

## The Construction of the Cathedral of Segovia from Juan Guas to Juan Gil de Hontañón.

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**ABSTRACT:** The Cathedral of Segovia was the last great Gothic temple built on the mainland territories of the Kingdom of Castile. Construction began in 1525, after the turbulent events of the War of the Communities destroyed the old building constructed in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Although much has been written about the new temple (designed by Juan Gil de Hontañón, c. 1470-†1526), little is known about the old medieval building, despite having undergone significant construction work at the start of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This paper examines that masonry workshop from the arrival of Juan Guas until the completion of the old Romanesque temple and the start of the construction of the library by Juan Gil de Hontañón in the summer of 1504. After studying the documents in the cathedral archives -the wages of journeymen, deputy foremen and master builders, their role in its construction, their origins and the business relationship between them- we were able to reconstruct this period and explain the spread of the late Castilian Gothic style.

### THE ROMANESQUE TEMPLE

The first Saint Mary's Cathedral of Segovia was a Romanesque masonry located beside the fortress of the Trastámara monarchs. This first building barely attracted the interest of architectural historians because its history was somewhat short-lived and the old temple was eventually demolished in 1570, once the new cathedral designed by Juan Gil de Hontañón and finished by his son Rodrigo had been completed in accordance with the late Gothic style. While the aforementioned is true, it is also true that the works of Hernández provide an insight into what happened in this Romanesque masonry with the arrival of master Juan Guas; and the work of Ruiz Hernando and doctoral dissertation of María Teresa Cortón de las Heras on the new 16<sup>th</sup> century cathedral provide additional information. Nevertheless, very little is known about the construction work carried out in the Romanesque temple in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, apart from the documented role of Guas. It is almost as if nothing significant happened in this masonry between the completion of the work on the cloister in 1491 and the construction of the new cathedral; nevertheless, María Blanca López Díez's doctoral dissertation confirms that intense construction work was carried out in the cathedral in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century.

This "intense construction work" coincided with a historic moment for the Castilian crown and the political role played by Segovia as the privileged setting for important historical events in the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, ultimately earning it the title "the Key to Castile" (Colmenares, 1984:97). This fact, which was extremely significant from a symbolic perspective, is reflected in the new architecture of the city during the aforementioned period and even thereafter. Segovia (a city in a flurry of political, economic, social and artistic activity), with the support of the monarchy, great noble families (like the Marquesses of Villena), ecclesiastical patronage (particularly noteworthy in the case of bishops like Juan Arias Dávila) and religious orders (such as the Order of Saint Jerome and the Franciscans) became a new city with renovated or newly-constructed convents and monasteries, large funeral chapels, a new bishop's palace, a new cloister and -following the War of the Communities- a new cathedral.

In this new context, the building initiated in the 12<sup>th</sup> century was in need of a transformation, "a new set of clothes". At the time, it was located within the city walls and the fortress, attached to the neighbourhood of Las Canonjías. It was considered completed in 1228 when it was consecrated but new construction work required a second consecration in 1257. Chronicles (particularly those of Reverends Juan Rodríguez and Juan

de Pantigoso) describe this first masonry as "not very large" but "more than sufficing", speaking in particular of a cloister "as good as any in the kingdom" and a "very rich and sumptuous Chapter House" (Díaz-Miguel 1968:215-229; Lecea 1888), in addition to the new late Gothic works, but barely referring to the Romanesque temple. Nevertheless, more information can be gleaned from documented testimonies; we know, for instance, that the 12th century temple had three naves crowned with three apses, which were quite small, but vaulted, and that there was a sturdy tower at the foot of the temple –complete with bells and a spire- to rival that of the nearby fortress as it was then depicted in Antón van der Wingaerde's drawing *Vista de Segovia* in the 1560s, shortly before it was dismantled for good (López Díez, 2001). It was surrounded by a number of cathedral buildings, including the bishop's palace, the hospital and the old library. Cathedral records also tell us that this temple had a crossing –covered with a roof- numerous interior chapels, a main frontispiece with the image of the Virgin Mary, a corridor ("of the cathedral chapter") overlooking the square and windows decorated with windowsills, in addition to the old and new chapters. The cloister built by Guas had chapels with tombs and an "in between" doorway, which might have led to the hall (chapter house) that was described as "large" or "main", because this also had its own doorway (Cathedral of Segovia Archives, General Account Books [libros de fábrica] 1491-1525).

