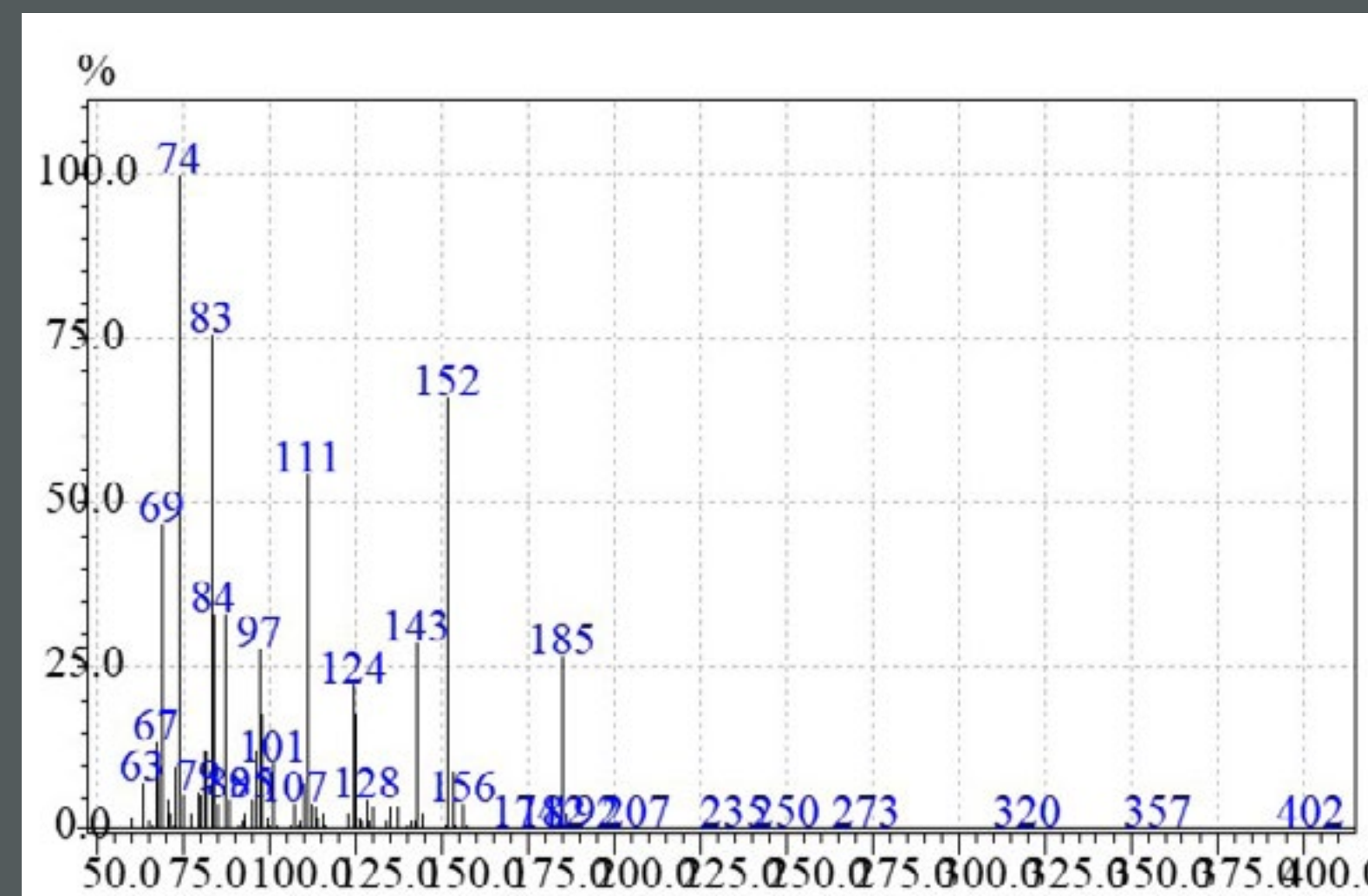


Separate microfragments.

**Sample separation and processing.**  
Examples: pictorial layers and rigging.



GC/MS chromatogram of flax oil.



Mass spectrum of each substance.

