Re-envisioning the Alhambra:
Readings of architecture and ornament from medieval to modern

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For all my loved ones across the pond

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Abstract

The Alhambra, a medieval Islamic palatine city located in Granada, Spain, is examined in this thesis as the product of material transformations and changing visual perceptions over time. Selected areas of the Nasrid palatial complex (1238-1492) are explored within the context of their production, their later alterations under Christian rule, and in relation to the interpretations of British travellers, historians, designers and enthusiasts throughout the long nineteenth century. Through the formation of individual and collective identities, responses to cultural difference, and an active engagement with the past, the Alhambra grew to become a commemorative monument of multiple and interrelated histories. In addressing the overlapping structural and ornamental layers which make up its form, this study challenges the historiographic limitations of categories such as 'medieval' and 'modern', as well as formal categories such as 'ornament' and 'architecture', which render some art histories more visible than others. A series of case studies examine the conditions that allowed for its reshaping, and the variety of ways its hybrid spaces have been re-envisioned. Chapters one and two focus on the visual manifestations of political agendas across both Muslim and Christian periods of rule, and challenge the application of binary models of influence and conflict to the periods leading up to and following the conquest of Granada in 1492. Subsequent chapters address nineteenth-century perspectives, revealing the perceptual frameworks that informed different impressions of the monument for popular and critical audiences. Descriptions and representations are discussed in accordance with Romantic visualising tropes such as the Gothic and the Sublime, and the Alhambra is situated within debates over national identity and technological progress during the Great Exhibitions of the mid-century. The Alhambra is thus understood both in terms of its cumulative value, and its individual layers of meaning that belong to plural histories and trajectories of influence.

A note on dates, language and terminology

For reasons of consistency across the broad temporal expanse of this study and in order to avoid the risk of inaccurate conversions, I have used Gregorian calendar dates throughout and have not included Muslim calendar (*Hijri*) equivalents. Arabic and Spanish technical terms have been italicised (e.g. *muqarnas*, *mocárabes*), while the names of people and areas of the monument have not, and I include English translations of the latter where possible. I have done my best to use diacritical marks for Arabic transliterations, with the exception of terms that are repeated often, such as Nasrid (Naṣrid).

In describing Muslim citizens of the medieval region of al-Andalus I have used 'Andalusi', and those of the same region under Christian rule (Andalucia), as 'Andalusian'. 'Granadans' has been used to describe the mixed population of Granada at points throughout both periods. For terms given to one group of people or society by another, such as 'gitano' or 'Moor', I have left them lower case or in single quotations as they refer to a generalised construct rather than a particular demographic or culture. However, I use the upper case version of Morisco and Mudéjar as there are no suitable alternatives for describing these transitional societies.

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Introduction

Material transitions: seeing pasts in the Alhambra

> The Alhambra has lived, is living and will continue living, and making the heritage maxim possible as an evolutionary concept not anchored in time. Today the Alhambra will be a part of you, because it is ours, yours and everyone's.[1]

The Alhambra, from the Arabic *Qal'at al-Hamra*, 'the red fort', is a medieval Islamic palatine city located in Granada, Spain, of which large portions remain intact and have been significantly transformed over the centuries. Its grounds encompass almost three and a half million square metres along a rocky outcrop of the Sierra Nevada called the Sabika Hill, and include a number of palatial buildings, fortress structures and towers, gardens and archeological sites, as well as a medieval network of aqueducts and water canals that supplied the compound in medieval times and still partially functions today (fig.'s 1 and 2). Most of the medieval remains date from between 1238 and 1492 when it was the royal residence of the Nasrid sultans, the final

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[1] Maria del Mar Villafranca Jiménez, Director of the Alhambra Council <http://www.alhambra-patronato.es/index.php/Mensaje-de-Bienvenida/744+M5d637b1e38d/0/?&cHash=e96dd36b39> [accessed 16 July 2010]

rulers of the Muslim conquered territory of al-Andalus. A relatively small dynasty, the Nasrids were the last in a succession of Muslim governments within the peninsula dating as far back as the eighth century. The era had begun with the conquest of the Visigoth-occupied territory in 711 by an alliance of Berber and Umayyad forces that ruled from the capital of Córdoba until 1301.[2] The collapse of the Caliphate during a *fitna* or civil war led to the fracturing of rule into independently governed states known as *Mulūk al-Tawā'if,* or *taifa* kingdoms throughout the following century. These smaller kingdoms were subsumed under the Berber Almoravids in 1088, who were in turn conquered by the Almohads (a rival tribe from the Maghreb) in the early twelfth century. Almohad territories were gradually taken by Christian forces and during the final years of this conflict the Nasrid sultanate was founded by Muhammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Naṣr Ibn al-Aḥmar (r. 1237 -1273), a native of Arjona, a small town in the modern province of Jaén.[3] With the backing of his clan, known as the *Banū'l-Aḥmar*, he commandeered the remains of an existing fortress near the city of Granada and there commenced the building of a royal palace.[4] This fortress-city continued to grow and transform over the next two and a half centuries, during which time the Nasrid dynasty defended its borders from Aragonese and Castilian forces from the north, and for a time, competing Merinid powers of the Maghreb to the south.

Many historians have remarked upon the tenacity of the Nasrid rulers, for throughout this period of warfare, intense political negotiations (that often led to economic and territorial compromises), and violent internal rivalry, the dynasty continued to produce some of the most sophisticated poetry and architecture known to the region, much of which made its way onto the

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[2] Following the overthrow of the Umayyad Caliphate in Damascus by the ʿAbāssids in 750, the sole surviving member of the caliphate, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, escaped to Spain and consolidated the territories conquered by the united Umayyad-Berber armies in 711. He established his capital in Córdoba (beginning the construction of the Great Mosque or Mezquita), and made initial diplomatic links with Christian kingdoms, North Africa and the Byzantine empire while maintaining contact with the ʿAbāssids of Baghdad. The Umayyads ruled until 1031, first as a series of governors, then as an emirate and finally a self-proclaimed Caliphate in 929.

[3] The Nasrid rise followed the disintegration of the Almohad state, a process which began in 1212 with their defeat at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, followed by the Castilian capture of Córdoba in 1236 and Seville in 1248 under Ferdinand III, and the capture of eastern and western coastal cities by Aragonese and Portuguese forces.

[4] The earlier fortress was constructed during the time of the Zirids, independent rulers of Berber descent, who ruled over Granada from 1013 to 1090. The Jewish vizier Yūsuf ibn Naghrīla built the original structure on the Sabika hill, and portions of its masonry walls were later incorporated into Nasrid structures.

walls of their palaces.[5] There were at one time six royal palaces within the grounds, though currently only three remain.[6] The Comares Palace was built under Yusuf I (r. 1333-1354) and the connecting Lions Palace under his son, Muhammad V (r. 1354-1359, 1362-1391), though both contain elements from previous periods of construction. The third remaining compound is the Generalife Palace, which is located on an upper level of the Sabika and separated from the main palaces by a ravine.[7] This was commissioned by Muhammad II at the end of the thirteenth century and underwent major additions and alterations under his son, Muhammad III (r. 1302-1309) and his nephew, Ismāʿīl I (r. 1314-1325). The interiors of these buildings are to a greater or lesser extent covered with ornamental patterning in wood, ceramic and carved plaster, exhibiting a wide ranging vocabulary of abstract and vegetal patterns, sometimes interwoven with epigraphic inscriptions (fig. 3).[8] Structural and ornamental forms were greatly refined throughout the period, based on a mathematic system of proportions that acted as a template for rulers and their court designers and architects. The all-over 'cladding' of the palace interiors left traces of the past through poetic inscriptions and the adaptation of styles from preceding periods, creating rich environments that are uniquely Nasrid while also belonging to a longer tradition of

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[5] Muhammad I and his twenty-two descendants maintained power in Granada by way of skilful diplomacy and the early acceptance of Christian suzerainty. The internal rivalry that led to the assassination of a succession of sultans gradually weakened the dynasty from within, and ultimately the defence of the isolated outpost from the combined military force of Castile and Aragon proved impossible. For a detailed overview of the political history of the Nasrid period see Leonard Patrick Harvey, *Islamic Spain: 1250-1500* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), and Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus* (London; New York: Longman, 1996). Contemporary scholarship continues to be indebted to Rachel Arié's *L'Espagne Musulmane au Temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)* (Paris: É. de Boccard, 1973).

[6] Of the other three smaller complexes only excavated foundations remain: the Palacio de los Abencerrajes (in the centre of what was the *medina* or royal city), the Palacio de los Infantes (Palace of the Infants, later converted into the Convent of San Francisco and now a national *parador*), and the Palacio de Yusuf III (also called the Palace of Mondéjar or Palace of Tendilla), former residence for palace governors since the time of the monarchs. The latter was demolished in the eighteenth century by the Tendillas after they were stripped of their title by Philip V in 1718. There are also a number of additional 'lost palaces' or residences to the east of the Generalife: the Palacio de los Alijares (a country estate built on the terraced south side of the Sabika hill by Muhammad V), the Palacio de Dar al-Arusa or 'house of the bride' (only discovered in 1933 on the highest point of the Cerro del Sol), and La Silla del Moro ('The Seat of the Moor'), a residence located in the foothills of the Sabika.

[7] 'Generalife' is a corruption of *Jinnah al-'Arif*, 'garden of the architect' or 'noblest of gardens'.

[8] The inscriptions throughout the palace are important to an understanding of the complex and, where decipherable, have been used to clarify the function and names of its various spaces. I have not pursued this line of enquiry within the thesis, but it has formed the basis for a number of recent studies such as Olga Bush's unpublished doctoral thesis, 'Architecture, Poetic Texts and Textiles in the Alhambra' (New York University, 2006), and subsequent articles: '"When My Beholder Ponders": Poetic Epigraphy in the Alhambra', *Artibus Asiae* 66:2 (2006), and 'The Writing on the Wall: Reading the Decoration of the Alhambra', *Muqarnas* 26 (2009).

ornamentation.

Muslim rule in the region ended in 1492 with the conquest of Granada by Catholic monarchs Ferdinand II of Aragón and Isabel I of Castile, the same year of Christopher Columbus' voyage to the Americas.[9] Highly symbolic, their victory marked the long awaited completion of the *Reconquista* or 're-conquest' and the start of a larger expansionism programme. Following the peaceful surrender of the Alhambra it was briefly occupied by the monarchs, and its interiors altered and developed according to the needs of their court.[10] In the early sixteenth century the palaces were further transformed by their grandson Charles, who in 1519 became Holy Roman Emperor and oversaw a number of interventions that ranged from redecorating existing halls and courts to the construction of his own Renaissance-style palace alongside the Lions complex. Alhough historically these have been seen as destructive intrusions on the 'original' Alhambra, they are now considered part of its material history and equally worthy of critical and archeological attention, not least of all because many of the changes to the Nasrid spaces were carried out by Moriscos, or converted Muslims living under Christian rule.[11] From the seventeenth century onward the Alhambra was left to stagnate, used as a prison for debtors, galley slaves and convicts, as well as housing a series of profiteering governors, Ro-

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[9] Ferdinand 'the Catholic' of Aragon (1454-1516) married Infanta Isabel of Castile (1451-1504) in 1469, both belonging to the royal House of Trastámara and second cousins by descent from John I of Castile. Their union strategically unified the two kingdoms and marked the beginning of a campaign to conquer remaining Muslim-ruled territory.

[10] For a detailed account of the terms and conditions of the handover of the palace and an overview of the 'Capitulations of 1491' (agreement between Ferdinand and the people of Granada), see Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 307-323. Under Ferdinand and Isabel it had a military function and became part of a modernisation programme that involved changing its entrances and reinforcing its defensive system with circular bastions, as well as altering the palace to accommodate the royal court and its knights. This included the repair of some areas using Mudéjar artists from other areas of the kingdom (see following footnote). They also converted the palace mosque into a church and the Palace of the Infants into a Franciscan convent.

[11] 'Morisco' was the term used following the mass conversions of 1500 to describe converted Muslims living under Christian rule (prior to that they were simply called *nuevos convirtidos*). 'Mudéjar' (from the Arabic *mudajjan* meaning 'one left behind') is also used throughout this study to describe Muslims who came under Christian vassalage but were permitted to continue practicing Islam. It should be kept in mind that these classifications emerged as part of the rhetoric of the Spanish *Reconquista*, and in many ways reflect the prejudices that emerged during that time. For their etymology see Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp, 2-5. A series of uprisings against forced conversions led to the expulsion of the majority of the Morisco population from Granada between 1568 and 1571, and all those remaining by order of the Royal Council under Philip III on April 9th, 1609. For the full history see David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2003), and L. P. Harvey, 'The Political, Social and Cultural History of the Moriscos', in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

many groups, invalid soldiers, livestock, and the occasional Romantic traveller in the nineteenth century.[12] Further damage was sustained as a result of earthquakes and fires (one set deliberately by an arsonist in 1890), and the French troops that used the palaces as a barracks during the Peninsular War and who came close to altogether destroying it with a series of explosions during their retreat in 1812.[13] European visitors of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries posed another threat, many of whom felt at liberty to chip away its ornament and claim for themselves a wide variety of 'souvenirs'. This meant that by the time the Alhambra was declared national property in 1870, it was in an advanced state of decay and a large portion of its ornament had been sold off or 'restored' according to a succession of esoteric agendas.

The Alhambra of the eighteenth century had been largely transformed by these destructive forces when European travellers 'rediscovered' it as an Oriental archetype mysteriously located in southern Spain. By that time its Nasrid history had long faded, the details of which had already been rendered partial following the public burning of Arabic texts by Francisco Jimenés de Cisneros in 1499. The mystery that surrounded the monument made it no less fascinating for visitors; in fact this historical lacuna intensified the popularity of the site and left a large gap for its legacy to be rebuilt by the Euro-American imagination. The large volume of historical fiction and travel literature that grew up around 'the Old Pile' (perhaps most famously in the writing of François-René de Chateaubriand and Washington Irving), liberally attribute names and characteristics to its decorated spaces and the 'Moors' that once occupied them.

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[12] The sporadic and self-profiting governing system that followed the Tendillas' eviction led to a full century of neglect that ended with the recuperative (albeit controversial) restoration programme of Rafael Contreras in 1847. The testimony of Victorian traveller and Hispanist Richard Ford provides a valuable record of the period that he calls the Alhambra's 'history of degradation'. Informed by accounts of 'the sons of the Alhambra', or 'aged chroniclers', he writes that as early as the seventeenth century the palace 'shared in the decline of the monarchy' in being made an extra-judicial asylum for debtors in 1664, after which it was made a 'den of thieves' used to house invalid soldiers, prisoners, and convicts. In the nineteenth century he observes that the area he describes as the 'Patio of the Mosque' was used as a sheep enclosure, the Sala de dos Hermanas (Hall of Two Sisters) as a silk factory, the Puerta del Vino (Wine Gate) as a rubbish tip and the Alcazaba or fortress as a prison for galley slaves. For a full account see Richard Ford, *Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home: Describing the Country and Cities, the Natives and Their Manners, the Antiquities, Religion, Legends, Fine Arts, Literature, Sports, and Gastronomy: With Notices on Spanish History*, vol 1 (London: John Murray, 1845), pp. 364-367.

[13] Led by Count Horace Sebastiani, Napoleon's troops resided in the Alhambra for nearly three years beginning in January of 1810, converting many of its spaces into storage compartments and using its wood elements for firewood. They also removed the pavement of the Patio de los Leones or Court of the Lions and planted gardens in their place. During their retreat in 1812 the troops managed to dynamite eight towers before the remaining fuses were disabled by a sympathetic Corporal.

Throughout the long nineteenth century, that I here delineate roughly as the Georgian and Victorian periods in Britain (1714-1901), the monument was re-envisioned through a diverse range of perspectives, from the picturesque gaze to the photographic lens. At the same time travellers struggled to describe its style and 'fix' its transformed surfaces to a particular period; the myth that had grown up around its walls fed their Romantic imaginations. Through a series of visualising tropes and tendencies within both textual and image based media, the monument was further dislocated from its Nasrid origins and post-conquest reinvention, while being absorbed into an idea of Spain and its Islamic heritage that has endured to the present day.

In order to study this multilayered history I have chosen three points of historical enquiry: the medieval making of the Nasrid complex, its transformation with the lingering frontier climate of post-conquest Granada, and its subsequent remaking in accordance with the desires, anxieties, apprehensions and expectations of visitors in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These three lines of enquiry are accessed according to the methodology outlined in the following introduction, using specific case studies that illustrate the intersection of materiality and interpretation within the monument. In the medieval period these include the '*mirador*' or viewing place found within the Generalife Palace and the 'Mexuar' or Council Hall of the Comares Palace. Later chapters examine the way the exterior forms of the fortress-city were reinterpreted by British travellers, the 'translation' and reproduction of its ornamented interior surfaces, and the use of its ruined spaces within early photographs. Throughout each of these chapters I problematise a reading of ornament as a purely decorative tradition, and engage with the political agendas and personal perspectives that came to shape both the material form and perceptions of the Alhambra. The objective of this thesis is not to provide a comprehensive historical overview of the monument, in either an archeological or ideological sense, but to ask a number of questions about the way the monument *has been seen*, and how processes of re-envisioning in both medieval and modern contexts reveal its value both as a historical palimpsest,

and as a mirror held up to changing perceptual frameworks.[14] The historical context of each of these examples has therefore been closely examined in order to shed light on the conditions and factors that contributed to the gradual accretion of meaning and material within the monument.

My theoretical approach to the reading of ornament builds on the seminal work of Oleg Grabar, which has set a precedent for the critical study of Islamic art across historical and geographic borders and continues to provide a solid foundation for conceptually approaching form and content across a wide range of traditions. While his 1978 *The Alhambra* lacks a contextual grounding within the wider history of palatial building in al-Andalus, it has nonetheless opened up a number of ways to think about the production of ornament as both an intellectually engaged and politically driven practice.[15] More recent scholarship has taken questions raised by this book in a series of fecund directions. Jerrilynn D. Dodds, Cynthia Robinson and others have revisited of the art and architecture of the monument alongside emerging theories of intercultural influence in the medieval Mediterranean, resulting in a number of richly detailed studies and edited anthologies.[16] Equally, D. Fairchild Ruggles' exploration of the Andalusi palatial tradition in relation to vision, landscape, and rule within the region has proved invaluable to this study.[17] More recent contributions by Olga Bush have been inspirational, as she has expertly shown that formal analysis can greatly complement a study of historical perception.[18] A great debt is also owed to the technical tradition of Spanish scholarship, beginning with the archeological work of Leopoldo Torres Balbás and Antonio Gallego y Burín, whose findings have allowed for an understanding of the materiality of the monument in its medieval conception as well as through its

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[14] I have appropriated the metaphor of a palimpsest to describe the gradual accumulation of layers in the Alhambra that leave a visible record of its history. A similar appropriation can be found in Gülru Necīpoğlu, 'The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: ʿAbd Al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Sūleyman's Glosses', *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 17-106.

[15] Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra*, 2nd edn. (London: Allen Lane; Penguin Books Ltd., 1992).

[16] Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi, eds., *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile, Medieval Encounters special issue*, 22 (2005); Cynthia Robinson and Simone Pinet, eds., *Courting the Alhambra: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches to the Hall of Justice Ceilings*, *Medieval Encounters* special issue, 14: 2, 3 (2008); Mariam Rosser-Owen and Glaire D. Anderson, eds., *Revisiting Al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007).

[17] D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

[18] See footnote 8.

early modern transformations.[19] This legacy has informed more recent Spanish research that continues to question the material foundations of our understanding of the Nasrid period, such as Elena Díez Jorge's inquiry into the historical use of palace spaces by women, and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza's reinterpretation of the Court of Lions as a Merinid-style *madrasa*.[20] Fernández-Puertas' ambitious first volume has also been an indispensable companion throughout my studies, particularly with regard to the processes of artistic production within the Nasrid court and his close reading of ornament from the period.[21] For nineteenth-century chapters I have relied mostly on primary texts but have found Tonia Raquejo and Diego Saglia's views of the changing shape of the Alhambra within European perceptions to be insightful.[22] Although the Alhambra remains the central object of this study throughout the following chapters, the wider thesis is aimed at unearthing the perceptual frameworks that have shaped and reshaped an understanding of its surfaces and forms over time.

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[19] Leopoldo Torres Balbás (1888-1960) was architectural curator of the Alhambra from 1923 to 1936 and is considered a pioneer of scientific restoration, though there are ensuing debates about his conflicting roles as both theorist and architect. His archeological contribution, however, is substantial, and much of the structures of the monument remain standing largely as a result of his careful studies and restorative efforts, perhaps most invasively his rebuilding of the area known as the Partal. See 'Diario De Obras En La Alhambra: 1924', *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 2 (1966): 89-112; and *La Alhambra y el Generalife, Los Monumentos Cardinales de España* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1953). Antonio Gallego y Burín (1895-1961) was an art historian, mayor of Granada, and headed the Alhambra Council from 1945 to 1951. His work focuses more on the post-conquest alterations to the complex, see *La Alhambra*, facs edn. (Granada: Editorial Comares, 1996; first publ. Granada, 1963).

[20] Díez Jorge, M.a Elena, 'L'Alhambra eu Féminin'. In *Le Château Au Féminin*, eds. Anne-Marie Cocula Combet and Michel. Bourdeaux: Michel de Montaigne University, 2004. Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza's important study of the Court of Lions, while controversial in its suggestion that the court may actually have functioned as a *madrasa*, has introduced a new way of thinking about this later period in terms of influence. See, 'El Palacio de los Leones de la Alhambra: ¿Madrasa, Zawiya y Tumba de Muhammad V? Estudio para un Debate', *Al-Qantara* 22 (2001): 77-120.

[21] Antonio Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra: From the Ninth Century to Yusuf I (1354)*, vol. 1 (London: Saqi Books, 1997).

[22] María Antonia Raquejo Grado (Tonia Raquejo): 'El Arte Arabe: Un Aspecto de la Vision Romantica de España en la Inglaterra del Siglo XIX' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1987); *El Palacio Encantado: La Alhambra en el Arte Británico* (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, 1990); '"The Arab Cathedrals": Moorish Architecture as Seen by British Travellers', *The Burlington Magazine* 128: 1001 (1986): 555-63; Diego Saglia, 'The Moor's Last Sigh: Spanish-Moorish Exoticism and the Gender of History in British Romantic Poetry'. *Journal of English Studies* 3 (2001): 193-215; 'Imag(in)Ing Iberia: Landscape Annuals and Multimedia Narratives of the Spanish Journey in British Romanticism'. *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 12:2 (2006): 123-46.

The Alhambra as 'monument'

I refer throughout the thesis to the Alhambra as a monument in the sense that it bears witness to the passage of time and represents the various cultures that are responsible for its present form. I recognise that while the term avoids the misattribution of 'palace' to describe what was initially a fortress-city and that has had many different uses over the centuries, it also reflects a particularly European perspective on the value and ownership of heritage objects.[23] Aloïs Riegl has written that both 'intentional' and 'unintentional' monuments are commemorative, and that value lies in their 'original, uncorrupted appearance as they emerged from the hands of their maker and to which we seek by whatever means to restore them'.[24] The difficulty in defining the Alhambra in this way reflects a wider historiographic problem to do with its being 'remade' over the centuries following its Muslim conception. Council Director Maria del Mar Villafranca's vision statement at the start of this introduction is an attempt to reconcile the disparate periods of Nasrid production with both the post-conquest period of Christian occupation in the decades that followed and the many additions and alterations at the hands of occupants, restorers and conservationists throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The problem with claiming the Alhambra as a site of national, or global heritage is that its origins belong to a pre-modern age of foreign occupation, while its material form speaks to various stages of re-envisioning in Europe.[25] Del Mar Villafranca's claim that it is 'ours, yours

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[23] Laurajane Smith observes that the discourse of monumentality and heritage developed from the nineteenth century is 'not only driven by certain narratives about nationalism and Romantic ideals, but also a specific theme about the legitimacy and dominant place in national cultures on the European social and political elite'. *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 22.

