



ACTAS DEL
SIMPOSIO

EL PATIO CIRCULAR EN LA ARQUITECTURA DEL RENACIMIENTO



DE LA CASA DE MANTEGNA
AL PALACIO DE CARLOS V

WAS GIULIO ROMANO THE ARCHITECT OF THE PALACE OF CHARLES V IN GRANADA?

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The palace of Charles V in Granada is one of the most beautiful and impressive architectural works of the sixteenth century (fig. 1). For size, layout, site, plan, and facade design it is outstanding among Renaissance palaces. The only buildings comparable in magnificence, monumental use of the orders and unity and originality of design are the Medici and Strozzi palaces in Florence, and Palazzo Venezia, the Palazzo della Cancelleria and Palazzo Farnese in Rome (these three all papal projects), and Palazzo Te in Mantua (built, as Vasari neatly puts it “in the guise of a great palace”).¹ Among other parallels one can add two buildings, begun later and left unfinished: Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza², designed by Giulio Romano and executed by Palladio, and Lescot’s new wing at the Louvre. Another comparable vast palace-like project, soon abandoned but familiar in the period to those aware of the new architecture in Rome was Bramante’s Palazzo dei Tribunali.³

Charles V’s palace is well preserved. Documentation survives regarding its construction as well as drawings which cast light on its planning and the early phases of construction.⁴ But despite the existence of these sources and the important studies by Earl Rosenthal, Manfredo Tafuri, Fernando Marias, Cristina Stiglmayr, and others, key aspects of its genesis and authorship remain matters of conjecture.⁵

1 G. Vasari, *Vita di Giulio Romano*, in *Le vite de’ più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a’ tempi nostri*, 1568, p. 66: “si risolvesse il marchese di far poi tutto quello edificio a guisa d’un gran palazzo”. Vasari’s description is pertinent as it shows how a complex design could be communicated by an able writer who understood architecture in a few lines: “La forma del quale palazzo è così fatta. È questo edificio quadro, et ha nel mezzo un cortile scoperto a uso di prato, ovvero piazza, nella quale sboccano in croce quattro entrate; la prima delle quali, in prima vista, trafora ovvero passa in una grandissima loggia che sbocca per un’altra nel giardino, e due altre vanno a diversi appartamenti; e queste sono ornate di stucchi e di pitture.”

2 *Palazzo Thiene a Vicenza*, ed. G. Beltrami, H. Burns, F. Rigon, Vicenza 2007.

3 S. B. Butters, P.N. Pagliara, *Il palazzo dei Tribunali, via Giulia e la Giustizia: strategie politiche e urbane di Giulio II*, in *Il Palazzo Falconieri e il palazzo barocco a Roma* [...], ed. G. Hajnóczy, L. Csorba, Catanzaro 2009, pp. 29-280.

4 The drawings, three in Spain and the elevation for the west façade now in The Metropolitan Museum, are discussed by E.E. Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V in Granada*, Princeton 1985, pp. 22-45; and the catalogue entries, of F. Marias, in *Carlos V, letras, armas y arquitectura entre Roma y Granada*, ed. F. Marias, F. Pereda Madrid, 2000, pp. 420-425. See also D. Rodríguez, *Sobre los dibujos del Palacio de Carlos V en la Alhambra de Granada conservados en la Real Biblioteca*, in *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, 145, 2000, pp. 16-27.

5 Since 1985 there have been four principal efforts to clarify the genesis of the design of the palace, taking account of the context and of the drawings and documents, in addition to close consideration of the palace itself: E.E. Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V in Granada*, Princeton 1985; the possibility of Giulio’s involvement in the design of the palace was mentioned by H. Burns and M. Tafuri, *La fortuna di Giulio Romano architetto*, in *Giulio Romano, saggi* di E.H. Gombrich, M. Tafuri, S. Ferino Pagden, C.L. Frommel, K. Oberhuber, A. Belluzzi e K.W. Forster, H. Burns, Milan, Electa 1989, pp. 580-581, and then discussed at length by M. Tafuri, M. Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento: principi, città, architetti*, Torino, Einaudi 1992, pp. 255-304.



Fig. 1. The Palace of Charles V looking north, towards the south facade (© Google Earth).

In considering the design and designers of the palace I will call attention to features which link the building both to the Spanish architectural world and to innovations in Italy, present above all in the work of Raphael and his contemporaries in Rome and in Giulio Romano's Mantuan projects.

The principal studies of Fernando Marías on the palace are: *La Casa Real Nueva de Carlos V en la Alhambra*: in *Carlos V, letras, armas y arquitectura entre Roma Y Granada*, ed. F. Marías, F. Pereda Madrid, 2000, pp. 201-221; Fernando Marías, *El palacio de Carlos V en Granada: formas romanas, usos castellanos*, in *Carlos V y las artes: promoción artística y familia imperial*, M. J. Redondo Cantera ... (coords.) M. A. Allo Manero ...Valladolid 2000, pp. 107-128; *Il palazzo di Carlo V a Granada e l'Escorial*, in *Luoghi, spazi, architetture*, ed. Donatella Calabi, E. Svalduz, Vicenza, Colla 2010, pp. 293-321,768-771. See also C. Stiglmayr, *Der Palast Karls V. in Granada*, Frankfurt am Main, Lang 2000.

I will discuss successive phases of the ideation, design and realisation: the initial decision to build an imperial residence next to the Alhambra⁶; the starting points for the first scheme or idea; the overall scheme with its circular court and exterior orders, probably arrived at through discussion of alternatives; the overall articulation of the exterior; the monumental centre pieces for the west and south facades; and the design of details for all the elevations, down to small features. Generally I will explore the building's complex genetic profile and the knowledge and sophistication of its designers.

In relation to the ideation-design-construction process it is worth remembering that construction was begun only after nearly a decade of discussion, a fact already accepted by Rosenthal: as with other Renaissance buildings until a feature was actually fixed in stone the design could be changed. Given the massive investment of money and prestige, planning and design probably involved others beside Charles V, Luis Hurtado de Mendoza (1489-1566), the cultivated nobleman left in charge on the spot, in his role as *Alcaide* of the Alhambra and *Capitán General* of Granada, and Pedro Machuca, personally linked to Mendoza, painter and *hidalgo*, the site architect, who had returned around 1520 from a stay in Italy, (probably in Rome) and - on the basis of the paintings attributed to him - seems to have been influenced by Raphael and his circle.⁷

The palace represents a complete break with earlier Spanish Renaissance architecture in its size, circular courtyard, vigorous rusticated Doric, knowledge of the orders and the central “triumphal” features in the middle of the two main facades. These elements echo the new Roman architecture of the early decades of the sixteenth century and Giulio Romano's work at the Palazzo Te and elsewhere. It is striking too that the architectural language of the palace is distinct from that used at the same time at the new cathedral in Granada by another architect formed in Italy, Diego de Siloe.⁸

The design of the palace has been explained in two main ways. The first is the suggestion that Pedro Machuca had absorbed in Rome the architectural language and design methods of Raphael; the second is that Giulio Romano was essentially the designer of the palace, though control of execution and hence production of the detailed drawings for capitals and other smaller features, as well as aspects of interior layout, were probably Machuca's work. The idea that Giulio Romano was basically responsible for the palace's design is skillfully presented by Manfredo Tafuri.⁹ He also developed Rosenthal's suggestion that imperial allusions were intended in the serliana window on the south facade. The probable citation in the palace of the

6 The bibliography on the Alhambra is vast, and can easily be consulted online via “Kubikat”. For a first orientation one can cite: Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra*, Cambridge, 1978; *Al-Andalus : the art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn D. Dodds, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, NY, 1992; Robert Irwin, *The Alhambra*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 2004.

7 For Mendoza see notes 17, 58, 71-73 below. The sources for the biography of Machuca are examined by Rosenthal, *The Palace*, pp. 11- 18, and by Mariás, *Il palazzo di Carlo V a Granada*, pp. 316-317.

8 On Siloe and the cathedral see E. E. Rosenthal, *The Cathedral of Granada : a study in the Spanish renaissance*, Princeton 1961; C. Wilkinson-Zerner, *Some interpretations of classicism in Spanish cathedrals in L' église dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, ed. , Paris, Picard, pp. 147-160; M. Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento*, pp. 271-277.

9 See note 5 above.



Fig. 2. The Teatro Marittimo at the Villa Adriana (Foto Raimondo Luciani, www.tivolitouring.com).

circular colonnaded courtyard of the Teatro Marittimo at Hadrian's villa adds a possible Spanish and Imperial allusion, given Hadrian's Spanish origins (fig. 2).¹⁰

What credit can be given to the idea of Giulio's involvement today? My aim here is not to settle the matter of Giulio's involvement, which it is impossible to do without new evidence. Chronology however provides a framework for defining the problems relating to the genesis and development of the project and I will look at the language and forms of the palace in relation to the probable stages of the project's evolution.

The decision to build the palace (1526)

The decision to build a splendid Imperial residence next to the Alhambra, on the hill which commands Granada was presumably taken or at least finalised when Charles was in residence in Granada, in the Alhambra itself, a building which he and others admired. Charles and his bride, Isabella of Portugal, arrived in Granada from Seville (where they had been married on 10

¹⁰ Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento*, pp. 280-281. Hadrian, like Trajan, came from a family of Spanish origins, though the *Historia Augusta* states that he was born in Rome. The extent of recognition of Hadrian's Spanish origins, and the importance given to them in Renaissance Spain still needs to be fully evaluated.

March 1526) on 4 June 1526, and left the city on 9 December 1526.¹¹ They were accompanied by the court, key government figures and ambassadors, including the Papal Nuncio Baldassarre Castiglione and the Venetian statesman and man of letters, Andrea Navagero.¹²

The reasons for building an impressive and costly residence in Granada seem clear. The actual and symbolic importance of the city had been underlined by the construction of the Capilla Real (1505-1517) in the heart of the city. Charles (born like Federico Gonzaga in 1500 and thus an exact contemporary of Giulio Romano) was young, but knew his own mind and was aware of his position and responsibilities. He was probably already an observer of architecture, if not one instructed in Vitruvian matters. Baldassarre Castiglione describes him in 1526: “L'imperatore è giovane di XXVI. anni, assai fermo nelle sue opinioni, e grandissimo Principe, Signore di buone genti di guerra, fortunatissimo, e secondo la opinion di molti buon Cristiano, e di buona natura, e per questo confidente in Dio”.¹³ Charles did not yet have a direct knowledge of Italian buildings or architectural culture, but was in contact with people who did. He probably had already acquired an Italianate concern with the magnificence appropriate to rulers.

In Seville and then in Granada there was the Great Chancellor Mercurino Arborio da Gattinara, an Italian, who in addition to his high office became the theorist of the young Emperor's role and position.¹⁴ Charles was also in close contact with Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, governor of the Alhambra, and future “on-site” patron of the palace, to whom in 1528 he gave an ample mandate concerning the building's design and construction and subsequently appointed him to a series of key offices.¹⁵ Luis Hurtado, whose cultivated brother Diego was later Charles' ambassador in Venice and Rome and then governor of Siena¹⁶, belonged to a family which had already played an important role in the introduction of Italian architectural forms into Spain.¹⁷

11 Hayward Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos, secretary of the Emperor Charles V*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, [1960], pp. 94-95 (Keniston states that the court left Granada on 10 December); Vicente de Cadenas, *Diario del Emperador Carlos V*, Madrid 1992, pp. 175, 178. In Serassi's edition of Castiglione's letters (see note 13, below), the first letter of Castiglione from Granada is dated 24 June 1526 and the last 2 December 1526.

12 Igor Melani, NAVAGERO, *Andrea*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 78, 2013; for Navagero's description of the Alhambra, see C.R. Brothers, *The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra. The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V*, in *Muqarnas*, XI (1994), pp. 79-102. His account of his Spanish travels was published as a separate book: *Il viaggio fatto in Spagna, et in Francia, dal magnifico m. Andrea Navagiero, fu oratore dell'illustrissimo Senato Veneto, alla cesarea maesta di Carlo V. Con la descrizione particolare delli luochi, et costumi delli popoli di quelle provincie*, Venezia: Domenico Farri 1563; I. Melani, «Per non vi far un volume». A. N., gli «amici tutti» e la costruzione di un «Viaggio», in *Rivista storica italiana*, CXIX, 2007, pp. 515-604.

13 *Lettere del Conte Baldessar Castiglione*, ed. Pierantonio Serassi, Padova 1769, Libro V, pp. 75-76. The complete edition of Castiglione's letters has just appeared, and includes the letters from Spain: Baldassarre Castiglione, *Lettere famigliari e diplomatiche*, ed. A. Stella, U. Morando, R. Vetrugno, Torino, Einaudi 2016, 3 vols.

14 On Gattinara see n. 33 below.

15 Rosenthal, *The Palace*, p. 265-6, doc. 2.

16 See Erika Spivakovsky, *The son of the Alhambra. Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575*, 1970; Michael J. Levin, *Agents of Empire. Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, New York 2005.

17 Luis Hurtado de Mendoza (1489-1566), 3rd Conde de Tendilla and 2nd Marqués de Mondéjar was the son of Inigo Lopez de Mendoza. He had a distinguished administrative and political career before and after definitively leaving Granada in 1543. His success derived from the trust placed in him by Charles V, his competence and probably also the support of Charles's powerful secretary Francisco de los Cobos. Don Luis was succeeded in Granada by his son, the future 3rd Marquis. See also notes 71-73 below.

In Seville and Granada, Charles met frequently with the two outstanding Italian intellectuals mentioned above: Navagero and Castiglione. It is remarkable that these two friends, both architectural experts, were present in Granada just at the time when the idea for the palace was launched. Castiglione displays his interest in architecture in his eulogy in the *Cortegiano* of the Ducal Palace in Urbino and in the fact that he drafted Raphael's famous letter to Leo X.¹⁸ Navagero's pleasure in architecture, as well as his archaeological interests emerge from his letters, with their perceptive and enthusiastic descriptions of the Alhambra and Spanish antiquities.¹⁹ The presence of Navagero and Castiglione is perhaps significant in relation to the principal feature of the palace. They had both, together with Raphael and Pietro Bembo, visited Tivoli and the villa Adriana on 4 April 1516.²⁰ They had probably seen the Teatro Marittimo of the villa, which was clearly visible, as Francesco di Giorgio and Palladio both recorded its plan.²¹ Its circular trabeated colonnade, as has been noted, seems to have inspired the palace's round court. The resemblance is not just formal but also dimensional: the difference in the diameters of the two structures is only about 30 cm.²² This similarity suggests that the intention was not simply to allude to Hadrian's residence, but to partially replicate it: Charles's palace becomes a quasi-facsimile of that of the Roman emperor.²³ The suggestion that the Teatro Marittimo should be imitated may have been made by Navagero or Castiglione. Some insight into cultural exchanges (and recommendations) in Granada at this time is offered by Juan Boscán, future translator of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, when he

18 Castiglione describes the Urbino palace as "secondo la opinione di molti, il più bello che in tutta Italia si ritrovi" (*Il Cortegiano*, I, 2). The whole passage is faithfully rendered in Boscán's 1534 translation. On Raphael's letter, see Francesco P. Di Teodoro, Raffaello, Baldassar Castiglione e la *Lettera a Leone X*, Bologna 2003, and now F. P. Di Teodoro, *La Lettera a Leone X* di Raffaello e Baldassar Castiglione: un nuovo manoscritto, in *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, serie 5, 2015, 7/1, pp. 119-168 (with full bibliography).