In 1436 the chancel was rebuilt under the episcopacy of Bishop Juan de Tordesillas, and the old "low brick" transept was demolished only to be re-erected. There was also talk of work to the cloister which was "quite ancient" and with a roof in need of tiling (Hernández 1946-47:59). The ensuing years were spent working on the new choir stalls to prepare them for the choir (initiated in 1458), the organ gallery, and the maintenance of the old temple. The work was carried out by the masons and carpenters of the Jewish community of Segovia under the direction of the Mudéjar master builder, Roxo (López Díez, 2006a:41). There are also records of small masonry works, such as the construction of windows and openings, to give the temple more natural light. Because of the cathedral's proximity to the royal fortress, with which -as mentioned previously- it symbolically competed for dominion over the town, the chapter and diocese ordered that the cathedral be moved to San Miguel's Square, even though the Segovian King Enrique IV (1454-1474) made unsuccessful attempts to dissuade the chapter. Subsequently, the king set about embellishing it at his own expense, together with Bishop Juan Arias de Ávila (1466-1497) and the chapter. Bishops Juan Arias del Villar (1498-1501), Juan Ruiz de Medina (1501-1507) and Fadrique de Portugal (1507-1512), as well Queen Isabella the Catholic (1474-1504), also showed an interest in its upkeep. Their efforts coincided with the presence of Juan Guas at the Court of Segovia, who was commissioned to construct the new cloister in 1471. From that time until his departure from Segovia twenty years later, he was responsible for the "new clothing" of the old temple and the new city. He designed the cloister, the frontispiece of the Chapel of Saint Augustine in 1473, the Chapel of Saint Michael in 1483, the cloister frontispiece in September 1483 and many other works in the cathedral and city (the new bishop's palace, the Santa Cruz and San Antonio el Real convents, the altar end of the church in El Parral Monastery, El Paular Monastery and other small parish projects).

## THE NEW CLOISTER AND GUAS'S WORKSHOP

Juan Guas (†1496), a Breton by birth and the son of Pedro Guas, came to Castile with his brother Bonifacio in 1453 to work on the Cathedral of Toledo under the orders of Hanequin Coeman de Bruselas. He achieved remarkable fame and wealth, founding his own funeral chapel in the church of Saints Justo and Pastor in Toledo, which was decorated with an altarpiece that included a portrait of the master and his family. He who was to become "the most characteristic master and most qualified representative of the Hispano-Flemish style", "the favourite master of the Queen" (Azcarate, 1971:207), royal architect and architect of the Mendoza family, is documented for the first time in the Cathedral of Segovia in 1471.

Before analysing his work in the cathedral, however, we should first look at his work and style within its context. Azcarate is largely responsible for the information available on this master, and, more recently, the research work of Martínez Frías traces his footsteps in the Cathedral of Ávila, María López Díez has studied his work as the royal master builder for the Trastámara dynasty in Segovia, and other records of his work have more recently come to light (see the list of references). From their works, we can conclude that Guas was trained in architecture in Toledo, where he learned about the Flamboyant Gothic style of the town's cathedral and the Mudéjar architecture of the housing. Guas was, to quote Chueca, "the audacious alchemist who dared to mix and combine such disparate liqueurs". The symbiosis of both languages is the essence of the style created by Guas in which, for example, diamond tips and Flamboyant tracery are employed with the same decorative criteria to create a skilful balance between ornamentation and structure (Infantado Palace, Guadalajara). Guas sees architecture from a sculptural perspective, lending plasticity to decorative plant motifs and architectural elements like mouldings (which he segments) and ribs (which he interweaves prior to placing them on corbels). Although he mostly used straight ribs, his ribbed vaults also demonstrate that he had mastered the art of curved ribs, although he only used these in simple ribbed vault models (as we shall see in the cloister of the Cathedral of Segovia). His innovations in the field of civil architecture are evident in the Infantado Palace in Guadalajara and the College of Saint Gregory in Valladolid. His spatial contributions to the field of religious architecture were instrumental but largely unappreciated; the workshop of the Cathedral of Segovia will play an important role in disseminating his contribution to these fields.

