

A Fifteenth-Century Plan of the Cathedral of Seville

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This article focuses on a recently identified and hitherto unpublished drawing of Seville Cathedral, recently located in the Bidaurreta convent (and thus described in this article as the 'Bidaurreta drawing'). This document is of international importance as it constitutes a rare example of a medieval drawing of a Gothic cathedral, and is indeed the oldest known complete ground plan of any Gothic cathedral. It is also the only plan preserved intact that depicts any fifteenth-century Gothic building in Castile. The drawing, which this article suggests dates from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, is a modified copy of a 1433 plan of Seville Cathedral. It records the building as it was in 1433 and some of the subsequent changes, undertaken as part of a building campaign that ultimately lasted until 1506, by means of which the cathedral took on its present form: 126.18 m in length, 82.6 m in width and 30.48 m high (Figs 1–2). This article traces the reconstruction work in detail by examining the original documentary sources, many not previously discussed in English, together with the evidence of the drawing itself. Prior to the discovery of this drawing, knowledge of the cathedral of Seville in this period was limited to the model realized by Alejo Fernandez in 1511 (inserted into the view of the city that forms part of the relief of the cathedral's major altar) and two almost identical plans of 1537, one in Medinaceli's ducal file and the other one preserved in the Hospital Tavera of Toledo. It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that the next complete plan of the cathedral was made; it was drawn between 1598 and 1604 and was published by Giorgio Vasari 'the younger'.¹

The Bidaurreta drawing not only sheds new light on Seville Cathedral but also illuminates the development of medieval architectural drawing in Spain and beyond. It reveals how a great Gothic cathedral was designed, showing dimensions, the use of tracing and the employment of different projections in order to provide a complete set of all the technical information necessary to construct the building. European historiography has highlighted the part played by architectural design in the development of the new Gothic architecture, thanks to the rich examples provided by the major German and French workshops.² However, Spanish examples are few and far between in these studies, because there are few Gothic drawings preserved in Spain and those that do survive are very late. Architecture took a new course in this part of Europe during the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century. Transnational currents brought the Gothic to Spain, as specialized masters travelled through Europe, disseminating skills and knowledge. The building profession was largely in the hands



Fig. 1. *Seville Cathedral from the west, 1433–1506 and later* (*Comunicación Global Objetivo S.L., 2007*)

of foreign architects, initially from France (from Normandy and Brittany) but later also from Flanders and Germany.³ Workshops such as those of the cathedrals of Oviedo, Palencia, Burgos, Toledo, Segovia, Salamanca and Seville are examples of this trend. As the century progressed, French master builders were gradually succeeded by architects of Germanic origin and, eventually, by master builders, architects and surveyors from the Iberian Peninsula. It was around the cathedral workshops and their directors that masonry schools emerged and transmitted newfound knowledge to apprentices, as had occurred at Milan, Strasbourg and Ulm.⁴ A large proportion of the architectural drawings that have survived in the Iberian Peninsula from the fifteenth century are related to the construction of cathedrals by those foreign master builders who ran great masonry workshops. The plan discussed in this article is evidence of the work of one of these workshops, arguably the greatest.

THE REBUILDING OF SEVILLE CATHEDRAL 1433–1506

In order to understand the drawing on which this article focuses, it is necessary first to examine the context in which it was made, namely that of the rebuilding of Seville Cathedral. From December 1248, the cathedral took over the buildings of the city's mosque, which had been begun in 1172, inaugurated on 30 April 1182, and completed

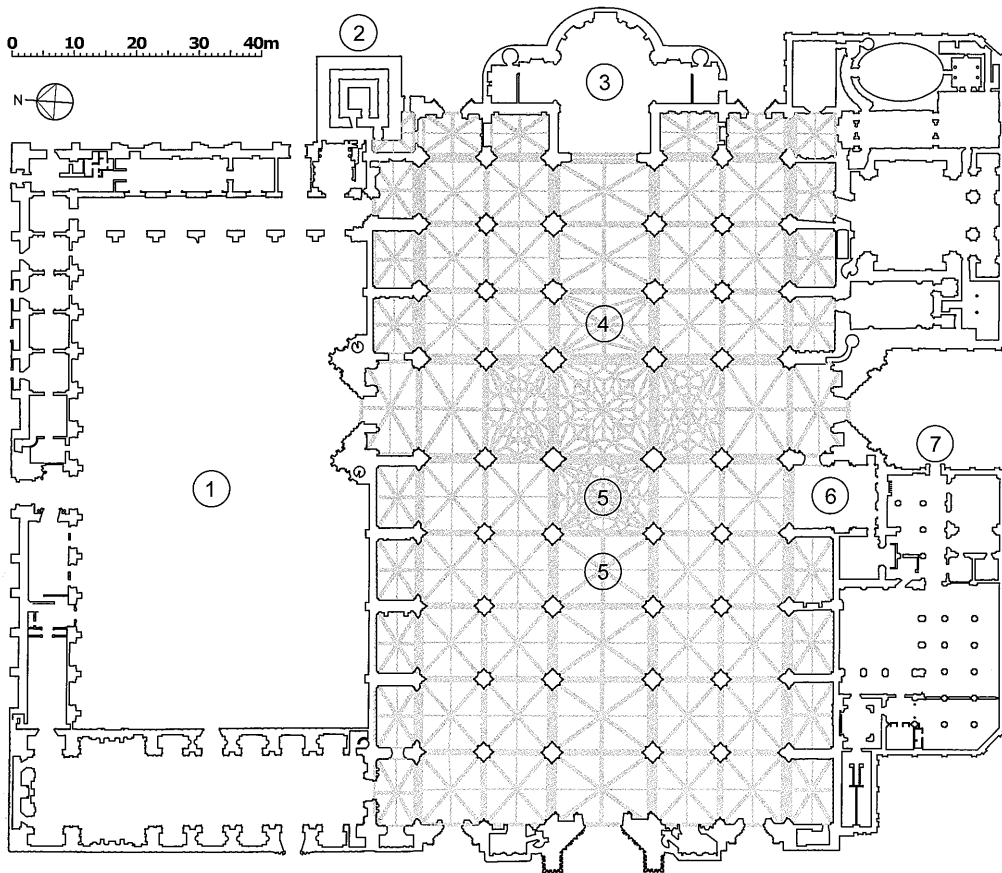


Fig. 2. Ground plan of the cathedral, 1433–1506 and later (Isabel Pérez Peñaranda, 2007)
 Key: 1. Patio de los Naranjos; 2. Giralda; 3. Capilla Real; 4. Capilla Mayor; 5. Coro;
 6. Capella de la Antigua; 7. Present entrance for visitors

in 1198.⁵ The appearance of this Islamic building is well known, as part of its structure and decoration has been preserved, while its tower remains virtually complete. Archaeological research has been able to define much of what is missing. The inside of the prayer hall was a single, diaphanous, symmetrical space, facing south with its four façades precisely oriented towards the cardinal points.⁶ The whole building was taken over by the Christians intact,⁷ and was altered in order to become a cathedral. The liturgical orientation was changed to face east, and a large number of doors were sealed, as were most of the arches between the prayer hall and the courtyard. Two large areas were defined from the outset: the Capilla Real (Royal Chapel) and the *coro* (choir). These spaces were flanked by a number of family chapels, perhaps fewer than a dozen at the outset, which were delineated by walls, wooden screens and grilles. Although this process of modification was supervised by the Cathedral Chapter, without the bishops'

involvement or royal presence, in practice it was the result of various initiatives by several individuals and groups, leading to a highly complex building whose essential structure and volumes were Islamic but whose interior took on a heterogeneous appearance, in which Islamic, Gothic and hybrid forms intermingled.⁸

This large and complex building was poorly maintained. The various groups who had an interest in parts of the building limited their attention to particular areas only; the actual structure was neglected. Furthermore, the cathedral was damaged in an earthquake on 24 August 1356. Taken together, these developments explain why the only information documented over the course of an entire century about the cathedral relates to the poor state of the building or to the demolition work carried out prior to the construction of the fifteenth-century Gothic structure.⁹ Information about the Christianized cathedral dries up in 1454, by which date it can be assumed that most of the earlier building had ceased to exist, apart from the mosque's former *sahn* (courtyard), which was converted into a cloister, the modern-day Patio de los Naranjos (Courtyard of Orange Trees), and the *sawmua* (minaret), which became a bell tower (the Giralda, as it is known today; Fig. 2).

