Adapting a Pantheon to a Lineage's Memory . The Collegiate Church of Belmonte and the Marquises of Villena[1]

Un panteón adaptado a la memoria de un linaje. La colegiata de Belmonte y los Marqueses de Villena

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to uncover the origins of the close relationship between the memory of the Pachecos, the marquises of Villena, and the collegiate church of Belmonte. It analyses the changes the collegiate church underwent during the first decades of its existence. The first part will propose that the building had been conceived around 1456 as the religious centre of a new capital for the Marquisate of Villena. The second section will explain that the church also functioned as the family's first pantheon. Created with a retrospective purpose in mind, it showcased the connections between the temple's founder and his ancestors. The last chapter will be devoted to the changes the church suffered when it was replaced by El Parral, a new funerary church with a prospective intention that projected its discourse towards the future of the Pacheco dynasty.

KEYWORDS: Marquises of Villena, memory of the lineage, pantheon, funerary monument, religious architecture.

RESUMEN

El objetivo de este artículo es descubrir los orígenes de la estrecha relación que unió la memoria de los Pacheco, marqueses de Villena, a la colegiata de Belmonte. Este estudio analiza los

cambios que la colegiata sufrió durante las primeras décadas de su existencia. La primera parte propone que el edificio fue concebido hacia 1456 como centro religioso de una nueva capital para el marquesado de Villena. La segunda sección plantea que la iglesia funcionó también como primer panteón familiar, creado con una finalidad retrospectiva: hacía patentes los nexos entre el fundador del templo y sus antepasados. El último capítulo se centra en los cambios que la colegiata sufrió cuando fue sustituida por El Parral, una nueva iglesia funeraria con una intención prospectiva que proyectaba un discurso hacia el futuro de la dinastía de los Pacheco.

Palabras Clave: Marqueses de Villena, memoria del linaje, panteón, monumento funerario, arquitectura religiosa.

During the mid-18th century, Pedro Salanova y Guilarte, the archivist of the marquises of Villena, visited the lands of his masters to draft detailed reports describing the history and monuments of those territories. Thanks to his manuscripts, we know that the collegiate church of San Bartolomé in Belmonte began its activities in the morning with a mass celebrated in the main chapel, which was dedicated to the memory of the ancestors of the house of Villena[2]. The last will and testament signed in 1469 by Juan Pacheco, the first marquis of Villena, indicates that this mass had been founded at his initiative, thus showing that the close relationship which linked the Pacheco family to the collegiate church had managed to survive through the centuries[3]. The aim of this paper is to uncover the origins of the close relationship between the memory of the Pachecos and this collegiate church, while also revealing that the temple had to be adapted in the following decades to meet the family's particular needs[4].

"A distinguished, populous and eminent town". Belmonte as a capital

On 1 December 1459, Pius II defined Belmonte as "a distinguished, populous and eminent town" in the bull that converted San Bartolomé into a collegiate church[5]. This document

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[2] *Cada día al alva una missa para el señor maestre don Juan*: Biblioteca Nacional de España (henceforth BNE), MSS/13124, f. 165r. Other documents certify that these masses continued to be carried out during the following centuries. In 1800 the chapter of the church of San Bartolomé wrote *Las misas que al presente están a cargo de esta iglesia son las partidas siguientes: (…) por el señor marqués don Diego el primero, docientas y treinta y cinco; por la señora doña Juana su muger docientas y noventa y dos*: AHN (henceforth AHN), Clero Secular Regular, L 3408, f. 66r and 243v.

[3] *Cada día dos misas rrezadas*: A. Franco Silva, "Los testamentos de Juan Pacheco (1470-1472)", in *Congreso de Historia del Señorío de Villena*, Albacete, 1987, pp. 157-174, p. 160. The original document: Sección de Nobleza del Archivo Histórico Nacional (henceforth SNAHN), Frías, C.662, D.15. The transcription of the document states it was written on 27/12/1470 of the "Year of the Lord's birth", a calendar which started every 25th December. Therefore, the document dates 27/12/1469 as it has already been claimed by: C. Ayllón Gutiérrez, "Iglesia y poder en el marquesado de Villena. Los orígenes de la Colegiata de Belmonte", *Hispania Sacra*, 60-121 (2008), pp. 95-130, p. 98.

[4] The only study dedicated to San Bartolomé is of great importance but lacks references to the documents it quotes: L. Andújar Ortega, *Belmonte, cuna de Fray Luis de León: su colegiata*, Cuenca, 1986.

[5] *Loco insigni, populoso et eminenti*: Archivo Parroquial de Belmonte (henceforth APB), Bulas, n. 6. The bull is included in a document dated 13/5/1486, which was transcribed and translated by R. García Fernández in 1974: APB, Leg. 18, 0. Another transcription: Ayllón Gutiérrez, "Iglesia y poder", pp. 128-130.

was issued in response to Juan Pacheco's request to elevate the status of his hometown's parish church[6], a place that was then undergoing great urbanistic changes. Pius II considered Belmonte as "distinguished" and "populous", but very few sources provide any additional information about its history and aspect.

Belmonte had been part of the lands belonging to the Seigneury of Villena founded by the Infante Manuel during the time of Alfonso X. After approximately a century, the Seigneury became a Marquisate and its possession was granted to nobles linked to the Castilian kings by blood. At the end of the 14th century, the Marquisate was once again in the hands of the Castilian Crown and it was precisely at this point when Belmonte was separated from the Marquisate, becoming a seigneury in its own right[7]. In 1398, King Enrique III offered Belmonte to Juan Fernández Pacheco, who had abandoned his possessions in Portugal after having backed the Castilian monarch's claims to the Portuguese throne[8].