Guas arrived in Segovia in 1471; agreements with the master for the construction of a new cloister for the cathedral date back to 6 February 1471. At the time, he was the master of the Cathedral of Ávila for which he received an annual salary of 3.000 maravedíes, 20 fanegas of wheat a year, a house, and 50 maravedíes for

every day of work on the building site (Martínez Frías, 1998). Although we do not know the terms of his first contract in Segovia, we do know that this document was to regulate the business agreement between Guas and the chapter until 1476. The records indicate that construction work began in April 1471 when the drawing studio was set up; by May, work had already begun on the cloister (López Díez, 2006b:301). It was then that Guas's lengthy association with the Cathedral of Segovia began, during which time he established a large and effective masonry workshop.

His work on the construction of the cathedral was regulated by four different contracts that were signed between the architect and the cathedral more or less every five years, and these reflect Guas's change in status in Segovia and Castile. During the term of his first contract (1471-1476), the basic parameters of the workshop were established: Guas was to be paid 50 maravedies for working on the construction site and his annual salary was to be paid in three instalments; he worked on the site with three tradesmen and two labourers, who each earned 35 maravedies. Other tradesmen were paid a higher wage, namely Juanchón de Cuellar and Diego de Rivas y Valduinos (who was a fixer mason) and earned 40 mrs. There are also records of payments made to other tradesmen whose surnames indicate that they came from other geographical regions with important Gothic masonries, such as León and Toledo (let us not forget Guas's connection with the latter workshop).

Table 1

Masonry workshop 1471-1476			
Name	Category	Wage	Years
Juan Guas	Master builder	50 mrs	1471-76
3 journeymen	Journeymen	35 mrs	1473
Juan del Vado	Labourer	35 mrs	1473
Juan de Salamanca	Labourer	35 mrs	1473
Juanchon de Cuellar	Journeymen	40 mrs	1473
Valduinos	Fixer mason	40 mrs	1473
Diego de Rivas	Journeymen	40 mrs	1473
Pedro de León			1473
Fernando de Toledo			1473
Juan de Toledo			1473
Martín	Fixer mason	40 mrs	1472, 1474

Guas's second contract was signed on 4 March 1476 and probably lasted until 1481 (López Díez 2006b:302 and López Díez 2006a, doc.1). This document states that Guas was a registered inhabitant of Segovia, a condition that was generally imposed on architects but which they rarely complied with. In fact, while still living and working in Segovia, Guas had an increasing number of commitments in distant towns (after being hired by the Mendoza family in 1475, he went on to work on the castles of Real de Manzanares and Infantado and for the Queen in San Juan de los Reyes Monastery in Toledo). The contract stipulates that he was obliged to obtain a permit for these trips, that they were not to exceed the duration of one month under any circumstances and that he was to leave the work under the supervision of a tradesman. At the time he was "master of the building and works that were being undertaken in the cloister" and obliged to be "on the construction site and to work the stone and such like" for the next five years, by which time he was to have completed the cloister "to perfection".

New names and trades began to appear on the workshop payroll in the summer of 1476 as the construction of the cloister advanced; for the first time carvers were required, in addition to the hitherto essential quarrymen and fixer masons, records refer to Juan, the nephew of Guas and a carver, who "carves foliage and works". The first reference to a craftsman who was later to become very important also appears, Juan de Ruesga. In September 1477, Ruesga was registered as a stonemason with a wage of 35 maravedies, which was less than a carver but quite a lot more than a fixer mason. In the first week of December, he was presented with a woolen smock, whereas several of the stonemasons received a cape as a reward for their services. The beneficiaries were Juan Pérez, Juan de Cuellar and Juan de Melgar, who had been working on the cathedral for longer. All of these are listed as "servants of Juan Guas" and were rewarded for continuously being in the masonry and for "working in the quarry for two months".