19 Cammy Brothers, *The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V*, in *Muqarnas*, XI, 1994, pp. 79-102. See also note 17, below.

20 Pietro Bembo wrote to Cardinal Bibbiena on 3 April 1516 announcing the trip, planned for the following day, to see the antiquities and modern Tivoli ("vederemo il vecchio e il nuovo"). The visit probably lasted at least several days. For the text and comment see J. Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 1483-1602, New Haven-London 2003, I, pp. 238-240.

21 For Francesco di Giorgio's drawings see H. Burns, Cat. XX.3, U 319 Ar.; Cat. XX.4, U 319 Av. and Cat. XX.6, U 320 Av. in *Francesco di Giorgio Architetto*, ed. P.F. Fiore, M.Tafari, Milan, Electa, 1994, pp. 351-355. Francesco only gives dimensions for the Teatro Marittimo in U 320 Av. and shows it as oval in plan, an error which he corrects in his fair copy in the Cod. Saluziano, which omits the colonnade: Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare*, ed. C. Maltese, trascr. L. Maltese Degrassi, Milano 1967, I, tav. 167; this plan definitely shows the Teatro Marittimo; it is less certain that tav. 164 relates to this part of the villa. Palladio draws the plan of the Teatro Marittimo on RIBA VII/6r. and RIBA IX/12 (see P.Gros, *Palladio e l'Antico*, Venice, Marsilio 2006, pp. 76-77; H. Spielmann, *Palladio und die Antike*, Munich-Berlin 1966, pp. 84-85; cat. 203, pp. 168-169 and fig. 109). Palladio on both plans gives the overall internal diameter as 120 Vicentine feet (42.84 m), very close to the 42.70 m. of modern surveys (see note 22 below).

22 The dimensions of the two circular courts - in the palace and at Hadrian's villa- are very close, especially if one considers the overgrown, unexcavated state of the villa and surveying practice of the time: the Teatro Marittimo has an overall interior diameter of 42.70 m., roughly 144 Roman feet (see Mathias Ueblicher, *Das Teatro Marittimo in der Villa Hadriana*, mit einem Beitrag von Catia Caprino, Mainz am Rhein 1985; Mark Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, New Haven and London 2000, p. 219) while that of the palace is 42.20 m. (B. Lández, M. Rodríguez, *La bóveda anular del Palacio de Carlos V en Granada. Hipótesis constructiva*, in *Informes de la Construcción*, 67(540), 2015, (<http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/ic.15.004>). One can note that Juan de Maeda in his report of 1576 states that the cortile "quasi tiene çiento y cinquenta pies" (41.85m. if Maeda was employing the Castille foot of 0.279m.).

23 The modalities and conventions of imitation are various and differ from period to period, as Richard Krautheimer pointed out in his famous article : R. Krautheimer, *Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture'*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5, 1942, pp. 1-33; see also K. Blair Moore, *Textual Transmission and Pictorial Transformations: The Post-Crusade Image of the Dome of the Rock in Italy*, in *Muqarnas*, 27, 2010, pp. 51-78. In the Renaissance exact often philological reproduction of schemes and motifs comes to dominate, but is often combined with layered allusions and/or the desire to demonstrate ability in transforming the work imitated; dimensional and proportional features of the model are as in earlier periods sometimes reproduced.

recalls how in Granada, in the course of conversation, Navagero had urged him to translate good Italian authors.²⁴

Castiglione's meetings with the young Emperor were frequent and given the relations between Clement VII and Charles, often difficult, despite the goodwill existing on the part of both the Nuncio and the Emperor.²⁵ Castiglione's letters concerning diplomatic matters have an official character, and do not record whether he sometimes talked with Charles about less painful matters so as to lighten difficult negotiations with personal cordiality. There are indications of Charles's respect for the famous writer.²⁶ Castiglione may thus have discussed the future palace with the emperor, perhaps himself *drawing* possible layouts: one can recall his emphasis on the importance of a knowledge of drawing on the part of the *cortegiano*.²⁷ He may also have exhorted Charles to build, in line with the view he expressed in the *Cortegiano*:

“Cercherei ancor d'indurlo [the prince] a far magni edifici, e per onor vivendo e per dar di sé memoria ai poster; come fece il duca Federico in questo nobil palazzo [in Urbino], ed or fa papa Iulio nel tempio di san Pietro, e quella strada che va da Palazzo al diporto di Belvedere [the cortile di Belvedere] e molti altri edifici, come faceano ancora gli antichi Romani; di che si vedeno tante reliquie a Roma, a Napoli, a Pozzolo, a Baie, a Cività Vecchia, a Porto ed ancor fuor d'Italia, e tanti altri lochi che son gran testimonio del valor di quegli animi divini. Cosí ancor fece Alessandro Magno, il qual, non contento della fama che per aver domato il mondo con l'arme avea meritamente acquistata, edificò Alessandria in Egitto, in India Bucefalia ed altre città in altri paesi; e pensò di ridurre in forma d'omo il monte Athos, e nella man sinistra edificargli una amplissima città e nella destra una gran coppa, nella quale si raccogliessero tutti i fiumi che da quello derivano e di quindi trabocassero nel mare: pensier veramente grande e degno d'Alessandro Magno!”²⁸

24 “Estando un día en Granada con el Navagero, tratando con él en cosas de ingenio y de letras, me dijo por qué no probaba en lengua castellana sonetos y otras artes de trovas usadas por los buenos autores de Italia: y no solamente me lo dijo así livianamente, mas aún me rogó que lo hiciera.. (*Epístola nuncupatoria de Juan Boscán a la duquesa de Soma*, cited in the Wikipedia article on Boscán: https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juan_Bosc%C3%A1n).

25 See Castiglione's letters to the Archbishop of Capua, dated from Granada “all' ultimo di Giulio 1526” and “20 di settembre 1526” published by Serassi, and in Baldesar Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano con una scelta delle Opere minori*, ed Bruno Maier, Turin 1981, pp. 641-647.

26 Apart from Charles's often quoted comment on Castiglione when his death was announced (“yo os digo que es muerto uno de los mejores caballeros del mundo”: see V. Cian, *Un illustre nunzio pontificio: Baldesar Castiglione*, Città del Vaticano, 1951 pp.127-8) one can cite Castiglione's own words in his letter to Cardinal Salviati of 16 February 1527: “...dicono mal di me [in Rome] ed affermano ch'io sono imperiale, della qual cosa, che causa abbiano io non lo so, senonché sospettano, perché veggono che l'Imperatore, e quant'altri Signori tutti mi fanno carezze e io non le ho mai fuggite, parendomi che, se l'Imperatore mi crede, possa a qualche tempo essere servizio del Papa” (first published in *Delle lettere del Conte Baldessar Castiglione* [ed. Antonio Serassi], II, Padova 1771, p. 139).

27 B. Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, I, xlix (Baldesar Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, ed. G. Preti, Einaudi, Torino 1965, pp. 80-81): “voglio, – disse, – ragionar d'un'altra cosa, la quale io, perciò che di molta importanza la estimo, penso che dal nostro cortegiano per alcun modo non debba esser lasciata addietro: e questo è il saper disegnare [...]quest'arte; della qual, oltre che in sé nobilissima e degna sia, si traggono molte utilità, e massimamente nella guerra, per disegnar paesi, siti, fiumi, ponti, ròcche, fortezze e tai cose; le quali, se ben nella memoria si servassero, il che però è assai difficile, altrui mostrar non si possono.”

28 *Il libro del Cortegiano*, IV, 36. The passage is accurately translated in *Los quatro libros, del cortesano / compuestos en italiano por el conde Balthasar castellan, y agora nueuamente traduzidos en lengua castellana por Boscan*, Barcellona 1534, fols. C v-Clr. (For the whole book online see <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000072666&page=1>).

Boscán's translation of the *Cortegiano* appeared in 1534; Francesco Sansovino states that the book was among Charles's three favourite works.²⁹

Charles must have attached considerable importance to the building of the new palace. He wanted to be buried in Granada, next to the Capella Real, in the new cathedral.³⁰ The city was associated with the conquest of the former Islamic kingdom of Granada, an achievement which in Charles' mind would have been linked to his own frequently asserted desire to combat the Ottomans.³¹ This was not simply a chivalric and Christian ambition but, after the defeat of the Hungarian army at the battle of Mohács (29 August 1526) and the subsequent alarming but ultimately unsuccessful siege of Vienna by Suleiman in 1529, a matter of survival. The interest of Charles in Northern Africa, seen in the successful Tunis expedition of the summer of 1535, was a response to the capture of the city by Barbarossa (16 August 1534), which had brought it under direct Ottoman control. The focus on North Africa and resistance to Ottoman expansion in this period must have reinforced Granada's symbolic role.

All this was part of the background – or metaphorically speaking, the “site”- of the future palace. The project needs to be seen within a complex, shifting international situation, within which the Emperor emerged as the triumphant defender both of Christianity and of his own dominions in the decade between the defeat of Francis I at Pavia in 1525 and the capture of Tunis ten years later. Even the only propaganda set-back of these years, the sack of Rome in 1527, was eclipsed by Charles's coronation by Clement VII in Bologna in 1530 and his triumphal entries into Italian cities before and after the conquest of Tunis: Bologna (1529), Mantua (1530), Genoa (1533), Messina and Naples (1535); Rome, Siena and Florence (1536); Milan (1533 and 1541).³²

The conception and design of the palace must have been encouraged by the idea that because of the vast territories he ruled in and beyond Europe and his defence of the Christian world and confrontation with the Ottoman Empire Charles was an Emperor comparable to the great Roman Emperors, among whom were those of Spanish origin, Trajan and Hadrian. His position could be seen as reflecting Dante's vision of a universal monarch, with an authority in temporal matters superior to that of the Pope. Dante's ideas had become relevant, given Clement VII's constant efforts to contrast Charles's power. Charles's own Great Chancellor, Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara (1465-1530), in fact revived Dante's views so as to provide a

29 *Il simulacro di Carlo quinto imperadore. Di m. Francesco Sansouino ...*, In Venetia : appresso Francesco Franceschini, 1567, p. 21: “Però si dilettaua di leggere tre libri solamente li quali esso haveua fatto tradurre in lingua sua propria, l' uno per l' institutione della vita civile, & questo fu il Cortigiano del Conte Baldasar da Castiglione, l' altro per le cose di stato, & questo fu il principe con Discorsi del Machiavello, & il terzo per gli ordini della militia, & questo fu la Historia con tutte le altre cose di Polibio.”

30 See Rosenthal, *The Palace*, pp. 4-5.

31 See for instance Charles's reaction to the loss of Hungary, as reported by Navagero: Marin Sanudo writes (*M. Diarii*, XLIII, Venice 1895, col. 729): “*Di Spagna, di sier Andrea Navier orator, di Granata, adi 16 Novembrio* [1526]. Come, inteso l' Imperador il perder di l' Hongaria et morte del Re, havia hauto gran dolor. Ha scritto al Papa vengi li, perchè in Soa Santità vol meter le deferentie l' ha con il re Christianissimo, et far la pace per far poi l' impresa contra il Turco”. One can note, that this would have been a moment when there was possibly a substantial accord between the Emperor and Castiglione.

32 For the entries and the publications describing some of these entries see <http://www.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/homepage.html>; J. Jacquot, ed., *Les fêtes de la Renaissance II: Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles-Quint*, Paris 1960. For Milan see Christine Suzanne Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience in Sixteenth-century Milan*, pp. 134-156. See also Elena Bonora, *Aspettando l'imperatore : principi italiani tra il papa e Carlo V*, Torino, Einaudi editore 2014

theoretical legitimacy for the emperor. Though his ideas were pertinent to the palace project, we do not know whether Gattinara himself made such a connection. The Great Chancellor was a brilliant and radical analyst of the international scene and the position of the Emperor.³³ He used the press to gain support for his views, publishing *Pro divo Carolo... apologetici libri duo* in 1527, only a few months after Charles left Granada.³⁴ One can also ask whether the “Italian” method of political and foreign policy decision-making developed by Gattinara and absorbed and applied by Charles V, based on careful analysis of alternative courses of action before making a final choice between them, actually influenced the way in which the final design for the palace was defined, through the comparison and evaluation of alternative designs.³⁵ It should also be remembered that the Marquis of Mondéjar, as is recalled below, was not only the son of an experienced building patron, but himself a skillful and successful military planner.

Points of departure for the design

The points of departure for the design would have been the idea of an Imperial palace for Charles, expressive of his role and importance, and the significance of Granada and the site itself. These two elements were connected.

The Alhambra, which Charles himself as well as sophisticated observers like Navagero admired, presented an initial challenge: to create a palace of a Roman and Imperial character, which should unlike the luxurious and inward looking Alhambra, boldly and magnificently present itself to the world. The representative function of the palace would have seemed more a priority at a time when the Emperor was in residence. In the second half of 1526 the patrons Charles and the Empress were present on the site, together with the intended future users of the palace: high officials, prelates, courtiers and retinue.

The principal public for the future building was moreover constituted by the court and important ambassadors who would have spread its fame throughout Europe. The presence

33 Gattinara was very determined and prepared to use his own constitutional powers as Chancellor or to withdraw from office rather than give way on principles or policies: see J.M. Headley, *The emperor and his chancellor, A study of the imperial Chancellery under Gattinara*, Cambridge-London-New York 1983; Giampiero Brunelli, GATTINARA, Mercurino Arborio marchese di, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* - Volume 52,1999; R. Boone, *Mercurino di Gattinara and the creation of the Spanish Empire*, London,Vermont 2014; *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi storici Mercurino, Cardinale e Gran Cancelliere di Carlo V e la famiglia Arborio Gattinara*, del 3-4 ottobre 2015, Gattinara, 2016. The Wikipedia entry on Gattinara provides a useful summary.

On Gattinara and Castiglione – perhaps a significant relationship for the genesis of the palace given the interest they both had in Erasmus's work - see G. Rebecchini, *Castiglione and Erasmus: Towards a Reconciliation?*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 61,1998, pp. 258-260.

