

Pride and memory: perceptions of individuality in Iberian sculpture around 1400

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In his will of 1418, Sancho Sánchiz de Oteiza, dean of Santa María de Tudela (Navarre, Spain), ordered to be buried in the grave that he had done inside the chapel of Saint John the Evangelist.¹ The testament included an atypical disposition: if he were to be appointed to a position of greater dignity, he should be entombed in the church to which he had been promoted 'well and with the honour that befits the decency of my person'.² It is difficult to imagine that at that time Sánchiz de Oteiza entertained the hope of attaining the bishopric of Pamplona, because the person who governed that diocese as vicar-general was a thirty-two-year-old illegitimate son of King Charles III the Noble, Lancelot of Navarre, whose bastardy prevented him from being bishop.³ The death of Lancelot on 8 January 1420 opened new perspectives. Nine days after, no doubt at the king's proposal, Sánchiz de Oteiza was unanimously elected bishop.⁴

Sánchiz de Oteiza's five years at the head of the bishopric of Pamplona proved to be fruitful from an artistic point of view. He was responsible for the conclusion of the southern nave of the cathedral and ordered his second tomb to be erected in a new chapel also dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist, as the one in Tudela.⁵

¹ 'Que mi cuerpo sea leuado ala dicha ciubdat de Tudela e sepelido en la sepultura que tengo ay fecha': R. Steven Janke, *Jehan Lome y la escultura gótica posterior en Navarra*, Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana-CSIC, 1977, 213.

² 'Item en caso que yo fuesse promouido aotra mayor dignidat ordeno & mando que en la yglesia do sera promouido sea mi cuerpo sepellido bien & honrradament segunt la decencia de mi persona': Janke, *Jehan Lome*, 214.

³ Lancelot of Navarre was vicar-general of the diocese between 1408 and 1420: José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona II. Siglos XIV-XV*, Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, S.A. – Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1979, 407-67.

⁴ Antonio Marichalar, 'Vera efigie del Obispo de Pamplona Don Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza', *Príncipe de Viana*, 4, no. 11, 1943, 202-03; Goñi, *Historia de los obispos*, 468-470.

⁵ Leopoldo Torres Balbás, 'Filiación arquitectónica de la Catedral de Pamplona', *Príncipe de Viana*, 7, 1946, 478; Goñi, *Historia de los obispos*, 485; Clara Fernández-Ladreda Aguadé and Joaquín Lorda, 'La catedral gótica. Arquitectura', *La Catedral de Pamplona*, Pamplona: Caja de Ahorros de Navarra, 1994, I, 248; Carlos Martínez Álava, 'La catedral gótica. Escultura', *La Catedral de Pamplona*, Pamplona: Caja de Ahorros de Navarra, 1994, I, 348-50.

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The events narrated so far permit the dating of two of the most interesting statues of the group of Navarrese sculptures that R. Steven Janke attributed to the workshop of Johan Lome.⁶ The two funerary representations (one in Tudela and the other in Pamplona) of the same person, whose history is well known, allow us to gauge the degree to which there was intention to individualize them by looking for physical resemblance or by other means.



Figure 1 Santa María de Tudela (Navarre): tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza as dean.

In Tudela (fig. 1), the delicate attitudes of the readers on both sides of the deceased, the painstaking portrait of the prelate in his fifties, and the rotund volumes of all the figures make this an outstanding landmark in the introduction into the Iberian peninsula of the Burgundian style of sculpture.⁷ The fixed stare of the dean, his fleshy cheeks and the short converging eyebrows in a protuberant forehead form a face with marked personality, in which are present the signs of age and of an opulent life. On the Pamplona tomb (fig. 2),⁸ larger and more richly decorated, Don Sancho carries the bishop's staff, in contrast with the Tudela statue,

⁶ Janke, *Jehan Lome*, 113-17 and 119-24.

⁷ Carlos J. Martínez Álava, 'Santa María la Blanca y los sepulcros medievales', *La Catedral de Tudela*, Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 2006, 236-39; Clara Fernández-Ladreda Aguadé, 'La escultura en Navarra en tiempos del Compromiso de Caspe', *Artigrama*, 26, 2011, 203-05.

⁸ Martínez Álava, 'La catedral', 348-50. Fernández-Ladreda, 'La escultura (...) Compromiso de Caspe', 208-13.

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where he joins his hands in prayer. The imprint of time is perceptible on the countenance: the expression has become softer, the cheeks have lost firmness and deep wrinkles mark the face.



Figure 2 Cathedral of Pamplona (Navarre): tomb of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza as bishop.

Both tombs lack an epitaph. The identification of the deceased, purely visual, is based on the clothing, the facial features and the heraldic emblems. It is interesting to note that the arms are different, although they belong to the same person and that less than a decade separates their creation.⁹ In Tudela, at the top of the arcosolium there is an escutcheon with nine gold stars, disposed in cross and blade on a field azure (fig. 3). The Pamplona tomb and the whole chapel is a display of heraldry: in the keystone of the vault, in the corbels, and in the fretwork quatrefoils before the windows we find a different emblem: silver, cross gules with the chains of Navarre cantoned with stars azure (fig. 4). The prelate had decided to show his social ascent by way of heraldry: the cross gules on a field argent represents the culmination of his ecclesiastical career, the gold chains attest to the king's recognition of his many years of service and the stars recall his lineage.¹⁰ These were unique arms, individual and destined not to last, because as a bishop, he

⁹ Marichalar, *Vera efigie*, 190; Mikel Ramos Aguirre, 'La Catedral gótica. Decoración emblemática', *La Catedral de Pamplona*, Pamplona: Caja de Ahorros de Navarra, 1994, I, 382-83; Javier Martínez de Aguirre Aldaz and Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, *Emblemas heráldicos en el arte medieval navarro*, Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1996, 249-50.

¹⁰ Faustino Menéndez Pidal and Javier Martínez de Aguirre, *El escudo de armas de Navarra*, Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2000, 77-81.

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would not have sons to inherit them legitimately. The change of the coat of arms and their proliferation can be credited to the will of the new bishop; the sculptors were responsible for their material realization.¹¹



Figure 3 Santa María de Tudela (Navarre): coat of arms in Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza's tomb.



Figure 4 Cathedral of Pamplona (Navarre): coat of arms of Sancho Sánchez de Oteiza in the chapel of Saint John the Evangelist.

¹¹ At least three sculptors worked on the tomb and the chapel, as the number and form of the points of the stars reveal: five on the corbel with the eagle, seven narrow ones on the corbel supported by the lion and seven broad ones on the quatrefoils.