**Identification of organic components.**  
(oils, proteins, resins and wax).

# Compositional analysis

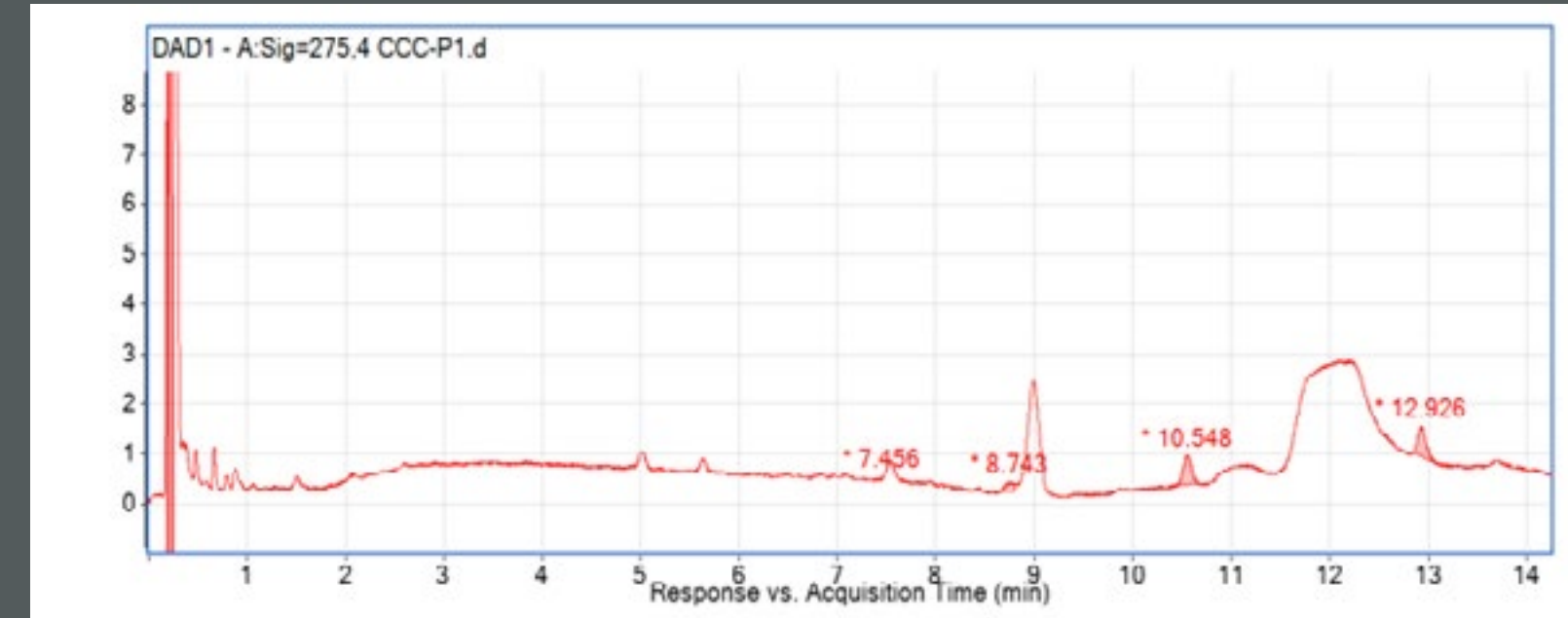
The compositional study also uses liquid chromatography coupled to a diode detector and a mass detector (LC-DAD-QTOF)

→ Identifies:

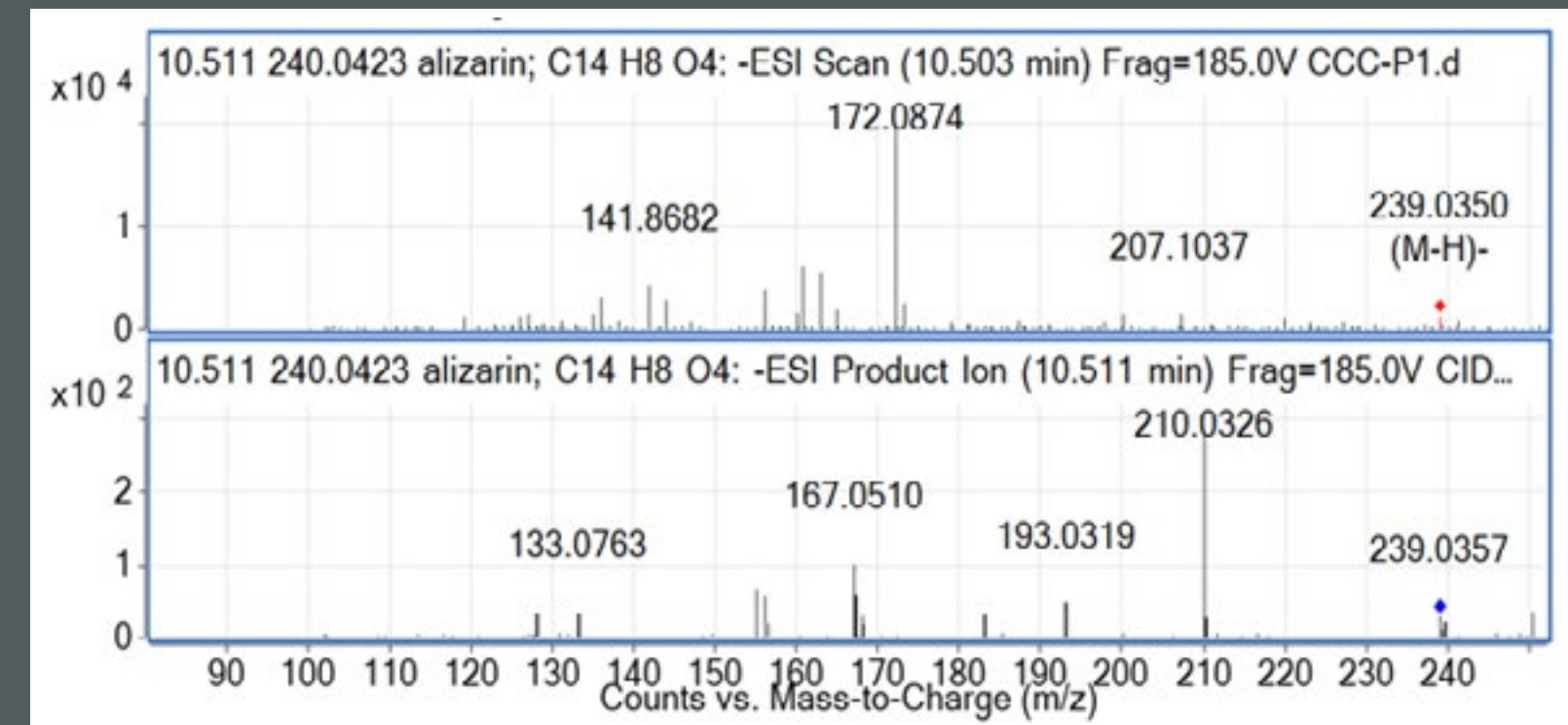
- Colorants
- Proteins



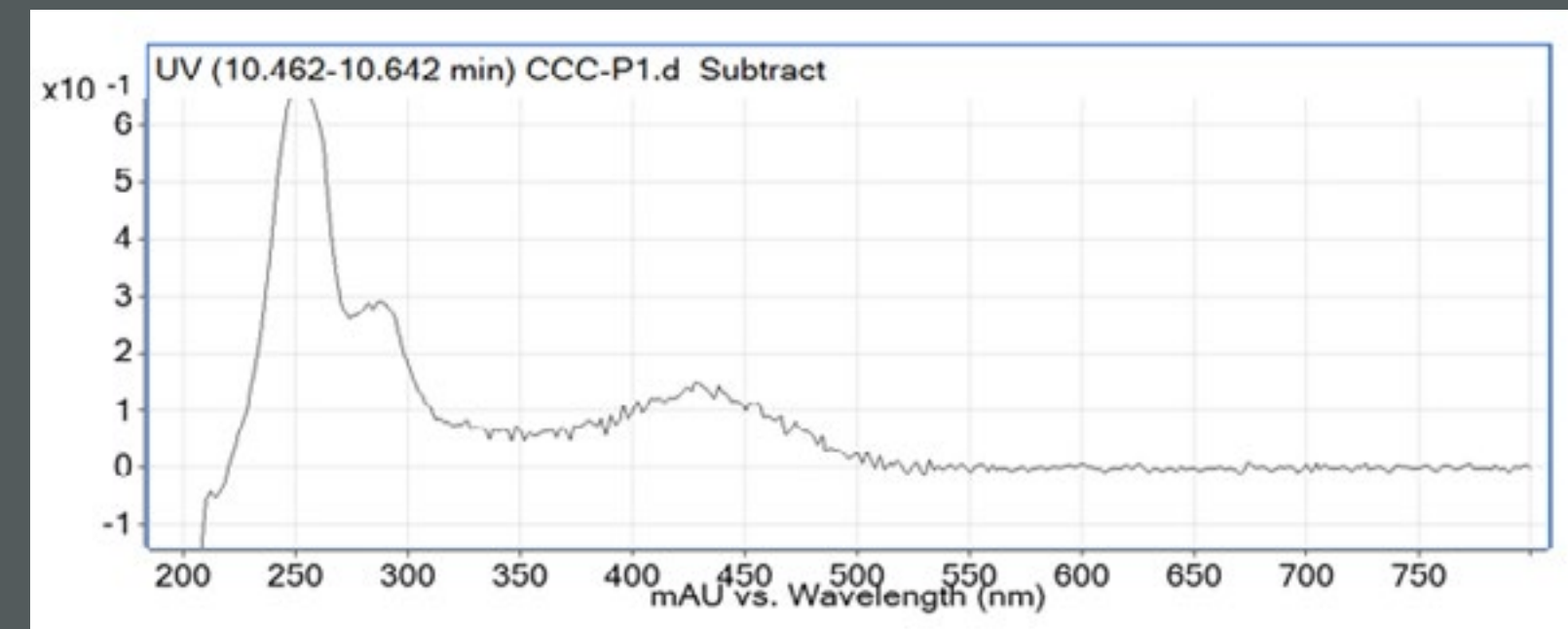
Sample separation and processing.



Chromatogram of the pellet.



Alizarin mass spectrum - mass (MS/MS).



Alizarin ultraviolet - visible spectrum (UV-Vis).

# Vegetation of the panel of Saint John the Evangelist



Through the analysis of the materials, it was possible to verify the masterful use of gold in the panels of the Pietà and the Virgin with the Child, or the fine layers of colour of the vegetation on the ground of the panel of Saint John the Evangelist, amongst other details, which demonstrate the presence of a master of an exceptional technique, who distances himself from the Hispanic artists who collaborate on the ensemble.



Detail of the vegetation on the panel of Saint John the Evangelist.

Morphological analysis

Elementary analysis

Evaluation of chemical analysis

Compositional analysis

Vegetation of the panel of Saint John the Evangelist

↓ The making of the video

Scientific development:

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# The making of the video

How it was made



Morphological analysis