Juan Pacheco was born in this small town in 1419. He was the heir of the Seigneury of Belmonte, but his family did not play a prominent role in Castile in those years[9] and he was considered by some as the "son of a defector of the Portuguese kingdom"[10]. When he was quite young, Pacheco became part of Álvaro de Luna's entourage, the favourite of King Juan II and Great Constable of Castile[11]. One of the most common invectives hurled against Luna criticised his modest origins, which were well-known even in foreign lands. The Italian Vespasiano da Bisticci defined him as a person "of very humble parents who ruled the kingdom of Spain for more than forty years"[12]. While living alongside Luna, Juan Pacheco must have surely realised the importance of staging the greatness of his lineage and this explains why, when he was only sixteen years old, he had already stated that his ancestors descended from royal houses[13].

Though he made this claim from a very young age, Juan Pacheco did not in fact possess any noble titles until 1445, when he was granted the Marquisate of Villena[14]. This change in

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[6] *Ibidem*: *Pro parte dilecti filii nobilis viri Joannis Pacheco marchionis de Villena nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat.*

[7] On the history of the lands of Villena: A. Pretel Marín, M. Rodríguez Llopis, *El Señorío de Villena en el siglo xiv*, Albacete, 1998; *Congreso de Historia del Señorío de Villena.*

[8] F. Regina Fernandes, "Os exílios da linhagem dos Pacheco e sua relação com a natureza de suas vinculações aos Castro (segunda metade do século xiv)", *Cuadernos de historia de España*, 82 (2008), pp. 31-54; A. Franco Silva, A. García Luján, "Los Pacheco. La imagen mítica de un linaje portugués en tierras de Castilla", in *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de historia medieval*, 4 vols., Porto, 1987, III, pp. 943-991.

[9] J. Ortuño Molina, "El mayorazgo de los Pacheco, señores de Villena, y los deseos de ocultar la movilidad social en el medievo", in S. Molina Puche, A. Irigoyen López (eds.), *Territorios distantes, comportamientos similares: familias, redes y reproducción social en la monarquía hispánica (siglos xiv-xix)*, Murcia, 2009, pp. 261-279. On Pacheco: A. Franco Silva, *Juan Pacheco, privado de Enrique IV de Castilla. La pasión por la riqueza y el poder*, Granada, 2011.

[10] *Nacido en Castilla de padre tránsfuga del reino lusitano*: A. de Palencia, *Crónica de Enrique IV*, A. Paz y Meliá (trad.), 4 vols., Madrid, 1904, III, p. 249.

[11] A. Franco Silva, "Juan Pacheco. De doncel del príncipe de Asturias a marqués de Villena (1440-1445)", *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 39 (2009), pp. 723-775.

[12] *Di assai onesti parenti e governò il reame di Spagna anni quaranta e più*: V. da Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo xv*, P. D'Ancona (ed.), Milan, 1951, p. 334.

[13] *Desçendentes de algunas partes de estyrpe e linaje rreal*: SNAHN, Frías, C.99, D.1, f. 9r.

[14] Franco Silva, "Juan Pacheco. De doncel".

status caused some tensions among the local noblemen that have survived in the chronicles, which state that Juan Pacheco had passed from being a poor knight to marquis of Villena and from being an obscure gentleman to greatest man of the kingdom[15]. In 1445, Juan Pacheco may have started an intense promotional campaign to counteract these voices, but he waited an entire decade before beginning a well-thought-out propagandistic programme centred on the town of Belmonte.

This delay finds a clear explanation in historical facts. Contemporary descriptions are unanimous when they say that Juan Pacheco's main characteristics were his prudence and endurance[16]. He knew that showing too much power when he was the favourite of Prince Enrique would turn powerful people against him and he preferred to wait until Enrique became king in 1454[17]. Besides, the Marquisate of Villena was under dispute because the king of Navarre was asserting his entitlement to those lands[18]. This issue was finally resolved in 1455, when the Navarrese monarch renounced these territories[19] and the Courts of Castile asked King Enrique IV to confirm Juan Pacheco's titles and possessions[20] through the highest and most important official document of the royal chancellery: a *privilegio rodado*[21].

The documentary sources that appear below confirm that it was precisely after said date that Juan Pacheco started to earmark enormous financial resources to Belmonte to transform his hometown into the capital of his new Marquisate of Villena[22]. These works must have been of great relevance, as they were still in progress when Juan Pacheco and the young King Alfonso visited the town in 1466 to view "the great and impressive buildings that were being erected there"[23].

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[15] *De muy pobre cauallero, hezistes marques de Villena, y, de pobre, a ser el más grande e rico de vuestros Reynos*: *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla, 1454-1474: Crónica castellana*, M.P. Sánchez-Parra García (ed.), 2 vols., Madrid, 1991, II, p. 112.

[16] *Agudeza, prudencia, diligencia e sufrimiento, puédese creer este cavallero que fue tan bien dotado destas quatro cosas como el ome que más en su tiempo las tovo*: F. del Pulgar, *Claros varones de Castilla*, R.B. Tate (ed.), Oxford, 1971, p. 30; *Dava con todas las cosas sanos espedientes, en tal manera que su prudençia hera más probechosa que la de otro ninguno*: D. Enríquez del Castillo, *Crónica de Enrique IV de Diego Enríquez del Castillo*, A. Sánchez Martín (ed.), Valladolid, 1994), p. 145; *Plurimum profuit prudentia et sagacitas domini Iohanni Pacheco*: R. Sánchez de Arévalo, *Compendiosa historia Hispanica*, Rome, 1470, chapt. XXXVI.