The cathedral was rebuilt in a relatively short time compared with other major churches in the Iberian Peninsula such as the cathedral at Toledo (constructed and reformed over the course of more than three centuries) or the cathedral of Burgos (where work was carried out between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries). The new cathedral at Seville was begun in 1433; the final stone was laid on 10 October 1506. During these seventy-three years, thirty-two freestanding pillars and twenty-six responds were raised, together with twenty independent chapels and sixty-nine of the seventy-one vaults that were initially envisaged. Due to the lack of stone in the locality and a shortage of trained stonemasons, vast quantities of ashlar and timber were imported by sea and river, while the workforce was sought out in other parts of European Christendom, such as present-day Italy, France, Germany and the Netherlands.¹⁰ As the cathedral served as the seat for an extensive and wealthy see, its archbishops were involved in diplomatic missions to Rome, Avignon, the ecclesiastical councils and the monarchs of Castile, and they therefore played only a minor role in decisions relating to its construction. The building works were instead promoted and supervised by the Cathedral Chapter, while the necessary finance was obtained through the issue of numerous bulls of indulgence.¹¹

The first documented record of the Cathedral Chapter's interest in constructing a new stone building appears in the cathedral's *libro de fábrica* (accounts book) for 1424–25.¹² Of the 240 varied entries in this accounts book, only twenty-seven reflect conservation work on the old building, and one alone relates to the stonework; 200 *maravedís* (the currency of the day) was paid on the 'twelfth day of May [to] the master who brought the sample stonework'.¹³ On 10 February 1433 the King of Castile, John II, authorized the transfer of the Royal Chapel to the Patio de los Naranjos,¹⁴ and the previous year was therefore the last in which a feast-day was celebrated there.¹⁵ The king himself granted the Chapter a wharf on the river at which two boats were moored in 8 June 1433;¹⁶ these boats had been built by captains Bartolomé Martínez and Juan Sánchez for the 'majordomo de fábrica' — the term relates to the controller of the accounts — of the cathedral, Juan Martínez de Vitoria.¹⁷ On 6 December that same year, the *majordomo* made his will, which reveals the names of the two Master Masons (Ysanbarte and Diego Ferrandez), the cost

of the boats, and the sums paid to the stonemasons who were extracting the stone from the quarries at El Puerto de Santa María (Cádiz), connected to Seville by a river and sea route of 160 km.¹⁸ There is thus no doubt that work on the Gothic church of Seville began in 1433.¹⁹

On 8 February 1434, the new *majordomo*, Juan Ruiz, began a new account book, which contained the note 'the contract was drawn up today between the Chapter and Master Ysamber [*sic*] for the new works at the church'.²⁰ Another entry indicates that 'Bartolomé Sanchez, the carpenter, worked on moulds for the stonework',²¹ meaning the templates needed to cut the ashlar, for which he received payment on Thursday 30 September. By the end of the year 'the stonemasons for the new works at the church' had been paid 6,234½ *maravedís*.²² Master Ysanbarte, or Ysamber, who worked in Seville in 1433 and 1434, was probably a Frenchman baptized as *Isembertus*. He was a versatile, seasoned architect who is reported to have worked in various Spanish cities, beginning in Lleida (Lérida, Catalunya, 1410). Since he was evidently well versed in structural matters, he was summoned to Zaragoza in 1417 as a designer and director of works for highly elaborate chapels. His skill was demonstrated at Daroca, near Zaragoza (1417–22), and he successfully directed the works for the great cathedral in Palencia (1424–37?).²³ In 1435, Ruiz's same account book recorded several other significant payments, including one in April for transporting stone by river,²⁴ payments made for the repair of one of the boats,²⁵ and finally a note that 41,443½ *maravedís* had been spent on works for the new church.²⁶

Subsequently, legal problems forced Juan Ruiz to flee to Rome, leaving the work without direction.²⁷ The arrival of Master Carlín, Ysanbarte's former superior at Lleida, is confirmed by the record of a payment of 1,000 *maravedís* for Carlin's work as head of the team of stonemasons and labourers in Seville,²⁸ 'who cut stones and took them to the new works'.²⁹ Documents reveal that this Norman architect from Rouen had come to Spain in 1408; Carlin's Norman name was Charles Gauter. He was the Master Mason for Lleida Cathedral, a position that he held until 2 September 1447.³⁰ By this date, Seville Cathedral had already reached half its full length and almost its complete height, and had assumed most of its shape. At the end of his stay in Seville, Master Carlín, who would then have been almost seventy years old, was paid the same amount for a day's work as three other stonemasons would receive in total.³¹ In his last months of work on the cathedral, however, another master, whose name is not recorded, intervened. Within four months of arriving in Seville, but after surveying the works and 'taking some samples',³² this other Master Mason returned to Valencia together with his assistants. A document in Valencia, dated two years later, may reveal this second master's name.³³ A canon from Seville suggested to the then Master Mason of Valencia Cathedral, Nanthoni Dalmau, that he move to Seville, possibly to advise on the decorative work there; Dalmau responded by asking, among other things, to be the sole master with complete freedom to choose his assistants and wardens.³⁴

Following Carlín's departure from this project, continuity was guaranteed by the wardens who remained. The first of these wardens was another Frenchman, Jean Normant, whose name was Castilianized as Juan Normán. He worked on the site from Saturday 11 July 1439,³⁵ and was the Master Mason there from 1454 until his retirement in 1478.³⁶ The cathedral was already in use that year, when it was the setting for the christening of John, Prince of the Asturias, the only male offspring of the Catholic

monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, to survive to adulthood. The ceremony was probably held in the Capilla de la Antigua chapel, in which a 'Blessed Virgin Mary' painted on a pillar of the old cathedral-mosque (the only one preserved *in situ*, as a result of its popularity) was venerated. Normán was succeeded by one of his three wardens (documented as such in 1467), Master Francisco Rodríguez de Sevilla, who is documented as being on the payroll from 1449; he died in 1482.³⁷ The next Master Mason had previously been a warden and was Normán's son-in-law, Juan de Hocés; he occupied the post of Master Mason between 1488 and 1496.³⁸ It is certain that by the early 1490s the building was all but finished apart for the main monumental doors, the high vaults nearest to the centre of the crossing, the walls of the crossing, and three of the chapels in the chevet, including the Capilla Real (Royal Chapel).

At the end of the fifteenth century, the works continued, but the construction of the chevet of the cathedral was significantly behind schedule because there had been no firm decision on the Royal Chapel. In 1498,³⁹ the overall structure already seemed close to being finished, a German traveller noting that its completion was expected by 1500.⁴⁰ The Chapter commissioned the new Royal Chapel from Alonso Rodríguez, a successor to and relation of Juan de Hocés. However, this chapel was not begun in earnest until 1551 and a number of alternatives were proposed before it was finally started.⁴¹ On 6 October 1506, the ciborium, spectacular but precarious (it collapsed in an earthquake in 1511), was completed.

THE PLAN

A poor-quality photograph of the Bidaurreta drawing, published in 1999 without any discussion,⁴² drew the authors of this article to the archive in the convent of La Santísima Trinidad de Bidaurreta, Oñate (Guipúzcoa). Among the drawings there, two stood out because they lacked any firm date. One was of the coat of arms of Queen Juana (1505–18), as drawn for the fortress at Alegría (Álava, Spain), while the other is the subject of the present study.

The drawing (Figs 3–5) was produced on a full, uncut sheet of laid paper measuring 411 mm × 570 mm. Its watermark, probably Italian, comprises a crown of three fleurons (i.e. typographers' stylized flowers) inscribed in a circle, which the historian of medieval and early modern paper and watermarks, Charles-Moïse Briquet, has recorded as being found on paper in Avignon (1403), Venice (1482) and Genoa (1497 and 1499),⁴³ and which is found in the archive at Seville Cathedral on documents dated 1434, 1449 and 1500. The plan provides evidence of several different processes in succession: drawing (outline and inking); labelling (heights, text on the front and some labels on the back); insertions (inclusion of four lines of a new Royal Chapel in the east side [top] of Fig. 3 and detail at Fig. 6); crude incised marks (round the upper walls of the central nave; Fig. 7); transport (folding and stitching); archiving (with labels on the recto) and wear (friction marks, dirt and damp).

From the marks on the paper, the method of drawing can be reconstructed. Before the sheet was ever folded, and using a stylus and ruler, an orthogonal grid showing the key axes was drawn from one side of the paper to the other; next, using the same stylus, the lines representing walls, those representing arches and a few other short lines were

drawn, each of a length appropriate to the structure represented (Fig. 3). Using this complex but complete outline as a guide,⁴⁴ the draughtsman/men then drew in the minor doors and also the pillars and pilasters, all done freehand, in sepia ink. He or they then inked in the outlines representing the walls and arches, and drew the keystones without a rule, ending with the labels on the paper. Later, they drew in ink four pairs of lines in the centre of the upper edge beyond the boundary of what they had thus far drawn; these added lines are important because they show what would later become the Royal Chapel. Finally, they used fairly coarse strokes to draw the arches which form a cross at the centre of the building.

