

LA CASA DE
PILATOS

VICENTE LLEÓ CAÑAL

LA CASA DE
PILATOS
BIOGRAPHY OF A
SEVILLIAN PALACE

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Cover motif: Corner of the main courtyard of the Casa de Pilatos.

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Editor's Foreword

In 2017, Dr. Vicente Lleó Cañal, Professor of Art History at the University of Seville, was able to fulfil his dream of seeing the monograph he had dedicated to the study of the emblematic Sevillian palace known as *Casa de Pilatos*, whose first edition, commissioned by the prestigious Italian publishing house Electa, was published in 1998, circulate once again in Spain. The recovery of this magnificent work for the Spanish book market was made possible thanks to the edition prepared by the Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, which was first reprinted in 2022, a year after the author's death.

Almost simultaneously with the 2017 edition, the Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, then directed by Professor José Beltrán Fortes, was excited about the possibility of also being able to have an English version of this book, commissioned to a professional from outside the world of university research who unfortunately failed to meet the desirable quality standards. The author himself, who had a perfect command of academic English, offered to personally supervise this

translation, with which he was never particularly happy. Sadly, the progress of his illness prevented him from doing so.

At the end of 2022, Dr. Josefa Fernández Martín, Professor of English Literature at the University of Seville, generously offered to carry out an in-depth revision of the existing translation. She was assisted in this task by a young PhD student at the University of Seville, Guillermo Ortiz García. The result of the meticulous revision that Josefa Fernández and Guillermo Ortiz finally managed to complete at the beginning of June 2024, which they carried out with a rigour that in some cases even led them to detect errata that had gone unnoticed in the Spanish edition, is the actual version that the reader now has in his or her hands.

As director of the Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, I have nothing but words of thanks for Josefa Fernández Martín and Guillermo Ortiz García, whose generous and altruistic participation in this project has been crucial to the completion of the English edition that the Editorial

Universidad de Sevilla is pleased to finally bring to light.

I would also like to extend this expression of gratitude to the heirs of Vicente Lleó Cañal, who from the very first moment facilitated the continuity of this English edition which we had already agreed with the author himself, and of which his family was aware, as well as to Dr. Pedro Manuel Martínez Lara, Professor, like Vicente Lleó himself, of Art History at the University of Seville, whose

advice has been of great help in resolving certain terminological problems.

The sum of all the efforts I have mentioned will have been worthwhile if this first English edition of the *Casa de Pilatos* manages to meet with the approval of readers interested in this unique historic building in the city of Seville.

ARACELI LÓPEZ SERENA
Director of the
Editorial Universidad de Sevilla

Translators' Foreword

This revised translation of *La casa de Pilatos. Biografía de un palacio sevillano* (2017), by V. Lleó is an improved version of the unpublished translation commissioned by the Editorial Universidad de Sevilla before the author's death, and whose supervision unfortunately could not be completed by the author himself. This new rendition is the product of a thorough process of analysis, revision, correction, amendment, and augmentation with the sole purpose of offering the reader an updated and enhanced version that is true to the original text while addressing any inconsistencies or shortcomings of the first translation. Bearing this in mind, it is also worth mentioning that, although efforts have been made to improve the translation, certain technical limitations concerning the appendices of the original Spanish text must be acknowledged. Considering

that most of these documents date back to the 15th and 16th centuries and that there were problems with the transcription of the originals, we consider that any translation of them would not be accurate enough without further research, something out of the scope of the present work. In a few words, with this revised translation, we expect to encourage both academic and non-academic communities alike to appreciate the richness and complexity of the original Spanish text. We eagerly hope that this updated rendition will encourage readers to appreciate under a new light the comprehensive, exhaustive and detailed contribution made by Prof. Lleó to the field of historical studies of the city of Seville.

JOSEFA FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN AND
GUILLERMO ORTIZ GARCÍA
University of Seville

Prologue

The first edition of this book was published in 1998 under the auspices of the prestigious Italian publishing house of Electa (now part of the Mondadori group); that should have guaranteed a high-quality product. Unfortunately, the Spanish editorial group was not up to the standards of the Italian head office; the design and distribution also left much to be desired. Therefore, I have longed for the past years¹ for a new edition that would both allow me to resist the temptation of making a *coffee table book* of it, as it has occasionally been suggested to me, and also allow the incorporation of the documentary and archaeological novelties that have come to light in the intervening period, thus maintaining the rigour that is to be expected of an academic work. This opportunity was brought by the timely collaboration of the University of Seville and the Fundación Casa Ducal de

Medinaceli (Medinaceli Ducal House Foundation).

In my opinion, this book and a few others that have been published in recent years² bring a more rigorous outlook than usual to the analysis of the complex phenomenon of the palaces or “casas principales” of Seville; residences that have seen various centuries of existence and have undergone with every successive generation both construction and deconstruction works to the point of forming genuine palimpsests. To some extent, the analysis of these buildings requires a delicate “deconstruction” of their structures, like a geologist who, with the greatest care, removes the strata of a terrain until reaching the bedrock at its lowest level. In this operation, the sources and documents, archaeological discoveries, knowledge of the trends in social customs, and many

1. The edition which is referenced here is that of 2014. [TN]

2. I am thinking, for instance, of the monograph by Alfonso Pleguezuelo and Alberto Oliver: *El palacio de los Marqueses de la Algaba*, Editorial Ayuntamiento de Sevilla (Sevilla, 2012).

other similar instruments are, of course, essential; but a special sensibility is also required to perceive the overlap of different phases in the growth and decay of the buildings throughout their history. A skill that calls for a close association with ancient buildings and day-to-day dealings with them that accustoms the eye to perceive the slightest of changes in their structures.

In this context, and in the specific case of the *Casa de Pilatos* (Pilate's House), the present edition has benefited from the opinions and suggestions of two individuals in particular: Don Ignacio Medina Fernández de Córdoba, Duke of Segorbe, president of the Medinaceli Ducal House Foundation, and its director, Don Juan Manuel Albenlea Solís. On numerous occasions, with their invaluable assistance, the author has been able to refute old hypotheses, to consider new discoveries and to revise past interpretations; thanks to them, some of my conclusions set forth in the first edition of this book have been modified, most notably my hypothesis regarding the evolution of the main patio of the palace or, of no less importance, the genesis of the staircase; for all this I would like to express my sincerest gratitude.

The book has also benefited from consultations with numerous colleagues and companions with whom I have been able to deal with some of the most difficult questions that have been emerging throughout my research; they are, no doubt, too numerous for me to be able to name them all, but I imagine that at least

most of them will recognize themselves in these brief lines.

Last but not least, I must make special mention of the members of the publishing department of the University of Seville for their dedication and professionalism, exemplified in its director, Professor Antonio F. Caballos Rufino, and his Specialist Technician in Graphic Arts, Don Mateo Sánchez; the facilities provided by the former and the patience and sensitivity of the latter have made possible not only a better book, but also a more enjoyable process of edition.

At this point I must clarify that the present edition is not a *revised* version of that of 1988; included here are substantial novelties that have modified my appreciation both of the evolution of the building and the family that has inhabited it (and continues to do so), with all its dynastic vicissitudes, as well as the activities of patronage and art collecting by its members, both activities combining in an unceasing process of accumulation and building, in projects such as the "Archaeological Garden" created by the First Duke of Alcalá to house his valuable classical sculpture gallery, the result of his Italian experience.

All that remains for me is to express my hope that this monograph may stimulate young researchers to dare to approach other historical buildings in Seville that still lack research worthy of being called that; it would not be an exaggeration to state that, after the extraordinary efforts carried out by certain Sevillian enthusiasts and scholars of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many

local historians have continued living off those pickings, repeating past affirmations at times without realising that other more recent research has modified them substantially; that complacency can

only be overcome by the activity of new generations of historians.

VICENTE LLEÓ CAÑAL
University of Seville

Introduction

It seems logical to begin this study of the Sevillian palace known as *Casa de Pilatos* (Fig. 1), by seeking to ascertain the origins of such a peculiar name, which appears to have only become “officially recognized” by the 18th century. Indeed, there is a document from 1756 relating to the testament of the (11th) Duchess of Medinaceli, in which reference is made to a portrait of the Duke of Alcalá “with a view onto the palace of Pilatos in Seville”.¹ Shortly afterwards, in 1775, another document clarifies this issue by adding to the commonly accepted name of the palace, “Noble Houses of the Duke of Alcalá in the parish of San Esteban”, the appendix “commonly called *Casa de Pilatos*”.²

It was, therefore, from an uncertain date, but one certainly far back in the past, when the association between the Sevillian building and the praetorium of

Jerusalem was established in common parlance. The reason has to be sought for in the implementation of a devotional practice by an ancestor of the Dukes of Alcalá, the (1st) Marquis of Tarifa, following his pilgrimage to the Holy Land that took place between 1518 and 1520: a *Via Crucis* with its twelve stations of the cross evocative of the *Via Dolorosa* that all pilgrims walk in Jerusalem; it linked his own palace with the shrine of the *Cruz del Campo*, in the outskirts of Seville, erected by the Assistant Mayor of Seville, Diego de Merlo, in 1482. Without a doubt, the fact that the distance between both monuments was the same as the one between the praetorium of Jerusalem (or what was shown as such to the Marquis by his guides) and Mount Golgotha must have had some weight in this decision.

The Twelve Stations of the Cross were destined to engrave the most emotive moments of the Passion of Christ in the minds of the devotees, in complete harmony with the so-called *Devotio Moderna*, a religious movement from Central Europe, but one held in high regard

1. Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli, Sección Priego, 95, 8. Reference provided by D. Juan Manuel Albendea, to whom I am deeply grateful.