[24] Aloïs Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin," in *Cultural Heritage: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, ed. Laurajane Smith (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 117.

[25] The Alhambra was one of twenty-one official finalists of the 'New 7 Wonders of the World' competition in 2007, a competition designed to 'create global memory'. It was not awarded a place in the top seven based on an average of one hundred million votes from across the world over seven years, despite its being described as 'one of the finest examples of Moorish architecture in the world and among Europe's most-visited tourist attractions' <http://www.new7wonders.com> [visited 4 May 2011]

and everyone's' not only addresses a particular audience (whether it be nationals, internationals, tourists, or simply paying customers), but also assumes a kind of shared, universal ownership of the monument: she invites visitors to reclaim an object comprised of multiple layers of cultural heritage that can 'belong' to anyone who wishes to experience it. The Alhambra Council has recently released a new official guidebook that, while commendably more thorough than previous guides, struggles to contain the vast amount of information about what the Alhambra is, *and has been*, alongside the history of mythology that binds the two together and is central to its current legacy.[26] A statue of Washington Irving, inaugurated in 2007 on the surrounding forest grounds of the Alhambra, is now considered part of the experience of the monument and stands as a testament to the the Romantic visions that have contributed to the monument's current form (fig. 4).[27] And herein lies the historical paradox: for the vision of an 'Eastern palace in Spain' reborn of the Western imagination belongs to both the material world and to the realm of imagination. This raises important questions around the nature and value of heritage objects, and the challenge of presenting a critically-engaged understanding of its material history alongside that of its re-envisioning. Its ornamented spaces contain elements that span the medieval and the modern, and, as I argue here, find their greatest potency in the interventions that fall between such periodised constructions. Building on recent attempts to address this within Spanish and English language scholarship, I isolate a series of transitional moments that reveal the socio-historical conditions from which the monument emerged and that are often overlooked or subsumed within grand historical narratives.[28]

In addition to refusing dominant historical narratives, the material form of the Alhambra also presents a challenge to art historical categories. The multifarious and cumulative layers that

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[26.] Jesús Bermúdez López, *The Alhambra and the Generalife: Official Guide,* trans. Carma S. L. (Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife; TF Editores, 2010).
[27.] Washington Irving (1773-1859) was an American diplomat and Romantic author of *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (1829) and *The Alhambra* or *Tales of the Alhambra* (1832), historical fiction works based on his residency in the monument in 1829. His novels were widely read in Europe and America at the time (prompting the Spanish government to begin restoration) and continue to function as a touchstone for visitors today (not only are reproductions of these available in every tourist shop, but the official audio guide to the monument is structured around excerpts from *Tales*).
[28.] A number of publications have recently looked at the critical reception and cultural currency of the monument, such as *The Alhambra Manifesto: 50 Years Later, the Monument and Contemporary Architecture* (Granada: TF Publishers, 2006).

have come to characterise its surfaces are equally difficult to categorise as the art periods that produced them. Ornamental and architectural elements from the medieval period have been removed and displayed separately within the Alhambra museum and other institutions outside Spain, so that often the reading of stylistic languages across different periods has been interrupted or obfuscated altogether. Robinson has argued that the ability of modern scholars to look forward into history (something that she claims the Nasrids could not do as they knew their days were numbered) has led to the fetishised view of the Alhambra as 'unique' and subsequently to its marginalisation with the larger context of Islamic art.[29] In this way, the Romantic period in Europe can be seen as another layer of the making of the Alhambra, this time in the image of its own perceptions of a distant, exoticised past. The tendency to describe portions of the Alhambra that date from the Nasrid period as 'authentic' fails to take into account the value of subsequent interventions, while the Orientalisation of its Islamic past glosses over the complex socio-historical conditions of frontier Granada. The close relations with Christian kingdoms and at certain times the Maghreb, meant that the dynasty produced these forms within a diverse climate that often gave rise to cross-fertilisation, even during times of conflict. With respect to the Islamic tradition, however, the Alhambra is the result of centuries of relatively isolated cultural production in the region, where new styles were based on models originally developed in Syria and Iran. It is this Nasrid period of historical reflection, which I see as an active use of the past, that allowed for a sense of preservation to permeate at the same time that new, hybrid regional forms were created.

Although a number of recent studies have taken up the art and architecture of al-Andalus, and the Alhambra more specifically, as a model of cross-cultural exchange and influence, the period is rarely discussed directly in relation to the period of re-envisioning that subsequently altered its 'original' form.[30] This oversight contributes to the sidelining of its 'interventions' even when they are stylistically or materially connected to the Nasrid period (as

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[29] Cynthia Robinson, 'Marginal Ornament: Poetics, Mimesis, and Devotion in the Palace of the Lions', *Muqarnas* 25 (2008), p. 188.
[30] Mariam Rosser-Owen's *Islamic Arts From Spain* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010) stands out as an exception, and provides an overview of the monument in its medieval context as well as its later reception through the work of Owen Jones and the wider British phenomenon known as 'Alhambrism'.

in the case of the re-ornamentation of parts of the palace by Moriscos in the early sixteenth century). From the opposite end of the historical spectrum, emerging work on Owen Jones and Victorian perspectives on the Alhambra seldom take into consideration the complex social history of al-Andalus, which ultimately provided the foundation for such imaginative recreations.[31] This reinforces an Orientalised perspective of the Nasrid period and ignores the unique variations of artistic production throughout the dynastic period, as well as the period of Christian intervention that followed. Thus, from a modern historical perspective, the medieval period is seen as a unified or undifferentiated period that has little effect on the readings of nineteenth-century visitors. In bringing together these different areas of period-based scholarship I am able to examine the Alhambra as a changing monument from multiple perspectives: its material form can be better understood as an accretion of interpretations by late medieval Muslims, early modern Christians, as well as British visitors and enthusiasts of the nineteenth century. It is for this reason that I have chosen to view the Alhambra in relation to specific instances of production, both material and ideological, across these separate but interrelated periods of construction and re-imagining.

Rather than offering new insights into the artistic production of any one period, I explore a number of factors that informed the re-envisioning of the Alhambra over time. Through the formation of individual and collective identities, responses to cultural difference, and an active engagement with the past in both medieval and modern contexts, the palace-city was transformed into a commemorative monument of multiple and interrelated histories. In 'jumping' from the late medieval period to the high period of early Western European travel I am able to explore the Alhambra as a vehicle for the shaping and layering of identities, through which the politics of viewing play a central role in the re-writing of histories. In selecting these particular moments and considering them in relation to one another, my central aim is to reveal the way that the Alhambra has resisted claims to authenticity, historical continuity, and an evolutionary reading of art forms. Put simply, the Alhambra can no more accurately be described as

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[31] Carol A. Hrvol Flores' *Owen Jones: Design, Ornament, Architecture, and Theory in an Age in Transition* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006) focuses almost exclusively on the biographical lacunae of the artist-designer and deals with the Alhambra only in a corollary fashion.

an Islamic palace of the late medieval period than it can be an Orientalised monument of the nineteenth century. As a starting point for analysis, I have chosen these two eras of production for the way that they strongly inform different parts of the same monument and its surrounding mythology.

A series of objects or texts and their corresponding historical periods form the basis of five individual studies, each showing evidence of a particular mode of visualising. In chapter one I examine two carved plaster panels from the Nasrid period that reflect a wider practice of borrowing, appropriating and adapting styles in the articulation of court identities. Chapter two discusses this phenomena as it recurs in post-conquest Granada, as not only do the Christian additions within the ornamental programme of the Mexuar borrow from Nasrid decorative motifs, they also speak to the unique legacy of frontier 'coexistence' of Muslim, Jewish and Christian cultures, and to the emergence of the newly consolidated Habsburg empire. Nasrid style is thus merged with the imperial heraldry of Charles V, presenting a particular configuration of power relations in sixteenth-century Granada. In chapters three through five the act of re-envisioning is understood within the context of nineteenth-century European identity formation and the negotiation of the Alhambra as a symbol of a 'foreign' past. These studies centre around travel literature, architectural reproductions and photography, exploring the role of media in shaping popular perceptions of the monument in the period loosely referred to as the 'Romantic Era'. Across and between these two periods, the role of the Alhambra as a cross-cultural monument complicates notions of period style (in particular the view of the Renaissance as the divisive introduction of modernity), as well as 'western' and 'non-western' categories of art forms. Throughout these chapters I highlight how the sum of its interrelated parts often resists clear cultural or temporal divisions and set about the task of 'untangling' its many forms and layers of meaning.

In focusing on what I see as key stages in the 'transhistorical making' of the Alhambra, both the conditions which produced its current form and contemporary understandings of it become clearer, and fresh spaces are opened up to consider the nature of artistic responses to both familiar and unfamiliar pasts. In borrowing from, and building upon the artistic heritage of

their predecessors (to varying extents the Umayyad, *taifa*, Almoravid and especially Almohad periods), Nasrid rulers were able to reinvent themselves in the present with a new authority. The renewal of strong and authoritative visual identities was crucial in light of their isolated and vulnerable position as the last remaining kingdom of al-Andalus. Again during the Victorian era, viewing the past was engaged as a strategy for negotiating the rapid expansion of the globe, and for absorbing the cultural achievements of past eras and foreign cultures in a modern and increasingly industrialised era. As David Lowenthal argues, shifts in a society's political and cultural climate often involve the remoulding of the past according to certain expectations, often through an embellishment of its relics.[32] Nineteenth-century Britain saw the Alhambra as an archetype of Otherness conveniently located in the south of Spain, where European visitors could 'make sense' of Islamic art and culture, collapsing the past into the present through the commodification and fetishisation of its forms. At the same time, perceptions of the monument would shape the image of modern Spain as Europe's own site of difference. By the twentieth century Spanish modernity was understood in terms of its position as a European Other, dependent upon its own internal and colonial Others.[33]

In addressing the multiple histories of the Alhambra in tandem it is possible to consider artistic intervention and exchange outside the boundaries set up by traditional notions of authenticity and originality. Artistic processes such as conventionalisation, reproduction and adaptation are understood critically within the context of plural and overlapping periods of production, and the enduring sense of preservation made manifest through such processes is seen as part of its 'living heritage'. Challenging Grabar's claim that the Alhambra is 'unique only in that it has been preserved', I draw attention to the motivations and processes behind the preservation instinct itself, evident in both the Nasrid tradition of palatial building and within later European societies that championed the commemoration of the past and implemented a range of ap-

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[32.] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 14th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 279.
[33.] Susan Larson and Eva Woods, 'Visualizing Spanish Modernity: Introduction', in *Visualizing Spanish Modernity*, eds. Susan Larson and Eva Woods (New York: Berg, 2005), p. 5.

proaches to conservation.[34] Through such a view, 'tampered' or 'inauthentic' surfaces such as those of the heavily reworked Mexuar can be seen as products of simultaneously existing identities that were concretised through the merger of styles and symbols during the post-conquest period. Thus, periods of artistic production that have been considered lacking in stylistic innovation, such as the high, or 'decadent' period of Nasrid ornamental production, and later interventions that have been dismissed simply as 'triumphalist' interventions during the reign of Charles V, are revisited as part of a gradual, responsive transformation within the Alhambra.[35]

While my aim is to shed light on parallels and contradictions across distinct historical moments, I am careful not to make causal connections or assume intentionality across these periods of production, or to draw formal comparisons between objects or texts across time. Neither is it my intention to provide a complete or chronologically determined history of the monument. The architectural tradition that preceded the Nasrid sultanate is not addressed specifically, although the influences from al-Andalus, as well as legacies from earlier and contemporary centres of Islamic power in present day Iraq, Iran, Syria and North Africa are important to understanding the ornamental schemes attributed to the dynasty. Similarly, the period spanning the latter half of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century is not directly addressed within this study, however it is important to recognise that neglect and sporadic occupation had important deteriorative effects on the monument, which in turn fed the Victorian appetite for ruins in the nineteenth century. This is not to say that these periods do not offer up their own topics and sites of interest, only that they offer less concrete examples of the morphology of forms or the re-envisioning of the past that are the premise of this thesis. Though the destruction of parts of the complex contributed to its transformation, I mainly isolate examples of accumulation that

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[34] Oleg Grabar claimed in 1978 that 'as far as its meaning is concerned, the Alhambra fits naturally and easily into the typology of traditional Islamic palaces. Its concerns and its aims were not extraordinary at all'. However, he also makes observations about the originality of the ornamental programmes of the late Nasrid period with respect to the further development and arrangement of antecedent forms (*The Alhambra*, pp. 153-154).

[35] Robert Hillenbrand has commented that the period of production in Nasrid Granada was 'stagnant if not decadent' and that the Alhambra offered 'little that was not explicit or implicit in earlier Moorish and Maghribi art'. *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994) p, 457. Earlier historians, such as Manuel Gómez-Moreno González, linked this so-called formal decadence with the political and cultural disintegration of al-Andalus. *El Arte En España: Alhambra (Cuarenta y Ocho Ilustraciones con Texto de M. Gómez Moreno)*, vol. 5 (Madrid: Hijos de J. Thomas, 1926), p. 22.

reveal something about the way existing forms were manipulated to make new meaning across medieval and modern contexts. Consequently, I am able to consider the Nasrid period of building alongside Christian interventions and in relation to the ways it was re-envisioned throughout the nineteenth-century. The monument was also physically transformed during this time through the 'creative restoration' projects of the Contreras family, a subject that I have not had the space to explore here in any depth but that warrants a separate study in relation to Spanish preservationism and a wider consideration of heritage monuments in Europe.[36]

It is only under the conditions of post-Enlightenment travel, colonial expansion, and European identity formation that the Alhambra was subjected to transformative gestures at a scale comparable to the Nasrid period three centuries prior. Increased European travel stoked a refreshed interest in the monument, prompting new initiatives to 'rescue' it from historical obsolescence while it was simultaneously fetishised as an Oriental ruin. This is a theme that I take up in chapter three, as visitors approach the monument for the first time and reveal their expectations through a range of descriptive responses. Mid-century, the interior forms and surfaces of the palace were reproduced, re-imagined and theorised by critics and designers such as Owen Jones and John Ruskin, whose theories and ideas are addressed in chapter four. The fertile ground between Romanticism and technological achievement, in which the 'Orient' was strategically situated, would reach its apotheosis within the context of the London Great Exhibitions. The emergence of 'Alhambrism' in Britain illustrates the widespread popularity of the monument by this time, its standing for the Orient in general, or the exotic aspects of Spain in particular. In my fifth and final chapter I take up these perceptions as they were 'made real' in photographs by the British photographer Charles Clifford. Far from signalling the end of Romanticised representations, these were powerfully constructed images of the past that used the Alhambra's Court of Lions as a stage for posing and documenting Spanish gitano 'types'.

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[36].José, Rafael, Francisco and Mariano Contreras were governors between 1828 and 1907. The role of Rafael as 'restorer of ornaments' between 1847 and 1869 (after which he became curator and director) led to the 'reconstruction' of the roof of the east pavilion of the Court of Lions in the 'Arab-style' and the polychrome redecoration of the *Ḥammām*. These changes were made according to a problematic but nonetheless fascinating Orientalist agenda.

Despite the many documented restorations during this period, the Alhambra is more closely associated with a 'pure' Muslim past than with its richly layered history of interventions, which were documented analytically for the first time at the beginning of the twentieth century by Torres Balbás. Only since then has substantial attention has been paid to the *inauthenticity* that characterises so many of its forms. The Alhambra was revealed as a cumulative and highly reflexive monument, attracting new scholars dedicated to exploring its various manifestations of change over time. I here present a study that brings into dialogue these different areas of scholarship without prioritising a view of the monument's 'authentic' medieval past or its modern reconception. In highlighting the symbiotic relationship between the material and the imagined, I destabilise a chronological reading and draw attention to the subtle overlaps and inconsistencies that arise through processes of re-envisioning, which I argue are made visible within both the fabric of the monument and its representations. For, just as the Nasrids adopted a range of classical, Islamic, and even Christian styles within their own art, the legacy of preservation and synthesis that characterised this period continued in post-conquest Granada. Centuries later Victorian visitors would see its surfaces in a transformative way that reveals an entirely separate set of frameworks for negotiating difference, as well as constructing individual and collective identities.

Re-envisioning the past(s), or, making sense of the present

I argue throughout the following chapters that the history of perceptions of the Alhambra is crucial to an understanding of its material form. Its phases of preservation and reconstruction are strongly informed by the ways it has been viewed and understood, or in many cases, misunderstood. Not surprisingly, assumptions about the level of 'knowingness' or readability of its ornamental programme have led some historians to attribute its survival to a lack of perceptual aptitude, particularly on the part of Christians following the conquest. In highlighting the exceptional intactness of the Alhambra compared to other examples of palatial buildings in al-Andalus, Grabar makes a causal link between reception and preservation:

> If the Alhambra has survived, however, it was not by accident but in part because its architecture and decoration had acquired a significance and a prestige which far outweighed the symbolic significance that had belonged to them at their inception... Had he (Philip II) or his predecessors been able to understand them, *they would probably not have preserved the Alhambra*, whose deepest meanings are steeped in that late antique culture out of which all medieval traditions evolved. But to the Renaissance or even pre-renaissance Christian, the only point of the Alhambra was its alien exoticism, not its close relationship to their common 'antique' past (my italics).[37]

Grabar's speculation that the Castilians were too blinded by the 'alien exoticism' of the Alhambra to notice signs of a shared classical heritage, and more ironically; that this ignorance ensured its survival, is in many ways problematic. Many Christians would have comprehended the epigraphic texts and emblems found within the Islamic art and architecture they encountered in post-conquest Spain, particularly those who sought to refute customs or convert Muslims. Leyla Rouhi points out that there is a substantial library of treatises, letters, and sermons produced by Christian theologians who had learnt about Islam through translations, encounters, and readings.[38] Moreover, the very fact that multiple generations of Christian monarchs chose to inhabit the palace city following the conquest suggests that by that point it was already accepted and understood as a familiar site of power. At the very least it shows that the making of identity and establishing of hierarchies in post-conquest Granada was heavily reliant upon the centuries of conflict and intercultural exchange in the region. While Grabar's passage reflects the tendency among historians to question the ability of later occupants to 'read' the repertoire of motifs found within the Alhambra, it also highlights the strong political currency of ornamental programmes during periods of conflict and transition. Rather than assuming a general cross-cultural illegibility, I maintain that the historian must isolate and examine these instances of reading or misreading in light of particular social and political circumstances. The problem of distinguishing the Nasrid style from the plurality of influences from which it drew upon, and the ways that such forms were reinterpreted both during and following the dynastic period, is one that I ad-

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[37] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, p. 153.
[38] Leyla Rouhi, 'A Salamancan's Pursuit of Islamic Studies', *Medieval Encounters* 22 (2005), p. 22.

dress in chapters one and two. This is equally important to an understanding of the modern period, as there are a number of shared styles, processes, and adoptive tendencies born of al-Andalus, and later of Christian Andalucia, which played a formative and highly visible role in the development of early modern Spanish identity.

In employing transhistorical or postcolonial models to look at these different periods, I am careful not to simplify or homogenise all instances of conquest or occupation, or to make any claims that, for example, a Nasrid sultan shared the same experience as a Victorian traveller some three centuries later. However, as many medieval scholars agree, postcolonial theory can be productively applied to power hierarchies and intercultural relations of the past. María Judith Feliciano and Leyla Rouhi, for example, employ Homi Bhabha's notion of the 'third space' (a space to describe that which occurs between and outside the borders of established cultures) as a way of understanding the cultural movements of medieval and early modern Iberia, arguing that, 'it is useful to think of Iberian manifestations of cultural differences, performances, and negotiations as mediations between lived and imagined encounters'.[39] In considering the nature of postcolonial conflict and exchange within both medieval and modern contexts, it is possible to identify the formation of racial, ethnic and gendered identities in relation to power structures, and the processes of Othering that have resulted throughout history. In recognising that the interior spaces of the Alhambra display evidence of these processes (through preservation, transformation and adaptation), it is possible to avoid periodising or essentialising frameworks that disconnect completely 'pre-modern' and 'modern' sensibilities. It also challenges a Western notion of colonial practice that further separates these histories and helps to address the problem voiced by María Rosa Menocal that Islamic Spain remains largely unknown to the European and American public. She argues that unlike the founding of Rome and Renaissance Florence (events that are seen as 'stages of a western present'), al-Andalus is seen as something foreign, 'lying outside the fundamental constructs of westernness we use to define ourselves'.[40]

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[39] María Judith Feliciano and Leyla Rouhi, 'Introduction: Interrogating Iberian Frontiers', *Medieval Encounters* 12, 3 (2006), p. 325.
[40] María Rosa Menocal, 'Al-Andalus and 1492: The Ways of Remembering', in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1992), p. 483.

I suggest that bringing the Alhambra back into the present requires an investigation of its transformations across both medieval and modern periods with equal rigour, along with careful consideration of the conditions from which it arose. For this reason I challenge the term 'nostalgic' to describe the Nasrid's use of the past within ornamental production, a preoccupation which I argue was a meaningful and powerful part of their present. Rather than a passive or 'lethargic' engagement, their borrowing of forms and techniques from previous periods was a way to strengthen and reinforce new identity formations that were necessarily distinct and autonomous. Ruggles writes that establishing links to the former period through the Umayyad palatial tradition gave the Nasrids a legitimacy that was 'sorely needed' as they balanced themselves politically between Christian Castile and the Merinids of Morocco.[41] Re-appropriating and conventionalising ornamental forms was one method through which the past was recontextualised and made visible upon the surfaces of their palace interiors. At the same time, however, the predominance of Almohad motifs within columns capitals and ornamental schemes of the Alhambra hints at a more complicated relationship with the many different legacies of al-Andalus, a subject I explore in my first chapter in establishing the foundations for 'seeing pasts' in a wider sense.[42] Competition between Arab and Berber dynasties further complicated their adaptation of the Almohad style, as Nasrids traced their genealogy to the Umayyads of Córdoba and saw themselves as ethnically distinct from the Maghrebi rulers before them.

Vance Smith has emphasised the importance of memory in medieval times as a way of making sense of the world, arguing that it was 'the most complex and compelling way in which medieval thought confronted its temporality'.[43] I suspect this is true not only in the case of the Nasrid dynasty, but also of the period of Christian alterations under Charles V. The conversion of the Mexuar into a royal chapel and the adaptation the stylistic language and techniques of the

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[41] Ruggles has pointed out that the Nasrid palatial tradition follows the typological example of Madīnat al-Zahrā' at Córdoba, adapting the palatial design of the fallen Caliphate in Syria in an effort to differentiate themselves from the Almohads. *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, p. 167.
[42] Purificación Marinetto Sánchez, 'Las Columnas de la *Dār al-Mamlaka al-Saʿīda* del Generalife', in *Arte y Cultura: Patrimonio Hispanomusulmán en Al-Andalus*, eds. Antonio Fernández-Puertas and Purificación Marinetto Sánchez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2009).
[43] Vance D. Smith, 'Irregular Histories: Forgetting Ourselves', *New Literary History* 28: 2 (1997), pp. 164-165.

