

# BURIED BUT NOT FORGOTTEN: JUAN GUAS' FUNERARY CHAPEL IN SAN JUSTO Y PASTOR, TOLEDO

*Costanza Beltrami*

The Courtauld Institute of Art

Data recepción: 2018/06/24

Data aceptación: 2019/03/30

Contacto autora: [costanza.beltrami@courtauld.ac.uk](mailto:costanza.beltrami@courtauld.ac.uk)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8622-7414>

## RESUMEN

El maestro cantero Juan Guas (activo 1453–1496) es famoso por San Juan de los Reyes, el célebre monasterio toledano concebido como panteón para los Reyes Católicos. Pero Guas fue también uno de los pocos artesanos medievales que pudo financiar su propia capilla funeraria. La capilla recoge la memoria personal del maestro y su inscripción sugiere un canon de obras para la posteridad. Su estilo evoca algunos elementos decorativos típicos de encargos más ostentosos. Sin embargo, la capilla fue también un sitio de olvido ya que, al contrario del panteón real diseñado por Guas, es un espacio modesto y compartido. De hecho, el sitio sigue siendo poco estudiado, contrastando con la fama de Guas conocido como el “starchitect” de los Reyes Católicos. Este artículo sitúa la capilla funeraria de Guas dentro del contexto de su obra y mito. Al evaluar el papel de Guas en este proyecto, el artículo explora la autopromoción de un “simple artesano” a través de un memorial funerario excepcional.

Palabras clave: Juan Guas, capilla funeraria, Toledo, memoria, estatus

## ABSTRACT

The late-gothic master mason Juan Guas (active 1453–1496) is renowned for his design of San Juan de los Reyes, the celebrated Toledan monastery initially conceived as a pantheon for the Catholic Monarchs. Guas was also one of very few medieval craftsmen able to commission his own funerary chapel. The chapel is a memorial to himself, and its inscription points to a canon of works for posterity, while the style formally evokes decorative elements typical of far more ostentatious commissions. Yet it was also a site of oblivion, for unlike the royal pantheon he designed, it is a modest, shared space. Indeed, the chapel has been little studied, in striking contrast to Guas' fame as the Catholic Monarchs' “starchitect.” This article places Guas' funerary chapel within the context of his oeuvre and myth. By evaluating Guas' role in this project, the article explores the self-promotion of a “humble craftsman” through the study of a unique funerary memorial.

Keywords: Juan Guas, funerary chapel, Toledo, memory, status

Juan Guas is widely considered to be one of the most important master masons of late gothic Iberia. José María de Azcárate even labelled him a “genius” for his ability to adapt flamboyant forms to the needs and customs of Castilian patrons.<sup>1</sup>

While buildings associated with the master mason —notably San Juan de los Reyes— never ceased to be appreciated for their architectural splendour, exalted patronage and historical significance, the name of the master who constructed them was



Fig. 1. Casiano Alguacil (1832–1914), “Church of San Justo, Toledo—Chapel of Juan Guas,” 1880–90, albumen silver print from glass negative, Archivo Municipal de Toledo, CA-0388-VI. Source: Archivo Municipal de Toledo

at times forgotten. The German traveller Hieronymus Münzer, who visited San Juan de los Reyes when it was still under construction, recorded the content of his conversations with the building’s *arquitector fabrici* in his travel diary, but not the name of his interlocutor.<sup>2</sup> As a result, Guas’ connection with the building was long buried deep in the archives. It only resurfaced in the scholarly literature in the 1850s, thanks to the rediscovery of an inscription in the Candelaria chapel of the parish church of San Justo y Pastor in Toledo (figs. 1, 15). As recently unveiled by Daniel Ortiz Pradas, the discovery was first published by José María Quadrado in his *Recuerdos y bellezas de España*.<sup>3</sup> Quadrado’s words in that book articulate his excitement during an unexpected encounter:

*As we were recording the chapels of the right nave, less damaged by the [church’s] restoration, our attention was captured by that of the Candelaria, not for its extremely unattractive, if Renaissance, altarpiece, but rather for the figure of a kneeling man, wearing a dress with cloak and dagger; and*



Fig. 2. Coat of arms decorating the entrance of the Candelaria chapel, church of San Justo y Pastor, Toledo. Chapel completed by 1497. Source: Costanza Beltrami

*looking up to the inscription which decorates the frieze, an unexpected discovery suddenly moved our hearts to joy. The architect of San Juan de los Reyes, the unknown creator of that artistic prodigy, Juan Guas, reveals there his name to a posterity which has apparently not stumbled over it, leaving it to sink into oblivion: there is his figure, there is his chapel, there probably his burial, outside of his magnificent work, which he still refrained from signing.<sup>4</sup>*

The inscription on which Quadrado’s attention focused is still readable today:

*This chapel was commissioned by the honoured Juan Guas, master mason of the Holy Church of Toledo and master mason of the works of the King Don Ferdinand and the Queen Lady Isabella, he who made San Juan de los Reyes. This chapel was made by Marina Álvarez, his wife, and was completed in 1497.<sup>5</sup>*

The inscription offered several important details of Juan Guas’ life and works, many of which were still unknown at the time. It is difficult not to share Quadrado’s excitement at the discovery. While a few funerary slabs and monuments survive, fifteenth-century gothic architects did not commonly commission funerary chapels.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the Candelaria chapel’s very existence offers tantalising evidence of Guas’ unparalleled status. However, Quadrado’s passage reveals a prosopographical rather than a sociological interest. At the heart of his excitement was the glimpse of Guas’ personality which the chapel afforded. The name of the mason had already surfaced in the payment accounts of Toledo cathedral and elsewhere, but only now did he obtain a biography, a face, possibly even a long-buried corpse. Quadrado’s discovery was triggered by the chapel’s effigy, identified as the “figure” of the

master in spite of its early modern dress suggestive of high status. Framing the discovery of the chapel as a personal encounter with the master, Quadrado turned Guas into something of a modern "starchitect," an artist confident in the value of his art and in his personal right to be remembered, even as he acknowledged that, like a humble craftsman, Guas had preferred to sign an "obscure chapel" rather than San Juan de los Reyes, his undisputed masterpiece.<sup>7</sup>

Quadrado's misidentification was soon corrected by the writer and critic Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil. Removal of the chapel's unattractive Renaissance altarpiece uncovered the mural painting of four figures dressed in late medieval garb (figs. 5, 12). This was immediately recognised as *the* truthful effigy of Guas and his family.<sup>8</sup> Widely publicised by newspapers and magazines, the discovery turned Guas into a "celebrity," to the point that in 1867 the family magazine *La moda elegante ilustrada* could casually drop Guas' name in a discussion of Mozart's *L'Oca del Cairo*.<sup>9</sup> In even more intellectual circles, plans progressed to include a copy of Guas' portrait in a new "Iconographic Museum" which aimed to collect the likenesses of eminent Spaniards in an imitation of London's National Portrait Gallery.<sup>10</sup>

The identification of the painted figures with Guas' family and of the chapel as a repository of Guas' individuality has since remained relatively unchallenged. Features of the Candelaria chapel, notably the coat of arms decorating its entrance, were combined to define a personality which was inscribed on other projects related to the master mason and which inspired and shaped further art-historical research. For example, in the late nineteenth century Arturo Mélida y Alinari, the architect who led a wide-ranging restoration of San Juan de los Reyes, reproduced the coat of arms in the stonework of one of the convent's windows and proposed to decorate the convent's cloister with reproductions of the family portrait.<sup>11</sup> More recently, in 1950 José María de Azcárate used the fields of the coat of arms as a point of departure to propose a new theory on the master mason's geographical origins.<sup>12</sup> Yet, as the myth of Guas was being celebrated, it was simultaneously being deconstructed through the publication of documents —notably, Guas' will,

the Candelaria chapel's foundation charter and several payments relative to the construction of San Juan de los Reyes—which reveal the names of Guas' many close collaborators, the strong influence of patrons and the numerous hands involved in the complex bureaucracy of building, elements which differentiate the profile of this fifteenth-century master mason from that of a modern "artist-as-intellectual."<sup>13</sup> In the last few years, several publications have contributed to this reassessment.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, publications intended for a wider audience often propagate elements of the nineteenth-century myth of Guas, especially his celebrated portrait and coat of arms.<sup>15</sup>

From the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, scholars interpreted the chapel and its inscription as an expression of Guas' unique personality and individual genius, rather than studying it as an architectural commission in its own right. As a result, Guas is among the best-known fifteenth-century Iberian master masons, while his modest chapel in San Justo y Pastor is almost as "obscure" today as it was in Quadrado's time. Attempting to readdress this balance of celebration and oblivion, this article will offer a new analysis of the chapel, suggesting that it should be considered not as the shrine of a "starchitect" but rather as a collaborative space. Able to fashion his own funerary chapel in the manner of the nobility, Guas clearly had an exceptional status among his contemporaries. Yet, I will argue that the project stretched his economic and social powers, required more than one generation of social and economic success, and relied on professional exchange with other master masons. As a result, Guas' funerary chapel should not be interpreted as a personal celebration, but rather as a testament to the networks of relatives, collaborators and patrons which the migrant master mason skilfully assembled during his lifetime, and to their role in preserving his memory.

### Setting the Scene

Guas' chapel is located in the parish church of San Justo y Pastor, in the highest part of Toledo, not far from the Alcázar. Established after the conquest of the city, San Justo y Pastor is first documented in 1125. The apse, with its



Fig. 3. Vault of the Candelaria chapel, church of San Justo y Pastor, Toledo. Chapel completed by 1497. Source: Costanza Beltrami

brick structure so typical of Toledo, must be the earlier part of the building and may pre-date the large-scale reconstruction patronised by Gonzalo Ruiz de Toledo, lord of Orgaz, in the first half of the fourteenth century, when the richly decorated chapel of Corpus Christi was probably constructed. Three gothic chapels were added to the church's south side in the late fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century: the westernmost is Guas'; the second was probably that created by Pedro de Ribadeneira at the same time; the third was established in 1537 by Luis de Arévalo el Viejo and later passed to the Daza family. Drastic changes were introduced in the appearance of the church in the following century, when Juan Bautista Monegro directed the Classicising refashioning of the nave. A Baroque plaster decoration and other transformations followed in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

Guas' chapel preserved its gothic design through these alterations, yet major repairs to roof and floors and small changes to the decoration of the altar are documented from 1603 to 1606.<sup>17</sup> The tombs or funerary slabs, which probably once decorated the sides or floor of the chapel, may have been removed during these, or later, transformations. An artillery shell in 1936 caused more dramatic damage.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, by this point, the chapel's appearance and contents had been recorded by such early art historians as Ramón Sixto Parro, José and Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos and Rafael Ramírez de Arellano, offering some degree of assurance as to the space's overall design.<sup>19</sup>



Fig. 4. Corbel and vault ribs, south west corner, Candelaria chapel, church of San Justo y Pastor, Toledo. Chapel completed by 1497. Source: Costanza Beltrami

The chapel as it survives today opens onto the nave of the church with a trefoil arch and superimposed blind ogee (figs. 1, 15). The jambs of the arch are decorated with foliage and putti. The coat of arms at the centre of the ogee is quarterly, first and third three crosses patées, second and fourth ermine, with a compass as crest (fig. 2). A coat of arms featuring a different arrangement of the same elements decorates the central boss of the chapel's lierne vault (fig. 3).<sup>20</sup> The chapel's internal walls are decorated with patterned plasterwork, restored in 1991.<sup>21</sup> An early photograph by Casiano Alguacil (fig. 1) confirms that the baptismal font now at the centre of the chapel was only placed in its current location in the twentieth century.

Three niches punctuate the walls of the chapel, but only the central one retains any painted decoration. It features representations of Saints Peter and Paul on the sides of the arch and four



Fig. 5. Sculpture of Christ at the Column and wall painting, Candelaria chapel, church of San Justo y Pastor, Toledo. Chapel completed by 1497. Source: Costanza Beltrami

figures usually identified as Guas and his family at the centre (fig. 5). Two adults and two children kneel in a fictive space, in front of a richly embroidered cloth which extends far above their heads. Today, they seem to gaze at the wooden statue of Christ at the Column, which stands in front of the mural painting. Recorded elsewhere in the church in the early twentieth century, this sculpture can be dated stylistically to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, in spite of its later polychromy. Moreover, its iconography relates to the chapel's original dedication to Christ at the Column, recorded in fifteenth-century documents, and so it has been suggested that it was always intended to decorate Guas' chapel and even that it was carved by Guas, although these assumptions are unverified.<sup>22</sup> This space has evidently undergone several large-scale transformations since its first construction. In order to recreate a sense of the space as it once existed in Guas' time, we must first interrogate the surviving documents related to the chapel.