The drawing consists of three plans overlaid upon each other rather like a palimpsest, showing the building at ground level, the level of the vaults, and the level of the pinnacles. The most extensive and detailed of these layers illustrates a building consisting of four aisles and a nave, with side chapels around the perimeter (apart from in the lower section), comprising ten bays from west to east; east is at the top of the drawing. There are seven doorways, a window, the altar and five spiral staircases (the latter drawn as circles). The second level, drawn over the first, shows the walls, with flat buttresses at the top and the ribs of seventy-one vaults, prominence being given to those in the nave and the transept, which have Norman-style ties;⁴⁵ the central nave, *crucero* and transepts of the building are covered in tierceron vaulting. The draughtsman showed decorated keystones at the intersections of the vault ribs, except for those in the highest vaults where there were no bosses. A third element drawn over these two previous layers consists of a square that represents the design of a pinnacle, located on the western buttress at the northern door of the crossing. To position this correctly, the draughtsman drew the diagonals of the large buttress on which it rested and did the same in the area immediately around it, but without finishing it, leaving a second pinnacle unfinished.

The north side of the building (left on Fig. 3) has three doors. In addition to the door at the crossing, there are two smaller doors at the far ends of the aisle; their labels explain that they opened onto a cloister. On the south side, the central door found on the north side, here indicated only by its label, has been replaced by a window. On this side, the plan of the western part is entirely missing, as are the spiral staircases and the buttresses, the latter being too close to the edge of the paper to be drawn in completely. The building as shown was colossal: four aisles and one nave with thirty-three columns, twenty-eight engaged responds, nine doors and twenty large chapels. Quite apart from the fact that the reverse of the sheet confirms as much, there is no doubt that it must relate to Seville: the Capilla Mayor (number 4 on Fig. 2) has no ambulatory (unlike the Gothic cathedrals of Toledo or Burgos), while also shown is another of Seville Cathedral's unusual orthogonal features at the east end, namely two side doors flanking a double chapel.

A series of labels was added to the drawing, written using a thicker nib and with lettering and abbreviations typical of the second half of the fifteenth century (the spelling of which we have modernized in our redrawing of the plan) (Fig. 4). There are three kinds of text: most are measurements written in Roman numerals; others give the heights, written out in full; and others are labels, positioned over specific places, which identify areas that we can easily recognize in the present building. The complete list reads as follows (the words in parentheses are not translations but are the current names of those doorways and chapels, etc.): 'Postigo' (Los Palos door), 'Postigo' (Las

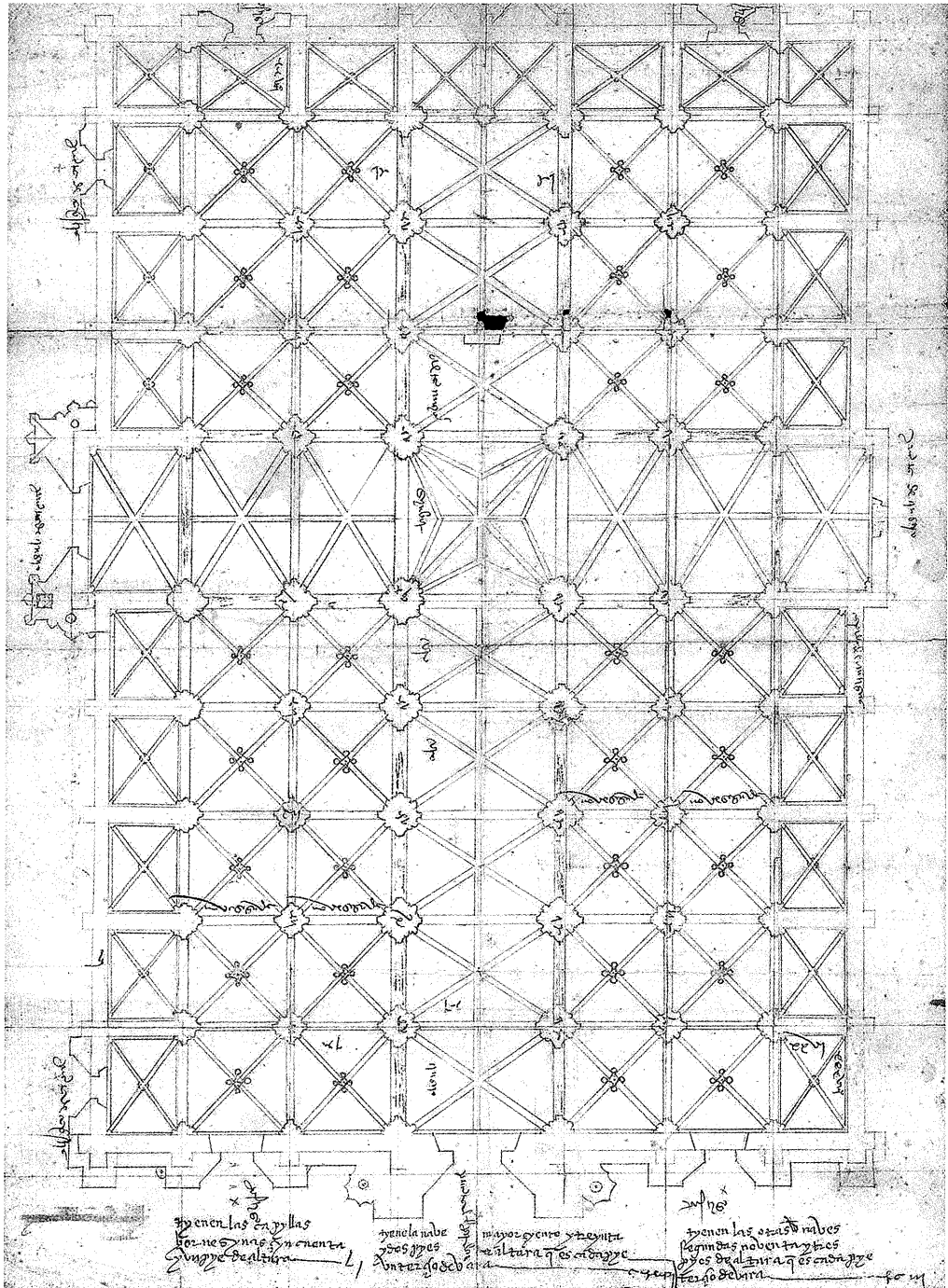


Fig. 3. The Bidaurreta drawing, third quarter of the fifteenth century and later (General Archive of Gipuzkoa, 2008)

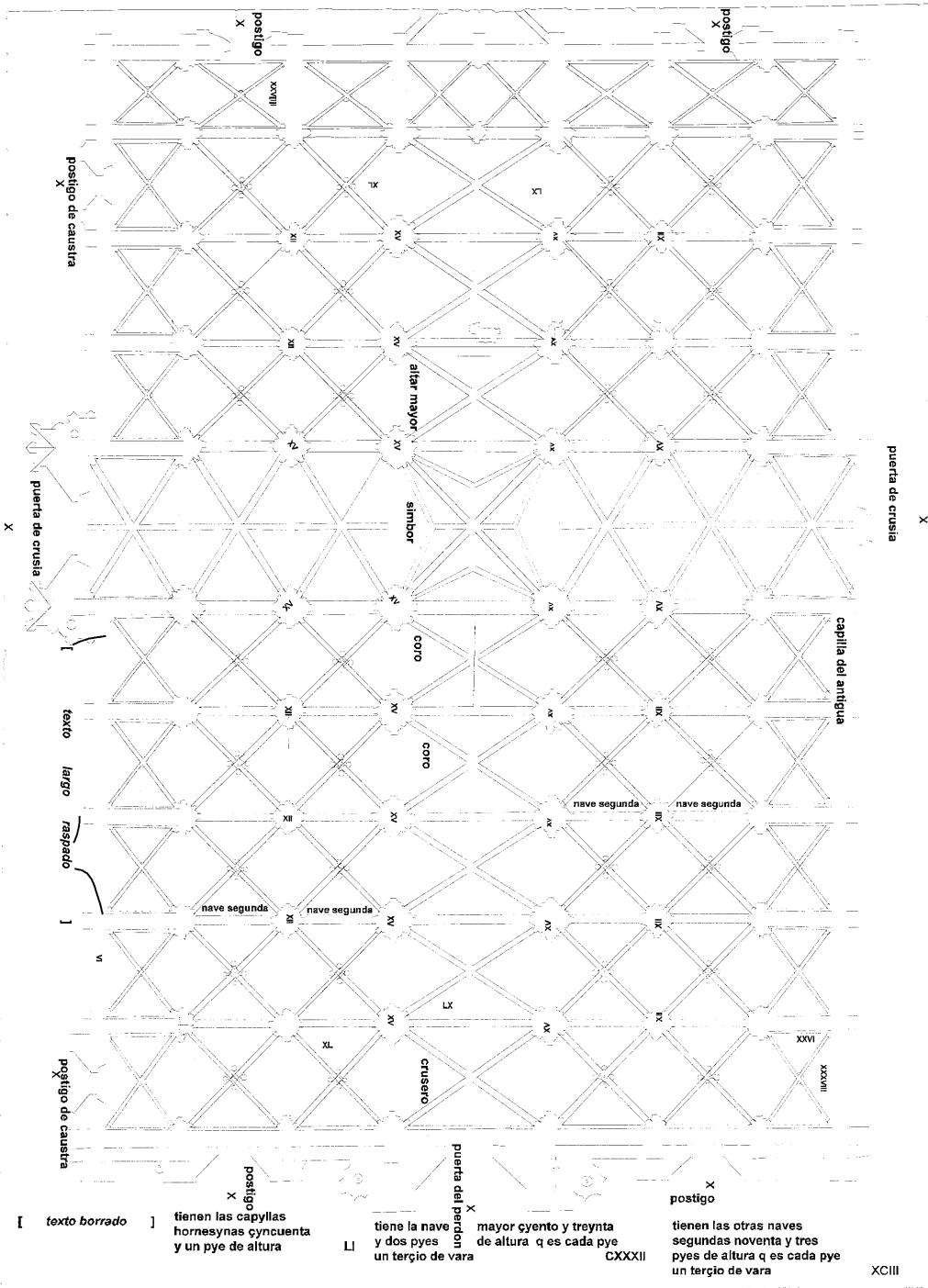


Fig. 4. Redrawing of the Bidaurreta plan of Seville Cathedral (Alfonso Jiménez Martín, 2009)