Nasrids not only helped to consolidate the emperor's rule over the conquered palace and introduce a new imperial symbolism; it also created a hybrid portrait of post-conquest Granada that continues to problematise an understanding of the period. The cultural legacy of al-Andalus was far from forgotten, especially within the context of Morisco uprisings and the pervading Ottoman threat, and it was imperative for the new regime to manage and temper this legacy. Moreover, interventions such as those found in the Mexuar speak to a conflicted moment of post-conquest occupation during which the Castilian court was under pressure to protect its own identity from absorption into the Holy Roman Empire. More than simply a triumphalist gesture, I argue that the depiction of a new imperial symbolism in the Nasrid style was a response to changing power relationships and tensions within the pervading frontier climate of Granada. In this way the Alhambra acts as a record of both political conformity and dissonance, and attests to the interrelated identities of both the victors and the vanquished. Its material accretion took on important historical value as layers were moved, replaced or built up to reflect the changing circumstances that inspired them. Its history of accumulation reveals a tendency to preserve the past, even at points when that past was at odds with the political objectives of the present. Lowenthal's description of architectural accretion sheds some light on this phenomenon, as he explains,

> Accretion results from temporal asymmetry: the cumulations of time generally surpass its dissolutions, and yield sums greater than their parts... Residues of successive generations in ancient sites betoken partnership, harmony and order. It is accretion, in particular, that generates the past's enrichment.[44]

While the Alhambra can be seen as a cumulative monument, its history of conflict and changing ownership complicates Lowenthal's idea of 'partnership, harmony and order' as causal factors for its accretion. In allowing for an analysis of its surfaces unimpeded by determinate categories such as 'western' and 'non-western', and medieval and modern, it also becomes possible to see a cross-section of meaning left behind by later reinterpretations. Seeing the

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[44] Lowenthal, p. 59.

monument's past through a series of perspectives allows for a more nuanced understanding of its materiality. In this respect, Frederick Bohrer's 2003 *Orientalism and Visual Culture* has proved a useful model for this study. Bohrer focuses not on Mesopotamian art itself but what has been made of it, drawing attention to 'the varied, complex and even perverse fragmentations of form and meaning that accrue in reception'.[45] Redefining terms such as Orientalism and exoticism as separate 'affective' categorisations, he makes a convincing case that even while the artefacts of ancient Mesopotamia were located within a larger European world view, 'they also worked subtly to amend that view, especially in the changing estimations of their authentic potential'.[46] His study 'unfixes' objects from their temporal and geographic location in order to examine more carefully the way that they were transformed through perceptions. In a similar manner, I explore the way that changing European perceptions of the Alhambra determined how the monument was subsequently viewed, and that in some cases led to the transformation of its physical form. I see the reciprocality of these material and perceptual processes as a central shaping force upon the monument and its place within European history.

In his commendable study that spans a period of four centuries, Finbarr Flood's *Objects of Translation* sets out to 'explore and historicize the dialectic between alterity and identity, continuity and change, confrontation and co-option' that shaped Hindu-Muslim encounters.[47] Throughout, he carefully places the objects of his study, architectural and otherwise, within their individual context of making, while recognising the consequent effects of their trade and use.[48] Flood synchronically examines a wide breadth of objects scattered across a 'thinner' diachronic timeline that he terms a 'temporal matrix'.[49] He also recognises a number of dangers inherent to this approach; on one hand the potential highlighting of the 'heterogeneous nature of

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[45] Frederick N. Bohrer, *Orientalism and Visual Culture: Imagining Mesopotamia in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 9.
[46] Bohrer defines Orientalism as 'an act of encoding emanating from a central power, referring to a generic elsewhere', while exoticism avoids geographic assumptions and binarism (pp. 7, 13).
[47] Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval 'Hindu-Muslim' Encounter* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 9.
[48] Flood, p. 9.
[49] Flood admits that the fragmentary nature of the material evidence in this case is both a blessing and a curse, limiting the information available but also frustrating the totalising approach to the past to which the fixities of 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' identity are integral (pp. 12-13).

all cultural forms and practices' (which, as he notes, says little about their potential commensurability), and on the other, the impossible task of compiling a comprehensive overview that 'takes for its material foci a range of fragmentary examples which cannot possibly speak to the full complexity of any one period or epoch'.[50] Along similar lines I acknowledge these as potential weaknesses of my own project, and I have endeavoured to provide an in-depth analysis within each of my chapters while minimising the historical 'gaps' that result from such a wide breadth of case studies. For the study of an 'object' such as the Alhambra, however, I see no better way (and no real alternative) than to follow the trajectories of its responsive and interrelated surfaces than through the history of production that has shaped its form.

In selecting synchronic or singular studies diachronically across medieval and modern contexts,[51] it is possible to draw attention to a history of interpretation and materialisation that is not strictly bound to an 'Orientalist' tradition. In each chapter, I address the use (and abuse) of the past to create new narratives and understandings of the Other, whether in terms of familial, religious, political, ethnic or cultural difference. Within later chapters the 'medieval' and the 'oriental' are revealed as systems of meaning that produce powerfully anachronistic representations, from the stylised reproductions of Nasrid ornament by Owen Jones, to the staged gitanos of Charles Clifford's photographs. These examples show an interest in documentation and the salvage of the past through which the Alhambra is 'recast' in particular roles, whether as an exemplar of Islamic technical and artistic achievement, as a trophy of Christian conquest, or as an inspirational model for representing an exoticised past. John Ganim has argued that the Medieval and the Oriental have been paired as aesthetic styles since the late eighteenth century, as points of linguistic origin and stages of cultural development. He writes that 'the Middle Ages represented in time what the Orient represented in space, an "other" to the present development

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[50] Flood, p. 5.
[51] The terms 'synchronic' and 'diachronic' originate from the linguistic theory of Ferdinand de Saussure, who defined language as a synchronic system of differences as opposed to a diachronic system of changing forms. David Summers argues that all art historical explanation *must* be both diachronic and synchronic, as 'we cannot explain a state of affairs as simply having arisen from an immediately previous state (diachronically) any more than we can explain it without reference to a previous state, or only in terms of its circumstances or context (synchronically)'. *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon, 2003), p. 72.

of Western Civilization'.[52] The Alhambra sits between its actual past and the re-imagined medieval Orient of the nineteenth century, and must therefore be understood not solely in terms of a singular point of origin, but as a fluid site of meaning that continues to challenge concepts of historical continuity, periodisation, and authenticity.

Materiality and meaning: tracking plural art histories

The formal categories established by the Western art historical tradition have led to a lack of critical engagement with Islamic art, and their subsequent exclusion from the canons of representational or expressive monoliths of 'fine art'. The Alhambra, with its inheritance of palatial art forms that do not slot easily into architectural or fine art pigeonholes, is no exception to this rule, and its history of interventions further complicates its place within dominant art historical narratives. The very form of the monument (its structure and ornament, as well as the gardens and canals that make up the totality of its visual and spatial effects), complicates these formal categories and facilitates its art historical displacement. Changing attitudes toward 'decorative' arts in nineteenth-century Europe led to the prioritisation of naturalistic representation as well as the mediums of painting and sculpture over more technical arts. Meanwhile, architecture was assigned its own formal categories, further separated out according to its decorative and structural elements. The relegation of the decorative to the realm of the superfluous was crystallised at the turn of the nineteenth century (exemplified within Adolf Loos' 1908 essay 'Ornament and Crime'), which followed on the back of the reconfiguration of formal principles based on mechanical modes of production and a growing taste for the modern principle of 'form follows function'. The effects of this turn were far-reaching, for not only did it establish modern architecture as distinct from the decorative tradition, but it worked to demote a number of 'non-Western' art histories to an inferior position on the basis of their perceived ornate or superfluous qualities. I am here addressing a problem that concerns the reception of style and form within an

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[52] John M. Ganim, *Medievalism and Orientalism: Three Essays on Literature, Architecture and Cultural Identity* (New York; Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 84-85.

international context, one that David Summers describes in *Real Spaces*:

> Before it was linked to historicist ideas of evolution and development... the idea of form, at least in principle, promised access to all kinds of art. The idea of form, however, also arose together with Western modernism, and for all its admirable reach, has proved to be an unreliable means of engaging the art of cultures outside the European tradition and its tributaries.[53]

Summers points out that the formalist tradition, which initially discussed the artforms of pre-modern civilisations in a truly global context (as hinted at in Riegl's *Stilfragen* of 1893), also framed the ornamental and pictorial development of Eastern cultures within a problematic evolutionary framework, helping to pave a path directly from Antiquity to the Renaissance. Erwin Panofsky was later to conclude that the art of 'Arabic civilisations' was a diversion from the rules of representation laid out first by the Hellenic and Roman societies, rules that were later returned to and perfected during the Renaissance. He writes that the increase of Eastern influences at the close of antiquity was 'less a cause than a symptom and instrument' of new developments, and ultimately led to a regressive period (what he calls a 'recoil') during which artists failed to grasp the principles of perspective and naturalistic representation.[54] Consequently, the mastering of perspectival techniques and the development of individual expression became the measure of 'high' art in Western Europe and North America, criteria that blatantly excluded a large majority of artistic production elsewhere. This would also relegate the large percentage of aniconic art produced by Muslim cultures to a place outside of this 'natural' progression, despite the fact that there is a substantial amount of figurative work that falls within it (such as the Persian miniature tradition, to point to the most obvious example). Moreover, the proliferation of abstract ornament that is found within Islamic architecture has traditionally been considered by Western art historians to exist purely for decorative purposes, and therefore to be undeserving of more critical or formal analyses. The origin of this bias is important to an understanding of the Alhambra, and the art forms of Islamic cultures more generally, a subject that I

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[53] Summers, p. 28.
[54] Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form,* trans. Christopher S. Wood (New York: Zone Books, 1997), p. 48.

explore in relation to the formation of design and art categories in Britain.

The cleaving of mechanical arts (which included craft and architectural ornament) from the 'finer' arts during the nineteenth century, cancelled out the critical study of a number of art-forms that fall under the rubric of 'Islamic art'. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom have discussed the ways in which Islamic art formally differs from that of Western Europe, explaining that the representational and sculptural play relatively minor roles, while other arts are considerably more prominent, such as the art of writing, and 'the transformation of everyday utilitarian objects into works of art, often through decoration'.[55] Palatial architecture perfectly illustrates this categorical divide. Epigraphic texts are found throughout the Alhambra in great numbers and variety, either quoting from the Qurʾān or speaking from the perspective of objects themselves, often in poetic verse.[56] More important to the following studies, the interrelated nature of its decorative and architectural elements present what Grabar has called a 'principle of formal ambiguity'. This principle cannot be judged according to what he identifies as the 'Vitruvian contrast between construction and decoration', and must instead be understood according to 'the effect given to any one building or clear unit of a building'.[57] Within the Andalusi palatial tradition ornament is often directly related to the function of the spaces in which it is located, whether religious, courtly, or in some cases both. Although many of the rooms and objects within the Nasrid palaces contain inscriptions that hint poetically at their significance or use, a large number do not, and the careless ascription of cosmological readings in their absence has resulted in a highly speculative practice that can be overheard in the authoritative explanations of tour guides.

The formal ambiguity of the Alhambra's spaces has also contributed to its romantic al-

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[55] Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, 'Ornament and Islamic Art', in *Cosmophilia: Islamic Art From the David Collection, Copenhagen* (Boston: Boston College; Mcmullen Museum Of Art, 2006), p. 11.
[56] Olga Bush's doctoral thesis provides an excellent critical reading of form in relation to epigraphy throughout the Nasrid complex. A full translation of the Comares Palace inscriptions has recently been released by the Council of the Alhambra in collaboration with the School of Arabic Studies, Granada (2009), with the Lions Palace and further spaces forthcoming. The translating of these 'texts' presents a formidable challenge to scholars, as they often have an additional ornamental function and draw heavily on rhetorical devices such as metaphor, allegory and ekphrasis to further complicate a clear or singular meaning.
[57] Oleg Grabar, *Islamic Art and Beyond: Constructing the Study of Islamic Art*, vol. III (Hampshire; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), p. 149.

lure; it's 'all over' surface decoration creates a visual and sensory environment that has captured the imagination of visitors for centuries. From the writings of Chateaubriand and Irving to the journals and handbooks of the late Victorian era, the intricate pattern work of the palaces were seen to have a 'fairy-like' quality, and were either celebrated for their artistry or mourned for their regrettable state of ruin. The Romanticised reading of the ornament of the Alhambra would undermine a more critical engagement with Islamic art forms, and the historical circumstances that produced particular stylistic variations. With the exception of Jones and, to an extent, James C. Murphy, there are few 'analytical' interpretations from this period, as the elaborate transitions between decorative and structural elements were homogenised within an exotic view born of the nineteenth-century imagination.[58] Writing in 1873, Augustus Hare told his readers that after passing through a low doorway behind the palace of Charles V, 'you are translated out of fact-land into fairy-land'.[59] Lending itself to the 'buried gem' analogy, its ornate interiors were contrasted with its unadorned, fortress-like exterior, so that the art of the Alhambra remained exclusively in the category of the decorative. Its all-over patterning was increasingly associated with the decadence and ultimate decline of the Nasrid period, a forced connection that Cynthia Robinson has identified as, 'a sort of a lethargic nostalgia [that] is generally presumed to permeate all of Nasrid cultural production'.[60]

I explore formal 'misreadings' in chapter four, where Nasrid ornament is transformed by Jones as part of the British design reform movement and presented to popular and critical audiences in both publication format and an architectural reproduction at the Sydenham Crystal Palace called the 'Alhambra Court'. I argue that his reproduction of its motifs through these mediums worked to decontextualise the ornament of the Alhambra and lead Ruskin and his contemporaries to see his 'Moresque' style as purely derivative and void of human expression. The 'conventionalisation', or gradual refinement of naturally inspired forms in Nasrid art was

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[58] James Cavanah Murphy, an Irish antiquarian who visited the monument in 1802, produced the first British survey of the Alhambra with a series of detailed plans, elevations and sections. However, his engravings exaggerated its dimensions according to a Gothic-Saracenic style, a theme I return to in chapter three. *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1815).
[59] Augustus John Cuthbert Hare, *Wanderings in Spain*, 5th edn. (London: George Allen, 1883), p. 146.
[60] Cynthia Robinson, 'Marginal Ornament', p. 189.

greatly admired by Jones, while for Ruskin it was seen as a sign of cultural stagnation and decline. So while much has been learned from Jones' initial studies of the monument and the complex organisation of its ornamental and architectural forms, he also created a false impression through the rendering of its surfaces using modern print technology. Throughout my nineteenth-century studies I examine how such misrepresentations arise from a process of visual translation, helping to shed light on the inner workings of a society determined to apprehend (and in some cases even absorb), the artforms of less familiar cultures. To understand Jones' fascination with, or Ruskin's distaste for, a bygone era of Muslim dynastic rule is to have a clearer picture of nineteenth-century European attitudes toward Islamic art more generally. Even further, and perhaps more importantly to the wider historiographic project, is the changing valuation of 'world' ornament during this period, for the separation of the decorative and fine arts would also disqualify a large percentage of artistic traditions that may have otherwise been critically regarded.

This line of enquiry has necessitated the exploration of a wide spectrum of mediums, through which it is possible to identify shifts in personal and political agendas. In this manner I argue for what Stephen Bann has highlighted as 'the vital importance of a continuing, self-critical historiography that is attentive both to the plasticity of the historical imagination, and to the immense variety of forms in which it can acquire a concrete manifestation'.[61] I begin with a comprehensive study of Nasrid ornament *in situ*, considering its placement (and replacement) within a wider programme, drawing attention to the programmes of meaning in relation to space, surface and structure. I suggest that a 'doubling' of panels may have grown out of a generally accepted practice of building upon the existing surfaces of the palace in a way that might be described in formal terms as 'sculptural'. I then go on to look at Christian interventions through a set of tiled murals which infiltrate the decorative programme of the Mexuar while partially adopting the materials, design principles and colour schemes used during the Nasrid period. I argue that the recurrence of the classical column as an architectural theme within what

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[61] Stephen Bann, *The Inventions of History: Essays on the Representation of the Past* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 9.

was formerly a council chamber and later converted into a chapel, takes on a certain 'multimedia' significance as it was adopted to suit the needs of changing rulers. Each of the remaining chapters deals with different forms of interpretation and representation in the nineteenth century, including travel literature, print production, architectural display, and photography. In chapter three, for example, I return to the idea of the Alhambra as a kind of architectural object with nineteenth-century accounts, positioned within the landscape using the formal language of picturesque travel. In a similar vein, my study of Jones' Alhambra Court explores the conversion of his prints and drawings into three dimensional form, and his conflicting motivations for bringing the Alhambra to a wider public while adhering to a series of formal principles. Finally, I demonstrate that Clifford's photographs not only render a spatial experience of the palace spaces impossible, they also impose a frame through which particular historical narratives are created and validated for popular audiences.

Re-envisioning 'Islamic Spain': to whom does the Alhambra belong?

Al-Andalus has increasingly become a platform for discussing the past in relation to our own place in history. Simon Doubleday has argued its relevance in relation to an understanding of intercultural exchange in the current global political climate, such that, 'ideological and cultural transactions in the present inescapably negotiate with the currency of the past: a historical economy in which we must necessarily deal'.[62] The Alhambra continues to operate as a symbol of the so-called 'Golden Age' of Christian, Jewish and Muslim interaction, which has had major implications for the way that Spain has been positioned outside modern conceptions of Europe. This is a construction that has been unpacked and revised over the past decades, notably through the ongoing critique of Américo Castro's use of the term '*convivencia*' to refer to the interfaith

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[62.] In his recent edited anthology Doubleday makes the claim that medieval Spanish history is made relevant to global (post)modernity 'by virtue of its pluricultural, and indeed plurilingual dimensions'. '"Criminal Non-Intervention": Hispanism, Medievalism, and the Pursuit of Neutrality', in *In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West, and the Relevance of the Past*, eds. Simon Doubleday and David Coleman (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), pp. 2, 13.

and intercultural relations of medieval Iberia.[63] The resulting field of scholarship has been dedicated to unearthing the socio-political conditions that allowed for both cultural exchange and violent intolerance within the 'frontier society' of Granada, leading up to and following the events of 1492. David Coleman maintains that Granada remained a cultural and religious frontier zone for decades after the conquest, during which time 'elements of traditional Iberian Islamic and Christian faith practices met, coexisted, blended, and clashed'.[64] In a similar manner, Maya Soifer observes the uneven distribution of power among Christian, Muslim and Jewish groups and thus brings to light a colonising agenda that would have informed cultural, artistic, and legal productions that, until very recently, have been discussed as manifestations of Christian tolerance and *convivencia*.[65] She explains,

> Having appeared under the guises of 'peaceful coexistence', 'acculturation', and 'daily interaction', *convivencia* has become a byword that one can employ in any number of ways... [it] can be anything and everything: a rhetorical flourish, a nostalgic nod to a rich historiographic tradition, as well as an ambitiously constructed notion that aspires to summarize the entire range of religious minorities' experiences in medieval Spain...[66]

This is not only a problem with respect to the earlier medieval period when the 'people of the book' were allowed to live peacefully amongst one another in Muslim ruled Granada, but also during the post-conquest period that endured for nearly a century before remaining minority populations were expunged from the region.[67] Mike Meyerson and Edward English have

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[63] The term *convivencia* first appeared in Américo Castro, *España En Su Historia: Cristianos, Moros Y Judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948). It then resurfaced as a model reinterpreted by Thomas F. Glick in *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979). A number of more recent scholars, whose work I discuss in chapter two, have sought to reposition the term.

[64] David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 3.

[65] Maya Soifer, 'Beyond *Convivencia*: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1:1 (2009), p. 30.

[66] Soifer, pp. 21-22.

[67] Coleman writes that even after the expulsion of the majority of the city's Moriscos between 1568-1571 during the second major Alpujarras rebellion, Granada retained much of its 'preconquest physiognomy and character'. The city's main mosque was destroyed in 1588 and it was only in 1609 under Philip III that the expulsion of all Moriscos was ordered, a process completed by 1614 (*Creating Christian Granada*, pp. 2-8).

warned against the dangers of historically labelling groups of Jews and Muslims within Christian Spain as 'marginal' during this period, as they were more likely seen as familiar populations.[68] They argue that the retrospective and anachronistic reading of texts and history 'obscures the subtleties and complexities of ethnoreligious interaction as the groups and individuals in question experienced it'.[69] Mary Elizabeth Perry, in her study of Moriscos in sixteenth-century Granada, highlights the ways in which remaining populations of Muslims were able to at least partially resist the Christian rulers of early modern Spain by interweaving the myth and history of the region, developing a memory 'far more powerful than nostalgia'.[70] At the same time, Catholic rulers such as Charles V were torn between preserving and adapting the material remains of the Nasrid dynasty, as they were seen as both victory trophies and evidence of the centuries of Muslim power in the region. Chapter two therefore addresses the 'frontier climate' of Granada in the decades following the conquest, and explores the channels of stylistic influence under newly established imperial rule. By way of examining the post-conquest period of Charles V as a frontier society, it is possible to address wider issues of ownership, authorship, and the historically legitimising principle of authenticity as ongoing problems for cross-cultural interpretation and exchange.

I return to a later era of colonial ideology at work in nineteenth-century Britain, where the Alhambra, now transformed by Christian interventions and exposure to the elements, is reinvented in line with another emerging world view. The 'Golden Age' of Islamic Spain was revisited as part of an expanding system of knowledge designed to understand, and in some cases occupy parts of the world known simply as 'the Orient'. Though it is important to recognise that Orientalism and imperialism 'did not march in parallel' throughout this long century,[71] Edward Said's theory that the Orient was invented by the West as its 'great complementary op-

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[68] Mark D. Meyerson, and Edward D. English, *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000) p. xiii.
[69] Meyerson and English, p. xiii.
[70] Mary Elizabeth Perry, 'Memory and Mutilation: The Case of the Moriscos', in *In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West, and the Relevance of the Past*, eds. Simon Doubleday and David Coleman (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), p. 68.
[71] John M. Mackenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. xv.

posite since antiquity', has significance here.[72] That is to say, the most dedicated enthusiasts of the Alhambra were responsible for Orientalising its forms even while fully acknowledging its historical importance. Ganim notes that Jones' take on Islamic architecture 'contrasts the spirituality of Gothic architecture with the sensuousness of Islamic architecture', according it with a certain power that 'allows a horizontal connection, however stretched, to its Western counterpart, the Gothic'.[73] However, Jones attempted to bring the art of the Nasrids into the present under the auspices of technical achievement, which ultimately presented a distorted and fragmented version of its patterns and motifs. Romanticised visions of al-Andalus took hold around the same time that the historical re-imaginings of British, French and American travellers were creating an exotic picture of Spain. Through travel accounts and reproductions the Alhambra gradually took shape in the Victorian mind, linking the medieval era of *convivencia* with a conception of modern Spain. This vision comes full circle in Clifford's 'portrait' of exoticised gitanos within the Court of Lions. The Alhambra acts a vessel for such re-imaginings, its surfaces adapted and transformed according to changing historical narratives.

Recent interest in patterns of production and exchange across cultural divisions has produced a range of studies that question the ownership of objects and the nature of influence. Feliciano, in her study of textiles in thirteenth century Castile, proposes that, 'rather than maintaining the traditional interpretation that holds members of both Andalusi and Castilian societies to be plainly seeking out (in appropriating, or even imitating) the marks of each other's perceived identities, we must interpret the phenomenon as evidence of a far more fluid pan-Iberian sartorial practice'.[74] Flood has made a convincing case for 'translation' as a model for understanding these processes in other geographic regions, arguing against the use of 'hybridity',

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[72] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 1994 edn. (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), p. 58.
[73] Ganim, p. 90.
[74] María Judith Feliciano, 'Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings?: A Reassessment of Andalusi Textiles in Thirteenth-Century Castilian Life and Ritual', *Medieval Encounters* 22 (2005), p. 111.