### Establishing the Chapel

Most personal documents related to Guas — including those connected to the foundation of the Candelaria chapel — are preserved in a dossier assembled by a descendant, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, to prove his purity of blood for admission to the Order of Alcántara.<sup>23</sup> Gaining admission was not straightforward, as Juan Ruiz was accused of being related to a judaising *converso*, Antón Dientes known as de Toledo, who lived in the late fifteenth century and allegedly married

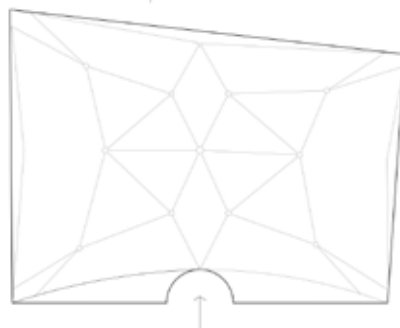


Fig. 6. Plan of the Candelaria chapel, church of San Justo y Pastor. Source: Ludovica Beltrami

Guas' sister, Ana.<sup>24</sup> Striving to disprove any direct blood relation, Juan Ruiz assembled a number of personal documents about Guas and his close relatives, starting with Guas' own will, drawn up during an illness on 11 October 1490.

Guas' will is the earliest known document relating to the commission of the Candelaria chapel. In this document, the master mason asked to be buried in the chapel dedicated to Christ at the Column, which he left "already begun in the said parish church of San Justo."<sup>25</sup> He also requested that construction proceed "according to the manner of the design which I leave for it," and exhorted his testamentary executors to complete the space as quickly as possible.<sup>26</sup> While this suggests that planning and design for the chapel had already begun, at that point the space must have been little more than a dream. Indeed, Guas and San Justo's parishioners only signed the chapel's foundation contract on 20 April 1495, approximately one year before Guas' death, and construction was not complete until 1497, as confirmed by the inscription decorating the chapel's walls.

The foundation contract drawn up in 1495 between Guas and the parish representatives offers some information on the design and location of the chapel. It specifies that it should be situated off the south nave of the church, near an altar dedicated to Saint Catherine. Opening onto the aisle with "a good door, ten feet wide," the chapel could expand as far back as the nearby houses of one Pedro Sánchez, but without damaging existing graves in the cloister of the church.<sup>27</sup>



Fig. 7. "Ribadeneira" chapel, church of San Justo y Pastor, Toledo. Chapel completed in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Source: Costanza Beltrami



Fig. 8. Decoration of the entrance arch, "Ribadeneira" chapel, church of San Justo y Pastor, Toledo. Chapel completed in the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century. Source: Costanza Beltrami

This prohibition is probably the reason for the irregular plan of the chapel, which is trapezoidal rather than rectangular (fig. 6), a feature that has gone unrecorded in existing plans of the church.<sup>28</sup> As articulated in the foundation document, the new chapel would substitute two tombs that Guas had previously purchased within the nave, close to the main altar.<sup>29</sup> These tombs may have been his parents', but since the foundation documents make no mention of the need to translate bodies to the new chapel, it is more likely that Guas and his wife Marina Álvarez had previously selected a space for their tombstones.

Naturally, moving to a chapel at the west end of the church meant losing proximity to the presbytery. But as agreed in the foundation document, the chapel would have its own altar.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, progressing from a simple tombstone to a chapel, the couple created a space for the self-fashioning not only of their individual personalities, but also their dynasty. Indeed, the document insists on the rights that Guas and his descendants would hold over the space in perpetuity. Supported by an

annual donation of 450 maravedis, the chapel's endowment would eventually survive until the nineteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

### Choosing a Tomb

These conditions listed in the foundation document left Guas with an irregular space, far from the high altar. This was not prime real estate. Guas' decision to seek burial in this church in particular is probably connected to the fact that he was a parishioner. In 1492 Guas owned houses in the vicinity of the church, next door to San Justo's curate.<sup>32</sup> Burial in the cemetery of one's parish church was standard practice, as enshrined in Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas* in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>33</sup> However, the wills of Guas and his family members do not reveal a particular attachment to this parish church.<sup>34</sup> For example, Guas did not donate any of his possessions to San Justo, and the wording of his will reveals no special attention to it.<sup>35</sup> We can contrast Guas' circumstances to those of other late medieval archi-



Fig. 9. Decoration of a nave pillar, convent of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo. Begun 1477, east end completed by 1495. Source: Costanza Beltrami



Fig. 10. Vault of the "Ribadeneira" chapel, church of San Justo y Pastor, Toledo. Chapel completed in the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century. Source: Costanza Beltrami

pects, notably Martín Périz de Estella and Juan de Álava. Martín Périz was master-of-works to King Carlos III of Navarre at the turn of the fifteenth century. He commissioned a funerary chapel in San Miguel of Estella, church of the parish where he had lived for his whole life, to which he also donated two painted altarpieces and much of the silverware, books, money and clothes which he owned.<sup>36</sup> Later in 1537, Juan de Álava established a burial chapel in the church of Santa María de los Caballeros in Salamanca, located precisely "where my wife Elena Sánchez usually sits to listen to the mass."<sup>37</sup> Guas led a relatively peripatetic life, spending long periods in Toledo, Ávila and Segovia as well as at the itinerant royal court.<sup>38</sup> Although he probably became a parishioner of San Justo once he settled in Toledo towards the end of his life, he also owned houses elsewhere in the city.<sup>39</sup> In fact, the only place with which Guas and his family seem to have had a long-standing connection is Mazarambroz, a village in the municipality of Toledo where Guas already owned land at the time of his wedding in 1459,

and where his descendants resided as *hidalgos* until the seventeenth century.<sup>40</sup>

While the *Siete Partidas* regarded burial in the cemetery of one's parish church as standard, it also enshrined the freedom to be buried within a church of choice: "but if anyone would like to choose burial in another cemetery as well as in the cathedral or in a monastery or in that church where one's lineage is buried or in any other cemetery he can do it."<sup>41</sup> Thus, burial in San Justo may have been a choice rather than an obligation for Guas. Indeed, the majority of surviving or recorded sepulchers of master masons are located in churches with which they had strong professional ties.<sup>42</sup> This seems to have been standard practice in the cathedrals of Strasbourg, York and Seville, among others. In the latter building, funerary slabs commemorated both a master mason like Juan Norman (active at the cathedral between 1439 and 1454) and unnamed early-modern workers.<sup>43</sup> Sometimes these burials incorporated personalised design elements: Juan de Candamo, master mason of Oviedo cathe-

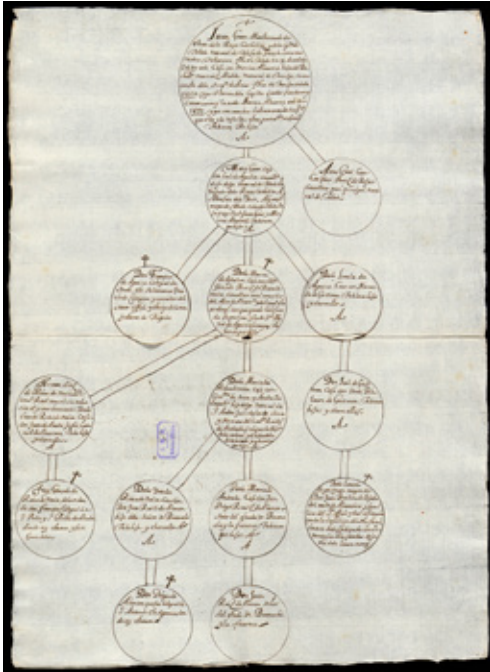


Fig. 11. Family tree of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón. Source: "Papeles y árboles de Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (6 septiembre 1622)," Archivo Histórico Nacional, Ordenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334

dral between 1459 and 1488, was buried in the cathedral's transept with his wife, under a tomb slab decorated with their coat of arms, probably close to the altarpiece of the Lamentation which is thought to have been commissioned by Candamo himself and to portray the couple as donors.<sup>44</sup>

Guas' choice not to be buried in Toledo cathedral may therefore be considered somewhat unusual, since his relationship to the building was long standing. As is well known, he is first documented as an apprentice working on the Puerta de los Leones in 1453. In spite of his many travels to direct works in Ávila, Segovia and elsewhere, Guas had returned to the city by 1490, working as the cathedral's master mason, a position which he maintained until his death in 1496.<sup>45</sup> Toledo cathedral was already the burial site of at least one other master mason, *magister operis* Petrus Petri who had died in 1291 and whose epitaph was recorded in the chapel of Santa Marina in the sixteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Describing Petrus Petri as both "he who erected this church" and "he...

who built this so admirably," the epitaph points to the master's crucial role in progressing the construction of Toledo cathedral's gothic building. Working on the cathedral two centuries later, Guas had a more limited impact in shaping the construction, being associated mostly with renovations and with sculptural decoration, for example in the *trascoro*.<sup>47</sup>

While Guas may not have had a hand in shaping the building to the same degree as his predecessors, burial in the cathedral's grounds was not beyond his grasp. In 1472 the cathedral chapter decided that burial spaces in the cloister would range in price from 1000 to 2000 maravedís depending on location.<sup>48</sup> In the same year, skilled stone-carvers in the cathedral's employment earned 27 maravedís a day, amounting to approximately 7398 maravedís per year.<sup>49</sup> Cloister burials were affordable, if a major investment, for successful contemporary craftsmen. The *rejero* Juan Francés notably planned for his burial in the cathedral cloister in 1518.<sup>50</sup> What we can glean of Guas' personal finances suggests that he may have been able to afford such a burial, since as early as 1459 his personal possessions were estimated to 50000 maravedís in his marriage contract with Marina Álvarez.<sup>51</sup> As the master's career progressed, his income skyrocketed. In 1495, one year before his death, he earned 50000 maravedís annually as master mason at San Juan de los Reyes, a position which was far from being his only source of income.<sup>52</sup> In the same year the salary of Mendo de Jaén, the *mayordomo de las obras* (clerk of works), amounted to just 30000 maravedís.<sup>53</sup> While Mendo's precise role at San Juan de los Reyes is difficult to determine, such a notable difference in salary suggests that Guas' professional success could challenge traditional hierarchies between royal administrators and craftsmen.<sup>54</sup>

By the time Guas commissioned his funerary chapel, his striking upward mobility had enabled favourable matrimonial alliances between his daughters Mari and Ana Guas, and Luis de Aguirre and Garci Pérez de Rojas. The latter were involved in royal bureaucracy as *alguacil mayor* and *jurado* of Toledo, and they served the royal household as *apostentador* and *contino*.<sup>55</sup> In January 1495, four months prior to Guas' decision





© 2019 Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic - im. 05557033 (foto Mas C-79832 / 1934)

Fig. 12. The wall painting in the Candelaria chapel, church of San Justo y Pastor, Toledo, in 1934. Source: © 2019 Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic - im. 05557033 (foto Mas C-79832 / 1934)

to establish the Candelaria chapel, Luis de Rojas even represented the Catholic Monarchs as ambassador to Queen Catherine of Navarre and Jean d'Albret.<sup>56</sup> San Justo y Pastor did not have the religious clout of Toledo cathedral, and the location of the Candelaria chapel was further removed from the altar than the funerary slabs initially owned by the Guas family. Yet the construction and decoration of a family chapel required and revealed much superior economic resources. Indeed, it corresponded to a future investment, as it required a multi-generational commitment to maintain the space, for which in 1495 Guas pledged an annual payment of 450 maravedís in perpetuity.<sup>57</sup> To some extent, Guas' foundation articulates the practices of higher social classes.<sup>58</sup> By commissioning a funerary chapel in a parish church rather than purchasing a funerary slab in the cathedral cloister, Guas was perhaps simply establishing as grand a funerary monument as his economic resources and status could afford.

However, conspicuous consumption was not the only possible choice. To mention a later but significant example, in his will of 1577 Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón, master mason of Segovia cathedral, requested his burial in the cathedral cloister, although he had also agreed to erect and endow a chapel in the church of San Andrés in his native village of Rasines.<sup>59</sup> Strategies for self-promotion thus coexisted with other religious, political and professional allegiances.

Guas' social promotion had essentially been facilitated by his proximity to the Catholic Monarchs as royal master mason, a position which he held by 1480, and one exemplified by his role in designing and directing the construction of San Juan de los Reyes. The convent, and especially its church, initially conceived as pantheon for the Catholic Monarchs, occupied Guas in the latter part of his career.<sup>60</sup> It is the only building other than Toledo cathedral to be mentioned in



Fig. 13. Portrait of Juana Pimentel with Saint Anthony of Padua and Saint Thomas Becket. Altarpiece of Saint James, Luna Chapel, Toledo cathedral. Commissioned in December 1488 from Sancho de Zamora and Juan de Segovia. Source: Archivo Moreno, Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España / Fototeca — Signatura: MORENO-03590\_C, CC BY 4.0.

the Candelaria chapel's inscription. Guas' long-standing connection to the building extended from the professional to the personal and from the individual to the familial. In 1489, about nine years after the first documentary mention of the master's involvement with the construction project, Caterina Álvarez, wife of Guas' nephew Fernando de Toledo, provided for thirty masses to be celebrated at this convent for her soul.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, Guas commissioned masses to be said at the convent on the day of his death.<sup>62</sup>

Unlike cathedrals and parish churches, the space of San Juan de los Reyes seems to have been completely reserved for the celebration of Ferdinand and Isabella's political and military successes. High-ranking, trusted royal officials were buried in the convent, notably Pedro de Ayala, a bishop and royal ambassador to Scotland and England whose tomb still survives in the conventual church, and Hernán Núñez Arnalte —treasurer to Isabella as princess and then to the Catholic Monarchs— whose corpse was deposited in San Juan de los Reyes between his death in 1480 and its translation to Santo Tomás in Ávila in 1500.<sup>63</sup> In spite of the temporary or permanent burials of such royal officials, the convent's decoration is essentially based on the countless repetition of royal coats of arms and other royal insignia. A probably apocryphal but highly significant anecdote related in the *Libro Becerro* of the Charterhouse



Fig. 14. Portal, church of the Assumption, Colmenar Viejo, early sixteenth century. Source: Cruccione on Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 3.0 es

of Miraflores, another royal pantheon connected to the Trastámara dynasty and Queen Isabella, reveals how such heraldry was actively policed. It recounts how during a visit to the monastery, Isabella smashed a pane of glass decorated with the coat of arms of Martín de Soria, a merchant who had been commissioned to source Flemish stained glass for the building. Only the royal heraldry of her parents and brother was allowed at the site dedicated to their burial and funerary memory.<sup>64</sup> Guas enjoyed economic resources that far exceeded those of a "humble craftsman." Yet he was perhaps too far removed from the Monarchs' inner circles to obtain a burial space in the convent that would play such an important role in defining his posthumous fame, resorting instead to expressing a link to this sumptuous royal commission in the inscription decorating the walls of the Candelaria chapel.