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The two statues of Oteiza involve a radical advance. No previous ecclesiastical tomb in Navarra had attempted to reproduce personal features. The funerary effigies of bishops Arnaldo de Barbazán (1318-55) and Miguel Sánchez de Asiáin (1357-64), in the cloister of the cathedral of Pamplona, mutual enemies and descendants of very different families, share a bony, young and not individualized demeanour.¹²

The recumbent figures of Oteiza transmit his life experience. Are we contemplating a requirement stipulated by the bishop? Is it the consequence of the new capabilities and artistic aspirations that were becoming widespread among the sculptors of the period? Does it correspond to a modification of certain Navarrese social milieus in the early fifteenth-century? Patrons, artists and society constitute the vertices of the triangle in whose centre lies the continuing search for physical resemblance in late medieval sculpture.¹³

Consider the antecedents. The Pamplona cathedral cloister is renowned by its close contact with French sculpture around 1300.¹⁴ Façades, capitals, keystones and corbels were in the vanguard as regards form and content, as a result of the coincidence of economic availability, qualified artists and cultured patrons. At that time, the kings of France were also kings of Navarre. But once this period of splendour had passed, during the bellicose reign of Charles II the Bad (1349-87), Navarre was unaffected by the sculptural progress being made in Paris under his cousin and mortal enemy Charles V the Wise (1364-80). The circumstances changed once more when the heir to the Navarrese throne, having been held hostage in the French capital between 1378 and 1381, personally came to know top-level commissions.¹⁵ The advances of André Beauneveu and other portrait artists made a definite impression on the cultured and sensitive young prince.¹⁶ In 1387, Charles III the Noble was crowned king of Navarre. On three occasions he travelled to Paris to recuperate usurped rents and territories, taking advantage of his sojourns to acquire

¹² Janke, *Jehan Lome*, 117-19 José Esteban Uranga Galdiano and Francisco Íñiguez Almech, *Arte medieval navarro. Volumen Quinto. Arte gótico*, Pamplona: Editorial Aranzadi, 1973, 22-23; Martínez Álava, 'La catedral', 295-96 and 337-38.

¹³ Martin Büchsel and Peter Schmidt, eds, *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp Von Zabern, 2003; Stephen Perkinson, 'Sculpting Identity', 120-23; Stephen Perkinson, 'Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture', *Gesta*, 46:2, 2007, 135-58; Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: a Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009.

¹⁴ Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *L'art gothique*, Paris: Éditions d'art Lucien Mazenod, 1983, 101; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le monde gothique. La conquête de l'Europe 1260-1380*, Paris: Gallimard, 1987, 174.

¹⁵ Javier Martínez de Aguirre, *Arte y monarquía en Navarra 1328-1425*, Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1987; Javier Martínez de Aguirre, 'La rueda de la Fortuna: Carlos III el Noble de Navarra (1387-1425) en París, de rehén a promotor de las artes', *El intercambio artístico entre los reinos hispanos y las cortes europeas en la Baja Edad Media*, León: Universidad de León, 2009, 379-405.

¹⁶ Claire Richter Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France (1338-1380)*, New York: New York University Press – College Art Association, 1969.

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works of art and to hire first-rate artists.¹⁷ In November of 1410, he spent almost a month in Dijon. One year later he obtained the services of Johan Lome de Tournai, a sculptor that probably formed part of the Claus Sluter workshop and collaborated on works that represented a landmark in the characterization of people through physical features, contrasting attitudes and the impressive perception of psychological depth.¹⁸

In this way, in Navarre between 1410 and 1425, there coincided a monarch desirous of incorporating into his domain the most advanced artistic manifestations of his time and a sculptor capable of satisfying his requirements. Paris, Tournai and Dijon joined hands in the court of Charles the Noble.¹⁹ The tomb of Charles III for the cathedral of Pamplona was done between 1413 and 1419, in Olite, where the court resided.²⁰ It depicts a sovereign of controlled temperament, peaceful and attracted by splendour (fig. 5). Crown and mantle were the signs of royalty; the golden fleurs-de-lys embroidered on the blue borders of the mantle proclaim that he is a member of the French royal family. On the sides of the cushion we can read his personal motto: 'bone foy'.²¹ The quadrangular visage, prominent nose and broad forehead confirm the intent of the representation to depict facial likeness.

¹⁷ José Ramón Castro, *Carlos III el Noble rey de Navarra*, Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1967; Fernando Bozano Garagorri, "Itinerarios en Francia del rey Carlos III", *Estudios sobre la realeza navarra en el siglo XV*, Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra, 2005, 129-78; Martínez de Aguirre, 'La rueda de la Fortuna', 379-405.

¹⁸ Georg Troescher, *Die burgundische Plastik des ausgehenden Mittelalters und ihre Wirkungen auf die europäische Kunst*, Frankfurt am Main: Prestel, 1940, 170; Domien Roggen, 'Jehan Lome en Klaus Sluter', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiednis*, 13, 1951, 199-207; Javier Ibáñez Fernández, 'Seguendo il corso del sole: Isambart, Pedro Jalopa e il rinnovamento dell'ultimo Gotico nella Penisola Iberica durante la prima metà del XV secolo', *Lexicon. Storie e architettura in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo*, 12, 2011, 30; Fernández-Ladreda, 'La escultura... Compromiso de Caspe', *Artigrama*, 26, 2011, 186-88; Javier Ibáñez Fernández, 'The Northern Roots of Late Gothic Renovation in the Iberian Peninsula', Konrad Ottenhaym, ed., *Architects without Borders. Migration of Architects and Architectural Ideas in Europe 1400-1700*, Mantova: Il Rio Arte, 2014, 18-19.

¹⁹ Fernández-Ladreda, 'La escultura en Navarra (...) Compromiso de Caspe', 185-242; Clara Fernández-Ladreda Aguadé, 'La escultura en Navarra en la primera mitad del siglo XV. Johan Lome y su círculo', *Anales de Historia del Arte. El siglo XV hispano y la diversidad de las artes*, extra 1, 2012, 7-37.

²⁰ Emile Bertaux, 'Le mausolée de Charles le Noble à Pampelune et l'art franco-flamand en Navarre' *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 50, t. 40, 1908, 89-112; Janke, *Jehan Lome*, 37-92. Fernández-Ladreda, 'Escultura en Navarra... Compromiso de Caspe', 189-203; Fernández-Ladreda, 'Escultura en Navarra... Johan Lome', 8-22.

²¹ María Narbona Cárceles, 'Le roy de la bonne foy. Charles III le Noble et les devises des Navarre-Évreux au XVe siècle', *Signes et couleurs des identités politiques du Moyen-Age à nos jours. Actes du colloque de Poitiers, 14-16 juin 2007*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008, 477-509.



Figure 5 Cathedral of Pamplona (Navarre): tomb of King Charles III the Noble and Leonor of Castile.

We know the names of Lome's collaborators.²² It is enticing, but not very rigorous, to differentiate their working style simply based on their surnames: John of Lille, Michael of Reims, John of Burgundy, etc. Some of these sculptors could participate in other creations of individualizing interest, such as the tomb of chancellor Villaespesa in Santa María de Tudela.²³ Here, too, the artisans placed at the service of the patron their ability to present the image that the chancellor desired (fig. 6). His own plump face, not repeated in the other tombs of the workshop, suggests that the coincidences between the recumbent figures and the relief of the family group in the upper frieze reproduce physiognomic characteristics of the chancellor and his wife.