2. A.D.M. Sección Alcalá, 26, 55.



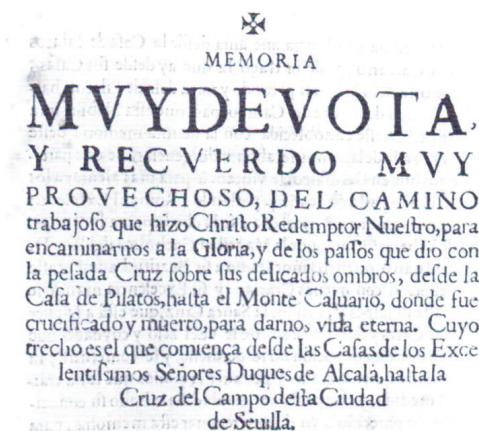
Figure 1. Aerial view of the *Casa de Pilatos* (FCDM – Medinaceli Ducal House Foundation).

in Spain, and more specifically by the Marquis of Tarifa; what those stations of the cross were is known thanks to an anonymous pamphlet, printed in Seville in 1653³ (Fig. 2).

According to the anonymous author of this pamphlet, “the first station of this *Via Sacra* is the Most Holy Cross that is at the corner of the Palace of

the Lord Duke of Alcalá and at the said Cross, one meditates when they pushed His Divine Majesty out of the house of Pilate”. The connection was not difficult to establish and it was perhaps favoured by the tendency to dramatize the most popular forms of piety of the period. At any rate, the myth was further enriched with new contributions; the same author of the pamphlet in 1653 stated that even the door to the palace was ordered from the workshop “in the fashion and style of that of Pilate’s”. Other authors went even further and affirmed that the Marquis of Tarifa, in reality, built a faithful reproduction of the Roman building, baptizing its different rooms with picturesque names such as the “Judges’

3. *A most devote recollection and very profitable remembrance of the laborious road that Christ the Redeemer followed from Pilate's House to Mount Calvary, which is the stretch that begins at the houses of the most Excellent Dukes of Alcalá and finishing at the Cruz del Campo of this City*, printed by Juan Gómez de Blas, Seville, 1653. Reproduced by A. de la Cuesta in his *Memorias Sevillanas*. Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina de Sevilla, Ms. 82-5-21.



LExcellentísimo Señor Don Fradrique Henriquez de Ribera Marques de Tarifa, sucesor de los Excelentísimos Señores Adelantados del Andaluzia, (que por sus meritos adquirieron este ilustre título) desde su tierna edad tuvo gran deseo de visitar los lugares Santos de Gerusalem, honrados y autorizados con las diuinias huellas de Christo Señor Nuestro. Puso por obra este tan santo intento a los 27. años de su edad, y acompañado de 12. criados uniformes en el traxe, representando la compañía de Christo Redemptor Nuestro, de su Colegio Apostolico, salio de su villa de Bonos a los 24. de Noviembre del año pasado de 1518, y entró en Gerusalem a los 4. de Agosto del año siguiente de 1519, adonde hizo la Excepcion vna devota descripcion, y fiel Relacion de este Viaje muy por extenso, del camino y lugares del, y los sucesos que se le ofrecieron, como cosa del libro q'dejo impreso, intitulado *Viaje de Gerusalem, para alentar a otros a imitarde en este tan loable camino.* Y por ser sumamente devoto a la Pasión de Christo Señor Nuestro, deseoandola tener fixa en su memoria, traxo

Figure 2. Pamphlet relating to the Stations of the Cross between the *Casa de Pilatos* and the shrine of the *Cruz del Campo*, printed in Seville in 1653 by Juan Gómez de Blas (Photo provided by José Roda).

Resting Room" or "Pilate's Cabinet".⁴ Another picturesque invention, along the same popular lines, would be the small plank depicting a rooster, found in a niche at the end of the palace staircase (Fig. 3); legend has it that the ashes of the rooster that crowed when the Apostle Peter thrice denied Christ, as told in

the Gospels, could be found behind the aforementioned plank.

But these are not the only occasions on which the history of the *Casa de Pilatos* has been embroiled in legend and myth; the Sevillian chronicler, Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga (1636-1680), for example, affirmed that the palace was the final resting place of the ashes of the *Optimus Princeps*, Trajan. The story is so poetic that it deserves to be retold in full, following not so much the summarized version that Zúñiga left us, but rather the more extensive one that he used as his source: "His (Trajan's) ashes were carried from Selinus to Rome and with great applause among the people, they were placed within an alabaster urn in which



Figure 3. Niche in the stairwell of the *Casa de Pilatos*, with a little painting of a rooster where, according to tradition, the ashes of the rooster that crowed when Saint Peter denied Christ are preserved (FCDM).

4. J. Amador de los Ríos, *Sevilla Pintoresca* (Sevilla, 1844) pp. 187 ff.



Figure 4. Sketch of the Roman urn that would have contained the ashes of Emperor Trajan, which belonged to the (3rd) Duke of Alcalá. See Note 9 (Author's photo).

the ashes of Trajan (sic) came which they covered with another one made out of gold and placed them upon the column of Saint Peter, after which the Pope removed them from the column and placed the image of Saint Peter upon its top.

A Roman citizen chanced upon this alabaster urn with the ashes of Emperor Trajan, which he presented to D. Pedro Afán de Ribera, the most learned Duke of Alcalá in the year 1630 (sic) being the ambassador in Rome. He, in turn, forwarded it to Seville with other antiquities that were sent with it to Don Juan de Arroyo, Governor of his palaces, and it was placed in the library of that palace, where it is still preserved. It happened that in the following year 636 (sic), upon the death of the Duke of Alcalá, when holding an auction of the miscellaneous items that were found there, a maid of Don Juan de Arroyo pilfered the aforementioned urn and spilled the ashes from a balcony

overlooking the main garden of the palace. Searching for the aforementioned urn, Don Juan de Arroyo made inquiries until he found it among the possessions of the maid; the urn was recovered, though the ashes had all but disappeared into the garden with the rainfall. At present, the aforementioned urn with fluted sides which measures half a *vara*⁵ high is in the library⁶. The document even shows in its margin a small sketch of the urn in question (Fig. 4).

A monument, such as the one that concerns us here, in which myth and reality are continually entwined, presents particular problems for a contemporary researcher; stridently renouncing the mythical aspects would appear to deprive the palace of an aura built up over the years. However, fables can never be allowed to replace proven and confirmed facts, as has happened on so many occasions. We find one significant example in the name of the street alongside

5. The Spanish *vara* was a measure of length ranging between 772mm and 912mm, depending on the region. The most commonly used was the *vara castellana*, equal to 835,9mm [TN].

6. In his *Anales*, Ortiz de Zúñiga gave, as previously mentioned, a summarised version of the event; I am citing from a volume of the Archive of the Cathedral of Seville (A.S.I.C.S.) entitled, *Colección de varios papeles pertenecientes a Sev^a (en su mayor parte manuscritos) que parecen haber sido de D. Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga y para en la librería del Marqués de Loreto*. Sección VIII, Varios vol. 60, pp. 292 ff.

the oldest part of the palace: Calle Imperial. We can see in multiple instances in the bibliography that the street was named after the Italian poet Micer Francisco Imperial,⁷ who lived there; hence, it was assumed that a friendship might have formed between that poet and the (1st) Marquis of Tarifa, circumstances in which some have even wished to evoke the “Italianate” qualities of the palace.⁸

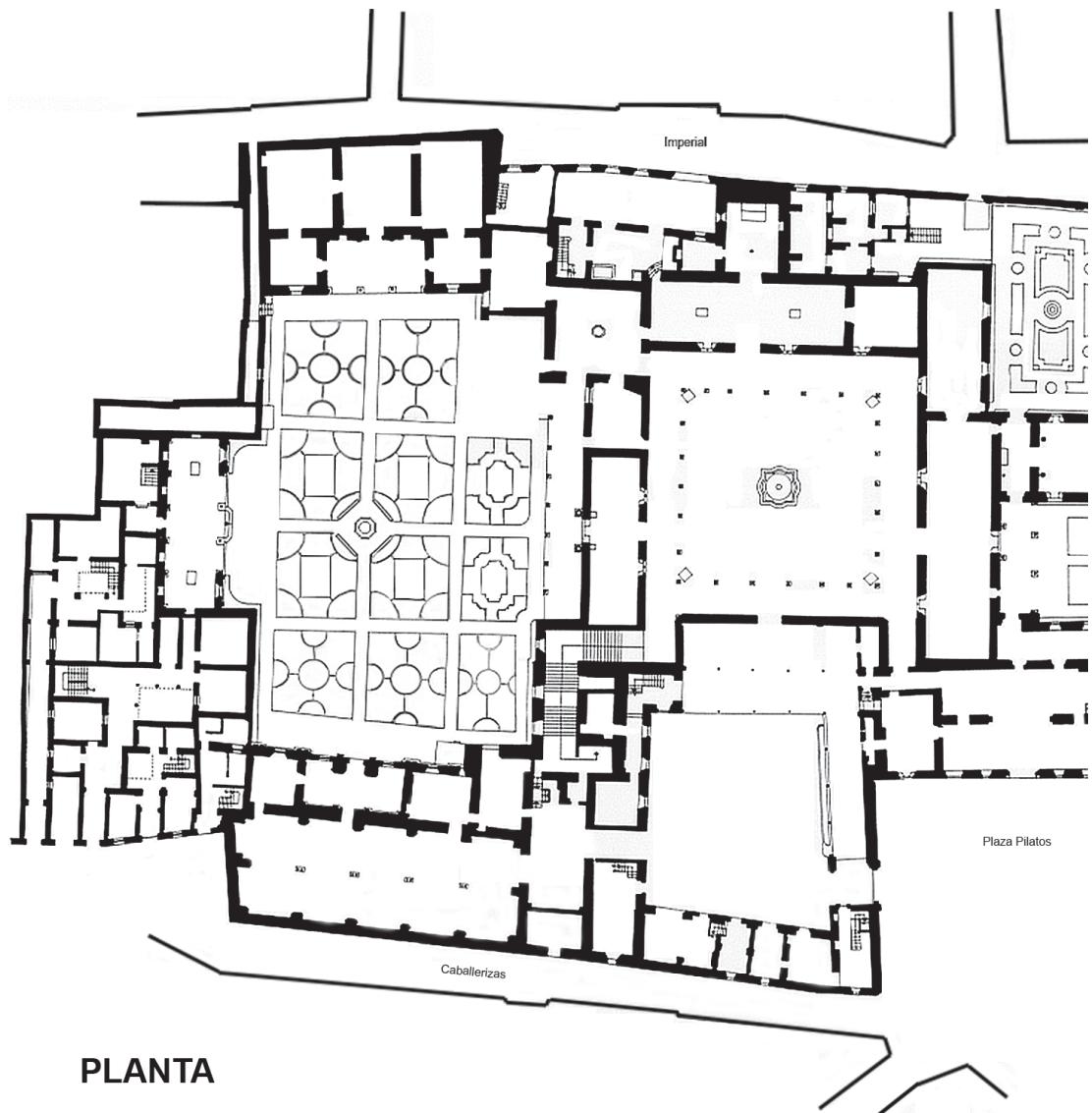
Unfortunately, the reality is not so picturesque; Micer Francisco Imperial had already died in or around 1409, that is, some 67 years before the birth of the Marquis of Tarifa. Moreover, references to the aforementioned street appear regularly in the documents as Calle Real and only after the wedding ceremony of Emperor Charles I of Spain, lavishly

celebrated in Seville in 1526, was its name changed to Calle Imperial.