Professional allegiances with San Justo may have also informed Guas' choice of a burial place. His connection to San Justo may have been professional rather than personal. The founda-

tion contract describes him simply as the "master mason of stonework."<sup>65</sup> Moreover, it establishes that the new construction was to border "the chapel that similarly will be constructed by Pedro de Ribadeneira [...] which has to be constructed close to the altar of Sant Andrés" (fig. 7).<sup>66</sup> Several details of this latter space are closely comparable to Guas' production, suggesting its design may also be attributed to this master. For example, the sculptural decoration of the entrance arch (fig. 8) is analogous to that of Guas' own chapel and also to the crossing of San Juan de los Reyes (fig. 9). Instead, the profile of the chapel's doorway is reminiscent of such designs as the cloister windows in the Patio de Órdenes of the former convent of San Francisco in Segovia, probably designed by Guas but constructed after his death; the early sixteenth-century infirmary cloister at the monastery of El Parral; and the church doorway of San Antonio el Real, likely constructed around 1515 by a collaborator of Guas.<sup>67</sup> Likewise, the vault over the chapel (fig. 10) recalls that of a side chapel in the monastery of El Parral, whose east end was contracted in 1472 to Bonifacio, Guas and Pedro Polido.<sup>68</sup>

The Guas and Ribadeneira families also had personal connections. In 1528, Guas' granddaughter, María de Aguirre, married Gonzalo Pérez de Ribadeneira, son of Pedro de Ribadeneira, founder of the chapel.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, Gonzalo de Ribadeneira was the son of Diego Pérez, brother-in-law of Francisco Suárez, owner of the high chapel of the Toledan parish church of San Andrés, known as Epiphany chapel.<sup>70</sup> In 1514, Francisco Suárez attempted to sell the space to Francisco de Rojas, a royal ambassador who wanted to establish a funerary chapel for himself and his family.<sup>71</sup> Diego Pérez initially opposed the sale as ancestors of his in-laws were already buried there.<sup>72</sup> Having persuaded Diego Pérez to sell, Rojas and his brother Alonso de Escobar had the space transformed into a virtual copy of San Juan de los Reyes. The reconstruction was probably directed by Antón and Enrique Egas, sons of Guas' long-time collaborator Egas Coeman, who inherited most of the projects which Guas left unfinished at his death and acted as his heirs in the trade. Conceived as early as 1504 but only executed in the late 1510s, this chapel offers useful comparisons to Guas' own.<sup>73</sup>



Fig. 15. Doorway and interior of the Candelaria chapel, church of San Justo y Pastor, Toledo. Chapel completed by 1497. Source: Costanza Beltrami

José María de Azcárate was the first to recognise that the east end of the parish church of San Andrés is a virtual copy of the church of San Juan de los Reyes.<sup>74</sup> Ongoing research suggests that the chapel's founder Francisco de Rojas, who reconstructed the space as a funerary chapel for himself and his descendants, aimed to give an architectural representation of his personal allegiance to the Catholic Monarchs. This was a connection obtained and substantiated by the important diplomatic roles entrusted by the Monarchs to Francisco de Rojas and by the intense epistolary exchange which they engendered.<sup>75</sup> As a valued ambassador, a knight of Calatrava, the founder of a *mayorazgo* and the descendant of a family of knights of Santiago, Francisco de Rojas' social status was decidedly superior to Guas' and his patronage harnessed much more significant personal and economic resources.<sup>76</sup> However, both made similar design decisions. While Guas' chapel is not directly modelled on San Juan de

los Reyes, like the Epiphany chapel —and indirectly, like the Franciscan convent itself— it contains a lengthy inscription which praises the personal achievements of the chapel's founder and emphasises his relations with the Catholic Monarchs.

Indeed, the inscription in Juan Guas' funerary chapel, Ferdinand and Isabella are evoked twice, both directly, through the description of Guas' position as royal master mason, and indirectly, through the key architectural commission of San Juan de los Reyes. Prioritising Guas' works for the monarchs over other important achievements — for example, his long-standing connections with the cathedral of Segovia, or with such noble families as the Mendoza— the inscription presents Guas' social promotion as essentially dependent on the Monarchs.<sup>77</sup> Such a promotion relied on exceptional personal encounters. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Guas had privileged and direct access to the royal couple. He was able to discuss architectural matters with Queen Isabella both in person and by letter.<sup>78</sup> As mentioned above, the royal connection continued in the following generation with the successful marriages of Guas' daughters.

### Nobility and Self-Promotion

The status obtained by Guas' family through his royal connection is perhaps best exemplified by the coats of arms displayed over the doorway and at the centre of the vault of the master mason's chapel in San Justo y Pastor (figs. 2, 3). Prominent coat of arms are typical of late fifteenth-century architectural projects, both as a means of self-promotion for the nobility and as an instrument of propaganda for the royalty.<sup>79</sup> However, the coat of arms does not lend itself to a straightforward interpretation, especially as its significance seems to have increased over time. No mention is made of it —or of Guas' possible status as *hidalgo*— in his will or in that of his daughter Ana.<sup>80</sup> Even more surprising is the absence of this important sign of identity in a document clarifying the ownership of the chapel, drawn up in 1577 to support a claim to the space made by one of Guas' descendants, Alonso de Aguirre.<sup>81</sup> The main concern of this document is the presence of the inscription in the chapel,

rather than any of its decorative elements. Yet it is striking that none of the interrogated witnesses —both literate and illiterate— recognised either the coat of arms or the chapel's mural painting as signs of the master's connection to the chapel. One even preferred to evoke the memory of a sculpture which had been removed from the chapel forty years earlier rather than these elements, which should have been in plain sight. Indeed, no mention is made of either Guas' noble status or of the coat of arms prior to the dossier assembled by Juan Ruiz de Alarcón to enter the Order of Alcántara in 1622, a document clearly motivated by the desire to demonstrate nobility and purity of blood. Here the coat of arms is considered as proof of Guas' status: "Juan Guas, foreigner in these kingdoms, man noble in his name and arms, as evident from the inscription and coat of arms of his chapel."<sup>82</sup> This point is further underscored by two family trees contained in the dossier, which position Guas at the top of the page, presenting the master as the root of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón's dynasty (fig. 11).

Lack of acknowledgement of the coat of arms in the century following the chapel's creation may imply that this element is not original to the chapel's decoration, but rather was added by a later descendant as the family's social and economical fortune continued to improve. For example, the family trees reveal that one of Guas' grandchildren, don Francisco de Aguirre, became bishop of Cortona, while another, María de Aguirre, married Gonzalo Pérez de Ribadeneira, knight of Alcántara. The ermine featured in the coat of arms over the chapel's entrance may thus be related to that appearing on the arms of various branches of the Guzmán family, into which one of Guas' granddaughters would marry. Nevertheless, it is impossible to match the chapel's coat of arms precisely with any of the descendants mentioned in the family trees, or indeed with any of the lineages surveyed in Alberto and Arturo Carraffa's monumental dictionary of Spanish heraldry.<sup>83</sup> This context seems to confirm the traditional identification of the coat of arms as a sign of Guas' personal success.

Incorporating a compass, a traditional symbol of the master mason's profession, the coat of arms also emphasises that Guas' social promotion

depended on a successful professional trajectory. Working instruments were a recurrent feature on the seals and other non-heraldic emblems of tradespeople and in the heraldry of guilds and trade associations.<sup>84</sup> As an important working tool for the master mason, the compass was often chosen as an effective symbol by stonemasons, for its primary association with architectural drafting and design evoked the master mason's unique and most advanced skill.<sup>85</sup> Earlier in the fifteenth century, the Navarran master mason Martín Périz de Estella employed a seal and a coat of arms featuring a compass. Later in the sixteenth century, the decoration of Juan de Álava's Casa de las Muertes in Salamanca also prominently featured compasses.<sup>86</sup>

In addition to underscoring Guas' connections to his craft, the heraldic decoration in Guas' funerary chapel echoed the customs of the royalty and nobility. In his heraldic treatise *Blasón y recogimiento de armas*, the herald of Aragón Garci Alonso de Torres condemned new nobles who appropriated the arms of homonymous but unrelated noble families, or else invented new whimsical designs.<sup>87</sup> His criticism seems to have been encouraged by a well-established practice. For example, without corresponding precisely to any known design, Martín Périz's coat of arms incorporates elements of the heraldry of a prominent Navarran family, the Eulate, to which he may have claimed an alliance, although there is no evidence of direct descent.<sup>88</sup> A similar case is that of Juan de Álava, whose father had sought and obtained legal confirmation of *hidalgo* status. Perhaps because his status could not be challenged, Álava's coat of arms reproduced precisely that of the Anunçibay, the noble line to which his family, the Ybarra, could demonstrate a connection.<sup>89</sup>

Garci Alonso de Torres recognised that in his time, "arms are bestowed at will rather than by right, as when the king, our lord, makes someone a knight, as he does on many occasions."<sup>90</sup> Nevertheless, some royal decisions prompted his open hostility, as in the case of the royal master carpenter Jerónimo de Palacios, ennobled by Ferdinand and Isabella following his conversion to Christianity. Torres included the master's newly created coat of arms in his treatise "against [my]

will," "just because he is the first [knight in his family]."<sup>91</sup>

In contrast, no record survives that suggests the presence of a coat of arms in Guas' chapel generated a hostile response. In fact, Guas may not have been the first in his family to claim a place among the lower nobility. The master mason's will records the name of his mother as "Brigida *madama* Tastes," and in medieval French the term "madame" means woman of noble birth, specifically.<sup>92</sup> Indeed, a noble de La Taste family is recorded in Guyenne in the mid-fourteenth century, and had branched out to Laon and other French cities by the sixteenth century.<sup>93</sup> This partial claim to nobility may have contributed to Guas' social promotion, making it more readily acceptable. While the coats of arms in the Candelaria chapel do not appear to be modelled on the heraldry of known branches of the de La Taste family, such a connection suggests that his arms not only refer to personal identity and success, but also relate to a distant lineage.<sup>94</sup>

While a dearth of genealogical information regarding Guas makes it impossible to establish with certainty whether his nobility was completely self-fashioned, or at least partly inherited, such exploration reveals that factors as diverse as professional identity, ancestry and the regulatory activity of heralds may have played a role in shaping the Candelaria chapel's coat of arms. As a result, using the fields of the coat of arms to elucidate Guas' life story may be a process more fraught with difficulty than initially apparent. The presence of ermine in the escutcheon has been used to argue for the master mason's Breton origin, as it has been interpreted as deriving from the coat of arms of the Duchy of Brittany.<sup>95</sup> A similar association was part of the family lore of the Guzmán family, also thought to have distant Breton origins on the basis of the presence of ermine in their arms, among other things. Yet at the turn of the seventeenth century historian Prudencio de Sandoval rated this line of argument as rather weak, concluding: "it is not because one displays three fleurs-de-lis, that he is related to the kings of France."<sup>96</sup>

### A Face-to-Face Encounter?

The positioning of Guas as the root of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón's lineage in the family trees (fig. 11) is aligned with the master mason's decision to establish a funerary chapel. While Guas may have obtained his burial rights in one of the more important religious constructions he designed, it is unlikely that he would have been able to sustain such an ambitious project as a funerary chapel in a major monastery or cathedral, a project which would have required not only money but also higher status. His choice of San Justo as burial place was therefore tied to the dimensions and quality of the space which he could secure in this slightly more modest religious building. The possibility of establishing an enduring chapel, treasured by generations to come, was perhaps foremost in Guas' mind when signing the contract for the foundation of the chapel, which states: "you, the said Juan Guas, will be able to give and donate, exchange, alter, transfer and do in it [the chapel] and with it everything that you and your heirs and successors after you, will want."<sup>97</sup> Like Francisco de Rojas at San Andrés, Guas aimed to create a space which would both celebrate his personal achievements and unite the members of his family for generations. At San Andrés, various generations decorated the walls of the Epiphany chapel with coat of arms representing family branches and matrimonial alliances. Similarly, Guas' heirs used their prerogatives to modify the space of the Candelaria chapel, for instance by removing a sculpture of the master and by commissioning the mural painting that decorates the chapel's central niche.