The portrait of Villaespesa on the painted altarpiece of the same chapel (fig. 7) is slightly different. He appears younger, is bearded, thin, richly clothed, and he wears a biretta. The period of time that separates the realization of the altarpiece (documented in 1412)²⁴ and the tomb (work was under way in 1418) does not justify

²² José María Jimeno Jurío, "Autores del sepulcro de Carlos III de Navarra", *Príncipe de Viana*, 35, 1974, 455-82; Fernández-Ladreda, 'Escultura en Navarra... Johan Lome', 8-22.

²³ José Esteban Uranga, 'El Sepulcro de Mosén Francés', *Príncipe de Viana*, 10, no. 35-36, 1949, 227-40; Janke, *Jehan Lome*, 132-51; Martínez Álava, 'Santa María la Blanca', 228-35; Fernández-Ladreda, 'Escultura en Navarra... Compromiso de Caspe', 203-07. For the chapel: Joaquín Yarza, 'La capilla funeraria hispana en torno a 1400', Manuel Núñez Rodríguez and Ermelindo Portela Silva, eds., *La idea y el sentimiento de la muerte en la historia y en el arte de la Edad Media*, Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1988, 67-91.

²⁴ José Cabezudo Astráin, 'Nuevos documentos sobre pintores aragoneses del siglo XV', *Seminario de Arte Aragonés*, 7-9, 1957, 76-77.

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details such as the change in facial proportions.²⁵ One must think, rather, of the process of creating the work. Altarpieces were painted in the workshop and transported to their destination unassembled. The artist, Bonanat Zaortiga, worked in Zaragoza, 90 kilometres from Tudela.²⁶ Perhaps he only saw the chancellor when they agreed on the work, if it was Villaespesa who commissioned it; perhaps he never met him in person. On the other hand, Villaespesa resided in Olite, where Lome's collaborators had habitually worked.²⁷ Furthermore, the Aragonese painters of the International Style and the society that they served did not always pay attention to physical likeness: witness the representation of Isabel de Ujué, very similar to other feminine faces in the altarpiece, while her sculpted effigy was treated with an individualizing spirit seen in the plump face, the same one we see in the frieze, and in her clothing.



Figure 6 Santa María de Tudela (Navarre): tomb of Chancellor Francés de Villaespesa and Isabel de Ujué.

²⁵ José Ramón Castro, 'El Canciller Villaespesa (Bosquejo biográfico)', *Príncipe de Viana*, 10, No 35-36, 1949, 129-226; José Ramón Castro, *El canciller Villaespesa*, Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1968; María Luisa Melero Moneo, 'Bonanat Zaortiga: aproximación al estudio del retablo de Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza de Tudela (Navarra)', *III Coloquio de Arte Aragonés. Vol. 2: El arte aragonés y sus relaciones con el hispánico e internacional*, Huesca: Diputación Provincial de Huesca, 1985, 155-70.

²⁶ Francisco Oliván Bayle, *Bonanat y Nicolás Zaortiga y la pintura del siglo XV. Estudio histórico-documental*, Zaragoza: Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1978; María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, 'Pintores aragoneses en Navarra durante el siglo XV', *Príncipe de Viana*, 40, no. 153-155, 1979, 83; M^a Carmen Lacarra Ducay, 'La pintura gótica en los antiguos reinos de Aragón y Navarra (ca. 1379-1416)', *Artigrama*, 26, 2011, 298-301.

²⁷ For Villaespesa's residence in Olite: Martínez de Aguirre and Menéndez Pidal, *Emblemas heráldicos*, 234-35.



Figure 7 Santa María de Tudela (Navarre): Francés de Villaespesa and Isabel de Ujué in the central panel of the altarpiece of Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza.



Figure 8 Santa María de Tudela (Navarre): Chancellor Francés de Villaespesa, Isabel de Ujué and their sons and daughters in the tomb's frieze.

In the upper part of the arcosolium the chancellor and his family attend the Mass of Saint Gregory (fig. 8), in what constitutes the first sculptural family portrait in Navarrese art.²⁸ The sculptors repeated the facial schemes with little variation for the three daughters and for the grandchildren. In the lower part a lively procession

²⁸ It was followed by the Eneco Pinel slab in the church of San Pedro in Olite (1432): Janke, *Jehan Lome*, 176-81.

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of ecclesiastics occupies the three sides. Each sequence includes one or two clergymen wearing mitres. The sculptors differentiated clothing and attitudes, and they made an effort to capture the anecdotal, but there is no way of knowing whether they intended for the faces to resemble contemporary persons.

Five tombs of the group are of laymen of the court. Only Villaespesa is presented without armour (the hose and shoe of his right leg are uncovered). The sword proclaims his condition of nobleman, but no other weapon marks him as a military man. The biretta and the thick tome identify a man of letters: it was his intellectual background that permitted him to attain a position of such great responsibility. His epitaph reaffirms his doctoral status: 'Here lies (...) Mosén Francés de Villaespesa, doctor, nobleman and chancellor of Navarra'²⁹ The other tombs of nobles boast of the handling weapons and do not neglect to reflect their proximity to the crown: Pere Arnaut de Garro in Pamplona and Pedro Périz de Andosilla in Olite wear complete armour and bear collars of chestnut leaves, a favourite gift of Charles III.³⁰ The lack of terms of comparison impedes verification of their fidelity to the likenesses.



Figure 9 Santa María de Olite (Navarre): statue of Queen Blanche of Navarre.

²⁹ "Aquy jaze El muy honorable sennior mosen frances de villa espessa doctor cavaleiro et Chanceller de nauara et fino el dia xxi del mes de Jenero del aino de la natiuidat de ihu xpo mil cccc et xx un ainos . rogat a ihu xpo por el": Janke, *Jehan Lome*, 137-38.

³⁰ Janke, *Jehan Lome*, 151-59 and 166-68; Martínez de Aguirre, *Arte y monarquía*, 370-74; Martínez de Aguirre and Menéndez Pidal, *Emblemas heráldicos*, 229-32 and 265-67; Narbona 'Le roi de la bonne foy', 477-509.

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Queen Blanche (1425-41), daughter and successor of Charles III the Noble, inherited the taste for artistic productions.³¹ Around 1432 she commissioned the only surviving non-funerary sculptural portrait of a medieval Navarrese monarch (fig. 9).³² It was situated in the atrium of Santa María de Olite, the church located near the royal palace. The queen is elegantly dressed and is shown before the Virgin and Child. Her loose robes conceal her size. The slimness of the neck makes us think of a slender lady, quite the contrary of the literary testimony which describes her in 1440 as obese and moving with difficulty.³³ Did the sculptor want to disguise her corpulence? In her youth Blanche had been praised for her beauty.³⁴ I am inclined to think that her obesity was a consequence of her inactivity after the accident she suffered around 1433, and which took her on a pilgrimage to the church of Our Lady of the Pillar in Zaragoza. The deterioration of the face does not permit any assessment on likeness.