[17] *Éste afectaba en su semblante y en sus palabras no tener [poder] ninguno sobre todo aquello para que le sobraba*: Palencia, *Crónica*, I, p. 90; *Conosçiese aquel [Álvaro de Luna] aver resçebido muerte vergonçosa e abiltada, por averse mostrado no como privado governador en estos reynos mas como soberano no reconosciente superior, quiso don Juan Pacheco, ante de ser maestre, mostrar tener poco poder para governar*: *Crónica anónima*, II, p. 454.

[18] A. Pretel Marín, *El Señorío de Villena en el siglo XV*, Albacete, 2011, pp. 230-235.

[19] SNAHN, Frías, CP.276, D.1-3; C. 8, D.3-9.

[20] *Eçebta e sacada la conffirmaçión e aprouaçión que yo ffize a don Ioan Pacheco marques de Villena mi mayordomo mayor, de las graçias e merçedes e donaçiones que el Rey mi senor e mi padre e yo le ovimos ffecho (…) e le mandé dar carta e preuillejo*: *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla*, 7 vols., Madrid, 1861-1903, III (1866), p. 679.

[21] SNAHN, Frías, CP.253, D.3.

[22] The term "capital" has to be understood as the main city of a seigneury and not as the formal seat of the state's government. In this case, Juan Pacheco chose Belmonte as the administrative and symbolic centre of his newly created state, but this did not mean that he exclusively ruled his lands from there.

[23] *Grandes e imponentes fábricas que allí se levantaban*: Palencia, *Crónica*, II, p. 28.

From 1456, the town saw the construction of a modern castle and a new powerful set of walls[24]. It also hosted the foundation of a Franciscan convent and the rebuilding the hospital of San Andrés for the poor[25]. Thanks to the papal bull mentioned above, Belmonte was even granted the privilege of having the only collegiate church in the bishopric of Cuenca, the second most relevant religious centre in the diocese[26]. Thanks to all these enterprises, Belmonte gained the appearance that, a century later, the famous artist Anton van de Wyngaerde would sketch in a drawing that is now held at the Victoria and Albert Museum[27].

Salanova's notes affirm that, as soon as he obtained the Marquisate, Juan Pacheco began to use the arms of his lineages, creating his characteristic coat of arms divided into four quarters alternating the Acuña sash and the Pacheco cauldrons[28]. His text, however, does not explain why only the church of San Bartolomé and the castle of Belmonte feature Juan Pacheco's shield accompanied by a small escutcheon placed in its centre. This escutcheon represents a castle flanked by a winged arm and a rampant lion (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Belmonte, Collegiate Church of San Bartolomé, Juan Pacheco's shield (photo: author)

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[24] The only archival document that mentions the construction was destroyed during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. It was quoted in: J. M. Quadrado, *Recuerdos y bellezas de España. Castilla la Nueva*, 12 vols., Barcelona, 1853, II, pp. 565-566.

[25] Archivio Segreto Vaticano (henceforth ASV), Reg. Vat. 448, ff. 109r-v; Reg. Vat. 459, ff. 151r-v. J. Díaz Ibáñez, "Las relaciones Iglesia-nobleza en el obispado de Cuenca durante la baja Edad Media", *En la España Medieval*, 20 (1997), pp. 281-319, part. 314-316.

[26] About importance of this church and its relationship with the cathedral of Cuenca: Ayllón Gutiérrez, "Iglesia y poder".

[27] Victoria and Albert Museum, Londres, Inv. 8455, f. 26v. P. Ibáñez Martínez, "Van den Wyngaerde, una vista de Belmonte y la campaña de trabajo de 1563", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 76-301 (2003), pp. 71-77.

[28] *Luego que fue herdado en esos reynos y casó con doña María Portocarrero y recibió del rey don Juan el 2º el marquesado de Villena, añadió al escudo el cuartel de los de Acuña –que era su aguación o varonía– (…) duplicando la vanda y calderas*: BNE, MSS/13124, f. 150v.

The castle is the traditional symbol of the Crown of Castile, while the winged arm and the rampant lion belong to the Manuel family's heraldry. The latter, nevertheless, also became a symbol of the Marquisate of Villena, as it is demonstrated by the coat of arms used by Alfonso of Aragon, who held the title from 1366 to 1395[29]. As Juan Pacheco only used the shield with the escutcheon in his buildings in Belmonte, it is reasonable to assume that he gave a specific meaning to this symbol: he was deliberately linking his persona to the memory of the founders of the original seigneury of Villena.

All these actions were part of a clear propagandistic programme that Juan Pacheco started to implement after 1456 to counteract the negative comments that had been made against him. He gave legitimacy to his title by establishing a new capital for his estates, creating a collegiate church as its new religious centre and designing a coat of arms that would purposefully link his title to the almost legendary Manuels.

