THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

AN ENGLISH ARCHITECT IN SPAIN: FIVE PROJECTS BY EDWIN LUTYENS

Iñigo Basarrate

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Edinburgh

September 2017

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that this thesis was composed by myself, that the work contained herein is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text, and that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Iñigo Basarrate

17 September 2017

ABSTRACT

Although the work of Edwin Lutyens has received much careful scholarly study since the 1980s his important projects in Spain remain very little known. Presently, only a brief article by Gavin Stamp and Margaret Richardson is devoted solely to Lutyens' work, and they are merely touched on in his published biographies, especially that by Christopher Hussey. Unfortunately, Lutyens was unable to complete his Spanish commissions, mostly because of the deterioration of Spain's economy and social order in the 1930s, and this has played a major role in keeping these projects in the dark. Furthermore, the devastation caused by the Civil War obliterated most of the evidence once held in Spanish archives.

Some of the projects of Edwin Lutyens in Spain are remarkable and unique for their use of what may loosely be termed a 'Spanish style'. The identification of this characteristic can be understood as demonstrating a growing knowledge of and appreciation for Spanish architectural heritage on the part of British architects and architectural historians by the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time, the fact that the design of important private residences in Spain were commissioned to an English architect shows the growing anglophilia of Spanish economic and political elites under Alfonso XIII's reign. During these years, the economic and political ties between Britain and Spain became closer than ever before, which also had an impact on the architecture of the time.

Ultimately, this dissertation is predicated on the assumption that it is important to study further, and understand better, the Spanish projects of Edwin Lutyens in order to gain fuller and further insight into his methods as a designer. The first three of them (the first project of the Palace of El Guadalperal, the Palace of La Ventosilla and the Palace for the Count de la Cimera) cast light on Lutyens´s work during the Great War years, a relatively obscure period of his career which was, however, extraordinarily fruitful. The second project for the Palace of El Guadalperal is even larger than his previous Spanish projects, approaching the grandeur and magnificence of the Viceroy's House in Delhi. In this respect there may be seen to be a correspondence between these otherwise discrete and apparently un-related projects, running from Britain, through Spain, all the way to India. Moreover, given their scale, along with the design input required to make them successful and coherent buildings, they must be appreciated as pivotal moments in the design development, if not built oeuvre, of Edwin Lutyens as an architect. Finally, the Reconstruction of Liria Palace, is not only his last commission in Spain but it can also be considered as the last building he designed. Only when these projects are brought to the fore and analysed properly can a full understanding of Lutyens as an architect be reached.

CONTENTS

PART 1

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS....1

1. INTRODUCTION....3
    1.1. THE BRITISH RECEPTION OF SPANISH ARCHITECTURE....8
    1.2. A GROWING INTEREST IN LUTYENS'S WORK....13
    1.3 SOME PRELIMINARY CLARIFICATIONS.... 20

2. BRITANO-SPANISH RELATIONS IN ARCHITECTURE:
FROM VICTORIAN TIMES TO LUTYENS....29
    2.1. INITIAL FORAYS: DISCOVERING SPANISH GOTHIC....30
    2.3. INTEREST IN THE FLORID GOTHIC AND PLATERESQUE....35
    2.4. THE EDWARDIANS AND SPAIN....43
    2.5. RALPH SELDEN WORNUM AND 'SPANISH EDWARDIANS'....56

3. ARCHITECTURE AND OPPORTUNITY: THE TRAVELS OF LUTYENS IN SPAIN....61
    3.1. AN ENGLISH GUEST AT LIRIA PALACE....63
    3.2. EL ESCORIAL, GAUADALAJARA, TOLEDO....66
    3.3 '...OLD TESTAMENT PICTURES IN AN ARID COUNTRY'....70
    3.4 MEETING KING ALFONSO....73
    3.5 1917 AND 1919 JOURNEYS TO SPAIN....76
    3.6 TRAVELS AFTER THE GREAT WAR....78

4. EL GUADALPERAL: THE SMALL PALACE....85
    4.1. 'THE FOREST OF OLD ILEX, THE TAGUS AT OUR FEET.' 85
    4.2 THE SECOND VISIT....94
    4.3. A PALACE WITH A *PATIO*....99
    4.4. FROM ITALIANATE TO PLATERESQUE....108
    4.5. GLOBAL MEDITERRANEAN STYLE....119

5. THE PALACE OF LA VENTOSILLA....125
    5.1. 'A LAMBAY IN A SEA OF SPAIN' 125
    5.2. SKETCHES FOR A CROSS-SHAPED PALACE....133
    5.3. THE FINAL DESIGN....138
    5.4 SIMPLIFIED CLASSICISM FOR A SPANISH *HACIENDA*....141

6. PALACE FOR THE COUNT DE LA CIMERA....151
    6.1. ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE IN THE SPANISH NORTH....154
    6.2. 'HOUSE IN MADRID'....156
    6.3. ARCHITECTURAL DEBATE IN SPAIN....158
    6.4. THE DESIGN OF THE PALACE. 163
    6.5. ITALIAN ELEVATIONS FOR THE NEW RESIDENCE....173
    6.6. A 'VERSAILLESQUE' GARDEN....178
    6.7. TURNING AWAY FROM WREN....183

7. THE BIG GUADALPERAL (1919-1936).....187
7.1. THE "PROVISIONAL" HOUSES.....189
7.2. *EL POBLADO*.....194
7.3. WATER TOWER AND MARSHAM´S HOUSE.....204
7.4. ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS AND CHANGES IN THE PALACE.....209
7.5. FIRST SKETCHES.....211
7.6. DELHI IN SPAIN.....214
7.7. CONSTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT.....228

8. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF LIRIA PALACE.....235
8.1. JIMMY ALBA, DUKE OF BERWICK.....235
8.2. ALBA THE BUILDER 239
8.3. LUTYENS'S LAST TRIP TO SPAIN 243
8.4. THE LIRIA PALACE AT WAR TIME 246
8.5. THE BLITZ AND THE STAIRCASE.....255
8.6. NEW GRANDEUR FOR THE OLD PALACE.....259
8.7. THE CHAPEL.....263
8.8. GENERAL FLOOR PLANS 267
8.9. LUTYENS'S LEGACY IN MADRID.....271

9. LUTYENS'S BUILDINGS IN THE SOUTH: ANALOGIES AND COMPOSITION.....277
9.1. ADAPTING TO A SOUTHERN CLIMATE.....279
9.2. A 'MEDITERRANEAN' AESTHETIC.....285
9.3. IDEAL GEOMETRY AND CENTRAL PLAN.....290
9.4. THE HOUSE AROUND A *PATIO*.....295

10. CONCLUSIONS.....301

11. BIBLIOGRAPHY.....305

PART 2

IMAGES CHAPTER 2.....1

IMAGES CHAPTER 3.....15

IMAGES CHAPTER 4.....19

IMAGES CHAPTER 5.....51

IMAGES CHAPTER 6.....71

IMAGES CHAPTER 7.....93

IMAGES CHAPTER 8.....143

IMAGES CHAPTER 9.....167

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This doctoral research would not have been possible without the generosity and support of many. I would like to dedicate the first thought to my friend Professor Joaquín Lorda, who lit in me the passion for architectural history and composition and introduced me to the work of Edwin Lutyens. He suggested me the projects of Edwin Lutyens in Spain as a possible subject of study for my PhD research and he continued giving me his wise advise and help throughout these years. Sadly, he has not lived to see this project concluded, which owes as much to him as to myself. Secondly, I would like to thank Dr. Alex Bremner for believing in this project from the beginning, for assisting me in the preparation of this thesis and for his guidance throughout my doctoral studies. For their financial support, I am also deeply grateful to Edinburgh College of Art and to the Spanish Ministry of Culture.

I am grateful for their kindness to the staff of Edinburgh University Library, the British Library, the National Library of Scotland, Scotney Castle in Surrey, Campion Hall in Oxford, and the RIBA Library. I am especially grateful to Kurt Heilfrich and Vicky Wilson from the Victoria & Albert Museum study rooms for their help. In Spain, I would like to thank the staff of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, of the library of the School of Architecture of Madrid (ETSAM), of the Archivo de la Villa de Madrid and, very especially, to José Manuel Calderón and Álvaro Sánchez-Arjona, archivists of the Liria Palace, Madrid. Also to Pablo and Borja de Echegaray for granting me access to their private library.

Jaime Patiño, Count of El Arco, deserves an especial acknowledgement. From the first moment he offered his sincere support to this project, and opened me the doors (literally) of the estates of La Ventosilla and El Guadalperal, which he showed to me personally. He introduced me to his cousin Jaime Fitz-James Stuart, current Duke of Peñaranda, who allowed me access to his personal archive and helped me finding the material I needed. I am also thankful to Álvaro Fernández-Villaverde, Marquis of Santa Cruz for showing me the estate of Las Fraguas, to Luis Guillermo del Perinat y Elío, Marquis of Campo Real, for his kindness and information about the Count de la Cimera, and to Silvia Arbaiza Blanco-Soler for allowing me access to her family archive. Many scholars have showed their interest for this project and have helped me at different stages of my research. I would like to thank Margaret Richardson for encouraging me to undertake this research, to Gavin Stamp for allowing me to use his photographs of El Guadalperal, to Jane Ridley, Claudia Heide, Kathryn Ferry, David Watkin, Javier Cenicacelaya and Carlos Sambricio.

Finally, I wish to thank my friends at Saint Albert the Great´s Catholic Chaplaincy for their help throughout these years and very especially to Father Lawrence Lew (O.P.) for his counselling and support. My deepest acknowledgement to my parents, my brother and my wife for sharing in my sorrows and joy during all this time.

PART 1

I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation thesis focuses on the projects in Spain of one of Britain's greatest architectural talents, Edwin Landseer Lutyens (1869-1944). Although the work of Edwin Lutyens has been studied in depth[1], his projects in Spain remain almost unknown. The fact that none of them could be finished, at least by himself, due mostly to the deterioration of the economic and social order in the late 1920s and 1930s in Spain, has played a major role in keeping these projects in the dark. However, although mostly unbuilt, Lutyens's Spanish projects constitute an original episode in his career, as well as a collection of creative designs of great quality.

A few historians have discussed these projects, namely Christopher Hussey in the chapter 'Castles in Spain' in his book *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London, 1950), and Margaret Richardson and Gavin Stamp in their article 'Lutyens and Spain'[2] (1983). To date, these are the only works of scholarship that treat this topic exclusively. Despite the quality and abundance of information gathered in the article, its shortness necessitated summarization. However, some new findings, along with a desire to give greater context to the works, provides the possibility to extend this topic into a PhD dissertation. Acknowledging the limited relevance of these projects in Lutyens's global production, this PhD aims to make them known to the academic community and to place them in their cultural context and in relationship to the rest of Lutyens's work. Moreover, the

[1] More than 30 books and almost a hundred academic articles have been written since 1950 about Lutyens´s work and life, according to data from the Lutyens Trust.
[2] Margaret Richardson and Gavin Stamp, 'Lutyens and Spain', *AA Files* 3, January 1983, 51-59

relevance of this PhD lies in the importance of Lutyens's architecture in itself. Lutyens's extraordinary imagination and command of the classical language of architecture have encouraged some critics to describe him as the greatest architect of the twentieth-century in Britain[3]. His genius affected everything that he designed, and his Spanish projects are no exception.

It is clear from his works that Edwin Lutyens, although a classical architect for most of his lifetime, was capable of adapting and showing sensitivity to the particular locations of his projects. In the case of India, although he was reluctant at first, travels through the country, combined with the study of indigenous architectural traditions, were crucial in the process of adapting his project for Viceroy's House to local circumstances. When designing in Spain, Lutyens also seemed concerned with the physical and cultural landscapes of the context. He not merely designed in Spain, but designed *a la manera española*. It is therefore interesting to know what Lutyens actually knew about Spanish architecture and what his attitude to this tradition was. This could help us to understand better the integration of Spanish architectural features into his own design vocabulary.

In the projects studied here Lutyens's masterly handling of space and ingenuous use of geometry shines through with all its strength. At the same time, for the architectural historian, these projects are particularly interesting objects of study as they reveal two aspects of contemporary architectural history that have been overlooked by British historiography. The first of these is that Lutyens designed some of his Spanish buildings not in an international classical style, but in a vernacular Spanish renaissance style. The

[3] David Watkin, 'Sir Edwin Lutyens (1866-1944): ¿El mejor arquitecto británico?' in AA.VV., *Maestros de la arquitectura moderna en la residencia de estudiantes* (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 2009), 215-246.

use of this style by an English architect, which was virtually unprecedented, shows a growing awareness of Spanish architectural heritage by British scholars and architects. This process reached a peak in the first decades of the twentieth-century, when these projects were commissioned. Secondly, that Lutyens received these important commissions from Spanish clients is evidence of the growing cultural influence that Britain exerted on Spanish elites in the early twentieth-century. This had a direct impact on Spanish architecture at the time, and Lutyens's works are particular example of it. These projects are, therefore, partly a product of the complex interaction between Spanich and British culture.

Bearing this in mind, it is important for this research to try to understand, at least speculatively, Lutyens's reception of Spanish architecture and culture and, more broadly, British reception of Spanish culture in Lutyens's time. Incorporating reception theory would not only enrich the analysis of Lutyens's works outside the U.K., but I was also attracted to this approach for personal reasons.

If debates around identity, whether cultural, national, religious or others are an important part of our *Zeitgeist*, that is even more the case in the especific cultural milieu in which this research developed. The land I came from, The Spanish Basque Country, has seen tensions over its national and cultural identity for centuries and as I settled in Edinburgh to undertake my PhD in 2013 the atmosphere was charged with debates on national identity both in Spain and in Britain. Scotland was getting ready for its independence referendum of September 2014, in which the Scottish people finally decided to remain a part of the U.K. In Spain, that referendum was taken as an example by Catalan separatists, who were planning their own independence referendum for

November 2014. The rising nataionalism and antiglobalism that were ultimately behind these referenda were still to produce another political earthquake: In a plebiscite celebrated in June 2016 the Britons decided to leave the European Union. At the other side of the Atlantic, Donald J. Trump became president of the United States after successfully delivering a populist and nationalist message to the electorate during the campaign. During the years I have devoted to this research debate in Europe about national identity has been exacerbated partly due to the sustained influx of African and Middle Eastern refugees and inmigrants arriving through the Mediterranean. In the midsts of these tensions provoqued by globalisation, the capacity to understand other cultures becomes crucial. Lutyens was, in his own way, part of a global elite and many of his best works, including those studied in this research, evidence a high degree of hybridisation with foreign artistic traditions. His reception of alien cultures and the process through which he incorporated foreign architectural elements into his work is, thus, an important part of this research.

In order to study Lutyens´s experience as a traveller in Spain, as well as a British architect working in Spain, it is necessary first to understand what British travellers expected to encounter in Spain. A considerable number of British architects had travelled through Spain before Lutyens, and some of them published their notes and travel books. All these travel books, handbooks, and letters written by British travellers in Spain allow us to reconstruct the general attitude of British artists, architects, and intellectuals to Spanish art and architecture and its evolution through time. This is important because, as will be explained later, cultural preconceptions and prejudices played a crucial role in the way individuals interpret what they saw in Spain.

The study of this material takes the first stage of this research into virtually untrodden territory: the reception in Britain of Spanish architectural heritage. The reception of cultural production has become an increasingly important part of contemporary research in the arts and humanities, with stress being laid on the role of the observer and his/her cultural background in the process of interpretation and understanding. The field of Phenomenology, for instance, has led to an unprecedented interest in language and communication, and the central role of the observer in decoding the meaning of what he/she receives. As Terry Eagleton explains, with the arrival of Phenomenology 'the subject was to be seen as the source and origin of meaning'.[4] Hans-George Gadamer took Martin Heidegger´s epistemology further, and in his book *Truth and Method* (Tubingen, 1960) defended the positive nature of prejudices, or pre-judgements, in the cognitive act. For Gadamer, our set of pre-judgements constitutes the 'fore-structures' of understanding, which are not a barrier for understanding but rather their enabling condition. The same way as understanding takes place within our prior involvement and set of pre-judgements, these pre-judgements are inherited from our cultural background.[5]

Gadamer´s positive concept of prejudgements as the basis of understanding has stimulated numerous studies on the interpretation of texts. Hans Robert Jauss, a pupil of Gadamer, explored the reader´s reception of literary texts in several works during the 1960s.[6] His work established a new line of research in what is now called 'Reception Theory'. Modern Hermeneutical analysis has also led to similar studies in non-verbal

[4] Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 7.
[5] Lauren Swayne Barthold, *Gadamer´s Dialectical Hermeneutics* (Lanham: Lexington, 2010)
[6] Especially in Hans Robert Jauss, *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft* (Konstanz: Konstanzer Universitätsreder, 1967), Fist translated to English in *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota, 1982), 3-45.

communication, such as the visual arts. Since the 1960s, some art historians and psychologists started studying the process of perception and the role played by learned cultural structures within it.[7] On the whole, the outcome has been that, along with the process of interpreting a text, 'fore-structures' have played a major role in enabling the observer to make sense of visual perception. As Peter Burke recently put it, 'stereotypes or schemata are necessary to the process of structuring perception and so interpreting the world. The eye depends on the brain. However, most if not all these schemata come from repertoires of particular cultures. Eye, brain and culture come together'.[8]

THE BRITISH RECEPTION OF SPANISH ARCHITECTURE

In today´s globalised and multicultural world, there is a growing interest not only in how individuals understand the world around them but also on how cultures react to one another. Post-colonial studies and its inaugural text *Orientalism* by Edward Said (1978) is an example of this approach. Mark Crinson, for instance, took Said´s approach and cautiously applied it to the study of architectural history in his ground-breaking book *Empire Building: Orientalism & Victorian Architecture* (London, 1996). This book was among the first on the history of British architecture to critically analyse Britain's relationship to the art, architecture, and culture of the near- and middle-eastern 'Orient', setting a reference point for future studies in the field. Alternatively, Katherine Wheeler's *Victorian Perceptions of Renaissance Architecture* (London, 2014), which, although very thorough in its own right, does not mention the books on Spanish Renaissance

[7] For example, Ernest Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon Press, 1960); Richard Langton Gregory, *Eye and Brain: The Psychology of Seeing* (London: Nicolson, 1966).
[8] Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 7.

architecture written by British authors in the nineteenth century. This is evidence that this field is still in need of some deeper research.

In this academic context, British reception of Iberian art and culture has received relatively scarce attention. Some works have treated the topic in general, without focusing on the arts. This is the case with David Howarth´s *The Invention of Spain: Cultural Relations Between Britain and Spain (1770-1870)* (Manchester, 2007), in which the author explains the cultural relations between both countries mainly from the political, military, and religious point of view. This book also includes two chapters about the reception of Spanish painting by British art collectors and the depiction of Spain by British painters. However, almost nothing is said on architecture, except for a brief explanation of George E. Street´s book on Spanish Gothic architecture. British Hispanism has also been studied in Ian A.A. Thompson´s *Aspectos del Hispanismo Inglés y la Coyuntura Internacional en los Tiempos Modernos* (Obradoiro de Historia Moderna, nº 15, 2006, pp. 9-28) and Carlos Medina´s *El Bisturí Inglés. Literatura de viajes e hispanismo en lengua inglesa* (Jaén, 2004). Although these two essays do not mention architecture, they help to understand the British reception of Spanish culture.

In the last few decades, a number of publications have considered the theme of British travellers in Spain, addressing to a greater or smaller degree their reception of art. M. M. Serrano, in her Ph.D. dissertation of 1993, has given a very rigorous account of the foreign travellers, including the British, who visited Spain in the nineteenth century and the travel literature that they produced.[9] Ian Robertson, in *Los Curiosos Impertinentes*

[9] María del Mar Serrano, *Viajes de Papel. Las guías urbanas y los libros de viaje en la España del siglo XIX: Repertorio bibliográfico y análisis de su estructura y contenido.* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1993).

(Barcelona, 1988), selected some British travellers who visited Spain from 1759 to 1855, describing their journeys and analysing their attitude to Spain and its culture.[10] His selection of authors, however, does not include some of the most prominent experts of Spanish art and architecture, such as J.C. Murphy or Owen Jones, but does mention some travellers' reactions to Spanish buildings, especially those of H. Swinburne and R. Twiss. Two other Spanish authors, Ana C. Guerrero and Blanca Krauel Heredia, have published rigorous researches on British travellers in Spain.[11] However, neither of these gives a detailed account of their reception of national architecture.

Some other publications have focused on the British reception of Spanish literature, especially that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries[12], while others have addressed the reception of Spanish visual art. Howarth (2007), among others above mentioned, contains some information on this topic. But some publications deal with this topic directly, such as A. Braham´s *El Greco to Goya: the Taste for Spanish Paintings in Britain and Ireland* (London, 1981), *The Discovery of Spain* (Edinburgh, 2009) by D. Howarth, P. Stirton, and C. Heide, and an article by Marjorie Trusted[13].More recently, the book *Spanish Art In Britain and Ireland (1750-1920)*, edited by Nigel Glendinning (2011) is an excellent synthesis of the existing knowledge on the field with the addition of some new findings. [14]

---

[10] Ian Robertson, *Los curiosos impertinentes: Viajeros ingleses por España desde la accesión de Carlos III hasta 1855* (Barcelona: Serbal, 1988).
[11] Ana Clara Guerrero, *Viajeros británicos en la España del siglo XVIII*, (Madrid: Aguilar, 1990); Blanca Krauel Heredia *Viajeros Británicos en Andalucía. De Christopher Hervey a Richard Ford (1760-1845)* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1986).
[12] Martin Hume, *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (New York: Haskwell House,1904); Gustav Ungerer, *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature* (Bern: Franckle Verlag, 1956); John Loftis, *Renaissance Drama in England and Spain. Topical Allusion and History Plays* (New Jersey: Princeton, 1987).
[13]Marjorie Trusted, 'In all cases of difference adopt Signor Riaño´s view', *Journal of the History of Collections* 18, nº 2, 2006.
[14] Nigel Glendinning, N. and Hilary Macartney, H. (eds), *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1920* (London: Tamesis, 2011).

A few publications have covered partially the British reception of Spanish architecture. The Islamic period of Spanish architecture has been the most studied in regards to its reception in Britain. Into this category we can place Michael Darby´s *The Islamic Perspective: An Aspect of British Architecture and Design in the 19th Century* (London, 1983). In this book, Darby starts by explaining the consequences of Orientalism, as described by Said, in British attitudes towards Islamic architecture. The first chapter of the book is devoted to the British reception of the Alhambra, from J.H. Müntz to Owen Jones, and its consequences for Victorian design. Other researchers have studied the reception of the Alhambra in Britain after Darby. Tonia Raquejo's article 'The "Arab cathedrals": The Moorish architecture as seen by British travellers' (1986) gives a remarkable account of the prejudiced way in which British travellers looked at Spanish Islamic architecture from the eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.[15] The reception of the Alhambra in Britain has been more specifically explained in Claudia Heide's article 'The Alhambra in Britain: Between Foreignization and Domestication' (2010) and that by Lara Eggleton, '"A Living Ruin": Palace, City, and Landscape in Nineteenth-Century Travel Descriptions of Granada' (2013). [16] Carol A. H. Flores explored partly Owen Jones´s reception of the Alhambra on her Ph.D. dissertation[17] and on her monographic book on Jones.[18] Kathryn Ferry has studied Jones´s reception of the Alhambra by more deeply in the articles he dedicated to this architect.[19] More recently, the topic has been further

[15] Tonia Raquejo, 'The 'Arab cathedrals`: The Moorish architecture as seen by British travellers,' The Burlington Magazine 128, nº 1001, August 1986.
[16] Claudia Heide, C., 'The Alhambra in Britain. Between Foreignization and Domestication,' *Art in Translation* 2, nº 2, 2010; Lara Eggleton, '"A Living Ruin": Palace, City, and Landscape in Nineteenth-Century Travel Descriptions of Granada', *Architectural Theory Review* 18, nº 3, 2013, 372-387
[17] Flores, C. A., *Owen Jones, Architect* (1996), Georgia Institute of Technology
[18] Carol A. Flores, *Owen Jones: design, ornament, architecture and theory in an age of transition* (N.Y.: Rizzoli, 2006).
[19] Kathryn Ferry, 'Owen Jones and the Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace' in Mariam Rosser-Owen and Glaire Anderson (eds.) *Revisiting Al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond* (Brill:Leiden and Boston, 2007), 227-245; Katherine Ferry, 'Owen Jones: the 'Colour King' and his

explored by Stefan Koppelkamm, taking a more Continental approach in *The Imaginary Orient: Exotic Buildings of the 18th and 19th Centuries in Europe*.[20]

Although the British reception of Spanish Islamic architecture has been studied extensively, the reception of other Spanish styles has been almost ignored. George Kubler devoted the first chapter of his book on the Escorial (1982) to its reception and meaning outside Spain, including in Britain, while J. Lorda and J. Martínez have published an interesting paper on the chapters dedicated to Spain in architectural histories and manuals (2002), which gave some interesting information on the reception of Spanish Gothic and renaissance in Britain.[21] Finally, although the reception of Spanish Baroque in the United States has been addressed in some American publications,[22] no paper has yet studied rigorously its reception in Britain, let alone Lutyens's experience and understanding of it.

This Ph.D. thesis will attempt to fill in this gap, especially in order to give a context to understanding Edwin Lutyen´s attitude to Spain. The first chapter of this thesis reconstructs the full panorama of British architects and Spain, their expectations and perceptions, from the beginnings of modern tourism up to the outbreak of Spanish Civil War.

---

painted palaces,' *The Victorian*, November 2008, 9-11, Katherine Ferry, 'Printing the Alhambra: Owen Jones and Chromolithography', Architectural History 46, January 2003, 175-188..

[20] Koppelkamm, S., *The Imaginary Orient: Exotic Buildings of the 18th and 19th Centuries in Europe* (Stuttgart: Axel Menges, 2015).

[21] Lorda, J., and Martínez, J., 'El Cupo Español en la Historia de la Arquitectura', VII International History Colloquium, 2002, Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona.

[22] David Gebhard, 'The Spanish Colonial Revival in Southern California (1895-1930)', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26, Jun 1967, 131-147, among others.

Travel books, handbooks, other published material and letters written by British travellers in Spain have enabled a reconstruction of the general attitude of British intellectuals to Spanish art and architecture. The personal notebooks of some architects, such as George Edmund Street and Andrew Noble Prentice, provide a deeper understanding of their travels around the country. Special attention will be given to some books that, because of their wide diffusion, had an outstanding influence in shaping the British idea of Spain. In the eighteenth century some British travel books on Spain were published, the most influential of which was probably Henry Swinburne´s *Travels through Spain* (1779). It was not until the mid-nineteenth century, however, that the British educated classes really discovered Spain through two celebrated and widely-circulated travel books: *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* (Ford, 1845) and *The Bible in Spain* (Borrow, 1843). The study of all this material will allow, ultimately, a better understanding of Lutyens prejudices and impressions of Spain and how this may have affected the work that he developed in that country.

A GROWING INTEREST IN THE WORK OF EDWIN LUTYENS

Few architects in Britain, apart from Wren, have ever been recorded in bibliography as generously as Edwin Lutyens. Nikolaus Pevsner had already made this observation in 1951[23] when the Lutyens's Memorial Volumes[24] were published. Since then, dozens of other works about his life and architecture have been published. However, his work has

[23] Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Building with wit, architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *Architectural Review* 109, April 1951, 217-25.
[24] Published by Country Life, the Lutyens Memorial Volumes comprise a biography by Sir Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London, 1950), and three volumes on his work by Arthur S.G. Butler.

always been the object of controversy. For some, such as A.S.G. Butler[25] and David Watkin,[26] Lutyens was the greatest architect Britain ever produced; for others, such as Pevsner, he was 'the greatest folly builder England has ever seen'.[27]

In 1896 Lutyens's talent was discovered by the celebrated garden designer Gertrude Jekyll, who shortly after introduced him to Edward Hudson, founder of *Country Life* magazine. Since then, almost every house that Lutyens built was published in the magazine´s pages, including a full monograph of his works when he was only in his early forties.[28] After the 1930s, however, and especially after the drastic changes that World War II brought to British society, Lutyens's architecture was increasingly seen as backwards and anachronistic by younger generations of architects, as Lionel Brett's article 'The Cyma and the Hollyhock' showed.[29] His son Robert,[30] along with H. Goodhart-Rendel,[31] tried to rehabilitate his reputation at a moment when Lutyens's legacy was ignored and despised by the rising new generation. His fall from grace, did not prevent the publication in 1950 of the monumental Lutyens's memorial volumes by the ever faithful editors of *Country Life*, which comprised a very lengthy biography by Christopher Hussey, three folio books about his work, and numerous plates of drawings and photographs and explanatory texts by Arthur Butler.

---

[25] Arthur S.G. Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens,* Vol. 1, *The Domestic Architecture,* (London: Country Life, 1950), 7.
[26] David Watkin*, Sir Edwin Lutyens (1866-1944): ¿El mejor arquitecto británico?* in AA.VV, *Maestros de la arquitectura moderna en la residencia de estudiantes* (Madrid, 2009), 143.
[27] Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Building with wit, architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *Architectural Review*, CIX, 1951, 217-25.
[28] Lawrence Weaver, *Lutyens Houses and Gardens* (London: Country Life, 1913).
[29] Lionel Brett, 'The Cyma and the Hollyhock', *Architectural Review* 92, March 1943, 80-1.
[30] 'The Necessity for Lutyens', *Architect´s Journal* 97, 18 February 1943, 119-22 and *Edwin Lutyens: An Appreciation in Perspective* (London: Country Life, 1942).
[31] 'Lutyens and his work', *The Builder* 168, 16 February 1945, 127-31; 'The work of the late Sir Edwin Lutyens O.M.', *RIBA Journal* 52, March 1945, 123-9.

Gavin Stamp has described this fall from grace during the 1950s and 1960s in his article 'The Rise and Fall and Rise of Edwin Lutyens',[32] pointing out the influence of the German architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner in this process. In fact, Pevsner, who had been trained in the German academic tradition saw Lutyens through the lens of historical determinism and, although acknowledging his talent, accused him of being 'an architect of prodigious gifts who contributed nothing whatsoever to the main stream development in twentieth-century architecture' and 'completely divorced from all that architects for the last fifty years had striven for'.[33] This was crucial in shaping the idea that the next generation of architects had of Lutyens and it was inherited by Pevsner´s disciples, including Robert Furneaux Jordan.[34] It had not been long since the rise of Modern architecture as the mainstream fashion after World War II, with the memory of the age of revivalisms, which the pioneers of Modernism riled against, still fresh, and the new architectural establishment reacted bitterly against anything that could be perceived as an attempt to restore traditional architecture.

The centenary of Lutyens's birth was marked in the pages of the *RIBA Journal* by three articles. One of these, by Christopher Hussey,[35] was laudatory, but the other two – one by Alison Smithson,[36] and the other by Peter Smithson[37] – still transmitted a very negative idea of Lutyens's legacy. The purpose of Alison Smithson´s article was to blame Lutyens ‘for the look of housing in England from 1934 to 1965'. 'The house in a plot, with roses and a hedge' was, she considered, 'distasteful and sick', apparently much

[32] Gavin Stamp, 'The Rise and Fall and Rise of Edwin Lutyens,' *Architectural Review* 170, n. 1017, November 1981, 311-318.
[33] Nikolaus Pevsner, 1951, 219.
[34] Robert Furneaux Jordan, *Victorian Architecture* (London: Penguin Books, 1966)
[35] Christopher Hussey, 'The Personality of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *RIBA Journal* 76, April 1969, 142-5.
[36] Alison Smithson, 'The responsibility of Lutyens', *RIBA Jornal* 76, Aril 1969, 146-51.
[37] Peter Smithson, 'The Viceroy´s House in Imperial Delhi', *RIBA Jornal* 76, April 1969, 152-54.

worse than Robin Hood Gardens, the social housing estate that she designed and that had to be demolished only forty years after its completion. Peter Smithson, on the other hand, although acknowledging the spatial qualities of Lutyens's work, was still embedded in Pevsner´s historical determinism, and blamed Lutyens for being 'historically speaking distressingly unhelpful.'

However, the 1960s also brought a crisis and revision within the Modern movement. It was logical that the unorthodox advocates of a new Post-Modern architecture felt attracted by Lutyens's original and abstract use of the classical language. This was especially true for some architects who had been trained on the other side of the Atlantic. Robert Venturi published his influential essay *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966), which included photographs of six buildings by Lutyens, all of which had been rigorously studied and analysed by him. The fact that Lutyens had been taken seriously, and not just as 'the greatest builder of follies', in such an influential book, and by an American author, helped to generate a new appreciation for Lutyens at home. A little later, in 1969, the *RIBA Journal* published an article by Venturi and Denise Scott Brown in response to the recent Smithson articles on Lutyens.[38] Venturi called architects and critics to move away from the post-war argument between 'modern' and 'traditional' architecture. As he explained, 'this polemic was effective in the heroic period of modern architecture as a basis for simplistic and moralistic slogans, but it is irrelevant today.' Indeed, he claimed that 'there is no longer an argument.' After overcoming this fruitless polemic, Venturi and Scott Brown encouraged architects to appreciate and learn from everything that was valuable in Lutyens's work.

[38] Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, 'Learning from Lutyens', RIBA Journal 76 Aug. 1969, 353-4.

Also in 1969, the South African architect Allan Greenberg, who was at that moment studying at Yale University, published his research on the architecture of Lutyens. Entitled 'Lutyens's architecture restudied',[39] Greenberg took the approach of an unbiased architectural researcher, rather than a critic, describing several space handling strategies of Lutyens. Meanwhile, in Britain, Francis Pollen wrote a laudatory article in *Country Life*, also in the centenary of his birth.[40] The time seemed propitious for a re-evaluation of Lutyens's work, and these pioneering papers started a trend that Gavin Stamp called a 'Lutyens Revival' in 1981 and that, with an irregular intensity, has continued to this today.

Since then, the 'Lutyens Revival' has been twofold. On the one hand, Lutyens has become a very popular architect among the general public, as evidenced in the great amount of articles concerning himself or his work that have been published in newspapers and non-academic journals,[41] as well as in books aimed at a non-specialized audience.[42] On the other hand, his work has become in recent decades the object of rigorous study by specialists. Steadily, the study of Lutyens's architecture has moved from the realm of architectural criticism (probably partly due to the efforts of Venturi in settling the controversy around him) to that of art and architectural historians.

---

[39] Alan Greenberg, 'Lutyens's architecture restudied', *Perspecta* 12, 1969, 129-52.
[40] Francis Pollen, 'The Genius of Edwin Lutyens - Last of The Classicists', *Country Life* 145, 3 April 1969, 794-6.
[41] For example, *Apollo*, 1 Jan. 1982, 1 June 1992, 1 May 1995, 1 April 1996 and 1 April 2005 and *The Connoisseur* , Aug. 1984 and June 1988.
[42] Here we can include Mary Lutyens's *Edwin Lutyens, a Memoir by his Daughter* (London: John Murray, 1980), Roderick Gradidge´s *Edwin Lutyens: Architect Laureate* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1981), Clare Percy and Jane Ridley´s *The letters of Edwin Lutyens to his Wife Emily* (London: Collins, 1985), Elizabeth Willhide´s *Sir Edwin Lutyens, Designing in the English Tradition* (London: Harry N.Abrams, 2000), Jane Ridley's *The Architect and his Wife* (London,: Chatto & Windus, 2002) and Michael Baker's *Sir Edwin Lutyens. An Illustrated Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944)* (Risborough: Shire Publications, 2005).

While Venturi and Scott Brown were defending Lutyens's work in the pages of the *RIBA Journal*, the American art historian Robert Grant Irving was conducting research in India in preparation for his Ph.D. dissertation on the design and construction of New Delhi. His research was published later in the book *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (1981),[43] an impressive and beautifully written work of impeccable scholarship that has become, since, a universal reference for those who have worked on this topic. More recently, Andreas Volwahsen has focused on the same topic in *Imperial Delhi: The British Capital of The Indian Empire* (2002).[44] In Britain, in 1979, after some years of research, the architect Peter Inskip published a short monograph on Lutyens's work, which was the first to be published after the *Memorial Volumes*. Irving and Inskip's works have been followed by the regular publication of scholarly texts focusing on specific aspects of Lutyens's work, some of a more academic and others of a more general character. The works include *Lutyens in Italy: the building of the British School at Rome*, by Hugh Peter (Rome, 1992), *Goddards: Sir Edwin Lutyens*, by Brian Edwards (London, 1996). *Lutyens and the Edwardians* (London, 1997), in which Jane Brown explores the relationship between the architect and his clients, and *Les Bois des Moutiers*, by Emmanuel Ducamp and Jean-Baptiste Leroux (Paris, 1998).

Since the 1980s, the architectural historians Gavin Stamp, David Watkin, and Margaret Richardson have been the principal scholars of Lutyens's architecture. Margaret Richardson catalogued Lutyens's drawings at the RIBA archive collections and published a book with a selection of these drawings.[45] Gavin Stamp has published several scholarly books about Lutyens, including *Edwin Lutyens: Country Houses* (London,

[43] Robert G. Irving, *Indian Summer. Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).
[44] Andreas Volwahsen, A., *Imperial Delhi* (London, Berlin and New York: Prestel Verlag, 2002).
[45] Margaret Richardson, *Sketches by Edwin Lutyens* (London: Academy Editions, 1994)

2001), *Lutyens Abroad: the Work of Sir Edwin Lutyens Outside the British Isles* (Rome, 2002), edited with Andrew Hopkins, and *The Memorial of the Missing of the Somme* (London, 2006). David Watkin, for his part, has attempted to improve the reputation and dissemination of Lutyens's architecture in a number of his works.[46]

More recently, Allan Greenberg has expanded his early research on Lutyens's architecture by exploring more deeply its relationship with the architecture of Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright in his book *Lutyens and the Modern Movement* (London, 2007). The latest works published on the topic continue the tradition of rigorous scholarly research on Lutyens. Together with the book on New Delhi by Volwahsen, there are three further texts that have studied Lutyens's work for the War Graves Commission, two of these being monographs[47] with the third being an article by Dennis Radford and Douglas Cawthorne that reveals the mathematical relations that lay behind Lutyens's design for the Arch of Remembrance in Leicester.[48]

As can be seen, the work of Edwin Lutyens has finally received careful scholarly study after some decades of neglect. However, to date, this scholarship has only dealt superficially with the work of Lutyens in Spain. Only the short article 'Lutyens and Spain' by Stamp and Richardson[49] addresses exclusively the topic of Lutyens's work in Spain, while other bits and pieces on the topic can be found in published biographies, especially in Hussey's. The fact that no more has been written on the topic, and no

---

[46] For example, in *A History of Western Architecture* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 1986) and *Morality and Architecture: The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).
[47] Tim Skelton and Gerald Gliddon, *Lutyens and the Great War* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2008) and Jeroen Geurst, *Cemeteries of the Great War by Edwin Lutyens* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2010).
[48] Dennis Radford and Douglas Cawthorne, 'Unlocking Lutyens: a gateway to the hidden legacy of John Pell and Sir Christopher Wren,' *Architectural Research Quarterly* 12, March 2008, 69-85.
[49] Margaret Richardson, and Gavin Stamp, 'Lutyens and Spain', AA Files, January 1983, 51-59.

scholar has attempted a deeper study, is due, in my opinion, to two circumstances. The first of these is the fact that only a small fraction of everything that Lutyens projected for his Spanish clients was finally built, and little evidence exists in Spanish archives due to the devastation caused by the Civil War. The second is caused, probably, by the rather uneasy relationship between Spain and Britain over the centuries. It is little known, for instance, that other British architects who were contemporaries of Lutyens, such as Ernest George and Thomas Collcutt, also built in Spain. This research attempts to fill in this gap, giving an outline of Anglo-Spanish relations in architecture and placing Lutyens's work in this context.

SOME PRELIMINARY CLARIFICATIONS

Lutyens's travels and works in Spain present some difficulties to the researcher. First of all, it is impossible to know with total certitude how many times he visited the country. The only surviving documents to trace his travels are his letters to his wife, Lady Emily. However, Lutyens visited Spain more than once, as an intermediate stop on his way to India, and it is known that Lady Emily accompanied her husband to India on at least eight occasions.[50] If during any of these trips in which they travelled together to India they stopped in Spain, which is not unlikely, it is something that cannot be known for sure. At the same time, unlike other travellers of his generation, Lutyens was not a devoted sketcher.[51] From his youth he got used to observing and memorizing whatever

[50] Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1950), 439; Lady Emily Lutyens, *Candles in the Sun* (London: Hart-Davis, 1957), 95-96.
[51] Sir Herbert Baker, *Architecture and Personalities* (London, 1944), 17: 'Lutyens never sketched...'

architecture he liked in his trips around England, without sketching at all.[52] For this reason, the only sketches that survive from the places he visited in Spain are a few schematic drawings in the letters to his wife, and a few notebook pages. Moreover, most of the correspondence between Lutyens and his friends and clients in Spain, mainly the Duke of Peñaranda de Duero and the Duke of Alba, that might have provided some information regarding his works and travels, was destroyed during the Spanish Civil War. The burning of the Liria Palace, the library of the palace of La Ventosilla, and other important palaces during the Spanish Civil War involved the disappearance of large amounts of documents, very presumably also letters and drawings by Lutyens.

More especially, a notable loss to the present study is the disappearance of the document entitled *The Unfinished Palace*, from the untidy archives of Scotney Castle, Kent. Christopher Hussey asked Lutyens´s clerk of works in Spain, Hinton, to write a statement explaining the construction of the El Guadalperal palace, in order to use it for the biography on Lutyens that he was writing, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London, 1950). Hussey received from Hinton a very 'graphic statement' with 'several quite interesting passages'.[53] Unfortunately, this document no longer exists among Christopher Hussey´s papers in Scotney Castle. However, it was consulted and used by Stamp and Richardson for their article 'Lutyens and Spain' (1983), in which they transcribed the most interesting information given by Hinton. It is through this article that I have gathered some of the information of the progress of the works in El Guadalperal. Finally, this research would have also benefitted from the existence of a list of Lutyens´s library books. This, however, does not exists as his books were sold and scattered after his death. A list of the few remaining books was published in *The Work of*

[52] Christopher Hussey, 1950, 14.
[53] Christopher Hussey to E.J. Webb, 19 November 1947, Scotney Castle, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

the Architect Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944),[54] which show mostly books on English classical architecture.

In spite of these obstacles, the existing letters to Lady Emily provide very detailed information of Lutyens's travels in Spain and of his impressions of the country. The travels he made in 1915, 1916 and 1934 are especially well recorded in these letters, which are the main source of information for the last part of chapter 3. Thanks to these, although many details of Lutyens's visits to Spain remain hidden, it is possible to know accurately his impressions of Spanish traditional architecture and most of the places that he visited.

After these first two chapter, the rest of the research will focus on Lutyens´s designs in Spain, describing and analysing each of the projects, while the last chapter, more speculative, will analyse Lutyens´s work globally searching for the features from Spanish architecture that he could have used in other projects.

For Lutyens´s projects in Spain, the main source of information are the plans and drawings which are kept in the RIBA drawings collection in the Victoria & Albert Museum. These plans are generally drawn in great detail and allow a very accurate understanding of the projects. One of the main goals of this research is to analyse and describe Lutyens´s Spanish projects, relating them to the rest of his work and tracing their possible influences. In the course of my investigation I have redrawn the main plans of the buildings and drawn new sections that complement the information given by the original drawings in an effort to draw together and clarify the overall forma and

[54] Colin Amery, *The Work of the Architect Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944)* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1981)

planning of these projects. Out of this material, and after having studied carefully the original plans, I have built 3D computerized reconstructions of the projects following the London Charter for the Computer-Based Visualization of Cultural Heritage (2009), which establishes general criteria in this field. These 3D reconstructions, although simplifying the smallest decorative elements of the buildings, have been done following the exact measures given in the plans. When an aspect of a building was left undefined in the original existing drawings, I have proposed a solution based on Lutyens´s other works and on the characteristics of specific project under study. In such cases, I have explained the criteria followed in my proposal in the correspondent chapters. Redrawing, 3D modelling, and the analysis of design drawings have therefore been core aspects of my research. Through this I have not only been able to produce the visual documents necessary to explain Lutyens´s projects, but I have also made myself familiar with his way of designing. 3D models, renderings and architectural drawings have given a strongly visual character to my research, although I have tried to achieve a balance between accurate bibliographic research, architectural analysis, and visual reconstruction.

Together with these projects, in the course of this investigation I have come across buildings wrongly attributed to Lutyens in some publications. Carlos Sambricio, an expert in Madrilean architecture of the first half of the 20th century, has observed that Lutyens had been involved to some extent in the design of the British Institute in Madrid which was, according to him, finished by local architects after the end of the Civil War (mainly Luis Blanco-Soler and Manuel Sánchez Arcas).[55] He told me that he had heard that information directly from the Blanco-Soler, who, indeed, worked in

[55] Carlos Sambricio, *El Palacio de Liria* in AA.VV, *El Palacio de Liria* (Girona: Atalanta 2012), 68, after a conversation with Luis Blanco-Soler.

Lutyens´s office in London for more than a year from mid 1926 until late 1927.[56] However, no documents or plans of this building existing in Madrid´s municipal archive,[57] amongst Manuel Sánchez Arcas´s papers in the Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid,[58] or in the National Archives at Kew,[59] can confirm that Lutyens was involved in the design of this building in any way. Neither can any drawings by Lutyens in the RIBA drawings collection nor amongst Luis Blanco-Soler papers, confirm his authorship. Moreover, the plans of the building and its strangely proportioned classical elevation do not look like Lutyens´s hand was behind its design.

Other publications point at the involvement of Lutyens in the design of pavilions or garden elements in another two Spanish estates. The architect Miguel de Oriol e Ybarra, published an inaccurate article in the Spanish newspaper *Diario ABC* about the works and travels of Edwin Lutyens in Spain.[60] This journalistic article is not referenced and no evidence of what is said in it is given. However, Miguel Oriol is a very well connected person, member of one of the most influential families in Spanish industry, and a member of an aristocratic family himself, so it is logical to think that he had first hand information of the works that Lutyens designed for some important Spanish noblemen. In that article he assures the reader that Lutyens had worked for the Marquis of Viana in his estate of La Moratalla, near Córdoba, making the layout of the garden around the house which was later designed by the celebrated French garden designer

[56] Luis Blanco-Soler, unpublished Memoires of Luis Blanco-Soler, 1983, 61-69, Archive of Silvia Arbaiza Blanco-Soler, Madrid.
[57] Legado Manuel Sánchez Arcas, Archivo Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid, Madrid.
[58] Architectural drawings of C/ Almagro 5, 44-109-21 and 24-96-10, Archivo de la Villa, Madrid.
[59] BW 56/5 (Premises for Institute, Madrid. 1942-1946); BW 56/4 (British Institute in Madrid. 1942-1943) and BW 56/8 (British institute school. Madrid), National Archives, Kew, Surrey.
[60] Miguel Oriol Ybarra, 'Llegar a palacio', *Diario ABC*, 6 January 1984, 39.

Jean Claude Nicholas Forestier (1861-1930).[61] The marquis of Viana, José de Saavedra y Salamanca, was part of the King´s closest group of friends, together with Alba, Peñaranda, and a few other gentlemen, and he became Peñaranda´s father-in-law through the marriage of the duke to his daughter Carmen. Viana was King Alfonso´s *Caballerizo Mayor*, that is the officer of the royal household in charge of the trips and the hunts of the king, and was unofficially also known for providing the king with mistresses.[62] As such, he organised and travelled with the king in his hunting trips to the King´s own estates, or to other hunting spots, such as the Duke of Santoña´s estate of La Ventosilla, or his own estate of La Moratalla. Viana was also an enthusiastic polo player, and held an annual polo cup in his palace of La Moratalla, in which English gentlemen played together with the Spanish noblemen and the King himself.[63]

Bearing this in mind, it would not be strange that Lutyens had been consulted when, in the mid 1910s, Viana decided to rearrange the gardens in the palace. It is recorded that between 1915 and 1918,[64] at the moment during which Lutyens was more involved and travelled more frequently to Spain, Forestier was working both in the gardens of the Liria palace and in those at Moratalla. He had come to Spain at the king´s request to design the gardens of María Luisa, in Sevilla (1914), and since then had established himself in Spain where he received many and very important public commissions, as well as working directly for the King in the palace of La Magdalena, Santander.[65] As will be discussed in chapter 4, it is possible that Lutyens and Forestier met in Spain. In any

[61] Literally Oriol wrote that Lutyens did 'la puesta en escena (that is, *la mise en escène*) del Palacio de Moratalla'.
[62] Ramón de la Cierva, *Alfonso y Victoria. Las tramas íntimas, secretas y europeas de un reinado desconocido* (Madrid: Fénix, 2001), 316.
[63] *Periódico ABC*, 23 March 1914
[64] Beatriz Valdés y Ozores, *Jardines de España* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1973), 248.
[65] Benedict Leclerc, *Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, 1861-1930: du jardin au paysage urbain* (Paris: Picard, 2000) 14.

case, although Lutyens might well have been consulted about the garden design in Moratalla, no documents confirm that he collaborated with Forestier in any way. Moreover, the French grand design of the garden does not match with Lutyens´s style.

Miguel de Oriol also mentioned another remaining building in Spain designed by Lutyens: the oil mill in El Carpio, near Córdoba. Although the forceful and massive architecture of this building may be seen to resemble Lutyens´s creations, in this case Oriol was totally mistaken. The Duke of Alba owned an enormous estate planted mainly with olive trees in the village of El Carpio, 30 kms East of Córdoba. In that estate, the duke owned an *hacienda* (a group of buildings for agricultural use), called hacienda Buenavista, amongst which there was an eighteenth-century oil mill. Oil mills are common constructions in southern Spain, which were used since ancient times to grind olives and extract the oil from them. The oil mill in the hacienda Buenavista, called the mill of San Fernando, is an example of exceptional size and quality, whose origins are dated with abundant documentation from the mid-eighteenth century.[66] It was certainly not designed by Lutyens and it is very unlikely that Lutyens did any work in the mill at all. Firstly, because the building has suffered almost no architectural alterations, except from minor reparations, such as the replacement roof beams. Secondly, because even if the Duke of Alba had made any alteration or expansion to this building he would have most certainly not given Lutyens such an unimportant work.

Documentary evidence shows that Lutyens was involved in the design of four commissions in Spain: the Palace of La Ventosilla, a House in Madrid for the Count de

[66] Alberto Moreno Vega and Yolanda López Gálvez, *Del siglo XVI al XVIII en las almazaras cordobesas del sur: génesis, auge y declive de los grandes molinos ducales* in XIV Congreso de Historia Agraria, Badajoz, November 2013.

la Cimera, the reconstruction of Liria Palace, and the Palace of El Guadalperal. The design and works for the last of these spanned almost thirty years and encompassed numerous ancillary and farm buildings, and two very distinct versions for the main building, which will be dealt with in separate chapters.

Ultimately, this dissertation is predicated on the assumption that it is important to study further, and understand better, the Spanish projects of Edwin Lutyens in order to gain fuller and further insight into his methods as a designer. After all, the projects to be discussed here were very large, even lavish, private palaces that not only surpass the scale of most of his English country-house projects but also approach the grandeur and magnificence of the Viceroy's House in Delhi. In this respect there may be seen to be a correspondence between these otherwise discrete and apparently un-related projects, running from Britain, through Spain, all the way to India. Moreover, given their scale, along with the design input required to make them successful and coherent buildings, they must be appreciated as pivotal moments in the design development, if not built oeuvre in most cases, of Edwin Lutyens as an architect.

Most of these projects were designed between 1915 and 1919, a period of interlude between two extraordinarily fruitful moments in Lutyens's career, namely the early 1910s and the post Great-War years. Between the years in which Lutyens had designed the Viceroy´s House in Delhi, Ednaston Manor and Castle Drogo and those of the Cenotaph, the War Memorials and the great private commissions of the 1920s, spanned an obscure period of little building activity. A closer look at this period will reveal, that it was, nonetheless, of intense creativity and even crucial for the evolution of his architecture. The sixth chapter of this thesis will discuss Lutyens's second project for the

Palace of El Guadalperal, which would have been the largest country house he ever built, excluding the Viceroy´s House at Delhi. Finally, the Liria Palace was the last project designed by Lutyens which was actually built. And although the design was altered after Lutyens´s death it can still be considered the closing chapter of his work. Only when these projects are brought to the fore and analysed properly can a full understanding of Lutyens as an architect be reached.

II

BRITANO-SPANISH RELATIONS IN ARCHITECTURE: FROM VICTORIAN TIMES TO LUTYENS

The projects of Edwin Lutyens in Spain are remarkable and unique for their use of what may loosely be termed a 'Spanish style'. The identification of this characteristic can be understood as demonstrating a growing knowledge of and appreciation for Spanish architectural heritage on the part of British architects and architectural historians by the end of the nineteenth century. This knowledge, the accumulated acquisition of which began in the eighteenth century and reached a peak in the early twentieth, when Lutyens himself was working in Spain, has only partially been studied. In what follows, I shall attempt to give an outline of how this awareness developed by describing the context of Anglo-Spanish relations, focusing on architecture up to the first decades of the early twentieth century, including Lutyens's own experience as an architect travelling in Spain. This will help us to understand better his knowledge of Spanish architecture, as well as his intentions when he opted to choose a more vernacular type of architecture as the basis for his Spanish designs.

What Lutyens and other British scholars and intellectuals that travelled to Spain understood of Spanish art and culture was constrained by the collection of ideas acquired from their milieu. Lutyens was just the latest in a long line of travellers to Spain that spanned from the eighteenth-century through to the Spanish Civil War. Understanding British reception of Spanish culture can help shed light on Lutyens's

expectations and experiences of Spain and, ultimately, how this may have influenced his design strategies when working in Spain.

INITIAL FORAYS: DISCOVERING SPANISH GOTHIC

As David Howarth has written: 'it was only with the advent of Romanticism that the Iberian Peninsula became interesting. Even then, interest was confined to the "other", the exotic Islamic Spain. The material culture of the country as a whole remained largely a matter of indifference.'[67] With the colonial expansion of Britain and other European powers into the lands of Islam from the eighteenth century onwards came an interest in 'oriental' art and culture, which also brought consequences for the way in which British connoisseurs regarded Spain, its art and its architecture.[68] This coincided with a growing awareness and interest from Spanish scholars and artists to their own architectural heritage, evidenced in the works of, among others, José Antonio Conde, Jenaro Pérez Villaamil, Francisco Javier Parcerisa and Pascual de Gayangos.[69] At first, it was the Moresque art of Spain which drove the attention of British architects in the eighteenth-century, possibly due to Henry Müntz and William Chambers.[70] This continued during the first half of the nineteenth century, in which British perceptions of Spanish art were focused almost exclusively on its Islamic heritage. This can be observed on the publications that the main scholars of the time devoted to this topic, namely Henry

[67] David Howarth, *The Invention of Spain: Cultural Relations between Britain and Spain (1770-1870)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 15.
[68] Michael Darby, *The Islamic Perspective: An Aspect of British Architecture and Design in the 19th Century* (London: Leighton House Gallery, 1983), 10; Toña Raquejo, 'The 'Arab cathedrals`: The Moorish architecture as seen by British travellers', *The Burlington Magazine* 128, no. 1001 (Aug., 1986), 555-563; Claudia Heide, 'The Alhambra in Britain. Between Foreignization and Domestication'*, Art in Translation*, Volume 2, Issue 2 (2010), 201-222.
[69] Claudia Hopkins, 'Beyond Orientalism: The Case of Jenaro Pérez Villaamil,' *Hispanic Research Journal* 17:5, 2016, 384-408.
[70] Michael Darby, 1983, 13.

Swinburne, James Cavanagh Murphy and Owen jones.[71] Although not all the British publications on Spain focused exclusively on its Islamic heritage, there was a strong tendency to orientalise its past and even its present.[72]

The first serious attempts in Britain to start looking beyond Spain's Islamic past came with the spiritual revival which occurred in some intellectual circles in Oxford and Cambridge during the mid-nineteenth century. Anglo-Catholics connected with the Ecclesiological Society encouraged a revival in church architecture in order to create adequate scenarios for recently revitalised Anglican liturgy. Although they mostly studied and imitated English, French, and Italian examples,[73] Spanish medieval churches also caught the attention of some ecclesiologists.

Ecclesiologists had two good reasons to look at Spanish architecture in those days. First, both at home and in the colonies, Spanish church-builders had to respond to the requirements of a hot southern climate. Secondly, Spain was known to be exceptionally rich in church fittings, and furniture. Ecclesiologists were looking for models of churches adapted to hot climates, as most of their colonies were in southern latitudes, and they also needed models of church furniture and liturgical instruments for their rituals and sacramental celebrations. At least two clergymen who were close to the Oxford Movement travelled to Spain to study its church architecture, publishing several

---

[71] Henry Swinburne, *Travels through Spain, in the years 1775 and 1776* (London: J. Davis, 1779); James Cavannah Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1815); Owen Jones, *Plans, elevations, sections and details of the Alhambra*, (London: Owen Jones, 1842-46).

[72] For example, Richard Ford, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* (London: John Murray, 1845), IX: 'The key to decipher this singular people is scarcely European, since this Berberia Cristiana is at least a neutral ground between the hat and the turban ... Test her, therefore, and her native, by an Oriental standard'; John Frederick Lewis and David Roberts depictions of Spanish scenes also manipulate the landscapes, monuments and peoples in order to make them look more 'oriental.'

[73] James Steven Curl, *Victorian Architecture. Diversity & Invention* (Reading: Spire Books, 2007), 52.

articles in *The Ecclesiologist*. Apart from an unidentified traveller[74], these included the Rev. William Scott, who travelled to the Canary Islands,[75] and the Rev. John Mason Neale, who visited Spain several times on his way to Madeira and mainland Portugal.[76]

Even after these articles in *The Ecclesiologist*, the architectural historian James Fergusson, in the preface to the book he published in 1855, could write: 'even at this time such a country as Spain is almost terra incognita to architects. Now however, that the people are getting satiated with the plaster prettiness of the Alhambra, we may hope that attention will be turned to the grander and simpler works of the Christians in that country, and that this chapter will not remain the blank it has hitherto been'.[77] This desire was not satisfied until a few years later, when the English ecclesiologist and architect George Edmund Street (1824-81), 'seeing, then, how complete is the ignorance which up to the present time we have laboured under, as to the true history and nature of Gothic architecture in Spain,' decided to spends his holidays visiting and studying the medieval monuments of the north of Spain.[78]

According to his son Arthur Edmund, Street spent all his 'leisure moments' during the years of 1861, 1862 and 1863, travelling through Spain and preparing the publication of his drawings and notes.[79] This certainly shows that he was truly interested in the subject, as those were very busy years for his architectural practice, and adding such an

---

[74] An anonymous traveller published an article on Spanish ecclesiology ('Spanish Ecclesiology', *the Ecclesiologist* LXVIII, October 1848)
[75] William Scott, 'Some notes on the cathedral of Las Palmas, with a few thoughts on tropical climates,' *the Ecclesiologist* LXXXII, February 1851, 28-45.
[76] Eleanor A. Towle, *John Mason Neale, a Memoir* (London: Longmans, Grenn and Co., 1906); John Mason Neale, 'An Ecclesiological Tour in Portugal,' *the Ecclesiologist* XCIV, February 1853, 247-264, John Mason Neale, 'An Ecclesiological Tour in Portugal,' *the Ecclesiologist* CIII, August 1853, 37-43.
[77] James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1855), 817.
[78]George E. Street, *Some account of Gothic architecture in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1865), XI.
[79]Arthur E. Street, *Memoir of George Edmund Street* (London: John Murray ,1888), 44.

understanding to his professional activities must have involved a large personal sacrifice. During his three journeys, which amounted to just twelve weeks, he visited most of the important towns in Northern Castile, Catalonia, Aragon, and Navarre, together with León, Santiago, and Lugo. As with his tours in northern Italy,[80] he studied mostly buildings from the twelfth and thirteenth-centuries, but also showed an appreciation of architecture from other periods, including some Renaissance examples.

Although Street had inherited a strong dislike from Ruskin for classical architecture, and was very critical of the austere style of the 'ponderously pagan Herrera',[81] he was surprisingly indulgent with the Spanish plateresque. He even wrote: 'if the revivers of Renaissance in these days ever think of such a thing as importing a new idea, I wish heartily that they would go to Spain and study some of her sixteenth-century buildings'.[82]

Like other British architects, he was very impressed by the richness of the decorations and furniture of the churches he saw.[83] Together with this, Street really admired the 'early-Pointed' cathedrals of Tarragona (Fig. 2.1), Tudela, Salamanca, and Lérida of which he said that he knew 'none whose interiors are more solid, truly noble, or impressive. (…) By the boldness of their design, the simplicity of their section, the extreme solidity of their construction, and the remarkable contrast between these characteristics and the delicacy of their sculptural decoration, they seem to me to be

[80] George E. Street, *Brick and marble in the Middle Ages* (London: John Murray, 1855)
[81]George E. Street, 1865, 50.
[82]Ibid., 50.
[83]Ibid., 433: 'Their fittings and furniture are unsurpassed by in interest by those of any other land. First among them is the furniture. No country is perhaps so rich in this respect as Spain. (…) The great glory of this country in this respect are such retablos as those Toledo cathedral or the carthusian church of Miraflores. The choir stalls, again are often magnificent. Nowhere shall we see such magnificent choir lecterns, in brass as that of Toledo, or in wood as that of Zamora.'

among the most valuable examples for the study on artistic grounds that I have ever seen anywhere.'[84]

With his publication Street had gone some way toward filling the historiographical gap on Spanish architecture that had hitherto existed in the British imagination. The book was commercially successful, and widely circulated,[85] and the illustrations favoured the architectural accuracy over the picturesque effect. His influence in other publications, such as in James Fergusson's *A History of Architecture in all Countries*, also published in 1865, is manifest. Fergusson reorganised and expanded his *Illustrated Handbook*, publishing it under a new title, and included the findings on architectural history that had taken place during the previous decade. The section of Christian architecture in Spain was totally remodelled and expanded thanks to the studies on the subject that had recently come to light. According to Fergusson 'the publication of the great national work on Spanish antiquities,[86] of Parcerisa´s 'Beauties, &c., of Spain'[87] and, above all, Mr. Street´s work, have rendered Spanish architecture as intelligible as that of any other country, though ten years ago it was a mystery and a puzzle.'[88] Fergusson contributed greatly to the dissemination of Street´s drawings on Spanish architecture, for he borrowed plenty of them for his book, which was tremendously successful (Fig. 2.2). He was also very important to the dissemination of knowledge on Spanish medieval architecture in general in the Anglophone world.[89]

---

[84]Ibid., 420.
[85]The book was re-edited in 1869 (London) and in 1914 (New York), and connoisseurs commonly considered it the best book on the subject.
[86]VV.AA., *Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España* (Madrid: Ministerio de Fomento, 1856-81).
[87]Francisco Javier Parcerisa, *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España* (Barcelona: Joaquín Verdaguer, 1839-65).
[88]James Fergusson, *A History of Architecture in All Countries* (London: James Murray, 1865), V.
[89] Fergusson´s *History* had a deep and long-lasting influence on Anglo-American architectural culture. Bertram G. Goodhue remembered that 'as a lad he was taught to revere as gospel' Fergusson´s work (Bertram G. Goodhue 'Introduction,' in Austin Whittlesey, *The Minor Ecclesiastical Domestic and Garden Architecture of Southern Spain* (N.Y.: Architectural Book Publishing Co.,1917), 2) and still in 1914 George

INTEREST IN THE FLORID GOTHIC AND PLATERESQUE

The Gothic Revival, as important as it was, especially for religious architecture, had to share its space in the nineteenth century with many other architectural fashions. In opposition to the moralistic view of Pugin, Ruskin, and the ecclesiologists, who thought that architecture and morality were linked, other architects regarded architectural styles in a less serious, even playful way. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was a celebration of this eclectic view which, together with scientific innovations, allowed, for the first time in history, the possibility to produce art and architecture of any style cheaply and in quantity. Some of the architects that worked in this exhibition, imbued in the ornamental eclecticism, and always looking for new decorative motifs, such as Owen Jones and Matthew Digby Wyatt, were, not surprisingly, those who became most interested in the rich ornamental traditions of Spain. Jones fell immediately under the spell of the Alhambra, but some other architects started getting interested in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish decoration.

Such was the case of John Burley Waring, who, although a deeply religious man, was not a member of the Ecclesiological Society, or even an Anglican. Instead, he was a dissenter, radically opposed to any kind of clergy, organised religious institutions, or ritual.[90] In his architectural taste, he disliked both classicism[91] and Gothic Revival,[92] and

---

Scott called him 'architecture´s principal historian' (George Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism: A Study in the History of Taste* (London: Constable, 1914), 186).

[90] John B. Waring, *The Universal Church, Its Faith, Doctrine and Constitution* (London: Trübner and Co., 1866), 7.

was especially keen on the less scholarly styles. This might explain his attraction to the unorthodox late Gothic and early Renaissance phases in Spanish architecture. Waring travelled to Spain for the first time in 1847, as part of a longer trip through southern Europe, which he did together with his friend the architect T. B. Macquoid. The notes they took on the journey were later published in London in a book entitled *Examples of architectural art in Italy and Spain, chiefly of the 13th and 16th centuries* (London, 1850).

A few years later he returned by his own to Spain, as he had 'in view a work on the Miraflores monuments, near Burgos; so early in the spring left Paris, and soon found myself settled down at a muleteer´s inn, or venta, in the outskirts of that picturesque old Castilian town, being most of the time hard at work at Miraflores.'[93] His aim in studying and publishing detailed drawings of this building was 'to enlarge the sphere of our ideas, to impress certain combinations and forms upon the mind,'[94] with a view to helping British design to move beyond the mainstream Classical and Gothic styles. During his stay in Burgos, Waring measured and made the most detailed drawings to date of the monuments in Miraflores, which were published in London in 1852 in the folio book *Architectural, Sculptural & Picturesque Studies in Burgos and its Neighbourhood.*[95] This monumental work combines very descriptive drawings of minute ornamental details with other romanticised views, probably included to make the book more appealing to the general British public (Fig. 2.3).

---

[91] John B. Waring, *A Record of My Artistic Life* (London: Trübner and Co., 1873), 193: 'Architects, after the time of Vanbrugh, sank into mere mechanics'.
[92] Ibid., 193: 'The men became thoroughly antiquaries and possessed with a blind admiration of the Middle Ages: seeking only to reproduce its art in every point.'
[93]Ibid., 190.
[94] Ibid., 126.
[95] Jenaro Pérez Villaamil was the only one, before Waring to have published some drawings of Miraflores in *España Artística y Monumental* (París: Veith & Hauser, 1842-50), and were just general views of the monuments.

It was probably through his relationship with Waring and, especially, with Owen Jones, that Wyatt became interested in Spain and decided to visit it in 1869, the year in which Edwin Lutyens was born. Matthew Digby Wyatt (1820-77) was an architect and architectural historian, as well as an expert on architectural decoration. He worked side by side with Owen Jones in the Great Exhibition of 1851, with the two becoming firm friends.[96]

Wyatt's relationship with Waring during the 1850s, together with his friendship with Jones and the publication of Street´s book in 1865, with which Wyatt was acquainted, probably explains his interest in travelling to Spain. Wyatt was acquainted with the books on Spanish art that had already been published, and decided to focus his attention on the monuments that had been left unstudied by previous travellers.[97] He understood his work as complementing Street´s, for, 'whilst he has turned from, I have turned towards, the Plateresque and later styles of Spain, and whilst he has apparently sought specially for what might be useful for church-builders, my aim was rather to collect hints for house-builders.'[98] Most of his drawings depict picturesque views and ornamental details, many of them from the patios of Renaissance houses (Fig. 2.4), the most characteristic feature of Iberian domestic architecture and an element that Wyatt

[96] As an architecture student he decided to complete his education travelling through Europe, where he studied and sketched mosaic decoration. He later published his notes in a book entitled *The Geometric Mosaics of the Middle Ages* (London, 1848). Thanks to this, he gained a reputation as expert on ornament and was appointed by Henry Cole as superintendent in the construction of Paxton´s building for the great Exhibition of 1851.
[97] Matthew Digby Wyatt, *An Architect´s Note-book in Spain, Principally Illustrating the Domestic Architecture in that Country* (London: Autotype Fine Art Company, 1872), preface: 'To the interest and grandeur of its Northern Gothic buildings, Mr Street has already done a justice long denied to them; while Girault de Prangey, and above all Owen Jones, have helped us to a right appreciation of the works of those masterly artificers, the Moors, who seem to have possessed an intuitive love for the beautiful in structure.'
[98] Idem.

seemed to enjoy.[99] Back in England, Wyatt published a hundred of his travel drawings with some brief architectural and historical descriptions in *An Architect´s Note-book in Spain* (London, 1872). Most of the buildings that appeared in his book, especially the urban Renaissance palaces, were being published in Britain for the first time (Fig. 2.5).

The 1870s also brought growth in the economic and trade relations between Britain and Spain. The reign of Amadeo de Saboya (1871-3), and the new political system established in 1874 after the return of the Bourbons, allowed the country new stability and economic progress. Spain was still rich in mineral resources, and its expanding economy needed new infrastructure, which made it the target of foreign investment. The Spanish economy started to awaken slowly, and the British became heavily involved in the process. After the 1870s in particular, the British companies started entering more confidently into the recently pacified country, in order to exploit its mineral resources and to build infrastructure, especially railways,[100] and concentrated their activities in a few areas where they had an increasing influence, including in the local architecture. Together with older areas of British activity around Jerez, for the trade in wine, and around Gibraltar, the exploitation of mines in Malaga, in the Basque Country and, especially in Huelva (Riotinto) made the British more present in Spain than ever before. Their impact in local architecture has been studied by Ana Aranda Bernal, José Ramón Alonso Pereira, Miguel Ángel González Vilchez, and Luis Sazatornil Ruiz.[101]

---

[99] Ibid., 3 and 4: 'This plate introduces us at once to the most striking feature of all important Spanish houses, the Patio (…). Nothing can be more picturesque or better suited to the climate than these Patios.'
[100] Even the first railroad built in Peninsular Spain and linking Barcelona and Mataró (1835-45) was backed by British capital, designed by an English engineer and built by an English Company. (David Lentisco, *Cuando el hierro se hace camino. Historia del ferrocarril en España* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2005), 12-32).
[101] Ana Aranda Bernal, *La arquitectura inglesa en el Campo de Gibraltar* (Cádiz: Diputación de Cádiz, 2007); José Ramón Alonso Pereira, *Ingleses y españoles: la arquitectura de la edad de plata* (A Coruña: Universidad de A Coruña, 2000); Miguel Ángel González Vilchez, Historia de la arquitectura inglesa en Huelva (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2008); Luis Satazornil Ruiz, 'Ralph Selden Wornum y la arquitectura inglesa en la

The late Victorian architect Ernest George also had a brief connection with Spain in this period. His career showed the typical development of British architects in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, first designing mostly in Gothic Revival and Queen Anne styles before moving to the Grand Manner. But prior to becoming an established architect, he made several tours of foreign countries in his late twenties, including Spain.[102] At an early stage of his career, George, by then associated with Thomas Vaughan, was commissioned by the 2nd Duke of Wellington[103] to design a wine cellar and house at his Andalusian estate. George recalled that 'one of our early works was preparing drawings for Bodegas (wine cellars), for the storage of wine; also a villa for the Duke of Wellington´s estate, Molino del Rey near Granada ... These buildings were only partly carried out, but they gave me my reason for a first visit to Spain, a country that has always had a fascination for me.'[104]

Although Wyatt´s publication on Spanish architecture, and, more broadly, the interest for the decorative arts that flourished during the second half of the nineteenth century, had led to a British discovery of Spanish Renaissance, it was, however, thanks to the Scottish architect Andrew Noble Prentice (1866-1941) that Spanish Renaissance monuments were rigorously measured, studied, and published. After completing his

---

costa cantábrica,' in *XII Jornadas Internacionales de Historia del Arte. El Arte Foráneo en España. Presencia e Influencia.* (Madrid, 22-26 Nov. 2004). ACTAS: Madrid, CSIC, 2005.

[102] Hilary Joyce Grainger, *The Architecture of Sir Ernest George and His Partners. C. 1860-1922* (1985), The University of Leeds: Unpublished PhD Theses, 1985), 13.

[103] After the Hispano-British victory against Napoleon´s army in the Peninsular War, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington was created Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo by the Spanish *cortes*, a title latter confirmed by Fernando VII. Together with this recognition he also received two large estates in a fertile valley south of Granada, Molino del Rey and Soto de Roma. The Duke didn´t take any interest in his Spanish estates, that he never visited and were derelict and almost abandoned for decades. The second Duke of Wellington was convinced to plant olive trees and vineyards to make Sherry wine, given the fertility of the land. The estates now belong to the 9th Duke of Wellington. (J.N.P. Watson, 'The Duke of Wellington´s Andalusian estate I', *Country Life*, 4 Sep 1980, 779-82; J.N.P. Watson, 'The Duke of Wellington´s Andalusian estate II', *Country Life*, 11 Sep 1980, 886-89.)

[104] Sir Ernest George, 'An Architect´s Reminiscences', *The Builder* 116, no. 3945, 13 May 1921, 622-23.

apprenticeship, Prentice went on a study tour to Spain, where he travelled from April to August 1890. During these months he visited almost every region in the country, from Santiago to Seville, including the island of Mallorca, measuring, drawing, and sketching many of its early Renaissance buildings[105] (Fig. 2.6).

Prentice was a very gifted sketcher and, although he focused mostly on sixteenth-century buildings, his curiosity went beyond Renaissance architecture. He sketched Romanesque towers in Valladolid and Segovia, radiant Gothic in Leon, and Florid Gothic in Barcelona, along with some mudejar in Saragossa. However, what caught his attention most was early Renaissance architecture. He felt it 'surprising that many of these buildings, exhibiting such beauty of design and execution, should be so little known' and 'inspired by this feeling I devoted my studies mainly to the Plateresque period.'[106] When Prentice returned to Britain, he made a selection of the buildings he had studied and sketched and produced a folio of sixty beautifully-composed plates entitled *Renaissance Architecture and Ornament in Spain* (1893). Surprisingly, some of the best renaissance buildings in Spain, such as 'the Town Hall at Seville, the Hospital of the Holy Cross at Toledo, the cathedral at Granada, the universities of Alcalá de Henares and Salamanca' are missing in the publication. However, according to Prentice, 'their omission from the present work may be regarded as a defect; but it has given space for drawings of buildings not so well known, and therefore, I think, more useful and interesting to the student.'[107]

[105] Andrew N. Prentice, London, Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Drawings Collection, SKB/243/4, SKB/244/5, SKB/244/2, 1890.
[106] Andrew N. Prentice, *Renaissance architecture and ornament in Spain* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1893), preface.
[107] Idem.

Prentice included some elevations (Fig. 2.7) and schematic plans in his book, especially from buildings at Salamanca and Mallorca, but most of the plates show drawings of church fittings and ornamental details (Fig. 2.8). This reinforces the idea that British interest in Spanish architecture at this time was mainly focused on ornament, but it is also consistent with the fact that the most genuine characteristic of Plateresque architecture is its rich decoration. Prentice paid special attention to ironwork which, in his opinion, 'far excel anything of the same kind to be found elsewhere', and devoted sixteen plates to railings, screens, balustrades and other iron elements.

Although Prentice usually designed his buildings in an early Georgian style, his book had a certain influence in the work of other architects. By the end of the century, the 'Free Renaissance' style, which combined features of Continental and British Renaissance in order to create joyfully eclectic buildings, was fashionable. Spanish Plateresque, with its minute decoration and informal character suited the architectural taste of the time. The list of subscribers to Prentice´s book included the names of some of the most prestigious architects of the period, such as J. B. Bentley, Thomas Collcutt, Alfred Waterhouse, Ernest George, and Aston Webb, and some of the most important architects of the next generation, such as Robert Lorimer, Charles R. Mackintosh, and Lutyens himself.[108] According to the obituary of Prentice published in the *Architectural and Building News* in 1942, the publication of his work 'produced something like a sensation among students and more than a trifling infusion of Spanish feeling into contemporary composition and carving', and Prentice was seen 'to have discovered to

[108] E. G., 'Obituary of A. N. Prentice,' *The Architectural and Building News*, 9 Jan 1942, London.

his generation the special beauties of that phase of Spanish Renaissance design known as plateresque.'[109]

The book had some impact on British architecture and, in the next few years after its publication, some plateresque buildings were erected in Britain. For example, the architect Ernest August Runtz (1859-1913), also a subscriber to Prentice´s book, designed in the late 1890s the Hippodrome Theatre in Peckham (now demolished) and the Empire Theatre in Middlesborough, both in the plateresque style, with side towers and an upper loggia resembling the Casa de los Guzmanes at León or the Monterrey Palace at Salamanca. By that date Aston Webb was also involved in the design of the V&A Museum´s main entrance, which combines late Gothic and early Renaissance features in a very Spanish manner, with the tower that he placed over the entrance hall inspired the lantern at Burgos cathedral.[110]

Thanks to the contributions of orientalist scholars, Anglo-Catholic ecclesiologists and finally, these lovers of architectural ornament, by the end of the nineteenth century Spanish architecture up to the sixteenth-century was already quite well known in British and across Europe, although in a more superficial way than that of other countries such as Italy or France. During the first decades of the twentieth-century, under new cultural contexts both in the United Kingdom and in Spain, Spanish architectural heritage continued to be studied, and 'discovered' by the British architects.

[109] Andrew N. Prentice, *Renaissance architecture and ornament in Spain* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1893), list of subscribers.
[110] Charles Marriot, *Modern English Architecture* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1924), 117.

THE EDWARDIANS AND SPAIN

The first decades of the twentieth-century are particularly relevant to the topic of this research. In those years, a number of circumstances converged leading to one of the most fruitful periods in Anglo-Spanish relations, which also had an impact on the architecture of the time. During these years, the economic and political ties between Britain and Spain became closer than ever before, while developments in printing technology and photography allowed a quicker dissemination of architectural imagery.

At the turn of the twentieth-century, Spain suffered a deep crisis that resulted in its inevitable modernisation. In spite of the economic improvement that had taken place in the previous decades, Spain was deeply weakened after the chaotic nineteenth-century struggle to maintain control over its last overseas territories (Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean, and the Philippines and other minor islands in the Pacific Ocean). It lost all its overseas territories to the United States in 1898 after a brief war. The Disaster of 1898, as it became known in Spain, was a blessing in disguise. It produced a feeling of pessimism amongst intellectuals, but at the same time, it stimulated technological and economic progress. Spanish society did not need to spend its energies in maintaining its colonies any more, and could focus in a process of reformation that would be very positive for the country in the long run. The Hispano-American war brought the Spanish colonial empire to its end, but it was also a signal to the world of a new political

reality: the rise of the United States as the world´s most powerful empire. From this moment, America was not only the richest country, but also became an empire in its own right, with considerable global military and political influence. American culture, through its publications, music and later films, gained an increasing influence in Europe, especially in Britain.

By the turn of the century, as discussed above, there were already some long-established British businesses and communities in Spain. In some cases, British residents imported their own architects for their buildings. An example of this is the two hotels designed by Collcutt for the Algeciras and Gibraltar Railway Company, which had been involved in railway construction in the Spanish South.[111]

In Britain, the new century brought the death of Queen Victoria (1901) and the accession to the crown of her son Edward, as Edward VII (1901-11). The Edwardian era stands out as 'an era of peace and prosperity- a brief Indian summer at the end of a century of British political and economic pre-eminence.'[112] Although British GPD per capita was surpassed by America and Germany, Britain still remained the leader in some economic sectors, such as finance.[113] Britain´s leading position in many fields, its technological and economic superiority and its companies' activities in Spain, made Spanish elites look increasingly to Britain as a period of reference. Intense trade between

[111] The Reina Cristina Hotel in Algeciras and the Reina Victoria Hotel in Ronda, both opened in 1902. (Ana Aranda Bernal, 2007).
[112] Arthur J. Taylor, 'The Economy' in Simon Nowell-Smith (ed.), *Edwardian England: 1901-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 105.
[113] Jean Pierre Dormois and Michael Dintenfass (eds.), *The British Industrial Decay* (London: Routledge, 1999).

Spain and Britain also extended to construction materials. For example, in 1913 Spain was the world's main importer of British cement after Britain's colonies.[114]

Technological and scientific progress was also rapid during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among the technological inventions of that period, and one that had a very relevant impact on the development of architectural design, was the development of reinforced concrete and steel-frame construction, as well as the development of photography and of printing techniques. Since the 1880s some architecture books already included photographs along with drawings and plans of buildings. By the early twentieth century such techniques allowed for the cheap production of photo-books. This had an immediate impact on design, for in a period in which architecture was largely based on the copy of historic models, it allowed fashions to spread quicker than ever before, and made images of architecture much more accessible to architects everywhere. The popularisation of photo-books, much cheaper than the plate-books produced some decades earlier, allowed for the quick and widespread dissemination of knowledge on Spanish architecture.

Among the more prominent photo-books published in Britain at the time containing images of Spanish architecture were those by the mining engineer A. F. Calvert (1872-1946). Calvert, apart from being an engineer, was an amateur photographer who had had the opportunity to travel to Spain 'on business grounds' in 1902.[115] Since then he travelled frequently around the country buying photographs from local photographers and taking many photographs himself. Between 1903 and 1921 he published 26 photo-

[114] 'United Kingdom markets in 1913. Our cement exports', *The Building News* 107, no. 3119, Oct 16, 1914, 489.
[115] Albert F. Calvert, *Impressions of Spain* (London: George Philip & Son, 1903), 10.

books of Spain, containing more than 5000 photographs, mostly of Spanish monuments, works of art, and landscapes. The aim of these books was not 'to write a guide-book for the tourist, but rather to supply him with a souvenir, and to provide a manual for those interested in architecture and archaeology.'[116]

Although interested in architecture Calvert was no expert on the subject, and however interesting his books might be, they are not academic works. Their main importance resided in their role of disseminating photographs of Spanish buildings. It is impressive to compare Street´s 80 illustrations of Spanish Gothic architecture, or Prentice´s 60 plates of Spanish Renaissance, with Calvert´s almost 5000 images of buildings and objects of all kinds, ranging from the Roman to the Renaissance. As a newspaper review observed: 'Never before has an attempt been made to present to the public so vast a number of reproductions from quite acceptable photographs of Spanish works of art at so low a price'.[117] These, however, were not the only photo-books of Spanish art and architecture published in Britain at that time. Royall Tyler´s books on the subject and Leonard Williams's monumental *The Arts and Crafts of Older Spain* (London, 1907) combine a large display of images with a scholarly approach.[118]

This profusion of photo-books allowed British architects to access a large number of images of Spanish architecture cheaply and easily, without having to travel there. Although church builders remained mostly loyal to the Gothic style, they broadened the repertoire of nineteenth-century church designers. These eclectic and unorthodox

[116] Albert F. Calvert*, Leon, Burgos and Salamanca* (London: George Philip & Son, 1908), 1.
[117] 'Book Review, The Spanish Series', *The World*, 3 May 1912.
[118] Royall Tyler, *Palencia* (Barcelona: Hijos de J. Thomas, 1900), *Spain: a study of her life and arts* (London: G. Richards, 1909).

designers favoured the use of Spanish style elements, such as large, richly coloured and gilded reredoses of which Calvert had included many images in his books (Fig. 2.9).

For instance, as soon as G. G. Scott won the competition for Liverpool´s Anglican cathedral, he travelled to Spain to study its church architecture. Scott´s son, Richard Gilbert, recorded how his father did a 'certain amount of travelling in Spain and France' between 1902 and 1910.[119] Peter Kennerley has mentioned that the lawyer Sir Frederick Radcliffe, Chairman of the Committee for building the new Liverpool Cathedral, 'travelled in Spain with the young Scott, seeing some of the buildings which were to leave lasting marks on the design of the new cathedral.'[120] Unfortunately, the sketches he might have done in Spain are lost, and we cannot know the places and monuments he visited. Both Kennerly and Scott's son have remarked upon the influence that Spain had in Scott´s own work, especially in his liking of rich furniture and decoration against plain backgrounds, a feature typical of his architecture throughout his career. The main reredos of Liverpool Cathedral (Fig. 2.10) is clearly based on Spanish models. Some trace it to the facade composition of Saint Gregorio in Valladolid.[121] His son sees a reference in it to the retable of Saint Nicholas, Burgos. It is probably an imaginative combination of both.

Two architects that had worked for Scott´s partner on Liverpool cathedral, G. F. Bodley, borrowed even more directly from Spanish medieval architecture. These were Sir Walter Tapper (1861-1935) and Sir John Ninian Comper (1864-1960), two of the last

[119] Ralph G. Scott, *Giles Gilbert Scott: His Son´s View* (London: Lyndhurst Road Publications, 2011), 6.
[120] Peter Kennerley, *The Building of Liverpool Cathedral* (Preston: Carnegie Publishing, 1991), 54.
[121] David Watkin, *A History of Western Architecture*, 4th ed. (New York: Watson Guptill Publications, 2005, 1st ed. 1986), 641; and Peter Kennerley, *The Building of Liverpool Cathedral* (Preston; Carnegie Publishing, 1991), 111.

Gothic revivalists. Tapper, who had never been to Spain, must have known its art through photo-books and other publications. He was also acquainted with the collection of Spanish objects displayed in the Victoria & Albert Museum. One of his notebooks dating from 1909 has several sketches of religious objects displayed in the museum, which he probably entered during one of his visits there.[122] He apparently studied carefully a particular Spanish retable exhibited there, which he drew in great detail, including an elevation (Fig. 2.11), mouldings and ornamental details.[123] The retable (Fig. 2.12) is a very fine early fifteenth-century example of the Valencian school.[124] It is composed of twenty painted panels arranged in five columns, the central column being taller and wider than the rest. The retable rests in a *predella* formed by a row of ten smaller panels, and is surrounded by a frame decorated with paintings of the apostles and geometric patterns. In the early 1910s Tapper was involved in the design of the Guilford Grammar School chapel (Western Australia, 1912-14). He produced for that chapel a reredos (Fig. 2.13) which is almost an exact copy in composition, detail, and colour to the Spanish one.[125] Some other of the church fittings he designed, especially the iron-screens in the regimental chapels of York Minster, also borrow strongly from Spanish models.

John Ninian Comper visited Spain on several occasions during his lifetime. The first of these was in 1882, when on a journey to southern France, with fellow pupils from Bodley's office, he decided to cross the Pyrenees and visit Pamplona. After this the *rejas*

---

122 London, Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Drawings Collection, SKB 342/4, RIBA Drawings Collection.
123 Retable of Saint George, Valencia (c. 1400). Acquired by the V&A Museum in 1864.
124 Judith Berg Sobré, *Behind the altar table: te development of the painted retable in Spain, 1350-1500* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 173.
125 'Chapel for Grammar School. Near Perth, Western Australia', *The Builder*, v. CXIX, 19 November 1920, 565.

and furniture of Spanish churches and cathedrals exercised a strong appeal to him.[126] Comper travelled frequently throughout his life, in search of inspiration for his designs, sketching and taking photographs of what he found interesting. He visited Italy and France several times, he travelled to Greece once and, in 1910, decided to make a large tour of Spain, visiting most of its cities form north to south, the levant and even Mallorca. Comper is a good example of the new role that photography took in architectural design. On his travels he took and bought photographs of the monuments and works of art that he found interesting, and gathered an enormous collection of architectural photographs which he used as a catalogue of references for his designs. He had built a collection of more than 200 pictures of Spanish art and architecture from the places he had visited, and carefully organised these in monographic albums, dedicated to regions or to architectural elements, such as screens.

Comper´s design method, which he called 'unity by inclusion', consisted in combining picturesque elements of various styles, in order to achieve the kind of atmosphere that old churches had, in which different elements had been added with the passing of time. Spanish churches had been an inspiration for him in the development of this concept. As he once told the bishop of Southwark, 'it is the concentration of effect where each thing is related to the other that makes these churches (Spanish churches) so satisfying. Spain, I suppose alone, has an unbroken tradition, at least where the "restorer" has not destroyed it'.[127] It was Comper, the last Gothic revivalist who, more than half a century after Street's publication on Spanish Gothic, ultimately borrowed more enthusiastically from Spanish models. An outstanding example of this is his fantastic gilded reredos that

[126] Arthur Symondson, *The Life and Work of Sir John Ninian Comper (1864-1960): The Last Gothic Revivalist* (1988), London, 121.
[127] John Ninian Comper quoted in Arthur Symondson, *The Life and Work of Sir John Ninian Comper (1864-1960): The Last Gothic Revivalist* (London: RIBA Catalogue, 1988), 147.

he designed for Wymondham Abbey in the early 1920s (Fig. 2.14), or the iron-screens he designed for church interiors, such as those in the Warriors chapel, Westminster Abbey, and in Southwark cathedral, both from the 1930s.

Although almost all of Spanish architecture was reasonably well known in Britain by the turn of the century, the country's baroque architecture still remained relatively obscure. Baroque architecture in general, and southern Baroque in particular, had been completely despised by mainstream architects and architectural historians during the nineteenth century. Karl Baedeker described the eighteenth-century architect José de Churriguera as a 'mystagogue of the delirium of ornament',[128] while Richard Ford described him as 'the heresiarch of bad taste, whose name is synonymous with absurdity in brick and mortar'.[129] History of architecture books, such as Fergusson's, did not go beyond the fifteenth-century. In Britain particularly, after Pugin and Ruskin, all classical architecture was thought to be unchristian and thus suspect. By the end of the nineteenth century this attitude started to change. Heinrich Wölfflin published in Vienna *Renaissance und Barock* (1888), in which he established Baroque architecture, for the first time, as a field worthy of study for the art historian. In Britain, after a century of constant change in architectural fashions, many advocated a return to some kind of more permanent architecture. The arts and crafts architects had already attempted to develop an architecture which, focused on honesty of construction and craftsmanship, would leave aside the decorative excesses of the previous decades. However, as Alastair Service has noted,[130] although the Arts and Crafts Movement had a crucial impact on domestic architecture, its 'Free Style' failed to provide a public architecture that would

[128] Karl Baedeker, 1898, LI.
[129] Richard Ford, 1845, 570.
[130] Alastair Service, *Edwardian Architecture: Handbook to Building Design in Britain, 1890-1914* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 66.

match the aspirations of a British Empire at the height of its power. The grand manner became fashionable again in Britain helping to soften the previously negative views of Baroque architecture.

Meanwhile, in America, the story was quite different. The Mexican-American war of 1848 had suddenly left in American hands a vast territory, which included the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and parts of Utah, Nevada and Kansas, which had formerly been part of Spanish Mexico. As American settlers moved west and south, they encountered a land with a distinct architectural tradition and a vey different climate from that on the north-eastern coast. The Spanish missions, churches and pueblos, built mostly during the eighteenth-century were still scattered in the landscape and they stimulated the new comers to develop an architecture suitable culturally and climatically to those new lands. The reference for this new American architecture was to be found in Spanish Renaissance and Baroque. As an American architect wrote: 'the Renaissance, covering the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, produced in Spain a succession of architectural styles which have been found suitable of adaptation to modern requirements, especially in those parts of the New World in which similarities of climate and topography have combined with the tradition of Spanish settlement to bring about almost inevitably the importation of Spanish architectural forms.'[131] This circumstance, together with the outbreak of World War I in 1914, which left Spain as one of the only visitable countries in Europe,[132] awoke the American curiosity for

[131] Gerstle Mack and Thomas Gibson, *Architectural Details of Southern Spain* (New York: The Stilson Press, 1928), 1.
[132] AAVV, *The Book of the Boston Architectural Club 1925*, (Boston: Caustin-Clafin Co., 1926), 1: 'For years the Iberian Peninsula was terra incognita to the architect and the student, and it was only during the Great War, and after, that it had been slowly revealing itself as one of the most stimulating countries in Europe.' And Bertram G. Goodhue 'Introduction,' in Austin Whittlesey, *The Minor Ecclesiastical Domestic and Garden Architecture of Southern Spain* (N.Y.: Architectural Book Publishing Co.,1917): 'Thanks to its geographical position Spain is today the only Christian land undevastated by wars and the rumours of war.'

Spanish architecture. Although what became known as the 'mission style' was already in use by the late nineteenth century, it was in the second decade of the twentieth-century when, thanks to architects such as Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (1869-1924), a richer Spanish Colonial style was developed in the United States.

Although Goodhue never visited Spain, as a young architect he had decided to take an unusual tour in Mexico, making many sketches of vernacular architecture which he published on his return in 1892.[133] After a second trip to Mexico in 1899, he collaborated with drawings and plans on Sylvester Baxter's *Spanish Colonial Architecture in Mexico* (1901). This book is replete with Spanish Baroque examples, particularly buildings by Churriguera. Baxter does not consider this style extravagant or decadent, but rather found it full of 'inherent wilfulness and disregard of convention … strength and individuality',[134] and regretted that 'the memory of José de Churriguera has fallen into architectural disrepute as that of a sort of black sheep'.[135]

The event that popularised the Spanish Colonial Revival was the Panama-California exposition, held in San Diego in 1915. Goodhue was selected as supervisory architect of the exposition in 1911, and decided that the buildings should be designed in a vernacular style. Mission style seemed too poor for the large-scale buildings required so he turned to more ornate Mexican and Spanish Churrigueresque[136], which, in his

---

133 Bertram G. Goodhue, *Mexican Memories* (New York: G. M. Allen, 1892).
134 Sylvester Baxter, *Spanish Colonial Architceture in Mexico* (Boston: J.B. Millet, 1901), 17.
135 Ibid., 30.
136 Bertram G. Goodhue 'Introduction,' in Austin Whittlesey, *The Minor Ecclesiastical Domestic and Garden Architecture of Southern Spain* (N.Y.: Architectural Book Publishing Co.,1917): 'Until recently the nearest approach made by the architects of our southwestern cities to the work here published has been in the so-called very popular, but since the truth must be told, very crude and very unarchitectural, 'mission' style-if style it can be termed. Of late, however, a strong tendency has manifested itself to abandon this in favour of the far better and more beautiful Spanish Colonial which, after all, is scarcely distinguishable from Andalusian work.'

previous travels in Mexico, he had found 'wonderfully intricate'.[137] He designed the main buildings of the exposition in this style. The popularity of the exposition, along with the novelty of the architectural style, focused American attention on Spanish architecture. Between 1915 and the outbreak of World War II dozens of photo-books about Spanish architecture were published in America, with titles including *The Spanish house for America: its Design, Furnishing and Garden* and *Old World Inspiration for American Architecture*,[138] which gave a clear idea of the practical purpose they intended. The new style became popular. Even Randolph Hearst, instigator of the Hispano-American war a few years earlier, had his Californian mansion built in the Spanish Colonial style.

In Britain, the Spanish Colonial Revival became known through journals. *The Burlington Magazine*, for example, published a large article of the San Diego exposition with many photographs.[139] A further two articles followed on American Spanish Colonial Revival.[140] One of these articles helps us understand better why the Spanish Colonial style did not take root in the northern states, and still less in Britain. The author noted that 'to the northerner the Spanish Colonial may seem ornate, objectionably so, and inappropriate. He is right, in a measure. The style is unsuited to the north, but in the semitropics it is the best style extant, and its future is a big one'.[141]

This American connection might have helped soften British attitudes towards the Spanish Baroque. To be sure, the Spanish Colonial style had no impact on British

---

137 Bertram G. Goodhue quoted in Sylvester Baxter, *Spanish Colonial Architecture in Mexico* (Boston: J.B. Millet, 1901), 1.
138 Rexford Newcomb, *The Spanish House for America: Its Design, Furnishing and Garden* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1927)
139 F. P. Allen, 'San Diego Exposition,' *The Burlington Magazine* 32, no. 3, Mar. 1915, 116-126.
140 *The Burlington Magazine* 6, no. 12, Oct. 1915, 446-448 and C. Bukwith, 'The Development of Architecture in California,' *The Burlington Magazine* 3, no. 6, Mar. 1918, 145-149.
141 F. P. Allen, 'San Diego Exposition,' *The Burlington Magazine* 32, no. 3, Mar. 1915, 116-126.

design, except in the work of Martin Travers (1886-1948), who had been trained by Ninian Comper. However, at the other end of the British empire, in Australia for instance, the Spanish Colonial Revival found more fertile ground. Although American influence played a major role in the spreading of this style in Australia, paradoxically two English architects were mainly responsible for introducing the new style to the Dominion.[142] Leslie Wilkinson (1882-1976) introduced Mediterranean and Spanish architecture to Eastern Australia after a study tour in Europe in 1905, including four months in Spain.[143] In Western Australia it was Cyril Hawes, an arts and craft architect who became a Franciscan friar, who imported the church architecture he had studied in California.[144] Around those same years, *The Builder*, in two of its editorials, encouraged architects working in India to use the 'variant of Southern Renaissance, such as was practised by the Spaniards in Old Mexico and California and by the Portuguese in their colonies of Goa and Macao'.[145]

The knowledge that British designers and architects had of Spanish Baroque architecture was undoubtedly influenced also by developments in the history of architecture. In German-speaking lands the Baroque had been partly rehabilitated and studied with an academic approach after Wölfflin and his followers.[146] C. Gurlitt´s *Geschichte des Barockstils* (Berlin, 1887) was the first major academic publication on Baroque architecture. It gave plenty of information on German, French, Italian and English Baroque, but did not include any Iberian or Latin American examples. In 1908,

142 John M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia: a History* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1968), 233: 'one of the things the architects saw as they looked eastwards was the charming whitewashed terracotta-roofed mission buildings left in California and Mexico by the Spaniards.'
143 L. Wilkinson quoted in Lloyd Rees, *Leslie Wilkinson, a Practical Idealist* (Woollahra: Valodon, 1982), 12.
144 John M. Freeland, 1968, 233.
145 'Architectural Work of the Government if India', *The Builder* 112, nº. 3863, 16 February 1917, 145.
146 David Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History* (London: The Architectural Press, 1980).

Otto Schubert tackled the subject in his book *Geschichte des Barocks in Spanien* (Stuttgart), an impressive and richly illustrated work that devoted a long chapter to the work of Churriguera and his disciples. The English architect Martin Shaw Briggs (1882-1977) borrowed from these two books for his essay *Baroque Architecture* (1914), which, although based mainly on Gurlitt´s work,[147] includes a long chapter on 'Spain, Portugal and Spanish America', describing its Baroque architecture positively as 'a loosening of pedantic chains'[148]. This new appreciation of unconventional Baroque soon found its followers: in 1924, after much travelling through southern Europe, the art critic Sacheverell Reresby Sitwell published *Southern Baroque Art: a Study of Painting, Architecture and Music in Italy and Spain of the 17th & 18th Centuries*, which brought attention to late Baroque and Rococo.

British national Baroque Revival, German historiography of architecture and American cultural influence, all contributed to create a more positive attitude in Britain to Spanish baroque. The material fruits of this new situation were very scarce, and were reduced mainly to Martin Travers´ works and the Spanish Revival in some parts of the British empire. However, Spanish Baroque ceased to be an empty chapter in British historiography of architecture and became much better-known.

At last, from the beginning of the nineteenth-century up to World War II, Britain had gradually discovered Spain's architectural heritage, and all the periods of its fragmented architectural tradition had found a place in British publications on architecture. At first through an orientalising lens, then fuelled by the practical needs of the ecclesiologists´ medieval revival and, from the mid nineteenth-century through the different tastes of

[147] Martin Shaw Briggs, *Baroque Architecture* (New York: McBride, Nast & Co.,1914), preface.
[148] Ibid., 178.

rapidly changing fashions, Spain and Spanish architecture ceased to be in Britain the *terra incognita* it had been.

RALPH SELDEN WORNUM AND 'SPANISH EDWARDIANS'

The growing awareness in Britain for Spanish art and architecture coincided in Spain, after the turn of the century, with a spate of anglophilia that crossed the country from north to south. Britain´s leading position in many fields, its technological and economic superiority, made Spanish elites look increasingly toward Britain as a point of reference, after a nineteenth-century dominated by French influence. At the same time, Spain had seen some decades of political stability and economic development. British investments in Spain, which had started some decades before, intensified at the turn of the century, helping to spread British fashions and design in Spain. For example, Thomas E. Collcutt was commissioned by a British railway company to build two hotels in Southern Spain.[149]

Since the late nineteenth-century, Spanish gentlemen began playing polo and golf, many of whom were educated in Britain.[150] The anglophilia of Spanish elites was exemplified in the king, Alfonso XIII, an admirer of the British liberal monarchy and someone who desired to marry one of Queen Victoria's granddaughters.[151] He finally married Victoria

[149] Ana Aranda Bernal, *La arquitectura inglesa en el Campo de Gibraltar* (Cádiz: Diputación de Cádiz, 2007), 75-87.
[150] Fernando Sánchez Marroyo, *La España del siglo XX. Economía, demografía y sociedad* (Madrid: Akal, 2003), 50-54.
[151] José Antonio Vaca de Osma, *Alfonso XIII, el rey paradoja* (Madrid: EDAF, 1993), 56; Charles Petrie, *King Alfonso XIII and His Age* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1963), 79.

Eugenie of Battenberg, Ena, in 1906, strengthening the relationship between the elites of both countries.

The level of refinement that British design had achieved during the Edwardian period coincided with the most cordial period in Anglo-Spanish relations for centuries, along with the fact that Spain itself had enjoyed a long period of relative stability and economic prosperity. This allowed for the freer penetration of Edwardian architecture into Spain. Rich patrons were willing to build English style houses. The economic elites and noblemen lived a season of splendour and peace parallel to that 'brief Indian summer' of Edwardian Britain, especially during the Great War, in which the economy benefitted greatly from the country's neutrality.[152] Gathered around king Alfonso, a charming an elegant sportsman, they partied blissfully unaware that their world was quickly approaching its end. With the wealth accumulated through trade and industry, these elites built the fabulous environments to entertain themselves, many of them in the English fashion.

The work of Ralph Selden Wornum (1847-1919), an English architect who worked in Spain some years before Lutyens, and who was responsible for introducing the informal 'Old English' style into the country, is representative of this anglophile mood. Wornum worked primarily in Biarritz near the Spanish border in the 1870s and 1880s. Napoleon III had made Biarritz fashionable as a beach resort by building a palace there to his Spanish wife, Eugenia de Montijo. It soon attracted aristocrats from all around Europe, and a small British colony was established in the area. Wornum, who had started a promising career after having won the Royal Academy travelling studentship, moved to

[152] Fernando Sánchez Marroyo, 2003, 50-54.

Biarritz from London in order to gain commissions. There he designed several works; for example, an English cottage-style mansion for the 1st baron Wimborne, Les Trois Fontaines (1882), a house in Saint Jean-de-Luz, exhibited at the Royal Academy (1895), and the Chateau des Françons for John Pennington-Mellor. This house, the biggest that Wornum designed in France was a picturesque composition combining gables with an exposed timber frame, a verandah to the south, and an octogonal tower over the main entrance (Fig. 2.15). The Pennington-Mellors had an excellent rapport with the European royal families, including the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII), the queen regent of Spain and her son, and the Empress of Austria, who were frequent guests at their parties.[153] Apparently, 'the Queen Regent of Spain, attracted by the excellence of some buildings by his hand at Biarritz, entrusted Wornum with the erection of "Miramar", her summer palace at San Sebastian',[154] just fifty kilometres from Biarritz, on the Spanish side of the border (Figs. 2.16 and 2.17).

The town authorities of Santander did not want to miss the opportunities that the development of tourism was bringing to the region. Imitating San Sebastián, they thought that securing the periodic visit of the kings would be the harbinger for much-desired tourism and economic development. After the wedding of king Alfonso and Ena of Battenberg in 1906, the Santander town council decided to buy a large plot of land and to build a palace as a wedding present for the king and queen. Eight architects were invited by the influential 1st Duke of Santo Mauro, one of the masterminds of the project, who himself had commissioned a country house from Wornum a few years

[153] AAVV, *Domaine de Françon*, Biarritz (Bordeaux: William Blake & Co., 1991), 287.
[154] H. Walter Lonsdale, 'the late Ralph Selden Wornum,' *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 18, 10 December 1910, 100.

before (Figs. 2.18 and 2.19),[155] to submit their designs to a competition for the palace in 1908, which would have to be English in appearance, in consideration of Ena.[156]

Not surprisingly, Wornum was among the competitors (Fig. 2.20), although he did not receive the commission. Nevertheless, the development of Santander as one of the principal beach resorts of modern Spain continued apace. The court moved to the new palace for several months a year, and this attracted other important noblemen who started building mansions in the nearby hills overlooking the beach. Thus, the years in which Lutyens made his first visits to Spain (between 1915 and 1919) saw an intense period of building activity in and around Santander.

These projects contributed the expansion of English-style architecture into the Spanish northern coastline, at an ideal moment of Anglo-Spanish economic and cultural relations, and in the port city of Bilbao, which had strong trading relations with England. Not surprisingly perhaps, English-style architecture became the fashion among the city's rich industrialists, particularly between the 1910s and 1920s.[157] It was this atmosphere of anglophilia what facilitated Lutyens's access to Spanish elite circles, opening the possibility of travelling and working in the country.

[155] Las Fraguas, near Santander (1899-1901).
[156] Luis Sazatornil Ruiz, Un regalo para la reina. In AAVV., *La Reina Victoria Eugenia y el palacio de la Magdalena* (Santander: Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 2010), 69.
[157] Maite Paliza Mondunate, *Manuel María de Smith Ibarra: arquitecto, 1879-1956* (Bilbao: COAVN, 1988), 12.

III

ARCHITECTURE AND OPPORTUNITY:

THE TRAVELS OF EDWIN LUTYENS IN SPAIN

Edwin Lutyens arrived in Spain by invitation of two of the country's most prominent aristocrats: the Alba brothers, Hernando and Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart, who occupied a central position in this group of Spanish Edwardians. Hernando and Jacobo were members of one of the most important families in Spain, the Albas, and had been educated at Beaumont school in England.[158] However, this was by no means exceptional. The Albas, who were distant relatives of the English royal family (they were Stuarts and Dukes of Berwick), were enthusiastic anglophiles, and even after having finished their education they continued to travel to England frequently, where they had many friends. Lutyens had met Hernando Fitz-James Stuart y Falcó, Duke of Peñaranda del Duero and brother of the Duke of Alba in England, at a party at Lord Winborne's house, Ashby St. Ledger's, in 1915.[159] Apparently, it was in that first meeting between the two men that Peñaranda explained to Lutyens his interest in building a palace on his remote state near Toledo, called El Guadalperal. By then communications had improved greatly, and by the late nineteenth century it was already possible to travel by train from Paris to Madrid relatively easily (Fig. 3.1 and 3.2).

It is unclear what Lutyens's idea of Spain was before he made his first visit to the country. As an educated man, it is reasonable to assume that he would have been acquainted with some of the British literature on Spanish architecture above mentioned,

[158] José Luis Sampedro Escolar, *La Casa de Alba* (Madrid: La esfera de los libros, 2007), 242.
[159] Christopher Hussey, 1950, 338.

or at least with the general perception of Spain that they contained. He had read, for example, John Lothrop Motley's *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1898), a book in line with Britain's traditionally negative view on the Spanish Habsburgs.[160] Lutyens's first visit to Spain coincided with the 1915 San Diego exhibition in the US, and the peak in popularity of Spanish Colonial architecture. As will be discussed in the following chapters, it is very probable that he was aware of this. It is also certain that he bought A. N. Prentice's book on Spanish Renaissance architecture.[161] This fact is notable, for the book was published in 1893, at the same time Lutyens was starting his private practice when he had very few commissions and a small income.[162] As his letters to Lady Emily reveal, Lutyens liked Spain, and he found its costums and culture attractive and amusing (Fig. 3.3).

Lutyens's acquaintance, and later friendship, with the Albas opened doors to the most distinguished members of Spanish society. He was hosted in palaces, received by the king, and took part in royal hunts and high-society parties. Liria Palace was one of the epicentres of Spanish social life at the time, and during Lutyens's visits he frequently dined with politicians, businessmen, and intellectuals.[163] As his biographer Christopher Hussey has observed, Lutyens's travels to Spain were something of a dream to him.[164]

---

[160] London, Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collections, letter of E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 25 October 1915: 'Motley´s Dutch Republic helped me to realize the power of which the Escorial was the centre.
'[161] Andrew N. Prentice, 1893, list of subscribers.
[162] Christopher Hussey, 1950, 54.
[163] In the 26 October 1915, for example, he had dinner with the Prime Minister, Eduardo Dato (London, Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collections, letter of E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915).
[164] Christopher Hussey, 1950, 338.

AN ENGLISH GUEST AT LIRIA PALACE

Lutyens visited Spain for the first time in October 1915. At that time, the outbreak of World War I was bringing his projects in Britain to a halt, while getting new commissions was almost impossible. In that context, as Margaret Richardson has pointed out, Peñaranda's invitation to Spain in order to start the designs for a palace must have brought some relief.[165] The details of his first visit to Spain are generously recorded in the letters that he sent Lady Emily during his stay. Lutyens travelled to Spain via Paris, where he stayed with the Mallets, who were friends and old clients of his. Peñaranda's chauffeur was meant to meet Lutyens at Paris and drive him to Madrid, but he did not show up. Lutyens decided to take the train in the Gare d'Orsay for Madrid, and after a twenty-hour journey he arrived at his destination. Upon his arrival he

> had intended - not knowing the address - to go to the Hotel Ritz - a name I could speak and where I imagined they could talk English. There a sort of state master boy knew d'Alba's address and I got into a cab and came straight here. The big iron gates there were in due course opened and at the other side of a well treed forecourt stood this great house. I could not make myself understood to the concierge but he sent for the maître d' hotel who came and all my fears and troubles were at an end: I was expected.

[165] Margaret Richardson, Gavin Stamp, 'Lutyens and Spain,' *AA Files*, January 1983, 51-59.

He was accommodated in some 'very comfortable rooms' where he was served 'an excellent breakfast'. After he had finished breakfast 'Peñaranda appeared in a dressing gown trés chic and I feel clean and comfortable'.[166]

After an uncomfortable and long journey in which he had seen 'very little of Spain', and given that the view from his apartment to the trees in the park gave 'no feeling of town around at all', it must have been difficult for Lutyens to realize that he was being hosted in the very heart of Madrid. The Liria Palace, official residence in Madrid of Peñaranda's elder brother, the Duke of Alba, occupied a large lot in the historic part of the city, just a fifteen minute walk from the Royal Palace. With over 200 rooms, it is to this day the largest private residence in Madrid, with the largest private park in the centre of the city. It was built in the second half of the eighteenth century by the 3rd Duke of Berwick, of English origins, and an ancestor of the Duke of Alba. The palace, in its solid massing and simple classical decoration, made a positive impression on Lutyens. The compact plan, a rectangle with a central court, and the elegant composition of the facade consisting on a giant Doric order standing on a rusticated granite basement, created a magnificent and serene effect, very different from the Rococo or Churrigueresque, still very popular in Spain at the time it was built.

Madrid had profited from Spanish neutrality during the Great War, as had other Spanish cities. Between 1910 and 1930, the period during which most of Lutyens's travels to Spain took place, Madrid's population grew from around 600,000 to over a million.[167] As other countries had to focus their industrial capacities in military production, Spain

[166] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 23 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collections, Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A), London.
[167] From 614,322 in 1910 to 1,041,767 in 1930, according to the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística*.

became a supplier of basic industrial products to Europe. Spanish industries underwent unprecedented expansion, and people moved from rural areas to the industrial cities.[168] Madrid received an enormous amount of migrants, and with a population growing much faster than the city boundaries, it struggled to accommodate the newcomers.[169] Not surprisingly, Lutyens found the city 'very untidy'.[170]

On his first visit to Madrid, Lutyens was impressed by the richness of the Liria Palace. Peñaranda showed him around, and he saw 'good Stuart portraits, Mary Queen of Scots, James II, Charles II ... some good Goya's and many other Spanish pictures, Van Dyck. But not English masters - one Velazquez, some interesting French pictures, beautiful tapestries'.[171] In the dining room of the palace, Lutyens shared a table on many occasions with some of Spain's most important personalities, and could enjoy 'first class French cooking' served by 'multitudes of servants'.[172]

After lunch on the first day of his visit Peñaranda drove him to the royal palace of Aranjuez, a small town to the south of Madrid. Lutyens described it as 'a little palace in a spacious garden - an elaborate try - a Spanish estilism of the Petit Trianon. The gardens were pleasant and the Tagus dammed up to make a rush along side the boyish palace'. On Sunday morning they visited the Prado Museum and, in the afternoon, they went to Alcalá de Henares, an old university city next to Madrid, famous for its Renaissance architecture. Peñaranda then took Lutyens to see a bullfight, but he regretted that he did not get a chance to see the best buildings in the city. After the fight

168 AAVV., *La economía en la España Moderna* (Madrid: Istmo, 2006), 125.
169 Carlos Sambricio, *Madrid, Vivienda y Urbanismo: 1900 - 1960* (Madrid: Akal, 2004), 52.
170 E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 23 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collections, V&A, London.
171 Idem.
172 idem.

they returned to Madrid in time for dinner at the Liria Palace. Lutyens's account of that dinner to lady Emily gives a good idea of his social life in Spain: 'An old Duke and a Duchess came to dinner last night, old family friends, the minister man and a newspaper proprietor - pro allies - all good fun but a lot of Spanish was talked so I was out of it. They liked my transparencies, they do not depend on language and my monosyllabic French helped me out'.[173] As this letter shows, Lutyens carried some transparencies with him and was always on the lookout for new clients. The day after, for example, he had dinner again at Liria palace, where he shared the table with a marquis and a count, 'the count wants to build a house in Madrid. Their names are beyond me'.[174]

EL ESCORIAL, GUADALAJARA, TOLEDO

On the morning of the 25th they visited the royal armoury 'which is quite wonderful ... good coaches always delight me'. After lunch they started for el Escorial, the great palace-monastery built by Philip II in the centre of the Castilian plateau, and from where he governed all his empire. The great classical palace, in which other British travellers had seen the materialisation of the supposedly dark and fanatical personality of Philip II,[175] made a very good impression on Lutyens. Indeed, the change in architectural fashions in Britain, with a return to simpler classical forms,[176] might have contributed to a more balanced appreciation of the dry Spanish Renaissance of Juan de

[173] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 24 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[174] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 246 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London. It is possible that the count was Count de la Cimera, who commissioned a house in Madrid from Lutyens in 1919, which will be discussed in chapter 6.
[175] For example, John Lomas, 1884, 123: 'A place this, only to be known in order to be hated'; and Henry Swinburne, 1779, 224
[176] Alastair Service, 1977, 187.

Herrera by British connoisseurs. In 1914 the art historian Martin Briggs had called the Escorial 'the standard of excellence'.[177] The simple massing, the nobility of materials and construction, and the economy of ornament were close to Lutyens's own aesthetic ideal. However, the classical principles were applied with little invention, and the building lacked liveliness. In Lutyens's opinion, 'the proportions were good, the building good - the detail somewhat clumsy and a repetition of the same features ... It is a whopping great palace, all very simple and no fraudulent construction as our government of today insists on'.[178] Lutyens was probably thinking of the construction of Delhi, where state officials had several times proposed to cut down building expenses by reducing the amount of stone used.[179] Lutyens and Peñaranda also went for a walk in the gardens around the palace. These gardens, which had been worked out in terraces overlooking the harsh and dry Castilian landscape, might have given him some ideas for the Moghul gardens in the Viceroy house at Delhi, which he would start to design in 1918.[180] As he recorded: 'the gardens were pleasant. Thick cut box hedges in knots, stone niched walls and gravel, grass is impossible in this country'.[181]

In the morning of the 26th they drove to Guadalajara, 'an old palace with some good rooms, an interesting plan around an over elaborated patio,[182] a hospital with a well designed chapel.'[183] The day after they set off for Peñaranda's estate of el Guadalperal, in the remote region of Extremadura, southwest of Toledo, where he wanted to build

[177] Martin S. Briggs, 1914, 178.
[178] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 25 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[179] Robert G. Irving, *Indian Summer. Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (London: Yale University Press, 1981), 126.
[180] Robert G. Irving, 1981, 241.
[181] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 25 October 1915, RIBA Drawings.
[182] Lutyens is almost undoubtedly speaking of the Palacio del Infantado, an impressive fifteenth-century palace, placed in the centre of the town and famous for the rich plateresque decoration of its patio.
[183] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 26 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

the palace that Lutyens was to design. Although Peñaranda did not think 'he will begin building until after the war, there is so much to prepare first - the plans, getting water, building huts for work people...'.[184]

On the way to el Guadalperal they visited Toledo, and stayed one night in Peñaranda's sister's manor house of Ventosilla, near the city. On the outskirts of Toledo they visited the Renaissance hospital of San Juan Bautista. It's layout, around a porticated double court made a lasting impression on Lutyens, as it will be further discussed in chapters IV and VII. In the city they visited 'the great palace (the Alcázar) that crowns the cone on which Toledo is built (and) various other buildings, with one or more patios'. The Alcázar of Toledo was a medieval castle which had been heavily restored and added to in the sixteenth century, including a very fine Plateresque facade and a patio with classical porticos on four sides. Afterwards they went into the cathedral: 'the building cannot be compared with our Northern cathedrals - Chartres, Westminster, etc. but the wealth and elaboration is certainly impressive. The great coloured windows and the most marvellous profusion of heraldry part hidden by great gilt reredos, and in front of these stand great iron grilles and grilles again enclosing the choir. Precious stones and marbles, inlaid wood, carvings... The church full of tombs and crowded with altars. Each altar enclosed by a Spanish grille'.[185]

Lack of any reference to Toledo's Moorish and *mudéjar* architecture in Lutyens's letters after visiting the city are striking, demonstrating how biased he was toward his own architectural preferences. Even Street, who had visited this city half a century

[184] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 23 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[185] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 26 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

beforehand to study its Gothic architecture, could not help admiring and even including some of the 'oriental' architecture of Toledo in his publication. Street acknowledged that 'after Granada and Cordova, perhaps nowhere is there so much to be seen of their works (of the Moors) as in Toledo',[186] including several images of its Islamic style synagogues in his book. However, Lutyens's sensitivity seemed absolutely impenetrable to the charms of this art. His total dislike of Eastern architecture had been made clear just a few years earlier, when he travelled through India in 1910 and 1911, during which time he described the indigenous architecture of that country, whether Islamic or Hindu, as a 'veneered joinery' of 'terrifying shapes'.[187] He was totally confident in the superiority of Western culture and its architectural traditions and, consequently, adamantly opposed, at first, to the political pressure that had been placed on him to produce a design for the Viceroy's House at Delhi that would integrate 'oriental' features.[188]

Lutyens was, however, not entirely immune to the Islamic dimension to Spanish architecture that British travellers had recognised and discussed over the centuries. During his travels he recorded having seen 'here and there a moorish fort on high ground dominating the roads'.[189] At the estate of El Guadalperal he thought that a pile of stones could be the remains of 'a Moorish fort re-conquest',[190] and even thought that Madrid's old Alcázar had been 'a Moorish one',[191] even though it had been mostly built after the sixteenth century.

---

[186] George E. Street (1865), 304.
[187] Robert G. Irving (1981), 101.
[188] Ibid., 102.
[189] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[190] Idem.
[191] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 20 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

'...OLD TESTAMENT PICTURES IN AN ARID COUNTRY'

After visiting Toledo, Lutyens and Peñaranda followed the valley of the river Tagus and drove to the nearby village of Torrijos where Peñaranda's sister, the Duchess of Santoña, and her husband lived in an estate called La Ventosilla. There, Lutyens experienced genuine Spanish rural high-class life, away from the glamorous atmosphere of the Liria Palace. Lutyens must have made a good impression on the Dukes of Santoña, because shortly after this meeting he began working on the designs for an extension to their manor house.

The next day, together with the Duchess of Santoña and her chaplain, they carried on driving by the river Tagus to the west, in order to reach Peñaranda's estate in Elgordo, approximately one hundred kilometers away (Fig. 3.2). During that journey Lutyens had the opportunity to cross the arid and poor landscape of southern Castile. From La Ventosilla to Talavera de la Reina, where they stopped for fuel, they probably followed the old road that goes along the river Tagus. The road 'rose from the river banks and bumped and bumped along this rutty roads ... Goats, sheep black, which galore making Old Testament pictures in an arid country, much like India'. From time to time the road left the wheat fields and vineyards, scattered with little ilex forests and passed through a village. 'The roads through a town are narrow and cobbled. The motor car causes excitement and children dogs men women seem all around and under it. Then out into the country again, the wide ill kept roads with frequent grips across them and lined with high current electric wires on rickety posts - vineyards, cow stables, ilex, poplars too and

all trees ill cut and bad forestry everywhere'.[192] On their way to Talavera they probably passed through some old villages, such as Malpica de Tajo, with an imposing castle overlooking the river Tagus, Cebolla and La Puebla de Montalbán (Fig. 3.4), which had some good churches and renaissance palaces. From Talavera to Elgordo they probably also took the old road that passed under the medieval castle of Oropesa and through Calzada de Oropesa, a small village that has two large brick and stone churches. However, that part of the country was very poor at the time, and monuments were often neglected. Lutyens wrote to Lady Emily the day after: 'Every village has one great church gaunt and half ruined, sometimes two or three. Monasteries and convents galore and here and there a moorish fort on high ground dominating the roads'.[193]

They all stayed at Elgordo for two days, where, with the help of the priest and a surveyor who came from Madrid, they inspected the estate looking for the most suitable site to construct the building and to look for building materials. On Saturday morning they left for Madrid and on their way stopped in Talavera, where they visited a 'Spanish tile and pot factory - in a jolly old disused church',[194] arriving in Madrid just before dinner at Liria Palace. An anecdote in one of his letters reveals how aware Lutyens was of the fashion for everything English in the Spain he travelled to, and how ready he was to exploit this. For instance, take his description of a dinner party at La Ventosilla: 'A dinner party at 9 - more dukes and duchesses - I was asked what I thought of Spaniards. I said they were so like Englishmen as to be undistinguishable, which delighted them all'.[195]

---

[192] Idem.
[193] Idem.
[194] According to the description given by Lutyens, the factory was probably the *Alfar del Carmen*.
[195] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

'Monday was All Saints day, so did little but work a good deal on Elgordo house. Alba showed me his archives, etc. Christopher Columbus letters ... wonderful! letters from Elizabeth, Henry VIII of England, the wills of the Catholic kings, lots of letters from Christopher Columbus etc, etc'. On Monday night he left Madrid for Gibraltar, where he would take a boat to Marseilles and then to India. In Gibraltar he had to wait several days for his boat to arrive. During one of these days he went to the Spanish city of Algeciras, which bordered Gibraltar. He made this trip in order to meet James Thompson who was the manager of the British hotel Reina Cristina, where he had worked as a contractor during its construction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries, designed by Thomas Colcutt.[196] On the third of November he finally left Gibraltar, taking in his luggage a ham for the Viceroy which he had received from Alba.[197]

This first visit to Spain was a success both personally and professionally. Lutyens started working on the Guadalperal project, and was lucky to be the guest of one of the most important families of the country, which opened doors to the most exclusive in Spanish society and allowed him to visit easily all the monuments around Madrid. During his stay in the Liria palace he shared a table with the prime minister and other members of the government, ambassadors, academicians and aristocrats. Unfortunately, Lutyens's ignorance of the Spanish language forced him to 'stay in the cold'[198] at some parties. His

[196] Ana Aranda Bernal, 2007, 75-78.
[197] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 25 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[198] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 26 November 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

position as a prestigious English architect and a guest of the Albas also gave him the opportunity to gain new commissions. Jacobo de Alba himself appeared to be a potential client and asked Lutyens about a possible addition to the Liria palace.[199]

MEETING KING ALFONSO

Lutyens's second visit to Spain, also for work, took place just a year later, in November 1916. He arrived at Madrid early on the 10th November, and Peñaranda prepared him a schedule for his week in Spain. The first two days he would stay with the dukes of Santoña in Ventosilla, where they wanted to build a new residence. After that Peñaranda would take him to el Guadalperal, where he would stay for the next four days working on the project of the palace there. On the 18th he would go back to Madrid and then on to Gibraltar. However, an unplanned shooting party with the king changed the schedule some days later, and offered Lutyens the opportunity to meet king Alfonso personally.

On Sunday they departed for Ventosilla, where apparently the Santoñas wanted to start building as soon as possible. After inspecting the estate he 'worked like a slave' making 'foundation plans etc - so that they could get on without waiting for the finished drawings'.[200] On Wednesday morning Peñaranda went to Ventosilla to collect Lutyens. From there they drove together to el Guadalperal, arriving in the evening after a car accident in which they were miraculously unharmed. After a day working on the design

[199] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 3 November 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London: 'Alba has a good deal of land round the Palacio Liria and he wants to reconstruct a lot of it and build a place for his archives. He says he will ask me about it when I am back. If it was not for my pending operation I might go on my return from India in March.'
[200] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 17 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

of the new building, they went back to Ventosilla, to join the hunting party that the Santoñas had prepared for the king. King Alfonso made a deep impression on Lutyens.[201] He was fluent in English, so they could speak together for a long while, and the king invited Lutyens to visit the royal palace in Madrid. As he wrote to Lady Emily: 'I sat with the king in his butt and walked, talked with the queen, had a very good innings!' Not losing a minute, Lutyens even explored the possibility of working for the king:

> We talked building and I told his majesty many things he should do, such as Napoleon did etc ... The king has asked me to the palace tomorrow and is going to take me over it himself which will be fun. He is having it all opened up from cellar to attic and the palace architect will be there too. He asked a lot about Delhi, the prices and costs of material as affected by the war. He was very keen to see the Guadalperal plans and was awfully kind and appreciative. They have been a great success and Alba congratulated me in full and ducal pomposity.[202]

On Saturday Lutyens stayed at Ventosilla, but due to 'a hurricane we could do nothing out - plans torn, pegs blown away, trees tossing and breaking'. Nevertheless, this demonstrated that surveying and stakeout were already in progress. The next day they went to Madrid, early in the morning, to visit the royal palace. The king 'took us Peñaranda, myself all on the palace, state rooms, private rooms where we met the Queen lying on a sofa "writing letters home to England", cellars, vaults, kitchens where

[201] Idem.: 'But the king! He has really a wonderful personality, simple, charming, a mixture of boy and grand seigneur, very much taller than I expected for he is a tall man! very thin and quick and energetic, a serious, thoughtful face with small eyes that twinkle yet full of fun and joie de vivre.. Everybody seems to love him and count him friend. He is treated with enormous respect but no one has the slightest fear or any feeling of self consciousness when with him.'
[202] Idem.

we like schoolboys stole food and were given cocktails!'[203] Lutyens was amazed by the size of the palace and the riches it contained:

> Some beautiful tapestries - he had 1400 of them the carpets throughout the palace were Spanish - rather crude - a beautiful Tiepolo ceiling in the throne room. Some very good Goyas but his grandfather gave all the Velazquez to the nation ... The palace from which Velazquez painted was burnt - a former palace, a Moorish one, and belonging to the time of Velazquez. was all burnt and this present one is a very good building designed by a Neapolitan architect and built by Spaniards. It has fine Italian lines and scale with some bad decoration inside.[204]

On the 19th of November, after the visit to the royal palace, Lutyens took the night train from Madrid to Algeciras and, after almost a week waiting in Gibraltar for his ship to arrive, he departed from the Peninsula.