Table 2

Masonry workshop 1476-1480			
Name	Category	Wage	Date of doc. ref.
Juan Guas	Master builder	50 mrs	1471-76
Juan Peres	Fixer mason	42 mrs	1477
Juan de Talavera	Carver	45 mrs	1476, 1477
Fernando Peres	Carver	45 mrs	1477
Miguel	Carver		1476
Juancho de Cuéllar	Stonemason	40 mrs	1477
Juanchón	Stonemason, son of Machín		1476
García	Stonemason, son of Fernando Pérez		1476
Juan de Melgar	Stonemason	35 mrs	1477
Juancho de Artiaga	Stonemason	30 mrs	1477
Juan del Vado	Stonemason	35 mrs	1477
Juan de Ruesga	Stonemason	35 mrs	1477
Francisco	Junior master mason	20 mrs	1477
Pedro de Hoz			1476
Juan Blasco	Mason		1476
Juan de Xeres (Jerez)	Labourer	25 mrs	1477
Pedro de Cicero	Labourer	25 mrs	1477
At the Quarry			
Fernando de Toledo	Quarrymen	35 mrs	1477
Julio de Espinosa	Quarrymen	27 mrs	1477
Juan de Cicero	Labourer	27 mrs	1477
Juan de Cicero Otero	Labourer	27 mrs	1477

It was during this period that the master and journeymen began to to-and-fro between one construction site and another, and that new journeymen arrived. A practice that became very common at the Cathedral of Segovia workshop began; the skilled labourers were shared by different building sites of different characteristics and developers, but with the same master. This was the case, for instance, at the El Paular and Parral monasteries, Santa Cruz la Real Convent and the Cathedral of Ávila. Accordingly, specialised carvers, like Fernando Pérez from the Queen's works in La Mejorada de Olmedo (Valladolid), arrived in Segovia, and Juan de Ruesga travelled to Ávila accompanied by Guas (In October 1477 "Juan de talavera, carver, from la mejorada, was paid 90 maravedies for two days of work"; "ferrando peres, carver, from la mejorada, was paid 225 maravedies for five days of work". Hernández, 1946-7:90).

The third contract, signed on 7 July 1480 and prior to the expiry of the previous agreement, confirms Guas's position of authority at the cathedral works: Guas is to be promoted from "master of the cloister" to master builder (López Díez 2006b:303). According to the document, he is now the "official master builder of the King and Queen's works" and the chapter of Segovia is obliged to amend the terms of the contract to reflect his new position. This time the dean and the entire chapter are present at the signing of the agreement, which takes place at a solemn ceremony in Santa Catalina chapel. Significantly, the records show that his services are in reality no longer required because "the church presently has neither the right nor the power to employ him", but that "out of the affection he (Guas) has for this church, the great services he rendered in the past and because he may be needed in the future", it is agreed to pay him an annual salary of 2.000 maravedies and 15 fanegas of wheat a year with the only condition that he is available to work and provide advice when requested to do so. This is an unusual document by virtue of which the cathedral engages the "commitment" of the architect for the future.