The presence of a sculpture in the Candelaria chapel is noted only once, in the above-mentioned court case of 1577. The embroiderer Baltasar de Erbas reported that "he had heard [...] more than forty years ago [...] that the said chapel had been built by Juan Guas, master mason of works, and it was said that his was a sculpture then removed from the said chapel."<sup>98</sup> Other than this distant memory, no mention of the sculpture is made in Guas's will or in the contract establishing the Candelaria chapel. As a result, it is impossible to say whether Baltasar de Erbas' words refer to a reclining or kneeling effigy, to a centralised tomb or rather to an arcosolium, an arrangement

which may have left a trace in the niches still visible in the chapel's side walls.

In the sculpture's absence, modern studies from Cruzada Villaamil onwards have focused on the mural painting as a record of Guas' appearance (fig. 5). As revealed by a 1934 photograph (fig. 12), interest in the mural entailed significant repainting not only from the 1930s to the present, but also in earlier years, as is evident from the contrast in definition between the alleged portrait of Guas at the left of the painting and that of his wife on the right. The painting's iconography makes a claim to the status of the couple. The golden brocade which adorns the background of the scene resembles such scenes as the donor portraits in the Luna retable of Toledo cathedral (fig. 13). Although frequently portrayed in paintings and other artworks, the brocade was subject to sumptuary regulations, with foreign trade prohibited by the Catholic Monarchs in 1494 and possession by craftsmen and other manual workers explicitly forbidden in 1523.<sup>99</sup> Similarly, the figures' dress suggests a relatively high social position. The pair of gloves worn by the figure traditionally identified as Guas recalls the famous criticism from thirteenth-century Dominican preacher Nicholas de Biard, who accused the "lofty" master mason of ordering his workers about while holding his measuring rod and gloves without actually doing any work himself.<sup>100</sup> Overall, the clothing worn by this male figure does not resemble that of craftsmen and builders, but rather judges and scholars, typically draped in long, sleeveless mantles. It can be compared to the gloved effigy of Pedro de Adella, "oficial y criado" of the Catholic Monarchs, in the church of San Justo y Pastor in Segovia (c. 1500), and the unknown donor surrounded by his books in the chapel of the Cristo del Buen Consejo in the church of Nuestra Señora in Ágreda, Soria (late fifteenth century).<sup>101</sup>

While mirroring the countenance of such royal bureaucrats as Adella may have supported Guas' social ascent, there is, in fact, no evidence that the person depicted is actually Guas himself. Generally speaking, several studies have shown that the medieval understanding of likeness and portraiture differed from the modern, complicating the equation of portrait, appearance and identity,

which has animated discussion of the Candelaria chapel since the nineteenth century.<sup>102</sup> More specifically, all evidence suggests that Guas had two daughters and no male children, although a nephew called Antonio de Toledo received a special mention and various donations in the master's will.<sup>103</sup> Additionally, Guas' daughters were married women by the time he made his will, several years before the completion of the chapel.<sup>104</sup> On the basis of a study of Guas' genealogy and of the style of the painting, Chandler Rathfon Post suggested an alternative identification of the painted figures as Guas' daughter Mari, her husband Luis de Aguirre and their children, and proposed an attribution to Antonio de Comontes (d. 1565).<sup>105</sup> While lack of documentation and extensive repainting to the mural make a precise identification impossible, Baltasar de Erbas' witness to a sculpture, rather than a painting, of Guas in the chapel can be seen as further proof that the mural must represent the master's sixteenth-century descendants. Long considered the key to Guas' identity and the repository of his true effigy, the painting actually points to the shared nature of the Candelaria chapel and to the collective efforts which underpinned its creation.

### Design and Collaboration

The chapel's construction is clearly presented as a collective endeavour in the inscription wrapping around its interior, which records that actually, "this chapel was made by Marina Álvarez his [Guas'] wife and completed in 1497." Hardly any information survives on this woman, who married Guas in 1459. In the marriage contract, her father is described as a laureate (*bachiller*) from the village of Torrijos in the environs of Toledo.<sup>106</sup> Marina Alvarez may thus have played an important role in enabling Guas to settle and start his own dynasty in Toledo. Although the couple's marriage contract specifies that the master was already a citizen (*vecino*) of Toledo, marrying a local was essential to making that right of citizenship stable and transmissible to Guas' descendants, even if, as the son of two foreigners, Guas would not have automatically enjoyed that right.<sup>107</sup> Women are rarely, if ever, recorded as specialised workers in Iberian late-medieval construction accounts.<sup>108</sup> However, they must often have played support-

ing roles in both building and business administration, especially as widows.<sup>109</sup> Since Guas' daughters married court officials rather than craftsmen, he did not have any sons or sons-in-law who could inherit his trade, making his wife's involvement in the industry after his death all the more likely, especially as the master's will named her as executor and heir.<sup>110</sup> In this respect, she ensured the practical realisation of the project drawings which Guas had designed for the chapel and whose existence is recorded in his will.<sup>111</sup> Yet the chapel's inscription also presents Marina Álvarez as the chapel's patron, a juridical institution which would have enabled her to shape the chapel's appearance and liturgies.<sup>112</sup> While the absence of any documentation prevents further analysis of this aspect of the chapel's creation, Marina's role in giving form to her family's funerary memory could be distantly related to that of such female contemporaries as María de Luna, Mencía de Mendoza and even Queen Isabella herself.<sup>113</sup>

Marina Álvarez was not the only woman to play a major role in Guas' self-promotion. Indeed, not the man but the woman occupies the dexter side in the chapel's mural painting (figs. 5, 12). Institutionally, the funerary chapel was the result of a multi-generational effort. While Guas secured rights to the space and set out how it was to be supported economically, funds established by the master mason to perpetuate the chaplaincy were donated by his daughter Ana in 1525.<sup>114</sup> As time passed, additional family members were called upon to preserve the chapel. Doubts regarding the founder and owner of the chapel surfaced as early as 1577, when a descendant, Alonso de Aguirre, had to demonstrate his right to the space through a certified copy of the chapel's inscription and witness statements.<sup>115</sup> Alonso de Aguirre was successful, and the chapel remained in the hands of the family until the nineteenth century, although the chaplaincy connected to it became known by the name of another relative, Fernando de Aguirre.

Beyond bureaucracy, the funerary chapel represented a collaborative effort in its construction. While I have noted similarities between the chapel's entrance arch and that of the nearby Ribadeneira chapel, the overall design of its door

is actually most closely comparable to one of the doorways of the church of the Assumption in Colmenar Viejo (fig. 14), whose authorship is undocumented and which was probably constructed at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>116</sup> Stylistically, this door is clearly connected to Guas' legacy and to the small network of highly-skilled master masons which he consolidated during the 1470s, and to whom he later entrusted the realisation of the many different projects he both designed and supervised at once.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, when the Candelaria chapel was begun in the 1490s, Guas may have been too busy to work on it personally. For instance, in 1493, he appeared at the worksite of Toledo cathedral almost every day, in addition to managing the *destajo* of San Juan de los Reyes' church and cloister, and serving as master mason at the Castle of Alba de Tormes.<sup>118</sup> Indeed, some of the chapel's decorative elements suggest that other masters may have collaborated in the chapel's design or modified it after Guas' death. These include the plasterwork which decorates the walls of the chapel and the vault over it. Both have been significantly restored and even partially reconstructed, so their modern appearance should be treated with caution. However, the geometrical design of the plasterwork is very closely comparable to that executed around 1508 in the cloister of the Toledan convent of Santo Domingo el Real, suggesting that it may have been introduced in the Candelaria chapel a few years after its completion.<sup>119</sup>

The vault is even more significant in this respect. Its most fascinating and daring aspects are the ribs which cross each other as they descend and then separate again, eventually coming to rest at the very edge of the corbel which sustains them (fig. 4). Guas experimented with intersecting ribs in the cloister of Segovia cathedral and at the monastery of El Paular, and the parallels between the Candelaria chapel and El Paular are evident in the design of the corbels. But the daring separation of ribs in the Candelaria chapel has no precedent in Guas' own work. Rather, as already suggested by Javier Gómez Martínez, the closest Castilian examples are the Capilla de los Condestables in Burgos cathedral, completed around 1494 by Simón de Colonia and the *capilla mayor* of the Hospital of San Sebastián in Córdoba, constructed in the 1510s and also attributed

to this master.<sup>120</sup> Moreover, the overall design of the Candelaria chapel's vault is similar to the side aisles of Astorga cathedral, also connected to Simon de Colonia in the early sixteenth century.<sup>121</sup> Some degree of exchange between Guas and Simón de Colonia is certain. The latter artist was called to San Juan de los Reyes as an advisor in 1494 and returned there after Guas' death.<sup>122</sup> As mentioned above, by his death in 1496 Guas had an extensive network of collaborators. Rather than ascribing the practical construction of the vault in the Candelaria chapel to Simón de Colonia or any particular master, it is more useful to consider how the possibility of Colonia's involvement may alter our understanding of the space. In spite of its apparent architectural simplicity, the chapel's design may well draw on the exchange of ideas between the two leading masters of the late fifteenth century.

### Conclusion

Ultimately, Guas' chapel must be examined as a funerary construction in its own right, rather than as a repository of the master's "genius." Since the nineteenth century, the space has been regarded as the site of Guas' "real" identity, used to substantiate wider claims of the importance of his alleged architectural innovations and of the nation-building role of the commissions entrusted to him. A reconsideration of the chapel's architectural elements, the chronology of its creation and the institutional and social context of its foundation suggests a far more nuanced and complex picture. While several questions remain open, some general points are clear. In its architectural decoration, the building pays tribute to Guas' network of relatives and skilled collaborators, rather than to his invention as a "starchitect." Indeed, the building was completed after the master's death, not only by his wife, who oversaw the outstanding construction, but also by his daughter and descendants who ensured the foundation's survival over time. Instead of following the lead of other master masons, who had chosen to be commemorated at the heart of the most eminent sites of their architectural career, Guas strove to promote his individual achievement while establishing a lineage. By creating a funerary chapel for himself and his family, Guas



was not only modelling the practices of contemporary noble dynasties, but also investing in his descendants to preserve his memory. While later generations dramatically altered the chapel — most notably with the almost immediate removal of Guas' funerary sculpture— the chapel ultimately survived, enabling the rediscovery of the mas-

ter mason's legacy in the mid-nineteenth century. From its completion in the hands of Guas' wife onwards, it was not simply the master mason's original project but rather a polyphonic collaboration, which determined the ever-changing appearance of the Candelaria chapel.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on research undertaken as part of my PhD degree, supported by a CHASE at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London. Ideas presented here were first discussed at the conference *Loci Sepulcralis. Pantheons and Other Places of Memory and Burial in The Middle Ages*, held at the Convent of Batalha in September 2017. I would like to thank Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras and Edward Payne for their help and encouragement.

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

José María Azcárate Ristori, "La fachada del Infantado y el estilo de Juan Guas," *Archivo español de arte*, 96 (1951): 308. "La genialidad, o al menos la maestría de Guas, estriba en incorporar a las formas flamígeras del maestro Hanequin no pocos temas decorativos e incluso organizaciones estructurales del mudéjar local, es decir, toledano, pero sin copiar, sino interpretando, buscando y hallando un mismo efecto decorativo por otro camino con una técnica diferente."

<sup>2</sup> Hieronymus Münzer, "Itinerarium Hispanicum Hieronymi Monetarii 1494–1495," ed. Ludwig Pfandl, *Revue hispanique* 48 (1920): 119–20. "Rex Ferdinandus cum sua Regina novam illam fabricam edificat ex secto et quadro lapide adeo superbe et splendide, ut mirum sit...Dixit mihi architector fabrici, quod ad consumacionem constabit bene bis centum milia ducatorum."

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Ortiz Pradas, *San Juan de los Reyes de Toledo. Historia, construcción y restauración de un monumento medieval* (Madrid: La Ergástula, 2015), 31–40.

<sup>4</sup> José María Quadrado and Javier Pacerisa, *Recuerdos y bellezas de España. Castilla la Nueva*, vol. 6 (Madrid: Emprenta de D. José Repullés, 1853), 400. "Registrando las capillas de la nave derecha donde hizo menor estrago la reforma, llamé nuestra atención en la de la Candelaria, no por cierto el retablito harto desairado aunque del renacimiento, sino la figura de un hombre arrodillado con traje de capa y espada; y levantando los ojos á la inscripción que corre por el friso, inesperado ha-

llazgo vino de repente á conmovier de júbilo nuestro pecho. El arquitecto de S. Juan de los Reyes, el creador desconocido de aquel prodigio del arte, Juan Guas, revela allí su nombre á la posteridad que no ha tropezado al parecer con él, dejándolo hundirse en el olvido: allí está su figura, allí su capilla, allí probablemente su entierro, fuera de su magnífica obra, en la cual se abstuvo de poner aun la firma."