In the pages that follow, I have sought to reconstruct the stages in the development of the building, the family that lived in it over the centuries, and their art collections, seeking the interaction between these three aspects at each point in their history. In order to do so I have been compelled to overlook some anecdotes and tales that are hardly credible, although a considerable volume of unpublished information is nevertheless made available; I would like to believe that by doing so I have created a reliable and basically trustworthy historical skeleton on topics that popular imagination will undoubtedly revisit to weave myths and legends, to relate, in short, the *other* story of the palace.

7. S. Montoto, *Las Calles de Sevilla* (Sevilla, 1940) p. 262.

8. J. González Moreno, “Don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera” in *Archivo Hispalense* n.º 122, 1963, p. 210.



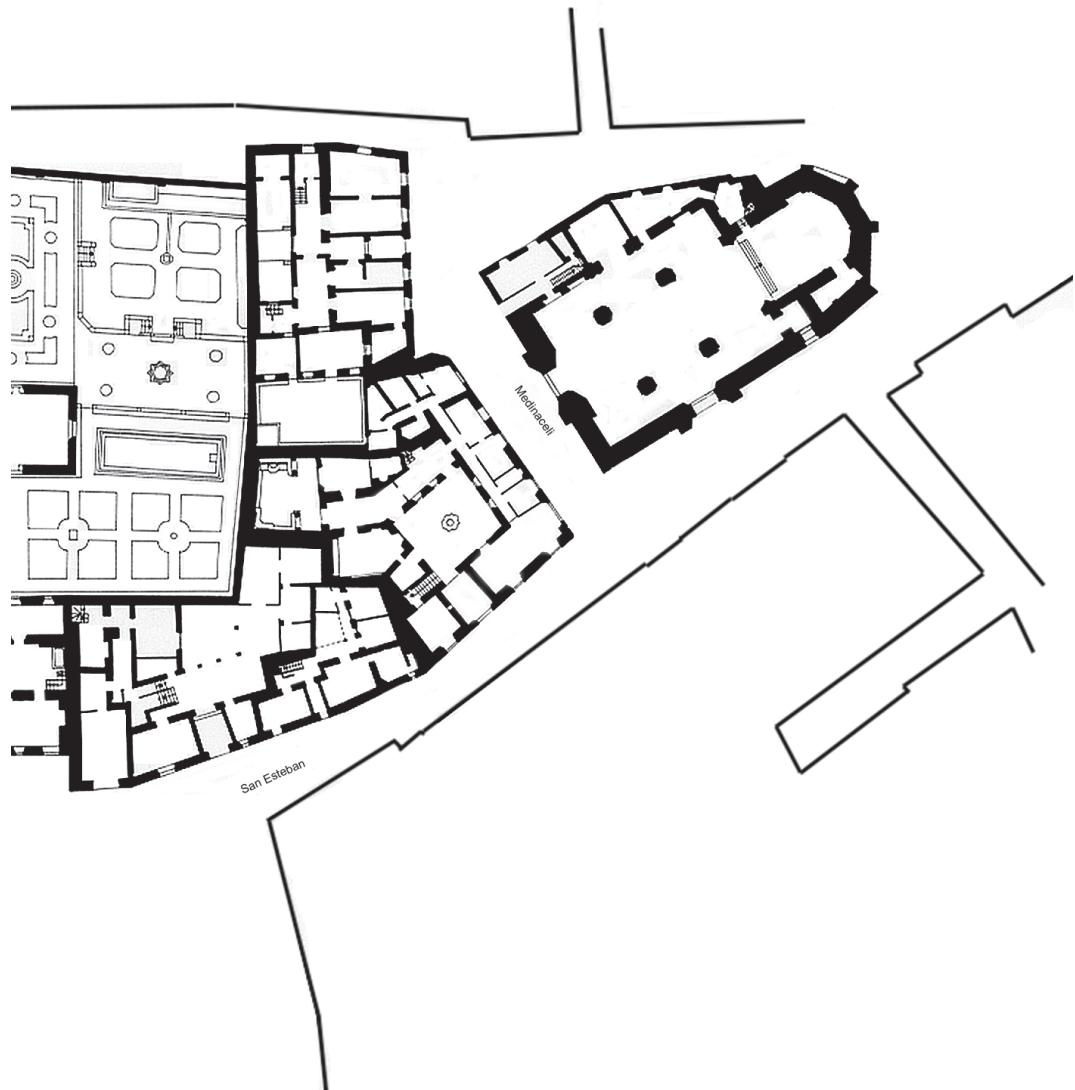


Figure 5. Present-day floor plan of the *Casa de Pilatos* (FCDM).

The Palace of the Adelantados

On September 27th, 1483, the *Adelantado Mayor* (Chief Governor) of Andalusia, Don Pedro Enríquez, and his wife Catalina de Ribera bought from Luís de Mesa—Receiver to the Catholic Kings of the goods confiscated by the Inquisition—some houses situated in the parish of San Esteban in Seville, which had belonged to someone referred to as “Pedro Ejecutor”. The document does not offer many particularities, and the description of the property is rather conventional; it only mentions the boundary at the front, Calle Real, and some of the property’s appurtenances, “...garrets, yards, and kitchen, garden and bakery and running water”. The price, however, was surprisingly high: 320,000 Maravedis.⁹

The only plausible explanation for this high price is the fact that the house had “*agua de pie*” (“running water”), implying a connection to the Roman aqueduct, known as the *Caños de Carmona* (restored by the Almohads) that

delivered the precious liquid to the city from springs located in Alcalá de Guadaira.¹⁰ This water—clearly much healthier than the city supply, drawn from wells and even from the river itself—was a monopoly of the Crown and was originally destined to watering the gardens of the Alcazar, as well as supplying the public fountains. Only gradually, and as a rare privilege, some convents and a handful of private individuals came to receive concessions, generally expressed in terms of “straw” or “chickpeas” or even “wet chickpeas”, depending on the volume of water channelled from the aqueduct. From a document, dated 1478, we know who those privileged individuals were; just twenty, among them the “*executor Don Pedro*”.¹¹ The full name of this person

9. Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli. Sección Alcalá 25, 24.

10. I. Montes Romero-Camacho, “El trabajo de los mudéjares en el abastecimiento de agua a la Sevilla bajomedieval: los moros cañeros y el acueducto de los Caños de Carmona”, *Actas del VI Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo*, Teruel, 1993.

11. Archivo Municipal de Sevilla. Papeles del Mayordomazgo, 1484. The document constitutes an apportionment of an extraordinary tax for the repair

was Pedro López and he held the post of 'loyal administrator of the Town Council' equivalent to a municipal weights-and-measures officer which led some scholars to identify the post as his surname; it was in fact this Pedro López who was the original owner of the house, which was confiscated from him for the crime of "heretical iniquity", surely during the terrible repression of 1481.¹² The chronicler Andrés Bernáldez, known as the "*Cura de los Palacios*" (i.e. parish priest of Los Palacios y Villafranca), wrote that at that time "some of the richest and most honourable aldermen and the richest councillors and clerks and advocates" of the city fell;¹³ and, no doubt, many of the members of that urban bourgeois meritocracy composed of government officials and merchants must have resided in the parish of San Esteban, because, as we will see, the Adelantados were still to acquire two more houses belonging to fugitive Judaizers: that of the juror, Fernand Gómez, and the one belonging to the Genoese merchant, Jácome del Monte.

The houses acquired from the Receiver of the Inquisition therefore constitute something like the original nucleus of the palace that, much later on, was to be known by the picturesque name of *Casa*

of the aqueduct. See A. Collantes, *Sevilla en la Edad Media*, Sevilla, 1977, p. 84.

12. See the monumental work of J. Gil, *Los Conversos y la Inquisición Sevillana*, Sevilla, 2000, 8 vols., vol. I, p. 95.

13. *Memorias del Reinado de los Reyes Católicos que escribía el bachiller Andrés Bernáldez, Cura de los Palacios* (ed. M. Gómez Moreno and Juan de M. Carriazo), Madrid, 1961, p. 99.

de Pilatos. For the Adelantados, these houses in the parish of San Esteban were the "new palace". Until then, the couple had lived in another palace, granted to an ancestor of Doña Catalina, Per Afán de Ribera "the Elder", by King Henry II of Castile on May 16th, 1371, as a reward for "his loyalty and fidelity". This palace was located in front of the church of Santa Marina, in what is now Calle de San Luis.¹⁴

However, before continuing with the history of the palace, it is necessary to place in its historical context, even if only in broad strokes, the marriage contracted between Don Pedro Enríquez and Doña Catalina de Ribera.

The House of Ribera, originating in Galicia and to which, among others, the hereditary title of *Adelantamiento Mayor* of Andalusia and the earldom of Los Molares were linked, had undergone a strong social and economic ascent during the infancy of Henry III of Castile, accumulating important properties and privileges; a predominant role was played in this process by the aforementioned Per Afán de Ribera, "the Elder" (1338-1423) and his second-born son—second also among the several "Per Afanes de Ribera"—which has led to all kinds of confusion among researchers. The latter, the (3rd) *Adelantado Mayor* of Andalusia, married Doña María de Mendoza, daughter of the Marquis of Santillana, from whose marriage five daughters were born, the first of whom, Doña Beatriz, married Pedro

14. As it will be seen further on, this palace was sold in 1609 by the (3rd) Duke of Alcalá and converted into a Jesuit novitiate.