'permeability', and 'syncretism' on the basis that they impede questions of agency.[75] Despite the problems inherent to using linguistic terminology to describe visual phenomena, I adopt Flood's use of the term 'translation' to describe the transformation of surfaces through different frameworks of interpretation, and also to address instances of miscommunication that can emerge through visual reproductions. A number of other scholars have demonstrated that translation allows a space for liminality; an active space for difference to be played out as part of the making and remaking of identity in relation to the past. Annie Coombes writes in her study of South African monuments, 'translation offers a way of articulating the operations of agency in the construction of historical memory'.[76] Ananya Kabir and Deanne Williams have also expanded this linguistic model in *Postcolonial Approaches to the Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, highlighting its usefulness as 'a mechanism and a metaphor for cultures in contact, confrontation, and competition'.[77] Their edited anthology looks at cultural relationships in the Middle Ages through a filter of 'translation-as-wonder', which allows for a more empathetic view of historical interpretations while acknowledging the complex politics of difference. My project takes a similar position to the remaking of history through interpretations of Otherness, in which translation is seen as a transformative and constructive (and at times destructive) process that reshapes historical narratives and cultural identities.

I also employ the word 'hybridity' throughout the thesis to describe cultures and art forms that convey an unlikely and at times dissonant merger of styles or meanings. In this case I have borrowed Jeffrey Jerome Cohen's definition of hybridity as 'conflictual convergence'; a

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[75] Flood returns to cross-cultural accounts of architecture found in contemporary texts to examine the 'hermeneutical dimension of architectural patronage', revealing that some instances of architectural reuse can be understood as radical critique within the context of transitional political periods. He notes that while Michael Meister's metaphor of permeability through a membrane is a more interesting limitus for cultural interaction than 'syncretism', rejecting the traditional axes of 'accommodation', 'assimilation' and 'synthesis', it nonetheless fails to account for agency as a crucial factor in the interaction between Islam and Hindu India (p. 179).

[76] Annie E. Coombes, 'Translating the Past: Apartheid Monuments in Post-Apartheid South Africa', in *Hybridity and Its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture*, eds. Avtar Brah and Annie E. Coombes (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 175.

[77] Kabir and Williams liken translation to transcendence, in the sense that it 'speaks with two tongues': 'on the one hand, it moves toward the erasure of difference, and on the other, it moves away from pernicious distinctions and toward incorporation as well as variegation'. 'Introduction: A Return to Wonder', in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, eds. Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 6-7.

method of reconceptualising the admixture of identities in the wake of conquest or 'less martial kinds of cultural encounter'.[78] He explains that hybridity is 'never synthetic in the sense of homogenizing', but rather suggests a fusion *and* a disjunction, 'a conjoining of differences that cannot simply harmonize'. I have also found this model useful for unpicking the 'difficult middles' presented by the Alhambra's layered forms, in both a medieval context and within later examples of the conflation of styles, such as the blending of the Gothic and the 'Oriental'. Just as the inaccuracies of Castro's idealised picture of intercultural harmony has been revealed in recent studies, I argue that the difficulty in understanding the cumulative form of the Alhambra is a result of the limitations imposed by categorical boundaries (whether artistic, cultural or temporal) that impede a deeper understanding of exchange and influence. A monument existing on the borders of both European and Islamic art histories, it continues to challenge formal and ideological conceptions, a problem that its Council Director attempts to still with her reassurance that the Alhambra remains 'unanchored in time'. Conversely, I argue that its materiality, and subsequent readings of its forms, anchor it firmly within a series of particular moments across the centuries of its making and remaking, throughout the broad and often overlapping periods of the medieval and the modern. This thesis investigates a series of transitional moments to reveal the way that a monument such as the Alhambra comes into being *in time*, and how *across time* its materiality reflects the formal and temporal frameworks through which it has been seen.

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[78] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) pp. 2-5. Cohen here builds upon the postcolonial work of Robert Young, who posits that hybridity implies a 'disruption and forcing together of any unlike living things... making difference into sameness'. Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 24.

Chapter 1

The production of ornament and the 'past-facing present' in Nasrid Granada

> The borderline work of culture demands an encounter with 'newness' that is not a part of the continuum of the past and present. It creates a sense of the new as an insurgent act of cultural translation. Such art does not merely recall the past as social cause or aesthetic precedent; it renews the past, refiguring it as a performance of the present. The 'past-present' becomes part of the necessity, not the nostalgia, of living.[1]

> Praise be to Him who knows what is behind us, and what is in our hands and below the ground.[2]

My journey through the material of the Alhambra begins mid-way through the Nasrid period, at a time when building technologies matched the artistic erudition of the court. The first quarter of the fourteenth century saw a burst of architectural and artistic production under mon-

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[1] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 10.
[2] Anonymous poem translated from Arabic, c. 965, Bernard Lewis and András Hámori eds., *The Book of Strangers: Mediaeval Arabic Graffiti on the Theme of Nostalgia,* trans. Patricia Crone and Shmuel Moreh (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2000), p. 36.

archs who fought to earn their position and establish distinctive identities within a dynasty that bore the weight of history in the region as well as the inheritance of more remote, but equally important cultural legacies. I begin here with a curious case of overlapping panels in the Generalife palace; a materialisation of seemingly contradictory forces of preservation and obfuscation, and a demonstration of the dual processes of innovation and conventionalisation that had become the formula for ornamental production. This chapter, in examining an otherwise unremarkable area of the Alhambra complex in close detail with respect to the conditions of its making, touches upon some of the major themes in recent scholarship around materiality and meaning within Andalusi palatial building. It also takes up the problem of intentionality and reception during a period of artistic production about which little is known, particularly regarding the design and placement of ornamental panels. Additionally, the material transformation of the Alhambra across time is made manifest in the layered surfaces, providing a natural starting point for my transhistorcial enquiry. Here, as in subsequent chapters, the complex and historically nuanced act of re-envisioning is seen within the conditions of its materialisation, thus complicating notions of authorship, authenticity and origin. At the outset, I problematise the use of the value-laden term 'nostalgia' as it is often used to explain the dependence of Nasrid art on formal precedents.

Evoking feelings of loss or melancholia for a time or place lying outside of reach, nostalgia denotes a concern for aspects of the past that cannot be recovered. Susan Stewart writes that the nostalgic past is based in an ideological reality, one 'hostile to history and its invisible origins, yet longing for an impossibly pure context of lived experience at a place of origin'.[3] Others have linked it with the falsification of the past and the perceived deficiency of the present, which produces a kind of 'wistful and knowing pessimism'.[4] The art and architecture of Nasrid Granada is often associated with a nostalgic yearning for a lost place of origin, as the isolated dynasty fought to maintain a hold over the remaining Muslim-ruled territory in the peninsula. Although this certainly was the case at different points during the Christian conquest, a

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[3] Stewart, p. 23.
[4] Christopher Shaw and Malcolm Chase, 'The Dimensions of Nostalgia', in *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 1-6.

historical narrative that overemphasises the 'doomed fate' of Granada assumes a Nasrid preoccupation as a product of what had become an escapist or melancholic tradition in the region. Consequently, Nasrid art and architecture is often seen as conventional and largely dependent on historical sources, with less critical consideration given to subtle changes to form and style across individual periods of rule. This view overlooks the empowering potential of a 'past-facing present' in Granada, and the important role that historical models played in the formation of a strong court identity. In this chapter I look beyond nostalgia to discuss the artistic agendas of two Nasrid courts of the early fourteenth century by exploring a peculiar case of ornamentation found within the Generalife palace *mirador* that I argue reveals a more complex relationship to the stylistic legacies of the past.[5] Dating respectively from the reign of Muhammad III (1302-1309), and that of Ismāʿīl I (1314-1325), an overlapping set of plaster panels spans the changeover from the first to the second Nasrid dynasty and contains a range of stylistic influences as well as technical innovations (fig. 5). Rather than reflecting a melancholic longing for an impossible return, I argue that the court of each ruler actively created new, distinctive ornamental programmes through a nuanced appropriation of the motifs of former empires, caliphates, and dynasties.

The location of the panels within the Palace of the Generalife is important to this study, as it served as an agricultural estate or 'royal home farm' (*almunia*) commissioned at the end of the thirteenth century by Muhammad II, but with major additions and alterations under his son Muhammad III, and later Ismāʿīl I. A semi-private royal residence built separately but in clear view of the Comares and Lions Palaces, it is fed by two canals and comprises a number of connected indoor and outdoor spaces. Nearly all of these have been transformed over its long history of private ownership, extensive restoration, and a major fire in 1958 that revealed the

[5] A *mirador* is a central viewing platform that protrudes from the main structure, with low windows on three sides to allow a view from a seated position.

original design of the courtyards and gardens.[6] The central *mirador*, perched high on the foot of the Santa Elena Hill, a mountainous elevation separated from the Sabika hill by a deep ravine, is an extension of the Patio de la Acequía or Court of the Main Canal that faces south-west across the Vega and toward the main palaces (fig.'s 6, 7 and 8). The courtyard is named after the principle artery of the hydraulic system, called the Acequía Real or Royal Conduit, that runs lengthwise through its centre.[7] Crossed in the centre by a raised path, the floor is divided into a quadrant of elongated octagonal gardens set below the walking surface, its fountain jets a reminder of its nineteenth-century interventions. The two-storey main residence located at the north end includes a portico and hall on the lower level and a viewing tower on the floor above, the latter added during the reign of Ismāʿīl I. The south pavilion has been so extensively rebuilt over the centuries that its original design and use is unknown.[8] It was only in 1923 during the dismantling of a Christian chapel that had been built as an extension to the central *mirador*, that an

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[6] The Generalife Palace includes the Patio de la Acequia (Court of the Main Canal), its north tower and south pavilion, the Patio del Ciprés de la Sultana (Patio of the Sultan's Cypress), with only a section of its path and the Escalera del Agua or Water Stairway remaining from the medieval period, along with the remains of the Casa de los Amigos or House of the Friends, a former guest house. The majority of surrounding gardens and additional structures date from the sixteenth century onward, as the estate changed hands a number of times following the conquest until it became property of the Venegas family in the seventeenth century. Legal battles ensued until the Italian branch of the family returned it to the Spanish state in 1921. Between 1925 and 1936 Torres Balbás oversaw an extensive restoration programme that included the reconstruction of the north tower and its upper floor mirador, as well as the destruction of the chapel that had been built as an extension central mirador of the Court of the Main Canal. A full chronological account of these processes and archeological discoveries can be found in 'Diario de Obras y Reparos en el Generalife 1925-1936', *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 6 (1970), pp. 109-30. In December 1958 a major fire broke out in the aisle between the two courtyards, destroying a proportion of original woodwork but revealing a range of structural and decorative elements that had been hidden beneath the dense vegetation that covered the walls and plasterwork. It also made visible the layers of Morisco and modern interventions following the Nasrid period and gave a clearer idea of the original function of the buildings and its gardens. For an overview of these findings see Jesús Bermúdez Pareja, 'El Generalife después del Incendio de 1958', *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 1 (1965), pp. 9-39. Subsequent excavations have revealed a round platform on the central axis and a medieval hydraulic system that was designed to periodically flood the quadrants. These separate gardens or *parterres* were lowered to what is thought to be their original level in 2003, and much of the original plant life has been restored based on further excavations and pollen-testing technology. For more on the gardens of the Generalife palace see Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape and Vision*, pp. 170-174; and James Dickie, 'The Islamic Garden in Spain', *The Islamic Garden*, eds. Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Trustees for Harvard University, 1976), pp. 99-100.

[7] The courtyard was also referred to as the Patio de la Ría or Court of the Estuary throughout the nineteenth century.

[8] Elena Díez Jorge has suggested that it may have been a 'feminine domain' used by concubines and eunuchs. Díez Jorge, et al., p. 194.

older level of plaster panelling was discovered.[9] Fragments of the panels have since been removed for display in the Alhambra Museum, so that sections of both designs remain simultaneously visible in the *mirador*.

Though the precise reason for the superposition of panels in the *mirador* is unknown, I argue here that the choice to overlap them may be linked to the signifying power of architectural ornament and the presentation of distinctive princely styles. Both sultans were under pressure to defend a diminished territory while holding favour with an increasingly unstable populace and keeping a watchful eye on rivals within the court. Importantly, this period also saw a military shift to the offensive during which territory was reclaimed and relative peace was established with both Merinid and Castilian forces, events that complicate a political picture of irreversible defeat. Furthermore, while evidence of a nostalgic theme had long been present in the poetry of the region, a subject taken up by Robinson in her study of the *taifa* period, it is important not to read a sense of loss into all periods or traditions in the region.[10] As Robinson herself argues, the Alhambra must not be seen as different because it reigned over a kingdom that 'knew its Islamic days to be numbered', for this is a modern observation that that could not have been shared by the Nasrids.[11] This period presents its own set of changing circumstances that would have included glimpses of hope and required a sharp attentiveness to contemporary politics and culture in the interests of preservation, as opposed to a lethargic nostalgia for better times. I argue that

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[9] Torres Balbás records a well-preserved older layer of plaster that was uncovered during the destruction of the chapel. He ordered the reconstruction of the west-facing wall in the style of the two remaining side walls and had some of the fragments of the original panels transferred above the three arched windows, continuing the design of the medieval space ('Diario de Obras y Reparos en el Generalife 1925-1936', pp. 124-125).

[10] Robinson identifies a number of recurring nostalgic themes within the *Ubi Sunt* poetry tradition, including the passing of empires or entire civilisations, and the comparison of past to present with a consciousness that 'the past evoked will never return' ('Ubi Sunt', p. 20). She sees the obsessive documentation of places and events belonging to the fallen Umayyad Caliphate of Córdoba as an attempt by *taifa* kingdoms to 'mythicise' themselves as part of a 'vain search for immunity from imminent destruction'. 'Ubi Sunt: Memory and Nostalgia in Taifa Court Culture', *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), pp. 20, 28. Though I agree that the political precariousness of the 'party kings' may have informed what we might nowadays describe as nostalgia, I argue against the ubiquitous reading of a similar mourning of the past within other traditions or across the period as a whole. David Stearns has recently challenged both the historical view of Andalusi societies as being inherently nostalgic, and the modern historical perspective that has resulted, through a revisiting of medieval texts that evaluate the role of al-Andalus in history. For a full account see, 'Representing and Remembering Al-Andalus: Some Historical Considerations Regarding the End of Time and the Making of Nostalgia', *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009): pp. 355-74.

[11] Robinson claims that this has led to the palace's reification and its marginalisation within the wider context of Islamic art ('Marginal Ornament', p. 188).

this romanticising view designates its architecture to the realm of 'derivative', and obstructs a more nuanced understanding of its ornament. In the case of the Nasrids, the continuation and elaboration of existing stylistic elements from a range of influences, from North Africa to the Near and Middle East, does not necessarily indicate a melancholy yearning for a 'return' to these places. Quite the reverse, it reveals an active method of harnessing the past to create new, distinguishable motifs that represent a regenerative and highly innovative way of shaping the present.

The signifying roles of the two Nasrid panels are discussed here within the context of their individual design and production. Rather than seeing the adaptation of precedent forms as conventional and formulaic, subtle variations of traditional forms can be said to reveal something of the methods and meanings adopted by each court. If we accept this, it is possible that Ismāʿīl I may have felt compelled to introduce his own signature by covering over the ornament of Muhammad III with his own. Given the key placement of the panels within the Genaralife Palace *mirador*, the trademark pattern of the earlier ruler may have warranted their swift replacement, following the accepted tradition of adding or replacing surfaces within the Alhambra (a practice inherited from a longer history of Islamic palatial building). Still, it may be of significance that the original programme was not removed or destroyed, but preserved under the second layer. While one can only guess at the motivations of the latter ruler, I believe it is important to consider the possible meanings behind such a gesture and the implications it may have had upon the court. Therefore, this study begins with the possible functions of the Generalife palace during the fourteenth century, and the practice of cladding palatial interiors at the time. I then consider the character profile and military legacy of each sultan and their relationship to each other, and position their roles within the design and production process. Finally, a closer reading of each ornamental scheme discusses the selection and arrangement of individual motifs, as well the visual and tactile quality of their surfaces. Ultimately, I find that the rule of each sultan and the value of his trademark motif reveals an equal commitment to continuity and innovation. Through a sophisticated process of appropriation, drawing on a shared archive of forms and techniques, individual rulers and their designers were able to customise unique and distinguishable visual agendas.

Although sentiments of loss and mourning have been productive to discussions of certain periods of rule in al-Andalus, an over-reliance on the nostalgic to explain the rich source material found within the Nasrid art and architecture overlooks the strong political dimension of its palatial tradition. The labelling of this approach as nostalgic ignores the terms of artistic production at the time and assumes a certain melancholic predisposition to the past. Subsequently, a style comprised almost entirely of pre-existing sources has been seen as a showcase or summary of earlier innovations. On the contrary, I suggest that the sophistication of Nasrid ornament was the result of a gradual incorporation and abstraction of inherited forms, so that subtle adjustments took on a heightened significance in the context of rulers wishing to consolidate or strengthen their position within the court. In this way, historical reflection provided a platform for the meaningful appropriation of historical forms that could be traced as far back as classical Rome.[12] It should also be borne in mind that inspiration from the past was not restricted to the empires of Rome or Damascus; it extended to a much wider range of production, helping to explain why ornament from the period borrows from a plethora of artistic periods (which even included Christian symbols), despite differences in religious and political ideologies. Necessarily then, the complexity of compositions and the extent to which forms are abstracted ought to be treated as differentiating factors. In addition, is possible that the number and complexity of motifs developed during this period may have prompted the invention of new manufacturing techniques in order to accommodate the large and diverse volume of source material. Individual styles were formed and adapted from this extensive archive to suit the needs and tastes of each ruler.

Prior to the period discussed here, many ornamental elements found within the Alhambra had already been through multiple phases of transformation. For example, the serpentiform motif or 'S' floral form used within arches borrows directly from Almohad art, though it may have been developed during the Almoravid period as a variation of a *taifa* form found within the

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[12] Ghazi Bisheh argues that by the seventh century Umayyad Syria had been 'thoroughly Hellenised', though classical themes were transformed and given new meaning through provincial traditions. 'The Umayyads: Damascus, the First Capital', in *Discover Islamic Art in the Mediterranean* (Vienna; Brussels: Museum with No Frontiers; Art Books International, 2007), p. 46.

Aljafería palace of Zaragoza.[13] When the Berber Almoravid leaders unified the *taifa* kingdoms they brought with them a wealth of influences from the Maghreb that were then combined with regional styles. These hybrid motifs were soon subsumed and adapted by their successors, the Almohads, who introduced a number of their own stylistic precedents; which in turn were adopted and further developed by the Nasrids.[14] Julio Navarro Palazón has further complicated this stylistic narrative by identifying an intermediary style that developed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, what he calls the 'protonazrid' period.[15] He discusses the recent excavations of palatial and urban residences in uninhabited areas such as Šaltīš and Siyāsa, as well as those in Murcia, Denia and Valencia, pointing out that their elaborate designs had already departed from the conservatism of the Almohad period and represent clear precursors to the Nasrid style. Such findings suggest that by the early thirteenth century even the smallest changes to individual forms and their composition had become subtle but important differentiating factors. There is little doubt that the Nasrids would have had a keen eye for variation, allowing them to carefully select elements from an archive of forms and combine them to suit the needs and tastes of each ruler. This is further supported by the fact that a number of new manufacturing techniques were developed during this time, allowing for more complex and refined arrangements.

The ingenuity and pragmatism of such innovations seem starkly at odds with a conception of florid reproduction that has been attached to the Nasrid style, and more in line with a sophisticated manipulation of existing stylistic vocabularies in the interest of developing new, meaningful configurations. This same adaptive formula, however, has earned the Alhambra the reputation of a visually striking but decidedly unoriginal monument, a view that has been reinforced by popular studies that seek to place the art of the Nasrids solely in relation to the past.[16] Attributing this style to a nostalgic drive within Nasrid culture, Dodds describes the Alhambra

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[13] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 103.
[14] Among these, the repeated diamond *sebka* first appeared in its simplest form on the façades of the Giralda minaret in Seville. Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts From Spain*, pp. 40-41.
[15] Julio Navarro Palazón and Pedro Jiménez Castillo, 'Casas y Palacios de Al-Andalus. Siglos XII-XIII', *Casas y Palacios de Al-Andalus*, ed. Julio Navarro Palazón, Granada: El Legado Andalusí, 1995.
[16] In a recent documentary popular art historian and television presenter Andrew Graham-Dixon referred to the Alhambra as 'the Greatest Hits of Moorish design', revealing the widespread acceptance of this view. *The Art of Spain: The Moorish South* (1/3), BBC 4 [first aired 31 January 2008].

as, 'a robust continuation of traditional architecture, enriched with frequent typological and decorative reflections of the style and planning of North Africa'.[17] These and other source-centred readings of Nasrid architecture render it creatively impotent and historically dependent; at best an enthusiastic revival at the end of a linear branch of evolution. Grabar has observed, for example, that while the arrangement and quality of ornament found within the Alhambra are often credited as 'unique', the forms themselves are considered highly typical.[18] Moving away from the view that the appropriation of typical forms is a symptom of an assumed nostalgic tendency within Nasrid Granada, I explore the ornamental forms produced during this period in relational to their selection and placement, with particular attention paid to the conditions that produced them.

The selection and positioning of earlier styles and motifs produced a complex language of form that was used to distinguish individual rulers, whilst simultaneously representing the Nasrid dynasty as a whole. While a unified image was advantageous in the context of frontier negotiations, sultans were also expected to forge and maintain their own separate legacies within the kingdom. Tellingly, the peak in artisanal and intellectual production of the mid to late Nasrid period does not correspond with peaceful relations within or outside the royal court. Difficult and often humiliating negotiations with Christian and Berber leaders ran parallel to a string of betrayals and assassinations within the court, beginning with the poisoning of Muhammad II in 1302. This volatile political climate catalysed new ways of strengthening individual agendas within the Islamic state. Negotiations with the kingdom of Castile during the eleventh and twelfth centuries meant that the *Banū'l-Aḥmar* dynasty began as a Castilian vassal,

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[17] Jerrilynn D. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park; London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), p. 14. In another study she identifies the Umayyads of Córdoba as showing an unusually strong affection for the Caliphate of Damascus (mourning its loss in poetry and borrowing heavily from its palatial tradition), even during periods of political and military advantage. *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art, 1992), p. 7. Dodds' early work is insightful as far as the nature of influence and origins of forms in the region are concerned, but she applies the term 'nostalgia' uncritically across multiple periods to describe the borrowing of forms across different periods.