<sup>5</sup> The inscription is translated from "Diligencia sobre la lectura de la inscripción epigráfica de la capilla funeraria de Juan Guas (20 julio 1577)," Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; José María Azcárate Ristori, *Datos histórico-artísticos de fines del siglo XV y principios del XVI* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1982), 170–1 doc. 224: "Esta capilla mando hazer el honrrado juan guas maestro mayor de la santa yglesia de toledo y maestro mayor de las obras del rrey don fernando y de la rreyna doña ysabel el qual hizo a san juan de los rreyes. Esta capilla hizo marina albares su mujer acabose el año de mill y quatroçientos y noventa e siete."

<sup>6</sup> In addition to those mentioned in the text, famous European examples are the funerary slab of Hugues Liberger (d. 1263) now in Reims cathedral, that of Matthäus Böblingen (d. 1505) in the Frauenkirche, Esslingen, and the epitaph of Hans von Burghausen (d. 1432) on the wall of the Martinskirche, Landshut. On this topic, see Francis Woodman, "For Their Monuments, Look about You': Medieval Masons and Their Tombs," in *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, ed. Jill Franklin, T. A. Heslop, and Christine Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> Quadrado and Pacerisa, *Recuerdos y bellezas de España. Castilla la Nueva*, 6: 422. "una oscura capilla de S. Justo."

<sup>8</sup> For a more detailed narrative of these events, see Ortiz Pradas, *San Juan de los Reyes de Toledo. Historia, construcción y restauración de un monumento medieval*, 31–40.

<sup>9</sup> Fidelio, "Revista de París," *La moda elegante ilustrada, periódico de las familias*, December 1867, 382.

<sup>10</sup> Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, "La colección de pinturas," in *Tesoros de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia and Patrimonio Nacional, 2001), 90; quoted in María Rosalina Aguado Gómez, "El pintor Matías Moreno y González (1840–1906)" (Ph.D. Thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2013), 93.

<sup>11</sup> Ortiz Pradas, *San Juan de los Reyes de Toledo. Historia, construcción y restauración de un monumento medieval*, 142–3.

<sup>12</sup> José María Azcárate Ristori, "Sobre el origen de Juan Guas," *Archivo Español de Arte* 23 (1950): 255–6.

<sup>13</sup> Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, s.v. "Guas, Juan"; Filemón Arribas Arranz, "Noticias sobre San Juan de los Reyes," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA*, 29 (1963): 43–72.

<sup>14</sup> Two examples are Begoña Alonso Ruiz, "Los talleres de las catedrales góticas y los canteros del norte," in *II Encuentro de Historia de Cantabria*, ed. Jesús Ángel Solórzano Telechea and Manuel Ramón González Morales, vol. 2 (Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2005); Roberto González Ramos, "Los hispano-islamismos de Juan Guas: construcción y revisión de un tópico historiográfico," in *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana entre Europa y América*, ed. Begoña Alonso Ruiz (Madrid: Sílex, 2011), 325–38.

<sup>15</sup> For example in Javier Solano, *Juan Guas, arquitecto* (Toledo: Consejería de Educación, Cultura y Deportes de Castilla-La Mancha, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2018), 293–300.

<sup>16</sup> Fernando Marías, *La arquitectura del Renacimiento en Toledo (1541–1631)* (Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1983), 16–17. Diego Suarez Quevedo, "Toledo Barroco," in *Arquitecturas de Toledo*, ed. Diego Peris Sánchez (Toledo: Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 1992), vol. 2, 261.

<sup>17</sup> Archivo Diocesano de Toledo (ADT), San Justo y Pastor, Libro 1153, fols 20ff.

<sup>18</sup> Sonia Morales Cano, "Símbolos, formas y espacios de la escultura gótica funeraria en Castilla-La Mancha:

Toledo" (Ph.D. Thesis, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2009), 568; Francisco Fernández Pardo, *Dispersión y destrucción del patrimonio artístico español. Desde la Guerra Civil a nuestros días (1936–2007)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2007), 128.

<sup>19</sup> Sixto Ramón Parro, *Toledo en la mano o descripción histórico-artística de la magnífica catedral y de los demás célebres monumentos* (Toledo: Imprenta y Librería de Severiano López Faudó, 1857), 20–21; José Amador de los Ríos and Manuel Assas y Ereño, *El Monasterio de San Juan de los Reyes en Toledo (Monumentos arquitectónicos de España)* (Madrid: published by the government under the direction of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1877), 4; Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos, *Monumentos arquitectónicos de España: Toledo* (Madrid: E. Martín y Gamoneda, 1905), 317–18; Rafael Ramírez de Arellano, *Las parroquias de Toledo. Nuevos datos referentes a estos Templos sacados de sus archivos* (Toledo: Talleres tipográficos de Sebastián Rodríguez, 1921), 141–55.

<sup>20</sup> For a description of the heraldry in the church, see Mario Arellano García and Ventura Leblíc García, "Estudio sobre la heráldica toledana," *Toletum: boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo*, 19 (1986): 264–81.

<sup>21</sup> The date of the restoration is recorded in a commemorative tile inserted in one of the walls: "Capilla de Juan Guas. Portada y yeserías recuperadas por la Escuela-Taller de Restauración de Toledo, noviembre 1991."

<sup>22</sup> Ramírez de Arellano, *Las parroquias de Toledo. Nuevos datos referentes a estos Templos sacados de sus archivos*, 145.

<sup>23</sup> AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334. Some of the documents in this dossier have been published in Azcárate Ristori, *Datos s.v. "Guas, Juan."*

<sup>24</sup> Jack Weiner, "Padres e hijos: Sebastián de Horozco y los suyos," *Toletum: boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo*, no. 25 (1990): 112.

<sup>25</sup> "Testamento de Juan Guas (11 octubre 1490)," AHN, Órdenes Milita-

res, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 164–6, doc. 222: "la capilla que dexo encomençada en la dicha yglesia de sanyuste."

<sup>26</sup> "Testamento de Juan Guas (11 octubre 1490)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, 164–6, doc. 222: "iten mando que la capilla que dexo encomençada en la dicha yglesia de sanyuste...se acabe en la forma que yo la dexo traçada e ruego e encargo a mis albaçean den a ello toda la prisa que podieran e acabada trasladen a ella mi cuerpo."

<sup>27</sup> "Fundación y dotación de la Capilla de la Columna (20 abril 1495)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, 166–70, doc. 223: "una buena puerta la qual tenga diez pies en ancho."

<sup>28</sup> See for example the plan reproduced in Matilde Revuelta Tubino, *Inventario artístico de Toledo* (Madrid: Centro Nacional de Información Artística, Arqueológica y Etnológica, 1983).

<sup>29</sup> "Fundación y dotación de la Capilla de la Columna (20 abril 1495)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, 166–70, doc. 223: "dos sepolturas que vos el dicho juan guas abedes e tenedes e poseedes pos vuestras e como vuestras dentro en el cuerpo de la dicha yglesia de señor santiuste / las quales dichas sepolturas estan çerca del poste que esta delante del altar de nuestra señora."

<sup>30</sup> "Fundación y dotación de la Capilla de la Columna (20 abril 1495)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, 166–70 doc. 223: "con condiçion que vos el dicho juan guas podades poner en la dicha capilla que asi fgiçeredes la adboçaçion que vos quisieredes e façer en la dicha capilla altar."

<sup>31</sup> Details of the chapel's later history can be gleaned from "Libro de cuentas de la capellania que en la iglesia de San Justo y Pastor fundó Fernando de Aguirre," containing material dating from 1698 to 1852. ADT, San Justo y Pastor, IV/83.

<sup>32</sup> Archivo Capitular de Toledo (ACT), *Obra y Fábrica*, 356, f. 33r: "Las casas que disen del corral del arenero...

linderos casas del cura de santi yuste e casas de juan guas pedrero."

<sup>33</sup> María Rodríguez Velasco, "Símbolos para la eternidad: iconografía funeraria en la Baja Edad Media," in *El mundo de los difuntos: culto, cofradías y tradiciones*, ed. Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, vol. 1 (San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Instituto Escorialense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas, 2014), 447–8.

<sup>34</sup> In addition to Guas' own, two wills of members of his immediate family survive: that of his nephew's wife Catalina Álvarez, dated to 9 July 1489 (AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 159–64, doc. 221); and that of his daughter Ana Guas, dated 23 September 1502 (ADT, Capellanías, caja 218 expediente 16).

<sup>35</sup> "Testamento de Juan Guas (11 octubre 1490)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, 164–6, doc. 222.

<sup>36</sup> Javier Martínez de Aguirre, "Martín Périz de Estella, maestro de obras gótico receptor y promotor de encargos artísticos," in *Patronos, promotores, mecenas y clientes: VII CEHA*, ed. Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1992), 73–80.

<sup>37</sup> Ana Castro Santamaría, "El testamento de Juan de Álava," *De arte: revista de historia del arte* 10 (2011): 62. "A do mi muger, Helena Sánchez, se asienta e a asentado a oyr misa en la dicha yglesia."

<sup>38</sup> A chronology of some events in the master mason's life which gives an impression of his movements in Rafael Domínguez Casas, *Arte y etiqueta de los Reyes Católicos. Artistas, residencias, jardines y bosques* (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, 1993), 35–7.

<sup>39</sup> For example, on 27 January 1490 Juan Guas signed a contract to let a house which he owned in the parish of Santa Leocadia la Vieja, Toledo, to Alfonso de la Cárcel and his wife Catalina Díaz. See Fernando Marías, "Una carta de censo y tributo otorgada por Juan Guas," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA*, no. 40 (1975): 646–8.

<sup>40</sup> "Carta de arras (4 febrero 1459)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caba-

llos Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 156–61, doc. 220; “una heredad que yo tengo en mancarabros logar del término de la dicha çibdad de toledo.” “Papeles y árboles de Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (6 septiembre 1622),” AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334: “a todos sus descendientes sea guardado y guarda su nobleça y hidalguia en maçaranbros aldea de toledo donde viven e an quedado algunos descendientes dellos.”

<sup>41</sup> Rodríguez Velasco, “Símbolos para la eternidad: iconografía funeraria en la Baja Edad Media,” 447–8. “Pero si alguno quisiese escoger sepultura en otro cementerio así como en la Iglesia Catedral o en Monasterio o en aquella Iglesia do estaba enterrado su linaje o en otro cementerio qualquier puédelo fazer.”

<sup>42</sup> For a reflection on master mason's burials which considers both professional and personal associations, Woodman, “For Their Monuments, Look about You’: Medieval Masons and Their Tombs,” 187.

<sup>43</sup> Woodman, 187–8; Juan Clemente Rodríguez Estévez, “Los constructores de la catedral,” in *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: fundación y fábrica de la obra nueva*, ed. Alfonso Jiménez Martín (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2007), 206.

<sup>44</sup> Francisco de Caso Fernández, “El retablo flamenco de las Lamentaciones,” *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 36, no. 107 (1982): 821–2.

<sup>45</sup> This information has been published in many studies. Two key documents are: ACT, *Obra y Fábrica*, 772, fol. 71v, referring to 27 January 1453, and Marías, “Una carta de censo y tributo otorgada por Juan Guas,” 646–8.

<sup>46</sup> Tom Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral: Building Histories in Medieval Castile* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2015), 95.

<sup>47</sup> José María Azcárate Ristori, “La obra toledana de Juan Guas,” *Archivo Español de Arte* 29, 113 (1956): 32–9.

<sup>48</sup> María José Lop Otín, *El cabildo catedralicio de Toledo en el siglo XV: aspectos institucionales y sociológicos* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 2003), 276–7, quoted in Morales Cano, “Símbolos, formas y espacios de la es-

cultura gótica funeraria en Castilla-La Mancha: Toledo,” 112.

<sup>49</sup> See ACT, *Obra y Fábrica*, 771 for the salaries earned by various types of craftsmen in 1472. Workers were employed on a daily basis and sometimes disappear from the accounts. The yearly salary calculated here is therefore an approximate sum which takes into consideration the number of feast days observed on the working site but does not follow the individual trajectory of any particular master.

<sup>50</sup> Francisco de Borja de San Román, “Documentos inéditos: testamento del maestro Juan Francés (23 de diciembre 1518),” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo* 18–19 (1924): 110–11.

<sup>51</sup> “Carta de arras (4 febrero 1459),” AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 156–58, doc. 220: “todos los eredamientos e bienes asy muebles como rrayes e semovimientos que yo así tengo...e apreciolos todas en mill florines en buen oro corriente de aprecio de a çinquenta maravedis...”

<sup>52</sup> Guas' salary is known from a royal letter of 21 February 1495. Arribas Arranz, “Noticias sobre San Juan de los Reyes,” 47–8, doc. 2. The same document also stipulates a payment of more than one and a half million maravedis for the expense of the construction of San Juan de los Reyes, which Guas had subcontracted as a *destajo*. At this time Guas was also master mason of Toledo cathedral and owned houses and quarries in the vicinity of the city.