P. 116 Elementary analysis

P. 118 Evaluation of chemical analysis

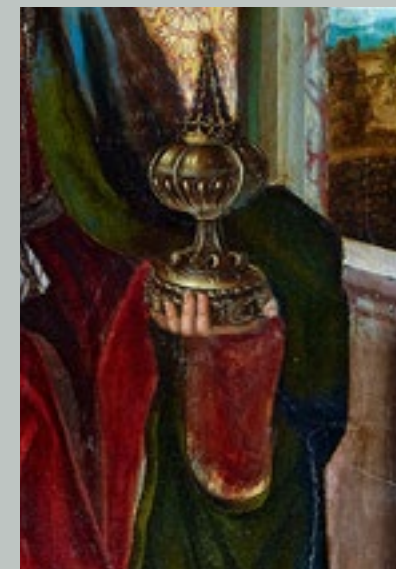
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# Scientific development: concept and images



The drawing by José María Peridis, which reproduces the St. James altarpiece and some caricatures of the members of the project, responds to the **Second Prize award ex aequo in Social Sciences and Humanities**, in the VI call for **Transfer Awards of Technology and Knowledge (2021)** of the Universidad Complutense for the project entitled *Technical Study of the St. James altarpiece in the Toledo Cathedral. Estonian painter Michel Sittow and Castile in 1489.*

The altarpiece is a heritage unicum that must be maintained, preserved and disseminated as a significant element, not only of artistic excellence and cutting-edge competition in late-medieval Castile, but also as an unquestionable example of the paths of connection and reciprocal influences that spread all over Europe at the end of the fifteenth century. These are round-trip paths that still function today.

For all these reasons, we can only conclude by suggesting and supporting its prompt restoration.