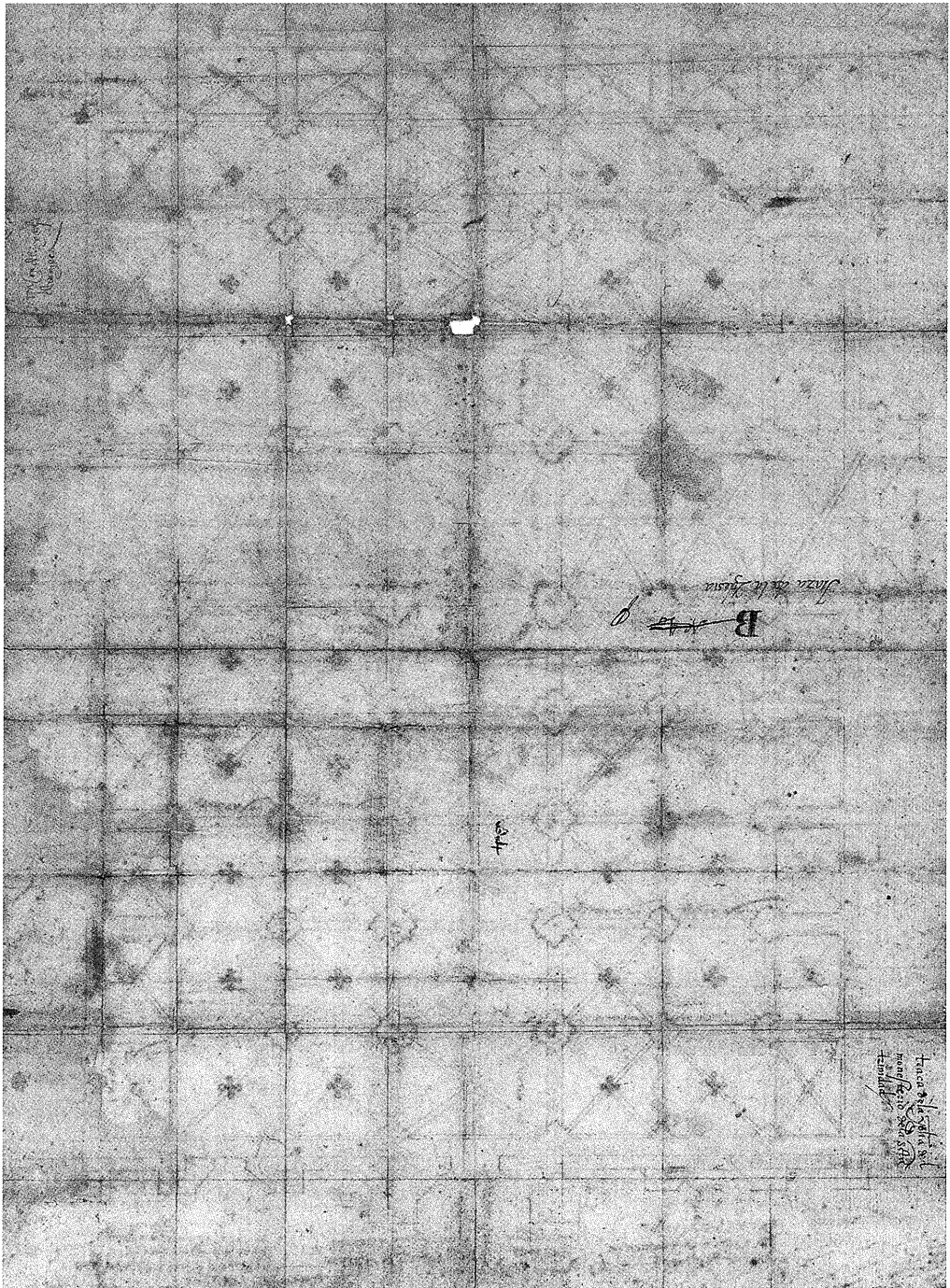


Fig. 5. Reverse side of the Bidaurreta drawing, third quarter of the fifteenth century and later
(General Archive of Gipuzkoa, 2008)

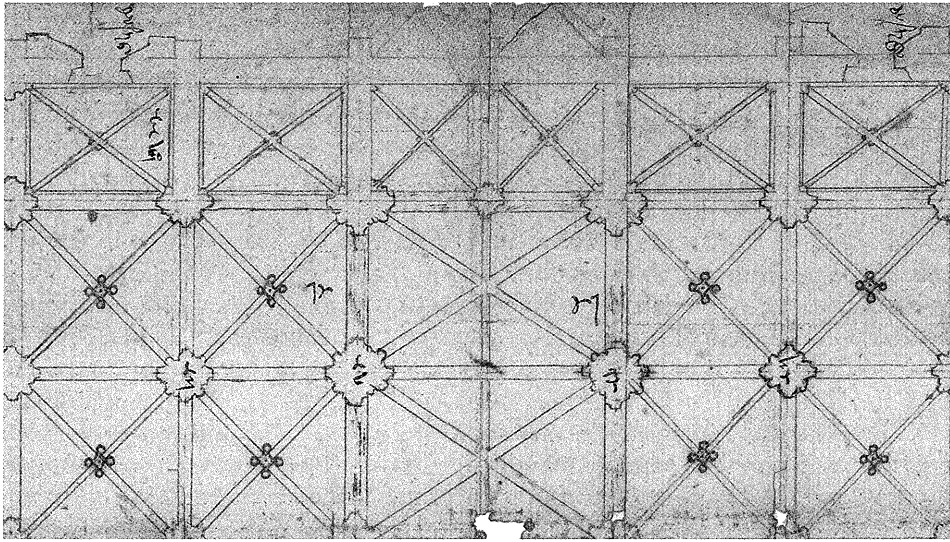


Fig. 6. (above) Detail of the cathedral chevet with the first project for the Royal Chapel. Bidaurreta drawing (General Archive of Gipuzkoa, 2008)

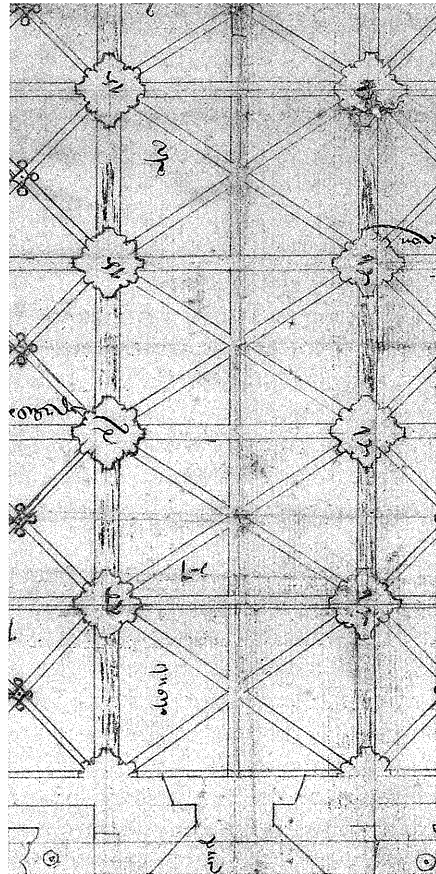


Fig. 7. (right) Detail of the high nave of the cathedral (General Archive of Gipuzkoa, 2008)

Campanillas door), 'Puerta de crujia' (San Cristóbal door), 'Capilla de Antigua' (La Antigua chapel), 'Postigo' (San Miguel door), 'Puerta del perdon' (La Asunción door), 'Postigo' (El Bautismo door), 'Postigo de claustro' (San Fernando door), 'Puerta de crujia' (La Concepción door), 'Postigo de claustro' (El Pilar door), 'Altar mayor' (main altar), 'Cimborrio' (central space), 'Coro' (choir), 'Nave segunda' (aisle of St Sebastian), 'Nave segunda' (aisle of St Peter), 'Nave segunda' (aisle of St Paul), 'Nave segunda' (aisle of St Roch) and 'Crucero' (central nave).⁴⁶