Lutyens was fully satisfied with his second trip to Spain: 'My visit has been a great success. I have escaped two narrow deaths! get out two houses, enter a great deal. But I knew a king, and like the feeling of it!' A paragraph in his letter to his wife summarised his professional situation in Spain, at that moment and his prospects of getting new commissions: 'Duchess Santoña told me Alba is looking for a country place where he might build a palace in which he can end his days and that I should build it. I have had talks with Alba but he said nothing himself - they are also talking of doing alterations to

[203] Idem.
[204] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 20 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

the Liria Palace, but his Spanish architect is not inclined to start the archive buildings - which I should do - just yet. But two big houses are quite enough at a time'.[205]

1917 AND 1919 JOURNEYS TO SPAIN

Some fourteen months later, in late December 1917, Lutyens arrived to Spain for a third time. The train journey from Paris to Madrid was 'long, cold and tedious', as the train got trapped in the snow in a hilly area next to Avila, and they had to wait in the train all night without fuel for warming. When he arrived in Madrid there was 'snow, slush everywhere and the country upside down'.[206] But at last, after a twenty hour delay, he arrived at Liria Palace on December 29, where he received a warm welcome and felt comfortable and at home. This third trip to Spain is not recorded as well as the previous two, mainly because Lutyens wrote just one short letter to his wife on the 29th. However, he included a little schedule of his trip, so it is possible to reconstruct the trip and to know where he went, or at least what places he intended to visit. According to this schedule, after two days in Madrid, he left for Ventosilla, where he stayed for another two days. On the 3rd of January he planned to leave for el Guadalperal, where he was to stay for a further three days. In addition, he intended to pay a three day visit to Algeciras, though the purpose of this trip is not clear. He might have gone to meet the building contractor Mr. Thompson or his friend Sir Herbert Miles, governor of Gibraltar. On January 12, he left Madrid by train, going back home via Paris, the same

[205] Idem.
[206] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 29 December 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

way he had come. This trip was thus the first he did exclusively in Spain, instead of stopping at Spain on the way to Delhi.

Next winter, on the 5th of February 1919, Lutyens arrived again at Madrid. He went directly from the train station, where a chauffeur was waiting to take him directly to the Liria Palace, where he was served 'a Spanish breakfast a la Français and feel comfortable and relieved'.[207] During the next few days he stayed in Madrid, and instead of going to Guadalperal, Mr. Hinton, his employee working on the site, travelled to Madrid to meet him. On the 9th of February Lutyens went to Santander by train, where he stayed for three days. He went there for business, to meet the Count de la Cimera who wanted to build a house there.[208] Little is known of this trip to Santander, although it is certain that he came to some sort of agreement with Cimera to start designing a building, for he worked hard during his stay in Santander.[209]

It was far from strange that the Count de la Cimera would be interested in having an English architect designing his summer home. As mentioned, Santander was, along with San Sebastián or Biarritz in France, a fashionable summer city in the Bay of Biscay. It was ideal for sea bathing and many Spanish aristocrats, following King Alfonso XIII, had established their summer residences there. Before Lutyens, other English architects, notably Ralph Seldem Wornum, had worked on the northern Spanish coast building summer residences, the most important of which had been the royal palace at San

---

[207] London, Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collections, letter of Edwin L. Lutyens to Lady Emily,5 February 1919.
[208] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 9 February 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[209] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 13 February 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.: 'I did a lot of work in Spain and for three days I worked 14 hours! making plans for count de la Cimera.'

Sebastián, built for the queen regent María Cristina in the late nineteenth century.[210] Again, as mentioned in the previous chapter, English architecture had become popular by then among high society resorting to the north coast in summer, displacing what was previously a French influence.[211]

TRAVELS AFTER THE GREAT WAR

After the conclusion of World War I the British economy started improving, and activity at home started picking up for Lutyens, in part thanks to a new impetus in the construction of New Delhi from 1920 onwards,[212] and to his appointment as architect for the Imperial War Graves Commission in 1918.[213] This situation made his travels to Spain less frequent.

In the mid 1920s Lutyens travelled again several times to Spain, in order to supervise the project of El Guadalperal. According to Christopher Hussey,[214] Lutyens visited Spain again on his way to India in 1924, although no letters to Lady Emily survive to provide evidence of what happened. In December 1925 and in November 1926 Lutyens visited Spain again on his way to India.[215] These were short visits mainly to supervise the works taking place in el Guadalperal. Little is recorded of these trips, as only a few short

---

[210] Luis Satazornil Ruiz, *Ralph Selden Wornum y la arquitectura inglesa en la costa cantábrica*, in XII Jornadas Internacionales de Historia del Arte. El Arte Foráneo en España. Presencia e Influencia. (Madrid, 22-26 Nov. 2004). ACTAS: Madrid, CSIC, 2005.
[211] Even king Alfonso's palace in Santander, the Palacio Magdalena,was built in an English style.
[212] According to Robert G. Irving expenditure rose from 54 lakhs of rupees in 1919-1920 to 129 lakhs of rupees in 1920-1921 (1981, 126).
[213] Christopher Hussey, 1950, 374.
[214] Christopher Hussey, 1950, 456.
[215] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 5 December 1925, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London; E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 24 November 1926, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

letters survive, but relying on what he wrote to his wife, it is clear that Lutyens kept up his close friendship with the Albas and the Peñarandas. In November 1926 after visiting El Guadalperal for his last time, Lutyens took the train to Algeciras in the 28th of November, and a little later embarked once again for India.

For the next years Lutyens focused on New Delhi, where the government house was nearing completion, and continued his numerous works in Britain. This did not allow him much time for travelling to Spain. Besides, the situation in Spain after the war started to deteriorate politically. Spanish neutrality in the Great War had brought unprecedented industrial development, which was accompanied by a strong population growth in the main cities. However, the end of the war produced an industrial crisis, and unemployment grew among the large mass of working people concentrated in the cities. This economic and social situation was the cause of continuous social unrest which, together with the military disaster in Morocco, brought the parliamentary system that had allowed political stability in Spain since 1875 to an end. With the government incapable of governing the country, General Primo de Ribera, with the support of the king, instigated a coup d'état, suspending constitutional rights and establishing a military government in 1923.[216]

Meanwhile, the only project of Lutyens in Spain that was in progress, the palace of El Guadalperal for the Duke of Peñaranda, was going through its own problems. Peñaranda, who suffered some economic difficulties during the late 1920s, saw his financial situation deteriorate with the establishment of the republic. Worse still, he had most of his properties expropriated. Together with this, his marriage was also going

[216] AAVV., *Historia de España Contemporánea* (Madrid: Istmo, 2002) 303.

through serious difficulties. However, Peñaranda decided to go on with the building of the palace until 1932, when the dramatic situation in the country made it impossible for work to proceed. At this point Lutyens's employee, Hinton, had to abandon the site and return home.

In spite of the perilous political situation, Lutyens travelled to Spain once more in 1934. It was at the invitation of the Duke of Alba, who was a member of the Hispano-English committee of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (ILE). This progressive university had been founded in 1876 by some Spanish academics who rejected having to make their teaching correlate with Catholic moral doctrine. The ILE, which was soon supported by many intellectuals, became in a short period a centre of intellectual life in Spain. It became famous for its alternative pedagogic methods and for inviting leading international intellectuals to teach. In the late 1920s a group of students from the ILE were organising a series of conferences on modern architecture. Lutyens would be the last in a group of 6 leading international architects and critics (Giedion and Le Corbusier in 1928, Walter Gropius and Erich Mendelsohn in 1930, Theo van Doesburg in 1932). When Lutyens arrived in Madrid in June 1934 it was the first time he had come since 1926. Although at first glance the city looked the same to him, Madrid had undergone important changes during those years. The city was being extended, especially to the north, in and around the Paseo de la Castellana, where much development was going on. It was in the new developments around the north of the Castellana that the republican government was erecting new colossal public buildings in a vaguely Herrerian style, which in Lutyens's opinion resulted in 'an enormous amount of

ugliness'.[217] In the Liria Palace, however, remained much the same, although the best pictures had been put in storage in case of pillage or robbery. 'The house wakes about 12 o'c. The servants appeared tidy in Spanish black and it all came to as of old. It was about 12 I saw Alba in his office, very friendly, and very much himself hating the republic'.[218]

On that occasion Lutyens visited no monuments. He just went to the Prado museum, which is what he always did when he was in Madrid, and visited the new university with some Spanish architects. Construction began on the *Ciudad Universitaria* of Madrid in 1928, under the sponsorship of King Alfonso. When Lutyens visited, many of the buildings had already been completed, most of them designed by Spanish Modernist architects, such as Manuel Sánchez Arcas. Not surprisingly, Lutyens disliked what he saw, describing it as 'a colossal lot of buildings all in horrible modern jazz, mad stuff'.[219]

14th June was the day of Lutyens's lecture, and 'the weather was gloriously hot and sunny'. He spent all morning in bed, getting up at 1:00pm, in time to go for lunch at the British embassy with Alba. In the evening he went with Alba to the auditorium of the ILE, the Modernist building where he was giving his conference. 'There were several architects and a pompous collection of old gentlemen who presented me with a letter joining their architects institute ... Well I started off, gave my paper and the images lantern and all my slides, 100 and something I think. It all seemed to go well and my lecture was appreciated'.[220] The day after he dined with Peñaranda. By then Peñaranda, who had lost most of his properties under the republican government, lived 'in the new

[217] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 15 June 1934, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[218] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 14 June 1934, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[219] Idem.
[220] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 15 June 1934, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

suburbs, the top flat roof of a new building - it is all modern, and with great flat roofs as tenants like, it looks like the decks of a liner!'[221] The old friends dined on the terrace overlooking Madrid. Peñaranda 'had masses of flowers in his terrace, brought from Guadalperal, rosemaries, lavenders, etc.' That evening would be the last time that Lutyens saw Peñaranda: he was not allowed by the authorities to leave the country and, two years later, during the Civil War, he was slain by communists in a mass killing. It was also a dream-like ending for Lutyens's Spanish encounter.

What can we make of Lutyens's encounter with Spain? During his travels he had the opportunity to see some of the most important architectural monuments of the Peninsula. However, the professional purpose of his travels did not allow him a great deal of time for sightseeing. Also, being a guest of the Albas, in a country whose language he could not speak, limited his autonomy. He regretted several times in letters to his wife this limitation. For example, in Alcalá de Henares, 'the best buildings they didn´t take me to see, at least I saw one or two churches that looked like the hand of a master at work'.[222] And in Madrid, 'the luxury of this place (and) this dependence on the motor prevents doing Madrid in a tourist rush and then they take me and show me things they like and want so my sight seeing is desisted'.[223] Nevertheless, he got to see the Royal Palace in Madrid, the Escorial, Alcalá de Henares, Talavera, Aranjuez, Toledo and Guadalajara.

Lutyens had both positive and negative reactions to what he had seen. On the one hand he had been attracted by the strong and simple massing of traditional Spanish

[221] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 16 June 1934, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[222] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 23 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[223] Idem.

architecture, including the contrast between rich decoration and bare wall surface that characterised it.[224] The arrangement of buildings in central and southern Spain around decorated patios also attracted Lutyens's attention, such as those he had seen in the Palacio del Infatado in Guadalajara[225] and in Toledo, where he admired the plan of the hospital of San Juan, with its double patio.[226] He was also fascinated by the richness of the furniture and interior decor, grilles and tapestries, that he had seen in some of the churches, especially in the cathedral at Toledo. However, there were also some things that he disliked. In his own words:

> They seem to have good architects and Philip II was a purist! Grand conceptions but weak in architectural technique and when they leave the Doric order - which, by the way, they run to death - they come awful croppers. They seem to have no man of the calibre of a Mansard the elder and certainly no San Michele nor a Wren! The rungs of the ladders break by elaboration and they fall into veritable pools of ostentation.[227]

Lutyens showed no interest in visiting the most popular architectural monuments of Spain: the Moresque remains of Andalusia, particularly the Alhambra or the mosque at Cordoba. Since 1912 Lutyens had travelled to most of the historic cities of North-western India, and his disdain for oriental architecture was no secret.[228] For him, Moghul and Hindu architecture was, at best, a charming setting, but 'as architecture, nil'. It is no wonder then that Lutyens would had no interest in studying the Nasrid

[224] Margaret Richardson, Gavin Stamp, 'Lutyens and Spain,' *AA Files*, January 1983, 51-59.
[225] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 23 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[226] Idem..
[227] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[228] Robert G. Irving, 1981, 276.

architecture of the Alhambra, which relying for its effect on the illusion created by coloured tiles and plaster decoration, was so far away from his own aesthetic ideals. In this respect, Lutyens was not very different from the other British architects who had travelled to Spain previously. Along with most of them, he looked at Spanish architecture through his own architectural lens. In the same way as G. E. Street had been exclusively interested in Spanish medieval religious buildings, and Owen Jones in its Moresque monuments, Lutyens, according to what he wrote to his wife, was almost exclusively attracted to Spain's classical architecture. In Madrid, he wrote exclusively of the Royal Palace and of the Liria Palace, both classical eighteenth-century buildings; in Toledo he gave a positive description of the Renaissance buildings, but gave no account at all of the numerous medieval buildings; and he also seemed to like the austere classicism of the Escorial. In this respect there were no surprises with the way that Lutyens behaved – he saw what he wanted to see in sympathy with his own strongly held opinions and prejudices concerning what he considered 'good' architecture. Lutyens's preconceptions did not stop him, however, from borrowing those aspects of Spanish traditional architecture that he considered more interesting or useful. As it will be discussed in the next chapters, among other things, Lutyens used Spanish tile roofs with projecting eaves and white in all his Spanish projects, he arranged his houses around carefully designed patios and he even copied directly some details of Plateresque carving.

IV

EL GUADALPERAL: THE SMALL PALACE

Hernando Carlos María Teresa Fitz-James Stuart y Falcó (1882-1939), XIV Duke of Peñaranda de Duero, and brother of the XVII Duke of Alba, was the main reason for Lutyens´s involvement in Spain after 1915. Peñaranda, or 'Nando' (Fig. 4.1), as he was commonly known, met Lutyens at a party in Lord Winborne´s house, Ashby St Ledger´s, in September 1915.[229] Apparently, it was in that first meeting between the two that Peñaranda expressed to Lutyens his interest in building a palace on an estate that he owned in the vast region of Extremadura, in Western Spain, inviting Lutyens to Madrid to show him the site. The economic crisis that the Great War had brought impacted on most of Lutyens´s works, including Delhi. This could explain his willingness to try his fortune in Spain and his quick acceptance of Peñaranda´s invitation. Just a month after their first meeting, Lutyens left London for Paris and then Spain, where he arrived on 23rd October.

'THE FOREST OF OLD ILEX, THE TAGUS AT OUR FEET.'

The details of his first visit to Spain are extensively recorded in the letters that he sent back to Emily during his stay. Lutyens travelled to Spain via Paris, where he stayed with the Mallets, some friends and old clients of his. Peñaranda´s chauffer was supposed to meet him at Paris and then drive him to Madrid but, for some unknown reason, he

[229] Margaret Richardson and Gavin Stamp, 1983, 51-59.

didn´t turn up. Lutyens decided to take the train from the Gare d'Orsay bound for Madrid, and after a 20-hour journey he arrived at his destination.

It seems that Lutyens liked Peñaranda from the first moment and, according to what he wrote to Emily, soon acquired a true affection for him. Only a few days after getting to know him, he wrote to his wife: 'Peñaranda is a charming person, 33, very funny, simple in the nice way, full of fun and live,'[230]. Peñaranda, by all accounts, was a truly amicable person. Along with his brother, he had the best things of a sophiscated gentleman, without loosing the warm and approachable personality of a southern man. That kind of warm simplicity that he observed in Peñaranda and other Spanish people, caught Lutyens´s attention. When Lutyens met the king the following year, he was also surprised by these same characteristics of his personality: 'He has a really wonderful personality, simple, charming, a mixture of boy and grand seigneur.'[231] Likewise, Lutyens, who came from a society with strict social conventions, was also surprised at the way in which 'him [Peñaranda] and his people were almost a family.'[232] All this helped Lutyens, to feel at home from the very first moment he entered the Liria palace.

Nevertheless, both Alba and Peñaranda had been brought up as part of Europe´s most cosmopolitan elite. They were both educated in Beaumont College[233], a Jesuit public school established in Berkshire in the mid nineteenth century that was fashionable for European Catholic upper classes, and had vacations as children in the French coastal resort of Biarritz. When they were older, both brothers continued to travel frequently to

[230] Idem.
[231] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 17 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[232] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 14 June 1934, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[233] José Luis Sampedro Escolar, *La Casa de Alba* (Madrid: La esfera de los libros, 2007), 242.

England, where they kept friends and businesses. In Spain, in spite of the economic difficulties it had gone through during the 19th century, the house of Alba was one of the richest and most politically influential in the country. Peñaranda, had himself inherited numerous estates and agricultural lands, including those of the Empress Eugenia de Montijo and, when the Republic was proclaimed in 1932, he possessed 51,016 hectares of land.[234]

Unlike his brother Alba, who was keener on politics and intellectual pursuits, Nando was more of a *bon vivant,* a successful sportsman and a tireless traveller. The fact that, in the same year (1910) he went bear hunting to the Arctic Island of Spitzberg[235] and then, few months later on a tiger-hunting safari to India (Fig. 4.2) gives a good idea of the extravagant and expensive lifestyle he led while he was a bachelor. As a polo player, he was even more celebrated. He took part in several Olympic Games with the Spanish team, including the 1920 Games in Antwerp, in which he won the Silver Medal together with his brother. His hobbies and personality also made him one of the closest friends of King Alfonso XIII,[236] of whom he had been a playmate as a child, and with whom he carried on meeting for polo matches or hunting parties frequently.[237]

The figure of Peñaranda is also a good example of the attraction that English culture, in that golden age of the British Empire, exerted on Spanish elites.[238] Fluent in English, and an excellent polo player, Nando was well integrated into the English high society.

---

234 Idem.
235 'Oso Polar', *Revista Blanco y Negro*, 6 July 1930, 99.
236 Sampedro Escolar, 2007, 243.
237 Many of them were recorded by the local press. For example, 'La Familia Real', *Periódico ABC*, 12 April 1914, 7 and 'Los Reyes,' *Periódico ABC*, 23 March 1914, 14.
238 Luis G. Martínez del Campo, 'La educación del "gentleman" español. La influencia británica sobre la élite social española (1898-1936)', *Ayer* 89, 2013, 123-144.

When in London, he attended social gatherings at the Athaeneum, and parties organised by his friends, such as Ivor Guest, Lord Wimborne, with whom he travelled in June 1914 to Washington to participate at the international polo tournament (Fig. 4.3).

King Alfonso and Ena de Battenberg´s marriage helped to strengthen the relationship between the elites of both countries. In 1914, as recorded in the local newspapers, a group of eight English gentlemen visited Spain for several months in order to take part in a polo tournament. In March, these gentlemen accompanied the king and other members of the Court to Moratalla, the estate of the Marquis of Viana, near Córdoba, where part of the tournament took place. The newspaper commented on two polo matches that were held on March 23, in which the King and Peñaranda played together, with some Spanish noblemen and English gentlemen.[239] Three weeks later, in the Royal Park of La Casa de Campo, two matches were held in the presence of Queen Ena. In one of them, the king and Alba played in one team against Winston Churchill, at that time Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Wimborne. These events help to illustrate how anglophile Spanish high society was when Lutyens arrived in Spain. The Albas´s familiarity with English customs and their fluency in English certainly also helped to make Lutyens feel at home with them. During his first journey, the Albas were devoted hosts to Lutyens, taking him to bullfights and on sightseeing tours around Madrid and neighbouring towns, and introducing him to Spanish society.

[239] In one of them, the Marquis of Viana, Captain Railston, Marquis of Villavieja and Captain Barret played against the marquis of St. Domingo, Captain Tomkinson, Lord Winborne and Captain Palmer. In the next match, king Alfonso played together with Peñaranda, Captain Lockett and Justo de Miguel against the Duke of Arión, Captain Badger, Count of Maza and Major Lannowe. (and *Periódico ABC*, 23 March 1914.)

Although the exact moment in which Peñaranda commissioned Lutyens to design a new house for him is not recorded, it is obvious that it was the reason behind Lutyens´s first trip. In fact, during that first visit, on October 27, Lutyens went with Peñaranda to visit the estate of Guadalperal, in Elgordo, province of Cáceres, in order to look for an appropriate site upon which to build the new house. On their way they visited Toledo and stayed for the night at the estate of la Ventosilla, owned by Peñaranda´s sister, doña Sol, and her husband the Duke of Santoña. 'Next morning Thursday we started for Elgordo the Duchess, Peñaranda, the priest and myself.'[240]

The countryside they drove through was quite different from what Lutyens was used to in England. From Toledo to Talavera, they probably followed the road that ran by the Tagus River, through the province of Toledo, in Southern Castile. The weather in the region is extreme and very dry during the summer months, making the landscape arid. The country is hilly and in the lower lands, by the river, there are arable lands and more vegetation, while the rest of the country is occupied with dry land farming, mostly cereal and olive trees. However, towards the west the landscape changes gradually, and from Talavera de la Reina, where they stopped for fuel, until the Portuguese border, the landscape is dominated by what is known as *la dehesa*. La dehesa, greener and gentler than the Castilian plateau, is a combination of extensive pastureland and open oak forest. In that area of Spain, the vast agricultural fields are not intensely farmed, giving the impression of being wild or almost abandoned. Finally, they arrived at the small village of Elgordo, a collection of houses surrounded by Peñaranda´s lands, 'a barren gaunt church and two small houses and Peñaranda´s granaries formed a piazza in which the population had gathered' to welcome the Duke and the visitors. 'A great deal of

[240] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

handshaking, much talk apparently to little purpose. The car to the children was honey to the bee.'[241]

Although there were some constructions in the estate of El Guadalperal, there was apparently no building good enough to accommodate them, and during this first visit they stayed in some houses that the Duke owned in the village. According to Lutyens, these houses were ill prepared to accommodate the party: 'We occupied two houses. A wide entrance hall without windows, but double doors, a shady court in the summer, a prison in winter. (...) No curtains. To the left a bedroom for the Duchess. To the right a bedroom for Peñaranda. No sanitary arrangements, no fireplaces and flies abounding.' Although there are no written records of what buildings were there in El Gualdalperal before Lutyens´s arrival, the fact that they had to be accommodated uncomfortably in such houses suggests that there was little more on the estate than barns, stables, and a 'bailiff´s house' that Lutyens mentions. After their arrival, they soon started work, inspecting the vast estate of El Guadalperal[242] and looking for a suitable location for the building:

> After lunch, coffee, and then we started for the property to find a site for the house. The Duchess on the money lender´s horse - such a jolly beast - astride, Peñaranda on Rosinante, the priest in gaiters looking stout and gallant on another. (...) We seemed to walk and drive

[241] Idem.

[242] Exceptionally large noble estates are frequent in South Western Spain due to the way in which the Reconquista progressed during the middle ages. As Christian kingdoms advanced southwards, the newly reconquered lands had to be quickly recolonised with Christian seettlers. The difficulties in moving populations from northern Spain, encouraged the crown to grant large extensions of land to the military orders and Castilian noblemen who helped extending the kingdom. Such was the case of the Tagus River valley (José A. García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre, *La época medieval* (Madrid: Alianza, 1973). Many of these vast estates passed from parents to sons until today, such as the estates of La Ventosilla and El Guadalperal.

> miles viewing the possible and impossible sites, until dark, and then in the dark we all got into the car - four of us - to drive back.[243] (Fig. 4.4)

After work, Lutyens experienced again the discomforts of the old village house: 'the big fire, sleeping men, rampant chickens, thieving dogs all mixed up with saucepans and fry pans, things everywhere, let alone cigarette ends.' The night was 'very cold and had not enough bedclothes. The street noises made an early disturbance.'[244] However, the next day was a very good one and Lutyens could admire the landscape in all its grandeur:

> Next morning Wednesday was brilliant and the whole panorama lay bare to us. The forest of old ilex, the Tagus at our feet. To the south a range of mountains beyond a plain and to the north snow-capped giants that seemed to belong more to heaven than to earth.[245]

The estate of Guadalperal was located occupying a large hill descends to some fertile lands on the north shore of the river Tagus, just after the point at which the river enters Extremadura from Castile. At this point, the valley is narrower than in Castile and it runs between the Sierra de Gredos, to the north, a mountain range which is part of the Central System, and the Sierra de Guadalupe, to the south. From El Guadalperal looking to the north, there are views of the peaks of the Sierra de Gredos, over 2000 meters high and, to the south, of Guadalupe, around 1200 meters high. Lutyens wanted to build looking south, across the river to the mountains. During that day, the party continued inspecting the site: 'The priest rode about searching for brick earth, lime and sand and returned gloriously happy and successful. Good sand, good clay, brick earth

[243] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[244] Idem.
[245] Idem.

and plenty of stuff to burn good lime.' They also found some ancient ruins in the place. Lutyens wrote to his wife:

> There are Roman ruins nearby and on the part of the estate near the river and on which I think we will decide, are giant heaps of stones evidently collected by some ancient for a building never started. Perhaps a Moorish fort re-conquest or a Roman one before that. No tool marks on the granite to make evidence.

By then, Lutyens had already decided in what site he wanted to build and he was starting to have some ideas for the design, which he explained to a surveyor who had come from Madrid.[246] At that point there was some debate as to what would make the best site for the palace. Lutyens preferred the lower site, by the river: 'on the river site - a cliff over the river - a curtailed view of snow mountains. A lower sheltered site where the trees grow big and the river runs and you will get views beneath the spreading branches and not above as in an aeroplane!' However, 'the local people and the priest say hill top. It will look so fine! and be so well seen!'.[247] By favouring of a more secluded site by the river, sheltered and surrounded by big trees, Lutyens showed his English sensitivity to landscape and nature, aspiring to an integration of architecture and nature, rather than dominance of mankind over the landscape, as in the case of Iberian castles, and such as the local people preferred. An anecdote from Lutyens's first trip gives an idea of the difference between his view of nature and that of local people: he wrote to Lady Emily, 'Our tragedy, a boy cutting an ilex, I protested and Peñaranda was furious with the boy.'[248]

---

[246] Idem: 'I showed him where and what I wanted to do, levels, etc.'
[247] Idem.
[248] Idem.

After those two days of hard work in El Guadalperal they left for Madrid on Saturday morning: 'the whole village collected to see us off (...) the crowd hailing Peñaranda and his sister.' On Sunday Alba took him to the golf and polo club, of which he was president, and 'Monday was All Saints day, so did little but work a good deal in El Gordo house.'[249] The day after he took the train south to Algeciras and, from there he went to the neighboring British colony of Gibraltar. The boat that was taking Lutyens to India, the SS Malaga, arrived three days late, and Lutyens had to wait for that time in Gibraltar. While in Gibraltar, Lutyens went again to Algeciras, where he wanted to meet the manager of the British Reina Cristina Hotel, James Thompson, who was very experienced in construction in Spain.

The Scottish architect James Thomson Barton had arrived at Spain in 1887. He moved to Tangiers in that same year to supervise the construction of a house that the also Scottish architect, Rowan Anderson, was building for himself there.[250] However, he soon quitted the job and established himself in Algeciras, close to Gibraltar, where he found work as architect for the British railway companies which were established in the area. He worked as a contractor for the Iberian and Mediterranear Hotels Company Ltd., closely related to the railway company, in the British Reina Cristina Hotel in Algeciras and the Reina Victoria Hotel in Ronda, both designed by Thomas Edward Collcutt. After their completion, he remained as manager of the hotel at Algeciras while building some country houses for the British colony and some anglophile Spanish

[249] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London
[250] Sam McKinstry, *Rowand Anderson, The Premier Architect of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1991), p. 144.

families, such as the Larios, around Gibraltar.[251] Colcutt had given Thompson an introduction to Lutyens, who was interested in knowing him in order to gather practical information about construction practices in Spain. Lutyens found him 'a delightful manager and loves building ... He told me a lot about building and building prices, etc. we had a long talk ... and he showed me around Algeciras '. [252] Lutyens probably went to Thompson looking for advise on practical issues of construction in Spain. Those few days in Gibraltar were the end of Lutyens´s first trip to Spain.

THE SECOND VISIT

The letters that Lutyens sent to Lady Emily during his second visit to Madrid, in November 1916, give interesting information about his commission for Peñaranda. According to what he wrote, the visit involved very intense work: Santoña, Peñaranda´s brother in law, wanted Lutyens to start building immediately in La Ventosilla and Peñaranda also wanted him to visit and work on the El Guadalperal project. According to what was scheduled, he was to arrive at El Gordo early on Wednesday 15th, but due to a car accident on the way from Ventosilla they did not arrive until the night. On Thursday Lutyens worked hard on El Guadalperal: 'Had a very happy day at Guadalperal, such beautiful weather and a very busy one, went to bed about 9!'[253] However, that was the only day that he spent in Peñaranda´s estate. The next day he departed with Peñaranda back to La Ventosilla, where the Duke of Santoña was hosting

[251] Ana Aranda Bernal, *La arquitectura inglesa en el Campo de Gibraltar* (Cádiz, 2008), 75-129.
[252] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 3 November 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[253] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 17 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

a partridge shoot in which Lutyens had the opportunity to meet personally king Alphonso. Lutyens was encouraged by the king to show his drawings for El Guadalperal, which were 'a great success'.[254]

This episode reveals that by November 1916 Lutyens already had plans of the palace of El Guadalperal worthy of being presented in public. The day after, Sunday, he was invited to visit the Royal Palace in Madrid. He went there together with Peñaranda and was shown around the place by the king himself.[255] On Monday he left Madrid for Gibraltar and Algeciras, where he met Thompson again.[256] While waiting in Gibraltar for his boat to India he sent notes home,[257] which although he did not specify in his letter, were most probably drawings for La Ventosilla and El Guadalperal palaces, for his employees to work on while he was in India.

Lutyens did not return to Spain until a year later, December 1917. However, him and Peñaranda met several times in London prior. Peñaranda stayed in London most of January 1917, although Lutyens was at that time away in Delhi. Peñaranda travelled a few months later again to London, where he stayed for the summer. Lutyens remained in the city for part of this time while Lady Emily and the children were vacationing in the country.[258] He wrote letters to his wife describing his daily activities, in which he

[254] Idem.
[255] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 20 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[256] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 21 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[257] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 22 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[258] Jane Ridley, *The Architect and His Wife* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2002), 266.

mentions several meetings with Peñaranda in the Athaeneum,[259] which shows the good relationship between the two, and the Duke´s interest in the progress of the designs for his palace. Peñaranda returned to Madrid from London on November 10th,[260] and just a month and a half later Lutyens departed for Spain again, arriving in early January. On this occasion, Lutyens did not travel to Spain as part of his yearly trip to India, but undertook the long and uncomfortable journey from Paris to Madrid exclusively in order to work on his Spanish projects. Construction at Delhi was almost totally suspended between 1917 and 1919 and so Lutyens did not travel to India during this period.[261] The journey to Madrid was especially tedious this time: the train got stuck by snow in the mountains near Avila, 'our fuel for warming the carriage failed. The lights went out and then for hours on a mountain top I waited, getting hungrier and colder hour by hour.'[262] The train arrived at last in Madrid twenty hours later than scheduled. As Lutyens wrote to Lady Emily, his plan for this visit to Spain was:

I arrive there on Jan 2.

I may start off that day on Jan 3

Jan 3 Ventosilla

4 Guadalperal

5 "

6 "

7th Madrid

9. Algeciras

---

[259] For example, in 7 Aug. he wrote: 'Then Peñaranda turned up, took me to lunch and we talked of many things: his house, brother, sister...' Similar information, reporting meetings with Peñaranda is given in letters written in 21 Aug, 11 Sep. and 14 Sep. 1917.
[260] *Periódico ABC*, 10 Nov 1917, 11.
[261] Robert G. Irving, *Indian Summer. Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (London: Yale Universiy Press, 1981), 120-121.
[262] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 3 January 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

10.

11

12 Madrid

13 - 20 home![263]

Due to the snow, the central part of Spain was difficult to travel through and he could not get to El Guadalperal by car. Instead, he travelled by train to Navalmoral de la Mata, where a cart with a mule was awaiting them. There is no more information about this travel in his correspondence with Emily, as he sent no more letters from Spain. When he was in Paris on his way back home he wrote a letter stating: I have left behind me, thanks to a silly servant, all my handkerchiefs, except the dirty ones, and a suit of clothes. These must wait until Peñaranda comes to England.'[264] This reveals that he was indeed expecting Peñaranda to travel to England in the coming months. However, there is no evidence of him travelling to England that summer, and the Spanish newspaper ABC informed its readers that he passed part of the summer with King Alfonso in the palace of la Magdalena, in Santander.[265]

This trip, and his meetings in London with Peñaranda, show that, at that moment, Lutyens was very involved in his Spanish projects. This should not surprise us as, by then, the war had put a halt to almost all his ongoing projects in Britain[266] - getting new commissions was ever harder and, even construction at Delhi had to be slowed down due to the war effort. As he wrote to his wife in the summer of 1917: 'War news

[263] Idem. Although Lutyens omitted using inverted commas in the days 10 and 11, it is understandable that he intended to stay in Algeciras also those days.
[264] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 14 January 1918, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London
[265] 'El Veraneo de la Corte,' *Periódico ABC*, 21 August 1918, 12.
[266] Hussey, 1950, 334.

depressing. Government house at Delhi is practically hung up until after the war.'[267] In his first trip to Madrid, Lutyens wrote that 'Peñaranda does not think that he will begin building until after war, but there is much to prepare first - the plans, getting water, building huts for work people.'[268] In 1917 Lutyens appointed one of his workers, Mr. Hinton, as clerk of works in Spain, where he moved and lived supervising the works in El Guadalperal until the early 1930s. Some preliminary works, such as the construction of a road from the train station of Navalmoral to the building site, the construction of lodging for workers, and a water deposit might have started in that same year in which Hinton arrived.[269] The progress of the works, and in the design, is also evidenced by the fact that in 1917 two watercolours of the palace where exhibited in the Royal Academy of Arts in London. The watercolours were painted by the celebrated draftsman William Walcot, who had collaborated with Lutyens´s office previously. They represented views of the north and west facades of the palace and, although the original drawings have not survived, they were published, together with a ground floor plan, in the *Building News* and in *The Builder* that year[270] (Figures 4.5 to 4.7).

In February 1919 Lutyens travelled again to Madrid, not en route to India, but as the time before, exclusively to supervise his projects there. He arrived in Madrid on 5 February and he did not go to El Guadalperal; instead, 'Hinton came here. Work goes

[267] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 14 September 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London
[268] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 23 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London
[269] The progress of the works in El Guadalperal was briefly explained in *The Unfinished Palace*, the statement that Mr. Hinton wrote at Christopher Hussey's request and which has regrettably disappeared from the Scotney Castle archive. Luckily, the most relevant information was used by G. Stamp and M. Richardson in their article *Lutyens in Spain* (1983), and it is this information that has been used in this research.
[270] *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 113, 10 October 1917, 284, 290-6. 'House in El Guadalperal, Spain', 'El Guadalperal, Spain', *The Builder*, 11 May 1917.

slow. Letters are still censored, one wonders why.'[271] Little more is known of this trip to Spain, except for the fact that he made a three day trip from Madrid to Santander to meet the Count of la Cimera, a potential client, which could explain why he didn´t travel to El Guadalperal.

A PALACE WITH A *PATIO*

From the period of Lutyens´s travels to Spain during World War One, some of the final plans that he produced for the palace, together with sketches of early versions, still survive in the RIBA drawings collection. These drawings allow us to reconstruct Lutyens´s design for the palace and to understand the design process through his numerous sketches. According to the descendants of Nando Peñaranda, no plans or drawings of the project survived in Spain after Hinton fled the country in 1932 owing to the increasingly violent situation, probably taking most of the architectural material back with him. During the Civil War, El Guadalperal was also invaded and badly damaged by communist militias. Although Lutyens did not usually made sketches of the monuments he visited when he travelled, he usually had a notebook with him,[272] which was the case in Spain. Unfortunately, most of Lutyens´s notebooks have disappeared, but some of their pages still exist amongst other drawings in the RIBA drawings collection.

[271] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 9 February 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London. Letters coming in and out of Spain were inspected in the border during the war years, and this apparently did not cease even when the war was already over.
[272] Christopher Hussey, 1950, 14.

One of these notebook pages has a sketch of a woman sitting down accompanied by some text that says 'in Spain'.[273] On the other side is a sketch of a plan that contains the principal elements of Lutyens´s 1917 version for the palace. The sketch shows a rectangular plan around a rectangular patio (Fig. 4.8). The front facade has almost no openings, just a big opening in the centre that leads to an entrance hall which is directly open, through a few steps, to the patio. The patio, surrounded by arcaded galleries and other corridors, is the core of the house, through which all the main rooms can be accessed. Opposite to the entrance hall, at the other side of the patio, are what look like the main public rooms of the house: the main staircase, dinning rooms, sitting rooms and hall, which are connected to an exterior loggia. This projecting and open loggia contrasts with the severity of the other three facades. Although no text in the plan identifies the use of the rooms, the room to the right of the entrance hall has a semi-circular wall in one of its sides and two freestanding columns. This, added to the fact that it has the letter "C" written on it, suggests that Lutyens intended to place a chapel here. One strange feature of this plan is noteworthy: the patio is divided in two halves by a gallery that connects the entrance to the main hall. This architectural element was clearly borrowed by Lutyens from the Royal Hospital of Tavera, in Toledo, 'a very good hospital with a double court or patio with a central way leading to a great church',[274] which Lutyens visited in October 1915. The building, had already captured the attention of many other British architects before, and its simple and original layout made an impact on Lutyens.[275] Very rarely did Lutyens ever draw plans in his letters to lady Emily, let alone abstract architectural plans, as he thought that her understanding of

[273] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, PB 90A / LUT[407]
[274] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 26 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[275] Matthew Digby Wyatt, Andrew Noble Prentice.

architectural ideas was very limited.[276] However, he accompanied his description of the hospital with the schematic plan of the building[277] (Figs. 4.9 and 4.10). After this, Lutyens tried to include this double court in his Spanish projects, and this plan is his first attempt to do so. Some numbers and calculations around the drawing show that Lutyens was already getting into the specific measures of the building. In Lutyens´s sketch the corridor around the patio has doubled and, together with the exterior gallery he has introduced a corridor which surrounds the patio through the interior of the building, probably for use during the winter. Finally, the four rooms at the corners are marked with a cross, probably to stress the fact that they are square and maybe also to indicate that they would be expresses in a distinctive way to the outside, maybe as corner towers, as it was finally the case.

Another sheet of paper kept amongst the plans of El Guadalperal shows a drawing of a first floor plan (Fig. 4.11) and a perspective view (Fig. 4.12) of the house.[278] At the top of the plan, a straight line probably represents the edge of the cliff over which the house looked to the north. The centre of the house is occupied, from south to north by the staircases, two patios and loggias at the extremes. The perspective view reveals the powerful mass composition that Lutyens had in mind. Unlike the delicate elevations of the previous version, these are rough and unadorned. The south elevation is symmetrically divided into three parts, two three-floor bodies to the sides and a central recess that leaves space for a square court, which is opened to the views through a loggia. This layout, a U shape with a patio separated from the garden by a loggia is something, that as it will be later discussed, could have been inspired by some of

[276] Christopher Hussey, 1950, 66.
[277] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London
[278] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, DR60 / 9 (14)

Herbert Baker´s houses in South Africa, that Lutyens had visited a few years earlier. However, in this early unpolished design, the south loggia and court are somehow strangely isolated from the main rooms of the house and packed between two rows of servants´ rooms that would enjoy the best views of the house.

On a larger piece of paper, where Lutyens had drawn two plans, three elevations, a section and a small perspective over a grid, we find Lutyens´s first complete version for El Guadalperal (Figs. 4.13 to 4.15). Unfortunately the pencil drawing on a weak sheet of paper is quite damaged and I have reconstructed it in figure 16. Although it retained the basic features of the previous schematic plan, it has been altered and is more detailed in order to accommodate the programme and to fit in the site that the architect had already chosen, the cliff near the Tagus. The plan is still a rectangle, but now the main axis is longitudinal, oriented North-South. The main entrance is in the north facade - a great, double height opening pierced into a massive and undecorated wall. The entrance leads through a small entrance hall to a square patio, surrounded by arcaded galleries on the two floors. A very large library occupies all the west side of the patio, while to the east side, a corridor links all the service spaces of the house. The patio´s south gallery leads to the main public rooms: two sitting rooms, an inner one facing the patio and another one facing the south loggia. The sitting room is flanked to the east by the dining room and by the drawing room to the west. The south facade is open to a large terrace overlooking the Tagus from the top of the cliff and, from here, a grand double staircase allows one to descend to the garden by the river. The staircases start from two symmetrical garden pavilions coming out of the facade, in a similar composition to the one Lutyens used in the south facade of Ednaston Manor (1912-9) and at Great Maytham. In this design Lutyens introduced a visual axis that runs uninterrupted

thorough all the centre of the house, from the north entrance to the south loggia. This was almost unprecedented for him, who was very keen on blocking the visual axis, not making the circulations evident at first, what enabled him to introduce effects of contrast and surprise. Previously to this design of El Guadalperal, Lutyens had done something similar in his design for a house near the Hudson River for E.H. Harriman (1903), which had an uninterrupted axis from the north terrace, through the main rooms and to a loggia facing the terrace overlooking the river. This scheme is similar to El Guadalperal, although in this last one he added a large patio at the core of the composition.

Next to the entrance there is a small service staircase, while two bigger staircases are symmetrically placed to the sides of the main hall, in two independent volumes that rise above the rest of the building in the form of two symmetrical turrets crowned with graceful classical tempiettos. These turrets have projecting mouldings, almost like chujjas, resembling some of the early designs Lutyens had done for the Viceroy´s house at Delhi. The upper floor is occupied with 12 bedrooms, the biggest of which are facing south, and open to a large terrace which is above the loggia. The chapel seems to have disappeared from this version of the palace. From the exterior, the building looks very Mediterranean, more Italian than Spanish, except for the north facade, which, as in Spanish renaissance palaces, is an imposing and massive wall surface, broken only by a few windows and virtually undecorated. Only the main portal concentrates a rich carved decoration that contrasts sharply with the dryness of the bare wall.

The pitched roof is designed to break visually the building into two main volumes: one to the north, around the square patio, and the other to the south, more open to the

landscape, and containing the main rooms. The staircase turrets are placed between the two volumes, giving a picturesque touch to the composition.

This design makes the most of its scenographic setting over the river. It presents a dramatic contrast between the severe and imposing north facade and the south of the building, which is fragmented into smaller volumes and open to the landscape through loggias making it gentler and more domestic. In the drawing of the south elevation, Lutyens placed some big trees in front of the house. The result meets perfectly his initial intentions, which he expressed in a letter to Emily: 'I want the lower sheltered site where the trees grow big and the river runs and you will get views beneath the spreading branches.'[279] Lutyens´s design is a happy mixture of an Italian country villa and a Spanish renaissance palace, combined with the Edwardian sensitivity for landscape and garden design, which favoured blending architecture into nature.

A large sheet of paper in the RIBA Drawings Collection (Fig. 4.17) shows a development of the design previously described. It contains two plans, three elevations, a section and four perspective views, drawn with pencil and with some touches of colour pencil that give an idea of the materials that Lutyens intended to use for the house. This drawing is more detailed than the previous one, and the rooms in the plans are identified with a text. The two designs are almost the same, with only a few minor differences affecting some details in the distribution of the ground floor (Fig. 4.18). Firstly, the library no longer occupies all the west side of the patio. Lutyens probably thought that it would be too much to dedicate the biggest room in the house for a library and divided it into three rooms: a smaller library, an office, and the "own room".

[279] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

The other major difference in the ground floor relates to the distribution of rooms to the south side of the house. In the previous version, the space between the patio and the south loggia was divided into two equal size halls - one facing the patio, through a vaulted open vestibule; the other facing the south views through the loggia, while two side corridors connected directly from the patio to the loggia. This over division of the space into two halls, one vestibule and two large corridors meant that a lot of the space was wasted, making the main hall of the house too small. This problem is now solved by making the inner hall much smaller than before, and suppressing the two corridors and, thus, allowing the outer hall to be much bigger than before. Upstairs, the only difference is the reappearance of the chapel in the north side of the building.

The elevations (Fig. 4.19) are also more detailed than in the previous drawing. The colours indicated show that Lutyens intended to use red tile for the pitched roof, probably brick walls faced with plaster, and a grey stone plinth in the lower part of the facade. The drawings also suggest the use of grey stone in the corners of the building and for decorative elements such as columns and the entrance portal. The elevations are enlivened with a touch of colour in the shutters of the window which are painted in green. The north facade has an imposing Spanish palace appearance. It has an unorthodox composition: a huge entrance portal, with two standard size doors at the sides accompanied by a few windows in the first floor. This, together with the undecorated wall surface pierced by tiny openings create a picturesque but balanced effect. The entrance portal is richly decorated with classical motives, and shows that Lutyens was already probably thinking of imitating some of the plateresque ornaments he had seen while travelling in Spain, or from reading Andrew N. Prentice´s book, as he finally did. Although Lutyens usually contrasted the dominant horizontal lines of his

designs with very tall chimneys, in this case he did not draw any chimneys in the elevations, although he had drawn the fireplaces in the plans. Instead, he created vertical accents with the *tempiettos* over the staircase turrets.

Lutyens´s perspective views (Fig. 4.20 and Fig. 4.17, bottom) show that he wanted to place some lower ancillary buildings around the palace, creating an enclosed forecourt, that would help to stress the massiveness of the building as it is approached from the north. Other lower buildings and walls were also intended to enclose some outdoor space at the east and the west of the building, probably in order to create walled gardens - something that Lutyens had done in many of the domestic projects in which he had collaborated with the garden designer Gertrude Jekyll. The section shows the design of the patio. In the lower gallery, round arches are supported on powerful Doric columns, while the upper gallery has no arches and it looks more delicate, as each column is divided into three slender Ionic columns.

In its general layout, Lutyens´s design contains some of the main architectural elements of a Spanish renaissance palace: a strong and massive main facade, in which the ground floor is almost hermetic and with the first floor bearing few openings, making the wall surface dominant over the windows; a patio in the centre surrounded by open arcaded galleries both on the ground and the first floors; access through a *zaguán*, or open entrance hall.[280] As it can be seen in the section, the ground floor gallery of the patio had round arches, while the upper gallery has lintels instead of arches, a common feature in many Spanish patios, such as the archbishop´s palace in Alcalá, which Lutyens probably

[280] Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Arquitectura Civil Española de los Siglos I al XVIII* (Madrid, 1922), vo. 1, 368.

visited in his first journey to Spain in 1915.[281] Although it was typical of the Spanish country and urban palaces to include an upper open gallery in the exterior facade, such as in the palace of El Infantado, which Lutyens visited in his day trip to Guadalajara, or the palaces of Monterrey (Salamanca) or Guzmanes (León) published by Prentice, he did not include this element in his design. Instead, he designed a lower loggia facing the south, following the Italian tradition with which British architects were much more familiar.

Together with the Spanish palaces he had visited around Toledo, it is possible that Lutyens had in mind the palace of Sotofermoso, in Abadía, also in the province of Cáceres, just 60 kilometres northwest of El Guadalperal. Abadía was an old Templar castle which had been given by Charles V to the 2nd Duke of Alba for of his services to the crown in the war of Granada. His grandson, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba, had transformed the old castle into a new palace, following the Italian fashion, and built lavish gardens around it in the mid 16th century. The gardens were said to rival those built by Philip II in El Escorial, and were a meeting point for artists and statesmen during the 16th and 17th centuries.[282] The property belonged to the house of Alba until 1892, when Peñaranda´s father, the XVI Duke of Alba, had to sell it. The geographical setting of both the palace of Sotofermoso and Lutyens´s design for El Guadalperal were very similar. In Abadía, the palace is arranged around a square patio, and is also at the top of a low hill, from where a terraced garden descends to the river that runs at the bottom of the valley (Fig. 4.21), allowing some impressive views of the Sierra de Gredos. Peñaranda was a child when the property was sold and, having belonged to his

[281] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 23 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[282] Pedro Navascues Palacio, 'La Abadía de Cáceres: espejo literario de un jardín,' *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoria del Arte (UAM)* 5, 1993, 71-90.

family for so long, it is very probable that he spoke of it to Lutyens, or even showed him plans or pictures of the place.

FROM ITALIANATE TO PLATERESQUE

This design, however, was soon modified. Three gridded sheets of paper contain miscellaneous drawings probably done by Lutyens during his 1916 trip in India. One of them has a schematic plan of El Guadalperal containing some differences from the previous versions that would be developed in the subsequent drawings, together with a classical entrance gate that could have been designed for the British Academy in Rome and two of the very few sketches of Hindu architecture that Lutyens ever did (Fig. 4.22).[283] Another of these drawings shows the ground floor plan, the north facade elevation and an elevation of the interior patio showing some delicate carving in the spandrels of the arches and the friezes (Fig. 4.23).[284] Finally, the last of the three drawings has a more detailed ground floor plan showing the fire places and detailed plans of the staircases (Fig. 4.24).[285] In this plan the two symmetrical staircases crowned with a tower have been replaced by a staircase placed to the southwest of the patio. An important difference between this and the previous design is that the west side (library and office) and the east side (service and kitchen) are now externally expressed through the massing and composition of the facades.

[283] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, PA1609/LUT(251)2
[284] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, PA1609/LUT(251)1
[285] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, PA1609/LUT(251)3

A gridded sheet of paper[286] shows a schematic plan for the palace of La Ventosilla (Fig. 4.25), together with an unfinished plan and an elevation that can be identified as the new version for El Guadalperal. Lutyens received the commission to design La Ventosilla in his second trip to Spain, so the drawings on this sheet of paper can be dated to Nov. 1916. A more detailed version of this same plan (Fig. 4.26), together with a basement and first floor plans (Fig. 4.27) are shown in drawing DR60 / 9 (1). In this plan, the patio is no longer square but rectangular. The service wing has also been made much wider and so a service court had to be included in order to light the kitchen and other rooms. The unfinished south elevation sketched above the plan differs from the previous one mainly in that the staircase towers have disappeared and the corners of the building are stressed with lower turrets. Another gridded sheet of paper, most likely drawn during the same trip, contains studies of the south elevation.[287] The elevation is very similar to the previous version, although the side pavilions to the sides of the central loggia are slightly higher than the rest of the building. The side verandas that projected out of the facade towards the south, now come out to east and west, and seem to connect the house to the upper landing of the stairs that descend to the lower garden. Later, in his second trip to Spain, Lutyens showed the king the plans that he had drawn for El Guadalperal, meaning that during those days he managed to develop this sketches into presentable plans.

These sketches were eventually developed into detailed large-scale plans of the building. The RIBA Drawings Collection has ten large sheets of paper which contain the plans, elevations and sections of the project, all of them drawn in pencil except for one. Although some of the plans are unfinished or lost, the information contained in this

[286] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, DR60 / 9 (3)
[287] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, DR60 / 9 (2)

collection of drawings allows one to reconstruct Lutyens´s design for the palace. The drawings contained include:

- East and west elevations, unfinished.
- Four elevations and a section through the north-south axis, which are unfinished, and a sketch of the site plan (Figs. 4.28 and 4.29).
- Ground floor plan (reconstruction Fig. 4.30).
- A plan with the title 'mezzanine plan between ground and first floor.'
- North and south elevations.
- North and south elevations, in ink[288] (Fig. 4.31).
- Two sections through the north- south axis, one looking east and the other one looking west[289] (Fig. 4.32).
- Ground plan with detailed measurements in ink, and an unfinished section in the east-west direction.
- Unfinished west and south elevations.

Although the first floor plan has been lost, it is still possible to determine how Lutyens planned to arrange it given his initial sketch. I have reconstructed and redrawn the plans and sections of this last version of the building in figures 4.30, 4.33, 4.34 and 4.35. The plans drawn in pencil and unfinished - looking as though they were done in a hurry - were probably drawn by Lutyens during his very busy second trip to Spain, either while he was staying in Liria Palace, or when he was waiting for his boat in Gibraltar. The elevations drawn in ink were probably done by his assistants in London after his drawings. This sheet is the only one headed with a formal inscription, as though it was

[288] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, DR60 / 9 (11).
[289] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, DR60 / 9 (12).

done in order to be presented to the client or sent to Spain for its construction. The inscription says 'EL GUADALPERAL. FOR HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF PEÑARANDA. NORTH AND SOUTH ELEVATIONS. DRAWING Nº 10. SCALE 1.100'. It suggests that there were at least another 9 plans of the same series, of which only this one has survived.

The difference between this final design and the previous ones is basically the size: the house has expanded from the initial 38x30.2 meters plan to 57x66 meters. There are many more rooms than before and almost all of the rooms are larger. The east wing of the house has more than doubled in size, and now it includes a servants' patio, a large servants hall, and plenty of storerooms. The patio has been enlarged and the arrangement of the public rooms of the house to the south has changed in order to create a grander effect. While in the sketched floor plan at the centre of the south side there was a corridor that connected the patio to the south loggia, leaving a hall to the right and two smaller rooms to the left, in the final version there is a very large hall in the middle. It is flanked symmetrically to the left, with a small dining room that connects to the big dining room, and a small drawing room to the right that connects to the big drawing room. Both dining room and drawing room communicate with two corner loggias, close to the upper landing of the stairs that connect, through descending terraces, to the lower garden by the river. The changes in the interior arrangement of the house make it more typically Spanish: the two inner symmetric staircases have been replaced by one main staircase, directly accessed through the patio, and the *zagúan,* or entrance hall, is a few steps bellow the patio, feature typical of Spanish early modern

palaces.[290] This latter feature also appeared in the Hospital of Tavera and in the Palace of Infantado, buildings that Lutyens visited in his first trip to Spain.[291]

The four bigger rooms on the first floor face the south, while to the west, three smaller bedrooms face the water garden. To east, there is a big room and a row of small rooms probably for the service. To the north, the most interesting feature is the double height chapel, which has a high tribune accessible directly through a staircase that begins in the Duke´s office. The chapel with a high tribune, from where the masters could attend Mass, is also typical of Spanish 16th and 17th century palace architecture.[292]

Regarding the exterior, although keeping some uniformity of style, each facade is very different. Even though the two towers have been removed, their picturesque effect is maintained by four low turrets, each of them in one of the corners of the building. These turrets also link the design of the building with English tradition. Corner towers were typical elements of fortified buildings all around Europe in the middle ages, and later on, they were maintained in buildings designed during the early modern period for their association with nobility. Such was the case in France (Chateau de Chambord), Elizabethan England (Wollaton Hall) and 16th century Spain (El Escorial, Palace of Lerma). Although corner towers disappeared from palace design in 15th century Italy, when classicizing fashions favoured a continuous cornice, even in some early works by Andrea Palladio, such as Villa Pisani, corner towers were still present. While in most of Europe corner towers were no longer a typical element of design in 17th century palaces, or country houses, the tradition lasted for much longer in England. As Louis P. Nelson

[290] Lampérez y Romea, 1922, vo. 1, 368.
[291] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 23 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[292] Lampérez y Romea, 1922, v.1, 57.

discusses, large country houses continued to present corner towers and a fortress-like appearance in Britain well into the 18th century.[293] In some cases, just for aesthetic reasons, such as Blenheim Palace by John Vanbrugh, Osterley Park by Robert Adam and Hagley Hall by Sanderson Miller, but across the Empire, mainly in Ireland and the Caribbean for practical reasons too, as defensive structures were necessary to reassure British domain over contested territory. The four symmetrical corner towers can thus be seen as more related with the English than with the Spanish palace tradition.

The north facade (Fig. 4.41) retains the basic features that have already been described before, and is accessed through a large forecourt with a fountain, as shown in Walcot´s watercolour. In his final drawings Lutyens detailed the carving of the main portal, which is worth examining in detail. As in other Spanish buildings, Lutyens decided to make the main portal the most richly decorated element of the building. Lutyens showed with this his willingness to link his design to local architectural traditions and, furthermore, to copy some elements directly from them. If we compare Lutyens´s design for the portal (Fig. 4.36) with that of the palace of the Dukes of Miranda, in Peñaranda del Duero (Fig. 4.37), we can see that they are almost exact copies. The palace in Peñaranda del Duero is one of the finest examples of 16th-century Spanish palace architecture.[294] In spite of its troubled history,[295] most of the palace´s plateresque and *mudéjar* decoration has survived until today. Its entrance door stands out amongst those built in the same period for its original though weird composition and quality of carving.[296] Its joyful

[293] Louis P. Nelson, *Architecture and Empire: Architectures of Empire in Jamaica* (New Haven: Yale University Press), chapter 2.
[294] Lampérez y Romea, 1922, vo. 1, 438.
[295] Eduardo Carazo, 'El palacio de los condes de Miranda en Peñaranda de Duero,' *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* 85, 1997, 505-543.
[296] Fernando Checa Cremades, *Arquitectura del renacimiento en España, 1488-1599* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1993), 865.

Italianate ornament fits into what art historians have commonly named as *plateresco,* or the plateresque in English, which became known in Britain through Andrew N. Prentice´s publication on Spanish Renaissance architecture (1893). Lutyens owned a copy of that book, which included two plates of ornaments of the palace in Peñaranda (Fig. 4.38). However, these plates only depict details of some wooden doors,[297] so Lutyens could not have seen the design of the portal in this publication. Neither was it depicted in any of the books on Spanish architecture, including Renaissance architecture, published up to the 1900s, either Spanish, British or French.[298] However, in 1912, the Spanish architect Vicente Lampérez published an article in a Spanish journal describing the palace in great detail, illustrated with numerous photographs, including one of the portal.[299] A few years later, in 1917, the American art historian and art trader Arthur Byne, published in London and in New York a book on Spanish 16th-century architecture that included a full page photograph of the entrance door in Peñaranda (Fig. 4.39).[300] However, Byne´s photograph cuts the top end of the portal´s decoration. Coincidently, although Lutyens imitated almost exactly all the decoration around the door he decided to change the top ornament.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to know with certainty where Lutyens saw an image of this portal. In his first visit to Madrid, Peñaranda motored Lutyens 'into the town to buy guide books',[301] which he read during subsequent days. Also, it is worth bearing in mind that the house of Alba owned the palace of Peñaranda during most of the 19th century

[297] Andrew N. Prentice, *Renaissance architecture and ornament in Spain* (London, 1893), plates 13 and 14.
[298] Pérez Villaamil (Paris, 1842-1850), Parcerisa (Barcelona, 1839-1865), Fergusson (London, 1865), Wyatt (London, 1872), VV.AA., *Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España* (Madrid, 1856-81), Calvert (London, 1908).
[299] Vicente Lampérez y Romea, 'El Palacio de lo Condes de Miranda, en Peñaranda de Duero,' *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 20, June 1912, 145-159.
[300] Arthur Byne, and Mildred Stapley, *Spanish Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: C.P. Putman´s Sons ,1917), 115.
[301] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 23 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

until 1891, when, as well as the palace in Abadía, it was sold by Peñaranda´s father. However, it is not clear today who owned the palace in the early 20th century. Although official documents record that in 1891 there was a change of proprietors of the palace, a curious anecdote took place in 1925 which contradicts these documents. That year Arthur Byne offered his main client, William Randolph Hearst, the purchase of the palace from the duke of Alba and ship it to the States for its reconstruction. According to correspondence between Byne and Hearst, Alba offered the palace to Byne for $100,000, which Hearst thought to be too expensive[302]. This relationship of the palace of Peñaranda with the Alba family suggests that Nando and Jacobo probably kept photographs and drawings of the palace that Lutyens could have accessed during one of his visits in Madrid. It is possible that Lutyens not only took inspiration from the portal of the palace but also in its general layout. Bearing in mind the differences of setting, size and programme between the Renaissance palace and Lutyens´s project, it is worth pointing out that the former is also arranged around an arcaded patio, very similar to the one that Lutyens designed, it has an austere north facade facing an open court and it was more open to the south, where there had been in the past a beautiful garden.[303]

The portal is divided into two main parts: the top half over the lintel concentrates most of the carved plateresque decoration, while the lower part is just a forceful and severe doorframe. In the original portal, the doorframe is formed by a massive pink marble trilithon, two doorjambs, and a lintel. The massive monolithic doorjambs are topped with a classical moulding on which the imposing lintel rests. All the portal is crossed vertically by two slender pilasters, from the base up to the upper cornice, directly carved into the doorframe stones. These pilasters are used to link visually the superimposed

[302] Carazo, 1997, 505-543.
[303] Idem.

horizontal elements of the design. Above the lintel, the stone changes from marble to sandstone, much easier to carve, as it is above the lintel that the richer decoration appears. The first of these elements above the lintel is a freely designed Ionic entablature. The architrave and the cornice are richly carved, while the frieze is decorated with an inscription about the first proprietor and year of construction of the palace. Over the entablature, a circular tympanum frames the three coats of arms of the family, the central one, which is angled in the Castilian fashion,[304] is decorated with a helmet and rich foliage; while the side coats of arms are octagonal and surrounded by flower garlands. The arch is flanked by two standing Roman soldiers and, above it, there is a heavy Ionic moulding. The cornice supports the fanciful decoration that crowns the portal: an arch in the centre, replicating in a smaller scale the one bellow, a bust at its centre, and a rich vase on top of it. Two children lie against the vase, and hold the ends of two flower garlands that descend down the sides of the portal to the lower entablature. At the corners of the cornices, four cherubs help hold the garlands.

The main difference between the 16th-century design and Lutyens´s is in the lower part of the portal, where Lutyens adapted the original doorframe to his own classical language. He substituted Ionic with Doric decoration in the architectural elements, simplifying the carving of entablatures and cornices, removing, for example, the egg and dart mouldings from the upper cornice. He also replaced the slender pilasters by two Doric half columns that come out of the massive side pilasters. The door lintel has been replaced by a flat arch with increasingly larger voussoirs to the centre, that rests on two smaller pilasters. The sculptural decoration (coats of arms, cherubs, garlands, foliage, etc.) is almost an exact copy of the original, although the sizes of some elements have

[304] Cremades, 1993, 864.

been slightly altered. In conclusion, Lutyens takes the composition and design of the portal, preserving all the carved decoration, and translates it to the classical language he was so skilled in using. In his version, the overall design, unified and dominated by the Doric order, is more coherent than the original superimposition of italianate ornamentation. However, the fact that the heavy side pillars no longer support the lintel, and that both lintel and pillars have been divided into ashlar masonry, reduces the strength of the whole.

The reason why Lutyens decided to use this portal as the main decorative feature of the palace for Nando seems clear. Firstly, his liking for plateresque architecture has already been explained above, and this example was outstanding for its quality and originality. Secondly, there is an obvious coincidence between Nando´s noble title, Duke of Peñaranda de Duero, and the name of the Castilian town in which the palace from where he took the portal stood, Peñaranda de Duero. Lutyens liked to play with these semantic games in his projects. For example, when commissioned to remodel the house called Papillon Hall in 1902, he got inspiration from its name to design a butterfly plan extension. It is clear that he considered it appropriate to use the portal of the palace in Peñaranda for the Duke of Peñaranda´s new palace. It could have also been a way of expressing the tradition of the Alba family as patron of the arts. Apart from the obvious reference to the main entrance of the Palace of Peñaranda de Duero, the general composition of the design chosen by Lutyens is also similar to that of some portals of the California -Pacific exhibition that had been recently published in The Building News (Fig. 4.40).[305]

[305] 'The Panama-Pacific International Exposition. San Francisco', *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 108, no. 3146, 23 April 1915, 468-480.

The south facade (Fig. 4.42) is basically the same as in the sketches, although the terrace has been suppressed and the loggia now faces directly to the cliff. The west and the east facades are radically different. The west (Fig. 4.43) facade is the only one that allows direct contact with the surrounding nature, and it faces a walled 'water garden'. At the centre of the facade is an opening to the garden through a loggia that connects to the library, while the first floor is composed with the regular rhythm of the bedrooms. The massing is enriched by the two side towers, adorned with the family´s coat of arms, which emerge from the rest of the volume and are prolonged to the garden through two low pavilions. The garden design is very simple, yet grand in conception (Figs. 4.44 and 4.45). It has a large rectangular pond in the centre and square parterres at its sides, which, although similar in layout to the east garden of Folly Farm, is a much more formal garden than those he was used to designing. Finally, the east facade is a dry and plain five-storey facade, with corner turrets, and accessed, rather impractically, through a high exterior staircase. Lutyens´s east elevation drawing shows that he intended to place two low symmetrical pavilions to the sides of the east front court. Bearing in mind that this was the access to the service and storage rooms and kitchen, this pavilions would have probably be used as stables and garages.

Although the construction and materials are not specified in the plans, Lutyens gave a brief description of them for *The Building News*:

> There is not very much I can say at present about the house. Granite and stone will be used for the dress work, and the roof covered with Spanish tiles, and the exterior walls being plastered in the typical Spanish manner (...) The floors will be formed by brick barrels and

vaults, except the reception rooms, which will be constructed in timber, exposed on the underside.[306]

Materials and construction seemed, thus, quite conventional for the period, although Lutyens´s stress on the Spanish character of his design is remarkable. Together with the Spanish character of both design and materials, the other aspect that Lutyens remarked on was, not surprisingly, its privileged setting: 'The site is in high ground, with a commanding view, the difference of level between the patio and terrace being 27 ft., with steps leading down to a landing stage on the bank of the river Tagus'.[307]

The end of the Great War and new commissions at home brought a parenthesis to Lutyens´s involvement in his Spanish works. Preliminary works in El Guadalperal progressed slowly, and ultimately, this project was not realised. In the 1920s Nando asked Lutyens to revise his design and he produced plans for an even more ambitious scheme that will be discussed in chapter 7.

GLOBAL MEDITERRANEAN STYLE

Although unbuilt, this palace is another example of Lutyens´s mastery of classical design and its adaptability to local traditions, such as he had also shown in Delhi. Indeed, this house is very different from what Lutyens had been doing until that moment, both at home and in India. Together with the references to Spanish traditional architecture that have been mentioned above, other influences can be traced in this project. Firstly, as

[306] 'House in El Guadalperal, Spain,' *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 113, Oct. 10, 1927, 284.
[307] Idem.

explained in chapter 2, the first decades of the twentieth century saw the appearance in the United States of the Spanish Colonial Revival. Lutyens had designed a house in the early 1900s close to New York and an existing sketch (Fig. 4.46) shows a house of Mediterranean character, with white walls, a red tile roof, and generously opened through loggias and a central Serlian to a high platform that allowed commanding views of the river Hudson. 1915 was, in America, the year of the Panama-California Exposition held in San Diego and that showed an impressive display of Spanish Colonial architecture, and which was broadcasted also in British magazines.[308] The similarities of Lutyens's building with some of the Spanish Revival buildings erected in the United States, such as Villa Vizcaya (Miami, 1914-22), suggests that he was aware of what was going on at the other side of the Atlantic. This will be further discussed in chapter 9.

In the same years, Lutyens's old friend Herbert Baker had been living and working in South Africa, trying to develop an architecture which would serve the needs of the British colonialists and administration, but that would be suitable to the South African climate, which he judged to be similar to that of the Mediterranean countries.[309] The houses that Herbert Baker´s designed in South Africa usually have a simple massing, white walls, projecting roof eaves, verandahs to the outside and patios surrounded by colonnades in the centre. Lutyens visited Baker in South Africa on business grounds in 1911 and he had an opportunity to see what Baker had been building there over the last years, including some of the houses. In Cape Town he visited Rudyard Kipling's house, Woolsack, built around an open colonnaded atrium and, in Johannesburg he stayed at

[308] For example, F. P. Allen, 'San Diego Exposition,' *The Burlington Magazine* 32, no. 3, March 1915, London, 116-126; *The Burlington Magazine* 6, No. 12, October 1915, London, 446-448; C. Bukwith, 'The Development of Architecture in California', *The Burlington Magazine* 3, March 1918, London, 145-149.
[309] Herbert Baker, *Architecture and Personalities* (London: Country Life, 1944), 35.

Baker´s house, Stone House, and a room at Lionel Phillips house, Arcadia, was put at his disposal as a drawing office.[310] Stone House (1901-3) had a U shape plan and was arranged around a colonnaded atrium, a general layout that he repeated with some variations in the Governor´s house. Arcadia (Fig. 4.47), on the other hand, has a garden elevation similar to the one that Lutyens designed for El Guadalperal. The house stands at the top of a sloping terrain, and the facade facing the garden is divided into two side bodies and a central one which is recessed. The recess is occupied by a loggia overlooking the garden and which supports a large terrace in the first floor, just as in El Guadalperal. Apart from the general composition, the materials and details also show many similarities. Although very different in the style, the general composition of the south facade, "U" shaped with the central recess occupied by a loggia that has a terrace on top, was not uncommon in England, and it had been used already in Spain by Selden Wornum in Miramar and Las Fraguas and by James Thompson in some of his houses in Algeciras.

As with Baker´s houses in South Africa, El Guadalperal shows Lutyens's capacity to make the most of a complex topography, fabulously linking the building with its surroundings. However, the style of the design is remarkably conservative, even for Lutyens´s standards, if compared to other contemporary and even past designs by him. This is true especially in the north elevation and in the central patio, both of which mimic Spanish traditional architecture literally. By that time, Lutyens was already working with a very personal and simplified classical language in contemporary designs such as Abbey House (1913), the Philipson family´s Mausoleum at St. Martin´s, Knebworth (both of 1914), which although not breaking with the tradition, show a

[310] Hussey, 1950, 206.

daring manipulation of it. That is not the case in El Guadalperal, in which he imitated Mediterranean and Spanish architectural forms.

In this sense, Lutyens's design is perfectly related to the Spanish architectural culture of that moment. In Spain, since the late 19th century there had been a growing interest for establishing a national style in architecture, although this proved to be difficult given the variety of styles that had been used in Spanish regions throughout history.As it will be discussed more extensively in chapter 6, the definition of a national Spanish style proved to be almost impossible due to the country´s diversity of regional styles. However, foreign architects in the early 1900s, especially Anglo-American, had in that moment a very clear idea of what the 'Spanish style' was. As Prof. Carlos Sambricio explained, for them it was a synthesis of the plateresque that Andrew N. Prentice had disseminated, which was exemplified in the Monterrey palace, with some touches of colour typical of Mexican and Andalousian 17th and 18th century architecture.[311] This description fits perfectly with Lutyens´s design, with a southern Spanish flavour and rich plateresque carved decoration. The design also fits perfectly with his Spanish colleagues' interest in building with a national style. It is likely that, giving this cultural context, Nando asked Lutyens to design something Spanish-looking. For Lutyens, sticking to this requirement and not making aesthetic experiments might have been a way of trying to assure an important commission in a moment in which any income was much welcome. Other architects working in the American Southwest, at this same time, were trying to merge

[311] Carlos Sambricio, *Madrid, vivienda y urbanismo: 1900-1960* (Madrid: Akal, 2004), 95.

Spanish colonial and modern forms, basing their designs on traditional architecture although without mimicking its ornaments and details.[312]

Finally, there is a strong parallel between this house and another country property built a decade prior in southern Spain: Guadacorte, designed by Ralph Selden Wornum for Pablo Larios. Born in Gibraltar to a rich Anglo-Spanish merchant family, Larios studied chemistry in Owens College, Manchester, before going back to Gibraltar to work in the family business. His family was well integrated with the Spanish. Like many of the wealthy families of Gibraltar, the Larios possessed lands in Spanish country around the British colony. Pablo owned a big estate in a hilly area overlooking the bay of Algeciras where he commissioned a country house that had started construction in 1901.[313] The house of Guadacorte, surrounded by a green country and fertile fields, was good for agriculture and for hunting, and Larios used to organise fox hunts for the British officials in Gibraltar. As well as an important farm with accommodation for almost a hundred workers, it had modern equipment to help farming activities and for the comfort of the owners, including an electric generator and a steam motor made in England.[314] All this strongly resembles with Peñaranda´s plans for El Guadalperal, as it will be discussed in chapter 7.

Lutyens's elegant design for Peñaranda is firmly rooted in the landscape and makes the most of its dramatic location. It combines the severity of Spanish palatial architecture, with some touches of lavish renaissance decoration, and features of a luxurious country

[312] For example, Irving Gill, Rudolf Schindler and, later, Richard Neutra. See Brett Tippey, 'Richard Neutra´s Search for the Southland: California, Latin America and Spain', *Architectural History* 59, 2016, 311-352.
[313] Aranda Bernal, 2008, 58-61.
[314] Ibid., 59.

villa, designed to enjoy the landscape. It was a design perfectly tailored for the client, a charming bon vivant, both sophisticated and traditional at the same time.

V

THE PALACE OF "LA VENTOSILLA"

'A LAMBAY IN A SEA OF SPAIN'

At the same time as he was working on the design for El Guadaperal, Lutyens received another commission from Peñaranda´s sister and brother-in-law, the Dukes of Santoña. Lutyens met the dukes of Santoña in his first visit to Spain in 1915. The duchess, doña Sol Fitz-James Stuart y Falcó (1880-1962) was a daughter of the XVI duke of Alba, and sister of the two other main clients that Lutyens had in Spain, Jacobo, duke of Alba and Hernando, duke of Peñaranda. When doña Sol and Lutyens first met in October 1915, she had been married for nine years to Juan Manuel Mitjans y Manzanedo (1865-1929), 2nd duke of Santoña. The couple became protagonists of one of the most fruitful episodes in Lutyens' adventures in Spain. They soon proved to be not only friendly hosts, but also potential clients, who commissioned Lutyens to design a great country house, half farm and half palace, in the very heart of Castile.

Juan Manuel, duke of Santoña, had inherited a big fortune from his grandfather, Juan Manuel Manzanedo y González, an important politician and businessman.[315] Manzanedo y González had one daughter, whose first son, Juan Manuel, inherited the title of duke of Santoña. He spent his childhood in Paris, where his parents were

[315] Juan Manuel Manzanedo y González (1803-1882) was born in Santoña, a small coastal town in the Bay of Biscay. He emigrated to Cuba when he was young and, as many others in those days, achieved to make a great fortune there. He returned to Spain in 1844 and became richer by investing his fortune very successfully in banking and in the construction of the railroads. He was also active in politics as a congressman and a senator.

established. In 1890 he married Clara Murrieta y Bellido in London, with whom he had three children. Clara died in 1900 and, in 1906, Juan Manuel married doña Sol (Fig. 5.1), at the time countess of Teba, with whom he had two more children, Carlos Alfonso and Jaime.[316]

Although both doña Sol and Juan Manuel had been brought up in a cosmopolitan and sophisticated atmosphere, they preferred the simplicity of country life to the hustle and bustle of the capital. Santoña owned a very large estate with a big house near Toledo, called "La Ventosilla", which means the windy place, where they spent most of the year. The estate of La Ventosilla, which occupied some hills and agricultural lands overlooking the river Tagus, had been a property of Clara Murrieta, the duke´s first wife. At her death her husband had inherited the property. The palace had been a property of the archbishops of Toledo since the 15th century, who built a small hunting pavillion which was extended and altered over the following centuries. Its present appearance (Fig. 5.2) comes from an important 19th century refurbishment and extension which was done along vaguely neo medieval lines. The formal gardens around the house, with fountains, cypresses and boxwoods cut into geometric shapes were, according to the family, designed by the French garden designer Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, who was active in Spain in the 1910s and 1920s, and to whom we shall refer again in chapters 6 and 8. However, due to the loss of documents suffered during the Civil War, they were unable to provide any evidence of this. The area was a renowned hunting spot, and Santoña took a lot of trouble in organising famous hunts, which King Alphonso attended regularly.

316 Biographical information about Santoña´s can be found in his obituary in 'Datos Biográficos,' *Diario ABC*, 11 September 1929, 30.

La Ventosilla stood at a very convenient location halfway between Madrid and Peñaranda´s estate of El Guadalperal, so Peñaranda used to stop at her sister´s house when he was travelling to his country house. Such was the case in October 1915, when Peñaranda took Lutyens to El Guadalperal, in order to show him the site where he wanted to build a palace. In that occasion Peñaranda and Lutyens stayed the night in La Ventosilla.

After stopping at Toledo for lunch and sightseeing they headed to Ventosilla. This first visit to La Ventosilla certainly impressed Lutyens. Of his arrival, he wrote to his wife:

> More Moorish forts and then down again into the valley of the Tagus. We arrived at Ventosilla. We were met in a court yard by a crowd of dogs dukes duchesses children and a delightful Irish nannie. An old house added to by their own labor, direct enough and shamelessly shoddy - roomy comfortable and as English as they could make it.
> Sumptuous tea and nannie presided.
> We had time before dark to go round near about the place.
> Santoña and his duchess, Alba´s sister, are keen of a country life. There they are independent of everything and everybody. Their own farm, gran, bakery, they breed mules, pigs, preserve their game, make their own electric light and power for their farm machinery. A Lambay in a sea of Spain.[317]

Lambay is a small island in the Irish sea, which was bought by the banker Cecil Baring who commissioned Lutyens to make the old fort on the island habitable for him and his wife. And, of course, being an uninhabited island, Lutyens had to design all the

[317] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

buildings and facilities to make life comfortable. This was also the case in La Ventosilla where the dukes tried to lead a self-sufficient life. Together with the dukes´ determination to live an autonomous but comfortable life in an isolated place, Lutyens also learned some other important things of their lifestyle in this first visit. Amongst them, the importance of Catholic religion and of children in the family´s daily life.

> He has two little kids, 10 and 6, by the first wife and a tall very good looking daughter with a babe boy of 2. 2 boys, 22 and 18.
> There was a delightful priest - father confessor and estate agent - loving the hunt and the shoot, spends his day in breeches and gaiters and for dinner he appears in his cassock with its 42 buttons. An adenoidal tutor. Motors in plenty and a delightful battery of servants, all friendly and friends of the family - each one a host in himself.
> Furious wood fires.
> Nurseries with toy room complete and such toys! and each little boy had a recess by his bed as an altar or chapel where saints and martyrs and the Mother Mary stood in the full panoply of Rome.[318]

When Lutyens, later on, received the commission to design a new house for them he took all this things into consideration. Staying in La Ventosilla also gave Lutyens the opportunity to experience genuinely the Spanish country life, away from the luxury and comfort of Madrid[319], and the inconveniences of the old house, as he was given 'a gaunt bedroom and yet more gaunt bathroom'.[320] Although Lutyens knew not a word of

[318] Ibid.
[319] Ibid.: 'Dinner. The dinning room - an uncomfortable room and a huge table with many faces round it. A scratch lot of servants. Very different was the food to that at Liria Palace in Madrid. At one end of the room was a table covered with every kind of cup, pot, coffee pot, plates - a display of silver - so mixed and so untidy as to give one the feeling that they were moving house. We dined at 9! Lots to eat in many courses.'
[320] Ibid.

Spanish and just a few of French, and only the nannie was fluent in English, after dinner he was able to explain and show his works to the guests with the help of some transparencies and pictures. They were 'great success with the children and especially with the priest!'.[321] The fact that he carried pictures and transparencies of his works when travelling to La Ventosilla and El Guadalperal might suggest that Lutyens had already heard from Peñaranda that the Dukes of Santoña were interested in building a new house. Lutyens seemed fond of his potential clients from the start. He described them briefly in the correspondence to Lady Emily which he even illustrated with a little sketch of the Duchess (Fig. 5.3):

> The Duke is a quite genial creature suffering from gout. His hands were very bad. Living for sport and his farming. She very small always in breeches and gaiters - more like a boy to look at than a woman. Has no nerves and rides astride, though in the afternoon she appeared gowned like a Byzantine queen in pelts, baroque jewels, some very good pearls and a net of gems for headgear.[322]

Lutyens left soon after for India and did not return to Spain until almost a year later. There is no recorded communication between him and Santoña during all this time but, after arriving to Spain in his second time, he almost immediately started working on a commission for him. According to what he wrote to Lady Emily in this second trip to Spain, in November 1916 he was already working on the commission. At his arrival to Madrid on the 11 November early in the morning, Peñaranda had prepared for him the a programme for his trip in Spain that included a visit to La Ventosilla:

[321] Ibid.
[322] Ibid.

12 Sunday - Ventosilla, the Santoña´s

13 Monday- "

14 - Peñaranda comes for me and we go on together to Elgordo or El Guadalperal as it is now to be called

15 - At Guadalperal

16 - "

17- "

18 - back to Madrid

19 - Madrid to Gibraltar[323]

He described the hard work he did for Santoña during that journey in a letter to Lady Emily: ' Monday I spent pegging at the Santoña house at the low hills overlooking the Tagus near here. A very warm, perfect day. In the evening I made foundation plans etc. - so they could get on without waiting for the finished drawings. I worked like a slave. Tuesday ditto.' [324] This means that not only he had been asked to produce designs for a new building but that the dukes also wanted to start the works immediately. In order to allow construction works to start before his office had produced the final drawings, he had to draw some foundation plans and placed some pegs in the site.

The plan that had been laid for Lutyens suddenly changed, as Peñaranda was informed that his brother in law was organizing a partridge hunt on November 18 to which the king would be attending. After the hunt was over, him and Peñaranda stayed in Ventosilla for the night. However, 'Today Saturday a hurricane. We could do nothing

[323] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 11 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[324] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 17 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

out - plans torn, pegs blown away, trees tossing and breaking. The river rough as the sea.' At the end of this letter he summarized, 'My visit has been a great success. I have escaped two narrow deaths! get out two houses, enter a great deal.'[325]

The interest of the dukes in building a new house and the urgency in starting the works were due to the circumstances of the family. By the time Lutyens made his first visit to La Ventosilla, doña Sol´s stepsons were already turning into adults. The stepdaughter, Marichu, had been recently married and was expecting a baby. His husband lived with the rest of the family in La Ventosilla. The second time Lutyens travelled to Spain, Santoña´s eldest son had also been recently married. The family was growing quickly and the estate was going to be inherited by the three sons of the duke and his first wife. Doña Sol and her husband were keen on country life and liked the area, but the future proprietors of the house were already having families by themselves and needed more room and independence. Doña Sol decided to buy the estate of Zuarraz, a big plot of land adjacent to La Ventosilla, and to build a new palace there (Fig. 5.4), and thus allowing the two families to lead more independent lives while still living close to each other.

Lutyens, probably at Peñaranda´s recommendation and also due to the good impression he had made on the dukes in his first visit, was commissioned to design the new palace. The works on the foundations began immediately after Lutyens had left. While he was staying at Gibraltar waiting for the ship that would take him to India he carried on 'working at the Santoña house' and 'sent notes etc. home'.[326] Doing so he allowed his

[325] Ibid.
[326] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 22 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

workers at London to carry on working on the project while he was away. Before Lutyens returned from India to London on May 1917, his employees had completed the final plans for the palace, dated February and March 1917. This suggests that Lutyens designed all the palace in just one week and a half, between 13 and 22 November, while he was still in Spain, before departing to India. It would also explain why the plans for the project don´t give accurate detail of the architectural ornaments in, for example, the chapel.

The site was mapped and the ground was levelled and prepared to excavate the foundation trenches. Gravel and sand were transported from the riverbank in order to build a terrace in the sloppy terrain. However, soon after the works had started the wealthy Duke of Santoña went into financial difficulties and they were forced to sell some of their properties, amongst them, La Ventosilla. Doña Sol decided to buy it, and under the new circumstances they carried on living in the old house as they had hitherto done, and the project of a new palace became pointless. The works stopped and were never resumed. The esplanade, made of pebbles and sandy soil, although weathered with time and half covered by young bushes still exists on an elevation overlooking the river. Carlos Alfonso, doña Sol´s eldest son, who inherited the estate, mentioned that the family had some beautiful watercolours and enormous drawings of the project for the new palace. Unfortunately, everything was lost during the Civil War. A communist mob broke violently into the property. The valuable objects were robbed or destroyed and the servants were thrown down from the tower's roof. They started a fire in the garden where they burned the books in the library, and possibly also Lutyens´s

drawings, before putting the priest, with whom Lutyens had got on so well, also into the fire.[327]

Fortunately, the RIBA Drawings Collection in the V&A museum keeps a folder with a copy of the final plans for the new palace of La Ventosilla, together with some perspective views and sketches that allow a reconstruction of the project, as well as speculation about the design process. The main surviving documents of the project are the 9 large plates which include four plans and fifteen elevations and sections, watercoloured and drawn in great detail. The plates are numbered and the first one is the ground floor, numbered as drawing Nº 3. This suggests that there are two missing drawings, which are probably the location plan and the plan of foundations. Together with the finished plans, three sheets of paper with some draft drawings allow to explore the first stages of the design. They were almost certainly drawn by Lutyens when he was in Spain. Another sheet of paper kept amongst La Ventosilla drawings shows two elaborate exterior views of the palace, as imagined by the architect.

SKETCHES FOR A CROSS-SHAPED PALACE

A very simple undated scheme (Fig. 5.4) contains the basic concept of Lutyens´s plan: Four intersecting rectangles forming a cross-shaped plan with a jarge courtyard in the centre. The rectangles in the right and the left are completely symmetrical, each of them organised around a central patio, and their external corners are pierced by what look like verandas. The rectangle on the top is the biggest and shows some traces of distribution.

[327] This information was given to me by D. Jaime Patiño Mitjans, Count of Arco, one of the descendents of the dukes of Santoña (Email from D. Jaime Patiño Mitjans, 12 January 2015).

Its main space has the text 'Hall' written in it. Apparently this volume was designed to contain the main public rooms of the house. The rectangle at the bottom is the smallest, and it has two big and symmetrical openings which look like the main entrances. Between them, there is a singular room, with four little circles at its top that look like the plan of a portico. Together with this plan, the sheet of paper also contains two other sketches, the upper one seems to be the entrance elevation, with a veranda in the corner of the side wing, and the one at the bottom looks like a section through the main hall and the central court. A small sketch in the same page probably shows some preliminary ideas for a window grill.

A gridded sheet of paper (Fig. 5.5) contains some more detailed sketches of a plan (Fig. 5.6) and some elevations, also undated, which show an evolution from the first schematic plan. The basic idea of the four intersecting rectangles and the central court remains although the plan, which already shows a detailed distribution, is slightly different from the first drawing. The main difference comes from the volume at the right, which is now strongly fragmented in order to accommodate the service, storage and kitchen of the palace. Apparently, Lutyens foresaw that these spaces would need more room than previously given, so he increased the floor area without altering the volume´s external shape, by occupying the patio with the kitchen and the scullery. The lower volume has also been altered to create an open frontcourt. In the intersection between the four main volumes there are diagonal corridors which connect the different wings. Two lines drawn across the main court suggests that it is divided in two by some kind of corridor or gallery which connects the entrance body to the main rooms. The four different elevations that are drawn in the same sheet of paper (Fig. 5.7), under the plan, seem to be studies for the front of the facade. The elevation which is immediately

under the plan is coincident in size and position with it, which suggests that it is an elevation for the entrance facade. It has a taller central body, two floors high, flanked by two symmetric lower wings. From the sides of the central body, two smaller volumes come forward forming a front-court, the same way as in the plan. The high pitched roofs and the general layout creates an entrance court very similar to that at Marshcourt, Hampshire, built by Lutyens in 1901-1904. As in Marshcourt, the centre of the main facade is emphasized by a pediment, which is more Palladian in this case.

In the remaining three elevations, Lutyens appears to continue working on the central body of the facade. In the drawing immediately underneath, the main entrance is still flanked by two advancing volumes, although they have become smaller, giving more visibility to the main facade, which has become simpler after loosing the central pediment. In the next version, Lutyens has produced a simpler and bolder design. The side volumes have disappeared and the architecture has turned more essential: just a massive volume with a large pitched roof. The lower part of the facade has a simple and undecorated entrance portico while the upper part is barely pierced by little openings. The undecorated and forceful architecture suggested by this drawing is representative of Lutyens´s work after the 1910s. The remaining sketch is presumably the last to be drawn, as it is rotated in order to make it fit in the corner of the page, and it shows the final solution for the facade. As in the previous version, the central body is just a large cuboid with a pitched roof. in order to give a more monumental scale to the facade and also for practical purposes, as carriages and animals might need to enter the central court, the entrance portico was replaced by two symmetrical gigantic doorways which together with their arches occupy the full height of the facade. Between the two doors there is just a plain wall surface with some small openings and a carved shield, in the

centre, very much in the Spanish tradition. Through this sequence we can witness how Lutyens walked away from the Palladian style towards a more abstract design, resembling closer a Spanish country house. Surprisingly, the coat of arms that was carved in the facade was not that of the house of Santoña, but the coat of arms of the house of Teba, whose head was Santoña´s wife, doña Sol. Probably this was to signify that although the old palace and the properties of the house of Santoña would be inherited by Santoña´s sons of his first marriage, the owners of the future inheritors of the new palace would be the sons of Santoña´s second marriage with doña Sol, Countess of Teba.

Another small sheet of paper has a few sketches (Fig. 5.8) in which Lutyens is trying different solutions for the centre of the facade. As well as in his first schematic plan, between the two symmetric entranceways there is a singular room in the centre of the building. Its cruciform shape suggests that it is the house´s chapel. Lutyens tries two solutions for how the chapel and the entrance doors shape the main facade. In the plan that appears at the top of the page the chapel has a cylindrical apse that, in the perspective view bellow, projects out of the facade, creating a powerful massing at the centre of the building. In the bottom of the page, two sketches show the second solution in which the plan of the chapel is a Greek cross with one of the sides aligned with the facade. The entrance gates appear in a recess of the wall. The only decoration is a huge carved shield on the centre of the facade.

Although the basic ideas in the sketches were maintained in the final design, as the design developed in order to make room for all the different functions that the palace required, the proportions suggested by the preliminary sketches changed slightly, as it

will be explained later on. In terms of size, this commission was much bigger than most of the houses that Lutyens had built in England. Though probably not as imposing, Ventosilla was bigger in volume even than Castle Drogo, the palace that he was building at that time for the wealthy businessman Julius Drewe. Its enormous plan (almost 100x75 m.) was not justified by the size of the family that was to occupy the house. As it was explained above, just the dukes and their two sons were to move to the new palace. However, two other reasons justify the house´s big dimensions. First of all, La Ventosilla was not only a residence, it was also a farm surrounded by acres of fields belonging to the dukes. Thus, it needed large spaces for storage as well as plenty of rooms to accommodate 'a delightful battery of servants'.[328] Although it is also likely that, as well as it happened in El Guadalperal, Lutyens would have also been requested to design stables and barns, the main building required anyway plenty of room for servants and storage. Secondly, as it has already been mentioned, the place was a fantastic hunting spot and the duke liked to invite friends over to hunt. Some newspaper and magazine articles record the presence of King Alfonso several times in Santoña´s estate from 1906 until 1930.[329] This meant that the house also required rooms to host the family´s important guests.

[328] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[329] 'El Palacio de la Ventosilla', *Revista Blanco y Negro*, January 1905, 17; 'Cacería regia en la Ventosilla', *Cosmópolis*, March 1928, 8; 'Los próximos viajes del soberano', *Periódico ABC*, 17 October 1930, 19.

As in the first sketches, the final plan of the building (Fig. 5.9) was cross-shaped, with four built volumes in the arms and a large patio in the centre. The entrance volume, oriented to the northeast was the smaller in plan. It had the chapel in the middle and a large entrance door at each side of it. On the corners of the entrance wing there are three floors of servants room, amounting a total of twenty servants´ rooms. The big entrance doors lead carriages and cars into the main court (Fig. 5.18, bottom), such as in The Orchards, which was the true lobby of the house where guests would be received, just as in Lutyens´s first visit to Ventosilla he remembered having been received in the courtyard by the dukes and their servants.[330] At the end of the courtyard stands the southwest wing of the house, which contains the main public rooms. These rooms are truly grand both in size and disposition, as it can be appreciated in the section that shows this spatial sequence through the chapel, the main patio and the public rooms (Fig 5.12, bottom). A loggia open to the court serves as main entrance to the house (Fig 5.13, bottom). This loggia leads directly into an 'outer hall' or, through side doors, into two symmetrical corridors that run down the main wing´s ground floor. The corridors take, in first place to the biggest room in the house, a hall, more than 160 m^2 big and eight meters high, presided by an enormous chimneypiece and opened to the south through an arched loggia (Figs. 5.17 and 5.14 top left). It would have been a strikingly solemn space. The rest of the main wing´s ground floor was occupied by the dining room, the drawing room and the duke´s office. A large staircase leads to the upper floor of the wing where the main bedrooms of the house are located (Fig. 5.11). Lutyens designed four main bedrooms, one for each member of the family: the biggest of them

[330] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

for the duchess, another for the duke and two symmetrical rooms facing the main court for their two sons, Jaime and Carlos Alfonso. Almost all the north side of the plan is occupied by the nurseries: a large day nursery and a smaller night nursery. In his first visit to La Ventosilla Lutyens had been impressed by the 'nurseries with toy room complete and such toys!',[331] and decided to dedicate a privileged part of the new house for the nurseries.

The wing to the southeast contains the guest bedrooms. Lutyens carefully designed all the architectural elements, both in plan and elevation as to produce a delicately proportioned wing for the guests. In plan it is a perfectly symmetrical 33-metre (100-feet) long square with a square patio in the middle surrounded by arcades. In each side of the square there are two bedrooms with a shared bathroom in the middle. The rooms are accessed through the arcaded gallery and, in each corner of the patio, a diagonal corridor takes out of the guest´s wing. The two corners of the volume that face the garden are opened to make two large verandas while the other two corners connect the wing with the rest of the building. It looks as though Lutyens took especial pleasure in designing this part of the house. There is a sheet of gridded paper[332] (Fig. 5.17) amongst his Ventosilla drawings with some sketches in plan and elevation for the arcades, which show how every element was carefully measured and designed. This also showed Lutyens´s intention to adapt the building to Castile's extreme weather. Together with the exceptionally thick walls that all the house would have, Lutyens wrote both in his elevation and his plan for the guests' patio a short text: 'frames with doors to be removed in the summer weather', indicating that the galleries would be totally open in the summer and closed during the winter.

[331] Ibid.
[332] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, PA 1626/II 1

The fourth wing, which encloses the central court to the northwest was designed as the service and kitchen wing. These auxiliary spaces needed so much room that the central court, which was drawn in the first sketch in the middle of the wing, was finally taken over by the kitchen and the scullery. The rest of the wing is occupied by storage and maid rooms, pantry, brushing room, house keeper´s room and servant´s hall. The size of these rooms required the enlargement of the wing, and thus broke the original symmetry of the plan. This wing, instead of being a square of 33x33 metres, like the guest wing, is a rectangle of 33x36 meters. Without a court in the centre of the wing, the kitchen and the scullery were ill lit and ventilated through skylights, as it can be seen in the section on Drawing n. 4 (Fig. 5.14). Lutyens had used the same solution in the kitchens of some of the biggest English houses he had built until the moment such as Nashdom, in Taplow, Castle Drogo, Temple Dinsley, and the Salutation, and he continued using it in the future. In the basement of the palace there are tunnels for pipes, heating chambers, wine cellars and some other storage rooms.

The site chosen for the building had one main disadvantage. While La Ventosilla palace was built in the valley by the river, the estate that doña Sol bought, occupied a hilly piece of land south of la Ventosilla. Its hills and plateau, commanded beautiful views of the old palace and the river Tagus, although looking north (Fig. 5.19). That is why the southwest loggia, which should have been looking dominantly over the valley, has no views of the old palace and only looks at the river obliquely. The service wing faces the river and the guests' wing faces southeast to the gentle hills covered by old ilex trees.

Stylistically, although the design is overall coherent, it shows a variety of influences. The entrance facade is massive (almost 9 meters high and 50 meters long) and hermetic, pierced only by a few windows and two enormous entrance gates. It looks more like a southern Spanish hacienda than a palace or a large country house (Fig. 5.21). Unlike English domestic and Arts & Crafts tradition, Lutyens in this case favoured a grand visual effect over coherence between plan and elevation. The facade is composed by alternating a picturesque motif of four windows with the two carriage doors. The windows appear at the two sides and at the centre of the facade. At the corners of the facade, the room distribution is exactly the same in the three floors: two maid´s rooms in each corner and on each floor. However, the openings on each floor are absolutely different. In the ground floor, Lutyens designed a standard size window, in the first floor the window is bigger and is protected by a large grill in the Spanish tradition, while on the upper floor there are two much smaller windows. The elevation thus, resembles that of a traditional country house were the kitchen and other rooms are in the ground floor, the main rooms with larger windows are in the first floor, the *piano nobile*, while the upper floor, below the roof, was reserved for the maid´s and storage rooms. Although Lutyens used the same window disposition in the centre of the facade as in the corners, the room disposition at the centre of the facade is totally different: the two lower floors are occupied by the sacristy while the upper floor has a corridor. At the centre of the facade, instead of a window in the ground floor Lutyens decided to place a standard size door which, at the centre of the massive facade and in contrast with the enormous carriage doors looks picturesquely small. The entrance volume is topped with a pitched red tile roof. The chapel´s roof rises over the rest of the roof emphasizing the

centre of the composition. Here too, picturesque composition has been favoured over functionality: the tower over the chapel should apparently serve as a lantern to introduce light into the centre of the dome, although the tiny windows of the lantern wouldn´t allow much light into the church.

As it can be seen, in this facade, although Lutyens did not fall into creating functional problems he favoured the picturesque effect created by the contrast between small and giant openings, massive undecorated wall surface and tiny windows, against the coherent expression of the plan in the elevation. Overlapping the room distribution and the facade makes evident the incoherency of the design. Lutyens achieved to create an imposing main facade, with the almost mannerist joke of placing a small door at the centre flanked by two enormous entrance gates at its sides. The overwhelming effect of it is emphasized by the two walls that enclose the space in front of the facade creating a forecourt. These walls also hide the asymmetry of the lateral wings from the person approaching the building. Although Lutyens´s plans do not show the total extension of the front-court's walls, it is reasonable to think that, consistently with other works by him, such as Middleton Park, some of the ancillary buildings that the new palace would need would have been attached to them. Lutyens could have placed some stables facing the service wing and a garden pavilion facing the guest wing, as it is show in the 3D reconstruction (Fig. 5.21).

Through the entrance gates, pedestrians, carriages and cars entered the main court, a grand but much more domestic space than the forecourt. The volumes here were to be fragmented through receding or projecting volumes creating a richer space and a more intimate, though still grand, scale. The chapel´s main entrance faces this court: a

tetrastyle portico with a pediment which rests on four freestanding pillars (Figs. 5.15 and 5.22). Although the chapel and its portico have classical references, the classical language has been extremely simplified. No particular order has been used: the mouldings are just simplified Doric mouldings while the capitals are just unadorned cuboids. The simplified classicism of this portico, and its robust proportions, quite unique in Lutyens´s production, resemble some works by A. Palladio or C.N. Ledoux, or in some buildings of Spanish renaissance. Palladio designed some primitive looking and unadorned classical porticoes in some of his buildings, such as Villa Saraceno o Villa Foscari Cerrato and so did Ledoux in some of his designs for the *barrières* in Paris or the saltworks in Arc-et-Senans. In Spain after the Escorial and also after the reformation of the Carmelite Order carried out by Saint Theresa of Avila in the mid 16th century, the new convents built for Reformed Carmelites, although Italian in style, had almost no architectural decoration. The classical language was simplified in order to express the new order´s commitment to live in poverty.[333] The unadorned pedimented classical facade spread quickly through Castile after the 1600s in the new monastic foundations. Madrid has some remarkable examples of this facade typology and it is very likely that Lutyens, in his tours around the city had the opportunity to see at least the convent of La Encarnación. It is also recorded in his letters that Peñaranda took him to visist the convent of the Immaculate Conception in Loeches[334] (Fig. 5.24), where the members of the Alba family were buried. The convent in Loeches has a very fine facade in the manner of La Encarnación[335] and, although Lutyens made no comments about it in his letters to Lady Emily, it is probable that he liked its stripped classicism

[333] Blanca Blasco Esquivia, 'Utilidad y Belleza en la Arquitectura Carmelitana: las Iglesias de San José y La Encarnación,' *Anales de Historia del Arte* 14, 2004, 143-156.
[334] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 23 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[335] María A. López, 'Antonio Carbonel y la Iglesia de Loeches,' *Archivo Español de Arte*, April 1952, 167-182.

and bold massing. Lutyens also explored simplified classicism for his designs of the 1920s, in which the visual effect of the building depends on a forceful geometry[336], such as in the Midland Bank (Manchester, 1928), the Victoria Park War Memorial (London, 1923) or the Thiepval War Memorial (France, 1923).

Opposite the chapel´s entrance, at the other side of the main patio, there is the north facade of the main wing which, through an arcaded loggia leads into the main rooms of the palace. As well as in the chapel and in the rest of the palace the ornamental details of this loggia have been extremely simplified. The intercolumniation is variable: spans of 1.2 meters and 2.4 meters are alternated. The three 2.4 meters wide spans are covered by round arches while the rest by horizontal lintels, creating a simplified Serlian loggia. Only the pillars´ bases and imposts and the arches´ keystones are granite. The other two facades of the patio, northwest and southeast are symmetrical. They are only one floor high and have one door at the centre, with an oculus above it and two windows at each side of it. Between the windows, simple niches enrich the wall surface. The door, which was to be delicately framed with granite mouldings, was the only richly ornamented element of the facade. Over the door frame the flat frieze is substituted by a torus, a resource that Lutyens usually used in order to increasing the sense of heaviness and plasticity of the moulding. Over the frieze, there is an Ionic cornice over which the oculus rests.

The other patio of the palace, the guest patio is much smaller and more regular in design. It has a square plan and its four sides are exactly the same: five spans and six pillars which are rectangular in plan and the corner pillars are double in size. The three

[336] Hussey, 1950, 393.

central spans are 2.4 meters wide and are covered by round arches while the corners one are just 1.2 meters wide and are covered by horizontal lintels. The materials and austere decoration is the same as in the main court´s loggia.

The southwest facade (Fig. 5.25), which is the main facade facing the garden is very different in character from the main entrance front. While this looked like a hermetic barn or austere *hacienda* and designed mainly as a work-building, the south facade looks more like a lavish southern country house. The central body has a loggia in the centre, exactly the same in design as the main court loggia, that leads directly to the main hall. The corners of the central body have two floors and a pitched roof, regular openings and a carved shield in the centre. A moulding and a red tiles soffit runs all along the facade separating visually the lower from the upper floor, and giving an horizontal stressing to the building. This ornamental element, which is very rare in Spanish traditional architecture, had already been used by Lutyens before at Heathcote in 1904. Lutyens liked to crown his English country houses with enormous pitched roofs like in Monkton House or in Folly Farm. In the southwest facade of La Ventosilla he also placed a very large red tile pitched roof over the central loggia, following more the English than the southern Spanish tradition. The side bodies flanking the central part of the facade are just one storey high, have regular standard size windows and a Serlian veranda in the corner.

Although in the drawings for La Ventosilla kept in the RIBA Drawings Collection Lutyens did not detail the interior decoration of the building, the drawings contain enough information to describe and analyse at least the two main rooms of the palace: the chapel and the main hall. In the case of the chapel, although the text in the plan says

that the finishings were to be decided later, the powerful massing of its interior volume is undoubtedly, as in many other of Lutyens´s buildings, its most remarkable feature. In this chapel, Lutyens faced the problem that had troubled Western architects since the 15th century when designing churches: how to make compatible the classical ideal of spatial beauty, that is, the central plan (square, round or Greek cross shaped) with the requirements of Roman Catholic ritual, which needs a dominant longitudinal direction in order to perform the sacrifice of the Mass. Lutyens would face the same problem later on in his career when he was commissioned to design Liverpool´s Roman Catholic cathedral and, in his second design for El Guadalperal and in Liria Palace, which will be discussed later. He had to make possible what is apparently contradictory: designing a church which is, at the same time, longitudinal and central in plan. The scale of the problem in La Ventosilla was much smaller. Lutyens decided to design the plan as a Greek cross with three equal arms 3 meters long and 6 meters wide, and placing the presbytery in the northeastern arm of the cross, which is a cylindrical apse and has a door that connects directly with the sacristy. The crossing is a square six meters long topped by a spherical dome with an oculus through which the sunlight from the lantern gets into the centre of the chapel (Fig. 5.25). Unlike other churches by Lutyens, like St. Jude, which are a very English compromise between Classical language and Gothic silhouette, the heavy massing and powerful geometry made this church Lutyens´s most Roman temple to date.

The main rooms of the ground floor are lavish and solemn but not richly decorated. The white plastered walls are decorated with two grey granite stringcourses, one of them at the bottom of the walls and the other one runs 2,5 meters high. As in other of his domestic projects the chimney pieces are the main ornamental element in the interior of

the house. In La Ventosilla, all of them are also designed of grey granite. The one in the great hall is the biggest and also the most elaborate, with two powerful and richly carved brackets sticking out of the wall and supporting the mantelpiece. Except from the great hall, which, due to its structural requirements, has a timber structure and plaster faced ceiling, the rest of the ceilings in the ground floor are brick barrel vaulted.

Amongst the drawings there is also a sheet of paper with two small and uncoloured perspective views of the house (Fig. 5.18). One of them is a view of the entrance facade and the other one of the main patio, looking towards the south. The drawings look like drafts or studies where the architect is exploring visual effects and different alternatives. For example, in the view that shows the entrance facade the side walls that enclose the forecourt have not been drawn. At the same time different openings in the ground floor might suggest that Lutyens was exploring different facade details. He also tried different wall finishes: at the corners of the facade the plaster is removed leaving the cornerstones exposed, and the upper part of the facade, starting in the arches´ impost there is apparently a change of finish, with plaster below the impost line and exposed or whitewashed brick above it. The view of the patio show Lutyens' ideas for its layout. According to the drawing, Lutyens wanted the centre of the patio to be occupied with a large grass parterre and a circular fountain. Some slender trees, possibly poplars or cypresses, would be planted in this large central parterre and at the sides of the patio.

The house is a complex hybrid of an English country house and a Spanish *hacienda*. In this design, unlike in Lutyens´s English domestic works the courts or 'patios', as he prefers to call them, are the main spaces in terms of size and location in the building. They are the central spaces, around which the rest of the building is organized. This

layout is typical of Mediterranean and Spanish houses. The Spanish *haciendas* or *cortijos* are usually formed by compact and inward facing volumes, looking to a central court which is usually decorated and surrounded by arcaded galleries. This court is usually the centre of the houses´s activity: carefully paved and with a fountain and some vegetation it is a cool and well ventilated place to carry on daily activities or to rest during the hot months of the year. The central court is usually accessed from the outside through a grand entrance gate, the same as in La Ventosilla. Lutyens was keen on great entrance doors to courtyards, as those he had designed for Berrydown Court (1898), Orchards (1902), and the gate house at Barton St. Mary (1906). Lutyens was well acquainted with Spanish and, more generally, with Mediterranean houses after his travels through Spain and Italy. He had visited the Escorial, a compact building arranged around patios. He had visited the palace of the Infantado in Guadalajara and some other 'houses with patios'[337] in Toledo. The old palace of Ventosilla, where Lutyens stayed several days, was also organized around a large patio. The materials and colours that he chose for the palace, white plaster for the wall surface and details of grey granite, whitewashed brick for the church´s tower, red tiles for the roof and bright green window shutters also helped to integrate the building with the landscape and the local architectural tradition (Fig. 5.27).

However, Lutyens´s design for the dukes of Santoña wasn´t just a purely introverted and compact *hacienda*, but the volume was broken into different wings, allowing the building to embrace the surrounding landscape. Moreover, the house is generously opened to the landscape through the corner verandas and through the southwest loggia. This is more in line with the informal Old English house tradition, especially in late

[337] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

Victorian country houses, in which the volumes are broken allowing a close integration of building and garden. Lutyens, especially known as an English country house designer and having collaborated with Gertrude Jekyll for many years, was very experienced in this kind of picturesque design, in which house and garden are treated as a unity. La Ventosilla was also the second largest house that Lutyens had designed to the date, only after the Viceroy's House. As in the other houses that Lutyens had designed after Heathcote (1906), everything is submitted to a strong symmetry, although flexible enough to accommodate a diversity of functions. The cruciform plan, with four wings stemming out of the corners of a central patio, show a strategy of spatial arrangement similar to that of the Viceroy's House.

VI

PALACE FOR THE COUNT DE LA CIMERA

Lutyens received his most mysterious and least documented commission for a project in Spain during his fourth visit to Madrid, in February 1919. Apparently, Lutyens was so busy during his visit to Spain from the 5th to the 13th of February that he only wrote three short letters to Lady Emily during this time. However, this short trip gave place to a very peculiar project: a palace for the count de la Cimera. It is logical to think that, as in previous occasions, Lutyens undertook this trip in order to supervise the works in Spain for Peñaranda. As explained above, he had sent Hinton to start the works in 1917, and after some preparations, preliminary works started in 1918, just a few months before Lutyens´s arrival. As with the previous 1917 journey, this trip was not done *en route* to India, where works at Delhi had been suspended, but exclusively to Spain. That is why it is somehow bewildering that he decided not to travel to El Guadalperal, and preferred to meet Hinton in Madrid.[338] It is possible that work was indeed so slow, with just a few pipes and roads built that there was objectively little for Lutyens to do in El Guadalperal. It is also possible that Lutyens had received Cimera´s commission while he was in London and so he planned a short trip to Spain it order to check the works in El Guadalperal and to meet Cimera at the same time.

He wrote on Sunday 9th from Liria Palace to Lady Emily telling her that he was going that day 'to Santander where the Count de la Cimera wants to build. I get back here (to

[338] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 9 February 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

Madrid) on Wednesday and start that night for Paris.'[339] However, immediately afterwards, in that same letter, Lutyens wrote: 'Cimera is going to build a quite good house in Madrid and it will be great for he is a very rich man and spends much in clothes.' There is a clear contradiction about the location of the project, although, as we will see, it is possible that Cimera needed an architect to make designs both for his properties in Santander and in Madrid. Lutyens ends his brief account with an outline of his potential client: 'He has wardrobe clothes: 1000 shoes, 1000 boots, 1000 trousers, etc., etc., and there is in the top of each case of clothes his photograph dressed for polo, for court, as a soldier, as a gentleman, Mass kit, tennis kit, golf kit, racing kit, cards and au lit! Yet with all a pleasant quiet man capped with grey hair.'[340] This description sounds as though Lutyens had already met Cimera, maybe in Madrid, through the Albas, during those few days in which he stayed in the city.

Valentín Menéndez y San Juan (1874-1944) (Fig. 6.1), 5th Count de la Cimera was the only Spanish client of Lutyens who did not belong to the Alba family, and he is the lesser known of them all. He was a very rich though discreet nobleman, keener on sports and horse racing than on politics and social life. Being an only son, he had accumulated over time a big fortune by inheriting the properties of several unmarried relatives. He inherited the title of count de la Cimera and some properties in 1903, after the death of his mother´s unmarried brother, and in 1910 he inherited the properties of his mother's uncle Pedro Mendinueta, Count of Goyeneche.[341] Moreover, shortly after being born, Cimera´s father died and his mother married some years later Gonzalo Vilches y Llano, II count of Vilches, a very wealthy industrialist who died in 1918,

[339] Ibid.
[340] Ibid.
[341] AAVV*, La Casa del Rey, cuatro siglos de historia* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Arganda del Rey, 1997), 429.

leaving Cimera´s mother his fortune. Bearing in mind that he had no siblings, all this succession of events made him extremely rich.

Unlike Alba, Romanones, and other Spanish noblemen of the time, Cimera did not seem very keen on politics. He was a member of the Senate for only one year, in 1915, and he was only appointed once to hold a public position in a government. It was in 1930, in the short-lived last government of Alfonso XIII's reign, when he was appointed director of the National Department of Tourism by the president Dámaso Berenguer.[342] He seemed to have preferred to stay out of the limelight for most of his life. Although he was mentioned several times in the newspapers,[343] almost all of them are related to the excellent performance of the horses that he owned in the horse races. He was apparently passionate about horses, he had stables in Arganda and Aranjuez, he imported the finest horses for breeding from England and France[344] and he won the most important national competitions. Cimera also had a reputation for being one of the most elegant men in Spain,[345] and Lutyens was struck by his extravagantly vast collection of clothes. He remained a bachelor for most of his life and got married only in 1942, when he was almost seventy years old.

Despite his riches, Cimera did not own an appropriate residence in Madrid, living instead in a hired French style mansion in the centre of the city. The death of his stepfather in 1918, leaving him and his mother a big fortune, seemed to have finally encouraged him to build a big house. The year in which his stepfather died, Cimera and

342 'Real decreto nombrando Presidente del Patronato Nacional de Turismo a don Valentín Menéndez y San Juan, conde de la Cimera.', *Gaceta de Madrid* 134, 14 May 1911, 459.
343 For example, 'De sociedad ecos diviersos', *Diario ABC*, 6 July 1922, 16 and 'Madrid. Miscelánea de portiva', *Diario ABC*, 19 June 1928, 13.
344 Montecristo., 'El Harás de la Juenga', *Revista Blanco y Negro*, 16 September 1923, 15-19.
345 Luis G. Perinat y Elío, *Recuerdos de una vida itinerante* (Madrid: Compañía Literaria, 1996), 13.

his mother were suddenly involved in important investments. Cimera bought a very large estate near Santander where he planned to breed horses, and his mother purchased a plot of land in Madrid´s cemetery and commissioned the most fashionable architect amongst the Madrilian elites, Joaquín Saldaña, to build a small mausoleum and chapel for his family in a French Baroque style.[346]

ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE IN THE SPANISH NORTH

As mentioned above, Lutyens in his letter to Lady Emily seemed to be confused about where Cimera wanted to build. He travelled to Santander 'where Cimera wants to build' and, it is, indeed, very possible, that Cimera was thinking of having some works done in his newly acquired property close to that city. As mentioned above, it seems very likely that Cimera and Lutyens had met in Madrid (Lutyens's description of him sounds as though they had) and it would have been pointless to make him go all the way north to Santander if it was not in order to show him the site of another possible commission. It is very likely, as we will see, that Cimera was thinking of an English architect for the constructions he wanted to erect in his newly purchased estate.

Santander was one of the coastal cities in the Bay of Biscay that became popular in the 19th and early 20th centuries as holiday resorts for the Spanish upper classes, where its cool weather was appreciated by tourists coming from central areas of the country. In the strip of coast that goes from Santander to Biarritz, in France, coastal resorts started springing up at this time, leading to the penetration of English architectural fashions in

[346] AAVV*, La Casa del Rey, cuatro siglos de historia* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Arganda del rey, 1997), 435.

the region. In chapter 1 we have already discussed the introduction of English style architecture into Spain through its northern coast, thanks to the works of the architect Ralph Selden Wornum.

The count de la Cimera knew first hand the English-style building fashion going on in the Gulf of Biscay. In fact, as a good friend of the Duke of Santo Mauro, he had stayed several times in his country house of Las Fraguas, designed by Ralph Selden Wornum.[347] As mentioned, in 1918 he had bought a house south of Santander, called La Juenga, a few miles into the countryside, which was surrounded by fertile grazing lands, where he planned to establish his stud. In January 1919 he moved his recently purchased English horses from the stables in Aranjuez to some provisional ones in his recently acquired estate. Lutyens worked for Cimera at Santander during four days in February that year, and they probably stayed during those days in La Juenga. By next May, the new English style stables (Fig. 6.2), with boxes for more than fifty horses and designed by an anonymous architect were already finished.[348] Although it is possible that Lutyens could have been initially consulted about the design of these stables, the final design of the building is undoubtedly not his. Its strong similarity with the stables built in the palace of la Magdalena (Fig. 6.3) in 1914 by González Riancho suggest the strong possibility that it was this same architect who designed the stables for Cimera, although no documents survive to give evidence of this.[349]

[347] So I was told by Cimera´s stepson, D. Luis Guillermo del Perinat y Elío, Marquis of Campo Real.
[348] Montecristo., 'El Harás de la Juenga', *Revista Blanco y Negro*, 16 September 1923, 15-19.
[349] The catalogue of Riancho´s work and drawings has been published in Miguel C. Morales Saro, *Javier González Riancho (1881-1953). Arquitecto* (Oviedo, 1983).

'HOUSE IN MADRID'

Going back to the 9 February letter from Lutyens to Lady Emily, immediately after saying that Cimera wanted to build in Santander he wrote: 'Cimera is going to build a quite good house in Madrid and it will be very good for he is very rich.' The only extant documents of Lutyens's work for Cimera are a small number of architectural drawings which bear the inscription 'House in Madrid'. These were identified by Margaret Richardson and Gavin Stamp as designs of a house for Cimera,[350] and new evidence found on the course of this research can confirm this assumption. The few existing drawings[351] have allowed me to identify the plot of land for which the house was originally designed and some documents in Madrid´s Municipal Archive[352] give evidence that this plot of land for which Lutyens designed the house belonged, indeed, to Cimera. The floor plans show a large building which occupies completely a rectangular 85x35 meter long plot of land. The rectangle is incomplete, as one of its corners is cut by what looks like a circular square and the opposite corner is chamfered. One of its long sides faces the street, while the opposite side has no openings to the outside and, thus, seem to face the party wall of an adjacent building. Among the drawings there are two of the same elevation, which the legend allows to identify as the west elevation. Having the size, the shape, and the orientation of the building allowed me to find a plot of land where Lutyens's plan fits perfectly, in an area of central Madrid which was being developed at that time (figure 6.4). As we will see, this area of Madrid has changed dramatically since the early 20th century, and there are only a few palaces left of what was being developed as the most fashionable low-rise residential area of the city.

---

[350] Margaret Richardson and Gavin Stamp, 'Lutyens and Spain', *AA Files*, January 1983, 51-59.
[351] Edwin L. Lutyens RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, PA1621/7(1-4).
[352] Madrid, Archivo de la Villa, drawings 42-403-3 and 12-261-23.

As mentioned, Cimera did not own an adequate residence in Madrid. The lot of land on which Lutyens seems to have been working would have been the perfect place for Cimera to establish his residence in Madrid. The area, known as Almagro or west Chamberí, was developed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a high-class residential area,[353] well located close to the fashionable Paseo de la Castellana. Many noblemen had moved their residences since the mid 19th century from the city centre to the more spacious Paseo del Prado and its north prolongation, the Paseo de la Castellana, where the richest families purchased plots of land and built large palaces. Since the approval of the plan for the expansion of the city in 1860, the areas closer to the old city had already been developed and since the 1900s the people in search of an empty slot had to move north. By the 1910s construction activity was intense in the north of Almagro and it is logical that Cimera wanted to move here, just 15 minutes walk north of where he lived. The plots of land facing Castellana were the most expensive, and they were by then already occupied by large palaces. In the rest of Almagro, the price of the land was directly related to its proximity with Castellana.[354] Cimera´s plot of land was ideally located, at the centre of the most fashionable area of the moment, just a block away from Castellana and with its south facing Dato street, one of the main streets in the area.

[353] Carlos de San Antonio Gómez, *El Madrid del 98, arquitectura para una crisis: 1874-1918* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1998), 80.
[354] Rubén Pallol Trigueras, 'Chamberí ¿Un nuevo Madrid? El primer desarrollo del ensanche norte madrileño, 1860-80', *Cuandernos de Historia Contemporánea* 24, 2004, 77-98.

At that moment, Spain was immersed in an architectural debate of its own, and the plot of land where Lutyens was to design the palace for Cimera, at the centre of Madrid, was in one of its epicentres. While the other projects that Lutyens had designed for Spanish clients were intended for large country estates, isolated and hidden from the public, the lot of land chosen by Cimera in a fashionable area in central Madrid would have made Lutyens's architecture interact necessarily with the surrounding city, as the office buildings in central London that he had designed had done, and thus, it would have been exposed to the architectural debate that was taking place in Spain. The east side of Cimera´s plot was limited by some existing buildings. To the southeast there was the small palace of the Duke of Osma, which was one of the first residences to be built in the area (1880s) and that was being expanded at that time.[355] To the east of this palace, the palace of the Marquises of Bermejilla del Rey (1913-16) had just been built and beyond it, the palace of the Duke of Montellano,[356] which no longer exists, faced the Paseo de la Castellana. South of Cimera´s plot, across the square, the house of the important politician Miguel Maura was under construction when Lutyens received the commission. To the west of the circular square starts Dato street, by then occupied with newly built religious schools and where some rich men, such as the architect Salvador Amós and the industrialist Luis Ocharan had built their residences. South of the circular square, Almagro street was also surrounded by small palaces mostly belonging to noblemen. Many of these palaces had been designed in the 1910s in the French 2nd Empire style by the architect Joaquín Saldaña, the favourite architect for the Madrilean

[355] AAVV, *Guía de arquitectura de Madrid* (Madrid: Fundación COAM, 2003), vo. II, 185.
[356] I. González-Varas Ibáñez, *Los palacios de la Castellana. Historia, arquitectura y sociedad* (Madrid, 2010), 223.

aristocracy.[357] The palace of the Duke of Santo Mauro, built in the 1890s, stands out among them. It was built for Cimera´s friend Mariano Fernández de Henestrosa, the same man who had commissioned the great English country house near Santander from Ralph Selden Wornum. An article in *The Building News*, accompanied by an illustration (figure 6.5), reveals that in 1914 Santo Mauro commissioned E. Grey Wornum, Selden´s nephew, who had recently died, to develop a narrow plot of land next to his palace. The article explains that 'the wish of the owner was that the design and character of the house should be English in feeling: hence the particular style adopted for this work by the architect'.[358] This shows, once more, the attraction that Spanish ruling classes felt for everything English at that period, and the influence that this could have had in Cimera´s choice of Lutyens.

This neighbourhood reflected as few others in Spain the complex architectural context and the vivid architectural debate that was taking place in the country when Lutyens received the commission from Cimera. The Spain Lutyens travelled to in the 1910s was a country still recovering itself from a disastrous 19th century. At the turn of the century, after the loss of the last trans-oceanic colonies in 1898, a group of intellectuals (Generation of 98) fostered a moral regeneration of Spain. They claimed that in order to regenerate the country it was necessary to study the national traditions before moving forward in the path of progress. This had an impact on architects who, at a time of conflicting influences and eclecticism, embarked themselves to search a national style of architecture, rooted in tradition and adaptable to contemporary needs.[359] However, in doing so they encountered an immediate problem as Spain, in its diversity of regions

[357] San Antonio Gómez, 1998, 148.
[358] 'House at Madrid for the Duke of Santo Mauro', *The Building News*, 25 September 1914, 399.
[359] San Antonio Gómez, 1998, 120-139.

and climates had produced very different types of architecture depending on the region and the period.

While Gothic architecture could be seen as a national style in 19th century England, France and Germany, and Renaissance architecture as genuinely Italian, Spain was also searching for a style that could express its history and national values. But deciding which was the national style became a problematic issue in a country whith such cultural and geographic diversity. The blend of Islamic and Christian architecture that emerged in medieval Spain started to be studied by art historians in the mid 19th century and had been labelled as *mudéjar* by Prof. José Amador de los Ríos.[360] Since then it was used at times as the most genuine national style. In 1899 the architect Arturo Mélida read an influential paper at the Academy of Fine Arts in Madrid in which he called to revitalize the Spanish architecture by searching for a national style taking three historic references: *mudéjar*, Rayonnant Gothic and plateresque.[361] In 1900, seven years after the publication in England of A.N. Prentice´s study on plateresque architecture,[362] the architect José Urioste built the Spanish pavilion at the Paris World Fair of 1900 in a lavish Spanish renaissance style, mixing elements from the palace of Monterrey, in Salamanca and the university at Alcalá. The building was a resounding success among critics and was the main responsible to make this style fashionable in Spanish architecture, especially in central Spain, for decades.[363] The building was also probably known to Lutyens, who was commissioned to design the British pavillion in that same exhibition. Together with *plateresque*, neo-*mudéjar* continued to be popular during the first decades of the 20th

[360] José Amador de los Ríos, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando en la recepción público de d. José Amador de los Ríos* (Madrid, 1859).
[361] Arturo Mélida y Alinari, *Causas de la decadencia de la arquitectura y medios para su regeneración*, discourse read in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of S. Fernando, Madrid, the 8th October 1899.
[362] Andrew N. Prentice, *Renaissance architecture and ornament in Spain* (London, 1893).
[363] Carlos Sambricio, *Madrid, vivienda y urbanismo: 1900-1960* (Madrid: Akal, 2004),123.

century, while in the peripheral regions other traditional revivals appeared, such as *montañés* and neo-basque in the north coast and *modernisme* in Catalonia. Although Spanish revivals had appeared, in part, as a reaction to foreign styles, especially French,[364] French style buildings continued to be built for decades in this heterogeneous panorama. However, both national and foreign styles were used mostly in a frivolous way as mere ornamental options, and by the 1910s, some architects started calling for a more profound reflection on the essential features of architecture, beyond decorative fashions. The architect Leopoldo Torres Balbás vehemently asked his colleagues to stop copying old models and to study the essence of traditions just a few months before Lutyens received the commission from Cimera.[365] This exhausting and confusing panorama brought, in the 1920s, together with a very slow diffusion of European modernist architecture, a return to the sobriety of classicism.[366]

Although it is not known to what extent Lutyens was aware of that debate, it is very possible that during the days in which he stayed in Madrid during his 1919 trip to Spain, he visited the site where his client wanted to build, and that place was surrounded by buildings of all the styles above mentioned, some of them just built or under construction at the time. For example, the palace of the duke of Osma, east of Cimera´s lot of land, had been built in the *mudéjar* style in the 1880s and was enlarged in 1917 in the same style (figure 6.6). That same style, although devoid of almost all external decoration, was used some blocks to the west in a series of religious buildings: the church of San Fermín and two catholic schools (San Diego y San Vicente and Damas Negras). A block to the east of Cimera´s lot, the palace of Bermejilla del Rey had

[364] Ibid., 426.
[365] Leopoldo Torres Balbás, 'Mientras labran los sillares', *Arquitectura* 2, June 1918, 34.
[366] Sambricio, 2004, 36.

just been built imitating plateresque palaces, both in its general composition and in its facade and interior decoration. A more sober Spanish renaissance style was used for the house of the conservative politician Miguel Maura, which was being built just across the square, south of Cimera´s plot, when Lutyens visited Madrid in 1919. To the north, Cimera´s palace would have faced two elegant buildings designed by Joaquín Saldaña in the early 20th century. Saldaña had remained faithful to his French 2nd Empire style, ignoring the on-going debate about a national style in the numerous *hôtels* that he built for wealthy aristocrats around that area. Also, in a similar style, was the large building that faced Cimera´s plot longest side, the palace of the Duke of Sotomayor, which no longer exists. Its facades were rusticated in the ground floor and had double height Ionic pilasters, which started at first floor level, over the rusticated socle (Fig. 6.7). By the time Lutyens received the commission, the area was already densely built with palaces large and small, schools and some high-rise residential buildings to the south.