34 The book was published in Cologne in March 1527, and in Mainz in September 1527: *Pro divo Carolo... apologetici libri duo* (Cologne, Peter Quentell, March 1527, and Mainz, Johann Schoeffer, September 1527). The Imperial privilege for the book, dated Valladolid, 2 March 1527, was signed by Charles, and countersigned by the secretary Alonso de Valdés, correspondent and admirer of Erasmus, and himself probably not extraneous to discussions regarding the palace.

35 The Gattinara-Charles V “method”, is succinctly summarised by Brunelli in his article on Gattinara in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*: “Da tempo, infatti, Carlo V appariva emancipato dal G., dopo averne assimilato i metodi di lavoro, basati sullo sforzo di esaminare ogni problema nel suo contesto, di valutare ogni alternativa soluzione, di tenere coerentemente presenti le esigenze di complessi e differenti domini.”

of the palace's future residents and public on the intended site gave the project an immediacy which was progressively lost once Charles was on the move again.

At the time it was the only major residence being projected for the Emperor intended to transmit a universal rather than a civic or regional message. The project was therefore more important than the renewal of the alcazars in Toledo or Madrid.³⁶

Certain requirements would have been clear from the start. The area on which a new building should be constructed was obvious: the acropolis-like site, for reasons of security and visibility; near and indeed linked to the Alhambra, which was to be largely preserved, but freestanding towards the city (to the west) and to the south, permitting the creation of very visible monumental facades on these two sides (figs. 1, 3). Façades must have always been considered important, and not just the mass of the building. Façade architecture of a new sort was just beginning to appear in Spain in secular buildings, as at the palace at Cogolludo (c.1488-1492, figs. 4, 41), in hospital and university buildings and in the new civic palace in Seville (probably begun in 1527).³⁷



Fig. 3. General view of the south façade of the Palace (Foto Author).

³⁶ F. Marías, *La Arquitectura del Renacimiento en Toledo (1541-1631)*, Madrid 1986, IV, pp.51-76; Véronique Gerard, *De castillo a palacio : el Alcázar de Madrid en el siglo XVI*, [Madrid] Xarait ed. 1984.

³⁷ This prominent and innovative building is discussed below. See Fernando Marías, *El largo siglo XVI: los usos artísticos del renacimiento español*, Madrid Taurus 1989, pp. 84, 400, 404; and on its construction A.J. Morales, *El Ayuntamiento de Sevilla: arquitectura y simbología*, Sevilla, 1981: p.30 for the appointment of Diego de Riano as *maestro mayor*, 29 March 1527; p. 119 for the massive expenditure on the building in 1528); p. 26 (for a payment for a drawing for the Cabildo.



Fig. 4. Cogolludo (Guadalajara), Palace of the Dukes of Medinaceli (c.1488- c.1492). As in the Palace of Charles V, there are two facade levels, rustication and a prominent central feature (Foto: Oilisab).

The new palace needed to be more prominent and compact than the Alhambra, with its loosely linked parts, in keeping with existing prominent symbols of rule and dominance, like the Alcazar in Toledo. It needed to be placed centrally within the spur of high ground projecting towards the city and though visible, set back from the walls and the triangular fortress towards the west, features which in case of attack would have been the main targets for bombardment. The choice of rustication emphasizes the military prowess of the Emperor and the character of the building as an inner stronghold within a fortified complex. The central position, as the “large plan” shows, allowed the creation of ample courts on two sides.³⁸

Charles V would have heard of splendid new palaces elsewhere, including the renovated and extended Vatican and other major Roman palaces, and in France Blois, Chambord, and before long Fontainebleau and the completely new Château de Madrid (as it was later named), both (significantly) begun in 1528.³⁹ Charles may also have read of the magnificent palaces and structures of Tenochtitlan (the site of the future Mexico City), as it was before its capture and destruction in 1521 (fig. 5).⁴⁰

³⁸ The “Large Plan” foresees the creation of ample courts on two sides of the palace, providing the accommodation and services which would have been necessary if Charles actually resided in Granada for any length of time..

³⁹ The new royal palace at Fontainebleau was constructed rapidly from 1528 onwards. On these two important residences of Francis I see: Françoise Boudon et Jean Blécon avec la collab. de Catherine Grodecki, *Le château de Fontainebleau de François Ier à Henri IV : les bâtiments et leurs fonctions*, Paris, Picard 1998; Monique Châtenet, *Le château de Madrid au bois de Boulogne*, Collection De Architectura, Paris, Picard 1987.

⁴⁰ There are numbers of early editions of the second letter of Hernan Cortes to Charles V in which the architectural marvels of Tenochtitlan are described: see for instance [Hernán Cortés], *Praeclara Ferdinandi Cortesii de noua maris oceani Hispania narratio sacratissimo, ac inuictissimo Carolo Romanorum Imperatori semper Augusto, Hispaniarum &c. Regi anno Domini M.D.XX. transmissa*. Impressa in celebri ciuitate Norimberga: Per Fridericum Peypus, anno Domini kalendis Martii. 1524. The Library of Congress copy is catalogued and the map of the city reproduced at: <https://www.loc.gov/item/65059078>.



Fig. 5. Tenochtitlan (on the site of Mexico City) before its destruction in 1521: [Hernán Cortés], *Praeclara Ferdinandi Cortesii de noua maris oceani Hispania narratio* [...], Nuremberg 1524 (Foto: the Library of Congress, Washington, DC).

Charles had palace builders within his immediate circle. Prominent among these was his secretary Francisco de los Cobos. When he left Granada, Charles went to Ubeda, where he stayed in Cobos's new palace.⁴¹ In Valladolid he would also have seen another new palace built for Cobos, designed by Luis de Vega, the architect whom Charles used as a messenger (and perhaps to have a report on the state of the project) when he sent his reply to Granada concerning the modifications to be made to the project sent to him by Mendoza.⁴²

Charles, Cobos and other leading administrators would certainly have soon known (though not necessarily in 1526) of the project to build a magnificent new seat of civic government in Seville, the Casa Consistorial, probably launched in 1527 (fig. 6).⁴³



Numbers of persons were present in Granada who knew or knew of the Palazzo Venezia, the Cancelleria, Palazzo Farnese and the Vatican Palace. The desire to outdo the main papal residence, if not in size, at least in unity and coherence of design, may have been a consideration, at a time when conflict concerning the roles of Pope and Emperor was escalating. Though placed by their roles on opposite sides of this debate, the Great Chancellor Gattinara and the Nunzio Castiglione perhaps found common ground in the fact that both were Italian and both admirers of Erasmus.⁴⁴ Any exchanges they may have had regarding the palace would have contributed to the idea that it should be truly imperial.

Fig. 6. The magnificent new civic palace in Seville, the Casa Consistorial (begun 1527). As at the Palace the facade is articulated with orders, there is a bench and the pilasters are set back from the corner (Foto: "Dani svq").

41 Cobos's palace in Valladolid, largely built in the period 1524-9 subsequently became the Palacio Real. On its architecture and decoration see María José Redondo CanErtera, *Il palazzo "imperiale" di Francisco de los Cobos a Valladolid in // San Giovannino di Úbeda restituito*, Florence 2014, pp. 229-247;

42 On the architectural patronage of Francisco de los Cobos see Pedro A.Galera Andréu, *Los arquitectos de Francisco de los Cobos: proyecto e identidad*, in *Los lugares del arte: identidad y representación*, Sofía Diéguez Patao (ed.), Barcelona, Laertes, 2014, 1, pp. 105-131.

43 This prominent and innovative building is discussed below. On its construction see A.J. Morales, *El Ayuntamiento de Sevilla: arquitectura y simbología*, Sevilla, 1981: p.30 (for the appointment of Diego de Riano as *maestro mayor*, 29 March 1527); p. 119 (for the massive expenditure on the building in 1528); p. 26 (for a payment for a drawing for the Cabildo).

44 See note 33 above.

The emergence or acceptance of the idea of a palace evoking ancient Rome which implied a parallel between Charles and the Emperors of Spanish origin Trajan and Hadrian was probably favoured by the familiarity of some leading Spanish nobles and prelates present in Granada with Rome and its ancient and modern architecture. An erudite figure who contributed to the emergence in Spain of an interest in the antique close to that already present in Italy was Hernando Colon, son of Columbus. As well as being a committed book collector, he had resided in Rome, and was there again for about a month in the autumn of 1526, before returning to Seville in November.⁴⁵ Colon, Machuca and others would have known that the Tempietto was a Spanish royal commission, and may also have known of Bramante's intention to surround this peripteral structure with a circular colonnade, as shown by Sebastiano Serlio in his book of 1540 (fig. 7).⁴⁶ The presence of Roman antiquities in Spain itself, a testimony to the ancient history of the country, was attracting attention from local humanists, cultivated patrons and important visitors or diplomats, like Andrea Navagero, who describes the Roman remains he encountered when travelling in Spain. He mentions inscriptions, lists the ruins of ancient buildings he had seen in the outskirts of Seville and Toledo, and writes a long and admiring description of the towering rusticated aqueduct in Segovia (Fig. 8)- a famous structure which could have encouraged the choice of rustication for the palace.⁴⁷

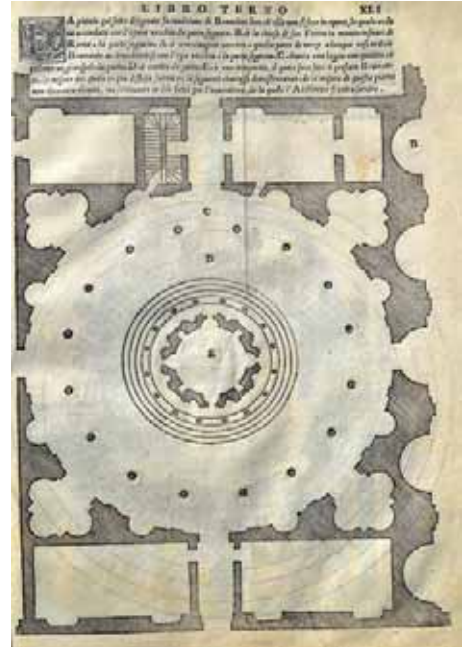


Fig. 7. Sebastiano Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro*, Venezia 1540, p. 41: Bramante's Tempietto surrounded by a circular colonnade (Foto: Author).

45 This journey is mentioned by Giovanni Nuti, *COLOMBO, Fernando*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 27, Rome 1982. The article offers a useful outline of Colon's life and activities. See also Carlos Plaza, *Hernando Colón y la arquitectura del la Antigüedad notas sobre su interés por Vitruvio, Plinio el Joven y otros escritores antiguos a través de los libros de su biblioteca*, in *El imperio y las Hispanias de Trajano a Carlos V*, ed. Sandro De Maria, Manuel Parada López de Corseals, Bologna 2014, pp. 393-406, with bibliography.

46 Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese, nel qual si figurano e descrivono le antichità di Roma, e le altre cose che sono in Italia, e fuori d'Italia*, Impresso in Venetia per Francesco Marcolino da Forlì, appresso la chiesa de la Trinita, 1540, p. XLI.

47 *Il viaggio fatto in Spagna, et in Francia, dal magnifico m. Andrea Navagiero, fu oratore dell'illustrissimo Senato Veneto, alla cesarea maesta di Carlo V [...]*, In Vinegia appresso Domenico Farri, 1563. Navagero in the course of his travels in Spain formed a detailed picture of the country's antiquities and outstanding buildings, including modern ones: he mentions and often comments on many of the more important recent buildings in Spain, and names their patrons; his letters in fact constitute a sort of traveller's guide to Spain, with a strong emphasis on architecture. In Toledo he recognizes the ruins of the Roman circus (*Il viaggio fatto in Spagna*, fol.28v): "In la Vega [in Toledo] si vedefa vestigij certissimi di un Circo assai grande, et alcune altre ruine pur antiche, ma non si puo veder di che." His account of the aqueduct in Segovia is historical and architectural, an approach which he recognizes is different from the one then current in Spain towards this extraordinary structure (fol. 33r. - v): "[...] ma non ha [Segovia] cosa più bella ne per altro e più degna d'esser veduta che per uno acquedutto antico che vi è bellissimo, & al quale non ho veduto io par alcuno, nè in Italia ne in altra parte, mena l'acqua nell' alto della città, de circa un miglio lontano: & ancora vi viene, & serve a quella parte di Che ho detto, ch'è sopra una cengia di sasso, ne meno però a tutto il resto della terra, è tutto fatto di pietra viva di opera rustica, come l' Amphiteatro di Verona: al qual da lontano par molto simile, per la grossezza delle pile che ha, & altezza de' volti, in alcuni lochi tre una sopra l'altro: dove comincia ha i volti bassi, li quali si vanno alzando, secondo che la terra va bassando di sotto, & dentro la terra dove è un basso come è una



Fig. 8. Segovia, the Roman aqueduct, admirably described by Andrea Navagero (Foto: Pablo Forcén Soler, in Wikipedia).

The basic idea for the palace

By the mid-1520's an *all' antica* architecture, had begun to appear in cities and parts of Spain visited by Charles V and his court. This new taste was encouraged by humanism, by architectural developments in Naples and by the close links with Italy of the Mendoza family, and their architectural patronage, strongly influenced by Italian models. At Cogolludo (figs. 4, 41) there had already been created an Italianate, rusticated palace, with a long two storey facade crowned by a prominent cornice and with a highly decorated central portal in the centre, surmounted by a coat of arms within a circular surround.⁴⁸

valle è altissimo, & fondato con pile grossissime e larghissime: & ivi credo io che era la strada principal, perche ivi all' alto nell'acquedutto, vi si vedono dui lochi, un per parte, dove erano dui statue, una da un canto, & l'altra da l'altro, par ancho che in quel vacuo che vi è, dove erano le statue vi fossero dui sepolture, di quelli forse che fecero far l' acquedutto: hora in luoco di quelle statue hanno posto [fol. 33v.] alcuni santi: ma il resto dell' acquedutto dura tutto intero, che non li mancano se non alcune poche pietre, in alcuni lochi nella cima, è tutto senza che vi si veda calcina alcuna: in vero degno da esser posto tra le cose maravigliose di Spagna, come lo pongono Spagnuoli, ma non per la causa che lo pongono loro, che lo chiamano ponte, & dicono che è meraviglia grande in Segovia, un ponte il qual è contrario a tutti gl' altri ponti: perche tutti gl' altri sono fatti sì che l' acqua passa sotto loro: & in questo l'acqua passa sopra il ponte; questa è una delle tre meraviglie che dicono per giuoco, che sono in Spagna."

48 On the patronage of the Mendoza family see Fernando Marías, *La familia Mendoza y la introducción del Renacimiento entre Italia y España*, in *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, N.S. 60/62, 2013/14, pp. 51-60. On the palace at Cogolludo: F. Marías, *El largo siglo XVI*, pp. 256-7.