One might think that the advances of the Lome workshop would attain broad social acceptance in Navarre and would be consolidated as a path of no return. This was not the case. There are no sculptural representations of contemporary personages between 1441 and the beginning of the sixteenth century. Following the death of Charles III and Blanche, and with the disappearance of the artists as well, the genre died out. The tombs of the cathedral after 1430 have no recumbent sculptures. Neither are there any on the tombs of the marshals of Navarre in San Pedro de la Rúa in Estella.³⁵ The memory of the deceased was entrusted to coats of arms.

We must ask whether there is other evidence to prove an interest in leaving a memory of the individual in the Navarrese society of the period. The local literature of that time reflects scarce interest in describing people's physical appearance or character. The chronicles of Bishop García de Eugui and the treasurer Garci López de Roncesvalles, written before the tomb of Charles III was commissioned, seldom

³¹ Javier Martínez de Aguirre, 'El honor de la Corona: los encargos artísticos de la reina Blanca de Navarra (1425-1441)', *Goya: Revista de arte*, 334, 2011, 40-57.

³² Janke, *Jehan Lome*, 173-76.

³³ 'La rreyna de Nauarra (...) venía en andas por quanto hera mujer gruesa e non podía venir en mula': Juan de Mata Carriazo, *Crónica del Halconero de Juan II, Pedro Carrillo de Huete*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1946, 345.

³⁴ Carmen Orcástegui Gros, *Crónica de Garci López de Roncesvalles. Estudio y edición crítica*, Pamplona, 1977, 104: 'nombrada donna Blanca, et como es el nombre, Dios li ha dado bondat et beldat si ninguna christiana real lo ha'. In a letter in 1402 Martin I, King of Aragon, wrote: 'Vis a ull com Deus ha dotado aquella de gran bellesa, honestat, bons costums e altres moltes virtuts, havem aquella elegida en muller de nostre molt car e mon amat primogenit lo Roy de Sicilia'; and so did queen María de Luna: 'vos certificam que la dita Infanta es de molt gran e alt linatge, sobiranament bella, molt nodrida e de moltes virtuts e dons de natura dotada': Castro, *Carlos III*, 254-55.

³⁵ José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia eclesiástica de Estella. Tomo I. Parroquias, iglesias y capillas reales*, Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1994, 109-11; Martínez de Aguirre and Menéndez Pidal, *Emblemas heráldicos*, 144-46; María del Carmen Muñoz Párraga and María Teresa López de Guereño Sanz, 'La Cripta de los Mariscales de Navarra en San Pedro de la Rúa (Estella). El pleito por la posesión de un espacio privilegiado y la renovación del templo en época moderna', *De Arte*, 12, 2013, 79-102.

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mention personal traits.³⁶ They give preference to lineage, relevant deeds and the place of burial for each king. If anything, they insert brief commentaries on the character or virtue of certain monarchs.³⁷ After all, physical appearance was not a merit of the individual and, according to medieval thought it belonged to the category of what was accidental in a person, not what was substantial. Years afterward, the grandson of Charles the Noble wrote a *Chronicle of the Kings of Navarre* with a greater number of references to the character and virtues of the kings, but he gives no attention to physical traits either.³⁸

In contrast, we can consider what happened in Castile and Leon, the largest and wealthiest kingdom of the Iberian Peninsula, whose court had an outstanding intellectual history from the thirteenth-century, the time of Alfonso X, and a very notable level of education in a good number of its prelates. Nevertheless, as regards the patrons and specifically the royal ones, the panorama was completely different from that of Navarre. The monarchs of the Trastámara dynasty, established after the regicide of Montiel (1369), neglected the sculptural aspect of the royal tombs. Henry II (†1379) chose a burial site in the royal chapel that he had ordered to be built in the cathedral of Toledo near the miraculous Pillar of the Descent.³⁹ His son John I (1379-90) made the same choice, but neither of the two gave any thought to monuments for their tombs. It was Henry III (1390-1406) who entrusted to artists established in Toledo the tombs of his grandparents, more than two decades after their deaths.⁴⁰ The recumbent statues reproduce hardly any physical features other than the king's beard (fig. 10). But care is taken in the presentation of the symbols of monarchical power: crown, sceptre and sword. We must not forget that the legitimacy obtained on the field of battle was questionable. The representation does not coincide with the description of the chronicler López de Ayala: 'small in body but well formed,

³⁶ Carmen Orcástegui Gros, 'Crónica de los Reyes de Navarra de García de Eugui', *Príncipe de Viana*, 39, no. 152-53, 547-72; Orcástegui, *Crónica de Garci López*.

³⁷ For example: Theobald I "hera muy rico et duro et ríguoroso [...] en otras cosas, era valient rey, alegre, gran cantador et bien"; his son Theobald II "fue mucho gracioso a todos et hoberdiente a la Yglesia"; his brother Henry I "fue mal gracioso a todos" (Orcástegui, *Crónica de Garci López*, 69-72), and Charles II was patient and devout: "todas las quales fortunas, por virtud de grant paciencia, él sostuvo en su tiempo et fue buen cathólico" (Orcástegui, *Crónica de Gaci López*, 98).

³⁸ Carmen Orcástegui Gros, *La crónica de los Reyes de Navarra del Príncipe de Viana (Estudio, Fuentes y Edición Crítica)*, Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1978.

³⁹ Lucio Hidalgo Lucero, 'La Real Capilla de Reyes Nuevos de Toledo. Apuntes históricos y artísticos', *Boletín Oficial del Arzobispado de Toledo*, 131, 1975, 401-44; Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, 'Capillas Reales funerarias catedralicias de Castilla y León: Nuevas hipótesis interpretativas de las catedrales de Sevilla, Córdoba y Toledo', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte (U.A.M.)*, 18, 2006, 14-15. The chapel was still unfinished in 1406: "Otrosí, por quanto la capilla en que yo me mando enterrar no está acabada, mando que los dichos mis Testamentarios la acaben y la hagan acabar": Cayetano Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel. Tomo segundo*, Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1877, 268.

⁴⁰ Teresa Pérez Higuera, 'Los sepulcros de Reyes Nuevos (Catedral de Toledo)', *Tekné. Revista de Arte*, 1, 1985-I, 131-39.

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white and blonde',⁴¹ although the gold of the hair seems to show through the present dark tone, possibly polychromed again when the tombs were transferred to the Chapel of the New Kings in 1534.



Figure 10 Cathedral of Toledo (Castile): tomb of King Henry II of Castile in the chapel of the New Kings.

Likewise, we can perceive divergences between the literary and funerary portraits of Catherine of Lancaster, the wife of Henry III. According to Fernando Pérez de Guzmán, she was 'tall and very corpulent; ruddy and white. In the size and movement of her body she seemed as much a man as a woman'.⁴² The recumbent figure executed by the *maestro* Luys in the queen's lifetime, shows her very slender (fig. 11), with an extremely long neck and a slim figure. Was the discrepancy between the literary and sculptural portrait due to the inability of the artist to personalize the dead or to the patron's lack of interest in true physical representation?