[18] Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture 650-1250* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 101. Grabar explains, 'The Alhambra does indeed illustrate an ideological revival, and it does possess something of the contrived and self-consciously elaborate aspect of a revival. But it is the revival of the Islamic synthesis of classical and ancient Near Eastern motifs which had taken place in Baghdad, Córdova, and Cairo many centuries earlier'. *The Alhambra*, p. 199.

forced to pay large annual sums of tributary money known as *parias*.[19] To complicate matters, vassalage went against *sharīah* law, as did the subsequent heavy taxation of the people of Granada.[20] Partly as a result of these earlier compromises, Granada enjoyed a period of relative stability during the first half of the fourteenth century, maintaining peaceful relations with North Africa and Castile, while naval battles over the control of the Straits of Gibraltar temporarily ceased.[21] Both despite, and as a result of these fluctuating conditions, Granada saw a surge of artistic and architectural production. For Grabar, these conditions were magnified by the city's geographic isolation, creating a climate that he describes as, 'politically unstable, economically prosperous, intellectually constricted and self-centred, poetically rich if not always original, fascinated with the past, and immensely erudite'.[22] To him, the remote and compromised position of Nasrid art, and the art of al-Andalus in general, can only be understood as having 'reflective value', serving primarily as 'illustrations for conclusions reached from other sources and in other areas'.[23]

As the Alhambra changed hands in accordance with familial and political shifts, Nasrid leaders developed methods of remembering and retaining traditions while building new stylistic legacies. The historical reconciliation of these two sensibilities - the conventional and the novel - challenge Western conceptions of the development of style and further complicate the idea of the monument as 'original' or 'unique'. Grabar's early reflections on the Alhambra are revealing of this paradox, as he points out its reflective value whilst deeming it highly typical:

> The Alhambra does not appear simply as an exciting setting for pleasure, as has so often been thought and written. It is in fact a strikingly and consciously learned monument, in which a sort of summary of medieval themes about princely ideology is made visible... As far as its meaning is concerned, the Alhambra fits

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[19] José Enrique López de Coca Castañer, 'Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier, 1369-1482', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 131-132.
[20] López de Coca Castañer, pp. 131-32.
[21] Harvey notes that the spread of the Black Death on both sides of the Mediterranean would also have been a factor in this military 'pause'. *Islamic Spain*, p. 218.
[22] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, p. 37.
[23] Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, 2nd edn. (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 21.

> naturally and easily into the typology of traditional Islamic palaces. Its concerns and its aims were not extraordinary at all. It is unique only in that it has been preserved.[24]

While he acknowledges the value of the monument as a record or summary of the past, his preoccupation with an *a priori* definition of uniqueness leads him to surmise that the period's few innovations fail to constitute what he sees as a 'true renaissance'. Suggesting that Nasrid art was historically disengaged not only from Almoravid and Almohad advancements, but also from a more general awareness of the antique past, he infers that its influences were imported without an understanding of their historical value. If, however, the Nasrid style is characterised by the meaningful selection and arrangement of pre-existing elements (a process through which it forges its own unique series of signatures), one could challenge Grabar's insistence that the designs of the Alhambra were merely 'formal redundancies whose deeper meaning can be demonstrated only at a much earlier time'.[25] Though he describes its ornamental forms as conservative and at times, 'repetitive and obvious', he does concede that they are used with a 'full awareness of their possibilities'.[26] I would like to take this final observation further, for while Nasrid monarchs and their advisors may not have possessed full awareness of the historical significance of forms, they used them in such a way that allowed a fresh re-envisioning of the past as a way to forge new identifying motifs. In other words, the innovative use of precedent forms to create individuated styles may be understood, in and of itself, as the main contribution of Nasrid art, rather than the development of an unprecedented style *per se*. The processes and techniques developed to facilitate this aim are also unique to the period, and should be considered as part of that legacy. It is therefore necessary to revisit this with a critical perspective that is not steeped in the rhetoric of the nostalgic or dependent on notions of authenticity or originality. The panels in the Generalife *mirador* offer a way to discuss this particular approach to ornamental production, and their unusual doubling may provide further insight into

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[24] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, pp. 153-154.
[25] Grabar lists the effect of surprise used in architectural planning, the use of *muqarnas*, visual metaphors in poetry, and other themes relating to a 'universal Solomonic mythology' as particularly derivative elements (*The Alhambra*, p. 207).
[26] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, p. 197.

the way ornament was used and understood by the court.

The palace of the Generalife and the doubling of panels

Most believe that the Generalife was intended as a private, interior palace and this is supported by the fact that the *mirador* would have originally provided the only view toward the main palaces. A secondary and higher west wall that originally enclosed the courtyard, the remains of which can still be seen at either end, was destroyed and replaced by a long open gallery in the sixteenth century. This transformed the courtyard into a terrace or belvedere, exposing views of the landscape and the greater Alhambra grounds. The plasterwork of the *mirador* is one of the few examples of preserved ornament found in the Generalife palace; its lack of fortification, vulnerability to the elements, and transformations under private ownership have compromised many of its medieval features. The production of panels for the cladding of structural surfaces was common practice throughout the Nasrid period, though it was revolutionised during the reign of Muhammad III with a new mould-making technique. Replacing the heavy, hand-carved blocks of gesso, moulds allowed for thinner panels to be mechanically reproduced and fitted to the wall while they were still wet. The panels were custom fit to cover a particular area of the palace, and then connected at specific contact points and fixed with liquid gesso. This new process also made it easier to remove them intact and transfer or replace them with little difficulty. The use of moulds facilitated up to four impressions upon a single surface, producing high-relief designs with a depth of up to four centimetres.[27] Another crucial innovation of this period was the addition of powdered alabaster to the plaster mix, giving surfaces a softer, ivory-like quality.[28] The rough edges of positive moulds were sanded down and the surfaces coated several times with water and dissolved lime.[29] The new material and pouring process allowed for the production of identical panels with mechanical precision, replacing the

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[27] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 92.
[28] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 104. This may have been a method for making surfaces appear more precious, or simply part of the process of sealing the plaster surface for the later application of pigment.
[29] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 92.

laborious individual carvings of previous generations. These technical advancements allowed for more intricate and refined pattern work, evident within both layers of the *mirador*.

The design and placement of ornament within the garden palace reflect the interests of the patron and the audience of the court. The exact terms of access to the palace are unknown, though it would have been used primarily as a recreational palace by the royal entourage. Though it has been suggested that guests and associates were often invited and on occasion urgent matters of the state were resolved within its walls,[30] the palace had no formal reception hall in which to conduct official business, nor did it have a congregational mosque.[31] It originally had three independent entrances: one directly from the Alhambra through the market gardens which may have been reserved for the sultan and members of his court; a second through the south-east end where visitors may have entered; and a third through the upper north section.[32] Grabar points out that the additional entrances could have been intended for limited public access, making the garden complex less secluded and restricted than previously thought.[33] The location of the palace a short but important distance from the main complex suggests that its ornament would have been seen regularly by at least the royal family and court officials and, quite possibly, important guests at certain times. The optimal view of the main complex and grounds provided by the *mirador* would certainly have beckoned an audience, presumably reserved for the enjoyment of the ruling elite. Some or all of these factors would have influenced the decision to resurface the *mirador*, along with other areas of the royal palace, during the period of Ismāʿīl I.

The relationship of the sultan to his palace and grounds is a central principal informing building and ornamenting processes. Ruggles has discussed the inscriptions of the Lindaraja *mirador*, shedding important light on the interrelationship of architecture, landscape, and repres-

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[30] Díez Jorge, et al., p. 195.
[31] Ruggles notes that it may have housed a small mosque or oratory (*Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, pp. 170, 174).
[32] Díez Jorge, et al., p. 190.
[33] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, p. 95.

entations of power in the region,[34] while Robinson has identified links between Andalusi architecture and literary traditions by way of their associative and connective visual elements.[35] The structural role of inscriptions has also been explored by Bush, who suggests that the architecture of the Alhambra 'represents the sultan just as beauty represents power'.[36] Building on Grabar's theory of ornament as an intermediary in art,[37] her work focuses primarily on the use of epigraphic text as an intermediary between the beholder and the geometric and floral motifs found within decoration of the Alhambra, such that 'the reader of the one is prepared to become the reader of the other'.[38] Moreover, Bush uses Grabar's 'iconographic inscriptions' (which emphasise some special purpose of a structure or make associations that are not immediately obvious) as a starting point for discussing the way the Alhambra 'communicates a message', often in direct relation to the sultan and patron of the work.[39] These groundbreaking studies have shown that architectural ornament was pivotal to the reception of meaning, and in many cases acted as a visual and spatial articulation of sovereignty. Although the *mirador* panels discussed here only appear to have included repeated inscriptions of the Nasrid motto 'God is the only Victor', it is important to recognise the important role of text as a signifying force within the Alhambra, which is used together with architecture, ornament, and the surrounding landscape to reinforce the power of its rulers.

The Generalife *mirador* provided a private and privileged view that allowed sultans at

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[34] D. Fairchild Ruggles, 'The Eye of Sovereignty: Poetry and Vision in the Alhambra's Lindaraja Mirador', *Gesta* 36, no. 2 (1997). In *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, Ruggles brings together the study of gardens and palaces in al-Andalus to reveal a 'system of looking... from architecturally fixed points', as a way of discussing the power of rulers and their relationships to dominion.

[35] In her study of *taifa* court architecture Robinson highlights the relationship of architectural ornament to poetic devices, connecting the false windows of arcade spandrels of the Aljafería palace with different levels of metaphorical transformation explored in *badīʿ* poetry. She argues that playful architectural features would have activated the imagination of the viewer in the same way that stylistic prompts activate a listener of poetry. 'Seeing Paradise: Metaphor and Vision in Taifa Palace Architecture', *Gesta* (1997), p. 153.

[36] Bush, 'The Writing on the Wall', p. 129. This work builds on the semiotic work of José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, who explores the epigraphic corpus of the Alhambra in relation to Naṣrid rulers and medieval conceptions of time and utopia. See *Los Códigos de Utopía de la Alhambra de Granada* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1990) and 'El Vocabulario Estético de los Peomas de la Alhambra', in *Pensar la Alhambra*, eds. José Antonio González and Antonio Malpica Cuello (Barcelona: Anthropos Editorial, 2001).

[37] Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

[38] Bush, 'The Writing on the Wall', p. 121.

[39] Bush, 'The Writing on the Wall', p. 119.

different times to consider their position *vis-à-vis* the wider palace grounds and city, a function mediated through its ornamental schemes. Its ornamentation reflected this function, and may at least partially account for its re-panelling under Ismāʿīl I. Just as the ruling elite of newly-established Muslim states had traditionally shaped their own version of Islamic tropes to suit the needs and tastes of independent and sophisticated court cultures, Nasrid Granada sought to find its own voice through the reconfiguration of conventional forms.[40] As Yasser Tabbaa has pointed out, the use of formulaic and transferable patterns was a practical method of spreading methods and motifs, facilitating the spread of ideology and the maintenance of cultural identity during times of change and uncertainty, and 'mitigating historical and geographical dislocation'.[41] Centuries of isolation from the major centres of Islamic power in the Middle East had produced a separate and distinct set of traditions that built in different ways upon the examples provided by past caliphates and dynasties. Based on this continued conventionalisation, the bespoke manipulation of style became an important tool for the forging of new, powerful identities in the region. As a result, architecture and ornament came to reflect not only religious or cosmological themes already established by the Islamic tradition, but also, as Valérie Gonzalez has argued, 'the subtleties of familial, ethnic, and politico-historical affiliations'.[42] Looking at the particular selection, appropriation, and augmentation of existing styles within the Generalife panels, it is possible to see how the court of each ruler developed its own visual legacy in response to both the distant past and the immediacy of the present, functioning as as a kind of 'badge of sovereignty' for Muslim princes.[43]

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[40] Tim Stanley, *Palace and Mosque: Islamic Art From the Middle East* (London: V&A Publications, 2004), p. 17.
[41] Yasser Tabbaa, 'Geometry and Memory in the Design of the Madrasat Al-Firdows in Aleppo', in *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies*, ed. Margaret Bentley Sevcenko (Cambridge, MA: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1988), p. 24.
[42] Valérie Gonzalez, *Beauty and Islam: Aesthetics in Islamic Art and Architecture* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2001), p. 70.
[43] Gonzalez, p. 70.

A tale of two sultans: Muhammad III and Ismāʿīl I

Given the hierarchic, yet highly collaborative nature of artistic production in the Nasrid court (a subject I explore in more detail in the following section), it is essential within a study of ornament to consider the personal and political agendas of the head of the secretariat, the sultan, who would have specified the location and, to varying extents, had a hand in the development of the ornamental programme itself. The character traits, military legacies and artistic contributions of both Muhammad III and Ismāʿīl I are documented by vizier Ibn al-Khatīb (Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khatīb, 1313-1374), and later by the historian Ibn Khaldūn (Abū Zaid ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khaldūn al Hadramī al-Ishbīlī, 1332-1406), whose accounts are coloured by their own political positions within the court. Nevertheless, these texts provide the only descriptions of the period and shed a great deal of light on the intentions and methods of each Sultan. As military strategies and palatial construction were often executed in tandem, artistic decisions were made under looming threats of civil conspiracy and frontier war. James Dickie explains how the precarious position of the isolated sultanate, already on the outer edge of the *dār al-Islām*, would have produced an intensely creative environment in which, 'the desire to show off one's unique qualities went along with competition with others and understanding of various ways of achieving visual effectiveness'.[44] This challenges the view that the latter stages of Christian conquest acted as the sole catalyst for Nasrid architectural production - a sort of 'last commemorative sigh' before the fall of Granada - and suggests that the production of ornament was also a strategic method of communicating within the court.

Not only do the differences between the motifs of the two *mirador* panels indicate the development of independent style, but their overlapping may in fact reveal something of their relationship to one another. The reigns of Muhammad III and Ismāʿīl I span more than twenty years and, importantly, a partial change in bloodline. Militarily, both were under continued pres-

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[44] James Dickie, 'Space and Volume in Naṣrid Architecture', in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1994), p. 590.

sure to maintain the frontier border that had been established by the first two Nasrid rulers, Muhammad I (r. 1232-1273) and Muhammad II (r. 1273-1302). This period was marked by primarily defensive warfare, as the kingdom lacked any realistic hope of of recovering major centres such as Córdoba or Seville, even after Muhammad II's recapturing of the small frontier towns of Alcaudete and Quesada that had been used by the Christians as attack bases.[45] The situation deteriorated with the loss of the port of Tarifa to Castile in 1292, as Granadans began to fear a fate similar to that of the *taifa* kingdoms before them, who had been overpowered by the Almohads, a more powerful and organised tribe from the Maghreb.[46] Thus, Muhammad III was born into a kingdom defined by its bold defensive stance and that required a firm but careful hand in dealing with both Merinid and Castilian leaders,[47] while also having responsibility for the protection of a growing number of Andalusis who had travelled to Granada to live under Muslim rule in their homeland.[48] A large number of Mudéjars and forced converts from conquered territories had by this time concentrated in the relatively protected, semi-mountainous kingdom. In addition, growing competition within the Nasrid family for control of the capital meant that the sultan was plagued by both internal and external tensions from the start of his reign.

According to Ibn al-Khatīb, Muhammad III was a dangerous and volatile character suspected of assassinating his own father in an impatient lunge for power.[49] The hard-won military advantage over the Castilians and Merinids during his father's twenty-nine year reign was quickly dissolved following his death, as his son entered into what was seen by contemporaries as a series of rushed and careless negotiations. While his peace settlements resulted in a small increase of reclaimed territory, they also brought Granada under the thumb of Fernando IV of

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[45] Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 164.
[46] Kennedy, pp. 280, 284.
[47] The Merinids were a Berber dynasty based in Fez who had the support of the Zanāta tribes, but they were not as religiously motivated as the Almohads. They alternately supported the Muslims of al-Andalus while fighting for their own dominion. The Castilians, for their part, seemed uninterested in taking Granada and completing the Christian conquest during this period, perhaps because the substantial tributes meant that the kingdom was 'worth more alive than dead'. Kennedy, pp. 280-281.
[48] Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 165.
[49] Ibn al-Khatīb writes that Muhammad II's doctor attributed the sultan's death in 1302 to a poison cake, reportedly sent by his son. In Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 234.

Castile, and into the crossfire of the Aragonese and Merinid conflict. His bargaining strategy for the port of Ceuta (which temporarily gained the kingdom access to the Straits), agitated civil rifts within the Merinid state while alienating both Christian and North African parties.[50] Hugh Kennedy writes that this era of intensified competition with the Merinids between 1264 and 1340 caused each party to change sides according to the perceived needs and relative strengths of the opposition.[51] He also notes that despite the intermittent reference to the *jihād* in primary texts, it appears neither Muslims or Christians were against the idea of 'siding with the infidel' when it suited their purpose. Almost certainly as a result of his controversial approach to foreign policy, Muhammad III was forced to abdicate in the palace revolution of 1309 in favour of his brother Abū l-Juyūsh Naṣr (hereafter referred to as Naṣr). The former sultan was permitted to relocate to Almuñécar, but his chief minister or vizier, Ibn al-Hakīm al-Rundī, was brutally killed in the uprising. The vizier was perceived to hold the real power in the state and was resented within the sultanate for his excessive lifestyle and overt displays of wealth.[52] Muhammad III returned to Granada in 1310 after receiving the news that Naṣr had fallen terminally ill, but was found soon after drowned in the pool of the royal house. Naṣr, having recovered from a stroke and distrusting of his brother's lust for power, is said to have ordered the assassination.

Despite his unstable military record and questionable character, Muhammad III was reputed to have an obsessive alter ego that inspired his substantial artistic and cultural achievements. He is said to have written poetry, read vast amounts of literature by candlelight (leading to his eventual blindness), and demonstrated a passion for architecture.[53] His major building contribution was the transformation of a portico and large room into a private residence in the main Nasrid complex, known as the Partal Palace. It shares a number of similarities with the Generalife Palace *mirador*, including the placement and programme of plasterwork, and rich character of ornament.[54] Both structures are built upon elevated and strategically inaccessible locations and provide generous, open views of the landscape (the Partal stands on the tower wall

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[50] Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 165.
[51] Kennedy, p. 281.
[52] Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 170.
[53] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 235.
[54] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 248.

overlooking the Albaicín). It is not clear what percentage of the Generalife Palace was designed by Muhammad III, as the original pleasance was commissioned by his father, but his role in its ornamentation is indicated by his trademark motif within the *mirador,* to which I later return. In addition, he is credited with the construction of five small watchtowers and a spattering of refuge-style buildings in the Vega used by peasants during Christian attacks.[55] Some sources claim he began construction of the *hammām*,[56] and built the main palace mosque as well as the palace that originally stood on the current site of the Convento de San Francisco, a structure which may have been designed to look across the ravine toward the Generalife.[57]

Ismāʿīl I ruled for eleven years after replacing his uncle, Naṣr, who was the last of Muhammad I's paternal line (fig. 9). Born of Fāṭīma, the daughter of Muhammad II, and his loyal first cousin Abū Sāʿīd Faraj, Ismāʿīl I entered the Nasrid family through the maternal side.[58] When he led a rebellion with his father against Naṣr, successfully overthrowing him in 1314, this marked the beginning of a secondary branch of the Banūʾl-Aḥmar, or first Nasrid dynasty. Though Naṣr had been relatively adept in his diplomatic dealings, he had nonetheless inspired opposition amongst the ruling elite, whom he further provoked by seeking aid from the Castilians.[59] Despite his successful defence of Almería and Algeciras, which historians have argued may have delayed the advance of the Christian conquest by decades, a series of protests in response to his submissive military dealings left him politically vulnerable.[60] It was under these conditions that Ismāʿīl I, backed by his father and touting a strong military reputation, was given control of the city by its people. Promising to resume a more aggressive military campaign against the Christians,[61] he delivered on his word almost immediately after taking the throne by intercepting a Castilian army led by Infante Peter in 1316.[62] Following Naṣr's death in Guadix

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[55] Kennedy, p. 284.
[56] Arié, p. 89.
[57] Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, p. 174.
[58] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra,* pp. 248-249.
[59] Kennedy, p. 284.
[60] Harvey, *Islamic Spain,* p. 179.
[61] Harvey, *Islamic Spain,* p. 180.
[62] Christian and Granadan records disagree on the exact outcome of this battle. Harvey argues that the Christians must have achieved at least some degree of success as forces shortly thereafter took Cambil and Algavardo and continued to capture castles and burn settlements nearer to Granada (*Islamic Spain,* p. 181).

he peacefully absorbed his weakened rival's territory and went on to conquer a number of frontier fortresses including Huéscar, Orce, Galera, and Martos.[63] Poetic retellings of these victories are found within the inscriptions of the north-east portico in the Court of the Main Canal.[64]

The legendary 'Battle of the Vega' consolidated Ismāʿīl I's effectiveness as a leader, ending in the decisive defeat of the Castilians who had been preparing a siege on the outskirts of Granada in the summer of 1319. Ibn Khaldūn writes that during this battle the Christian army was 'cut to pieces within view of Granada',[65] and a scandal involving the missing body of the slain Prince John led to a string of subsequent battles that left Castilian leaders either killed or demoralised.[66] Under the leadership of Ismāʿīl I the sultanate saw a rare shift to the offensive; territories were reclaimed, a series of long-term truces was established with the Castilians and amicable relations continued with Aragon.[67] This period of relative calm ended in 1323 with the termination of the Castilian truce, at which point both sides returned to frontier skirmishing.[68] Like his cousin, Ismāʿīl I was assassinated, though conflicting accounts make it difficult to know exactly why or by whom. *The Chronicle of Alfonso XI* states that harsh words between Ismāʿīl I and a cousin named Muhammad Ibn Ismāʿīl I over a captive Christian woman led to a plot to kill the ruler, while Ibn Khaldūn in his *History of the Banūʾl Ahmar* accuses one of the relatives of the Banū Naṣr family, noting that the assassin and any suspected conspirators were killed thereafter.[69] Though Ismāʿīl I's vulnerability as the first leader of a collateral branch of the dynasty may not have been a direct factor in his assassination, he had by this time spent years protecting his father from charges of treason following his rise to power.[70] Despite this, Ismāʿīl I

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[63] Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 182.
[64] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra,* p. 255. See also Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez and Antonio Fernández-Puertas, 'Las Inscripciones Poéticas del Generalife', *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 14 (1978): 1-86.
[65] Ibn Khaldūn, 'Histoire des Benou L'Ahmar, Rois de Grenade, Extraits du Kitab Alʿlbar (Livre des Exemples)', *Journal Asiatique* 9: XII (1898), p. 26 (In Arié, pp. 96-97, note 1.)
[66] Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 182.
[67] During his reign Naṣr re-established peace with the Merinids, who in turn wrote to the Aragonese King, Jaime II, asking him to make peace with Granada. This truce was maintained by Ismāʿīl I throughout his reign. Kennedy, p. 286.
[68] Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 184.
[69] Harvey notes that the viability of these 'eyewitness' accounts is questionable, as it is unlikely that a Castilian would have had first-hand access to events of this kind (*Islamic Spain*, pp. 185-187).
[70] Abū Saʿīd Faraj was accused of forging a secret pact with a Merinid Sultan leading up to the overthrow of Naṣr. Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 251.

chose to bury his family in the plot surrounding the tomb of Muhammad II, which has been interpreted as a gesture intended to legitimise the second dynasty.[71] Though Ismāʿīl I was lawfully the grandson of Muhammad II, the deposing of Naṣr had upset the balance of direct royal lineage and set in motion a lasting period of suspicion, deception and betrayal within the court.

Ismāʿīl I is described in the chronicles as a cultured man with a refined taste for poetry and architecture. His building projects included the Alcázar Genil in the lower city of Granada, the Gate of Arms in the Alcazaba, and the beginnings of the Comares palace complex, which was later completed by Yūsuf I and Muhammad V. The court moved under Ismāʿīl I from the open buildings of the Partal to the more fortified Comares complex, bringing with it a change of lifestyle that distinguished the new dynasty.[72] The Sultan also ordered a remodelling of the garden palace, including the ornamentation in the Court of the Main Canal and adjoining areas and the addition of a viewing tower to the north-east pavilion.[73] Most of the epigraphic work in this area is attributed to his reign, though the poet of the period is unknown. It is highly probable that the art produced during this time, particularly the ornament visible to the court, would have been used to reinforce his agenda for sovereignty while keeping with the traditions of the first Nasrid dynasty. This is particularly important with respect to the design and positioning of the ornamental panels in question, which require a separate but interrelated analysis.