The new Casa Consistorial of Seville (fig. 6) was probably under construction by the end of 1527. This richly decorated building already presented a character different from the palaces designed by Luis de Vega. It is characterised by close attention to a unified façade design. The exterior is completely articulated with superimposed pilaster orders and ornate all'antica decoration, something which was in itself revolutionary for a non-religious building in Spain. These features expressed the antiquity, importance and wealth of the city. More than French or Italian palaces - which Charles had not yet seen - it probably offered one of the points of departure for the design of the new imperial palace, anticipating and perhaps influencing some of its features: all' antica decoration, use of pilaster orders, a stone bench running round the base of the façade. The corners are turned in Seville not with a pilaster on the corner, but with the wall on which they are placed: the pilasters adjoining the corner are set slightly back from it. This motif (rarely used in Giulio Romano's work, though common in Italian Renaissance buildings) reappears in the palace of Charles V (fig. 9), only slightly disguised by the fact that the rustication is applied to the corner as well as to the adjoining rusticated pilasters.⁴⁹



Fig. 9. The southeast corner of the Palace: the pilasters flank the corner (Foto: Author).

But despite this possible quotation from the fine new civic palace in Seville, it became a building to be outdone, not just in size, but also in the discriminating and for Spain revolutionary way in which an Italianate, generically Vitruvian and grammatically ordered all'antica vocabulary was understood and handled.

In 1526 was published the *Medidas del Romano* (fig. 33), the first illustrated guide to the architectural orders any language, if one excepts Fra Giocondo's illustrated editions of Vitruvius of 1511), published in and 1513, and Cesariano's illustrated translation of 1521.⁵⁰ The *Medidas* is a pioneering book, which presents a system of architectural ornament based on a limited set of

49 Giulio does set the pilaster to the side of the corner in his elevation project for the Porta del Te now in the Albertina, inv. 14204 (see *Giulio Romano*, p. 42). He also places the paired pilasters of the north facade of Palazzo Te at some distance from the left corner of the main block (see the elevation in *Giulio Romano*, p. 22). The strategy of leaving a corner unarticulated was fairly common in the Cinquecento, as it avoided the problem of wrapping capitals round corners. It was used, for instance, by Michelangelo in the model for the façade of San Lorenzo, and sometimes by Palladio (at the Villa Gazzotti at Bertesina) and by Sanmicheli.

50 See in Rosenthal, *The Palace*, plates 151-153, 164, 167 which reproduce illustrations in Cesariano's Vitruvius translation which were followed in details of the palace; one can particularly note the treatment of the Ionic pilasters of the upper order of the facades at Granada, decorated with an inset panel, as in Cesariano's illustration.

components. Though of great importance, it is naïve and rudimentary compared with the built achievements of Bramante and his followers in Italy, founded on a close comparative study of Vitruvius's text and surviving antiquities. Editions of Vitruvius and Alberti were however almost certainly owned and being read in the mid-1520s by some Spanish humanists and well-educated nobles, and offered a more systematic, conceptually and "grammatically" based approach to a new architecture.

The existence of the Casa Consistorial in Seville and the *Medidas* is however insufficient to explain the project for the palace. The project that may have emerged by early 1528, and is already present in the three surviving early plans, was revolutionary for Spain and had no real parallel in built architecture Italy. It gave form to what was in fact a new building type, an Imperial residence, which drew on Hadrian's villa and Italian designs with a circular courtyard, among which the most prominent was that for Villa Madama. Even in the 1520s a standard formula for the residences of great rulers had not emerged, and those that existed were usually linked to the tradition of castles, as was the case with French royal chateaux, the Castello in Milan, Vigevano, Castel Nuovo in Naples, the alcazars in Toledo and Madrid, the Palace of the Popes at Avignon and even the Vatican. Radically new proposals, among which Giuliano da Sangallo's design for a Neapolitan royal palace stands out, remained on paper.⁵¹ This made the new residences not directly derived from castle layouts – the ducal palace in Urbino, praised by Castiglione in a famous passage, the villa Madama, Palazzo Te, Fontainebleau and the Granada palace – all the more outstanding. One can add that some element of architectural rivalry between the two most important European rulers of the time must have encouraged the Granada project, in a world in which great personages and ambassadors travelled and made comparisons: Navagero, for instance, was sent by the Venetian government on a mission to France in 1528 directly from Spain.⁵²

Alternative proposals

A central problem exists in the tracing the history of the evolution of the palace's design: one does not know when a design approximating to the final one first appeared. The three early plans (figs.10, 16, 17) are close to the final project, both as regards the plan, and what they show of the exterior articulation. They cannot however be precisely dated. It is likely that the scheme sent to Charles in 1527 was similar to that of the built palace, with a circular courtyard and superimposed facade orders, but one cannot be sure: that it was not identical is made clear by Charles's request for a high chapel from which the Mass could be followed from both the ground floor and an upper level, and a larger hall than any present in the initial design.⁵³

51 Giuliano da Sangallo's design for the palace for the king of Naples (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Barberiniano Latino 4424, fol. 39v) has generated a substantial literature: see, most recently, Bianca de Divitiis, *Giuliano da Sangallo in the Kingdom of Naples: Architecture and Cultural Exchange*, in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 74, 2 (June 2015), pp. 152-178, with bibliography.

52 Navagero was in Paris from 27 June to 6 August 1528: see I. Melani, NAVAGERO, Andrea, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 78, Rome 2013.

53 Rosenthal, *The Palace*, p. 265.

It is perhaps likely too that the exterior details did not at this stage correspond exactly to the executed ones.

What is almost certain is that numbers of projects and alternatives were considered before real construction started in 1535. The development of alternative designs, often through specific requests for proposals to several architects, formed part of standard Italian procedure when contemplating an important new building, as the surviving drawings for St Peter's, San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome and the facade of San Lorenzo in Florence make clear.

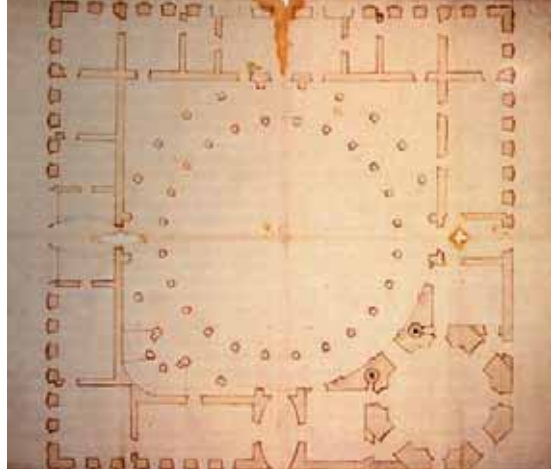


Fig. 10. Diego de Siloe (?), proposal for a court with piers and half-columns (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, after Carlos V, *las armas y las letras*).

The design process lying behind the palace design thus seems to have been a sophisticated italianising one, based on the generation of alternatives followed by a choice between them. Alternative designs were probably made by Machuca and perhaps Diego de Siloe in Granada itself, and it is not to be excluded that Mendoza himself participated, if only verbally, in this process. It has been plausibly suggested that the surviving alternative project for the round court with piers with attached half columns carrying arches was a proposal by Siloe (fig. 10): an antique solution more robust than that adopted, where columns carry the entablature, but less novel and impressive.⁵⁴

There are other indications that alternative designs were made or solicited. It seems probable that the two facade drawings studied by Paul Davies and David Hemsoll, are as they propose, alternative designs for the palace (figs. 11, 12).⁵⁵ They resemble the executed building in their basic organisation (two levels and fifteen bays, presence of rustication, a three bay central feature) and in their dependence on schemes and motifs derived from Raphael and Giulio. But, as compared with the executed palace they display a simple-minded, scissors-and-paste approach to imitation. One of the drawings is based exclusively (apart from the giuliesque rusticated windows) on the façade of Raphael's Palazzo Branconio dell'Aquila. The other draws on Palazzo Branconio, probably Palazzo Te, and for the upper level possibly the upper Belvedere Court in the Vatican and the Loggia of Cardinal Bibbiena in the Vatican.

⁵⁴ Tafuri, *Ricerca*, p. 260.

⁵⁵ P. Davies, *The palace of Charles V in Granada and two drawings from the school of Raphael*, in R. Eriksen, M. Malmanger, (eds.), *Imitation, representation and printing in the Italian Renaissance*, Pisa and Rome 2009, pp. 157-190; P. Davies, D. Hemsoll, in P. Davies and D. Hemsoll with contributions by I. Campbell and S. Pepper, *Renaissance and later architecture and ornament, 1, Drawings from the "Architectura Civile" album and other architectural drawings*, Royal Collection Trust (The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo : Series A: Antiquities and Architecture (HMPMA), Vol. 1, Royal Collection Trust 2013, cat.90, Cat. 91, pp. 281-286).

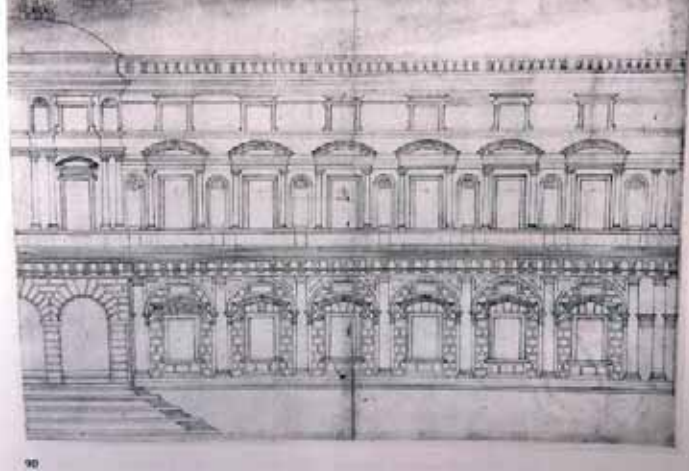


Fig. 11. Anonymous Italianate project, probably for a facade of the Palace, based on Raphael's palazzo Branconio and details from the Palazzo Te (private collection, after Davies, Hemsoll 2013).

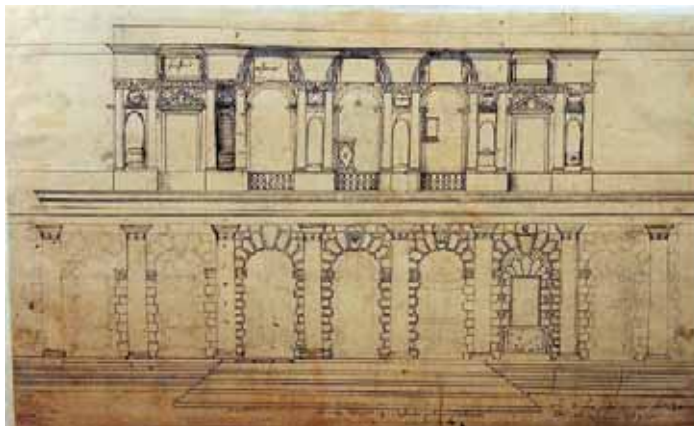


Fig. 12. Anonymous Italianate project, probably for a facade of the Palace, with echoes of Giulio Romano, the upper court of the Belvedere and the Loggia of Cardinal Bibbiena in the Vatican (private collection, after Davies, Hemsoll 2013).

The author or authors of the design

The palace has a marked eclectic character: powerful ideas which recall Raphael's Rome and Giulio Romano's Mantua, combined with an incongruous quotation from Cesariano's Vitruvius translation of 1521 in the Ionic volutes; quotations from the antique; a distinctive, un-Giuliesque treatment of the rustication; and echoes of recent Spanish architecture.

⁵⁶ This motif is quite common in Italian Cinquecento architecture, and had the advantage of avoiding awkward conjunctions of capitals on corners. It was employed by Michelangelo (Sacrestia Nuova), Alessi (Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso) and by Palladio (Villa Gazzotti, Bertesina).

As constructed the building indicates the involvement of someone capable of conceiving a design for an imperial palace in the light of ancient architecture and the most innovative new Italian architecture, or at least able to assemble such a design from a range of projects and proposals. The skill shown in handling the orders and using the Doric order (or Tuscan, given the form of the capitals?) combined with rustication is outstanding. In the period 1526-7 (or even in the years 1528-1535) such knowledge and flair could not be learned from books, but only from a close knowledge of the antiquities and the works (and design procedures) of a handful of architects working in Rome, Mantua, Verona and Venice. Though Fra Giocondo's Vitruvius editions of 1511 and 1513 could transmit a clear idea of the ancient orders and building types, no published guide to creating works which were "*anticamente moderni e modernamente antichi*" was available until Serlio's books of 1537 and 1540 (fig. 7) appeared, after the palace had been begun.⁵⁷

The principal novelty of the Granada palace thus lay in the discriminating use of the language of the ancient orders, antiquity, Vitruvius and the works of antiquity's avant-garde interpreters in Rome and Mantua. It also incorporates themes which were emerging in recent architecture in Spain. The corner solution of the palace, similar to the Casa Consistorial in Seville and the presence of the two level rusticated facade of the palace in Cogolludo are mentioned above. The richly decorated central elements of the south and west facades of the palace, probably inspired by modern triumphal arches designed for entries of the emperor, are also related to the ever more prominent portals on recent Spanish facades, as at Cogolludo or on hospital or university facades, for instance the splendid façade of the Hospital of Santa Cruz in Toledo, founded by Cardinal Mendoza.

Charles V by himself was not capable of conceiving the future building. The background of travel and contact with Italian architects of Luis Hurtado is not known: he may have visited Italy before returning to Spain after the Tunis campaign of 1535. He quite possibly owned one or more editions of Vitruvius, and perhaps other relevant texts, like those of Alberti, or Pliny the Younger's letters. Presumably he had learned much from his father, an active architectural patron, who was prepared even to demolish work which did not meet his requirements.⁵⁸

Pedro Muchuca, documented as architect at the palace, remains an incompletely defined figure, though the fact that he had worked in Rome, was influenced by Raphael and was capable (in 1549) of producing a fluent and professional sketch for a catafalque (fig. 13), indicates that he had probably absorbed the architectural language and drawing practice of Rome in the years before 1520.⁵⁹

57 The famous phrase occurs in the letter of Pietro Aretino to Giulio Romano in which Aretino writes of "gli edifici e le pitture che avete fatto e ordinato in cotesta città, rimbellita, magnificata da lo spirito dei vostri concetti anticamente moderni e modernamente antichi" Pietro Aretino, *Lettere. Libro secondo*, ed. Francesco Erspamer, Parma 1998, lettera 380, pp. 748-750; Erspamer dates the letter to 1538.

58 Helen Nader, *Noble Income in Sixteenth-Century Castile: The Case of the Marquises of Mondéjar, 1480-1580*, in *Economic History Review*, 30 (Aug. 1977). p. 415. The original document is not quoted; the reason given for demolition was an error in proportion: an interesting motivation, given the second Marquis's concern with "grace and proportion" (the well-known passage is cited by Rosenthal, *The Palace*, p. 265).