In his country houses, Lutyens usually incorporated local features and materials into his design, as was the case in Les Bois des Moutiers, France, Viceroy´s House in Delhi or Lambay Castle in Ireland. However, in this case, in which the surrounding buildings were so heterogeneous in their material and style, it would have been difficult to drag a clear reference from them. Although as we have seen, in the immediately surrounding buildings, the two by Saldaña to the north and the palace of Sotomayor, the dominating style was classical.

THE DESIGN OF THE PALACE

The project of the house for the count de la Cimera is very exceptional in Lutyens's production because the site demanded him to do something he had not done before: an urban palace. The vast majority of his commissions prior and after his design for Cimera, his domestic commissions were country and suburban houses surrounded by spacious lots of land. At the beginning of that decade he had designed and built two townhouses in Westminster, central London (for Francis McLaren and Reginald Mckenna). This was normal for an architect who worked in England, which had a strong tradition of suburban and country living. Even his largest residential project, the Viceroy´s House in Delhi, although placed in a prominent location, is not an urban palace surrounded by buildings as those in continental Europe. In the project for Cimera Lutyens would be challenged with having to design a very large house in a slot that would only allow a small garden, surrounded by busy streets and town buildings, where the client would, anyway, require an atmosphere of privacy.

The RIBA Drawings Collections holds a few drawings with the inscription 'house in Madrid' that, as explained above, can be undoubtedly identified as Lutyens's designs for the count de la Cimera. They are just five sheets of paper containing several drawings and sketches, but with enough information to allow the reconstruction of the project almost completely. There is a gridded sheet of paper containing several plans and an elevation,[367] and another three larger sheets of paper containing a ground floor plan (Fig. 6.8),[368] two first floor plans (Figs. 9 and 10) and several small sketches of the west

[367] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, PA1621/LUT[203]1.
[368] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London PA1621/LUT[203]2.

facade (Figs. 6.12 and 6.13),[369] and the last sheet of paper contains a very detailed west elevation which is dated in August 1919 (Fig. 6.11).[370]

The earliest designs for the house are probably those contained in a gridded sheet of paper which bears some plans on one of its sides (Fig. 6.14) and an elevation at the back (Fig. 6.15) and which has the inscription 'Feb 9' on both sides in Lutyens's handwriting.[371] That day, Lutyens wrote to Lady Emily from Liria palace, Madrid, telling her that he would leave that evening for Santander, so it is presumable that he drew those sketches either in Madrid or in the train on his way north. By then, Lutyens already had information about the commission and he had probably visited the site personally. The floor plans can be identified as the first floor plan, in the bottom of the page, and the second floor plan over it, while a smaller drawing in the left top corner, bearing the footnote 'the stables', shows a portion of the ground floor plan. The main rooms of the house have been placed in the first floor while the second floor houses the bedrooms. This and the elevation drawn at the back shows Lutyens's strategy to respond to the urban environment: the house was to be raised over a heavily rusticated platform in order to allow some privacy to the living areas. Instead of stepping back from the street, leaving a garden between the city and the house as the palace of Sotomayor, just across the street did, Lutyens decided to occupy the entire slot with the building. The slot would be divided into three parts: to the north the stables and garages, around a large patio, to the centre the main building, which would be slightly recessed from the street and pierced by two patios, and to the south an elevated garden

[369] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London PA1621/LUT[203]3.
[370] Edwin L. Lutyens, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London PA1621/LUT[203]4.
[371] Edwin L. Lutyens RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, PA1621/LUT[203]1.

facing the square would be built at first floor level together with a detached garden pavillion linked to the main building through an open loggia.

According to the drawing, the main access to the building would be achieved on the ground floor at the west facade. Although urban residences in London, such as Lutyens's own house, were typically built over a semi basement, and their main floor accessed through a small flight of exterior steps, in this case Lutyens, in order to increase the privacy of the living areas, decided to place the main floor over a high ground floor. The *piano nobile* would not be accessed through an exterior staircase, as in the great country houses of Robert Adam but, as in the Italian urban palaces, it would be accessed from the ground floor through a grand interior staircase. Lutyens´s English country houses to that moment had been designed following the 19th-century English tradition in which the *piano nobile* was lowered to ground level in order to allow a closer relation between house and nature. Here, however, having to protect Cimera from the urban environment, he decided to raise the house almost five meters above street level and with all the spare room in the ground floor there was apparently no need to build a basement. Lutyens had tried a similar solution a few years before when he designed a large house for Reginald McKenna in Westminster in 1911 (Figs. 6.16 and 6.17). In this case also, Lutyens raised the living areas to the first floor, leaving the ground floor for the kitchen and other service rooms. In Madrid, the main entrance would be in the west facade, facing the palace of Sotomayor, where the rusticated platform would have a recess at its centre. While in the 'Feb 9' plan the recess is just ten meters wide, in the final version it is almost doubled, allowing cars to enter directly into the building through a wide archway. From the cars' vestibule one would enter a large vestibule that would receive natural light from the patio to the south. At the east end of the vestibule

there would be three entranceways. The central entrance way led to the main staircase that connected with the upper floor, while the two other openings led, to the east, to Cimera´s offices and, from there to a secondary street entrance, and to the west, to the servants' wing and the stables.

The staircase had a zigzagging layout that Lutyens had already used in Great Maytham Hall (1909-12). It started towards the west, then the landing turned north, after a few steps and a new landing, it turned south to another flight of steps, and the last flight faced the east, ending almost over the starting point. Lutyens would use this typology again in 1922 for the palace at Delhi for the Gaekwar Baroda and, at the end of his career, when he rebuilt Liria palace, also in Madrid. As well as in these two other projects, and in McKenna's house, it is almost certain that Lutyens planned this staircase to be top lit. In 1919, when *en route* to India aboard the RMS Briton, Lutyens befriended the boat´s Captain, Edward Weatherston Day, for whom he designed a house. The sketches for the interiors of the house, such as the staircase (Fig. 6.18), show the kind of sophisticated wood panelled interiors that Lutyens would have also probably intended for Cimera´s house. Together with this staircase, he placed another smaller staircase to its east for the masters' daily use that connected all the floors of the house and yet another one in the north west corner for the service. There are certain similarities in this house's layout and that of Liria palace, where Lutyens used to stay when visiting Madrid. Liria palace, although in a centric area of Madrid was a detached building surrounded by a large garden. Its main rooms, however, are also in the first floor, over a rusticated ground floor that housed the service rooms together with the duke of Alba´s offices and archives. The access to the *piano nobile* was also done through an entrance vestibule that led to a top lit grand staircase.

The 'Feb 9' floor plans do not show the ground floor plan under the house, although some of Lutyens's early intentions can be guessed from the first floor plan. The first floor shows the existence of two courtyards that pierce the centre of the main building. The courtyard to the south was kept unaltered in all the versions of the house while the courtyard to the north suffered various changes. In the Feb 9 first floor plan this court seems not to go all the way down to the ground floor. Instead, it has two squares drawn in it that look as though Lutyens was thinking of placing skylights to introduce natural light into some rooms underneath. The rooms in the ground floor that were to be top lit would probably be the scullery and the kitchen, although they were moved in the following versions.

After ascending the main staircase one would find oneself at the beginning of a visual axis that crossed the centre of the first floor from east to west, starting from the landing of the staircases and running through the main salon, the 'petit salon', and an open loggia that faced the west street. From the main salon, which was the largest room in the house (14x7 metres), another visual axis allowed views to the south, through the south patio and the open loggia in the south facade to the elevated garden and, beyond it, to the circular square. Thanks to this, the salon, which had no wall directly to the street, could afford veiled views of the city through the screens of Doric double columns and the garden, as it can be seen in the section (Figs. 6.19 A and 6.22). The south patio, placed at the centre of the noble part of the palace was thus, a very important part of the building, as it was the only means of natural lighting and ventilation of the main salon, the library to the east, a smaller salon to the west and the main entrance vestibule in the ground floor. For this reason, Lutyens decided to

decorate it with rich elevations, partly defined in the plan drawings, which show an order of full round columns in its long sides and niches in its short sides. This complex and veiled relationship with the outside through patios and screens of columns is something new in Lutyens and it is certainly more related to Mediterranean and Islamic architectural tradition than with English domestic tradition.

The rooms south of the 'petit salon', in the south west corner of the house, seem to be dedicated to a lady. This part of the house was redesigned by Lutyens in several occasions in an attempt to match perfectly the needs of its occupant. In the first version the 'petit salon' is connected, through a small room to a large room (7x7 meters) that occupies all the corner. This ensuite bedroom has the name 'boudoir' written on it, suggesting that it was intended to be used as the room of a lady, probably Cimera´s mother, who was still alive when the building was designed. In the corner of the sheet of paper there is a small drawing showing an alternative for this corner of the house, in which the 'petit salon' has been made smaller and a lift has been placed next to the bathroom. The boudoir is now named 'La Contessa', making clear that Lutyens was planning to place here Cimera´s mother room. In the next versions of this plan Lutyens tried to rationalize the distribution of the countess' apartment, by placing the stairs and the lift in its centre and putting four smaller rooms around it (Figs. 6.9 and 6.10).

To the south of the main staircase one would go through a small vestibule to the library, a very large square room and, from the library two open loggias started, one to the south, connecting the library with the detached tower, and the other one taking to the Lady´s apartment in the west. To the north of the main salon Lutyens intended to place another interior patio that would allow the kitchen, in the ground floor, to be top lit.

The regularity of this patio would be broken by a small chapel that would come out of the main volume invading its southeast corner. Although small, this chapel would have the main architectural features of its typology, as it would be accessed through a small narthex, and it would have a square double height nave facing an apsidal presbytery oriented to the north. In the next versions of the project this court was supressed and the chapel was moved close to the staircase. All the area north of the central salon and facing the north facade was dedicated to the service. The pantry was placed in the northwest corner, next to the dinning room which faced the west facade. After the pantry, other service rooms such as the still room and storage rooms faced the north facade. The last of this row of rooms were two big rooms that, although unnamed in Lutyens's plans, were probably the housekeeper's rooms.

In the two last drawings of the first floor plan (Figs. 6.9 and 6.10), the space of the previous service court has been occupied by two large rooms and a battery of smaller rooms that look like larders. The two bigger rooms, which are placed in the middle of the building and have no windows, are probably the kitchen and the scullery, that in the 'Feb 9' drawing would be just underneath. The biggest of them, probably the kitchen, has a small rectangle drawn at its centre, something that Lutyens sometimes did in his sketches and plans whenever he wanted to represent the existence of a skylight above, such as in the plans of the palace of Ventosilla. As mentioned in previous chapters, top-lit kitchens are a common feature in Lutyens's domestic architecture and they were used with especial insistence in his Spanish projects. One feature of this house might strike us as untypical of Lutyens's architecture and even as out of date, and that is the lack of corridors in order to organise the plan efficiently. This lack of corridors would have

caused some functional problems as, for example, Cimera´s mother would have needed to walk across the salons, or through the library, in order to get to her room.

There is only a surviving sketch (Fig. 6.14) of the second floor plan in the gridded sheet of paper drawn on February 9. Here the floor would have been almost completely occupied with bedrooms, keeping the separation that existed in the first floor: the north part would have been dedicated to service, which would have had an independent staircase and a row of nine rooms facing the north facade and overlooking the stables' court, while the rest would have been occupied with seven large bedrooms for the master and his guests. From the main staircase a corridor leads south to what looks like the master´s bedroom, in the top floor of the detached garden pavillion. The room is accessed through a very long dressing room that occupies the attic floor over the garden loggia. According to what he wrote to Lady Emily,[372] Lutyens had been impressed by Cimera´s extravagant collection of clothes and decided, maybe at his client´s request, or maybe through his own initiative, to design two very large dressing rooms occupying the top floor of the garden loggias. In the dressing room that led to Cimera´s room, Lutyens sketched the shape of the wardrobe, which would run parallel to the west wall but would have some perpendicular bodies projecting into the room in order to increase the storage capacity of the room. Lutyens had used the same resource in some of the libraries that he had designed, for example, in Campion's Hall, Oxford, and the Salutation, Sandwich.

From Cimera´s dressing room, another door opened to a large en suite bedroom. This almost hidden bedroom, accessible only through the master's dressing room and with a

[372] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 9 February 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

window facing a small court, was probably designed for a mistress, while another very large bedroom placed in a privileged position in the southwest corner was probably intended to be the room of a future wife. Apart from this room, there are another three bedrooms and a sitting room facing the west facade. In the centre of the building, over the main salon, Lutyens placed another two large bedrooms and a bathroom facing south to the patio. Lutyens's final version of the second floor plan, after introducing the changes he made in the final versions of the first floor plan, including the reshaping of the north court and moving the chapel, would have looked approximately as my reconstruction (Fig. 6.20, D).

The first elevation that Lutyens drew (Fig. 6.15) shows that he planned to introduce a third floor under the roof, but he probably later thought that there was enough room for the maids' and servants' rooms already and so decided not to keep this third floor in the final version.

The north part of Cimera´s lot of land would have been occupied with the stables, garages, and other secondary rooms. Given Cimera´s love for horses, this was an important part of the building which was carefully designed in relationship with the rest of the palace. A large court, directly accessible through a carriage entrance, was placed immediately to the north of the main building, and around it the stable and garage buildings were arranged. South of the court there would be a large room and two store rooms for the horses' harnesses and chairs; to the west the garage for the motor cars and to the east the stable with eight boxes for the horses and the rooms for the jockeys. From here, a staircase led to the first floor, which occupied just the north part of the

stables building and which housed a row of bedrooms which would probably be destined to the servants that took care of the horses.

Lutyens's plans for Cimera show a dicotomy between the longitudinal north-south axis, that dominates the general composition of the plan, and the diagonal axis that enters the house from the south west corner, which Lutyens drew with consistency throughout the plans. He might have wanted to introduce a second direction in order to solve some practical issues in the plan, although in the end, it had very little consequence in the general layout. In other house designs by Lutyens, the diagonal axis is related with an entrance way which is not placed at the centre of a straight facade but in the internal angle formed by two wings, such as happens typically in butterfly-planned houses, which became fashionable in England at the turn of the century[373]. Lutyens used that scheme in Papillon Hall (1902-3) and, in some other of his buildings although not using a complete butterfly plan he placed the entrance at the interior angle of two wings. This happens, for example, in Greywalls (1900) in which the main entrance facade is concave, receiving a diagonal axis that dominates the entrance court. Just a few years after designing Cimera´s house, Lutyens revived the theme of the butterfly plan in the palace for the Nizan of Hyderabad, where he introduced a concave entrance facade at the joining point of the two wings, and repeated that same scheme immediately after for the house of the Nizan of Baroda. A small sketch (Fig. 6.12, right) shows that, in Cimera´s project, Lutyens considered placing the entrance in the curved facade facing the square diagonally to the rest of the house. This was rejected probably because it was more practical to place the entrance at the centre of the plan of the house and not in

[373] Alastair Service, *Edwardian Architecture: Handbook to Building Design in Britain, 1890-1914* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 56.

one of its corners. At the end, the diagonal axis and the concave facade were only relevant to the layout of the garden.

The sheet of paper that has the final drawing of the west elevation and is dated in August 1919 (Fig. 6.11) has a list written in Lutyens's handwriting of plans that he apparently intended to prepare for Cimera. The list is at follows:

1- ground floor plan

2- mezzanine

3- first floor

4- mezzanine

5- 2nd floor plan

6- roof

7- west elevation

8- south elevation

9- north elevation

10- section

11- section

12- perspective

ITALIAN ELEVATIONS FOR THE NEW RESIDENCE

The elevations of the palace designed for Cimera have an intense Italian flavour. They also have a strong horizontality, something that had become characteristic of Lutyens's architecture. Throughout his entire career there was a tendency to stress the sense of heaviness or *gravitas* in his buildings, something typical of classical architecture. This is achieved at times by the use of pyramidal shapes, such as in Tiepval Memorial and the Midland Bank in Manchester, and the battering of walls, and by emphasizing the horizontal tension in the buildings. For example, in some of his early country houses such as Millmead, Overstrand Hall or Tigbourne Court, and following Georgian precedent, he used horizontal stringcourses running along the main facades; while in Heathcote the horizontal effect is achieved by the use of an uninterrupted soffit, especially in the north elevation. But it was in the projects he designed for Southern latitudes, especially those in India, where the horizontal stress came to a climax in Lutyens's work.

The Viceroy´s house, with its powerful red sandstone socle, its uninterrupted stone strings, and the deep horizontal shadow casted by the *chujja* is a convincing statement of the adequacy of horizontal composition for southern countries, which Robert Grant Irving even compared with the contemporary designs of F.L. Wright.[374] In the Hyderebad house, designed just a year after Cimera´s palace, the complex massing is bound together by the horizontal stone courses that, interspersed with the white painted facade, run along the entire building. In Cimera´s palace it is also the horizontal tension what dominates the building's composition. The building is divided horizontally

[374] Robert G. Irving, *Indian Summer. Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (London: Yale Universiy Press, 1981), 174.

between the rusticated plinth, the main body and the attic, although there were some variations between the 'Feb 9' and the final versions. The 'Feb 9' elevation (Fig. 6.15) has three floors over the rusticated platform. The first floor windows rest upon a plinth over the ground floor and over them there is a *marcapiano* on which the windows of the second floor rest. Over the second floor there is a coved cornice and over it an attic floor with small windows, probably for the service rooms. The final version of the elevation, however, has a stronger horizontality as the floors over the socle have been reduced from three to two. The large windows in the first floor rest on the *marcapiano*, they are surrounded by a rich classical frame and topped by a pediment. Over each of the windows there is a decorative rectangular panel, probably just a plane recess such as at La Ventosilla. Over the panels there is the general cornice, another *marcapiano*, and an ample attic floor with the windows of the bedrooms and a carved coat of arms in the centre. The facade is topped with a simple moulding composed of a fascia and a splay that support the projecting eaves of the red tile roof. As in Delhi, and unlike his English country houses, no large chimneys counterbalance the horizontal stress.

Lutyens seemed to hesitate on how to design the centre of the west facade. In the 'Feb 9' elevation he sketched some grey vertical lines suggesting that he thought of putting double height pilasters in the central part of the facade, such as he had done in the south facade of Homewood, Knebworth, although this idea was soon rejected. The sheet of paper containing the ground floor plan also has several small sketches of different alternatives that Lutyens was considering for the centre of this facade (Fig. 6.8, to the right). One of these drawings shows a distyle double height portico projecting out of the centre of the facade, with its two monumental columns resting on the socle and its pediment decorated with a carved coat of arms. Another sketch shows a

development of this idea in which the portico is expanded into a larger tetrastyle (Fig. 6.12, top left corner). The classical fronton supported on a powerful podium is a common composition frequently used in England for example, in the river facade of the Somerset House, in London, by William Chambers. Although in this sketch Lutyens designed it projecting out of a recess that breaks the volume of the facade into two parts, which is something that he would repeat in 1927 in the residence of the British ambassador in Washington. In another small sketch (Fig. 6.12, centre), the portico was extended even more occupying most of the facade with an open loggia that would have contributed to the privacy of the rooms facing west. The same sheet of paper contains yet another sketch of the central part of the west elevation (Fig. 6.13), drawn in greater detail than the rest, and with some numbers and proportions written on it. In this drawing he supressed the attic floor and used two storeys of windows with decorative panels between them. As in the previous version, the central part of the facade is recessed, breaking the elevation into two bodies. In the centre there is a projecting tetrastyle portico with a pediment, that occupies the first floor height and it has an heraldic attic floor over it. The central bay of the portico is much wider than the side ones and has an arched window flanked with pilasters while the side bays have smaller windows. In a near future, Lutyens would use this same composition in the north east facade of the British embassy in Washington.

The final design of the west facade is much simpler than the alternatives previously described, as Lutyens finally rejected the idea of a portico or a recess of the central part and just inserted a one-bay Serlian loggia at the centre with carved festoons over its side windows, and a carved coat of arms in the attic floor over the central bay of the loggia. This final design moved away from the more monumental solutions that he was, at first,

trying to achieve, in favour of a more jolly and informal architecture. In fact, this is the only occasion, together with the west facade of the second version of El Guadalperal, in which Lutyens used a Serlian window as the central motif of a facade. In the rest of his career he only used this motif on a few occasions for side wings or garden pavillions, such as in the garden pavilions at Gledstone and in the billiard room in Heathcote. There are not many precedents of Serlian windows as a central motif in Italian architecture, but they were usually used by British neo-classicists such as the Adams and William Chambers. A Serlian window had also been the central motif of E. Grey Wornum's 'English style' proposed design for the Duke of Santo Mauro's house in Madrid, previously mentioned (Fig. 6.5).

There are no drawings of the other elevations of the building, although it is possible to work out very accurately how the south elevation would be, which can be seen in the 3D views (Figs. 6.21, 6.22 and 6.23). The south facade of the palace would have been dominated by the Doric freestanding colonnade that is placed at the centre, separating the high garden from the patio, as Wren´s Doric colonnade in Greenwich separates the outer garden from the hospital's court. Lutyens's colonnade has three bays and its outmost columns are substituted by pilasters projecting out of the building's wall. As in Wren´s hospital, the columns are paired. In the palace for Cimera, each pair of columns measure two metres wide (the columns are 0.75 m. in diameter and the void between coupled columns is 0.5 m), the two outer intercolumniations measure another two metres, while the central intercolumniation is three metres wide. This is a very similar proportion to the portico that he had designed for the British Academy in Rome, in which the pairs of columns and their interspaces measured the same as the outer intercolumniations, while the central void was one third larger.

The square-plan detached pavilion at the southern end has the same horizontal composition as the west facade, although it only has one bay of windows in each of its facades. The pavilion is linked to the rest of the house through an open loggia identical to the one previously described standing at right angle with it. The two perpendicular open garden loggias sheltering a formal boxwood garden built on a platform overlooking the landscape could have been inspired by the formal gardens at El Escorial, which Lutyens had found 'very pleasant' in his 1915 visit (Fig. 6.21).[375]

The green window shutters with horizontal louvers, of which Lutyens was so fond, help to emphasize the Mediterranean character of the building. The north elevation of the house, partly hidden from the street and facing the stables court would probably not have had any particular feature apart from the regularity of the fenestration. There are no drawings of the north facade of the stables wing, with its large carriage entrance open to the north street, although the 'Feb 9' elevation suggest that Lutyens thought of a stone rusticated, fortress-like character for the external walls of this part of the building.

A 'VERSAILLESQUE' GARDEN

As it has already been discussed, it seems that one of Lutyens's main concerns in this project was to provide a calm and intimate environment in an area of the city that was becoming increasingly dense and busy. In no place is this aim more evident than in the

[375] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 25 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

delicate garden that he decided to place between the busiest street surrounding the property and the house.

The 'Feb 9' sketches already show that the small garden placed in the south west corner of the lot, allowing a separation of the house with the square, was thought to be a core feature of the project. This small garden, elevated 5 meters above street level, would be the only part of the original lot given to the enjoyment of nature. It would be a place that would allow to escape from the city while at the same time providing a dominating place from where to see without being seen. The building was generously open to it through the loggias that sheltered its north and east sides. Such an important area of the building would need to be designed carefully. The 'Feb 9' first floor plan shows a large empty circle in the centre of this garden, surrounded by some smaller circles of around two metres in diameter. The small perspective view sketched near the ground floor plan (Fig. 6.12) shows that these circles were to be small round trees, possibly bay trees, yew or orange trees, that would allow the garden and the house beyond some privacy from the street. Garden trees cut in a neat spherical shape were common elements in formal gardens and Lutyens had used them several times in his most formal gardens, such as in Heathcote and, just before designing Cimera´s palace, in the Mughal gardens at the Viceroy House in New Delhi. The final west elevation shows again some small round trees sketched in the garden.

Among Lutyens drawings in the RIBA Drawings Collection there are three sheets of paper with sketches of different alternatives for a garden with a concave side[376] (Figs. 6.25, 6.26 and 6.27), which had been vaguely identified with the inscription 'Parterre

[376] Edwin L. Lutyens RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, DR60/9 (16), DR60/9 (17) and DR60/9 (18).

Spain'. The garden design in drawing DR60/9 17 included what seem to be two open double column loggias at right angles. Superimposing this drawing and Lutyens's first floor plan of Cimera´s palace shows that the garden design fits perfectly into the south west corner of the slot (Fig. 6.28). These drawings show a type of formal garden very different from those he had designed to that date. British architects again became interested in geometric gardens at the end of the 19th century after more than a century of picturesque landscape gardening. This new trend coincided with the publication of several books on the topic, such as those by J. Francis Foster[377] and Reginald Blomfield.[378] Lutyens himself had fostered the comeback of formal gardens in his early designs done in collaboration with Gertrude Jekyll and, he had several books on the topic in his library, such as Inigo Triggs's *Formal Gardens in England and Scotland.*[379] However, the garden for Cimera is not designed following English formal garden examples but rather in the French Baroque tradition of Le Nôtre. Indeed, the plan of the boxwood parterre has the shape of a shell, with curved paths crossing it, and two spirals of acanthus *candelieri* at its base, features that Le Nôtre had used in some of his most famous parterres in Vaux Le Vicomte and Versailles.

It becomes necessary, at this point, to mention a French garden designer who was working at the same time as Lutyens for the Alba's and other Spanish noblemen, and who could have facilitated some contact between Lutyens and the french garden design tradition. The French garden designer and city planner, Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier (1861-1930), lived in Spain during part of the 1910s and 1920s, and it is very possible

[377] J. Francis Foster, *On the Art of Gardening* (London: W. Sachell & Co., 1881).
[378] Reginald T. Blomfield, *The formal garden in England* (London: Macmillan, 1892).
[379] E. L Lutyens appears in the list of subscribers of Harry Inigo Triggs *Formal Gardens in England and Scotland* (London, 1902), X.

that he and Lutyens met at some point as they were both working at the same time for the same people.

In 1911 Forestier arrived to Spain where he had been commissioned to design the master plan and the gardens for the Ibero-American Fair in Seville. This led to a number of private commissions in Spain from people who were close to the king, and it was also the start of his international career, that would take him to Morocco (then under French rule) and South America. When Lutyens made his first travels to Spain, Forestier was busy working for some of the most important town halls and noblemen of the country. Together with the master plan for Seville, he produced another one for Barcelona (1916) and Bilbao (1918), and he worked for the Marquis of Viana (soon to be father in law of Peñaranda) creating the wonderful gardens in his country house in Hornachuelos (Córdoba). Moreover, he was hired by Alba himself in 1916 in order to redesign the north garden at Liria palace and managed to get a royal commission in 1917 for the design of some gardens in the Palace of La Magdalena, in Santander, just at the time when Lutyens had met king Alfonso and hoped that he might be hired by him.[380] In 1916, Lutyens wrote to Emily from Liria palace telling her there was 'a little French man', and a few lines bellow that he mentioned 'some French academy dining here ... of whom I had a glimpse had a very frumpy look.'[381] Perhaps one of these men was Forestier.

[380] Bennedict Leclerc, *Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, 1861-1930: du jardin au paysage urbain* (Paris, 2000), 234-87.
[381] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 11 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

According to the descendants of the clients involved[382], and although no documents that could give evidence of this have yet appeared, Forestier also seemed to have been involved in the design of some gardens for the duke of Santoña and for the duke of Peñaranda, which would mean that both Forestier and Lutyens were working for the same clients in the same years. The project for Santoña was the garden arrangement around the old palace of La Ventosilla, which survives to this day, and which, bearing in mind the formal aspects, is very likely that it was, indeed, designed by Forestier. Lutyens had the opportunity to walk through the entrance alley flanked with cypresses and yew bushes and to see the Baroque boxwood parterre at the back of the house apparently designed by Forestier, in his visits to Le Ventosilla in 1915 and 1916. But it was in Peñaranda´s estate of El Guadalperal where both Forestier and Lutyens were on each other´s heels. Again, in this case, no original document give evidence of Forestier´s work, but the formal characteristics and the historic context of the garden built at the south of the provisional houses in El Guadalperal support the descendant´s belief that the garden is a work of the French designer. As it is explained in chapter 5, the first buildings constructed in El Guadalperal, such as the provisional houses, were erected between 1919 and 1922. It is probably around this date that Peñaranda decided to build a platform south of the houses overlooking the fields. The formal garden built on this platform is totally coherent with Forestier's language as it uses a similar combination of materials, cypresses, boxwood, brick paths and fountains. The construction of this garden was probably supervised by Lutyens's workers in El Guadalperal, who were living in the site since 1917, and who might have collaborated directly with Forestier.

[382] Mr. Jaime Patiño y Mitjans, count of Arco and descendant of the Duke of Santoña and Mr. Jacobo Hernando Fitz-James Stuart, Duke of Peñaranda and descendant of Nando Peñaranda.

Bernard Mando has acknowledged some influence of English garden design on Forestier, especially the style of gardens that emerged in the second half of the 19th century and which merged the strong geometry of 16th- and 17th- century gardens with the informality of English romantic gardens. According to him, Forestier followed a similar aesthetic option as Lutyens and Gertrude Jekyll.[383] Forestier himself expressed his admiration for the English gardens of this period, 'ni pittoresques, ni réguliers, malaisament agréables, et qui en eloignèrent bien des persones de gout',[384] mentioning Gertrude Jekyll as 'l'artiste habile et solitaire de Munstead Wood.'[385] It is possible at the same time that Lutyens was aware of the creations of this garden designer. This could perhaps explain the unprecedented design of Cimera´s palace garden, which was finally designed not so much to be enjoyed and lived, as English gardens were, but to be looked at from above.

TURNING AWAY FROM WREN

In the project for the Count de la Cimera Lutyens moved away from the classical English architectural tradition to an Italian urban palazzo of unclear references. It is natural that, when faced with the challenge of designing an urban palace, Lutyens searched for inspiration in Italian architecture. The influence of Italian Renaissance in Lutyens´s generation has been pointed out by Katherine Wheeler, amongst others, who mentions the publication of *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy* in 1896 as a turning

383 Bennedict Leclerc, *Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, 1861-1930: du jardin au paysage urbain* (Paris: Picard, 2000), 57.
384 Bernard Mando, 'Introduction', in Jean C.N. Forestier, *Bagatelle et ses jardins* (Paris: Librairie Agricole de la Maison Rustique, 1910), 77.
385 Ibid., 86.

point in this direction.[386] In fact, the influence that some Italian early modern architects such as Michele Sanmicheli and Baldassarre Peruzzi exerted on Lutyens has already been studies by some authors.[387] The prestige of Italian Renaissance as a 'modern' style was given further impulse by the publication, in 1914, of Geoffrey Scott´s influential *The Architecture of Humanism*, which Lutyens probably read. Lutyens identified himself and his architecture with the word "Humanism." In 1931 he wrote, 'My generation is -perhaps I ought to say was - a humanist generation. We believed that the measure of man´s architecture was man, and that the rhythm of a building should correspond to the rhythms familiar in human life.'[388] This statement assumes clearly Scott's main theses. In fact, if any reference can be traced in the facade´s composition (Fig. 6.24), is from some Italian urban palaces such as Peruzzi´s Palazzo Albergati, in Bologna, or the Palazzo Vescovile in Vicenza. However, this design is a very personal and refined interpretation of these models, and although Cimera would have probably wanted something more 'English-looking', this elegant and sophisticated residence was probably better suited for a the personality of rich anglophile dandy and the culture of the time.

This project also speaks of Lutyens´s endless imagination and his overwhelming capacity to respond with originality to the new challenges that each architectural commission involved. Apart from the style chosen, the peculiar urban conditionings of the site gave place to an unprecedented house design in Lutyens's production, different to what he had done up to that moment in its general arrangement, in its complex and veiled relationship with the outside, in the composition of its facades and in the design

386 Katherine Wheeler, *Victorian perceptions of Renaissance architecture, 1850-1914* (Miami: University of Miami Press, 2014), 132.
387 Alan Powers, 'Italy and the Edwardian architectural imagination' in Gavin Stamp (ed.) *Lutyens Abroad: The Work of Sir Edwin Lutyens Outside the British Isles* (London: British School at Rome, 2002).
388 Edwin L. Lutyens, 'What I think of Modern Architectura', *Country Life* 69, June 1931, 775-77.

of the garden. Thanks to his clever design with patios and loggias he was able to shelter the main rooms from the busy streets at the time as he provided plenty of natural light and views of the city.

Unfortunately for Lutyens the palace was not built. Lutyens's extravagant client decided not to start the construction of the palace for unknown reasons, probably thinking that such a self indulging pile occupying an expensive plot of land was too extravagant even for himself, and, in the early 1930s he used the site in a much more profitable way by building two apartment buildings.

Lutyens's 1919 visit to Spain and his commission from the Count de la Cimera marks the end of the first stage in Lutyens´s relationship to Spain. After that, work at home picked up. Lutyens´s interest in Spain apparently decreased and he did not travel there in the following years. Indeed, the Great War was already over, construction at home and in Delhi resumed, and quickly returned to pre-war levels.[389] Together with this, Lutyens's appointment as architect to the War Graves Commission involved a new workload for his office. Having already designed the plans of the palace of El Guadalperal, and having sent one of his employees to supervise its construction, Lutyens probably found that there was no need to travel to Spain in the following years. Also, past attempts in Spain to get further commissions came to nothing, and with the abandonment of the La Ventosilla project shortly after its construction began, and the abandonment of Cimera´s project, in a moment in which work at home was picking up, he was probably discouraged from making the long and uncomfortable journey to Madrid in the following years.

[389] Robert G. Irving, 1981, 126.

A few months after Lutyens designed The Palace for the Count de la Cimera the Treaty of Versailles was signed, ending formally World War I. The years spanning from 1915 to early 1919 are a period of relative obscurity in Lutyens´s career, in which most of his projects in India and at home were stopped. These years were however, the central years of what was maybe his most prolific decade. In 1912 apart from the exquisite country house Ednaston Manor, he had designed the layout of New Delhi and the Viceroy´s House and, shortly after Cimera´s house, he designed one of his most celebrated creations: the Cenotaph at Whitehall. To this, followed a cascade of projects in which he showed his unmatched mastery of the classical language of architecture, such as his War Memorials, Britannic House, The Midland Bank office buildings, Baroda and Hyderabad House and Gledstone Hall, the years of what Hussey called the 'Lutyensian classicism'.[390] These few years of scarcer activity and relative repose led, nonetheless, to designs of a daring and varied formal experimentation. He designed a plateresque palace for the Duke of Peñaranda and a vaguely Spanish country house for the Duke of Santoña, a Palladian house in Felbridge that prefigures Gledstone Hall, the Mughal gardens at Delhi and finally, an italianate palace in Madrid. This period, overseen by previous studies was intensely creative and fruitful and probably a useful time of reflexion and preparation that paved the way to the great master oeuvres of the 1920s.

[390] Christopher Hussey, 1950, 464.

VII

THE BIG GUADALPERAL (1919-1936)

The end of World War I marked the start of a new stage in the project of a palace in El Guadalperal. Work finally began in Peñaranda´s estate and the design of the palace was totally revised. Lutyens had sent his employee Hinton[391] to Spain as clerk of works in 1917, and the engineers Derby and Marsham followed him shortly afterwards. When Lutyens visited Spain in 1918 he instructed Hinton to proceed with preliminary works.[392] A ten mile long road was built from Navalmoral de la Mata train station to the centre of the property, and water pipes of English manufacture were also laid. It was also in 1918 that the first of the ancillary buildings started to be built.[393] The water tank, that would filter and store the water that came through the pipes, was built in the highest part of the estate, at the top of the hill. As construction of the palace was expected to take so long, a small house close to the water deposit was adapted and expanded provisionally for the Duke´s use. On his 1919 trip to Spain, Lutyens did not go to El Guadalperal, instead 'Hinton came here (to Madrid). Work goes slow'.[394]

These years also brought important personal changes to Nando Peñaranda, who, in September 1920, at the age of 38, was engaged to marry María del Carmen Saavedra, Marquise of Villaviciosa,[395] daughter of the Marquis of Viana, one the king´s closest

391 Probably Edgar Hinton Fawckner, although this information couldn´t be confirmed.
392 Hinton, *The Unfinished Palace* (1947), unpublished statement, referenced in Margaret Richardson and Gavin Stamp, 'Lutyens and Spain', *AA Files*, January 1983, 51-59.
393 Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1950), 385.
394 E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 9 February 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
395 'Informaciones y noticias de San Sebastián', *Periódico ABC*, 30 Sep. 1920, 13.

friends and one of the most influential members of the court at that time. The wedding took place in Cordova in December 1920 and the marriage made Nando even closer to the king. He continued travelling frequently after his wedding, especially during the summer months, escaping the unbearably hot weather of central Spain. Through the newspapers we know that his usual destinations included the cooler and fashionable beach resorts in northern Spain, especially Santander and San Sebastián. From there he usually travelled to Biarritz, from where he took a train to Paris and, finally, travelled to England, where he stayed for around two months taking part in polo tournaments. In the summer before his wedding, his tour included a stop in Antwerp where he participated in the Olympic games, winning a silver medal in polo with the Spanish team.[396] However, shortly after getting married, he started living in El Guadalperal for most of the year. There, he got increasingly involved in managing his fields and farms and he could also devote himself to hunting, which was one of his passions. It seems that he took his agricultural business very seriously for, when the dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera visited El Guadalperal in 1928, he was impressed by the innovations he had introduced in his farms and congratulated him for his efforts in improving agricultural production.[397] Soon after that, the Ministry of Agriculture bestowed upon him the Great Cross of Agriculture,[398] the greatest national distinction in the field.

[396] 'Juegos de Amberes,' *Periódico ABC*, 15 Sep. 1920, 12.
[397] 'El Presidente del Consejo en Cáceres', *Periódico ABC*, 20 Nov. 1928, 8.
[398] *Gaceta de Madrid*, 11 June 1929

THE "PROVISIONAL" HOUSES

Some provisional structures were quickly erected in order to accommodate the Duke and his guests in their visits to El Guadalperal. Just after getting married, Peñaranda and his wife spent part of the winter there.[399] Passing the winter in El Guadalperal became immediately a custom, so much so, that it was there that Penaranda´s first and only son was born in January 1922.[400] In his statement Hinton reported that, with the birth of his son, Nando decided to expand the provisional house by building a nursery wing. By that date the house must have already been quite large and comfortable as, in the winter of 1923, Alba and his wife, Maria del Carmen´s mother and sister, including a friend, stayed with Nando and his family several days.[401] Bearing in mind that each of these guests would have typically travelled with at least one servant, and were used to all kinds of comforts, it is reasonable to assume that the provisional houses were much more than mere barracks. A small number of photographs from the early 1920s that have survived in El Guadalperal show the construction of these buildings (Figs. 7.1 and 7.2) and the way they originally looked once finished (Figs. 7.3 to 7.7).

1923 was also the year in which a group of soldiers, led by general Miguel Primo de Rivera, were authorised by the king to take control of the country and form a military government. The coup, which was planned as a provisional solution to pacify and restore order in a country under deep social and economic crisis, lasted for longer than most people expected, and it was the ultimate cause for the king´s loss of popularity and

399 'Viajeros', *Periódico ABC*, 20 March 1921, 14.
400 'De sociedad. Ecos diversos', *Periódico ABC*, 27 January 1922, 15.
401 'De sociedad. Ecos diversos', *Periódico ABC*, 29 December 1923, 14.

the proclamation of the Republic in 1931.[402] Lutyens described Spain´s political situation in a letter he wrote in 1925 to Lady Emily:

> Some say the king has acted unconstitutionally and therefore by breaking his oath, and the so called constitutionalists are on strike and no other government is possible except a communist one, and the King and Primo de Rivera took power to avoid chaos and that awful consumption that was so prevalent under the old regime.[403]

It was also around this date that the king´s yearly trips to El Guadalperal began. The first of these trips reported in the local press took place in 1924,[404] and more were to follow until 1930. This again reinforces the idea that the 'provisional' house that was built, in spite of its modest appearance, was big and luxurious enough.

These buildings have survived until today and, although much modified, they are still used as the main residence on the estate. Their provisional condition and their conventional, even poor appearance, suggest that Lutyens was not involved to any great extent in their design. These houses were built on the top of the hill, just south of the water deposit, facing a terrace that bears dominant views of the Tagus´s riverbanks and the fields. The terrace is occupied by some elegant formal gardens that the family claims to have been designed by the French garden designer Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier (Fig. 7.8). The house has an "L" shape, with the main wing facing south to the terrace and the views to the river, and the nursery wing orientated perpendicular to it. Together with this "L" shaped volume, there is also a square house next to the nursery room,

---

402 AA.VV, *Historia Política 1875-1939, Historia de España Contemporánea* (Madrid: Akal, 2002), 307.
403 E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 5 December 1925, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
404 'La familia real y la corte', *Periódico ABC*, 14 February 1924, 13.

forming a small front court to the west. All the buildings are of a very common construction: white plastered masonry walls with simple red tile pitched roofs. There are, however, some unusual features, as the roof valley crossing the centre of the building (Fig. 7.9). Lutyens had used this unpractical feature in other occasions as, for example, in Monkton House.

Together with the incoherent addition of smaller buildings in the 1960s the house underwent extensive refurbishment and expansion in the 1990s, with most of the original interiors lost. However, the nursery wing has been maintained in its original condition until today. Here, a couple of fine architectural elements suggest Lutyens´s involvement in their design. The wing is just a central corridor that connects with three bedrooms to each side. The corridor ends, to the north, in a small wood-panelled hall, that leads outdoors through a small porch. The most striking feature, and certainly untypical of Spanish domestic architecture, are the two large skylights that introduce sunlight into the corridor (Figs. 7.10 and 7.11). Lutyens had used similar elements before in order to introduce light in secondary spaces in other projects, such as in the upper bathroom of Littlecourt, Tavistock (1910), and in the upper corridor of La Ventosilla (1916). These skylights are faced with wooden boards. However a similar skylight survives in a corridor of the main wing in is face with white plaster, maximising the sunlight. Two original fireplaces (although modest in design) also show Lutyens´s hand, or at least his influence. The first of them is in brick, with a triple arch and a brick floor, topped with a simple wooden mantelpiece. The brick pavement in the fireplace´s floor extends out of the fireplace, something typical of Lutyens´s fireplaces in the picturesque tradition, such as those in Lindisfarne Castle. The other fireplace is a little bit richer, constructed in granite (Fig. 7.12), including the floor, which also projects

outside, and surrounded by a dark wooden frame. Over the fireplace, a large cavetto supports the mantelpiece. Again, it is difficult to know in what degree Lutyens was involved in the design of these fireplaces. But, their elegant, if austere design, materials and other features, such as the use of a large cavetto as a moulding, which is something typical of Lutyens, suggest that he could have provided some drawings or indications for their construction.

The years after the war were very busy for Lutyens´s practice. In the first half of the 1920s he received important commercial (Britannic House, Midland Bank in Piccadilly and Poultry) and domestic commissions (Mells Park House, Gledstone Hall). At the same time, he was working on important monuments for the War Graves Commission, especially the Thiepval, Leicester and Villers-Bretonneux memorials; and construction at Delhi was returning to pre-war levels.[405] Probably for these reasons, and bearing in mind that he had trustworthy employees on site, he did not find it necessary to travel to Spain so frequently. He could keep track of progress through his correspondence with Hinton and Marsham, or maybe by meeting Nando during his summer trips to London, as was the case in the summer of 1917. Whatever the reason, there is no evidence of Lutyens travelling to Spain until 1925, although Hussey mentions him travelling to Spain in 1924.[406]

There is not much information about the trip he made to Spain in December 1925, as he only wrote one short letter to Lady Emily. In this letter he stated that at the border they opened all his drawings, which meant that he was carrying, very probably, plans for

[405] Robert G. Irving, 1981, 126.
[406] Christopher Hussey, 1950, 456.

El Guadalperal with him.[407] He arrived at Madrid on Monday 2 December, in the morning, and Peñaranda´s chauffeur was waiting for him at the train station to take him directly to Guadalperal, where he stayed until Friday. He found Peñaranda 'charming as ever' and he mentions having just missed meeting General Miguel Primo de Rivera, who had been in El Guadalperal the previous days. It seems Lutyens was fond of Primo de Rivera, describing him as 'the Spaniard who, whatever politicians may say, has saved Spain and made her prosperous.' On Friday he left for Gibraltar where, after a few days, he took a ship to Marseilles and then back home.[408]

Lutyens travelled again to Spain in November 1926, not *en route* to India, but exclusively to supervise the works in El Guadalperal. He arrived at Madrid on Thursday 20th and, after visiting Alba in Liria, went to El Guadalperal where he stayed until Friday. According to his letters in 'El Guadalperal (he) worked all day on the various works'.[409] Lutyens seemed happy with the Peñaranadas. He left on Friday for Madrid, 'after an affectionate party, little Timmy Peñaranda (Nando´s son) aged 4-5 saying he loves "the Edwin"'[410]. He even planned to meet the Peñarandas in England during the springtime and arrange a 'children party', so that his children could meet Timmy. On Thursday 27th he arrived at Gibraltar, where, as on other occasions, he took a boat to Marseilles and from there he went back home. Lutyens did not specify in his letters which the 'various works' were that he worked in during these two trips, but, as it will be discussed bellow, 1925 and 1926 were very busy years in El Guadalperal.

---

[407] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 5 December 1925, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[408] Idem.
[409] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 26 November 1926, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[410] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 26 November 1926, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

EL POBLADO

Once the lodgings for Peñaranda and his guests were built, it was probably decided that it was more important, at that point, to build ancillary buildings for the workers and the needs of the farm before concentrating energies and resources on the palace. Thus, a sloping site facing south to the Tagus and next to the provisional house was chosen, and a village, or *poblado*, was erected there (Fig. 7.13 F). The *Poblado del Guadalperal* is a large and complex collection of buildings (Figs. 7.14 and 7.15). Unlike other complexes of ancillary buildings that Lutyens had designed in relation to his other large country houses, such as Grey Walls or Middleton Park, or even the staff quarters in New Delhi, here the colony does not form a unity with the palace, but rather, it is designed as an independent project. Lutyens had designed a similar project some years before when, in the early 1910s, H. G. Fenwick commissioned him to design some farm buildings and cottages in Preston, that could provide farm products to the nearby country house of Temple Dinsley, that he had just rebuilt and expanded for Fenwich. In that occasion, Lutyens organized the stables around an ample courtyard. In the centre of the courtyard he placed a smaller building, the Diary Cottage, which comprised a diary, washing room and butter room. Some smaller buildings are scattered around there are: several cottages, a piggery and some barns. All of it was built following the simplest design and using the local materials and construction techniques, as he usually did.

Even though the design for the palace of El Guadalperal included plenty of rooms for the servants in the kitchen wing, accommodation which was meanwhile already

provided in the attic floor of the provisional house, more housing for the estate workers would still be needed. As La Ventosilla, El Guadalperal was much more than a beautiful setting for a great country house, it was a estate with hundreds of hectares of agricultural land, ilex forests for the raising of deer, pastureland for grazing cattle and fields by the river for growing cereal, cotton and vegetables crops. The colony of El Guadalperal was to contain the necessary buildings for the farming industry, together with houses for the field labourers and other community buildings, such as a bar, school and chapel.

In the absence of plans, given the modest appearance of the buildings erected, and bearing in mind that the *poblado* must have been started after 1920, when Lutyens was already busy with many other commissions, it is difficult to know exactly to what extent he would have been involved in the design of the various buildings. There are no plans or drawings that include both the palace and the *poblado*. Moreover, no plans of Lutyens´s office for the poblado have been found, neither in the RIBA Drawings Collection, nor in the Duke of Peñaranda´s private archive or elsewhere. However, no drawings by Lutyens survive in Spain except for some of the ones he produce for Alba and many of Lutyens´s office were lost, so this is not strange. Lutyens supervised personally all the drawings that were produced in his office and was involved in all the designs,[411] so it is obvious to think that this case was not an exception. Furthermore, some formal features of the buildings suggest that Lutyens was directly involved in some aspects and parts of the design.

[411] Christopher Hussey, 1950, 461.

The *poblado* has a rectangular plan in which the various buildings and patios are arranged along a north-south axis. The plan´s size (170x75 metres approximately), and the differences in quality between some buildings and others, suggest that the buildings could have been designed by more than one architect, with Lutyens probably deciding the general lines and designing the most important buildings while his employees took secondary decisions. Unlike most of Lutyens´s projects after 1900, in the poblado the picturesqueness is dominant over the stateliness and the grand effect, which is logical, given its rural character. It seems that Lutyens probably thought that it would be more appropriate, and rooted in the site, to get inspiration from the sober and poor constructions of the neighbouring villages while leaving the grander effects for the main building. However, certain monumentality achieved through the use of visual axes, the Baroque sequence of open and enclosed spaces, and the powerful massing of some of the buildings reveal the masters´s hand.

The main elevation of the *poblado* is to the north, on the hilltop and at one side of the frontcourt of the provisional house. The entrance wing has a sober, yet elegant, elevation (Fig. 7.16 and Fig. 7.17). At its centre it has a three bay porch with square brick pillars (Fig. 7.18). To the right there are the offices and the steward´s house, arranged around a small patio paved with granite slabs, and to the left the large volume of the dairy. The entrance porch is the beginning of the visual axis that runs through the *poblado* from north to south (Fig. 7.19). Following this axis, the entrance leads to the hall, that proceeds to an inner porch, exactly the same as the first one but facing a patio planted with orange trees (Fig. 7.20). From here, a passage connects, along the same axis, to a very large central court, that I will describe in detail later. The entrance hall leads from its left to the dairy, through which one can access a beautifully proportioned

square patio (Fig. 7.21), paved with grey granite slabs. This patio is surrounded to the north by the dairy, to the east and west by some storage rooms, and to the south by the granaries. The north west corner has a recess with a little porch that connects to the chapel. The east and west sides have walled porticoes, that look as though they had been originally intended to be open and ventilated storage rooms, which was common for coal and wood storage. Between the two granaries an opening connects to the central courtyard. The gate is flanked by two brick pilasters that grow broader towards the top. This simple ornamental element is found throughout the *poblado*. The roofs of the buildings facing this patio have sprocketed eaves.

The central court has the shape of a fifty-eight meter long square. Instead of being paved it is covered in grass and has some scattered ilex trees that provide much needed shade during the summer months. Its sides are not completely regular. It is difficult to know if the irregularities in plan were intended or the result of improvisation and changing needs. It is possible that Lutyens allowed or even encouraged irregularities to happen within a symmetric scheme, so as to look more convincingly rural. It seems that the smaller volumes at the north side of the court - an open sawmill and some worker´s house - were later additions. This suspicion is reinforced by the bizarre way in which the sawmill´s roof hits the facade. To the west of the patio there are two large buildings: a very large laundry building, which originally had very innovative laundry machines, that also accommodated several families, and a broader building, used as storage and a workshop. To the east side the corners are occupied by houses while in the centre there is a stepping parterre that follows the inclination of the terrain. To the south two houses originally used to store and cook the dog´s food stand at each side of the central axes, running between the two houses down to the entrance door of the dogs´ court. These

two houses, which are now sadly ruined, their roofs and most of the walls having collapsed. The careful composition of their elevation (Fig. 7.22) and, especially, the nicely designed fireplace inside (Fig. 7.23), indicate that they were designed with particular care. The fireplace is an essay in the English art and craft style constructed in brick, as many that Lutyens had built earlier in his career. For example, it bears a close resemblance to that in Ruckman House´s dinning room (1894), one of Lutyens earliest works. Its most distinctive feature are the spandrels between the arch and the jambs, picturesquely decorated with bricks of different sizes.

At the centre of the grand courtyard stands the most striking and elegantly designed building in the *poblado*: the dovecote (Figs. 7.24 and 7.25). The expression it achieves through its elemental geometry and its powerful massing reveals Lutyens's hand at its best. The dovecote is essentially, by its own use, a very modest building. Dovecotes were common in the countryside around Europe, especially in southern countries. Typically, they are simple and small buildings, prismatic or cylindrical, and usually unadorned. In Spain they are especially frequent in the provinces of Palencia and Valladolid, where massive dovecotes usually appear in the middle of cereal fields. The train from Irún to Madrid, that Lutyens took whenever he travelled to Spain, crosses these lands of northern Castile and he could have seen some typical dovecotes from the train. The dovecote that Lutyens designed is larger than typical dovecotes. It is approximately 9.9 meters long and 7.3 meters wide, with its long side perpendicular to the central axis, which crosses the building through a central passage. The archways at the beginning and the end of the passage are relatively small, as to make the building look larger than it really is. The feeling of massiveness is increased by the brick socle on which the building stands and by the fact that the walls are slightly battered inwards - a

technique that Lutyens had used in many other of his projects.[412] The north and south elevations are identical, although the south elevation is slightly taller as a result of the inclination of the land. Their composition is very simple: at the ground floor in the centre there is the archway; while between the arch and the corner of the building there is a small window to the right and another one to the left, which are repeated in the first floor and the rest of the elevation is just the white wall surface. The wall ends at the top with a simple brick fascia, on which the Spanish tile roof rests. The roof eaves are interrupted at the centre by a decorative element, a small wooden balcony, covered by a pitched roof, that frames the doves' entrance window. This graceful element is repeated on the four facades, making interesting and original what, would have otherwise been a fine but ordinary building. Lutyens also placed owl boxes in the roofs of some others of his country houses, such as in Little Thakeham.

The building has dressings of brickwork in the corners and window surrounds. The east and west facades are simpler with just one window in the ground floor and another one on the first floor, and the dove balcony at the top. It seems logical that Lutyens wanted to place a monumental building, some kind of highlight in the centre of the *poblado*. However, it strikes one almost as a joke that, instead of placing here the chapel, as it would have been usual in Spanish villages, he decided to place in the centre what was normally the poorest construction. However, when Lutyens had faced similar urban projects in the past, for example when he designed the military barracks and staff accommodation in New Delhi or his project for the Rossall beach estate (1901), the general layout was similar: a succession of courts arranged along an axis, and an unimportant building, bandstand and garden pavilion respectively, at the centre of the

[412] David Watkin, *A History of Western Architecture*, (London: Laurence King Publishing, 1986, 4th ed. 2005), 637.

main court. Also in the above mentioned Minsden Farm, Lutyens placed the Dairy Cottage at the centre of the court.

A path paved in granite crosses the court from north to south following the main visual axis, passing through the dovecote (Figs. 7.26 and 7.27). This path continues south, between the two houses previously described, to the entrance gate of the dog´s yard, where the kennels were. South of the dog´s yard there is yet another yard surrounded by workshops and houses, which form the south limit of the *poblado*. An entrance gate marks the south end of the axis. The row of buildings that form the 160 meter long east side of the *poblado* is a deliverately irregular composition of volumes of different sizes, heights, and window arrangements that pretends to imitate the organic growth of a rural village although it was built at once (Fig. 7.28 and 7.29). From hill top moving south we find: the dairy and chapel, storage rooms and granaries, the wall of the central courtyard which is stepped following the hill´s inclination, a house, the bar (where men would go for a drink after work) a narrow passage leading to the machine room, the electric generator house, a workshop, a garage, and several storage houses. Peñaranda bought the electric generator (Fig. 7.30), as well as most of the other machinery, from an English manufacturer which enables us to date the construction of these buildings with some precision. The generator was manufactured by Crompton & Co., a Chelmsford based company that, in 1927, merged with F. and A. Parkinson to become Crompton Parkinson. The electric generator was, therefore, bought before 1927, and it is reasonable to think that the building that would accommodate the generator was designed and built around the same time. Although much more modest in both scale and in its effect, the *poblado* has some resemblances with Lutyens´s staff and body-guard quarters in New Delhi. This is evident by their strong axiality and arrangement through

a series of consecutive courts, as well as the use of vernacular architectural forms,[413] that he considered unfitting for the main buildings.

When, in 1918, Hinton was asked to start preliminary works, the most urgent thing was to build the road, in order to carry construction materials and other supplies to the building site. Next, water would need to be carried and stored, and so the water deposit and its two-mile water pipes were built, at the same time the provisional house for the Duke was being erected. Although no fox hunts with British officials took place in El Guadalperal, the ration of Englishness was covered by an eleven-hole golf course for which the pipes were also laid, and where the guests could be entertained (Fig. 7.32). Keeping a green golf-course in that arid country would have been such an unpractical attempt at imitating English life in Spain, as were the fox hunts organised in the palace of Guadalcorte, near Gibraltar.

As explained, by 1920 the provisional house was already built, so it must have been after this moment, and before 1927, that the *poblado* was constructed. Probably, Lutyens's visits of 1925 and 1926 were related to the construction of the *poblado*, together with the beginning of the works on the palace. A few years after the *poblado* was completed, it was expanded with the construction of a school and teacher´s house in the northwest corner. A newspaper article of 1928 noted that the school, which had been sponsored personally by the Duchess of Peñaranda, would soon be opened.[414] Peñaranda´s son, Timo, attended classes in the school together with the workers's sons and, after him,

[413] Robert G. Irving, 1981, 231.
[414] 'De Sociedad. Ecos diversos', *Periódico ABC*, 20 Nov. 1928, 12.

Nando's grandson, the current Duke of Peñaranda. This shows the almost fraternal relationship that Peñaranda kept with his workers which caught Lutyens's attention[415].

The construction of the *poblado*, the provisional houses, garden walls, and other buildings scattered around the estate, involved using tons of building material. Given the huge amount of material that was needed, and the relative remoteness of the place, it is understandable that Lutyens and his employees preferred to obtain the building material from within Peñaranda´s estate. As described in chapter 2, when Lutyens, Peñaranda, and father Dámaso (Santoña´s chaplain) first arrived at the building site in 1915, one of the first things they did was to look for building materials:

> The priest rode about searching for brick earth, lime and sand and returned gloriously happy and successful. Good sand, good clay, brick earth and plenty of stuff to burn good lime. There are Roman ruins nearby and on the part of the state near the river and on which I think we will decide, are giant heaps of stones evidently collected by some ancient for a building -never started.
> Perhaps a Moorish fort re-conquest or a Roman one before that. No tool marks on the granite to make evidence. [416]

According to this, they found almost all the materials needed for the estate's construction: clay to make bricks and roof tiles, limestone and sand to make cement and plaster, as well as material to be used for rubble and masonry walls, and granite for some special elements, like pavement tiles and lintels. Ilex wood, very abundant in the area

[415] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 14 June 1934, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London: ' In the old days him (Peñaranda) and his people were almost as a family'
[416] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

was the perfect fuel with which to burn the bricks and lime. The construction of the *poblado*, although poor, was carefully planned. Buildings have brickwork corners, and the main buildings, such as the entrance building and the dovecote, also have a brick socle. Window and door surrounds and lintels were usually brick as well, laid in geometric decorative patterns. The rest of the walls are made of poor masonry work, of very irregular limestone rubble, bricks, and poor sandy cement. Some strings of brick were used to help to level the masonry work and, in some cases, they were exposed in a decorative way. Although the most important parts of the walls structurally speaking (arches, lintels, corners) were made of brick, on a few occasions, like in the granaries, big granite blocks were used to make the doorjambs and lintels. The few decorative elements, such as the niches in the entrance porch and the classical bell gable over the chapel (Fig. 7.37), are also in brick. Together with the brick pillars and their decorative topping that flank most of the entranceways, another decorative brickwork motif is repeated throughout El Guadalperal on the top of the garden and patio walls, which are usually rounded when their height is going to change, or in order to make a transition to entrance gates. This simple decorative feature is very consistent with Lutyens´s use of basic geometric forms in his gardens (1904-07), such as at Hestercombe, where he used similar shapes in some of the garden walls.

Traditional country and town houses in Spain had their lower windows protected with strong iron grilles. Iron grilles were also used in part of the *poblado* at El Guadalperal. They were all made following a standard design, appropriate although unoriginal, based on Spanish 17th century examples. The only noteworthy decorative feature, apart from the small medallions in the sides, is Peñaranda's coat of arms at the top of the grill, surrounded with spirals and rocailles and a cross crowning it (Fig. 7.33). In Lutyens´s

elevations for the final palace there are designs for grills in two small windows, one in the north elevation and the other in the south elevation. These are very simple grill designs that also include spirals, rocailles and medallions. It is therefore possible that Lutyens provided designs for the grilles in the *poblado*, which could have been altered by the local blacksmith.

WATER TOWER AND MARSHAM´S HOUSE

There are another four constructions in El Guadalperal that date back to Lutyens´s time. They are arranged in an apparently disorganized way in an area of around 16 km^2 at the north east of the house. They are, from south to north, the water deposit and filters' house, the fronton (a kind of squash court), the horse stables, and Lutyens´s agent, Marsham´s house.

The water tank building (Figs. 7.34 and 7.9) is, together with the dovecote, in spite of its ordinary use, the finest building constructed in El Guadalperal. It is composed of two volumes: a tower that hosts the water tank, and the filter house which is a lower building, with a 15 m. x 15 m. square plan surrounded by a two storey loggia on three sides. Although the materials used are not particularly rich (brick, masonry and some granite, just as with the other buildings), it was carefully and, rather lavishly constructed. The five bay loggias on the ground floor, have powerful triple arches in brick. Between the arches, low granite benches separate the galleries from the garden. Only the central bay of the west elevation is open allowing access to the building. The gallery is richly paved, with granite slabs and decorative brickwork patterns. On the facade, between

the ground and the first floor, there is a granite moulding. Although the moulding is a simple cavetto-fillet-ovolo, it is very remarkable as it is the only decorative moulding used in all of El Guadalperal. The upper floor of the gallery is lintelled, and the roof beams rest directly on the wooden lintel. The walls of the building were also carefully designed and constructed. The wall surface was enriched with brick pilasters corresponding to the gallery´s pillars. The window surrounds are also brick and a string of bricks also runs along the wall. These brick dressings, which would originally have been exposed, were later painted. The rest of the surface was originally plastered. The water tower is just a thirteen-meter tall volume that becomes slightly thicker in its upper part. Its design does not match completely with that of the filter house. The water tower´s only decorative feature, the top cornice, is very different from the moulding of the filters' house. As a photograph of the construction reveals (Fig. 7.35), the tower was originally planned as a simple volume with a pitched roof with projecting eaves and circular windows, looking more consistent with Lutyens's architectural language, although it was enlarged and changed soon after (Fig. 7.36).

The excessive effort and resources invested in this building remains intriguing, especially the construction of the large two-storey gallery, making the building look like a Palladian villa, increasing the cost considerably for no apparent reason. It is surprising that such an ordinary building as a water tank was so finely constructed. One might imagine that, with water being such a scarce and vital element in this arid region, Lutyens wanted to signify its importance through the design of this building. Maybe this loggia was designed as a climatic element to keep the interior of the building cooler, as G.E.

Street[417] had found some with traditional buildings in Spain, and James Fergusson[418] had suggested as a way of climatic adaptation in hot countries. It is also possible that, being one of the first buildings built, Lutyens and Hinton wanted to use it as a trial to test the quality of the materials available and the skill of the labour in different tasks, such as stone carving (for the mouldings), brick construction, and stone masonry construction. In any case, the water tank and filter building stands today as a remarkable legacy of Lutyens´s genius in Spain. Its balanced composition and forceful massing shows the adaptation of his bold geometric style to the landscapes and climate of southern Europe.

The next building north of the water tank is the fronton court (Fig. 7.13 C). Fronton is a typically Basque sport, similar to squash, although played in a larger, and usually open, court. It became popular throughout Spain and part of America in the early 20th century.[419] The fronton court built in El Guadalperal is of little interest from an architectural point of view, as it is a standard size (10x36 meters) built on slightly sloping terrain. Its most interesting feature was the decision to build it below ground level. Fronton courts are surrounded by 10 meter high walls against which the ball is played. In the case of El Guadalperal, almost half of this height was constructed under ground, making it necessary to build a staircase that led down to the court (Fig. 7.38). The reasons for this were probably numerous. Firstly, the fronton court would have been a very large and high volume not far away from the house, and its presence could thus have been considered visually disruptive. Secondly, the approximately 3000 m^3 of earth and stones extracted in the process were probably used to make bricks and other

[417] George E. Street, *Some account of Gothic architecture in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1865), 266.
[418] James Fergusson, *the illustrated handbook of architecture* (London: John Murray 1855), 818.
[419] Olatz González Abrisketa, *Pelota vasca, un ritual, una estética* (Bilbao: Muelle de Uribitarte, 2005), 126.

building materials. An elegant and very simple semi-circular garden bench that was built as part of a contention wall is almost an exact replica of another one that Luyens had designed for the garden of the Hoo, rebuilt by Lutyens in 1901-2.[420] The brick wall bends inwards forming a semi-circular bench with a few granite dressings to form the seat and the arms (Fig. 7.39).

Next to the fronton court are the stables, built in a 'U' shape around an almost square court. The entrance to the court has the decorative elements that appear all through the site: the entrance gate is flanked with the usual brick pillars with decorative crowning and the wall is stepped with a curved transition between different levels (Fig. 7.40). Inside, the most notable element is the open gallery that runs all along the inner perimeter of the building. It is also worth noting the ventilation devises which were constructed over each horse cubicle, in order to keep them in the best sanitary condition possible.

Further north there is yet another construction: Marsham´s house (Fig. 7.41). Marsham was one of the workers that Lutyens sent to supervise the works at El Guadalperal (Fig. 7.20). According to Gavin Stamp and Margaret Richardson,[421] Marsham was, together with Derby, an engineer. However, Lutyens refers to him as 'the agent Marsham' in one of his letters to Lady Emily,[422] and it was indeed with him, and not with Hinton, that Lutyens met on his last visit to Spain to follow the works at El Guadalperal. This suggests that, by then, Marsham was the person in charge of the works as construction

[420] Lawrence Weaver, *Lutyens Houses and Gardens* (London: Country Life, 1913), 66.
[421] Hinton, *The Unfinished Palace* (1947), unpublished statement, referenced in Margaret Richardson Gavin Stamp, 'Lutyens and Spain,' *AA Files*, January 1983, 51-59.
[422] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 26 November 1926, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

manager. Although it is reasonable that Lutyens´s employees would have to be provided with some place to live while they were working at El Guadalperal, it is certainly striking that Marsham was allowed to build a large three storey house for himself within his client´s property. He must have had a very good relationship with Peñaranda and have been considered an important employee. Maybe it was also planned that the house would be occupied by other workers after the palace had been completed. However, bearing in mind that if the works had gone on to completion, construction would have spanned more than twenty years. It is understandable that Lutyens´s workers would have demanded some permanent lodgings. Marsham´s house is a simple though large pitched roof building, probably designed by himself or with Hinton´s help. The front is interesting, as it is dominated by a two-storey gallery, with arches in the ground floor and lintelled in the upper floor, similar to the one surrounding the water filter building. The other facades are just plain white-plastered walls with a few openings, while at the rear there is a small service court. The construction and details are the same as in the rest of El Guadalperal. Around the house, granite pavement and steps, low brick walls and brick paths, now blurred by the weathering and growing grass, helped to integrate the building into its natural surrounding.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS AND CHANGES IN THE PALACE

It is unknown exactly what Lutyens worked on during the days he stayed in El Guadalperal in December 1925 but, after his departure, excavations for the foundations of the palace were at last begun. According to Hinton,[423] when the excavations started some archaeological findings were made. The 'giant heaps of stones' that Lutyens had observed in his first visit to El Guadalperal were not Roman or Moorish,[424] as he first thought, but the top of a large underground prehistoric construction, now known as the dolmen of Guadalperal. A wall was constructed around these remnants and archaeological investigations were carried out. At that time, the German archaeologist Hugo Obermaier (1877-1946) was working in Spain, where he had arrived in the mid 1910s in order to conduct research and where he decided to stay when the Great War broke.[425] In Spain he found the protection of the Duke of Alba, who was at the time a member of the National Commission for Antiquities,[426] and they became friends. Although some have suggested that Obermaier discovered the dolmen in 1925-1927,[427] what most likely happened is that when Alba heard that prehistoric ruins had been found in the construction of his brother´s new house, he invited Obermaier to investigate. It must have been a surprising coincidence to Lutyens that of all the vastness of El Guadalperal, he had chosen to build exactly in the same spot as the prehistoric Iberians who had inhabited the area around three thousand years before.

---

423 Hinton, *The Unfinished Palace* (1947), unpublished statement, referenced in Margaret Richardson and Gavin Stamp, 'Lutyens and Spain', *AA Files*, January 1983, 51-59.
424 E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
425 Alfonso Moure Romanillo, *"El hombre fósil" 80 años después* (Gijón: Universidad de Cantabria, 2002), 56.
426 *Gaceta de Madrid*, 25 January 1923, 333.
427 George Leisner and Vera Leisner, 'El Guadalperal', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 1, 1960, 20-73.

The finding forced a change of site, moving the palace to the top of the hill, the other location that had been taken into consideration when the project was first commissioned in 1915.[428] This was close to the water deposit and the house that had already been built. This decision involved Lutyens redesigning the whole project, as his first design was heavily dependant on the hilly topography of the cliffs by the river. The new site had only a gentle inclination to the south. Lutyens produced plans for the new project between 1926 and 1928, ten years after his first design, and at a time of intense building activity in Delhi, as the Viceroy House and compound were being finished in those same years.[429] Bearing in mind that after so many years of delaying the project, Peñaranda and Lutyens must have been anxious to start the works of the palace at last, and on-going works in *el Poblado* might explain Lutyens's four-day visit to El Guadalperal in November 1926. A plan showing the terracing of the ground and dated in November 1926 indicate that this visit was probably related to the building of the platform and foundations for the palace.[430] In that decade, not only the site had changed, but the Duke's personal circumstances had as well. Guadalperal had changed too, and Lutyens had evolved as an architect. All these changes meant the new design was radically different to the previous one. Firstly, Nando was now married, and with one son. Through his marriage and his own friendship with the king, he became an important member of his court (Fig. 7.42). The role of El Guadalperal in national live had also achieved much greater importance, becoming one of the estates where the king and his close friends would go hunting regularly, alongside Santoña´s estate of La Ventosilla, or the marquis of Viana´s estate of Moratalla. Some years, as in 1926 and 1929, the king stayed in El Guadalperal for as long as a week. The president of the

[428] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[429] Hussey, 1950, 495.
[430] RIBA Drawings Collection, DR118/11(6), *Plan shewing steps and terracing*, Nov. 1926.

military government, Primo de Rivera, who also stayed occasionally at the estate, travelled several times from Madrid to meet the king there to discuss state affairs[431]. Lutyens had also evolved as an architect during this period, with the years between his first and second Guadalperal designs seeing the emergence of that powerful and essential classicism so characteristic of his post Great War works. In 1919 Lutyens designed the Cenotaph at Whitehall and, in 1922, the great Thiepval War Memorial. The 1920s were also the years in which Lutyens produced what Christopher Hussey called 'the four outstanding expositions of Lutyensian classicism', that is, Britannic House, Midland Bank, Gledstone Hall and the Tyringham Temples.[432] The new design that Lutyens produced was, therefore, very different from the previous one, both in its style and its general arrangement.

FIRST SKETCHES

Lutyens provided drawings for the new version of the palace between 1926 and 1928. A set of sketches kept in the RIBA Drawings Collection show how radically had he moved away from his first version. Four sheets of paper show slightly different versions of a longitudinal building divided in three parts.[433] The central part, which is the largest, is organised around a large rectangular court. It has two storeys with a ground floor loggia. The horizontality of this central volume contrasts with the two symmetrical wings at the sides. These side volumes show the typical geometric design of Lutyens in the 1920s. A superposition of square and Greek cross plan rises in a pyramidal piling of volumes

[431] For example, in December 1926 (*Periódico ABC*, 10 December 1926) and in November 1929 (*Periódico ABC*, 12 November 1929).
[432] Hussey, 1950, 464.
[433] RIBA Drawings Collection, DR118/11(1), DR118/11(2), DR118/11(3), DR118/11(9).

surmounted by a domed octagonal tower. As suggested by the numerous sketches of these volumes, it is clear that Lutyens was trying to achieve that sense of natural growth and heaviness that is so characteristic of his best projects of the period. The pyramidal movement his sketches show is very similar to that of the Thiepval Memorial to the Missing of the Somme, or his design for Liverpool Cathedral.

Within this same scheme, Lutyens tried several alternatives. In drawing DR118/11(9), the second storey of the side wings have a small frontispiece supported on four Ionic columns in the middle. Drawing DR118/11(3) (Fig. 7.43) has two elevations: in one of them the frontispiece stands on Doric columns, while in the other it is substituted by a great Serlian window under a pitched roof. In every case, the massing and the general geometry remains the same. Their central Greek cross in square plan takes to a secular building a shape that Lutyens had already tried for churches, such as in the chapel of La Ventosilla or his project for a church in Beaconsfield. He had already done so in some of his first sketches for the Viceroy House in New Delhi which borrow heavily from Palladio´s villa Rotonda, in a project for a house in Roedean for Lady Victoria Sackville West (1923) and in a project for a palace in Lucknow (1920). This last project has many similarities in general outline and elevations with Lutyens's sketches for El Guadalperal, and shows a similar common strategy in the way Lutyens responds to hot climates, by introducing open loggias and verandas in his buildings.

Drawing DR118/11(2) (Fig. 7.44) shows a very similar elevation in which the side turrets are crowned by *tempiettos* with a coloured sketch stressing their powerful geometry. The main difference with the other drawings comes in the plan, which is cruciform and looks quite similar to that of La Ventosilla. Four intersecting volumes are

arranged in a cruciform plan leaving a square patio around ten meters long in the centre. The central volumes (north and south wings) are, in this design, shorter than in the previous one, around the same length as the side volumes. A plan shows the distribution of what seems to be the first floor. At the centre there is the patio, with porticos on four sides. The north and south wings have four bedrooms each, around a large central loggia facing the facade. The staircases are placed at the intersection of the wings. The east and west towering volumes have a large cruciform room in the centre: in the west a drawing room, and in the east a music room. At the corners of the cross there are square verandas overlooking the garden. Although in the elevation it seems that the turrets over these side wings are accessible, in plan there is no staircase that could lead upstairs. Also, the elevation shows that the first floor of the side wings is higher than the first floor of the central volumes. In the plan, it is also not clear how this difference is dealt with. No wall would interrupt the magnificent view along the east-west axis from the drawing room to the music room and, further beyond, to the garden.

Although the house was very big, it was probably not big enough for the duke's and his guests' needs. It is also unclear where Lutyens planned to put all the service and storage rooms required for such a house. Although the first floor plan does not show any room for these spaces, the plan in drawing DR118/11(3) (Fig. 7.43) shows that he planned to arrange some secondary wings to the north of the building, and it is probable that he thought of putting the kitchen, servants' and storage rooms here. My reconstruction of the building (Fig. 7.45), which has been done following these sketches, has two low service wings projecting out of the north facade. The house in these sketches would have had a much more complex massing than the last great country houses that Lutyens

built, such as Gledstone Hall and Middleton Park. Instead of the very simple and grand elevation of these country houses, Lutyens designed here an elegant villa flanked by the two towering volumes: a very rich composition, which combines elements of his domestic architecture and his monumental designs of the 1920s.

DELHI IN SPAIN

Apart from these sketches, the RIBA Drawings Collection has a large number of plans of Lutyens's last project for the palace at El Guadalperal. Almost thirty plates, many of them with several drawings, still survive. However, it also seems obvious that not all the drawings produced for this project have survived to date, as some aspects of the building, such as its construction, are not defined in the existing drawings. The few drawings that are dated were done between November 1926 and November 1928. A few of them (floor plans, north elevation and general layout plan) are drawn in ink, and have the official inscription that identifies them as drawings meant to be sent to the client or contractor. The rest of them, although very accurate, are drawn in pencil and look like the original set of drawings that remained in Lutyens's office.

This project, very different from the previously described sketches, is also radically different from the 1916 version. While the latter was a compact building over a cliff, the new site allowed Lutyens, on flatter ground on the hilltop, to design a much larger palace, stretching comfortably over a platform. Probably Peñaranda´s new personal circumstances, encouraged him to commission a more ambitious palace, one that would now include a wing for himself, another one for the king, a very large chapel, and plenty

of spare rooms for the guests. The new building would be built mostly in the ground floor, and had a plan similar in shape to the viceroy's palace in Delhi: a central square volume and four wings stemming out of its corners and forming forecourts in front of each facade (Figs. 7.46 and 7.47). While in the palace at Delhi the central volume is occupied mainly by the Durbar Hall, in El Guadalperal a large patio stands at the centre of the composition. Although not as big as the viceroy´s palace (165x190 meters), El Guadalperal would have been an enormous residence, with a plan spanning 112 meters from north to south, and 116 meters from east to west, more than double the size of the 1916 version. The general scheme of the palace is very similar to the sketch of the Viceroy´s House that Lutyens had designed in 14 June 1912 (Fig. 7.48). In that scheme four wings stemmed out of a central body. The two square plan wings formed a frontcourt at the end of the entrance vista, the two wings at the back (the King's wing and the Viceroy´s wing) faced the garden. This back garden was divided into two privy gardens, facing the King´s and the Viceroy´s wings and a state garden, at the centre. As it will be later discussed this scheme shares many similarities with the 1926 version of El Guadalperal.

As in most of Lutyens's residential buildings, although there is a strong formal unity each of the facades has a marked individual character. Around the central patio, wide corridors distribute the spaces: to the west, a row of four bedrooms facing the west forecourt; to the north, the main entrance hall in the middle flanked by the gun room and the priest's rooms; the east side is dominated by a large dining room and the south front is occupied by three salons facing a loggia. Four wings stepped out of the corners of this central body. The northwest wing is occupied by the chapel and a row of guests' rooms which face the west forecourt. Seen from the outside, the chapel is the most

remarkable element of the palace and, although there are no drawings of its interior, it is easy to deduce the geometry of its space out of its plans and elevations (Fig. 7.49). It is designed as a freestanding building at the centre of a square patio. Its central plan is in the tradition of Renaissance cross-in-square plan churches, such as Michelangelo's St. Peter's basilica, with a central dome resting on four pillars and four short bays that constitute the arms of the cross. Lutyens did not escape the attraction that centrally planned churches had exerted on classical architects throughout history, in spite of the functional problems that this plan layout caused to the liturgy. In 1917 he had produced very original designs for a triangular Anglican cathedral in Delhi, which were approved as appropriate for the Anglican liturgy by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself,[434] and earlier in his career he had designed an unexecuted chapel in Beaconsfield that was very similar in plan and massing to that in El Guadalperal. At the chapel in El Guadalperal the eastern arm ends in the altar apse, while the other three lead to the entrances that, through galleries, are connected to the Doric portico surrounding the court. The central plan church at the centre a square cloister with a Doric peristyle has a very Roman feel, similar to Bramante´s project for San Pietro in Montorio published in Serlio´s architectural treatise[435]. It might also have been inspired by the patio of the Evangelists, in the El Escorial, which Lutyens visited in 1915. This patio is surrounded by a portico and has a Doric cruciform *tempietto* in the centre. Although the roof has a pyramidal shape, very probably, Lutyens planned to build a dome in the inside, such as in the chapel at La Ventosilla. The bold rising volumes of the Greek cross chapel topped with pyramidal roofs create a vertical movement which is the same as in the side wings of the preliminary sketch studies. As in that case, this chapel shows the path that Lutyens's

[434] Robert G. Irving, *Indian Summer. Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (London, 1981), 272.
[435] Sebastiano Serlio, I Sette Libri dell'architettura, Libro III (Venice, 1540), 67-8.

architecture was taking in those years: a strong expressionism achieved by compositions of elemental geometries, stressing a sense of heaviness and growth.[436]

A building with an identical shape to that of the church and surrounded likewise by a square *patio*, is placed symmetrically to the northeast. In this case, under the twenty meter high central dome, there would be no pews for the congregation but, surprisingly, just the kitchen, surrounded by the pantry, bakery, scullery and larders. Lutyens wanted to retain in his north facade (Figs. 7.50 and 7.51) the effect of the elevation he had sketched before: the two pyramidal volumes at the sides of a longitudinal palatial facade. It seemed appropriate to use one of these monumental volumes for the chapel. However, it might appear as an absurdity, nor mention a lack of truthfulness to the contemporary eye, that he used that same shape for the kitchen and other secondary spaces. What in the chapel wing is a patio surrounded by open galleries, in the kitchen wing has been partially filled with storage and servants' rooms. Lutyens also decided to place a dogs' court with kennels in the kitchen wing, which might strike one as inappropriate, especially given all the spare space surrounding the building in that immense estate, and bearing in mind that the *poblado* already included a large dogs' court with numerous kennels. The use of historic shapes, such as the church's lantern, for modern uses, seemed to come inevitably as Lutyens had to dress his clients' sophisticated and modern lifestyle with classical architectural forms. Similar situations occurred in La Ventosilla's entrance elevation, and in Castle Drogo, where a domed ceiling with a lantern was placed over the kitchen. Although it became gradually more unusual, the use of historic forms in an unhistorical way was quite normal in previous decades' Gothic Revival architecture.

---

[436] David Watkin, 'Sir Edwin Lutyens (1866-1944): ¿El mejor arquitecto británico?' in AA.VV, *Maestros de la arquitectura moderna en la residencia de estudiantes* (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 2009), 235-242.

Between the chapel and kitchen wing there is the entrance forecourt, with the entrance facade facing north (Fig. 7.52). Orienting the entrance facade to the north, while opening the building to the garden in the south, was a common arrangement in English country houses. Lutyens also used it in his last English country houses (Gledstone Hall, Ednaston Manor and Middleton Park), as well as in his projects for La Ventosilla and his first project for El Guadalperal. As in these two earlier Spanish projects, the entrance facade of this last version of El Guadalperal is also plain and unadorned. The huge white walls of the kitchen and chapel wings must have formed an impressive enclosed forecourt, similar to the enclosed forecourts that Lutyens projected for La Ventosilla and the first Guadalperal. In the ground floor of the facade there are three doors to each side and, in the second, five windows. The centre of the facade is recessed and, at its centre there is a very large Mannerist granite ashlar portal (Fig. 7.53) that, according to David Watkin, echoes vaguely Giulio Romano´s architecture.[437] The massive portal is around eight meters wide and eleven meters high, and, owing to its considerable size, Lutyens had to increase his Mannerist tricks in order to fill the space convincingly. The portal is indeed impressive and, according to the numerous drawings that have survived, it seems that Lutyens took great care in its design. A large Doric entablature is supported by two great pilasters and each pilaster stands on a large plinth. Each of these pilasters is, at the same time, formed by two smaller Doric pilasters, whose shafts get confused in the wall surface. In the centre, under the entablature, two pilasters support a door lintel formed by massive rusticated voussoirs. Recessed between the two pilasters the same lintel is echoed producing a strange repetition. A large coat of arms carved in the attic of the portal, over the cornice, would have emphasized the

[437] David Watkin, 2009, 223.

Spanish character of the building. The superposition of two enormous keystones is a striking example of Lutyens's Mannerist inclination which, in this case, helped to solve the challenging problem of framing an entrance door in an extraordinarily large portal. The overall composition, and especially, the voussoired double lintels are clearly inspired from Sanmichele´s Porta del Palio, which Lutyens had already used as a reference in Heathcote´s main facade.[438]

After crossing the expansive forecourt, and passing through the imposing entrance gate, the visitor would be surprised by the comparatively constrained size of the entrance hall. The sense of enclosure and protection would have been stressed further by the decoration of the ceiling with exposed timber beams, and a very large fireplace decorated with Peñaranda's coat of arms. To the right, the hall led through the priest´s room to the chapel wing, and to the left through the gun room to the kitchen wing.

Following the north-south axis from the entrance hall one would enter the central patio, arcaded in its north and south sides. Unlike the patio of the old version for El Guadalperal, which was very regular, this courtyard has a much more complex composition. The most original feature is the central gallery that crosses the patio connecting the north and south arcaded galleries, forming an "H" shape Doric portico (Figs. 7.54, 7.55 and 7.56). As mentioned, Lutyens was impressed during his first visit to Spain by the patio of the Hospital of Tavera, in Toledo, which has a classical patio crossed at its centre by an arcaded gallery.[439] He had also included a similar patio in his preliminary designs for La Ventosilla and for the first El Guadalperal. Now, at last,

[438] Alan Powers, 'Italy and the Edwardian architectural imagination' in G. Stamp (ed.) *Lutyens Abroad: The Work of Sir Edwin Lutyens Outside the British Isles* (London: The British School at Rome, 2002), 52.
[439] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

more than a decade after his visit to Toledo, Lutyens was designing a house big enough, in which he could include the large patio with a central gallery. The north facade of the patio is a high two-storey facade with large doors framed with rich stone classical mouldings and topped with pediments (Fig. 7.55, D). The doors in the first floor lead to the upper part of the gallery. The east and west facades also have two storeys, and their north part project outwards and are richly decorated. In the east facade the projecting part has two big arched windows and, at the centre, a stone niche, while, to the west, there is a central door in the ground floor and two windows in the first floor. In both facades, the grey stone plinth, the moulding following the gallery's entablature, a simple stone string running at the height of the upper lintels of the windows' and the cornice, help to give the strong horizontal stress so typical of Lutyens's works in Delhi. The south facade of the patio only has one storey. Although the roof ridge to the south is as high as it is on east and west sides, the roof descends here until it rests directly in the roof over the gallery. At the centre, a small pavilion with a large oculus at the centre projects out of the roof (Fig. 7.54, top right). At the four corners of the patio, small pavilions make even richer the volumetric composition. The patio is surrounded at its east, west and south by grand corridors, which are spatially divided with pilasters and arches, and would probably have been richly paved such as at Gledstone Hall and Middleton Park, although the pavement is not detailed in the plans. Some of the doors in these corridors are decorated richly in a Baroque fashion.

In the west forecourt (Fig. 7.57), the two-storey west facade of the guests' wing is interrupted at the centre by a double height Serlian entrance that leads to a lavish entrance hall (Fig. 7.58). As almost all the important rooms are in the ground floor, there is no need for many large staircases. There is, in fact, only one grand staircase, in

the southeast corner of the chapel wing. It is top lit by a square tower (Fig. 7.59), taking visitors to the bedrooms on the first floor. A simpler symmetrically placed staircase in the corner of the kitchen wing allows access to the nurseries and other rooms in that area. In total, there are eleven guest rooms, fifteen servant rooms, two nurseries and plenty of bathrooms and storage rooms on the first floor.

The facade of the east forecourt (Figs. 7.60 and 7.61) is dominated by the dining room, the largest and most elaborate room in the house. The dining room's volume punches through the facade breaking its monotony with a lavish elevation: To the sides, the entrance doors are inscribed in rich Corinthian portals surmounted by low turrets, and in the centre, three six-meter high arched windows light the interior. The dining room (Fig. 7.62) is decorated as many other of Lutyens's grand interiors, with Doric pilasters in the perimeter and, in the centre of the west wall, an imposing two storey fireplace, with two orders of Doric pilasters, topped with a broken pediment and heraldic ornamentation. The fireplace is flanked by two enormous arched entrance doors. Although unspecified in the plans, given its rich decoration, it is very probable that Lutyens planned to build this interior in wood panelling, such as the main interiors in the Viceroy´s House, Delhi, and Marshcourt House.

At the centre of the south elevation there is a large arched loggia (Figs. 7.63 B, 7.64, 7.65). Here Lutyens gave up his much loved Doric order in favour of Corinthian. The rhythm created with Serlian arches at the corners, and arches supported on double columns in the middle, expresses the different rooms that face the loggia: a large main saloon with a vaulted ceiling in the centre, and two smaller saloons to the sides. These saloons, which were richly decorated, although not as lavish as the dining room, would

also have been probably wooden panelled. Two symmetrical pavilions are placed to the east and west sides of the south facade (Figs. 7.64, 7.65 and 7.66). They are the Duke's wing, to the east (Fig. 7.67), and the King's wing, to the west. These elegant pavilions have a more intimate and domestic character than the rest of the palace. They only have one storey and are, thus, lower than the rest of the building. There is a recess in the centre of their south facade bearing a carved coat of arms and three large doors that connect with the sitting room. At the sides of the sitting room there are two bedrooms and two drawing rooms which are open to the garden through corner verandas.

The high ceilings of the rooms (the sitting room is almost six meters high) are not enough to occupy the entire roof volume, which means that there is a considerable waste of space, as can be seen in the section. The Doric entablature runs along the whole perimeter of the pavilion. The rear facades, that face the east and west forecourts are simpler, with just a large ornamental niche at the centre and a few windows. The combination of a classical facade and a large hipped roof is very typical of Lutyens's country houses. In this case, the general composition with the central recess in the south facade is similar to Homewood, Knebworth. Lutyens solved the transition between the two side pavilions and the central taller south facade with two square turrets (Fig. 7.68). However, in the east and west forecourts this transition is not well made, diminishing the stately effect that the approach to the building would have had if their three sides had been the same height (Figs. 7.57 and 7.60). This south facade might also owe part of its design to the hard climatic conditions in this region of Spain, where temperatures during the summer months reach almost as high as in Delhi, with frequent night frosts during the winter. This must have posed a challenge to Lutyens, especially after his Indian experience, where the bungalows that he designed for the Viceregal staff in Delhi

where criticised in the early 1920s for being ill adapted to the local weather. In spite of his concessions to hot weather, including 'thick walls, high ceilinged rooms, clerestory openings, deep-set shuttered windows, and a loggia and a portico shielding the entrances', his bungalows were found to be like an oven in April and too cold during the winter nights.[440] Although the compact design around a porticated patio of his first version for the palace was better adapted to the climatic conditions, the corner verandas in the side pavilions and the central open loggia of the south facade, together with their obvious aesthetic purposes, might have also been designed to mitigate the problems found in the Delhi bungalows just a few years earlier.

In summary, the general composition of the building is very complex. While in Lutyens's largest English country houses a generally compact building is inserted into its natural surrounding through garden walls and ancillary pavilions, here, as well as in Delhi, it is the fragmented geometry of the building what opens it to the countryside. While in Delhi, the regularity of the elevations and the continuity of cornice height allows the great Durbar Dome to dominate all the building, in El Guadalperal, the variety of heights and shapes allows each side of the building to have a very different character (Figs. 7.56 and 7.69). This variety also allows a relative informality, given the size of the palace, compared to other houses by Lutyens, such as Ednaston Manor, in which he aimed to obtain a grand effect with more modest means. While the decoration of the building is similar to what Lutyens usually designed, some Baroque details in the interiors, along the Mannerist portal, gave a Spanish touch to the building. Lutyens also

[440] Robert G. Irving, 1981, 241.

used heraldic decoration abundantly throughout the building, echoing the 'most marvellous profusion of heraldry' he had admired in Toledo and Alcalá de Henares.[441]

The building is also magnificently placed in its setting, on a great platform dominating the landscape (Figs. 7.68, 7.70 and 7.71). The east and west forecourts are divided with terraced gardens and ranges of steps. Their strong geometry (they are designed following a module of sixty centimetres) is more formal than the English gardens that Lutyens had designed in the past with Gertrude Jekyll, continuing the strong geometrical shapes of Delhi´s Mughal gardens, designed in 1918.[442] Formal garden design, that at the end of the 19th century emerged as an alternative to the picturesque Victorian gardens, found its climax in the Viceroy house´s Mughal gardens. The Gardens surrounding the palace of El Guadalperal, also on a high platform, like Delhi´s Raisinia Hill, show many similarities with these. The platform extends fifty metres south of the building, creating a formal garden overlooking the ilex forest and the fields, very similar in its general layout to the south garden of the British Embassy in Washington (Fig. 7.72), which Lutyens designed in the same years. This garden, as well as that in Washington, would be divided into three parts: one at the centre and facing the salons, that would descend gently through terraces and ranges of steps, to the floor level, and the other two in front of the side pavilions. The gardens in front of the Duke´s and the King´s wing were higher and more private than the one at the centre. This layout which divided the 'back garden' into three parts, a central public garden flanked by two privy gardens, is the same as the one he used in his 14 June 1912 version for the Viceroy House's garden (Fig. 7.48). These formal gardens, together with the north forecourt

[441]E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[442] Robert G. Irving, 1981, 215.

were closed from the rest of the property with iron grilles that Lutyens described as "rejas" in his plans.[443] Lutyens had designed some grilles reminiscent of Spanish models earlier in his career, especially the altar screen at Busbridge church (1897) and a screen for the Theosophic Society (1912).[444] Unfortunately, if Lutyens made any design for these grilles, they have not survived. The main road would approach the house from the north between a forest of cypresses. Lutyens's project included a plan for planting trees (Fig. 7.73) around the building that would have helped to integrate the building into the landscape, framing magnificent views in its approach from the north and from the east and west forecourts, leaving the south view to the River Tagus unblocked. This ambitious landscaping project consisted of planting almost 1500 cypresses in circular patterns over an area of around 80 km^2. Although the views created would have been spectacular, and certainly cypresses were adequate trees in an arid climate, the same geometric pattern repeated so many times using just one botanic species might have also been monotonous.

Unlike the first Guadalperal and La Ventosilla projects, the sectional plans for El Guadalperal do not detail any aspect of the building's construction, including the structure and the materials. Plans containing technical aspects might have been produced in Lutyens's office, but the surviving plans, although they define decoration and elevations in great detail, leave walls and roofs as blank space. The elevations, a few of which were coloured, suggest that the materials might have been granite ashlar for the 0.8 metre high plinth, pillars, pilasters and dressings, such as door frames and probably white plastered brick masonry walls for the rest. It is most likely that a

[443] RIBA Drawings Collection, DR118/11(6), *Plan shewing steps and terracing*, Nov. 1926.
[444] 'Detail for a Metal Work Screen, by Edwin L. Lutyens, architect', *Academy Architecture and Architectural Review*, 1912, p. 146.

conventional timber structure was envisaged for the roof, covered in Spanish red tiles with plastered ceilings underneath. While in the first version of El Guadalperal there was a very sensible use of space and material resources, in this new project Lutyens seems to have wasted both space and construction materials extravagantly. As at Gledstone Hall, designed only a few years earlier, most of the space under the roofs were not given any practical use.[445] The section of the building shows how some of this space is filled by the high coved ceilings of the rooms below, but much of it is just empty space probably, as it will be discussed in chapter 7, in order to combat the region´s extreme weather.

Another analogy with Delhi was that El Guadalperal involved the challenge of building an enormous building in a foreign country, where the building industry, construction technology, and the skill of the labour force would be different from what Lutyens was used to in England. Lutyens answered this challenge firstly, by meeting the architect Thomas Collcutt´s building agent and gathering information from him.[446] Secondly, he sent employees he trusted to live at the building site to supervise the works. And thirdly, in order to solve the lack of skilled labour he planned, as he had in India,[447] to train the native workers. As Hinton explained in his statement:

> In a conversation with Sir Edwin, I mentioned that skilled labour was very difficult to get, his reply was: Train and teach the natives and when efficient pay them well, this proved quite correct and I am certain, if we had been allowed to complete this work, credit would have

445 Arthur S.G. Butler, *The Domestic Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London, 1950), p. 55.
446 E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 3 November 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London. and E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 21 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
447 Robert G. Irving, 1981, 136.

been given by Sir Edwin, to the native labour and craftsmen who did so well under his skill and training.

Regarding the palace´s design, it is also worth mentioning that the celebrated Madrilian architect Luis Blanco-Soler[448] worked as an apprentice in Lutyens´s office for more than two years when he was in his early thirties - from mid 1926 until early 1928 - just when Lutyens was producing the plans for the new palace. Although it is unknown on what projects Blanco-Soler worked while he was employed by Lutyens, it is very possible that he took part in drawing the plans of El Guadalperal. According to his memoirs, a little after starting his apprenticeship in Lutyens's office he gradually received more important tasks. Although at first he did not receive any salary, a few months after starting his apprenticeship Lutyens decided to pay him six pounds per week and, by the time he left, he was already earning twenty-one pounds per week, which was a considerable amount of money, suggesting that he was performing important tasks.[449] Just the same way as Lutyens had an Indian architect working in his London office,[450] he probably found it useful to have, together with his English staff in Spain, a Spanish architect in his office who was familiar with Spanish building techniques and materials.

---

[448] Luis Blanco-Soler (1894-1988) was a Madrilian architect. After working for the celebrated architect Antonio Palacios, he was one of the pioneers in introducing an unornamented architecture in the Spanish capital before the Civil War. After the war, especially after the 1950s he became one the main architects who reconstructed Madrid. More about him in his biography: Silvia Arbaiza Blanco-Soler, *Luis Blanco-Soler: tradición y modernidad,* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 2003).

[449] Luis Blanco-Soler Pérez, *Recuerdos* (1983), unpublished memoires, 64 and 65: 'After two months working as an apprentice, when I was running out of money and planning my return to Spain, Lutyens entered into the room where I was working and said to me: 'Mr. Soler, we can´t continue like this.' I thought that he wasn´t happy with my work and answered him: 'Right, Sir, if you are not happy with my work I will leave this job whenever you command.'- 'It is just the contrary. I see that you are an experienced architect, that you work efficiently and your work produces a benefit that you are not sharing. I thought that, from now on, you will receive a weekly pay of six pounds.' My pay was raised progressively and, when I decided to return to Spain around a year later I received 21 pounds per week, which allowed me to live comfortably in London and still save a considerable amount of money.'

[450] Ibid., 246.

CONSTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT

According to Hinton work on the palace began at last in 1930.[451] The quarrying of granite was begun, and work on the foundations started. Some 400 metres west of the house there is still a large pile of earth which forms a big levelled platform. After more than eighty years the weather has softened its edges and its surface is partially covered with ilex trees and bushes. However, it still stands as the only witness of what would have been one of Lutyens's greatest works.

Carefully analysed, Lutyens's plans show two different locations for the building, one quite close to the other. Firstly, Lutyens's general layout plan (Fig. 7.73), dated October 1928, shows that the house would have been approached from the north through a straight road 460 metres long that diverted from the main road built by Hinton. As can be seen in the satellite image (Fig. 7.74), it seems that the road was originally to be built from the north, although construction was soon abandoned. Another general arrangement plan shows the contour lines of the site (Fig. 7.70). Figure 7.75 shows an overlapping of the contour lines in the drawing, the general arrangement plan, and the satellite view. In this image it can be appreciated how Lutyens's plan perfectly match the existing road and the site's topography. However, it does not match the aforementioned platform, which is around a hundred metres west of the palace. Figure 7.74 shows both the platform as built and the location as planned for the palace, according to the general arrangement plan. The platform is clearly the original foundation platform, as it has exactly the same dimensions as the palace´s plan. The reason for this difference between

[451] Hinton, *The Unfinished Palace* (1947), unpublished statement, referenced in Margaret Richardson, and Gavin Stamp, 1983, 51-59.

Lutyens's plans and what was actually built are probably due to a last minute change. When they were about to start digging the foundations, they most likely decided to start the works a little bit further from the *poblado*, which was already built, in order to allow a greater degree of privacy and a quieter setting for the King's and the Duke's private apartments.

Unfortunately, nothing more than the platform was ever built. When Lutyens started preparing the plans for the palace in 1926 nobody could have guessed how much the situation in the country would change in just a few years. By then the government of General Primo de Rivera had allowed the country to enjoy more political stability than what it had had for the past decades, the economy was growing strongly and the military triumphs in Morocco had made the dictator popular even amongst many of his initial detractors, including many socialists.[452] However, in the coming years, Primo de Rivera´s mistakes made him lose the support of part of the army and, progressively, many other parts of society. In 1929 the increasing unpopularity of the dictator, and his incapacity to handle the university students' demonstrations, added to the international economic crisis that followed the New York stock market crash. Faced with almost unanimous opposition he resigned in January 1930, around the time the works for El Guadalperal palace started. King Alfonso, whose firm support of the dictator had allowed him to share in his success at first, became afterwards increasingly unpopular. Almost all the intellectuals, such as Gregorio Marañón, Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset, and many of the old politicians, no longer supported him. In a desperate attempt to regain popularity, the king appointed general Berenguer as the new prime minister, giving him the mission of restoring the constitutional system that was abolished by

[452] AA.VV, *Historia Política 1875-1939, Historia de España Contemporánea* (Madrid: Akal, 2002), 302.

Primo de Rivera. In spite of all his efforts, social unrest increased under a difficult economic situation. The king was unable to restore his popularity and Republican parties, better organized than ever before, were gaining momentum and growing in membership. Local elections were held in April 1931 and the Republican parties won soundly in almost all the important cities. The king, demoralized and with few supporters, decided into go to exile two days later, never to return.

The provisional Republican government, which had members both of conservative and leftist parties, did not make any radical changes. However, most politicians already understood that the backwardness of Spanish economy was due, partly, to its anachronistic land-owning structure, especially in the south, were most of the land was owned by a very few people. This was especially problematic in a country in which over half of the population worked in the fields, where the low salaries and the inequality between the poor peasantry and the rich landowners was a cause of constant social conflict. During 1931 the radical working unions grew considerably, especially in the areas of the great estates in southern Spain,[453] such as in El Guadalperal. Social tension continued to grow fuelled by political radicalisation and the economic crisis. A socialist demonstration in Madrid escalated into violent attacks on religious houses and churches. In 1932, after the parliamentary elections, the leftist government started ambitious plans for social and economic reforms. In order to arise the living standards or rural workers they approved the Agrarian Reform act which included, amongst other measures, the expropriation of the rural estates of the most important noblemen in Spain. These included, of course, Alba and Peñaranda. This measure was more a

[453] Ibid., 324.

symbolic form of social revenge than an effective measure, but it contributed to an increase in the tension and violent incidents in rural areas.[454]

Under these circumstances Hinton decided to pack his belongings and depart to London in 1932.[455] It was definitely not the moment to build a superb palace in southern Spain, amongst a mass of radicalised workers. Moreover, the estate of El Guadalperal and the other properties that Nando had inherited from the Empress Eugenia were also selected for expropriation.[456] However, few of the selected properties were effectively nationalised as the state had little funding at the time to pay compensation, and El Guadalperal remained in Peñaranda´s hands.

In 1934 Lutyens went back to Spain for the last time, not to supervise any work, but to give a talk to architects and university students. He was glad to see Nando after almost ten years 'as thin as ever but a bit older', although the man he met was far from the vibrant gentlemen he had known before. Peñaranda's personal life was going through a difficult time, with a crisis in his marriage and the expropriation of many of his properties by the new Republican authorities. As Lutyens wrote:

> It is all very difficult. Donna Carmen his wife leads a gay life and is not received by Alba or any one of the family and she is never asked or allowed in this house ... he has had 21 estates taken from him and all the Montijo properties the Empress Eugenia left him. He owes a lot

[454] AA.VV, *Historia Política 1875-1939, Historia de España Contemporánea* (Madrid: Akal, 2002), 345.
[455] Hinton, *The Unfinished Palace* (1947), unpublished statement, referenced in Margaret Richardson, and Gavin Stamp, 1983, 51-59.
[456] 'Dirección general del Instituto de Reforma Agraria.- Disponiendo lo relativo al inventario especial que se ordena formar de las fincas susceptibles de expropiación', *La Gaceta de Madrid* 349, 15 December 1933.

> of money in England and France but he is not allowed to send any money out of the country...[457]

According to what Nando told him, 'he keeps El Guadalperal going, but never goes himself', due to the tense social atmosphere in the area. As Lutyens was told:

> He has been there once to vote and the vote man, an old servant asked him his name, qualifications? Where he lived? etc. etc. not one word of recognition - though he was drawing wages from him. No one except the 3 civil guards knew him and never left him or else he would have been shot.
> To give work he had a lot of planting done. Having planted the big trees, then the men who planted them cut them down. They said he would have to plant them again! In the old days him and his people were almost as a family. All that good will and friendliness has gone.

This episode is representative of the social circumstances the country was going through. Social tension grew until the war finally broke in 1936, after a military uprising led by the young general Francisco Franco. During most of the war, Madrid, where Nando had established his permanent residence, stayed under Republican control. In spite of the hostility of the Republican authorities and militias against aristocrats, Peñaranda did not flee the capital. He had no fear of becoming a political prisoner as he, unlike his brother Jimmy, had never been interested or involved in politics, and had no public enemies. He had led a peaceful life occupied by travelling abroad, taking part in sporting tournaments, and managing the exploitation of El Guadalperal. Unfortunately,

[457] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 14 June 1934, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

his confidence proved to be a fatal mistake. He was taken to the Modelo prison in Madrid, and was murdered, together with several thousand other political prisoners and civilians, in the mass killings of Paracuellos, on 7 November 1936.[458]

According to Peñaranda´s descendants, although the Republican militias broke into El Guadalperal at the beginning of the war, all the valuable objects were saved from pillage or destruction. Seeing how violence was increasing in the country, Nando decided to send his most valuable belongings to El Robado, a property that he had bought in the Island of Tenerife, and he locked some of the furniture inside the church of Elgordo, which was not sacked. However, drawings, letters and other documents related to Lutyens work for Peñaranda have been lost, according to the family.

As Gavin Stamp and Margaret Richardson observed[459], what is left of Lutyens´s work in Guadalperal is little more than "a castle in the air". However, the *poblado*, which is now sadly partly ruined, the dovecote and water tower form an extraordinary building ensemble, which reveals Lutyens's adaptability to a different cultural setting. Together with this built patrimony, the plans for the New Palace are a magnificent remnant of the architect´s endless imagination, and his unique capacity to merge the grand manner with the vernacular, as he had done in Delhi.

While country house building was coming to an end after the Great War, Lutyens still produced what Arthur S.G. Butler called 'the finest flowers and the last blossoming' of

[458] José Luis Sampedro Escolar, *La Casa de Alba* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2007), 245.
[459] Margaret Richardson, and Gavin Stamp, 1983, 51-59.

the English country-house tradition.[460] El Guadalperal would have been, if built, the biggest of these flowers, surpassing by far the size of Gledstone Hall and Middleton Park, and the most rare of them. Similarly to the Viceroy´s House, or other country houses built for Indian princes, such as Umaid Bhawad (1929-1943) designed by Henry Vaughan Lanchester, it would have been an English country house dressed to fit a foreign culture and climate.

A lavish English house out of Britain, an emphatically classical building at the twilight of architectural classicism and a display of aristocratic confidence when the old social structures were rapidly crumbling down, the project of the palace of El Guadalperal epitomizes, even if unbuilt, as do few others the complexities and paradoxes of a quickly changing era.

[460] Arthur S.G. Butler *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens,* vo. 1 *The Domestic Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1950), 50.

VIII

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF LIRIA PALACE

JIMMY ALBA, DUKE OF BERWICK

Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart y Falcó (1878-1953) was the kind of client that Lutyens would dream to 'fish', as he used to say. As with the rest of Lutyens´s Spanish clients, 'Jimmy' was very different from his typical English clients, who were, in general, self-made men - bankers, industrialists, editors and of the like.[461] *The Times* described him as the 'cultivated prototype of dynastic pride, dignity and intelligence (...) the greatest nobleman in Europe: he had more titles and riches than one could dream of.' But was, at the same time 'devoid of all pomp, blessed with the human touch'.[462]

Jimmy Alba, as he was known, played an important role in Spanish and European social and political life during the first half of the 20th century. His father, Carlos, XVI Duke of Alba and VIII Duke of Berwick sent his two male sons, Jacobo and Hernando, to study to Beaumont College, an elitist Jesuit public school in England where he shared his classroom with other members of the Spanish Royal family, as well as the man who would become the architect of Liverpool´s cathedral, Giles Gilbert Scott. During his years in England Jimmy made influential friends, and on his return to Spain, he studied law at university and met frequently with the young king Alfonso, who would become a life long friend. At the age of 32, in 1901, his father died suddenly from a heart attack in

[461] David Watkin, 'Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944): ¿El mejor arquitecto británico?' in AA.VV, *Maestros de la arquitectura moderna en la residencia de estudiantes* (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 2009), 221.
[462] 'Duke of Alba. Convinced Liberal Monarchist', *The Times*, 29 September 1953, 8.

New York, making him, at an early age, head of one of the most important aristocratic houses in Europe. Just three years later, his mother, who had worked tirelessly studying and organising the library and archives of the House of Alba died in Paris. Jimmy was suddenly the responsible for maintaining the legacy of the House of Alba, a role that gave him a grave sense of duty that accompanied him through his entire life.[463]

Alba had a seat in parliament, he was one of the closest advisors to king Alfonso, and was always busy attending his businesses and promoting cultural activities in Spain. He continued travelling frequently to England, which he considered to be his second home, and where he had influential connections. In 1902 he was appointed Knight of the Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order by Edward VII, with whom he had a good personal relationship. In 1905, for example, he is recorded to have attended a shooting party in Windsor Castle together with the king of England and a few important noblemen[464]. Later in that same year he was invited to the King´s birthday celebrations at Sandringham, where he also took part in shooting parties[465]. By this time, the upcoming wedding of King Alfonso and Queen Victoria´s grand-daughter, Ena of Battenberg, had driven both countries as close together as they had been for centuries, and Alba was a natural link between the elites of both countries. He had, indeed, an important role in this event, and he was present as one of the few witnesses at the reception ceremony of Ena into the Catholic faith at her arrival in Spain[466]. Soon after their wedding, the King and Queen of Spain went on a trip to England, in which Alba joined them as a personal assistant, accompanying them to the official receptions in

[463] José Luis Sampedro Escolar, *La Casa de Alba* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2007), 251.
[464] *Manchester Courier and Lancanshire General Advertiser*, 25 January 1905, 6.
[465] *Devon and Exeter Daily Gazette*, 8 November 1905, 2.
[466] 'Princes Ena Received into the Catholic Church', *The Western Times*, 8 March 1906, 4.

Sandringham.[467] The duke of Alba, with his exquisite manners and culture, and the fact that he descended from a British sovereign himself, caused interest in Britain, and his travels to these Isles received the attention of the national press.

Although very close to the king, well prepared and keen on politics, it was not until late in his career that Alba entered the government in Spain, becoming a member of the cabinet. This was a moment in which the monarchy was increasingly discredited. Alfonso probably thought that to place a close friend of his and an important aristocrat in the government would have been unpopular. Moreover, whether he liked it or not, the name Alba had a deep symbolism in Spain, and it was historically linked with the old regimen and staunch loyalty to the king. However, he was a committed liberal, admirer of the parliamentary monarchy and of the democratic system of the United Kingdom.

Alba, thus, occupied himself in managing his businesses and properties, as well as in his role as a scholar and patron of the arts, promoting cultural activities, and taking part in numerous cultural societies. To name but a few, he was member of the Prado Museum Foundation, of the Society of Archaeology, and of the Royal Academy of History, which he presided over from 1927 up until his death in 1953. He was especially involved in fostering the cultural interchange between Spain and foreign countries, joining the Hispanic Society of New York and the Hispano-English Committee. This gave him a very good rapport with intellectuals and scientists, both Spanish and foreign. He was very keen on archaeology and he gave his protection to the German archaeologist Hugo Obermaier, as discussed in chapter 7, and he also hosted Howard Carter and Leonard Woolley several times in his Madrilian residence, the Liria Palace (Fig. 8.1). Winston

[467] 'Court Circular', *The Times*, 5 November 1907, 10.

Churchill and the economist John Maynard Keynes were other English intellectuals who were hosted in Alba´s house during their visits to Madrid.[468] It is not known what relationship he had with British architects. The only references to this end is that he must have known Giles Gilbert Scott from his childhood days as students together in Beaumont College and that he must also have known Sir Aston Webb, as he was amongst his guests at a dinner party that he offered at Claridge´s.[469] It is possible that Alba and Lutyens had met in a party or social gathering in London during one of his visits to England. However, the first recorded meeting between the two was when Lutyens travelled to Spain for the first time invited by the Duke of Peñaranda in October 1915, and was hosted in Alba´s Liria palace, where Peñaranda also lived at the time. It is also possible that Lutyens and Alba could have met in London through the Barings. In his visits to London, Alba stayed either at the Claridge´s Hotel, or as a guest of his friend John Baring, 2nd Lord Revelstoke, brother of Cecil Baring, who commissioned the restoration of Lambay Castle from Lutyens in the early twentieth century. It was from Lord Revelstoke's house that he was married at the Spanish embassy in London to his fiancé Maria de Rosario Silva in October 1920, in a ceremony celebrated by the archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Bourne.[470]

[468] Cayetana Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, *Yo, Cayetana* (Madrid: Espasa, 2011), 37.
[469] 'Duke of Alba´s Dinner Party', *The Times*, 12 November 1920, 15.
[470] 'Marriages', *The Times*, 8 October 1920, 13 and 'Duke of Alba', *Daily Mail*, 15 February 1930, 3.

ALBA THE BUILDER

During much of his lifetime Alba had been an active builder, commissioning alterations to his palace and other properties, and Lutyens discovered from the first moment a fantastic potential client in him. In his first trip to Spain he wrote to his wife:

> Alba has a good deal of land round the Palacio Liria and he wants to reconstruct a lot of it and build a place for all his archives. He says he will ask me about it when I am back. If it was not for my pending operation I might go on my return from India in March - and I might get my little affair which is stressing me a good bit, done in India (he was probably referring to the gradient issue in [Delhi].[471]

Still a year after that, in his second visit to the Liria Palace, Lutyens was still very confident that he would be designing an archive building for Alba, and moreover, he had expectations of receiving a second commission from him:

> Duchess Santoña told me Alba is looking for a country place where he might build a palace in which he can end his days and that I should build it.
> I have had talks with Alba but he said nothing himself - they are also talking of doing alterations to the Liria Palace, but his Spanish architect is not inclined to start the archive buildings - which I should do - just yet.[472]

[471] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 3 November 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[472] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 20 November 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

Unfortunately, neither Alba´s country house nor the archive building were ever built or, as far as we know, even designed. However, Alba had involved in building activity in the years previous to and after Lutyens's first visits to Spain. In 1909, Alba commissioned the rebuilding of his family´s burial chapel in a grand classical style in the monastery of the Immaculate Conception in Loeches, near Madrid, which he showed to Lutyens on his first trip to Spain. In 1916 it is also recorded that Alba commissioned the French garden designer Jean-Claude N. Forestier, who was at the time working in Spain, to redesign the north garden at Liria Palace.[473] After his wedding he commissioned the French interior designer Armand A. Rateau to redesign a whole enfilade of rooms as his wife´s personal apartment. This refurbishment project was designed in 1921 and built in 1922-24,[474] a period in which Lutyens was very busy working on several English commissions.

The Spanish architect Fernando Chueca Goitia wrote in his memoirs that Lutyens had made some alteration to the palace in the early 20th century.[475] Although he gives no details of this, he can be taken as a reliable source, as he had been very close to Alba in the early 1930s when he was a young architectural student in Madrid and collaborated with Alba in some cultural activities. It was Alba who introduced Lutyens and Chueca Goitia in 1934 and probably told him personally about any past alterations to his house. After studying the existing photographs of the interior of the palace before the fire, it seems very likely that Lutyens refurbished the entrance hall for Alba. The palace, which was finished in the late 18th century, was gradually decorated during the 19th century in a

[473] Monica Luengo, 'Jardines del Palacio de Liria', in AA.VV, *El Palacio de Liria* (Girona: Atalanta, 2012), 105.
[474] Franck Olivier-Vial and François Rateau, *Armand Albert Rateau* (Paris: Éditions de l'Amateur, 1992), 58-61.
[475] Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Retazos de una Vida: Recuerdos de la Guerra* (Madrid: Dossat 2000, 1996), 102.

very heavily ornamented style. Alba was probably keener on a simpler decoration, as we can see in the photographs of his personal apartments and other of the rooms which were used daily.

The entrance hall, as shown in the photographs of the early 1920s (Fig. 8.2) also breaks with the flamboyant 19th-century decoration, and some of its features suggest that Lutyens could have been involved in its redecoration. English architects were usually very familiar with alteration and reconstruction works, and Lutyens did dozens of such projects during his lifetime.[476] It is probable that he was consulted by Alba on the matter during one the occasions in which he stayed at Liria Palace between 1916 and 1919. The sober interior, with its elegant order of Doric pilasters, along with the wall panelling, shows similarities with Lutyens's work. The east and west elevations were decorated with large old tapestries of the family's coats of arms. The rest of the wall was filled with sober stone panelling, with touches of rich floral carving in the panels over the doorways. The long panels under the tapestries are broken in the middle by a plain circle. Both the details and also the general way in which the entire wall is composed with simple geometrical forms and clear lines suggests Lutyens´s involvement. For example, Lutyens frequently used rich floral carving contrasting with plain surfaces, such as in the interiors of Marshcourt and the British embassy in Washington. The design of the wall panelling interrupted by circles had been used by Lutyens before, for example, in the music room at Ashby St. Ledgers (1904), and it would be used later, amongst other places, in the facade of the office building in 120 Pall Mall (1931). In the music room at Ashby St. Ledgers the motif is repeated both over the door and in the magnificent fireplace. Lastly, the flat white ceiling and, especially, the design of the

[476] Arthur S.G. Butler, *The Domestic Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1950), 39.

marble pavement of the floor are also common to his language. Apart from this, Lutyens could also have designed other works, such as the fireplace in the Duke´s bedroom, which has a powerful geometry and is strikingly original (Fig. 8.3).

Alba´s only daughter was born in the Liria Palace in 1926, while he was entertaining at a dinner for the philosopher Ortega y Gasset and the scientist Gregorio Marañón.[477] By then, King Alfonso had already suspended the constitution and, much to the disappointment of Alba, the country was ruled by the military junta of general Miguel Primo de Rivera. In 1930, when the dictator was already unpopular and republicanism spreading quickly, the king tried to restore the political situation previous to the coup d'état. The king´s support of the dictator had alienated most of the country´s politicians. He appointed general Berenguer as president of a transitional government and Alba was appointed minister of Education and Culture,[478] with the hope that his prestige amongst intellectuals and in the academy could help him handle the difficult situation. In his months as education minister he succeeded in calming unrest at the universities,[479] leading to his appointment as minister of Foreign Affairs, a post that was much welcomed by the British press.[480] However, his mission was difficult, as part of the government of a staggering regime and he resigned a year after, just two months before the republic was proclaimed.

[477] Cayetana Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, *Yo, Cayetana* (Madrid: Espasa, 2011), 5.
[478] 'Real decreto nombrando Ministro de Instrucción pública y Bellas Artes a D. Jacobo Stuar Fitz James Falcó Portocarrero y Osorio, Duque de Alba, Senador del Reino.', *Gaceta de Madrid*, nº 31, 31 January 1930, 764.
[479] 'Spanish Foreign Minister. Duke of Alba appointed', *The Times*, 24 February 1930, 11.
[480] 'Duke of Alba', *Daily Mail*, 15 February 1930, 3 and 'Spanish Foreign Minister. Duke of Alba appointed', *The Times*, 24 February 1930, 11.

The next years of his life were difficult, with growing political pressure from the socialist government on himself and his properties. His wife, who had been ill with tuberculosis for some years, finally died in 1933. However, he kept on working on the academies of which he was a member and travelling frequently abroad. In May 1931 an out-of-control mob started burning churches and religious houses in Madrid and other places of the country. Under these circumstances, Alba feared that his palace could suffer a similar fate and decided to send his daughter to a boarding school in Paris and to store his most valuables works of art in the British embassy, the only place in the city where he thought that his belongings would be safe.

LUTYENS'S LAST TRIP TO SPAIN

It was this tense social atmosphere that Lutyens encountered when he travelled to Spain for the last time in 1934, where he had been invited by Alba to give a lecture at the *Instituto Libre de Enseñanza* in one of the societies of which he was a member. As a liberal, Alba had collaborated on numerous occasions with the *Instituto Libre de Enseñanza*, a liberal university college in Madrid that was one of the most intellectually dynamic institutions in the country. This college organised regular conferences and debates and invited prestigious professionals from abroad to take part. Alba had collaborated with the institute before by inviting J.M. Keynes and Howard Carter to lecture there. Between 1928 and 1934 a series of talks on modern architecture were organised by some of the architecture students. Le Corbusier, Erich Mendelsohn, Theo van Doesburg, Walter Gropius and Sigfried Giedion were invited to present their work

and ideas on modernist architecture.[481] The series of conferences was concluded in 1934 with the unexpected visit of Lutyens, who had publicly opposed the international style several times. In an article he wrote in 1931, he judged inevitable and right that new technologies should influence architecture, although he regretted 'the passing of humanism and the personal note, the eclipse by the impersonal machine of bricklayer, mason and joiner as the makers of the building'.[482]

In Madrid he was impressed to see the Liria palace 'all dark, curtailed, double shuttered and electric light all day'. He found 'Alba in his office, very friendly and very much being himself hating the republic', and he observed that 'his best pictures are in store so the house has odd blanks and empty frames.'[483] The day before he gave his lecture, Lutyens visited the Prado Museum in the morning and, after having lunch with Alba and his family, was toured around by his host and some members of the architectural institute. He was taken to the new university that had been promoted by King Alfonso (*Ciudad Universitaria*), one of the biggest building projects taking place at the time in Madrid. Lutyens renewed his dislike for Modern architecture and described the university as 'a colossal lot of buildings all in horrible modern jazz, T squad, mad stuff.'[484] Afterwards they drove to the renaissance city of Alcalá, close to Madrid - a place that Lutyens had visited almost twenty years earlier.

On June 15, after having lunched with the British ambassador, Lutyens was driven by Alba to the auditorium where he was to deliver his presentation. Several hundreds of

[481] Their lectures have been recently published in AA.VV, *Maestros de la arquitectura moderna en la residencia de estudiantes* (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 2009).
[482] Edwin L. Lutyens, 'What I Think of Modern Architecture', *Country Life*, Issue 1796, 20 June 1931, 775-777.
[483] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 14 June 1934, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.
[484] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 15 June 1934, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

students and architects awaited him. When he entered the auditorium 'there were several architects and a pompous selection of old gentlemen who presented me with a letter joining their institute'.[485] After that, he delivered a presentation in which he started by giving some general considerations on 'humanist' architecture and its Greek origin, and he spoke apocalyptically about the demise of that tradition.[486] After that, he showed '100 and something' slides with his own works. 'It all seemed to go well and my lecture appreciated'.[487] He caused, indeed, a lasting impression on the young architects. The Madrilian architect Fernando Chueca Goitia, who was introduced by Alba to Lutyens in the entrance hall of the auditorium, remembered many years afterwards his 'kindness and deep humanity'.[488]

In this last visit to Spain, Lutyens could witness how quickly the social atmosphere was deteriorating. In a luncheon at the British embassy he 'sat near a young man, a fascist. He has been shot at three times and his government won´t allow him to take escort.'[489] The next day, 'the boys (Peñaranda´s and Santoña´s children) went to a bullfight. The elders hating it and fear they would all get shot.'[490] After Lutyens's return to England, the situation only got worse until the Civil War finally broke in July 1936.

---

[485]Ibid.

[486]The talk was published by the Hispano-English Committee in its journal as 'Resumen de la conferencia que, sobre sus trabajos arquitectónicos, dará Sir Edwin Lutyens en el Auditórium de la Residencia de Estudiantes, el jueves 14 de junio de 1934, a las siete de la tarde' (Madrid: residencia de Estudiantes, 1934), and was republished in the book AA.VV, *Maestros de la arquitectura moderna en la residencia de estudiantes* (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 2009). A brief summary was also given by Fernando Chueca Goitia in 'Sir Edwin Lutyens y la arquitectura inglesa', *Cortijos y Rascacielos* 16, 1934, 7-8.

[487]E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 15 June 1934, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

[488] Fernando Chueca Goitia, 'Sir Edwin Lutyens', *Revista de Ideas estéticas* 9, 1945, 63-67.

[489] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 15 June 1934, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

[490] E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 16 June 1934, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London.

THE LIRIA PALACE IN WAR TIME

The beginning of the war found Alba in Paris. While his brother Nando decided to remain in Republican controlled Madrid, Sol and Alba´s daughter Cayetana fled to his house in Seville, which was under Franco´s army´s authority. Cayetana soon left for London to meet her father and, it was in London where they both heard the terrible news: the Liria Palace had been almost completely destroyed (Fig. 8.4). It had been struck by a German air raid on November 16th, catching fire, and burned for three days.[491]

The palace had been occupied by Republican militias, and many books and furniture were taken to the garden to avoid fire. Some of these objects, later fell victim to pillage or were sadly damaged after being left unprotected in the garden through a wet and cold winter. Fernando Chueca Goitia, the young architect and friend of Alba who had met Lutyens in 1934 was, at the time, a member of the Republican architectural brigades, responsible for securing and protecting damaged buildings during the war. He devoted himself, together with some colleagues, to try to save what was left of the palace: they stored the objects which were scattered, removed the rubble from inside the building, and shored the facades in order to prevent them from collapsing (Fig. 8.5).[492]

Although a liberal, the brutality of communist militias that he witnessed in Madrid and, finally, the murder of his brother, led Alba to collaborate with Franco. He hoped that a

[491] Cayetana Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, *Yo, Cayetana* (Madrid: Espasa, 2011), 39.
[492] Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Retazos de una vida. Recuerdos de la guerra* (Madrid: Dossat, 1996), 101-110.

National victory would involve the restoration of a parliamentary monarchy and the return of law and order to the country. Franco, seeing how hostile Western governments and public opinion were to him, he decided to invite Alba to be his diplomatic agent in the United Kingdom. Alba accepted the position and established himself in London with his daughter. The press welcomed the appointment of a man who had striven 'for over 40 years to foster cultural relations between Spain and this country'[493] and who 'had been a very good friend of this country during the war.'[494] Although his prestige in Britain helped him in his task, Alba had a difficult time defending a cause which was extremely unpopular in the country. However, his good connections and hard work finally proved useful and, shortly after the war was over, in 1939, the British government accepted his credentials as legitimate Spanish ambassador to London.