Enríquez Quiñones, son of the second Admiral of Castile.¹⁵

Don Pedro Enríquez was, in turn, a great-great-grandson of Alfonso XI and great-grandson of the Infante Don Fadrique, Master of Santiago. Hence, the royal blood of the Trastamaras ran in his veins; moreover, he was the uncle on the maternal side of King Ferdinand of Aragón, “the Catholic”, since he was a brother of the latter’s mother, Doña Juana Enríquez.

Don Pedro had first married Beatriz de Ribera, the elder sister of Doña Catalina, and there was a son from this marriage before the mother’s early death (1469); the child was Don Francisco Enríquez de Ribera, who inherited from Doña Beatriz the *mayorazgo*, or entailed estate, which included the palace of Santa Marina.

Don Pedro, defying the will of his mother-in-law and only five years after the death of Doña Beatriz, married Beatriz’s sister, Doña Catalina de Ribera. For some time, the new couple must have continued living in the palace of Santa Marina, but, in 1483, perhaps when Don Francisco reached adulthood,¹⁶ he would have reclaimed his inheritance and the new couple would have been forced to seek a new home.

The relocation would also have been influenced by other factors: one, perhaps, could be the fact that the Adelantado’s older brother, Don Alonso Enríquez (3rd

Admiral of Castile, lived in the same parish of San Esteban, in some houses which would later be partially incorporated to the palace of the Adelantado. In the turbulent Seville of the late Middle Ages, it was an everyday practice for families and relatives, and those in their “retinue”, to live together in tight-knit groups to better defend themselves; the neighbourhoods would, in this way, usually bear the name of the most powerful knight among their inhabitants.

But there are other less explicit reasons, which call for an analysis—in so far as may be possible—of the complex aristocratic mentality of the period. After the marriage with his sister-in-law, Catalina de Ribera,¹⁷ Don Pedro was blessed with two sons, Fadrique and Fernando Enríquez de Ribera, thus ensuring the continuity of the lineage; in addition, an enterprising economic policy on the couple’s part resulted in the accumulation of an immense fortune.¹⁸ Under these circumstances, Don Pedro seems to have begun to worry about displaying the grandeur of his own palace, committing himself, like so many “*ricos omes*” (rich men) of his time, to hectic building activities.

There is a significant fact in this respect: through his two marriages, Don Pedro had inherited the patronage of the Carthusian monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas

15. Regarding the formidable Doña María de Mendoza, see the article by A. Franco Silva, “El Patrimonio de D^a María de Mendoza, Condesa de los Molares” in *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*, Universidad de Oporto, Oporto, 2006, pp. 105 ff.

16. Unfortunately, his date of birth is unknown.

17. Don Pedro obtained a dispensation for consanguinity from Sixtus IV.

18. Ladero Quesada, M.A., “De Per Afán a Catalina de Ribera: siglo y medio en la historia de un linaje sevillano (1371-1514)” *En la España Medieval* vol. 4, Madrid, 1984.

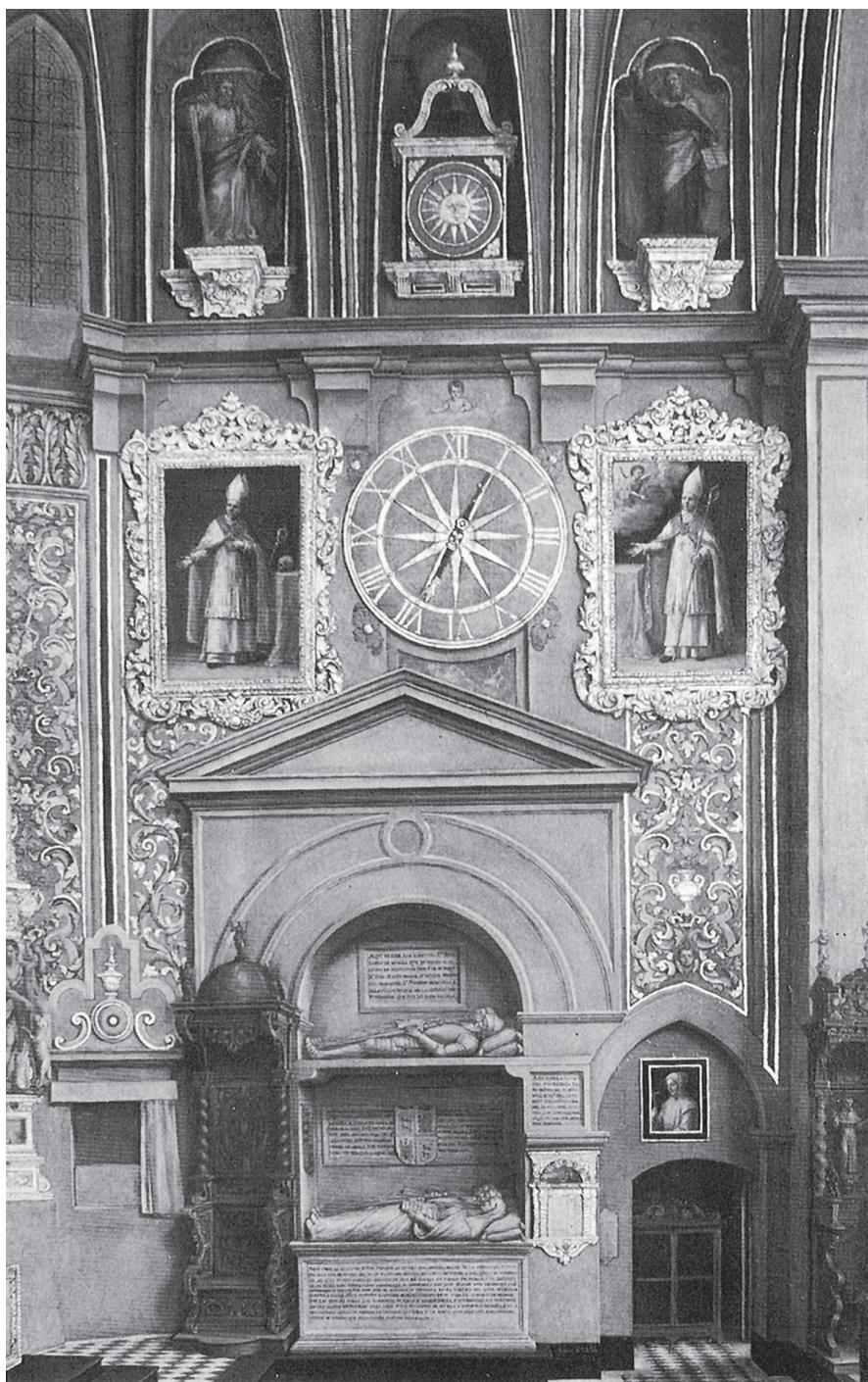


Figure 6. Drawing of the sepulchres of the Ribera family in the presbytery of the Carthusian monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas in Seville (1714). Lucas Valdés. Coll. Dukes of Alba.



Figure 7. Chapter House of the Carthusian monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas in Seville, family pantheon of the Enríquez de Ribera. Commenced in 1454 (FCDM).

that the Ribera family possessed. It had been acquired by Per Afán de Ribera “the Elder” in 1410, and since then, members of the family had been buried in the crypt under the presbytery of the church, thus emulating the Castilian monarchs who had chosen other Carthusian monasteries such as those of Pular or of Miraflores as royal burial places¹⁹ (Fig. 6).

And so, in 1490, just seven years after having begun the construction of his new palace, Don Pedro came to a new agreement with the Carthusian friars. Under this agreement, and despite the existence of the old crypt, the Adelantado obtained the Chapterhouse Chapel for

the burial of himself “and his descendants”. This chapel, whose construction had begun in 1454 under the priorate of Friar Fernando de Torres, was at the time one of the most sumptuous buildings of the monastery, constructed in the new Gothic-Mudéjar style (Fig. 7). Nonetheless, the favours that the community owed to the Adelantado obliged them to cede it “without any charge or [contractual] agreement whatsoever”, although the latter reciprocated with the donation in perpetuity of a hundred quintals of oil a year in addition to the tithes of the Aljarafe and Ribera rural districts.²⁰

There can be no doubt that both operations, the acquisition of the palace and

¹⁹ On the vicissitudes of this acquisition, see B. Cuartero Huerta, *Historia de la Cartuja de Santa María de las Cuevas*, Madrid, 1950, vol. I, *passim*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 250.

of the family mausoleum, responded to the same longing for fame and glory, a desire to perpetuate the lineage; the family coat of arms was repeatedly displayed on the walls of the dwelling place of the living and of the dead, to ensure that sense of dynastic continuity and to glorify the founder.

Nonetheless, it was in the palace, the dwelling place of the living, where not only Don Pedro, but also his descendants would have to channel this “inextinguishable thirst for glory”, adding, extending, and beautifying it. The task to which the following pages are dedicated is to extract from this continuous architectural weaving and unweaving, from this secular process with its phases of expansion and contraction, the original nucleus of the palace and to reconstruct, albeit hypothetically, its original appearance.