The face of Henry III, on the statue signed by the same artist (fig. 12), is especially anodyne (one might even think it has been remodelled). Nose, complexion and hair differ from the description left by Pérez de Guzmán: 'he was white and blonde; the nose a little high. When he was 17 or 18, he had many serious illnesses that wasted his body and damaged his constitution and in consequence his face was damaged and disfigured'.⁴³ The crown and sword contrast with the

⁴¹ 'E fue pequeño de cuerpo, pero bien fecho, e blanco e rubio, e de buen seso, e de grande esfuerzo, e franco, e virtuoso, e muy buen rescebidor e honrador de las gentes': Pero López de Ayala, *Crónicas*, José-Luis Martín, ed., Barcelona: Planeta, 1991, 507.

⁴² Fernando Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones y semblanzas*, José Antonio Barrio Sánchez ed., Madrid: Cátedra, 1998, 77: 'Fue esta reina alta de cuerpo e muy gruesa; blanca e colorada e ruvia. En el talle e meneo del cuerpo tanto pareçia onbre como mujer'.

⁴³ Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones*, 69: 'Fue de mediana altura e asaz de buena dispusiçion. Fue blanco e rubio; la nariz un poco alta. Pero quando llegó a los diez e siete o diez e ocho años ovo muchas e grandes enfermedades que le enflaqueçieron el cuerpo e le dañaron la conplisiòn, e por consiguiente se le afeò e dañó el semblante, non quedando en el primer

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Franciscan habit and sandals, as was true of the recumbent figure of Sancho IV, who until then had been the only king buried in the cathedral of Toledo with a funerary statue.



Figure 11 Cathedral of Toledo (Castile): tomb of Queen Catherine of Lancaster in the chapel of the New Kings.



Figure 12 Cathedral of Toledo (Castile): tomb of King Henry III of Castile in the chapel of the New Kings.

Traditionally, Master Luis has been associated with the workshop of Ferrand González, a painter and sculptor according to the inscription that he engraved on the tomb of Archbishop Tenorio (†1399) in the San Blas chapel in Toledo.⁴⁴ The

parescer, e aún le fueron cabsa de grandes alteraciones en la condiçion, ca, con el trabajo e afliçion de la luenga enfermedad, fízose muy triste e enojoso’.

⁴⁴ María Teresa Pérez Higuera, ‘Ferrand González y los sepulcros del taller toledano (1385-1410)’, *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, 44, 1978, 129-31. Almudena Sánchez-Palencia Mancebo, ‘La capilla del arzobispo Tenorio’, *Archivo Español de Arte*, 48, no. 189, 1975, 27-42; Almudena Sánchez-Palencia Mancebo, *Fundaciones del arzobispo Tenorio: la capilla de San Blas en la catedral de Toledo*, Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1985.

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statue of the archbishop and that of his collaborator Arias de Balboa seem more reliable with respect to likeness, but we cannot verify this.⁴⁵ Teresa Pérez Higuera assigns a large number of works to the circle of this artist.⁴⁶ Frequently, the deceased are only individualized by their coats of arms and by anecdotal details such as the inclusion of collars with the names of dogs or decoration on the borders of the clothing. The faces of various ladies are especially lacking in definition. It is clear that a significant percentage of the most important patrons of Castile and also the artists at their service had no interest in portraying portraiture in funerary sculpture of around 1400.

The most outstanding exception is Gómez Manrique (†1411), illegitimate son of Pedro Manrique (royal favourite of John I and Major Governor of Castile), who was replaced in his position by his brother Diego Gómez Manrique. On the death of Diego in the battle of Aljubarrota (1385), his son Pedro's youth caused the king to appoint Gómez Manrique Governor, a post he held for the rest of his life. His recumbent statue had traditionally been considered a commissioned by his wife Sancha de Rojas shortly before her death in 1437.⁴⁷ In 1936 Harold Wethey, aware of the realism of the face of the Governor who had died twenty years earlier, demanded an explanation and his presumed solution was a funerary mask.⁴⁸

In 1955 Matías Martínez Burgos published the will dated in Cordoba the 21 April, 1410, where Gómez Manrique ordered 'that they bury my body in the main chapel that I am building in Santa María de Fresdelval and that they bury me in the alabaster sepulchre that I have had made there, in front of the high altar'.⁴⁹ But in spite of the explicitness of the document, the push to date this work in the first decade of the fifteenth century caused many authors to be unwilling to identify the tomb now in the Museum of Burgos (fig. 13) with the one mentioned in the testament. Recent historiography favours a reconsideration of the chronology.⁵⁰ To be sure, together with the 'realism' of the face we find conventions in the hair and the lion that situate it close to other sculptures of the International Style, but this is

⁴⁵ María Ángela Franco Mata, 'El arzobispo Pedro Tenorio: vida y obra. Su capilla funeraria en el claustro de la catedral de Toledo', *La idea y el sentimiento de la muerte en la historia y en el arte de la Edad Media (II): ciclo de conferencias celebrado del 15 al 19 de abril de 1991*, Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1992, 73-94.

⁴⁶ Pérez Higuera, 'Ferrand González', 129-42.

⁴⁷ Valentín Carderera y Solano, *Iconografía española*, Madrid: Imprenta de Ramón Campuzano, 1855, XLIII.

⁴⁸ Harold Wethey, *Gil de Siloe and his School. A Study of Late Gothic Sculpture in Burgos*, Cambridge Mss: Harvard University Press, 1936, 58.

⁴⁹ Matías Martínez Burgos, 'En torno a la catedral de Burgos II. Colonias y Siloes', *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González*, 34, no.131, 1954, 557-72. For the church: Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, 'Ntra. Sra. de Fresdelval y sus nobles fundadores. Una fábrica monástica condicionada a su patronazgo', *La Orden de San Jerónimo y sus Monasterios. Actas del Simposium (I) 1/5-IX-1999*, San Lorenzo del Escorial: Ediciones Escorialenses (Edes), 1999, 293-316.

⁵⁰ M^a Jesús Gómez Bárcena, 'El sepulcro de Gómez Manrique y Sancha de Rojas', *Reales Sitios*, 83, 1985, 29-37; M^a Jesús Gómez Bárcena, *Escultura gótica funeraria en Burgos*, Burgos: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Burgos, 1988, 155-58.

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not the place to deal with this problem, as the tomb is atypical in the Castilian panorama whether it was done before 1410 or was sculpted around 1430.



Figure 13 Burgos Museum: tomb of Gómez Manrique and Sancha de Rojas from the Monastery of Fresdelval.

The markedly personal facial features of the Governor, his sturdy build, aquiline nose and broad forehead coincide exactly with Pérez de Guzmán's reference: 'of a good height and strong members, dark and bald, a large face, a high nose'.⁵¹ His ample full-length clothing, with no armour visible, is complemented by the sash of the royal Castilian order instituted by Alfonso XI, the collar of the Order of the Jug, created by the then regent Fernando de Antequera, and an eye-catching turban that conceals his baldness (when a child, he had been hostage in Granada, where he 'became moor' according to Pérez de Guzmán, but later he returned to the church)⁵². His attire proclaims his high social status. The devices on the sash and the collar are an indication of the favour he found with the royal family. In the fourteenth century, Castile and all Europe experienced the proliferation of para-heraldic complements that individualized those that bore them.⁵³ The heraldic

⁵¹ Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones*, 117: 'Fue este Gómez Manrique de buena altura e de fuertes miembros, baço e calvo, el rostro grande, la nariz alta'.