59 The sketch, of 1549, in the Archivo de la Alhambra, is published by Rosenthal, *The Palace*, pl. 6 and pp. 15-16.

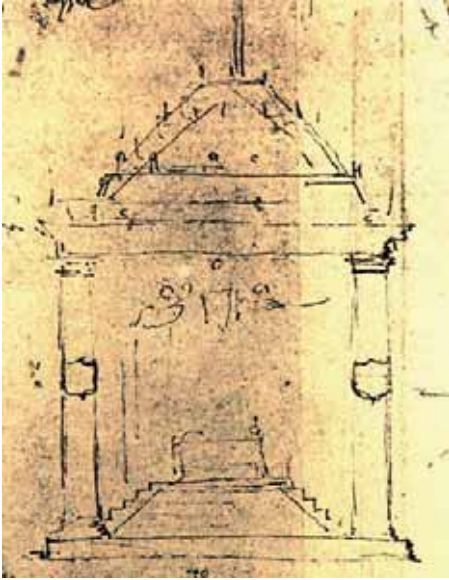


Fig. 13. Pedro Machuca, sketch for the catafalque of Mary of Portugal in the Capilla Real, Granada, 1549 (Archivo de la Alhambra, after Rosenthal).



Fig. 14. Pedro Machuca (workshop?), The Raising of Lazarus, oil on panel, 158 x 120 cm, Museo Museo de Bellas Artes de Granada, Inv. CE0003. The architectural background is influenced by Roman painting of the years around 1520. (©Museo de Bellas Artes de Granada; <http://www.europeana.eu/rights/rr-fj>).

One painting plausibly attributed by him, *The Raising of Lazarus* in the Museum in Granada (Fig. 14), in addition to Raphaelesque figures, spectators mounting pedestals to get a better view and an all' antica sarcophagus, has a striking architectural background, recalling those of Peruzzi and Giulio Romano. On the left is a complex structure with a tall marble column appears on the left, and an internal opening with an abbreviated entablature, without frieze (as at the palace), carried on columns. Beyond this there are niches with statues. In the middle distance there is a row of all' antica buildings, recalling stage designs by Peruzzi; a version of Bramante's Tempietto appears in the centre of this; in the distance there are obelisks.⁶⁰ If the work is by Machuca, as seems probable, it provides the clearest indication of his knowledge of the architectural language developed in Rome in the years around 1520. He may have brought from Italy drawings of ancient and modern architectural works and compositions. It is also unlikely that the Marques of Mondéjar would have entrusted him with the role of palace architect if he did not possess a wide architectural culture: indeed he may have favoured him as an architect, in Italian fashion, precisely because he was not a traditional master mason, but a *hidalgo*, close to Mendoza himself, as well as a well-travelled painter, with a facility in invention and a command of free-hand and perspectival drawing.

The executed design and its sources

If the 1527 design resembled the executed building it was already an Italian style palace, with two main façade levels, articulated with architectural orders. It is quite probable that the bold Imperial scheme, of a circular court within a square building emerged early. However the moment when the design was

⁶⁰ For "scenographic" compositions by Peruzzi see C. L. Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner (Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte / Beiheft 11, 1968)*. One can note Peruzzi's use of a monumental arch on the left (Frommel, Cat. 35, Cat. 53a) and his insertion, in the background of the scene of *Mercury and the Alchemists*, of a version of the Tempietto of Bramante (Frommel, Cat. 125).

fixed is not clear and the early drawings are not precisely dated. The only information available about the first official formulation of the project is that the designs sent to Charles still lacked the high chapel and large sala that he requested in his reply of 30 November 1527.⁶¹ A design existed, but its appearance is not known, nor whether it was modified as a result of further consultations and Charles's Italian travels before 1535. No construction, at least of a binding sort, seems to have taken place before the Marquis returned from the Tunis expedition.

One can thus only observe the drawings and the palace itself and ask where individual motifs come from, and when it was most likely that they were assimilated into a design which probably changed between late 1527 and late 1535.

The character of the orders is generically Vitruvian, and the rusticated Doric appropriate to the soldier Emperor. The choice of Ionic above follows from the Doric below. An interest in the Vitruvian orders also appears in the Tuscan portal with cylindrical Tuscan bases on the north façade, a rare early appearance of the Vitruvian Tuscan order (fig. 31).

The central elements of the south and west facades, were probably present in some form from the start. They connect with earlier elaborate Spanish portals and also with the improvised triumphal arches which Charles V encountered whenever he entered a city. As Rosenthal noted a portal of this sort, influenced by triumphal arches, was envisaged by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger for the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome (Uffizi 188A).⁶²

The round courtyard has a Spanish precedent in the Castillo de Bellver in Palma de Mallorca. The most prestigious circular colonnaded courtyard known by experts at the time was however the Teatro Marittimo of Hadrian's villa, probably the model imitated at Granada, a choice perhaps determined by the Spanish origins of Hadrian. Circular courtyards also appear in Francesco di Giorgio's designs, at the villa Madama, and - with a colonnade - in Bramante's unexecuted project for the circular cloister to surround the Tempietto at San Pietro in Montorio (fig. 7), itself, one can note, a Spanish royal commission.⁶³

A further Spanish-Imperial allusion at Granada could be the round windows of the Doric and Ionic levels of the façades. Rosenthal pertinently suggested a source in the Raphael-Sangallo design for the exterior of the south hemicycle of St Peter's (Uffizi 122A) and a façade design by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (Uffizi 867A).⁶⁴ Large roundels containing reliefs or painted scenes were also placed by Raphael above the piano nobile windows of the courtyard of Palazzo Branconio dell'Aquila in Rome.⁶⁵ Another possible source are the roundels placed above the aedicules on the Porta Aurea in Ravenna, quoted by Falconetto (on the Porta Savonarola

61 Rosenthal, *The Palace*, p. 265, doc. 1.

62 Rosenthal, *The Palace*, pl.165.

63 J. Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown*, New York, NY, Cambridge 2014.

64 See Tafuri, *Ricerca*, fig. 106, and Rosenthal, *The Palace*, pl. 133.

65 See P.N. Pagliara, in *Raffaello architetto*, ed. C. L. Frommel, S. Ray, M. Tafuri. Milano, Electa 1984, p. 212.



Fig. 15. Reverse of an aureus of Trajan showing the entrance to Trajan's Forum in Rome (British Museum, 1864,1128.262. Roundels are visible above the aedicules. (©Trustees of the British Museum).

in Padua, of 1529-1530) and present on a Palladio design for Palazzo Porto.⁶⁶ It is probably significant that a similar motif appears on an *aureus* type of the Spanish Emperor Trajan showing the entrance to his Forum (fig. 15). This coin would almost certainly have been known to Raphael and his friend Castiglione – and was possibly present in Spanish collections. Cardinal Mendoza had a large collection of ancient coins, and Charles is also recorded as examining a coin collection.⁶⁷ A citation of the coin of Trajan on the palace façade would have been particularly appropriate.

Only someone well informed about Italian and antique architecture could have proposed solutions like those of the circular court and the round windows. This person may have been Machuca. But as we have recalled Castiglione and Navagero, present in 1526, were not only friends of Raphael, but had actually been to Hadrian's villa.

Castiglione moreover was an architectural expert (he drafted Raphael's famous letter to Leo X) and would have known Raphael's design for the Villa Madama with its circular court. As I suggested above, he was himself probably capable of imagining and drawing a design.

Castiglione was also a friend of Giulio Romano, and as Tafuri has argued, could have obtained a design from him. The argument that official relations between Charles V and Castiglione were too strained for them to discuss the palace, as Rosenthal argues, do not necessarily hold.⁶⁸ Their reciprocal respect is clear, and it would have been natural for them to seek some common ground even though circumstances made them antagonists in the diplomatic arena. Castiglione would have willingly contributed to discussion about the new palace while in Granada. Subsequently he was in constant touch with the Emperor, and could have made or forwarded suggestions and drawings up to the time of his final illness in February 1529. And even if he did not discuss the future palace with Charles, he may have done so with others

66 These are known from drawings and from the surviving fragments of the arch still preserved in Ravenna: see Antonella Ranaldi, *Porta Aurea a Ravenna: Palladio e altri, disegni e progetti*, in A. Rinaldi (ed.), *Porta Aurea, Palladio e il monastero benedettino di San Vitale*, Cinisello Balsamo, Milano 2015, pp. 33-57.

67 H. Burns, in the section "Raffaello e l'antico" ed. H. Burns e A. Nesselrath, in *Raffaello architetto*, ed. C. L. Frommel, S. Ray, M. Tafuri. Milano, Electa 1984, p. 390 (see also p. 449). For the large collection of Cardinal Mendoza, see J. Sáenz de Miera, in F. Checa Cremades, ed., *Reyes y mecenas: los reyes católicos, Maximiliano I y los inicios de la casa de Austria en España*, Toledo, Electa España 1992, pp. 314-317, and María José Redondo Cantera, *Il palazzo "imperiale" di Francisco de los Cobos a Valladolid in Il San Giovannino di Úbeda restituito*, Florence 2014, pp. 237-8, and notes 45, 46 on the "medals" of Cardinal Mendoza and an occasion when Charles examined a large number of coins, including Roman ones. The rather similar use roundels on the facade of the Palazzo Orsini di Gravina in Naples, mentioned by Rosenthal, should not be considered a potential source, as this element seems to have been executed only in 1548-9.

68 Rosenthal, *The Palace*, pp. 10-11: "Castiglione has to be excluded as a participant in the design of The Palace because by the summer of 1526 he was alienated from the emperor."

who had a direct responsibility for the project and a need for advice and suggestions, including Mendoza, Machuca and Cobos.

The evolution of the design

A design existed by November 1527, though it was not the final one and was modified to satisfy Charles requests. This is established by the letter dated 30 November 1527, almost a year after Charles had left Granada, from Charles V to Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, acknowledging receipt of “las trazas que me embiastes de lo que se ha de adelantar y edificar”.⁶⁹ In the letter Charles requested that a large sala should be provided and that the palace should be have a large chapel, high enough to permit mass to be followed from both the lower and the upper floor. The letter was counter-signed and hence probably written for Charles by Francisco de los Cobos, who is thus documented as being involved with the palace. This is a matter of some interest, given Cobos’s own activity as a building patron, and the fact that he was subsequently in Mantua with the Emperor in 1530 and 1532.⁷⁰

It is unlikely, given that a project was partially approved only in November 1527 that detailed discussion of the design had begun before Charles left Granada in December 1526, or that Castiglione arrived in Granada with a proposal by Giulio Romano in his pocket. At the most one can imagine that there had been discussion as to what sort of building was appropriate in overall form, style and allusions to its imperial character. It is significant that in his letter of November 1527 Charles, who was good at delegating to trusted collaborators, indicated that Mendoza should do “as best he pleases” as regards the design of the palace, except for his own two stated requirements.

The extent of Mendoza’s knowledge of architecture is not known. His family however was distinguished for its patronage and close contacts with Italy.⁷¹ He himself possessed a large library, and studied Greek.⁷² It is possible that the citations of Vitruvius, and specifically of the illustrations in Cesariano’s translation in the palace, derived from architectural books in his library.

Don Luis however was not a nobleman with a sinecure appointment, who could enjoy the peace of the Alhambra and dedicate much of his time to studying designs and organizing

69 Rosenthal, *The Palace*, p. 265, doc. 1.

70 In 1530 Charles V was in Mantua from 26 March to 18 April, and made a brief visit to the city in 1532, from 6 to 7 November and only left Mantuan territory on 9 November: see Keniston, pp. 132 (Keniston gives the date of entry into Mantua in 1532 as 25 March). In 1532 (Cobos himself stayed on in Mantua, signing documents there on 7 November); see also Vicente de Cadenas, *Diario del Emperador Carlos V*, Madrid 1992, pp. 211, 228.

71 F. Marias, in *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, N.S. 60/62, 2013/14, pp. 51-60. Don Luis would have learned how to be a building patron, and control a building site from his father, Íñigo López de Mendoza y Quiñones, second Count of Tendilla (1440-1515), just as his own son and successor learned from him. A documented case of Don Íñigo's acting as manager of a royal project is described in M.ª Cristina Hernández Castelló, *El memorial de las obras del convento de San Francisco de la Alhambra y el II conde de Tendilla*, BSAA arte, LXXV, 2009, pp. 75-84.

72 For information on the culture of Luis Hurtado de Mendoza see M. Biersack, *El mecenazgo de Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, II marqués de Mondéjar*, in *Cuadernos de Historia del Arte*, 38, 2007, pp. 43-60 (available online).

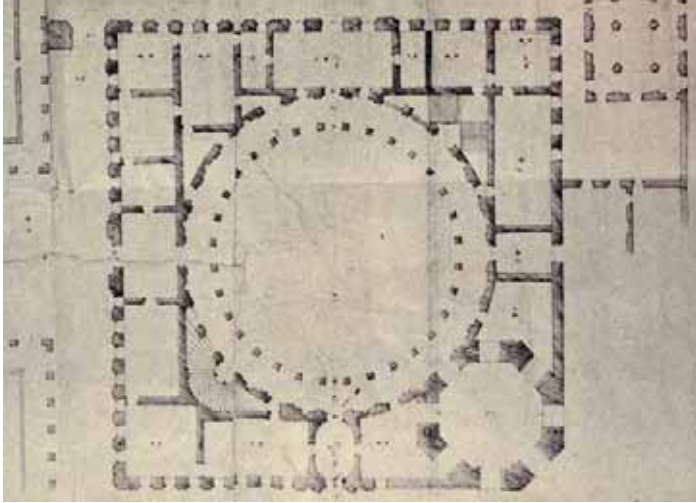


Fig. 16. The “small plan” of the Palace (detail), Biblioteca, Palacio Real, Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional (after Rosenthal).

was settled, though little or no work had been done on site. Compared with fitting out and organising the fleet his architectural responsibilities in Granada must have seemed slight, though in both areas one can imagine that he was effective in getting things done and choosing between alternatives.