"He rebuilt it almost entirely". The first funerary project

Salanova recorded several interesting details regarding San Bartolomé and affirmed without hesitation that Juan Pacheco had "ennobled and rebuilt it almost entirely" before it was elevated to the status of a collegiate church[30]. These works have to be understood in the context of the great architectural, urban and propagandistic campaign that the marquis of Villena had designed for his new capital. Nevertheless, the rebuilding of the temple also responded to other reasons. Salanova, once again, offers useful details, affirming that the church had been the burial place of Juan Pacheco's parents and grandparents[31]. As mentioned above, the marquis of Villena felt that his family had noble origins and the same was stated by the contemporary writer Diego de Valera[32]. It is then logical to assume that Juan Pacheco wished to enhance the place where the remains of his ancestors rested[33].

Juan Pacheco's interest in the collegiate church of Belmonte went far beyond the mere creation of a building for the memory of his parents and grandparents. In the first version of his will dated 27 December 1469, he asked to be buried in the main chapel of the church and it is possible to suppose that he was to be accompanied by his wife[34]. This document testifies that the marquis of Villena envisioned San Bartolomé as a pantheon for himself and his ancestors. He conceived it as a memorial with a clear retrospective purpose. Yet, when the funerary temple of the family was moved to Santa María de El Parral in 1471, the initial project for

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[29] Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, MSS/15652-56 (*Armorial Gelre*), f. 62r. Alfonso of Aragon did not take possession of the Marquisate until 1372: Pretel Marín, Rodríguez Llopis, *El Señorío de Villena*, pp. 142-239.

[30] [Juan Pacheco] *engrandeciola y casi la reedificó de nuevo y a instancia suya el summo pontífice Pío la erigió en colegial*: BNE, MSS/13124, ff. 160v-161r.

[31] *Los quales todos* [Juan Fernández Pacheco, Isabel de Meneses, Alfonso Téllez Girón and María Pacheco] *fueron enterrados en dicha iglesia siendo parrochial*: Ibidem, f. 164v.

[32] SNAHN, Frías, C.99, D.1, f. 9r; *Ca vos dio progenitores de las casas reales de Castilla e Portugal produzidos*: D. de Valera, "Cirimonial de príncipes", in *Prosistas castellanos del siglo XV*, M. Penna (ed.), 2 vols., Madrid, 1959, I, pp. 161-168, p. 161.

[33] Ayllón Gutiérrez, "Iglesia y poder", p. 98.

[34] *Mando otrosí que mi cuerpo (…) sea sepultado en la mi villa de Belmonte en la iglesia de Sant Bartolomé en la capilla mayor della*: Franco Silva, "Los testamentos", p. 159.

Belmonte was left unfinished[35]. Even though few sources discuss this project, this section of the paper puts forward a hypothetical reconstruction of its appearance by using extant remains, archival sources and contemporary buildings.

The symbolic message Juan Pacheco was transmitting through his decision to be buried in the place where his ancestors' remains rested was reinforced by a powerful heraldic apparatus. Shields and mottos covered the ceiling and pavement of San Bartolomé's main chapel. The inner circle of bosses of the chapel's vault was decorated with the coat of arms of the lineages from which Juan Pacheco descended: the Acuña, Pacheco and Girón families (Fig. 2)[36]. The floor, on the other hand, featured Manises tiles decorated with the words "With no equal"[37], a motto the marquis of Villena had also used to adorn his newly built castle in Belmonte[38].

With his will of 1469, Juan Pacheco also instituted a series of religious ceremonies that were to be carried out in this space[39]. During each ceremony, thirteen candles weighing one

Fig. 2. Belmonte, Collegiate Church of San Bartolomé, main chapel, central ring of shields (photo: author)

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[35] See next section of this paper.

[36] One of the shields is blank, but I believe it represented the Puertocarrero coat of arms, reproducing the structure of the four shields used in the rich chamber of Belmonte's castle.

[37] These tiles bearing the inscription "No ha par" were discovered during the chapel's restoration in the 1970s: Andújar Ortega, *Belmonte*, p. 27.

[38] It was used in its version "Una sin par".

[39] *Que ayan de conplir perpetuamente en la dicha yglesia (…) por las ánimas de mis avuelos e de mi padre e madre e por mi ánima y la de mi muger (…) cada día dos misas rrezadas (…) en todos los días de las fiestas prinçipales*

and a half pounds each had to be lit[40], creating a brightness that would enhance the light entering from four tall windows[41]. The luminosity of Belmonte's main chapel created a stark contrast with the dark bays of the church, transforming the apse into a crown of light adorning the temple. The symbolism of light was closely linked to the office of the dead. As this office was often included in books of hours and educated society had access to it, it has been noted that its words shaped late-medieval conceptions of death and resurrection[42]. Juan Pacheco probably owned such a book and, if this were the case, his brightly lit funerary chapel could have been a materialisation of the final words of the office of the dead which said, "Rest eternal grant unto them, o Lord, and let light perpetual shine upon them"[43].