The Boundaries of the Palace

An interesting aspect of the deeds of purchase of the houses of the jury and loyal administrator, Don Pedro López, is the reference to the fact that they “bordered *Calle Real* from the front”. The same topographic reference crops up again in a set of later deeds;²¹ in one of them, some further details are added. These are in a notarial record dated January 3rd, 1484, which alludes to another older one in which some houses are mentioned that were given in rent to a certain María Teba, that “are bordered on one side by

houses that were the property of Fernand Jurado and on the other side by houses that were the property of the wife of Alonso d’Esquibel and from the front by calle del rey...”, adding immediately afterwards that the said houses “*are today the chapel of the palace of His Excellency*”.²²

The chapel, which still exists, is alongside what is now known as Calle Imperial, the change of name having occurred, as previously pointed out, following the arrival in Seville of Emperor Charles V for his wedding in 1526; indeed, a document dated only four years later mentions this same street with the name of ‘Imperial’.²³

Following the acquisition of these houses, bordering the present-day Calle Imperial, onto which they evidently opened, and that were added to the nucleus acquired from the property confiscated from the “administrator Don Pedro López”, so as to convert them into a chapel, a process of expansion began that was to end, many years later, with the absorption of almost the whole block. Thus, in March 1487, some houses were bought from Inés de Talancón,²⁴ and in August of the same year, others that had been confiscated from the jury Fernán Gómez for the crime of “heretical iniquity”. These houses were in fact one half of a lot, since the deeds refer to: “...the other half of the said houses of the Admiral of Castile, the brother of yourself the aforesaid Adelantado, and [which] are now yours”.²⁵ Perhaps

22. A.D.M. S.A. 25,25.

23. A.D.M. S.A. 25,50.

24. A.D.M. S.A. 25,26.

25. A.D.M. S.A. 25,27.

21. A.D.M. S.A. 25,25; 25,26; 61,32; 61,33; etc.

Don Pedro had acquired the first half of this estate in the will of his brother, since the latter had passed away in 1485, just two years earlier.

Until 1490, there is no evidence of further acquisitions; but in that year “some dye-houses” were bought from the Genoese merchant Jacome del Monte “with their patios and trees and running water and garrets and storehouses and appurtenances”.²⁶ The description suggests a property of considerable size but, surprisingly, these houses were not destined to enlarge the palace building; from a document dated August 23rd, 1491, that is, the next year, we learn that the said “dye-houses and the other said houses which are adjacent, and certain other houses that he had there because they are in front of those said houses, were demolished and the Adelantado and the said Catalina de Ribera, his wife, had made and did make a certain plaza with a public water fountain and certain houses and shops with their arcades in front as it is currently built and erected...”.²⁷

There are at least two aspects that, together with the change of orientation, deserve to be emphasised in relation to this plaza, the germ of the present-day Plaza de Pilatos. The operation reveals, on the

one hand, the wish to endow the palace with what is known in contemporary terms as a good “frontage”; that is to say, sufficient open space to allow the façade to be appreciated as a whole. This attitude constitutes a radical novelty; the Muslim tradition had always displayed the utmost indifference to the exteriors of residential houses, reserving for the interiors the display of their owners’ abundant wealth. Strictly speaking, it is almost impossible to describe them as façades; their external walls were mere enclosures with the least possible number of openings, in order to maintain the privacy of their inhabitants. Now, on the contrary, there was a turn towards the exterior; through the attachment of heraldic elements to the façade, it was to assume the function of displaying the lineage and the “quality” of its owner. It is not by chance that around the same time the Duke of Medina Sidonia performed a similar operation in the front of his palace, which would eventually become what is now called Plaza del Duque.²⁸

However, on the other hand, these aristocratic plazas fulfilled another mission: as privately owned spaces they could be closed off at will, thus contributing to the defence of the palace.²⁹ Their design must have resembled that of the courtyards of conventional architecture, rather

²⁶. A.D.M. S.A. 61, 32. The “dye-houses” were in fact dye “factories”, as confirmed by the further allusion to “two cauldrons and two dying tubs”. Del Monte, for his part, had acquired the houses in 1483 from another Genoese merchant, Baptista Doria, to whom they had been awarded in payment of a debt owed to him by Fernando de Córdoba, another fugitive converso. See A.D.M. S.A. 61,29.

²⁷. A.D.M. S.A. 61, 33.

²⁸. See A. Collantes, op. cit., p. 79.

²⁹. The document cited here is in fact a public document (*fe notarial*) in a lawsuit certifying the ownership of the plaza, so that, in the future, neither the City nor the Crown could exercise property rights. In effect, it is always described as “Plaza del Duque de Alcalá” in documents from the 16th and the 17th centuries.

than the public plazas of Renaissance tradition: that is to say, they served as a kind of filter or diaphragm between the public space of the city and the private sphere of the palace. On the other hand, this same element must have contributed to the gradual abandonment of fortifications in aristocratic architecture.³⁰

The Adelantado Don Pedro passed away on February 4th, 1492, near the Yeguas river, on his way back from the conquest of Granada, in which he had participated together with his sons. There is something symbolic in the date of his death, a date that, like the Adelantado himself, represented the end of an era, the culmination of the Middle Ages. Spain, until then locked in its internal crusade, was about to open itself up to the world in an unprecedented expansion, and Seville, for its part, now being "port and gateway to the Indies", would see itself transformed into one of the most important cities of the world.

All those changes would be reflected in the *Casa de Pilatos*, as the death of the Adelantado entailed no interruption in its evolution. In fact, Don Pedro must have had very little time to occupy himself with his "new palace" in Seville, as the period of acquiring houses and the initial building works coincided with the War of Granada (1482-1492), in which the Adelantado played a decisive role.

Recently, it has become evident that the greater part of the building activity must

have fallen to his wife, Doña Catalina, to whom this inclination was natural by family tradition.³¹ In effect, Doña Catalina belonged, on her mother's side, to the Castilian family of the Mendozas, whose prominent role in the artistic patronage of the time hardly needs any emphasis; it would be enough to mention her maternal uncle, the Great Cardinal Mendoza or the latter's son, the Marquis of Zenete, without overlooking several of Doña Catalina's brothers, such as the Duke of the Infantado or the Count of Tendilla.³² As for Doña Catalina's maternal aunts, Doña Leonor was married to the Count of Medinaceli and built the palace of Cogolludo, while Doña Mencía, married to the Constable of Castile, commissioned the extraordinary mausoleum of the Constables in the Cathedral of Burgos and the so-called *Casa del Cordón* in the same city. A lineage, as it can be seen, impregnated with the Renaissance virtue of *Magnificentia*.³³ At the same time, in her widowhood, Doña Catalina revealed herself to be an excellent businesswoman, committed to international trade; and, as we will see, this zeal led her to amass a huge fortune which she did not hesitate to invest,

31. A. Aranda Bernal, "Una Mendoza en la Sevilla del siglo XVI. El patrocinio artístico de Catalina de Ribera", *Atrio. Revista de Historia del Arte*, 2^a época, n.^{os} 10-11 (2005).

32. The standard work on the subject is that of Francisco Layna Serrano, *Historia de Guadalajara y sus Mendozas*, 4 vols., Madrid, 1942. See also, H. Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550*, New Brunswick, 1979.

33. A virtue theorized by Giovanni Pontano in his treatise *De Magnificencia* (1498).

30. Regarding the Medieval Sevillian fortress-palaces, see J. Hazañas y la Rúa, *Historia de Sevilla*, Sevilla, 1933, p. 71.

among other things, in charitable projects such as an infirmary, that over time would become the *Hospital de las Cinco Llagas*.³⁴

Just a year after the death of Don Pedro, on February 16th, 1493, his widow Catalina de Ribera bought a new property, in this case belonging to the Monastery of San Agustín, “namely a bakery with its garret and yard and appurtenances”.³⁵ But neither in the Archive of the Dukes of Medinaceli nor in the Notarial Records have further purchase deeds been found, which does not, of course, mean the inexistence of such documents. In any case, the extant documentation suggests a deliberate policy of acquisitions along a north-south axis. The extremes of this axis would be formed, in the north, by the area of the Chapel bordering on Calle Imperial and, in the south, by Plaza de Pilatos, onto which it was to present its façade.³⁶

34. Regarding the vicissitudes of the Hospital, which would in the end be established with the bequeathment that his son Don Fadrique left in his will, see F. Collantes de Terán, *Memorias Históricas de los Establecimientos de Caridad de Sevilla*, Sevilla, 1884. The art historian Aranda Bernal, who is at present completing an important study on Doña Catalina which addresses this aspect of her life, has kindly shared some of her knowledge with me.

35. A.D.M. S.A. 25, s/n. This “bakery” is perhaps the same that is mentioned in Doña Catalina’s will: “may the bakery that is next to the house where I live be let”. See F. Collantes, “El Testamento de... Catalina de Ribera”, *Archivo Hispalense*, 1^a época, vol. III, 1887, pp. 51 ff.

36. What is perhaps most important from an urban design point of view is this inversion of the building plan that, having its entrance originally in Calle Imperial, was altered to open onto the newly created space of the plaza.

It proves, however, much more difficult to define how the mosaic of properties acquired by the Adelantados throughout the years was to be built up around that axis and the area around the primitive nucleus of the house of the loyal administrator, Don Pedro López. Bearing in mind also that the heir, Don Fadrique Enríquez, added further lots, more than doubling the original surface area of the palace, we must imagine a primitive longitudinal development that practically cut the block into two halves. Likewise, it is necessary to proceed deductively, in order to reconstruct the original appearance of the palace buried under subsequent interventions throughout five centuries.

A Medieval palace

Let us begin the investigation at the southern end of the above-mentioned axis: Plaza de Pilatos. That the new frontispiece of the palace of the Adelantados had also to be opened here is clearly confirmed by the very fact of having cleared a “frontage” at the price of buying houses just to demolish them. It is also confirmed by two characteristics of the construction. In the first place, the wall of regularly trimmed bricks of Mudéjar tradition that a modern elimination of stucco has made visible; this fine brickwork with narrow joints was usually reserved for areas of importance such as façades. In the second place, there is the fact that the marble portal, added later, as we will see, by Don Fadrique, was in practice erected only against the wall, not

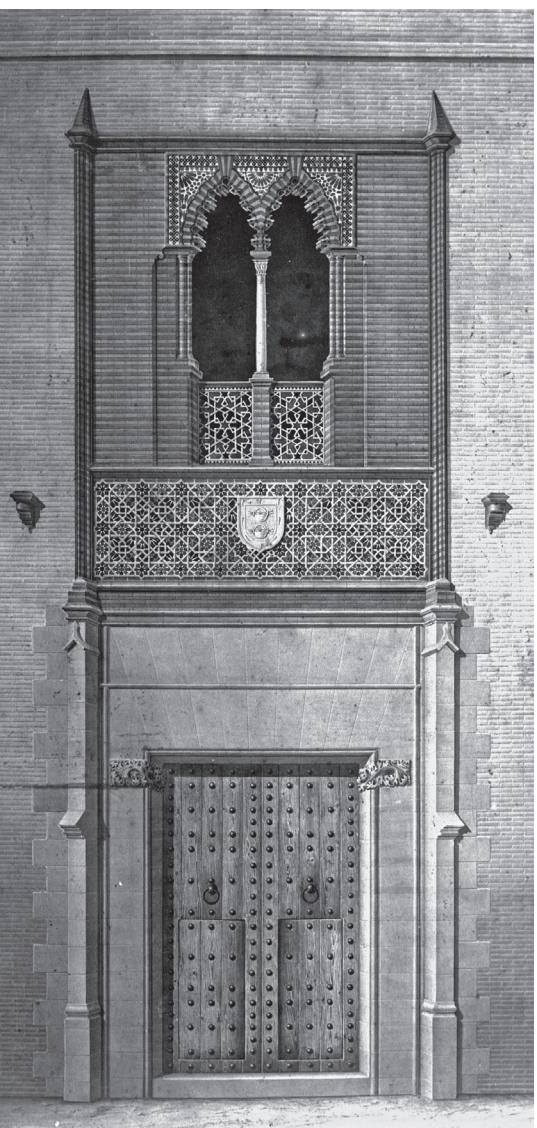


Figure 8. Reconstruction of the doorway to the palace of the Marquis of La Algaba, 1872. J. Guichot. (Photolibrary Laboratorio de Arte).