Under the auspices of Guas, craftsmen like Ruesga also improve their position; the following references now cite him as the Breton's right hand man with whom he travels, draws, and from whom he requests reports. This certainly appears to be the case judging by the General Account Books of 1483, which indicate that Ruesga is not only paid for carving but also for travelling to Ávila to report to Guas and that he is to be paid 258 maravedies the following year for "carving stones and designing the frontispiece with Juan guas..." (Hernández 1946-47:91,93). After reading the General Account Books we can deduce that the carving work accelerated after the year 1483; Guas visited the works at least twice a year and spent the time engaged in architectural tasks, like drawing. In fact the records indicate that in September 1483 "he spent the time designing moulds for the arch of the Chapel of Saint Michael, which had been struck by lightning, and shaping the arch and a discharging arch; he spent four days working on this and making moulds for the frontispiece". Guas visited the works in March and August of 1484, in June and December of 1485, and in April and June of 1486, when he "was there to complete the work". After his departure, the records indicate that Ruesga was appointed deputy foreman, travelling to other building projects in the town of Rascafría (El Paular Monastery), the bridge of "Oñes", El Espinar and Ávila accompanied by his son, Juan de Ruesga "the younger".

The master appears to have signed a new contract after the cathedral work was completed. The term of the fourth contract is from February 1486 to February 1491, at which point he is dismissed from the project as his services are no longer required (López Díez 2006a:53). Subsequently, however, his presence is required again and his annual salary is increased to 4.000 maravedíes, 20 fanegas of wheat a year, the right to a house and 50 maravedíes for every day of work on the building site, including his journeys from other towns, thus re-establishing the conditions of the second contract. From this point on, Ruesga accompanies the master whenever he visits the cathedral (which was the case, for example, in April 1487) and his main task is to make moulds and templates for the stonemasons and to "shape these as required", in addition to carving, a task that was previously performed by Guas himself. Consequently, Ruesga was paid the same daily wage as Guas -50 maravedíes- and was rewarded for carving the frontispiece of the "large hall" with a donation of 1,000 maravedíes towards the coveted cape. By this time he was working on the tombs of the merchant Juan Sánchez de Madrigal and Ruy López de Mesa (Hernández, 1946-7:94), on the new door to the fortress, on that of the aforementioned "large hall and corridor" and he completed the door connecting the cloister with the cathedral naves, which were mounted by Ruesga and the carver Domingo. As these were highly specialised tasks that required skilled tradesmen, the stonemasons began to leave the works and new tradesmen arrived. One such tradesman was the sculptor, Sebastián de Almonacid, who was paid 4 reales a span for carving the apostles of the frontispiece. Because stone is required for this task, in January 1487 the stonemason Lusía was paid 50 maravedíes for going to the stone quarry of Casla "because no one could be found to go there"; Juanchón de Lusía spent thirteen days in the quarry and the foreman added the following note after his name "may God bless him". It is obvious that there was a shortage of skilled labour at the construction site in Segovia at the time because a son of Egas (Antón Egas) had to come from the Cathedral of Toledo to carve the bishop's coat of arms because "there was nobody else to do it" (this was in August 1487) (Hernández 1946-47:97).

Finally, the pace of construction began to decline; the project was nearing completion. The name of the deputy foreman (Ruesga) disappears from the records and the names of new craftsmen, such as the painter Rodrigo de Toledo and the master carpenter Juan de Blasco, appear. In February 1491, master Guas is finally dismissed: "I gave Brother Gil of El Parral Monastery in Segovia four thousand maravedíes that the church of Segovia owed him from his salary up to the year '91; the clergy of the church dismissed him because he was not needed; because he did not work in the church, I stopped paying him at the end of December '91". (Cathedral of Segovia Archives, C.208, General Account Books 1491-1495).

Table 3

Masonry workshop 1486-91			
Name	Category	Wage	Date of doc. ref.
Juan Guas	Master builder	50 mrs	1486-91
Juan de Ruesga	Deputy foreman	50 mrs	1486
Juan de Ruesga "junior"	Carver	35 mrs	1486
Pedro (nephew of the deputy foreman)	Stonemason		1487
Sebastián (Almonacid)	Sculptor	4 reales the span of image	1486
Domingo and his junior mason	Carver		1486
Juanchón de Lusía	Stonemason	50 mrs	
Juan de Cerdeñón	Carver		1487
Son of Egas (Antón Egas)	Carver	46,5 mrs	1487
Gabriel	Carver	46,5 mrs	1487
Pedro de Toledo	Carver		1487,1489,1491
Francisco de Toledo	Fixer mason		1489
Juan de Lazcano	Carver		1489
Diego de Guadalupe	Carver		1489
Diego de Polido	Fixer mason		1489

### "THE NORMAL MAINTENANCE OF THE BUILDING"

The last payment made to Guas was in February 1491; from then until talks with Juan Gil de Hontañón to construct the new cathedral library in 1504, we have what Professor Waldo Merino calls "the normal maintenance of the building" under the same circumstances as the Cathedral of León (Merino 1974:35).