The main chapel's structure also alludes to its funerary function, since it was conceived as a centralised space (Fig. 3)[44]. Its architectural organisation is directly derived from centralised spaces that became popular thanks to the funerary chapel of San Ildefonso, built for the
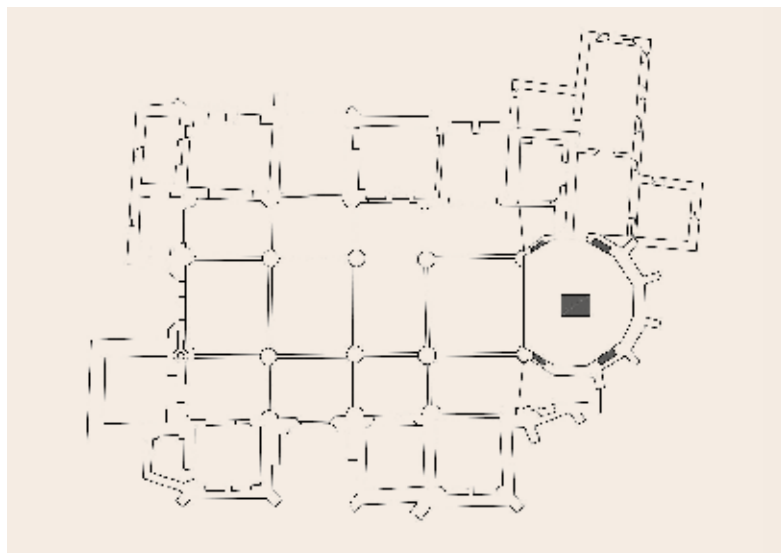
Fig. 3. Belmonte, Collegiate Church of San Bartolomé, hypothetical reconstruction of the pantheon (photo: author and Aaron Dandrea)

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y solepnes de Nuestra Señora la Virgen María de dezir la vigillia, bísperas e el día prinçipal missa cantada (...) en cada vn año para syenpre jamás quatro ofiçios de finados en los días en que falleçieron: Franco Silva, "Los testamentos", pp. 159-160.

[40] *Treze çirios que pese cada vno libra e media poco más o menos: Ibidem*, p. 160.

[41] These windows were covered with flamboyant traceries, which were removed and used to make the altar: Andújar Ortega, *Belmonte*, p. 70.

[42] K. Ottosen, "Liturgy as a Theological Place: Possibilities and Limitations in Interpreting Liturgical Texts as Seen for Instance in the Office of the Dead", in E. Louise Lillie, N. Holger Petersen (eds.), *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages*, Copenhagen, 1996, pp. 168-180.

[43] *Requiem etiam dona eis Domine et lux perpetua luceat eis*. An example: BNE, MSS/VITR/24/6, f. 96r.

[44] I.G. Bango Torviso, "El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española", *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 4 (1992), pp. 93-132; F. Pereda, "Magnificencia, también propaganda: Las capillas funerarias en la Península Ibérica durante la baja Edad Media", in V.Á. Álvarez Palenzuela (ed.), *III*

archbishop and cardinal Gil Carrillo de Albornoz in the Cathedral of Toledo, and which led to other luxurious examples such as the chapel of Santiago of the same temple created by Álvaro de Luna (Fig. 4)[45]. What differentiates these chapels from the one in San Bartolomé is their position and function. The funerary chapel of Belmonte is not an auxiliary space, it is the temple's main chapel, but its structure and luminosity create the illusion of a semi-independent space almost separate from the church's main body. This typology was sometimes used during the late fifteenth century[46], but the chapel of Belmonte is one of the most
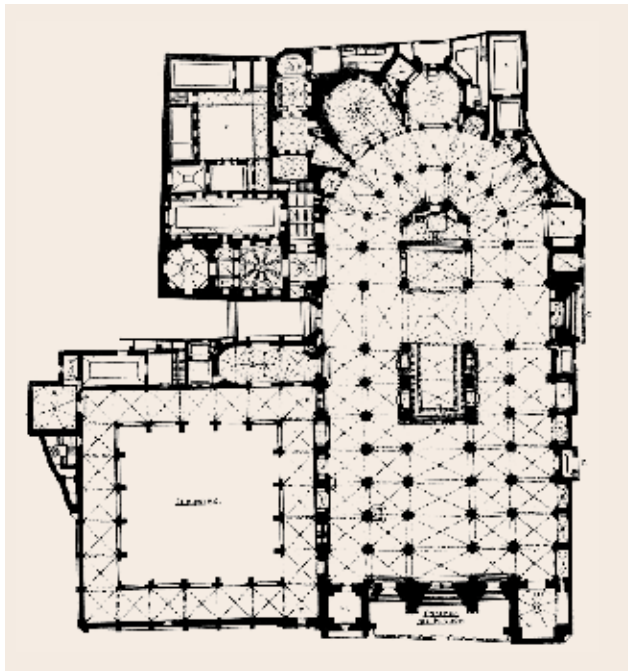

Fig. 4. Toledo, Cathedral of Toledo, ground plan

Jornadas de Cultura Hispano-Portuguesa Interrelación cultural en la formación de una mentalidad. Siglos XII al XVI, Madrid, 1999, pp. 313-324; J.C. Ruiz Souza, "La planta centralizada en la Castilla bajomedieval: Entre la tradición martirial y la qubba islámica. Un nuevo capítulo de particularismo hispano", *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 13 (2001), pp. 9-36.

[45] F. Marías, A. Serra Desfilis, "La capilla Albornoz en la catedral de Toledo y los enterramientos monumentales de la España bajomedieval", in *Églises et chapelles funéraires aux XV et XVIe siècles*, Paris, 2005, pp. 33-48; P. Lenaghan, "Commemorating a Real Bastard: The Chapel of Alvaro de Luna", in E. Valdez del Álamo. C. Stamatis Pendergast (eds.), *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, Aldershot, 2000, pp. 129-153; F. Villaseñor Sebastián, "*Nuevamente fazer una capilla para su enterramiento*: Juan II, Álvaro de Luna y Juan de Cerezuela en la capilla de Santiago en la catedral de Toledo", in M.D. Teijeira Pablos, M.V. Herráez Ortega, and M.C. Cosmen Alonso (eds.), *Reyes y prelados: la creación artística en los reinos de León y Castilla*, Madrid, 2014, pp. 389-402. A new book on Álvaro de Luna's chapel analyses in depth its context: O. Pérez Monzón, M. Miquel Juan, and M. Martín Gil (eds.), *Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano. La capilla fúnebre de Álvaro de Luna en contexto*, Madrid, 2018.