<sup>53</sup> Arribas Arranz, 47–8, doc. 2.

<sup>54</sup> For an analysis of the role of masters and administrators in a northern European context, Stefan Bürger, “Werkmeister. Ein methodisches Problem der Spätgotikforschung,” in *Werkmeister der Spätgotik: Position und Rolle der Architekten im Bauwesen des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Stefan Bürger and Bruno Klein (Darmstadt: WBG, 2009), 27.

<sup>55</sup> Domínguez Casas, *Arte y etiqueta de los Reyes Católicos. Artistas, residencias, jardines y bosques*, 35.

<sup>56</sup> Álvaro Adot Lerga, “El doble Estado Navarra–Bearne en el discurso y actividad política internacional de los

primeros reyes Albret, las Cortes Generales de Navarra y los Estados Generales de Bearne (1483–1517),” in *Religión y política. Controversias históricas y retos actuales*, ed. Esteban Anchustegui-Igartua (Arre: Pamiela, 2015), 117.

<sup>57</sup> “Fundación y dotación de la Capilla de la Columna (20 abril 1495),” AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 166–70, doc. 223.

<sup>58</sup> For comparable examples in Spain and abroad, Nicola Jennings and Ann Adams, “‘Middle-Class’ Men Who Would Be Nobles in Fifteenth-Century Castile, Flanders, and Burgundy,” in *Memorializing the Middle Classes in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Anne Leader (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2018).

<sup>59</sup> María Teresa Cortón de las Heras, *La Construcción de la Catedral de Segovia (1525–1607)* (Segovia: Caja Segovia, *Obra Social y Cultural*, 1997), 260–3, doc. 12.

<sup>60</sup> Rafael Domínguez Casas, “San Juan de Los Reyes: espacio funerario y aposento regio,” *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA* 56 (1990): 364–83.

<sup>61</sup> “Testamento otorgado por Ferrando de Toledo y Juan Guas en nombre de Catalina Álvarez (9 junio 1489),” AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 159–64, doc. 221: “yten mandamos que sean dichas e se digan por su anima de la dicha catalina albarez çient misas de requien las cuales mandamos que sean dichas e se digan en esta manera, en el monasterio de san bernardo treynta misas e otras treynta en el monasterio de santa maria del carmen e las otras treynta en el monasterio de señor sant juan de los rreyes e las otras diez en la yglesia de señor sant nicolas donde la dicha catalina albarez es perroquianna...”

<sup>62</sup> “Testamento de Juan Guas (11 octubre 1490),” AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, 164–6, doc. 222: “item mando que si muriere a ora de misa se me diga en la dicha parrochia una misa cantada con diacono y subdiacono e todas las demas rezadas que aquel dia se pudieren dezir en el conbento de san

Juan de los reyes tambien todas que en aquel dia se me pudieren dezir e syno mando se me digan el dia syguiente e se de por ellas la limosina ordinaria."

<sup>63</sup> María del Carmen Sevilla González, "Las nupcias de Catalina de Aragón. Aspectos jurídicos, políticos y diplomáticos," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 86 (2016): 663; Beatriz I. Campderá Gutiérrez, *Santo Tomás de Ávila: historia de un proceso cronocconstructivo* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 2006), 21–3.

<sup>64</sup> "Noticia breve y compendiosa de la fundación de esta Real Cartuja de Miraflores, sacada del libro de Becerro con otras noticias dignas de saberse," Archivo, Cartuja de Miraflores, cuaderno 375, quoted in Ronda Kasl, "The Making of Hispano-Flemish Style: Art, Commerce, and Politics in Fifteenth-Century Castile" (Ph.D. Thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2012), 41.

<sup>65</sup> "Fundación y dotación de la Capilla de la Columna (20 abril 1495)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334. Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 166–70, doc. 223: "yo el dicho Juan Guas maestro mayor de cantería."

<sup>66</sup> "Fundación y dotación de la Capilla de la Columna (20 abril 1495)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334. Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 166–70, doc. 223: "[el ancho de la capilla] venga...a alindar...con capilla que así mismo a de fazer el dicho pedro de rribadeneira hijo del bachiller antonio rrodriguez la qual a de fazer el dicho pedro de rribadeneira fazia el altar de sant andres..."

<sup>67</sup> María López Díez, *Los Trastámara en Segovia: Juan Guas, maestro de obras reales* (Segovia: Caja Segovia, Obra Social y Cultural, 2006), 188, 194, 215.

<sup>68</sup> López Díez, 204; Javier Gómez Martínez, *El gótico español de la edad moderna: bóvedas de crucería* (Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Científico, Universidad de Valladolid, 1998), 158, fig. 295.

<sup>69</sup> "Papeles y arboles de Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (6 septiembre 1622)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334: "La dicha doña maria de rivadeneira mi abuela materna fue hija

lijitima del doctor gonçalo perez de rivadeneira natural de toledo y de doña maria de aguirre natural de la misma ciudad... la dicha doña maria de aguirre mi bisabuela materna fue hija de Luis aguirre y mari guas naturales de toledo"; Fernando Jurado Noboa, *Los Ribadeneira antes y después de Colón (siglos XIII al XX)* (Quito: S.A.G., 1987), 31–32.

<sup>70</sup> Jurado Noboa, 31–2.

<sup>71</sup> On the figure of Francisco de Rojas, see for example: Paulina López Pita, "Francisco de Rojas: embajador de los Reyes Católicos," *Cuadernos de investigación histórica* 15 (1994): 99–158; Paulina López Pita, "Francisco de Rojas y su vinculación con la Orden de Calatrava," in *Las órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica*, ed. Jerónimo López-Salazar Pérez (Ciudad Real: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha), vol. 2, 2225–32. Álvaro Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, "Diplomáticos y letrados en Roma al servicio de los Reyes Católicos: Francesco Vitale di Noya, Juan Ruiz de Medina y Francisco de Rojas," *Dicenda: Cuadernos de filología hispánica*, no. 32 (2014): 113–54; Jesús Félix Pascual Molina and Irune Fiz Fuertes, "Don Francisco de Rojas, embajador de los Reyes Católicos, y sus empresas artísticas: a propósito de una traza de Juan de Borgoña y Antonio de Comontes," *BSAA Arte*, no. 81 (2015): 59–78.

<sup>72</sup> Paulina López Pita, "Fundación de la capilla de la Epifanía en la Iglesia de san Andrés de Toledo," *Beresit: Revista Interdisciplinar científico-humana*, 2 (1988): 141–2.

<sup>73</sup> On the church and chapel, see Rafael Ramírez de Arellano, *Las parroquias de Toledo. Nuevos datos referentes a estos Templos sacados de sus archivos* (Toledo: Talleres tipográficos de Sebastián Rodríguez, 1921), 9–20; Francisco Borja de San Román, "La Parroquia de San Andrés. Notas Históricas," *Toletum: Boletín de La Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo* 15 (1984): 207–19; López Pita, "Fundación de la capilla de la Epifanía en la Iglesia de san Andrés de Toledo." For an analysis of the chapel's relation to San Juan de los Reyes, see Costanza Beltrami, "Imitating a Model, Establishing an Identity: Copying San

Juan de Los Reyes at San Andrés, Toledo," in *Gothic Architecture in Spain: Invention and Imitation*, ed. Tom Nickson and Nicola Jennings (London: Courtauld Books Online, forthcoming).

<sup>74</sup> José María Azcárate Ristori, "Antón Egas," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA*, no. 23 (1957): 9.

<sup>75</sup> Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, "Diplomáticos y letrados en Roma al servicio de los Reyes Católicos," 131.

<sup>76</sup> Pascual Molina and Fiz Fuertes, "Don Francisco de Rojas, embajador de los Reyes Católicos, y sus empresas artísticas."

<sup>77</sup> Guas' connection to Segovia cathedral is discussed in López Díez, *Los Trastámara en Segovia*, 111–81. On Guas and the Mendoza family, María Jesús Martín Fernández, "Juan Guas y la familia Mendoza: el artista y los mecenas," *Cuadernos de estudios: revista de investigación de la Asociación Cultural "Pico San Pedro"* 11 (1999): 169–97.

<sup>78</sup> Guas met Isabella when she was still a princess to discuss the design of an organ staircase in Ávila cathedral (January 1472). See María Ángeles Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila: evolución constructiva y análisis estructural" (Ph.D. Thesis, E.T.S. Arquitectura, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2011), 347. Direct conversations are also evoked in the document detailing the design of royal quarters at the monastery of Guadalupe, AHN, Clero, 1424; María del Carmen Pescador del Hoyo, "La Hospedería Real de Guadalupe (3)," *Revista de estudios extremeños* 24 (1968): 325–9, doc. 4. On the status of master masons and their exceptional encounters with socially-superior patrons, see Woodman, "'For Their Monuments, Look about You': Medieval Masons and Their Tombs," 117.

<sup>79</sup> For an inspiring analysis of the importance of heraldry, see Begoña Alonso Ruiz, "'Por acrescentar la gloria de sus proxenitores y la suya propia'. La arquitectura y la nobleza castellana en el siglo XV," in *Discurso, memoria y representación. La nobleza peninsular en la Baja Edad Media. XLII Semana de Estudios Medievales*, (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2016) 243–82.

<sup>80</sup> "Testamento de Juan Guas (11 octubre 1490)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 164–6, doc. 222. The will of Ana Guas, dated 23 September 1502, is in ADT, Capellanías, caja 218 expediente 16.

<sup>81</sup> "Diligencia sobre la lectura de la inscripción epigráfica de la capilla funeraria de Juan Guas (20 julio 1577)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, 170–2, doc. 224.

<sup>82</sup> "Papeles y árboles de Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (6 septiembre 1622)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334: "juan guas, extranjero destes reynos hombre noble de nombre y armas como paresçe por el letrado y escudo de su capilla."

<sup>83</sup> Alberto García Carraffa and Arturo García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos*, 86 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Marzou, 1920–63); Endika Mogrobojo, *Diccionario hispanoamericano de heráldica, onomástica y genealogía: adición al "Diccionario heráldico y genealógico..."*, por Alberto y Arturo García Carraffa, 41 vols. (Bilbao: Mogrobojo-Zabala, 1995).

<sup>84</sup> Félix Martínez Llorente, "La heráldica profesional o la formulación de un nuevo imaginario emblemático y heráldico," *Emblemata* 18 (2012): 192, 202–2; Emanuela Garofalo, ed., *Le arti del costruire. Corporazioni edili, mestieri e regole nel Mediterraneo aragonese (XV–XVI secolo)* (Palermo: Caracol, 2010), figs. 7, 12, 13, 18–21.

<sup>85</sup> Lonnie Royce Shelby, "Medieval Masons' Tools. II. Compass and Square," *Technology and Culture* 6, 2 (Spring 1965): 236–42.

<sup>86</sup> Martínez de Aguirre, "Martín Pérez de Estella, maestro de obras gótico receptor y promotor de encargos artísticos," 73; Ana Castro Santamaría, *Juan de Álava: arquitecto del Renacimiento* (Salamanca: Caja Duero, 2002), 481.

<sup>87</sup> Garcí Alonso de Torres, "Blasón y recogimiento de armas," copied in 1647 by Fray Pedro Moreno, Real Academia de la Historia, 9/268, fol. 5.

<sup>88</sup> Martínez de Aguirre, "Martín Pérez de Estella, maestro de obras gótico

receptor y promotor de encargos artísticos," 74.

<sup>89</sup> Castro Santamaría, *Juan de Álava*, 19–20.

<sup>90</sup> Garcí Alonso de Torres, "Blasón y recogimiento de armas," fol. 5–5v: "Pero que diremos quando las armas se dan mas por voluntad que por raçon como quien diçe el Rey nuestro señor haçe un cavallero como vemos que hace, y puede haçer muchos, y el tal cavallero nuevo toma las armas a su proprio querer..."

<sup>91</sup> Garcí Alonso de Torres, "Blasón y recogimiento de armas," fol. 216: "Palaços, el carpintero del Rey nuestro señor. Contra mi voluntad escribo aquí estas, pero por ser el principiante las pongo." On Jerónimo de Palacios, Domínguez Casas, "San Juan de Los Reyes," 75–81. For a traditional analysis of the conferment of titles on European artists, see Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On The Ancestry of The Modern Artist* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 156–68.

<sup>92</sup> "Testamento de Juan Guas (11 octubre 1490)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334, Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 164–6, doc. 222: "yo Juan Guas...hijo que soy de pedro guas e de brigida madama tastes vezinos y naturales de la çibdad de leon en el reino de Francia."; "madame," in *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330–1500)* (ATILF-CNRS & Université de Lorraine, 2015), <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf>.

<sup>93</sup> Charles Félix Aristide de La Taste, *La famille de La Taste: son origine, ses branches et leurs alliances. Documents historiques: extrait de la lettre généalogique de M. de La Taste à ses enfants* (Blois: Grande Imprimerie de Blois, 1903), 7, 23.