This "maintenance" entailed the plastering of walls, roof repairs and other tasks, such as liming the "floors of the vaults of the church" (for which two unskilled labourers were paid 27 mrs a day in 1497), and other typical church maintenance work. The little remaining masonry work (the steps of the high altar, banisters, windowsills, etc.) is commissioned to a man from the workshop, Francisco de Toledo, who had already reached the cate-

gory of master stonemason in 1498, and supervised a team of different journeymen when working on the new corridor and the steps of the door leading to the square. According to the records, the wage of these tradesmen was 46.5 mrs, the same salary as the carpenters. No master builder appears in the records, but it is assumed that Francisco de Toledo performed this function at the time: in addition to his annual fee, he was paid a daily wage of 50 maravedíes and assigned two servant stonemasons called Juan Martínez and "Juan montañés", who each earned 45 mrs a day. At the time, the unskilled labourers were earning 25 mrs a day (Cathedral of Segovia Archives, C-210. General Account Books 1495-1500).

Table 4

Masonry workshop 1491-1504			
Name	Category	Wage	Date of doc. ref.
Pedro de Toledo	Carver	2 reals	1491, 1492
Pedro (Son-in-law of J. de Velasco)	Carver		
Juan de Velasco	Stonemason		1491-1495
	"Overseer of the gentlemen's houses"	300 mrs a year	
Criado de Juan de Velasco: Juan			1492
Servant of Juan de Velasco: Francisco			1492
Martín	Labourer		1491
Gil	Stonemason		1492
Diego Polido	Stonemason		1493, 1498, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503
Espino	In the quarry		1493
Pedro "montañés"	Stonemason	2 reals	1495
Juan de Tojo	Stonemason		1498
Francisco de Toledo	Master builder	50 mrs	1492, 1493, 1495, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1501, 1502
Servant of F. de Toledo: Juan Cadahalso	Journeymen	45 mrs	1498, 1499
Servant of F. de Toledo: Alonso	Journeymen	45 mrs	1498
Servant of F. de Toledo: Pedro	Journeymen	45 mrs	1498, 1499
Servant of F. de Toledo: Gonzalo	Journeymen	45 mrs	1498
Servant of F. de Toledo: Mansylla	Journeymen	45 mrs	1498
Servant of F. de Toledo: Juan Martínez	Journeymen	45 mrs	1498
Servant of F. de Toledo: Juan "montañés"	Journeymen	45 mrs	1498
Rodrigo Alarcón	Journeymen		1493, 1494
Alarcón	Journeymen		1494
Juan de Lomas	Journeymen		1494
Juan de León	Journeymen		1498
Gonzalo de Cianca	Banker mason		1499
Juan de Cianca	Banker mason		1499
"Montañés" and his son	Stonemason		1504

After this point the General Account Books show little activity; Toledo is still on the payroll and was paid a bonus of 1,500 mrs on 20 May 1501 at the bishop's orders. In 1502 the finishing touches are put to the cloister by Diego Polido, a banker mason, for which he is paid 2 castellanos and 1 ducat. There are no records of a master builder but one was probably hired when his advice was needed; this would appear to be the case from the fact that the architect Martín Ruiz de Solórzano, then the partner of Juan de Ruesga, visited the site on 24 February 1503 ("On the day in question, I paid solorzano, banker mason, two reals to fix the wall sticking out of the cloister, as ordered by the clergy", Cathedral of Segovia Archives, C-211. General Account Books 1500-1506, fol.xlii). In the summer of 1503 the new bishop, Juan Ruiz de Medina, took over his office after being appointed two years earlier; with this, work on the temple was resumed and new journeymen arrived. On Saturday, 23 July 1504, a group came to visit and give their opinion on the library works; one of the visitors was Juan Gil de Hontañón and the other was Diego de Toledo, who was paid 12 reals one month later for "the sample drawing he did for the library". It was at this point that the Cathedral of Segovia entered a new era under the

direction of Juan Gil de Hontañón, and with the construction of the Chapel of Saint Fructus and a new cathedral library.