The making of Nasrid ornament in the fourteenth century

The production of panels must also be understood in relation to architectural practice, as structural and ornamental production in the Alhambra were inextricably tied. The use of inexpensive materials such as plaster, adobe and wood throughout the palatial complex facilitated alteration and change from its earliest foundations. As Robert Hillenbrand has pointed out, the

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[71] Fernández-Puertas has suggested that Muhammad III may have had his father's body buried discretely in order to avoid having it exhumed, out of fear of being exposed as having committed patricide. This second burial ground, or '*rawḍa*', is at different times referred to a garden or royal pantheon and is attributed to Ismāʿīl I's rule (*The Alhambra*, p. 252).
[72] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 255.
[73] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 255.

combination of expensive external decoration and 'cheap, basic architecture' has made it difficult to distinguish the original surfaces of buildings from 'a crust of later accretions'.[74] While presenting a challenge to modern archeologists, this tradition allowed for a more open and flexible structure that could be reconfigured or altered to suit the interests of changing rulers. To what extent this 'makeshift' building style was an intended feature of the complex is an important question, for it has come to characterise Islamic building practices more generally. The temporary structures of nomadic civilisations are often used as a point of comparison for palatial building in the region, as rulers erected their personal palaces 'much like a bedouin sets up and inhabits his own tent'.[75] This observation is often made within nineteenth-century travel guides, where the architecture of the Alhambra is causally linked with the traditions of nomadic cultures.[76] While it is important to acknowledge that one of the central aims of Muslim sovereigns was to build or 'redecorate' their court during their time in power, it is historically problematic to draw a direct link between the architecture of al-Andalus and the Bedouin tradition, not least of all because the substantial use of marble for paving and columnar production indicates a palatial tradition of using more permanent materials. Mariam Rosser-Owen writes that the substantial use of valuable materials within the Alhambra is often overlooked, partly due to perceptions of Nasrid Granada as a kingdom in decline, and to assumptions in the fifteenth century that 'great architecture' should be built of more sturdy materials than wood, plaster or clay.[77] Furthermore, the measures taken to carefully preserve and elaborate many of the existing structures suggest a more collaborative or at least cumulative philosophy of building than the nomadic comparison suggests.

Another aspect that challenges the theory of a 'makeshift palace' is the use of existing materials to expand the surfaces of the Alhambra. In adding to the complex over time, rulers

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[74] He also notes that it was not uncommon for a ruler to enthusiastically demolish the palaces of his predecessors in order to either assert his own importance or re-use valuable construction materials. Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), pp. 378, 387.
[75] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 13.
[76] Karl Baedeker, *Spain and Portugal: Handbook for Travellers* (London: Dulau and Co., 1898), pp. 356-357.
[77] Rosser-Owen, p. 53.

showed a collective dedication to its form, often reusing materials to expand existing structures. The use of *spolia* within the monument reveals another method of appropriating the past, for as Flood has pointed out, the appropriation of structural materials was common across a number of medieval Muslim societies, and sometimes included elements from non-Islamic structures.[78] In Umayyad Córdoba, for example, architectural fragments dating from Roman and Visigothic periods were incorporated into the Great Mosque and the Palace of Madīnat al-Zahrā. Still further, as Ruggles explains, this was practice extended to the assimilation of artefacts brought from Constantinople, Baghdad, Ifriqiya, the Maghreb, as well as the Christian kingdoms of Leon, Navarre, and Aragon.[79] While there is no doubt that these incorporative strategies shaped the art and architecture of al-Andalus, it is important not to oversimplify the selection processes at work during different periods. Ruggles warns that, 'the measuring of difference and sameness' that tends to accompany studies of influence can gloss over a deeper understanding of difference and its reception in the region.[80] As a result, the historical acceptance or rejection of imported styles is too often explained by either an uncritical notion of 'open' or peaceful exchange, or an intolerant response to Otherness.

A study of Nasrid ornament reveals the complexity of these relations, for its influences do not necessarily correspond with acceptance or rejection of their sources in a direct manner. Though the continuation of ornamental features from the Umayyad tradition might be read as a way of absorbing their associative power, the rationale for the strong Almohad influence in Nasrid art is not as clear, as the religious and cultural ideology of the dynasty had been largely at odds with that of the Berbers, leading to the revolt of 1237 and the establishment of the Nasrid state. Similarly, the appropriation of Christian symbolism during the reign of Muhammad V (r. 1354-1359, 1362-1391) might just as easily point to diplomatic relations as to an authoritative or syncretic recontextualisation of form. Put simply, the appropriation of style does not always correspond to alliances, nor with cultural and religious discontinuities in the Nasrid court; there

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[78] Flood, p. 149.
[79] D. Fairchild Ruggles, 'Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Accultration in Al-Andalus', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34:1 (2004), p. 86.
[80] Ruggles, 'Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty', p. 86.

appears instead to have been a much more complicated policy of adaptation that disrupts both models of coexistence and conflict. Flood argues that an emphasis on 'agent and process' rather than 'artefact and project' helps the historian to understand how reused elements developed new sets of relationships within new contexts and with other 'communities of artefacts and users'.[81] Groups developed specific relations with other groups, resulting in bespoke exchanges and terms for appropriation. Accordingly, a focus on agency can 'illuminate the mediation of regionally distinct architectural idioms and styles' in such a way that essentialised readings of different groups and traditions are challenged.[82] It is my intention to look at the role of agency in the production of panels, in order to isolate the individual styles of each ruler and gain a better understanding of the relationship of one court to another.

In al-Andalus, not only did rulers develop unique relationships with 'new communities of artefacts and users' within a culturally diverse and at certain times fluid demographic, but they were also heavily influenced by societies of the past. The conventionalisation of ornament that is said to have reached its apotheosis in the Alhambra offered a physical basis for the renewal of contemporary identities through the constant re-negotiation of precedent forms. As new spaces and surfaces were added, elaborated upon or transformed according to a larger plan of proportion, the Alhambra increasingly came to resemble a uniform, yet highly chimeric object. Ornament was crucial to this morphology, as it characterised and reshaped the spatial environment of the palace over the course of each reign. Palaces were designed according to a system of progressive diagonals that determined the ground plan and elevation of each cluster of buildings (and in most cases, all subsequent additions), as well as ornamental detail of rooms, galleries, patios, and towers.[83] While rulers were free to build upon existing structures and alter their surfaces, they were also bound to a standardised geometric formula that had been passed down through generations of architects and designers. For this reason the taste and practical requirements of each ruler are reflected within their particular structural and ornamental interventions, but their processes and materials are generally in keeping with the tradition of

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[81] Flood, p. 159.
[82] Flood, p. 159.
[83] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 17.

palatial building in Nasrid Granada.

The ornamental panels within the garden palace aptly illustrate this duality, their separate ornamental schemes reflecting different periods of rule, while they are both produced from the same compound and moulding process and fitted to the architectural fabric in the same manner. It is perhaps of significance, then, that the second panel is adhered to the outer surface of the first, rather than to the structural wall itself, as this departs from the rule of panelling throughout the rest of the complex. Whether this is a case of redecorating under time restrictions, or a conscious attempt to preserve the first layer of ornament (even while hiding it from view), is impossible to deduce from the available evidence. In either case, the configuration of panels suggests that the palace was treated as a kind of sculpture, with ornament used to expand or contract its surfaces. This tolerant, if not incorporative attitude toward building has earned the Alhambra its description as an 'extended elegy', or as a palimpsest that retains the contributions of its occupants over the centuries.[84] What would appear quite the opposite of a historically disengaged recycling of past forms, these dual and interrelated processes of innovation and conventionalisation were at the heart of identity formation and its visualisation within the context of the court. This cumulative yet responsive approach defies the notion of a nostalgic style collectively produced across generations, as well as the idea that individual rulers iconoclastically destroyed the achievements of their predecessors.

The collaborative yet surprisingly bureaucratic method of ornamental production further attests to the political importance of these undertakings within the court. Fernández-Puertas has posited that the offices of palatial design and construction were located within the multi-tiered secretarial department called the *Dīwān al-Inshā'*, which also carried out a range of governmental and military functions.[85] An area of the palace would be assigned by the sultan to the chief ministers or *ra'īses* of the department (who were often also viziers), who would then work

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[84] Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, p. 457.
[85] The *Dīwān al-Inshā'* was established at the end of the thirteenth century under Muhammad II, and while little is known of its exact inner workings with respect to palatial construction, it would have at least housed the chief minister and the architect. Fernández-Puertas provides an extensive description of the various roles and functions of this central department based on the chronicles of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's (*The Alhambra*, p. 148-149).

collaboratively with architects or *ʿarīfes* and secretaries skilled in the arts of poetry called *kātibs (*poetic texts were often required, especially for celebrations such as the Breaking of the Fast and the Birth of the Prophet). They would be assisted by apprentices trained to different levels in particular arts, particularly in the written word, called *ṭālibs*. Together they developed the initial designs (most likely on paper strips) by integrating geometric, vegetal and epigraphic elements with a corresponding colour scheme. After the invention of the mould-making technique under Muhammad III, panels were made according to the dimensions and purpose of a designated space, and all design elements, including the various forms of Kufic and Naskhid-*thuluth* script, would conform to its proportions.[86] Artisans and master craftsman or *muʿallims* would then execute the desired ornamental schemes within various workshops designated for ceramics, plaster and wood. Floral forms would be drawn freehand by the master of vegetal ornament when it did not intervene with geometric or epigraphic elements, though it is possible that they too received direction from higher-ranking collaborators. For repeating patterns or epigraphic phrases in plaster, a negative mould would be designed to evenly cover the architectural space when multiplied. Additional incising, painting and drawing were often carried out once the panels were mounted to the structural surface.

This process reveals ornamental production in the Alhambra as a 'court enterprise' in which it is difficult to ascertain the exact level of involvement of each sultan.[87] As patron, he would almost certainly have overseen and approved initial designs and subsequent changes. In the erudite climate of Nasrid Granada, it stands to reason that his role would have varied with the extent of his individual knowledge or expertise. Leaders were exalted for their passion for poetry and architecture, and it is clear throughout the dynastic period that the involvement of the sultan in the development of new styles and methods was encouraged and respected. The major stylistic developments under Muhammad V, for example, are attributed to his time spent in ex-

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[86] *Thuluth* is a cursive text in which the lower part of the letters occupies approximately one third of their height. Eva Baer writes that by the later twelfth or early thirteenth century this style had been fully diffused from the East to the Western parts of the Islamic world. *Islamic Ornament* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 62.

[87] Rosser-Owen, p. 53.

ile in Fez, where he was exposed to the Merinid style.[88] The Sultan's role in continuing the project of his predecessors was also seen as essential to the building of major monuments. Ibn Khaldūn explains this process in the *Muqaddimah*:

> One (ruler) starts the construction. He is followed by another and (the second) by a third. Each of them does all he can to bring workers together in a common effort. Finally, (the building) materializes, as it was planned, and then stands before our eyes. Those who live at a later period and see the building think that it was built by a single dynasty.[89]

The famous poet and historian hints at the collaborative nature of this building process, and the role of the sultan within it. However, his insistence that the monument be built 'as it was planned', is revealing of the restraints imposed on rulers to continue the traditions established by their predecessors, and against the development of individual style. Instead, Ibn Khaldūn's description strongly suggests that a monument should be visually representative of a single dynasty, even if many hands have shaped it over time. Rather than serving as an impediment to creativity, this rule of consistency in Nasrid palatial building led to the devising of new ways to innovate within conventional frameworks. Thus, new technologies were developed to enable a more refined surface and a greater proliferation of ornamental form, and the placement and emphasis of particular elements led to a succession of distinguishable motifs. Growing competition within the Nasrid court meant that the sultan's position was no longer secured by bloodline alone, and the window to seize and maintain power grew increasingly narrower during the time of Muhammad III and Ismāʿīl I. The bursts of architectural productivity during their relatively brief periods in power indicate the importance of such practices to their hold over the throne. At the same time, the obligation to design and build in accordance with the Nasrid tradition was strong, and the debt to history still stronger. From this perspective, the idiosyncrasies of each panel are the result of the conflicting forces of tradition and a commitment to innovation, both

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[88] Ruiz Souza, pp. 77-120.
[89] Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 2nd abridged edn. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 266.

of which played a part in the development of Nasrid courtly identity.

The politics of form: reading ornament across layers

Seen alongside Nasrid building practices and the political context of the court, the subtle discrepancies between the two *mirador* panels take on fresh significance. In a practice rooted in conventional forms and methods, a shifting emphasis of certain ornamental vocabulary provides the grounds for variation. In addition to the motifs themselves, there is also their structure and placement upon the panel to consider, for it is often the style of arrangement that provides the 'unique' quality of a particular pattern or scheme. Taken together, the overall sensory impression created by ornamental panels (that were also brightly coloured), may have been a factor in provoking sultans to redecorate certain areas of the palaces. At the very least, I suggest that the nuanced differences found within these panels act as evidence that it was not only the frontier border that rulers felt under pressure to defend, but also their own position of power within the court. In the final phase of my analysis, I provide a reading of these two ornamental schemes in order to highlight elements of individual style couched within the established methods and codes of ornamental design.

Both sets of panels are composed of five climbing horizontal bands of varying patterns and height (fig.'s 10 and 11). They demonstrate what is known as the ‘stratigraphic method', in which schemes are stacked in rows and staggered so that their lines of symmetry do not coincide.[90] This method is thought to create an illusion of depth and plasticity and is a common feature throughout the Alhambra, strongly evidenced in the climbing layers of pattern in the Sala de los Embajadores or Hall of the Ambassadors (also knows as the Salón de Comares or the Salón del Trono) and the south façade of the patio of the Cuarto Dorado or Golden Room. In Islamic art the order of ascension is said to reflect the importance of each pattern, however as Eva Baer notes, there are as many cases of layers merging harmoniously as where the upper

[90] Baer, p. 84.

decorative schemes emerge more prominent.[91] Grabar, identifying a variant other than simple ascension to explain the dominance of one motif over another in the ornament of the Alhambra, explains that value may have been attributed to the most dense or elaborate treatment of surface. He proposes that it was ultimately the internal complexity of geometric gridwork that determined hierarchy, as opposed to the dominance of any one specific motif.[92] In this way, a relational or associative reading of multiple elements over an entire surface may have been preferred over the isolated consideration of individual motifs. The recurring elements in motifs are used more than once upon a single surface, indicating an even distribution rather than a hierarchy of forms.

Incorporating elements of writing, geometry, vegetation and the arabesque, the panels demonstrate what Blair and Bloom identify as a form of hybrid ornamentation in Islamic art, in which some or all of these themes are found on a single object.[93] Their style and distribution varies with each period of rule, and a closer comparison reveals commonalities and distinctions. For example, the second from lowest band in the panel of Muhammad III shows his trademark motif, wherein the repeated text fills a network of interlocking geometric bands (fig. 12). Easily identified by its rotating angles, its formula allows for the infinite repetition of the Nasrid motto, 'God is the only Victor', which retains substantial traces of its original pigment. The repeated motto is woven into the interlocking pattern in the 'strap' fashion, in which continuously crossing and overlapping bands determine the structure of its pattern.[94] The trademark motif is the clearest indicator that the panel was designed under Muhammad III; it represents one of the few 'original' patterns attributed to the dynasty and is also found within the remains of the portico of the Partal Palace. This pattern would most certainly have signified then, as it does now, the distinctive presence of the earlier sovereign, a message that may have provoked Ismāʿīl I to obstruct or replace it within the Generalife palace.

The overall choice and integration of patterns would have been determined by the architectural dimensions of the *mirador*, being measured to run along the upper walls of the space

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[91] Baer, p. 86.
[92] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, pp. 197-198.
[93] Blair and Bloom, 'Ornament and Islamic Art', p. 13.
[94] Baer, p. 81.

like a *ṭirāz* or decorated trim. Forms originating from the textile tradition, *ṭirāz* bands often bear poetic inscriptions that subscribe meaning to people and objects, a practice that was metaphorically adapted to architectural surfaces through the medium of plaster carving. Lisa Golombek has identified this transition from fabrics to structure as a natural extension of a general 'textile-reflex' found within a number Islamic societies, in which 'textiles were incorporated into codes of social and religious behavior at every level of society and in every phase of human existance'.[95] In the *mirador*, the band of continuous panels sits above three west-facing windows overlooking the Vega and main palace, and the two flanking windows on either side. Open to the exterior, the quality of its surfaces is transformed by changes in light and shade. This is one way in which views of the landscape are integrated into the wider architectural scheme. As Ruggles has suggested, the *mirador* in Andalusi palaces was not only intended as a place for viewing, but *demanded* the very act of vision.[96] She describes architecture as a kind of frame through which a subject-object relationship was established, positioning the ruler in relation to the surrounding landscape:

> This frame was material, delimiting the scope of vision, as well as ideological, articulating positions of power or lack thereof. The object - the landscape or garden as viewed - was presented as the creation, and the subject - the viewer - as commander of the vista or, in effect, its creator.[97]

The position of the *mirador* above the agricultural gardens of the royal farm helps to establish this connection, the perforation of windows alternately limiting and opening up the view. Simultaneously, the play of light and shadow over the carved stucco appears to visually dematerialise the barrier between ruler and dominion.[98] The frames draw attention to the splendour of the natural world as cultivated by man, a theme that is further echoed within the ornamental schemes; the predominant use of the arch and column device containing areas of vegetal pattern

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[95] Lisa Golombek, 'The Draped Universe of Islam', in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, eds. Richard Ettinghausen and Priscilla Parsons Soucek (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), p. 30.
[96] Ruggles, 'The Eye of Sovereignty', p. 183.
[97] Ruggles, 'The Eye of Sovereignty', p. 183.
[98] Ruggles, 'The Eye of Sovereignty', p. 180.

or *ataurique* (from the Arabic *al-tawriq* meaning leaves, foliage, or flora) appears to mirror the architectural view. I suggest that the juxtaposition of the panels with views of the landscape helped determine the compositions of architectural devices and vegetal ornament, designed in each case to complement and direct the viewer's gaze toward the royal gardens and main palace complex. Moreover, the architectural style of each sultan may also have played a part in each arrangement, reinforcing the connection between their respective legacies and dominions.

Importantly, the style of the columnar device and vegetal pattern varies across the two panels, with a more abstract and plastic design in the former, and a more classically described version within the second. This may offer another dimension to the signifying role of ornament. Baer claims that the use of niches and arcades for decorative purposes in Islamic palatial architecture is a technique borrowed from Roman and Early Christian art, suggesting that they may have been read as *mihrabs*, with metaphoric references to the paradisiacal garden.[99] Conversely, Grabar argues that architectural elements in Islamic ornament show a complete absence of iconographic meaning, instead serving as frames that resemble simple, two-dimensional elevations of a built form.[100] Though he also traces the theme to antique sources, he sees it as serving a purely functional role within design, 'existing outside of that part of the visual discourse known as iconographic because it is replete with external references'.[101] He describes the way that it is used to draw the eye toward other more important elements, such as text:

> ...in addition to serving as a boundary, the architectural element also compels attention to the main subject, focuses on it, provides it with its frame, and, so to speak, gift wraps it for the viewer. The key attribute of both functions – separating and wrapping better to present – is that they do not focus attention on the carrier of the function, namely, architecture, but on something else.[102]

While the depicted arches of the *mirador* panels do indeed draw attention to what is held within them (in the case of the first, *ataurique*, and in the second both vegetal forms and

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[99] Baer, p. 76.
[100] Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, p. 172.
[101] Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, p. 172.
[102] Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, p. 172.

epigraphic text), it is also possible that their use in the Generalife palace implies meaning through the appropriation of different architectural styles. Rather than simply 'framing' or 'gift wrapping' their content, I suggest that the arcade device might have been used as template for which a range of stylistic sources could be drawn upon, further enhanced by the inscriptions and *ataurique* contained within. Style can thus be attributed to each court based on the selection of particular elements, so that what is too often dismissed as a formulaic treatment of architectural forms can be seen as a way of investing historical sources with a personal and political dimension.

These variations must be considered alongside the type and quality of *ataurique* used in both panels, as this also belongs to a longer lineage of stylised ornament based in both antique and Islamic traditions. Along with classical sources, Nasrid *ataurique* forms borrow strongly from Almoravid and Almohad art, with increasing variations and a 'noticeably different sense of curvature' throughout the period.[103] It can occur independently but is more often used to fill in the structures of geometric pattern (though in some cases it can form the outline or structure itself, as in the case of sebka patterns). Both panels exhibit what Fernández-Puertas identifies as 'basic, traditional' *ataurique*, with some of its elements ribbed or decorated (fig. 13). As mentioned previously, the serpentiform or S-shaped curves have been traced through the Nasrid, Almoravid, Almohad and *taifa* periods.[104] The mould-making technique pioneered by Muhammad III allowed for a wide spectrum of *ataurique* to be reproduced at a standard of finery that was unsurpassed in the region. Ismāʿīl I's designers and craftsmen further refined this technique and were able to produce an even more nuanced articulation of Almohad types, as seen in the intricate lower band of arcades in the uppermost panel.

In the earlier panel the repeated arcades are similarly filled with dense *ataurique*, delineated by thin lobed arches and slender columns, some of which appear to be missing. The dense vegetal ornament spatially dominates the architectural detail, while the panel from the reign of

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[103] Fernández-Puertas notes that no new *ataurique* forms were developed during this period, whereas a number of innovations appeared during the reign of Muhammad V (*The Alhambra*, pp. 96, 103).
[104] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 103.

Ismāʿīl I reveals a different treatment of the same elements. Here the architectural device used in the central band of arcades is more realistically described, with bases, pillars and capitals carved in bas-relief. Each arcade houses a smaller arch and a singular 'God is the only Victor' emblem, nestled within striated *ataurique* forms. A second, thinner band of arches on the same panel follows a similar composition (though without the inner arch or Nasrid motto), and is offset according to the custom of asymmetrical stacking. The arches in this upper row are covered with *muqarnas*, the stalactite forms that adorn many of the spaces of the Nasrid palace (to which I return in chapter four). In the earlier panel, the uppermost band also shows the remains of a row of *muqarnas* elements. It is noteworthy that classical and traditional Islamic forms are included within both schemes, as if the second panel was designed as a more refined development of the first; an illustration of the complexity of stylistic references at the disposal of Ismāʿīl I's court designers.

The particular use of the arcade or niche in the two panels shows how the theme, while common to the Nasrid dynasty as a whole, could be adapted in entirely different ways. Where the earlier panel shows flat areas of pattern in the abstracted shape of arcades or niches (further emphasised by the dark colour of the background), the columns and arches of the later one stand out in *bas* relief from the vegetal ornament within. This latter style is indicative of what Fernández-Puertas calls the 'second period' of Nasrid art, beginning with Ismāʿīl I, that introduced monumental architecture alongside a proliferation of classical ornament.[105] He observes that the favouring of antique ornamental forms during the rule of Ismāʿīl I was aligned with the construction of larger, more fortress-like building practices, reflecting his military objective to bolster the power of the dynasty.[106] The panel dating from Muhammad III's reign exhibits dominant vegetal themes and an emphasis on his trademark motif, while the plasticity of the surface stands in stark contrast to the more three-dimensional representation in the later panel.