Key dimensions are indicated. 'XV' is repeated on the columns in the nave and crossing, including the ciborium, and 'XII' on the remainder; 'VI' is written on the wall of the chapel today known as the Capilla de Scalas; the width and depth of the Capilla de San Laureano chapel are shown the lower left corner by 'XXXVIII' in an east-westerly direction and 'XXVI' in the opposite direction. On the chapel leading to the Puerta de los Palos doorway, the depth is annotated as 'XXVI', although at first sight it looks like 'XXVII'. Also annotated are the widths of the aisles, 'XL', and the nave, 'LX'. These measurements (in feet) indicate that the plan is drawn at a scale of approximately 1:240. By the Puerta del Bautismo (Portal of Baptism) — the northernmost door on the west side (bottom of Fig. 3) — a note reads 'the niche chapels are 51 feet in height, LI'; then, in front of the Puerta del Perdón Nueva (New Door of Forgiveness) — the present Puerta de la Asunción — 'the nave is over 132 feet in height and each foot is a third of a rod, CXXXII'; and finally, by the Puerta de San Miguel door (the southernmost door on the west side), appears this text, the last on the front side of the paper: 'the aisles are 93 feet in height each foot being a third of a rod, XCIII'. The unit of measurement is the rod (*vara* in Spanish), the oldest preserved standard, which was defined in 1568 for Toledo and measures 835.50 mm. It is subdivided at the half-point (*codo*, elbow), in thirds (*pie*, foot) and quarters (*palmo*, palm).⁴⁷ This Toledan standard must have applied in Seville as, when the Decimal Metric System was published in 1852, the Sevillian rod was defined as measuring 835.90 mm.⁴⁸

The plan lacks two significant elements of the complex, the courtyard and the tower (Fig. 2, nos 1 and 2), which were retained from these previous structure. The absences are also missing from another plan of this cathedral, which is held at the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence) and formed part of a collection on which Giorgio Vasari the Younger worked until 1604.⁴⁹ The Uffizi plan is a simplified copy of the state of the cathedral in the mid-fifteenth century, to which the 1541 project for the Capilla Real has been added. It similarly does not include the Islamic elements that were retained.

The Bidaurreta drawing seems to be a proposal for, rather than a record of, the completed building. When it is compared with what was built, two types of variation become apparent, some relating to form and others to measurement. The illustration of the Capilla Real belongs to the first group, and an analysis of the differences between its form as shown in the drawing and as was built follows. These differences are due to successive changes in the design; one of these, the height of the columns, enables a change to be verified and dated. The columns of the nave and the crossing have an elevation of 'XV' (15 [historic local] ft), while the other freestanding columns show 'XII' (12 ft). However, a document from 1449 states that there were also 13-ft pillars:⁵⁰ between January and July of that year, the stonemason Juan de Segovia was paid for 15-, 13- and

12-foot supports, which we can identify as those in the ciborium, the nave and the remaining pillars respectively. Two of the 13-ft pillars must have been in production during the final months of 1436 because in October that year a start was made on their foundations.⁵¹ Thus the information on the plan was presumably correct between 1433 and 1436.⁵²

In addition, the structure of the Capilla Real, at the east end of the building (Fig. 2, no. 3), is not shown on the plan, which appears instead to show a previous phase of construction. The central chapel that is illustrated on the drawing is formed by two sections of vault (Fig. 7); it has a pair of ribbed vaults, each square in plan and supported by the external wall, which appears in the drawing. The two spaces beneath these vaults open onto the easternmost section of the nave via two smaller arches similar to those in the adjacent chapels. These arches use an intermediate freestanding column of smaller dimensions than the others in the drawing. The external wall to the east has a corresponding pilaster and, outside, the smallest buttress shown in the entire drawing. This small, low, double chapel was quite different from the ostentatious chapel that was designed in the thirteenth century and demolished in 1433. It was so small that the drawing shows only a meagre extension, with four straight lines representing the west ends of diagonal (or converging) walls springing further eastwards from the buttresses (Fig. 3, top). One can easily imagine that, had the paper for the plan been larger, a third wall drawn from left to right would have formed an apse like the one we know existed from the model of 1511 and two drawings of 1537.⁵³ This small chapel was demolished at a later date to build the Capilla Real which Vasari drew and which we see today. As the process of extension for the Capilla Real had already begun in 1498, it seems fairly certain that the four lines included at the top of the plan (Fig. 7) were drawn onto the Bidaurreta plan in that year.

THE BIDAURRETA PLAN AND OTHER GOTHIC DRAWINGS

The Bidaurreta plan not only sheds new light on Seville Cathedral, but is also significant in terms of the wider context of medieval Hispanic and European Gothic drawings. In Spain, the earliest surviving examples of Gothic drawings come from the Kingdom of Aragon and comprise two partial drawings produced by local master builders active in cathedrals: a partial drawing of the chevet and ciborium (altar canopy) of the cathedral of Tortosa (Tarragona), drawn in the mid-fourteenth century; and a drawing of the pinnacle for the cathedral of Lleida, produced around 1400.⁵⁴ Eight years later, Master Carlln of Rouen drew the elevation of the main façade of the cathedral of Barcelona.⁵⁵ Then, in 1467, Egas Coeman, a Flemish sculptor, drew the design for the sarcophagus of Alonso de Velasco at the monastery of Guadalupe (Cáceres), and in c. 1478 Juan Guas, a royal master builder from Brittany, was the author of a drawing of the interior elevation of the chevet of the monastery of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, a perspective or 'Vitruvian scenography' that completes the list of Spanish Gothic architectural drawings known to date.⁵⁶

It is useful to situate these drawings within the European context. In Europe, scaled plans including constructional information are not found prior to the thirteenth century.⁵⁷ The production of architectural drawings was associated with highly skilled

professionals. The practice developed rapidly in the fourteenth century, under the influence of the workshops of Cologne, Vienna and Strasbourg. The meetings held in Milan Cathedral (in the middle of the fourteenth century)⁵⁸ produced one of the most interesting collections of designs, reflecting the different skills and interests of the transalpine masters who were involved. The evolving form of the cathedral, even after the completion of the foundations, motivated successive proposals by the assistants, including Antonio di Vicenzo's plan combining longitudinal section and plants on the same drawing.

In the same way as is seen in fifteenth-century Spain, there are a growing number across Europe of documentary references to drawings as well as surviving examples. The list includes drawings such as that of the tower of St Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna, made on paper, and the project for the front of Clermont-Ferrand's cathedral, dated about 1496. From the fifteenth century, there is a drawing of a new project for the tower of the cathedral of Ulm preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1810 mm × 680 mm) and attributed to Moritz Ensingen (1430–93). These examples demonstrate the sophistication of late Gothic architectural drawing with evidence of the application of perspective in some of them, in a similar manner to Castilian examples.

Consideration of Spanish Gothic drawings and their European counterparts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reveals that geometric projections or façades predominate over ground plans which, judging from what has survived, tend to cover only a part of the building rather than its entirety.⁵⁹ Rare exceptions indicate the scale and volume or depth, and occasionally vanishing points are used as a perspective device. These drawings include those produced for the patron (presentation drawings),⁶⁰ plus others that serve a more practical purpose as constructional aids (Bucher's 'position or situation drawings'),⁶¹ and yet more that are simple sketches, theoretical, educational designs for an exam or competition, or models for prints.⁶²

The oldest surviving complete plan of a Spanish Gothic cathedral dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century and comprises a drawing on parchment of Coria Cathedral (Cáceres) by the master builder of the military order of Alcántara, Bartolomé de Pelayos, who trained in the eastern provinces of Spain. This drawing (Fig. 8), produced before December 1502, shows the continuation of the work, accompanied by specifications (written beneath the drawing of the crossing). It includes elevations and summarizes several aspects of the building on a single sheet, in the manner of the Bidaurreta plan, showing vaults, wall sections, doors and windows; it also distinguishes between the part already built and the new project, the latter being drawn in greater detail.