⁵² Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones*, 117: 'e fue dado en rehenes al rey de Granada con otros fijos de cavalleros de Castilla, e, como era niño, por enduzimiento e engaño de los moros tornóse moro. Desde que fue onbre conoció el horror en que vivía e vínose a Castilla e reconçilióse a la fe'.

⁵³ For Castile: Faustino Menéndez Pidal, 'Panorama heráldico español. Épocas y regiones en el período medieval' and 'El uso en España de diferencias en las armerías medievales', Homenaje a Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués. *Príncipe de Viana*, 58, no. 241, 2007, 533-54 and 567-80.

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system had, since the twelfth-century, emphasized the presentation of the lineage. The devices accentuated individuality, thanks to their capacity for making ideals, intentions, favours and loyalties explicit.⁵⁴

Three sculptures have come down to us, as well as a painted tablet and a miniature, which represent another illustrious personage of the period: Sancho de Rojas, bishop of Palencia (1403-1415) and archbishop of Toledo (1415-1422).⁵⁵ Each one presents different physical characteristics.

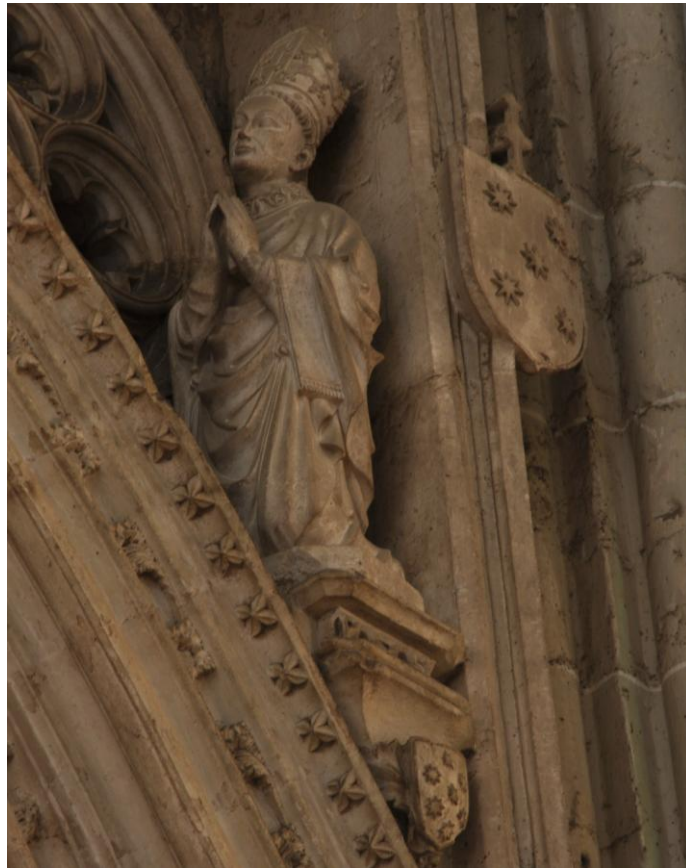


Figure 14 Cathedral of Palencia (Castile): statue of Bishop Sancho de Rojas in the Sagrario chapel.

The one situated in the access arch of the Sagrario chapel, in the cathedral of Palencia, shows him kneeling (fig. 14). The youthful face is the result of a

⁵⁴ For the relationship between heraldry and portraiture in Late Middle Ages: Michel Pastoureau, 'L'effervescence emblématique et les origines héraldiques du portrait au XIV^e siècle', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1985, 108-15.

⁵⁵ María Victoria Herráez Ortega, 'A mayor gloria del rey y del obispo. El patronazgo artístico de Sancho de Rojas', M^a Dolores Teijeira, M^a Victoria Herráez and M^a Concepción Cosmen, eds., *Reyes y prelados. La creación artística en los reinos de León y Castilla (1050-1500)*, 341-69; María Victoria Herráez Ortega, 'Castilla, el Concilio de Constanza y la promoción artística de don Sancho de Rojas', *Goya revista de Arte*, 334, enero-marzo 2011, 5-19; Diana Olivares Martínez, 'Albornoz, Tenorio y Rojas: Las empresas artísticas de tres arzobispos de Toledo en la Baja Edad Media. Estado de la cuestión', *Estudios medievales hispánicos*, 2, 2013, 129-74.

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geometricizing idealization. The continuous curve that connects the nose with the eyebrows, the smooth surface of the skin and the small mouth, as well as the perfection of the oval of the face make us suspect that we are not looking at a physiognomic portrait. Nothing in his attire, mitre or posture indicates a desire to individualize. Identification was entrusted to the coats of arms situated in preferential places.



Figure 15 Cathedral of Toledo (Castile): tomb of Bishop Sancho de Rojas in the chapel of Saint Peter.

Once in Toledo, Don Sancho initiated the construction of the new chapel of Saint Peter, in which he chose to be buried.⁵⁶ The first impression on contemplating the recumbent figure's prominent cheekbones and the thinness of the neck suggests a portrait likeness (fig. 15). However, documentation proves that the statue was not finished until 1440, eighteen years after his death.⁵⁷ Unless there had been a death

⁵⁶ José María Campoy, 'Capilla Parroquial de San Pedro en la Iglesia Primada', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo*, 8, no. 26 and 27, 1926, 107-22; M^a Victoria Herráez Ortega, 'La fundación y dotación de la capilla de San Pedro en la Catedral de Toledo', *Laboratorio de Arte*, 25, 2013, 79-96; Amalia M^a Yuste Galán and Jean Passini, 'La Capilla funeraria del arzobispo Don Sancho de Rojas en la Catedral de Toledo: Proyectos y Ejecución', Santiago Huerta and Fabián López Ulloa eds., *Actas del Octavo Congreso Nacional de Historia de la Construcción. Madrid, 9-12 de octubre de 2013*, Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera, 1047-56.

⁵⁷ "Costo faser la tunba para sobre la sepoltura del señor arçobispo don sancho, que dios aya, la qual fiso maestro Ju^o, entallador, e poner el filo de aranbre en ella, nouecientos mrs":

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mask, it was not likely that a sculptor could faithfully reproduce the features of someone whom he had probably never known, even if he had worked from a painted portrait (there was one of Rojas in the *Retablo de don Sancho de Rojas* in San Benito de Valladolid, today in The Prado Museum in Madrid).⁵⁸

The same high cheekbones, the absence of eyebrows, eyelids reduced to a mere incision and the thinness of the face characterize the funerary representations of two other archbishops of Toledo done around 1435-40 for the Chapel of Santiago. Both prelates were part of the family of Constable Alvaro de Luna, the patron of the chapel: Pedro de Luna (1403-1415) was his uncle (fig. 16) and Juan de Cerezuela (1434-1442) his half-brother (fig. 17). Teresa Pérez Higuera thought that these three statues were done by the same sculptor, the 'Master of don Álvaro de Luna'.⁵⁹ If these three archbishops, who were not related by blood, were represented with such a similar appearance, we can deduce that neither those who paid for the statues nor those who would see them expected veracity in their features.