[46] J. Gómez Martínez, *El gótico español de la edad moderna: bóvedas de crucería*, Valladolid, 1998, pp. 68-69; B. Alonso Ruiz, "Un modelo funerario tardogótico castellano: las capillas treboladas", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 78-311

innovative semi-independent main chapels due to both its early chronology and its decagonal ground plan and vault[47].

A funerary programme like the one set for Belmonte's main chapel, in which heraldry, light and space accompanied the funerary ceremonies instituted by the founder of the temple, cannot be understood without a series of sculpted monuments. These concepts were closely linked in the mentality of fifteenth-century Castilians, as is clearly set out in Alonso de Palencia's definition of *monimento* included in his *Dictionary* of 1490[48].

From its beginnings, the chapel was conceived with four arcosolia that survive *in situ* to this day. The works of the two arcoslia closer to the altar were carried out quicker and show an interesting series of pseudo-architectural features such as vaults, doors and windows (Fig. 5). Their structure, even if unfinished, resembles a real architectural chamber and has close parallels to the almost contemporary funerary monument of Alfonso de Velasco and Isabel de Cuadros in the chapel of Santa Ana in the church of the monastery of Santa María de Guadalupe (contract signed in 1467)[49]. This typology of sepulchre is quite innovative in the European context and has been defined as "niche-oratory" due to its similitude with courtly spaces[50].

The chapel at Belmonte only has four niches, but the sources mentioned above indicate that it had been designed to host six bodies. The reconstruction proposed herein starts off from the hypothesis that Juan Pacheco not only followed the model of the Toledan chapels in their centralised structure, but that he also imitated the arrangement of their funerary monuments. If this were the case, the arcosolia would harbour the remains of Juan Pacheco's ancestors while his body and that of his wife would be placed under a central monument, as occurs in the chapels of San Ildefonso and Santiago[51].

This hypothesis is backed by the archaeological excavations done in the 1970s, which unearthed a crypt in the middle of the chapel that might have been the space meant to house

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(2005), pp. 277-295; *Eadem*, "Los ábsides centralizados en forma de trébol: una *rara avis* del tardogótico castellano", in M. Rosario Nobile, D. Sutera, *L'abside. Costruzione e geometrie*, Palermo, 2014, pp. 41-62.

[47] The chapel was completed before the beginning of the 1470s as I explain in a paper I am presently drafting. In this study, I analyse in more depth the chronology and typologies used in San Bartolomé.

[48] Palencia considered that *monimento* and *monumento* were different. The first was *El fabricado a causa del muerto e todo lo que se faze por memoria de algunas cosas como templos e loias y escripturas et usos et aun quel monumento se faga a causa del muerto pero no significa ser ende sepelido*: A. de Palencia, *Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance*, Seville, 1490, f. 187r.

[49] G. Rubio and I. Acemel, *El maestro Egas en Guadalupe. Estudio basado en documentos y dibujos inéditos*, Madrid, 1912, pp. 12-27; D. Chao Castro, "Egas Cueman en Castilla y el desarrolllo de la tipología sepulcral con imagen orante", in L. Campbell, J.J. Pérez Preciado (eds.), *Rogier van der Weyden y España*, Madrid, 2016, pp. 43-56.

[50] This name and the connections with the structure of Belmonte in: T. Pérez Higuera, "El foco toledano y su entorno", in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Gil de Siloé y la escultura de su época*, Burgos, 2001, pp. 263-86, part. 269.

[51] A. Serra Desfilis, "Sepulcro del cardenal Gil de Albornoz", in M. L. Gómez Nebreda (ed.), *Ysabel, la Reina católica. Una mirada desde la catedral primada*, Toledo, 2005, pp. 232-234; M. Miquel Juan, O. Pérez Monzón, "Entre imaginería, brocados, colores, pinceles y el arte nuevo. Patronato artístico femenino de María de Luna y la memoria paterna", *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes* 24 (2016: https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/25527?lang=it).

Fig. 5. Belmonte, Collegiate Church of San Bartolomé, main chapel, arcosolium of Juan Fernández Pacheco
(photo: author)

the marquises' bodies (Fig. 6)[52]. In addition, this crypt is placed right under the vault's central boss, which features a blessing figure of God the Father. In the chapel of the Purificación built for the Constables of Castile in the cathedral of Burgos there was also a sculpted central boss. It was placed precisely above the sepulchre and its iconography had close connections with a symbolic reading of the chapel[53]. Finally, Juan Pacheco's hypothetical cenotaph might have been similar in its conception to the alabaster sculpture he ordered to be placed at the centre of his chapel in the will he signed in 1472[54].

If the reconstruction proposed herein were correct, the memorial message Juan Pacheco conceived for his resting place would have had a great symbolic and visual power. Juan Pacheco's body would be placed under a sepulchre at the centre of the main chapel, just under the blessing figure of God and the shields of the linages from which he descended. His body would be accompanied by his wife and they would be encircled by his ancestors. Hence, the connection with his family's past would be publicly displayed, clearly stating that the chapel had a retrospective character. This funerary space would show that Juan Pacheco and his ancestors were part of a lineage that, as the Manises tiles stated, "did not have equals".