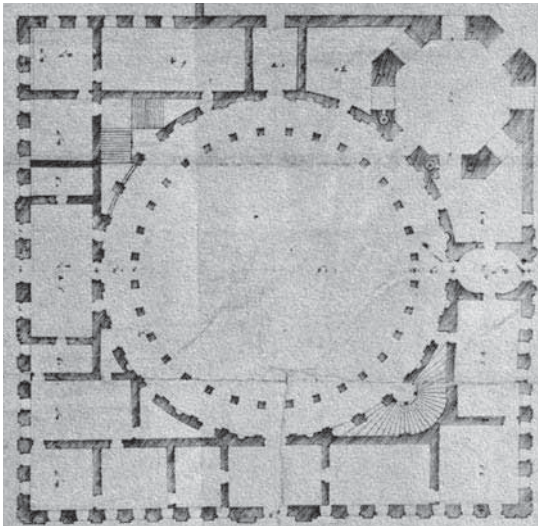


Fig. 17. The “large plan” of the Palace (detail), Biblioteca, Palacio Real, Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional (after Rosenthal).

construction. He was a key figure in Charles’s military projects and administration. He was nominated general administrator for the fleet prior to the Tunis expedition in 1535. This meant wide and complicated responsibilities and he had to reside at Malaga and not Granada. He accompanied Charles on the expedition when it left on 30 May 1535, and obtained the transfer of all his powers in Granada and at the Alhambra to his son.⁷³ One can imagine that by this time the design

All three surviving early plans of the palace (figs. 10, 16, 17) include the large chapel and show the building more or less as executed, with the exception of the drawing which shows the cortile with piers and not columns (fig. 10).⁷⁴ There is still no element which permits a secure dating of these early drawings, and even the proposal for the cortile is probably a contemporary alternative, rather than an earlier design and could even have been made later, given that work on the court did not start until 1540.⁷⁵

73 A. Jiménez Estrella, *Los Mendoza y la Proveduría General de Armadas y presidios norteafricanos: servicio nobiliario y función militar en el marco geopolítico mediterráneo (1535-1558)*, in *Revista de Historia Militar*, 95, 2004, pp. 123-155.

74 On the early drawings for the palace see Rosenthal, *The Palace*, pp. 27-34; M. Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento*, pp. 258-262, 267-269; F. Marías, in *Carlos V, letras, armas y arquitectura entre Roma Y Granada*, pp. 420-425.

75 Rosenthal, *The Palace*, pp. 61, 268-9.

The articulation of the exterior in all three drawings basically corresponds to what was built. The Archivo Histórico plan (fig. 10) however is imprecise as regards the articulation of the central façade elements on the south and west facades, which are simply omitted, while in the large plan (fig. 17) there are changes and hesitations, indicating uncertainty as to how to adjust the interior to the exterior windows and articulation. This imprecision makes it possible that the draughtsman is copying another plan (itself perhaps with missing elements) carelessly, and was not himself one of the designers of the palace. One can note however that on the large plan room dimensions are shown. Though there is more variation in dimensions than there would be in a Palladio plan, and no coherent set of proportions, one can detect a desire to use regular forms: square rooms of 27 ft and also rooms measuring 27 x 45 ft, a proportion of 3:5. The large sala of (apparently) 27 x 65 ft is a good approximation to 5:12. Other dimensions appear to strive after some proportional order: “14” is close to the half of “27”, and is also the frequently used approximation to the diagonal of a square of side “10” (and “20” appears in the vestibule).

The draughtsman of the small ground plan sensibly makes no attempt to show the outline of the pilasters in this small scale, but does indicate the portal on the north side and renders the oval behind it more accurately than do the other two drawings. The oval vestibule is itself an unusual feature, which has few parallels even in Italy: these include however the interior of the Julius tomb in Michelangelo’s early design, Peruzzi’s use of ovals in his project for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, a design, perhaps by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (Fig.18), for a funerary monument for Clement VII⁷⁶, and the funerary chapel designed by Jacopo Torini detto l’Indaco (1476-1526) in the cathedral of Murcia. Its presence here is perhaps a reflection of the link between Machuca and L’Indaco, documented by the latter’s son.⁷⁷

The lower façade order on the two main facades consists of rusticated Doric pilasters, with capitals and bases of an appropriate simplicity (fig. 19, 20). The cornice and architrave with two *fasciae* are also simple; the frieze is omitted, again to reduce complications and to maintain a simple linear division between floors, rather than the strong visual barrier between above and below which a Doric frieze establishes. The motif of the omitted Doric frieze is an erudite quotation from the antique (from a structure, drawn by Giuliano da Sangallo, still in part visible in the Via S. Maria de’ Calderari in Rome), which appears for instance in Antonio da Sangallo’s vestibule at Palazzo Farnese and on the facade of Raphael’s Palazzo Branconio dell’ Aquila.⁷⁸ It demonstrates that the designer was familiar with these buildings and/or with the frequent use of the motif in Giulio’s Mantua works, and understood the visual effectiveness of the motif and perhaps knew its antique source.

76 Metropolitan Museum, New York, Edward Pearce Casey Fund, 1998, Accession Number: 1998.265. The Medici Pope represented appears to be bearded and must therefore be Clement VII, and not Leo X. See the online catalogue entry by Carmen C. Bambach. (<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/336013>), who attributes the drawing to Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (following C.L. Frommel), and dates it 1530-1535.

77 On the friendship between Machuca and Jacopo Torini called L’ Indaco, documented by Lázaro de Velasco, Torini’s son see Rosenthal, *The Palace*, p. 16. On L’ Indaco in Murcia, see Marzia Villella, *Jacopo Torini detto l’Indaco (1476 - 1526) e la cappella funebre “a La Antigua” di Don Gil Rodríguez de Junterón nella cattedrale di Murcia*, in *Annali di architettura*, 10/11.1998/1999 (2000), pp. 82-102.

78 The structure was until recently mistakenly identified with the Crypta Balbi: see L. Richardson, jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore and London, 1992, p. 101.

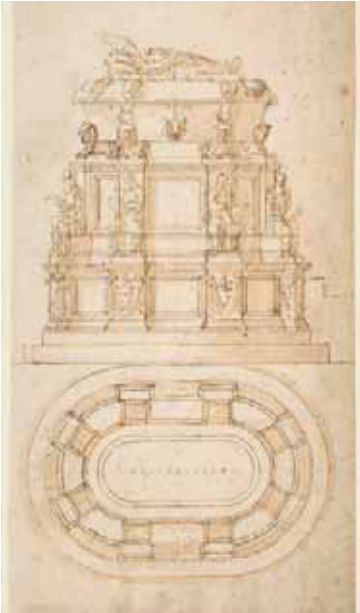


Fig. 18. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Design for a tomb for Pope Clement VII, pen, brown ink and brown wash, over incised lines, 401 x 188 mm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Edward Pearce Casey Fund, 1998, Inv. 1998.265 (Foto: Metropolitan Museum).



Fig. 19. Detail of the south facade of the Palace (Foto Author).

The rustication of the pilasters (and the whole lower level of the façade) is massive but well behaved. This rustication is not Serlio's unruly force of nature in conflict with the smooth surfaces and straight lines of artifice, exemplified in works of Claudian date, like the Porta Maggiore and the substructure of the temple of Claudius in Rome, evoked in works by Giulio Romano. The rustication of the pilasters is completely integrated with the rustication of the walls between the pilasters, as happens also in works and designs by Giulio, like his drawings for the Porta del Te in Mantua.⁷⁹ However the rustication itself is different, both in its relatively smooth

dimpled surface, and in the way in which rather than invading and dominating the pilasters it merely sits on top of them, with the smaller blocks actually revealing the smooth edge and some surface of the pilasters (fig. 20). This is not a feature entirely divorced from Giulio's language. A similar rustication appears on the piers (but with smooth blocks applied to the pier surface) in Raphael's *Liberation of St Peter* (fig. 21) in the Stanze, and on the surfaces abutting openings at the Palazzo Te (also shown in the elevation drawing in Prague).⁸⁰



Fig. 20. Detail of the Doric capital and rustication of the Palace (Foto Author).

79 M. Tafuri, in *Giulio Romano*, 1989, p. 42 (reproduction of the project in the Albertina, inv.14204) and pp 380-383.

80 See the elevation of the courtyard elevation towards the west in the Codex Chlumczansky, (Prague, Library of the National Museum) fol. 2v., *Giulio Romano*, 1989, p. 320. The same motif is used by Sansovino in the cortile of Palazzo Corner on the Grand Canal.

A feature of the rusticated Doric pilasters and of the Ionic pilasters (fig. 22) of the upper order is that they have an entasis, both frontal and as seen from the side, so that their surface seems to lean back slightly (fig. 23). The entasis gives an impression of vigour and as well as creating more varied effects than conventional pilasters with parallel sides would have done. This is not a solution employed by Giulio Romano. Similar entasis is however used by Sanmicheli in the Porta Nuova in Verona (begun in 1530, fig. 24) and other works; a possible explanation of its presence in Granada will be suggested below.



Fig. 21. Raphael, Liberation of St Peter (detail), Stanza di Eliodoro, Palazzi Vaticani (Source: Wikipedia). The way in which raised blocks are placed on the piers resembles the treatment of the Palace's rustication.

More Giuliesque is the ambiguity of lower part of the pilasters, unusually elongated for the Doric order: this can be read either as a continuation of the pilaster or as a sort of rusticated pedestal. A similar ambiguity can be seen in a drawing by Palladio (RIBA XVII/7, fig. 25), showing an elongated rusticated Doric order. The drawing may well be a copy (or variant) of a lost Giulio design for the central area of the upper (?) façade order of Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza.⁸¹

Charles V's visits to Mantua and the possibility of changes to the design after 1528?

In 1533 money was made available specifically "para la opra de la Casa Real".⁸² Work on the palace however probably did not start until after Luis Hurtado de Mendoza's return from the Tunis expedition, and would in any case have been unlikely to have been undertaken in his absence. Surviving building accounts start only in 1537, after the laying of foundations and wall construction had been already undertaken.⁸³

Considerable time thus passed between Charles's giving a wide mandate (30 November 1528) to Mendoza for advancing with a project which he emended only as regards the need for a high chapel and a large sala.

There was thus ample opportunity and time for further revisions to the project, and even the strong possibility of some direct contribution – great or small - by Giulio Romano (and

⁸¹ See note 103, below. An analogous, but not identical ambiguity appears in the small pilasters in Giulio's projects for the Porta del Te in Mantua (Stockholm, Museo Nazionale, 360/1863; Albertina inv. 14203, and inv. 14204. See the entries of M. Tafuri, in *Giulio Romano*, 1989, pp. 380-383.

⁸² Rosenthal, *The Palace*, pp. 266-267, doc. 5.

⁸³ Rosenthal, *The Palace*, p. 267, doc. 6.



Fig. 22. Detail of the upper order of the south facade (Foto Author).



Fig. 23. Raking view of the Doric pilasters: their entasis resembles that of the pilasters of Sanmicheli's Porta Nuova Fig. 24: Not only do the blocks widen towards the ground, but project more, so that they seem to lean back slightly.

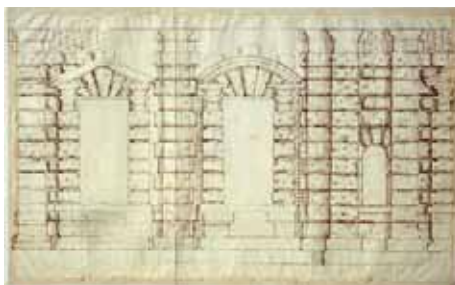


Fig. 25. Andrea Palladio, after Giulio Romano (?), unexecuted project for the central upper area of the facade of Palazzo Thiene, Vicenza ((RIBA XVII/7; Foto: Royal Institute of British Architects). This vigorous, sophisticated scheme seems closer to Giulio than to Palladio. The central pedimented opening is too small to be the palace's main portal.



Fig. 24. Michele Sanmicheli, Porta Nuova, Verona (begun 1530). Sanmicheli prefers pilasters with entasis, even when combined with rustication (Foto Author).

perhaps others) whether or not he had had any part in the 1528 design. This possibility is more than a vague conjecture given that Charles V was a guest of Federico Gonzaga in Mantua in 1530 (from 25 March to 19 April 1530) and briefly in 1532 (from 6 to 7 November). In Mantua in 1530 the Emperor saw temporary triumphal arches and a monumental column presumably designed by Giulio, which he is recorded as examining with care. He visited Marmirolo (again he is described as visiting it with pleasure and attention) and the Palazzo Te itself, where he was magnificently received. A ball was held in his honour in the Sala dei Cavalli and he also was entertained in the Sala di Psiche.⁸⁴ It is unlikely that the name of Giulio was not mentioned to the Emperor, and indeed we can be fairly sure that Giulio, an important ducal official with an elegant gentlemanly bearing - “no common architect” as he was described in Vicenza in 1542⁸⁵ - actually met the emperor, perhaps more than once, in the relaxed and informal context of his Mantuan visits.⁸⁶ One can add that in Milan in 1541, the triumphal arch for Charles’s entry into the city was described as being by Giulio in Alicante’s illustrated booklet about the occasion.⁸⁷

84 The fullest account of Charles’s visit to Mantua is that published in G. Romano (ed.), *Cronaca del soggiorno di Carlo V in Italia*. (dal 26 Luglio 1529 al 1530), Milano 1892. The probable author was a person of some importance, Luigi (or usually in contemporary documents, Alvise or Alovise) Gonzaga, an eye witness, with a keen eye for ceremonial, dress, horses, hunts and architecture. Gonzaga writes (pp. 251-2) “et così [Charles] passò il Borgo dove assai li piacque il primo arco triumphale fatto da s.to Giacomo, et si firmò alquanto a guardarlo; [...] Et così gionto sua M.tà alla Porta dilla Guardia, dove era l’ altro triumphale, assai piacque a sua M.tà et anchora alquanto se affermò a guardarlo [...] et così gionta sopra la Piazza et arivò al Duomo, sua M.tà se mise a guardare quella bellissima colonna, che tanto le piacque quanto altra cosa mai più veduta, et addimandò al R.mo Car. le Cibo quello volva significare, quale glie disse il tutto”. On 27 March he was at Marmirolo: “Et gionti al detto loco di Marmirolo, sua M.tà dismontò sendo accompagnata da tutti li principi, et andò vedendo il palazzo tutto, il quale tantoli piacque quanto sia possibile a dire, [...] Et così havendo visto oggi cosa, camare et camarine, fu misso all’ordine di disinare [...] Fu preparato nella camara grande in volta appresso all’ uccellera, dove sua M.tà magnò, et poi nella sala della stufa vi era preparata un’ altra tavola [...]. Et poi nel salotto vi era preparata un’ altra tavola [...]”. “Gonzaga writes that on 2 April Charles was entertained at the Palazzo Te: “Et gionto sua M.ta al Palazzo del T, et dismontato et giunto in quella bella sala grande, dove si stette alquanto ad guardare, poi se n’ andò nel Camerone, et visto quello sua M.tà restò tutta meravigliosa, et vi stette più di mezz’ hora a contemplare, ogni cosa laudando sommamente. Poi entrò nell’ altra camara qual si chiama la Camara delle Pianetti et Venti, dove ora alloggia il p.to S.r Marchese, quale camara sommamente piacque a sua M.tà Poi andorno nell’ altra camara, detta la Camara delle Aquile, quale è bellissima con due superbe porte di diaspro, cosa che assai dette a dire a sua M.tà, con li camini dove si fanno li fochi di prede di mischio molto finissime; et il tutto diligentemente volse vedere sua M.tà Dopo passarono nella loggia, la quale anchora non è fornita; ma sua M.tà comprese il tutto di quello havea a riuscire. Et poi se n’ andò nel giardino, il quale tutto li piacque con tutti li andamenti delle fabbriche principiate atorno a ditto giardino. Dipoi sua M.tà Ces.a ritornò per desinare, et magnò nel Camarone grande a man sinistra dove’ è quella finestra che guarda sopra il giardino [...]”. On the visit of Charles V to Mantua see also Amedeo Belluzzi, *Carlo V a Mantova e Milano*, in *La città effimera e l’universo artificiale del giardino*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo, Roma 1980, pp. 47-62 (and pp. 205-212).