Surface quality is another indicator of individual style, along with the application of colour and painted designs. After surfaces were washed with a lime and water solution (also a

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[105] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 5.
[106] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 5.

way of sealing the porous plaster), their ornament was coloured in with pigment in order to complete the desired effect. Baer explains in her theory of 'change and counterchange' that to achieve overall surface decoration, patterns were closely set against each other in order to eliminate a sense of background.[107] The 'reciprocating repetition of basic designs' could be applied to larger surfaces as well as to closed panels and frames, and was frequently differentiated by the use of colour.[108] Both depth of surface and colour scheme determined the prominence of some motifs over others. Fernández-Puertas has also commented that the value given to different plains of decoration is achieved by forming *ataurique* motifs in relief and then painting the background areas a dark vermilion or bright red, or a light or dark blue.[109] He notes that it was especially common for decorative forms in the second Nasrid period to have their surfaces accented or even painted over with patterns that imitated the carved surfaces.[110] Though extensive weathering has all but obliterated the original pigment within many areas of the palaces, those of the protected lower panel still give a fairly good impression of the sense of depth achieved through the use of colour.

The continued refinement of pattern work and the development of forms shows how each ruler built on the accomplishments of the last. The depth of the carvings in both panels is also based on the practical achievements of Muhammad III, as the precision of the moulds allowed for up to four different superimposed patterns within the same design.[111] In each case the integration and reworking of earlier motifs demonstrates both a loyalty to the past and a commitment to variation. I have draw attention to this duality because although traditional forms provided the foundation for creating new styles, the arrangement and prioritisation of certain motifs over others reflect the distinctive choices of patrons and designers, along with the optimisation of existing techniques to further refine them. As to whether or not these nuances were powerful enough to directly prompt a change of panelling, there is no way to know for certain. Nor can it be safely deduced that the second ruler purposefully preserved the lowermost panel

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[107] Baer calls this arrangement the 'third Samarra style' due to its extensive use in Samarra (p. 79).
[108] Baer, p. 79.
[109] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra,* p. 103.
[110] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra,* p. 103.
[111] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra,* p. 92.

as an alternative to destroying it. It seems clear, however, that the heightened sensitivity to difference within the Nasrid court was made material in the slight adjustments and careful changes to the surfaces of the Generalife Palace.

Nasrid ornament and the 'past-facing present'

In many respects this case study poses more questions than it can provide answers to, but in creating space to consider the methods and means by which these material forms came into being, it offers a more flexible conception of Nasrid palatial construction. While I maintain that both the design of distinctive ornamental schemes and the placement of panels in strategic locations facilitated the development of new styles while preserving the past - leaving behind a kind of 'running commentary' of style - I can only speculate as to the rationale for covering over earlier stucco ornamentation. The overlapping of panels in the *mirador* may simply be the result of a pragmatic decision on the part of designers who were in a hurry to re-clad the area under orders of the sultan. It is also possible that ready-made panels were appropriated from another area of the palace, rather than new ones created and fit for the space, particularly if the sultan was burdened by time restrictions and desired a more complex scheme of ornament in a short period of time (it would certainly not be the only example of re-used panelling in the Alhambra throughout its wider history). Another possible explanation for the layering is the the predominance of the Nasrid motto used within the first panel, as the repetition of the sacred phrase might have saved it from destruction and prompted an alternative method for obstructing its patterns. Rather than attempt to 'solve' this case, an objective better suited to the archeologist, I am interested in the potential of this arrangement to suggest something both with regard to the production of ornament in the early fourteenth-century Nasrid court, and the conscious and strategic use of the past in the development of princely identity.

Through a reading of the ornament as the product of a 'past-facing present', the art historian can gain insight into how the Nasrid elite perceived themselves in relation to previous periods of rule in the region, as opposed to equating this tendency with a nostalgic longing for a

return to distant eras, that by this time had faded to mere shadows of cultural and religious origin. During this period of heightened self-reflection in the face of opposing forces, the selection and arrangement of conventional motifs for placement within particular areas of the palaces can be viewed as an active methodology. The Alhambra can thus be seen as an historically intuitive monument, its succession of courts drawing upon a rich stylistic inheritance to create new visual legacies in the image of the past. The gradual development of layers is the product of this reflective and appropriative approach, born of the lived experience of Nasrid sultans and their relationship to these histories of form. I have here explored one example where I believe this phenomenon to be particularly evident, and that challenges the assumption that nostalgia was the main driving force behind the artistic production of the dynasty. The Alhambra, a monument redesigned, rebuilt and altered across multiple periods, reveals its shaping forces and transformations through such fascinating material arrangements.

Ibn Khaldūn provides another telling insight into Nasrid building practices when he explains that human strength must be multiplied in order to build great monuments:

> ...we find that (later) dynasties are unable to tear down and destroy many great architectural monuments, even though destruction is much easier than construction, because destruction is return to the origin, which is non-existence, while construction is the opposite of that. Thus, when we find a building that our human strength is too weak to tear down, even though it is easy to tear something down, we realize that the strength used in starting such a monument must have been immense and that the building could not be the monument of a single dynasty.[112]

If, as this passage suggests, construction represents the opposite of a return to origins, the preservation of the Alhambra over time is the result of a cumulative and collaborative process, with a corresponding sense of the importance of legacy-building for the future. Far from describing a melancholic longing for the past, this suggests that the creation of a monument by succeeding monarchs is a regenerative process, rather than a false return to origins. It is a strong

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[112] Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, p. 266.

regionalist position that characterises the architecture of the Nasrid period, and not a lethargic or passive engagement with 'golden eras' of a distant Islamic past. This attitude toward building facilitated the ongoing contributions of individuals through the imaginative reuse of historical sources. With the plurality of stylistic languages coexisting on the palace walls of the Alhambra, traditional readings of originality and origin are deferred through multiple layers of appropriation.

Whatever the balance of inheritance and innovation, Nasrid art was based on the practice of re-envisioning the rich source material provided by history. Less clear are the agendas that informed the manipulation of such a wide array of techniques and styles, and the relationship of individual rulers and artisans to such a vast archive of forms and meanings. This analysis presents possible readings of intention and method, informed by the details of rulers' personal and political agendas and their role within artistic production. It is the reconfiguration of this archive through the shifting subjective lens of changing rulers that determines the style of Nasrid art at any given time. The re-use and adaptation of precedent forms in particular ways, whether subtle or overt, reflects a unique engagement with the past to create distinguishable motifs, a practice that in turn inspired new methods of designing and manufacturing ornament. In this way the *mirador* panels exhibit more than a simple regurgitation of existing forms; they offer a range of deviations and interpretations of the past that comprise two distinct princely labels. Furthermore, their superposition may attest to the political potency of these signature styles in the early fourteenth century. The ornament of the Alhambra must be considered within the context of its individual voices, with close attention paid to subtle fluctuations across separate periods of rule. As different interpretations were made visible (and invisible) throughout the Nasrid period, the innovative use of the past became crucial to the construction of identity in the present.

This building practice continued following the Christian conquest, albeit in a different set of ways under much transformed circumstances, as a new era of rulers added to and altered its existing surfaces, a subject I take up in the following chapter. The the resulting palimpsest quality of the Alhambra partly explains why it continues to elude a fixed place in history, float-

ing in the interstice between its Islamic heritage and the Western alterations that contribute to its present form. The division of Christian 'interventions' from the 'original' Islamic monument has led to an oversimplification of these periods, so that less attention is paid to the motivations of individual rulers. As few elements within the Alhambra remain untouched by restorative, destructive, or in some cases substitutive processes, it is crucial for a material study to read between and across the layers of its transformation. The manipulation of ornament in accordance with perceptions of difference, whether across lines of faith, culture or even periods of dynastic rule, signifies an ongoing and overlapping historical narrative. It is for this reason that an analysis of ornament must consider the context of individual instances of production, and their placement within a broader succession of architectural visions.

Chapter 2

Imposing orders: conquest and coexistence in the columns of the Mexuar

> In short, the creation of Christian Granada was not an event but rather an historical process, and a gradual and incomplete one at that.[1]

> Architecture is probably not a discipline in the orginary academic sense, but a tradition based on the periodic reinterpretation of the past.[2]

This chapter continues an exploration of historical influence with a study of the Mexuar Hall and examples of the columnar device found within it, originating from both the late Nasrid period and sixteenth-century Spain.[3] The contemporaneous visibility of these forms within the same space raises important questions pertaining to the development of style in post-conquest

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[1] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, p. 1.
[2] Antoine Picon, 'The Freestanding Column in Eighteenth-Century Religious Architecture', in *Things That Talk: Object Lessons From Art and Science*, ed. Lorraine Daston (New York: Zone Books, 2004), p. 99.
[3] 'Mexuar' derives from the root of the Arabic *al-Māswār* or *al-Māswara*, meaning 'consultation', and dates to its time as a royal tribunal or council chamber in the latter half of the fourteenth century.

Granada, and the nature of 'coexistence' as it pertains to a study of both cultural groupings and artistic forms. The way that areas of the palace were preserved and altered during the reign of Emperor Charles V (r. 1516 to 1556) only decades after the initial conquest of Granada by his grandparents, reveals a great deal about not only the tumultuous relations with Moriscos, but also the political tensions caused by the absorption of the kingdom of Castile into the Habsburg empire.[4] I here discuss the columnar device as it was used in both Nasrid and Christian contexts, to reveal the ways in which it gave visual and spatial presence to changing identity formations, part of a wider study of the Alhambra as an evolving object that was cumulatively expanded across cultural divisions. The formal negotiations and transformations that led to the resurfacing of the Mexuar reveal important overlaps and contradictory agendas, and, crucially, the simultaneous presence of contrasting elements has significance in terms of their reception during this transitional period. As Christian symbols were inserted into the ornamental scheme of the space by Morisco artisans, the hierarchic tensions of Granada's fractured population were made visible.[5] The continuation of artisanal methods from the Nasrid period resulted in an esoteric approach to alteration and incorporation that, while present in other conquered regions, emerged in Granada within the unique context of its large resident population of Andalusi Muslims. As in the preceding chapter, a combination of socio-historical and material analyses is employed to reveal the way that changing perspectives came to shape the Alhambra.

The history of alteration and restorative changes in the Mexuar continues to be adjusted according to new archeological discoveries, and much has been learned of its earlier transformations from the records of Manuel Gómez-Moreno González, and later Torres Balbás. Described by Grabar as a 'hodgepodge of ruined or restored features',[6] the hall originally belonged to the private palace erected for Ismāʿīl I (1314-1325), its foundations later incorporated into the

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[4] The term 'Morisco' is employed throughout this chapter to describe Muslims remaining in Granada who had either been forced to convert or had agreed to conversion only to continue to privately practise their faith. Harvey points out that contrary to the tacit acceptance of conversion and social reclassification that the term implies, many would have remained crypto-Muslims and would have rejected conversion if given the choice (*Islamic Spain*, p. 3).

[5] German humanist and traveller Hieronymous Münzer reported in 1494 that Morisco craftsman were restoring the Nasrid palace in conformance with its style ('Itinerarium', pp. 47-48, in Earl E. Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V in Granada* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 4.

[6] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, p. 97.

palace complex of his grandson, Muhammad V, along with the Patio de la Mezquita or Mosque (also known as the Madraza de los Principes), the Patio del Mexuar (built under Yusuf I in the mid fourteenth century and also called Patio de Machuca after the sixteenth-century architect), and the courtyard and portico of the Cuarto Dorado or Golden Room (fig.'s 14 and 15).[7] The original elements from the period of Ismāʿīl I were almost completely demolished when it was rebuilt between 1362 and 1365 for the occasion of the *mawlīd* or Birth of the Prophet celebration, after which it served as the seat of administration for the meeting of viziers and the reception of subjects by the Sultan on certain days of the week.[8] During this time, in the manner of a throne room, a quadrant of columns delineated a small, square space in which Nasrid council business was conducted.[9] They also supported an upper floor of windows and a domed lantern ceiling described by Ibn al-Khatīb and bordered by a number of narrow, recessed spaces in a layout common to other areas of the palace.[10] It is thought that Mexuar was originally accessed through the current south entrance, though its exterior façade may too have been 'cobbled together' from Nasrid elements found elsewhere in the palace complex.[11]

Sometime after the conquest the space underwent a transformation from a Nasrid chamber hall to a Christian chapel, at which point an altar and a choir balcony were added and the

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[7] The Patio of the Mosque was once made up of a network of elongated halls around a courtyard that may have been the administrative centre of an earlier palace. The Machuca Patio is named after the architect who lived in the porticoed gallery and the tower that was built under Yusuf I between 1333 and 1354 and that was subsequently restored to an approximation of its original form by Torres Balbás (there was also a southern gallery in the place where there is now a row of cypress trees cut in the shape of arches). The Cuarto Dorado served as a waiting room in the time of Muhammad V but was converted into Christian residences almost immediately after conquest and remained as such until the nineteenth century. It contains noteworthy Mudéjar-style additions, such as balcony seats and stone Almohad-style capitals.

[8] Díez Jorge, et al., p. 114. Fernández-Puertas suggests that Yusuf I's reception of subjects on Mondays and Thursdays so as to attend to their complaints was a tradition borrowed from antiquity. During these times parts of the Qur'ān and a fragment of the *hadīth* were also read aloud, and petitions were presented to the vizier who would pass them to the sultan (*The Alhambra*, pp. 266-267).

[9] Most Alhambra historians maintain that the Mexuar was used as a council chamber during the reign of Muhammad V, however Grabar has pointed out that the poem by Ibn Zamrak from 1365 that describes an administrative function may not specifically refer to the space, nor is there anything about the room that suggests this was its original purpose (*The Alhambra*, p. 53). For an alternative reading of the inscriptions see A. López López and A. Orihuela Uzal, 'Una nueva interpretación del texto de Ibn Al-Jatib sobre la Alhambra en 1362', *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 26 (1990): 121-44.

[10] Díez Jorge et al. identify this same layout in the Sala de las Camas or Hall of the Beds, the Torre del Peinador, and the Mosque *hammām* (p. 115).

[11] Díez Jorge, et al., p. 115.

floor was lowered (fig. 16).[12] At some later stage the original north wall was destroyed and the space was extended over a small court that had functioned as an outdoor corridor between the Mexuar Patio and the Golden Room. The Oratory, formerly a separate building with an entrance from the south, was subsequently incorporated into the cluster of buildings and joined by an interior doorway.[13] The original ornamentation of the space is unknown as almost all of the existing dado and carved plaster elements have been re-appropriated from other areas of the palace.[14] The addition of an upper floor of rooms used for accommodation in 1540 caused the upper gallery of windows and glass lantern ceiling to be dismantled and replaced with an *ataujerado*, a flat panel laid with wooden pieces to form a geometric star design known as a *rueda de lazos*.[15] A row of shuttered windows were installed along the west wall in the first third of the sixteenth century, and a second entrance added on the west side of the altar for access to the sacristy.[16] At some point before 1550 point a twin set of tiled murals dating to the period of emperor Charles V was added to the walls above the two doors on either side of the altar.[17] Each mural depicts a single Doric column wrapped in a banderole inscribed with the words 'Plus Oultre', a variation of the the heraldic Plus Ultra motto used by the emperor to mean 'and

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[12] Gómez-Moreno González writes that during the sixteenth century the room was accessed through the courtyard and the original entrance closed. Additional materials were added to strengthen the exterior walls in order to support the upper floor of rooms (completed in 1537), and the redecoration of its interior was complete by 1544 or 1546 (during which some elements were also restored). The chapel conversion was not complete until 1629 when the floors were lowered 'half a yard' and the alterpiece added. The black and white marble alterpiece is actually a dismantled fireplace that was bought from Genoa in 1546 by Doña María Manuel, grandmother of Marqués de Santa Cruz. The mantle was stripped of its sculptures (including reclining nude figures, salamanders, satyrs and a relief carving of Jupiter and Leda, all retrieved at a later date), and pilasters added in their place, while a painted scene of the Adoration of the Holy Kings was inserted into the mouth of the fireplace (*Guía de Granada*, 2 vols. Granada: Indalecio Ventura, 1892, pp. 103-106). In 1929 Torres Balbás ordered the dismantling of the altar in the Mexuar and the reassembly of the fireplace in an upper room of the Palace of Charles V (now part of the Museum of Fine Arts). 'Diario De Obras En La Alhambra: 1927-1929', *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 4 (1968), pp. 108-110.

[13] The Oratory was joined during restorations between 1868 and 1889 requiring the lowering of its original floor, leaving behind the ledge that is still visible today.

[14] The frieze of inscriptions running above the tiled dado may have come from the Patio of the Mexuar, and the tiling from the destroyed southern Hall of the Comares palace (Díez Jorge, *et al.,* p. 118). Recent excavations have revealed a section of remaining painting on what may have originally been a square pillar or portion of a window or door. Conservación y Restauración Granada, 'Pintura Mural Nazari de la Pared Meridional de la Sala del Mexuar', *Programa de mantenimiento y resturación de pinturas murales del Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife* B-18333294 (Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 1993).

[15] Díez Jorge, et al., p. 115.

[16] Vílchez Vílchez, p. 135.

[17] After 1550 increasingly intolerant policies ended the involvement of Moriscos in the reparation and decoration of the palaces.

farther' or 'still farther' beyond the Pillars of Hercules (fig. 17). The device is an adaptation of the classical myth of Hercules anchoring two pillars on either side of the Straits of Gibraltar and thereby opening a gateway to the Mediterranean. Though this symbol is found in various guises within the Alhambra and the adjoined Palace of Charles V, in the Mexuar it is strongly couched in the ornamental style of the space, and is in keeping with the colour scheme of the Nasrid ceramic dados that run along the lower portions of the walls.

A small royal congregation would have attended services within the space, while the adjacent spaces were converted into living quarters; the Golden Room for the empress in 1526, and the Patio of the Mexuar during Pedro Machuca's tenure as *maestro mayor* at the Alhambra.[18] Christian renovations transformed the Mexuar from a centralised, public-facing space with a vertical structure into an elongated, private room with a horizontal projection.[19] The square reception area would have once been the focal point of the room where business and formal ceremonies were conducted, softly lit from above by the glass domed ceiling. The four columns that delineate this central area, along with the plaster cantilever that sits atop their capitals (and that originally supported the lantern gallery), are some of the few elements remaining from the period of Muhammad V (fig. 18). The polychrome colour of their capitals is well preserved and brightened by twentieth century restorations, as the quadrant of columns have remained in the space throughout the Christian period and its many subsequent changes.[20] Most significant to this study is the fact that these columns were present during the period when the Mexuar was used as a chapel, alongside the various other symbols and styles that found their way into the space. Strong exemplars of the late Nasrid style, they are important to an understanding of the Christian symbolism that was later introduced, particularly with respect to the inheritance of classical forms.

The placement of the two pillars on either side of the Christian altar points to a physical

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[18] Earl E. Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V in Granada* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 4, 53.
[19] Díez Jorge, et al., p. 114.
[20] Philip V's visit to Granada in 1730 initiated a number of repairs to the Alhambra including the refurbishment of the royal chapel of the Mexuar (Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V*, p. 153).

and symbolic domination of the space, reinforced by the adaptation of the Herculean theme to suit the colonial aims of the empire. In a similar manner, the gypsum crowns that adorn each mural and overlap onto the ornamental panelling signify the power of the Spanish monarchy over the Muslim dynasty. Moreover, while the placement of the pillars in parallel alignment with the quadrant of Nasrid columns may not have been a consciously comparative arrangement *per se*, their integration within the visual programme of the space invites a closer reading of such seemingly adverse arrangements of style. The variations on the columnar theme as it is found within the Christian interventions of the Mexuar are also particularly revealing in light of the period of architectural production known as the Spanish Renaissance. The murals show an interpretation of classical models while incorporating elements and techniques from the Nasrid period, an unusual combination given the imperial Roman style that came to be associated with the Habsburgs. As I will argue here, the merging of these stylistic legacies within the murals and their juxtaposition within the columnar programme of the space works to problematise a particular moment of 'coexistence' in post-conquest Granada. As I have already explained, the term '*convivencia*' was originally used by Castro in 1948 to describe the legacy of inter-faith cohabitation and exchange in the region, and has since been problematised and reworked by scholars dedicated to unearthing a more historically accurate picture of relations. Thomas Glick, writing in the 1970s, argued that although the term is in many ways problematic, it nonetheless provides a model for understanding the collective consciousness of cultures 'living together' in a wider sense.[21] His theory has since been revisited by scholars who have questioned the sufficiency and appropriateness of the *convivencia* model to a deeper understanding of influence as it relates to specific historical moments of coexistence in al-Andalus.[22]

In addressing the columnar device as it would have been observed in the Mexuar of the

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[21] Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).
[22] Glick returned to some of his initial ideas in, Vivian Mann, Thomas Glick, Jerrilynn Dodds eds., *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: George Braziller, Inc. in association with the Jewish Museum, New York, 1992). More recent studies are cited throughout this chapter, but for an overview see Maya Soifer, 'Beyond *Convivencia*: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1:1 (2009): 19-36.

sixteenth-century, it is possible to view the conflicted climate of Habsburg Spain alongside the inter-cultural and inter-faith relations already present in the region. Although the 'convivencia' model derived historically from a perception of the 'golden era' of al-Andalus during which the 'people of the book' (Muslims, Christians and Jews) lived peacefully together, it has recently been revisited as the basis for unearthing a more historically accurate picture of relations both before and after the Christian conquest. The processes of production and reception within a post-conquest climate are equally worthy of critical attention, as they not only make visible the internal conflicts between Christian and Muslim societies, but also the internal tensions of the Spanish court in the early modern period. In order to analyse the complex material and historical arrangement of the Mexuar, this chapter is arranged into four subsequent sections in which I discuss: (1) the historical concept of *convivencia* and its relationship to evolving scholarship on the nature of influence in al-Andalus in both pre and post-conquest Granada; (2) the emperor's reign and his relationship to the Spanish kingdom, highlighting the role of the Mendoza family in the revival of a humanist-inspired classicism in Granada; (3) the imperial style of the Palace of Charles V and the Spanish reception of 'Roman-style' architecture; and, (4) the classical inheritance of forms found within both the Nasrid column capital and the heraldic symbolism of Charles V, with specific attention paid to the intersection of influence indicated by their placement.[23] It is therefore the aim of this chapter to highlight the importance of such formal 'interference' to an understanding of both local and imperial meaning-making in the sixteenth century, and of the historical transformation of the Alhambra in a wider sense.

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[23] In pointing to a 'classical inheritance' within Nasrid art I am not suggesting a singular or direct source of influence, and recognise that a wide variety of antique styles emerged within different geographic regions during the expansion of the Roman empire. Of course, the level of exposure to these styles varied across periods in al-Andalus, either through proximity to Roman architectural remains in centres such as Córdoba and Seville, or the continuation of the Hellenic-nuanced style of Umayyad Syria within the Córdoba caliphate and *taifa* kingdoms. This is not to be confused with the Christian revival of classicism, which was a more direct and conscious return to the style of this period through increased travel to Rome and the circulation of architectural treatises such as Marcus Vitruvius Pollio's *De Architectura* (or *The Ten Books on Architecture*) of the early first century AD. Within this chapter I draw attention to variations on the basic elements of classical vocabulary that found their way into the Mexuar during both Muslim and Christian periods, albeit through very different channels. The extent to which these forms would have been familiar or recognisable as 'classical' to either group is a question I touch upon throughout the chapter.

'Living together' in Granada after 1492: influence or assimilation?