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[52] Andújar Ortega, *Belmonte*, pp. 27-28.

[53] F. Pereda, A. Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "*Coeli enarrant gloriam dei*. Arquitectura, iconografía y liturgia en la capilla de los Condestables de la Catedral de Burgos", *Annali di Architettura*, 9 (1997), pp. 17-34, part. 27.

[54] *Mando otrosí mi cuerpo (…) sea sepultado (…) dentro la capilla mayor del dicho monasterio en medio della (…) e que sea allí puesto ençima de la sepultura mi bulto de alabastro*: Franco Silva, "Los testamentos", p. 167.
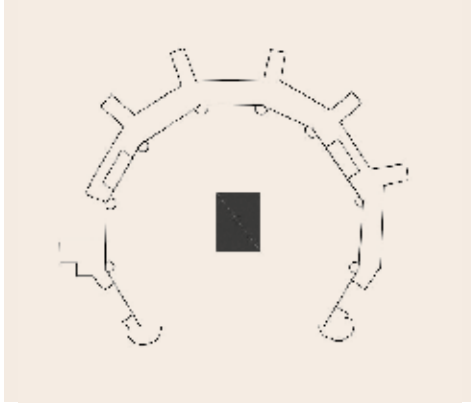
Fig. 6. Belmonte, Collegiate Church
of San Bartolomé, main chapel,
position of the crypt (design: author
and Aaron Dandrea)

"I order their sculptures to be made". The second project

The first funerary programme of the main chapel of San Bartolomé was left unfinished as, on 27 November 1471, Juan Pacheco had already obtained authorisation from the general of the order of St Jerome granting him permission to convert the main chapel of the church of the Monastery of Santa María de El Parral in Segovia into a pantheon for his family[55]. This document and a chronicle written by the Hieronymite monk Gabriel de Talavera mention the basic concept behind this change of plans: the chapel of El Parral was chosen by Juan Pacheco as the final resting place for himself and the heirs of his lineage[56]. In Belmonte, he had developed a funerary project that was a retrospective statement. In El Parral, the message was radically different and the chapel acquired a prospective character. The new pantheon was conceived with the aim of projecting a message focused on the family's future: it was meant to hold the bodies of Juan Pacheco and his wife, but also of all their successors to the title.

No sources speak directly about the reasons behind this change, but documentary sources and historical evidence give important hints. Juan Pacheco had gradually distanced himself from Belmonte since 1468, the year in which he bequeathed the title of marquis of Villena to this son Diego López Pacheco[57]. During those years, Juan Pacheco had definitely set his sights on the centre of the Iberian Peninsula, where he managed to obtain new lands and offices[58].

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[55] SNAHN, Frías, C.773, D.3. The document has been transcribed in: M.N. Aldón, V. Blázquez Ruz, "Fuentes para la historia de la orden jerónima: D. Juan Pacheco y el Monasterio de Santa María del Parral", in *La orden de San Jerónimo y sus monasterios: actas del simposium (II)*, El Escorial, 1999, pp. 643-651, part. 651.

[56] *Que los dichos sennores maestre de Santiago e la sennora marquesa, su mujer, se entierren en la dicha capilla mayor e sus fijos e quien ellos quieran*: *Ibidem*; *Concedió Enrique cuarto, con harta liberal mano a la casa de Villena para entierro sumptuoso y memoria esclarecida de su descendencia*: G. de Talavera, *Historia de nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, Toledo, 1597, f. 113v.

[57] Franco Silva, *Juan Pacheco*, p. 321. The document granting the title to his son: SNAHN, Frías, C.120, D.1.

[58] Escalona (1470): SNAHN, Villena, C.6, D.5; Montalán (1471): SNAHN, Frías, C.126, D.24-35; Dukate of Escalona (1472): Frías, C.697, D.3; Tenencias of the Castle of Madrid (1472): Franco Silva, *Juan Pacheco*, p. 415; Trujillo (1474): SNAHN, Frías, C.127, D.19-20.

This change in his interests was also fostered by the political relevance of the Burgos-Toledo axis, which granted great importance to Segovia during Enrique IV's reign [59].

These personal and strategic reasons need to be read in conjunction with several political facts. The sources are unanimous when they state that Juan Pacheco had established an almost single-person form of governance from approximately 1470 to his death in 1474[60]. The *Incomplete Chronicle* mentions that during those years Juan Pacheco was regarded as "the greatest man without a crown in the kingdom" and even as "a god on earth" because he held excessive power[61]. These sentences are drawn from chronicles, but they are also confirmed by archival documents. Thanks to a chart signed by Enrique IV in 1471, Juan Pacheco was granted the authority to sign any alliance or treaty and make any financial commitment he deemed important on the king's behalf without having to ask for any kind of permission or authorisation[62].

It is therefore not surprising that, at this point, Juan Pacheco wished to choose a new, better located and more luxurious pantheon that was also more emblematic. El Parral fulfilled all these needs since it was an extremely rich building and a royal foundation[63]. Even if Juan Pacheco had moved the funerary temple from Belmonte to El Parral, no sources indicate that he had ever made an effort to transfer the remains of his parents and grandparents there. This suggest a willingness to maintain two separate pantheons: one for his ancestors — those who had died without having held a noble title — and one for the new dynasty he himself had created.