85 The phrase appears in the resolution of the Council in Vicenza to consult Giulio concerning the renovation of the Palazzo della Ragione: see Daniela Ferrari (ed.), *Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Giulio Romano: repertorio di fonti documentarie*, 2, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato Fonti XIV, Rome, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1992, pp. 987-988, 30 novembre 1542: “in consilio facta est mentio lulii Romani architecti non vulgaris, immo celebris et nominati”. The fact that contemporary accounts make no mention of a meeting between Charles V and Giulio Romano is not in itself significant. They concentrate on the Emperor and key personages and a meeting, if it took place, was probably in a less public context than the events recorded in the descriptions. It is also quite likely that there were informal contacts between Giulio, Cobos and possibly other prominent members of Charles’s entourage.

86 “[...] et Cesare ha usato tal domesticheza qui a Mantoa che non useria in mezo Spagna stando senza niuna guardia et andando familiarissime per questa terra, [...]” Letter of the Orator, Marcantonio Contarini, from Mantua, 18 dicembre, 1532, in M. Sanudo, *Diarii*, Venice 1902, LVII, col. 334.

87 *Trattato dell’intrar in Milano di Carlo V [...]*, Di Giovanni-Alberto Albicante. Milano 1541. Alicante writes:
Designator, de gli archi, à bei disegni
Giulio Romano, Architettor perfetto
Et tra gli altri sublimi & dotti ingegni,
Che di Vitruvio fanno il bel concetto
Renato da Trivultio in tutti i segni
Vede gli iscritti sopra l’ architetto
E hippolito quincio con gran ragione,
Insieme con il raro Marcel Palone.



Fig. 26. The southern portal of the Palace (Foto Author).

Apart from the use of rustication the executed palace is not so different from Palazzo Te in offering a roughly symmetrical combination of large and small rooms, and principle entries on three sides. At Granada, unlike the Palazzo Te and Palazzo Farnese, there is no atrium/vestibule with columns, and the smaller northern vestibule is oval. One of the features of the palace on Granada, the serliana window of the upper level of the south façade (figs. 26, 27) resembles an autograph project by Giulio: a scheme for a rusticated portal, surmounted by a serliana (fig. 28).⁸⁸



Fig. 27. Detail of the serliana of the southern portal (Foto Author).



Fig. 28. Giulio Romano, project for a rusticated portal with a loggia in the form of a serliana (Albertina, Vienna, inv. 341, after Giulio Romano 1989).

⁸⁸ Giulio Romano's a scheme for a rusticated portal, surmounted by a serliana is reproduced in *Giulio Romano*, p. 39.

The resemblance is striking in that both Giulio's drawing (whose destination is not known) and the upper window share an unusual motif: an entablature which follows the form of the serliana without any break, so that the arch does not (as in Palladio's Basilica) simply rest on the horizontal entablatures, but continues their mouldings. The motif has a precedent in the loggia depicted in a window embrasure in the Sala di Costantino, cited by Rosenthal (fig. 29).⁸⁹ Its use on the palace could have been the result of Machuca's knowledge of this fresco. The motif has Imperial associations: it appears in the alternating trabeated and arched colonnades (fig. 30) surrounding the Canopus of the Villa Adriana (fragments of these could presumably have been uncovered in Raphael's time) and in the peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in Split.⁹⁰

Design of details and construction

In looking for sources of the palace of Charles V we should not imagine that we have before us a unified creation, faithfully executed on the basis of a project which was respected and unaltered over time. The "Burlington" façade elevation of the south façade, with treatment of the upper level of the central portal differing from that executed, is a reminder of this.⁹¹

The plan of the building and the placing of interior walls and the window does not always combine satisfactorily with the exterior elevation, a sign of changes in the project, or simply inexperience in fitting functional needs and interior layouts to a modern monumental exterior.

The northern portal (fig. 31) displays a Vitruvian version of the Tuscan order, complete with cylindrical bases like that which Giulio Romano exhibits in the background of his *Madonna and Child* in Edinburgh (fig. 32).⁹² This seemingly learned precision contrasts with the tight spirals of the Ionic order, taken not from antiquities or Fra Giocondo's pages, but from Cesariano's Vitruvius translation of 1521.⁹³ However in this case the source could simply be Spanish and easily to hand: the *Medidas del Roman* of 1526 (fig. 33), with extra knowledge of the Tuscan capital and possible entablature derived from Italian sources.⁹⁴

89 Rosenthal, *The Palace*, pp.208-209, where the precedents for the serliana over the south portal are fully discussed, and pl. 138. See also Parada Lopez de Corseles Manuel, *La Serliana en el Imperio Romano. Paradigma de la arquitectura del poder. Una lectura de la arquitectura y la iconografía arquitectónica romanas*, Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider 2015.

90 I know of no Renaissance drawings of this part of the palace, but it would be reasonable to suppose that drawings of the palace did circulate. Spalato/Split was a Venetian city, regularly visited by the Venetian patricians elected to administer it, and also by architects, among whom (though the fact is not documented) may have been Sanmicheli or one of his collaborators. A sketch plan of the palace by Palladio, copied from or based on someone else's survey drawings, survives (see Douglas Lewis, *The drawings Andrea Palladio*, New Orleans 2000, pp. 58-59).

91 The drawing, which seems to have belonged to Lord Burlington, is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (A. Hyatt Mayor Purchase Fund, Marjorie Phelps Starr Bequest, 1981, Accession Number: 1981.121): see Rosenthal, *The Palace*, pp. 107-112; Tafuri, *Ricerca*, pp. 267-271; Mariás, in *Carlos V las armas y las letras*, Cat. 112, pp. 423-425, where the drawing is attributed to Machuca, and dated ca. 1529-1542.

92 National Gallery of Scotland, Acc. No. NG 2398: see M.Tafuri, in *Giulio Romano*, 1989, pp. 37-38.

93 See Rosenthal, *The Palace*, pls. 151-153.

94 On Diego de Sagredo's *Medidas del romano neccessarias a los oficiales que quieren seguir las formaciones de las basas, columnas, capiteles y otras piezas de los edificios antiguo*, first published in Toledo in 1526, see Fernando Mariás (with bibliography) at <http://arquitectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/traite/Notice/Sagredo1526.asp?param=en>

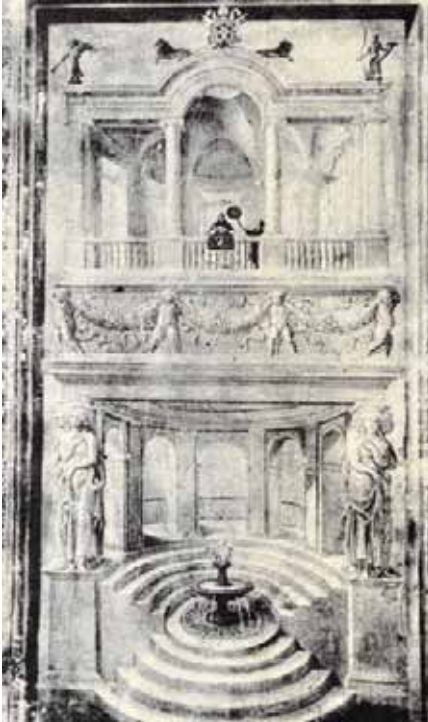


Fig. 29. Structure with an “imperial” serliana painted in a window embrasure of the Sala di Costantino, Palazzi Vaticani (after Rosenthal).



Fig. 30. Detail of the alternating trabeated and arched colonnade surrounding the Canopus of the Villa Adriana, Tivoli (Foto: Gabriele Ferrazzi).



Fig. 31. The northern portal, with Tuscan capitals and bases (now partly hidden) and a Vitruvian portal narrowing towards the top. The pulvinated frieze is effective but unorthodox (Foto Author).

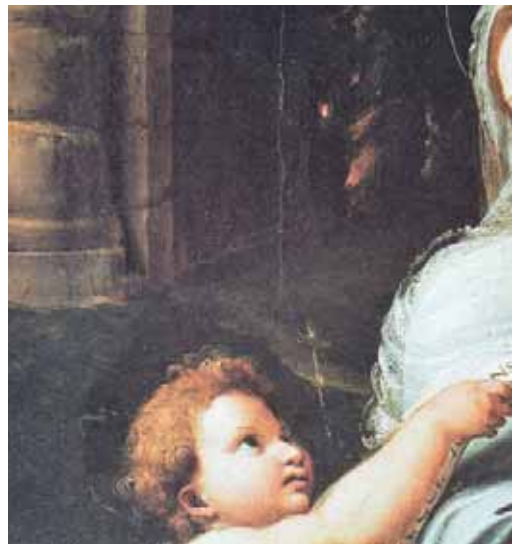


Fig. 32. Giulio Romano, Madonna and Child (detail), oil and gold on panel, 82,50 x 63,20 cm, c. 1518-1523, Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh (after Giulio Romano 1989). The cylindrical base follows Vitruvius.

rece que la bafa le muestra de aquena manera mas agraciada y elegante segun que por esta su figura se muestra.

Como se forma y mide la bafa

la Tuscanica.



Formase la

bafa tuscanica muy diferente de todas las sobredichas: por ser muy usuada y pobre de molduras. La solamente se cõpone de vn plinto redõdo y de vn murexillo: sobre el qual viene vn filete y vna nacela como en esta figura se muestra. El alto desta bafa se toma del medio grueso dela columna bien assi como qualesquiera otras bafas y el grueso del plinto toma la mitad del alto dela bafa: y su diametro es la mitad mayor q̄ el diametro dela planta de su columna: lo q̄ q̄da despues de formado el plinto se parte por medio: y sea vna mitad se forma el murexillo que viene sobre el plinto: y dela otra mitad vn filete y vna nacela segun que en la sobredicha



Fig. 33. The northern portal, with Tuscan capitals and bases (now partly hidden) and a Vitruvian portal narrowing towards the top. The pulvinated frieze is effective but unorthodox (Foto Author).

These inconsistencies display the use of a range of sources (probably including drawings made or collected by Machuca himself) and, possibly, suggestions offered by Luis Hurtado's own library. Such eclecticism moreover could have been grafted onto elevation schemes of a more linguistically coherent character, for the simple reason that it would have been unlikely that Giulio or another Italian architect would have furnished a full set of large scale detailed drawings to accompany the overall elevations, so that these would have had to be provided by Machuca.

Echoes of Granada in Mantua

Given the ambitions of Federico Gonzaga and the close relationship which he established with Charles V, it should not be excluded that at least two architectural motifs in Palazzo Te itself were inspired by descriptions or drawings of Granada. The first of these is the design of the coffered ceiling of the Sala dei Cavalli (fig. 34). Only two "beams" of the ceiling which frame the coffers actually follow a straight course. The others divert diagonally and cross over each other, recalling ceilings in the Alhambra (fig. 35) and elsewhere as well as echoes of such ceilings in the Renaissance architecture of Andalusia. The idea of a loggia whose columns are reflected in water was a major novelty in the Palazzo Te (fig. 36). However this feature has parallels in the Alhambra, in the Patio de los Arrayanes and the Partal (fig. 37). The column groupings in the Patio de los Leones (fig. 38) are also analogous to those of the garden loggia of Palazzo Te (fig. 36). Fernando Marias published an anonymous contemporary description of the Alhambra in the Mantuan archives: perhaps Federico and Giulio Romano also possessed or saw drawings of the Alhambra.⁹⁵

The unusual stellar form of the Torre Colombara at the Castiglione villa at Casatico (fig. 39) is also reminiscent of Spanish Islamic structures, like that of the dome of the Sala de los Abencerrajes in the Alhambra (fig. 40).⁹⁶

⁹⁵ The description, by someone who is skillful in architectural description and familiar with Mantua (the language used too could suggest a mantuan), was discovered by Monique Chatenet, who communicated it to Fernando Marias: F. Marias, in *Carlos V: las armas y las letras*, pp.204-206, 219-221 (the text). Marias suggests that Castiglione himself is the best candidate as author, and quotes the observation in the letter "hora ch'è di istate et assai caldo", as it would have been in the summer of 1526.

⁹⁶ This relationship was mentioned by H. Burns, P.N.Pagliara, *La corte e la torre Castiglioni a Casatico*, in *Giulio Romano*, 1989, pp. 526-527. As noted there, Baldassarre's son Camillo Castiglione on 14 April 1546 made an agreement with a Mantuan builder for executing works at the family villa near Mantua "secondo un disegno de maestro Julio Romano". An inscription dated 1546 possibly refers to the unusual dovecote tower.



Fig. 34. The coffered ceiling of the Sala dei Cavalli in Palazzo Te, where Charles V was entertained in 1530, with diagonally crossing beams (Foto "Fseveri", in Wikipedia).



Fig. 35. Wooden ceiling in the Alhambra (Foto Author).



Fig. 36. View of the garden facade of Palazzo Te, Mantua.



Fig. 37. Partal, the facade (Foto Author).



Fig. 38. Projecting loggia in the Patio de los Leones, Alhambra. The use of grouped columns is analogous to Giulio Romano's use of columns on the garden facade of Palazzo Te (Foto Author).



Fig. 39. The Torre Colombara at the Corte Castiglioni at Casatico, near Mantua
(Foto: <http://www.turismo.mantova.it>).



Fig. 40. The exterior of the Sala de los Abencerrajes in the Alhambra
(Foto Author).



Fig. 41. Cogolludo (Guadalajara):
Palace of the Dukes of Medinaceli,
detail of the facade.
The rustication resembles that of the
Palace of Charles V
(Foto: Santiago Lopez-Pastor).

CONCLUSIONS

It is an understatement to say that the palace of Charles V at Granada is a very remarkable building, as it was intended to be.⁹⁷ Its size, monumental facades, circular colonnaded court, citations of the antique and attention to the Vitruvian orders constituted an architectural revolution in Spain and are without a real parallel in the Italy of the time.

Though drawings and documentation throw light on its history, the exact contribution of key figures, including Charles V, Luis Hurtado de Mendoza and Pedro Machuca remains a matter of conjecture. I have tried to characterise successive phases of the palace's creation and early construction and re-read the building itself, in an attempt to distinguish sources of inspiration and suggest that features may have been changed or added in the years between the first design and the start of construction and even in the course of execution.