### GUAS'S LEGACY TO THE ARTISANS OF SEGOVIA

Guas was responsible for the training and rise in Segovia of architects such as Martín Ruiz de Solórzano, Juan de Ruesga and Juan Gil de Hontañón. Other masters that climbed the professional ladder at the hand of the Breton in Segovia were Francisco de Toledo and Diego Polido, although their later careers were not as successful. Martín Ruiz de Solórzano was the architect of Saint Thomas of Ávila (designed by Guas, according to Campdera 2006), although it is also possible that this Martín did in fact come from the workshop in Segovia, if we are to understand that he was the same "banker mason" who worked on the cloister during Guas's early years there (Table 1). Juan Gil came from the nearby monastery of El Paular (Madrid), which was directed by Guas, and Ruesga came from the cathedral workshop where he was eventually promoted to deputy foreman (Alonso Ruiz in press). We have here three of the last architects of the last Castilian Gothic cathedrals (Salamanca, Segovia and Palencia), three masters who were to work together to add the finishing touches to Saint Antolín's Cathedral in Palencia. In April 1506, Ruesga was appointed master builder of the cathedral by virtue of his partnership contract with Ruiz de Solórzano and his relationship with Bishops Deza and Rodríguez de Fonseca. He was commissioned to complete the naves of the temple and to erect the walls of the choir, where he combined the decorative repertoire he learned from Guas with the first Renaissance references in the cathedral. Meanwhile, the work at the cloister in Palencia was commissioned to Juan Gil, who took inspiration from Guas's cloister in Segovia. And thus, a new generation of Iberian masters was charged with handing down the legacy of Guas.

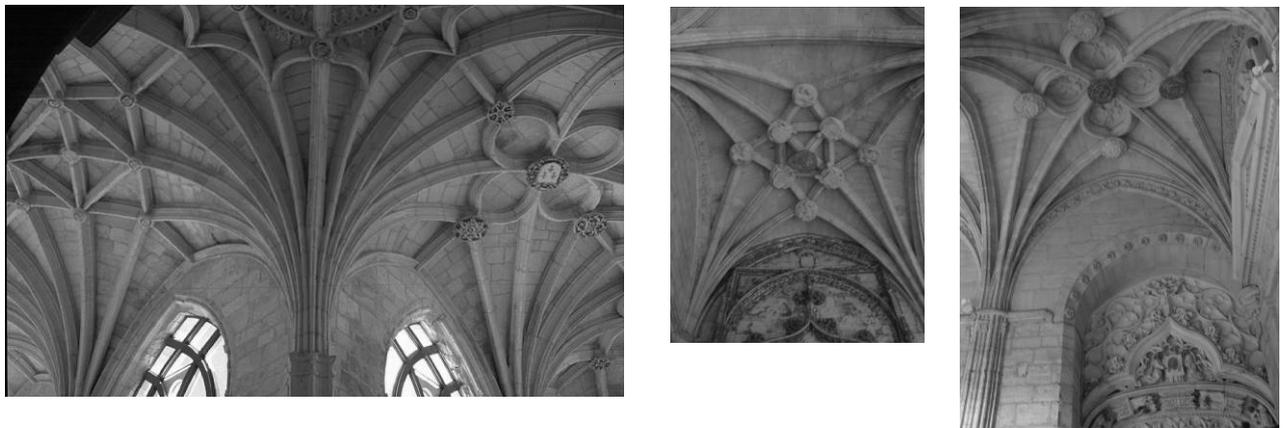


Figure 1: Cloister of Palencia-Juan Gil de Hontañón  
 Figures 2-3: Cloister of the Cathedral of Segovia -Juan Guas