Figure 16 Cathedral of Toledo (Castile): tomb of Bishop Pedro de Luna in the chapel of Saint James.

Francisco de B. San Román, 'La Capilla de San Pedro de la Catedral de Toledo: Datos artísticos', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, 4:12, sept-dic. 1928, 228-29.

⁵⁸ Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, 'El retablo viejo de San Benito el Real de Valladolid en el Museo del Prado', *Archivo Español del Arte*, 14, no. 45, 1941, 272-78; María Ángeles Blanca Piquero López, *La pintura gótica anterior a 1450 (El Trecento)*, Madrid: Caja de Ahorros de Toledo, 1984, II; Herráez Ortega, 'Castilla, el Concilio', 10-17; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'El retrato medieval: la presencia del donante', *El retrato en el Museo del Prado*, Madrid: Anaya-Amigos del Museo del Prado, 1994, 86-87.

⁵⁹ Teresa Pérez Higuera, 'El sepulcro del arzobispo don Sancho de Rojas, en su capilla de la catedral de Toledo', *Homenaje al profesor Hernández Perera*, Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1992, 577-84.



Figure 17 Cathedral of Toledo (Castile): tomb of Bishop Juan de Cerezuela in the chapel of Saint James.

The third representation of Rojas forms part of a singular work, the first sculptural 'portrait' of a group of ecclesiastics with somewhat individualized faces in Castilian sculpture.⁶⁰ Along the extrados of the access arch in the chapel of Saint Peter in the cathedral of Toledo are busts of mitred clergymen with the archbishop at the top (fig. 18). The laudatory epitaph of the prelate, displayed on the jambs, and his coat of arms on the tympanum and archivolt lead us to the conclusion that the intent was to represent this particular prelate and not the archbishop of Toledo in the abstract. In 1549 Blas Ortiz explained that the half figures represented the dignitaries in the chapter at that time.⁶¹ They wear 'a cope of great richness and a plain mitre with no gold or jewels', apparel that they wore when the bishop celebrated a pontifical mass.⁶² Above them is a seated statue of Saint Peter on his throne, whose creation is documented in 1497.⁶³ The inclusion of the head of the Roman Church half a century later would have served to mitigate the excessive prominence enjoyed by a long-deceased archbishop and chapter. The two busts at the arch's basement, oddly individualized, were added after 1462, when the major chaplain and the vicar became dignitaries.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Lahoz, 'La escultura', 277.

⁶¹ Ramón González and Felipe Pereda, *La Catedral de Toledo, 1549: según el Dr. Blas Ortiz descripción gráfica y elegantísima de la S. Iglesia de Toledo*, Toledo: Antonio Pareja Editor, 1999, 249.

⁶² 'En el traje que usan cuando el Prelado celebra misa ú oficio de pontifical (que es capa pluvial de gran riqueza y mitra lisa sin oro ni pedrería)': Sixto Ramón Parro, *Toledo en la mano*, Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1978 (1857), vol. I, 491.

⁶³ San Román, 'La Capilla', 232.

⁶⁴ María José Lop Otín, *El cabildo catedralicio de Toledo en el siglo XV: aspectos institucionales y sociológicos*, Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 2003, 171-173.

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Figure 18 Cathedral of Toledo (Castile): door of the chapel of Saint Peter with the busts of the bishop and fourteen dignitaries of the chapter.

What was the motive for this anomalous outpouring of portraiture? The prelates of the period led an itinerant life, especially those, like Rojas, who occupied positions close to the monarchs. Their artistic commissions were entrusted to clergymen of lower rank, who remained in the main venues. It was they who hired the artists and supervised the work. Consequently, men who on their own would never have had the opportunity or the economic means to be protagonists found themselves in a position to accede to unsuspected importance. It was a great opportunity for the second ranks.



Figure 19 Cathedral of Palencia (Castile): statue of canon Pedro Estébanez de Alcántara in the Sagrario chapel.

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In Palencia and in Toledo, Sancho de Rojas had collaborators of this kind. In the cathedral of Palencia, matching the statue of Rojas praying is one of another kneeling clergyman (fig. 19). It is assumed that it is Pedro Estébanez de Alcántara, canon and executor of the orders given by Rojas after being elected archbishop primate.⁶⁵ In Toledo, on the interior arches of the chapel of Saint Peter are preserved the funerary tablets of the archdeacon of Calatrava, Gonzalo Sánchez de Madrigal (who had a 'marmoreal effigy' still recognizable in 1549)⁶⁶, and of the abbot of San Vicente de la Sierra, Pedro Alonso de Valladolid. Both were doctors and their chief merit resided in their bond of service with Sancho de Rojas. According to their epitaphs, the former was 'servant and executor of the testament' and the latter 'servant and creation' of the prelate.⁶⁷ The archdeacon of Calatrava, ninth in the chapter ranks, and the abbot of San Vicente, twelfth, must have urged the presentation of all of the dignitaries presided over by Don Sancho, a clever strategy in order for their respective images to appear in such a place of honour. The archdeacon of Calatrava availed himself of the occasion to include his coat of arms on the door twice, under the corbels. Both his escutcheon and that of Pedro Alonso include in their respective epitaphs a chief with gold stars on a field azure to signify their ties with archbishop Rojas.

A paradox is evident. In Navarre, sculptural representations that gave attention to fidelity to facial features enjoyed wide acceptance, while the contemporary literature showed no signs of interest in these personality traits. In Castile, however, writers of accredited classical training had provided physical descriptions of the main characters in history since the fourteenth century, while sculptural depiction of individualized features came later.

Before 1430, the medieval chronicler in Castile included brief portraits sporadically. The most important Castilian historian of the period around 1400, Pero López de Ayala, wrote succinct notes on each monarch in the final chapters of his chronicles. Thus he tells us that King Peter the Cruel was 'quite large of body, white and blond', the only description in his four hundred-page *Chronicle of the King Don Pedro*.⁶⁸ The mention of John I as 'not large of body, white, blond, gentle and calm'

⁶⁵ Rafael Martínez, 'La catedral y los obispos de la Baja Edad Media (1247-1469)', *Jornadas sobre la catedral de Palencia (1 al 5 de Agosto de 1988)*, Palencia: Publicaciones de la Excm. Diputación de Palencia, 1989, 58-59; Herráez, 'A mayor gloria', 355.

⁶⁶ 'El del lado izquierdo, consagrado a san Nicolás, erigió Gonzalo Sánchez de Madrigal, arcediano oretano y consejero del rey. La efigie de mármol de este arcediano, se ve junto a este altar en la pared oriental': González and Pereda, *La catedral de Toledo 1549*, 251.

⁶⁷ Respectively 'criado e testamentario del arcobispo don Sancho de rojas' and "criadura e fechura del arcobispo don sancho de rojas".