Chronologically speaking, the next surviving ground plan is one, like that of Seville, where several drawings are overlaid one on top of the other, but in this case the drawings are not plans but horizontal sections, showing such sections at different heights. This drawing is dated 1524 and was made by Juan Gil de Hontañón, a disciple of Juan Guas at the Segovia workshop, for the construction of that city's new cathedral.⁶³

From the second decade of the sixteenth century onwards, the list of architectural drawings extant in Spain grows considerably longer, although their characteristics remain unchanged until well into that century.⁶⁴ They then appear to have overlapped with another type of drawing produced according to the Renaissance system of representation. This new system was based on the Italian works of Rafael and was

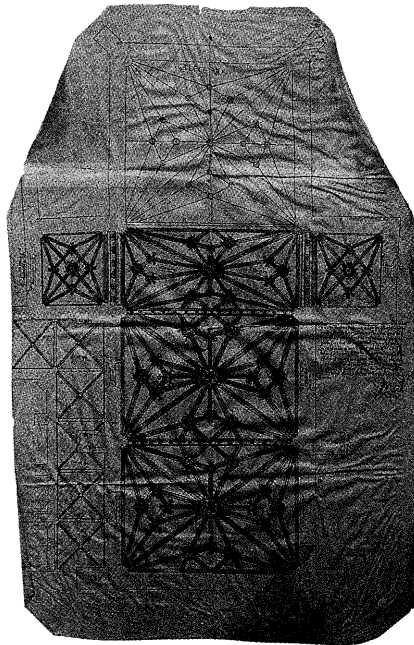


Fig 8. *Ground plan for the continuation of the cathedral, Coria (Cáceres, Spain) (by Bartolomé de Pelayos, 1502, Archive of the Cathedral of Coria)*

introduced into Spain by master builders who had travelled to Italy, such as Diego de Siloé and Pedro Machuca.⁶⁵

Although paper was used in Spain for such works from 1368 onwards, it was only used to represent small buildings. Parchment, while more expensive, had many advantages: it was larger, allowing more detailed drawings to be produced; it was longer lasting, more stable and was more suited to erasing and redrawing; and it enjoyed the prestige of tradition. Apart from a late and unusual case at the cathedral of Segovia in the second half of the sixteenth century, ground plans were always drawn on a single sheet of parchment, the largest possible within the constraints imposed by an animal such as a calf or goat.

The scales used for parchment plans were relatively homogenous across Spain. Some plans were drawn to a scale of $1/144$, these being the least detailed because they were larger; others, the smallest and most detailed, were drawn to a scale of $1/108$. Both proportions are a result of the measurement system prevailing in Spain at the time, multiples and sub-multiples of the *vara*, or 'rod', only allowing a few different scales. The scales of $1/108$ and $1/144$ are the most widely documented. They were the only ones that would allow the plan of Seville Cathedral to be drawn on a single piece of parchment and for the drawing to be useful as a project plan (however, the present plan is on paper).

In view of the above, one can suggest that the drawing from Bidaurreta is too small to be the original. It has too little detail compared with what was usual, and it was produced on a relatively inadequate medium for a work that would be expected to last for several decades at least. It must therefore be a smaller-sized copy, probably obtained

from a 1/144-scale drawing; an original at this scale would require parchment measuring 0.63 m × 0.91 m.⁶⁶ The copy was likely produced between 1478 and 1498, possibly to safeguard the information on the original, which we assume existed on a parchment (and which has not yet been located). Our proposed date is based on the fact that the changes detected in the chevet began to materialize from 1478 and would easily be reflected in the original drawing on parchment. The Bidaurreta plan may well represent a precaution taken along the lines of the drawing commissioned in 1488, when a second architect was hired to ensure the continuity of the works in the event of the death of the most senior assistant or of the master builder himself.

JUAN LÓPEZ DE LAZARRAGA

The Bidaurreta drawing's presence today in the archive of the convent of La Santísima Trinidad de Bidaurreta, Oñate, can be related to the involvement of the Basque Juan López de Lazarraga (born c. 1440), who founded that convent and was chief accountant to the Catholic monarchs with Seville. He became Chief Accountant of the Treasury (1498), Accountant to the Queen (1501) and Royal Secretary (1502),⁶⁷ and he was bestowed the favour of Office of Notary over a large part of the Basque Lands by the monarchs.⁶⁸ In 1504, the will of Queen Isabella named him the executor responsible for overseeing the funds for executing her will.⁶⁹ He became Secretary to Queen Juana (1504), Knight of the Order of Santiago (1506),⁷⁰ member of the Royal Council (1508) and Chief Accountant of Provisions and the Household of the House of Castile from 6 June 1509 until at least 1513.⁷¹ One of his family members said that 'he was such a favourite of the royal family that in those days governance of the Treasury passed through his hands since he was free of greed and ambition'.⁷²

As a member of the travelling court, Juan López de Lazarraga accompanied the Catholic monarchs constantly and was in Andalusia at least twice. On 10 December 1499, the Catholic monarchs reached Seville, where they stayed until 27 January the following year.⁷³ During that time, 'they held Court here [in Seville] which opened on Thursday 19 December in the chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Antigua at the Holy Church [the cathedral], and was presided over by Don Juan de Fonseca'.⁷⁴ Juan López certainly took part in this meeting as a document of 12 March from the following year, dated in Seville, attests to the fact that he received payment.⁷⁵ Coincidentally, the only chapel named in the Bidaurreta drawing is the Capilla de la Antigua, where this meeting was held (Fig. 9).

The court sessions held in Seville may be the way that the Bidaurreta drawing came into Lazarraga's possession. This and other documents relating to the Catholic monarchs (such as the coat of arms for the fortress of Alegría, now also in the same convent's archive) were perhaps donated to the order which, as Royal Secretary, he founded in his home town, namely the Poor Clares' Convent of the Santísima Trinidad in Bidaurreta. It was here that the drawing analysed in this article was discovered in 2008. The founding bull of this convent was issued by Pope Julius II on 14 December 1509 and delivered to the bishop of Málaga, Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa de Haro.⁷⁶ Various documents indicate that, in 1510–11, Juan López was sick and living in Oñate,⁷⁷ with sufficient time to devote to the foundation. The work on the church therefore commenced in March

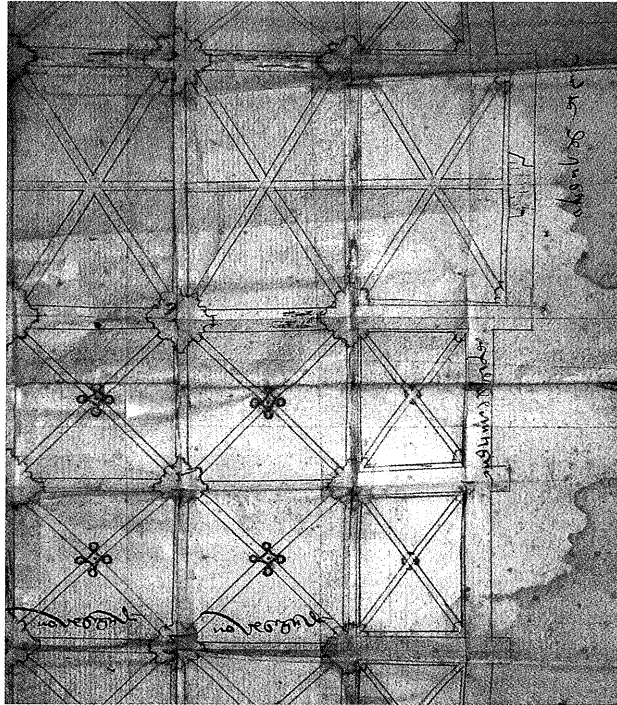


Fig 9. Detail of the Capilla de la Antigua in the Bidaurreta drawing (General Archive of Gipuzkoa, 2008)

1510 to a design by the architects Juan de Ruesga and Pedro de Malpaso.⁷⁸ The first nuns arrived in August 1511. He died in Valladolid in March or April 1518, but because the church was not finished his remains were taken by the Royal Treasurer Ochoa de Landa to the farm where the nuns were staying.⁷⁹ The inventory of the deceased's assets still exists, which is why it is known that he donated to the convent various objects for liturgical use and in addition approximately forty books of a religious nature.⁸⁰ The plan of Seville Cathedral seems to have reached the convent as part of this legacy.

CONCLUSIONS

The Bidaurreta plan is an exceptional piece of European Gothic architectural drawing for several reasons. First, it provides valuable evidence of medieval drawing processes, with inking, ruler, labels and measurements for the construction of the cathedral on a single plan. Second, it documents the first design and subsequent modifications in the history of building of Seville Cathedral. Third, the drawing was used as a record of the early fifteenth-century project when the new Royal Chapel was added half a century later. The Bidaurreta plan is also exceptional because no other Gothic European cathedral holds a record of the original design of its ground plan. The drawing captures the original project which, once work commenced, evolved to take on the form of the building that stands today. The construction itself does not reflect the sketched design; those on site had to make decisions about the size of columns or walls which show off the intellectual quality of the design, a trait only the highest qualified professionals could

boast. In Castile, in this part of the fifteenth century these men were almost exclusively from France, namely Bretons and Normans. But the essence of the building survives from the drawings: heights, thicknesses of walls, the nerves of the vaults, doors and windows, and so on. A modern architectural project would require a major graphical exercise together with an extensive technical report; the information in this case is conveyed by a single 460 × 552 mm drawing.

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NOTES

1 Alfredo José Morales Martínez, *La Capilla Real de Sevilla* (Seville, 1979), pp. 23–24; Alfonso Jiménez Martín and Isabel Pérez Peñaranda, *Cartografía de la Montaña Hueca. Notas sobre los planos históricos de la catedral de Sevilla* (Seville, 1997), pp. 61–73, 157.