The story starts with the general political situation from 1525 until 1535 and beyond: Charles V's vast territories, his ongoing effort to contain Ottoman expansion, his victory over Francis I and continuing rivalry with him and his conflict with Clement VII which was military, diplomatic but also ideological and waged through publications and polemics. All these elements, *de facto*, re-defined the position of the Emperor and necessitated the elaboration of a new personal and imperial image, to which the palace was intended to contribute.

Discussion almost certainly started when the court was in Granada in the second half of 1526. The court, in a relatively isolated centre like Granada, would have been a world to itself, where contacts and exchanges could readily develop, not least to overcome boredom and a sense of isolation. Little information is available about intellectual and social life in these months. However intellectuals and persons familiar with the arts were present and must have sought one another's company (as Boscán's mention of his conversation with Navagero shows) and would have been willing to offer suggestions to the young emperor or his close collaborators and associates. Among these collaborators was the polemical Great Chancellor Gattinara, creator of an imperial ideology for Charles, the palace builder and increasingly Italophile secretary Cobos, and Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, the Emperor's trusted "cousin" and governor of the Alhambra, a person of real culture, to whom Charles in February 1528 delegated full control of the project, probably repeating what he had said to him on previous occasions.⁹⁸ It is an extraordinary fact that in Granada in 1526 there were two leading Italian intellectuals, Castiglione and Navagero, who had not only been close friends of Raphael, but had also formed part of the small group of those who had visited Tivoli and Hadrian's villa in April 1516 with Raphael.⁹⁹ They had therefore almost certainly seen the Maritime Theatre (drawn by both Francesco di Giorgio and Palladio,

97 Mendoza's own statement on the matter is quoted by F. Marias, *La casa real nueva* ..., p. 207.

98 Rosenthal, *The Palace*, p. 265, doc. 1.

99 J.S. Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, I, New Haven and London 2003, pp. 238-240. The plan for this expedition is mentioned by a participant, Pietro Bembo in a letter dated 3 April 1516. He states that the party, including himself, Navagero, Beazzano, Castiglione and Raphael would leave the next day. The trip, as Shearman writes "may have been rather more extensive than the picnic generally assumed"; he recalls that Pietro Bembo returned from Tivoli only on 22 April.

and therefore plainly visible), the likely inspiration for the circular courtyard, and would have known of Hadrian's Spanish origins.

The powerful idea of the circular colonnaded court at the centre of a squarish palace with an exterior with its principal facades articulated by a Doric rusticated order below and an Ionic one provided the foundation of the design, perhaps from an early stage. It is still not known when the scheme emerges, though it is already present in the three early plans of the palace. The two elevations published by Davies and Hemsoll, which seem to be the earliest surviving projects, have superimposed orders, of which the lower one is Doric; not rusticated, but rustication is present in the bays between them.

Though Baldassarre Castiglione himself could have sent a drawing of the site to Giulio Romano, and requested a design from him, an additional and intriguing possibility should be considered. Castiglione, who had collaborated closely with Raphael and - if he followed his own recommendations - was capable of expressing himself in drawing, could himself have offered the starting point for the design (he had visited Hadrian's Villa). Perhaps he communicated it not directly to Charles, but to Mendoza, with whom he shared literary and cultural interests, including architecture. Neither Mendoza nor Castiglione would have publicised the matter. Once a first powerful idea had been defined, it would have been easier for Mendoza to seek proposals or comments from numbers of architects, in accordance with the best Italian practice and Alberti's observations on the value of consultation with others when developing designs.¹⁰⁰ Mendoza demonstrates a theoretical grasp, probably influenced by Alberti, when he writes didactically to Charles (28 February 1528): "y antes que se comencie, hare hazer un modelo de madera para que major se vea la gracia e proporcion que ha da tener".¹⁰¹

Whether or not Castiglione offered a first idea for the palace the central question remains: did Giulio Romano provide a design, or was Pedro Machuca, after his years in Rome, capable of making a design of such bold and allusive sophistication? Or was there some mix of inputs: a basic design by Giulio, modified by Machuca? A design from outside Granada might in any case have required adjustments between the height and spacing of the orders and the interior layout, while 1:1 designs for capitals and other ornaments would have had to be made on the spot.

A revealing aspect of the early plans and of the executed building, is that the exterior articulation is not rationally matched to the interior layout, particularly as regards the placing of doors and windows. If the overall design had been made by a single experienced Italian designer in a precise moment the interior-exterior relationship would probably have been handled better. The fact that Charles had to ask Mendoza for a large sala to be incorporated points not only to a lack of communication, but a certain amateurishness in the initial design phase.

¹⁰⁰ L.B. Alberti, *L'architettura (De re aedificatoria)*, testo latino e traduzione ed. Giovanni Orlandi. Introd. e note di Paolo Portoghesi, Milano, Il Polifilo 1966, II, 1, pp. 94-97.

¹⁰¹ Rosenthal, *The Palace*, p. 265.

Equally significant in considering the design process of the palace is that though the exterior facades constitute an impressive and effective composition, the sources of its individual parts are distinct. Among the main ingredients of the façade design are a rusticated Doric (or given the capitals, Tuscan) lower level which recalls Giulio Romano but does not correspond exactly to any of his works; Cesariano's volutes and pilasters with entasis and inset panels; a Tuscan portal perhaps derived (for the bases) from either Fra Giocondo's 1511 edition or the *Medidas del Romano*; the abbreviated entablature used by Raphael, Sangallo and Sanmicheli; the insertion of roundels above the windows, ultimately inspired by designs of Raphael and Sangallo and perhaps even by an *aureus* of Trajan and even Sanmicheli's use of entasis with rusticated Doric pilasters. From Giulio (or simply from the fresco showing a serliana in the Sala di Costantino?) is probably derived the upper level window of the south portal, showing an "imperial" serliana structure. Spanish elements too are not lacking: the corner solution, as in the city hall in Seville, rusticated blocks which have a smoothly finished sides and borders, as in the rustication at the Palace of the Dukes of Medinaceli in Cogolludo (fig. 41). That palace façade also anticipates that of Charles V's in the importance assigned to a central portal in the middle of a wide, low facade, a scheme also present Spanish Renaissance hospitals, for instance the Hospital Real de Santiago de Compostela and Hospital of Santa Cruz in Toledo, both designed by Enrique Egas.

Giulio Romano could not be directly responsible for such an eclectic, though successful, assemblage of motifs and references, which includes elements alien to his language. Paradoxically the more one examines individual features of the palace, the more different in style it seems from Giulio Romano, whereas the more one considers Giulio's projects and built works, the closer his architecture seems to that of the palace. An instance of this which does not appear to have been discussed until now is that of the elevation drawing by Palladio (RIBA XVII/7, fig. 25) which is probably an unexecuted proposal for the façade of Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza.¹⁰² Lewis in publishing the drawing reproduces a section of the exterior of Palazzo Te, which closely corresponds to the scheme. My feeling is that this autograph Palladio drawing is not a design invented by Palladio himself, but a copy by him after a lost alternative design by Giulio for Palazzo Thiene, to be dated to 1541-2 or soon after.¹⁰³ Though probably made after the Granada project was finalised, the drawing underlines the close relationship between Granada and Mantua, Charles V and Federico Gonzaga, Giulio and Charles V's palace and those responsible for it on site. If Giulio Romano had made a drawing for the lower order of the palace, it would have probably looked very like this project for palazzo Thiene copied by Palladio. As in the Granada palace the pilasters reach down to the ground and have no distinct pedestals. However the same ambiguity is present: is the lower part of the pilaster, from the window sill level downwards, a sort of concealed pedestal? The design shown by Palladio has more detail and is more refined: the windows have an order; the wider bands of rustication placed over the pilasters have their

102 On the drawing (pen and ink and some black chalk touches), 215 x 346 mm.), see Douglas Lewis, *The drawings of Andrea Palladio*, New Orleans 2000, pp. 118-119; H. Burns, *Studio di alzato per palazzo Thiene*, in Giulio Romano, pp. 504-505; Id., in *Palazzo Thiene a Vicenza*, pp. 86-90. The drawing does not correspond exactly to the executed palace; the level shown is probably the upper one, as the pedimented opening on the left would have only the same width as the complete windows shown, which would have been too narrow for a principal entrance.

103 H. Burns, "Una casa cum stupendo, superbo et hornato modo fabbricata": il "progetto" dei Thiene, il progetto di Giulio Romano, il palazzo di Andrea Palladio, in *Palazzo Thiene a Vicenza*. pp. 37-102

side portions set back, and are not simple trasversal blocks. The wall is shown treated in two ways: with neat little rusticated blocks or with visible brick work. The different treatments in Granada and in the drawing can easily be explained. Though the intended Palazzo Thiene was huge, comparable in scale to Charles's palace, it could only be seen from the streets which surrounded it, justifying greater detail. Such elegant detailing would have been lost, and indeed would have weakened the general effect; in a structure that is visible from a great distance and can be viewed as a whole from the ample spaces which immediately surround it.

The design for Vicenza preserved by Palladio is not for Granada. But perhaps it does echo a lost Giulio design for the famous palace. And one can also ask whether Palazzo Thiene, a palace conceived on a truly royal scale, was not Giulio's way of realising a proposal made for the Emperor, but followed only in part. In a general way too the Granada design recalls aspects of Giulio's two great palace designs: the Palazzo Te in Mantua, and later (1542) for Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza, as well as Giulio's projects for rusticated structures. The "imperial "window" on the south façade points strongly to a suggestion from Giulio, as it closely resembles a drawing by him. The resemblance between the palace and Giulio's work is not however simply one of a few details and a large square palace, with several entrances, in which rustication and the orders are combined in a two level facade. It also lies in the fact that Charles's palace like Giulio's two large Italian palaces demonstrates a capacity to understand the importance and character of the project and give this an impressive and original architectural expression. Giulio was a great architect, just as he was a great painter, because he had the culture, experience and imagination to give form to great themes: the Trojan War, the story of Cupid and Psyche, the destruction of the Giants – or, perhaps - a palace for the Emperor.

But if Giulio made a contribution to the Granada palace it possibly lies in the overall initial idea (in which Castiglione could well have been involved, or even its initiator) and not in the details. Giulio may well have provided tactful advice or even designs (above all for the south portal and the rustication) either in 1530 or 1532¹⁰⁴, and the very favourable impact on Charles V of Giulio's buildings and the possibility of exchanges between Giulio himself and Charles and/or key members of his entourage should not be underestimated. Sanmicheli, may also have been consulted, or a project for Porta Nuova obtained from him or the Duke of Urbino (the architect's immediate superior as commander of Venetian land forces) thereby providing the idea (which would have been unusual even in Italy) of applying entasis to the palaces's rusticated Doric pilasters. This possibility becomes less remote when one considers that for part of his journey across the Veneto in 1532, Charles was accompanied by the Duke of Urbino himself: according to the Venetian "orator", who was present, the emperor spoke a great deal with the soldier Duke about wars, whereas with the Duke of Mantua he discussed less serious matters:

104 Giulio's report on how to modernise the Palace of Justice (the future Basilica) in Vicenza, shows that he was incisive, detailed and resourceful in his suggestions and critiques, as well as imaginative in meeting what he considered to be the patron's needs. If a design already existed, he would probably have tried to reform rather than replace it.

pleasures and hunts.¹⁰⁵ A likely candidate for the coordinator of any informal architectural consultations in Italy was not Mendoza, tied to Granada by his wide responsibilities there, but Francisco de los Cobos, who accompanied the Emperor as well as (once) residing in Mantua by himself.

All the final design decisions were probably made by Mendoza and Muchuca, sometimes acting as designers, sometimes as editors or selectors of motifs present in books they owned or projects or other drawings which they had obtained. This procedure is suggested by passages in the well informed life (1613) of the 2nd Marquis the Marquis of Mondéjar, written by a later Marquis of Mondéjar, Gaspar Ibanez de Segovia, who recounts that Charles “mando hacer diferentes diseños según se reconoce de varias cartas escritas al Marqués sobre la forma en que se havía de executar hasta que dejó al arbitrio del Marqués la elección de cuál se havía de seguir...”.¹⁰⁶ Machuca, by coordinating these choices in the final drawings, as well as himself inventing and designing and making the full scale templates for details, would have often had the last word.

A final consideration: why, if the palace was in part inspired by the famous Italian artist, was the fact not advertised? In seeking an answer one can recall that it needed modern scholarship (with a prompt from Inigo Jones) to establish that Palazzo Thiene was basically designed by Giulio Romano, and not by Palladio who publishes it as his own work, as Inigo Jones notes with surprise.¹⁰⁷ Vasari, who had talked with Giulio and been shown his architectural projects is also silent both as regards Palazzo Thiene (which he attributes to Palladio) and Granada.¹⁰⁸ The reason for such silence is not only that Granada was distant from Italy but also because the parties involved had an interest in avoiding publicity, including Giulio himself, who as an experienced courtier knew how to keep secrets. Federico Gonzaga would not in 1526-7 have wanted an involvement of Giulio to be known (if it existed), as he was still Clement VII's *Capitano Generale*. Castiglione, if he was involved, as papal Nuncio would not have wanted the matter to be publicised, as it would have established an inappropriate confidence with his employer's antagonist. And Luis Hurtado de Mendoza and Pedro Machuca would have desired the responsibility and credit for the palace to be seen as entirely theirs.

105 M. Sanudo, *Diarii*, LVII, Venice 1902, col. 213, “Sumario di la relation fata in Pregadi per sier Marco Monio el consier stato con tre altri oratori a la Cesrea Maestà” [November 1532]: “Dil duca di Urbin nostro capitano fa gran caso, et con lui cavalcando parlò assai sempre di guere, e col duca di Mantoa parlò di cose di piazzer, di caxe etc.”

106 The passages are quoted by F. Marias, in *El Palacio de Carlos V*, in *Carlo V y las Artes*, p. 112, and in *Il Palazzo di Carlo V*, pp. 314, 316.

107 H. Burns, “Una casa cum stupendo, superbo et hornato modo fabricata”: il “progetto” dei Thiene, il progetto di Giulio Romano, il palazzo di Andrea Palladio, in *Palazzo Thiene*, pp. 37-102.

108 In his *Vite* (counting all the references made in the 1550 and 1568 editions) Vasari mentions Carlo V by name twenty-two times, but Granada only once: “in Granata, dove sono le sepolture di tutti i re di Spagna”, in the life *Di Liono Liono Aretino e d'altri Scultori et Architetti*, in the Giuntina edition, 6, p. 202. Vasari mentions Palazzo Thiene (at the time the palace belonged to Ottavio Thiene, but Vasari garbles the surname) in his life of Sansovino (Giuntina edition, 6, p. 196): “[Palladio] ha fatto un palazzo molto bello e grandissimo oltre ogni credere al conte Ottavio de' Vieri, con infiniti ricchissimi ornamenti”.