⁶⁸ 'E fue el rey don Pedro asaz grande de cuerpo, e blanco e rubio, e ceceaba un poco en la fabla. Era muy cazador de aves. Fue muy sofridor de trabajos. Era muy temprado e bien acostumbrado en el comer e beber. Dormía poco e amó mucho mujeres. Fue muy trabajador en guerra. Fue cobdicioso de allegar tesoros e joyas, tanto que se falló después de su muerte que valieron las joyas de su cámara treinta cuentos en piedras preciosas e aljófar e baxilla de oro e de plata, e en paños de oro e otros apostamientos': López de Ayala, *Crónicas*, 434.

closes the almost one hundred ninety pages of episodes narrated in excessive detail.⁶⁹

Late medieval Castilian literature produced a sub-genre of the chronicle, that of the biographical note consisting of a summarized collection of particulars about personages at the social peak, in which sketches of their physical appearance and character were not lacking. This sub-genre had its greatest representatives in the fifteenth century, with Fernán Pérez de Guzmán at their head. This nephew of Chancellor Ayala wrote *Generaciones y semblanzas* around 1450, where he condensed thirty-four lives of monarchs, princes, nobles and prelates whom he had known.⁷⁰ In most of the sketches, which often occupied only one or two pages, he includes a few lines on the person's physical appearance. He is especially interested in the body and its strength, but also the face, of which he usually points out the colour of the skin and the hair, as well as the size of the nose.

The increase in physical descriptions in the chronicles as the Late Middle Ages advance contrasts with the parallel discredit of physiognomy as a means of knowing men's character. The sapiential treatises that contained information on this subject had been translated into Castilian since the end of the 13th century, as in the case of *Poridad de Poridades* (the Castilian version of *Secretum Secretorum*, attributed to Aristotle), which devotes part of chapter VII to commenting on various 'complexiones'.⁷¹ The text is determinist: to this physical trait there corresponds such and such behaviour. For example: 'He who has temperate eyes, neither very large nor very small, and sunken and black is alert and wise and loves loyalty'.⁷² Almost all of the negative assertions coincide with traits atypical in the Spanish population, for example: he who has white hair would be a coward and with little understanding, blonds would display madness, while those with black hair would be wise and justice-loving. Could physiognomy understood in this way curbed the recording of determined personal features in sculptures? Early in the fifteenth-century a cultured author, the well-known Archpriest of Talavera, shows that he is familiar with the old physiognomic texts because he expressly cites the *Secretum Secretorum*, but he gives no credit to them. In 1438, he writes in the *Corbacho*:

You will read marvellous things about people's characteristics (...), but these rules are neither constant nor true, for which reason I shall not continue here. And so that on reading this, people may not become confused, saying to one another: 'Now you have such and such a trait and I have this other one (...)', I

⁶⁹ 'E era non grande de cuerpo, e blanco, e rubio, e manso, e sosegado, e franco, e de buena consciencia, e ome que se pagaba mucho de estar en consejo. E era de pequeña complisión, e avía muchas dolencias': López de Ayala, *Crónicas*, 696.

⁷⁰ Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones*.

⁷¹ Hugo O. Bizarri, *Secreto de los secretos. Poridad de las poridades. Versiones castellanas del pseudo-Aristóteles Secretum Secretorum*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2010; Hugo O. Bizarri, 'Le secretum secretorum en Espagne', Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas, Margaret Bridges and Jean-Yves Tillette, eds., *Trajectoires européennes du Secretum Secretorum du Pseudo-Aristote (XIIIe-XVIe siècle)*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, 187-213.

⁷² 'El que tiene los ojos templados, ni muy grandes ni muy pequeños y entrados dentro y negros es despierto y entendido, y ama lealtad': Bizarri, *Secreto*, 146-50.

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will not continue. Furthermore, some are reddish and are good, and the same happens with other traits.⁷³

Perhaps the critical attitude toward these physiognomic rules reflects a social predisposition that would end up favouring the generalization of sculptural portraits.

If in Navarre the proliferation of tombs with a recumbent figure of the early decades was followed by the total disappearance of the genre, in Castile the exact opposite occurred. There was an exponential increment in sepulchral statues that increased in the second third of the century and multiplied in the third, with ever-increasing attention to the differential traits in facial characteristics, apparel, epitaphs and heraldic emblems.

I will end with a reflection on the social origin of those who commissioned sculptural representations of themselves. A large percentage of them were prelates or nobles, raised to the highest positions of the kingdom because of their services to the monarchs.

María Rosa Lida de Malkiel showed that in medieval Castile renown among one's contemporaries and posthumous fame were acquired preferably by battles and literary presence.⁷⁴ The highest nobility accepted this convention, which perhaps was a factor in explaining why many nobles of the most powerful lineages gave no importance to the commissioning of funerary statues. On the other hand, those who like Gómez Manrique or Sancho de Rojas had attained social relevance by way of personal careers not exclusively based on war (without slighting battles, as demonstrates the participation of Sancho de Rojas in the capture of Antequera) might have felt more attracted by the idea of leaving a memory of themselves, including their physical appearance, by means of sculptured tombs. This reasoning is valid for both Castile and Navarre, where tombs were commissioned especially by persons who had ascended the social scale on their own merits. The examples par excellence were Gómez Manrique, depicted on his tomb with all pomp (he, who in his lifetime was 'badly arrayed in his person' according to the testimony of Pérez de Guzmán)⁷⁵, and Constable Álvaro de Luna, who commissioned his own bronze funerary sculpture (destroyed in a popular uprising) and those of his family members who were archbishops.⁷⁶

⁷³ 'Leerás maravillosas cosas de las señales de las personas (...), pero esas reglas no son continuas ni verdaderas, por lo que no la prosigo aquí. Y para que al leer esto no se turben los unos con los otros diciendo: "Pues tú tienes tal señal y yo tengo tal" (...), no continúo. Además, algunos son bermejós y son buenos, y lo mismo sucede con las otras señales": Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, *Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho*, Michael Gerli, ed., Madrid: Cátedra, 1992, 211.

⁷⁴ María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *La idea de la fama en la Edad Media castellana*, México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952.

⁷⁵ Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones*, 118: 'mal ataviado de su persona'.

⁷⁶ Patrick Lenaghan, 'Commemorating a real bastard: the chapel of Álvaro de Luna', Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast, eds., *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, 128-45; Rosa M^a Rodríguez Porto, '*Fartan sus iras en forma*

Javier Martínez de Aguirre Pride and memory: perceptions of individuality in Iberian sculpture around 1400

In summary, in Castile and Navarre around 1400, the development of individualized sculptural representations was directly conditioned by the interest of patrons. Inscriptions and heraldic emblems satisfied a good part of the demand. The depiction of physical likeness depended, secondly, on the training and ability of the artists, as well as on the existence or not of the model at the time the work was executed. A significant percentage of the works with the greatest individualizing charge display a propagandistic intent at social advancement. And there is no proof of concurrence, no evolutionary line, among literature, painting and sculpture.

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