<sup>94</sup> For the arms of the various branches of the family, La Taste, *La famille de La Taste: son origine, ses branches et leurs alliances. Documents historiques: extrait de la lettre généalogique de M. de La Taste à ses enfants*, passim. The role of the coat of arms as a sign of dynastic identification was stressed by the herald Diego de Valera (1412–c. 1488), among others. Begoña Alonso Ruiz, "La nobleza en la ciudad: arquitectura y magnificencia a finales de la Edad Me-

dia," *Studia Historica: Historia Moderna* 34 (2012): 227.

<sup>95</sup> José María Azcárate Ristori, "Sobre el origen de Juan Guas," *Archivo Español de Arte* 23 (1950): 255–6.

<sup>96</sup> Prudencio de Sandoval, *Chronica del inclito Emperador de España, don Alonso VII deste nombre Rey de Castilla y León, hijo de don Ramon de Borgoña, y de doña Hurraca, Reyna propietaria de Castilla* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1600), 327: "y ni tan poco se sigue, que porque uno traygas tres Flores de Lises; sea de los Reyes de Francia." For various opinions on the family's origins, Alberto García Carraffa and Arturo García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos*, vol. 40 (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Marzo, 1931), 148.

<sup>97</sup> "Fundación y dotación de la Capilla de la Columna (20 abril 1495)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334. Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*: "vos el dicho juan guas la podades dar y donar e trocar y cambiar e enagenar y haçer della e en ella y con ella todos los que vos e vuestros herederos e sucesores después de vos quisieredes e quisieren."

<sup>98</sup> "Diligencia sobre la lectura de la inscripción epigráfica de la capilla funeraria de Juan Guas (20 julio 1577)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, 170–2, doc. 224: "el dicho baltasar de erbas bordador vezino de la dicha çibdad de toledo so cargo del dicho juramento que fizo dixo que...de mas de quarenta años a esta parte...a oydo deçir este testigo que la dicha capilla la edificio juan guas maestro mayor de obras cuyo deçian que hera un bulto que entonces se saco de la dicha capilla..."

<sup>99</sup> *Libro de las bulas y pragmáticas de los Reyes Católicos; impreso por L. Polono en Alcalá de Henares, 1503*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Instituto de España, 1973), fols 272–3v.

<sup>100</sup> Teresa G. Frisch, *Gothic Art, 1140–c. 1450: Sources and Documents* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 55: "The master masons, holding measuring rod and gloves in their hands, say to the others: 'Cut here,' and they do

not work; nevertheless they receive the greater fees..."

<sup>101</sup> Carmen Bernis, *Trajes y modas en la España de los Reyes Católicos*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1979), 165; Sergio Núñez Morcillo, "La pintura mural tardogótica en Castilla y León: provincias de Valladolid, Segovia y Soria" (Ph.D. Thesis, Universidad de Valladolid, 2015), 645–56.

<sup>102</sup> Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009); for an exploration of likeness and its nuances in Iberian sculpture, Javier Martínez de Aguirre, "Pride and Memory: Perceptions of Individuality in Iberian Sculpture around 1400," *Journal of Art Historiography*, 17 (December 2017): 1–25.

<sup>103</sup> "Testamento de Juan Guas (11 octubre 1490)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 164–6, doc. 222: "item mando que de mis bienes e hacienda se den a antonio de toledo mi sobrino el mi bestido de contray y la taça grande de plata"

<sup>104</sup> "Testamento de Juan Guas (11 octubre 1490)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, 164–6, doc. 222: "maria guas o ana guas mis hijas mogeres de los dichos loys de aguirre e garci perez."

<sup>105</sup> Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. 9, part 1 (New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1970), 347–8.

<sup>106</sup> "Carta de arras (4 febrero 1459)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334: "marina fija del bachiller juan martinez alcalde uesino de la villa de torrijos."

<sup>107</sup> Mariano García Ruipérez, "Vecino de Toledo durante la Edad Media y Moderna: las cartas de vecindad," *Archivo secreto: revista cultural de Toledo*, 4 (2008): 188.

<sup>108</sup> María Elena Díez Jorge, *Mujeres y arquitectura: mudéjares y cristianas en la construcción* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2016), 30.

<sup>109</sup> A well-studied case of a woman involved in workshop activities

is that of Margaret Kraft, wife of the famous sculptor and master mason Adam Kraft. She not only carried out unspecialised, if strenuous, tasks in the workshop, but also helped her husband manage his relationships with patrons and was given substantial gratuities by clients satisfied with her husband's work. Corine Schleif, "The Many Wives of Adam Kraft: Early Modern Workshop Wives in Legal Documents, Art-Historical Scholarship, and Historical Fiction," in *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 204–07. Master masons' ordinances often contained regulations defining the conditions under which a widow could take the reins of his deceased husband's workshop. See, for example, the ordinances of Zaragoza's "maestros de casas moros," dated to 20 March 1525, published in Javier Ibáñez Fernández, "Zaragoza: le corporazioni della costruzione nella Zaragoza del Cinquecento," in *Le arti del costruire. Corporazioni edili, mestieri e regole nel Mediterraneo aragonese (XV–XVI secolo)*, ed. Emanuela Garofalo (Palermo: Caracol, 2010), 112, doc. 3.

<sup>110</sup> "Testamento de Juan Guas (11 octubre 1490)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 164–6, doc. 222: "e para conplir e pagar este mi testamento a las manda del dexo e nonbro por mis albaçes e complidores a marina albares mi moger e a loys de aguirre e a garci perez de rojas mis hiernos...e nombro por mis herederos en el rremanente de mis bienes a la dicha marina alvarez mi muger para que los goze por los dias de su vida e despues dellos mando que vengan e los herederen maria guas o ana guas mis hijas..."

<sup>111</sup> "Testamento de Juan Guas (11 octubre 1490)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, 164–6, doc. 222: "iten mando que la capilla que dexo encomençada en la dicha yglesia de sanyuste...se acabe en la forma que yo la dexo traçada."

<sup>112</sup> Felipe Pereda, "Liturgy as Women's Language: Two Noble Patrons Prepare for the End in Fifteenth-Century Spain," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as "Makers" of Medieval Art and*

*Architecture*, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 938.

<sup>113</sup> Olga Pérez Monzón and Matilde Miquel Juan, "Los quales maestros gastaron todos su juyzio en cavar las imágenes e componer las istorias." Memoria Luna, memoria Mendoza: miradas entrecruzadas," in *Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano: la capilla de Álvaro de Luna en contexto*, ed. Olga Pérez Monzón, Matilde Miquel Juan, and María Martín Gil (Madrid: Siléx, 2018), 296; Pereda, "Liturgy as Women's Language: Two Noble Patrons Prepare for the End in Fifteenth-Century Spain."

<sup>114</sup> "Testamento de Ana Guas (23 septiembre 1525)," ADT, Capellanías, caja 218, expediente 16: "e se den para ella cinco myll mrs...para que la dicha cappillania sea perpetuada..."

<sup>115</sup> "Diligencia sobre la lectura de la inscripción epigráfica de la capilla funeraria de Juan Guas (20 julio 1577)," AHN, Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334; Azcárate Ristori, *Datos*, 170–2, doc. 224.

<sup>116</sup> Aurea de la Morena, *Castilla-La Mancha 2. Toledo, Guadalajara y Madrid*, vol. 13, La España gótica (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 1998), 272–3.

<sup>117</sup> Begoña Alonso Ruiz, "The Construction of the Cathedral of Segovia from Juan Guas to Juan Gil de Hontañón," in *Proceedings of the Third International Congress on Construction History*, ed. Karl-Eugen Kurrer, Werner Lorenz, and Volker Wetzck (Cottbus: Brandenburg University of Technology, 2009), 42.

<sup>118</sup> For Guas' appearances on the worksite of Toledo cathedral in this year, see ACT, *Obra y Fábrica*, 790 (1493). For Alba de Tormes, Herbert González Zymła, "El Castillo Palacio de los Álvarez de Toledo en Alba de Tormes," *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23 (2013): 455–68.

<sup>119</sup> Rosario Díez del Corral, "Toledo Renacentista", in *Arquitecturas de Toledo*, ed. Diego Peris Sánchez (Toledo: Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 1992), vol. 2, 97–100.

<sup>120</sup> Gómez Martínez, *El gótico español de la edad moderna*, 142; Begoña Alonso Ruiz and Alfonso Jiménez

Martín, *La traça de la iglesia de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Cabildo Metropolitano, 2009), 145.

<sup>121</sup> Gómez Martínez, *El gótico español de la edad moderna*, 204.

<sup>122</sup> Arribas Arranz, "Noticias sobre San Juan de los Reyes," 51–8, docs 4, 6.



## REFERENCES

## Primary Sources

- Archivo Diocesano de Toledo (ADT). San Justo y Pastor, IV/83
- San Justo y Pastor, Libro 1153.
- Capellanías, Caja 218, Expediente 16.
- Archivo Capitular de Toledo (ACT). Obra y Fábrica, 356
- Obra y Fábrica, 771.
- Obra y Fábrica, 772.
- Obra y Fábrica, 790
- Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Madrid. Órdenes Militares, Caballeros Alcántara, 1334
- Clero, 1424.
- Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. Garci Alonso de Torres. "Blasón y recogimiento de armas" (written in 1514–15, copied in 1647), 9/268.
- Secondary Sources**
- Adot Lerga, Álvaro. 2015. "El doble Estado Navarra-Bearne en el discurso y actividad política internacional de los primeros reyes Albret, las Cortes Generales de Navarra y los Estados Generales de Bearne (1483–1517)." In *Religión y política. Controversias históricas y retos actuales*, edited by Esteban Anchustegui-Igartua. Arre: Pamiela.
- Aguado Gómez, María Rosalina. 2013. "El pintor Matías Moreno y González (1840–1906)." Ph.D. Thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Alonso Ruiz, Begoña. 2012. "La nobleza en la ciudad: arquitectura y magnificencia a finales de la Edad Media." *Studia Historica: Historia Moderna* 34: 217–53.
- Alonso Ruiz, Begoña. 2005. "Los talleres de las catedrales góticas y los canteros del norte." In *II Encuentro de Historia de Cantabria*, edited by Jesús Ángel Solórzano Telechea and Manuel Ramón González Morales, Vol. 2. Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, Servicio de Publicaciones.
- Alonso Ruiz, Begoña. 2016. "'Por acrescentar la gloria de sus proxenitores y la suya propia'. La arquitectura y la nobleza castellana en el siglo XV." In *Discurso, memoria y representación. La nobleza peninsular en la Baja Edad Media. XXII Semana de Estudios Medievales*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra.
- Alonso Ruiz, Begoña. 2009. "The Construction of the Cathedral of Segovia from Juan Guas to Juan Gil de Hontañón." In *Proceedings of the Third International Congress on Construction History*, edited by Karl-Eugen Kurrer, Werner Lorenz, and Volker Wetzck. Cottbus: Brandenburg University of Technology. <https://doi.org/10.1002/stco.200890016>
- Alonso Ruiz, Begoña, and Alfonso Jiménez Martín. 2009. *La traza de la iglesia de Sevilla*. Sevilla: Cabildo Metropolitano.
- Arellano García, Mario, and Ventura Leblic García. 1986. "Estudio sobre la heráldica toledana." *Toletum: boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo* 19: 264–81.
- Arribas Arranz, Filemón. 1963. "Noticias sobre San Juan de los Reyes." *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA Arte* 29: 43–72.
- Azcárate Ristori, José María. 1982. *Datos histórico-artísticos de fines del siglo XV y principios del XVI*. Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.
- Azcárate Ristori, José María. 1951. "La fachada del Infantado y el estilo de Juan Guas." *Archivo Español de Arte* 96: 307–20.
- Azcárate Ristori, José María. 1956. "La obra toledana de Juan Guas." *Archivo Español de Arte* 29 (113): 9–42.
- Azcárate Ristori, José María. 1950. "Sobre el origen de Juan Guas." *Archivo Español de Arte* 23: 255–6.
- Beltrami, Costanza. Forthcoming. "Imitating a Model, Establishing an Identity: Copying San Juan de Los Reyes at San Andrés, Toledo." In *Gothic Architecture in Spain: Invention and Imitation*, edited by Tom Nickson and Nicola Jennings. London: Courtauld Books Online.