It is difficult to imagine the appearance of the original portal that would be opened in this wall, since all the contemporary examples belong to the sphere of religious architecture,³⁸ but it would not be too daring to suppose a brick, perhaps ogival arch, probably adorned with heraldic motifs in polychrome ceramic. An echo of this multifarious civil Mudéjar architecture is found in the much deteriorated portal of the palace of the Marquis of La Algaba in the parish of *Omnium Sanctorum* (Fig. 8), but, unlike the latter, the palace of the Adelantado must have had in this entry area one level, as it still retains today.³⁹ This is further confirmed, as we will see later, by several indications. For the moment, I will only mention a fragment of wall, at an angle to the façade, which preserves not only the height but also the parapet of original stonework (Fig. 9). Don Fadrique, perhaps by an error of calculation, had to raise the façade a little, in order to adapt the marble portal; he then had to replace the Gothic tracery parapet of that section of wall by another simpler model⁴⁰ that we also find in other constructions of his.⁴¹

keyed in, which led to its securing being required in 1717. This suggests that the marble portal must have been adapted to the previously existing façade.³⁷

37. M. R. Martínez Darve and J. Mata, "Obras y reparos en la Casa de Pilatos durante el siglo XVIII", *Archivo Hispalense* vol. 72, n.º 221 (1989).

38. Façades such as those of the Chapel of the Convent of Santa Paula or that of the old University in Puerta de Jerez.

39. At least in the wall of the façade.

40. The current parapet is, of course, a modern work, from the 18th century, as we will see later, but it reproduces the ancient model.

41. For example, in the high galleries of the patio of the Castle of Bornos, a long inscription reveals it as

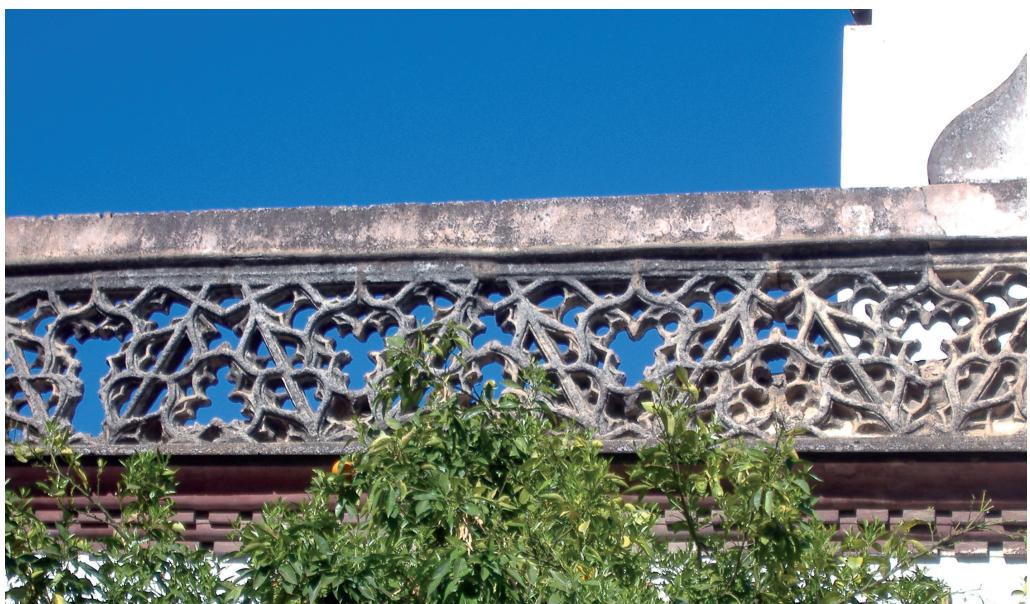


Figure 9. View of the façade of the *Casa de Pilatos* with a section of the original Gothic ornamental parapet (FCDM).

After crossing the portal, one would surely have found the traditional space of the *zaguán* or carriage entrance, and the dismounting yard with a cornered access to the patio, but the profound modifications undergone by the palace until very recent times make any speculation as to its original appearance difficult. Nonetheless, available data allow us to make some hypotheses.

In the first place, there is an important description of the palace from around 1517-19, probably the oldest one available, that describes the impression produced by the building on an educated traveller, an anonymous but cosmopolitan Milanese merchant: in effect, after claiming that Seville “é assay bella per citta

di Spagna” [is very beautiful among Spanish cities], but that, when compared with any Italian or Flemish city “saria brutta” [it would be unsightly], he writes: “Sono in Sibillia due palatii molto belli, uno è del Marchese de Tariffa et l’altro di Don Hernando, suo fratello, i quali sono molto belli et con belli cortili, belli portici et belle sale, pur tutto lavorato alla morisca... (and) sono bene forniti de bellissimi razzarie et in mezzo delle corte hanno belle fontane et le sale et le camere hanno delli celi alti et concavi il che fanno per darli aere alla estate per il grandissimo caldo chi fa” [There are two magnificent palaces in Seville; one belongs to the Marquis of Tarifa, and the other to Don Hernando, his brother. They are very refined and with exquisite courtyards, beautiful porticos and splendid halls, all in a Moorish style... and they have many very beautiful tapestries and in the middle of the courtyard they have beautiful

the work of D. Fadrique. See V. Lleó Cañal, “La actividad sevillana de Benvenuto Tortello”, in *Nápoli Nobilissima*, vol. XXIII, 1984.

fountains, and the halls and the rooms have high vaulted ceilings that give it air in summer when it becomes really hot.].⁴²

Thus, the first impression for the visitor was its sumptuousness—the “Moorish” work—and its scale—the high ceilings—apart from the profusion of the—exceedingly beautiful—patios and porticos. And to a considerable extent, it still gives this impression today, despite the modifications introduced throughout the centuries.

Heraldry also has an important light to shed on the development of the architecture of the palace. As I have already mentioned, until her death in 1505,⁴³ the greater responsibility for the work must have fallen to Doña Catalina. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that it is her coats of arms that predominate in the palace, and in very specific parts of it;⁴⁴ thus, they appear painted on the ceilings of the main rooms of both, the upper and lower north and west wings. Surprisingly, the arms represented here were those of Ribera and Sotomayor, not Ribera and Mendoza, as might seem normal; it has been argued as a hypothesis that, upon deciding to establish separate *mayorazgos* or entailed estates, as we will see, for her two sons, Fadrique and Fernando,

42. Luigi Monga (a cura di) *Un mercante di Milano in Europa: diario di viaggio del primo Cinquecento*, Milano, 1985.

43. To be more exact, one should say “building works” in the plural, including the Palacio de Dueñas among other enterprises. See A. Aranda, op. cit.

44. As we will see, even on the marble portal commissioned by Don Fadrique in Genoa, the Ribera coat of arms is the only one to be seen.

Doña Catalina dispensed with her own surname Mendoza, which was already present in other entailed estates of her family and thus, climbing back up the genealogical tree, she would have arrived at her great-great-grandmother, Inés de Sotomayor, wife of Ruy López de Ribera.⁴⁵

In effect, on the *tabicas*⁴⁶ of the main rooms, both upper and lower, of these two wings, north and west, the above-mentioned coats of arms are repeated, and these are spaces that would justify the admiration of the Milanese merchant cited above in 1517, for only those of the royal palace of the Alcazar itself could compete with them in luxury and scale.⁴⁷ But there are other signs as well that compel us to raise certain questions regarding the appearance of the primitive palace. That is so, for example, with the patio, where we can find irregularities that require explanation.

In its current appearance, the patio presents certain particularities: the internal spans of its arches, for example, vary,

45. Naturally, the surname Enríquez figured in the *mayorazgo*, or entailed estate, of Doña Catalina's nephew and stepson, Don Francisco. Thanks are due for these suggestions on heraldry to the historian and director of the Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli (Medinaceli Ducal House Foundation), Juan Manuel Albendea.

46. A *tabica*, or small wooden plank, was used for closing the gaps between timbers; they were often decorated with heraldic motifs so as to form a kind of frieze [TN].

47. In what is now known as “Pacheco's Hall” on account of the ceiling painted by this artist in 1603, the original coffered ceiling (*alfarje*) from the time of Doña Catalina is concealed; besides, the Sotomayor arms also appear on the doors of the chapel.

on the north face, from 2.37 metres to 3.50 metres. Madrazo, who had already observed these irregularities, attributed them, as a good romantic, to the racial indifference of our “*previñolista*”⁴⁸ artists in the face of any norm.⁴⁹ The explanation could, however, be quite different; as we will see soon, the current design of the patio is due, in general, to the expansion and the reforms on the inherited palace, within a few years of each other, which Don Fadrique had carried out. But, in the northwest corner, we find what may be the traces of a primitive arrangement: in effect, here there are two lesser arches that rise from a column positioned on an axis with the mullion window of the hall behind it, and a larger arch on a precise axis with the door of the same room.