This change had important consequences for San Bartolomé, turning it into a funerary monument of secondary importance. The works of the main body of the church lasted until the beginning of the sixteenth century due to the economic problems resulting from the Castilian War of Succession (1474-1480)[64]. In 1501, the second marquis of Villena was still paying for the collegiate church's works and making significant donations to its chapter[65]. This can

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[59] F.P. Cañas Gálvez, "La Itinerancia de la corte de castilla durante la primera mitad del siglo xv: El eje Burgos-Toledo, escenario burocrático-administrativo y político de la Monarquía en tiempos de Juan II", *E-Spania: Revue Électronique D'études Hispaniques Médiévales*, 8 (2009 https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/18829); J.J. Echagüe Burgos, *La Corona y Segovia en tiempos de Enrique IV (1440-1474): una relación conflictiva,* Segovia, 1993.

[60] N.F. Marino, *Don Juan Pacheco. Wealth and Power in Late Medieval Spain*, Arizona, 2006, pp. 131-165.

[61] [A Juan Pacheco] *Vémosle en mayor priuança que jamás le vimos, y a vos, señor, en estrechas nesçeçidades, y él non solamente rey, más vn dios de la tierra (...). El mayor señor d'España sin corona: Crónica incompleta de los reyes católicos (1469-1476) según un manuscrito anónimo de la época*, J. Puyol (ed.), Madrid, 1934, pp. 112 and 126.

[62] SNAHN, Frías, C.12, D.15.

[63] The building had started off as a foundation promoted by Juan Pacheco: Aldón, Blázquez Ruz, "Fuentes". After Enrique IV's ascent to the throne the royal sponsorship became official: *El rey nuestro señor, el qual fundó e edificó el dicho monesterio*: SNAHN, Frías, C.733, N.3; *Començó con mano muy larga y corazon real a fundar este dicho monesterio y congrandes espensas lo edifico de fundamento todos cuatro cuartos con su claustro y oficinas y traimientos de aguas (...) començo a fundar la capilla mayor de la iglesia*: R. Hernández Ruiz de Villa, "El Libro del Monasterio de Santa María del Parral de Segovia", *Estudios segovianos*, 18 (1966), pp. 267-497, p. 278; "Este rey fundó de principio los monesterios de la Virgen de Santa María del Parral de Segovia (…) de la orden de sant Gerónimo, e dotólos magníficamente": Pulgar, *Claros varones*, p. 7.

[64] Diego's shields decorate some of the temple's vaults and doors, suggesting they were completed by him.

[65] *De propris bonis suis cum non parva expensa rehedificasse*: ASV, Reg. Lat. 1109, f. 171r.

Fig. 7. Belmonte, Collegiate Church of San Bartolomé,
Diego López Pacheco's shield on the Door of the Sun
(photo: author)

Fig. 8. Belmonte, Collegiate Church of San
Bartolomé, main chapel, sculpture of María Pacheco
by Gregorio Bigarny Pardo (photo: author)

explain why his coat of arms decorates some parts of the church (Fig. 7). It was also thanks to his efforts that his family was granted the church's patronage and the right to appoint members to its chapter[66].

Diego López Pacheco was also the person who designed a new funerary programme for Belmonte, which turned its main chapel into a place to commemorate his family's past. In the will he signed in 1528, Diego explicitly stated, "I order their [of his ancestors] sculptures to be made" because he wanted to complete the chapel with a series of funerary representations of his grandparents and great grandparents[67]. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, this request was not fulfilled until the 1540s, when the third marquis of Villena commissioned the sculptor Gregorio Bigarny Pardo — son of the famous Felipe Bigarny — to sculpt the kneeling figures of Juan Fernández Pacheco, Isabel de Meneses, Alfonso Téllez Girón, and María Pacheco (Fig. 8)[68].

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[66] Ayllón Gutiérrez, "Iglesia y poder", pp. 113-114 and 124-128.

[67] *Otrosí, por quanto en la dicha capilla mayor de la yglesia colegial de señor San Bartolomé de la mi villa de Belmonte están puestos los cuerpos de los señores mis bisagüelos y mis agüelos (…) mando que sean hechos sus bultos dentro de la capilla mayor de la dicha iglesia colegial de Belmonte*: SNAHN, Frías, C.675, D.14, f. 9r. The document has been transcribed with some misreadings in: A. Franco Silva, *Entre la derrota y la esperanza: Don Diego López Pacheco, Marqués de Villena (mediados del siglo XV-1529)*, Cádiz, 2005, pp. 177-240.

[68] M.T. Chicote Pompanin "Las esculturas funerarias de San Bartolomé de Belmonte (Cuenca), obra de Gregorio Bigarny Pardo", *Goya: Revista de arte* (in press).

CONCLUSIONS

The complex circumstance the collegiate church of Belmonte had undergone during the first decades of its existence came to an end when the sculptures created by Bigarny Pardo were installed in its main chapel in the 1540s. This space, which had been conceived after 1456 to exalt the continuity between those Portuguese emigrants and the new marquises of Villena, had been left aside to become a minor pantheon in a town that had lost its importance. The marquises of Villena had intentionally created two pantheons and the collegiate church had to be adapted to a new memorial discourse fostered by the Pachecos. By the mid-sixteenth century, San Bartolomé had become a monument to the memory of the Pacheco family, but had lost its role as pantheon to evoke the connection between those who died without a title and their descendants, the marquises of Villena.