2 On European architectural drawing, see Robert Branner, 'Drawings from a Thirteenth-Century Architect's Shop: the Reims Palimpsest', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 17 (1958), pp. 9–21; Robert Branner, 'Villard de Honnecourt, Reims and the Origin of Gothic Architectural Drawing', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 61 (1963), pp. 129–46; Robert Bork, 'Plan B and the Geometry of Façade Design at Strasbourg Cathedral, 1250–1350', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 64 (2005), pp. 442–73; F. Bucher, 'Design in Gothic Architecture: a Preliminary Assessment', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 27 (1968), pp. 49–71; Bernard G. Morgan, *Canonic Design in English Medieval Architecture: the Origins and Nature of Systematic Architectural Design in England, 1215–1515* (Liverpool, 1961). In general: Robert Bork, *The Geometry of Creation. Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic Design* (London, 2011); Wolfgang Schöller, 'Le Dessin d'architecture à l'époque gothique', in *Les Bâisseurs des cathédrales gothiques*, ed. Roland Recht and Jacques le Goff (Strasbourg, 1989), pp. 227–35; Roland Recht, 'Sur le Dessin d'architecture gothique', in *Etudes d'art médiéval offerts à Louis Grodecki*, ed. Sumner McKnight Crosby (Paris, 1981), pp. 233–43, and Roland Recht, *Le Dessin d'architecture: origine et fonctions* (Paris, 1995). The Spanish bibliography on the topic is not very numerous, but is summarized in Alfonso Jiménez Martín, 'El arquitecto tardogótico a través de sus dibujos', in *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana entre Europa y América*, ed. Begoña Alonso Ruiz (Madrid, 2011), pp. 389–416. See also J. Ortega Vidal, 'Una muestra del dibujo de la arquitectura en la España Dorada', *Las trazas de Juan de Herrera y sus seguidores* (Salamanca, 2001), pp. 337–415.

3 Begoña Alonso Ruiz, *Arquitectura tardogótica en Castilla: los Rasines* (Santander, 2003), pp. 28–38.

4 Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 'Los talleres de las catedrales góticas y los canteros del norte', *Actas del II Encuentro de Historia de Cantabria*, II (Santander, 2005), pp. 707–28.

5 Alfonso Jiménez Martín, 'Notas sobre la mezquita mayor de la Sevilla almohade', *Artigrama: Revista del Departamento de Historia del Arte de la Universidad de Zaragoza*, 22 (2007), pp. 131–54.

6 This was the main anomaly of the city's two mosques, one from the ninth century and the other from the twelfth, which did not face Mecca.

7 The documents referring to the negotiations prior to the city's surrender mention the Christians' threat to kill a Muslim for each brick that a Muslim tore down from the mosque. See Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina (Cathedral Chapter and Columbian Library, hereafter referred to as 'BCC'), MS 83-7-21, fol. 255, and Alfonso Jiménez Martín and José María Cabeza Méndez, *Torris Fortissima. Documentos sobre la construcción, acrecentamiento y restauración de la Giralda* (Sevilla, 1988), p. 203.

8 Parallels are found in other mosques that were Christianized after the reconquest by the Castilian kings of the Iberian Peninsula, such as Cordoba, Malaga and Granada.

9 Alfonso Jiménez Martín, 'Los primeros años de la catedral de Sevilla: nombres, fechas y dibujos', *Los últimos arquitectos del gótico*, ed. Begoña Alonso Ruiz (Madrid, 2010), pp. 15–69 (p.16).

10 In general, Juan Clemente Rodríguez Estévez, *Los canteros de la catedral de Sevilla. Del Gótico al Renacimiento*

- (Seville, 1998). Also, 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, 2006), pp. 167–70 and 186–201.
- 11 Jiménez Martín, 'Los primeros años', pp. 15–69.
 - 12 Seville, Archive of the Cathedral (hereafter 'ACS'), General Historical Collection, bundle 182, document 122.
 - 13 *Ibid.*, page 5, entry 1.
 - 14 Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble, y muy leal Ciudad de Sevilla, metrópoli de la Andalucía que contienen sus mas principales memorias. Desde el año de 1246, en que emprendió conquistarla del poder de los Moros el gloriosísimo Rey S. Fernando III de Castilla y León, hasta el de 1671 en que la Católica Iglesia le concedió el culto y título de Bienaventurado* (Seville, 1988), p. 385. Also A. Muñiz, *Insinuazion Apologetica al Rey nuestro Señor Don Carlos Segundo, que Dios gde Por su Santa y Rl capilla de la Ziud^a de Sevilla*, fols 83v–84, consulted in BCC, MS 57-3-40.
 - 15 Alfonso Jiménez Martín, 'Las fechas de las formas. Selección crítica de fuentes documentales para la cronología del edificio medieval', in *La catedral gótica de Sevilla. Fundación y fábrica de la obra nueva*, ed. Alfonso Jiménez Martín (Seville, 2006), p. 50.
 - 16 Antonio Collantes de Terán Sánchez, 'Una ciudad, una catedral', *La catedral gótica de Sevilla. Fundación y fábrica de la obra nueva* (Seville, 2006), p. 123.
 - 17 ACS, Administrative section 09335.
 - 18 María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, 'Notas para la historia de la Catedral de Sevilla en el primer tercio del siglo XV', *Laboratorio de Arte*, 3 (1991), pp. 11–31 (p. 22).
 - 19 For instance, Teodoro Falcón Márquez, 'El edificio gótico', in *La Catedral de Sevilla*, ed. Diego Angulo Iñiguez and Luis Arenas Ladislao (Seville, 1984), asserts that the works commenced in 1401 or shortly thereafter.
 - 20 ACS, Building section 09336, p. 8.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
 - 22 *Ibid.*, p. 13v.
 - 23 Jiménez Martín, 'Los primeros años', pp. 31–33.
 - 24 ACS, Building section 09336, p. 26v.
 - 25 *Ibid.*, p. 34v.
 - 26 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
 - 27 The flight to Rome of the *majordomo* led to various inquiries, attested to by abundant surviving documentation in which one finds the first reference to Carlín's presence in the cathedral work. See Jiménez Martín, 'Los primeros años', p. 37.
 - 28 Jiménez Martín, 'Las fechas de las formas', p. 52.
 - 29 ACS, General Historical Collection, bundle 156, document 17/5, p. 3v.
 - 30 Jiménez Martín, 'Las fechas de las formas', p. 64; the date is that of the end of the last account book in which Carlín appears.
 - 31 *Ibid.*, p. 64.
 - 32 *Ibid.*, p. 65. In the cathedral's *libro de fábrica* appears the statement 'recognosçer la obra e faser muestras, etc'. We understand 'taking some samples' to mean making drawings of architectural elements.
 - 33 Arturo Zaragozá Catalán and Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozano, *Pere Compte, arquitecto* (Valencia, 2007), p. 167.
 - 34 Jiménez Martín, 'Los primeros años', p. 48.
 - 35 Jiménez Martín, 'Las fechas de las formas', p. 58.
 - 36 Teodoro Falcón Márquez, *La catedral de Sevilla. Estudio arquitectónico* (Seville, 1980), p. 125.
 - 37 Jiménez Martín, 'Las fechas de las formas', pp. 67 and 74; Seville, Archive of Notarial Protocols (hereafter 'APNS'), signature 5.7, p. 8.
 - 38 Falcón Márquez, *La catedral de Sevilla*, pp. 80 and 81.
 - 39 Jiménez Martín, 'Las fechas de las formas', p. 85.
 - 40 Jerónimo Münzer, *Viaje por España y Portugal (1494–1495)* (Madrid, 1991), p. 155.
 - 41 Morales Martínez, *La Capilla Real de Sevilla*, pp. 20–26; Alfonso Jiménez Martín and Isabel Pérez Peñaranda, *Cartografía de la Montaña Hueca* (Seville, 1997), pp. 70–73.
 - 42 María José Lanzagorta Arco and María Ángeles Molero Esteban, *Los Lazarraga y el convento de Bidaurreta (siglos XVI–XVIII). Un linaje en la historia de Oñate* (San Sebastián, 1999), p. 47.
 - 43 Charles Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (New York, 1985). See watermarks 4688, 4689, 4690 and 4691.
 - 44 Fernando García Salinero, *Léxico de Alarifes del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid, 1968), p. 194.