The tragic event of the destruction of Liria palace proved to be a very welcome opportunity for Lutyens. Jimmy had the idea, from the moment he heard of the destruction of the palace, to reconstruct it and ,thus, to fulfil one of his deepest desires: to pass on to his descendants what he had inherited, maintaining the possessions of the House of Alba.[495]

Soon after the war was over, Alba discussed with his architect in Madrid, Antonio Ferreras, the reconstruction of the palace. In a letter to Alba dated in 30 June 1939,[496] the architect suggested that he simplify the plan of the palace and build only two, instead of three floors. A few weeks later, Ferreras wrote again to Alba informing him

493 'Duke of Alba on his mission', *The Evening Telegraph and Post*, 26 November 1937, 6.
494 *Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, 7 December 1937, 5.
495 Cayetana Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, *Yo, Cayetana* (Madrid: Espasa, 2011), 39.
496 Antonio Ferreras to Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart, 30 June 1939, Liria Palace, Madrid.

of the state of what was left of the palace. According to him, the four exterior facades were in perfect condition, although he had to pull down the few remaining interior walls.[497] Alba, a man of grand conceptions decided to contact Lutyens. Lutyens and Alba had met in 1936 when the war was still going on at the inauguration of Campion Hall, the Jesuit college that Lutyens had built in Oxford (Fig. 8.6). In June 1939, Lutyens and Alba met again as they received honorary degrees at Magdalene College, Oxford (Fig. 8.7),[498] and it is possible that they met in other unrecorded occasions. It was probably on this occasion that they spoke about the rebuilding of the palace. Jacobo´s daughter recalled that her father and Lutyens were very good friends, that they met frequently and wrote letters to each other when he was away from London.[499] It was about this date when Lutyens started working on the project. Alba contacted Ferreras again at the end of the summer requesting him to send him a detailed plan of the facade of the palace, so that Lutyens could start working on it, which he received on September 22nd 1939.[500]

At this moment Lutyens was almost seventy years old. He was probably the most prestigious architect in Britain, having been appointed president of the Royal Academy of Arts (only the third architect in history to have been granted that honour). However, by then the works at Delhi had already finished and with a country at war it was difficult to get any new commissions. The construction of Liverpool Christ the King Cathedral, the other major undertaking of this period for Lutyens, was suspended in 1941. Lutyens felt depressed and his colleagues tried to involve him in consultancy work, such as the

[497] Antonio Ferreras to Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart, 20 July 1939, Liria Palace, Madrid.
[498] 'Honorary degrees conferred', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 22 June 1939, 8.
[499] Cayetana Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, *Yo, Cayetana* (Madrid: Espasa, 2011), 39.
[500] Antonio Ferreras to Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart, 15 Septamber 1939, Liria Palace, Madrid and Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart to Antonio Ferreras, 22 September 1939, Liria Palace, Madrid.

plan for the rebuilding of London, in order to keep him busy.[501] The new commission found him 'happy to have something to do',[502] and as with the First World War, work coming from Spain was a motivation and a relief in hard times.

A collection of letters between Alba and Lutyens written between 1940 and 1941 and kept in the Liria Palace give a hint of their discussions about the reconstruction of the palace. The letters available include only a small part of the conversations and discussions that Lutyens and Alba had about the building. By then, telephones were starting to be a usual form of communication, and the old friends Ned and Jimmy telephoned each other and met regularly. Together with these letters there is a set of drawings in the Liria Palace and in the RIBA Drawings Collection helping us to reconstruct the main aspects of the design process.

Alba´s daughter, Cayetana, recalled many years later that at first, her father wanted to rebuild the palace as a museum which could be open to the public and to build, next to it, a new house. This idea went in line with Alba´s old desire of constructing a separate building for his valuable archives in the garden surrounding the palace. However, Cayetana, who was then fourteen, convinced him that it would be nicer to reconstruct and live in the old house.[503]

Although Gavin Stamp and Margaret Richardson have noted that Lutyens's main contribution to Liria was the design of the main staircase,[504] this does not indicate the scale of the project that he was commissioned to design. Out of the very large palace (a

[501] Mary Lutyens, *Edwin Lutyens: A Memoir by his daughter* (London: John Murray, 1980), 273.
[502] Christopher Hussey, *The life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1950), 575.
[503] Cayetana Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, *Yo, Cayetana* (Madrid: Espasa, 2011), 114.
[504] Margaret Richardson and Gavin Stamp, *Lutyens and Spain*, AA Files, January 1983, 51-59

rectangle of 80x30 metres) only the four external facades and the two small south pavillions were standing when he started working on the project. Although Alba wanted his house mainly as it had been, the rebuilding was a perfect opportunity to rationalise the plan and adapt it better to modern needs. Although very conservative in everything related to his ascendancy and heritage, Alba was keen on introducing changes in the plan, as we will later see, and new technologies, such as lifts.

The four remaining facades within which Lutyens had to insert his palace were the remnants of the grandest private residence in Madrid, after the Royal palace.[505] It had been built in the second half of the 18th century by the III Duke of Berwick and Liria, Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart y Colón. The construction, well documented by the letters he exchanged with the contractors, has been rigorously studied by José Manuel Pita Andrade.[506] Although the composition of the north and south facade, which are almost identical, clearly follows that of the Royal Palace, in Liria the Baroque ornamentation was avoided in favour of the cleaner lines that became fashionable in the late 18th century. The front facade (Fig. 8.1), which faced the south, was divided into 17 bays of windows, grouped in five bodies. The three-bay central body and the single-bay lateral bodies project outside. The ground floor is rusticated, the top of which forms a plinth over which a monumental two-storey Doric order stands embellishing the facade. In the central part of the facade the order is made of semi-detached columns, while in the rest of the facade there are pilasters and double pilasters in the side pavilions. Over the entablature there is an attic floor, which doubles its height in the central body of the facade, where it bears a carving with the III Duke of Berwick´s coat of arms.

[505] Carlos Sambricio, *La arquitectura del palacio de Liria* in AA.VV, *El Palacio de Liria* (Girona: Atalanta, 2012), 80.
[506] José Manuel Pita Andrade, 'El Palacio de Liria', *Itinerarios de Madrid* 20, 1959 and José Manuel Pita Andrade, 'La Construcción del Palacio de Liria', *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 9 1973, 291-316.

An anonymous first floor plan drawn between 1921[507] and 1936 (Fig. 8.8) kept in the Liria Palace, and two old and incomplete ground floor plans,[508] allow us to reconstruct the building in which Lutyens had stayed several times (Figs. 8.9A and 8.10E). This allows us to understand in what ways Lutyens moved away from the original building and what aspects he decided to retain. Although documents concerning the palace were sadly lost with the fire, the palace had certainly undergone refurbishments and alterations during its almost 150 years of existence, and some aspects of the plan were somehow messy. The entrance vestibule of the palace was accessed through the centre of the facade. It was not an open vestibule or *zaguán*, in the Spanish tradition, as the one Lutyens had designed for his first version of El Guadalperal, but was a conventional vestibule. The main rooms and salons of the house were on the first floor, which was accessed through a magnificent double staircase that started from the entrance hall. The ground floor was occupied with working spaces and ancillary rooms: to the southeast the library and archives, to the southwest the Duke´s office and those of his workers, and to the northwest the kitchen, scullery, pantry and other storage rooms. The centre of the building was occupied with small courts, corridors and staircases. In the first floor, the staircase landing led to the south, to a series of big salons *en enfilade*. To the north there was also a series of salons *en enfilade* that included a large dining room, in the centre, and the ballroom, while in the east and west ends were the main bedrooms of the house.

[507] It shows some changes in the east rooms done in 1921-22 by the French interior designer Armand Albert Rateau.
[508] Ventura Rodriguez (attributed), c. 1780, garden and ground floor of Liria Palace in Madrid, V. 6 147, fol. 101, Bibliotèque National de France, Paris; and Francisco Coello and Pascual Madoz (Madrid, 1848), *Plano de Madrid*.

In the first of the letters which survive of those that Alba and Lutyens exchanged, dated in 1 February 1940, Lutyens wrote:

> 'My dear Jimmy,
>
> I saw in 'The Times' that you were back.
>
> I have a revised scheme for your Liria Palace which I want to show you.'

This suggests that he had already been working on the project for some time. By then, Alba was already the official ambassador and he lived and worked at the Spanish embassy in Belgrave Square. Lutyens met Alba at the Spanish embassy on 8 February, and, amongst other things, it seems that Alba asked Lutyens to include a lift in the building. Later that day, a letter with an enclosed plan, unfortunately lost, was sent to Alba from Lutyens's office. The letter, written by one of Lutyens´s workers said:

> 'I am requested by Sir Edwin to send you the enclosed plan, showing where the lift comes, which he promised to let you have.'

A pencil drawing of the ground floor plan kept in the RIBA Drawings Collection,[509] is probably one of the early schemes Lutyens was working on at this time (Fig. 8.11 and 8.9B). The plan shows Lutyens's attempt to organise rationally a complex plan in which several areas would need to work almost completely independently from each other. The building was not just a house, but also a working place, as had been the case with Lutyens for many years, in which his office had been in the ground floor of his own

[509] London, Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Drawing Collections, (PA 1621/LUT [209])

house.[510] At the centre of the plan he placed the large entrance hall and the main staircases, just as in the old palace. The entrance hall would be of the same size as the old one and the drawing suggests that Lutyens wanted to create a rich space, with a chequerboard pavement and niches carved in the walls. Also as in the old entrance hall, he placed three archways in the north wall, opposite to the entrance door. The central archway led to the start of the main staircase that took to the first floor, where the main rooms would be. The other two archways led, either to the north garden, through very ample corridors and a vestibule, or to the rest of house. The staircase designed here by Lutyens breaks with the old one, which was a double staircase in the French tradition. As we will see later, Lutyens thought it to be too big for the space available, and substituted it with a simple, although very grand staircase.

The staircase and the entrance hall divided the plan into two halves, at the centre of each of which Lutyens placed an open court. The northwest part accommodated the kitchen and auxiliary spaces around a large court, and the southwest was occupied by the Duke´s offices, which would need to have an independent entrance for workers and visitors. To the east, there are the archive rooms facing the southern facade and the housekeepers´ premises to the north. In the centre of the east half, there is a very large spiral staircase, probably designed to be used as the main stair on a daily basis (the central one being reserved for special occasions) and the chapel. The position of the chapel at the east end of the ground floor is another aspect in which Lutyens breaks with the past, as the chapel had been previously placed on the first floor next to the central staircase. As with the old chapel, the new one would also have the presbytery altar to the north. Although he designed a relatively small chapel (9.5 metres long and

[510] Mary Lutyens, *Edwin Lutyens: A Memoir by his daughter* (London: John Murray, 1980), 62.

5.8 metres wide), he nevertheless divided its space into an entrance narthex with two freestanding columns, a square-plan nave and an apsidal presbytery.

From a functional point of view, Lutyens's plan was an important improvement to the old palace: the different functions were carefully segregated and communications well studied. The two ample courts would help ventilation and lighting of interior rooms, while the regular disposition of load bearing walls would help the structural working of the building. Pilasters, niches and columns would contribute to dignify the main interiors.

In late February 1940, two letters reveal that Alba and Lutyens were already considering practical aspects of construction. Apparently, Alba asked Lutyens to hire a young man who wanted to start his career as an architect, Juan Ayala, son of a friend of his, as an apprentice.[511] Lutyens answered that 'if you could decide to go on with the plans, though you postpone building until things are more propitious it would give Don Juan something to do. There is little to do here and I don´t know how else I could make use of him.' He finished this letter with a joke that happened to be prophetic: 'You could be able to leave your donna (his daughter Cayetana) plans showing what your intention had been, and her rich husband would perforce have to carry them out as your monument!'[512] Alba finally decided to pay for Ayala´s apprenticeship in Lutyens´s office:

> I think it is as far as I can go for the present. It is impossible to tell what the future may bring and whether I shall be able to reconstruct my palace.[513]

[511] Son of the writer Ramón Pérez de Ayala.
[512] E.L. Lutyens to Jacobo de Alba, 27 February 1940, Liria Palace, Madrid.
[513] Jacobo de Alba to E.L. Lutyens, 29 February 1940, Liria Palace, Madrid.

Just a few weeks after this letter, Alba´s architect in Madrid, Antonio Ferreras, visited London, bringing with him the information necessary to draw the new plans. However, Lutyens was seriously ill and could not attend the meeting. Alba wrote to him, 'I think that of all your jokes this was undoubtedly the worst! Please do not repeat it!' Fortunately, 'no time was lost as we had a talk with your very able assistant.'[514] Work on the plans continued during the springtime and the summer.[515]

THE BLITZ AND THE STAIRCASE

September 1940 was a crucial moment in the history of the United Kingdom as, in the middle of the Second World War, the German air force started bombing British cities, particularly London. These air raids, commonly known as "The Blitz", also influenced the Liria Palace project. Alba wrote to Lutyens with a new suggestion for the reconstruction:

> 'My dear Ned,
>
> Considering the new form of warfare to which we are now subject, I am thinking that if we do rebuild Liria, as I hope, I feel it would be very much to the point to have a shelter for people in the house and a strong-room for most of the important treasures that are

[514] Jacobo de Alba to E.L. Lutyens, 19 March 1940, Liria Palace, Madrid.
[515] E.L. Lutyens to Jacobo de Alba, 17 July 1940, Liria Palace, Madrid.

still left. Now that we are at it what about a couple of hiding places -priest holes[516] - as you used to call them in this country?'[517]

Lutyens suggested that 'the shelter and the strong room could be underneath the terrace - east and west on the north side.'[518] He asked Alba to drive him from London to his house in Surrey, so that he could stay there for the night and discuss the plans calmly with him. According to their correspondence this visit apparently took place in late October.[519]

The Blitz also brought changes into the lives of both Alba and Lutyens. Alba decided to move out of London to prevent anything happening to his daughter, during which time he hired Albury Park, an old mansion in Surrey, from the Duchess of Northumberland (Fig. 8.12). From there, he commuted almost daily to the Spanish embassy in central London. Lutyens was finally persuaded by his wife, in late October, to move to Oackham Mill,[520] a property she had rented in Ripley, also in Surrey, which happened to be conveniently located on Alba´s way from Albury Park to London. Lutyens had a car accident that left him without transport for some time and he wrote Alba asking him that 'if ever he had a seat to spare going to or from London, I should be more than grateful for a lift.'[521] During the next months the meetings between the two became more frequent when Alba was not travelling to Spain. Lutyens stayed for the night again in Albury Park in April to discuss the plans of the reconstruction and they got into important details regarding the decoration and the staircase. Cayetana later recalled the

[516] Lutyens had probably heard of antichristian persecution and the burning alive of father Dámaso, Santoña´s chaplain, in 1936.
[517] Jacobo de Alba to E.L. Lutyens, 11 September 1940, Liria Palace, Madrid..
[518] E.L. Lutyens to Jacobo de Alba, 18 September 1940, Liria Palace, Madrid.
[519] Jacobo de Alba to E.L. Lutyens, 18 October 1940, Liria Palace, Madrid.
[520] Mary Lutyens, 1980, 278.
[521] E.L. Lutyens to Jacobo de Alba, 11 January 1941, Liria Palace, Madrid.

many meetings that took place between his father and Lutyens, 'discussing the staircase, the hall, etc.'[522]

Alba wanted to have a double staircase, like the one that Liria had before the war. Lutyens, however, was keen on a single staircase and advised him that there was not enough room for a double one. Lutyens had done some double staircases before, as at Viceroy's House in Delhi, and in the British embassy in Washington, although only in cases where the exceptional nature of the building required it, and the space available allowed it. On other occasions, even in the largest of his country houses, such as Gledstone Hall or Castle Drogo, he preferred the main staircase to be simple, although still of grand dimensions. Alba insisted:

> As we are still at the stage of schemes I should like to point out again that there is a certain force of tradition around me that would like the staircase to be more or less as it was before, i.e. a double one. I know you say there is not sufficient room, but perhaps we could talk this over when we next meet.[523]

To this Lutyens answered:

> Excelentísimo Jimmy,
>
> The staircase as now designed gives you:
> 33 steps, with the riser of each step 13.2 high (say 5 1/4 inches)

[522] Cayetana Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, 2011, 39.
[523] Jacobo de Alba to E.L. Lutyens, 19 April 1941, Liria Palace, Madrid.

With a double staircase it would give you:

25 steps, with the riser of each step 18.0 high (about 7 1/4 inches)

I never do even a back staircase with more than 6 inch risers.[524]

This was untrue, as 6 inches was the rise that Lutyens had used for the main staircases of some of his great country houses, such as Marshcourt or Middleton Park, although he seemed very eager in trying to convince his client of the disadvantages of a double staircase. And Alba finally surrendered:

My dear Ned,

Your arguments convince me and I will think no more about the double staircase.[525]

In the same letters they exchanged some ideas on ornamental aspects of the staircase. Alba wanted 'to have placed somewhere on the new staircase at Liria' a quotation from Cicero´s *De Senectute*: *'die immortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere'*, which he translated for Lutyens as 'For the immortal gods have willed not only that I should receive these blessings from my ancestors, but also that I should hand them on to posterity.'[526] The choice of this quotation shows how important it was for Alba to pass on his heritage, and especially Liria Palace, to his daughter.

Lutyens advised him to place it in the frieze of the vaulted ceiling over the stairs or, 'as an alternative, you might have your arms with emblazonments on the north wall of the

[524] E.L. Lutyens to Jacobo de Alba, 25 April 1941, Liria Palace, Madrid.
[525] Jacobo de Alba to E.L. Lutyens, 26 April 1941, Liria Palace, Madrid.
[526] Jacobo de Alba to E.L. Lutyens, 19 April 1941, Liria Palace, Madrid.

staircase, at the first floor level, carried by a panel pedestal which would contain de Cicero quotation.'[527] Finally, the first option was carried out, although Alba liked the idea of including a coat of arms:

> I quite agree with you that a coat of arms is necessary, as I think that in no country has heraldry had a more important part in decoration than in Spain.[528]

Alba enclosed with this letter two cards with his coat of arms so that Lutyens could use it as a model of ornamentation (Fig. 8.13). It was finally decided to place the coat of arms in a mosaic at the centre of the entrance hall floor, where Lutyens had thought in his May 1942 plan of placing a mosaic with an angel, the Ducal crown and Jacobo´s motto (*Tu in Ea et Ego Pro Ea*), framed with the chain of the golden fleece.

NEW GRANDEUR FOR THE OLD PALACE

In July 1941 Lutyens wrote again to Alba asking if he wanted him to start the final drawings of the Liria Palace. 'If so', he wrote,' I should have to make a professional charge of 4% on the cost of the building which could be approximately ascertained, about which I could consult Hinton.'[529] Alba preferred waiting, and in the last letter between the two that survives, he answered:

[527] E.L. Lutyens to Jacobo de Alba, 25 April 1941, Liria Palace, Madrid.
[528] Jacobo de Alba to E.L. Lutyens, 26 April 1941, Liria Palace, Madrid.
[529] E.L. Lutyens to Jacobo de Alba, 22 July 1941, Liria Palace, Madrid.

> It is, however, quite impossible to ascertain in Spain, nowadays, even an appropriate figure of the cost of the building. I know from experience ... I think the best thing to do is to leave the matter pending for the moment, and we will have a talk about all this next time I take you up to London.[530]

We do not know when this happened, but eventually Lutyens started working on the definite plans, some of which are still kept in Liria Palace. Although no letters between Lutyens and Alba after 1941 survive, we know that they continued meeting indicated by some brief entries in Alba´s diary, where he usually wrote with whom he was going for lunch or dinner.[531] A considerable number of Lutyens's drawings sent to Liria Palace are dated in May 1942. However, these only include detail plans and sections. The general plans of the project, also kept in the Liria Palace, are undated and where probably done after the May 1942 drawings.

An undated pencil drawing from the RIBA Drawings Collection (Fig. 8.14) shows a detailed north-south section of the building through its centre, the entrance hall and the central staircase, and an interior elevation of the entrance hall (Fig. 8.15). There is an undated copy of this drawing at the Liria Palace (Fig. 8.16). In the section kept in London, the attic floor has been removed following Ferreras´s advice to lower costs, although in the one kept in Madrid there is a small attic floor to the north. It also shows the monumental core of the palace, the sequence of spaces that led from the entrance up to the most important rooms of the palace in the first floor. The entrance hall, with the same size and proportion as the old one has richly decorated stonewalls, according

[530] Jacobo de Alba to E.L. Lutyens, 25 July 1941, Liria Palace, Madrid.
[531] In 1942, they went for lunch together at least in March 18th, October 16th and December 9th. (Personal Diary of Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart y Falcó, Liria Palace, Madrid.)

to this drawing. Its north facade, that opposite the entrance door, is divided into five bays by an order of Doric pilasters. The central bay is totally open to the start of the grand central staircase, which is flanked by two Doric columns, painted in ochre in Lutyens's drawing, probably to indicate they would be built in marble. The bays to the side of the central one have an arched doorway that led to the garden entrance and other rooms in the ground floor. The last two bays have no openings and are just decorated with niches carved in the wall. This was different to the pre-war entrance hall, in which the side bays also had entrance doors. The east and west walls are shorter, with just three bays, the central one with an arched doorway. The east doorway leads to the library and archives, and the west, to the Duke´s office.

The relatively low ceiling of the entrance door contrasts sharply with the luxurious space of the staircase, creating a dramatic effect. This contrast is stressed further by the fact that the first flight of stairs is compressed between two thick walls and the height of the ceiling decreases until, in the landing, the triple height space with its domed ceiling is fully revealed. The staircase, which is embellished with wall panelling and niches, has a very particular form in order to make it seem as long as possible in such a limited space. It started towards the north, then the landing turned east, after a few steps and a new landing, it turned west again to another flight of steps, and the last flight faced the south, ending almost over the starting point. Lutyens had used an almost identical zig-zagging typology of stairs before in project for the palace of the Count de la Cimera (1919) and in Great Maytham Hall (1909-12), a house that bears many resemblances with the Liria Palace. Similarly, it had been originally built in the 18th century, and its interior was badly destroyed by fire in the late 19th century. The owner asked Lutyens to rebuild it preserving its original facades, although he was allowed to add two storeys and

side wings.[532] Lutyens must have been happy to be finally allowed by the Duke to design a comfortable and truly grand staircase, like the ones he had so much admired in Genoa.[533] Lutyens shows in Liria again his genius in handling staircases, an aspect for which he had a reputation, having designed celebrated staircases such as those in Little Thakeham and Castle Drogo. Nicholaus Pevsner has pointed out that 'England has never been particularly keen on ingenious and monumental stairs, and Lutyens's are amongst the finest she has produced.'[534] The handling of space in this staircase certainly shows Lutyens at his best.

As in the pre-war staircase, in the landing of the first floor, four freestanding columns supported the domed ceiling crowned with a lantern. The lantern is richly decorated, with a large drum with Ionic pilasters and an entablature supporting the dome. These columns are of Lutyens's Delhi order, which he had designed specifically for the Viceroy's House but which he had later used in other buildings in Delhi and even in England, such as at Middleton Park and Campion Hall. The fact that he used it again here could be seen as a tribute he wanted to pay in the last project of his life to the most important work of his career. To the south of the landing of the staircase there was a double height vaulted room which, according to the plans, was destined to be the largest room in the palace: an imposing 24x7 metre gallery for the display of the best paintings of Alba´s collection. To the north of the landing Lutyens placed the formal dinning room and, underneath it, the garden entrance.

---

532 Arthur S.G. Butler, *The Domestic Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1950), 36.
533 E.L. Lutyens to Lady Emily, 19 October 1909, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
534 Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Building with wit, architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *Architectural Review* 109, 1951, 217-225, 225.

The ground floor plans of the monumental core of the building show how magnificently Lutyens designed the corridors that, surrounding the staircases, led from the entrance hall to the garden entrance and, from there, to the back garden. These are not just corridors, but are divided by pilasters and arches into a sequence of smaller individual spaces, many of them of circular and square plans, with recesses in the walls and richly paved, stressing the singularity of each space. The garden room has a circular plan of 5 metres of diameter with four niches in their walls and a twelve-arm star pavement. Lutyens, with his love for pure geometric forms, had a tendency to slice long corridors into a sequence of consecutive square or round spaces. In Viceroy's House, the long corridors around the Durbar Hall are completely divided into domed round rooms. In the last country houses of his career, such as Gledstone Hall and Middleton Park, he retook this theme enthusiastically, producing some of his most celebrated corridors (Fig. 8.17).

THE CHAPEL

The batch of drawings kept in Liria Palace and dated May 1942 focus on the central monumental part of the palace, both in plan and in section. The north-south section (Fig. 8.18) is basically the same as the pencil one previously described, although there are some minor changes in the decoration. The main change is that the dome over the central staircase is of a simpler design, and the lantern´s Ionic decoration has been substituted by a plain white hemisphere pierced with windows. But most importantly, these drawings show that Lutyens has decided to move the chapel from the east of the palace to the centre, near the central staircase and below its original place. Although

there are no general floor plans in this series of drawings, there are detailed ground floor and first floor plans (Figs. 8.19 and 8.20) of the central part of the palace that show the new position of the chapel, which now forms part of the monumental core of the residence. A copy of the central part of the ground floorplan is also stored in the RIBA Drawings Collection (Fig. 8.21). Although the chapel was before on the first floor and its presbytery oriented to the north, the chapel is now on the ground floor, with the presbytery to the east and it is larger than both the original one and Lutyens's previous version.

A pencil plan and section sketch for this chapel are kept in the RIBA Drawings Collection (Fig. 8.22), in which we see how Lutyens has composed the chapel out of the simple geometrical forms, mostly squares and circles, of which he was so keen. The plan is made out of two squares (one slightly smaller than the other) and a semicircle for the presbytery. The chapel is accessed from the west, the first square is under a tribune, that makes its ceiling relatively low, with its space interrupted by four Doric columns that support the tribune. This nave under the tribune leads to another square plan space which is triple height and covered by a hemispherical dome with windows. One would think that this generous space would be designed for the congregation that would participate in the mass, but it is mostly occupied with a flight of steps that rise eastward to the presbytery, where the altar stands. There is barely any room at all left for the congregation as the best lit and most generous space of the chapel has been given up for the altar. The altar looks like a sober monolith, similar to Lutyens´s celebrated Stone of Remembrance, which he designed in 1917 for the World War I cemeteries. It was to be attached to a low wall separating the nave from the apse, on top of which the candles and the crucifix would be placed, in the same way as in the chapel at Campion Hall in

Oxford. The section shows that Lutyens was thinking of placing the altar railing just under the edge of the tribune, and thus making this central space truly inaccessible for the congregation. This followed partly the original design (Fig. 8.29), in which the few existing seats were placed under the tribune.

Lutyens had designed many churches before for different denominations, and he was certainly familiar with Catholic liturgy after designing Campion Hall for the Jesuits, the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Christ the King in Liverpool and the chapels in Cimera, Santoña and Peñaranda´s houses.[535] In Liverpool, in spite of the huge size of the cathedral, most of its plan is occupied by massive pillars, leaving only relatively narrow naves in-between. The widest space, the great circular void under the dome is also largely occupied by the flight of stairs rise toward the altar. More than a space for the congregation, Lutyens´s concern is to build a monumental scenario for the celebration of the mass, which is the centre of Catholic life.

In his first design for El Guadalperal, as discussed in chapter 4, Lutyens designed a small chapel which is also carved out of central shapes: the upper tribune is a square and the nave is a slightly bigger square (Fig. 8.23A), while under the tribune there is only a very small narthex. Similar but more emphatically cubic is the chapel in La Ventosilla and, above all, the one designed in the 1927 version for El Guadalperal, in plan almost a simplified version of Bramante´s project for San Pietro.

In the chapel for Liria Palace, the last one he designed, Lutyens continues with this exploration around centrally planned churches that had been present for most of his

[535] Jane Brown explored Lutyens´s connections with English Catholicism in *Lutyens and the Edwardians* (London: Viking, 1996), 220-227.

career. In this sketch for the Liria Palace chapel the idea is very similar. As was typical for Spanish aristocratic palaces,[536] Lutyens also included a high tribune from where the owners of the house could attend mass, something that the old chapel of the palace, which Lutyens had known, already had. The plan arrangement is similar to the first for El Guadalperal. Only now it is the area of the tribune which is smaller, while the space underneath is bigger and has a square plan. The nave is covered by a byzantine looking shallow dome with windows in its lower part, as the ones he had designed when he was young for the unbuilt Presbyterian church in Finchley Road, London (1901), or his proposed church in Clevelys (1896). It is worth mentioning that, although quite different in style and function, in 1942 Lutyens produced a proposal for a Romanesque-style entrance narthex attached to the western facade of Westminster cathedral. This entrance room would have had an octagonal plan and a domed ceiling.

In the drawings dated May 1942 kept in Liria Palace, the chapel is drawn in full detail, both in plan and elevation (Figs. 8.24 and 8.25), and there are some differences with the pencil drawing. Firstly, the dome is now a hemisphere supported on a tall cylindrical drum on pendentives, and it has round arched windows, as the one over the central staircase, although smaller in size. Secondly, the space under the tribune is more heavily ornamented. Its walls are carved with recesses and niches making them look heavier, and the space is divided in three by two rows of three columns, with a central aisle of just 1.8 metres wide and two side corridors of barely one meter wide. In creating this cramped and almost claustrophobic space, Lutyens was probably intending to produce a dramatic contrast with the adjoining 15 meter high white dome. The centrality of the space under the dome is further emphasized by Lutyens's proposed wall decoration: a

[536] Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Arquitectura Civil Española de los Siglos I al XVIII* (Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1922), vo. 1, 57.

large blank square carved in the centre of the chapel´s wall. The plan (Fig. 8.21) and the section (Fig. 8.25) show that behind the altar, a door in the apse leads to the sacristy and the priest's cupboards.

As can also be seen in the section, only the Dukes from the tribune and the priest from the altar can enjoy the ample space of the nave and see the light coming through the dome, while for the rest of the congregation, the source of the light would be concealed. It would be worth noting, however, that this chapel is not a parish church and it would not have been used by a large congregation for regular services, but mainly for family celebrations. The Duke might have finally found the space under the tribune too gloomy and cramped, and the general floor plan (Figs. 8.9C and 8.28) shows a simplified version for the chapel in which all but two of the freestanding columns are supressed.

GENERAL FLOOR PLANS

The floor plans kept in Liria Palace, drawn in pencil and with legends in English, although undated, were probably drawn after the May 1942 drawings. The ground floor plan (Figs. 8.9C and 8.28) is similar to the pencil one in the RIBA Drawings collection already described, although there are some changes. To the east, there are two long corridors north and south of the chapel that helped functionality of the building and led to a new staircase placed in the east end. As in the previous version, the northeast side was occupied by the housekeeper´s rooms and the southeast with the archives. In the west side of the building there are further changes: another large staircase has been introduced at the west of the central staircase, and the lift has been given a more

prominent location, closer to the entrance hall. Probably Alba thought that the number of staircases previously designed (just the central and a service one) were not enough for such a big house, and they decided to add two more, one in the east end and another large staircase in the west side. The monumental staircase at the centre would not continue after the first floor, and was intended to be used as in the past, mainly for special occasions. The name it was finally given, *Escalera de Honor*, is indicative of this intended use. For daily use, the other two staircases, one at the east and another at the west, were introduced.

The west side continued to be divided in two by a wall: to the north the service and kitchen area and the offices to the south. For a functional purpose, a row of toilets and other storage rooms was introduced between the north and the south sectors. There is yet another important change in this part of the house: as happened 25 years earlier in the project for La Ventosilla, Lutyens must have realized that if he built a kitchen court in the service area, there was not enough room left for the kitchen itself and its auxiliary rooms. In this project, space limitations were more important than in La Ventosilla, as everything had to fit within the four standing facades. This house would need plenty of room for a large kitchen, a scullery, still room and storage, and Lutyens finally decided to occupy the space he had previously designed as a court with the kitchen, which would now need to be top lit and ventilated through skylights.

The first floor (Figs. 8.10H and 8.26) would have in the central part a series of very large rooms, where the fabulous collection of works of art and antiques that the family had accumulated over centuries, including works by Goya, Velazquez and Tiziano, would be displayed. To the south of the grand central staircase, an impressive double height

room, 24 meter long and facing the south garden, would be used to display the most important paintings of the collection. The other main rooms were also designed taking into account the works of art that were intended to be displayed in each of them: to the west of the picture gallery, a very large room named 'Battles' would probably be decorated as the 'Sala de Batallas' of the old palace, which was originally located in this same place, while to the north of the central staircase, another two very large rooms bear names evocative of the Duke´s tapestry collection ('Les Amours des Dieux' and 'Les Indes'). In this desire to reproduce some of the old interiors we can see again the influence of the Duke´s 'force of tradition' looming over the design.

To the east of the staircase there is the top part of the chapel and the access to its high tribune, and to the northwest, over the kitchen area, there is a servery, a pantry and the dinning room, in the same location as the old one but much smaller. The rows of rooms facing the east and west facades were much smaller and, although they have not got any legend on them, they were meant to be used as the main bedrooms of the house, as in the old palace. One of the rooms in the east end maintains the oval shape it had originally had. This was probably in order to place there the bathroom which Armand A. Rateau had designed for the original palace and which had been undamaged by the fire.[537] The second floor (Fig. 8.27) would host an impressive battery of bedrooms: eighteen ensuite bedrooms and a further six maids´ bedrooms. Alba was no doubt very satisfied with Lutyens's work. In 9 December 1942, after having lunch with Lutyens, he

[537] The oval marble bath was sold, together with other objects designed by Armand A. Rateau for the Duke of Alba at Christie´s Paris in 2013 (Chirstie´s, Sale 3550).

wrote in his diary: 'I had lunch with Ned Lutyens and we had a look at the plans of Liria: it will look very well.'[538]

Regarding construction, Christopher Hussey noted that 'Lut was not interested in what held the building up or composed its core, heated or drained it' and that 'the office dealt only with surfaces'.[539] However, this statement is unfair if we consider Lutyens's work globally. His designs show that he had a deep understanding of construction, materials and structural principles, and he used all these elements to pursue his aesthetic ideas. His delicate bridge at Plumpton Place, Sussex (1927), is a good example of his understanding of the constructive possibilities of each material, while in the pergola at Delhi´s Mughal gardens, he plays with the structural principles in order to achieve a spectucular effect. He was not opposed to the use of new technologies, as long as they did not threaten the principles of 'humanist' architecture, and he judged 'inevitable and right that these things (new materials and machines) should influence architecture.'[540] Although he regarded Selfridge as an 'insincere' building, 'where a steel skeleton is faced with columns',[541] some of his most celebrated stone facades, such as the Midland Bank, Poultry, and Britannic House, are also supported on steel-frame structures. The project for the reconstruction of Liria palace is another example of his understanding of structural requirements and the regular sequence of thick load-bearing walls is an example of orderly and rational structural design. Although structural materials are not specified in his drawings for the Liria Palace, the thickness of the walls suggest that he

538 Personal Diary of Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart y Falcó, 9 Dec. 1942, Liria Palace, Madrid: *'Almorzó comigo Ned Lutyens y vimos planos de Liria: quedará muy bien.*'
539 Christopher Hussey, 1950, 493.
540 Edwin L. Lutyens, 'What I Think of Modern Architecture', *Country Life*, Issue 1796, 20 Jun. 1931, 775-777, 775.
541 Edwin L. Lutyens, 'What I Think of Modern Architecture', *Country Life*, Issue 1796, 20 Jun. 1931, 775-777, 776.

was thinking of either brick or concrete of them, and probably reinforced concrete for roofs and floors. He had already used reinforced concrete before, for example in the roofs and floors of the Viceroy's House at Delhi.[542]

LUTYENS'S LEGACY IN MADRID

This batch of floor plans is, possibly, the last drawings that Lutyens sent to Alba before he died in 1 January 1st, 1944. According to Stamp and Richardson, Lutyens sent his last batch of drawings to Madrid dated, November 1943, just a few months before he died, although this information could not be confirmed in the course of this investigation, as none of these drawings or letters referring to them were found.[543] Alba sent his condolences to Lady Emily,[544] and he continued living in London for one more year until, in April 1945, he resigned as Spanish ambassador due to disagreements with Franco´s government. In March 1945, Alfonso XIII´s eldest son published the Lausanne Manifesto breaking his relationship with Franco´s regime, after the dictator had refused to install him as rightful king. In the manifesto he called on monarchists to stop any cooperation with his government. Alba immediately resigned and returned to Madrid where he carried on leading social and cultural activities under the regime´s close scrutiny. By then his daughter was already 19 years old. Knowing that rebuilding the palace was going to be extremely expensive, especially at a time of international isolation for Spain in which provision of steel was difficult, and that the House of

[542] Christopher Hussey, *The life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1950), 429.
[543] Margaret Richardson and Gavin Stamp, *Lutyens and Spain*, AA Files, January 1983, 51-59
[544] Jacobo de Alba to Lady Emily, 7 January 1942, Liria Palace, Madrid.

Alba´s finances were not at their best moment, Jacobo hesitated whether to start or not with the works.

In the meantime, Cayetana organised several charitable fund raising parties in the palace´s gardens, which were well preserved, and Alba commissioned the construction of a new building in a lot of land of his property adjacent to the gardens where he could keep and show his art collection. The functional building by Ferreras is a dull brick volume with granite dressings and some ornamental carving around the entrance door. It was inaugurated in May 1947 as a museum of the art collection and the library that Alba had formed with what was left from the fire and new acquisitions made after the war in Spain and London.[545] Soon after this inauguration, Cayetana was engaged to marry a young engineer. Seeing his descent secured, and with the improvement of his financial situation due to the compensations he received from the insurance companies,[546] Alba felt finally encouraged to proceed with the reconstruction. He contacted the local architect Manuel Cabanyes and asked him to produce construction plans following Lutyens's project. The story of the construction of the palace is one of how - although retaining the basic features of Lutyens´s design - the project was gradually and sadly deformed.

Cabanyes´ floor plans of July 1947 (Figs. 8.30 and 8.31) show a combination of Lutyens´s previous versions: both the ground floor and the first floor follow closely Lutyens´s last floor plans, although the kitchen is restored to its 1940 position. The plan shows that, the monumental centre of the palace, formed by the entrance and garden halls, central staircase and chapel, reproduces exactly Lutyens's 1942 design, with the

[545] 'Ayer se verificó la inauguración del museo de la Casa de Alba', *Diario ABC*, 29 May 1947, 12.
[546] 'Indemnización por el incendio del Palacio de Liria', *Diario ABC*, 30 June 1951, 17.

chapel´s high tribune supported on six freestanding columns. The pavement of the hall changed slightly. A plan of the pavement of the hall dated in 1951 indicated to use in the centre the mosaic designed by Lutyens (Fig. 8.37). However, this mosaic is not the same designed by Lutyens for the May 1942 floor plan. It is another mosaic in which the central motif of the angel and the Ducal crown has been substituted by Alba´s coat of arms (Fig. 8.38). An east-west section (Fig. 8.32) of the palace shows that it follows completely Lutyens´s, except for the fact that, instead of ground floor and two floors, Cabanyes added a third floor, probably at Alba´s request who was confident that he could now afford it. In an article about the palace which he published in an architectural journal, Cabanyes acknowledged his debt to Lutyens, writing that Lutyens´s plans had been included in the final project.[547]

The works started in the 2nd October 1948, coincidentally, on the same day as Alba´s first grandson was born, which secured the future of the House of Alba for another generation. A ground floor plan dated February 1949 (Fig. 8.34) shows bigger changes: to the west, the kitchen court has been again removed to make room for a very large free plan modern kitchen, probably at Cayetana´s request, very keen on modern life and actively involved in the reconstruction.[548] To the east, the chapel has been simplified: the tribune has been pushed further to the back and the forest of columns supporting it has been erased, making room for a larger congregation in the ground floor. To the north of the chapel, the corridor has also been removed, as in Lutyens´s first version, and it leaves room for a large exhibition room, instead of the housekeeper.

[547] Manuel Cabanyes Mata, 'La Reconstrucción del Palacio de Liria', *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 83, October 1948, 365-7.
[548] Cayetana Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, 2011, 114.

A first floor plan of December 1950 shows new changes (Fig. 8.35). The walls have been made thinner, making the plan lose that *gravitas* so characteristic of Lutyens´s architecture. The very large salons that the English architect designed have been replaced by smaller salons en enfilade, as in the pre-war palace, and as can be seen in the 1951 section (Fig. 8.36), the double height ceiling of the great picture gallery has been replaced by a flat height ceiling 'just' 5 metres high. Alba probably thought that an almost 10-metre high ceiling for that room was too extravagant. This section also shows that the entrance and garden halls and main staircase still follow Lutyens's designs almost completely: the capitals of the columns are still Delhi order and the detailing of the ashlar walls with Doric pilasters and niches is basically Lutyens´s. Only the mannerist tricks have disappeared and the Doric entablature is now completely conventional. Floor plans of December 1951 show further changes in the chapel, where the altar has been pushed further back to make more room for the congregation, and thus breaking its geometric relationship with the apse (Fig. 8.36).

Alba died in Geneva in September 1953 and, as with Lutyens, he did not see his palace finished. Since then it was his daughter and her husband who were responsible for the construction works until the palace was finished in 1956.

This building, which was completed at such a late moment as 1956, when the Modern movement in architecture had long been under revision, with the late Le Corbusier and Team X challenging Modernist orthodoxy, arises inevitably the question of its anachronism, its relationship with what was being built at the moment in Western Europe and beyond. In this regard, it is worth bearing in mind that, when Lutyens started working on this design in the 1930s, classical architecture was still in widespread

use and, in some aspects, it was even the dominant language. Classicism was still the most accepted expression of public power, both in America and in Europe, although it had undergone a process of abstraction during the first decades of the 20th century. In the United States of America many of the public buildings built in those years, such as law courts or libraries, were classical, such as the Jefferson Memorial (1938-1943), the Supreme Court building (1932-35), and the Federal Reserve building (1935-37). On the other side of the Atlantic, stripped classicism continued to be used by public buildings during the 1930s both in democratic countries and in the newly emerging autocracies. Albert Speer´s works in National Socialist Germany, and Marcello Piacentini´s in Fascist Italy, are good examples of this trend. Examples can also be found in Democratic countries, such as Helsinki´s Parliament House (1926-31), or in Republican Spain, where the left-wing government promoted the construction of *Nuevos Ministerios* (1933-42), a huge building complex that followed the classicism of El Escorial.

According to what was previously discussed, Lutyens probably started his design in 1939, the year in which New York celebrated its International World Fair, in which classical and futuristic pavilions coexisted side by side. Although the end of World War 2, and the subsequent reconstruction of Europe, was a transition point for the triumph of architectural Modernism,[549] classical buildings continued to be built.[550] Following the Civil War, in Spain traditional architecture was at first promoted by the francoist government, as can be seen in the *Ministerio del Aire* (d. 1940). Indeed, the architect Manuel Cabanyes was himself building a classical housing bloc when he took up Liria Palace project in 1948. Lutyens´s design was thus, certainly traditional, but not out of time in the way his 1942 Romanesque proposal for Westminster Abbey had been. Given

[549] David Watkin, *A History of Western Architecture*, 4th ed. (2005), London, (1st ed. 1986), 561.
[550] Nikolaus Pevsner, *An outline of European Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1943), 1957 edition, 671.

the particularities of this project, the pre-existing facades and the requirements of the client, it is difficult to think of an architect more suitable than Lutyens to fulfil the role. Thanks to Alba´s stubbornness in rebuilding his house and in his choice of the architect, this great house has been preserved as one of the most outstanding examples of aristocratic palace design in Madrid. Lutyens´s genius is still present in the powerful massing of the interiors and the dramatic contrasts he achieved, although partly spoilt during the works.

IX

LUTYENS'S BUILDINGS IN THE SOUTH: ANALOGIES AND COMPOSITION

There has probably been no generation of British architects more internationally successful than that to which Edwin Lutyens belonged. During his years of practice, which spanned between the late 19th century and the Second World War, British architects were involved in building projects literally all around the world. The architects that belonged to that generation were lucky to develop their careers at a time in which the British Empire was at its maximum extension, and British industrial and commercial companies were involved in businesses across the globe.[551] This meant that British architects received commissions to build architectural projects for the British administration and for the private clients not just in the formally colonised territories but in many other places also where British companies exercised a softer power.

For example, apart from the Dominions and other British territories, Edwardian architects were involved in architectural projects in China, United States, South America and continental Europe. To give a few examples, in Europe, apart from Ralph Selden Wornum´s activity in the golf of Biscay, and Thomas Collcutt´s hotels in Andalusia, which have been previously mentioned, Baillie Scott designed several houses in Poland and Russia and H.S. Goodhart-Rendel and Ernest George designed some villas for the

[551] The relationship between architecture and the British Empire has been recently addressed in G. Alexander Bremner (ed.), *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

British colony in the French Riviera. Also for Lutyens, the 1910s were marked by abundant building activity on the continent. He worked for the British government designing the British Academy in Rome, and was engaged in several commissions for the banker Guillaume Mallet, in France, and for the Albas in Spain.

At a time in which the concepts of adequacy and *decorum* played such an important role in social life and in architectural design, and in which style was such an important issue, architects were very careful on the style they chose when building abroad. Together with an adaptation to local architectural traditions there was, in many cases, a necessary adaptation to a local climate which was usually very different from the one found in Britain. As we shall see, these two conditions played an important role in Lutyens's projects in Spain, especially in the two country houses, and help explain their originality within his ouvre. This section will discuss the strategies that Lutyens used in his Spanish projects in order to adapt them to the local weather and architecture, and how this reflected an ongoing debate on the topic, which was evident in the architectural journals and publications of the time.

Together with this, the Mediterranean world also brought associations of classical culture, the idealism of Plato´s philosophy, and the abstract perfection of regular geometry. Many have come to understand classical architecture, and particularly some works that Lutyens admired, such as the Pantheon in Rome and Palladio´s Villa Rotonda, as a material manifestation of philosophical idealism.[552] The encounter with the architecture of southern Europe certainly played a role in Lutyens's evolution from the 'Surrey Picturesque' of his early years to the abstract and pure geometry of his

[552] For example, Branko Mitrovic, *Philosophy for Architects* (New York: Princeton University Press, 2011), 39.

stripped classicism. In this section we will also discuss the role of his Spanish projects, and particularly the plans, in his path towards geometrical abstraction.

ADAPTING TO A SOUTHERN CLIMATE

Since the beginning of British colonial expansion, British architects building abroad had to confront climatic conditions very different from those they encountered at home. Except for Canada, and some remote islands, the rest of the British Empire stood on southern latitudes, areas where colonisers had to be protected mainly against the scorching sun. From the adoption and adaptation of the Bengali bungalow[553] to the development of a speluncar, or cave-like architecture, British architects became gradually experienced during the 19th century on how to respond to the requirements of construction in southern latitudes. An intense theoretical debate accompanied the practice, as can be seen in the numerous texts on the topic published during that period.[554] Depending on the kind of climate with which colonisers had to deal - either hot dry or hot humid - the solutions were different. In both cases, providing shade and insulation was the main strategy. Together with these, in tropical humid climates, architecture had to allow constant ventilation, while in drier climates shady courtyards are useful as cooling devices.[555] At the same time, the imperial enterprise allowed British architects to gain a global perspective, which encouraged them to use similar building strategies in different places, when confronted with similar problems. For example,

---

553 Charles Allen and others, *Architecture of the British Empire* (New York: The Vendome Press, 1986), 56-58.
554 For example, Andrew Balfour, *Note on Housing in the Tropics* (Calcutta: Government of India Printing, 1921).
555 Mark Dekay, *Sun, Wind and Light, architectural design strategies* (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 1985), 160-4.

bungalows started to be built in East and South Africa, classical verandahs appeared around buildings in places as far as Calcutta and Jamaica, and external cloisters, as those seen in some churches in southern Europe, were also built in India, or Istambul.

Although sometimes criticised as an aesthete who despised practical issues,[556] Lutyens showed a varying concern throughout his career for the climatic behaviour of his buildings and took measures to ensure that they were liveable and comfortable. Robert G. Irving mentions, for example, how Lutyens was very aware that 'climate must govern all construction in India.'[557] Lutyens had worked in India, South Africa, and around the Mediterranean (Rome and Cannes) before working in Spain, and this previous experience had certainly made his architecture flexible and adaptable to hot and sunny climates.

The measures that British architects would take when building in hot weather are well summarised in a report published in 1921 on the topic by the Government of India entitled *Note on Housing in the Tropics*.[558] In it, the author deemed constant ventilation as a necessity, although it must be pointed out that the report tackled construction in humid hot weathers specifically. Secondly, against the heat of the sun, he considered it advisable to have double walls and an 'air space' between the roof and the ceilings of the rooms. Lastly, although Balfour considered the verandah one of the most important parts of a tropical house, 'they are not an absolute necessity in hot dry countries so far as securing coolness in the house is concerned. Houses with thick walls of mud or clay, whitewashed on the outside (...) can be kept wonderfully cool, provided the windows

[556] Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Building with wit, architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *Architectural Review* 109, 1951, 220.
[557] Robert G. Irving, *Indian Summer: Imperial Delhi* (London: Yale University Press, 1981), 175.
[558] Andrew Balfour, *Note on Housing in the Tropics* (Calcutta: Government of India Printing, 1921).

are shuttered'. In the Viceroy House's Lutyens combined the protecting qualities of the massive walls (as much as 7 feet thick), shaded by the *chujja* cornices, with ample loggias and numerous courtyards that pierce almost half of the building's surface.

Although Lutyens had always travelled to Spain during the autumn and the winter, when the weather was cold (his train was even once stuck in the snow on its way to Madrid), it is reasonable to think that he was aware of how extreme and hot it got during the summers in the regions were he was commissioned to design the residences.

Lutyens's Spanish houses also use some of these strategies. They have very thick double exterior walls (1 metre thick in the case of the country houses, comparing to around 2 feet in his English country houses) whitewashed on the outside. The final versions for the palaces of El Guadalperal (both the 1916 and 1927 designs) and La Ventosilla, although they do not have a surrounding verandah, do have loggias protecting the large openings to the south from the sunlight.

The use of continuous porticos or classical verandahs around buildings became very common in Britain´s southern colonies during the 19th and early 20th centuries. If, during the 19th century British church builders had been concerned with developing a type of 'Tropical Gothic'[559] suitable to hot weathers, it is also true that many civil architects had been working on what can be referred to as 'Tropical Classical', in which the most distinctive feature was the use of a freestanding external colonnade, such as the Government offices built in 1914 in Kingston, Jamaica by Nicholson and Corlette (Fig. 9.1) or the Government House in Madras.

[559] G. Alexander Bremner, *Imperial Gothic* (London: Yale University Press, 2012).

Some of the houses that Luyens designed in the 1920s for the Indian princes in Delhi included powerful surrounding porticos which provided extra shelter from the sunlight. A proposed palace in Lucknow, the palace for the Nizan of Hyderabad (Fig. 9.2), the project of a palace for the Maharajah of Bikaner (Fig. 9.3) and, especially the house for the Gaekwar of Baroda (Fig. 9.4 and 9.5), all included porticos along the perimeter of the building. In this last building, both the ground and the first floors are totally surrounded by a massive arched portico that leaves a shaded verandah between the house and the exterior. This powerful verandah dominates the elevation producing a dramatic contrast of light and shadow and creating a composition that is neither literally oriental (he finally discarded the *chujjas* and *chattris* that he had first sketched) nor classical, but an original piece of Edwardian architecture based primarily on the requirements of a hot climate. Although Lutyens occasionally used small garden loggias in the country houses he designed in England, these elements are not as dominant as they became in the Indian and Spanish projects, and in the British School at Rome (Fig. 9.19).

Lutyens´s designs for Spanish clients include many examples of external porticos and verandhas. Drawings DR118/11 (1,2 and 3) in the RIBA Drawings Collection, presumably sketched by Lutyens in the mid 1920s when he was asked to revise his design for El Guadalperal, also show a building surrounded by a massive portico on two floors (Figs. 7.43 and 7.44). Unlike in the Indian palaces, however, the roof is not flat, but pitched and covered with red tiles and projecting eaves. Finally, the water tower built at El Guadalperal in the early 1920s (Fig. 7.34), one of the few buildings built by Lutyens in Spain, is also surrounded almost completely by a two storey vigorous

portico. The design of the palace for the Count de la Cimera (1919), also has a compact design pierced by shady patios and large colonnaded loggias to the south around the garden, although in this case, Lutyens probably used this for functional and aesthetic rather than climatic reasons. Lutyens had travelled at least twice (in October 1915 and November 1916) to Algeciras to meet the architect and building contractor James Thomson, who was experienced in building in southern Spain, in order to learn about the practical requirements of construction in the country. Thomson showed him around Algeciras,[560] where he had built several villas in the 1900s that were largely surrounded by porches, loggias and verandahs.[561]

Together with providing protection from the sun around the houses' external walls, the design of the roof was also vital to combat extreme climatic conditions. Herbert Baker, Lutyens' partner in Delhi, when building in South Africa used 'wide eave-cornices protecting the walls from scorching sun and heavy rains and casting deep shadows on them' taking inspiration from 'the eaves of flat-pitched roofs of Italian and Spanish houses.'[562] In the Viceroy's House, in Delhi, Lutyens borrowed the indigenous projecting cornice, or *chujja*, as an element of sun protection.[563] In his Spanish houses he included traditional red tile roofs with deep projecting eaves and tile soffits that ran at mid height along some of the facades. Surprisingly, in 1916, while he was working on designs for La Ventosilla and the small Guadalperal palace, he produced a series of designs for staff bungalows at Delhi very different from the ones which were finally built. Unlike the final bungalows, these would have been much better adapted to the

[560] E.L. Lutyens, to Lady Emily, 3 Nov. 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collections, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
[561] Ana Aranda Bernal, *La arquitectura inglesa en el Campo de Gibraltar* (Cádiz: Diputación de Cádiz, 2008), 75-129.
[562] Herbert Baker, *Architecture and Personalities* (London: Country Life, 1944), 57.
[563] Robert G. Irving, 1981, 175.

weather of the Delhi plain. Together with porches and verandahs, they had tiled pitched roofs with projecting eaves and, in some cases, projecting soffits casting a shadow over each row of windows (Figs. 9.7 and 9.8). Under the pitched roof they had a large air chamber separated from the room underneath by a ceiling that would act as a buffer, helping to keep the temperature of the main rooms of the house stable throughout the year, and that would have helped to mitigate the problems that were finally found in the Delhi bungalows after built.

Finally, as he did in many of his English country houses, Lutyens took the usual strategy of placing the servants' rooms in the floor below the roof. Where there was no need for a whole servants´ floor, the space below the roof was separated from the rooms underneath with a plaster ceiling, creating an air space that helped isolate the rooms from the outside temperatures. For example, in the 1927 version for El Guadalperal, what seems an extravagant waste of space under the roofs, might be a strategy to keep the most important rooms better insulated. Figure 9.9 shows a section of the main salon in which, together with a loggia protecting the south facade, the air chamber can be appreciated. Especially in La Ventosilla, the roof is very well insulated, as Lutyens separated the air space under the roof from the rooms with thick brick barrel vaults and a layer of cement. Although Lutyens did not take any practical measure in his design that did not also have an aesthetic purpose, it is obvious that all the features above described helped to adapt his architecture to the climate when he built outside the British Isles.

It is also remarkable how Lutyens's very personal architecture seemed flexible enough to adapt to the diverse architectural traditions of the places in which he built throughout his career. His shift from a vernacular old English and Georgian architecture to the grand manner of Mansart and Wren in the early 1900s is widely known. Since then, his architecture became synonymous with the classical tradition. He was totally convinced of the superiority of Western civilisation, and for him the classical language was its architectural expression. That is why he was totally opposed when asked to adapt his design for Viceroy's House in Delhi in an oriental manner. However, he finally arrived at a compromise, and his essay on 'Indian classical' and the happy result to which it arrived probably made him more confident to experiment with the classical architectural language afterwards. An architecture both classical and Indian seemed to come out naturally in his design for the ruling princes in India. Some of these designs, especially the proposed house for the Sultan Singh (Fig. 9.10), are even surprisingly native looking, showing a softening towards Indian architecture after he had repeatedly and publicly despised it.[564] Lutyens's gradual openness to foreign influences even led him to propose a vaguely Byzantine war memorial church in Basildon in 1918 (Fig. 9.11), after having worked in India, Italy, and Spain. Although this might also reflect the changing attitude of contemporary British church builders towards Gothic as the most appropriate style for the Christian worship,[565] it is still remarkable.

[564] Ibid. 101.

[565] See for example the Uganda cathedral, by Beresford Pite, the proposed Colombo cathedral by Georde Fellows Prynne and the church of St. Benedict, Warrington, by Matthew Honan, all Byzantine projects of the 1910s.

As Emmanuele Duchamp pointed out, Lutyens´s works in France for the banker Guillaume Mallet also reveal his sensitivity to local architectural culture.[566] In Le Maison des Comunes (1909), for instance, he introduced a local decorative use of masonry and a roof 'à la Mansart'. In the house overlooking the Bay of Cannes that he expanded and refurbished (1912) he also got inspiration from local architecture (Fig. 9.12). The house's simple massing, unadorned whitewashed walls, red tile roof with projecting eaves and green louvered shutters foreshadowed his designs for El Guadalperal and La Ventosilla a few years later. From 1911 to 1916 he worked on another building close to the Mediterranean shores, where he was commissioned to reconstruct and expand the British Pavillion in Rome as a permanent base for the British School in Rome. Excepting the main facade, which is an adaptation of St. Paul´s cathedral west facade, the language he used here is similar: whitewashed walls, red tile roof, the usual green shutters and open porticos around the interior courts and in the outside facades.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, Lutyens could have found inspiration for his buildings in Spain in those designed by Herbert Baker in South Africa. Baker had travelled around the Mediterranean, to Italy and Greece, at the suggestion of Cecil Rhodes, who saw the architecture of these places as a good base upon which to develop a South African architecture.[567] He travelled to southern Europe on other occasions, also to Spain,[568] and he encouraged South African students to study 'the great architectural and artistic tradition of classical art in the Mediterranean countries which have a similar range of

[566] Emmanuel Duchamp, 'Lutyens' Houses in France', in AAVV., *Lutyens Abroad: The Work of Sir Edwin Lutyens Outside the British Isles* (London, 2002).
[567] Herbert Baker, *Architecture and Personalities* (London: Country Life, 1944), 35.
[568] His sketchbooks (London, Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, SKB 13, SKB 14 and SKB 8) contain several sketches of the Canary Islands and mainland Spain.

climatic conditions to those which prevail in South Africa.'[569] The similarities of Lutyens's first design for El Guadalperal with Baker´s 'Mediterranean' houses in South Africa, especially villa Arcadia in Johannesburg, in which Lutyens had been working for a week in 1911, are evident, as it has been discussed in Chapter 4.

Together with this, the impact that the Spanish Colonial Revival in the southern United States might have had on Lutyens's 1915-1917 designs in Spain should not be overlooked. Although an architecture that imitated the constructions built by the Spanish missionaries and colonisers had appeared in the United States in the late 19th century, the California-Pacific and, especially, the Panama-California expositions of 1915, helped to disseminate and popularise this style. Developments in American architecture were quickly reported by British specialised publications and journals, and articles about the San Diego Exposition appeared in journals such as *The Building News*,[570] *The Builder,*[571] and *The Burlington Magazine*.[572] All devoted articles and illustrations to these expositions. It is very probable that Lutyens was aware of this, as he himself had been involved in designing, or acting as design advisor, in several international expositions.[573] In the following years *The Builder* continued publishing articles on American Spanish Colonial buildings, including two villas by Bertrand G. Goodhue (Fig. 9.13).[574]

---

569 Herbert Baker, *Architecture and Personalities* (London, 1944), 36.
570 'The Panama-Pacific International Exposition. San Francisco', *The Building News*, 23 April 1915.
571 'The Panama California Exposition', *The Builder*, 22 Oct. 1915, 292-4.
572 F. P. Allen, 'San Diego Exposition', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 32, No. 3, Mar. 1915, London, pages 116-126; *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 6, No. 12, Oct. 1915, London, pages 446-448; C. BUKWITH, 'The Development of Architecture in California' in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 3, No. 6, Mar. 1918, London, 145-149.
573 Hermione Hobhouse, 'An Architect animated by the spirit of his subject: Lutyens's exhibition buildings' in Gavin Stamp (ed.) *Lutyens Abroad: The Work of Sir Edwin Lutyens Outside the British Isles* (London: The British School at Rome, 2002), 25-36.
574 'House at Montecito, Santa Barbara, California', *The Builder*, 18 January 1922, 215 and 'Residence at Pasadena, California', *The Builder*, 2 June 1922, 825.

This probably helped to change the appreciation in Britain of Spanish late Renaissance, which had already fairly known after Andrew N. Prentice´s publication, and Baroque. The March 17, 1916 issue of *The Builder* opened with an editorial article about 'Official architecture in India', in which the author proposed that the style followed in India should be 'a vigorous and free rendering of the types of Renaissance employed with such success in the Spanish colonies of South America, Mexico and California, varieties which would be suitable for the wants of the climate of India, while they are European enough to be sympathetically expressed by our architects and elastic enough to lend themselves to the incorporation of much of the decoration (...) indigenous to the Indian peninsula.'[575] This same idea was again repeated in an editorial article of *The Builder* a year later, in which the author argued:

> 'We are convinced that the type which should be followed in India is neither that of the Moghuls nor of our own land, but a variant of Southern Renaissance, such as was practised by the Spaniards in Old Mexico and California and by the Portuguese in their colonies of Goa and Macao (...) The mission buildings of California are built of rude materials, and for a hot climate. They depend on form and mass rather than on details; and while they represent the ideas and the wants of the civilisation of the West, it is possible to incorporate in them features which give scope for native decorators and workers.'[576]

The editorials of this influential journal could have had an impact on the practice of some architects, as it can be seen in the Postmaster-General's Office in Lucknow,

[575] 'Official Architecture in India', *The Builder* 110, 17 March, 1916, nº 3815, 209-10.
[576] 'Architectural Work of the Government of India', *The Builder* 112, 16 February 1917, nº. 3863, 145.

designed by J. Begg in 1916. The palace designed by Ernest George for the Maharajah of Indore also has a strong Mediterranean flavour (Fig. 9.14).

All these circumstances reinforce the idea that Lutyens, who was at that moment also working in projects of Government architecture in India by the British administration, was probably aware of the Spanish Colonial Revival in America. This, together with Baker´s architecture in South Africa, and his own knowledge of Spanish and, more broadly, Mediterranean architecture, through publications and travels, could explain Lutyens's unprecedented stylistic development at La Ventosilla and El Guadalperal.

Lutyens's design for the palace of the Count de la Cimera in Madrid is another example of his overwhelming capacity to tailor his architectural language to the specific location and client of each commission. In this case Lutyens moved from the picturesque and English Baroque to a sophisticated Italian urban palazzo type, which matched better with the client´s elegant tastes and the character of the high-class neighbourhood in which it would be constructed. The influence of Italian Renaissance in Lutyens´s generation has been pointed out by Katherine Wheeler, amongst others, who mentions the publication of *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy* in 1896 as a turning point in this direction.[577] In fact, the influence of Italian early modern architects such as Michele Sanmicheli and Baldassarre Peruzzi exerted on Lutyens has already been demonstrated by some authors.[578] The prestige of Italian Renaissance as a 'modern' style was given further impulse by the publication, in 1914, of Geoffrey Scott´s *The Architecture of*

[577] Katherine Wheeler, *Victorian perceptions of Renaissance architecture, 1850-1914* (Miami: Routledge, 2014), 132.
[578] Alan Powers, 'Italy and the Edwardian architectural imagination', in Gavin Stamp (ed.), 2002, 47-57.

Humanism, which Lutyens had in his library.[579] In fact, if any reference can be traced in the facade´s composition, it is from some Italian urban palaces such as Peruzzi´s Palazzo Albergati, in Bologna, or the Palazzo Vescovile in Vicenza. However, this design is a very personal interpretation these models, creating a sophisticated and lavish residence for a rich Spanish dandy.

Finally, in the reconstruction for the Liria palace, Lutyens showed again his capacity to adapt his architecture to the remnants and the memory of the old building. Although at times blamed for being insensitive to location,[580] the projects in Spain show the adaptability of his classical language to different circumstances without falling into pastiche, and without losing the vigorous geometry that has made his architecture so celebrated.

IDEAL GEOMETRY AND CENTRAL PLAN

Lutyens's geometry evolved from the picturesqueness and irregularity of his earliest projects towards an increasing symmetry and emphasis on bold and simple geometrical compositions. By 1903, as his correspondence to Herbert Baker reveals, Lutyens's main reference was already Palladio, Wren, and the greatest classical architects.[581] His evolution towards strong axiality led him to a growing stress of centrality in his projects, which is especially evident in the floor plans. The informal mass composition of

[579] David Watkin, *Sir Edwin Lutyens (1866-1944): ¿El mejor arquitecto británico?* in AA.VV, *Maestros de la arquitectura moderna en la residencia de estudiantes* (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 2009), 235.
[580] For example Nikolaus Pevsner in 'Building with wit, architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *Architectural Review* 109, 1951, 217-25.
[581] Edwin Lutyens to Herbert Baker, 1903, quoted in Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1950), 125.

picturesque architecture contrasts with the hierarchical arrangement of his later works, in which the stress converges towards a central element, in which the main symmetry axes cross. Palladio´s Villa Rotonda, the Pantheon in Rome (two buildings that Lutyens admired)[582] and Bramante´s original plan for Saint Peter´s basilica[583] are all paradigmatic examples of this kind of plan arrangement.

Lutyens's evolution towards geometrical purity and abstraction was also manifest in his Spanish projects. The first plan sketches for his 1916 project of El Guadalperal are basically a symmetrical addition of squares of different sizes dominated by a square patio (Fig. 9.15 A). As the design process progressed the floor plan lost part of its geometric idealism in order to meet the client´s requirements. However, it still remained a compact, symmetrical and rather simple composition, especially if compared with the picturesque plan layouts of his early works.

Lutyens's preliminary sketches for Viceroy's House in Delhi show that his initial conception was based on an ideal geometry: a large square in the middle divided into nine equal squares, the central division having an inscribed circle which probably represented the Durbar Hall (Figs. 9.16 and 9.15 D). Four square wings stem out of the corners of the central body, forming a "U"-shaped forecourt in front of each facade. In a sketch dated 14 June 1912 (chapter 7, Fig. 7.48), the initial conception had been modified in order to integrate it in its urban setting. The two wings facing the main vista were turned into "Ls" so that they could conform a grand "U"-shaped forecourt, and thus the buidling lost some of its initial symmetry. The pure geometry of the earlier plan

[582] Andreas Volwahsen, *Imperial Delh*i (London, Berlin and New York: Prestel Verlag, 2002), 78.
[583] Peter Smithson mentions, although giving little evidence, this project as a possible inspiration for Lutyens's Durbar Hall, in the Viceroy House ('The Viceroy´s House in Imperial Delhi', *RIBA Journal* 76, April 1969, 152- 54).

was later further flawed by the introduction of the visitors' entrance and the Viceroy's office in a wing closing the open side of the north forecourt. Neither Hussey nor Irving explained explicitly why was the initial symmetry broken by the introduction of the wing to the north. It is likely that it was in order to integrate the legislative assembly in this part of the building, although it finally had a separate building for itself, designed by Herbert Baker.

Lutyens's 1927 version for El Guadalperal (Fig. 9.15 F) is, in its plan geometry, more similar to his 14 June 1912 sketches of Viceroy's House than the version finally constructed. It seems as though, when the construction of the Viceregal Lodge was approaching completion, Lutyens wanted to return to the purity and simplicity of his first schemes. As well as in Delhi, in El Guadalperal the main visual axis penetrates uninterrupted through the main entrance into the core of the house: in the case of the Viceroy House, the Durbar Hall and; in El Guadalperal, the central patio. In Lutyens's different designs for the British School at Rome (designed 1912-1916) the main visual axis also penetrates from the entrance into the patio, at the very heart of the building. In other projects in Spain and India by Lutyens, the visual axis penetrates not just into the heart of the building, but crosses it completely. Such is the case in the 1916 project for El Guadalperal, and in most of the residences that he designed for the Indian Princes in the 1920s. The palace in Madrid for the Count de la Cimera is subdued by a strong visual axis that crosses the main rooms in the first floor from east to west from the staircase's landing to the west loggia. This is untypical of Lutyens, who usually avoided making the main visual axis totally evident from the beginning.[584]

[584] Alan Greenberg, 'Lutyens's architecture restudied', *Perspecta* 12, 1969, 129-52.

In La Ventosilla, although Lutyens finally had to break the symmetry by enlarging the kitchen wing, the original sketches reveal that his original intention was to have two perfectly symmetrical square wings, one to the south (guests) and other to the north (kitchen), in which the rooms would be arranged around square patios. The cruciform plan of La Ventosilla is almost an inverted version of Lutyens's first schemes for Viceroy's House, or his 1927 project for El Guadalperal (Figure 9.15 F). In a smaller scale, this strong symmetry and axiality is also to be found in some of his sketches for White Lodge-on-the-Cliff, Roedean. All these projects show Lutyens's ability to arrive at a compromise between the ideal geometry of his initial conception and the complex requirements of large residential projects.

The tension between the ideal geometrical shapes and the functional requirements are especially manifest in Lutyens's church designs, of which a considerable number were designed as part to his domestic projects in Spain. In most of his churches and chapels there is an attempt to merge central and longitudinal church typologies. Although Lutyens had designed and built basilical churches, with long naves facing the altar, such as St. Martin, Knebworth, and St. Jude, Hampstead Garden Suburb, his fondness for central spaces constructed out of elementary geometrical shapes, such as spheres, cubes, cylinders, etc., becomes especially evident in his designs for churches. In his first design for El Guadalperal, Lutyens designed a small chapel which is carved out of central shapes. The chapel he designed for the palaces of La Ventosilla, is almost a cross in square plan, with four short arms, one of which is a semi-cylindrical apse. This tendency to the create a perfectly centralised church plan culminated in the chapel he designed for his 1927 project of El Guadalperal, which was a central cross-in-square plan, similar in its geometry to Bramante´s original plan for San Pietro. Lutyens had experimented with

this plan decades earlier when he designed a chapel in Beaconsfield in 1900 (Fig. 9.17) and a church in Clevelys in 1898 (figure 18). In these cases Lutyens encountered the same problems for Catholic liturgy as those encountered by Italian Renaissance architects, such as Palladio and Bramante.

In 1910 he produced a design for a church in Johannesburg, South Africa, in which he merged a basilical and a central plan by building a longitudinal plan out of two central shapes: two Greek cross-in-square plans placed together. This design is a very original solution for this old architectural obsession. In Liverpool cathedral he again balanced this tension by making an almost Greek cross plan, although with a longer western arm. The immense dome placed over the crossing emphasized the centrality of the space and counterbalanced the longitudinal tension created by the west arm. In his proposed design for the Anglican cathedral in New Delhi he again solved in an original way the liturgical problems that arose when using central churches for Catholic and Anglican liturgy: its plan with three arms stemming from a centrally planned equilateral triangle was personally sanctioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury as apt for church services.[585] This project predates Frank Lloyd Wright´s proposal for a steel cathedral (1926), which is also based on an equilateral triangle plan.

In the chapel for Liria Palace, the last one he designed, Lutyens continued with this exploration around churches' spatial layout that had been present for most of his career. Although taking the practical requirements into consideration (such as the inclusion of a high tribune for the Duke, the orientation of the liturgy, etc.) the nave he designed is a perfect cube. In order not to spoil the purity of this geometric form, he removed the

[585] Robert G. Irving, 1981, 272.

congregation, and placed it underneath the tribune, and placed a flight of steps and the altar occupying the entire plan.

The buildings that Lutyens designed in Rome, India and Spain share a stress on axiality which is achieved by subduing the spatial layout to uninterrupted visual axes that cross the buildings, sometimes from side to side. Together with this, there is a tendency to design plans based on simple geometrical forms arranged hierarchically around a dominant central element

THE HOUSE AROUND A *PATIO*

While in Viceroy's House, at the centre of the building´s plan, there was the great Durbar Hall, Lutyens's Spanish country houses have an open space in their centre in the form of a large patio. As it will be discussed, this element evolved in Lutyens´s work as he encountered the traditional architecture of southern latitudes. Although Lutyens had used numerous courts in his British projects before, his travels in southern countries, around the Mediterranean and India, led him to experiment further with the use of patios in his projects. Lutyens introduced courts in some of his most celebrated early country houses, not just as a means of natural ventilation and lighting, but also as central elements in the plan layout. This can be seen, for instance, at the Orchards, Overstrand Hall, and Deanery Garden. In two houses he designed in around 1905, Nashdom and Papillon Hall, Lutyens introduced two classical courts, adjoining the buildings' exterior walls and not centrally, they almost work as open entrance halls. Papillon Hall´s round court is irrelevant to the general composition of the building and was criticised by

Pevsner for this, who described it scornfully as a 'motif introduced ... *pour épater le bourgeois.*'[586] After these experiments, Lutyens adapted the theme of the interior court in the early 1910s for the British School at Rome and Viceroy's House at Delhi, a building which is pierced by numerous courts. However, even in this case, courts are not designed to be used as spaces to be lived in, but more as a way of meeting the requirements of lighting and ventilation required that such an extensive building had.

The commission to design the British School at Rome in 1912 gave Lutyens the opportunity to explore the possibilities of this element in a way he had not been able to in Britain. In his earliest projects, of 1912 (Fig. 9.19), he tried a very bold solution by organising most of the programme around open courtyards connected with corridors opening directly on to them. This meant that residents would need to pass through cold courts and corridors during the winter in order to move around the building. This problem was avoided in following versions by designing just one patio at the centre of the building and by introducing closed corridors.

In spite of these precedents, his insistence on introducing a large *patio* as the central element in all of his Spanish country houses since the earliest sketches is remarkable. As mentioned in chapter 1, *patios* were the one element in Spanish buildings, that most captured Lutyens´s attention during his travels through the country - as, for example, in Toledo and Guadalajara. Andrew Noble Prentice´s book also contained numerous plates depicting sections, elevations, and ornamental details of Spanish Renaissance *patios*. It is also noteworthy that in his Spanish projects Lutyens often used the word 'patio' and not 'court' in drawings and in private correspondence.

[586] Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Building with wit, architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *Architectural Review* 109, 1951, 217-25.

As discussed in chapter 4, probably the first surviving sketch for the palace of El Guadalperal (Fig. 4.8),[587] has a large patio based on that of the hospital of Tavera in Toledo. The patio here would have been by far the most important and largest space of the house, totally surrounded by an open portico and crossed by a gallery connecting the entrance to the main salon to the south. However, Lutyens introduced an interior corridor that surrounded the patio on the south, east and west sides, creating an alternative connexion that could be used during the winter months, probably in order to avoid the functional problems he encountered in his 1912 version for the British School at Rome. This surrounding corridor, untypical of traditional Mediterranean architecture, although adequate to the requirements of comfort of a 20th - century house, would have separated the *patio* from the living areas around it making it lose much of its dynamism. Probably foreseeing this problem, in his following sketches for the 1916 version of El Guadalperal, Lutyens tried to avoid creating both an external gallery and an interior corridor running parallel. His *patio* designs would focus on trying to solve this challenge, to create a rich and lively open space at the centre of the house without making it uncomfortable to move from one room to another in winter. In his following versions the *patio* is transformed into a very nicely proportioned square space to which the main rooms in the ground floor are directly connected (Fig. 9.6 D). Only the service area to the east is totally separated from the patio by a corridor. As some of his sketches reveal, while he was working on this version of the project, he was also working on the British School at Rome. Lutyens's sketches (Fig. 4.22)[588] show a combination of the plan with sections of the patio, in which the galleries are delicately designed, showing the

[587] London, Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Drawings Collection, Edwin L. Lutyens, PB 90A / LUT[407]
[588] London, Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Drawings Collection, Edwin L. Lutyens, PA 91609 / LUT[251] 1*

importance he gave this element since the very beginning. In the final version of the 1916 project Lutyens achieved a balance between allowing a comfortable use of the house throughout the year, while avoiding interior corridors adjoining the patio´s open gallery.

In La Ventosilla, Lutyens arranged the four wings of the house around a large courtyard. This central space that Lutyens called a 'courtyard' and not patio, would have been halfway between a frontcourt and a domestic *patio*. To a certain extent it would have resembled an enclosed frontcourt accessible to carriages and cars similar to that in the Orchards, but at the same time it would be more domestic and delicately designed, with the hall wall connected directly to it through an elegant loggia. Lutyens's perspective view of this courtyard also reveals that it would have been more lavishly designed than the frontcourts he usually designed. In the guest patio, at the centre of the south west wing, he solved with originality the challenge of creating a patio that could be used as a connecting space comfortably both in the summer and in the winter months. The colonnaded galleries surrounding the patio on its four sides could be closed with glazing during the winter, with the frames and the glazing being removed during the summer months to make open galleries.

In the 1927 project for the palace of El Guadalperal, the *patio* acquires again a crucial role in the plan's layout. Here the challenge of making the circulation comfortable throughout the year was solved by combining interior corridors, running along the east and west sides, and open galleries, on the south and north sides. A colonnaded gallery, inspired by the hospital of Tavera, crosses the *patio* linking the north and south sides. Only on the south side would the circulation be doubled, with a grand interior corridor

running along the exterior portico. In spite of all this, the entrance hall would have been the only room that opened directly on to the patio.

Lutyens's Spanish and Roman experiences encouraged him to explore in depth the possibilities of open exterior spaces in buildings in hot climates. This experience, certainly influenced him in his design of the palaces for the Indian princes he worked on in the 1920s and 1930s, in which it is possible to appreciate a qualitative leap in his use of *patios* in comparison to Viceroy's House. For example, in the Baroda House (d. 1921), both wings of the butterfly plan have in their centre a square open court surrounded by open galleries (Fig. 9.20). Probably Lutyens took into consideration that the prince of Baroda would not be living in Delhi during the cold months of the year[589] and thus, designed the open galleries of the courts as the main spaces of circulation around the house, especially on the first floor, where the bedrooms are arranged directly around the courts, and accessed through them. Although such an arrangement would have been unthinkable in Viceroy's House, designed to be inhabited by Western gentlemen throughout the year, it would not have been strange for an Indian prince, where such an arrangement was common in traditional architecture. In the palace for the Nizan of Hyderabad, which he designed just a few years later, he used a similar scheme slightly enlarged (Fig. 9.21). The main difference is that the *patios* at the centre of the two wings are much bigger than in the Baroda House. They become not just the central, but also the dominant spaces around which all the rooms are organised, and they become unavoidable transit spaces. In the palace for the Maharaja Jamsahib of Nawanagar (d. 1923-1929) he repeated and enlarged, the same scheme than in the Baroda and Hyderabad Houses. It has a butterfly plan with two wings, the intersection between the

[589] Robert Grant Irving, 1981, 177.

two wings accommodate a grand round salon and the two wings have a large longitudinal court in the centre, surrounded by an open colonnade around which most of the rooms in the building are arranged (Fig. 9.22).

Finally, the house that Lutyens designed for Sultan Sing in 1927, and which was finally built in a slightly modified version by Walter Sykes George, also makes the most of the possibilities that interior courts afford (Fig. 9.23). In a similar way to the 1916 project for El Guadalperal, the house has two poles: to the north the bedrooms are arranged around an open court with a swimming pool, while, to the south, the main public rooms are open to the garden through loggias. The house presents a dichotomy similar to El Guadalperal: to the north there is a domestic paradise, secluded and protected from the outside, reminiscent of Islamic and Mediterranean architecture, and to the south the house is confidently opened, seeking unity with the surrounding gardens, something more typical of English country houses. It is difficult to explain the evolution of Lutyens's use of open spaces, from the Viceroy's House in Delhi to the princely palaces of the 1920s, were it not for his Roman and Spanish experiences.

X

CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation I have tried to show why the Spanish projects of Edwin Lutyens are relevant and necessary for a complete understanding of his oeuvre. The first three of these projects cast light on Lutyens's work during the Great War years, a relatively obscure period of his career which was, nevertheless, extraordinarily fruitful and creative. The second project for the Palace of El Guadalperal, which would have been his largest country house, excluding Viceroy´s House in Delhi, with which it shares many features. This magnificent palace would have been a rare pearl not only in Lutyens´s oeuvre, but also as part of the closing chapter in the English country-house tradition. Finally, the Reconstruction of Liria Palace may be considered the last building he designed, despite being altered during its construction, the last building he designed.

Lutyens´s reaction to Spanish architecture and culture, his rejection of some features and the integration of some others into his designs might provide with a useful case study for future works in the field of cultural reception theory. Together with the opening of a new window on the rich cultural relations between Spain and Britain, a closer look at Lutyens's projects in Spain also offers a different perspective on his work, especially when related to his commissions in Delhi and Rome. Lutyens's projects in Spain, especially El Guadalperal and La Ventosilla, are fully Lutyenesque yet clearly distinct from what he was doing at that moment in Britain. They show his capacity, even when he had reached full maturity as an architect, to adapt his buildings to new circumstances and learn practical lessons which he later applied in other works. In this

sense, his Spanish experience could partly explain the considerable differences existing between Viceroy's House and the princely palaces in Delhi.

Each of Lutyens five Spanish commissions confirm not only his endless imagination in the handling of geometry and of the classical language of architecture, but also his sensitivity to the physical and cultural landscape of the places where he built, and his ability to adapt to them. Maybe partly because only parts of these projects were ever realized, they appear to us as belonging to a world of fantasy that would never come true. This is certainly more the case in some of the buildings than in others. The 1916 project for El Guadalperal and the one for La Ventosilla are not only perfectly related to the contemporary architectural debate going on both in Spain and in America, but also perfectly reasonable projects. In them, Lutyens seems to have made the most of the material resources at his disposal, using these economically and meeting accurately his clients' needs. The sudden bankruptcy of the Duke of Santoña, along with the unexpected unearthing of important prehistoric remains at El Guadalperal, sadly prevented these buildings from moving beyond their foundations.

The Palace for the Count de la Cimera, and the 1927 project for El Guadalperal, remain more firmly than the other projects in the realm of fantasy, with it hard to imagine them ever having been realized. This design of a vast palazzo for a rich bachelor, with dozens of rooms for his battery of servants, and huge closets to store his extravagant collection of clothes – with the master bedroom at the top of a tower protecting him from his mother's control and overlooking a flamboyant versaillesque garden – supports

Pevsner's observation that Lutyens was, above all, a folly builder,[590] whose success relied on his ability to turn his clients' childish desires into architecture. The vast 1927 Guadalperal project, an excessive composition of symmetrical turrets and pavilions, with a large wing for the king and a wing for the Duke, also appears as something very unlikely to have been built in 1930s Spain, even if the Spanish War and the assassination of his client had never taken place.

In the same year in which Lutyens was working on this flamboyant project, Le Corbusier's influential essay *Toward a New Architecture* was published in English,[591] several years after the original French version had been published, helping to disseminate a new direction that would make a crucial change in the future development of architecture. Architectural history was for many decades dominated by historical determinism,[592] with historians and critics alike were prone to divide nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture into 'goodies' and 'baddies'. Mainstream historians were to analyse past architecture as an evolution from the dark age of ornament into the 'light' of Modernism. Those who had, in their view, paddled downstream were to be praised as pioneers and heroes, while others who had stubbornly obstructed the path of progress were to be anathema in architecture schools and history books. For those still clinging to this moralistic interpretation of architectural history, the present research might have little new to reveal. The buildings that I have analysed here do not reveal Lutyens to have been a proto-Modernist, or someone searching for a language which aimed to

590 Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Building with wit, architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *Architectural Review*, CIX, 1951, 217-25.
591 Charles Edourd Jeanneret , *Towards a New Architecture* (London: The Architectural Press, 1927).
592 Such is the case for the most influential historians who wrote about Modern History in the mid 20th century. For example Bruno Zevi, *Storia dell'architettura moderna* (Torino: Eunaidi, 1950); Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* (London: Faber & Faber, 1936); Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: the Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), etc.

break with tradition. On the contrary, it shows his endless capacity to absorb and integrate other architectural traditions. In so doing, he achieved an integration of Spanish traditions with his own methods probably more boldly, and certainly more wisely, than any other British architect had done before.

However, these projects, perhaps more than anything else, also reflect and reaffirm Lutyens's extraordinary feeling for geometry and sense of space. From the biggest (El Guadalperal), to the smallest (the dovecote), all Lutyens's Spanish projects share that same sense of growth, life, and powerful geometry so characteristic of his work. After all, was it not Le Corbusier who defined architecture as 'le jeu savant, correct et magnifique des volumes assemblés sous la lumiére'.[593] It is difficult to imagine buildings that better represent this definition than Lutyens's unbuilt palaces for the blazing Spanish sun.

[593] Charles Edourd Jeanneret , *Vers une Architecture* (Paris: G. Crés et Cie., 1924), 178.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY LITERATURE

BOOKS

- AAVV, *The Book of the Boston Architectural Club, 1925* (Boston: Caustin-Clafin Co., 1926).
- Baxter, S., *Spanish Colonial Architceture in Mexico* (Boston: J.B. Millet, 1901)
- Andersen, H. C., *In Spain* (London: Richard Bentley, 1864).
- Baedeker, K., *Spain and Portugal: Handbook for travellers* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898)
- Blomfield, R.T., The formal garden in England (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892)
- Borrow, G., *The Bible in Spain* (J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1845).
- Briggs, M. S., *Baroque Architecture* (New York: McBride, Nast & Co.,1914)
- Brooks C. and Saint A. eds, *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society* (Manchester, 1995)
- Bruce, W. N., *Sir Austin Henry Layard, Autobiography and letters from his childhood until his appointment as H.M. ambassador at Madrid* (London: John Murray, 1903)
- Byne, A., and Stapley, M., *Decorated Wooden Ceilings in Spain* (New York: C.P. Putman´s Sons, 1920)
- Byne, A., and Stapley, M., *Rejería of the Spanish Renaissance* (New York: C.P. Putman´s Sons, 1914)
- Byne, A., and Stapley, M., *Spanish Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: C.P. Putman´s Sons, 1917)
- Byne, A., and Stapley, M., *Spanish Ironwork* (New York: C.P. Putman´s Sons, 1915)
- Calvert, A. F., *Impressions of Spain* (London: George Philip & Son, 1903)
- Calvert, Albert F., *Granada and the Alhambra* (London: George Philip & Son, 1904)
- Calvert, Albert F., *Leon, Burgos and Salamanca* (London: George Philip & Son, 1908)
- Calvert, Albert F., *Madrid, An Historical Description and Handbook of the Spanish Capital* (London: George Philip & Son, 1909)
- Calvert, Albert F., *Moorish Remains in Spain* (London: George Philip & Son, 1907)
- Calvert, Albert F., *Royal Palaces of Spain* (London: George Philip & Son, 1909)
- Calvert, Albert F., *Sculpture in Spain* (London: George Philip & Son, 1912)
- Calvert, Albert F., *Seville, An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Pearl of Andalusia.* (London: George Philip & Son, 1907)
- Calvert, Albert F., *Southern Spain* (London: George Philip & Son, 1908)
- Calvert, Albert F., *Spanish Arms and Armours* (London: George Philip & Son, 1907)
- Calvert, Albert F., *Summer in San Sebastian* (London: George Philip & Son, 1906)
- Calvert, Albert F., *The Traveller´s Handbook for Spain* (London: George Philip & Son, 1912)

- Calvert, Albert F., *Toledo* (London: George Philip & Son, 1907)
- Calvert, Albert F., *Valencia and Murcia* (London: George Philip & Son, 1911)
- Chambers, W., *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surry the Seat of Her Royal Highness The Princess Dowager of Wales*, (London: J. Haberkorn, 1763)
- Charnock, R. S., *Bradshaw´s illustrated hand-book to Spain & Portugal* (London: W.J. Adams, 1894)
- Cook, S. S., Widdrington, S. E., *Sketches in Spain during the Years 1829-30-31 and 32* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1834).
- Dalrymple, W., *Travels through Spain and Portugal* (London: J. Almond, 1777)
- De Capell Brooke, A., *Sketches in Spain and Morocco* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831)
- De Hermosilla y Sandoval, J., *Antigüedades árabes en España* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1780)
- Dessain, C. S., *The letters and diaries of John Henry Newman* (London: Nelson, 1999)
- Digby Wyatt, M., *An Architect´s Note-book in Spain, Principally Illustrating the Domestic Architecture in that Country* (London: Autotype Fine Art Company, 1872)
- Fergusson, J., *A History of Architecture in All Countries* (London: John Murray, 1865)
- Fergusson, J., *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1862)
- Fergusson, J., *the illustrated handbook of architecture* (London: John Murray, 1855)
- Ford, R., *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* (London: John Murray, 1845)
- Forestier, J.C.N., *Bagatelle et ses jardins* (Paris: Librairie Agricole de la Maison Rustique, 1910)
- Foster, J. F., *On the Art of Gardening* (London: W. Sachell & Co, 1881)
- Goodhue, Bertram G., *Mexican Memories* (New York: G. M. Allen, 1892)
- Gough, R., *British topography or an historical account of what has been done for illustrating the topographical antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: T. Payne and Son, 1780)
- Gromort, G., *Jardins d'Espagne : 124 planches en 2 volumes donnant plus de 160 vues des jardins anciens et modernes de l'Andalousie et des deux Castilles accompagnées de 20 plans d'une préface et d'un texte explicatif* (Paris: A. Vincent et Cie., 1926)
- Hope, B., *The Common Sense of Art* (London: John Murray, 1858)
- Hope, B., *The Conditions and Prospects of Architectural art* (London: John Murray, 1863)
- Hutton, E., *The cities of Spain* (London: Methuen & Co., 1906)
- Jones, O., *Plans, elevations, sections and details of the Alhambra* (London: O. Jones, 1836-45)
- Jones, O., *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day & Son, 1856)
- Lewis, J. F., *Sketches of the Alhambra* (London: Hodgson Boys and Graves, 1835)
- Lewis, J. F., *Sketches of the Spain and Spanish Character* (London: Hodgson Boys and Graves, 1836)
- Locker, E. H., *Views in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1824)
- Lomas, J., *Sketches in Spain from nature, art and life* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1884)
- Lutyens, E., *Candles in the Sun* (London: Hart-Davis, 1957)
- Mack, G., and Gibson, T., *Architectural Details of Southern Spain* (New York: The Stilson Press, 1928)
- Marriot, C., *Modern English Architecture* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1924)
- Mayer, A. L., *Old Spain* (New York: Brentano, 1921)

- Murphy, J. C., *A general view of the state of Portugal containing a topographical description thereof* (London: Strahan, Cadell and Davies, 1798)
- Murphy, J. C., *Plans, elevations, sections and views of the church of Batalha* (London: Strahan, Cadem & Davies, 1795)
- Murphy, J. C., *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1815)
- Murphy, J. C., *Travels in Portugal* (London: Strahan, Cadem & Davies, 1795)
- Neale, B., *Letters of John Mason Neale* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910)
- Newcomb, R., *The Spanish House for America: Its Design, Furnishing and Garden* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1927)
- Ottewill, D., *The Edwardian Garden* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989)
- Parcerisa, F. J., *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España* (Barcelona: Joaquín Verdaguer, 1839-65)
- Pérez Villaamil, J., *España Artística y Monumental* (París: Veith & Hauser, 1842-1850)
- Prentice, A. N., *Renaissance architecture and ornament in Spain* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1893)
- Quiney A., *John Loughborough Pearson* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989)
- Riaño, J. F., *The Industrial Arts in Spain* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1890)
- Roberts, D., *Picturesque Sketches in Spain, taken during the years 1832 &1833* (London: Hogdson & Graves, 1837)
- Roscoe, T., *The Tourist in Spain: Andalusia*, (London: Robert Jennings and Co., 1836)
- Rose, H. J., *Untrodden Spain and her black country, Sketches of the life and character of the Spaniard of the interior*, (London: Samuel Tinsley, 1875)
- Scott, G., The Architecture of Humanism: A Study in the History of Taste (London: Constable, 1914)
- Sexton, R. W., *Spanish Influence on American Architecture* (1927), N.Y.
- Sitwell, S. R., *Spanish Baroque Art, with Buildings in Portugal, Mexico and other Colonies* (London: Duckworth, 1931)
- Smith Requa, R., *Architectural Details: Spain and the Mediterranean* (Los Angeles: The Monolith Portland Cement Company, 1926)
- Smith Requa, R., *Old World Inspiration for American Architecture* (Los Angeles: The Monolith Portland Cement Company, 1929)
- Stein, C. S., and Goodhue, B. G., *The architecture and the gardens of the San Diego exposition* (San Francisco: Paul Elder & Co.,1916)
- Street, Arthur E., *Memoir of George Edmund Street* (London: John Murray, 1888)
- Street, G. E., *Some account of Gothic architecture in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1865)
- Street, George E., *Brick and marble in the Middle Ages* (London: John Murray, 1855)
- Swinburne, Henry, *Travels through Spain, in the years 1775 and 1776* (London: J. Davis, 1779)
- Thickness, P., *A Year´s journey through France and part of Spain* (Dublin, 1777)
- Towle, E. A., *John Mason Neale, a Memoir* (London: Longmans, Grenn and Co., 1906)
- Triggs, H.I., *Formal Gardens in England and Scotland* (London, 1902)
- Twiss, R., *Travels Through Portugal and Spain in the Years of 1772 and 1773* (London, 1775).
- Tyler, R., *Palencia* (Barcelona: Hijos de J. Thomas, 1900).

- Tyler, R., *Spain: a study of her life and arts* (London: G. Richards Year, 1909).
- Tyller, R., *Spain: A Study of Her Life and Arts* (London: G. Richards Year, 1909)
- VV.AA., *Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España* (Madrid: Ministerio de Fomento, 1856-81)
- Waring, J. B., *A Record of My Artistic Life* (London: Trübner and Co., 1873)
- Waring, J. B., and Wyatt, Matthew D., *The Byzantine and Romanesque Courts in the Crystal Palace* (London: T. McLean, 1854)
- Waring, J. B., *Architectural, Sculptural & Picturesque Studies in Burgos and its Neighbourhood* (London: T. McLean, 1852)
- Waring, J. B., *The Universal Church, Its Faith, Doctrine and Constitution* (London: Trübner and Co., 1866)
- Webb, B., *On the adaptation of Pointed architecture to tropical climates,* in *Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge Candem Society, 1841)
- Whittlesey, Arthur. *The Minor Ecclesiastical Domestic and Garden Architecture of Southern Spain* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1917)
- Williams, L., *The Arts and Crafts of Older Spain* (London: T. N. Foulis, 1907)

JOURNALS

-The Building News and Engineering Journal
-The Ecclesiologist
-The Burlington Magazine
-Country Life
-Periódico ABC
-Revista Blanco y Negro
-Cosmópolis
-Cortijos y Rascacielos
-Revista Nacional de Arquitectura
-Revista de Ideas estéticas
-Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones
-Gaceta de Madrid
-Manchester Courier and Lancanshire General Advertiser
-Devon and Exeter Daily Gazette
-The Western Times
-The Times
-Daily Mail
-The Evening Telegraph and Post
-Dundee Courier and Advertiser
-Nottingham Evening Post

OTHER SOURCES

-Layard Papers, London, British Library
- Prentice, A. N., SKB/243/4, SKB/244/5, SKB/244/2 (1890), RIBA Drawings Collection, London
-Family papers of Sir Edwin Lutyens, RIBA Letters Collection, London

-Street, G. E., travel sketchbooks SKB336/1 (1862), SKB335/2 (1861) and SKB335/4 (1861), RIBA Drawings Collection, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

- Penrose, F. C., drawings for Saint Paul´s Cathedral Archives, Saint Paul´s Cathedral Archive, London

-1917 Exhibition Catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

-Archivo Sánchez-Arcas, Biblioteca de la ETSAM, Madrid.

-Plans of Calle de Almagro nº 5 y 7, Archivo de la Villa, Madrid.

-Plans of the Liria Palace, Palacio de Liria archive, Madrid.

-Letters from E.L Lutyens to J. Fitz-James Stuart y Falcó, Duke of Alba, Palacio de Liria archive, Madrid.

-Memories of Luis Blanco-Soler, archive of Prof. Silvia Arbaiza Blanco-Soler, Madrid.

-Christopher Hussey Papers, Scotney Castle, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England.

ARCHIVES

- Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.
- British Library, London.
- RIBA Drawings Collection, V&A Museum, London
- RIBA Letters Collection, V&A Museum, London
- Saint Paul´s Cathedral Archives, London
- Royal Academy of Arts, London.
- Biblioteca de la ETSAM, Madrid.
- Archivo de la Villa, Madrid.
- Palacio de Liria archive, Madrid.
- archive of Prof. Silvia Arbaiza Blanco-Soler, Madrid.
- Scotney Castle, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England.
- National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- The University of Edinburgh Library.
- Archive of the Residencia de Estudiantes, Madrid
- Private archive of the Duke of Peñaranda de Duero.
- Private archive of Alvaro Fernández-Villaverde y Silva, Marquis of Santa Cruz de Mudela.
- National Archives, Kew.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

BOOKS

- Aa.Vv, *Domaine de Françon*, Biarritz (Bordeaux: William Blake & Co., 1991)
- Aa.Vv, *Guía de arquitectura de Madrid* (Madrid: Fundación COAM, 2003)
- Aa.Vv, *Historia Política 1875-1939, Historia de España Contemporánea* (Madrid: Akal, 2002)
- Aa.Vv*, La Casa del Rey, cuatro siglos de historia* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Arganda del Rey, 1997), 429.
- Aa.Vv, *La economía en la España Moderna* (Madrid: Istmo, 2006)
- Aa.Vv, *La Reina Victoria Eugenia y el palacio de la Magdalena* (Santander: Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 2010)
- Aa.Vv, *Palacios de Madrid* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 2010).
- Aranda Bernal, A., *La arquitectura inglesa en el Campo de Gibraltar* (Cádiz: Diputación de Cádiz, 2007)
- Arbaiza Blanco-Soler, S., *Luis Blanco-Soler: tradición y modernidad,* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 2003).
- Baker, M., *Sir Edwin Lutyens. An Illustrated Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944)* (Risborough: Shire Publications, 2005).
- Balfour, A., *Note on Housing in the Tropics* (Calcutta: Government of India Printing, 1921).
- Barthold, L. S., *Gadamer´s Dialectical Hermeneutics* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2010)
- Burke, P., *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009)
- Chueca Goitia, F. and others, *Arquitectura Madrid, Siglo XX* (Madrid: Tanais, 1999)
- Chueca Goitia, F., *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura española* (Madrid: Dossat, 1947)
- Chueca Goitia, F., *Retazos de una vida. Diverso Mundo* (Madrid: Dossat 2000, 1997)
- Chueca Goitia, F., *Retazos de una vida. Recuerdos de la guerra* (Madrid: Dossat 2000, 1996)
- Chueca Goitia, F., *Retazos de una vida. Relatos de Viaje* (Madrid: Dossat 2000, 1997)
- Crinson, M., *Empire Building, Orientalism & Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996)
- Curl, James S., *Victorian Architecture. Diversity & Invention* (Reading: Spire Books, 2007).
- D' Albarade, M., *La Belle Historire des Palaces de Biarritz* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2007)
- De la Cierva, R., *Alfonso y Victoria. Las tramas íntimas, secretas y europeas de un reinado desconocido* (Madrid: Fénix, 2001)
- Dekay, M., *Sun, Wind and Light, architectural design strategies* (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 1985),
- Dormois, J. P., and Dintenfass, M., *The British Industrial Decay* (London: Routledge, 1999)

- Ducamp, E., and Leroux, J.B., *Les Bois des Moutiers* (Paris: La Maison Rustique, 1998).
- Eagleton, T., *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1983).
- Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, C., *Yo, Cayetana* (Madrid: Espasa, 2011)
- Freeland, J. M., *Architecture in Australia: a History* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1968)
- García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre, J. A., *La época medieval* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1973)
- Glendinning, N. and Macartney, H. (eds), *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1920* (London: Tamesis, 2011).
- Gombrich, E., *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon Press, 1960)
- González Abrisketa, O., *Pelota vasca, un ritual, una estética* (Bilbao: Muelle de Uribitarte, 2005)
- González Vilchez, M. A., *Historia de la arquitectura inglesa en Huelva* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2008)
- Gradidge, R., *Edwin Lutyens: Architect Laureate* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1981).
- Gregory, Richard L., *Eye and Brain: The Psychology of Seeing* (London: Nicolson, 1966).
- Guerrero, A. C., *Viajeros británicos en la España del siglo XVIII*, (Madrid: Aguilar, 1990).
- Hume, M., *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (New York: Haskwell House,1904).
- Irving, R. G., *Indian Summer. Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981)
- Jauss, H. R., *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft* (Konstanz: Konstanzer Universitatsreden, 1967)
- Jeanneret, C. E., *Towards a New Architecture* (London: The Architectural Press, 1927.)
- Koppelkamm, S., *The Imaginary Orient: Exotic Buildings of the 18th and 19th Centuries in Europe* (Stuttgart: Axel Menges, 2015).
- Krauel Heredia, B., *Viajeros Británicos en Andalucía. De Christopher Hervey a Richard Ford (1760-1845)* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1986)
- Lampérez y Romea, V., *Arquitectura Civil Española de los Siglos I al XVIII* (Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1922)
- Leclerc, Benedict, *Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, 1861-1930: du jardin au paysage urbain* (Paris: Picard, 2000)
- Lentisco, D., *Cuando el hierro se hace camino. Historia del ferrocarril en España* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2005)
- Lipscombe, N., *The Peninsular War Atlas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Loftis, J., *Renaissance Drama in England and Spain. Topical Allusion and History Plays* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987)
- Medina Casado, C., *El Bisturí Inglés. Literatura de viajes e hispanismo en lengua inglesa* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2004)
- McKinstry, S., *Rowand Anderson, The Premier Architect of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).
- Mitrovic, B., *Philosophy for Architects* (New York: Princeton University Press, 2011)
- Morales Saro,M. C., *Javier González Riancho (1881-1953). Arquitecto* (Oviedo: Colegio de Arquitectos de Asturias, 1983)
- Moure Romanillo, A., *"El hombre fósil" 80 años después* (Gijón, 2002)

- Muñoz Jimenez, J., M. *La Arquitectura carmelitana, 1562-1800: Arquitectura de los carmelitas descalzos en España, México y Portugal durante los siglos XVI a XVIII*. (Avila, 1990)
- Nowell-Smith, Simon (ed.), *Edwardian England: 1901-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964)
- Paliza Mondunate, M., *Manuel María de Smith Ibarra: arquitecto, 1879-1956* (Bilbao: COAVN, 1988)
- Paquette, G., *Enlightenment, Governance and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808* (2008, Cambridge)
- Perinat y Elío, L. G., *Recuerdos de una vida itinerante* (Madrid: Compañía Literaria, 1996)
- Pevsner, N., *An outline of European Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1943), 1957 edition.
- Powell, P. W., *Tree of Hate*, *Propaganda and Prejudices affecting United States relations with the Hispanic world* (New York: Basic Books, 1971)
- Rees, L., *Leslie Wilkinson, a Practical Idealist* (Woollahra: Valodon, 1982),
- Richardson, M., *Sketches by Edwin Lutyens* (London: Academy Editions, 1994)
- Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction y Architecture* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art Press, 1966).
- Said, E., *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978; London: Penguin Books, 1995).
- Sampedro Escolar, J. L., *La Casa de Alba* (Madrid: La esfera de los libros, 2007)
- San Antonio Gómez, C. de, *El Madrid del 98, arquitectura para una crisis: 1874-1918* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1998)
- Sazatornil Ruiz, L., Un regalo para la reina. In AAVV., *La Reina Victoria Eugenia y el palacio de la Magdalena* (Santander: Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 2010), 69.
- Skelton, T. and Gliddon, G., *Lutyens and the Great War* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2008)
- Ungerer, G., *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1956)
- Valdés y Ozores, B., *Jardines de España* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1973)
- Watkin, D., 'Sir Edwin Lutyens (1866-1944): ¿El mejor arquitecto británico?' in Aa.Vv, *Maestros de la arquitectura moderna en la residencia de estudiantes* (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 2009)
- Watkin, D., *A History of Western Architecture*, (London: Laurence King Publishing, 1986, 4th ed. 2005)
- Watkin, D., *Morality and Architecture: The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).
- Watkin, D., *The Rise of Architectural History* (London: The Architectural Press, 1980)
- Wheeler, K., *Victorian perceptions of Renaissance architecture, 1850-1914* (Miami: Routledge, 2014)
- Willhide, E., *Sir Edwin Lutyens, Designing in the English Tradition* (London: Harry N. Abrams, 2000).
-Aa.Vv., *El Palacio de Liria* (Girona: Atalanta, 2012)
-Allen, C., and others, *Architecture of the British Empire* (New York: The Vendome Press, 1986)
-Alonso Pereira, J. R., *Ingleses y españoles: la arquitectura en la edad de plata* (A Coruña: Universidad de A Coruña, 2000)

-Amery, Colin, *The Work of the English Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944)* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain,1981).

-Baker, H., *Architecture and Personalities* (London: Country Life, 1944)

-Berg Sobré, J., *Behind the altar table: te development of the painted retable in Spain, 1350-1500* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

-Bremner, A., *Imperial Gothic* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012)

-Bremner, G. A. (ed.), *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

-Brown, J., *Lutyens and the Edwardians*, (London: Viking, 1996)

-Butler, A.S.G, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens,* 3 volumes *(The Domestic Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens; Town and public buildings, Memorials, The Metropolitan Cathedral, Liverpool; Gardens, town-planning and Delhi)* (London: Country Life, 1950)

-Checa Cremades, F., *Arquitectura del renacimiento en España, 1488-1599* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1993)

-Daly, G., *The British Soldier in the Peninsular War. Encounters with Spain and Portugal (1808-1814)* (2013, London)

-Darby, M., *The Islamic Perspective: An Aspect of British Architecture and Design in the 19th Century* (London: Leighton House Gallery, 1983).

-De San Antonio Gómez, C., *20 años de arquitectura en Madrid. La Edad de Plata: 1918-1936* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1996)

-Edwards, B., *Goddards: Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Phaidon, 1996).

-Ferry, K., 'Owen Jones and the Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace', in Rossen-Owen, M. and Anderson, G., *Revisiting Al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond* (Boston: Brill, 2007).

-Flores, C. A., *Owen Jones: design, ornament, architecture and theory in an age of transition* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006).

-Furneaux Jordan, R., *Victorian Architecture* (London: Penguin Books, 1966)

-Geurst, J., *Cemeteries of the Great War by Edwin Lutyens* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2010).

-González-Varas Ibáñez, I., *Los palacios de la Castellana. Historia, arquitectura y sociedad* (Madrid: Turner, 2010)

-Grayson, S., *The Spanish Attraction; the British Presence in Spain from 1830 to 1965*, (Fuengirola: Ediciones Santana, 2001)

-Greenberg, A., *Lutyens and the Modern Movement* (London: Padakis, 2007).

-Hopkins, A. and Stamp, G. (eds.), *Lutyens Abroad: The Work of Sir Edwin Lutyens Outside the British Isles* (London: British School at Rome, 2002)

-Howarth, D., Stirton, P. and Heide, C., *The Discovery of Spain* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 2009),

-Howarth, D., *The Invention of Spain: Cultural Relations between Britain and Spain (1770-1870)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007)

-Hussey, C., *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1950)

-Inskip, P., *Edwin Lutyens, Architectural Monographs* (New York: Rizzoli, 1979)

-Kubler, G., Building the Escorial (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982).

-Lutyens, M., *Edwin Lutyens, a Memoir by his Daughter* (London: John Murray, 1980).

-Lutyens, R., *Sir Edwin Lutyens: an appreciation in perspective* (London: Country Life, 1942)

-Nelson; L. P., *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).

-Nilsson, S., *European Architecture in India 170-1850* (London: Faber, 1968).

-O'Neill, D., *Lutyens, Country Houses* (London: Lund Humphries, 1980)
-Olivier-Vial, F. and Rateau, F., *Armand Albert Rateau* (Paris: Éditions de l'Amateur, 1992),
-Pemble, J., *The Mediteranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)
-Peter, H., *Lutyens in Italy: the building of the British School at Rome* (Rome: British School at Rome, 1992).
-Petrie, C., *King Alfonso XIII and his age* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1963)
-Ridley, J. and Percy, C., *Letters of Edwin Lutyens to his wife Lady Emily* (London: Collins, 1985)
-Ridley, J., *The Architect and His Wife* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2002)
-Robertson, I., *Los curiosos impertinentes* (Barcelona: Serbal, 1988)
-Robertson, I., *Richard Ford, 1796-1858* (London: Michael Russell, 2004)
-Sambricio, C., *Madrid, vivienda y urbanismo: 1900-1960* (Madrid: Akal, 2004)
-Sampedro Escobar, J. L., *La Casa de Alba: mil años de historia y de leyendas* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2007)
-Sánchez Marroyo, F., *La España del siglo XX. Economía, demografía y sociedad* (Madrid: Akal, 2003)
-Serrano, M. ., *Viajes de Papel. Las guías urbanas y los libros de viaje en la España del siglo XIX: Repertorio bibliografico y analisis de su estructura y contenido.* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1993).
-Service, A., *Edwardian Architecture: Handbook to Building Design in Britain, 1890-1914* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977)
-Snodin, M., and Harris, J., *Sir William Chambers: architect to George III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996)
-Stamp, G., *Edwin Lutyens: Country Houses* (London: The Monacelli Press, 2001).
-Stamp, G., *The Memorial to the Missing of the Somme* (London: Profile, 2006).
-Symondson, A., *The Life and Work of Sir John Ninian Comper (1864-1960): The Last Gothic Revivalist* (London: RIBA Catalogue, 1988)
-Thomas, J., *Albi Cathedral and British Church Architecture* (London: The Ecclesiological Society, 2002)
-Vaca de Osma, J. A., *Alfonso XIII, el rey paradoja* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1993).
-Volwahsen, A., *Imperial Delh*i (London, Berlin and New York: Prestel Verlag, 2002).
-Weaver, L., *Lutyens Houses and Gardens* (London: Country Life, 1913)

JOURNAL ARTICLES

- Alonso del Val, M. A., 'H. H. Richardson: viajando por España,' *RA* 21, March 1998, 24-36.
- Aranda Bernal, A. M., 'De Miramar a Guadacorte. La influencia inglesa en la arquitectura de recreo de Campo de Gibraltar.', *Reales Sitios* 161, 2004, 52-63.
- Blasco Esquivia, B., *Utilidad y Belleza en la Arquitectura Carmelitana: las Iglesias de San José y La Encarnación*, Anales de Historia del Arte, 2004, Madrid 14, 143-156.
- Cabanyes Mata, M., 'La Reconstrucción del Palacio de Liria', *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, October 1948, 365-367.
- Chueca Goitia, F., 'Sir Edwin Lutyens y la arquitectura inglesa', *Cortijos y Rascacielos* 16, 1934, 7-8.

- Chueca Goitia, F., 'Sir Edwin Lutyens', *Revista de Ideas estéticas* 9, 1945, 63-67.
- Eggleton, L., '"A Living Ruin": Palace, City, and Landscape in Nineteenth-Century Travel Descriptions of Granada', *Architectural Theory Review* 18, nº 3, 2013, 372-387.
- Heide, C., 'The Alhambra in Britain. Between Foreignization and Domestication,' *Art in Translation* 2, nº 2, 2010, 201-222.
- Hopkins, Claudia 'Beyond Orientalism: The Case of Jenaro Pérez Villaamil,' *Hispanic Research Journal* 17:5, 2016, 384-408.
- Hussey, C., 'Ammerdown House - I. Somerset', *Country Life* 65, 16 February 1929, 216-223.
- Hussey, C., 'Ammerdown House - II. Somerset', *Country Life* 65, 2 March 1929, 292-298.
- Hussey, C., 'Ashby St. Ledgers, Northamptonshire - I. The House of Viscount Wimborne', *Country Life* 110, 27 July 1951, 274-277.
- Hussey, C., 'Crooksbury, Surrey - II. The House of Commander and Mrs Ginman', *Country Life* 96, 13 October 1944, 640-643.
- Lampérez y Romea, V., 'El Palacio de lo Condes de Miranda, en Peñaranda de Duero,' *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones de Madrid*, v. 20, June 1912, 145-159.
- López, M. A., *Antonio Carbonel y la Iglesia de Loeches*, Archivo Español de Arte, April 1952, Madrid, 56-76.
- Lorda, J., and Martínez, J., 'El Cupo Español en la Historia de la Arquitectura', VII International History Colloquium, 2002, Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona, 2-22.
- Pallol Trigueras, R., 'Chamberí ¿Un nuevo Madrid? El primer desarrollo del ensanche norte madrileño, 1860-80', *Cuandernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 2004, nº 24, 77-98.
- Pita Andrade, J. M., 'El Palacio de Liria', *Itinerarios de Madrid*, nº 20, 1959, 17-23.
- Pita Andrade, J. M., 'La Construcción del Palacio de Liria', *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños*, 9, 1973, 291-316.
- Smithson, P., 'The Viceroy´s House in Imperial Delhi', *RIBA Journal* 76, April 1969,152- 154.
- Thompson, I.A.A. 'Aspectos del Hispanismo Inglés y la Coyuntura Internacional en los Tiempos Modernos,' *Obradoiro de Historia Moderna* 15, 2006, 9-28
- Tippey, B., 'Richard Neutra´s Search for the Southland: California, Latin America and Spain', *Architectural History* 59, 2016, 311-352.
- Welch, Anthony; Segger, Martin and DeCaro, Nicholas, 'Building for the Raj: Richard Roskell Bayne', RACAR: revue d'art canadienne 34, nº 2, 2009, 74-86.
-'Sir Edwin Lutyens at the A.A.', *Architectural Association Journal* 48, 546, August 1932, 66.
-Brett, L., 'The Cyma and the Hollyhock', *Architectural Review* 92, March 1943, 80-81.
-Carazo, E., 'El palacio de los condes de Miranda en Peñaranda de Duero,' *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, n. 85 (1997), 505-543.
-Chueca Goitia, F., 'Sir Edwin Lutyens y la Arquitectura Inglesa', *Cortijos y Rascacielos* 16, 1934, 7-8.
-Chueca Goitia, F., 'Sir Edwin Lutyens', *Revista de Ideas Estéticas* 9, 1945, 65-67.
-Ferry, K., 'Owen Jones: the 'Colour King' and his painted palaces,' *The Victorian*, November 2008, 9-11.
-Ferry, K., 'Printing the Alhambra: Owen Jones and Chromolithography', Architectural History 46, January 2003, 175-188.

-Franklin, J., 'Edwardian Butterfly Houses', *The Architectural Review* 157, 1 April 1975, 220-225.

-Galarraga Aldanondo, I., 'San Sebastián del Antiguo y la Real Casa de Miramar', *Reales Sitios* 136, 1998, 24-37.

-Gebhard, D., 'The Spanish Colonial Revival in Southern California (1895-1930),' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26, June 1967, 131-147.

-Greenberg, A., 'Lutyens's architecture restudied', *Perspecta* 12, 1969, 129-52.

-Greenberg, A., 'Lutyens's Cenotaph', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48, nº 1, March 1989, 5-23.

-Hussey, C., 'Crooksbury, Surrey - I. The House of Commander and Mrs Ginman', *Country Life* 96, 6 October 1944, 596-599.

-Hussey, C., 'Plumpton Place, Sussex: the Residence of Mr. Edward Hudson', *Country Life* 73, issue 1896, 522-528.

-Hussey, C., 'The Personality of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *RIBA Journal*, Vol. 76, April 1969, 142-145.

-Jensen Adams, A., 'The Birth of a Style: Henry Hobson Richardson and the Competition Drawings for the Trinity Church, Boston,' *The Art Bulletin* 62, nº 8, September 1980, 409-433.

-Jiménez Martín, A. and Lozano Bartolozzi, M. M., *Jardín de Abadía Cáceres*, Revista Periferia 2, 1984, 63-89.

-Leisner, G. and Leisner, V., 'El Guadalperal', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 1, 1960, 20-73.

-Luis Sazatornil Ruiz, 'A orillas del Cantábrico. Arquitectura y veraneos regios', *Reales Sitios* 136, 1998, 12-23.

-Lutyens, E. L., 'What I think of Modern Architectura', *Country Life* 69, June 1931, 775-777.

-Lutyens, E.L, 'Persian Brickwork II', *Country Life* 73, 4 February 1933, 118-123.

-Martínez del Campo, L. G., 'La educación del "gentleman" español. La influencia británica sobre la élite social española (1898-1936),' *Ayer* 89, 2013, 123-144.

-Navascues Palacio, P., 'La Abadía de Cáceres: espejo literario de un jardín,' *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoria del Arte (UAM)* 5, 1993, 71-90.

-Pevsner, N., 'Building with wit, architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *Architectural Review* 109, 1951, 217-25

-Player, W. G., 'Ednaston Manor', *Country Life* 53, 24 March 1923, 398-405.

-Pollen, F., 'The Genius of Edwin Lutyens - Last of the Classicists', *Country Life* 145, 3 April 1969, 794-796.

-Raquejo, T., *The 'Arab cathedrals`: The Moorish architecture as seen by British travellers*, The Burlington Magazine 128, nº 1001, August 1986, 555-563.

-Richardson, M., and Stamp, G., *Lutyens and Spain*, AA Files 3, January 1983, 51-59

-Satazornil Ruiz, L., 'Ralph Selden Wornum y la arquitectura inglesa en la costa cantábrica,' *XII Jornadas Internacionales de Historia del Arte. El Arte Foráneo en España. Presencia e Influencia.* (Madrid, 22-26 Nov. 2004). ACTAS: Madrid, CSIC, 2005, 150-165.

-Shelmerdine, B., 'The Experiences of British Holidaymakers and Expatriate Residents in Pre-Civil War Spain,' European History Quarterly 32, nº 3, 367-390.

-Smithson, A., 'The Responsibility of Lutyens', *RIBA Journal* 76, April 1969, 146-151.

-Stamp, G., 'The Fall and Rise of Edwin Lutyens', *Architectural Review* 70, 1 November 1981, 311-318.

-Stamp, G., 'The Rise and Fall and Rise of Edwin Lutyens,' *Architectural Review* 170, n. 1017, November 1981, 311-318.

-Summerson, J., 'The Lutyens Memorial volumes' (book review), *RIBA Journal* 58, August 1951, 381-382.

-Trusted, M., 'In all cases of difference adopt Signor Riaño´s view', *Journal of the History of Collections* 18, nº 2, 2006, 225-236.

-Van Zanten, D. T., 'Jacob Wrey Mould: Echoes of Owen Jones and the High Victorian Styles in New York, 1853-1865,' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 28, nº 1, March 1969, 41-57.

-Venturi, R., and Scott Brown, D., 'Learning from Lutyens', *RIBA Journal* 76, August 1968, 353-354.

-Watson, J.N.P., 'In Honour of Salamanca. The Duke of Wellington´s Andalusian Estate I', *Country Life*, 4 Sep. 1980, 779-782.

-Watson, J.N.P., 'Some "near run things". The Duke of Wellington´s Andalusian Estate II', *Country Life*, 11 Sep. 1980, 886-888.

UNPUBLISHED PHD THESES

- Christensen, E., (1994), *Government architecture and British imperialism: Patronage and imperial policy in London, Pretoria, and New Delhi, 1900-1931* (1994), Northwestern University (Canada)

- Darby, M., *Owen Jones and the Eastern ideal* (1974), University of Reading

- Ferry, K., *Awakening a Higher Ambition: The Influence of Travel upon the Early Career of Owen Jones* (2004), University of Cambridge.

- González Vilchez, M., *Hisotoria de la Arquitectura Inglesa de la Rio Tinto Company Limited en la Provincia de Huelva* (1977), Universidad de Sevilla.

- Irving, R. G., *Indian Summer: Imperial Delhi* (1978), Yale University.

- Joyce Grainger, H., *The Architecture of Sir Ernest George and His Partners. C. 1860-1922* (1985), The University of Leeds

- O´Malley, C. G., *Dialoques with the past: A study of Sir Edwin Lutyens´s domestic projects in Ireland* (1993), Queen´s University (Canada)

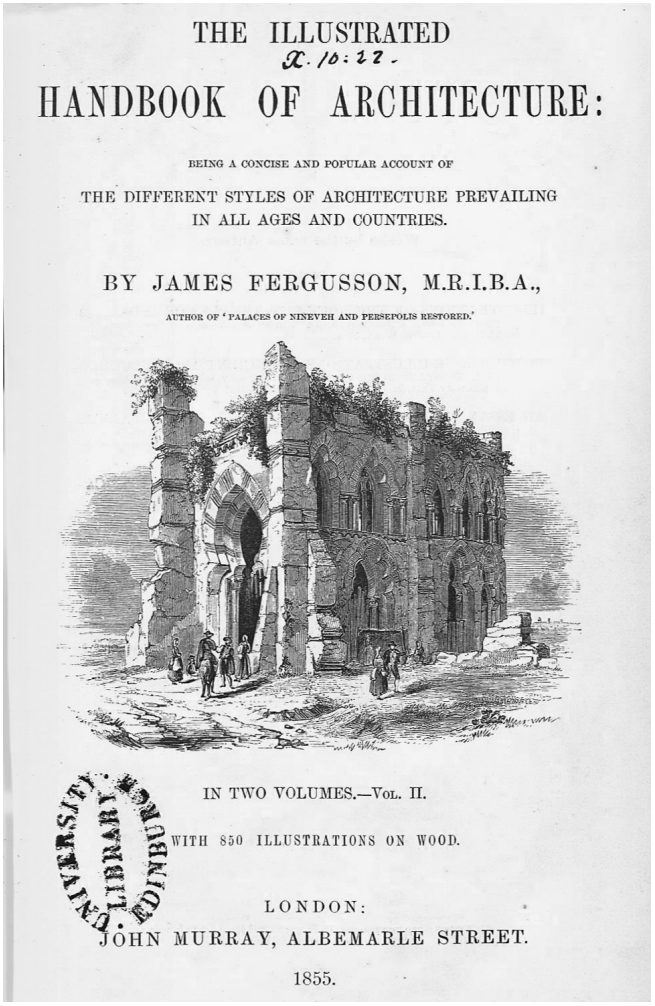
- Watts, T. S., *The life and work of Johann Heinrich Müntz (1727-1798)* (1985), University of Toronto

-Flores, C. A., *Owen Jones, Architect* (1996), Georgia Institute of Technology.

PART 2

IMAGES CHAPTER II.

BRITANO-SPANISH RELATIONS IN ARCHITCETURE: FROM VICTORIAN TIMES TO LUTYENS



THE ILLUSTRATED

X. 10:22.

HANDBOOK OF ARCHITECTURE:

BEING A CONCISE AND POPULAR ACCOUNT OF

THE DIFFERENT STYLES OF ARCHITECTURE PREVAILING IN ALL AGES AND COUNTRIES.

BY JAMES FERGUSSON, M.R.I.B.A.,

AUTHOR OF 'PALACES OF NINEVEH AND PERSEPOLIS RESTORED.'

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY EDINBURGH

IN TWO VOLUMES.—Vol. II.

WITH 850 ILLUSTRATIONS ON WOOD.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1855.

Figure 2.2. James Fergusson, front-page of *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1855), with an illustration showing the church of Humanejos, Spain.

Figure 2.1. George E. Street, interior view of Tarragona cathedral, Spain, from *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1865).

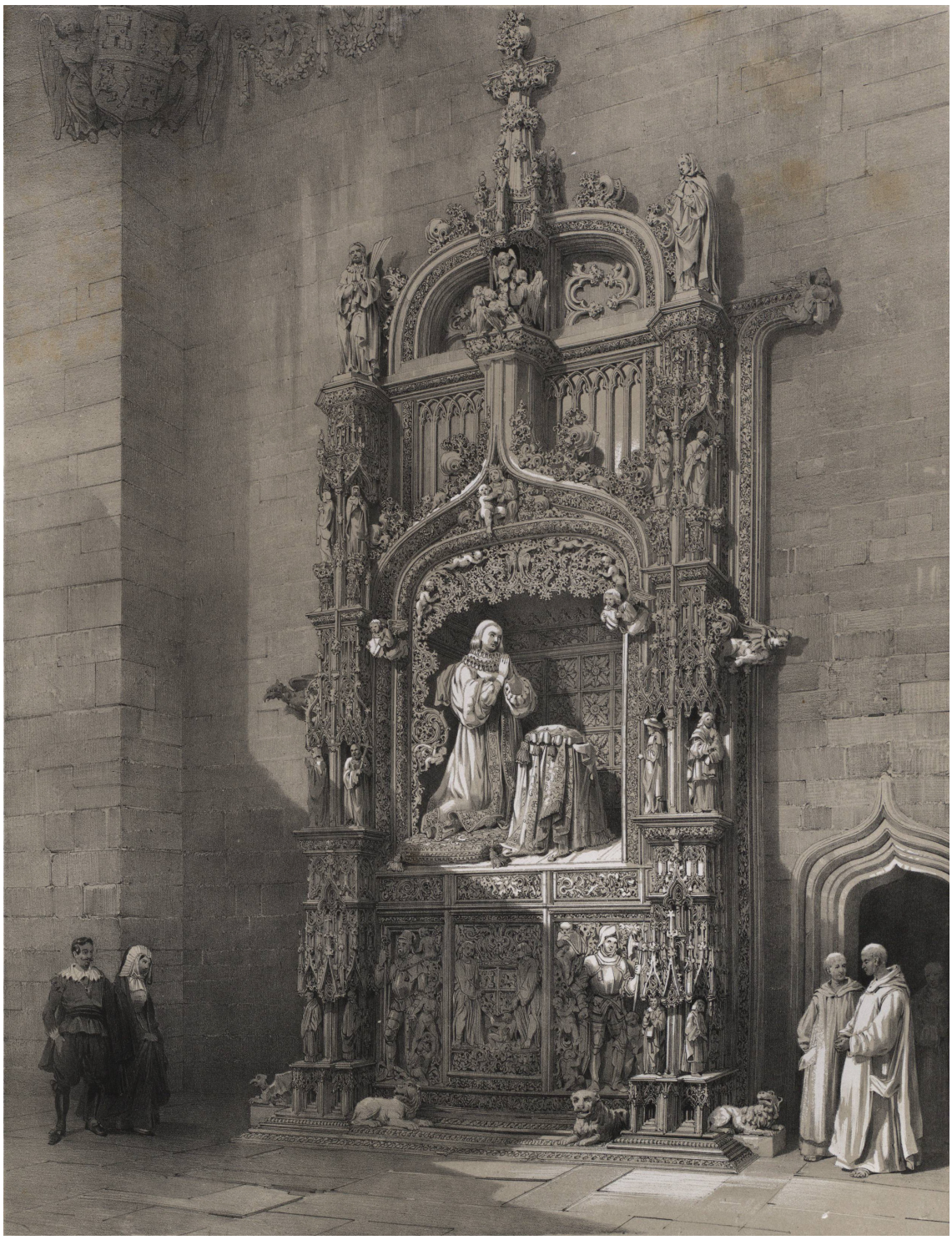


Figure 2.3. John B. Waring, Burgos, monastery of Miraflores, tomb of the Infante don Alfonso, from *Architectural, Sculptural & Picturesque Studies in Burgos and its Neighbourhood* (London: T. McLean, 1852).