*Buried but not forgotten: Juan Guas' funerary chapel in San Justo y Pastor, Toledo*

- Benito Pradillo, María Ángeles. 2011. "La catedral de Ávila: evolución constructiva y análisis estructural." Ph.D. Thesis, E.T.S. Arquitectura, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid.
- Bernis, Carmen. 1979. *Trajes y modas en la España de los Reyes Católicos*. Vol. 2. Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Borja de San Román, Francisco de. 1924. "Documentos inéditos: testamento del maestro Juan Francés (23 de diciembre 1518)." *Toletum: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo* 18–19: 110–11. <https://realacademiatoledo.es/documentos-ineditos-testamento-del-maestro-juan-frances-23-de-diciembre-de-1518-por-anonimo/>
- Borja de San Román, Francisco. 1984. "La Parroquia de San Andrés. Notas Históricas." *Toletum: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo* 15: 207–19. <https://realacademiatoledo.es/la-parroquia-de-san-andres-notas-historicas-por-francisco-de-borja-san-roman-y-fernandez-numerario/>
- Bürger, Stefan. 2009. "Werkmeister. Ein methodisches Problem der Spätgotikforschung." In *Werkmeister der Spätgotik: Position und Rolle der Architekten im Bauwesen des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Stefan Bürger and Bruno Klein. Darmstadt: WBG.
- Campderá Gutiérrez, Beatriz I. 2006. *Santo Tomás de Ávila: historia de un proceso cronconstructivo*. Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba.
- Caso Fernández, Francisco de. 1982. "El retablo flamenco de las Lamentaciones." *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 36 (107): 819–34.
- Castro Santamaría, Ana. 2011. "El testamento de Juan de Álava." *De arte: revista de historia del arte* 10: 49–68. <https://doi.org/10.18002/da.v0i10.1159>
- Castro Santamaría, Ana. 2002. *Juan de Álava: arquitecto del Renacimiento*. Salamanca: Caja Duero.
- Cortón de las Heras, María Teresa. 1997. *La Construcción de la Catedral de Segovia (1525–1607)*. Segovia: Caja Segovia, Obra Social y Cultural.
- Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330–1500)*. 2015. ATILF–CNRS & Université de Lorraine <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf>. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zrp-2013-0165>
- Díez Jorge, María Elena. 2016. *Mujeres y arquitectura: mudéjares y cristianas en la construcción*. Granada: Universidad de Granada.
- Domínguez Casas, Rafael. 1993. *Arte y etiqueta de los Reyes Católicos. Artistas, residencias, jardines y bosques*. Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto.
- Domínguez Casas, Rafael. 1990. "San Juan de Los Reyes: espacio funerario y aposento regio." *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA Arte* 56: 364–83.
- Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, Álvaro. 2014. "Diplomáticos y letrados en Roma al servicio de los Reyes Católicos: Francesco Vitale di Noya, Juan Ruiz de Medina y Francisco de Rojas." *Dicenda: Cuadernos de filología hispánica* 32: 113–54. [https://doi.org/10.5209/rev\\_dice.2014.v32.47142](https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_dice.2014.v32.47142)
- Fernández Pardo, Francisco. 2007. *Dispersión y destrucción del patrimonio artístico español. Desde la Guerra Civil a nuestros días (1936–2007)*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española.
- Fidelio. 1867. "Revista de París." *La moda elegante ilustrada, periódico de las familias*, December 1867.
- Frisch, Teresa G. 1987. *Gothic Art, 1140–c. 1450: Sources and Documents*. Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press.
- García Carraffa, Alberto, and Arturo García Carraffa. 1920. *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos*. 86 vols. Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Marzo.
- García Ruipérez, Mariano. 2008. "Vecino de Toledo durante la Edad Media y Moderna: las cartas de vecindad." *Archivo secreto: revista cultural de Toledo* 4: 186–91. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2856924>
- Garofalo, Emanuela, ed. 2010. *Le arti del costruire. Corporazioni edili, mestieri e regole nel*

- Mediterraneo aragonese (XV–XVI secolo)*. Palermo: Caracol.
- Gómez Martínez, Javier. 1998. *El gótico español de la edad moderna: bóvedas de crucería*. Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Científico, Universidad de Valladolid.
- González Ramos, Roberto. 2011. "Los hispano-islamismos de Juan Guas: construcción y revisión de un tópico historiográfico." In *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana entre Europa y América*, edited by Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 325–38. Madrid: Silex.
- González Zyma, Herbert. 2013. "El Castillo Palacio de los Álvarez de Toledo en Alba de Tormes." *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23: 455–68. [https://doi.org/10.5209/rev\\_anha.2013.v23.42847](https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_anha.2013.v23.42847)
- Ibáñez Fernández, Javier. 2010. "Zaragoza: le corporazioni della costruzione nella Zaragoza del Cinquecento." In *Le arti del costruire. Corporazioni edili, mestieri e regole nel Mediterraneo aragonese (XV–XVI secolo)*, edited by Emanuela Garofalo. Palermo: Caracol.
- Jennings, Nicola, and Ann Adams. 2018. "'Middle-Class' Men Who Would Be Nobles in Fifteenth-Century Castile, Flanders, and Burgundy." In *Memorializing the Middle Classes in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, edited by Anne Leader. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781580443463-009>
- Jurado Noboa, Fernando. 1987. *Los Ribadeneira antes y después de Colón (siglos XIII al XX)*. Quito: S.A.G.
- Kasl, Ronda. 2012. "The Making of Hispano-Flemish Style: Art, Commerce, and Politics in Fifteenth-Century Castile." Ph.D. Thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.
- La Taste, Charles Félix Aristide de. 1903. *La famille de La Taste: son origine, ses branches et leurs alliances. Documents historiques: extrait de la lettre généalogique de M. de La Taste à ses enfants*. Blois: Grande Imprimerie de Blois.
- Libro de las bulas y pragmáticas de los Reyes Católicos; impreso por L. Polono en Alcalá de Henares, 1503*. 1973. Madrid: Instituto de España.
- Lop Otín, María José. 2003. *El cabildo catedralicio de Toledo en el siglo XV: aspectos institucionales y sociológicos*. Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces.
- López Díez, María. 2006. *Los Trastámara en Segovia: Juan Guas, maestro de obras reales*. Segovia: Caja Segovia, Obra Social y Cultural.
- López Pita, Paulina. 1994. "Francisco de Rojas: embajador de los Reyes Católicos." *Cuadernos de investigación histórica* 15: 99–158.
- López Pita, Paulina. 2000. "Francisco de Rojas y su vinculación con la Orden de Calatrava." In *Las órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica*, edited by Jerónimo López-Salazar Pérez.
- López Pita, Paulina. 1988. "Fundación de la capilla de la Epifanía en la Iglesia de san Andrés de Toledo." *Beresit: Revista Interdisciplinar científico-humana* 2: 131–146.
- Marías, Fernando. 1983. *La arquitectura del Renacimiento en Toledo (1541–1631)*. Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos.
- Marías, Fernando. 1975. "Una carta de censo y tributo otorgada por Juan Guas." *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA Arte* 40: 646–8.
- Martín Fernández, María Jesús. 1999. "Juan Guas y la familia Mendoza: el artista y los mecenas." *Cuadernos de estudios: revista de investigación de la Asociación Cultural "Pico San Pedro"* 11: 169–97.
- Martínez de Aguirre, Javier. 1992. "Martín Périz de Estella, maestro de obras gótico receptor y promotor de encargos artísticos." In *Patronos, promotores, mecenas y clientes: VII CEHA*, edited by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia.
- Martínez de Aguirre, Javier. 2017. "Pride and Memory: Perceptions of Individuality in Iberian Sculpture around 1400." *Journal of Art Historiography* 17: 1–25.
- Martínez Llorente, Félix. 2012. "La heráldica profesional o la formulación de un nuevo imaginario emblemático y heráldico." *Emblemata* 18: 181–242.

*Buried but not forgotten: Juan Guas' funerary chapel in San Justo y Pastor, Toledo*

- Mogrobojo, Endika. 1995. *Diccionario hispanoamericano de heráldica, onomástica y genealogía: adición al "Diccionario heráldico y genealógico..."*, por Alberto y Arturo García Carraffa. 41 vols. Bilbao: Mogrobojo-Zabala.
- Morales Cano, Sonia. 2009. "Símbolos, formas y espacios de la escultura gótica funeraria en Castilla-La Mancha: Toledo." Ph.D. Thesis, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha.
- Morena, Aurea de la. 1998. *Castilla-La Mancha 2. Toledo, Guadalajara y Madrid*. Vol. 13. La España gótica. Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro.
- Münzer, Hieronymus. 1920. "Itinerarium Hispanicum Hieronymi Monetarii 1494–1495." Edited by Ludwig Pfandl. *Revue hispanique* 48: 1–179.
- Nickson, Tom. 2015. *Toledo Cathedral: Building Histories in Medieval Castile*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1086/690726>
- Núñez Morcillo, Sergio. 2015. "La pintura mural tardogótica en Castilla y León: provincias de Valladolid, Segovia y Soria." Ph.D. Thesis, Universidad de Valladolid. <https://doi.org/10.35376/10324/16501>
- Ortiz Pradas, Daniel. 2015. *San Juan de los Reyes de Toledo. Historia, construcción y restauración de un monumento medieval*. Madrid: La Ergástula.
- Parro, Sixto Ramón. 1857. *Toledo en la mano o descripción histórico-artística de la magnífica catedral y de los demás célebres monumentos*. Toledo: Imprenta y Librería de Severiano López Faudó.
- Pascual Molina, Jesús Félix, and Irune Fiz Fuertes. 2015. "Don Francisco de Rojas, embajador de los Reyes Católicos, y sus empresas artísticas: a propósito de una traza de Juan de Borgoña y Antonio de Comontes." *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA Arte* 81: 59–78.
- Pereda, Felipe. 2012. "Liturgy as Women's Language: Two Noble Patrons Prepare for the End in Fifteenth-Century Spain." In *Reassessing the Roles of Women as "Makers" of Medieval Art and Architecture*, edited by Therese Martin. Leiden and Boston: Brill. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004228320\\_025](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004228320_025)
- Pérez Monzón, Olga, and Matilde Miquel Juan. 2018. "'Los cuales maestros gastaron todos su juyzio en cavar las imágenes e componer las istorias.' Memoria Luna, memoria Mendoza: miradas entrecruzadas." In *Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano: la capilla de Álvaro de Luna en contexto*, edited by Olga Pérez Monzón, Matilde Miquel Juan, and María Martín Gil. Madrid: Siléx.
- Pérez Sánchez, Alfonso E. 2001. "La colección de pinturas." In *Tesoros de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia and Patrimonio Nacional.
- Peris Sánchez, Diego, ed. 1992. *Arquitecturas de Toledo*. Toledo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha.
- Perkinson, Stephen. 2009. *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Pescador del Hoyo, María del Carmen. 1986. "La Hospedería Real de Guadalupe (3)." *Revista de estudios extremeños* 24: 319–88.
- Post, Chandler Rathfon. 1970. *A History of Spanish Painting*. Vol. 9, part 1. New York: Kraus Reprint Co.
- Quadrado, José María, and Javier Pacerisa. 1853. *Recuerdos y bellezas de España. Castilla la Nueva*. Vol. 6. Madrid: Empronta de D. José Repullés.
- Ramírez de Arellano, Rafael. 1921. *Las parroquias de Toledo. Nuevos datos referentes a estos Templos sacados de sus archivos*. Toledo: Talleres tipográficos de Sebastián Rodríguez.
- Revuelta Tubino, Matilde. 1983. *Inventario artístico de Toledo*. Madrid: Centro Nacional de Información Artística, Arqueológica y Etnológica.
- Ríos, José Amador de los, and Manuel Assas y Ereño. 1877. *El Monasterio de San Juan de los Reyes en Toledo (Monumentos arquitectónicos de España)*. Madrid: published by the government under the direction of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.

- Ríos, Rodrigo Amador de los. 1905. *Monumentos arquitectónicos de España: Toledo*. Madrid: E. Martín y Gamoneda.
- Rodríguez Estévez, Juan Clemente. 2007. "Los constructores de la catedral." In *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: fundación y fábrica de la obra nueva*, edited by Alfonso Jiménez Martín. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Rodríguez Velasco, María. 2014. "Símbolos para la eternidad: iconografía funeraria en la Baja Edad Media." In *El mundo de los difuntos: culto, cofradías y tradiciones*, edited by Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, Vol. 1. San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Instituto Escorialense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas.
- Sandoval, Prudencio de. 1600. *Chronica del inclito Emperador de España, don Alonso VII deste nombre Rey de Castilla y León, hijo de don Ramon de Borgoña, y de doña Hurraca, Reyna propietaria de Castilla*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez.
- Schleif, Corine. 2003. "The Many Wives of Adam Kraft: Early Modern Workshop Wives in Legal Documents, Art-Historical Scholarship, and Historical Fiction." In *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, 202–22*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Sevilla González, María del Carmen. 2016. "Las nupcias de Catalina de Aragón. Aspectos jurídicos, políticos y diplomáticos." *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 86: 657–726.
- Sixto Ramón Parro. 1857. *Toledo en la mano o descripción histórico-artística de la magnífica catedral y de los demás célebres monumentos*. Toledo: Imprenta y Librería de Severiano López Faudo.
- Shelby, Lonnie Royce. 1965. "Medieval Masons' Tools. II. Compass and Square." *Technology and Culture* 6 (2): 236–48. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3101076>
- Solano, Javier. 2018. *Juan Guas, arquitecto*. Toledo: Consejería de Educación, Cultura y Deportes de Castilla-La Mancha, Servicio de Publicaciones.
- Warnke, Martin. 1993. *The Court Artist: On The Ancestry of The Modern Artist*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Weiner, Jack. 1990. "Padres e hijos: Sebastián de Horozco y los suyos." *Toletum: boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo* 25: 109–164.
- Woodman, Francis. 2012. "'For Their Monuments, Look about You': Medieval Masons and Their Tombs." In *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, edited by Jill Franklin, T. A. Heslop, and Christine Stevenson. Woodbridge: Boydell.