- 45 Like the vaults in the nave of the cathedral of Burgos, which are in turn based on the vaults at Coutances (France). Observations of the authors.
- 46 Medieval text is reproduced using modern Spanish spelling.
- 47 Jorge Maier Allende and Martín Almagro-Basch Gorbea, *Real Academia de la Historia. Catálogo del Gabinete de Antigüedades. Antigüedades de los siglos XVI–XX* (Madrid, 2005), pp. 49–51.
- 48 *Gazeta de Madrid*, no. 6763 (28 December 1852), p. 4.
- 49 Jiménez Martín and Pérez Peñaranda, *Cartografía de la Montaña Hueca*, p. 72.
- 50 ACS, Fábrica section 09340, p. 69; the abundance of cases rules out any mistake.
- 51 Jiménez Martín, 'Las fechas de las formas', p. 54.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 53.
- 53 See n. 1 above.
- 54 On the Tortosa drawing: María Victoria Almuni Balada and J. Lluís i Guinovart, 'La Traça de la catedral de Tortosa. Els models d'Antoni Guarc i Bernat Dalguaire', *Llambard: estudis d'art medieval*, 9 (1996), pp. 23–37. The Lleida pinnacle, attributed to Guillem Solivella, c. 1400, in the Archive of the Cathedral of Lleida (Spain) was published in F. Fité i Llevot, 'Dibuix de pinacle', *L'esplendor retrobada* (Lleida, 2003), pp. 257–58.
- 55 It was produced on 27 April 1408, as indicated on the parchment currently held in the room at the cathedral known as the 'sala de la traça' ('plan room'). See J. Bassegoda Nonell, 'La fachada de la catedral de Barcelona', *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1981), XLV, pp. 263–307, and 'La façana major de la Seu de Barcelona', *Llambard. Estudis d'art medieval*, IX (1997), pp. 175–205.
- 56 Drawing of the chevet of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, 960 mm × 1940 mm, ink on parchment (Prado Museum, Madrid). Of the extensive bibliography on this drawing, see in particular Sergio Luis Sanabria, 'A Late Gothic Drawing of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo at the Prado Museum in Madrid', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 51 (1992), pp. 161–73. A complete list of Spanish Gothic drawings is found in Jiménez Martín, 'El arquitecto tardogótico a través de sus dibujos', pp. 389–416.
- 57 See n. 2 above.
- 58 James S. Ackerman, "'Ars sine scientia nihil est", Gothic Theory of Architecture at the Cathedral of Milan', *Art Bulletin*, 31.2 (1949), pp. 84–111, and C. Frommel, 'Sulla nascita del disegno architettonico', in *Rinascimento da Brunelleschi a Michelangelo. La rappresentazione dell'Architettura*, ed. Henry A. Millon and Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani (Milan, 1994), pp. 101–21.
- 59 Pierre du Colombier, *Les Chantiers des cathedrales* (Paris, 1973), p. 86. For the knowledge and technologies of the medieval builder, see Dieter Kimpel, 'Les Methodes de production des cathedrales', in *Les Batisseurs des cathedrales gothiques*, ed. Roland Recht and Jacques Le Goff (Strasbourg, 1989), pp. 91–101; Nicola Coldstream, *Artisanos medievales. Constructores y escultores* (Madrid, 1998); Rafael Cómez Ramos, *Los constructores de la España Medieval* (Sevilla, 2001); J. F. Fitchen, *The Construction of Gothic Cathedrals* (Oxford, 1961); P. Frankl, 'The Secret of the Medieval Mason', *Art Bulletin*, 27 (1945), pp. 46–64; Christian Freigang, 'La construcción medieval', *El gótico*, ed. Rolf Toman (Colonia, 1998), pp. 154–55, and John Harvey, *The Master Builders. Architecture in the Middle Ages* (London, 1971); D. Jacobs, *Los constructores de catedrales en al Edad Media* (Barcelona, 1974); and L. R. Shelby, 'The Geometrical Knowledge of the Medieval Master Masons', *Speculum*, 47 (1972), pp. 395–421.
- 60 Dieter Kimpel, 'La actividad constructiva en la edad media: estructura y evolución', in *Talleres de arquitectura en la edad media*, ed. Dins Roberto Cassinelli (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 11–50 (p. 42).
- 61 François Bucher, 'Design in Gothic Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 27.1 (1968), pp. 49–71.
- 62 Fernando Marías, 'Trazas, trazas, trazas: tipos y funciones del dibujo arquitectónico', in *Juan de Herrera y su influencia. Actas del Simposio*, ed. Miguel Ángel Aramburú-Zabala Higuera and Javier Gómez Martínez (Santander, 1993), p. 355.
- 63 On the Coria ground plan, see F. M. Sánchez Lomba, 'Martín de Solórzano: la influencia de Santo Tomás de Ávila en los proyectos constructivos de la Catedral de Coria', *Norba-Arte*, 3 (1982), pp. 63–76. On the Cathedral of Segovia, see A. Casaseca Casaseca, 'Trazas para la catedral de Segovia', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 51 (1978), pp. 29 and ff.
- 64 See, for example, the drawing by Antón Egas, Alonso de Covarrubias and Juan Torollo with Martín de Santiago for the sick bay cloister at the Monastery of Guadalupe (6-II-1525), Juan de Vallejo's project plans for the parish church of Villagonzalo de Pedernales (Burgos province), the plan for the Convent of San Telmo in San Sebastián produced by Fray Martín de Santiago in 1542, the drawing for the Cathedral of Coria by Pedro de Ibarra and the plan of the Fonseca College in Santiago de Compostela produced by the master builder Juan Pérez and published in Ana Castro Santamaría, *Juan de Álava. Arquitecto del Renacimiento* (Salamanca, 2001), fig. 227.

- 65 Good examples are the 'Burlington' drawing of the Palace of Charles V in Granada, attributed to Machuca, and the elevation of the Casa de los Miradores (House of the Balconies) in the same city, drawn by Siloé. See Fernando Marías, *El largo siglo XVI. Los usos artísticos del Renacimiento español* (Madrid, 1989), pp. 503–05.
- 66 These are the measurements of a parchment from Guadalupe (Cáceres, Spain), which is held at the National Historical Archive (Madrid), Clergy, Plans and Drawings, 27, and was used in 1528. The largest-sized parchment could measure up to 1.00 m × 1.20 m, which is the maximum standard size on the market today, and was large enough to draw the ground plan of the cathedral to a scale of 1/108.
- 67 Simancas, General Archive ('AGS'), Registro General del Sello (General Record of the Seal), 31 May 1502, transcript in María Comas Ros, *1 Juan López de Lazarraga, secretario de los Reyes Católicos y el monasterio de Bidaurreta en la villa de Oñate* (Barcelona, 1936); José Antonio Escudero López, *Los secretarios de Estado y del Despacho (1474–1724)* (Madrid, 1976), pp. 607–08; Marcos Fernández Gómez and Pilar Ostos Salcedo, *El Tumbo de los Reyes Católicos del Concejo de Sevilla* (Madrid, 2003), p. 320, and Marcos Fernández Gómez and Pilar Ostos Salcedo, *El Tumbo de los Reyes Católicos del Concejo de Sevilla* (Madrid, 2004), pp. 200 and 207.
- 68 Iñaki Zumalde Romero, 'Juan López de Lazarraga', *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País*, 47 (1991), p. 385.
- 69 The money from the will was deposited in Modena (Italy) and was at the disposal of Juan López de Lazarraga, Zumalde Romero, 'Juan López de Lazarraga', p. 379.
- 70 Zumalde Romero, 'Juan López de Lazarraga', p. 385. AGS, Consejo de la Cámara de Castilla (Council of the Chamber of Castile), CED, 7, 139, 4.
- 71 José Martínez Millán, *La corte de Carlos V. 3ª parte: los servidores de las Casas Reales* (Madrid, 2000), p. 227.
- 72 Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa, *Los quarenta libros del compendio historial de las chronicas y universal historia de todos los reynos de España* (Lejona, 1988).
- 73 Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *Itinerario de los Reyes Católicos (1474–1516)* (Madrid, 1974), pp. 257–58.
- 74 Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales eclesiásticos y seculares*, p. 175.
- 75 Juan Manuel Carretero Zamora, *Cortes, monarquía, ciudades. Las Cortes de Castilla a comienzos de la época moderna (1476–1515)* (Madrid, 1988), p. 39.
- 76 María Ángeles Molero Esteban and María José Lanzagorta Arco, 'La fundación del convento de Bidaurreta por Juan López de Lazarraga', *Sancho el Sabio. Revista de cultura e investigación vasca*, 2 (2000), p. 43.
- 77 Zumalde Romero, 'Juan López de Lazarraga', p. 387.
- 78 Ruesga's authorship was acknowledged by I. Cendoya Echaniz, 'La construcción del convento de Bidaurreta (Oñate) en el siglo XVI. Juan de Ruesga, autor de su iglesia. El uso de un modelo vallisoletano para la clausura', *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología de Valladolid*, 60 (1994), pp. 321–38; although he does not give the name of the draughtsman, he does relate him to the area of Toledo. Raúl Gorriti Yangüas, 'Influjo de la arquitectura toledana en el País Vasco: la iglesia del Monasterio de Bidaurreta', *Revisión del arte medieval en Euskal Herria* (San Sebastián, 1996), pp. 325–30. For more about Ruesga, see Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 'El arquitecto Juan de Ruesga', *Los últimos arquitectos del Gótico* (Madrid, 2010), pp. 219–69.
- 79 Molero Esteban and Lanzagorta Arco, 'La fundación del convento', p. 41; Zumalde Romero, 'Juan López de Lazarraga', p. 388.
- 80 Bidaurreta, Archive of the Convent, bundle 1, no. 6.