These irregular arches seem to be due to the very tendency of Almohad architecture itself to emphasize the openings in the galleries, framing them within a larger arch. We find them positioned so in numerous Hispano-Islamic and Mudéjar patios (in Seville, without travelling further, in the *Patio de las Doncellas* and *Patio del Yeso* of the Alcazar), though, in these cases, the disposition is symmetrical, with the greater arch placed in the centre of each section flanked by two or more smaller arches. However, this was not the most common arrangement. Indeed, in the palace of Doña Catalina's second son, now known as the *Palacio de*

las Dueñas, which was being built simultaneously with that of Pilatos, and that the above-mentioned Milanese merchant regarded as its twin, we can also observe openings between columns that vary between 2.50 metres and 3.57 metres, also arranged in an irregular and asymmetrical form, simply as a means of emphasizing the openings that they frame.⁵⁰

We can, therefore, conjecture that the patio in its primitive state as built by Doña Catalina was of somewhat smaller dimensions than at present, and possibly of rectangular plan, if we look at the lateral enlargement that it later underwent. This primitive patio must have been much larger than that of the loyal administrator Don Pedro, since afterwards, as we know, in the days of Doña Catalina, spaces started to be added as quickly as adjacent dwellings were acquired.⁵¹

In the rooms of the north and west wings of the patio, we find the coat of arms of Ribera and Sotomayor, as I have already mentioned, on both, ground and upper floors, but this arrangement of just two rows of rooms in an “L” shape was surely not the primitive layout of the patio. It must at least have been designed with loggias on all sides. The south wing, which now appears vacant, with a kind of

50. The *Patio de las Muñecas* itself, in the Alcazar, is asymmetrical, as is another small patio in what were the private quarters of the Duke of Bejar's mansion, now more generally known as *Casa de Altamira*.

51. Unfortunately, the notarial description of the house of Pedro López is too vague for us to be able to draw conclusions beyond the notable fact of possessing a connection to the aqueduct of the *Caños de Carmona*.

48. A reference to the Italian architect Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507-1573) [TN].

49. P. de Madrazo, *España. Sus monumentos y sus artes... Sevilla y Cádiz*, Barcelona, 1884, p. 667.

porch that opens towards the dismounting yard, and with the entrance door to the patio in the centre, owes this aspect to the reforms in the 19th century, as we will see. In Doña Catalina's time there must have also been a great hall here, although only on the ground floor, leaving any upper floor unbuilt, so as to allow more sunlight onto the patio.⁵² The east wing, on the other hand, was perhaps not built in Doña Catalina's time, or if it was, it must have been demolished in Don Fadrique's time, to allow for an extension of the patio closer to more or less of a square shape, as we will see. We would thus have, in the period of Doña Catalina, a primitive closed patio in the shape of an "[", perhaps rectangular in form and already porticoed at least on three of its sides.⁵³ These three galleries appear supported on the ground floor by some strange marble columns with smooth tapered capitals,⁵⁴ which pose a difficult question (Figs. 10, 11 and 12); in spite

52. A similar operation took place in the *Palacio de las Dueñas*, only that here the primitive hall of the wing has been preserved, although at present opened to the dismounting yard and patio.

53. Those would be the north, west and south sides.

54. Perhaps of Granadine inspiration; several examples of this type of column exist in Seville: in a passage between Calle Cuna and Calle Sierpes, in the patio of a house in Calle Fabiola, in the belvedere-tower of the *Casa de los Pinelo*, and even in the so-called "*Claustro Mudéjar*" of the Carthusian monastery of Las Cuevas where the family vault was opened. On the other hand, the same capitals appear in drawings in Italian Renaissance treatises, such as those of Francesco di Giorgio (1439-1502), the Mexican Codex Magliabechiano, II, I.141, fol. 36 and Codex Torinese Saluzziano 148, fol. 14, although these may just be simplified schematic



Figure 10. Smooth truncated capital of the oldest part of the patio of the *Casa de Pilatos* (FCDM).

of their archaic appearance, there are no trustworthy records of a trade in architectural marbles between Seville and Italy at such an early date,⁵⁵ however, it does not imply that there was none; moreover, as previously mentioned, Doña Catalina traded directly both with the ports of

representations of the proportions of the Corinthian capital.

55. C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Les Maîtres du marbre. Carrare 1300-1600*, Paris, 1969, mentions some altarpieces and tombs, but not architectural elements. See pp. 226 ff. Nonetheless, there is a record of a 1495 order from the Duke of Medina Sidonia for columns with their capitals and bases from Genoa. See J. Gil, *El exilio portugués en Sevilla, de los Braganza a Magallanes*, Sevilla, 2009, p. 141, n. 109.





Figure 11. Columns taken from earlier buildings, with the two models of capital used in Seville between the 15th and 16th centuries, in a house in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz. (Author's photo).

northern Europe, and with those of Italy. We cannot, therefore, rule out an early importation of columns, of Italian origin, before Don Fadrique's transcendental Italian journey.

There is another aspect that may help us to reconstruct the original patio of the palace of the Adelantados. The windows that now open onto the loggias of the patio display some stone mullions with pseudo-Nazarite capitals that were installed by the Duchess of Denia in 1861 following the "orientalist" fashion of the period.⁵⁶ Until then, these windows were simple rectangular openings lacking any decorations⁵⁷ (Fig. 13). However, from the instructions of the Duchess of Denia, we know that, for this operation of "embellishment", "some old columns of the house" were used, for which the new "Granadine" capitals were carved.

By their dimensions, these small columns would have also served originally as mullions. Fortunately, one is preserved, with its original acanthus leaf capital of Islamic tradition, dating from the late 15th century and now preserved in a storeroom in the *Casa de Pilatos* itself.

56. See J. González Moreno, *La Casa de Pilatos en el siglo xix*, Sevilla, 1983, p. 224.

57. See, for example, the engraving of the patio reproduced by A. de Laborde, in his *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1806-20, vol. II, Part 1.



Figure 12. Small cloister of the Sevillian Carthusian monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas, with smooth capitals and ringed shafts (FCDM).

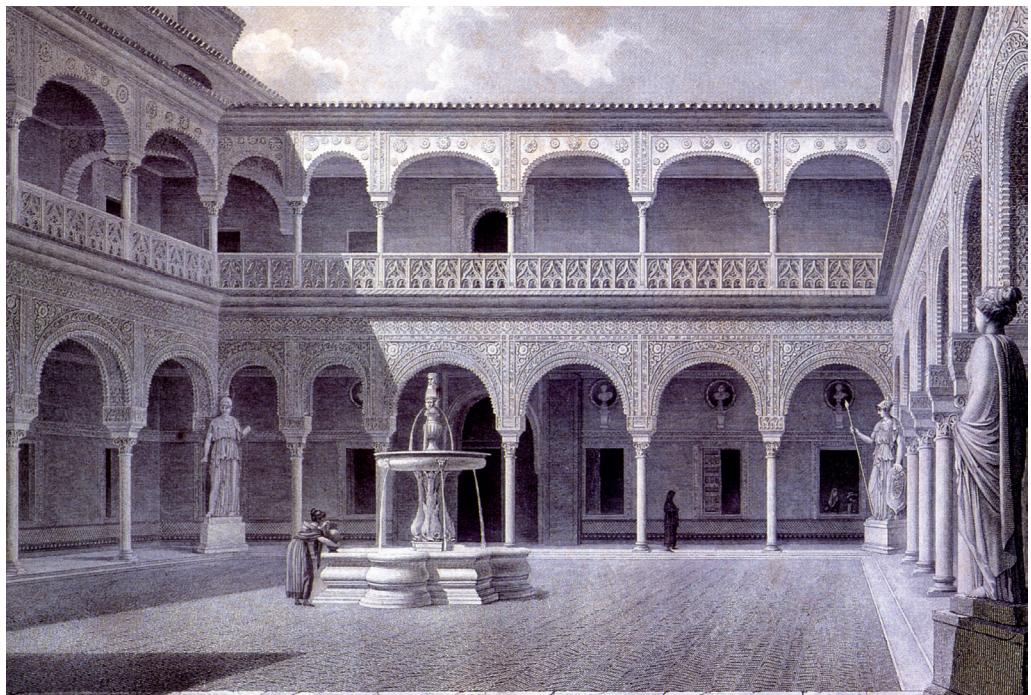


Figure 13. Alexandre de Laborde, "Patio of the *Casa de Pilatos*", from *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique d'Espagne* (Paris, 1806-20) Vol. II, Part 1 (Author's Photo).



Figure 14. Geminated window in the patio of the *Casa de los Pinelos* in Seville (FCDM).

In this singular interplay of architectural elements we must, therefore, first distinguish the following sequence: originally, the open windows of the walls of the patio would have been geminated with their stone mullions in the way they are still found in the patio of the *Casa de los Pinelos*, of a slightly later date⁵⁸ (Fig. 14); in the reforms carried out by Don Fadrique during the third decade of the 16th century, as we will see, these *ajimeces*, or

mullioned windows, that must have already seemed outdated, would have been replaced by simple openings closed by grilles, leaving the columns in storage; finally, although with new capitals in the romantic “neo-Arabic” taste, the same columns once again resumed their primitive function in the porticoed loggias.

Another aspect of the patio that raises numerous questions is that of the upper storey; we have already seen how the rooms on that floor were built in the period of Doña Catalina, as is shown by her coats of arms painted on the coffered ceilings; nevertheless, the high loggias have columns with the capitals known as “*de moñas*”⁵⁹ brought by Don Fadrique from Genoa, that is, from a later period. There are two possible explanations for this: one is that these galleries were originally left as *azoteas* or rooftops with no overhead roof structure, and that they were effectively reformed by Don Fadrique; the other more likely explanation is that the upper floor, following a traditional model, had originally presented a gallery of surbased arches supported upon pillars, perhaps made out of brick or even timber, so that Don Fadrique would have limited himself to replacing them by the columns (Fig. 15).

Whatever the case, the constructional evidence shows that Don Fadrique had these high galleries rebuilt in two phases: in an initial phase, the north and west

58. Currently, the headquarters of the Academia de Buenas Letras and the Academia de Bellas Artes, of Seville.

59. It is one of the capitals in the simplified Corinthian style of medieval origin and that appears to have been cut in Genoa, in series, for exportation. They are extraordinarily abundant in Seville [TN].