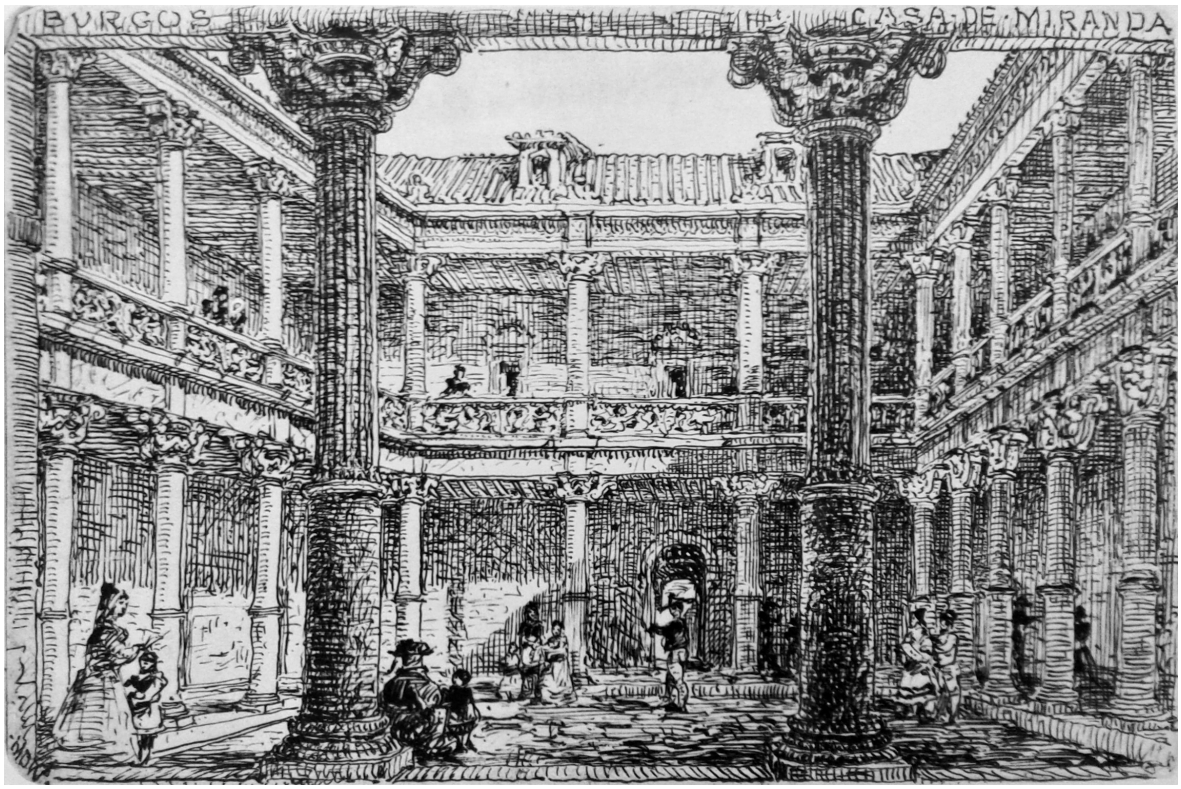


Figure 2.4. M. Digby Wyatt, Burgos, Casa Miranda, from *An architect´s note-book in Spain* (London: Autotype Fine Art Company, 1872).

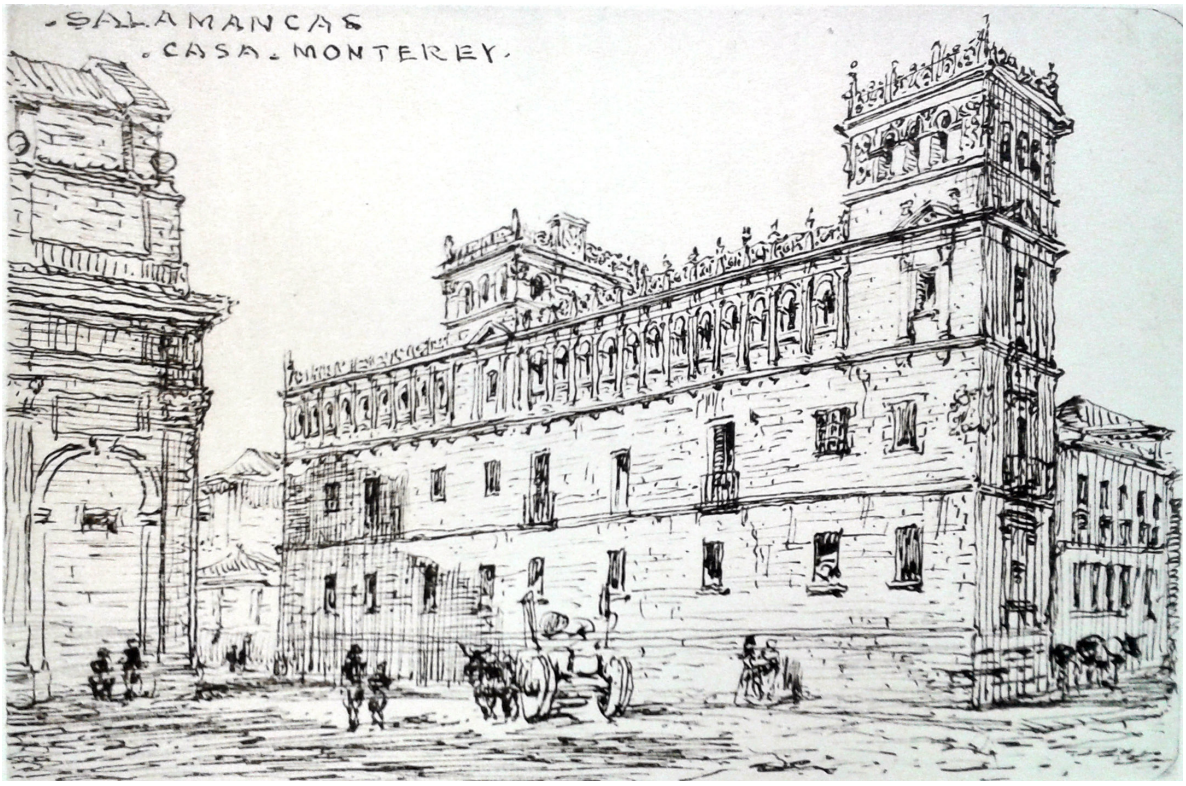


Figure 2.5. M. Digby Wyatt, Salamanca, Monterrey Palace, from *An architect´s note-book in Spain* (London: Autotype Fine Art Company, 1872).

Figure 2.6. Andrew N. Prentice, sketch of an unidentified patio in Spain, 1891, V&A Museum.

Figure 2.7. Andrew N. Prentice, elevation of the Alcázar of Toledo, from *Renaissance architecture and ornament in Spain* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1893).

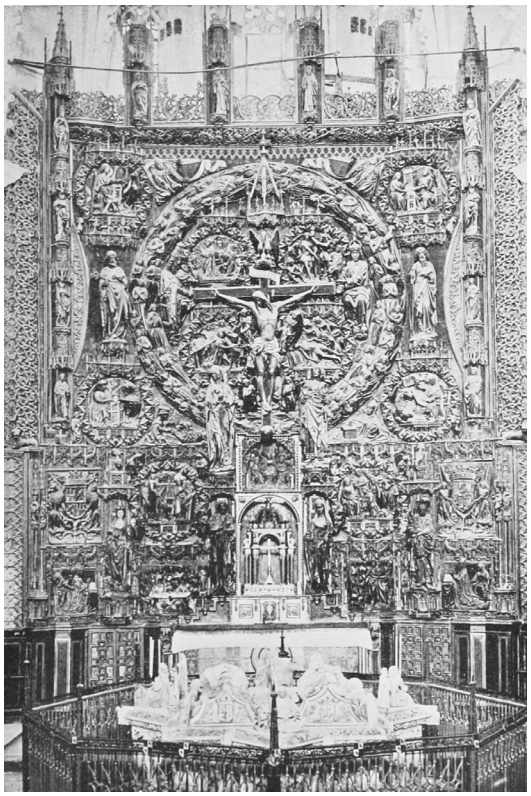


Figure 2.8. Albert F. Calvert, *Sculpture in Spain* (London: George Philip & Son, 1912), Reredos at the Cartuja, Burgos.

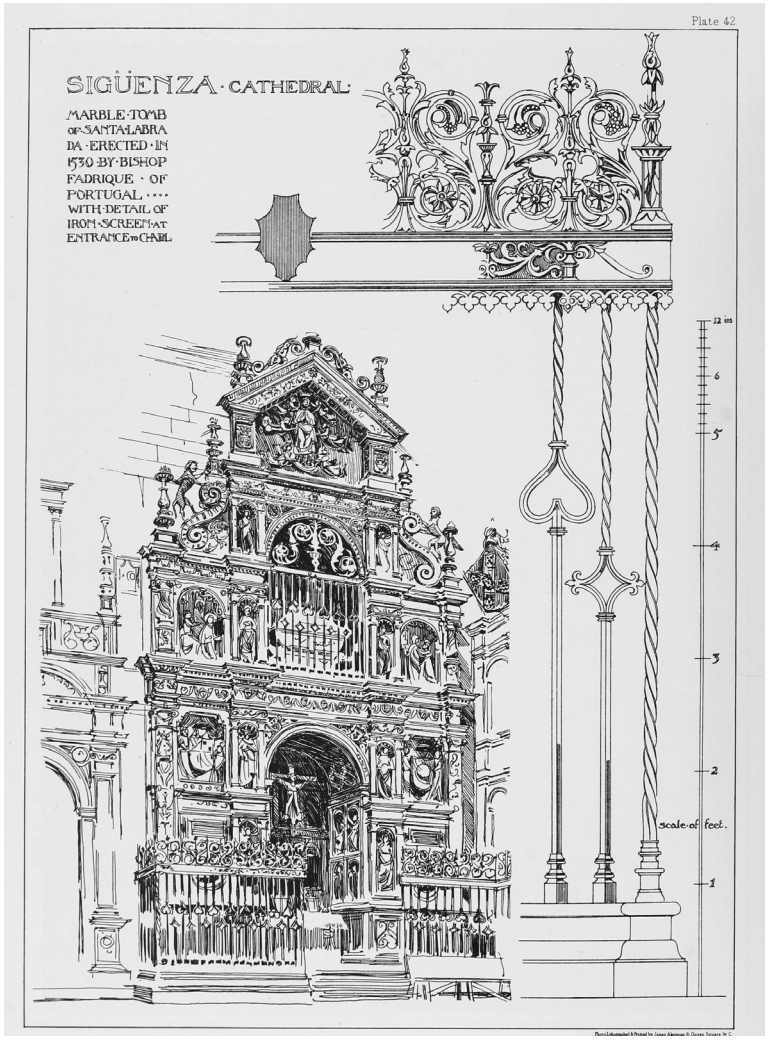


Figure 2.9. Andrew N. Prentice, detail of Sigüenza cathedral, from *Renaissance architecture and ornament in Spain* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1893).

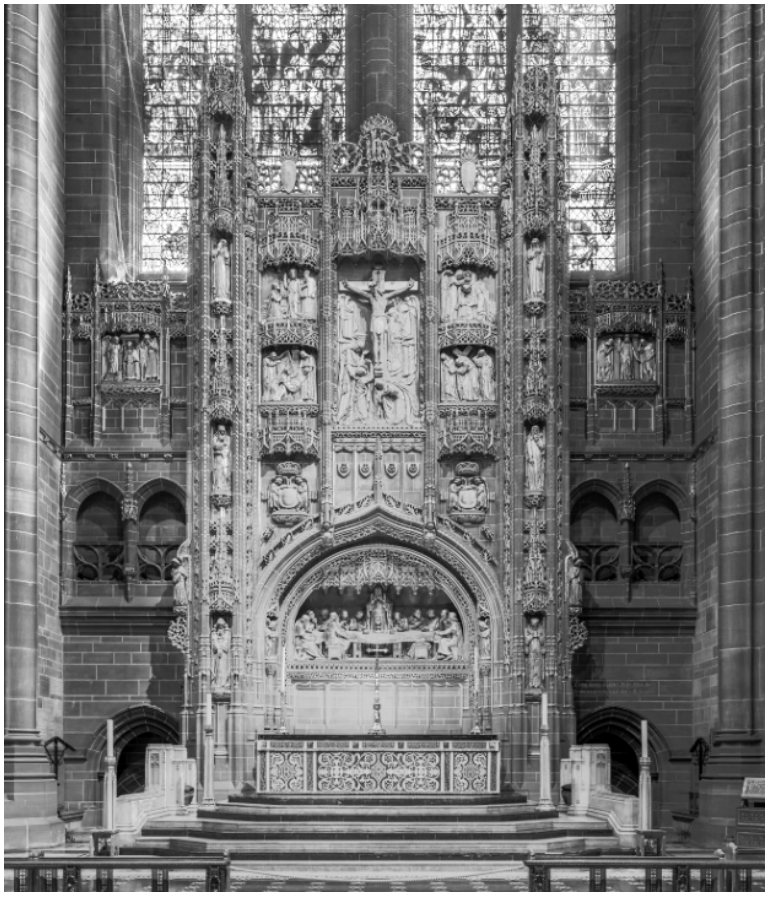


Figure 2.10. Giles Gilbert Scott, High Altar of Cathedral Church of Christ in Liverpool, 1922, photograph by David Iliff. License: CC-BY-SA 3.0.

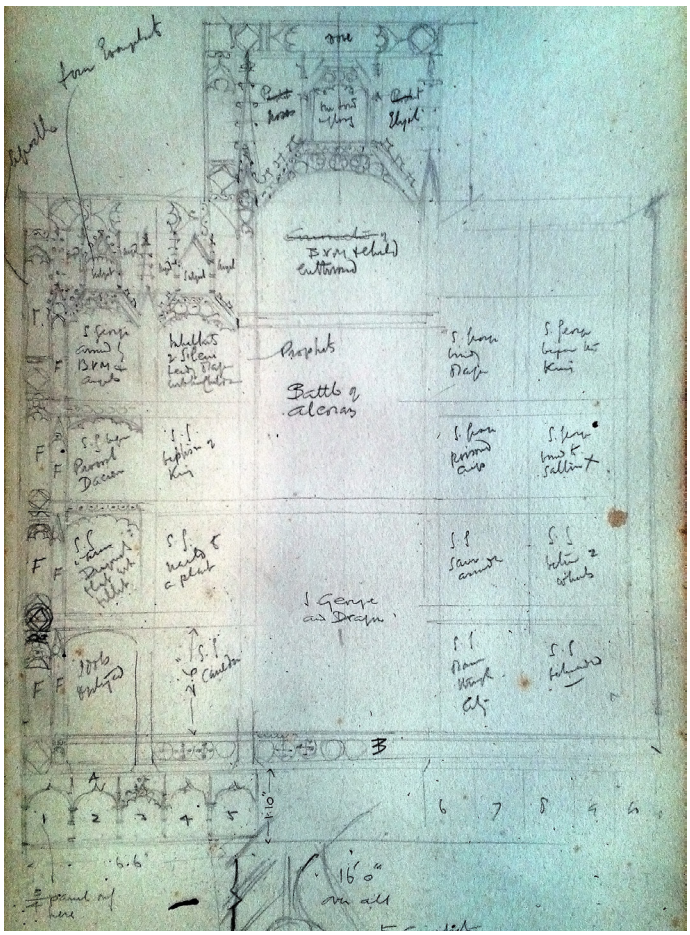


Figure. 2.11. Walter Tapper, sketch of St George retable, 1909, London, RIBA Drawings Collection.

Figure. 2.12. Saint George retable, 15th century, Spain, now in the V & A Museum, London, V&A images.

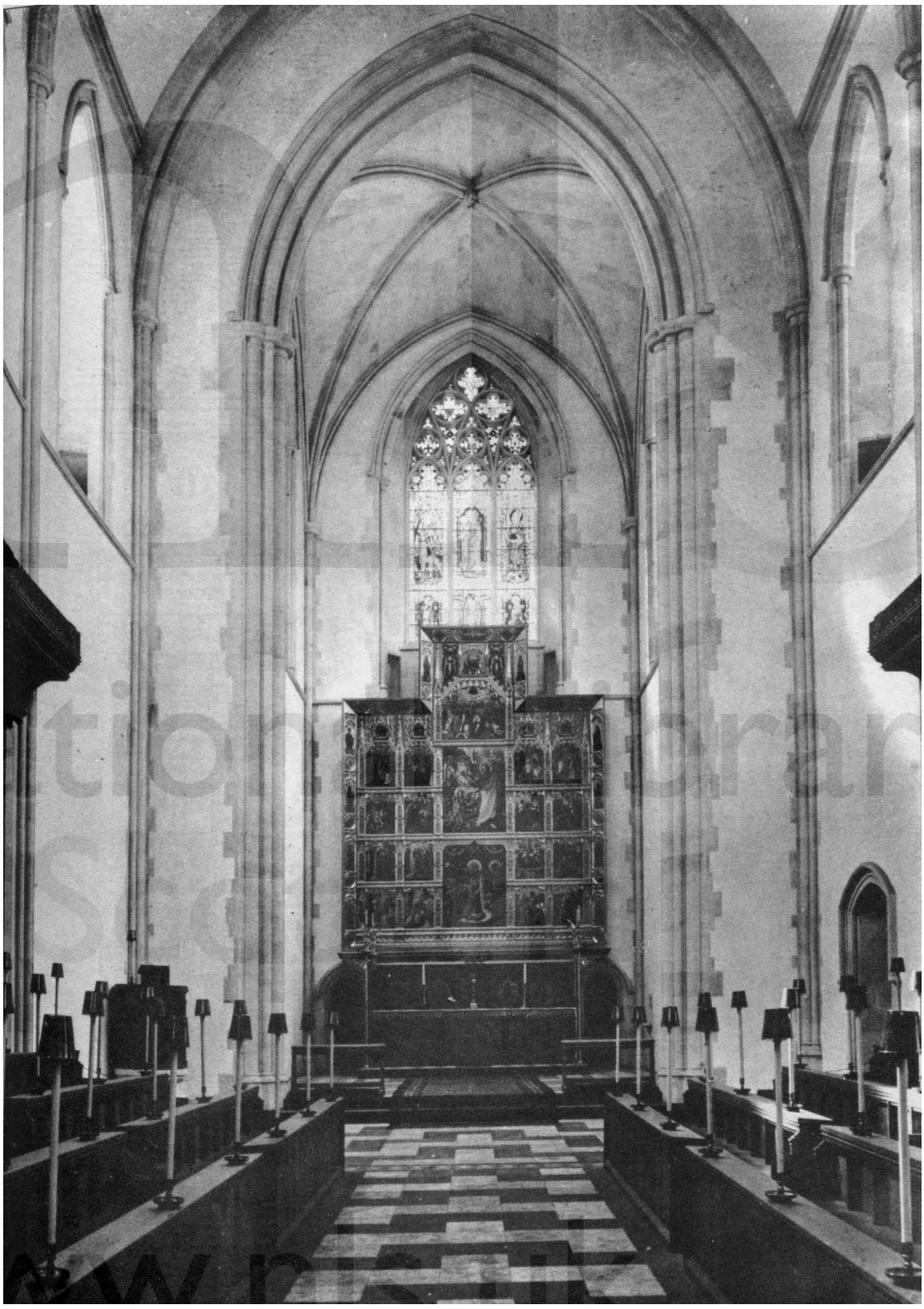


Fig. 2.13. Western Australia, Guildford Grammar School Chapel, reredos. *The Builder*, 19 November 1920.

Figure. 2.14. Norfolk, England, Wymondham Abbey, interior view, photograph by John Salmon.

Figure 2.15. Ralph Selden Wornum, Château des Françons, Biarritz, 1890.

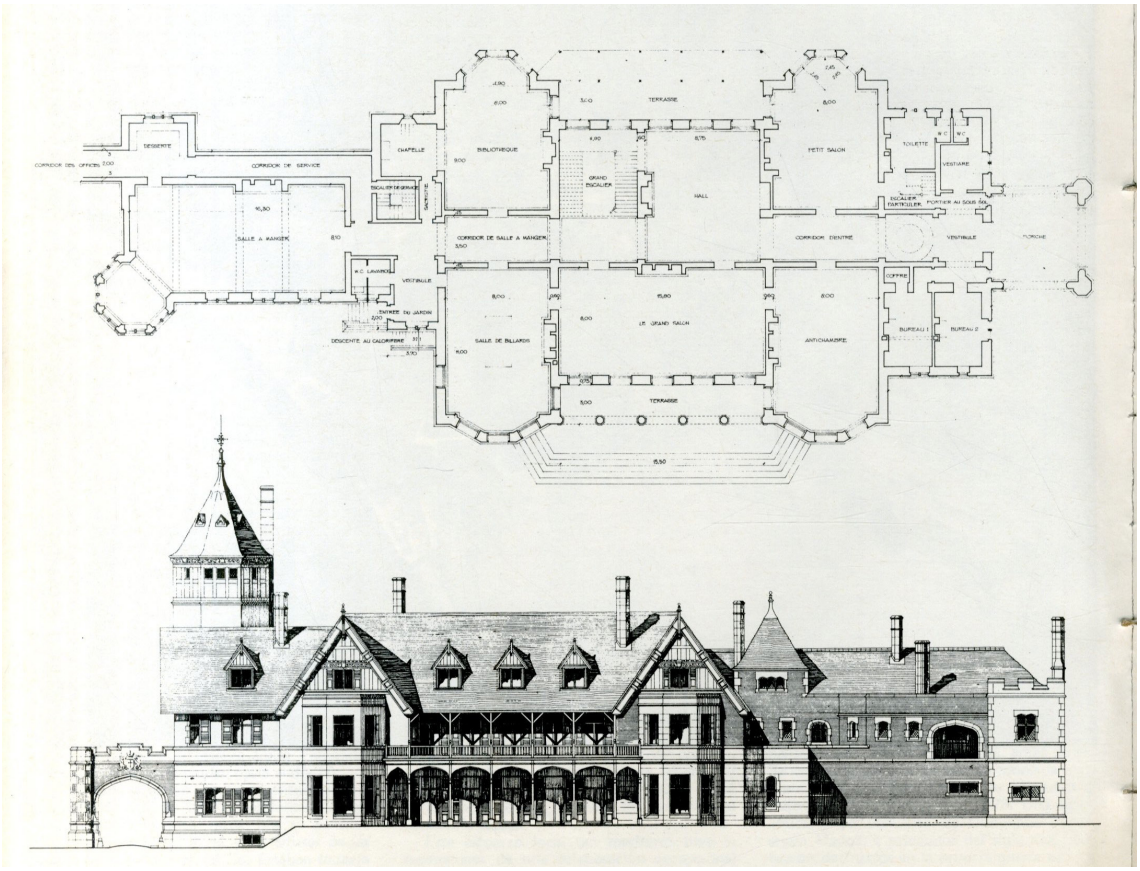


Figure 2.16. Ralph Selden Wornum, Palace of Miramar, San Sebastián, South elevation and ground floor plan, 1892, Archive of San Sebastián Town Hall.

Figure 2.17. Ralph Selden Wornum, Palace of Miramar, San Sebastián, 1892, view from the north.

Figure 2.18. Ralph Selden Wornum, Las Fraguas, Cantabria, 1899-1901, view from the south, by the author.

Figure 2.19. Ralph Selden Wornum, Las Fraguas, Cantabria, 1899-1901, view from the south, by the author.

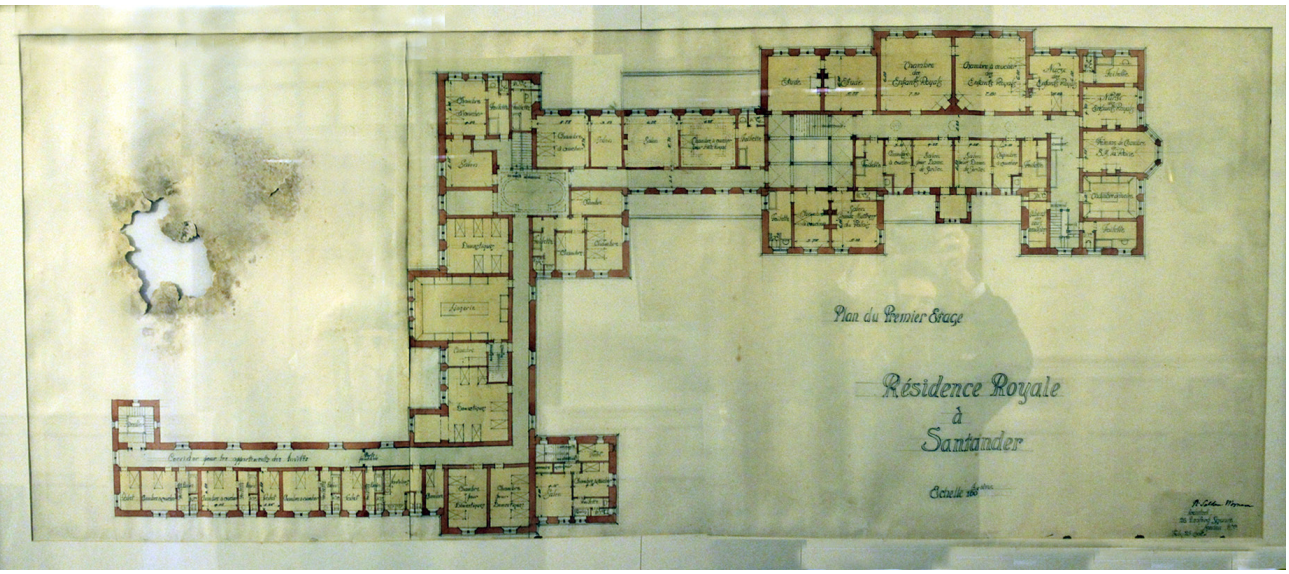


Figure 2.20. Ralph Selden Wornum, Competition entry for Royal Palace at Santander, 1908, Ground floor plan, archive of Santander Town Hall.

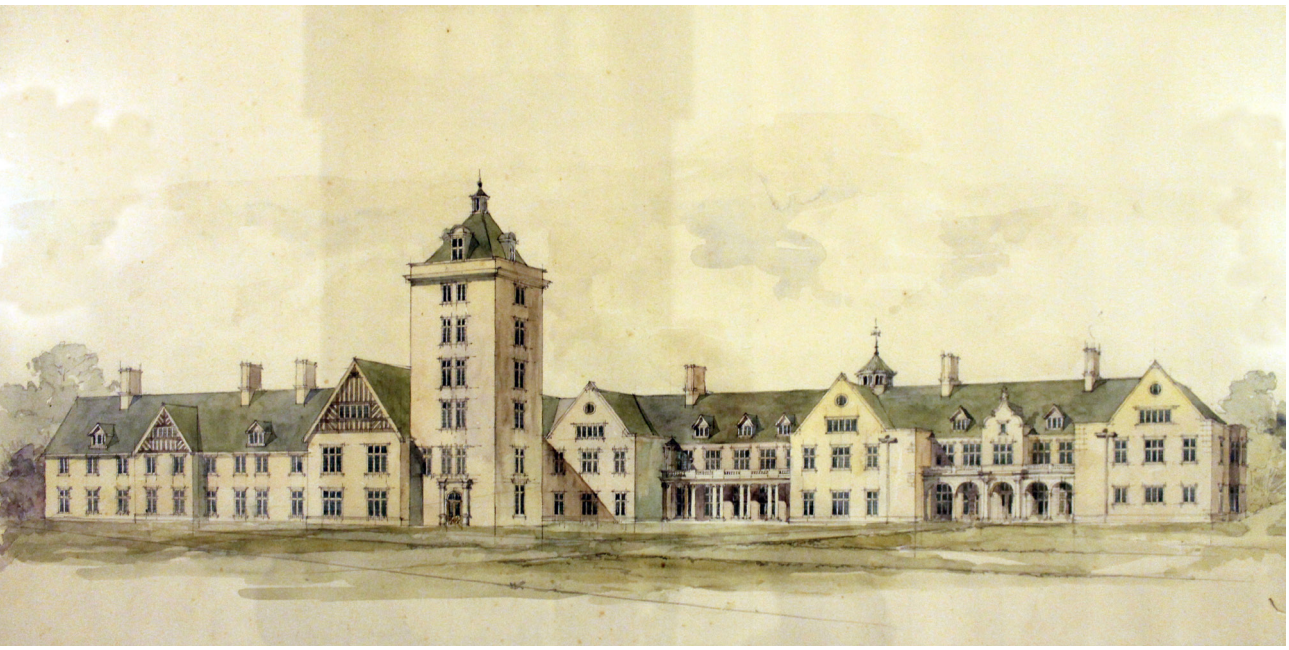


Figure 2.20. Ralph Selden Wornum, Competition entry for Royal Palace at Santander, 1908, perspective view, archive of Santander Town Hall.

IMAGES CHAPTER III.

ARCHITECTURE AND OPPORTUNITY:
THE TRAVELS OF EDWIN LUTYENS IN SPAIN

Figure 3.1. Map showing E.L. Lutyens´s travels in Spain, by the author.

Figure 3.2. Map showing E.L. Lutyens´s travels and works in Spain, by the author.

Figure 3.3. FIgure 3.3. E.L. Lutyens, sketches, 1910s, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, SE21/22. The woman portrayed could be the Duchess of Santoña.

Figure 3.4.Traditional architecture in Puebla de Montalbán, Toledo.

IMAGES CHAPTER IV.

EL GUADALPERAL: THE SMALL PALACE

Figure 1. Hernando Peñaranda in Scottish attire, late 19th century, archive of la Ventosilla.

Figure 2. Hernando Peñaranda on a safari in India, c. 1910, archive of la Ventosilla.

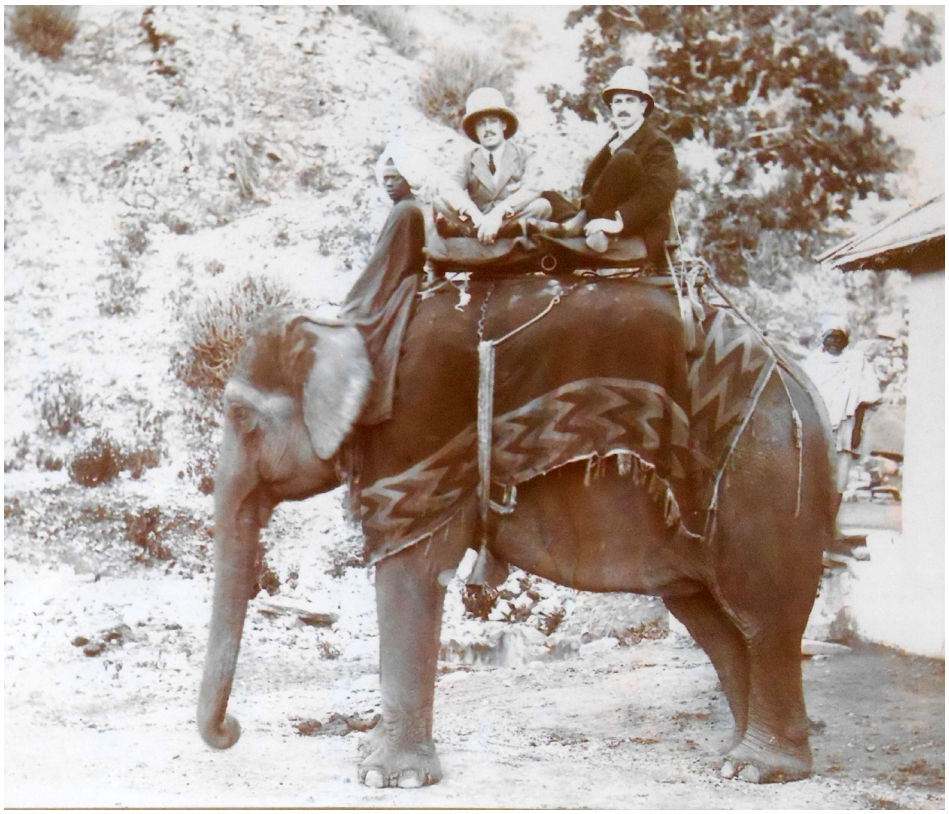


Figure 4.3. Hernando Peñaranda and Ivor Churchill Guest (Lord Wimborne) in New York, 4 June 1914, George Grantham Bain Collection, Library of Congress, LC-B2-3076-7.

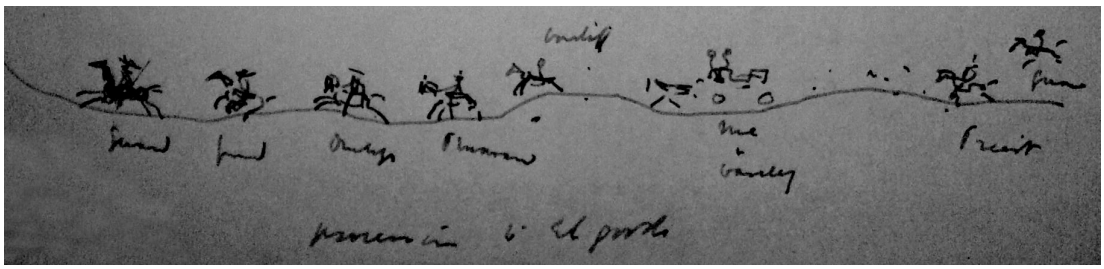


Figure 4.4. E.L. Lutyens, 'Procession to El Gordo', sketch drawn at the bottom of a letter to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, LuE/15/4/8 (xii).

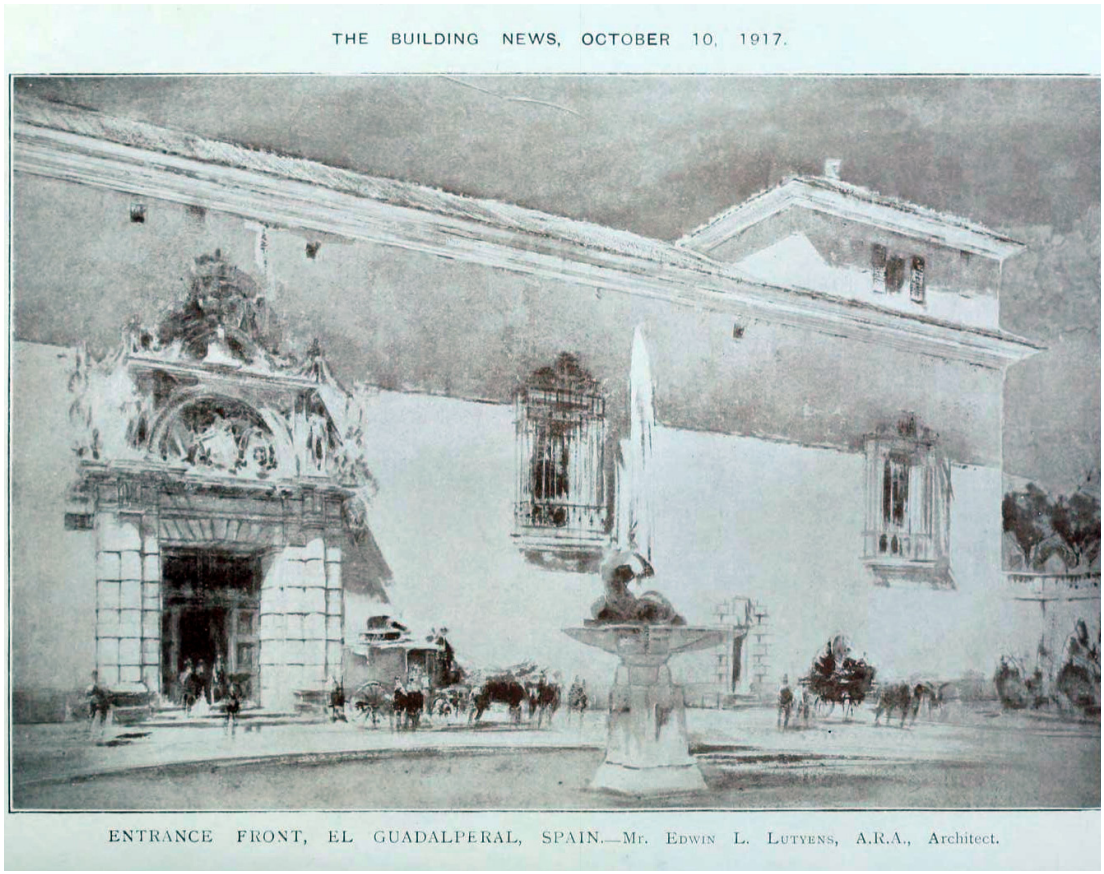


Figure 4.5. E. L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, entrance front, 1917, *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 113, 10 October 1917, 290.

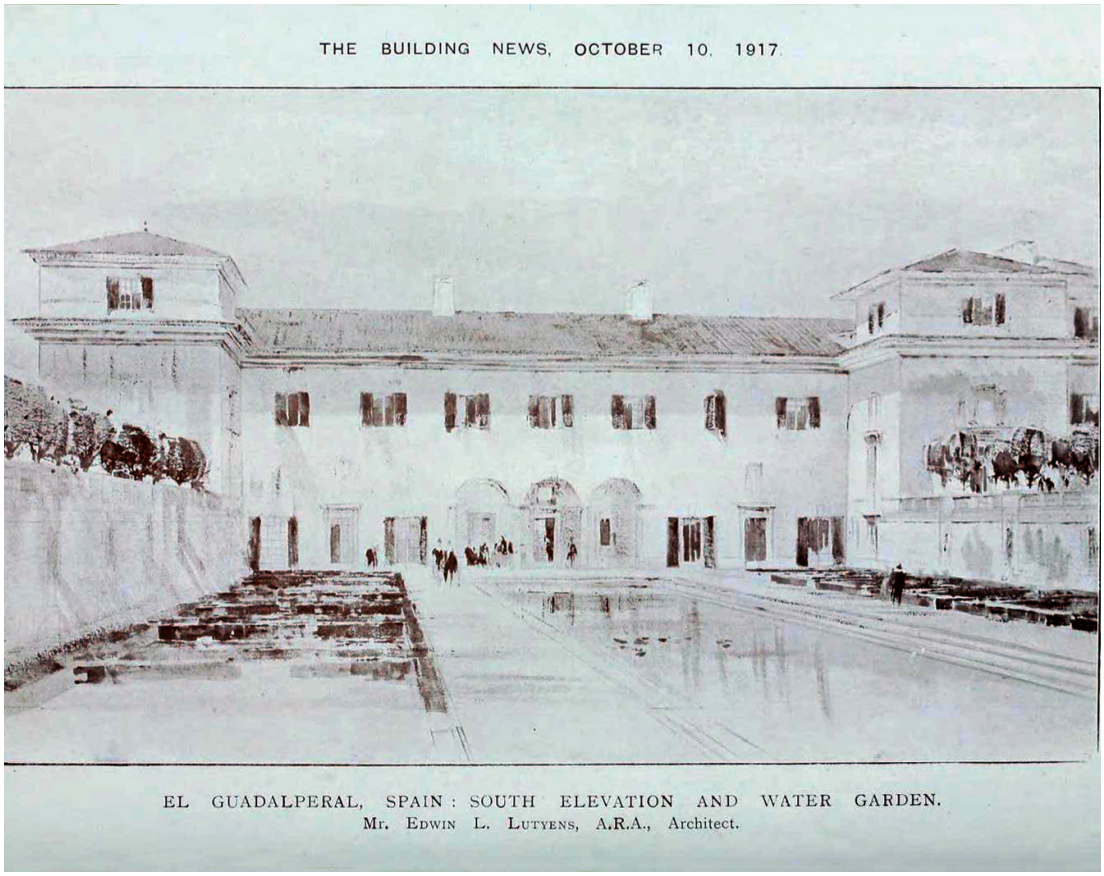


Figure 4.6. E. L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, west elevation, 1917, *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 113, 10 October 1917, 292.

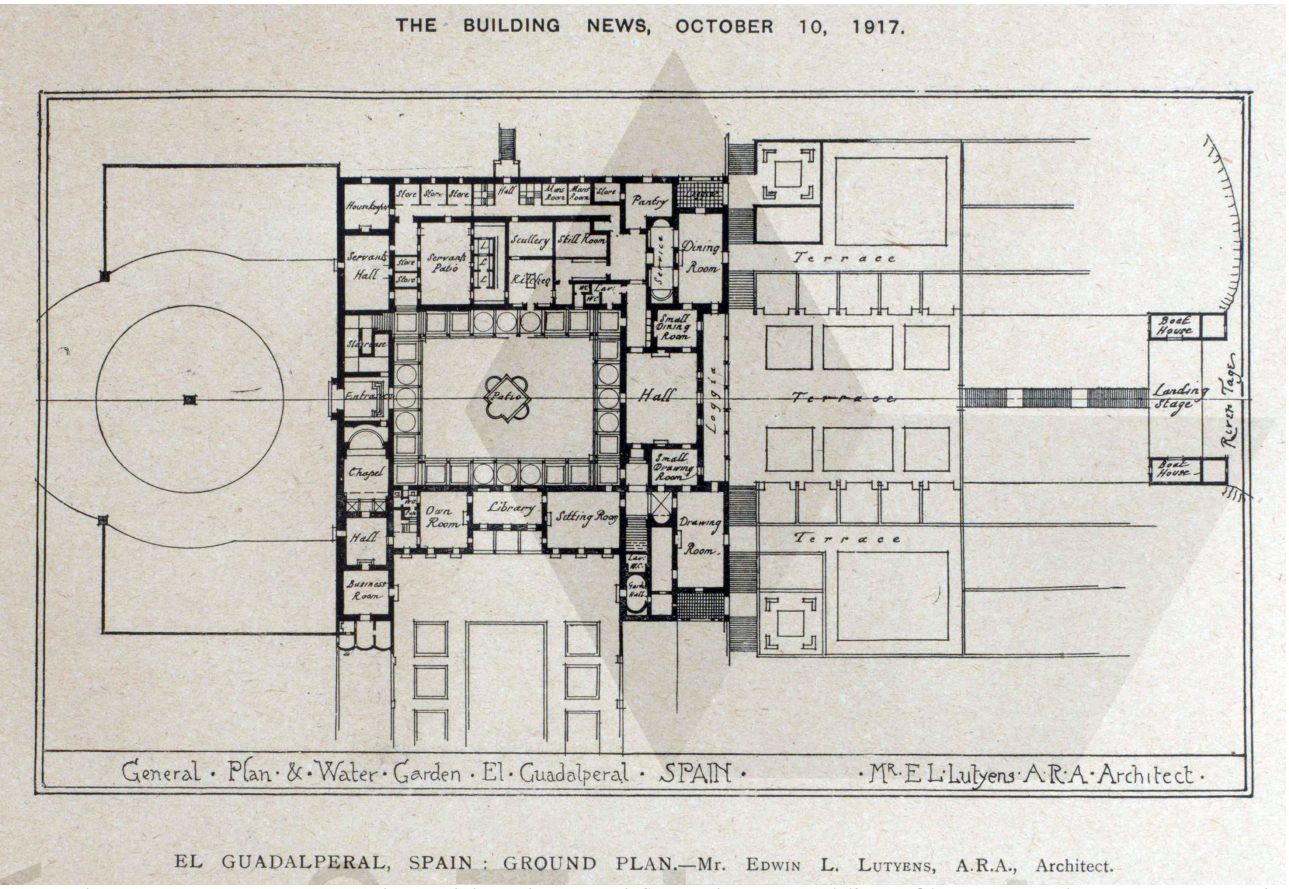


Figure 4.7. E. L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, ground floor plan, 1917, *The Building News and Engineering Journa*l 113, 10 October 1917, 294.

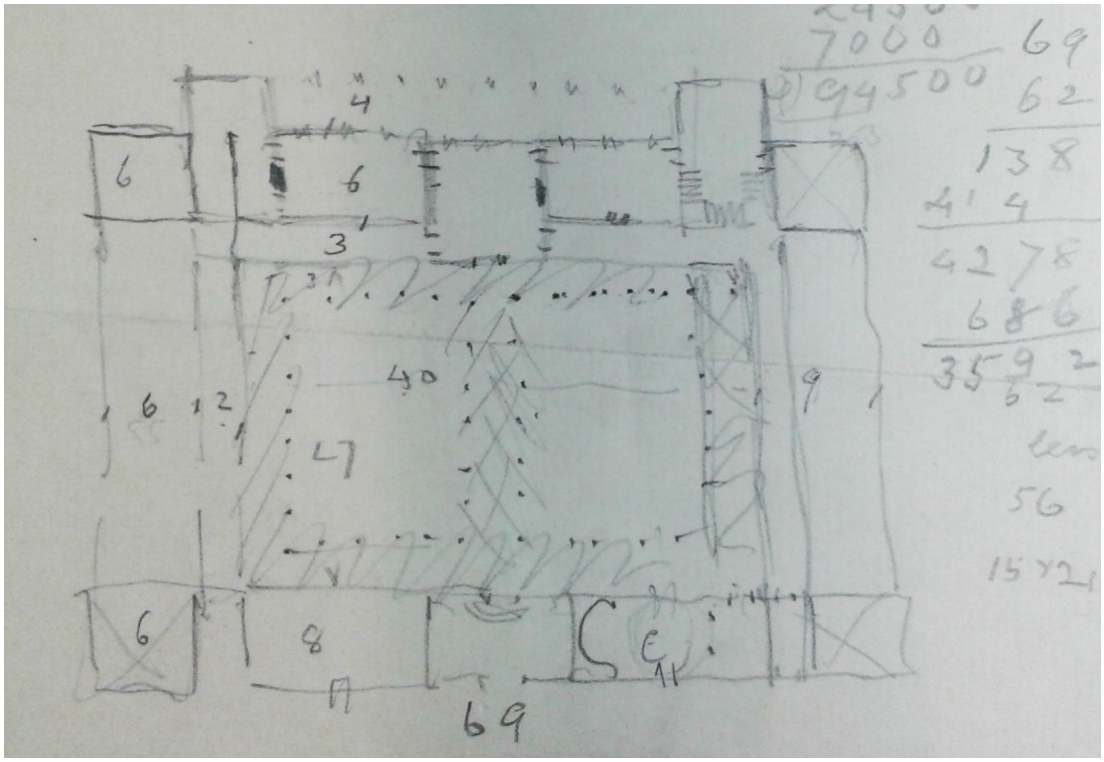


Figure 4.8. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, ground floor plan, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PB90A/LUT [407].

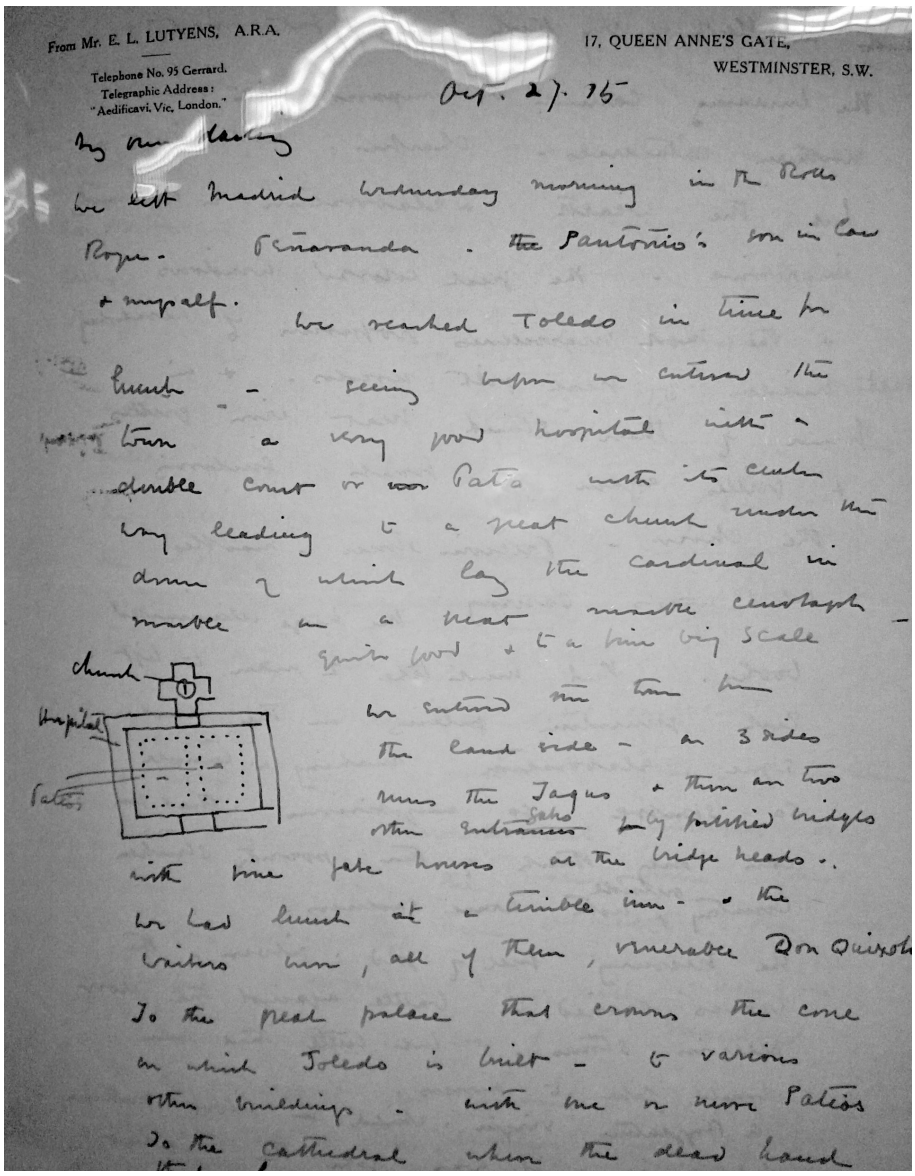


Figure 4.9. E.L. Lutyens, letter to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, LuE/15/4/8 (i).

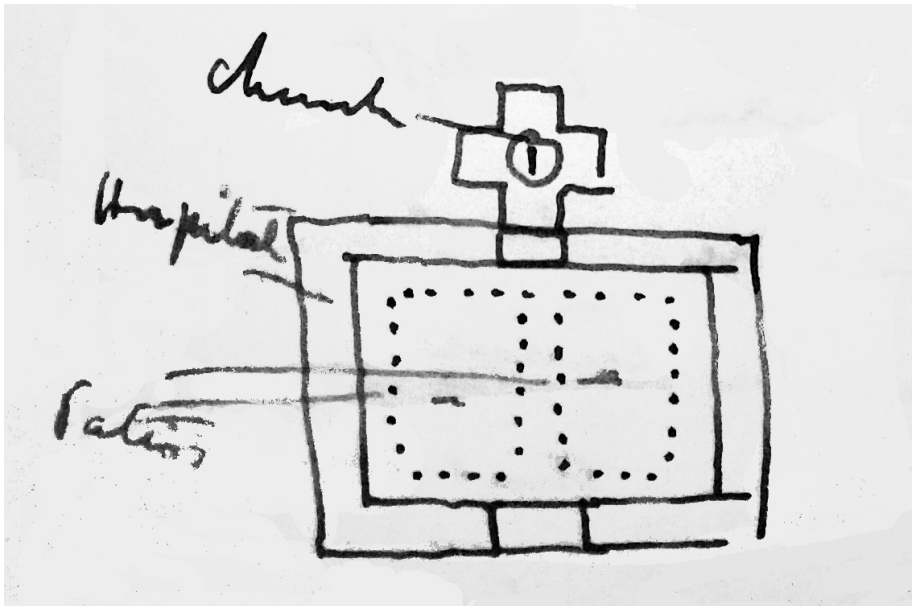


Figure 4.10. E.L. Lutyens, letter to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, LuE/15/4/8 (i), detail.

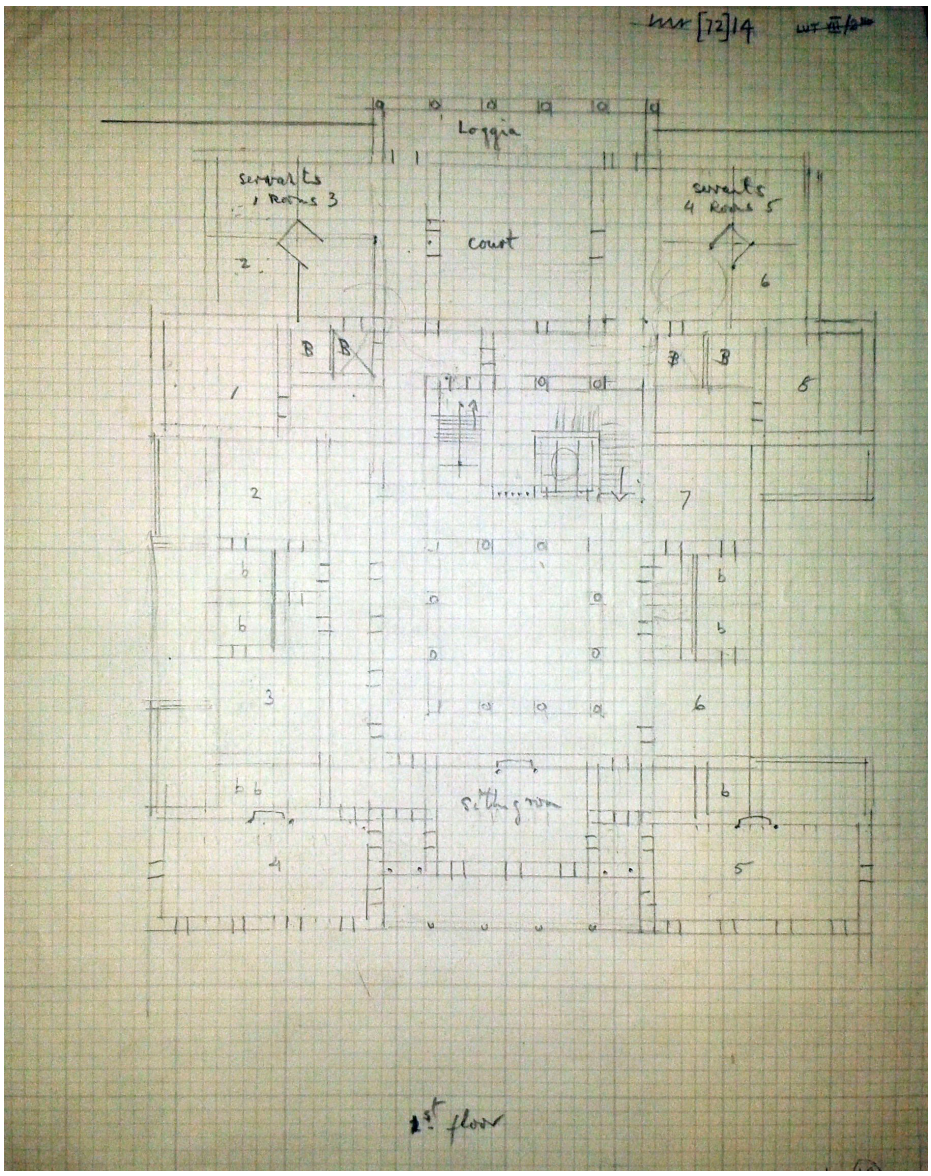


Figure 4.11. E.L Lutyens, El Guadalperal, first floor plan, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (14).

Figure 4.12. E.L Lutyens, El Guadalperal, perspective view, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (14).

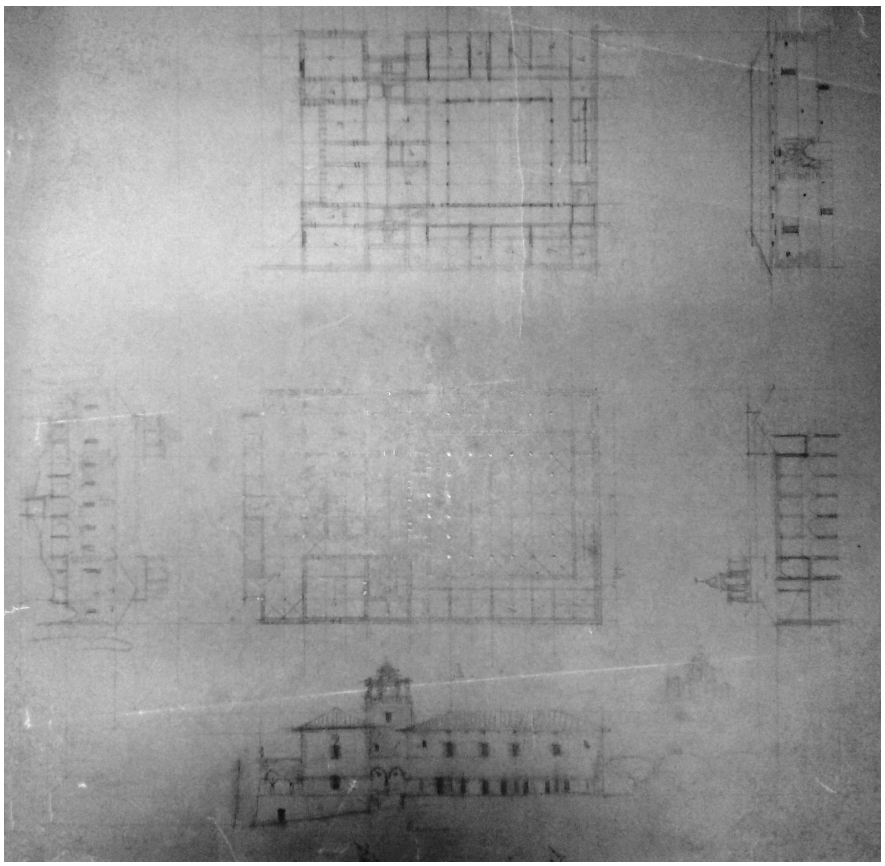


Figure 4.13. E.L Lutyens, El Guadalperal, plans and elevations, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (3).

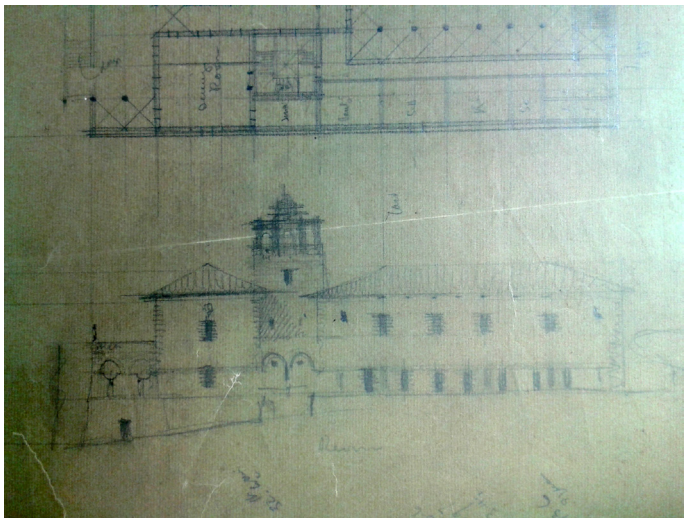


Figure 4.14. E.L Lutyens, El Guadalperal, west elevation, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (3), detail.

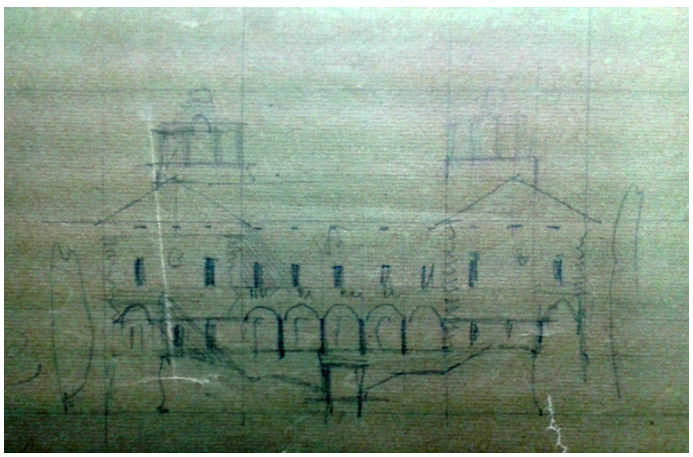


Figure 4.15. E.L Lutyens, El Guadalperal, south elevation, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (3), detail.

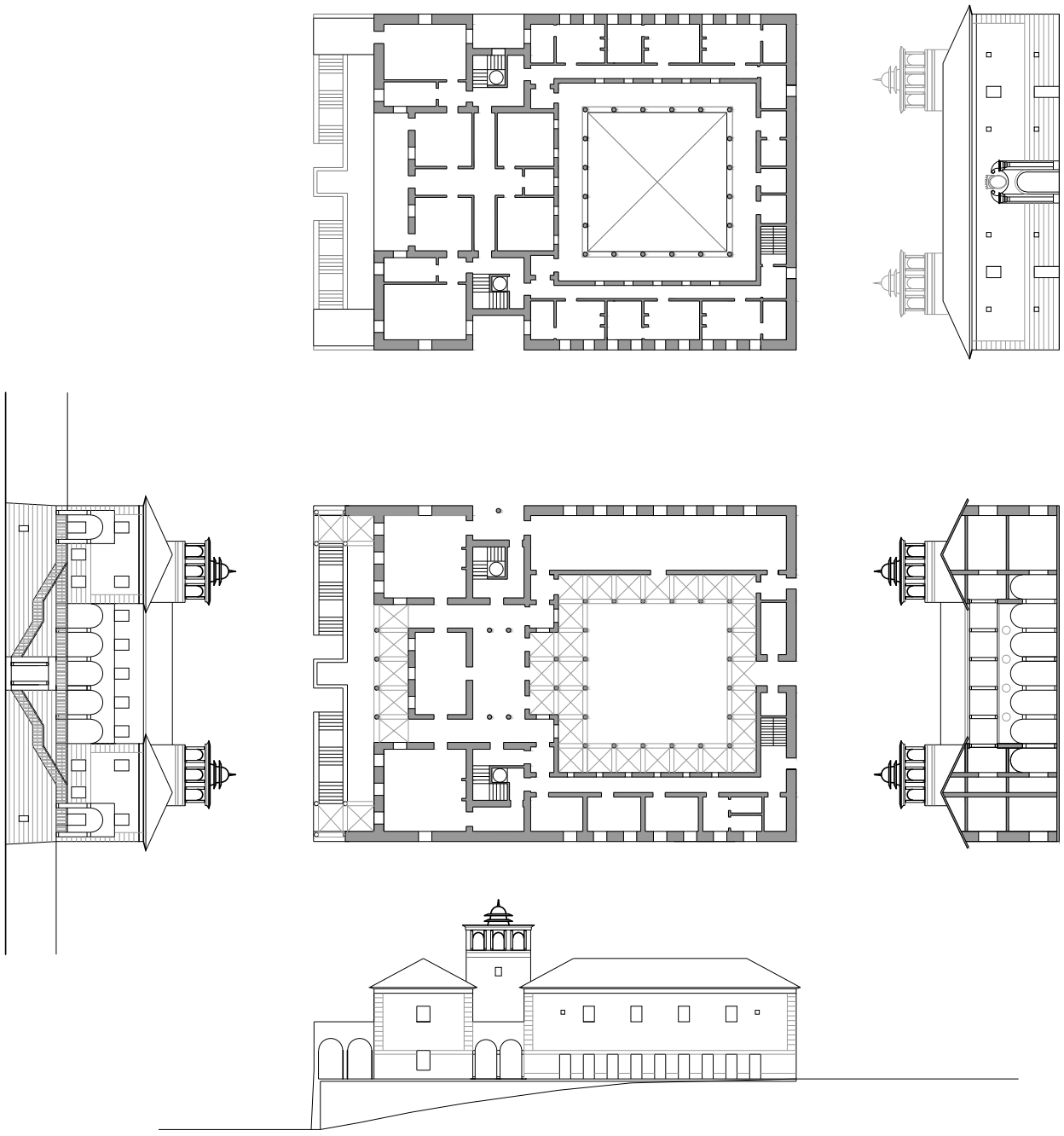


Figure 4.16. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, plans and elevations, c. 1916, reconstruction based on RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (3), by the author.

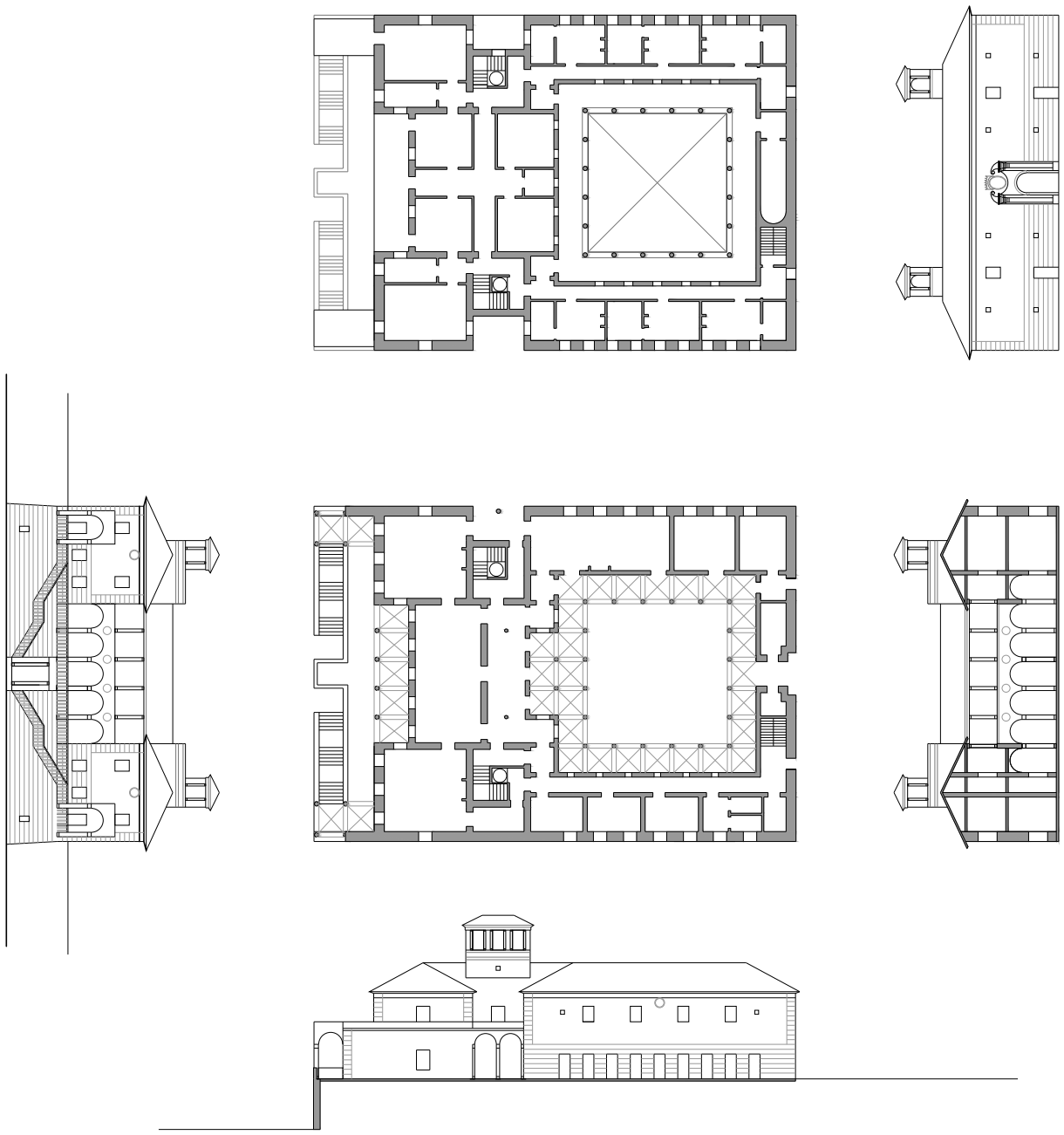


Figure 4.18. E.L Lutyens, El Guadalperal, plans and elevations, c. 1916, recostruction based on RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (5), by the author.

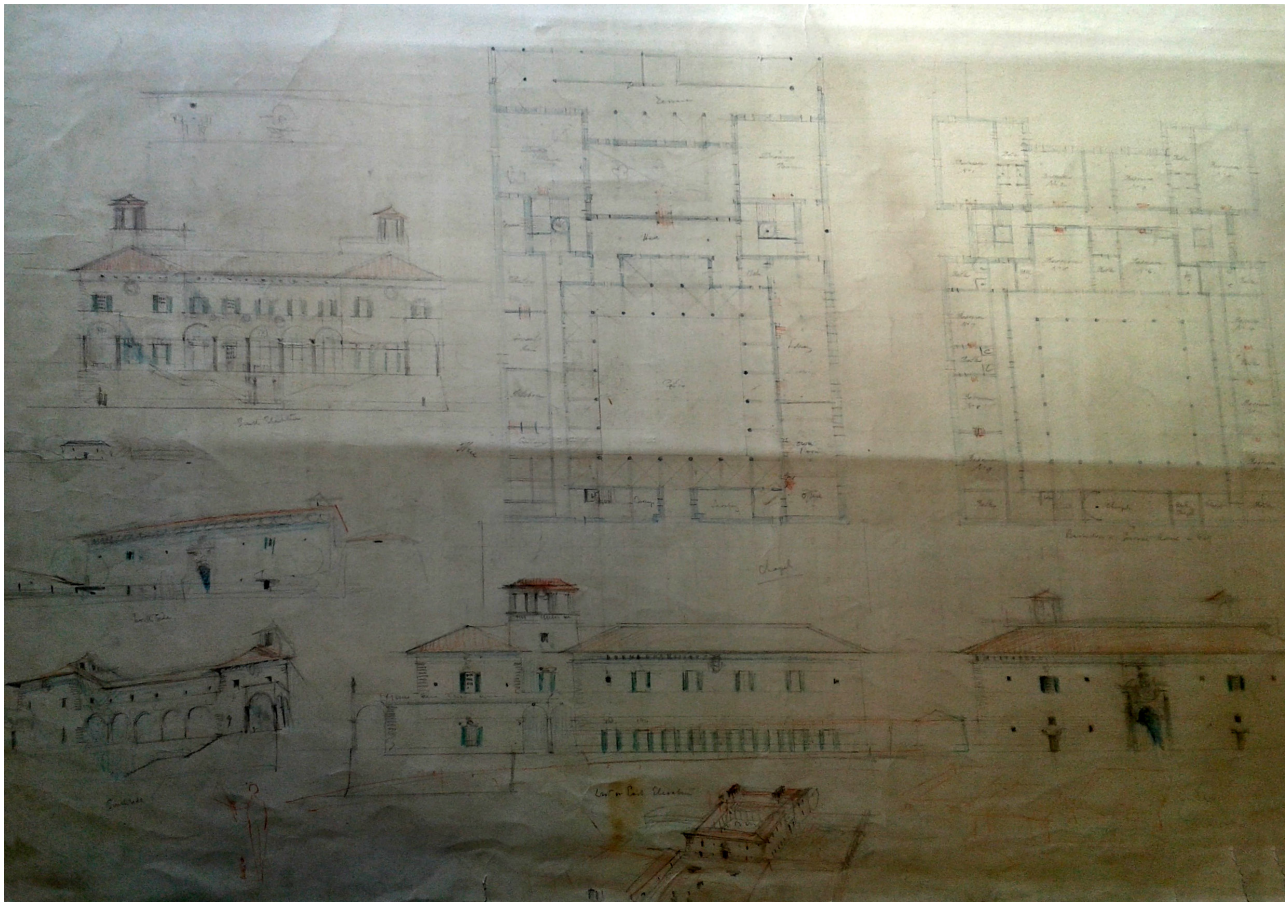


Figure 4.17. E.L Lutyens, El Guadalperal, plans and elevations, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (5).

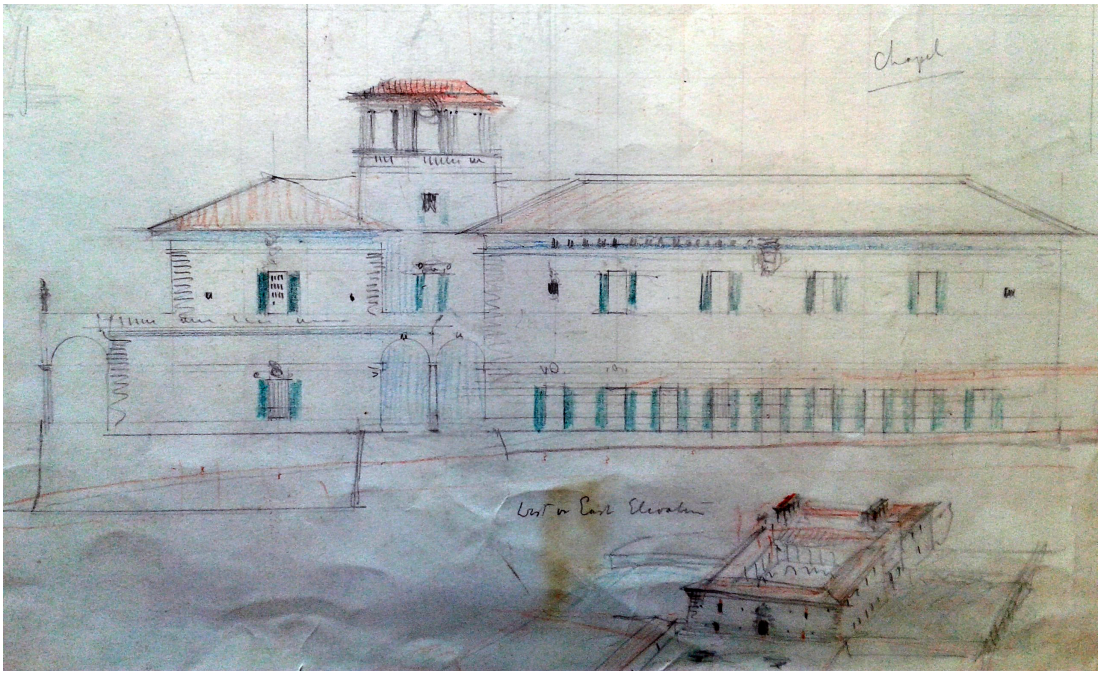


Figure 4.19. E.L Lutyens, El Guadalperal, west elevation, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (5), detail.

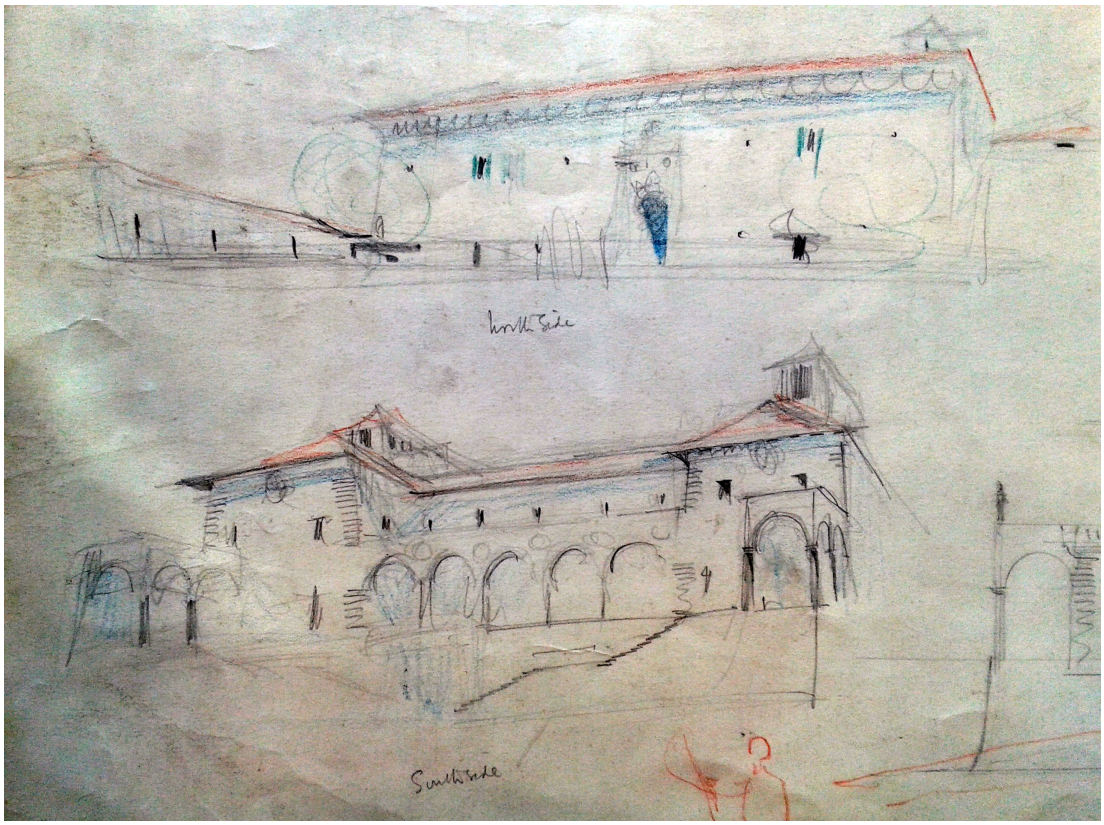


Figure 4.20. E.L Lutyens, El Guadalperal, north and south fronts, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (5), detail.

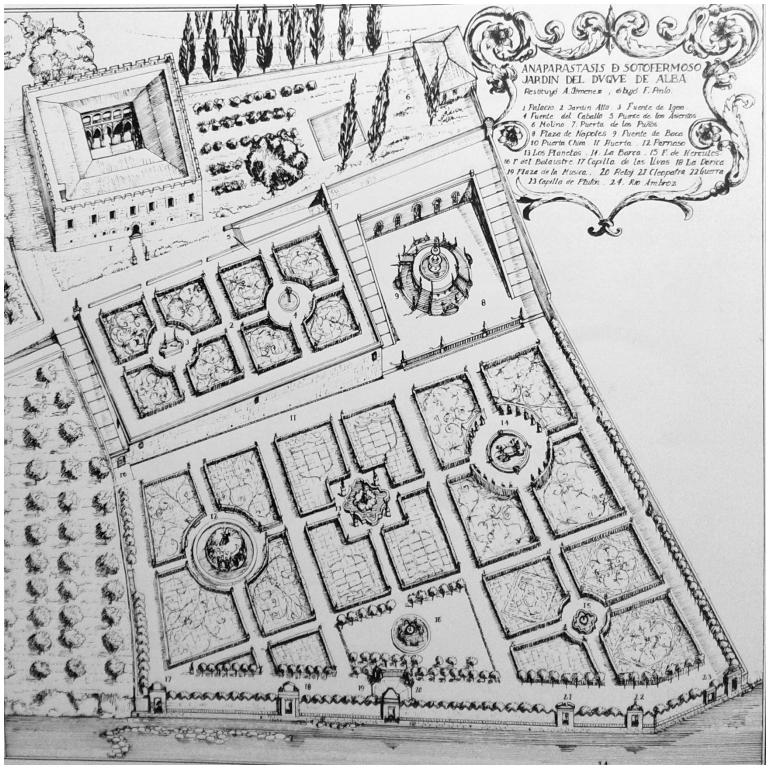


Figure 4.21. Pedro Navascues Palacio, reconstruction of the palace of Abadía, 'La Abadía de Cáceres: espejo literario de un jardín,' *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoria del Arte* (UAM) 5, 1993, 72.

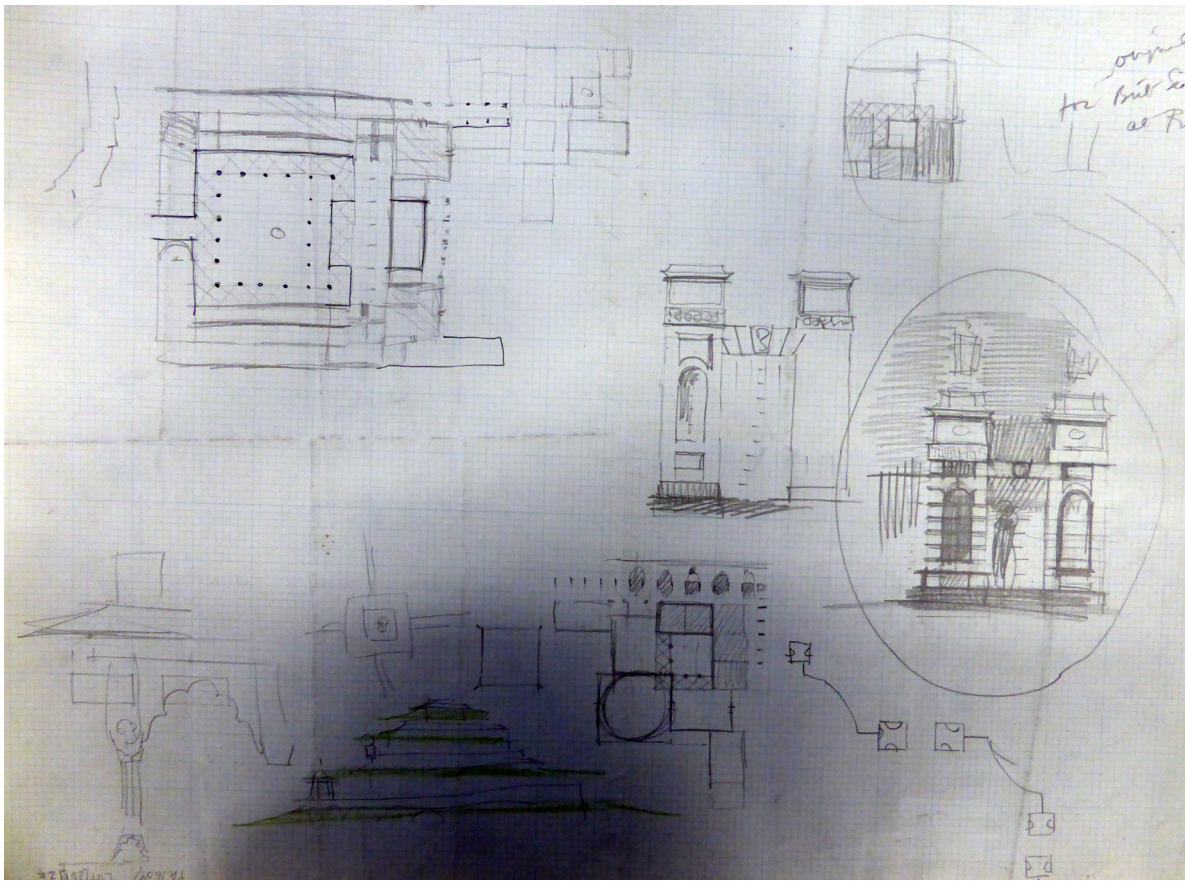


Figure 4.22. E.L. Lutyens, sketches of the British School in Rome, El Guadalperal and Indian architecture, 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA1609/LUT(251)2.

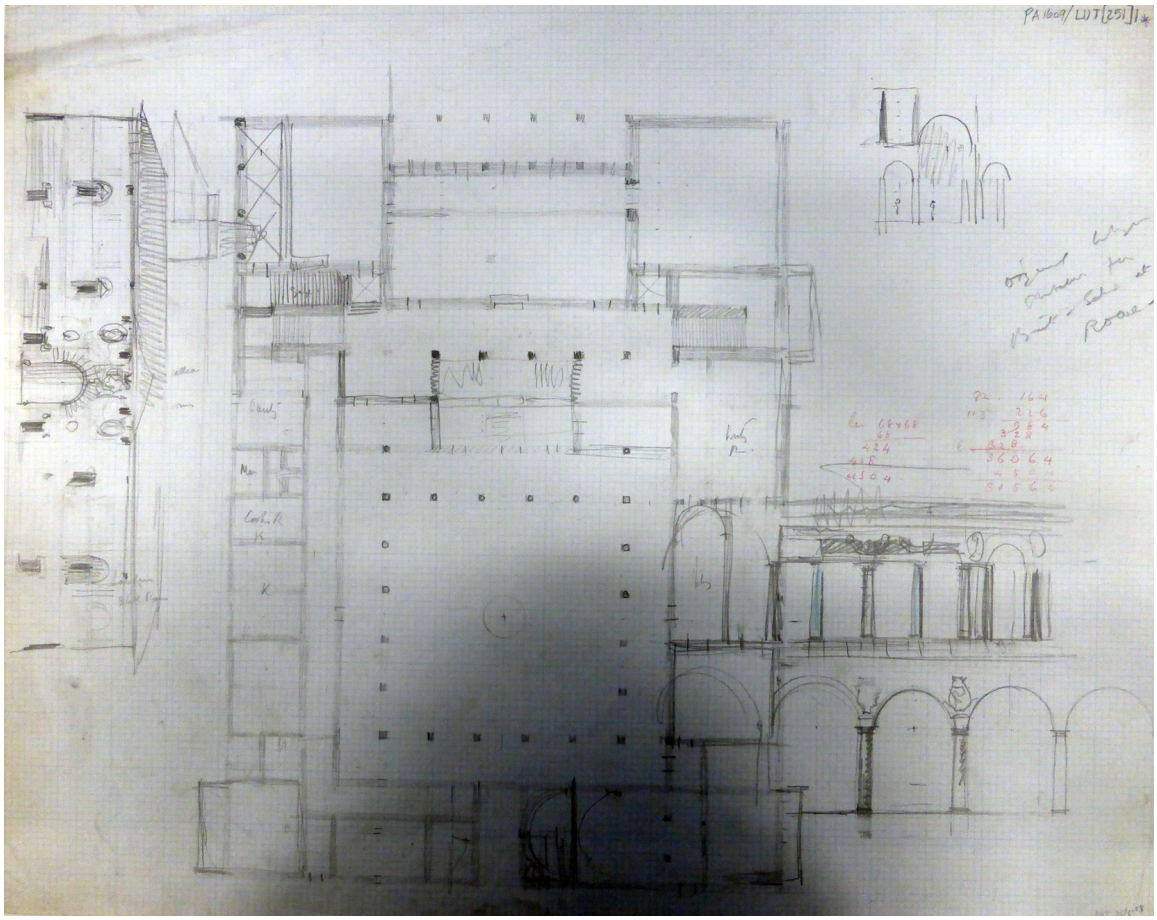


Figure 4.23. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, plan, elevation and section, 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA1609/LUT(251)1.

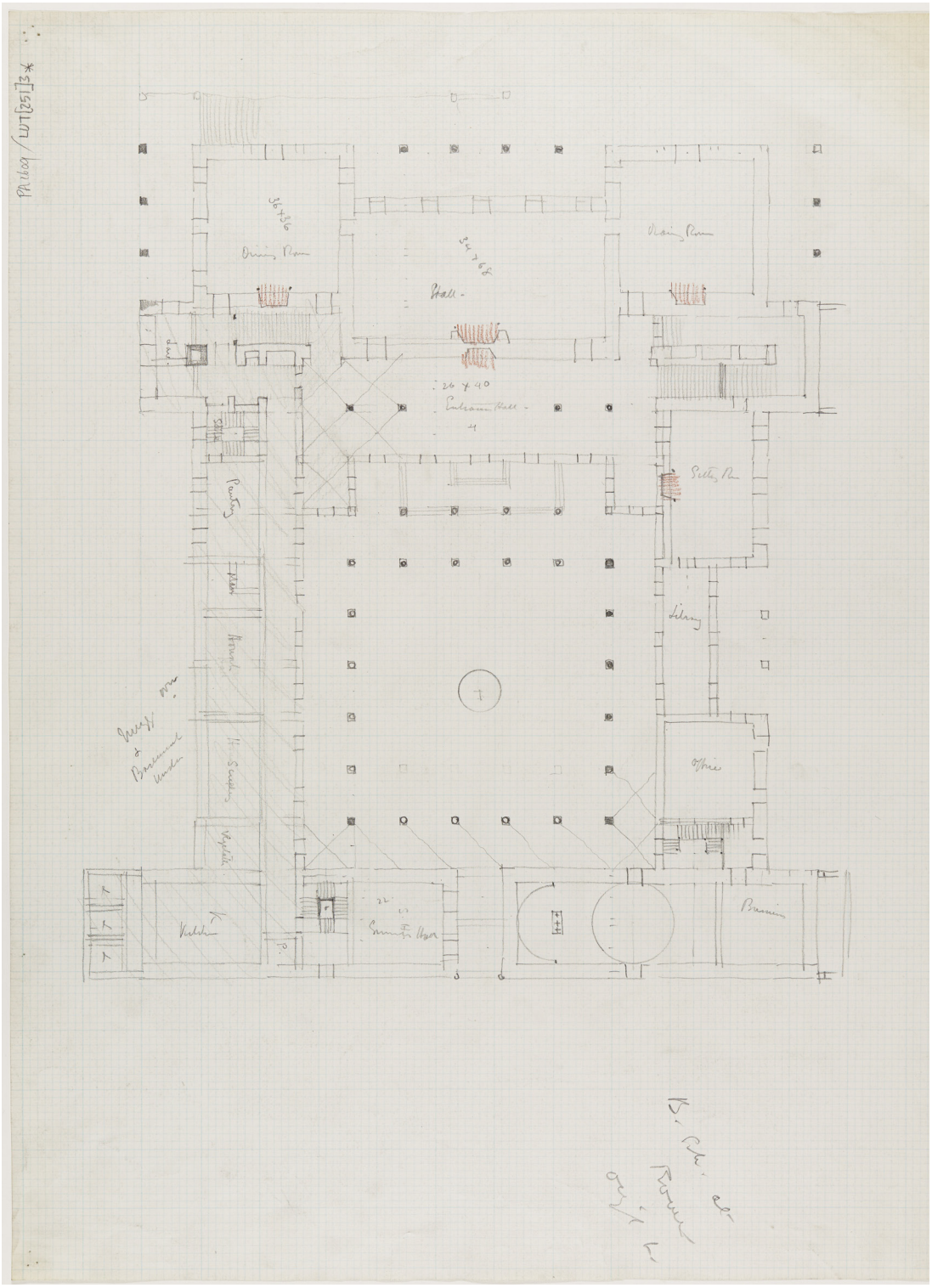


Figure 4.24. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, ground floor plan, 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA1609/LUT(251)3.

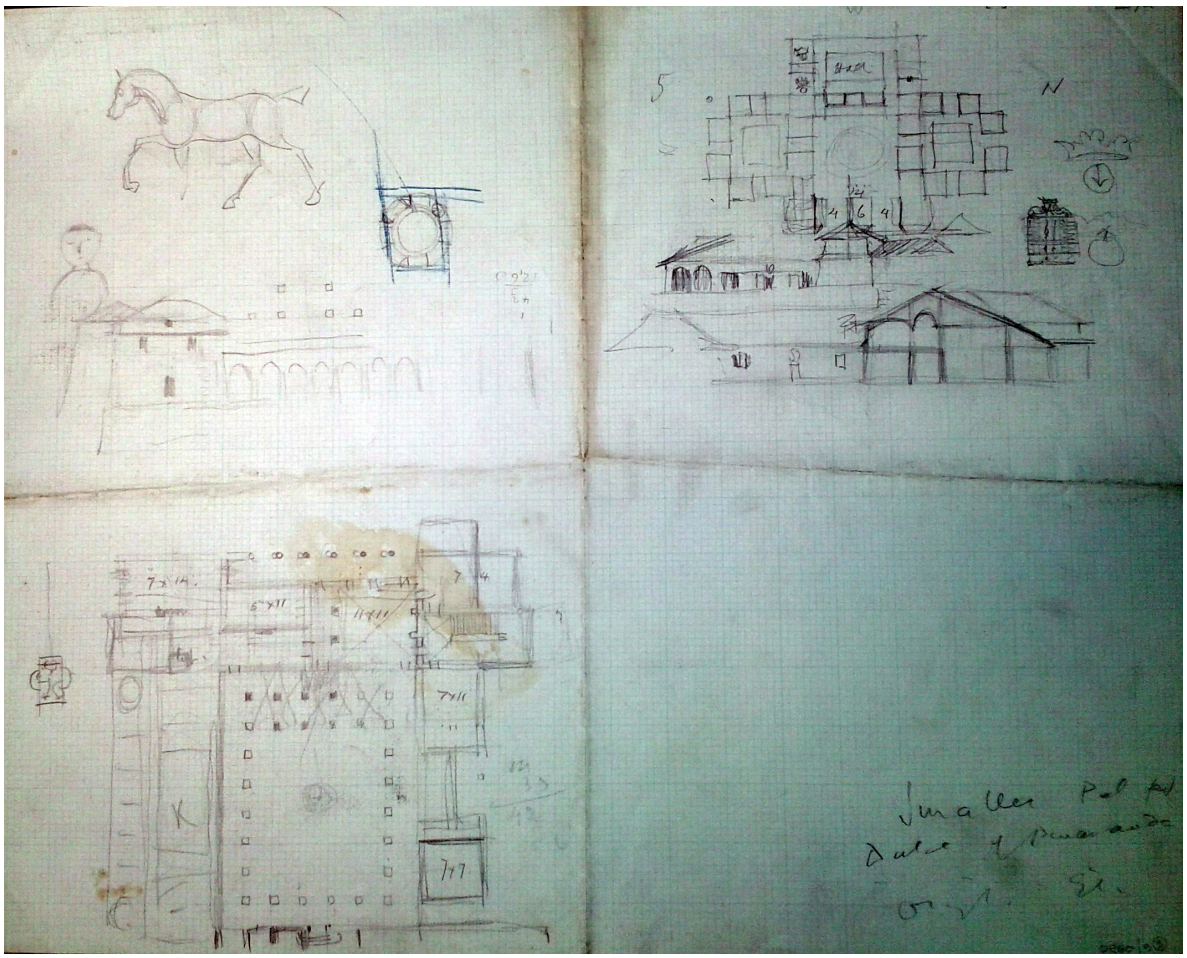


Figure 4.25. E.L. Lutyens, sketches for El Guadalperal and La Ventosilla, 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, DR60 / 9 (3).

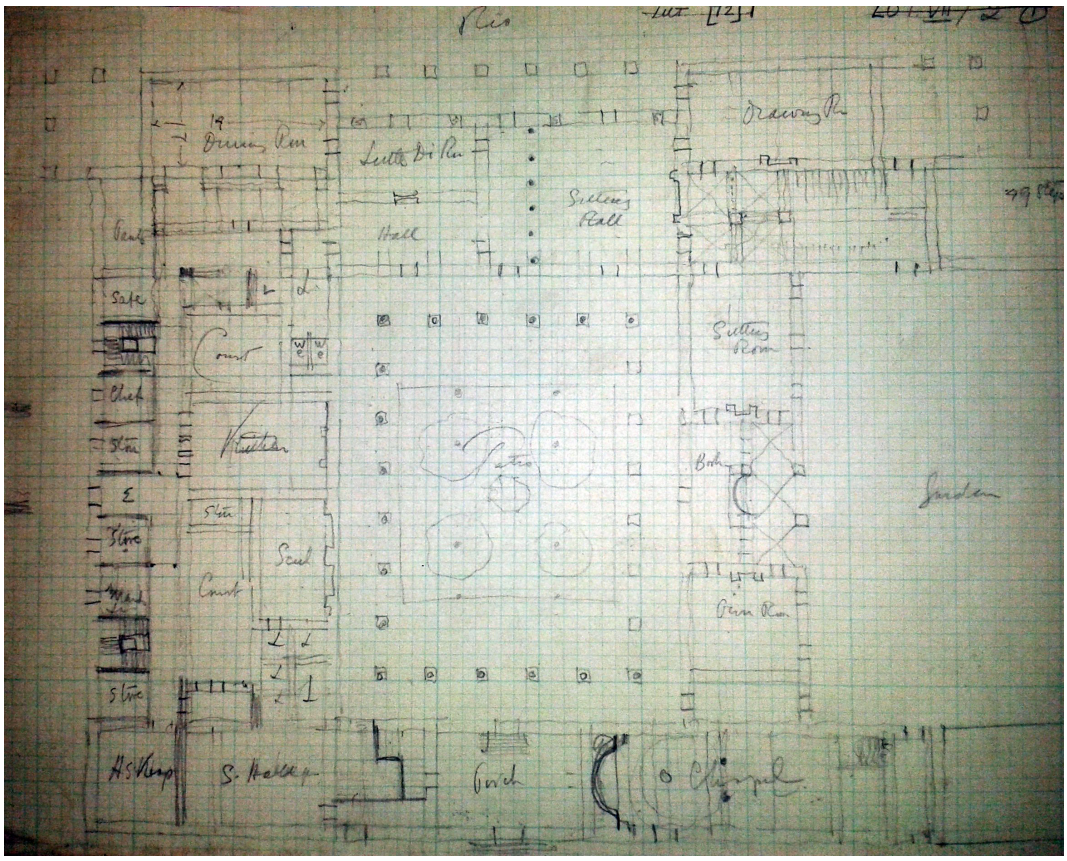


Figure 4.26. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, ground floor plan, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, DR60 / 9 (2), detail.

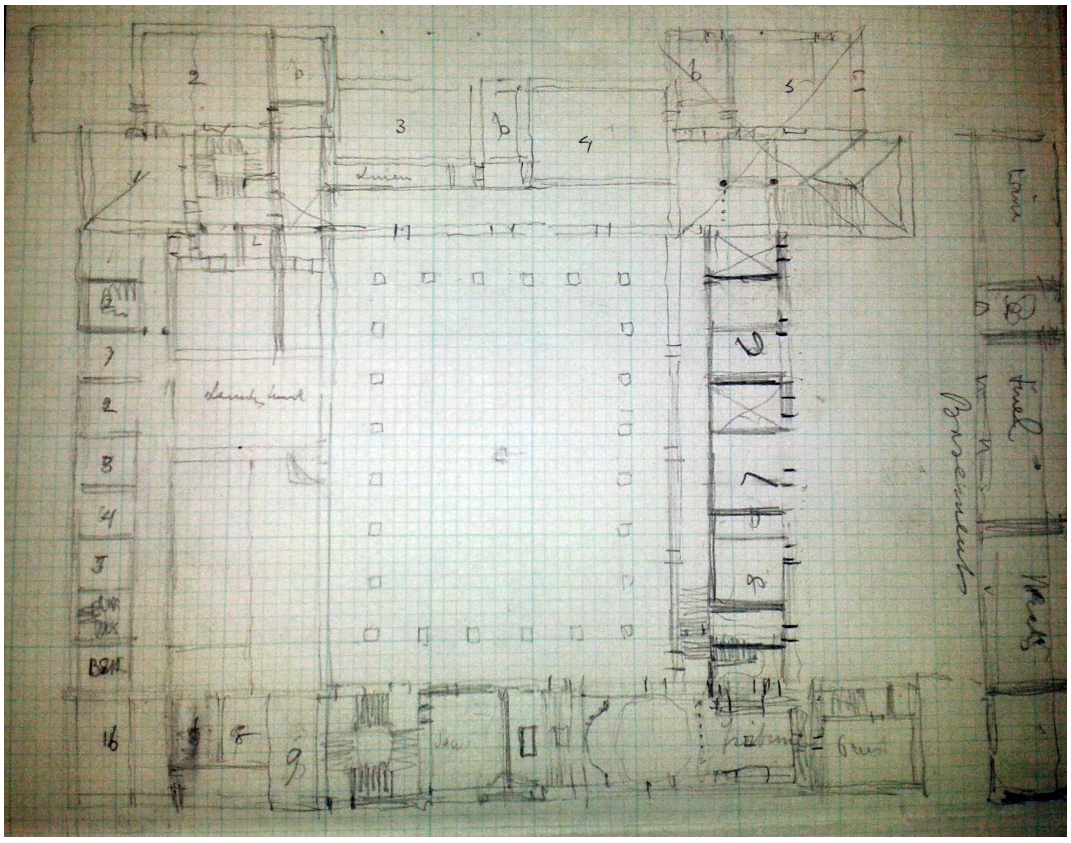


Figure 4.27. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, first floor plan, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, DR60 / 9 (2), detail.

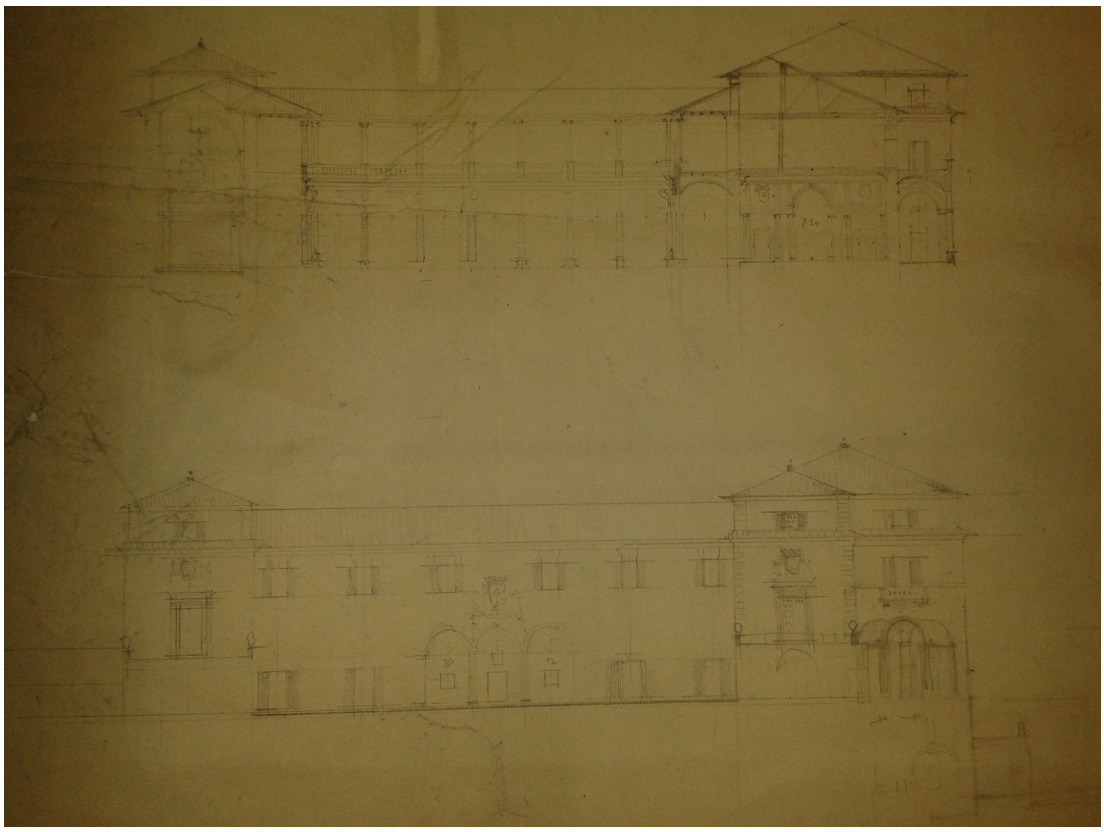


Figure 4.28. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, north-south section and west elevation, 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection.

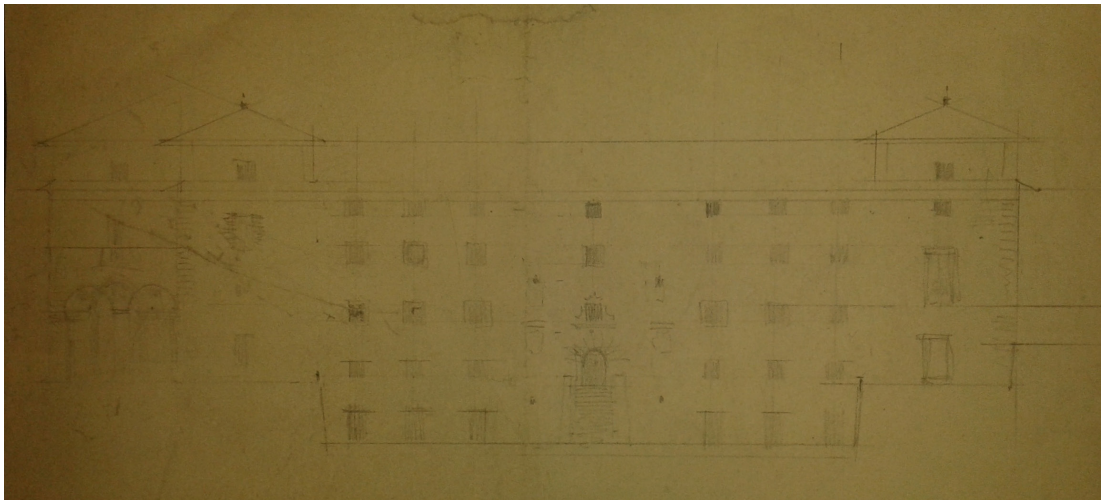


Figure 4.29. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, east elevation, 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection.

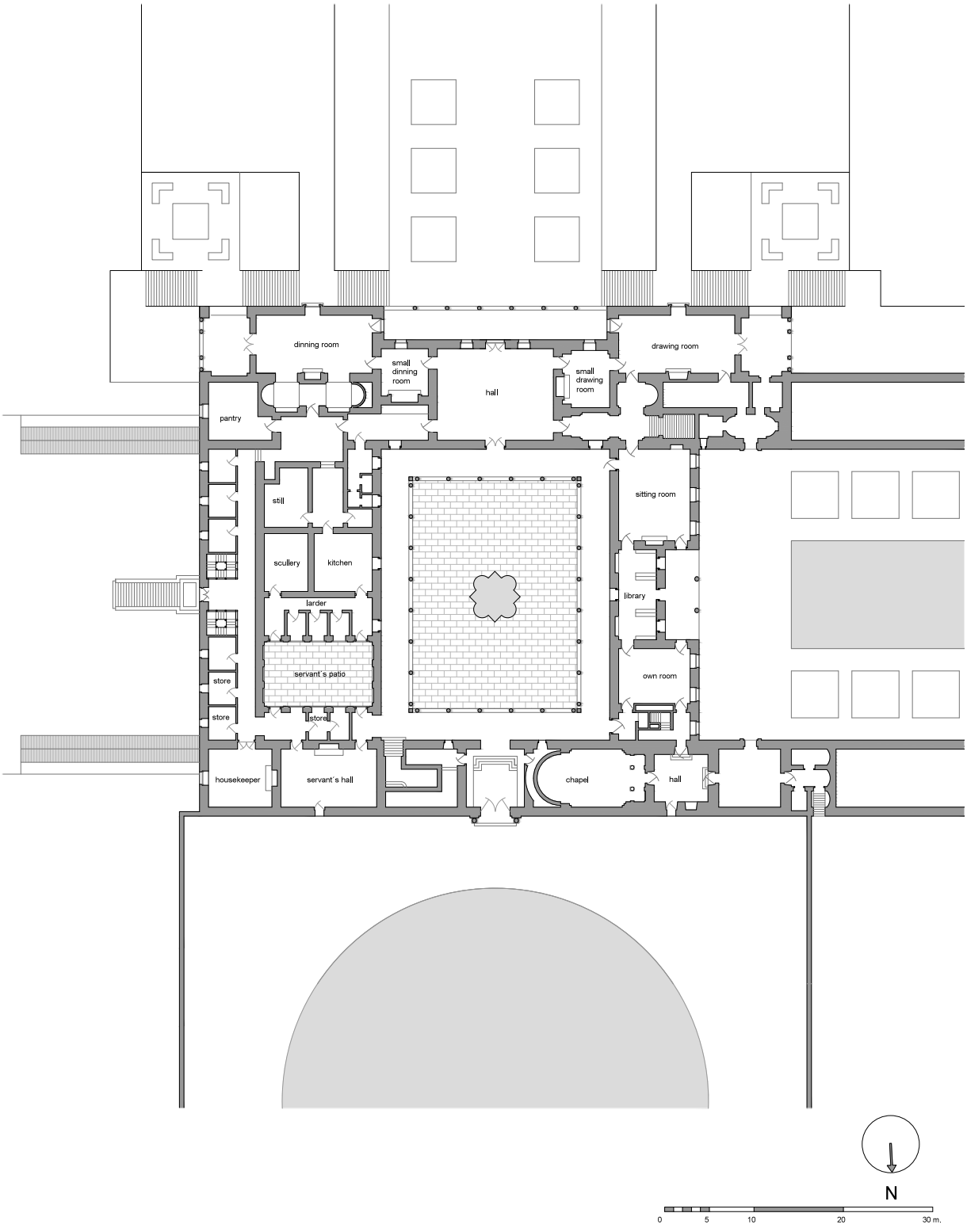


Figure 4.30. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, ground floor plan, 1916, reconstruction by the author.

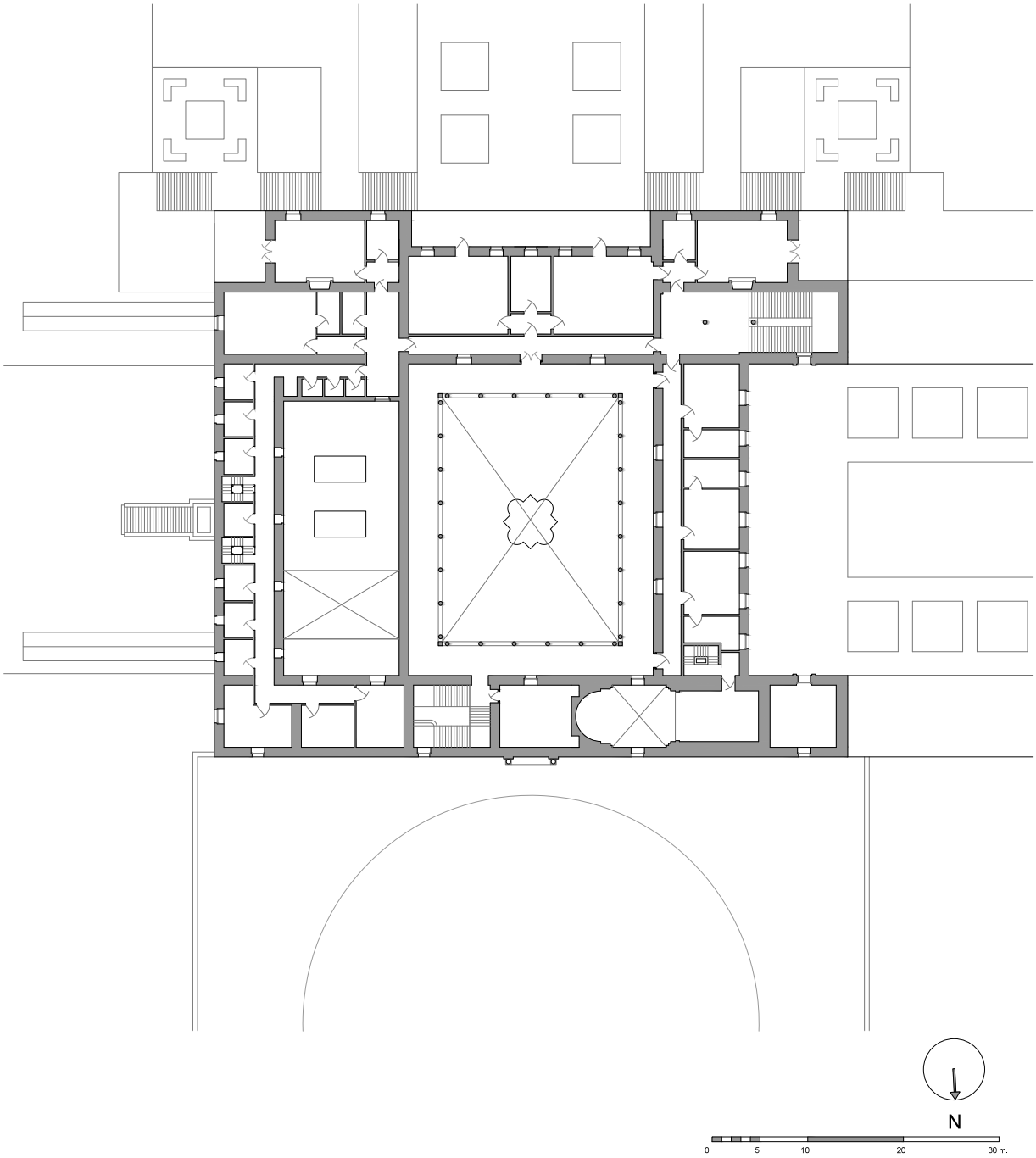


Figure 4.33. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, first floor plan, 1916, reconstruction by the author.

Figure 4.31. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, north and south elevations, October 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (11).

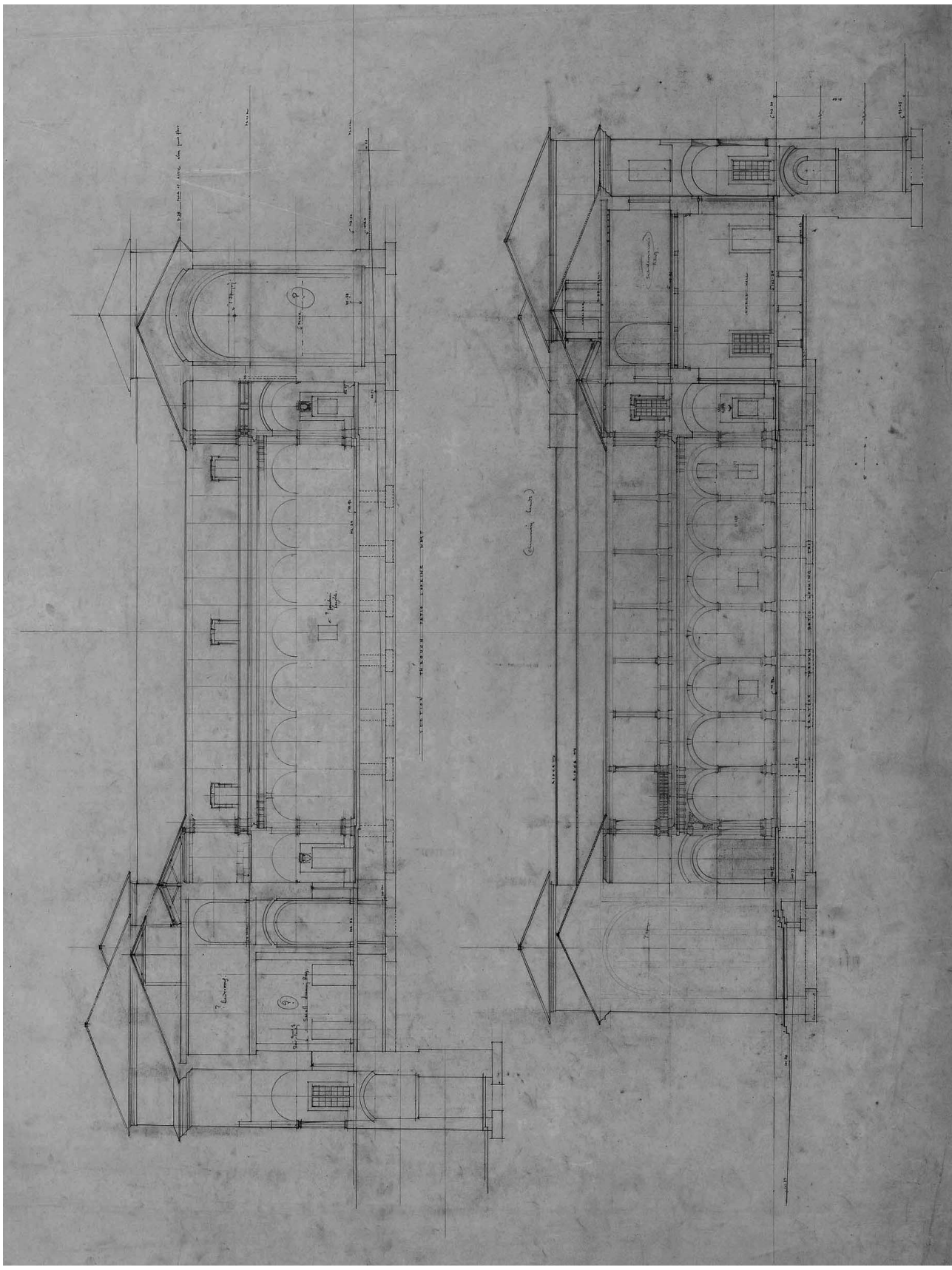


Figure 4.32. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, north-south sections, October 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (12).

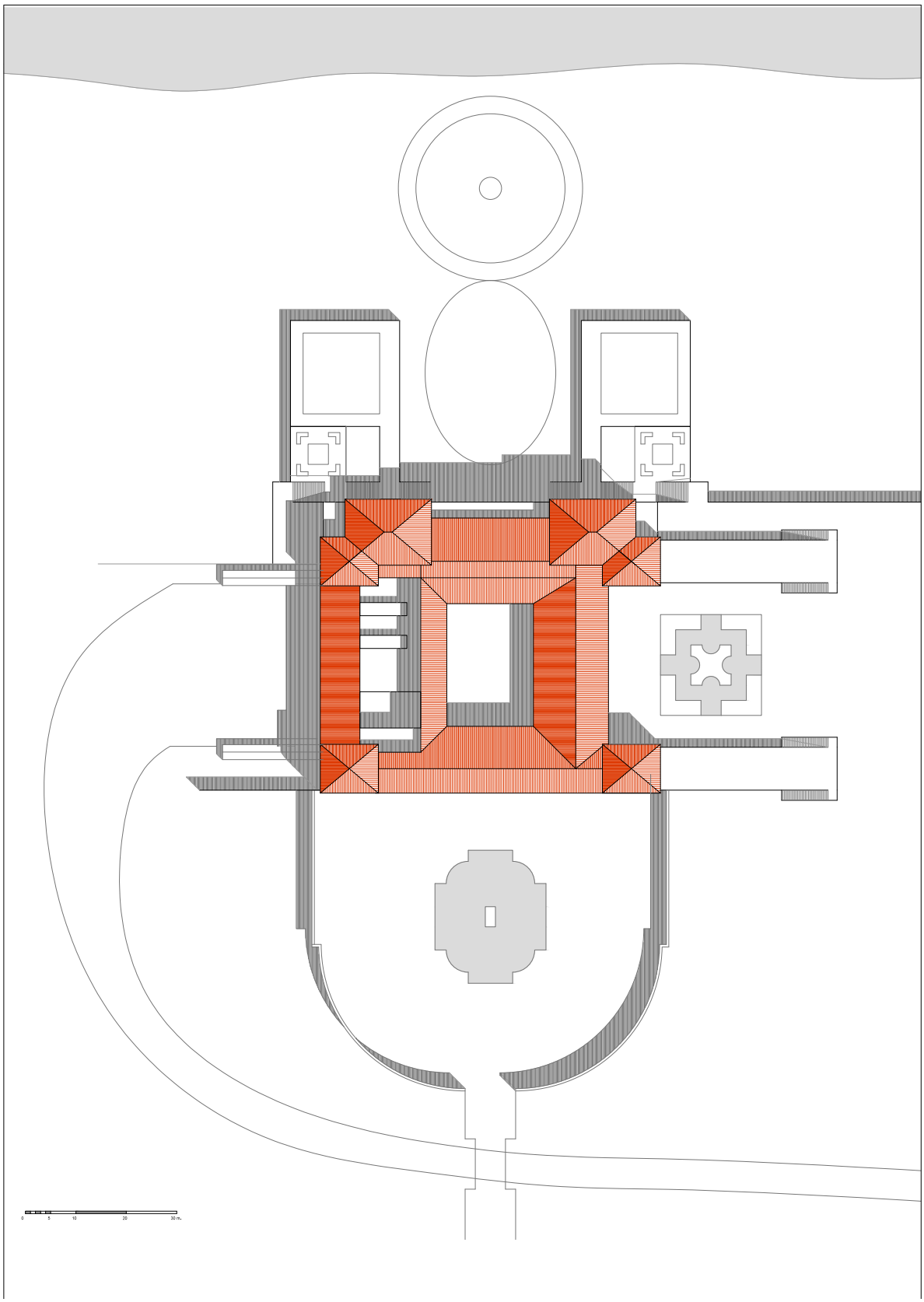


Figure 4.34. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, roof plan and general layout, 1916, reconstruction by the author.

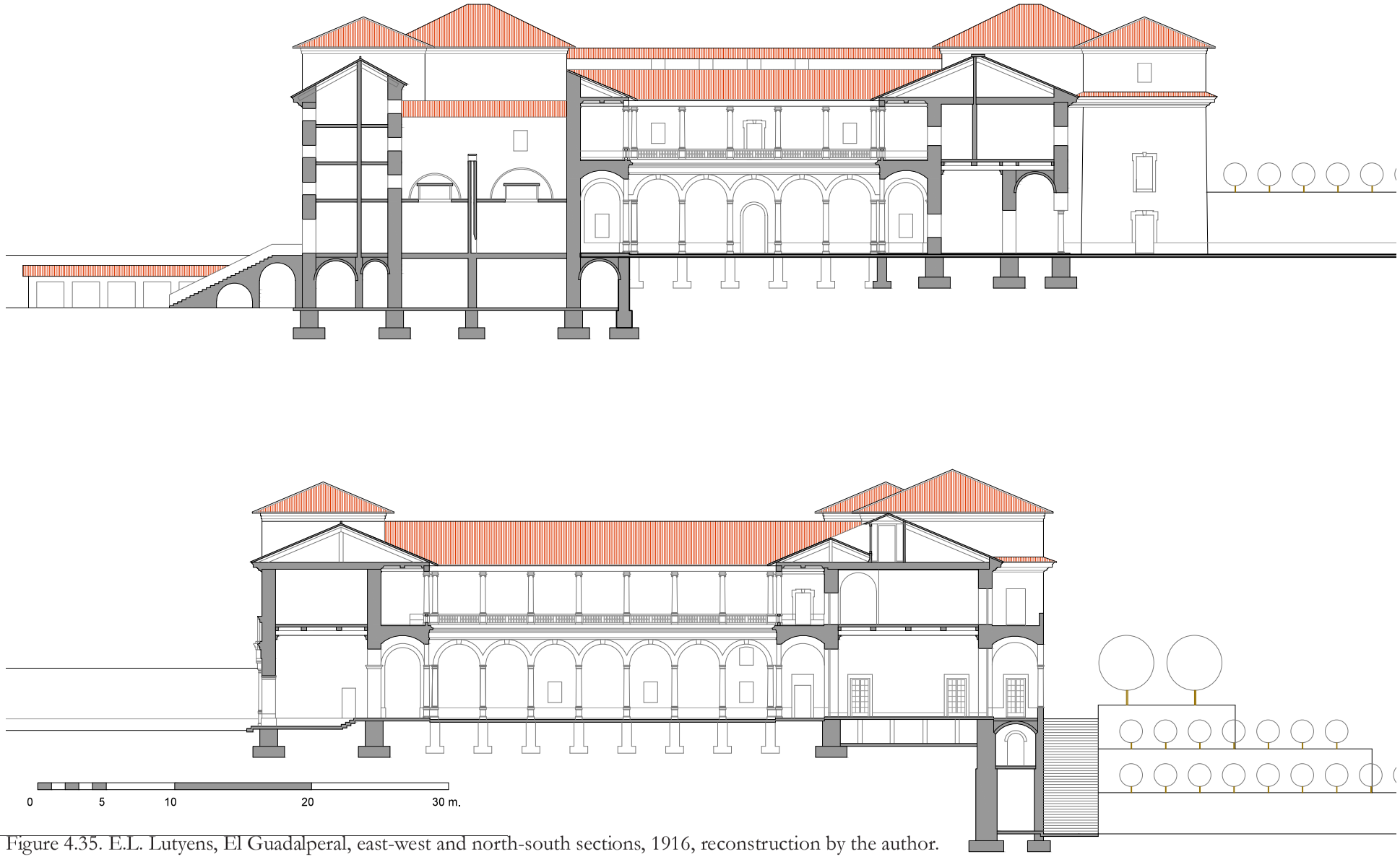


Figure 4.35. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, east-west and north-south sections, 1916, reconstruction by the author.

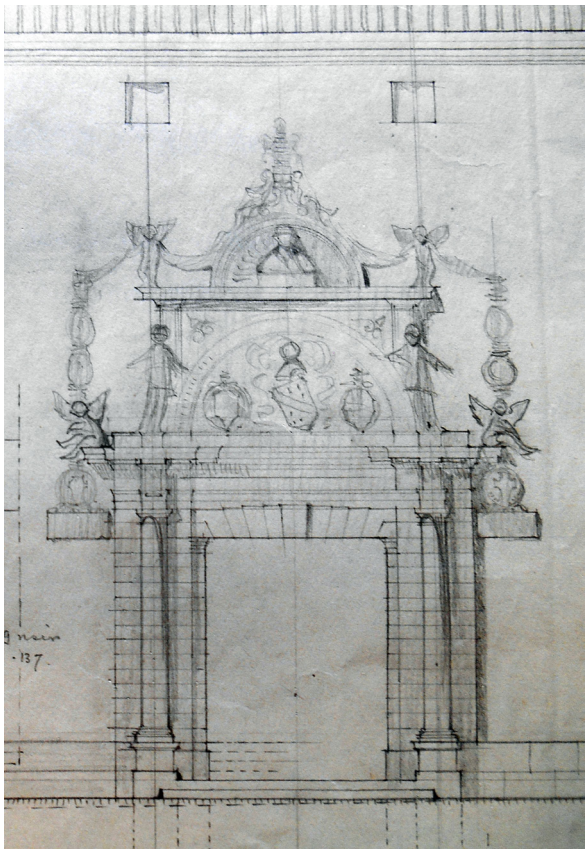


Figure 4.36. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, north elevation, 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60 / 9 (9), detail.

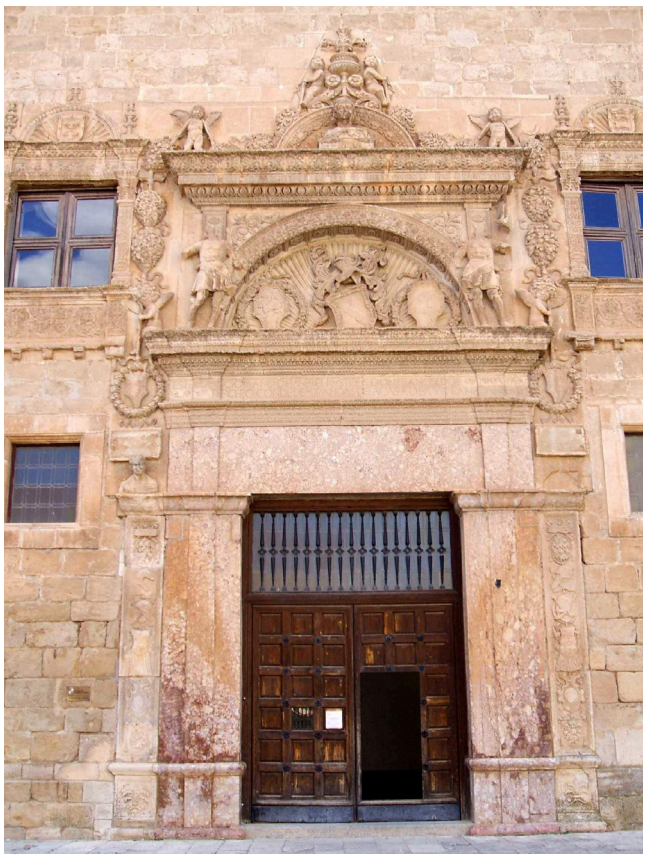


Figure 4.37. Palace of the Counts of Miranda in Peñaranda de Duero, main entrance, 16th century, by Recorriendo en Moto.