Unlike their master, however, for this generation of late Gothic Hispanic architects decoration played a secondary role to spatial aspects, which they believed to be paramount. Indeed, it is precisely in these new spatial structures that Guas's legacy is most evident. We are referring to three specific typological models: the Monastery of San Juan de los Reyes, El Parral Monastery, and La Piedad Chapel in the church of San Francisco in Ávila. The first, comprised of a nave with small shallow side chapels, short transepts and an orthogonal altar end, was the model used by Juan de Ruesga in the monastery of Santo Tomás in Ávila and Bidaurreta Convent, and was also popular among artists in Toledo like Enrique Egas (Capilla Real in Granada). The second model consisted of an altar end in the shape of a shamrock (Alonso Ruiz 2005); in this case the role of Juan Gil was decisive in works like the church of San Francisco Monastery in Medina de Rioseco (Valladolid), the church of La Piedad Monastery in Casalarreina (La Rioja), in Espinar and Villacastín in Segovia (which were completed by his son, Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón) and the design of the Chapel of Mosén Rubí in Bracamonte, Ávila (built by Juan Campero, Ruiz-Ayúcar, 2006). His disciple Rasines was responsible for the collegiate church of Berlanga de Duero in Soria and the parish church of Guriezo (Cantabria). The third planimetric model consists of a central octagonal chapel that starts at the floor, in contrast to other great Castilian centralised chapels (like the Velasco chapel in the Cathedral of Burgos) where the octagonal vault was achieved through the use of squinches. This model was introduced to Castile by Guas when he built the funeral chapel for the Águila family in the church of San Francisco in Ávila (Abad Castro 2003) and was later used by Juan Gil de Hontañón in the chancel of the church of the Santa Clara Monastery in Briviesca (Burgos).

### CONCLUSIONS

The masonry workshop charged with adding a new cloister to the Romanesque temple of Segovia underwent important changes during Guas's 20-year tenure. In the early years, references to banker and fixer masons abound, but no mention is made of a deputy foreman, although there are many references to unskilled la-

bourers and servants that accompany the master "of the cloister". It is the latter who is responsible for drawing, even making the moulds for the stonemasons. As the walls are erected and the work progresses, references to carvers and highly skilled tradesmen (sculptors) from other works directed by Guas become more frequent. After the third contract, when the master builder is no longer permanently required on-site, the name of a deputy foreman, who receives the same wage and performs the same functions as Guas, appears in the records. After the cloister is completed in 1491, groups of labourers supervised by masters trained in the workshop are temporarily required for the maintenance of the temple, but the position of master builder no longer exists, and no reference is made to it in the cathedral records until Juan Gil's contract to construct the new library is signed in 1509. Under Guas's supervision, a large and travelling workshop is established, and this is shared by all the royal buildings under construction in the town and vicinity, in many cases undermining the authority of the chapter of Segovia to the benefit of buildings like Santa Cruz (royal charter Dominican monastery), El Parral Monastery (belonging to the Order of Saint Jerome), and even other cathedrals like the Cathedral of Ávila. The knowledge acquired by Guas's workshop in Segovia has been passed down through the work of other architects like Martín Ruiz de Solórzano, Juan de Ruesga and Juan Gil de Hontañón and his disciples (Campero and Rasines). In fact, the workshop of the Cathedral of Segovia was operating parallel to two other masonry circles, that is to say, Toledo (then under the direction of the Egas) and Burgos (in the hands of the German Colonia dynasty). These are the links in the late Segovian Gothic chain, learned and reinterpreted throughout Castile, in some cases with Renaissance overtones (Ruesga) and in others measured and restrained under the last Gothic language, refining the style until reducing it to the strictly architectural, which was the case of Juan Gil de Hontañón.

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