Figure 15. J. Guichot, reconstruction of the so-called "House of the Moorish King" in Seville, 1876. Showing brickwork pillars (Museo de Artes y Costumbres Populares).

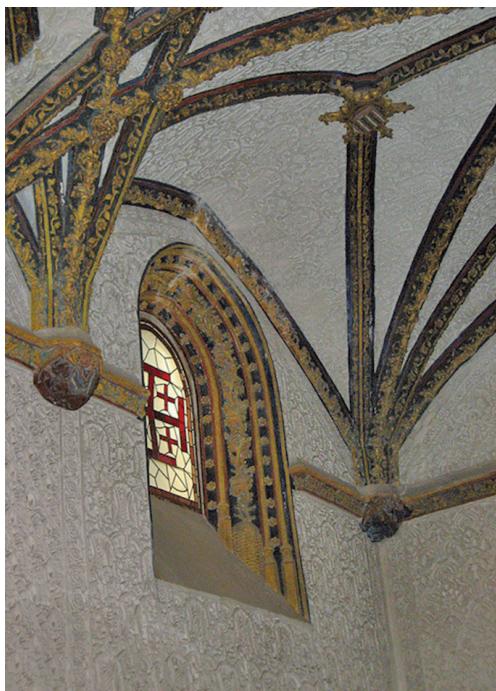


Figure 16. Interior of the Chapel of the *Casa de Pilatos* (FCDM).

galleries were covered, and later the east gallery which, as we will see, is the result of the extension carried out by Don Fadrique. In effect, at the meeting of the north and west galleries, the first arch of the latter was mounted upon the last of the former, which also presents plaster decoration on its face, previously hidden, but now revealed by a small opening that has been left as witness to the fact.

The last space of the Palacio de los Adelantados that seems to have been left unmodified is the chapel, which, as we have already seen, is alluded to in the above-mentioned notarial records—but only as regards the interior, since the exterior has undergone modifications. Originally, at least on one side, it must have projected

outwards, since it has a window that now opens incongruously onto an interior room, which affects its lighting. It is, however, difficult to specify when this closing in of the chapel's perimeter took place; in an early 20th century plan published by Lampérez y Romea,⁶⁰ the chapel appears surrounded by a series of rooms of irregular plan and very small dimensions, but these subsequently disappeared in an alignment of the Calle Imperial. The interior (Fig. 16), however, constitutes a beautiful example of Gothic-Mudéjar hybridization; it is roofed by a very flattened vault on ribs that spring from corbels carved with little angels, and it receives its light from a window with a pointed arch and a steeply slanted embrasure, framed by a decoration of thistle leaves that emerge from pots. These Gothic elements⁶¹ contrast with the dense network of plaster arabesques that cover both the walls and the webs of the vaults, and with the high plinth of *azulejos*, or decorative glazed tiles, with interlacing patterns. In the plasterwork surrounding the upper part of the entrance, which opens onto what must have then been the main hall (Fig. 17), we find the same synthesis of elements: a Gothic basket-handle arch, enriched with crochets, with adornments of tracery in the spandrels, and crowned by a frieze representing foliated windows

⁶⁰. *Arquitectura Civil Española*, Madrid, 1922, vol. I, plate 579. On a present-day plan what must have been the external buttresses of the chapel can still be appreciated, absorbed in the surrounding rooms.

⁶¹. They appear identical to those in the Capitular Chapel of the Carthusian monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas.



Figure 17. Entrance to the Chapel of the *Casa de Pilatos*.

and surrounded by a wide alfiz with this-tileleaf decoration. Finally, an inscription with Arabic characters which adorns the walls of the antechapel proclaims, according to Amador de los Ríos, "...For our lord and master Don Pedro. May he be praised!"⁶²

The main rooms of the palace must have been situated between the ends and both sides of the portal-chapel axis. These rooms, which caught the attention of the above-mentioned Italian merchant on account of their scale and luxury, must have been a novelty in the Seville of those times—particularly the upstairs rooms, which were something of a rarity at the time. What was normal then is made clear by a passage from the "*Coloquios*" of Pero Mexia, written *ca.* 1547; in these dialogues, one of the speakers criticizes the local tradition of "building low", which in his opinion diminished the dignity of the houses; the retort was that, given the climate of Seville, it was much more rational that houses should be of a single storey "and the buildings being low here has not been neglect but care".⁶³

By analogy with other Medieval Mudéjar palaces, in the palace of the Adelantados, we can distinguish between domestic and state rooms. The latter area, a group of large rooms, is arranged around the main patio. The more domestic part consists

of smaller rooms situated around minor and irregular patios, some of which can still be made out on the above-mentioned plan of Lampérez, and must have disappeared with the reforms carried out in the first decades of the 20th century. These were the living quarters of not only the family itself, but also of a multitude of servants and slaves. The will of Doña Catalina de Ribera, for example, without counting relatives and servants, gives the astounding figure of 92 slaves of both sexes, specialized in a great diversity of trades: masons, bakers, pastry-cooks, grooms, esparto workers, carpenters, etc.⁶⁴

The state-rooms would follow the traditional "palace" layout, consisting of an elongated room with "quadras", that is, with spacious chambers, at each end.⁶⁵ Once again, it is in the north range of the patio where the primitive tripartite arrangement has been best preserved: the antechapel room is a clear example of a rectangular "palace" which shows a "quadra" on the east side, although that which corresponds to the western end was built with other dimensions, since it shares the same plan as the tower on the storey above it.⁶⁶

62. R. Amador de los Ríos, *Inscripciones árabes de Sevilla*, (Madrid, 1875), facsimile edition with introduction by R. Valencia, Sevilla, 1998. "Las inscripciones de la Casa de Pilatos", pp. 216 ff.

63. P. Mexia, *Coloquios* (Sevilla, c. 1547), ed. Sevilla, 1947, p. 18. Curiously, the work is dedicated to Per Afán de Ribera, grandson of the Adelantados.

64. The will has been published in *Archivo Hispalense*, 1.^a época, vol. III, 1887, pp. 51 ff. Doña Catalina asks her heir to "let them remain in the lodgings here within".

65. In some Moroccan palaces this Andalusian typology has been retained, such as the Dar Lazraq and Dar Demana in Fez.

66. In this room, the coats of arms painted on the coffered ceiling (*alfarje*) are also those of Doña Catalina.

We must imagine these spaces covered with friezes and *arrabae*s (or Mudéjar spandrels) in plaster, plinths with graffiti decoration, eaves and overhangs in painted wood; in short, as a palace in which the Islamic influence had yet to be compromised by the irruption of the Italian marbles contributed by the descendants of the Adelantados.

Unfortunately, the documents have nothing to say about their internal organization or decoration. From the little that is known about palace administration at the dawn of the early modern period,⁶⁷ we can suppose an extremely flexible arrangement, with very few rooms devoted to specific fixed functions (bedchambers, armouries). The extremely limited furniture described in contemporary inventories support this notion of multi-functionality, as the vast majority of it was easily transportable: benches, chairs and tables that were generally dismountable; apart from those, the household only included tapestries, carpets and embossed leather articles.

As has been the norm, practically until the 18th century, the most expensive elements of decoration pertained to the art of tapestry.⁶⁸ Doña Catalina's will includes some of these pieces that remained tied "by way of entailment" to

her two sons, with no possibility of their alienation: to Don Fadrique "a canopy of crimson brocade and the green velvet bedspread and another bedspread of silk with some *enzinas*⁶⁹ and four green pillows of crimson brocade and three violet ones of velvet and a linen *caravaca*⁷⁰ with colourful bands"; Don Fernando's lot was "the yellow velvet bedspreads and the white and green damask bedspreads and the Moorish brocade counterpane with the violet edgings and a linen bed canopy with red and white ribbons and a canopy of crimson and white brocade and four pillows of green velvet and two of brocade and the bedspread with a gold cross".

The lot that corresponded to Don Fernando did not include a valuation, but that of Don Fadrique was valued at the really astounding sum of 2,200,504 Maravedis, a figure that reveals its true dimension if compared to the magnificent property, with palace and gardens, of the *Huerta del Rey*, valued at just over twice as much. The disproportion is so great, in any case, that one may suspect a heraldic function in these pieces: perhaps the "*doçeres*" or canopies and the beds had a role to play in palace ceremony.⁷¹

With the passing of the years, this palace that the Adelantados had begun to

67. It is a fact, no less certain for being deplorable, that there is not a single Spanish interior that has preserved its decoration and original layout until the 18th century. Moreover, hardly any graphical element (paintings, drawings, engravings) remains that might help us reconstruct them.

68. See C. McCorquodale, *The history of Interior Decoration*, Oxford, 1983, p. 46.

69. *Enzinas* is perhaps more properly "*ensinas*" or ensigns, perhaps of a heraldic or military nature.

70. The term *caravaca* may refer to a cross with double horizontal arms (*Cruz de Caravaca*) represented here as a tapestry [TN].

71. Likewise, we should not forget the impression caused in the Milanese traveller by the *bellissime razzerie* or beautiful tapestries.

develop must have appeared modest, and above all antiquated to their descendants: alterations and improvements followed one upon another, enriching the humble materials of local tradition with Italian marbles. But despite it all, the original Gothic-Mudéjar nucleus would condition the later evolution from a Moorish style organization into “*cuartos*”⁷² or rooms. More important still, with the passing of time, an anarchic model of growth manifested itself that made any unified project impossible; adjoining properties

continued to be bought up as chance provided, sometimes incorporated into the nucleus without any modification at all.

In a similar fashion, in the second half of the 19th century, the palace that had attained its greatest expansion two centuries earlier began to partition spaces for development as independent houses: a movement, therefore, of expansion and contraction that reveals the persistence throughout four centuries not so much of an understanding of architecture, but of life.

⁷². “*cuartos*” or rooms, opposed to the more modern disposition in “*apartamentos*” or apartments, an innovation of Italian origin of which only one example was to appear as a result of the alterations carried out in 1568-70.