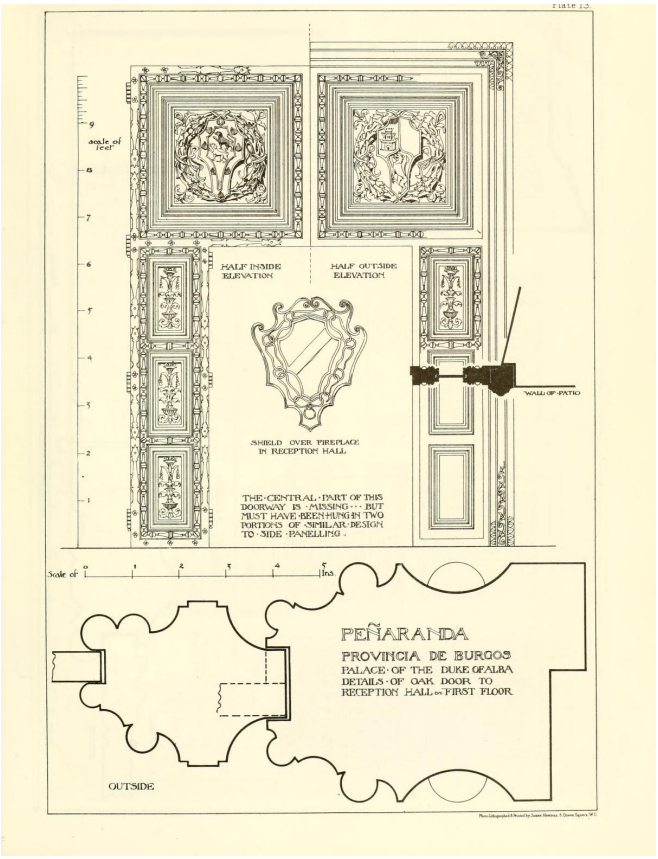


Figure 4.38. Palace of the Counts of Miranda, main entrance, A.N. Prentice, *Renaissance architecture and ornament in Spain* (London, 1893), plate 13.

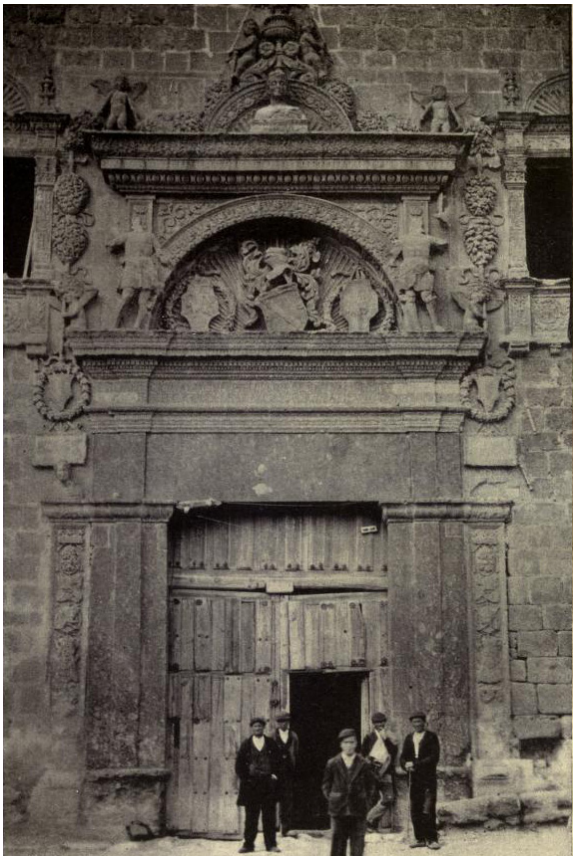


Figure 4.39. Palace of the Counts of Miranda, main entrance, A. Byne and M. Stapley, *Spanish Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (New York ,1917), 115.

Figure 4.40. 'The Panama-Pacific International Exposition. San Francisco', *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 108, no. 3146, 23 April 1915, 480.

Figure 4.41. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, north facade, 1916, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 4.42. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, south facade, 1916, 3D rendering by the author.

.

Figure 4.43. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, west facade, 1916, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 4.44. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, bird's eye view form the south west, 1916, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 4.45. E.L. Lutyens, El Guadalperal, bird's eye view form the south east, 1916, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 4.46. E.L. Lutyens, house on the river Hudson river, 1903, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA1608/LUT [224] (1).

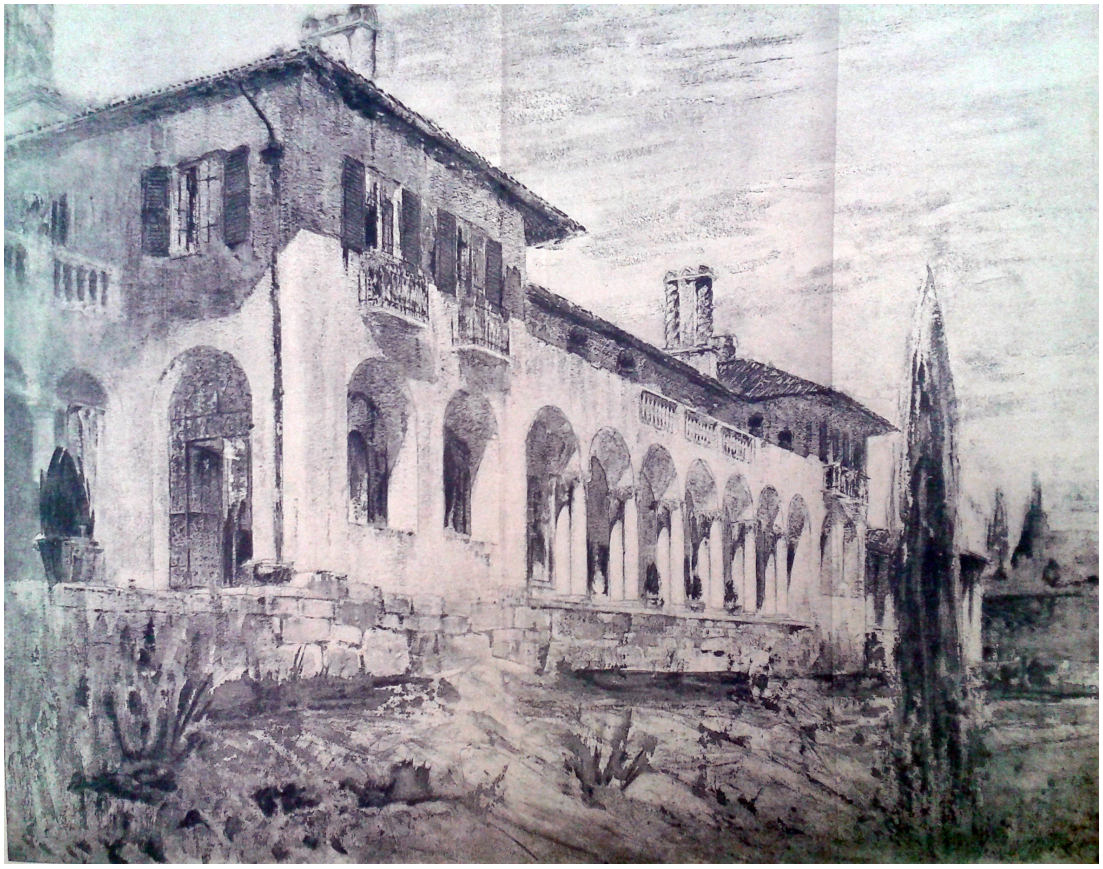


Figure 4.47. Herbert Baker, Villa Arcadia, Johannesburg, 1909, *The Builder*, 24 September 1915.

IMAGES CHAPTER V.

THE PALACE OF "LA VENTOSILLA"

Fig. 5.1. Wedding of Doña Sol and the Duque of Santoña. Photograph taken at the forecourt of Liria Palace. Alba is standing just behind Santoña. *Diario ABC*, 1906.

Fig. 5.2. Palace of La Ventosilla, near Toledo, by the Author.

Fig. 5.3. Satellite view of the estates of La Ventosilla and Zuarraz. North to the left. To the top, the palace of La Ventosilla and, bellow it, Lutyens's new palace.

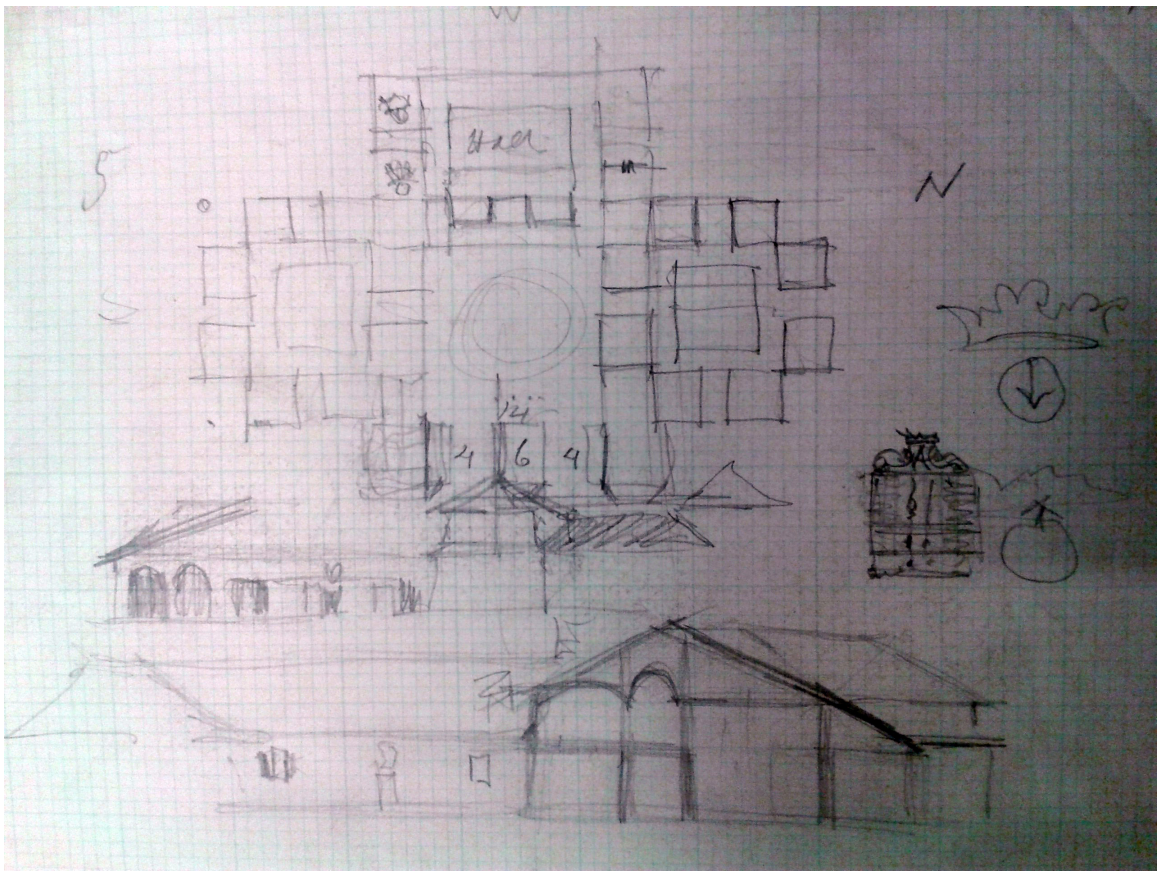


Fig. 5.4. E.L. Lutyens, sketches for La Ventosilla, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA1626 LUT (12) 3.

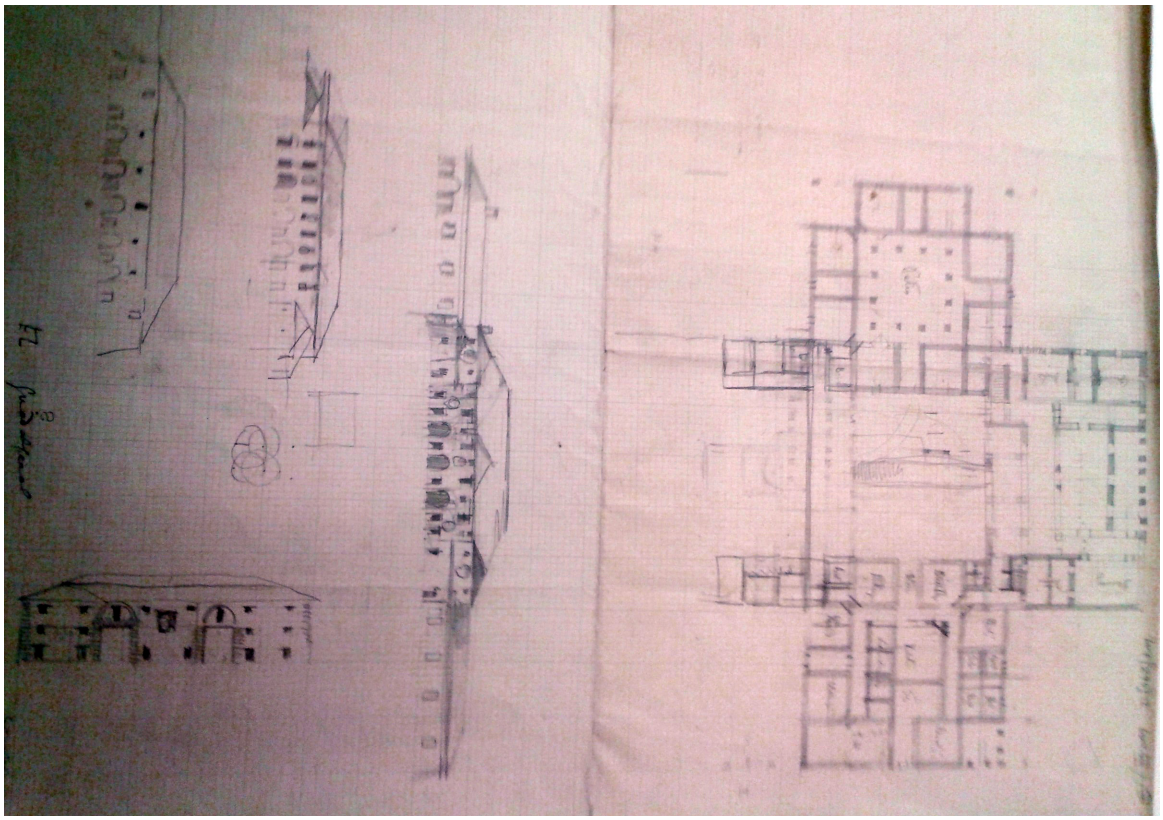


Fig. 5.5. E.L. Lutyens, sketches for La Ventosilla, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA1626/LUT (13) 2.

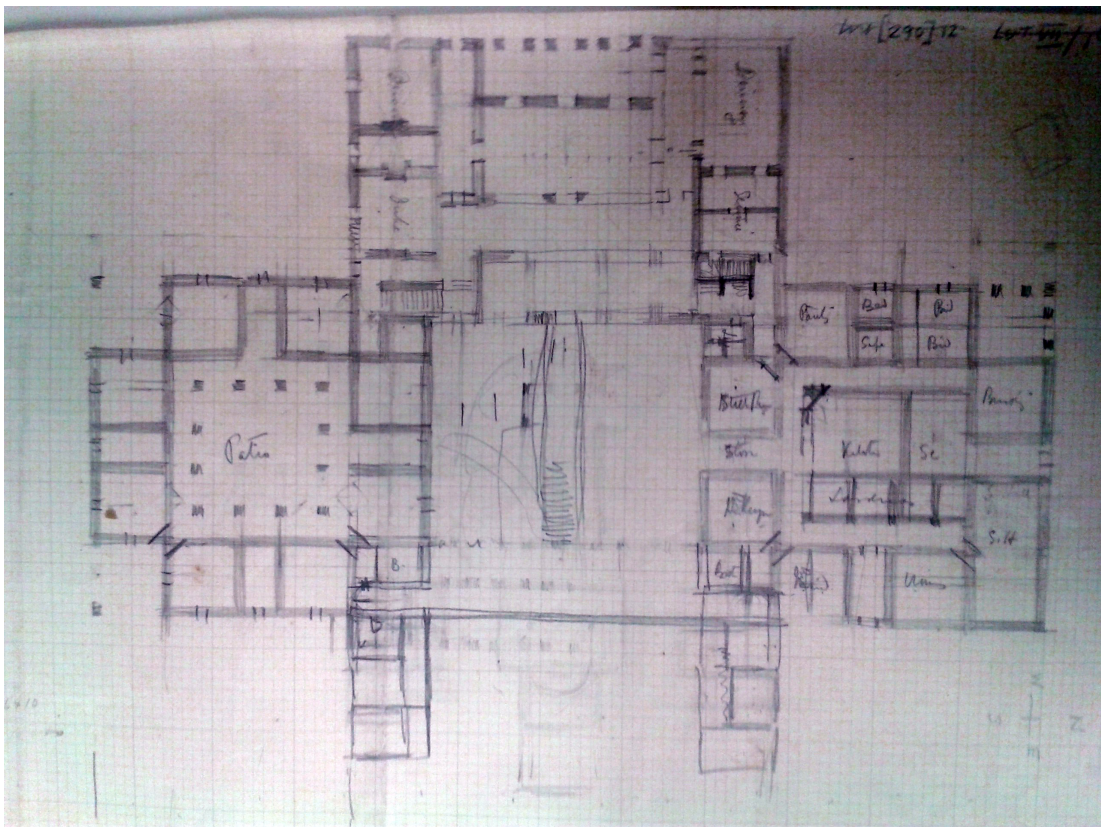


Fig. 5.6. E.L. Lutyens, sketches for La Ventosilla, c. 1916, detail showing plan, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1626/LUT (11) 2.

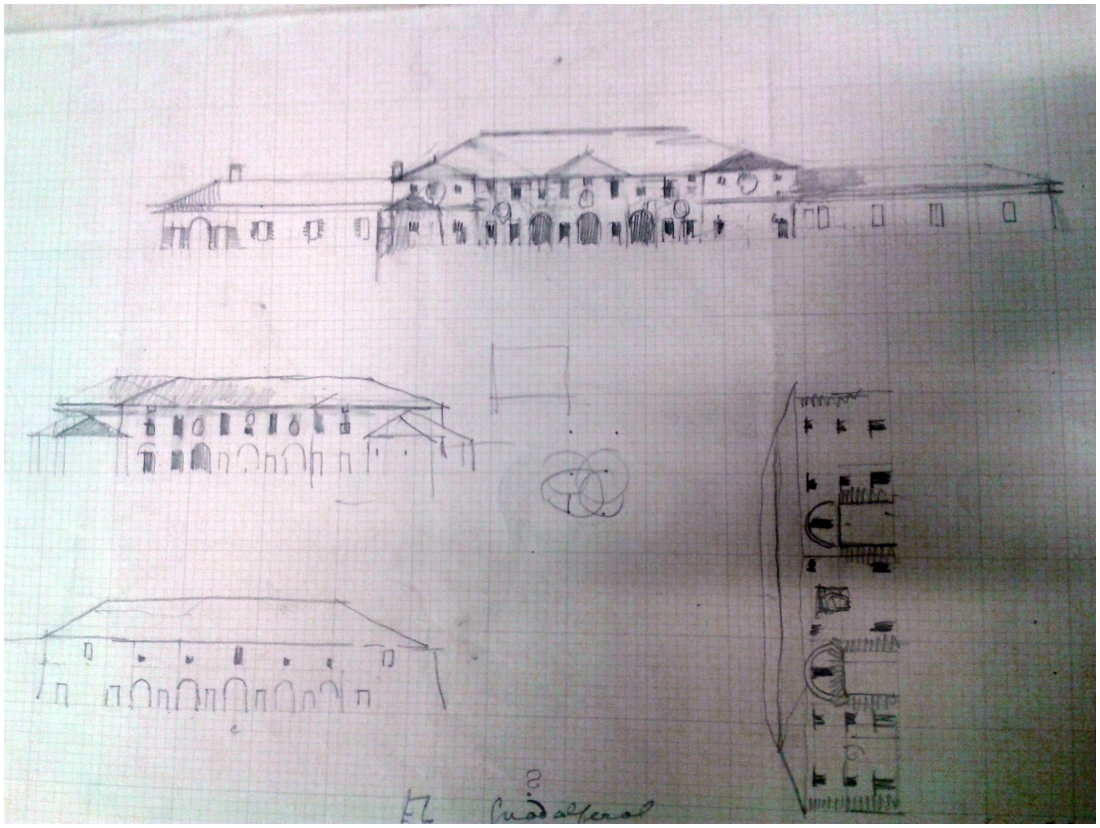


Fig. 5.7. E.L. Lutyens, sketches for La Ventosilla, c. 1916, detail showing elevations, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1626/LUT (13) 2.

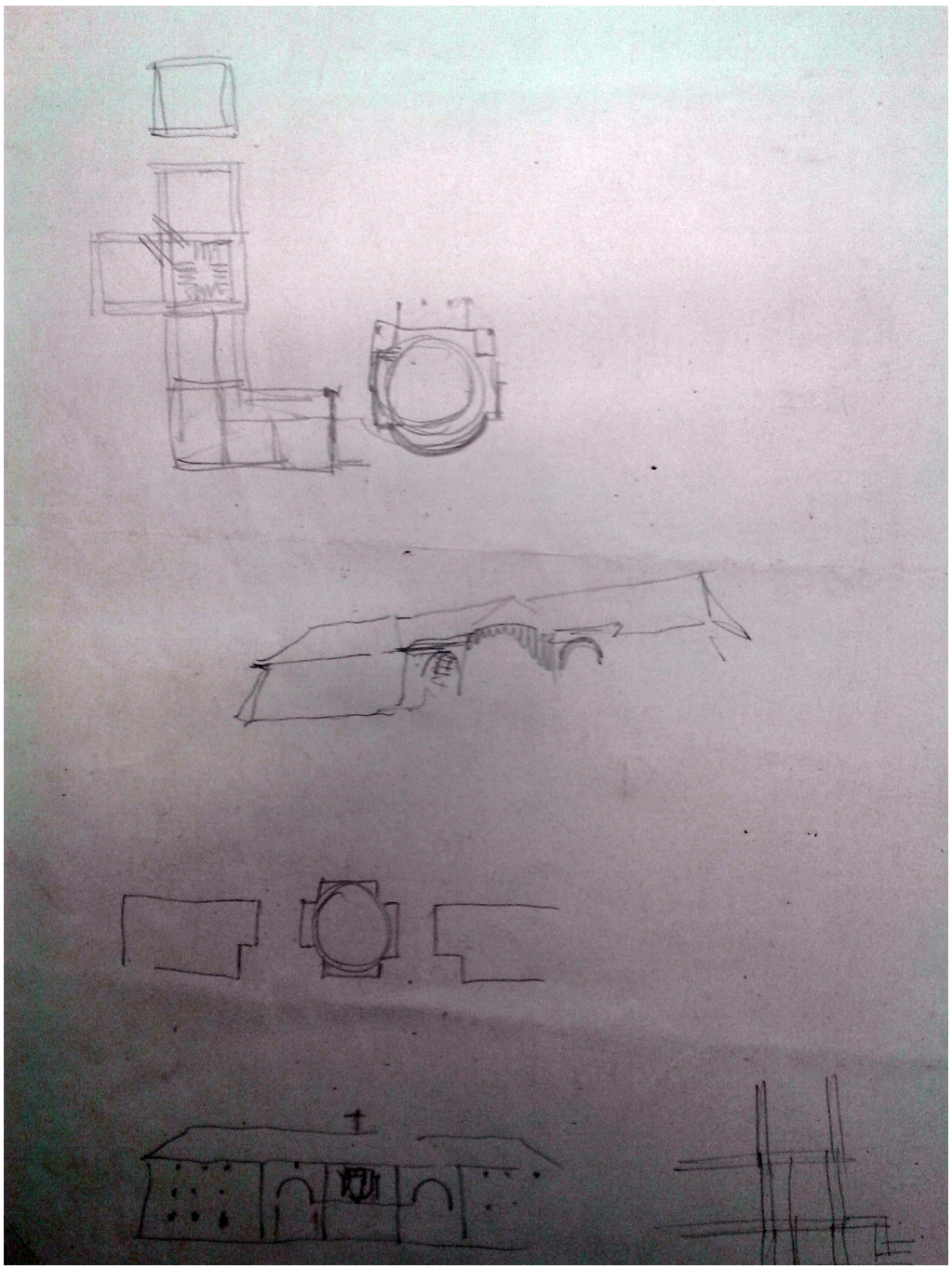


Fig. 5.8. E.L. Lutyens, sketches for the entrance gate of La Ventosilla, c. 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection.

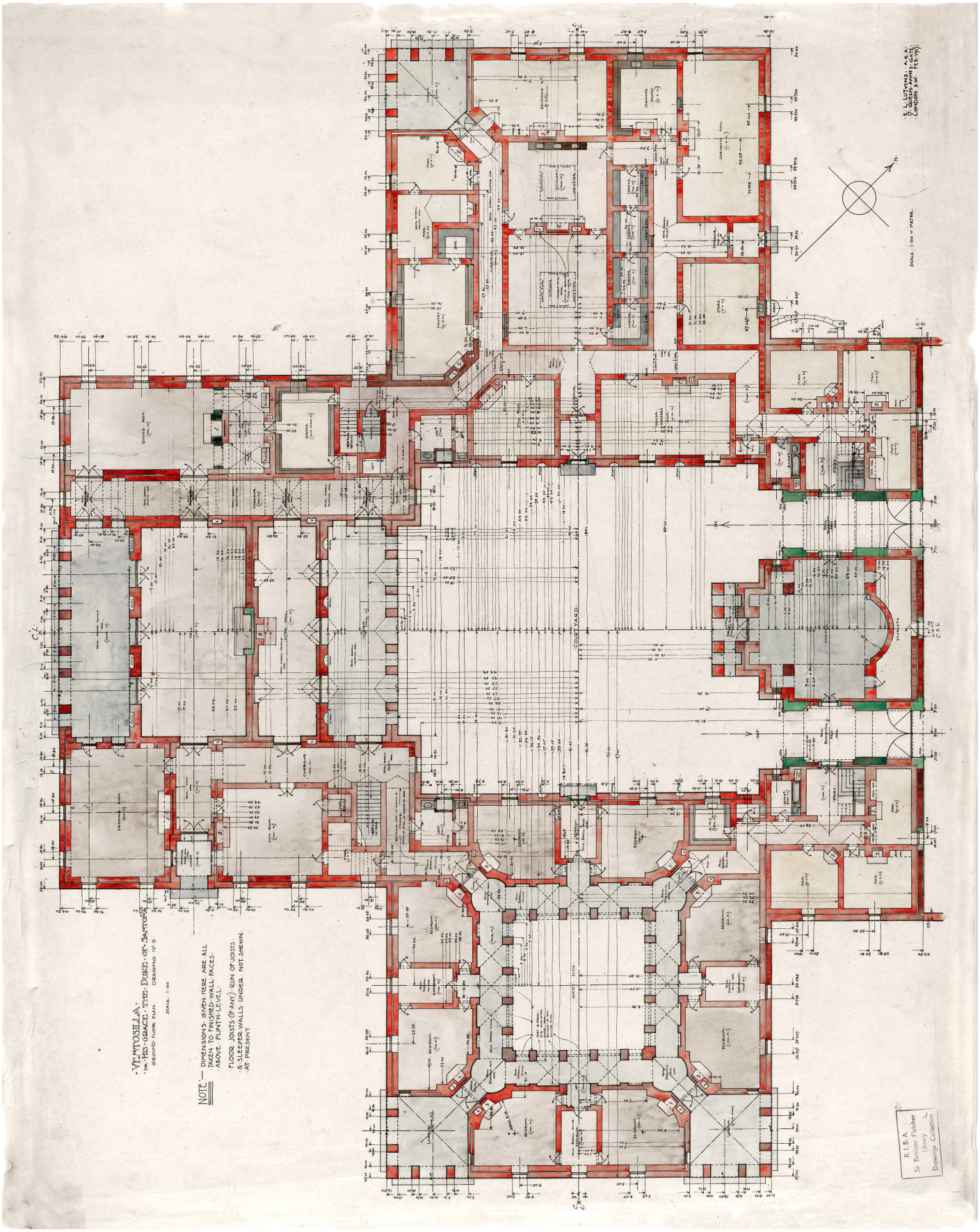


Fig. 5.9. E.L. Lutyens, La Ventosilla, Ground floor plan, 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1626/LUT (11) 5.

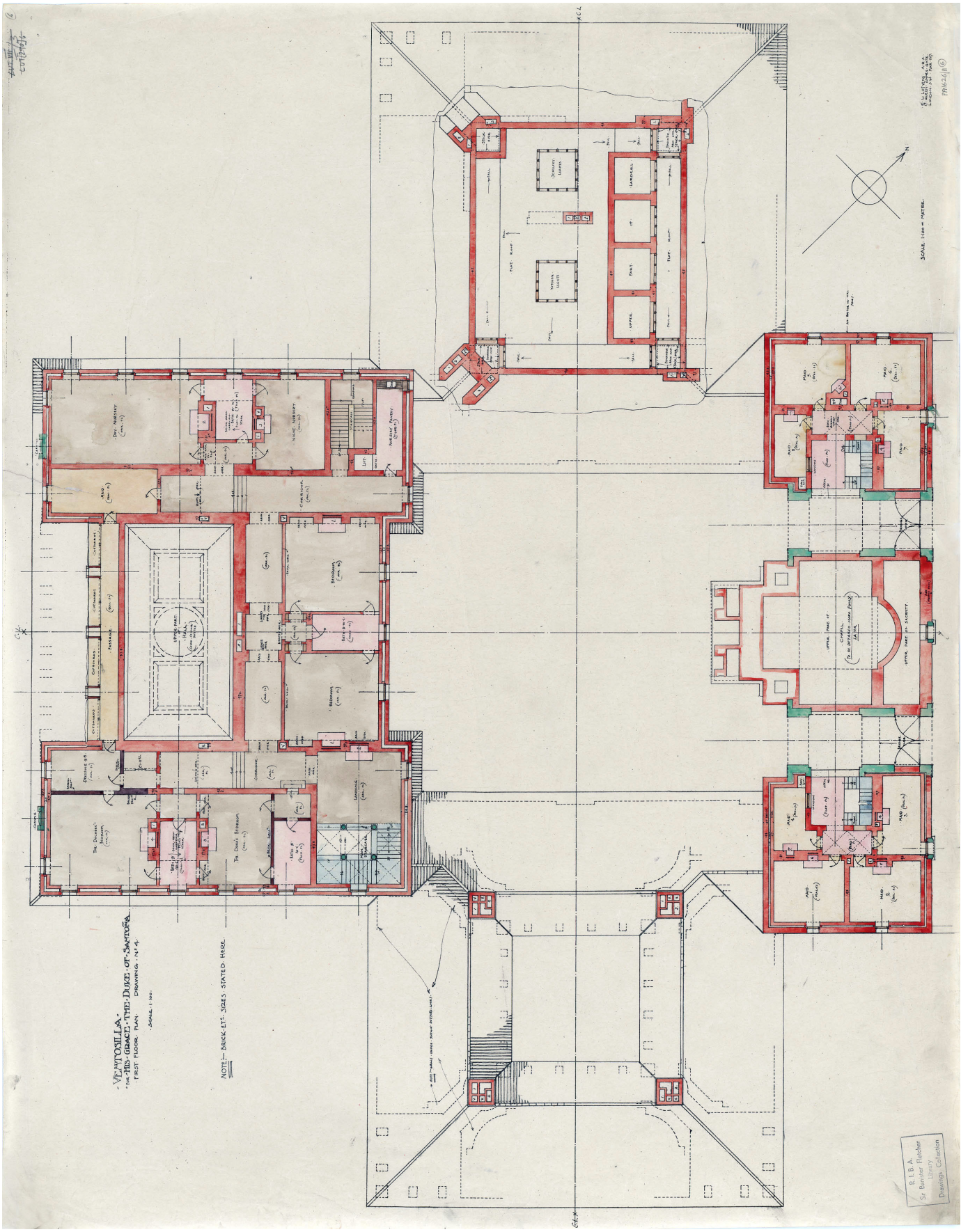


Fig. 5.10. E.L. Lutyens, La Ventosilla, First floor plan, 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1626/LUT (11) 6.

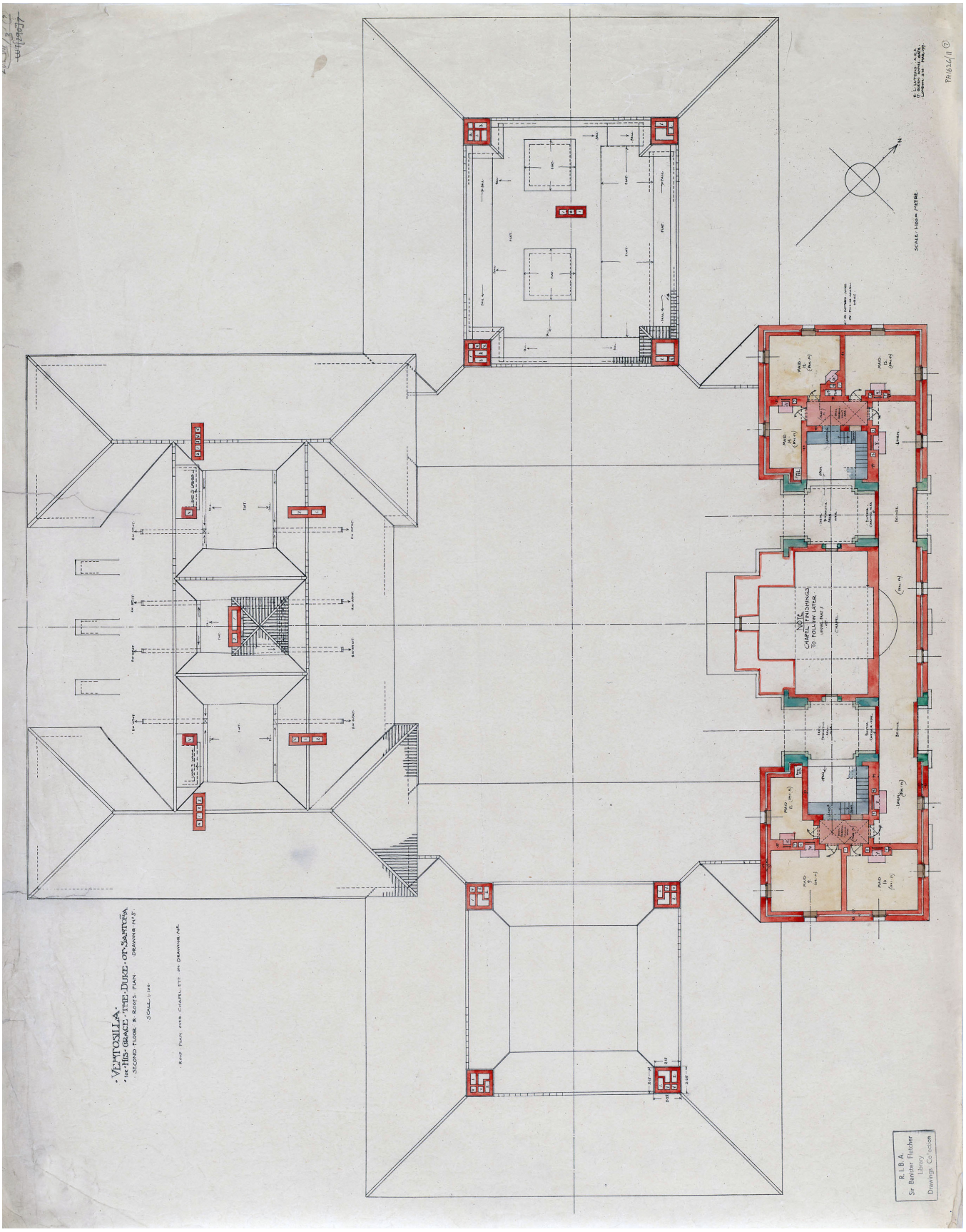


Fig. 5.11. E.L. Lutyens, La Ventosilla, Second floor plan, 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1626/LUT (11) 7.

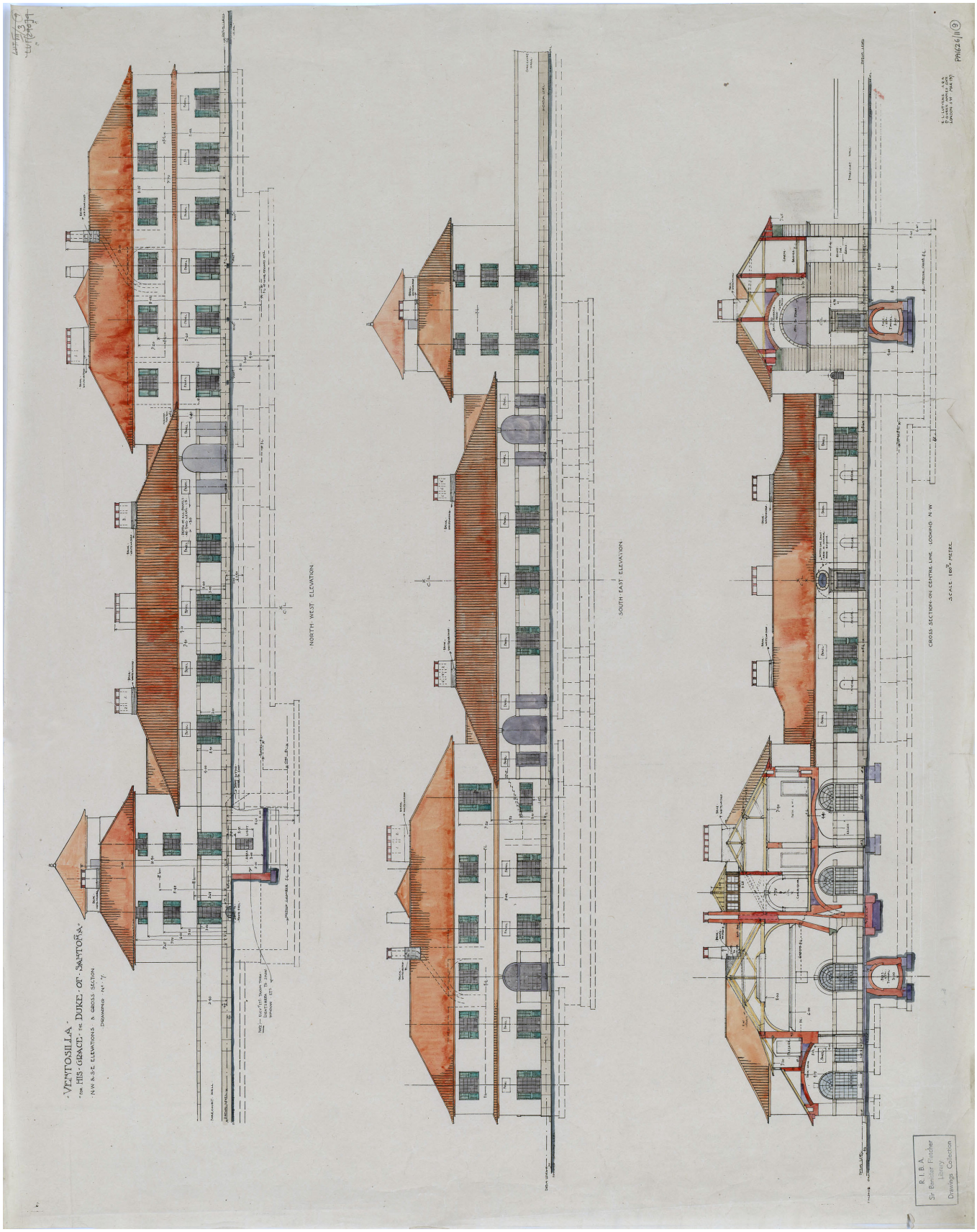


Fig. 5.12. E.L. Lutyens, La Ventosilla, sections, 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1626/LUT (11) 9.

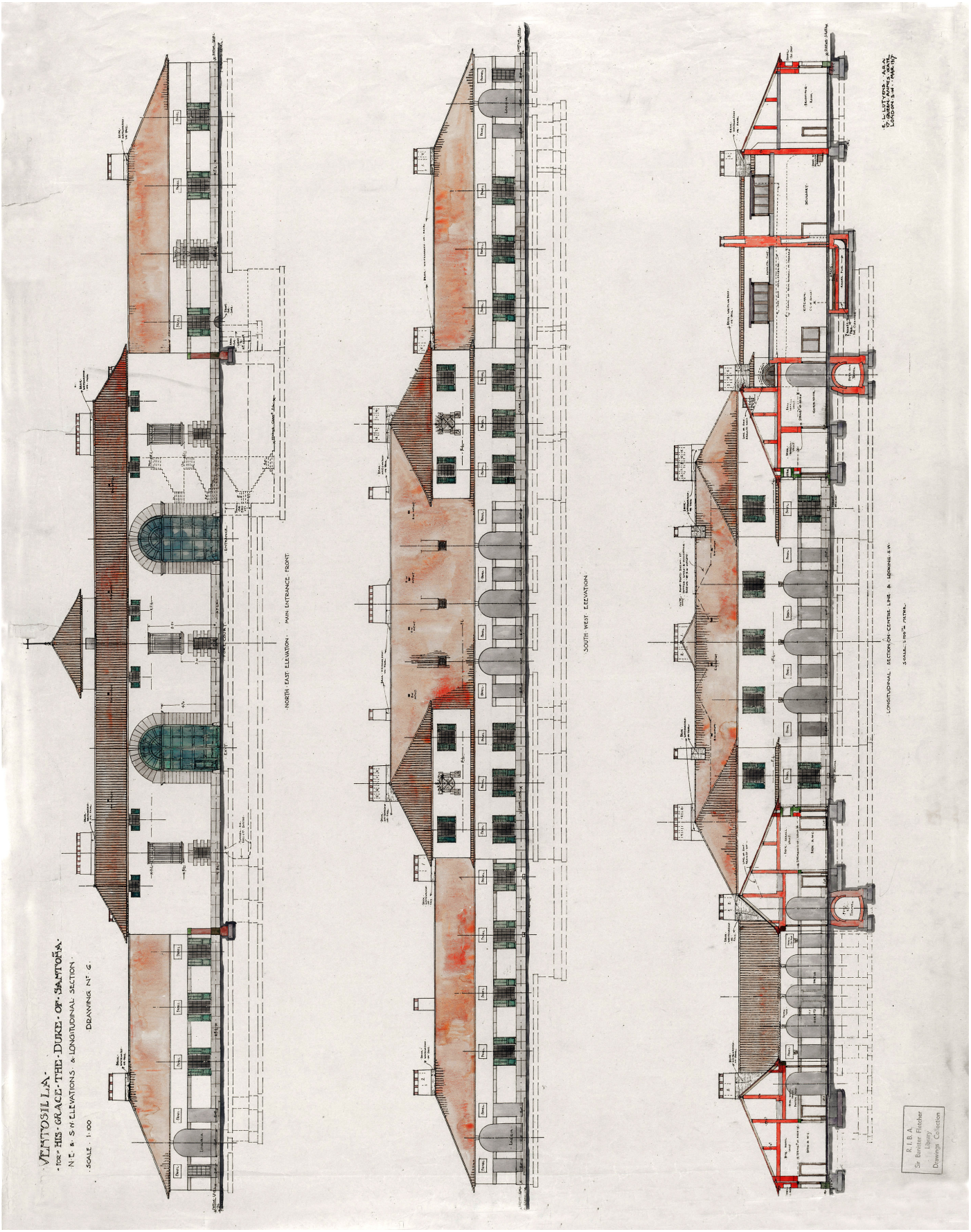


Fig. 5.13. E.L. Lutyens, La Ventosilla, elevations, 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1626/LUT (11) 10.

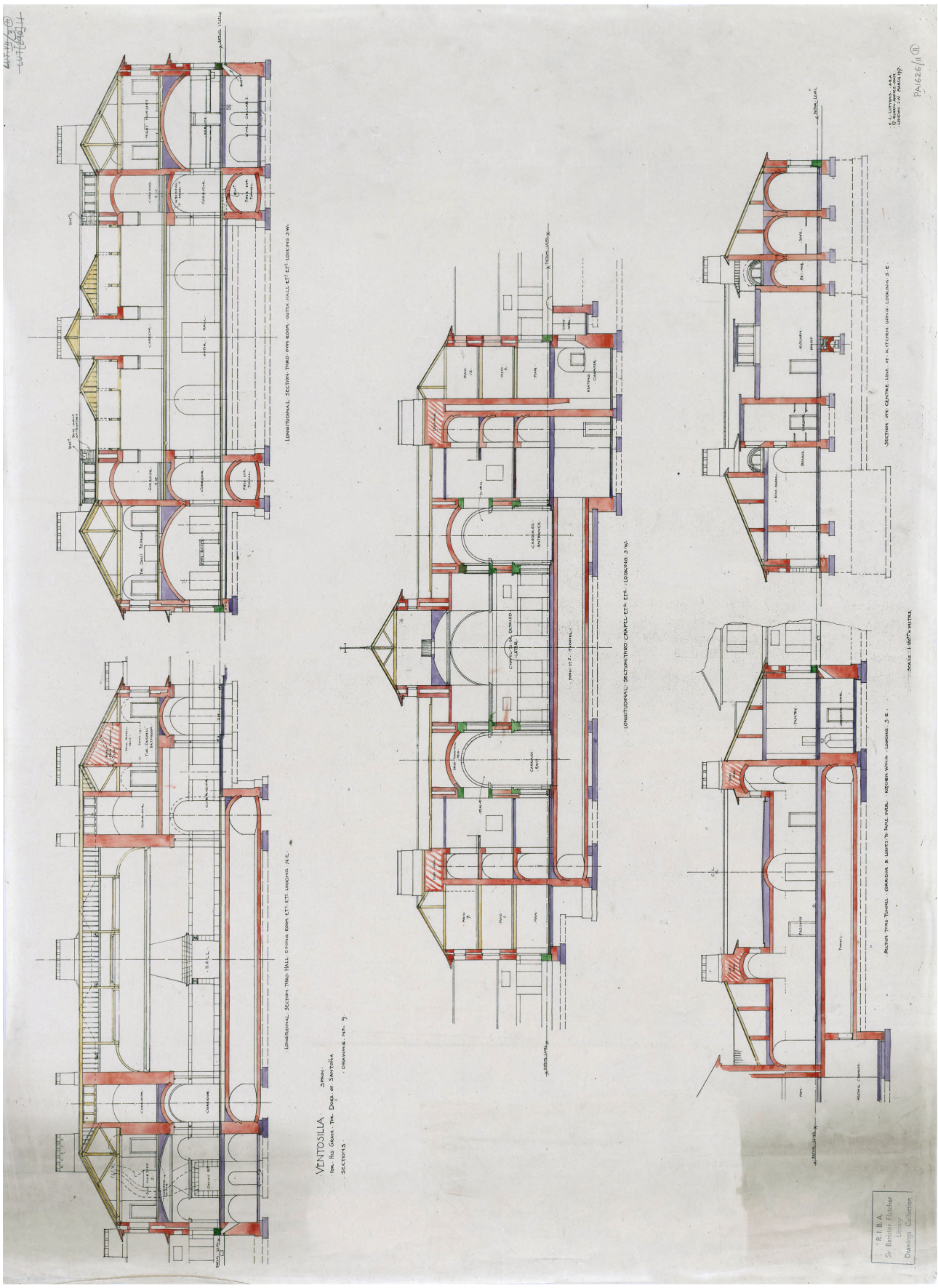


Fig. 5.14. E.L. Lutyens, La Ventosilla, sections, 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1626/LUT (11) 13.

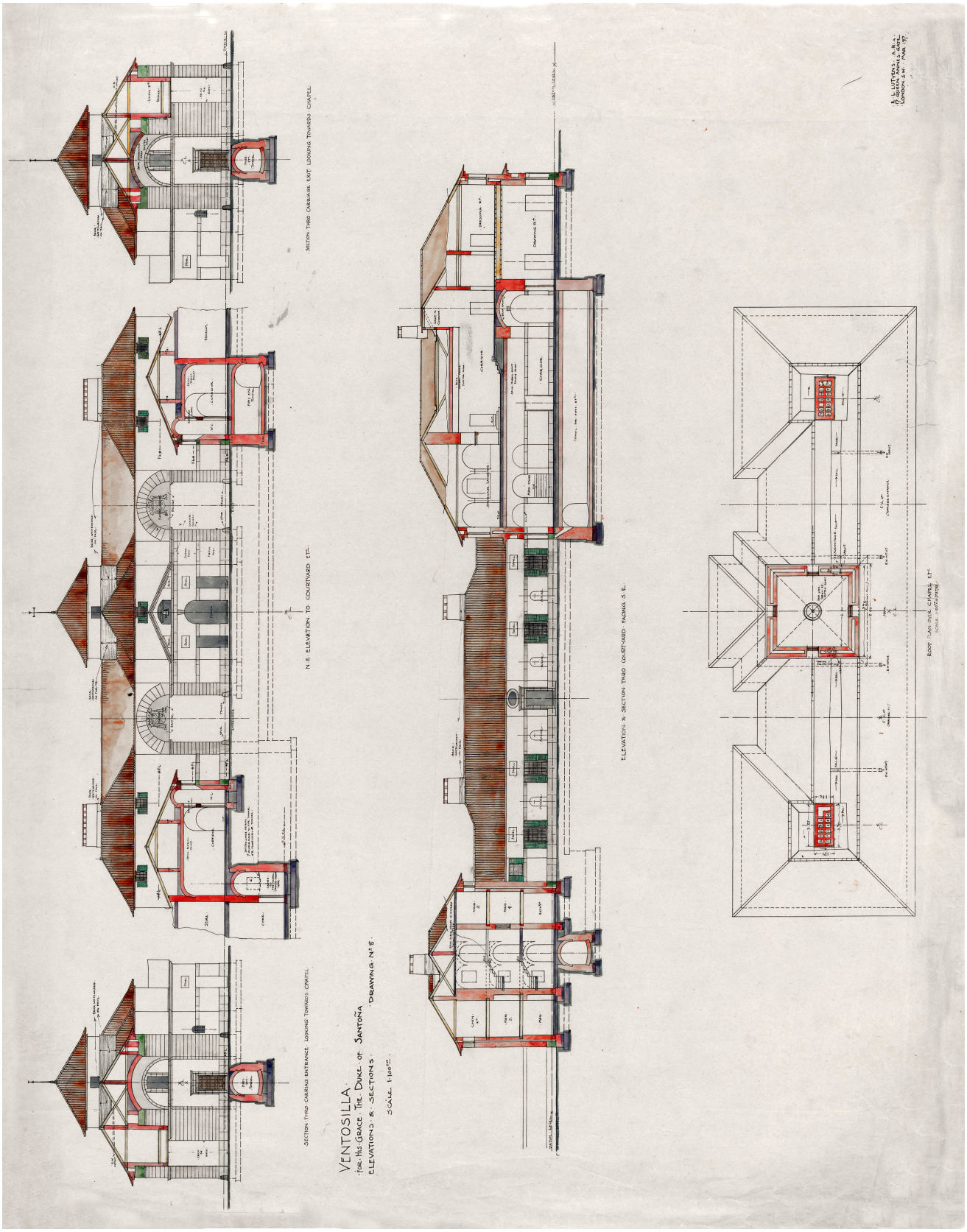


Fig. 5.15. E.L. Lutyens, La Ventosilla, sections, 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1626/LUT (11) 12.

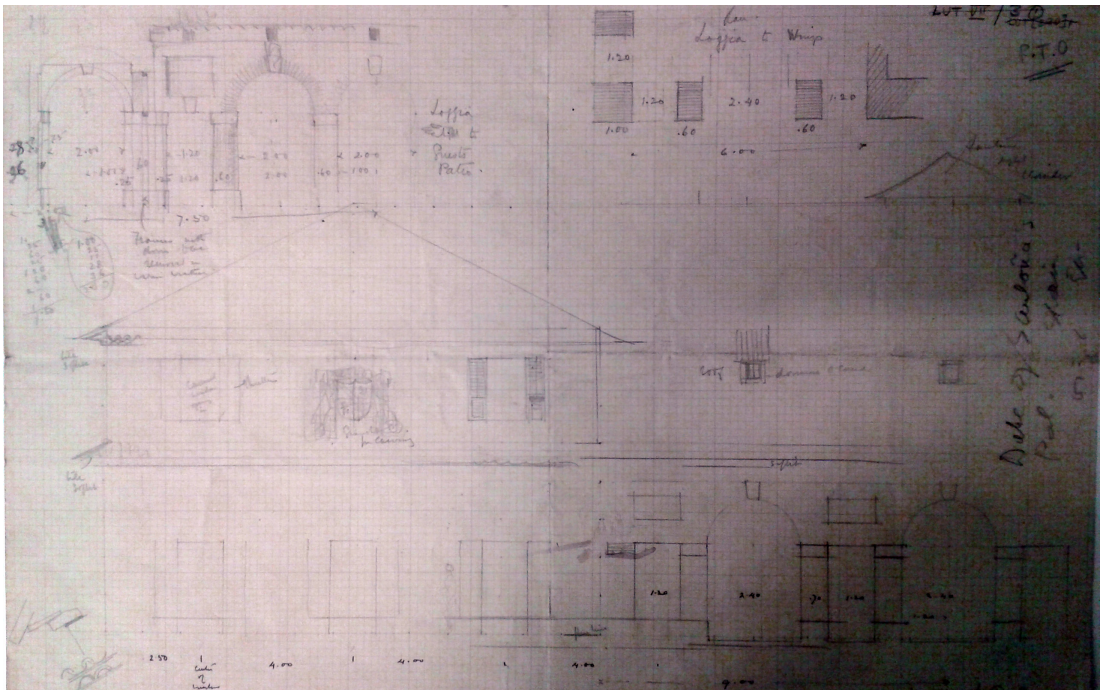


Fig. 5.16. E.L. Lutyens, La Ventosilla, sketches of the guests patio, 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1626/LUT (11) 1.

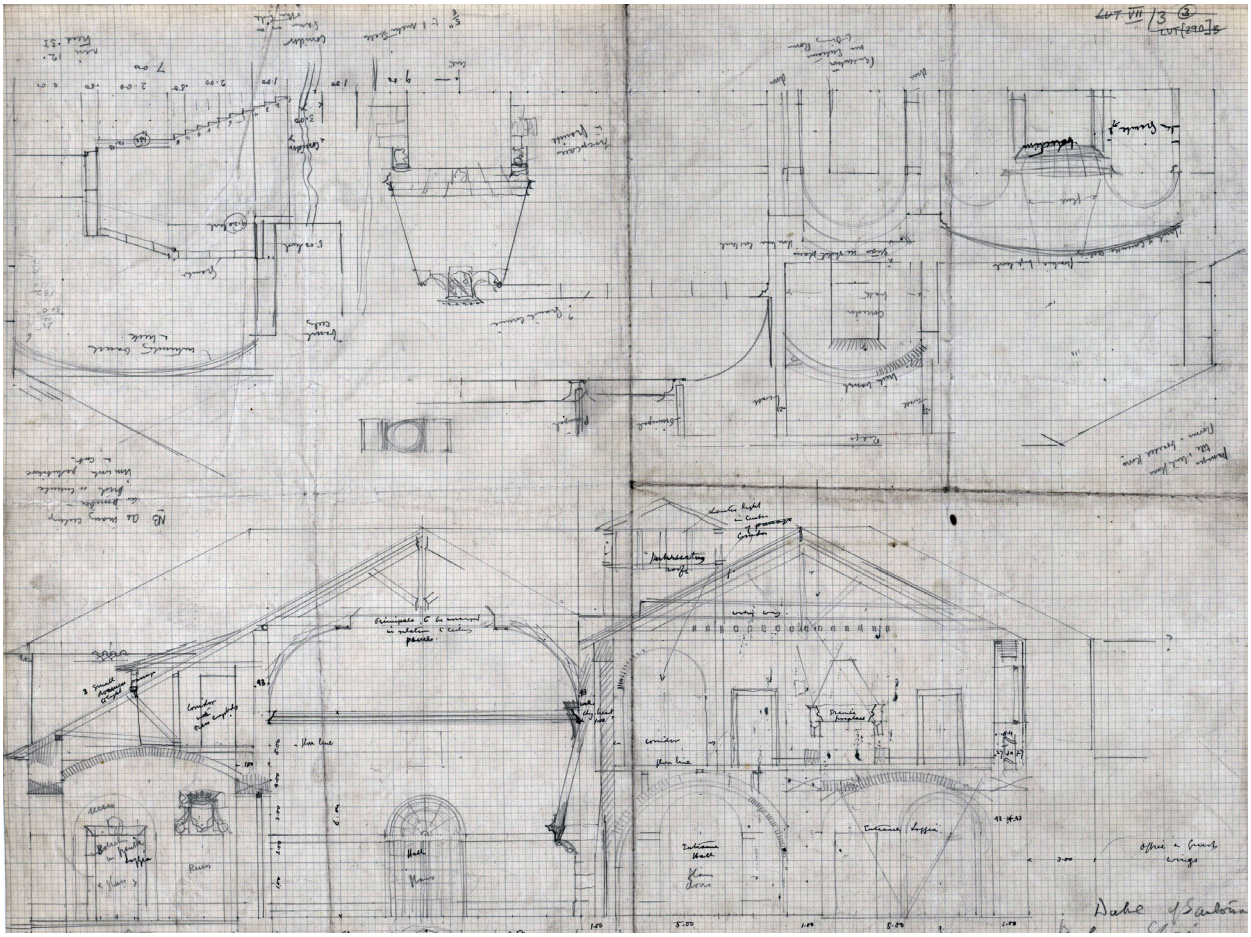


Fig. 5.17. E.L. Lutyens, La Ventosilla, sketches of the main hall, 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1626/LUT (11) 3

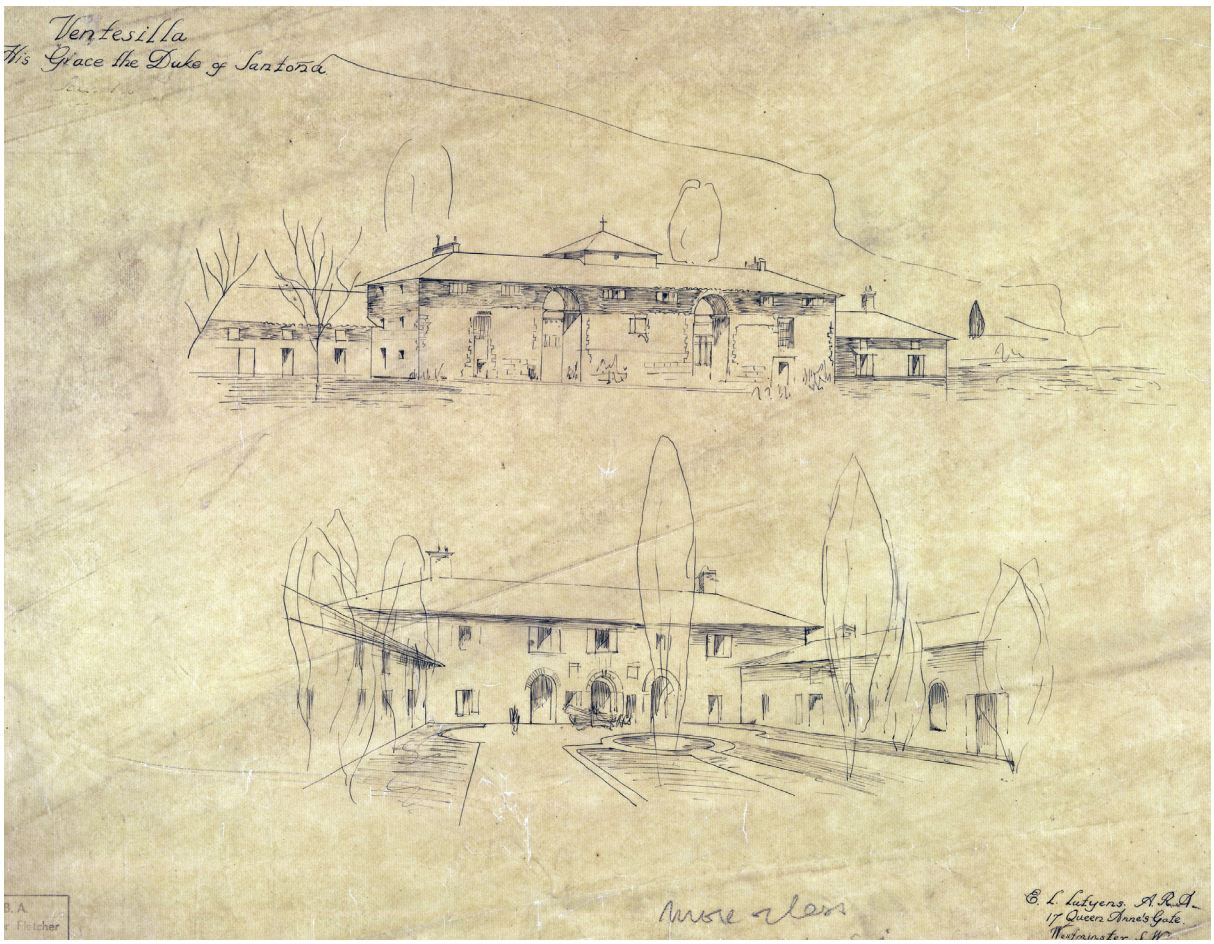


Fig. 5.18. E.L. Lutyens, La Ventosilla, perspective views, 1917, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1626/LUT (11) 4

Fig. 5.19. La Ventosilla seen from the estate of Zuarraz, by the author.

Fig. 5.20. La Ventosilla. Rendering of the north facade. Modelling by the author, rendering by Iñigo Berasategui.

Fig. 5.21. La Ventosilla. Bird´s eye view render. Modelling by the author, rendering by Iñigo Berasategui.

Fig. 5.22. La Ventosilla. Render of the main patio looking north. Modelling by the author, rendering by Iñigo Berasategui.

Fig. 5.25. La Ventosilla, Render of the south facade. Modelling by the author, rendering by Iñigo Berasategui.

Fig. 5.23. Monastery of the Inmaculate Conception, Loeches, finished in 1640.

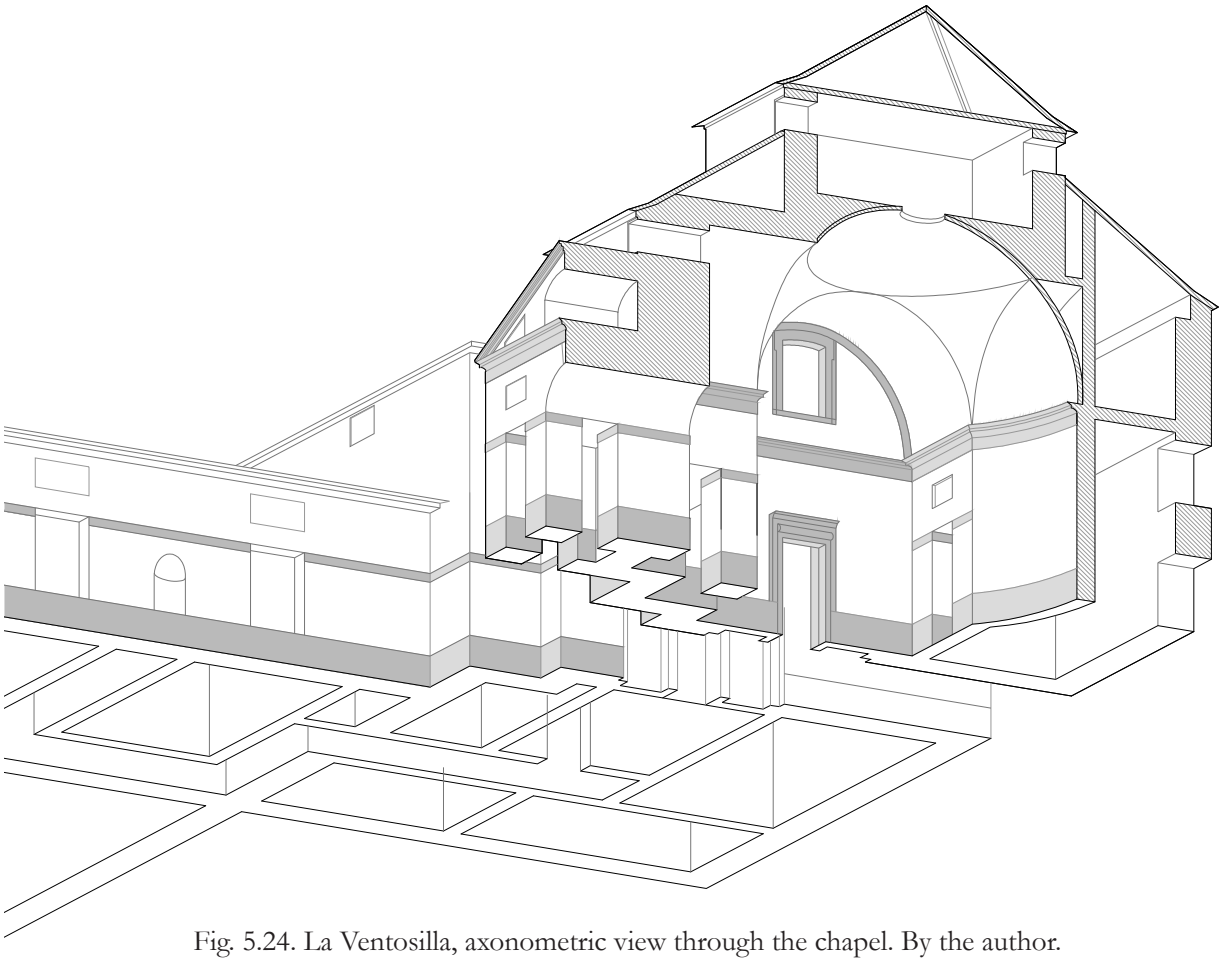


Fig. 5.24. La Ventosilla, axonometric view through the chapel. By the author.

Fig. 5.26. E.L. Lutyens, letter to Lady Emily, 27 October 1915, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, LuE/15/4/8 (xii).

Fig. 5.27. La Ventosilla, render of the south facade. Modelling by the author, rendering by Iñigo Berasategui.

IMAGES CHAPTER VI

PALACE FOR THE COUNT DE LA CIMERA

Figure 6.1. Valentín Menéndez y San Juan, 1917, *Diario ABC*.

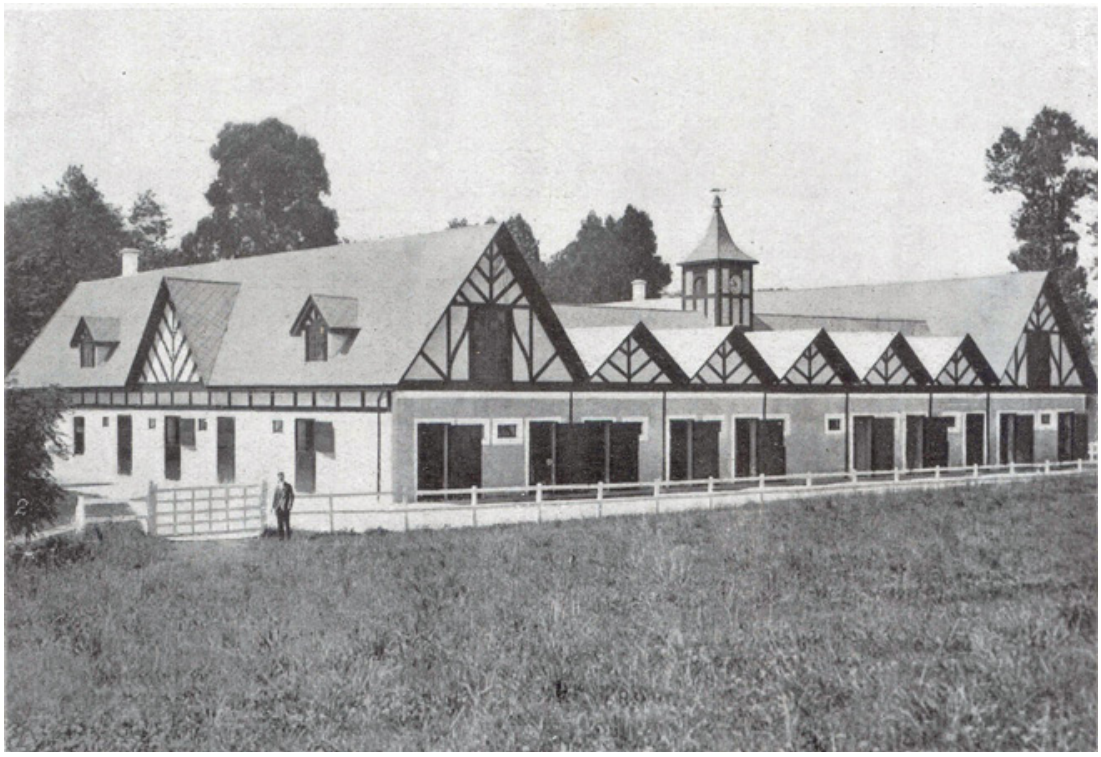


Figure 6.2. Stables in La Juenga, near Santander, 1919, *Revista Blanco y Negro.*

Figure 6.3. Javier González Riancho and Gonzalo Bringas, Stables at the Royal Palace of La Magdalena, Santander, 19014.

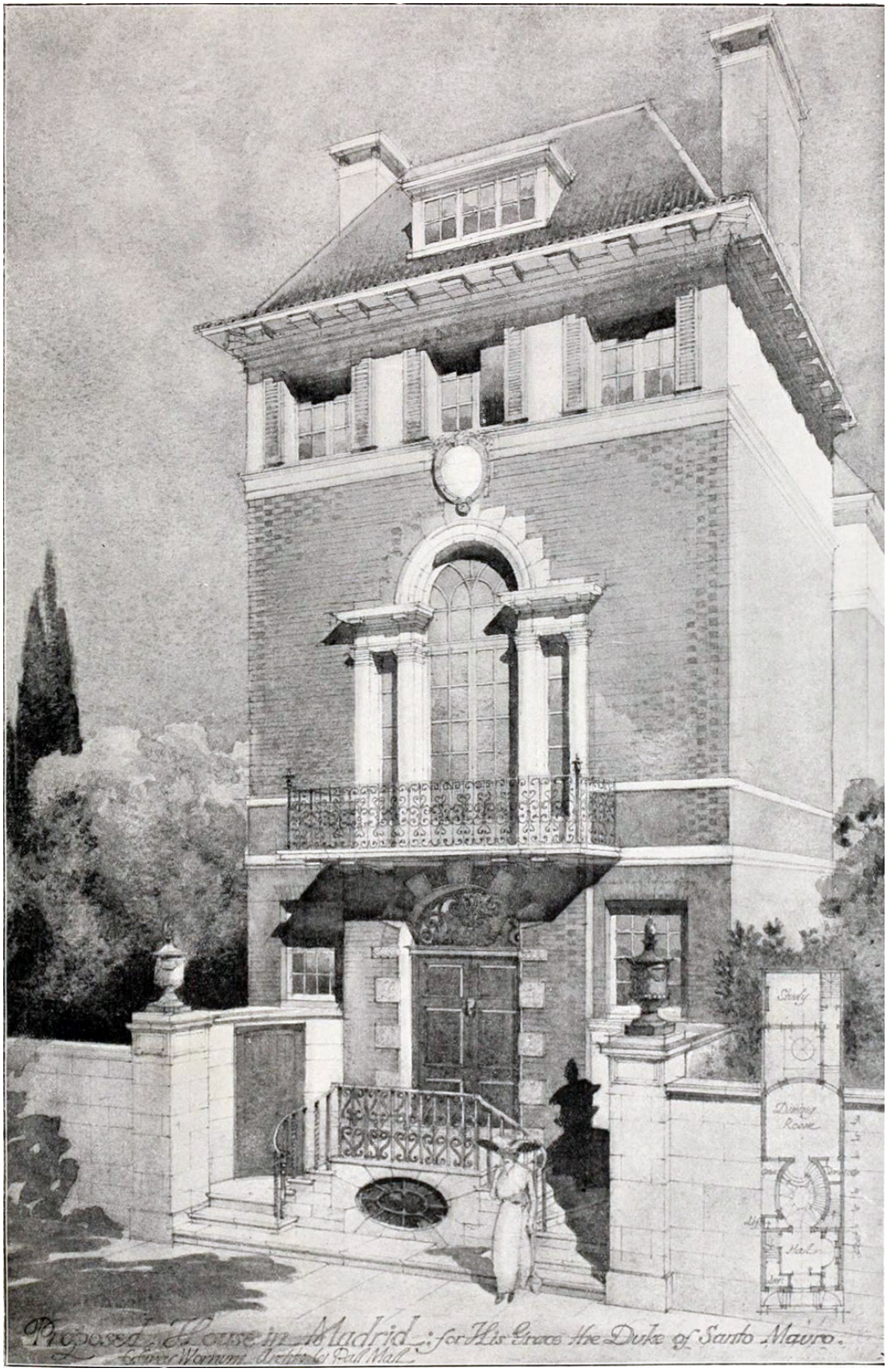


Figure 6.5. E. Grey Wornum, House at Madrid for the Duke of Santo Mauro, *The Building News,* 25 September 1914.

Figure 6.4. Chamberí, Madrid (Google Earth). The buildings in red are the main constructions standing when Lutyens received the commission. In yellow, Cimera´s lot of land. 1. Palacio del Conde de Velayos; 2. Palacio de la marquesa de la Oliva y de Nerva (1904-6); 3. Palacio del Duque de Aliaga; 4. Palacio del duque de Sotomayor; 5. Palacio del marqués de Borghetto; 6. Palacio del conde de Moriles; 7. Palacio del duque de Montellano (1906); 8. Palacio del conde de la Maza; 9. Palacio de las Huertas; 10. Palacio del duque de Osma (1886); 11. Palacio de los marqueses de Bermejillo del Rey (1913-6); 12. Residencia de Miguel Maura; 13. Palacio de los condes de San Bernardo; 14. Palacio del conde de Romanones; 15. Palacio de Luca de Tena; 16. Palacio del conde de Paredes de Nava (1912); 17. Palacio del duque de Plasencia (1913); 18. Palacete de Joaquín Torre; 19. Palacio del duque de Santo Mauro; 20. Palacio del duque de Santa Elena; 21. Palacio del duque de Anglada; 22. Hotel de Luis Ocharán; 23. Palacete de Amós Salvador; 24. Palacio Adcoch; 25. Casa Garay (1915-7); 26. Viviendas Almagro 38; 27. Colegio San Diego y San Vicente; 28. San Fermín de los Navarros; 29. Casa-Palacio conde de Cedillo (1897-1910); 30. Colegio de las Damas Negras (1906-9); 31. Casa-Palacio del conde de Campo Giro (1907-9); 32. Palacio de la duquesa de Andría, Joaquín Saldaña (1915-6); 33. Instituto Internacional de señoritas de España, Joaquín Saldaña (1904-11); 34. Palacio del duque de Sotomayor

Figure 6.6. Madrid. View showing the palace of the Duke of Osma (left) and the palace of the Marquis of Bermejilla del Rey (right), by the author.

Figure 6.7. East elevation Palace of the Duke of Sotomayor, Madrid, which would have been opposite to the main facade of Cimera´s palace.

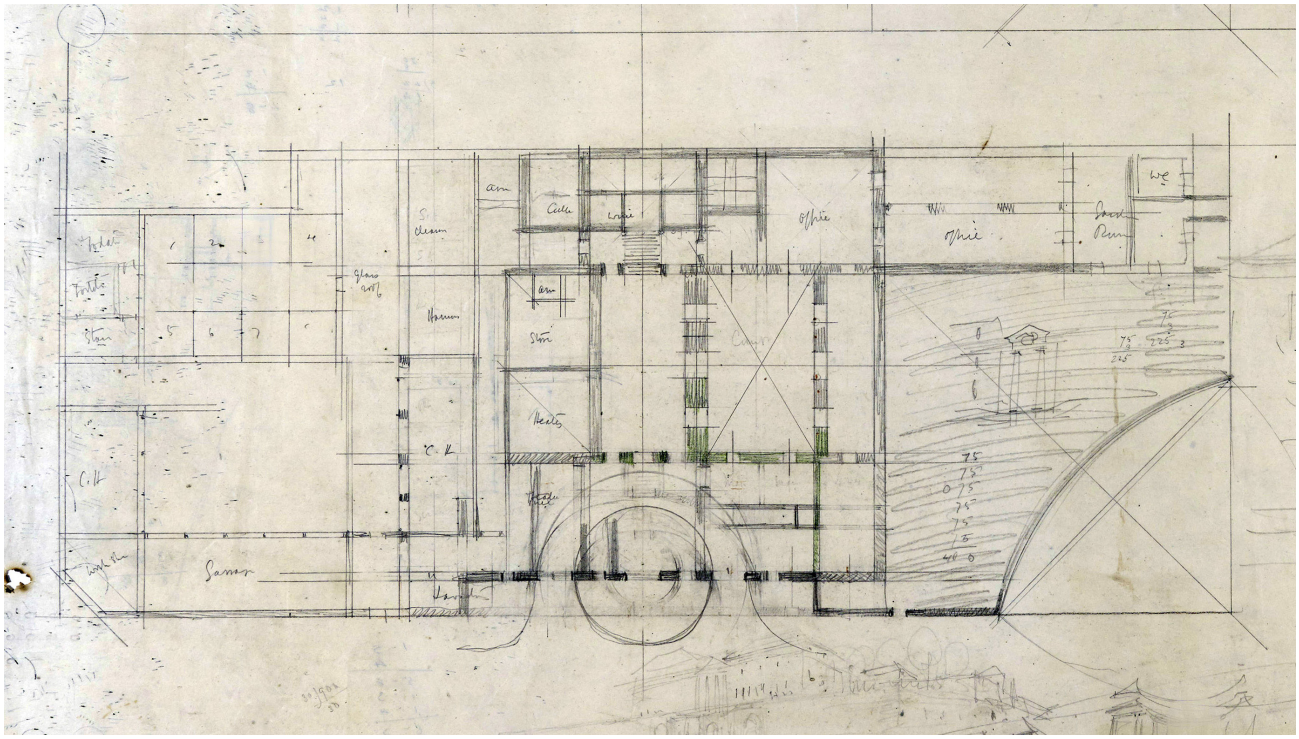


Figure 6.8. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, ground floor plan, 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1621/LUT [203] 3.

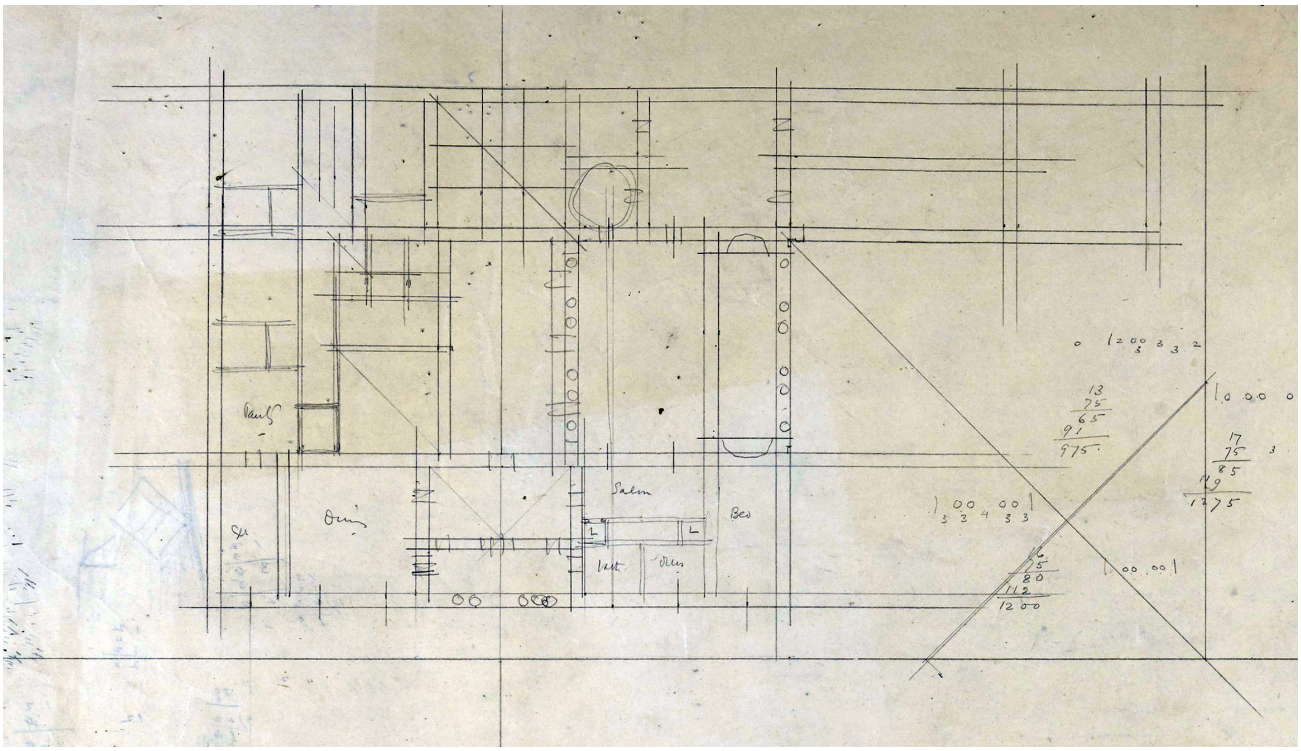


Figure 6.9. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, first floor plan, 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1621/LUT [203] 3.

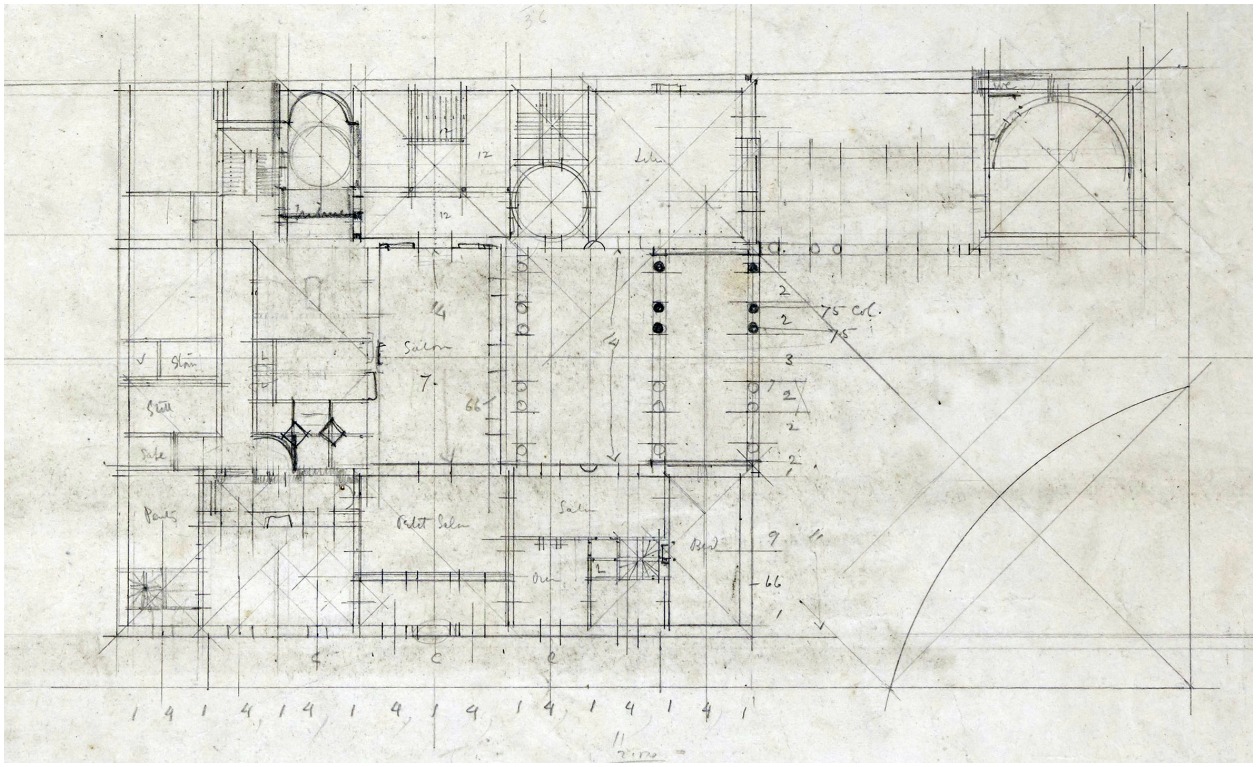


Figure 6.10. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, first floor plan, 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1621/LUT [203] 2.

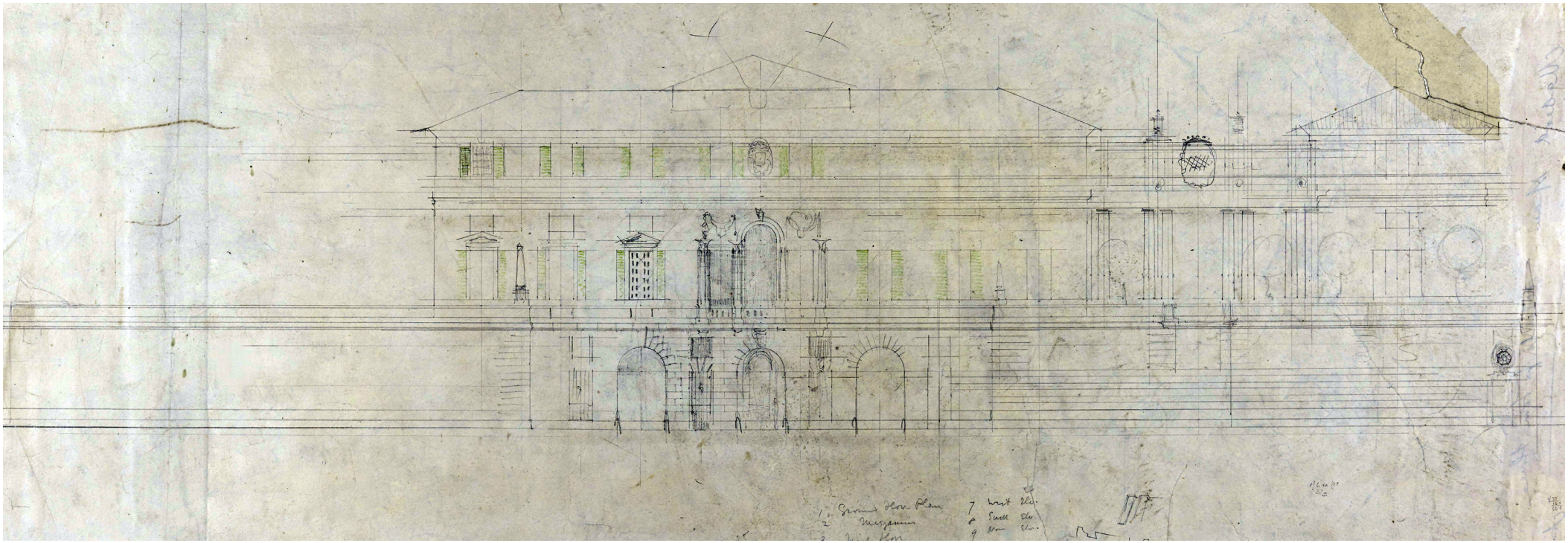


Figure 6.11. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, west elevation, 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection PA 1621/LUT [203] 4.

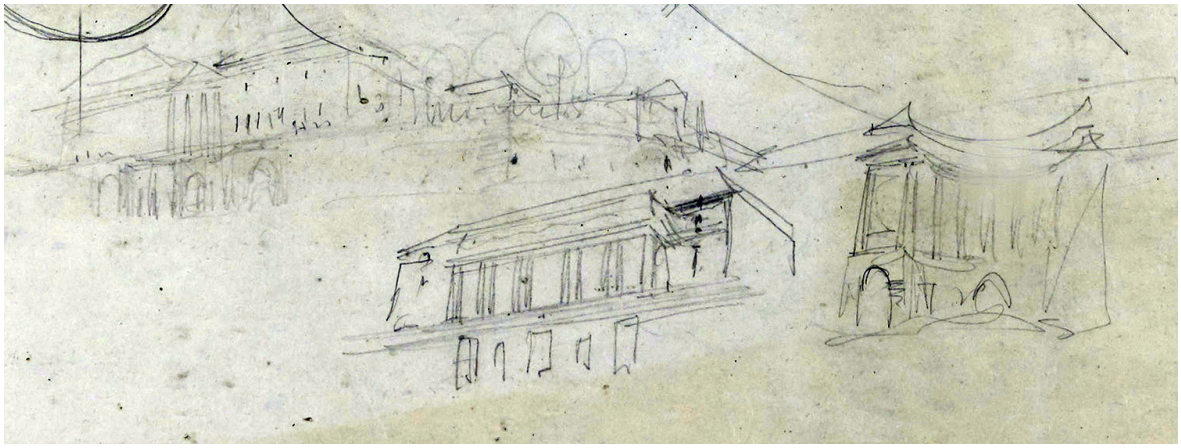


Figure 6.12. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, sketch, 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1621/LUT [203] 3, detail.

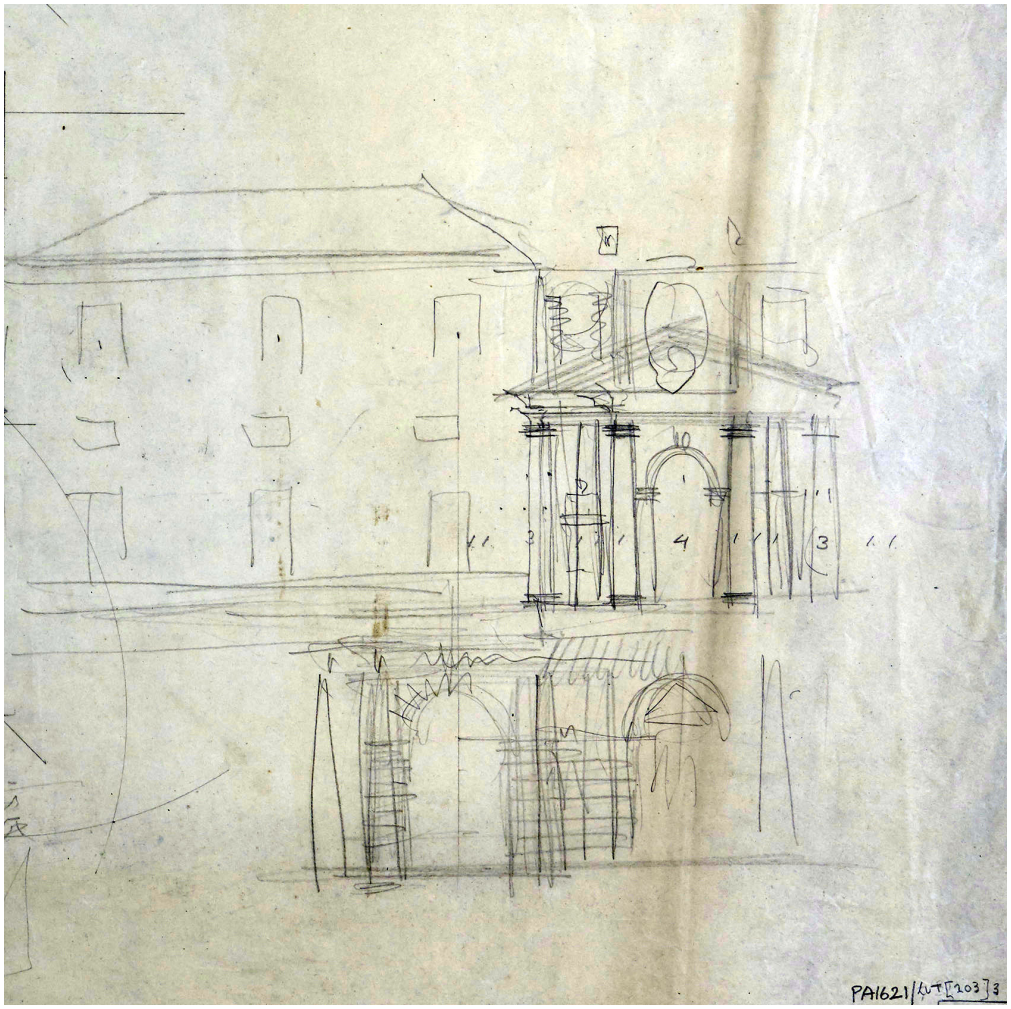


Figure 6.13. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, sketch, 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA 1621/LUT [203] 3, detail.

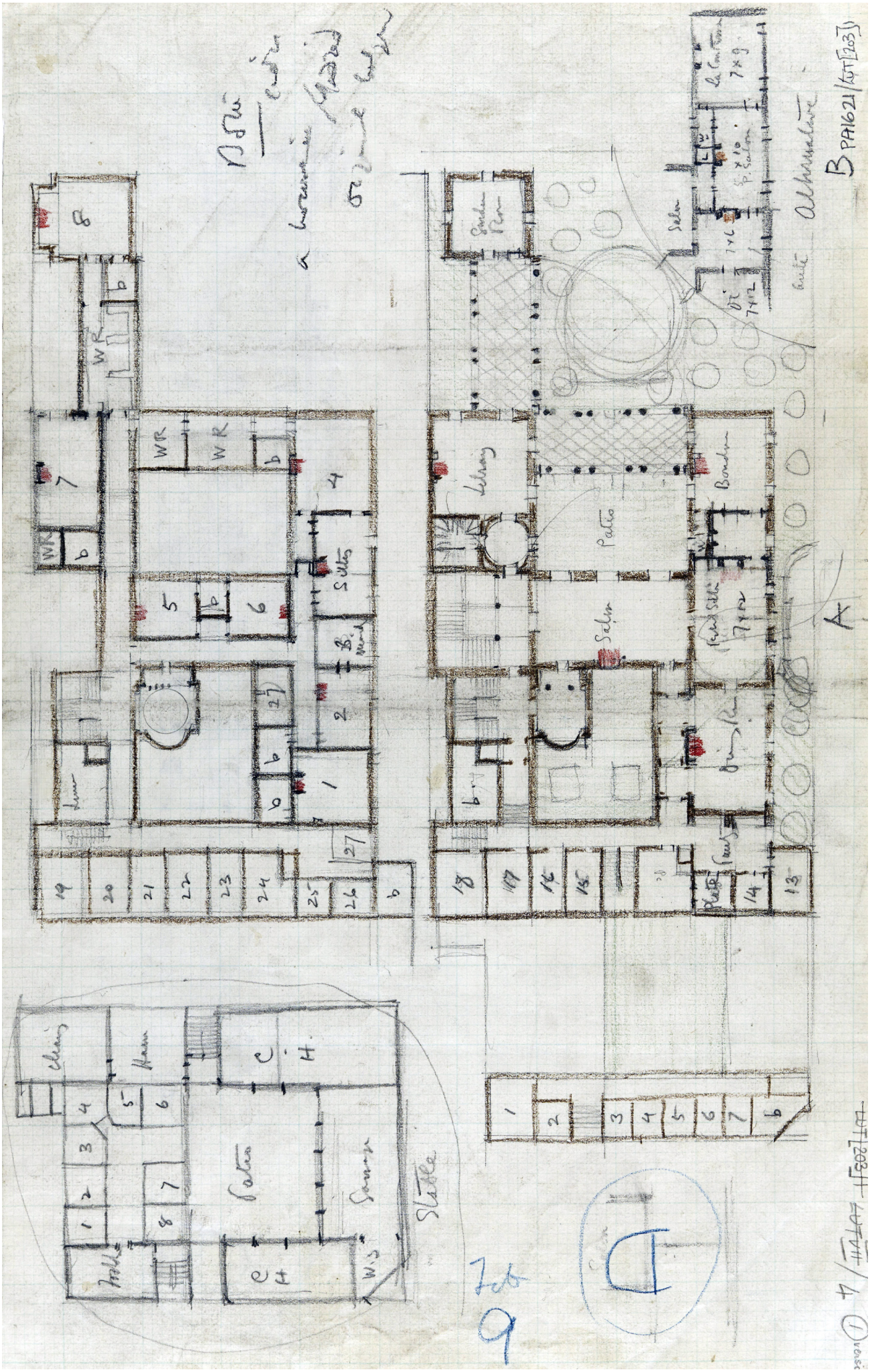


Figure 6.14. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, floor plans, 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, B PA1621/LUT (213) 1

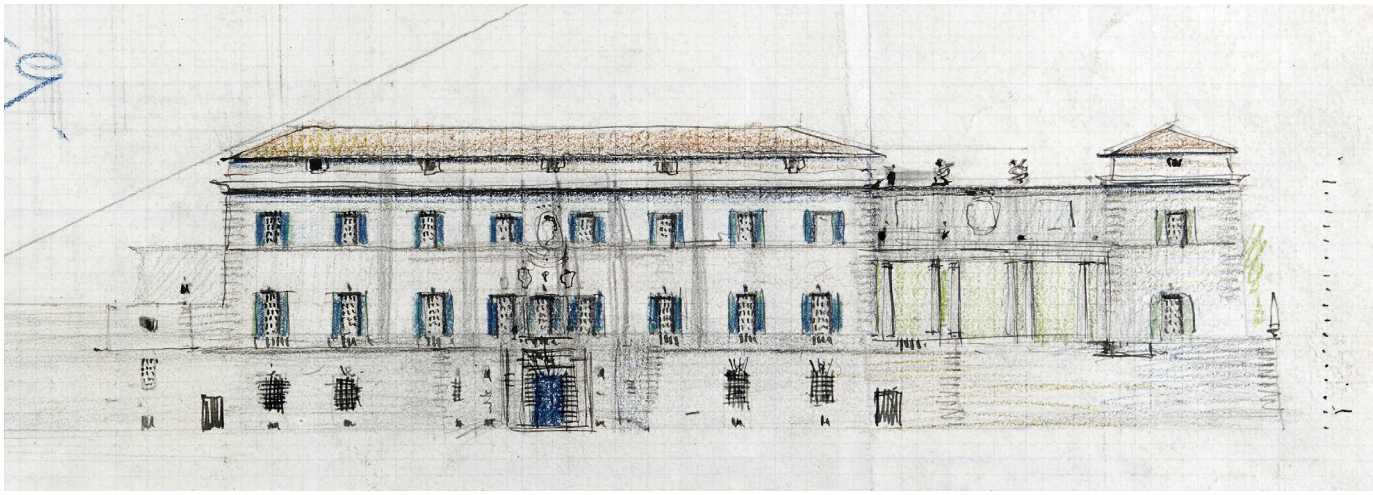


Figure 6.15. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, west elevation, 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, A PA1621/LUT (213) 1

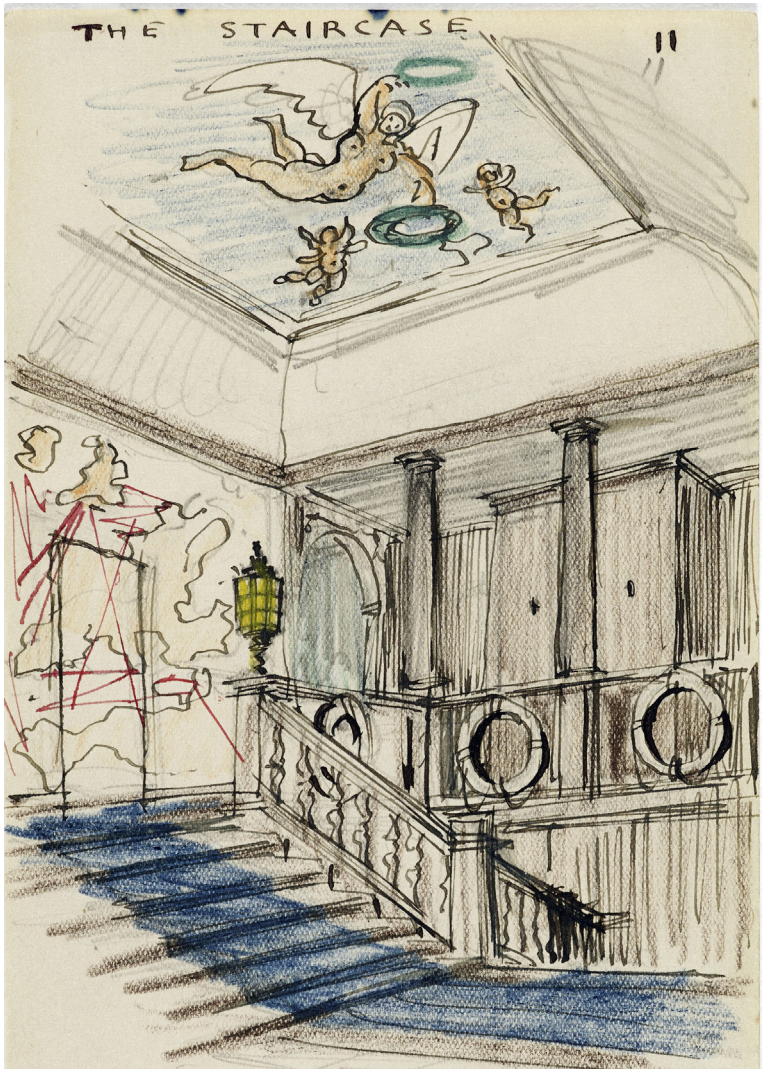


Figure 6.18. E.L. Lutyens, House for Camptain E. W. Day, the staircase, 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, SE21/LUT (405) 11.

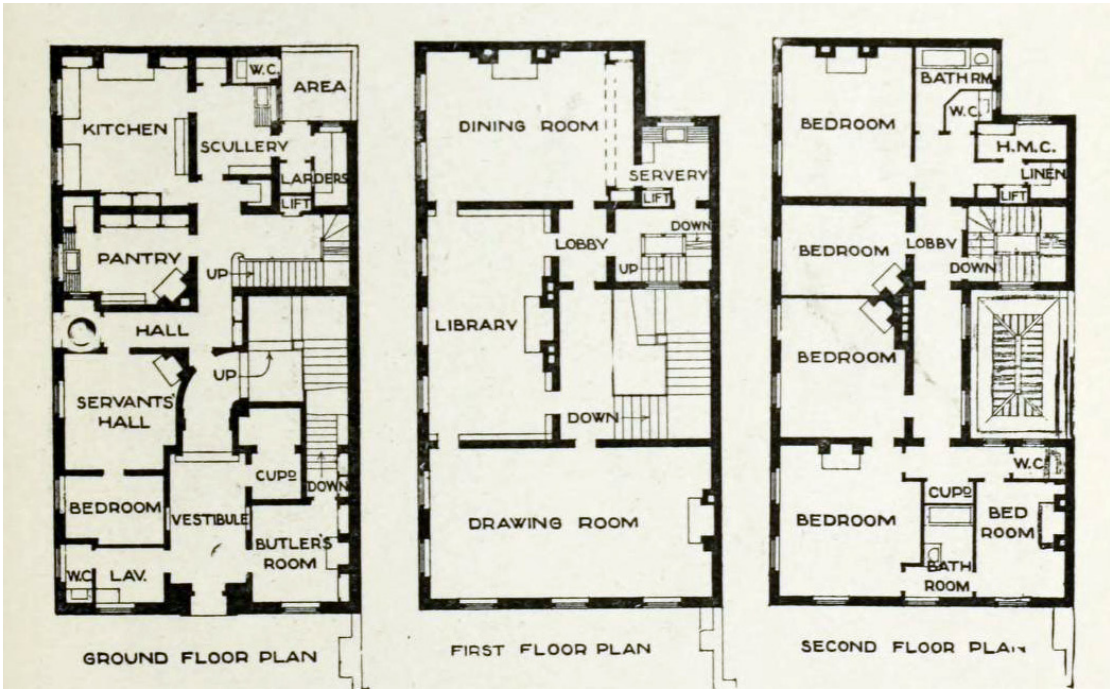


Fig. 6.16. E.L. Lutyens, London, House of Reginald McKenna, Floor Plans, 1911, Lawrence Weaver, *Lutyens Houses and Gardens* (London: Country Life, 1913).

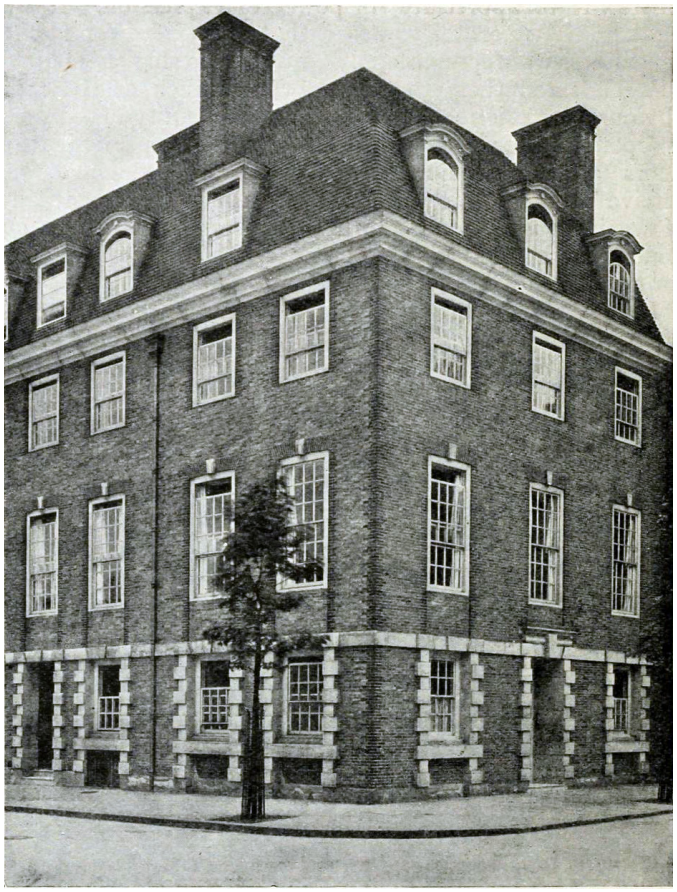


Fig. 6.17. E.L. Lutyens, London, House of Reginald McKenna, photograph, 1911, Lawrence Weaver, *Lutyens Houses and Gardens* (London: Country Life, 1913)

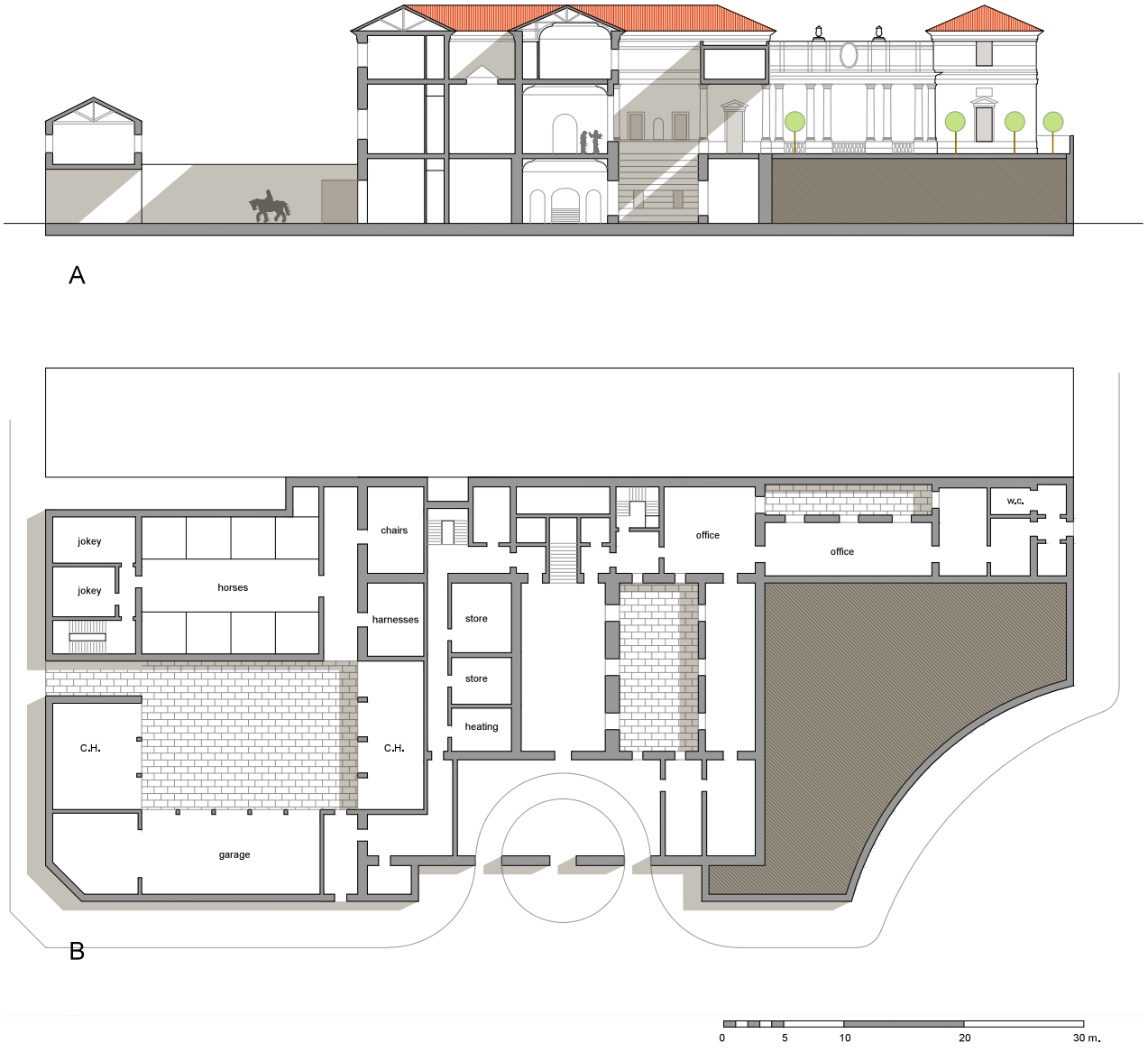


Figure 6.19. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, A) north-south section, B) ground floor plan. Drawings by the author.

Figure 6.20. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, C) first floor plan, D) second floor plan. Drawings by the author.

Figure 6.21. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, view from south west, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 6.22. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, view from the garden to the south facade, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 6.23. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, bird´s eye view from the south west, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 6.24. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, west facade, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 6.25. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, plan of the garden, 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60/9 (17).

Figure 6.26. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, plan of the garden, 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60/9 (16).

Figure 6.27. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, plan of the garden, 1919, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR60/9 (18).

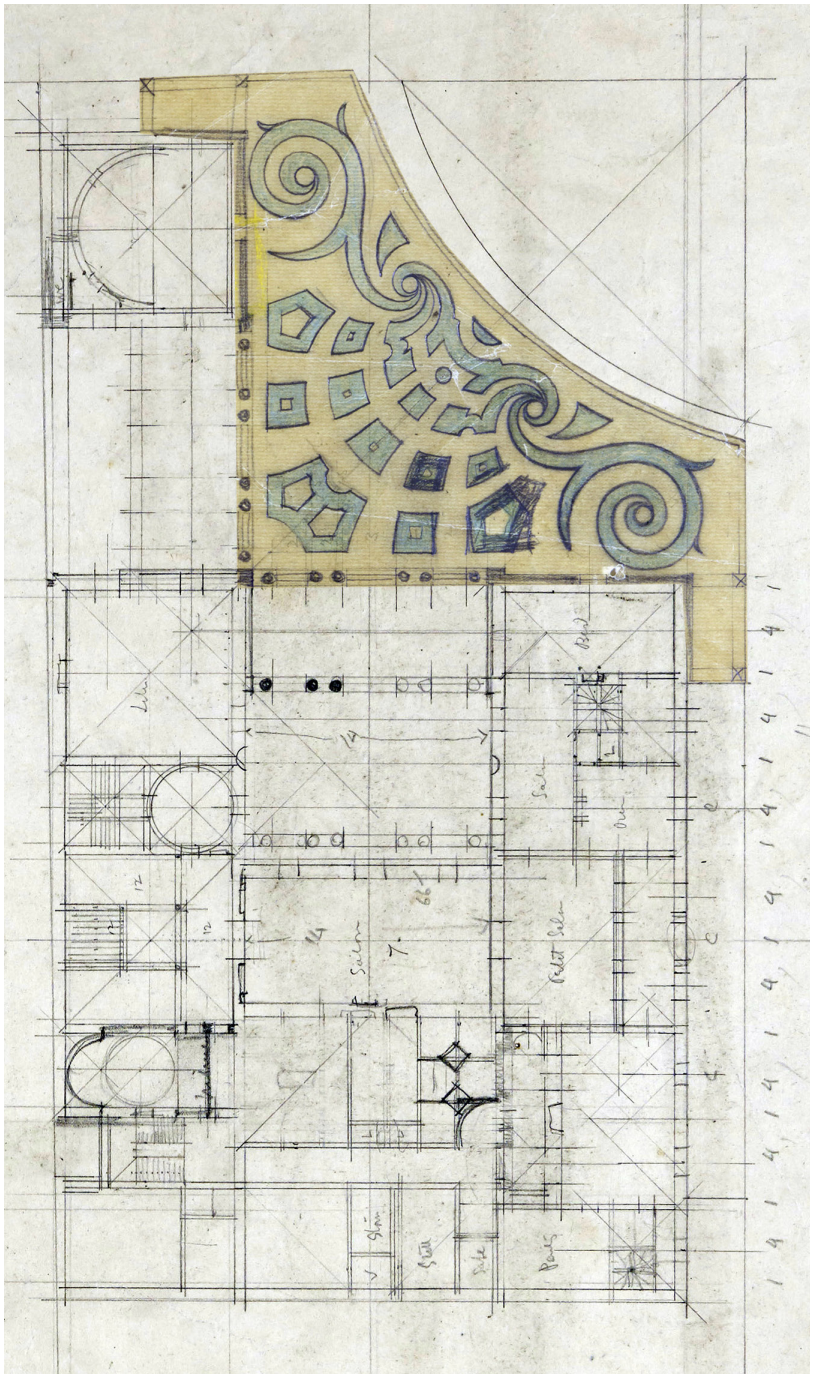


Figure 6.28. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, House for Cimera, overlapping of the garden and the first floor plan.

IMAGES CHAPTER VII.

THE BIG GUADALPERAL

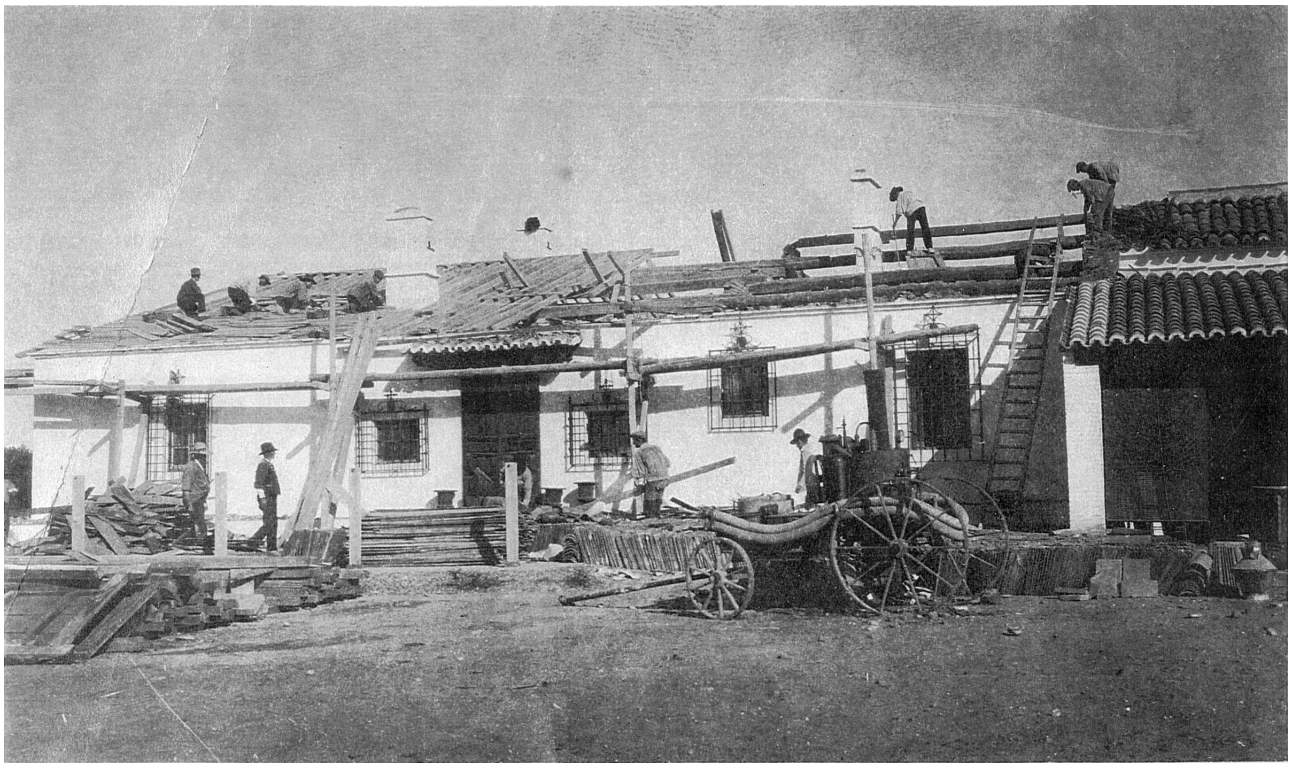
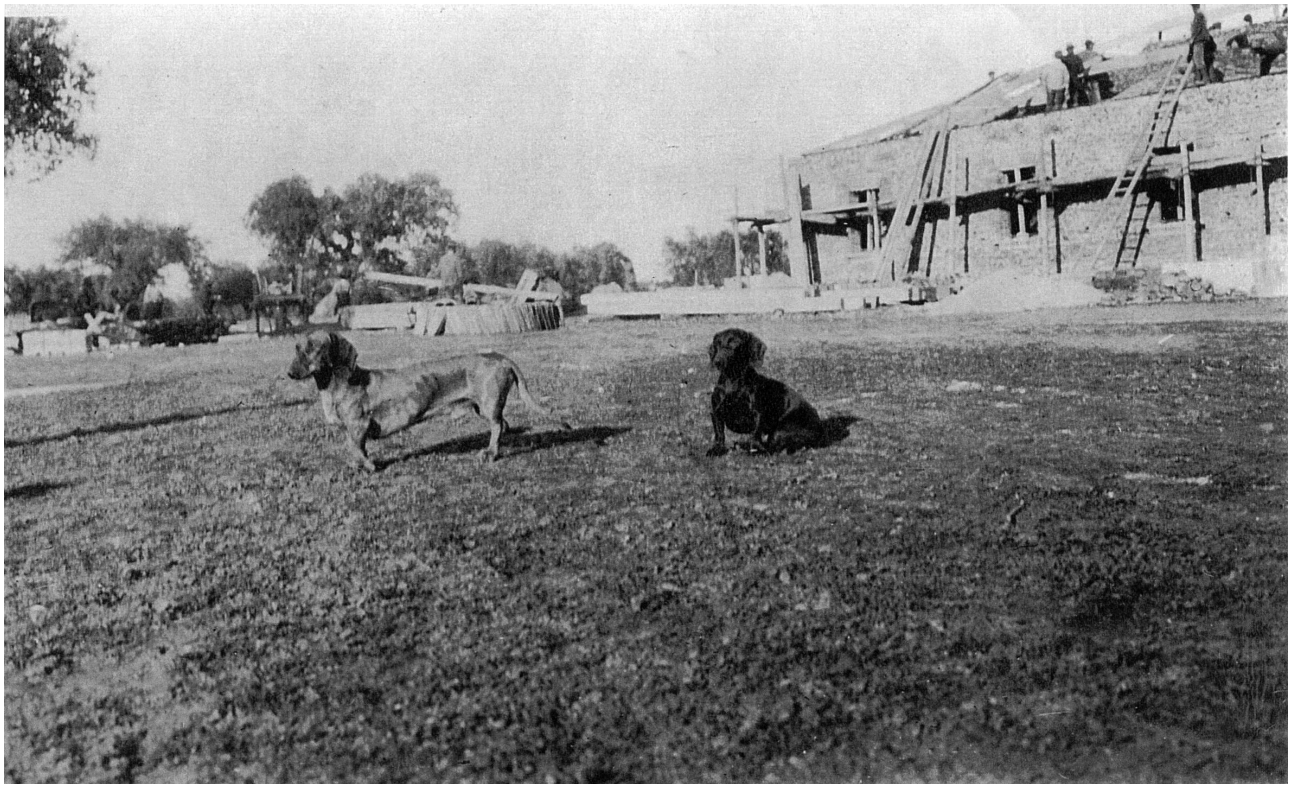


Figure 7.1. Construction of the Houses at El Guadalperal, early 1920s, archive of El Guadalperal.



Fugure 7.2. Construction of the Houses at El Guadalperal, early 1920s, archive of El Guadalperal.

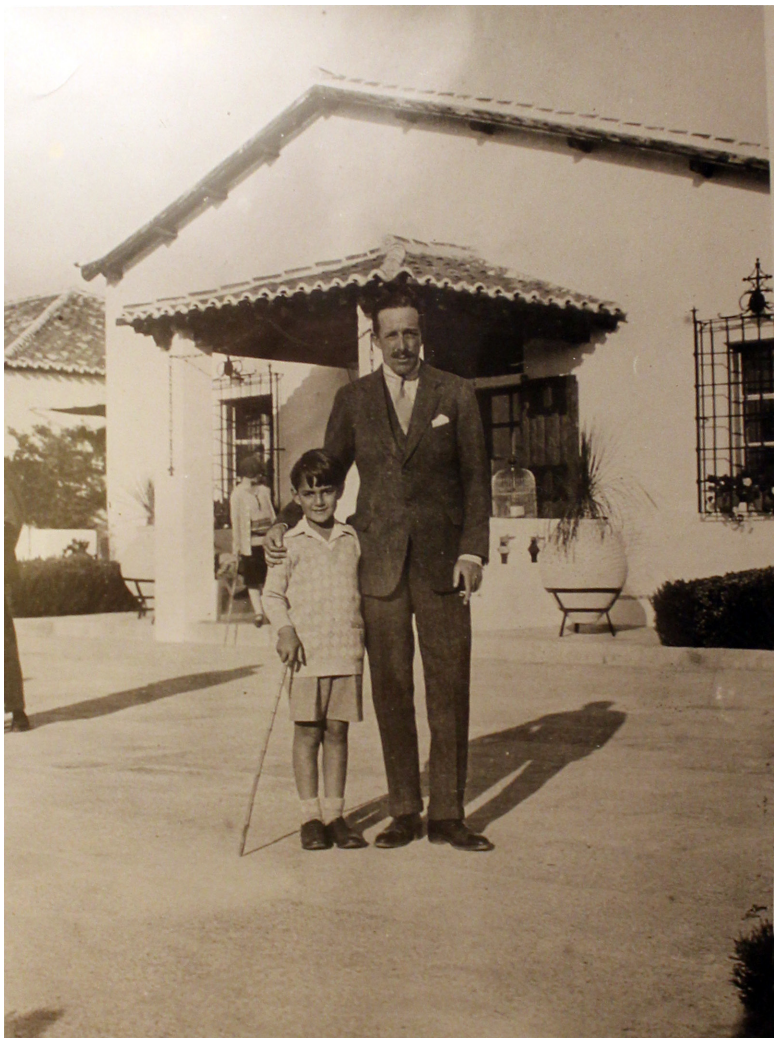


Figure 7.3. Timo Peñaranda (Nando´s son) and King Alfonso at the entrance of El Guadalperal, early 1920s. Archive of El Guadalperal. The chains hanging over the main entrance door meaning that the King has stayed at the house at least once overnight.

Figure 7.4. A party gathered in front of the west facade of El Guadalperal, early 1920s, archive of El Guadalperal. Nando is wearing a hat.

Figure 7.5. A party gathered in front of the west facade of El Guadalperal, early 1920s, archive of El Guadalperal.

Figure 7.6. South facade of El Guadalperal before the south garden was built, early 1920s, archive of El Guadalperal.

Figure 7.7. House at El Guadalperal, early 1920s, archive of El Guadalperal.

Figure 7.8. South garden at El Guadalperal, early or mid 1920s, by the author.

Figure 7.9. At the front the House of El Guadalperal, further away the water deposit and, at the back, the stables, by the author.

Figure 7.10. House at El Guadalperal, corridor, early 1920s, by the author.

Figure 7.11. House at El Guadalperal, nursery wing corridor, early 1920s, by the author.

Figure 7.12. House at El Guadalperal, fireplace, early 1920s, by the author.

Figure 7.14. El Guadalperal, the Poblado from the House, early 1920s, by the author.

Figure 7.13. El Guadalperal, satellite view. A: Marsham´s House; B: stables; C: fronton court; D: water deposit; E: Provisional Houses; F: Poblado; G: New Palace as planned; H: site of 1916 project.

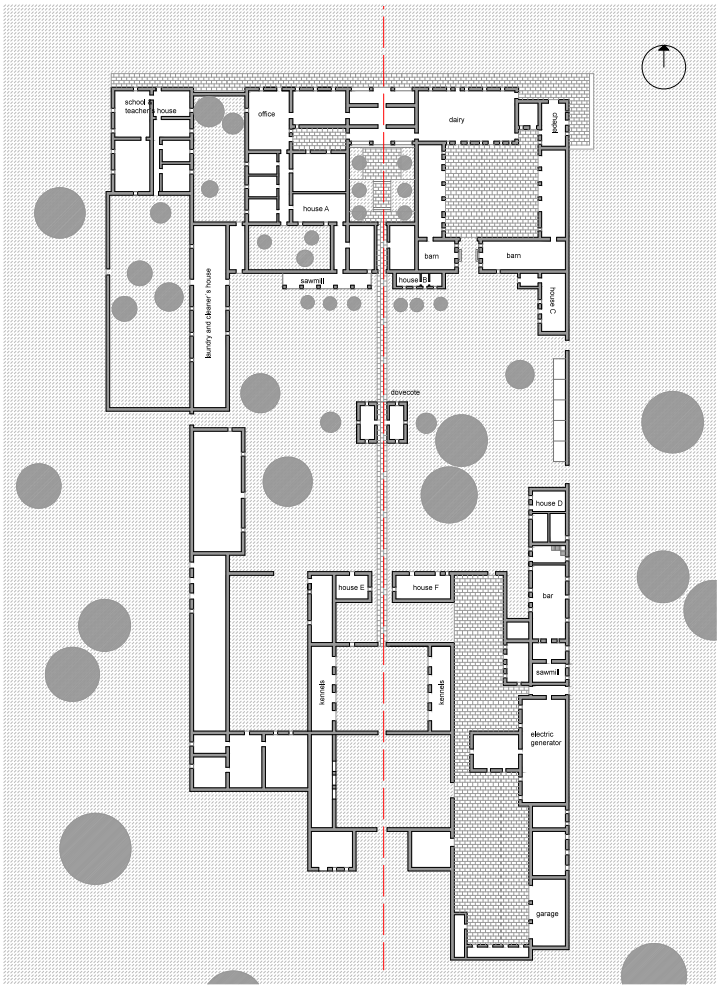


Figure 7.15. El Guadalperal, plan of the Poblado. By the author.

Figure 7.16. El Guadalperal, north entrance of the Poblado, by the author.

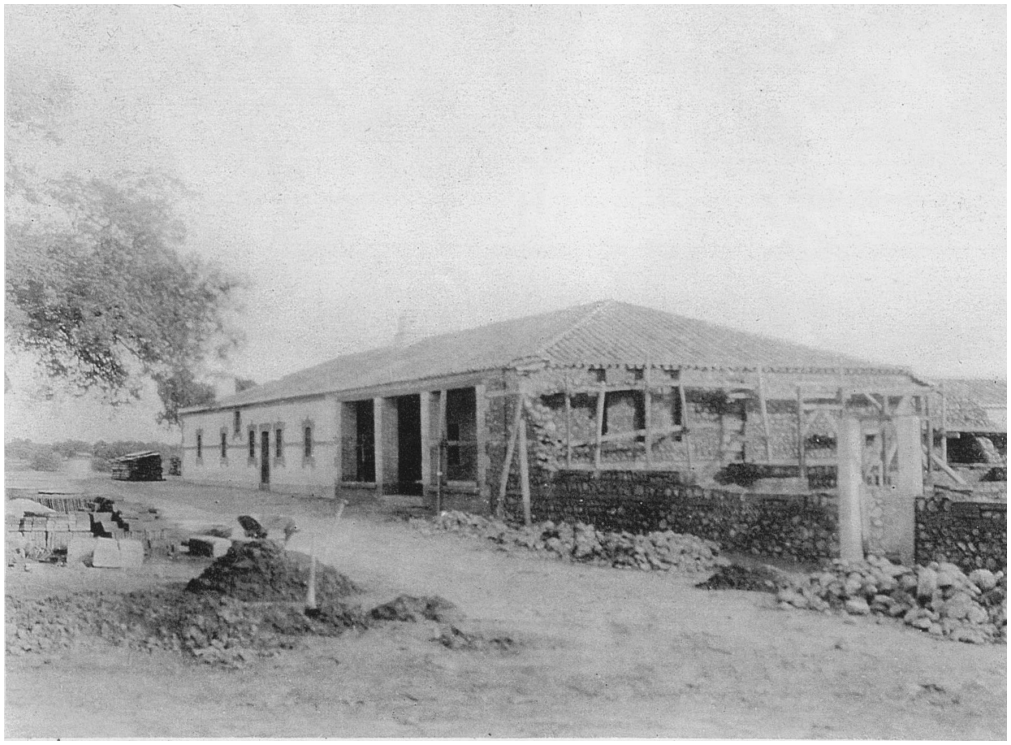


Figure 7.17. El Guadalperal, north entrance of the Poblado under construction, early 1920s, archive of El Guadalperal.

Figure 7.18. El Guadalperal, entrance porch of the Poblado. By the author.

Figure 7.19. El Guadalperal, main axes of the Poblado from the porch in the early 1980s, by Gavin Stamp.

Figure 7.20. El Guadalperal, patio at the Poblado, early 1920s, archive of El Guadalperal. The photograph shows Hinton and his wife, Marsham and his wife, and Hinton's daughter in the centre.

Figure 7.21. El Guadalperal, patio at the Poblado, early 1920s, by the author.

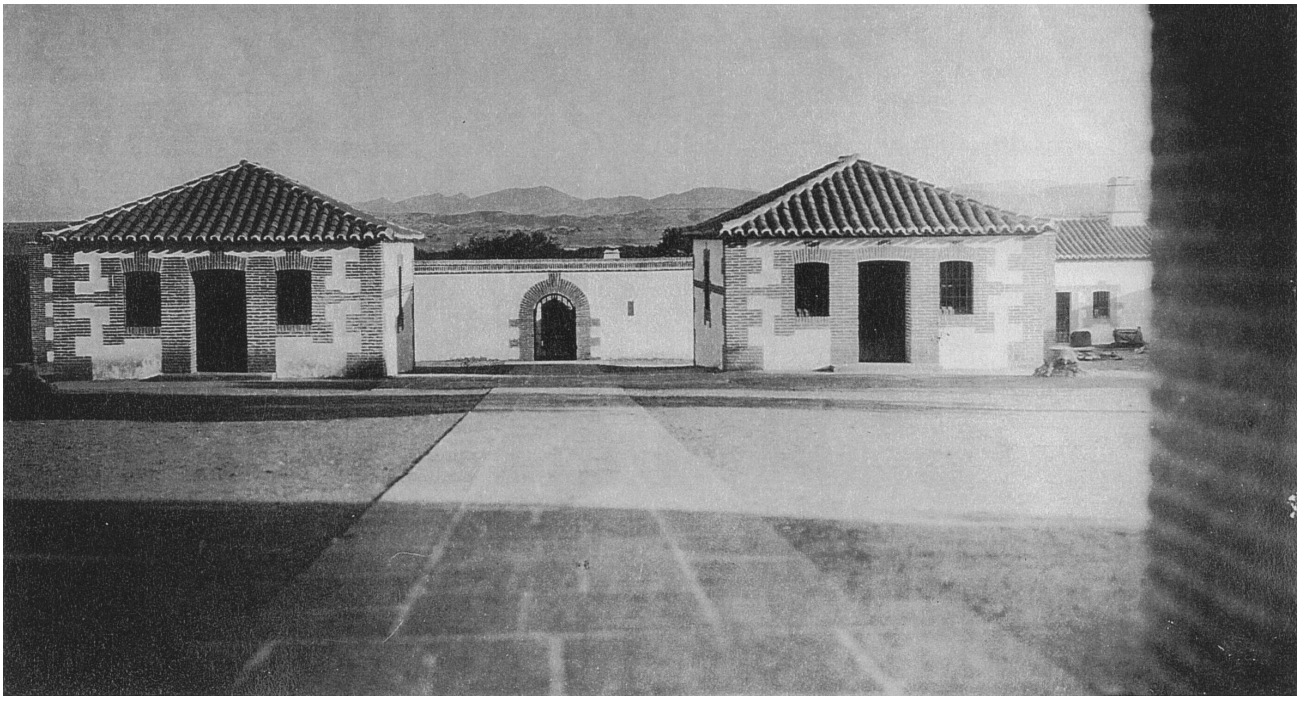


Figure 7.22. El Guadalperal, the dogs' houses and the entrance of the kennels seen from the dovecote´s passage, early 1920s, archive of El Guadalperal.

Figure 7.23. El Guadalperal, interior of one of the dogs' houses in 2015, by the author.

Figure 7.30. El Guadalperal, electric generator, by the author.

Figure 7.24. El Guadalperal, the dovecote from the south in 2015, by the author.

Figure 7.25. El Guadalperal, the dovecote in 2015, by the author.

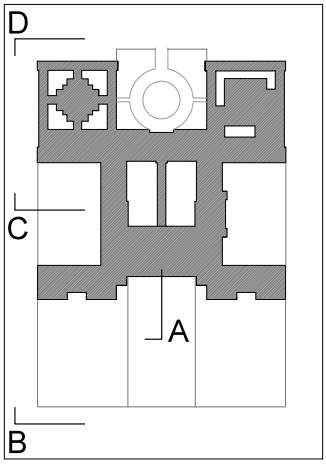
Figure 7.26. El Guadalperal, main axes of the Poblado from the dovecote looking to the north in the early 1980s, by Gavin Stamp.

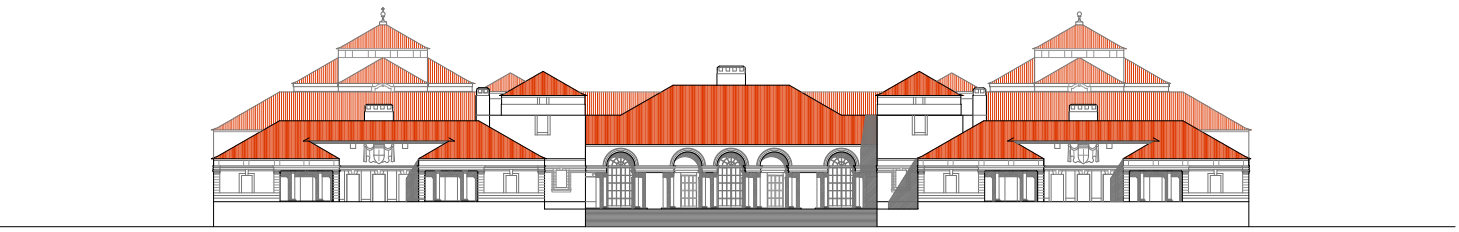
Figure 7.27. El Guadalperal, main axes of the Poblado from the kennels entrance to the north in 2015, by the author.

Figure 28. El Guadalperal, east facade of the Poblado in 2015, by the author.

Figure 7.29. El Guadalperal, east facade of the Poblado in 2015, by the author.

Figure 7.31. El Guadalperal, A: north-south section; B: south elevation; C: north elevation; D: east-west section (drawings by the author).





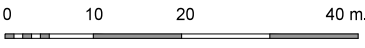


Figure 7.32. Timo Peñaranda playing golf at El Guadalperal, mid-1920s, archive of El Guadalperal.

Figure 7.33. El Guadalperal, detail of iron grill at the Poblado, by the author.

Figure 7.34. Water deposit at El Guadalperal in 2015, by the author.

Figure 7.37. El Guadalperal, chapel at the Poblado in 2015, by the author.

Figure 7.35. Water deposit at El Guadalperal under construction, late 1910s, archive of El Guadalperal.

Figure 7.36. Water deposit at El Guadalperal under construction, late 1910s, archive of El Guadalperal.

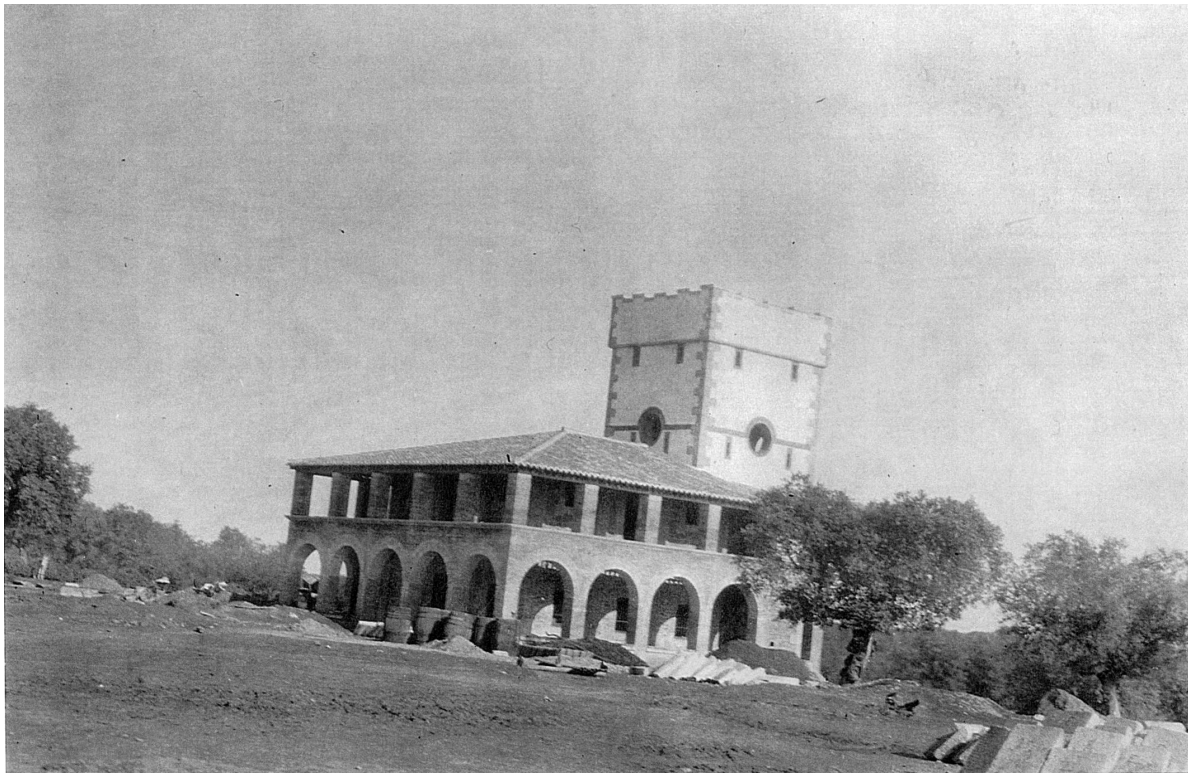


Figure 7.38. El Guadalperal, fronton court in the early 1980s, by Gavin Stamp.

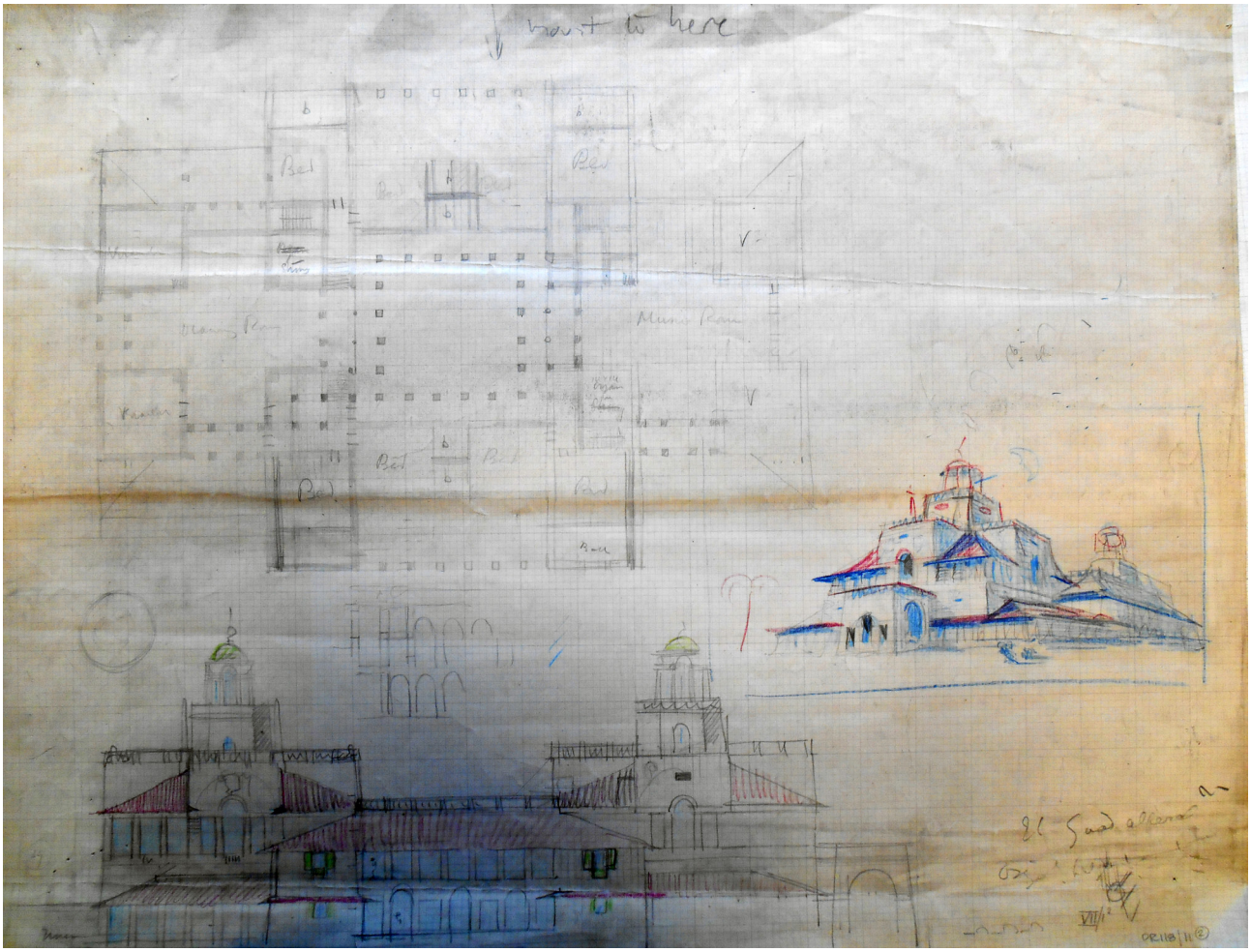
Figure 7.39. El Guadalperal, garden bench near the fronton court in the early 1980s, by Gavin Stamp.

Figure 7.40. El Guadalperal, entrance to the stables in 2015, by the author.

Figure 7.41. El Guadalperal, Marsham´s house in 2015, by the author.

Figure 7.42. the Marquis of Viana, King Alfonso and Peñaranda, 1925, *Diario ABC*.

Figure 7.43. E.L Lutyens, unidentified drawings, possibly sketches for El Guadalperal, early 1920s, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR118/11(3).



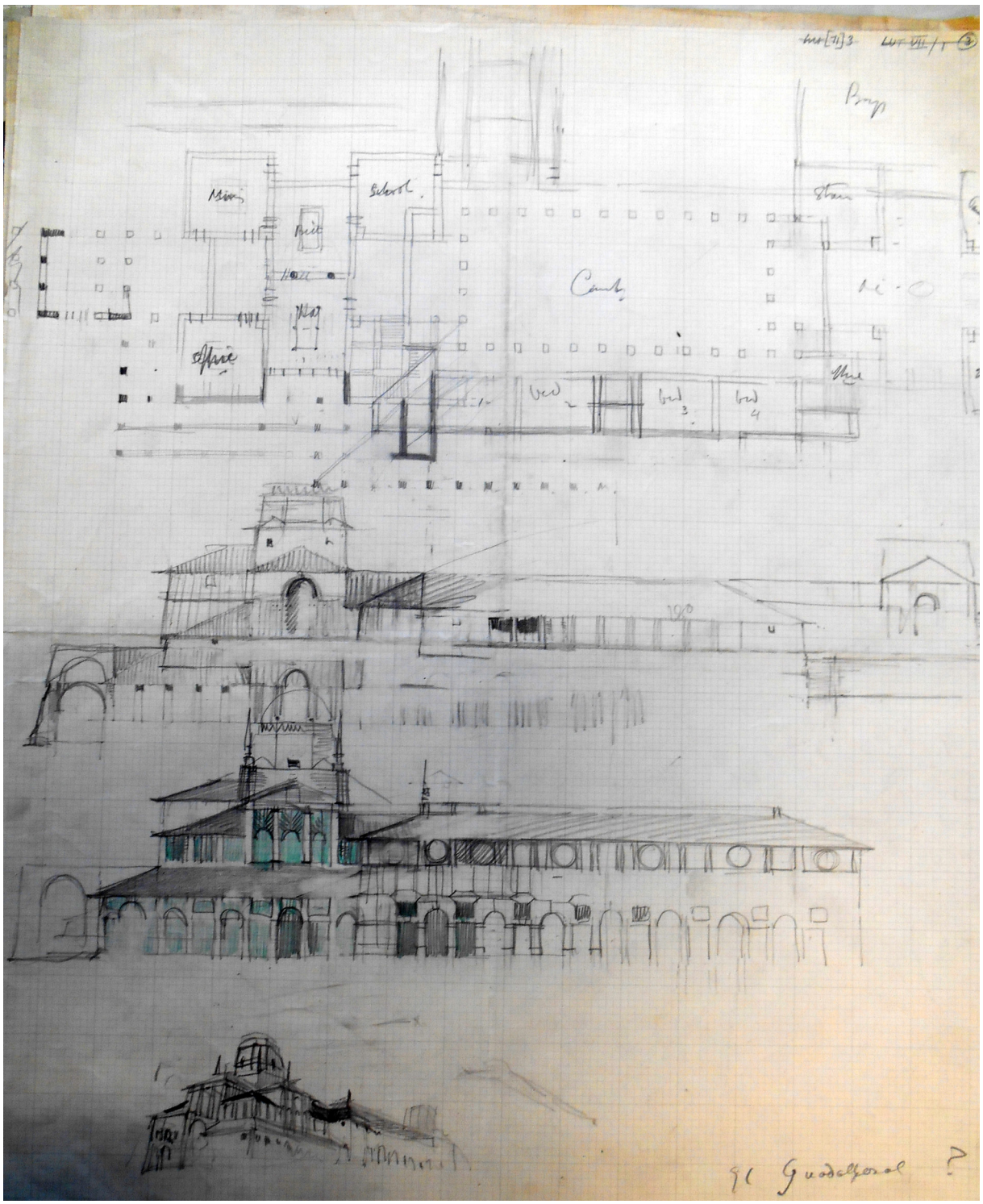


Figure 7.44. E.L Lutyens, unidentified drawings, possibly sketches for El Guadalperal, early 1920s, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR118/11(2).

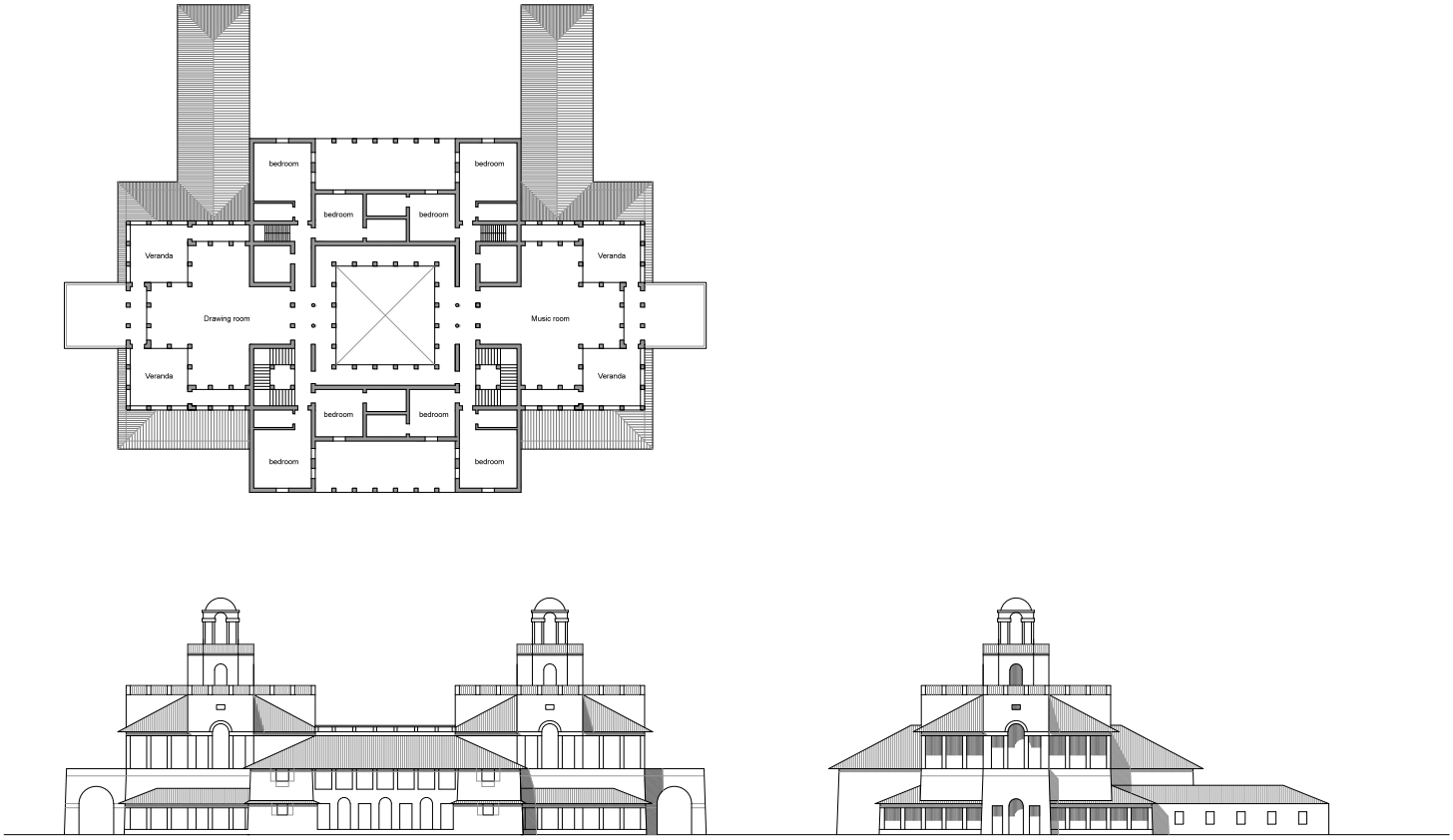


Figure 7.45. Edwin E. Reconstruction of the sketches for El Guadalperal, by the author.

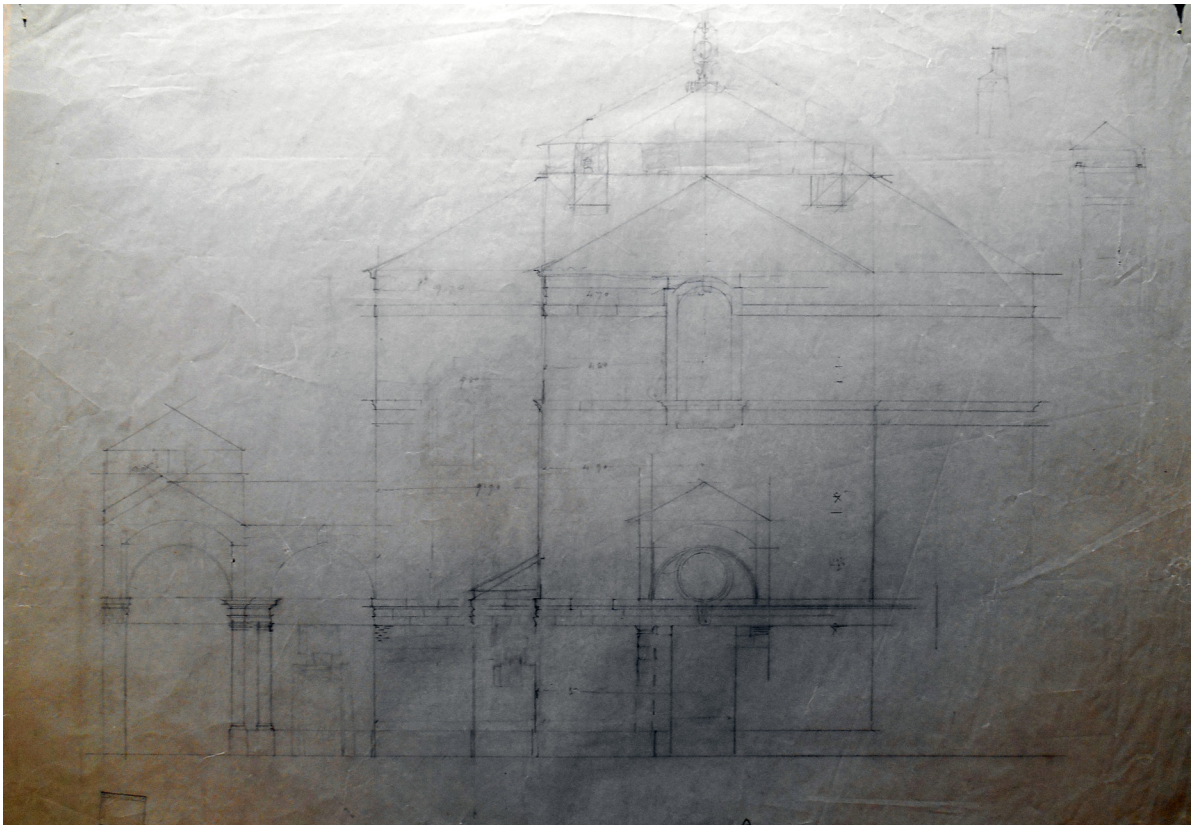


Figure 7.49. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, elevation of the chapel, 1927, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR118/11(4).

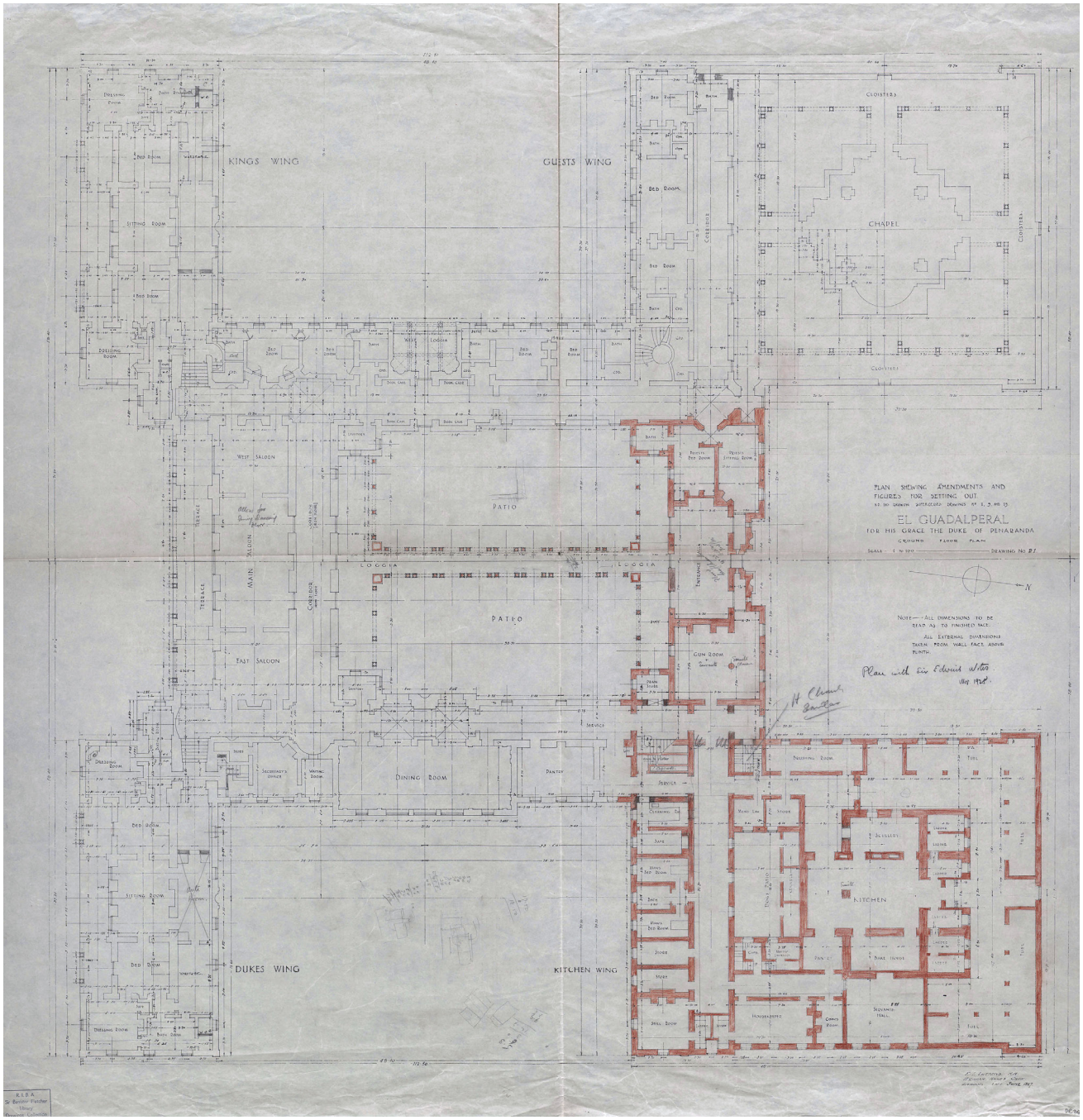


Figure 7.46. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, ground floor plan, June 1927, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR20/9 (5).

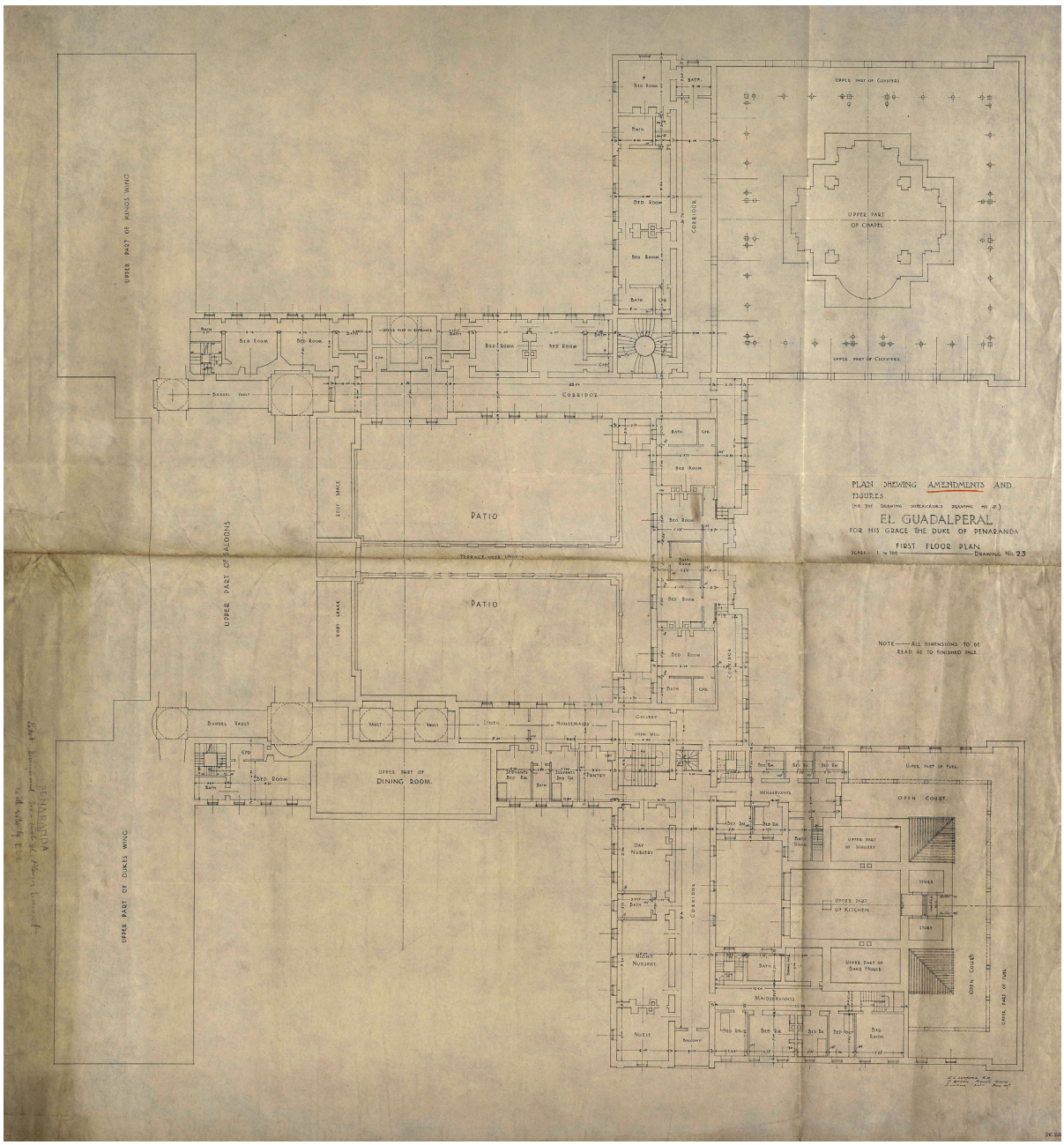


Figure 7.47. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, first floor plan, June 1927, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR20/9 (6).

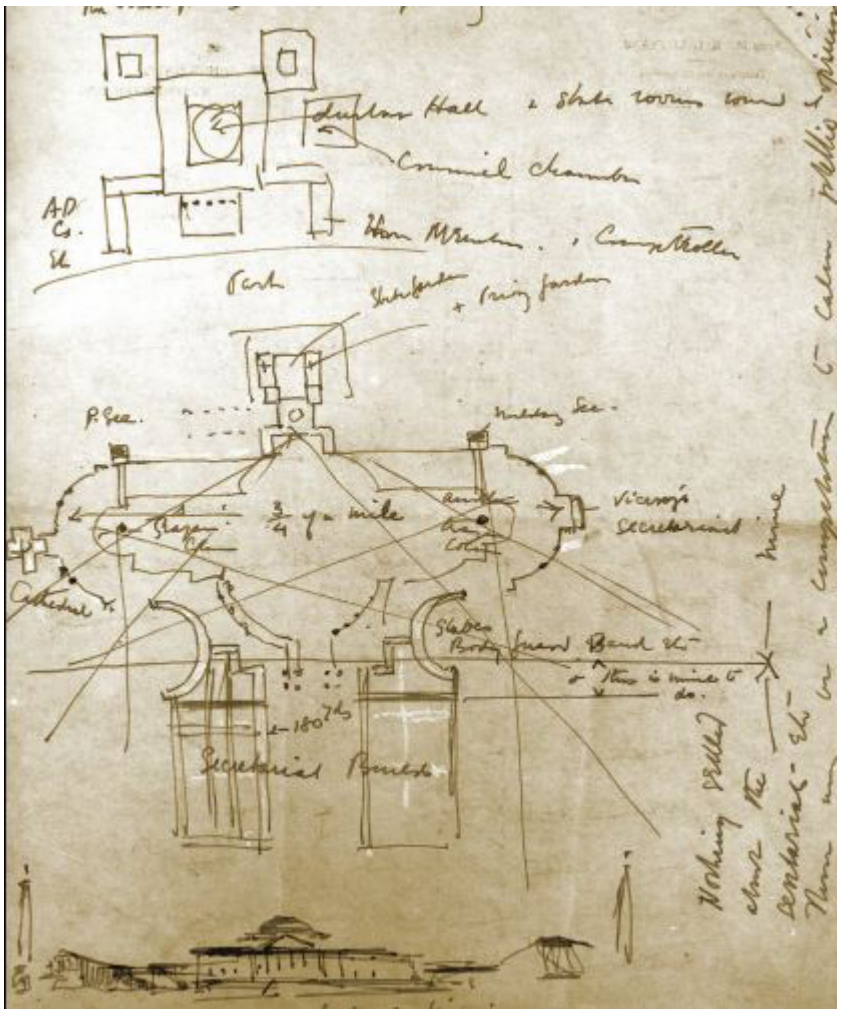


Figure 7.48. E.L Lutyens, sketch of New Delhi, 14 June 1912, University of Cambridge.

Figure 7.50. Palace of El Guadalperal, north facade, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 7.51. Palace of El Guadalperal, north facade, 3D rendering by the author.

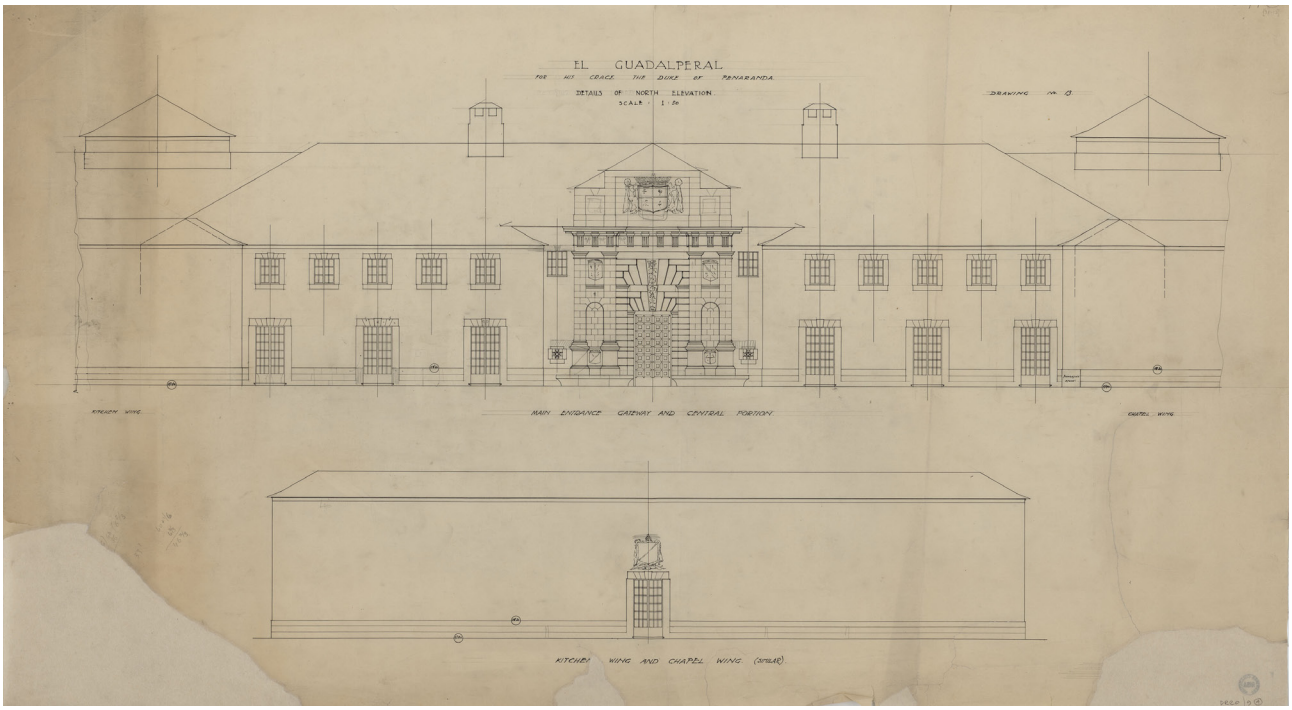


Figure 7.52. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, details of north elevation, 1927, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR20/9 (4).

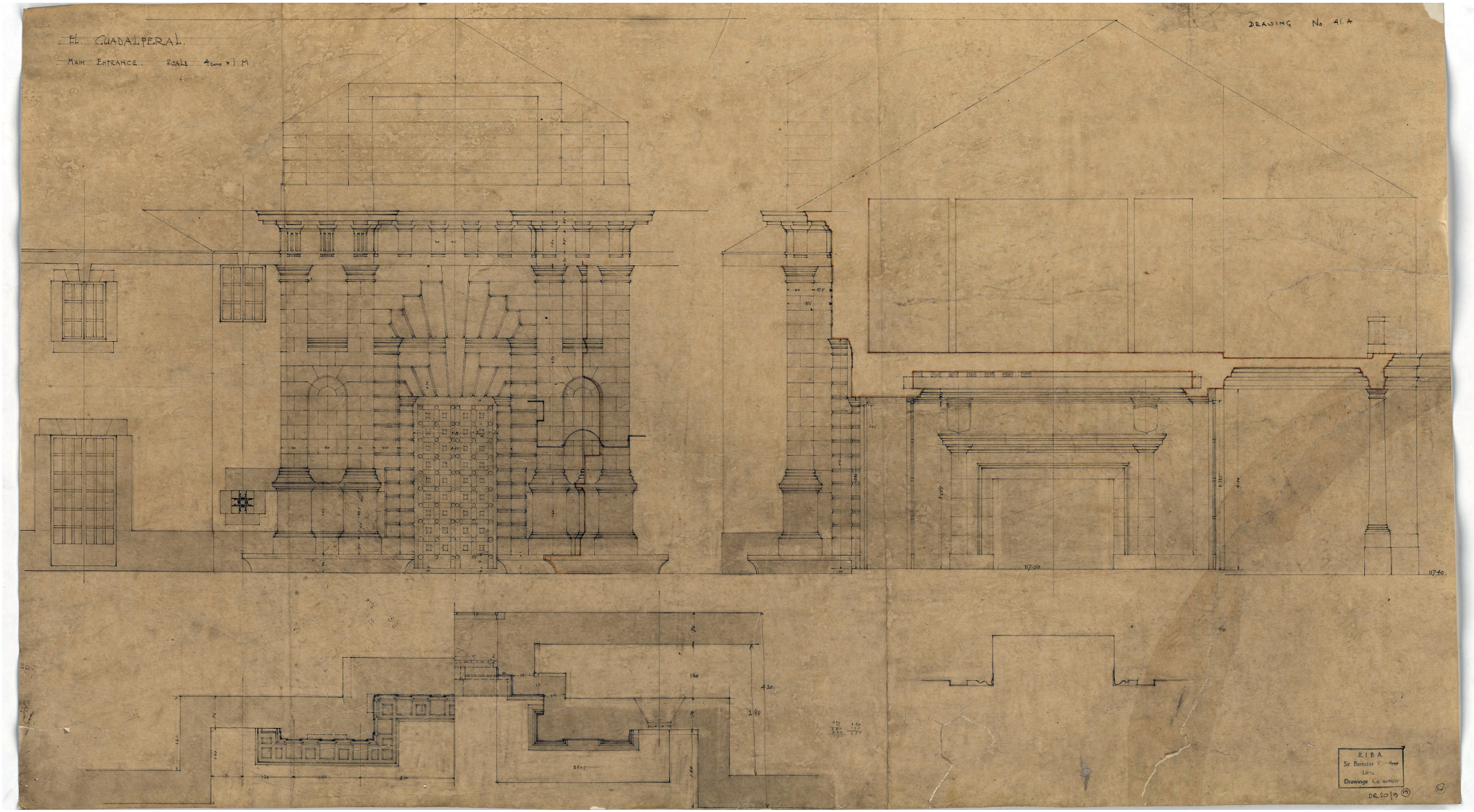
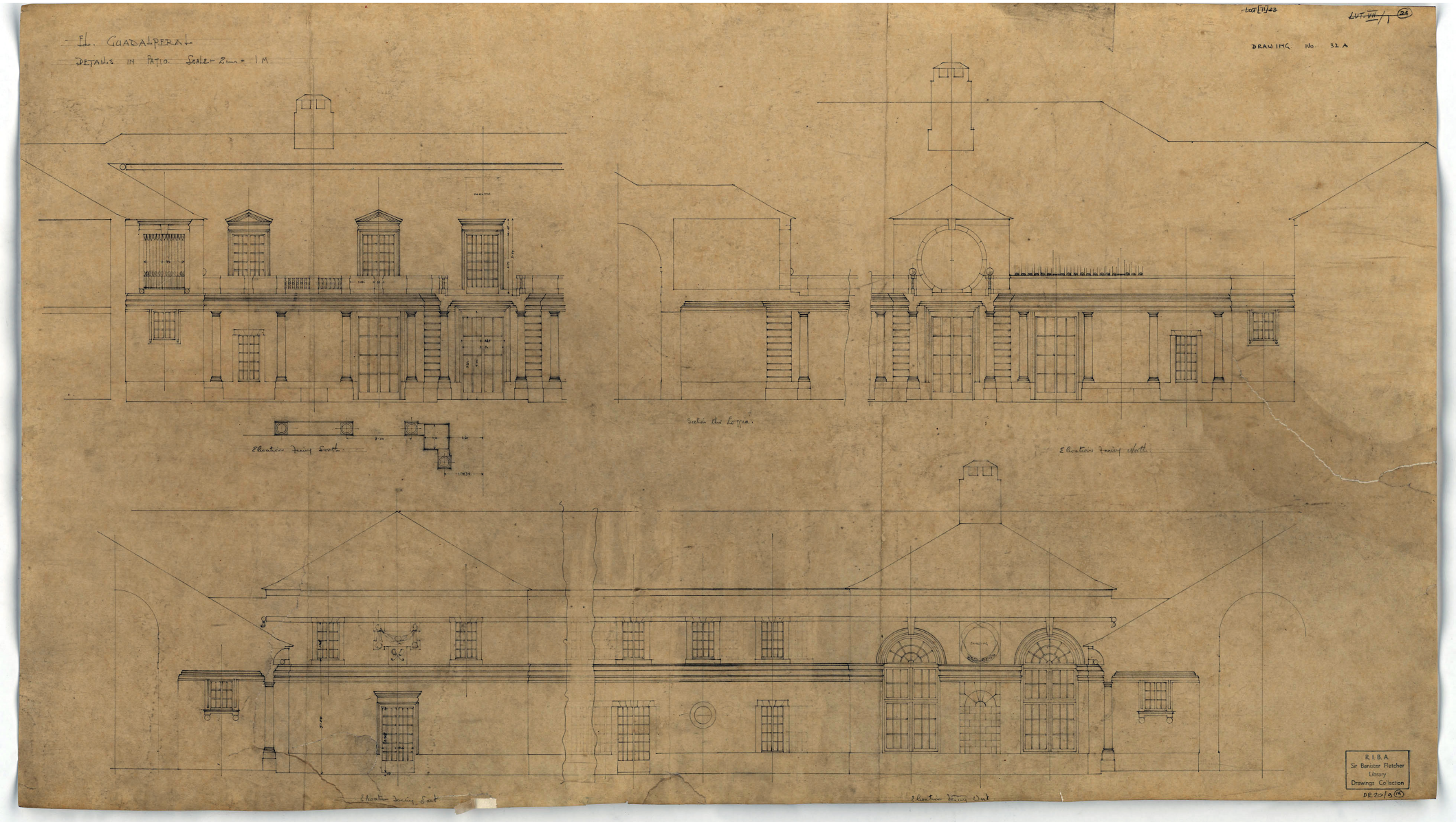
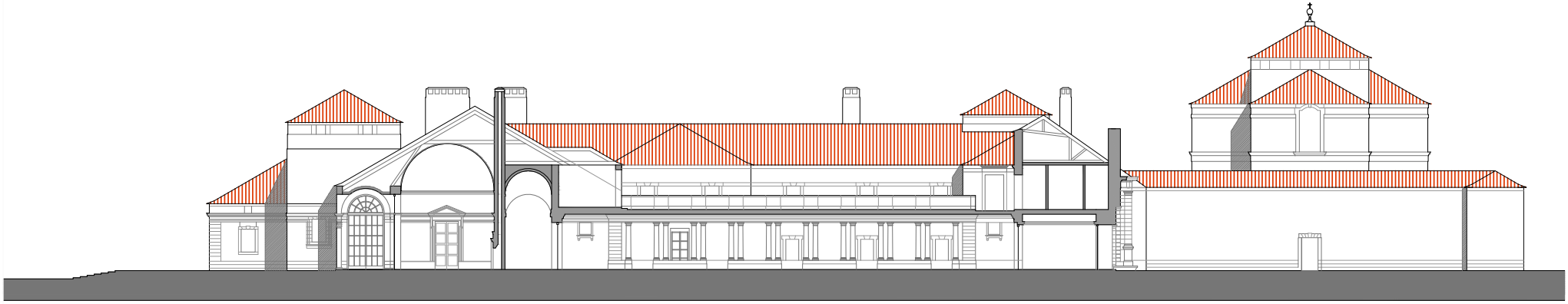


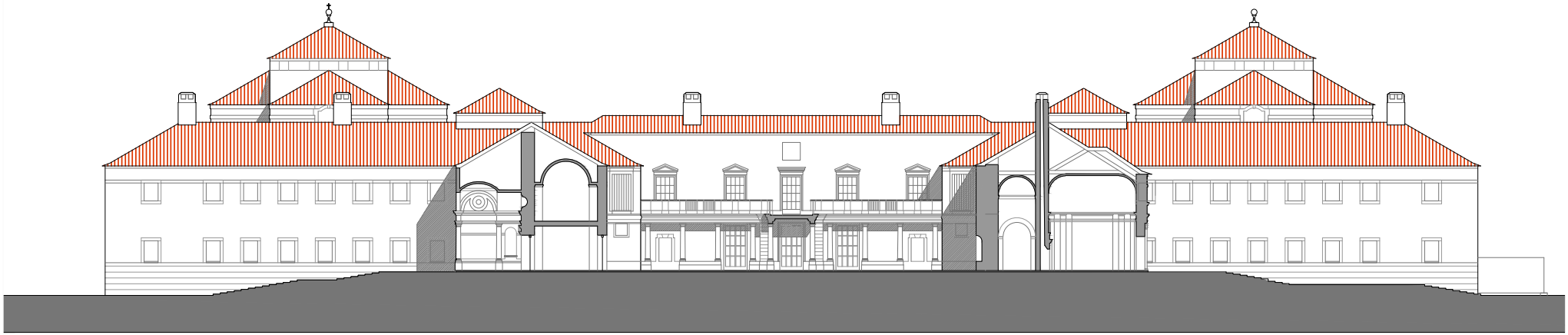
Figure 7.53. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, detail of north entrance, 1927, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR20/9 (19).

Figure 7.54. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, details of main patio, 1927, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR20/9 (13).





A



D

0 10 20 40 m.

Figure 7.55. Palace of El Guadalperal, A: north-south section; D: east-west section, by the author.

Figure 7.56. Palace of El Guadalperal, bird's eye view from the south east, 3D rendering by the author.

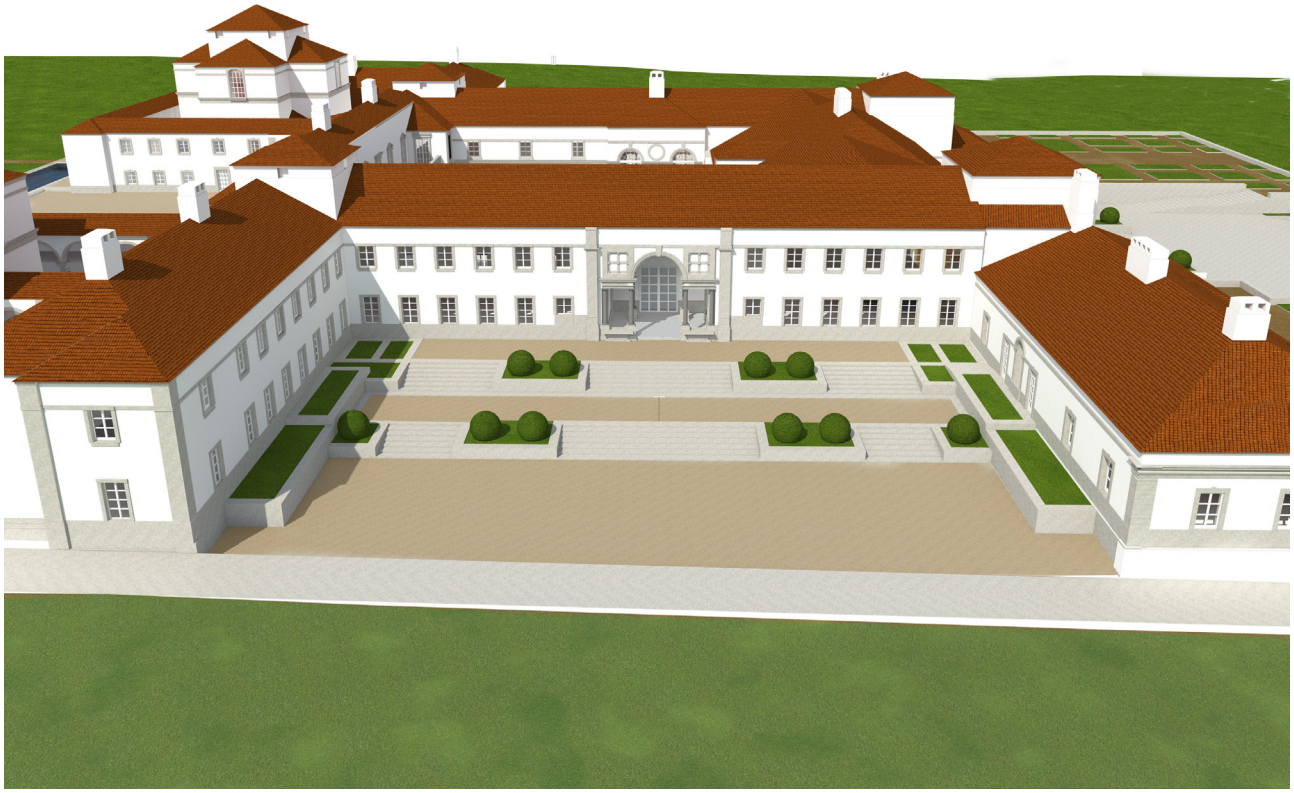
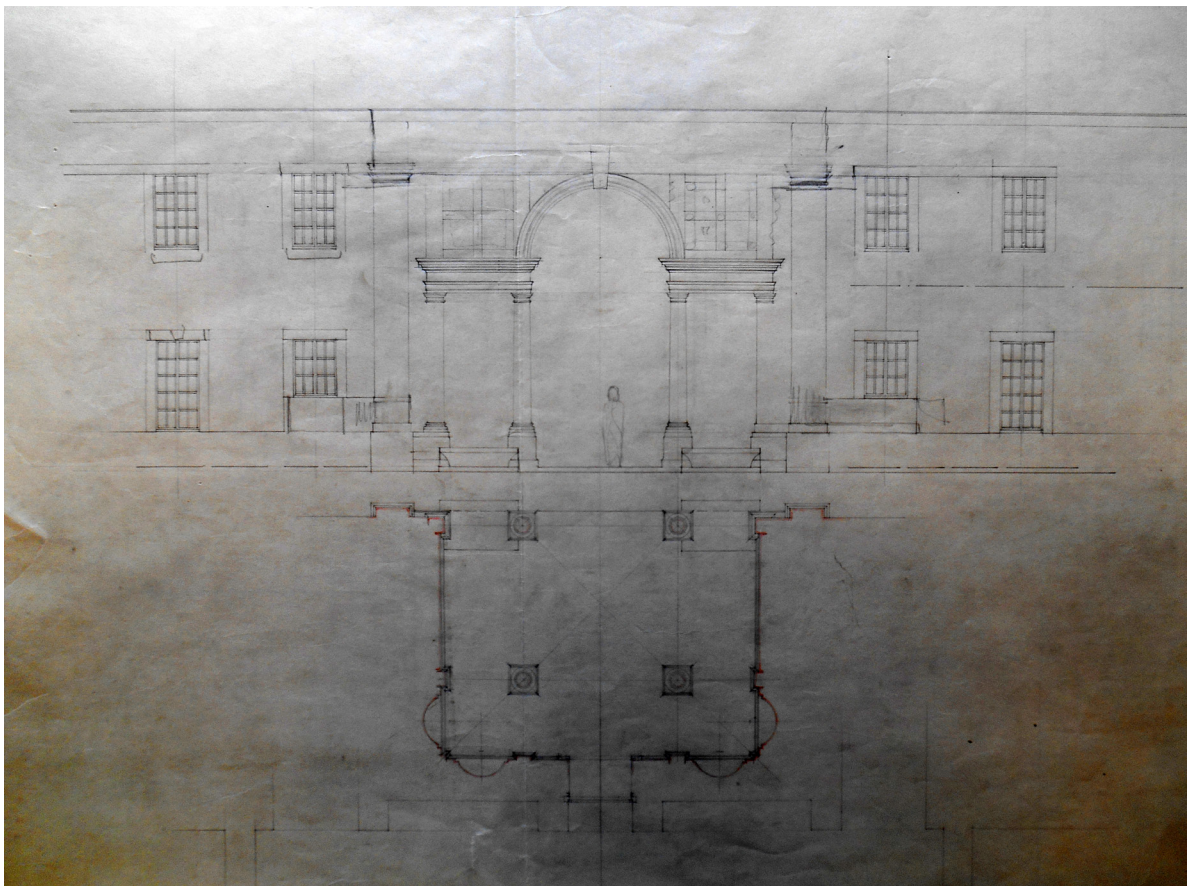


Figure 7.57. Palace of El Guadalperal, bird's eye view of the west forecourt, 3D rendering by the author.



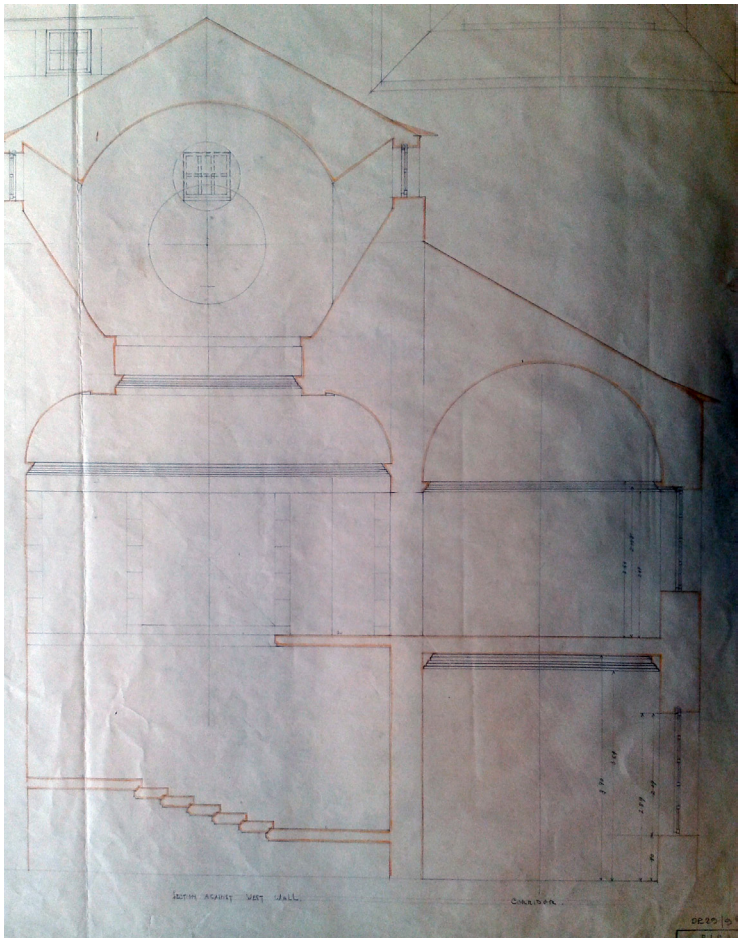


Figure 7.58. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, detail of west entrance, 1927, RIBA Drawings Collection.

Figure 7.59. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, detail of the main staircase, 1927, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR 29/90 (3).

Figure 7.60. Palace of El Guadalperal, view of the east forecourt, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 7.61. Palace of El Guadalperal, view of the east forecourt, 3D rendering by the author.

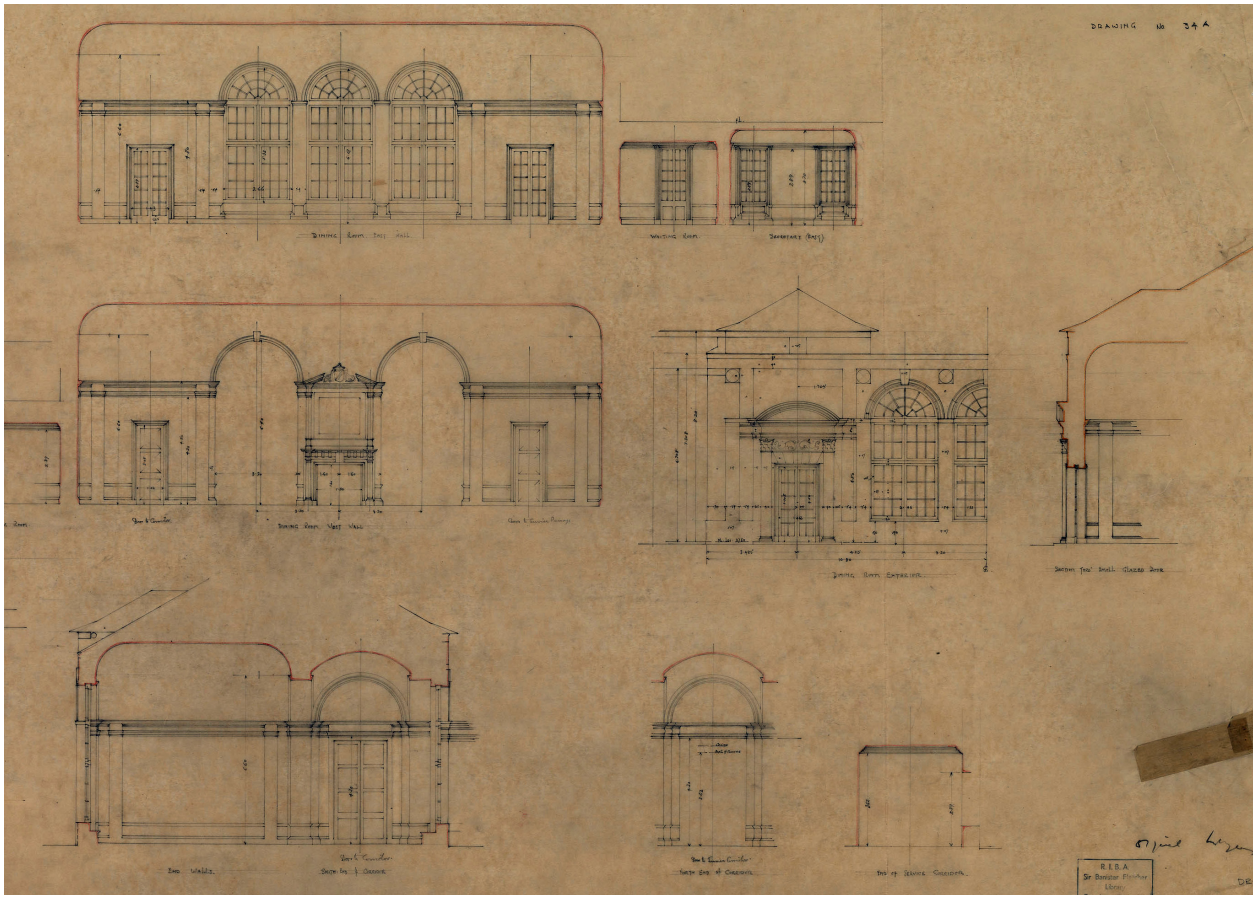
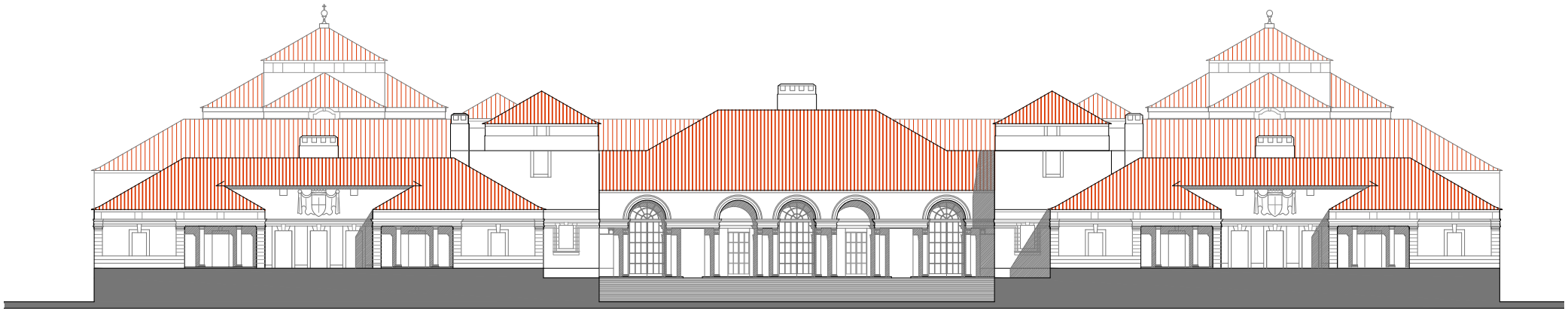
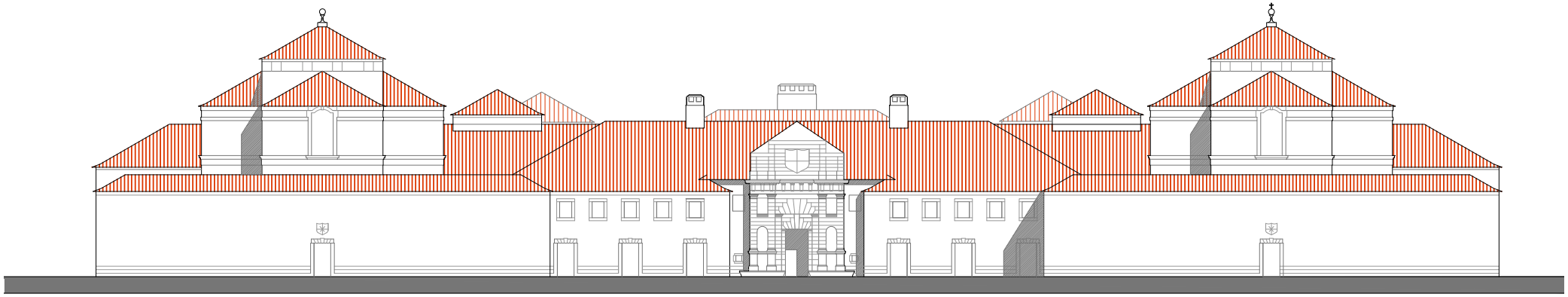


Figure 7.62. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, sections and elevations of the dinning room, 1927, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR 20/9 (15).



B



C

0 10 20 40 m.

Figure 7.63. Palace of El Guadalperal, B: south elevation; C: north elevation, by the author.

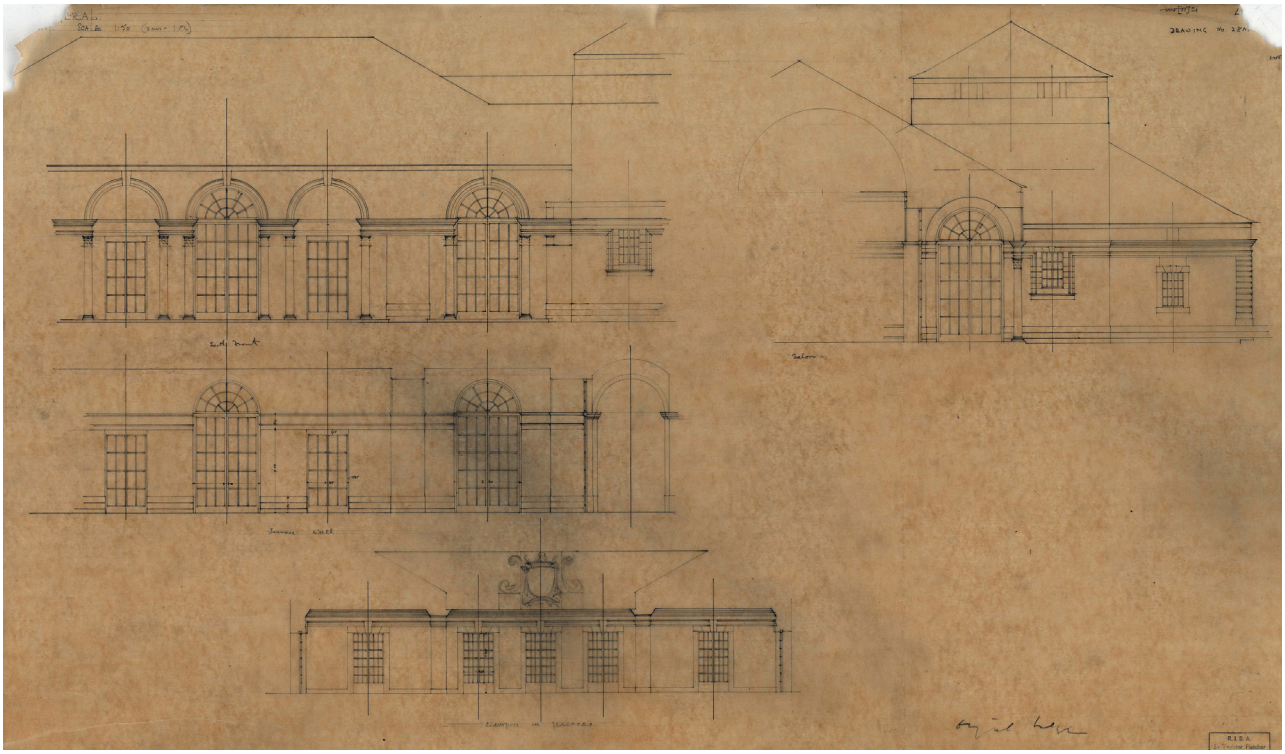


Figure 7.64. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, details of south elevation, 1927, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR 20/9 (11).

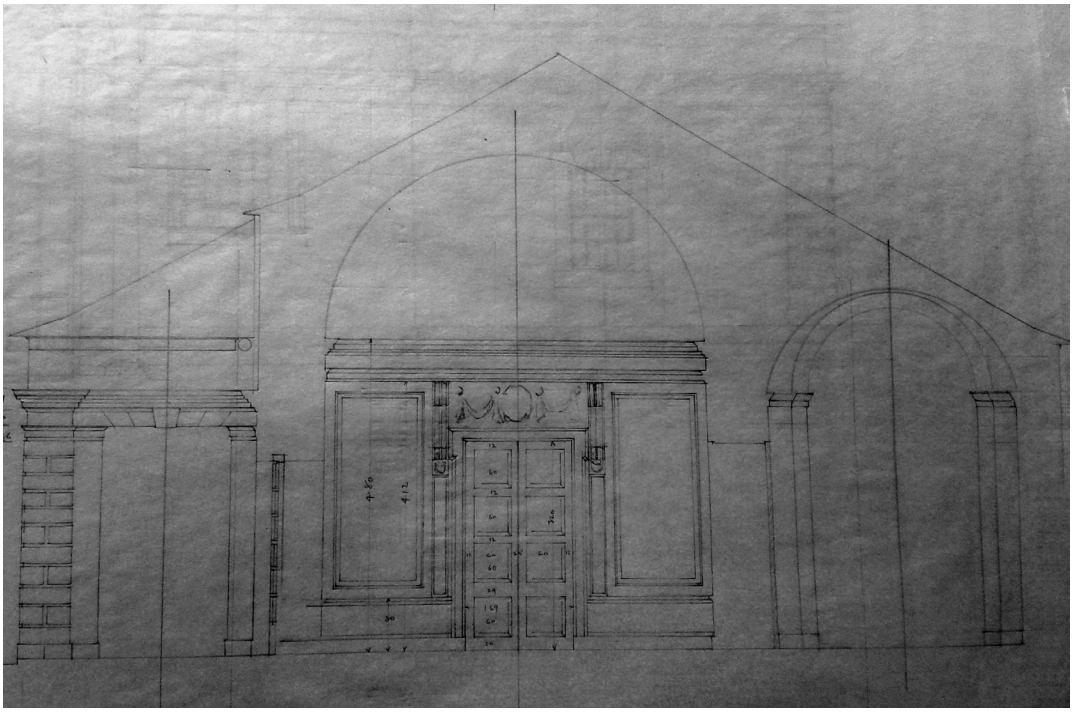


Figure 7.66. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, section of the Duke´s wing, RIBA Drawings Collection, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR 20/9 (8).

Figure 7.65. Palace of El Guadalperal, south loggia, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 7.67. Palace of El Guadalperal, south facade of the Duke´s wing, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 7.68. Palace of El Guadalperal, south facade, 3D rendering by the author.

Figure 7.69. Palace of El Guadalperal, bird's eye view from the north west, 3D rendering by the author.

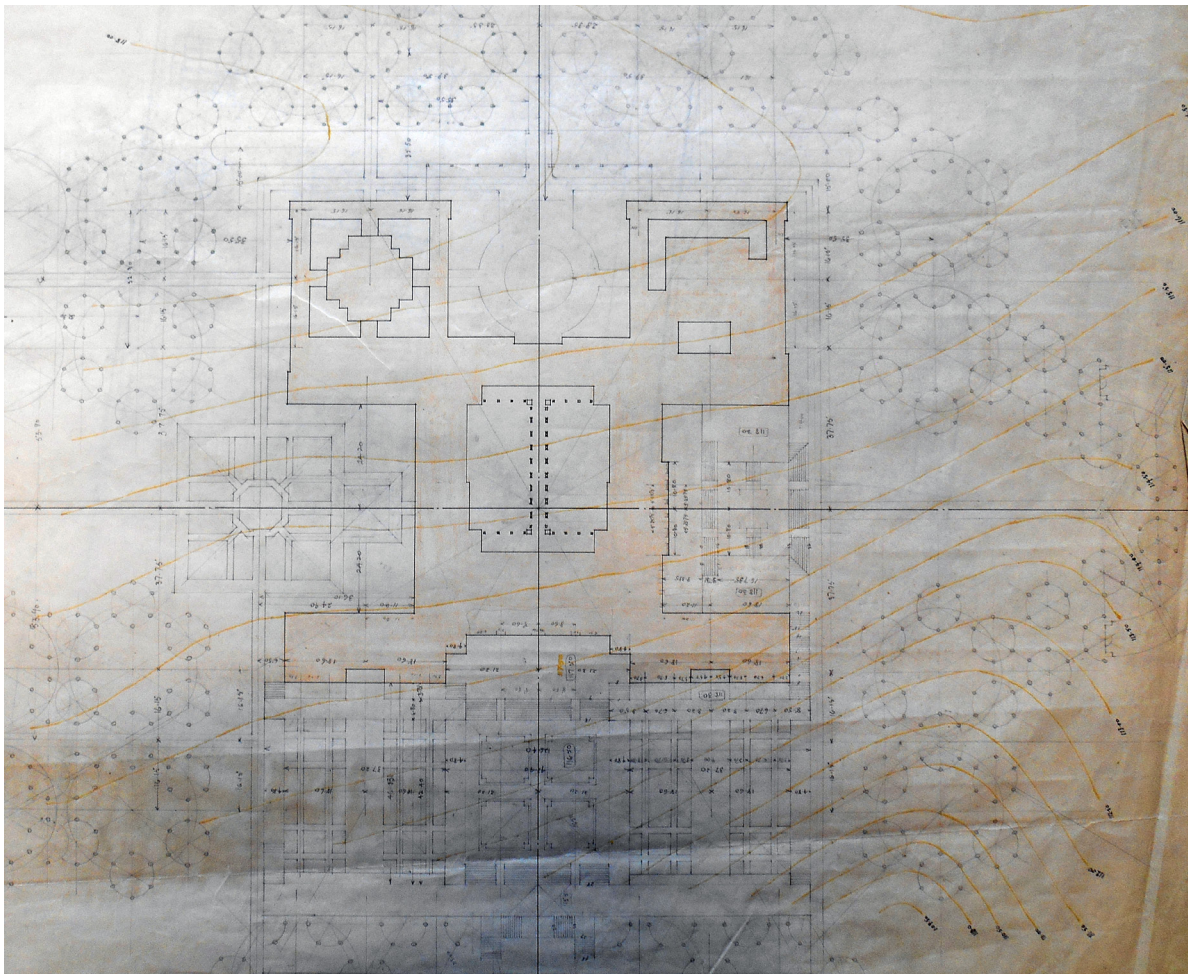


Figure 7.70. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, topographic plan, RIBA Drawings Collection, RIBA Drawings Collection, DR 20/9 (10).

Figure 7.71. Palace of El Guadalperal, view from the suth platform, 3D rendering by the author.

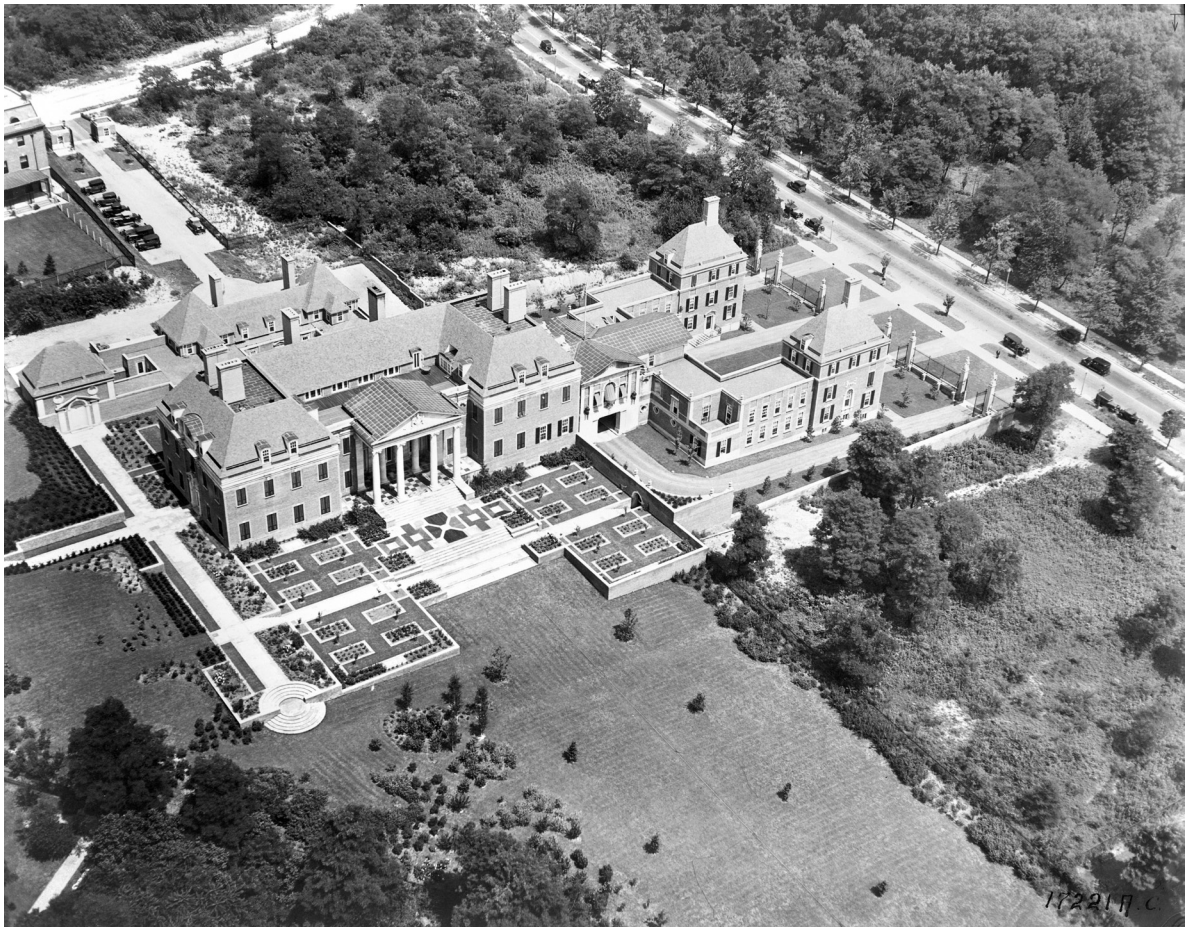


Figure 7.72. Edwin L. Lutyens, British Embassy in Washington, designed 1927, *Country Life*.

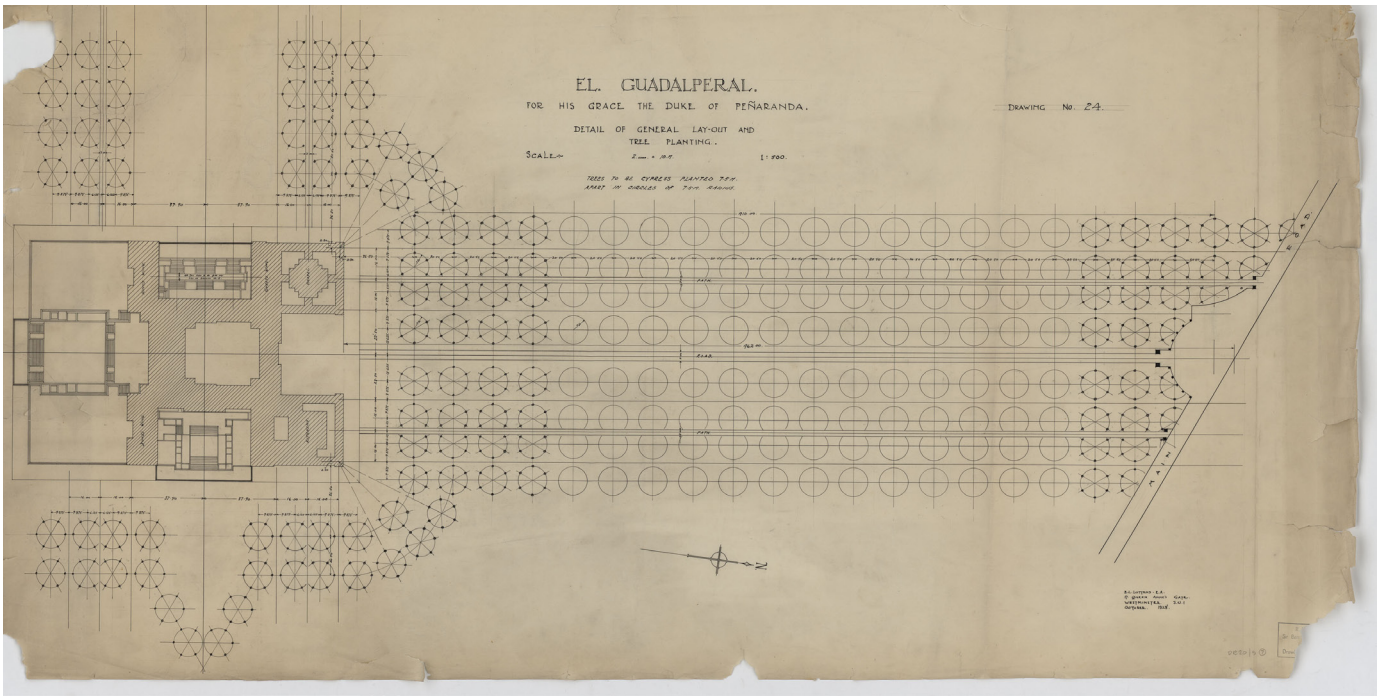


Figure 73. E.L Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, general layout and tree-planting scheme, October 1928, , RIBA Drawings Collection, DR 20/9 (7).

Figure 7.74. El Guadalperal, satellite view of the site for the 1927 Palace.

Figure 7.75. El Guadalperal, satellite view of the site for the 1927 Palace overlaping the Lutyens´s topographic plan and his general layout for the palace.

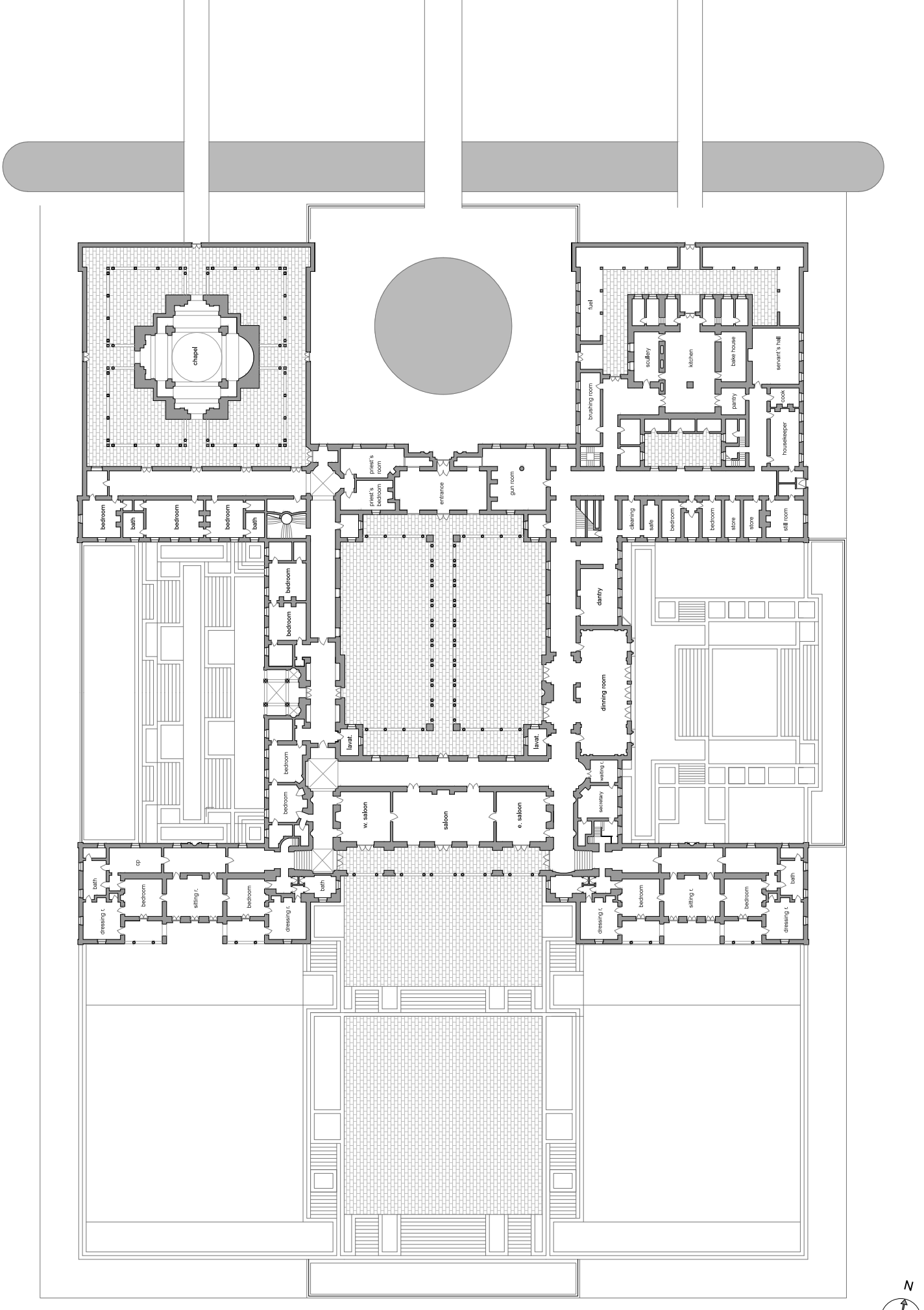


Figure 7.76. Palace of El Guadalperal, ground floor plan, by the author.

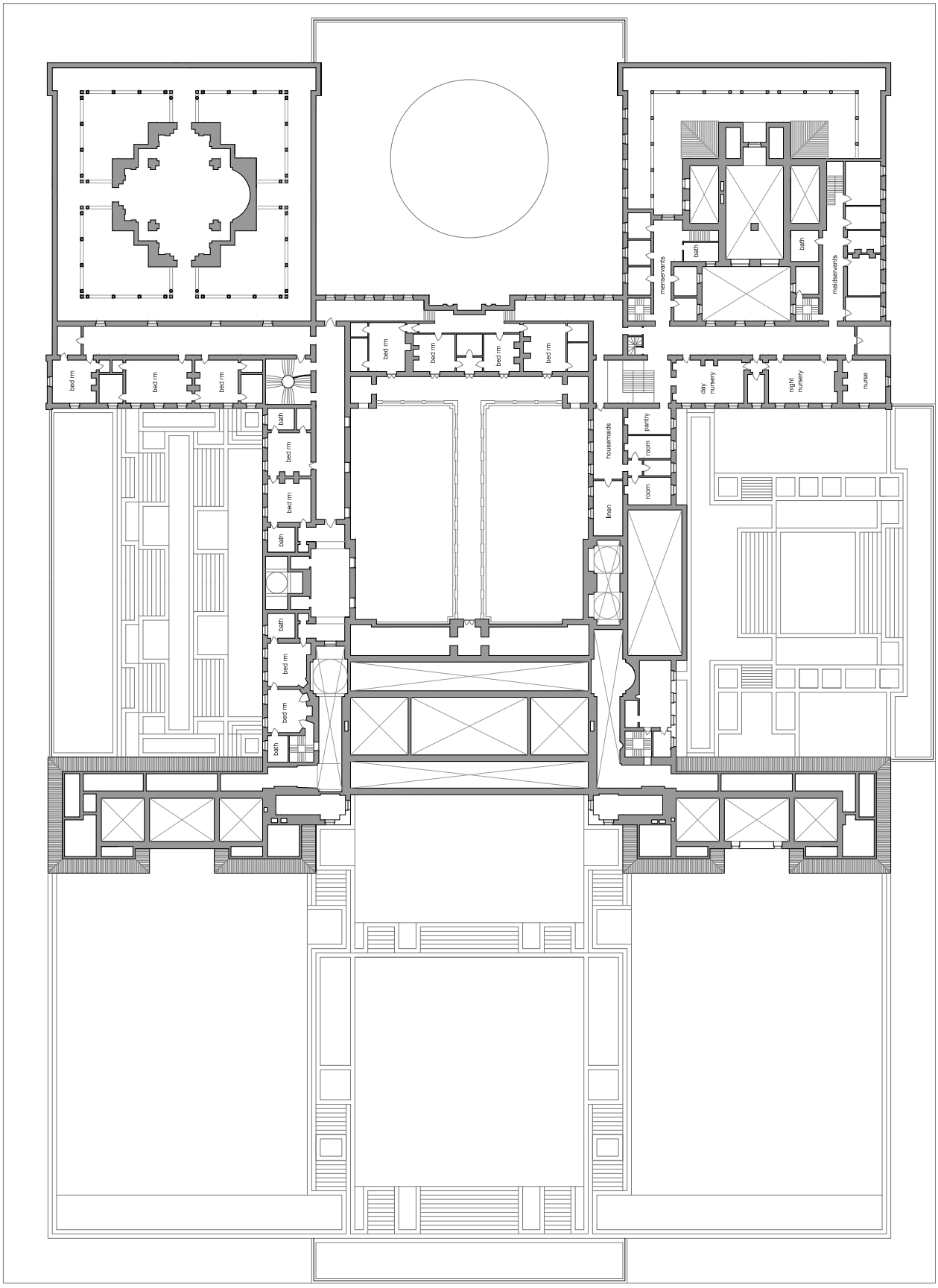


Figure 7.77. Palace of El Guadalperal, first floor plan, by the author.

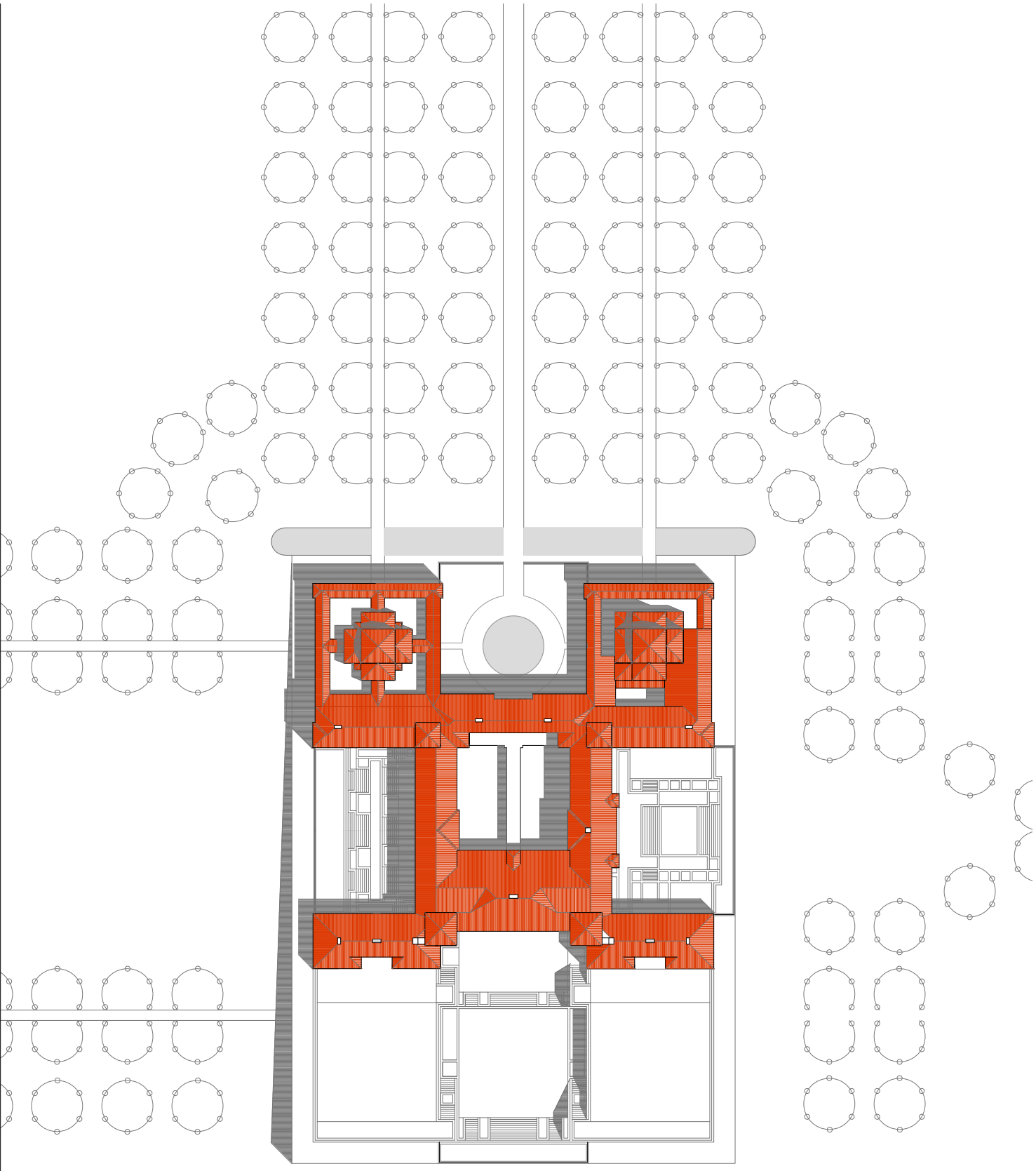


Figure 78. Palace of El Guadalperal, roof plan, by the author.

IMAGES CHAPTER VIII.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF LIRIA PALACE

Figure 8.1. Ventura Rodríguez, Madrid, Liria Palace, late 19th century, south facade, around 1925, Instituto de Patrimonio Cultural de España, 13404.

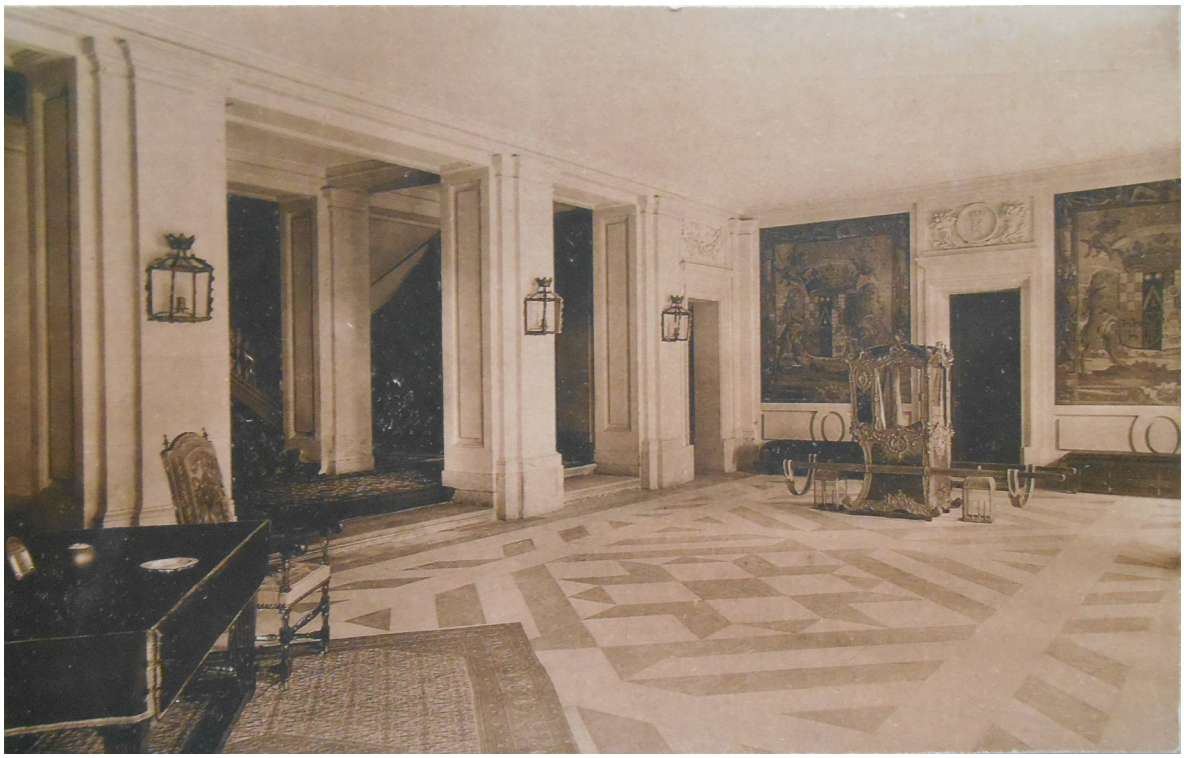


Figure 8.2. Madrid, Liria Palace, entrance vestibule in the 1920s, archive of the Liria Palace, Madrid.

Figure 8.3. Madrid, Liria Palace, the Duke of Alba´s bedroom in the 1920s. Instituto de Patrimonio Cultural de España, 14971.

Figure 8.4. Madrid, Liria Palace in 1936, Instituto de Patrimonio Cultural de España.

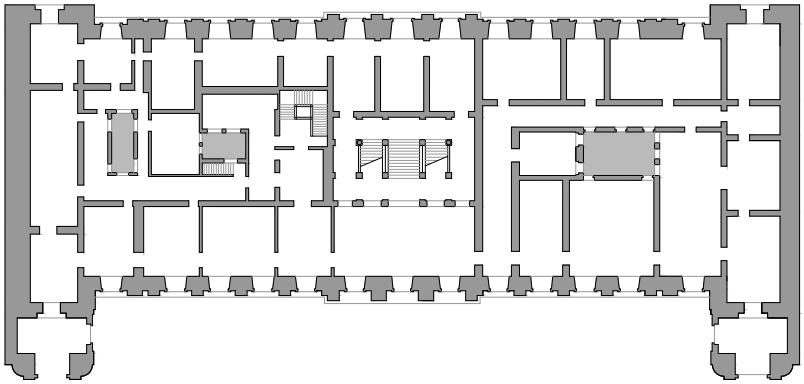
Figure 8.5. Madrid, Liria Palace in 1948, archive of the Liria Palace, Madrid.

Figure 8.6. Inauguration of Campion Hall, Oxford. In the front row, from left to right: E.L Lutyens, Father Martin D'Arcy, the Duke of Alba, the Vice-Chancellor of the University and Father Ronald Knox (Numen Digital).

HONORARY DEGREES CONFERRED

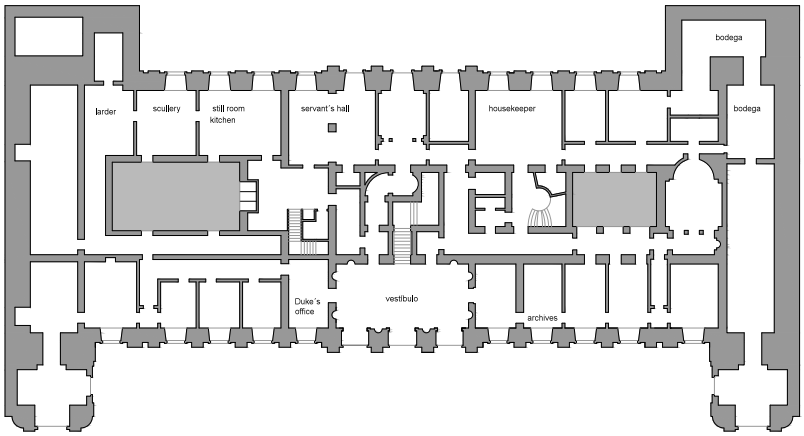
Sir Edward Lutyens, the famous architect (left), with the Duke of Alba, the Spanish Ambassador, arriving at Magdalen College, Oxford, to receive their honorary degrees.

Figure 8.7. Lutyens and Alba at Oxford. *Nottingham Evening Post*, 22 June 1939, 8.



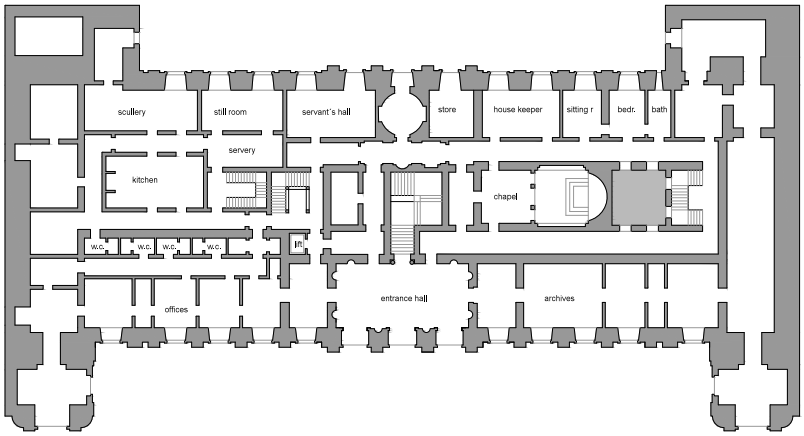
A

Figure 8.9. Madrid, Liria Palace, ground floor plans. A) before 1936;



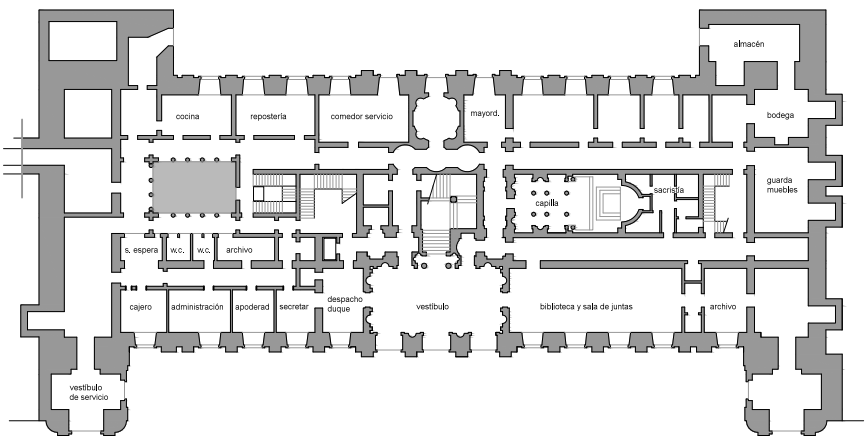
B

B) Proposed ground floor plan. Edwin Lutyen, c. 1939-40;



C

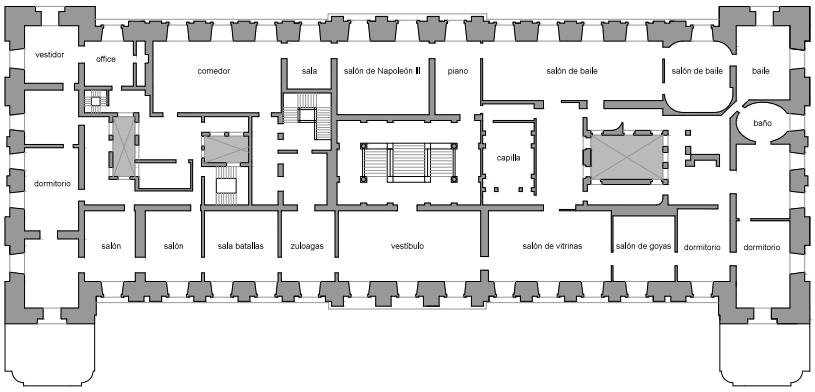
C) Proposed ground floor plan. Edwin Lutyens,c. 1943



D

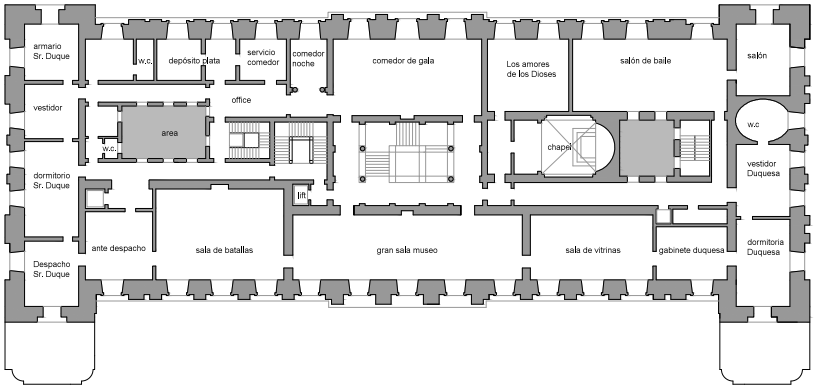
D) Proposed ground floor plan. Manuel Cabanyes, 1947;

Figure 8.10. Madrid, Liria Palace, first floor plans. E) First Floor Plan before 1936;



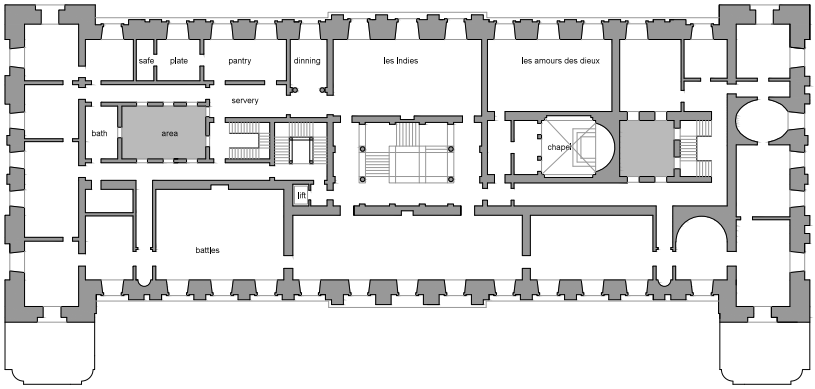
E

F) Proposed first floor plan. Edwin Lutyen, c. 1942-43;



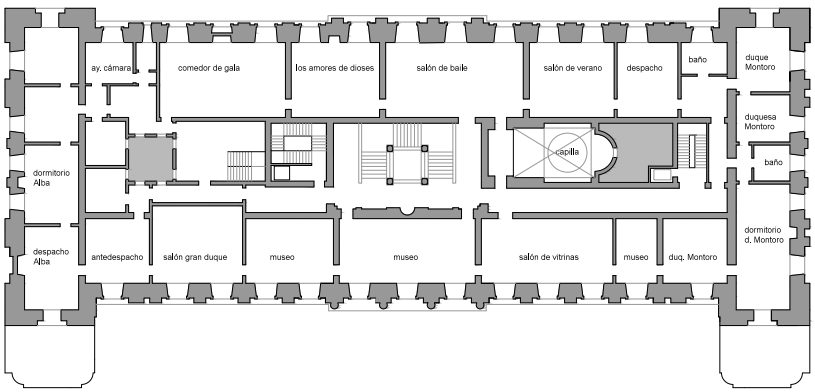
F

G) Proposed first floor plan. Edwin Lutyen, c. 1942-43



G

H) First floor plan. Manuel Cabanyes, 1950.



H

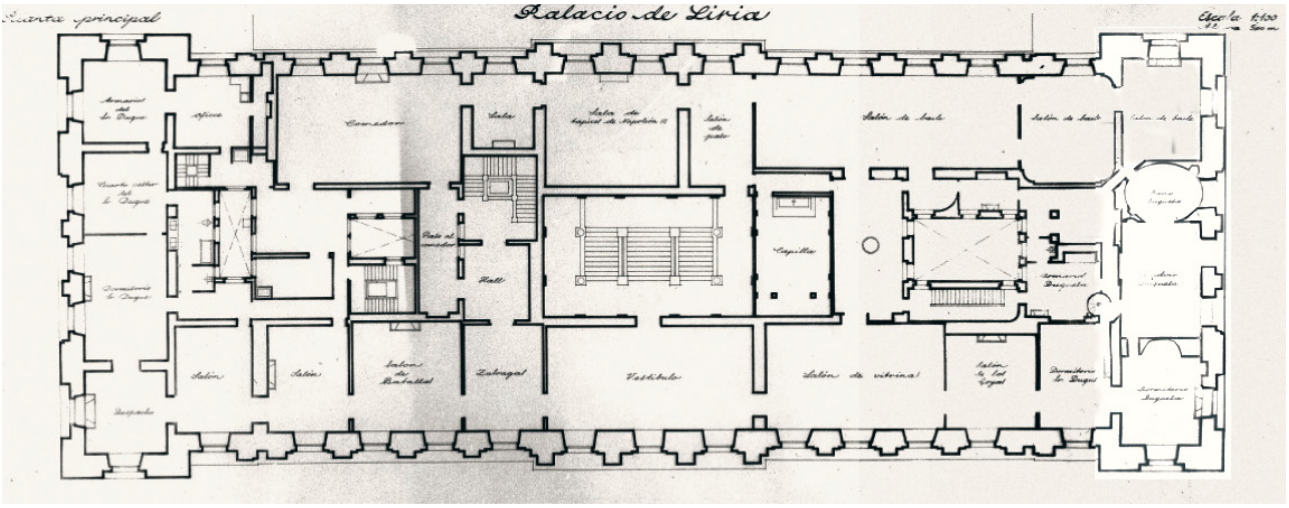


Figure 8.8. Madrid, Liria Palace, first floor plan, 1920s or early 1930s, archive of the Liria Palace.

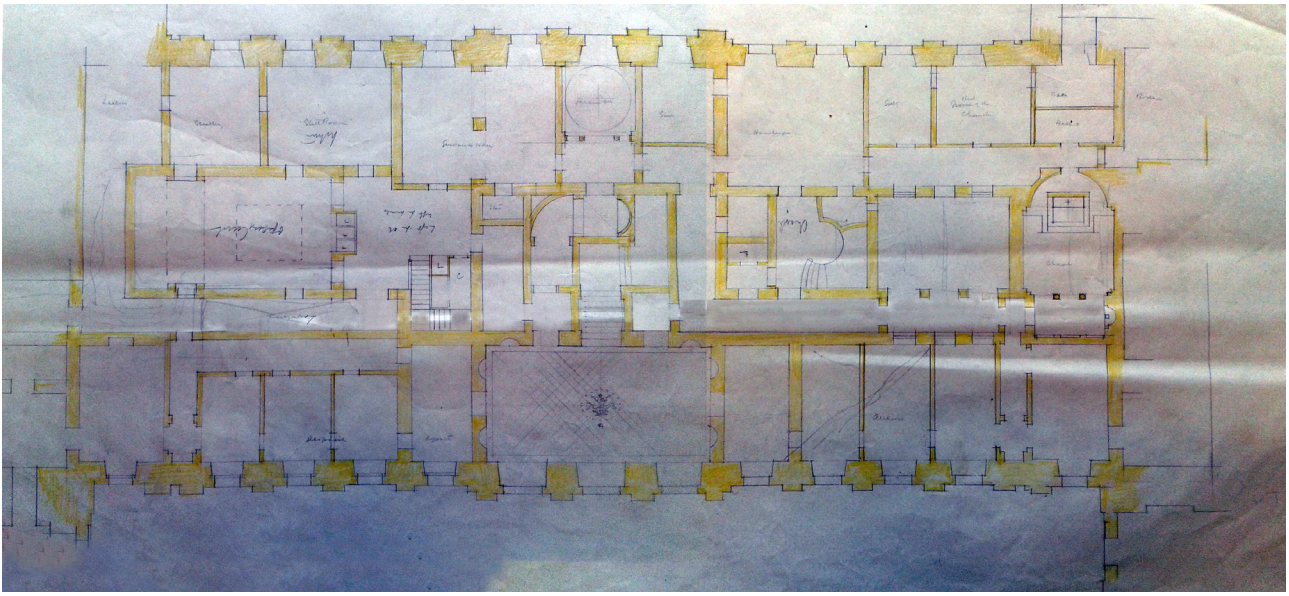


Figure 8.11. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, ground floor plan, c. 1940, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection.

Figure 8.12. The Duke of Alba and his daughter at Albury Park, Surrey, January 1942. George W. Hales, Getty Images.

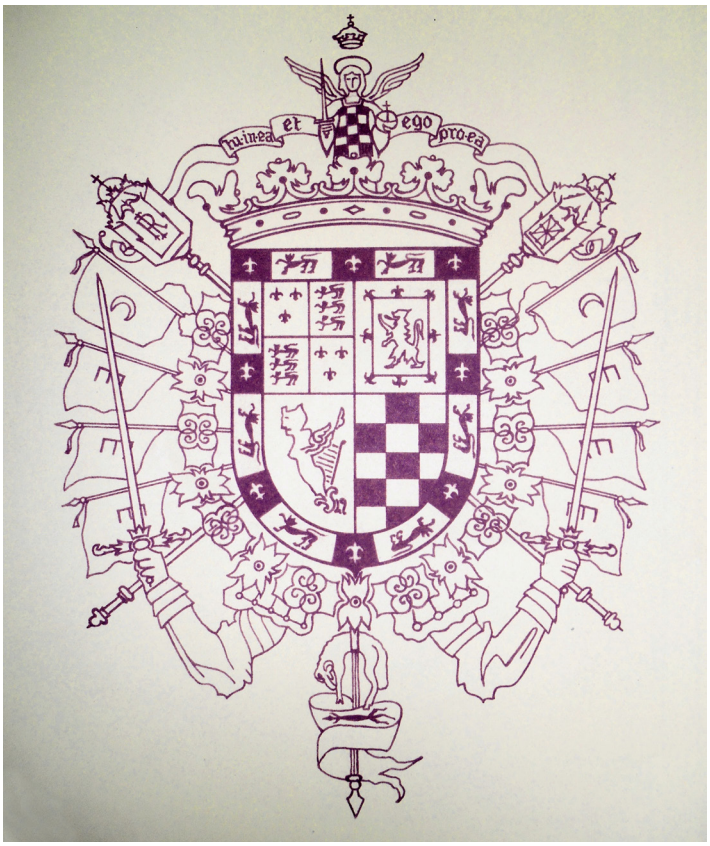


Figure 8.13. The Duke of Alba´s coat of Arms, c. 1945, probably copied from a design by Lutyens, archive of the Liria Palace.

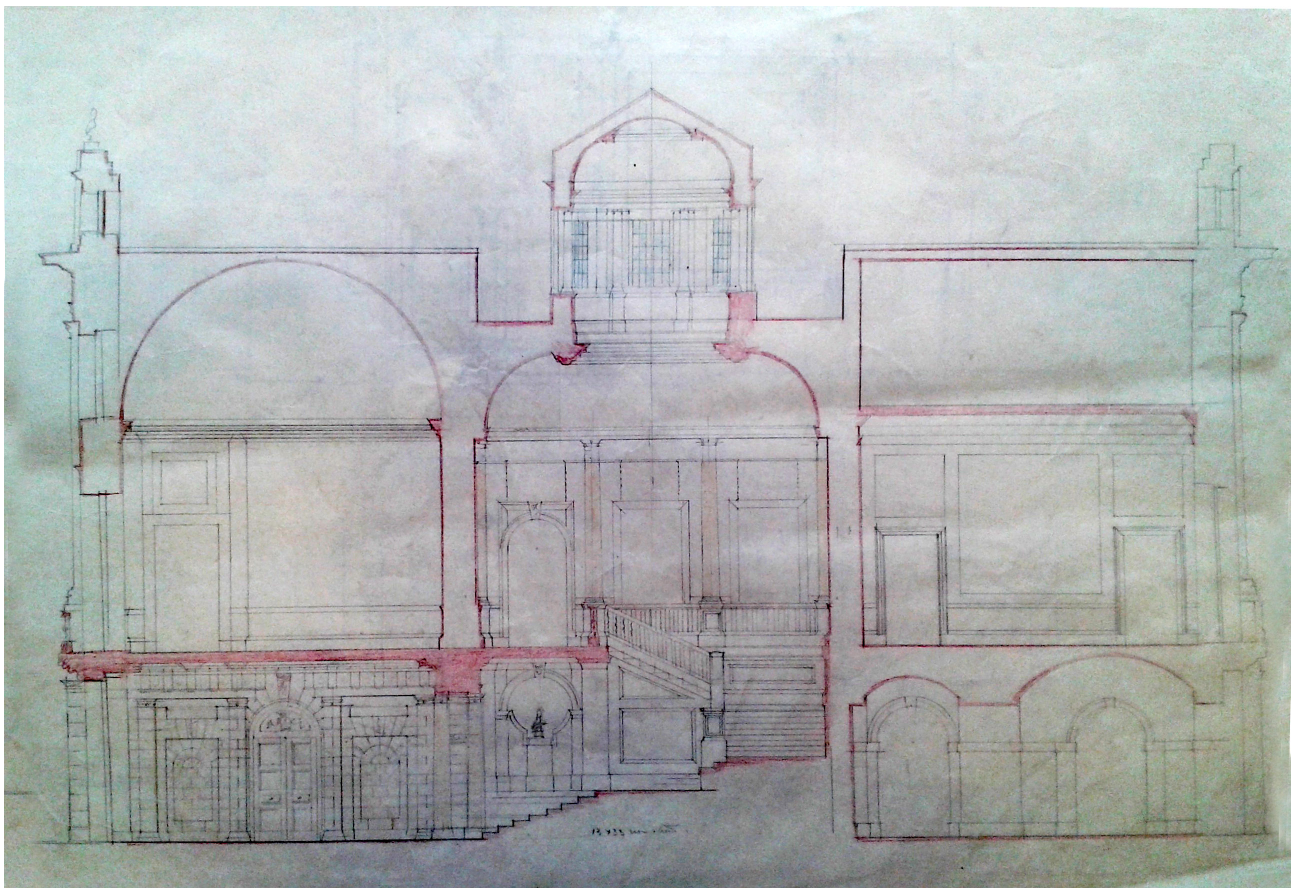


Figure 8.14. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, north-south section, c. 1941, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, detail.

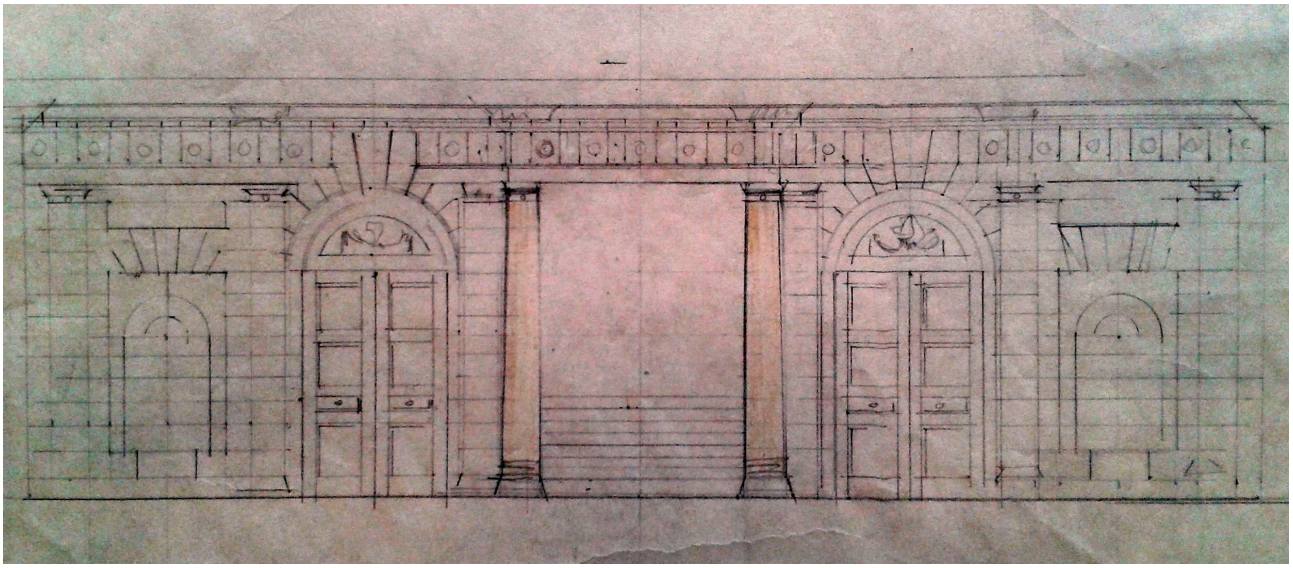


Figure 8.15. E.L. Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, north interior elevation of the entrance hall, c. 1941, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, detail.

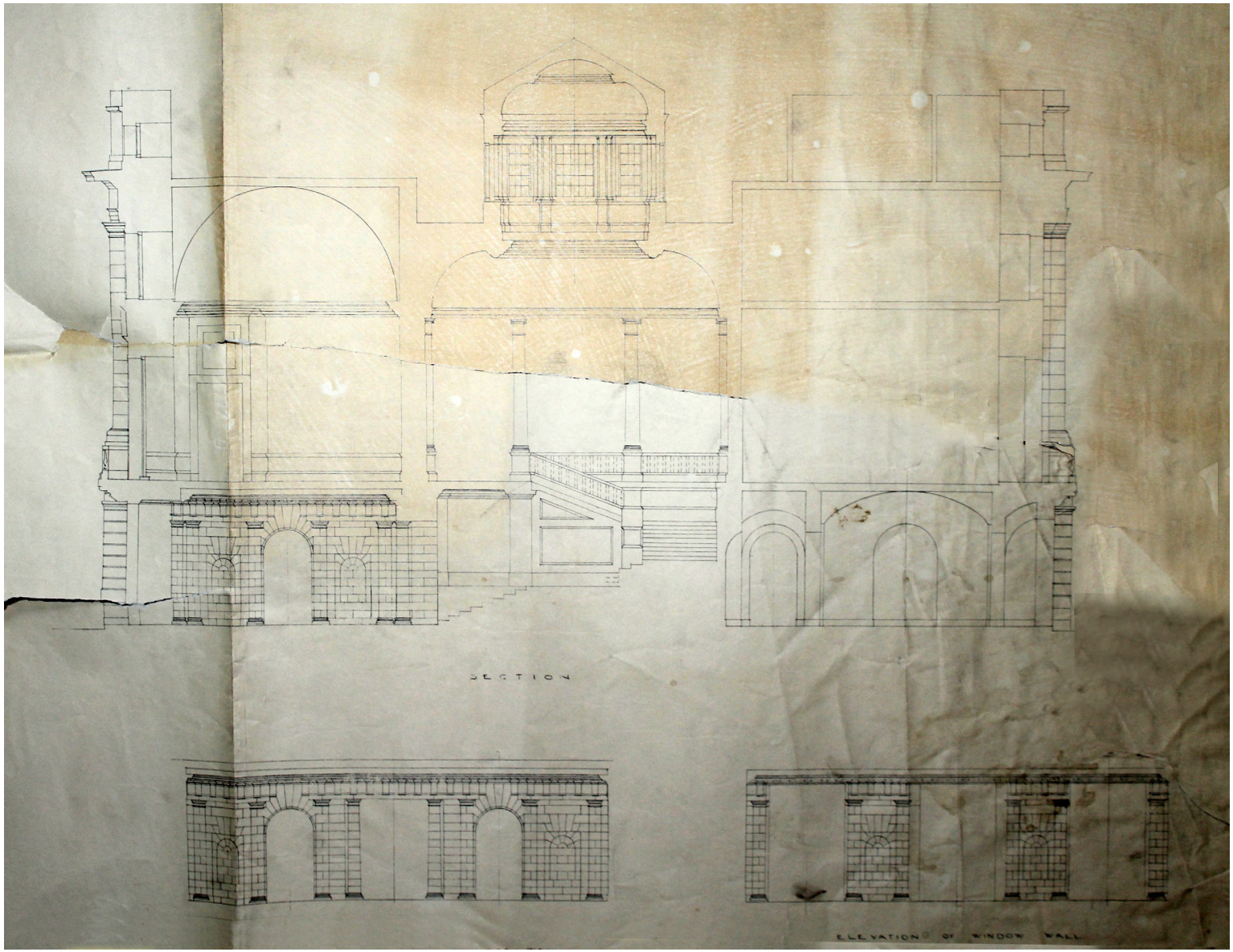


Figure 8.16. E.L Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, north-south section and entrance vestibule elevations, c. 1941, archive of the Liria Palace.

Figure 17. E.L Lutyens, Oxfordshire, Middleton Park, corridor, 1935, *Country Life*.

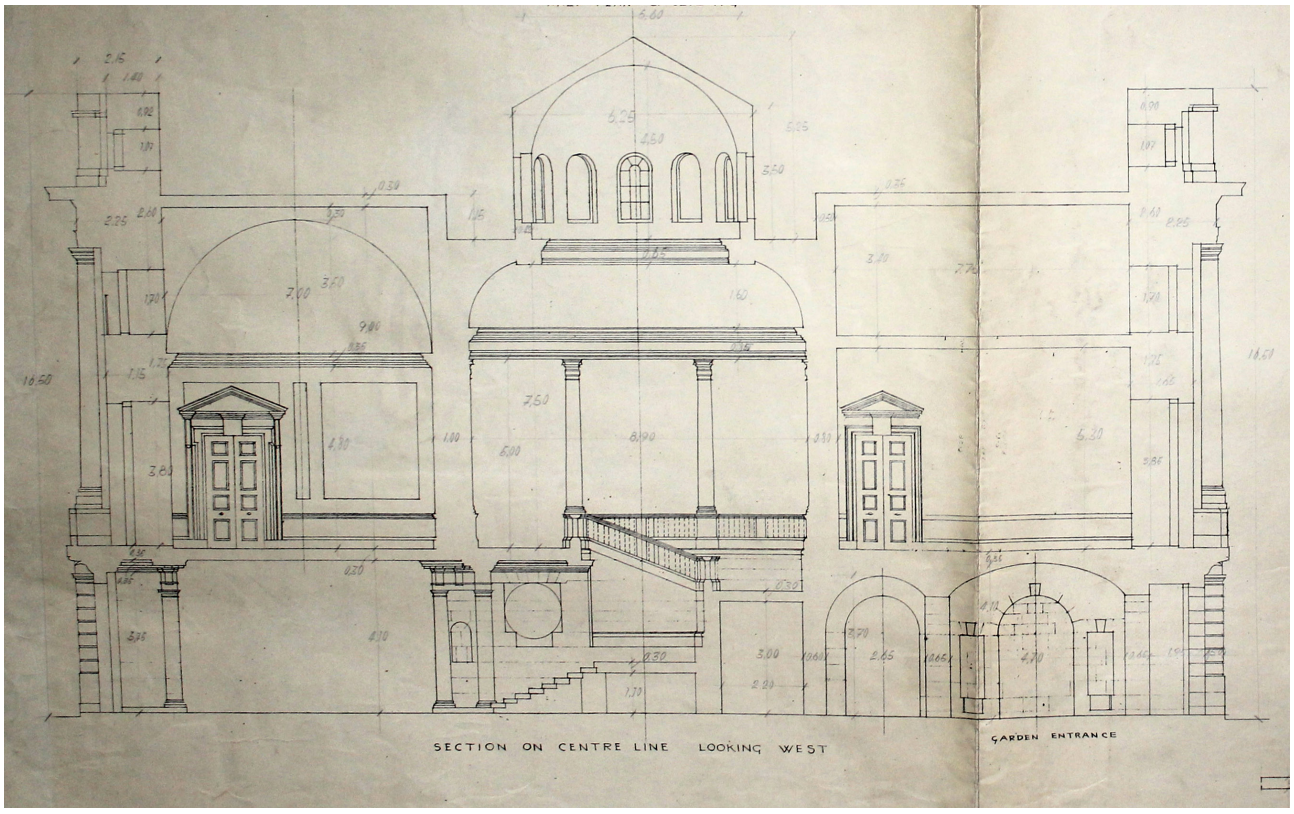


Figure 8.18. E.L Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, north-south section and details of vestibule, May 1942, archive of the Liria Palace.

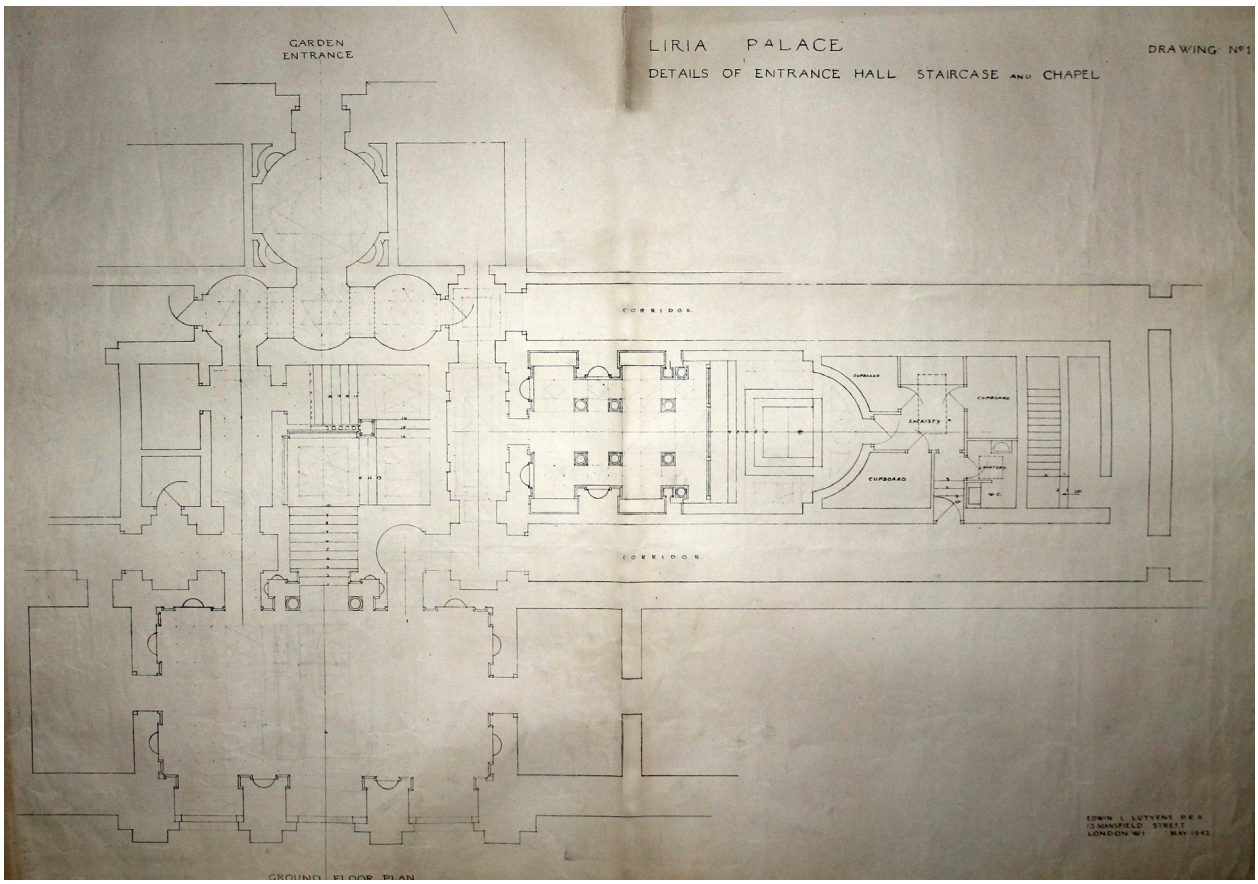


Figure 8.19. E.L Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, ground floor plan, details of entrance hall, staircase and chapel, May 1942, archive of the Liria Palace.

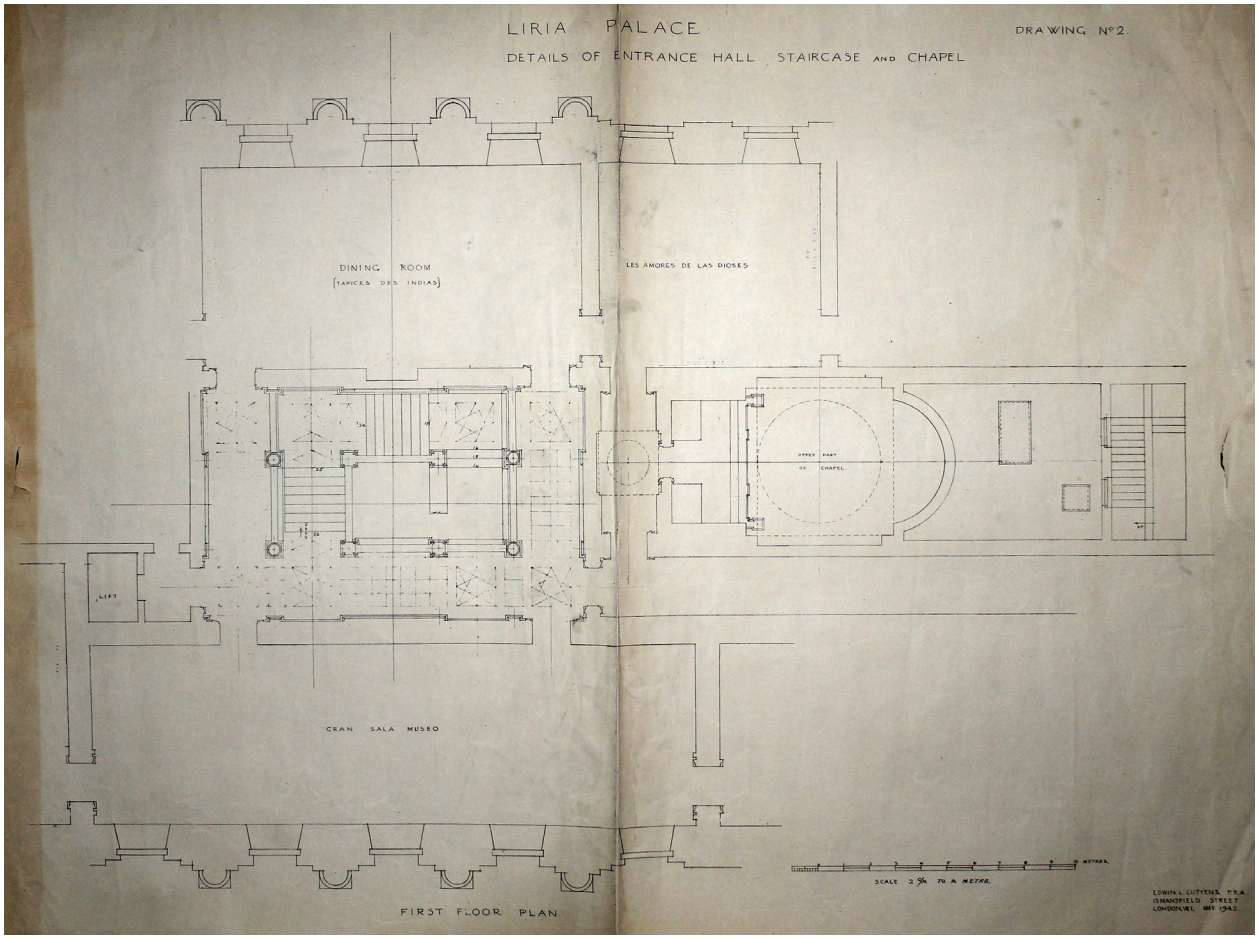


Figure 8.20. E.L Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, first floor plan, details of entrance hall, staircase and chapel, May 1942, archive of the Liria Palace.

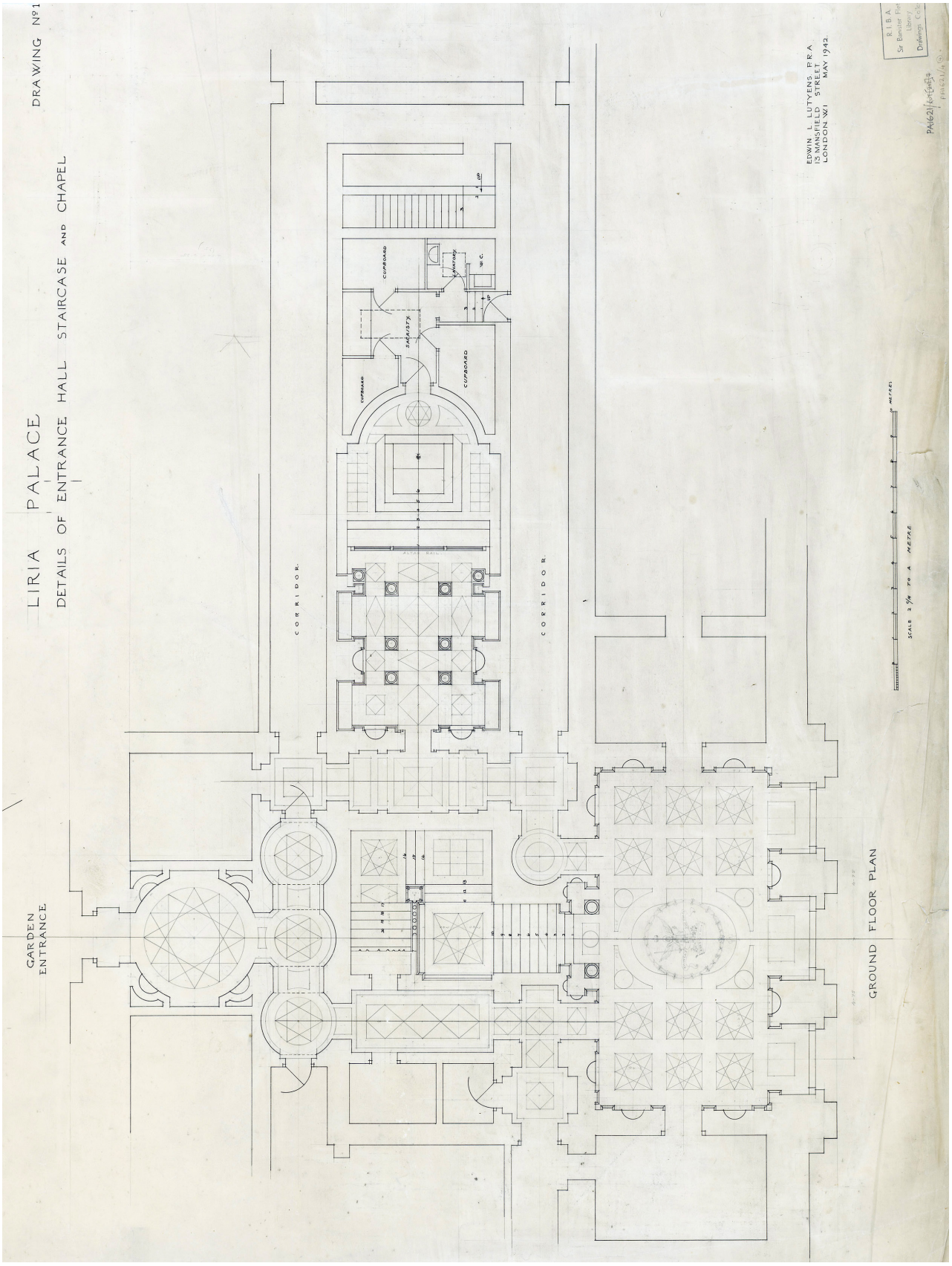


Figure 8.21. E.L Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, ground floor plan, details of entrance hall, staircase and chapel, May 1942, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA1621/4 (4).

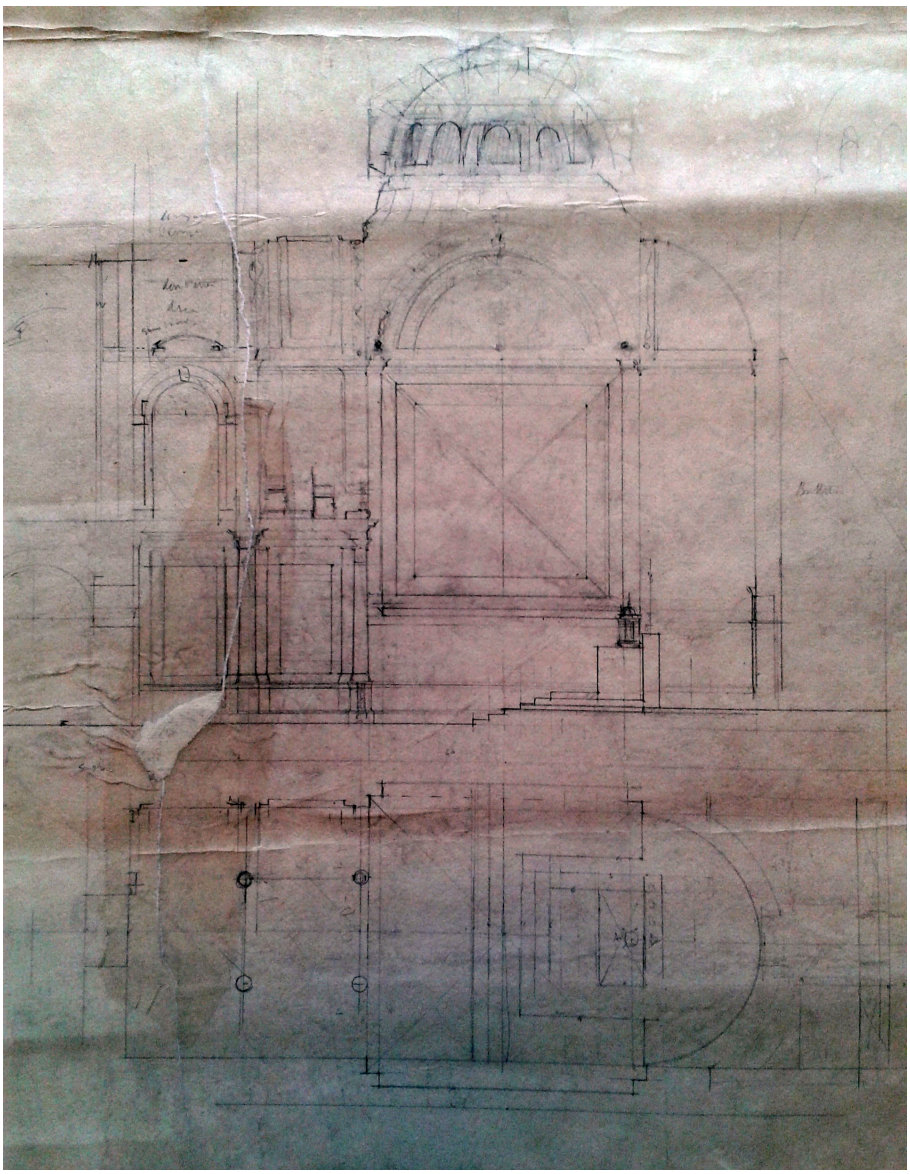


Figure 8.22. E.L Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, plan and section of chapel, c. 1941, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, PA1621/4 (2).

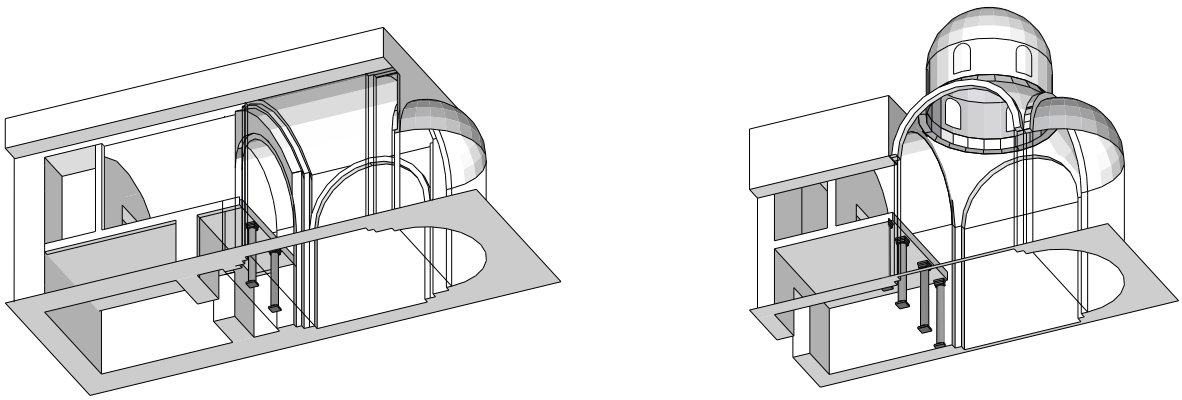


Figure 8.23. Left: E.L.Lutyens, El Guadalperal, chapel, 1916, axonometric view; right: E.L.Lutyens, Liria Palace, chapel, 1942, axonometric view. By the author.

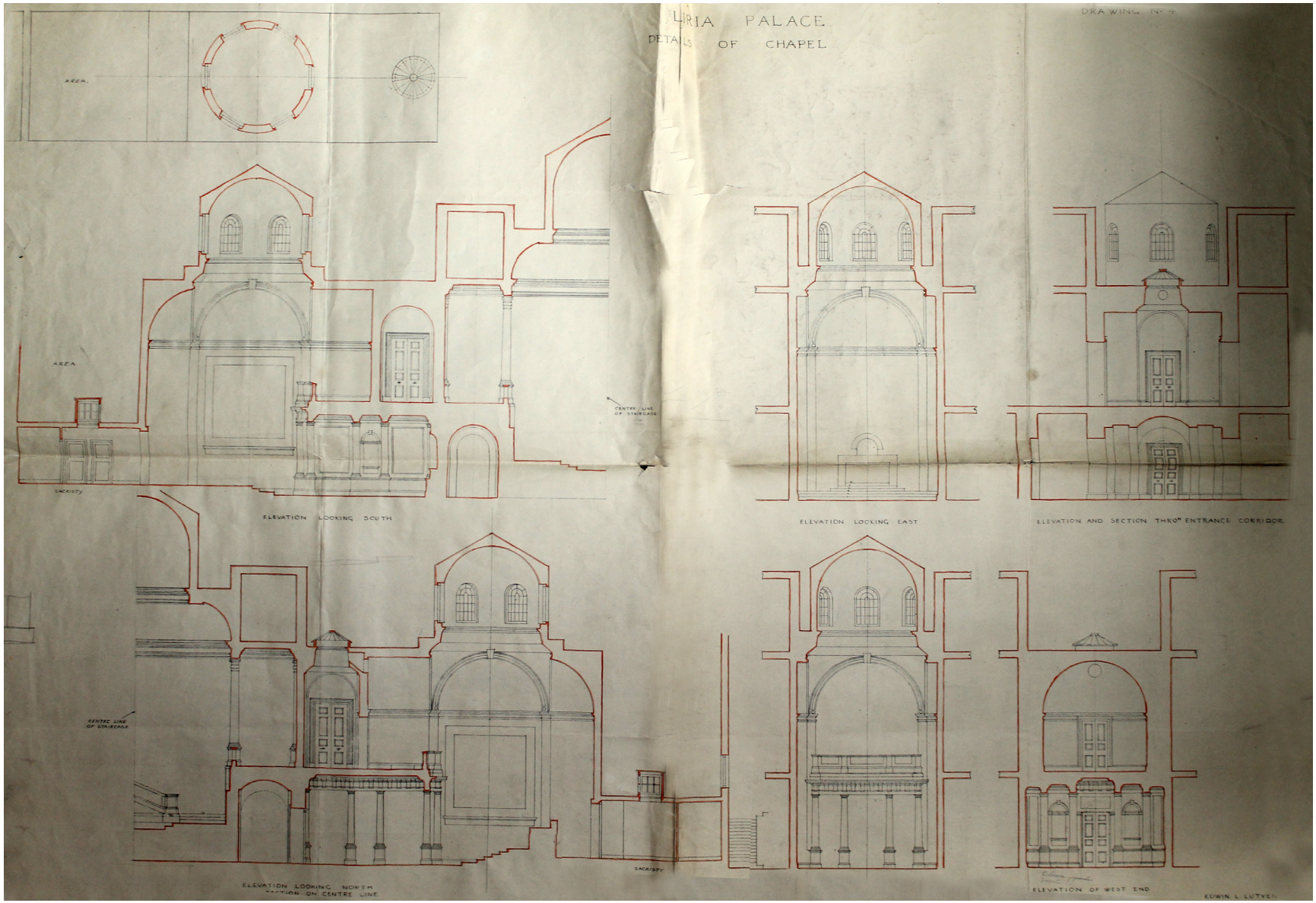


Figure 24. E.L Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, details of chapel, May 1942, archive of the Liria Palace.

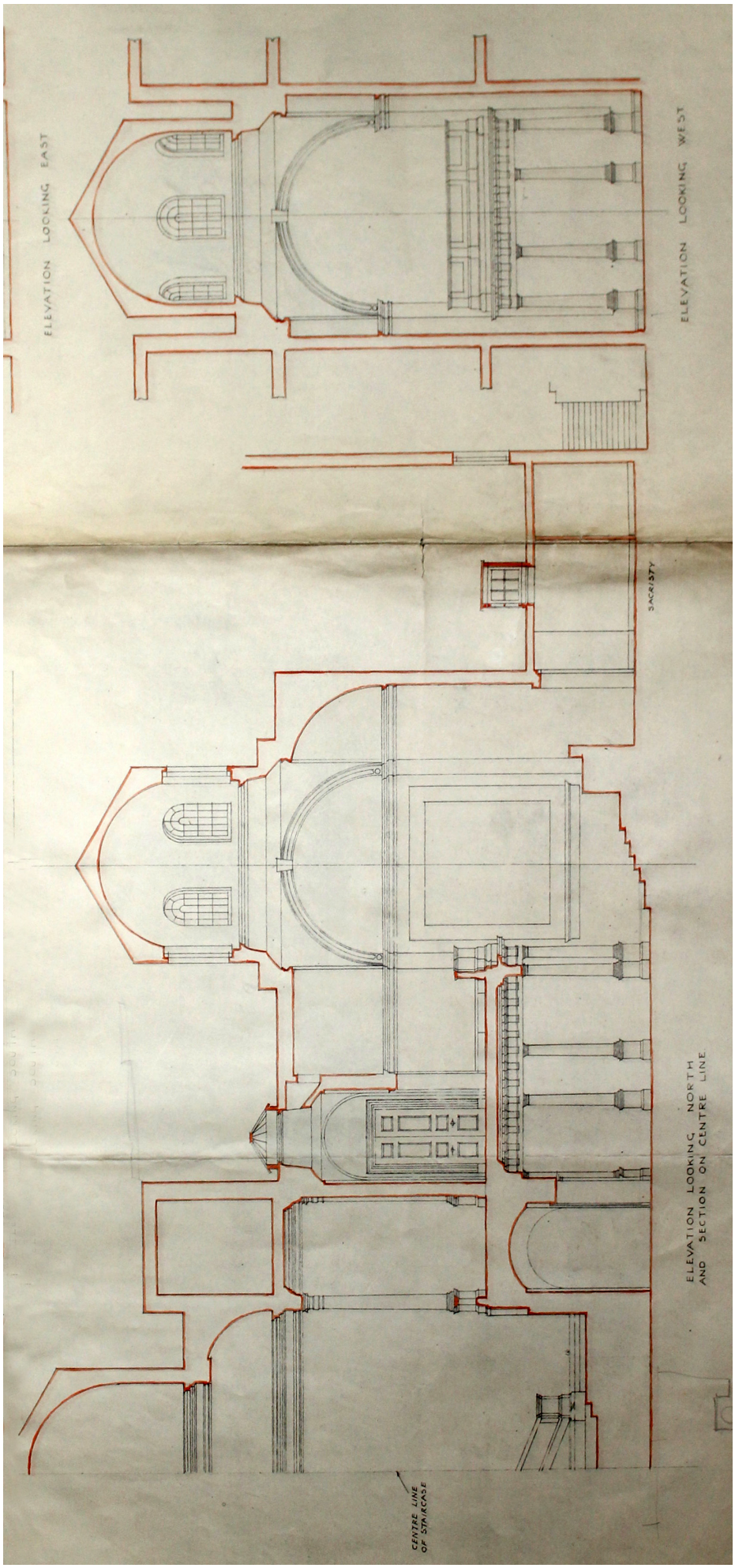


Figure 25. E.L Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, details of chapel, May 1942, archive of the Liria Palace, detail.

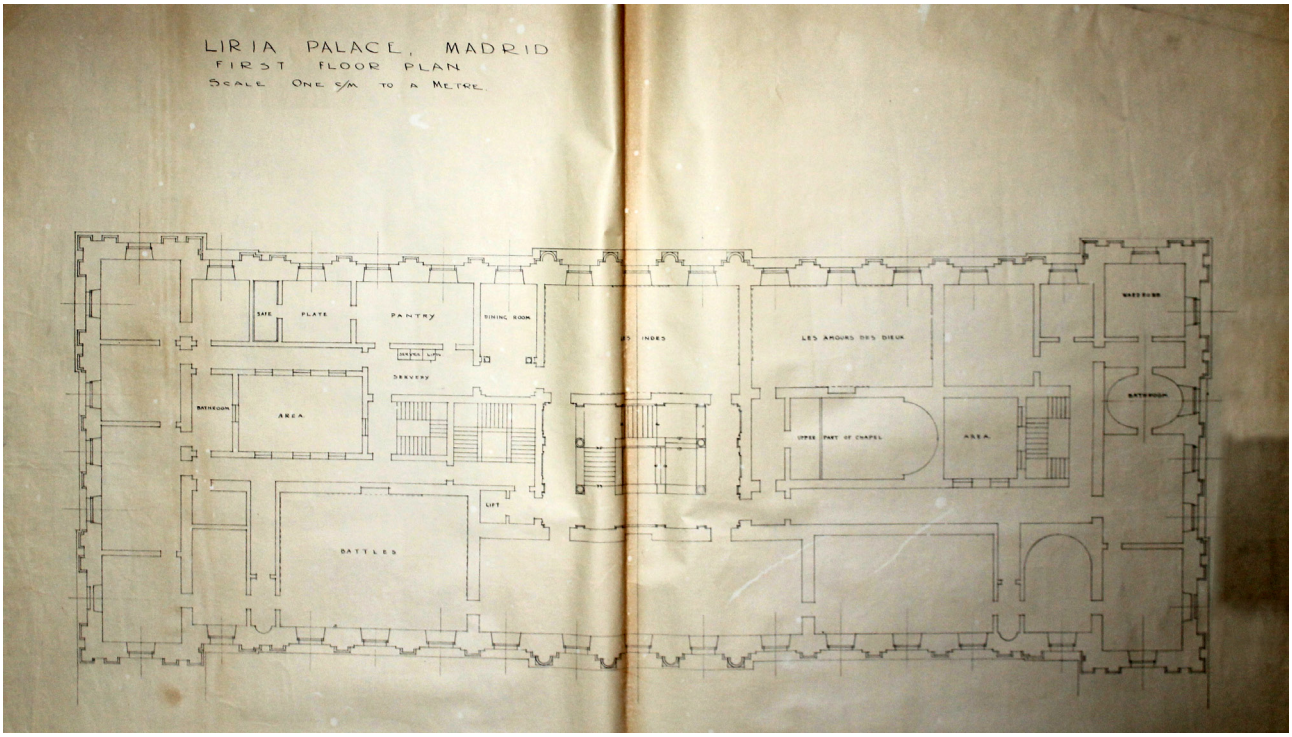


Figure 8.26. E.L Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, first floor plan, c. 1943, archive of the Liria Palace.

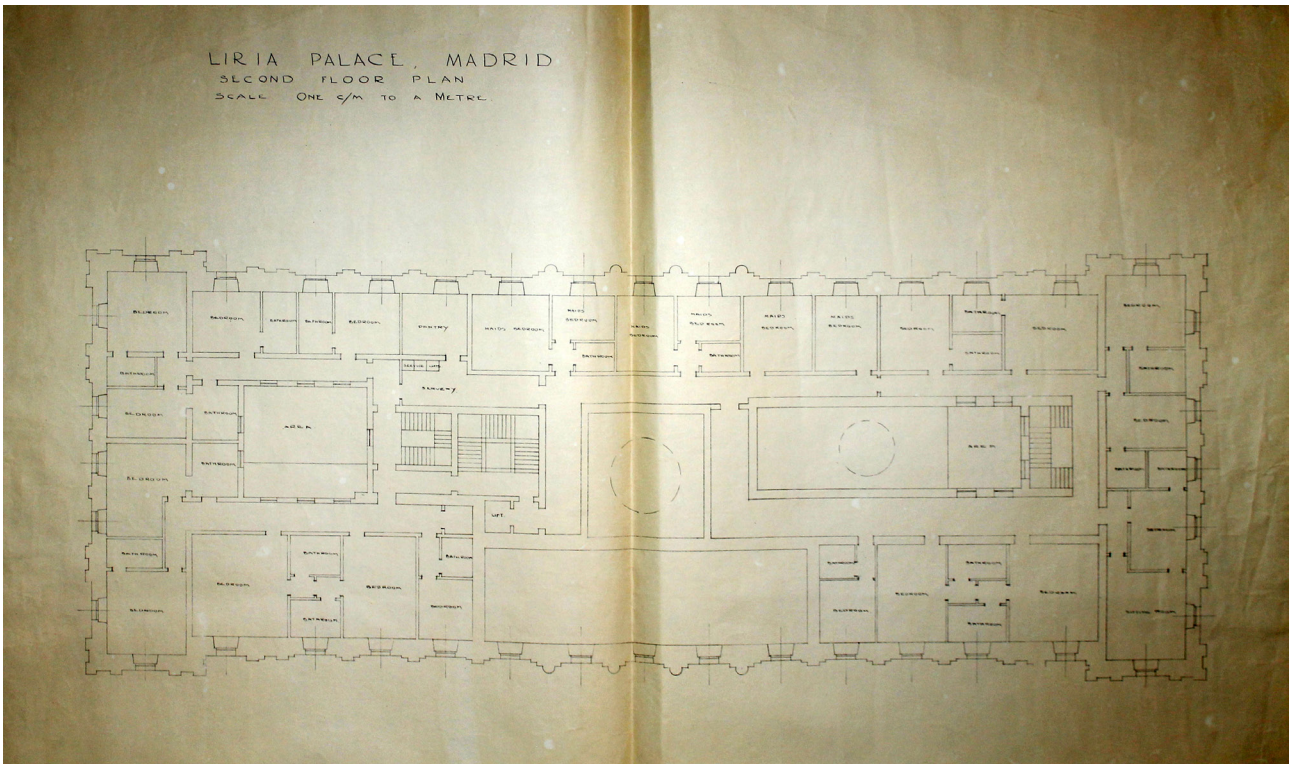


Figure 8.27. E.L Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, second floor plan, c. 1943, archive of the Liria Palace.

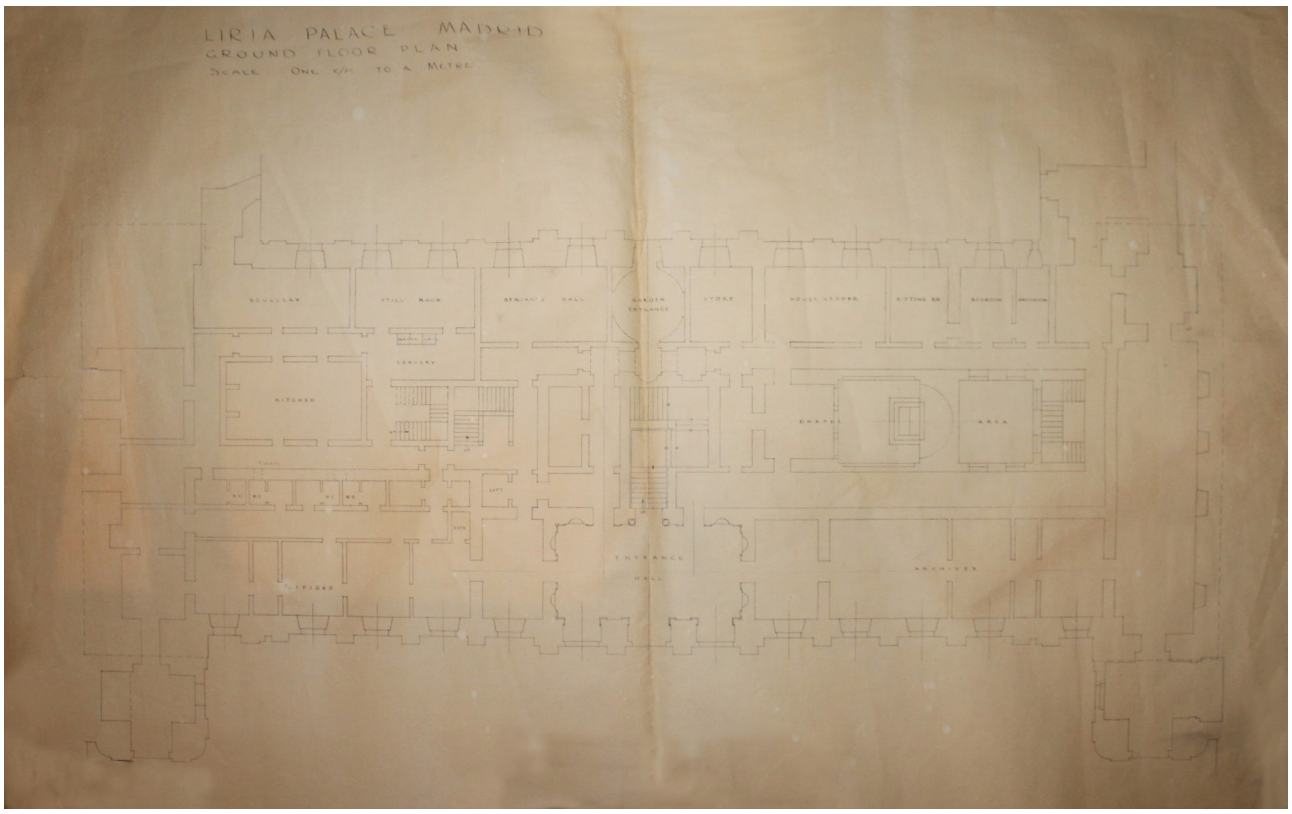


Figure 8.28. E.L Lutyens, Madrid, Liria Palace, ground floor plan, c. 1943, archive of the Liria Palace.

Figure 8.29. Madrid, Liria Palace, chapel befor Jose María Sert´s refurbishment, 1920s., Instituto de Patrimonio Cultural de España.

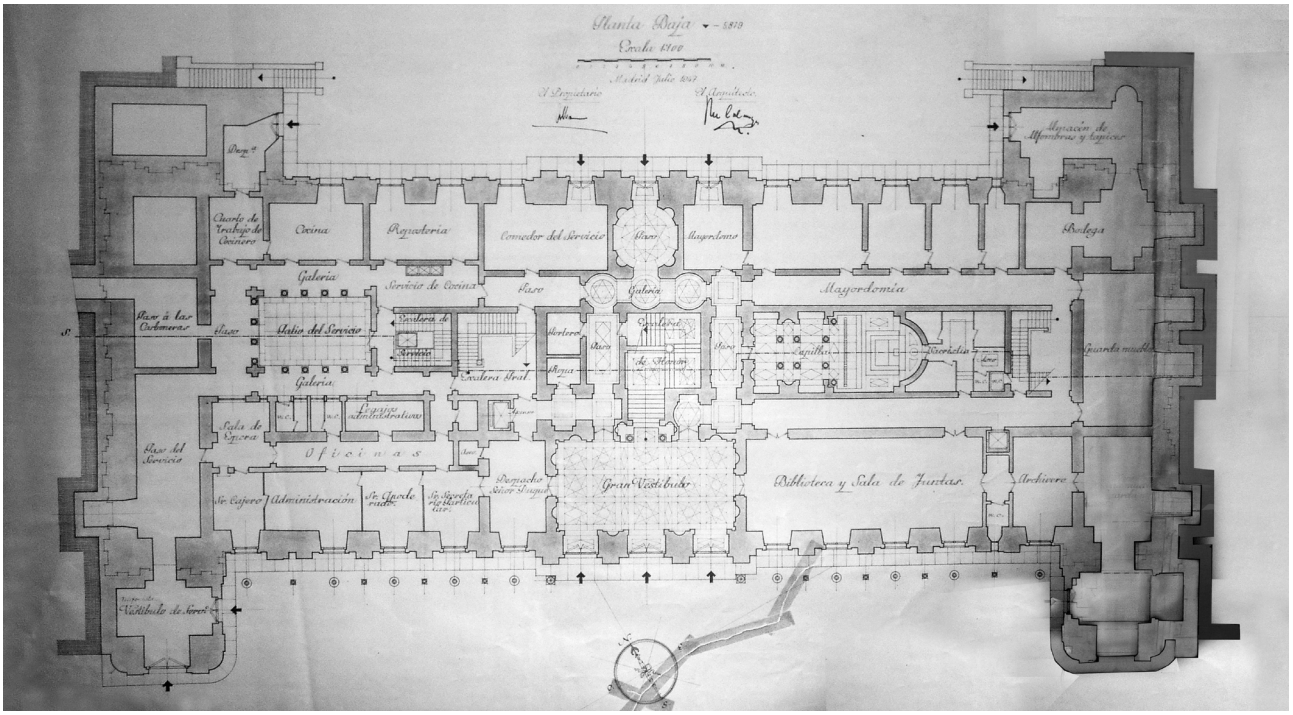


Figure 8.30. Manuel Cabanyes, Madrid, Liria Palace, ground floor plan following Lutyens's, July 1947, archive of the Liria Palace.

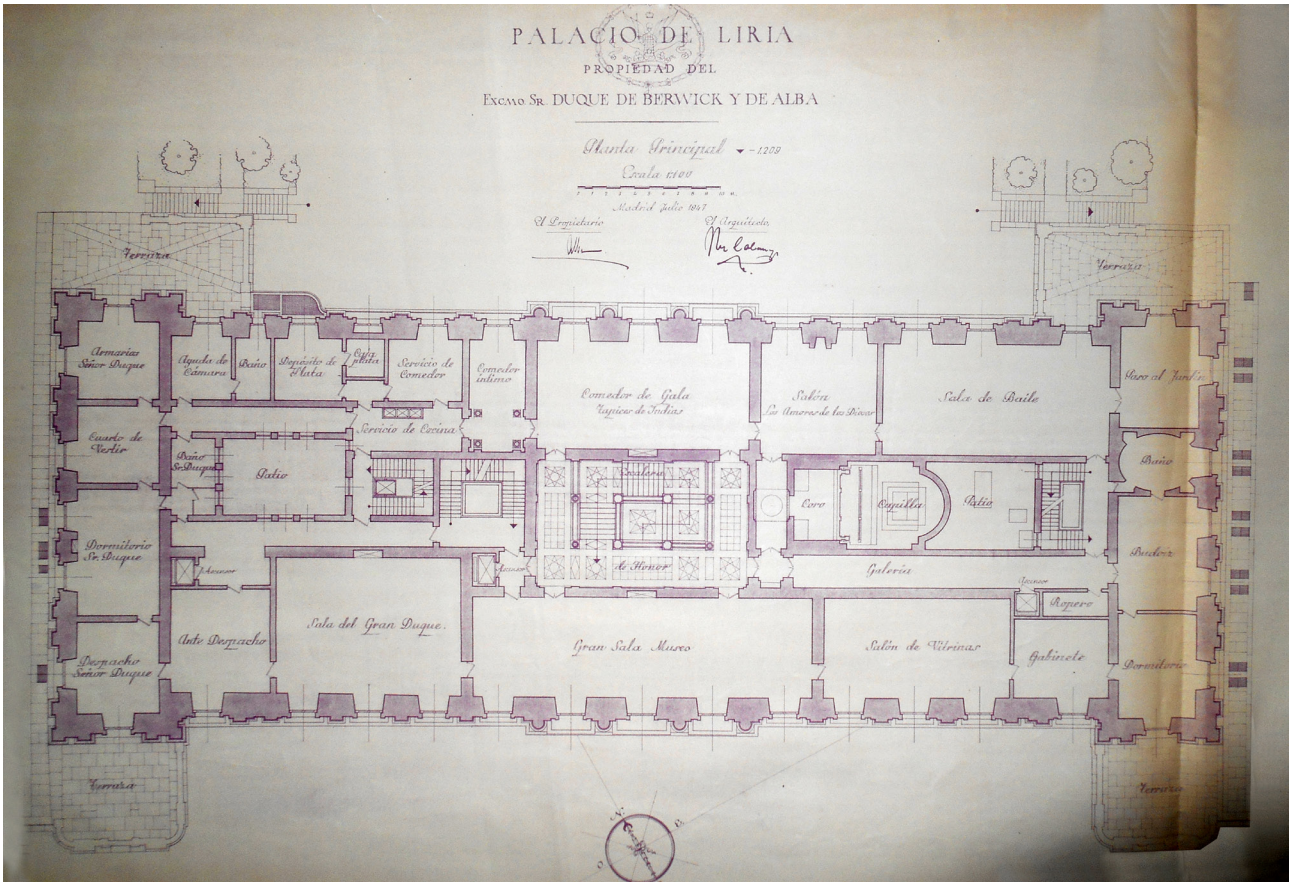


Figure 8.31. Manuel Cabanyes, Madrid, Liria Palace, first floor plan following Lutyens's, July 1947, archive of the Liria Palace.

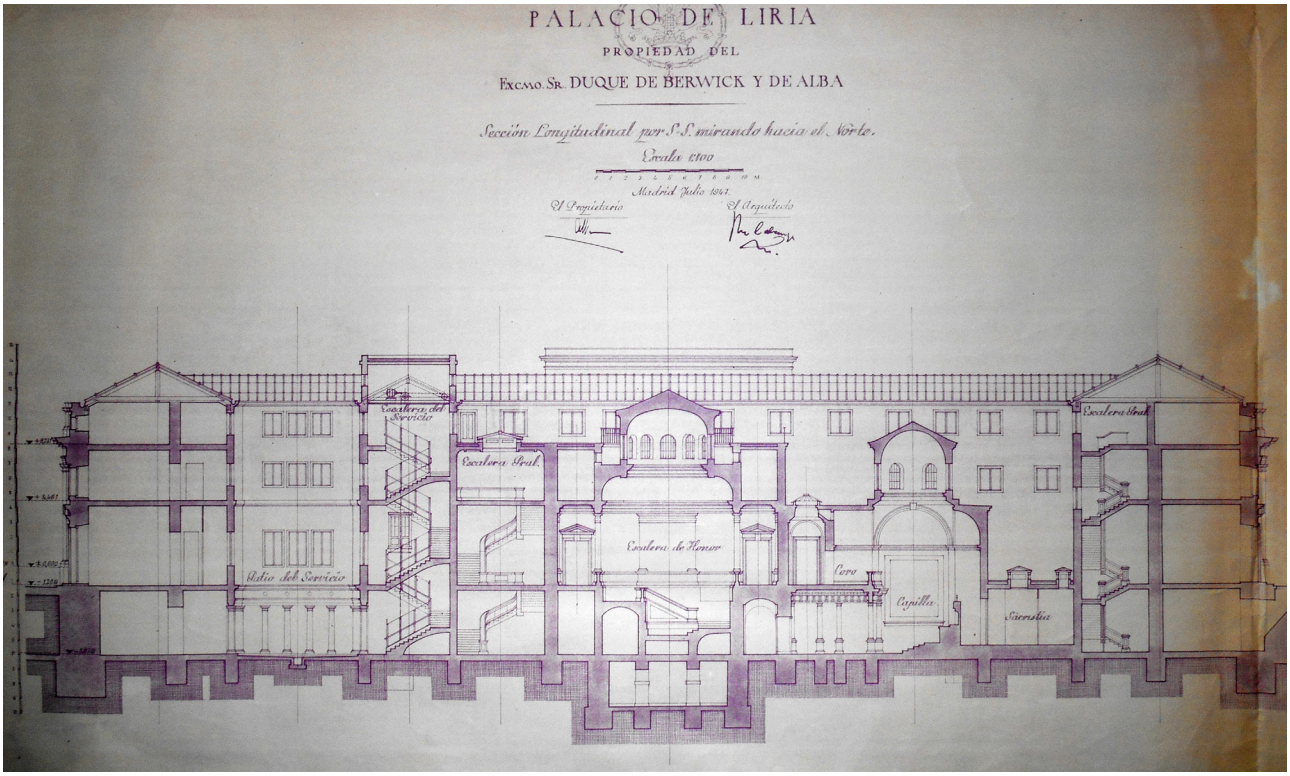


Figure 8.32. Manuel Cabanyes, Madrid, Liria Palace, east-west section, July 1947, archive of the Liria Palace.

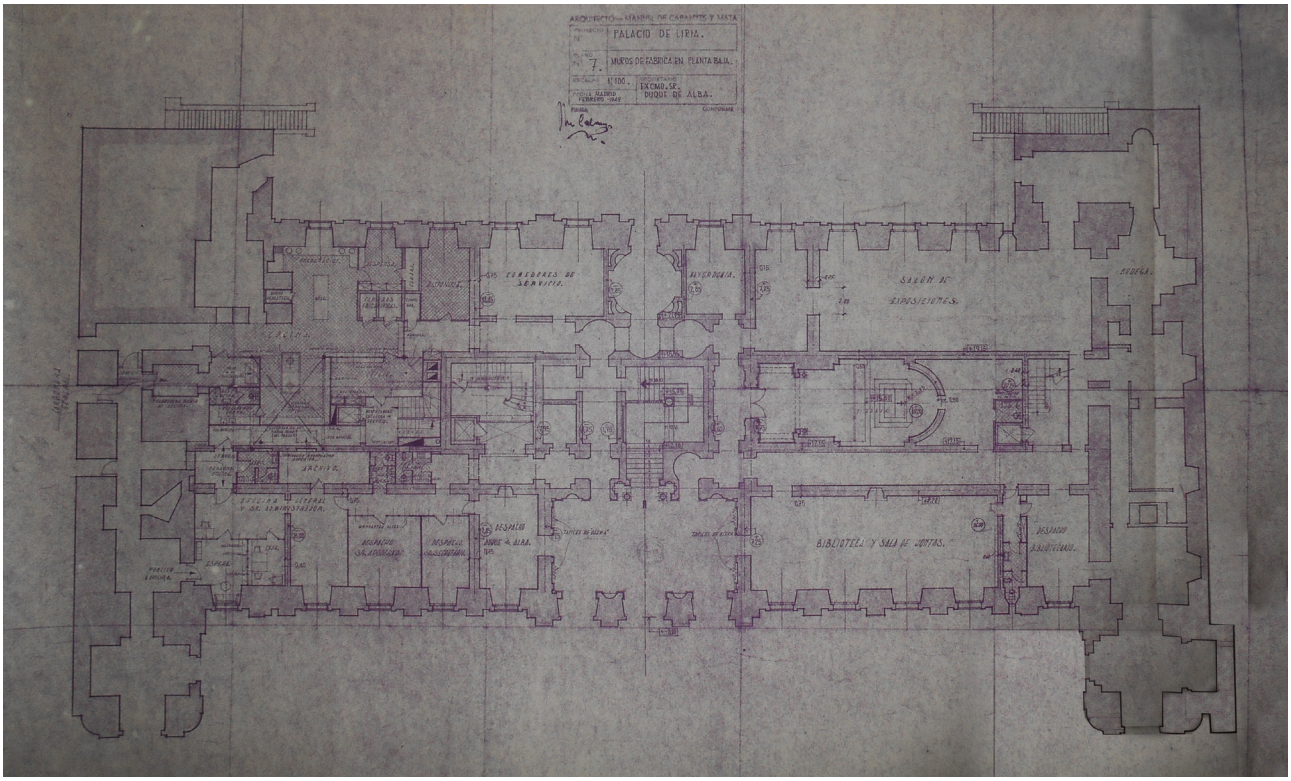


Figure 8.34. Manuel Cabanyes, Madrid, Liria Palace, ground floor plan, February 1949, archive of the Liria Palace.

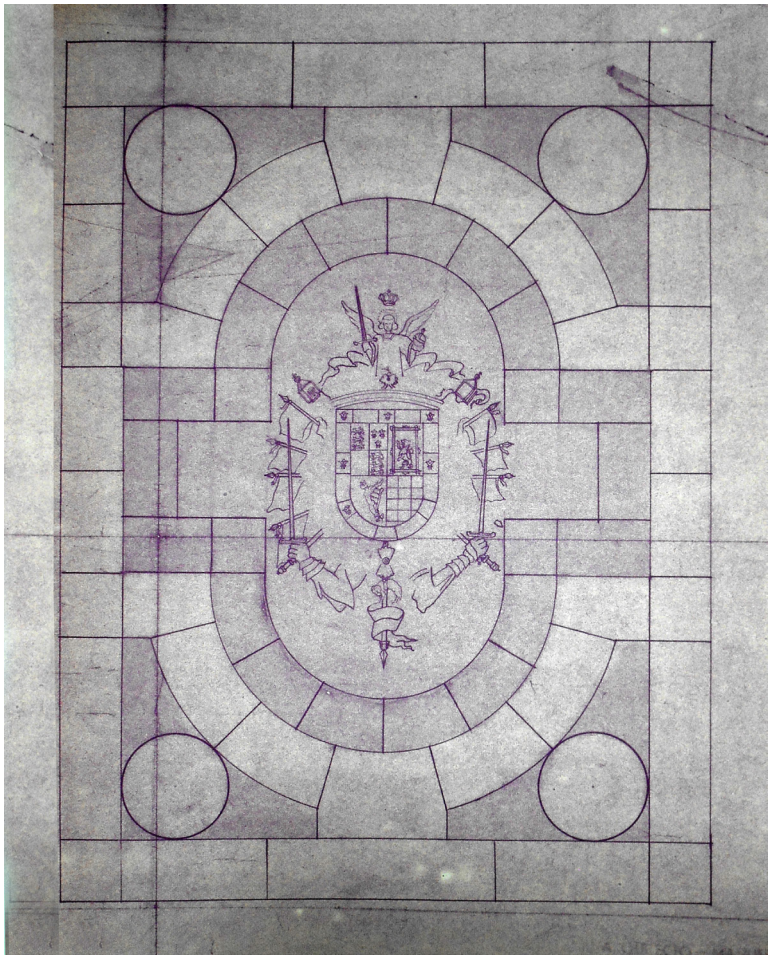


Figure 8.33. Manuel Cabanyes, Madrid, Liria Palace, decoration of the entrance hall, c. 1947, archive of the Liria Palace.

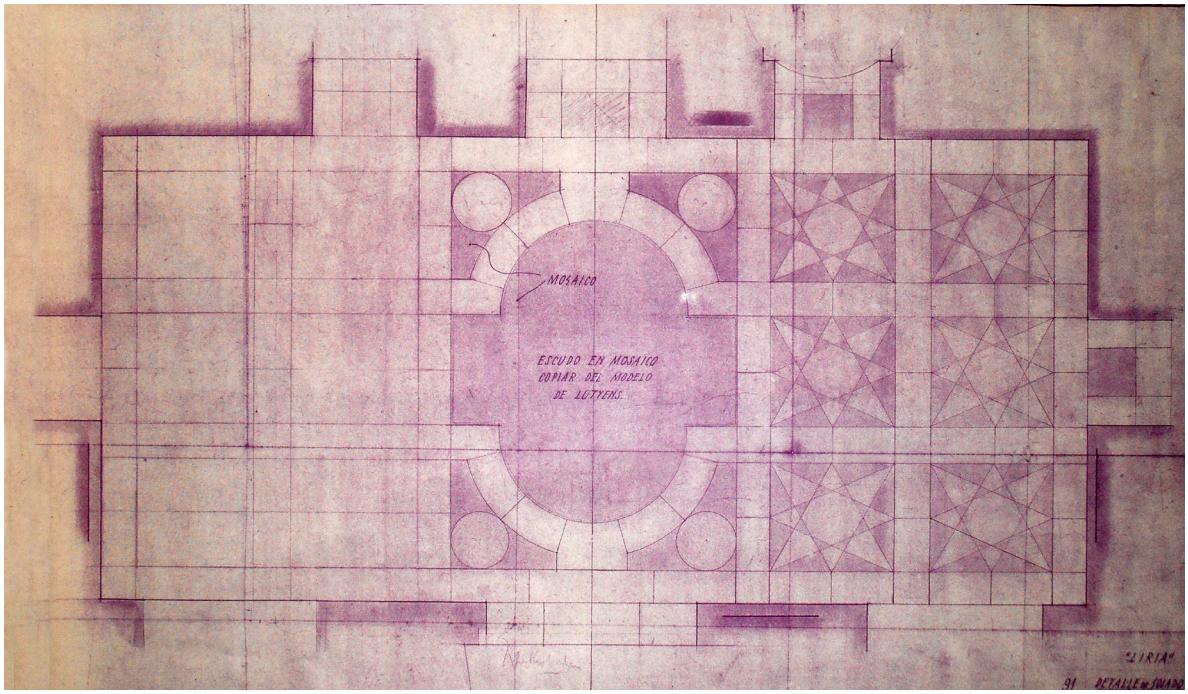


Figure 8.37. Manuel Cabanyes, Madrid, Liria Palace, plan of the chapel, 1951, archive of the Liria Palace.

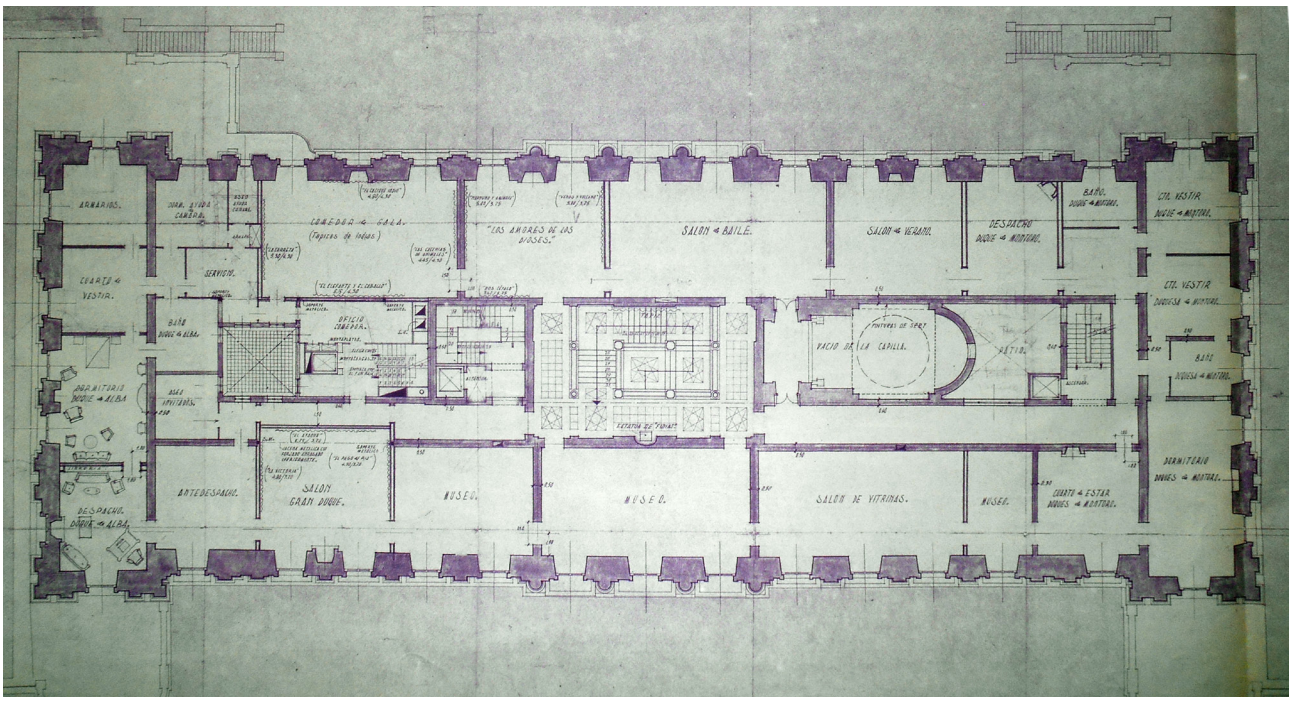


Figure 8.35. Manuel Cabanyes, Madrid, Liria Palace, first floor plan, December 1950, archive of the Liria Palace.

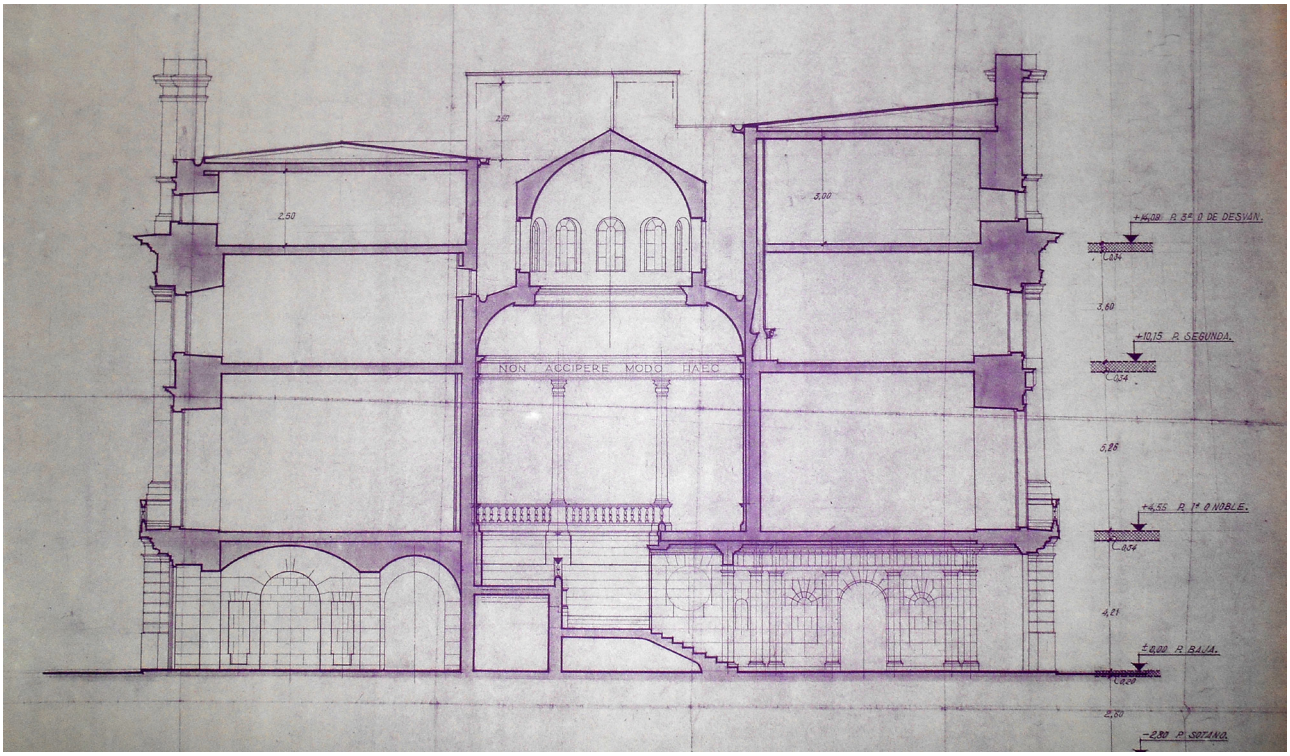


Figure 8.36. Manuel Cabanyes, Madrid, Liria Palace, north-south section, 1951, archive of the Liria Palace.

Figure 8.38. Manuel Cabanyes, Madrid, Liria Palace, plan on the ground floor plan, 1951, detail, archive of the Liria Palace.

IMAGES CHAPTER IX.

LUTYENS`S BUILDINGS IN TH SOUTH: ANALOGIES AND COMPOSITION

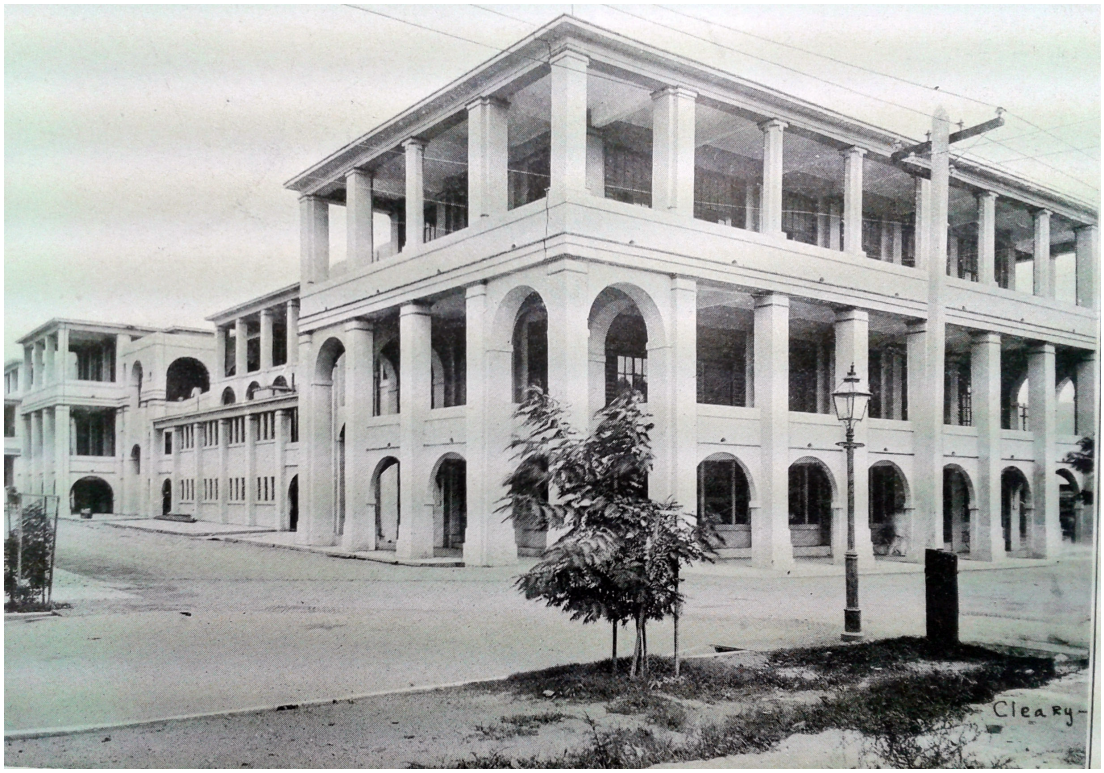


Figure 9.1. Nicholson and Corlette, Kingston, Jamaica, Government offices, 1914, *The Builder*.

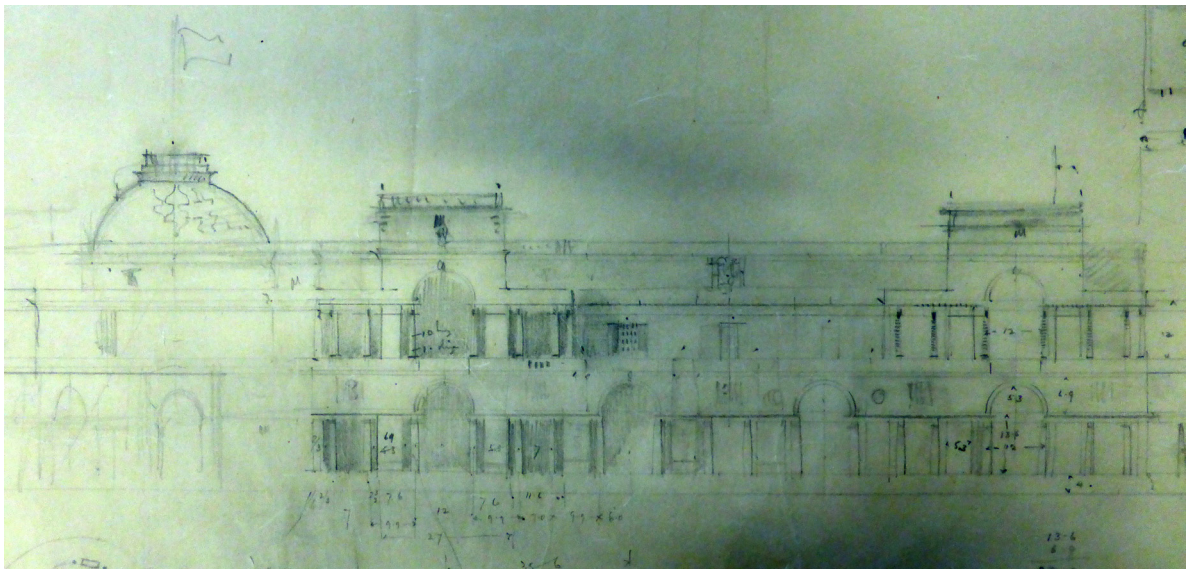


Figure 9.2. E.L. Lutyens, Delhi, Hyderabad House, elevation, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, DR 74/2

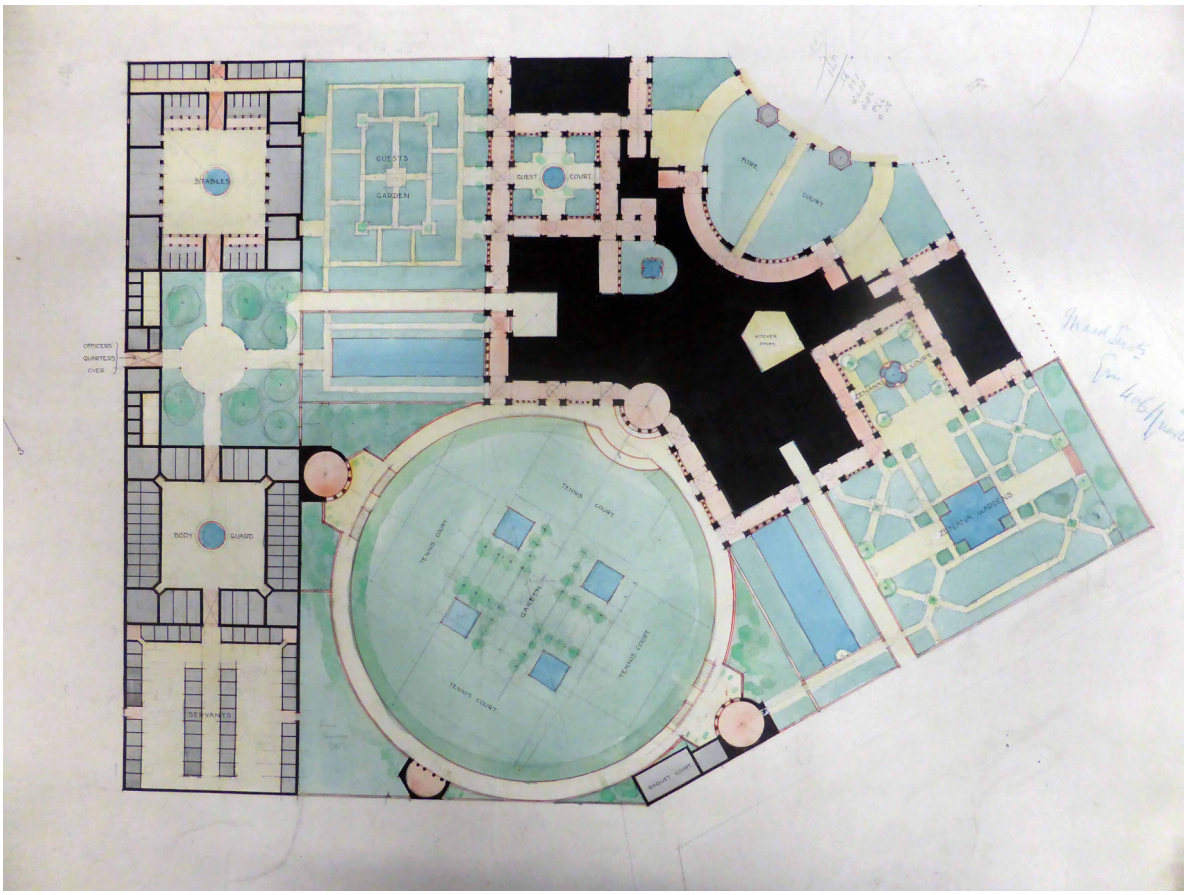


Figure 9.3. E.L. Lutyens, Delhi, Bikaner House, general layout, 1920, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection.

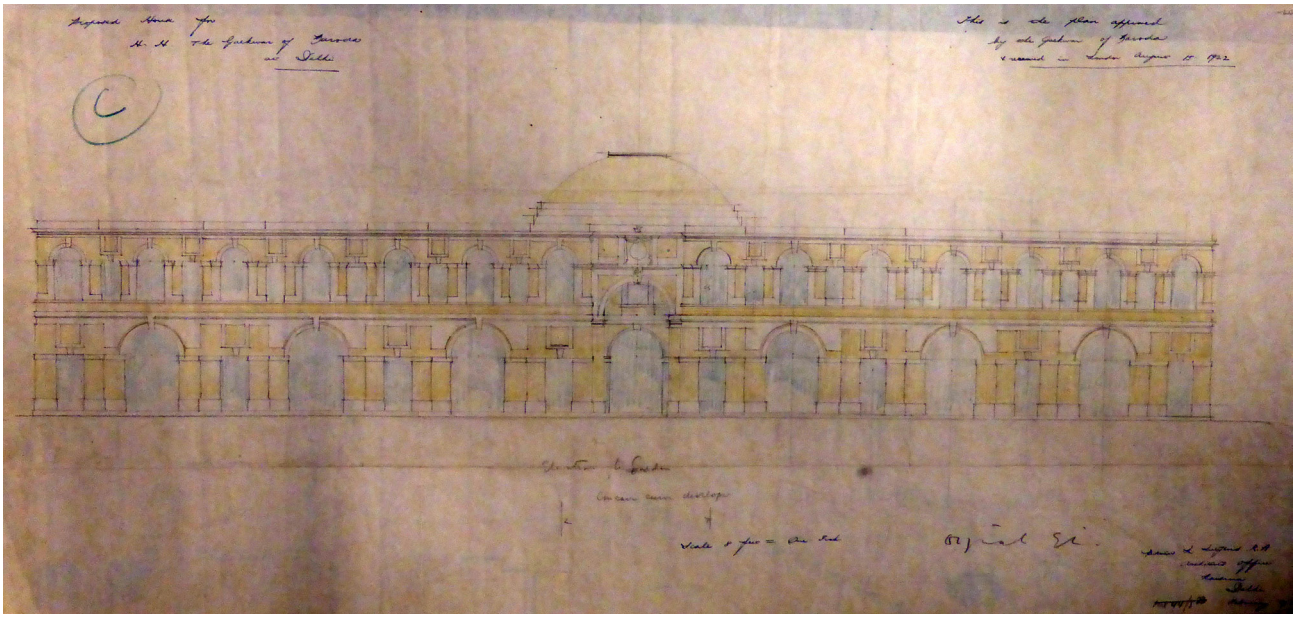


Figure 9.4. E.L. Lutyens, Baroda House, Delhi, south elevation, 1922, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR 71/3 (20).

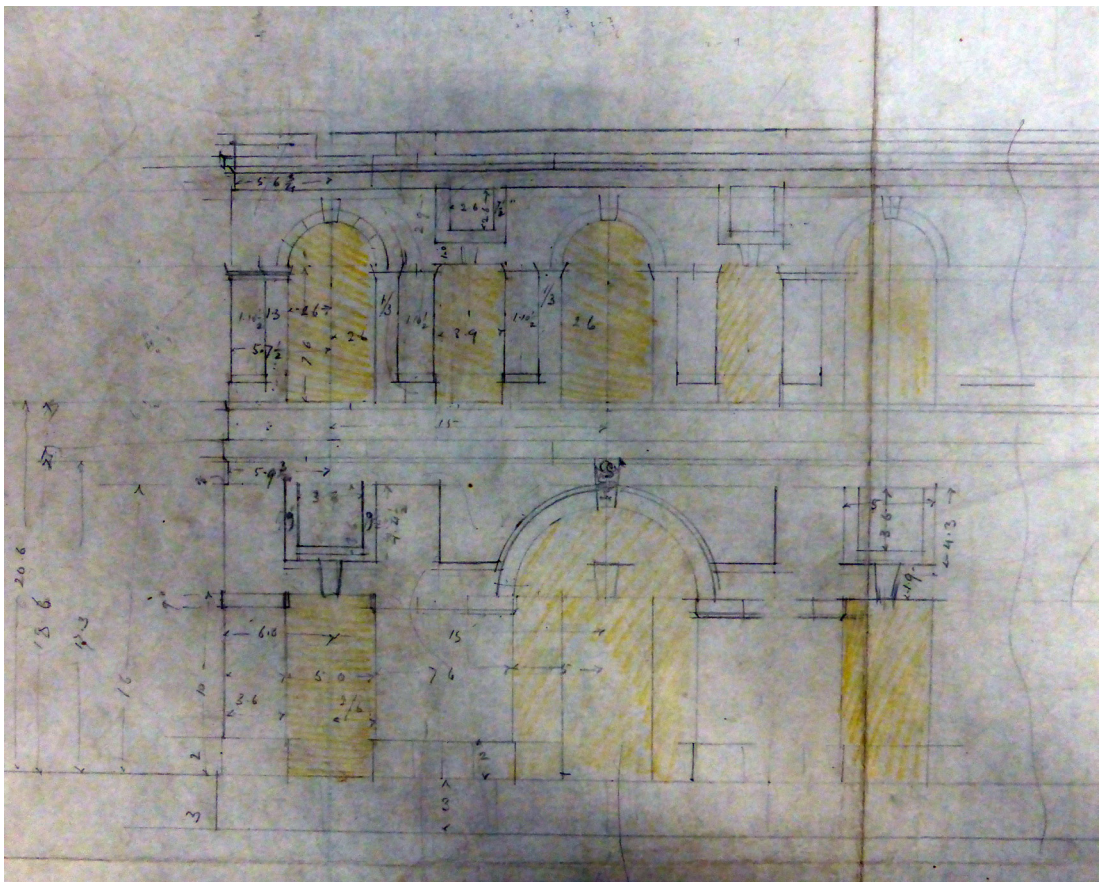


Figure 9.5. E.L. Lutyens, Baroda House, Delhi, detail of elevation, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection DR 71/3 (18).

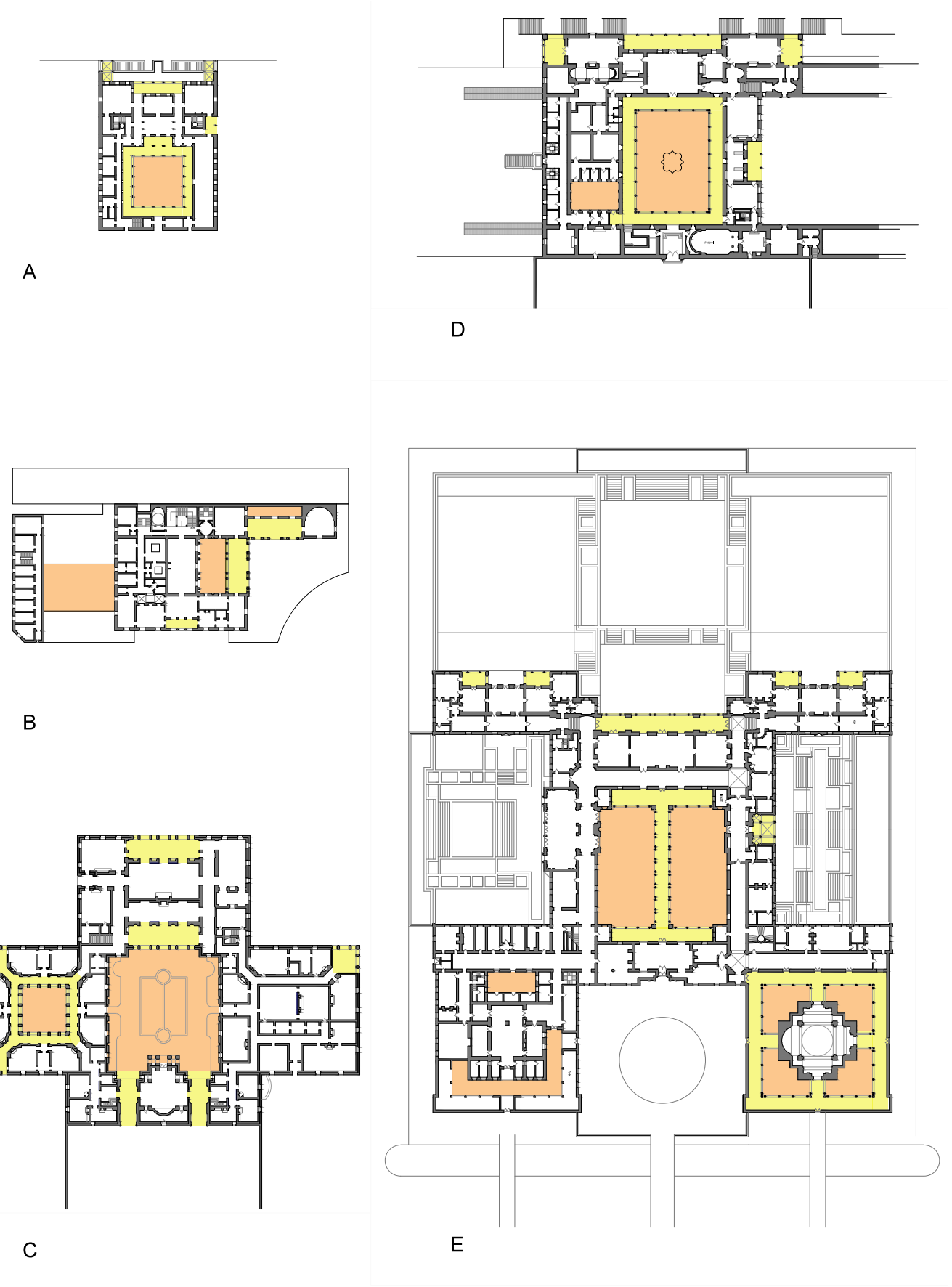


Figure 9.6. E.L. Lutyens. Yellow: outside sheltered areas; Orange: patios. A. Initial sketches for El Guadalperal; B. Palace for the Count de la Cimera; C. Palace of Ventosilla; D. 1916 project for El Guadalperal; E. 1927 project for El Guadalperal.

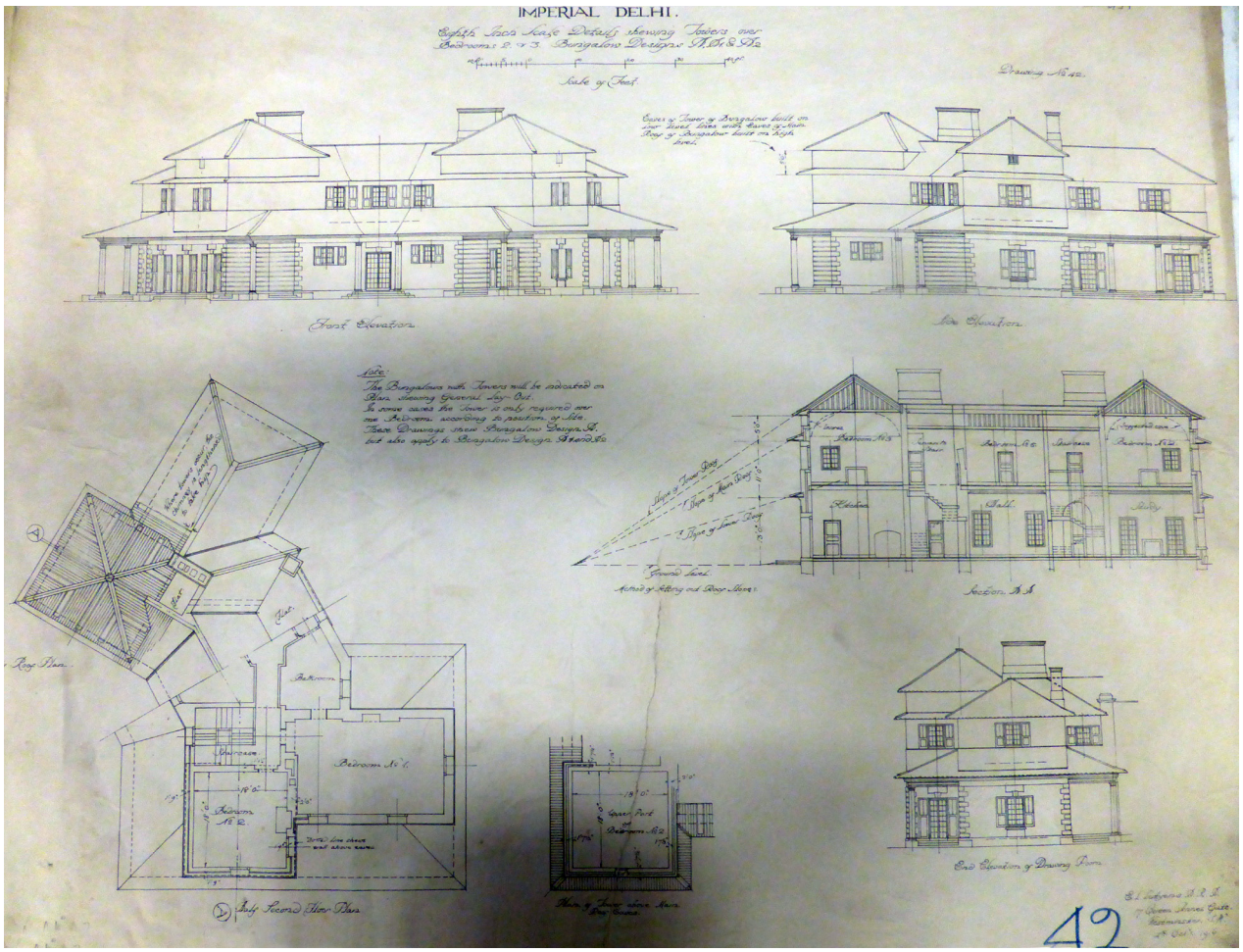


Figure 9.7. E.L. Lutyens, Delhi, bungalows for viceregal staff, 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, DR 138/6 (6).

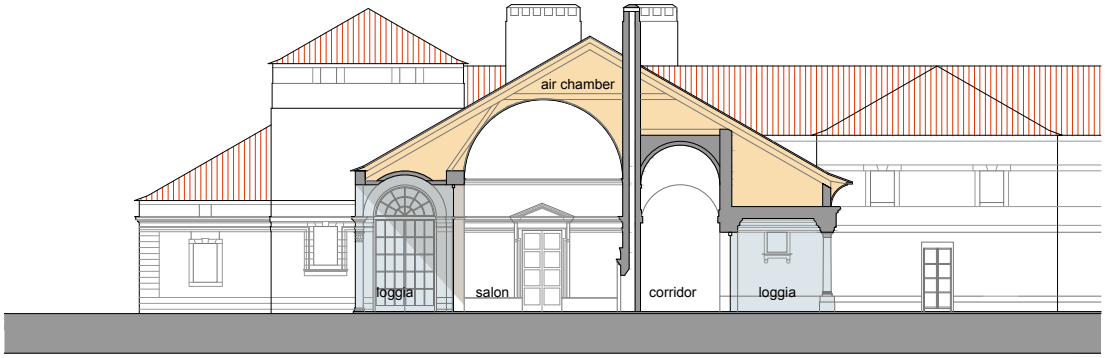


Figure 9.9. E.L. Lutyens, Palace of El Guadalperal, section through main salon, 1927, by the author.

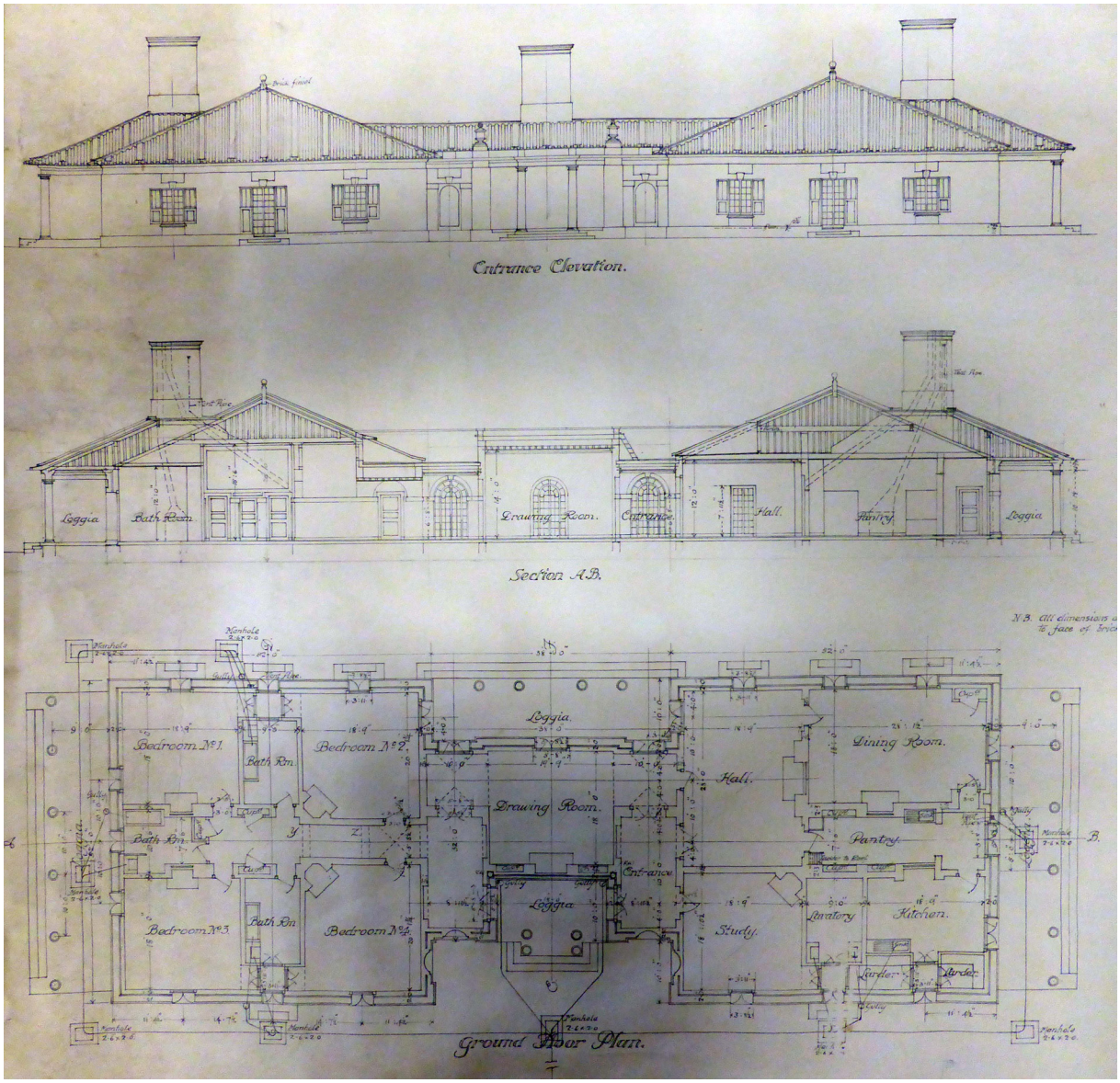


Figure 9.8. E.L. Lutyens, Delhi, bungalows for viceregal staff, 1916, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, DR 138/6 (1).

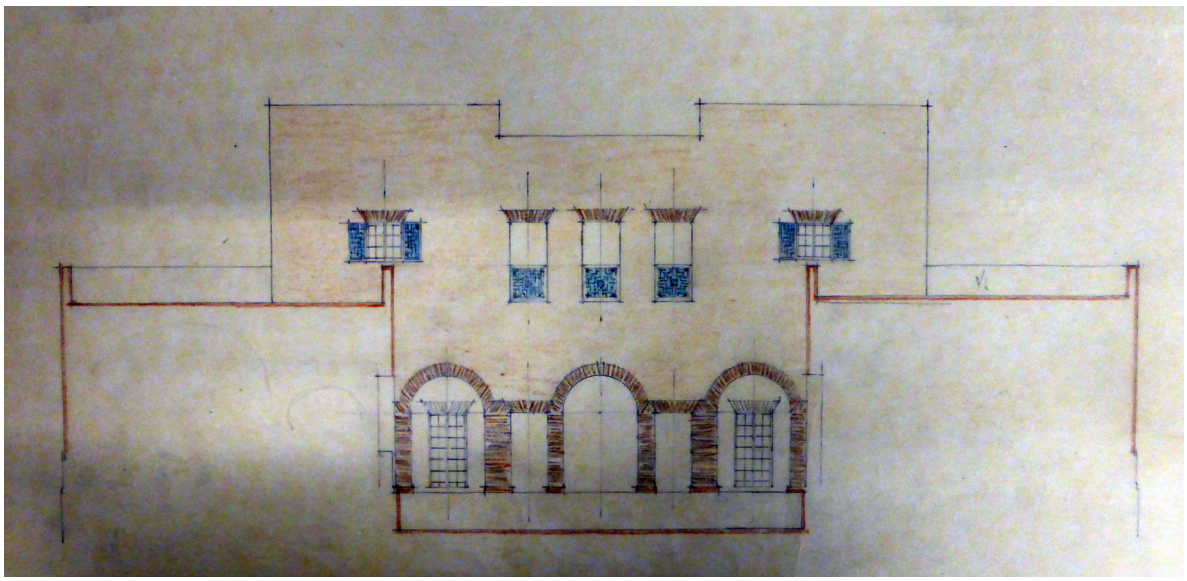


Figure 9.10. E.L. Lutyens, Palace for Sultan Sing, Delhi, elevation, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection.

Figure 9.11. E.L. Lutyens, Proposed church at Basildon, 1918, *The Builder*, 10 May 1918.

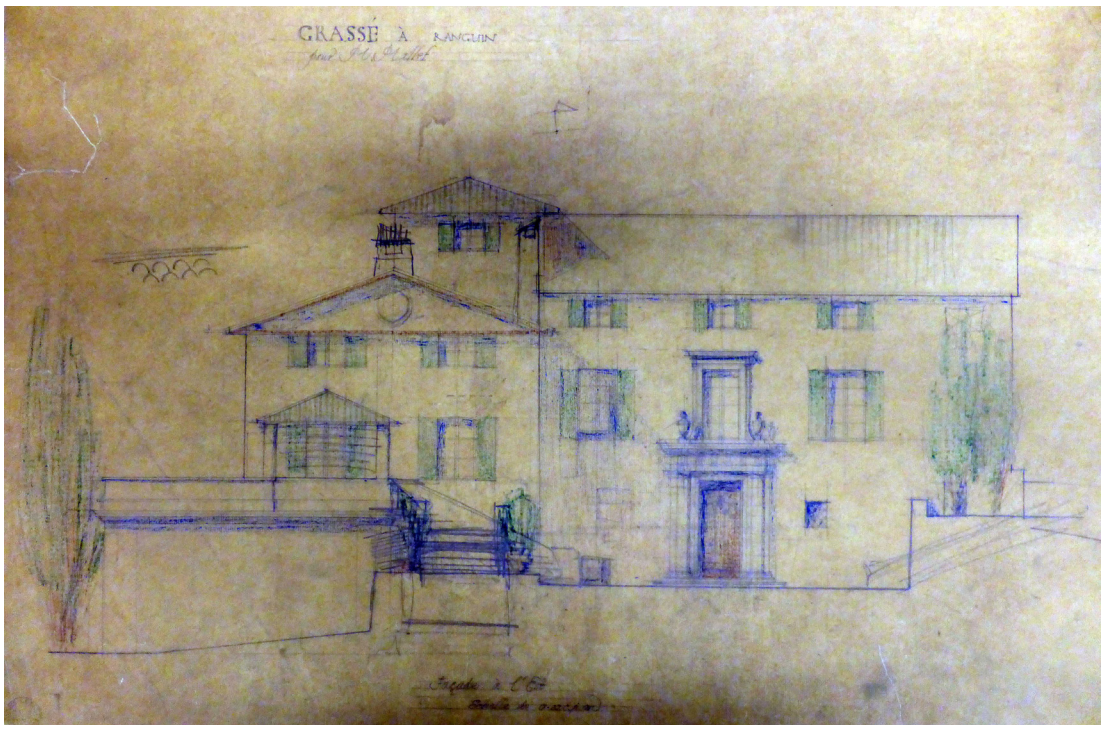


Figure 9.12. E.L. Lutyens, Grasse, House for Mr. Mallet, elevation, 1912, RIBA Drawing and Archives Collection, PA 1608 / LUT [243] 6.

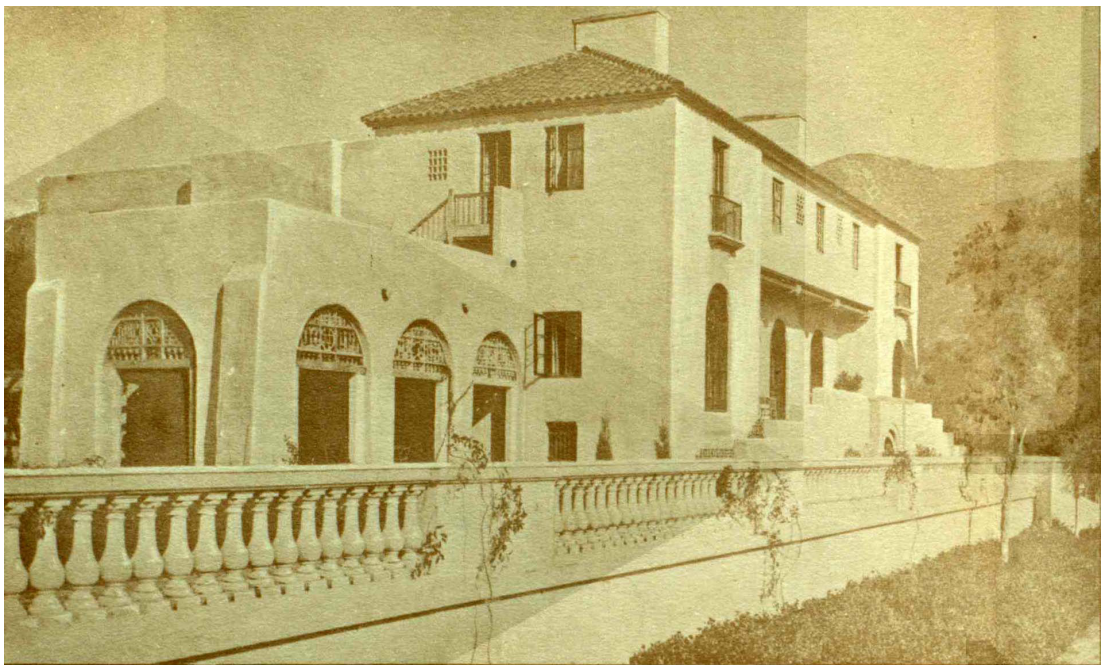


Figure 9.13. Bertram G. Goodhue, House at Montecito, California, 1921, *The Builder*, 13 January 1922.

Figure 9.14. Ernest George, Shirpur Palace, Indore, 1915, *The Builder*, 7 May 1915.

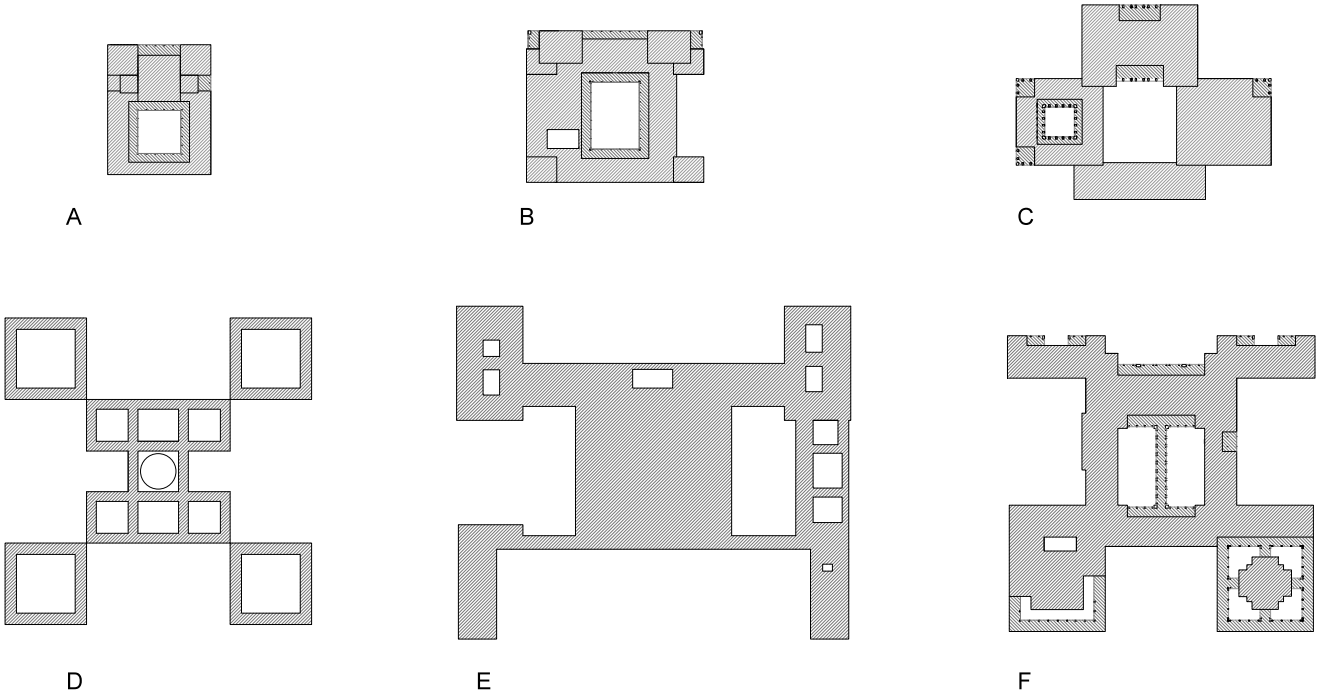


Figure 9.15. Schematic plans. A. Initial sketches for El Guadalperal; B. 1916 project for El Guadalperal; C. La Ventosilla; D. 1912 sketch for the Viceoy House at Delhi; E. Final plan for the Viceroy house at Delhi; F. 1927 project for El Guadalperal. By the author.

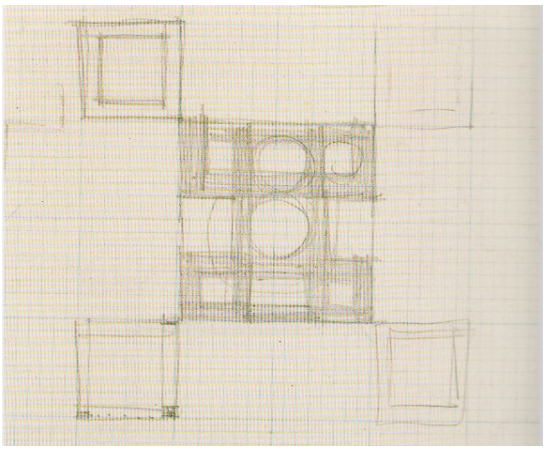


Figure 9.16. E.L. Lutyens, Delhi, sketch for Viceroy's House, 1912, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection.

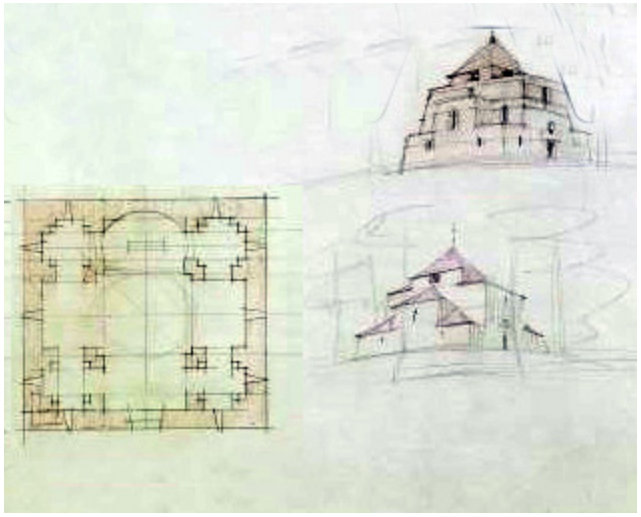


Figure 9.17. E.L. Lutyens, proposed church in Beaconsfield, 1900, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection.

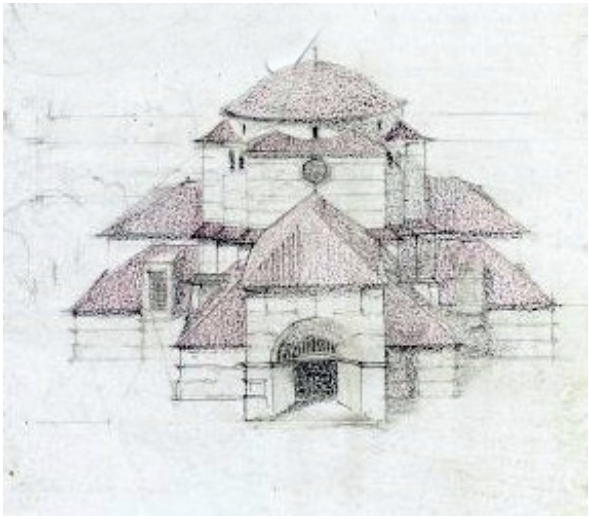


Figure 9.18. E.L. Lutyens, proposed church in Clevelys, 1896, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection.

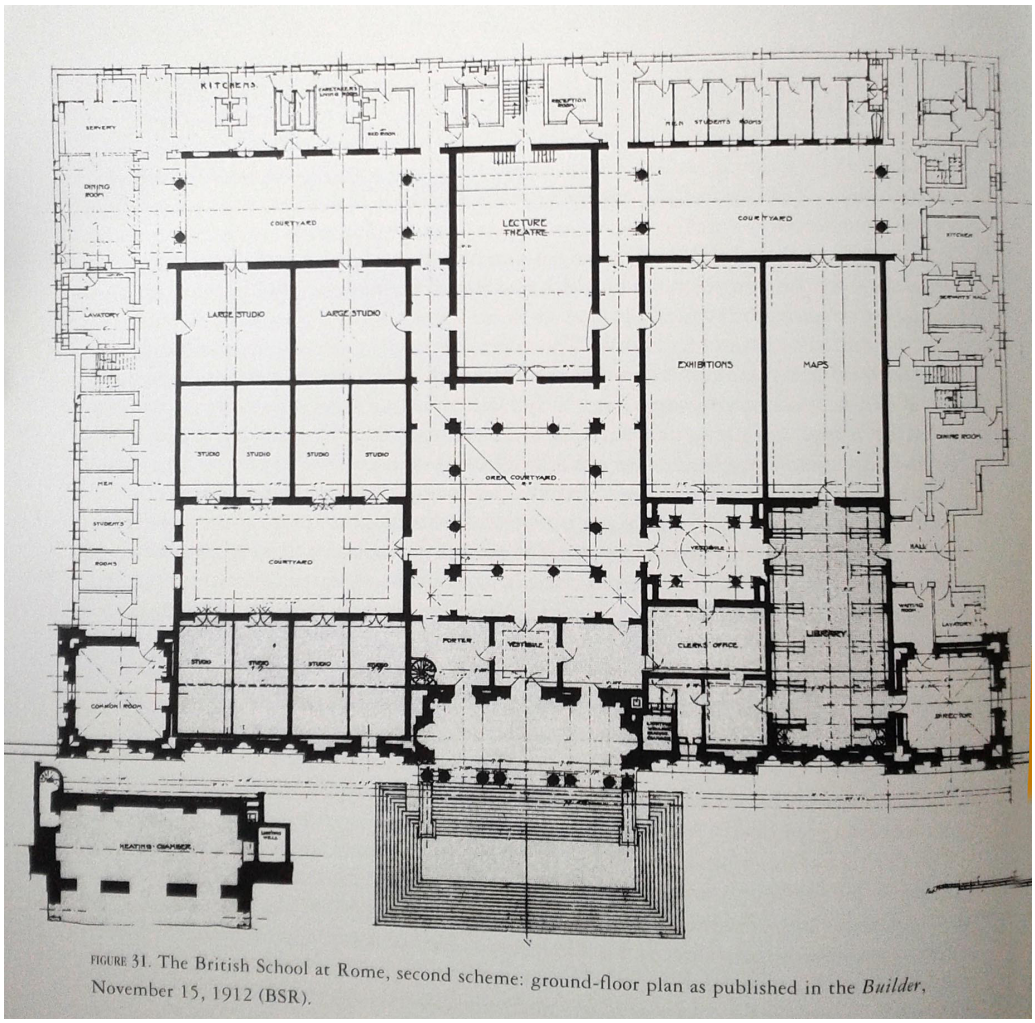


FIGURE 31. The British School at Rome, second scheme: ground-floor plan as published in the *Builder*, November 15, 1912 (BSR).

Figure 9.19. E.L. Lutyens, Rome, British School, ground floor plan, 1912, *The Builder*, 15 November, 1912.

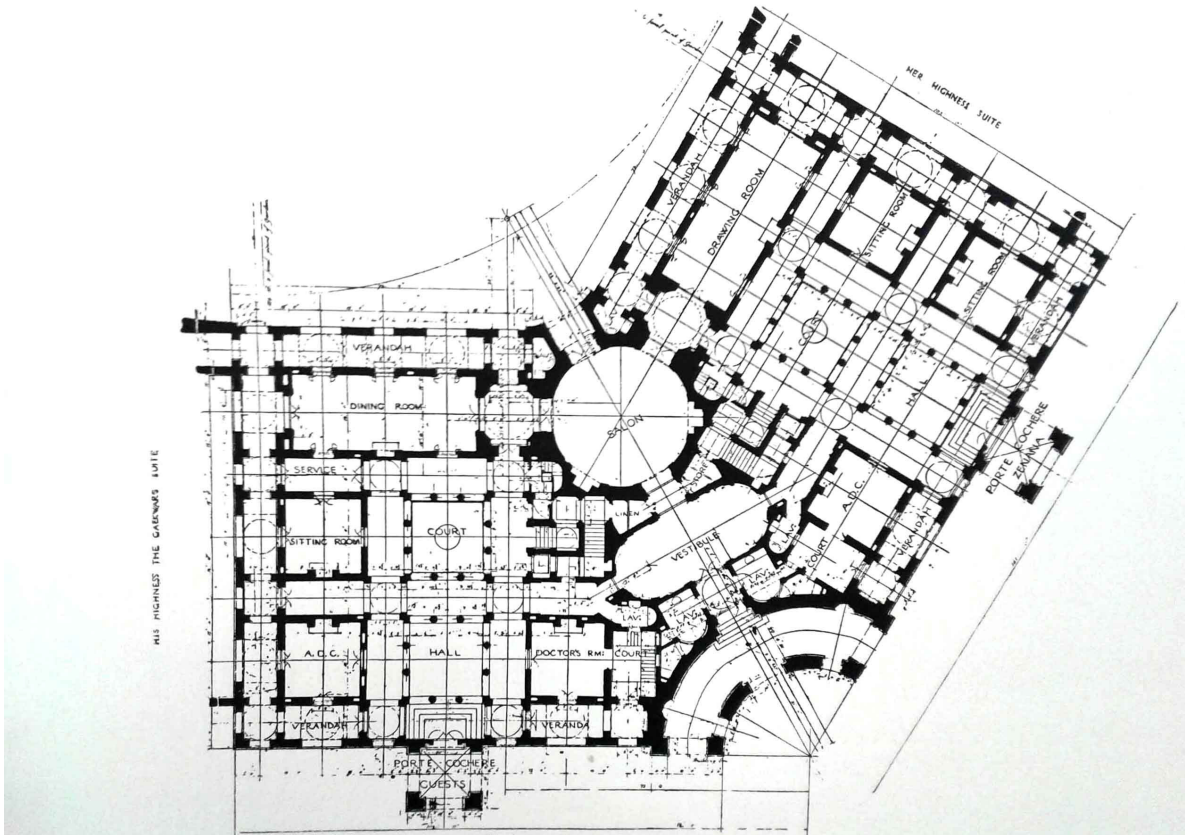


Figure 9.20. E.L. Lutyens, Baroda House, Delhi, ground floor plan, 1922. Arthur S.G. Butler, *The Works of Sir Edwin Lutyens.*

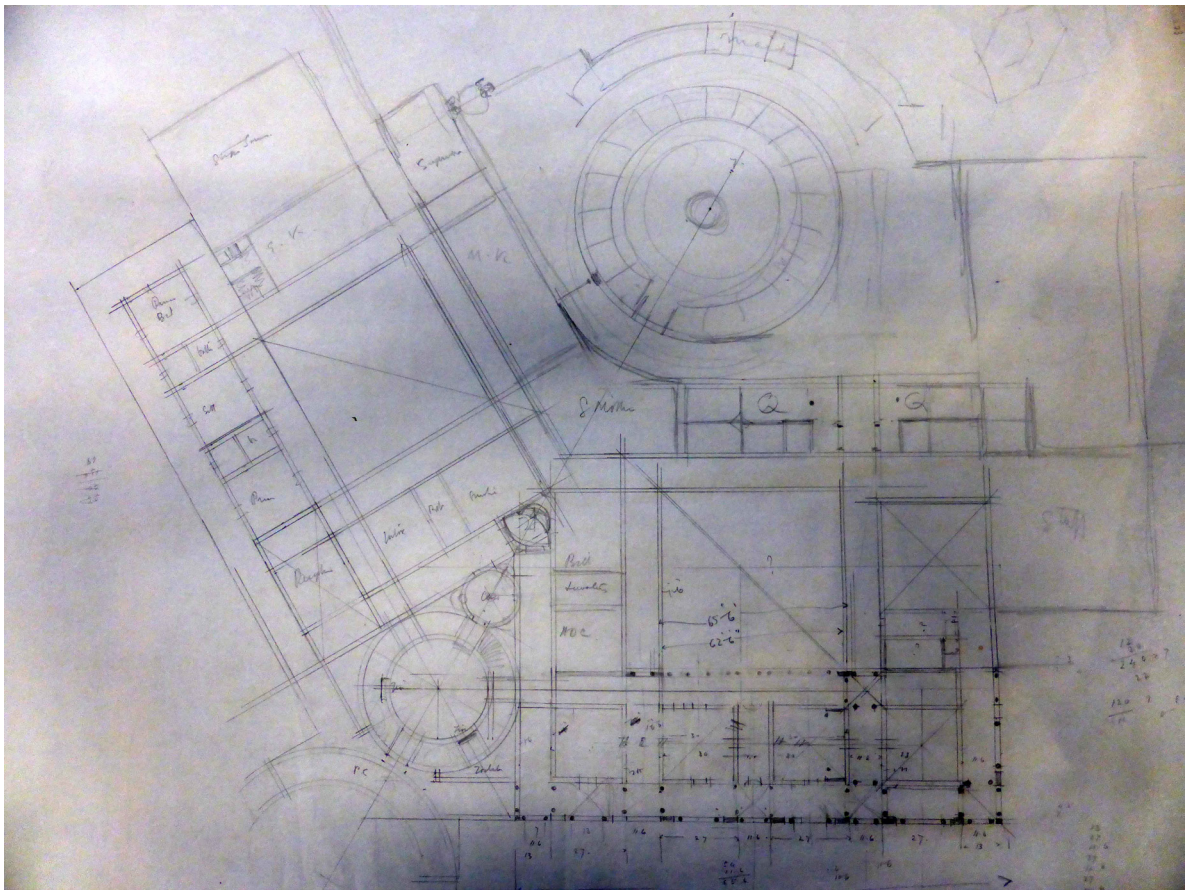


Figure 9.21. E.L. Lutyens, Delhi, Hyderabad House, ground floor plan, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection.

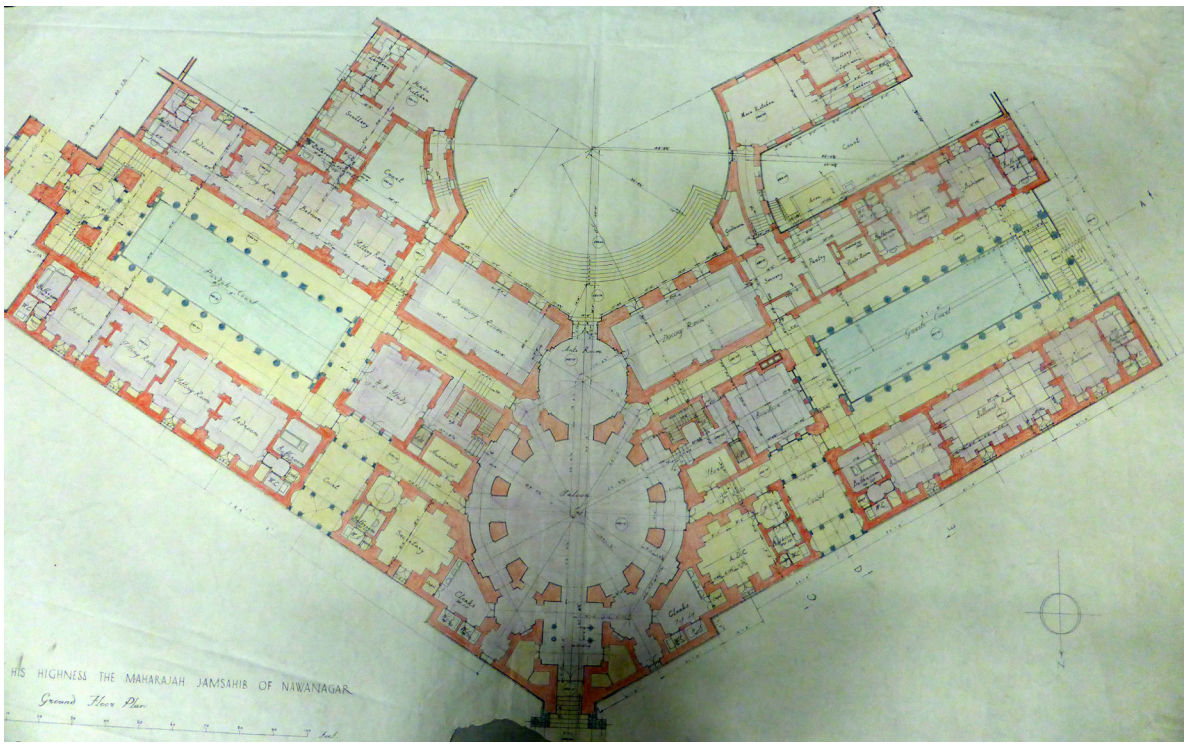


Figure 9.22. E.L. Lutyens, Delhi, House for Jamsahib of Nawanagar, ground floor plan, 1924, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection.

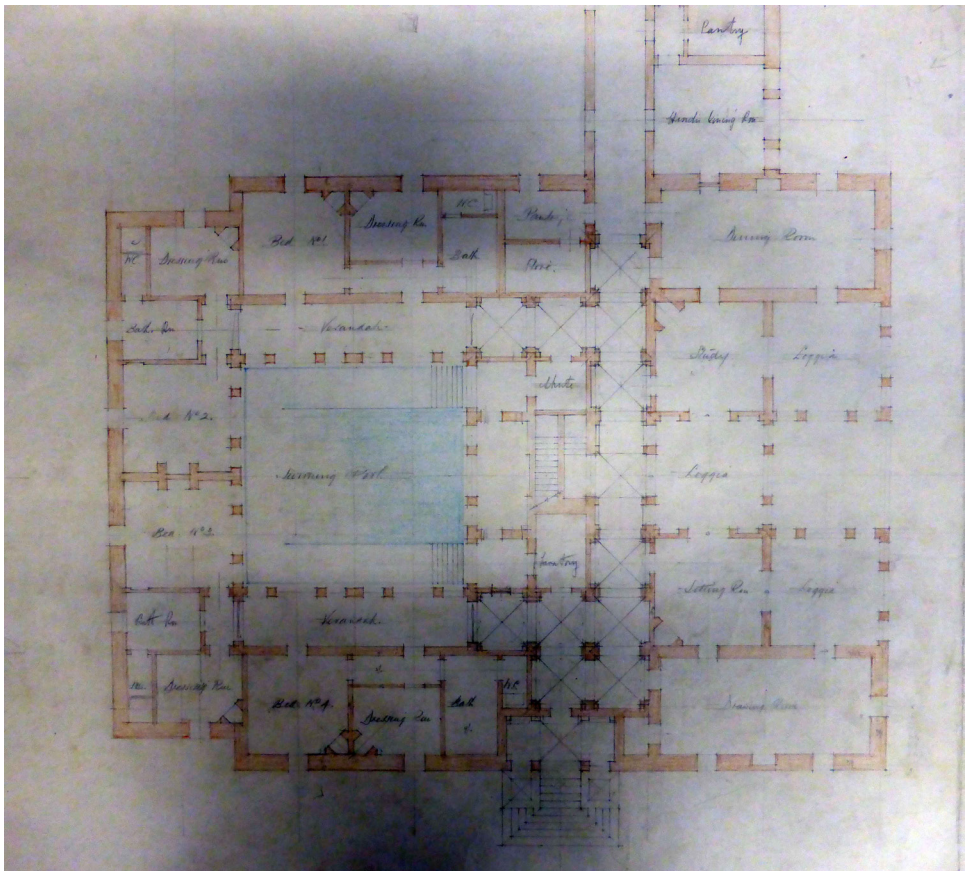


Figure 9.23. E.L. Lutyens, Palace for Sultan Sing, Delhi, ground floor plan, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection.

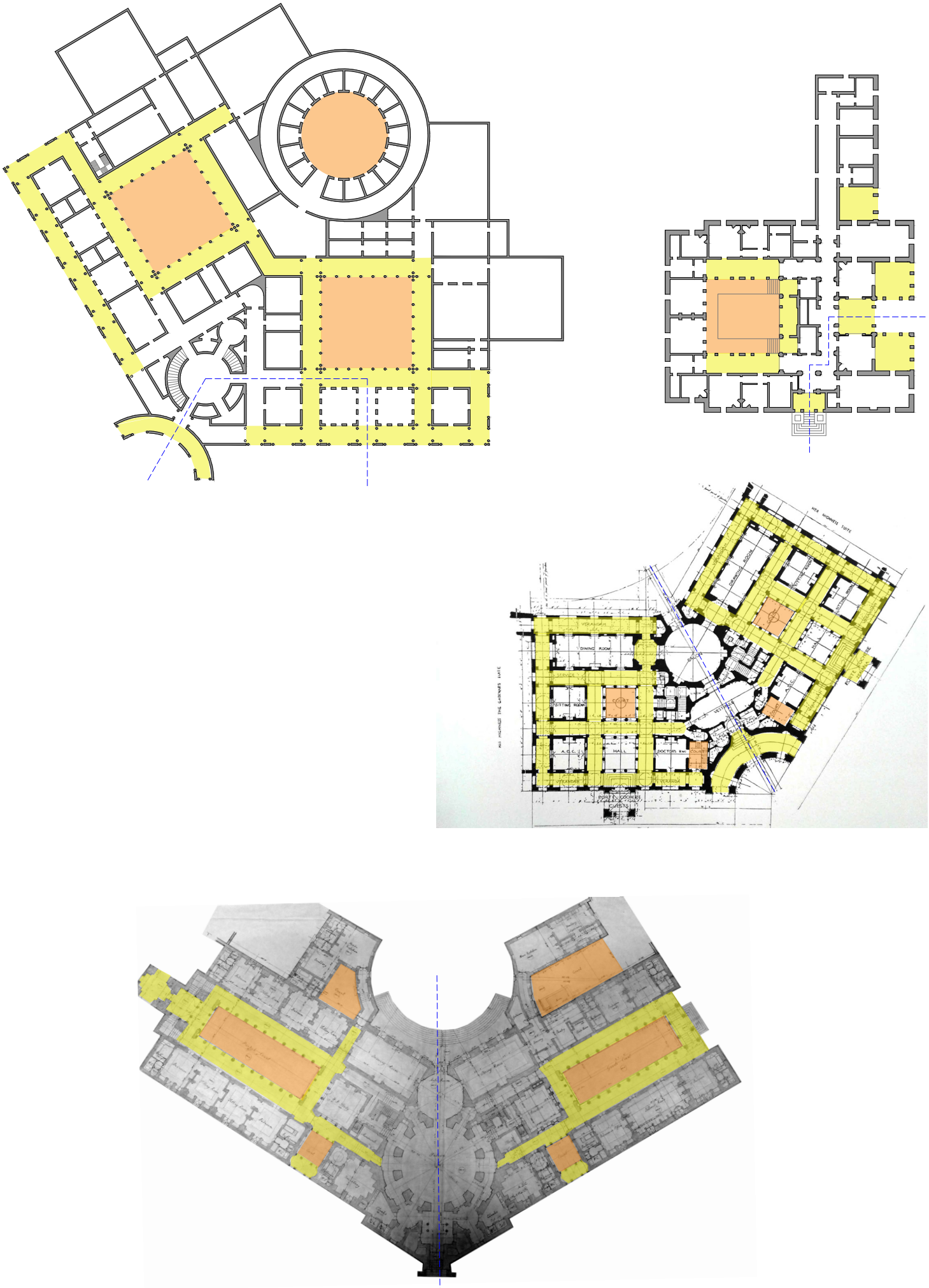


Figure 9.24. E.L. Lutyens. Yellow: outside sheltered areas; Orange: patios. Top right: Palace for Sultan Sing; Top left: Palace for the Nizan of Hyderabed; Centre: Palace for the Gaekwar Baroda; Bottom: Maharaja Jamsahib of Nawanagar.