In examining objects of a hybrid nature from the period following the Christian capture of the Alhambra, it is not my intention to downplay the deep political and ethnic divisions that emerged during this period by suggesting a 'shared' aesthetic. Instead, my identification of the column as a vessel of meaning highlights the multiple and intersecting lines of its adaptation across and between different periods. Cohen has argued that rather than indicating a peaceful melding of coloniser and colonised or the homogeneity of categories such as 'subaltern' to describe groups prior to conquest, hybridity 'neither obliterates nor supersedes the histories it intermingles'.[24] In this way, the Mexuar interventions can be seen as part of a wider agenda of establishing power over shifting territories and subjects, and its hybrid forms as a way of working through these new hierarchies within post-conquest Spain while communicating the broader aims of the Habsburg empire. It was doubtless important that the emperor be represented as a powerful and righteous heir to the throne, but his reception in Granada required a more complex articulation of identity in relation to existing power structures. As John Onians has observed, the idea that a building might be read and criticised as an expression of the patron's 'morality' had been introduced both in the Old Testament and in Greek philosophy, and was widely publicised in the Christian Middle Ages.[25] He argues that by the mid-sixteenth century (at least in Italy), the three principles of 'status, morality and character' formed the basis for the selection of architectural forms, with one of these factors emerging as the most prominent in a given building.[26] I suggest here that while a similar set of principles would have informed the design of the few classically inspired buildings of Granada, the unique conditions of a pervading frontier society

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[24] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 5.
[25] John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 310. This book examines the history of Greek and Roman orders 'as form', and has proved a useful model for my own trans-historical work. Onians problematises the classical orders as they appeared in Vignola's 1562 *Rule of the Five Orders*, by addressing the problems of 'how and why they were used in buildings and how and why they were discussed in texts' (p. 3).
[26] Onians, p. 310.

and a local resistance to a new imperial identity also played a major role in their conception.

Unlike earlier conquered cities such as Córdoba and Seville, a large Muslim population remained in the city even after the traditional partitioning and forced conversions administered by the frontier parish.[27] As heavily taxed citizens who faced discrimination and restrictions on their freedom, the artisans brought in to restore and transform the Nasrid palaces to suit the needs of Christian leaders would have no doubt felt conflicted about their role. Perry has convincingly argued that the treatment of Moriscos during the sixteenth century helped to forge a collective memory of repression that would in turn support resistance to Christian rulers.[28] Surrounded by the material remains of the fallen dynasty, they would have been reminded on a daily basis of a time when Muslims ruled the lands of Iberia. Perry goes even further to suggest that, 'in fact, most people living in sixteenth-century Spain learned of their history not so much from books as from the very stones on which they walked, the buildings of their towns and cities, the fountains and water ways, the towers that protected their lands and rivers'.[29] Morisco artisans thus became integral to the re-inscription of meaning within these public and private spaces, as they possessed the skills necessary to fully integrate the new Christian symbolism into the material infrastructure of the former era.

While the ubiquitous use of the term *convivencia* to explain patterns of exchange and influence in al-Andalus presents its own set of problems, a simplified picture of oppression and violence glazes over the complexity of power relations between Christian and Muslim groups following the conquest of Granada. Maya Soifer has suggested that during this time tolerance and intolerance in the Christian mind were inseparable, as the religious inferiority of minority cultures 'justified both repression and acceptance'.[30] As partially integrated citizens, the place of converted Muslims in society was similarly divided and unstable. In their work, Meyerson and English avoid the use of ambiguous categories such as 'marginality' and 'otherness' to under-

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[27] Heather Ecker provides a detailed description of the work of the 'ecclesiastical research committee' responsible for implementing partitioning and conversions in, 'How to Administer a Conquered City in Al-Andalus: Mosques, Parish Churches and Parishes', Medieval Encounters 22 (2005): 45-65.
[28] Perry, p. 68.
[29] Perry, p. 69.
[30] Soifer, pp. 22-23.

stand relations during this period, and instead focus on: 'how each ethnic and religious group dealt with the tension between power and powerlessness, how and why certain social and intellectual boundaries amoung groups were established and why at times they were crossed, and how such boundary-crossing caused social tension among and identity crises within groups.[31] Just as the centuries leading up to the Castilian capture of Granada require a more problematised reading of 'multicultural societies', the conditions of Moriscos, Mudéjars and Christians 'living together' in post-conquest Granada necessitates an altogether different set of considerations, taking into account the changing relations between these groups as the political climate grew increasingly more volatile and unstable. As minorities were increasingly subjected to processes of assimilation and discrimination, their own cultural and religious traditions became correspondingly hybridised and unintelligible.[32]

A number of recent studies have challenged the symbolic value of 1492 as both the decisive endpoint of Muslim presence in Spain and the catalyst for European expansion into the New World, since the conquest of Granada has traditionally been viewed as the beginning of the 'progressive neoclassic era' of the Renaissance that replaced the 'darkness, ignorance and superstition' of the medieval period.[33] Instead, as María Rosa Menocal has argued in relation to the diverse and fractured populations of the city, this date should conjure up a vision of 'spectacular chaos and multiplicity of voices'.[34] A number of scholars have worked to shed light on the social and political complexities of this period, many of them drawing upon the texts and images left behind.[35] Dodds, Menocal and Abigail Krasner Balbale, studying the making of Castilian identity throughout the broad period of the Christian *Reconquista* have suggested that 'the written,

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[31] Meyerson and English, p. xiii.
[32] Kate A. Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007). Harris' study is exhaustive and insightful in its consideration of a set of engraved tablets found in 1588 and 1595 which may have been forged as way of 'proving' Granada's Christian origins. She argues that they were created by Moriscos attempting to unify Christian and Muslim histories by fabricating a link between Arabic lineage and Spanish Catholicism, using the idea of heritage as opposed to history to discuss the tablets and their appeal to the mixed population of Granada at the time.
[33] Menocal, 'Al-Andalus and 1492', p. 499.
[34] Menocal, 'Al-Andalus and 1492', p. 484.
[35] Felipe Pereda has demonstrated the effects of social and religious conflict on the politics of the image in his study of religious imagery in the region between 1478 and 1501. *Las Imágenes de la Discordia: Politica y Poética de la Imagen Sagrada en la España del 400* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones de Historia, SA, 2007).

verbal, and artistic languages that were shared by Muslims and Christians, the meanings attached to these forms and styles, became the cultural bedrock of the Castilians, and of the Spanish nation state that followed'.[36] Though they recognise 1492 as a 'tear in the fabric of our historical memory', their description of the symbolic value of the event is worth quoting at length:

> This is a crossroads in both history and its memory mostly defined in the going forward: into a Spain that would be dramatically delineated and colored by the expulsions of the Jews, in that same year; by the betrayal of those capitulation promises of religious and cultural protection from prosecution for the Muslims, who would not be definitively expelled until 1614; and by that intervening century of often brutal effort to redefine Castilian - now Spanish - identity as something purely Christian in blood, belief and cultural habit.[37]

Though this date rather disappointingly marks the end of their own expansive study, they acknowledge the importance of recalibrating an earlier stage of this history so as to better understand the terms for influence and exchange in the development of style. The development of modern Spain saw a breaking with what was, at least in part, their own cultural identity in the years following the conquest, since by the fourteenth century, Castilian culture had become so intertwined with the music, language and visual traditions of al-Andalus that they had become part of the makeup of its own identity. In her analysis of Islamic garments worn by Christian nobility, Feliciano explains that as Castile consolidated its political dominance throughout the peninsula, monarchs increasingly sharing the same aesthetic vocabulary with rival Andalusi courts, resulting in 'sumptuous textiles with the iconographic program of its own sphere of

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[36] Jerrilynn D. Dodds, Maria Rosa Menocal and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 5. This book is as fascinating as it is problematic; it provides an overview of a vast spectrum of Castilian objects produced from relations with Jewish and Muslim cultures, part of a 'seven-century intimacy with Islam' that was 'betrayed' following the events of 1492. While I support many aspects of their study, including the non-linear approach to Castilian artistic production (for, as they rightly point out, 'the path by which tenth-century Castile travelled to fifteenth-century Spain was not a straight one'), the underlying premise of 'intimacy' as a foundation for discussing influence runs the danger of diluting the more sinister aspects of the history of conquest in the region leading up to the end of the fifteenth century.

[37] Dodds et al., *The Arts of Intimacy*, p. 269.

power'.[38] She describes the way that, 'when woven into the same fine textiles and presented next to distinctively Andalusi decoration, (Castilian) heraldic motifs continued to send a most intelligible message of Castilian socio-cultural primacy'.[39] Although such fluid terms for exchange and absorption changed significantly after 1492, the artistic legacy of the region had a long and equally dynamic material afterlife that can tell the art historian a great deal about the society which remained. The appropriation of elements from Antiquity and the syncretic absorption of the Nasrid style within the Mexuar reveals something about the state of material relations that endured following the conquest.

The redecorating of the Mexuar demonstrates a continuation of artistic practices from the Nasrid period, including the adaptation of ornamental motifs and ceramic tiling techniques, although its meanings must also be considered alongside the emergence of a new imperial power in sixteenth-century Spain. I argue that it is equally as important to recognise the hybridity of forms in the centuries leading up to the conquest as it is to acknowledge the continued morphology of such elements under Christian rule in Granada. Though I refrain from positing a causal connection between the Nasrid ornamental forms and the Castilian-Morisco interventions, I maintain that later additions and replacements were almost certainly made *in relation* to the existing space. This throws up some important questions about the processes involved in such interventions. For example, what were the precise roles of rulers, designers and artisans in the re-cladding of the Alhambra's palace interiors, and what was the nature of the relationship between, say, Castilian governors and Morisco artisans? Up to a point, these questions cannot be answered with the available evidence, however, the kind of adaptation found within the space helps to complicate the polemicised model of 'tolerance' and 'conflict' that is often used to describe these relationships. Given that Christians and Muslims continued to 'coexist' for decades following the conquest of Granada, relations were consistently marred by political manipulation, forced conversions and uprisings. While patterns of exchange were at this point fully and deeply ingrained within the mixed population of the city, along with the accepted use

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[38] Feliciano, 'Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings?', p. 119.
[39] Feliciano, 'Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings?', p. 119.

of art and architecture as a means for legacy building within the court, the increasingly strained relations within the new hierarchy were ultimately what forged the artistic production of the period.

As I have already established in chapter one, it was during the final stretch of Muslim rule in Granada that combinations of previous styles were used to create new and distinct motifs within the art and architecture of the Alhambra. Similar to the overlapping panels of the Generalife *mirador*, the Nasrid column incorporated elements from antique and localised architectural sources as part of the development of its own unique aesthetic. The column and capital are borrowed from the Greco-Roman tradition and elaborated over many centuries of production, incorporating multiple artistic vocabularies from the Umayyad, Merinid, *taifa* and Almohad periods.[40] Though for the Nasrids, classical Rome was a temporally and geographically distant memory, the inheritance of the Umayyad caliphate brought with it a 'deeply rooted Hellenism with an openness to the ancient cultures of the Near East'.[41] In Granada this adaptive quality extended to the incorporation of Christian styles and symbols in art, and even Arthurian iconography such as in the painted ceilings of the Hall of Justice. Such objects continue to inspire debates around authorship and the political alliances that may have inspired such adaptations.[42] Another example is the Nasrid coat of arms or shield emblem, a Christian heraldic device adapted during the reign of Muhammad V that may have been used to signify the feudal bond between the sultan and the Castilian king, Pedro I (fig. 19).[43] There are few parallels for the shield symbol in Islamic art, and its incorporation of the 'God is the only Victor' motto is a

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[40] It is important to note that Greece is not believed to be the original source of the orders, but the place in which they first came to maturity in the form that we recognise as 'classical'. Robert Chitham and Calder Loth explain that earlier examples of Doric capitals can be traced to Cretan and Minoan cultures, while the formative elements of the Ionic capital (i.e. volutes and flower decorations) can be attributed to the ancient architecture of the Near East, and fluting and moulded entablatures to Egypt. *The Classical Orders of Architecture*, 2nd edn. (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005), p. 29.

[41] Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Art and Architecture*, 2nd edn. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010), p. 14.

[42] For a recent collection of essays that revisit the nature of influence as it pertains to the Hall of Justice paintings, see Robinson and Pinet's special issue of *Medieval Encounters,* 14: 2, 3 (2008).

[43] B. Pavón Maldonado has suggested that the emblem emerged as a result of the intimate friendship between the two rulers, a design inspired by the 'Order of the Band', the heraldic device of Pedro I's father, King Alfonso XI. 'Escudos y reyes en el Cuarto de los Leones de la Alhambra', *Al-Andalus* 35 (1970), pp. 179-197. His argument has been challenged by Ana Echevarria, who highlights the ongoing manipulation of the Nasrid court by Castilian rulers from the thirteenth century onward and the wider political aim of Pedro I to establish feudal ties with the sultanate in order to maintain power. 'Painting Politics in the Alhambra', *Medieval Encounters* 14: 2, 3 (2008), pp. 207-208.

fascinating case of translation across Nasrid and Castilian courts.[44] The coat of arms is among the many combinations of forms found within the 'conquered program of signification' of the Mexuar, displayed alongside the Plus Ultra emblem and the double-headed Habsburg eagle, which were also embedded into the dado tilework using Nasrid techniques (fig's. 20 and 21).[45] The interspersed symbols reflect the strained and yet surprisingly pliant nature of intercultural and interfaith relations only decades after the conquest. On the one hand, the integration of a new visual programme within the existing one reflects a certain level of tolerance, while on the other it dominates and occupies (both physically and symbolically), the space of the former dynasty.

As a comparative reading of classical influence in the Mexuar risks the problematic implication of a 'shared' language of forms, it is imperative to recognise that antique influences filtered into Muslim and Christian societies through very different channels and historical conditions. Although the revival of antique forms in Christian Spain clearly differs from the Nasrid period of adaptation, a consideration of such processes on equal footing allows for a deeper understanding of the Mexuar's interventions, and the transhistorical value of the Alhambra more generally (indeed, this a theme that I follow into the nineteenth century, when visual themes were 'imported' for an entirely different set of reasons). In addition to a synchronic reading of these material interventions, there is also the potential for seeing them relationally and transtemporally, which helps to close the historiographic gap between early Islamic cultures and the development of European art and architecture. As is agreed by a number of art historians, the continuity of art and architectural traditions from the Hellenised province of Syria formed the

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[44] The *blazon* is a notable exception, a type of heraldic insignia that may have been transferred during the Crusades. Scott Redford has argued that this 'emblematic language of power' was passed between the Frankish armies of the first Crusade and members of the Zangid, Ayyūbid, Rūm Seljuk, Artuqid, Danishmendid, Khwārazmshāh, Mamlūk dynasties of the early twelfth century, after which it evolved into the genealogical system of heraldry in Western Europe ('A Grammar of Rūm Seljuk Ornament', *Mésogeios Méditerranée* 25-26, 2005, p. 288). Ruggles has pointed out that the Mamlūk *blazon* may have alternatively been learned from the Central Asian Turks, explaining that the during the Mamlūk period (following Ayyūbid rule in Egypt and Syria) the abstract rendering of an iconic object was widely used to enhance or replace a ruler's name, appearing on buildings, textiles, weapons and domestic objects. *Islamic Art and Visual Culture: An Anthology of Sources* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 68-69.

[45] Echevarria, 'Painting Politics in the Alhambra', p. 217.

basis for many of the styles and regional types of Islamic art.[46] Furthermore, as Menocal has pointed out, the dislocation of Islamic art and architecture from its classical heritage threatens to relegate al-Andalus to an 'inactive and foreign past'.[47] At the same time, while the classical devices of column, capital, and impost found their way into the formal vocabulary of Islamic art at an early stage, a description of the Nasrid capitals of the Mexuar as 'classically inspired' underestimates the extent to which such formal elements had been transformed and reinterpreted over the centuries. It is for this reason that Grabar has insisted on acknowledging the classical heritage of Nasrid art, even through the multiple filters of its Islamic predecessors:

> It is within some kind of equilibrium between direct filiation with antiquity through Syrian and Cordovan examples of earlier centuries and a ubiquitous medieval vision of princely life in a concretely Muslim shape that the functions and meanings of the Alhambra must be understood.[48]

A study of influence as it took shape in the Mexuar raises the issue of 'knowingness' as it pertains to classical forms, within both Muslim and Christian contexts. Grabar has also remarked on the inability of post-conquest Christians to recognise classical forms within the Islamic art and architecture they encountered, 'precisely at the time when western Renaissance architects and artists returned consciously to the classical models from which so many of the Alhambra's meanings and forms derived'.[49] His reasoning for this is unclear, for evidence would suggest that not only was this antique language actively used by the Castilian court at this time, but that the school of humanist thought associated with the Renaissance and its particular incarnation within Christian Granada may also have fostered a critical understanding of its appropriation within other artforms. The assumption that Christians were largely ignorant of meanings and variations within Andalusi art and literature has since been contested, especially

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[46] Ghazi Bisheh explains that the Arab-Muslim conquest of the Northeast in the seventh century removed the barriers between Iran, Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean world (allowing for the intermixing of Greco-Roman and Sassanian cultures), while the already Hellenised province of Syria was a major factor in the transferral of classical forms to other Islamic centres (p. 46).
[47] Menocal, 'Al-Andalus and 1492', p. 483.
[48] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, p. 157.
[49] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, p. 207.

in light of the fact that many Castilians of the period were able to read and write in Arabic and were familiar with many aspects of Islamic culture. Rouhi makes the important point that Christian theologians who sought to refute Islam first learnt about it, a tradition evidenced by the large volume of translations, encounters, and lectures on religion that remain from the period.[50] Furthermore, since many Christians had lived amongst Muslim populations for several hundred years leading up to the final conquest, they would have become at least visually familiar with the art and architecture that surrounded them - stylistic traditions that would hardly have been considered 'exotic' by this time. This level of familiarity with the Nasrid style may partly explain the decision to bring in the help of Morisco artisans to complete the transformation of a council chamber into a chapel.

After Charles V's rise to imperial power in 1519, the Spanish state struggled to keep separate their collective identity from the pan-European scope of his dominion, as well as the Andalusi influences that had dominated the peninsula for nearly nine centuries. Equally, the Morisco population attempted to preserve their own cultural traditions in the wake of the Inquisition and their gradual integration into Christian society. Flood's model of cultural translation is useful here, what he defines as 'a dynamic, multidirectional activity that takes place both between and within cultural codes, forms, and practices'.[51] In the Mexuar, the integration of classical symbolism using the Nasrid style can be seen as a reinterpretation of these codes, forms and practices; part of yet another reshaping of Granadan identity as it came into contact with the Renaissance style and the foreign Habsburg court. The Plus Ultra emblem is found within a number of spaces of the Alhambra, most prominently throughout the rooms of the

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[50] Rouhi, 'A Salamancan's Pursuit of Islamic Studies', p. 22.
[51] Flood, p. 9.

Christian royal chambers and the Pilar de Carlos V,[52] and at different times incorporates Burgundian, Spanish and Portuguese symbols. However its depiction in the Mexuar, as designed by Morisco artisans in the Nasrid style, warrants a separate reading. The Pillar murals are placed within a reconstituted Nasrid programme of ornament and are themselves designed using the colour scheme and cut into ceramic shapes using the *alictado* technique, which were manufactured and incorporated by Nasrid descendants under Christian patronage.[53] How the symbolic and referential vocabulary of these adaptations would have been read or 'understood' by Moriscos or Christian patrons remains something of a mystery, but the simple fact that both eras of symbolism were contemporaneously visible is significant. The pillar murals of the Mexuar speak to the dynamics of power and influence in Granada, revealing a unique treatment of style that reflects both domination and integration.

In her analysis of relations in early medieval Spain, Dodds highlights the acculturation of Christian rituals and artefacts within the context of a newly conquered Muslim territory, a hierarchy that was to be reversed many centuries later. Describing the incorporation of Christian rituals as a way of enforcing Muslim superiority, she explains the way that 'a form disdained as the tool of dissident members of a community is embraced as part of a general acculturation of the values of that now-neutralized group'.[54] The interventions under Charles V show a very sim-

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[52] Following the emperor's brief residency with his wife in 1526, he ordered the construction of six new rooms in the garden area between the Nasrid palaces that are now known as the Emperor's Chambers, accessed through a former window in the Lions Palace. They are also known as the Rooms of Washington Irving, after the author lodged there in 1829. The Plus Ultra emblem is found within the wooden panelling and floor tiles, but is perhaps most prominently displayed above the Renaissance fireplace in marble, designed by Pedro Machuca. It is also found in the Pilar de Carlos V, an elaborate fountain in the wooded area along the wall of the Alhambra that acted as both a retaining wall and a watering hole for cavalry. Commissioned by the Count of Tendilla, designed by Machuca, and constructed by Italian sculptor Nicolás de Corte in 1545, it contains a raft of symbols including the House of Tendilla coat of arms, the Granada coat of arms, the Habsburg eagle with Plus Ultra banderole, and the Order of the Golden Fleece.

[53] *Alictados* are a type of ceramic mosaic comprised of geometric patterns or lazos. Individual pieces are cut and trimmed by delicate pliers called *alicates* before being arranged face-down and covered with alternating coats of gesso and tangled threads of grass until they form a solid surface. Pieces were either placed contiguously against each other or separated by a white ribbon of specified width. As with plaster ornamentation, designs were usually made for a designated space and then constructed separately before being attached to the surface, in the case of dados, that being the lower section of the wall. (Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, pp. 91-92).

[54] She explains that the adoption of both form and rite (in this case religious procession and devotion to relics) reflects an acknowledgement of the power of spectacle in the region, rather than a Muslim admiration for or understanding of Christian religious ceremony. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain*, p. 105.

ilar brand of absorption, in that they combine imperial iconography with the style and method of a minority culture that had only very recently been conquered. And, to further complicate this network of influences, the dominant role of the Spanish court in the design and supervision of these interventions may explain their stylistic departure from imperial conventions. Castilians had their own collective identity to defend, but one that was already caught up within a network of conflicting cultural meanings. These plural and interwoven sets of influence are the historical building blocks of the Mexuar. To gain a deeper understanding of its apparent contradictions and overlaps it is first necessary to view the various political and visual frameworks that determine the nature of its interventions. In employing Moriscos to stylistically incorporate the imperial device within the programme of the Mexuar, the Castilian court may have been implementing their own visual strategy, continuing a frontier tradition that had in many ways come to characterise the diverse population of the region.

Heraldry for an absent king: the emperor's 'new mode'

Raised as a Burgundian prince, young Charles of Ghent (first crowned Charles I, king of Castile and Aragon, later Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire) struggled for control over his inherited Spanish territory, and the mixed Christian and Muslim population of Granada presented an additional challenge to his rule.[55] Seen as a puppet to the Flemish Grand Chamberlain, Chièvres, he spoke Spanish only with difficulty as late as 1518, and he made few initial

[55] Though a descendant of Castilian and Aragonese bloodlines through Juana, the third child of Ferdinand and Isabel, Charles of Ghent faced an adversarial climate when assuming the throne of Castile and Aragon in 1516 at the age of fifteen. The conditions of his coming to power were complicated; Ferdinand the Catholic, his grandfather, had returned to Castile in 1510 and assumed the role of regent after declaring his daughter, Queen Juana, unfit to rule (Juana's husband, Philip 'the Handsome' of Habsburg, had died shortly after taking the throne in 1506). Juana 'la Loca' was held at Tordessillas until her death in 1555. For a critical overview of the conditions of her diagnosis and life imprisonment see Bethany Aram, *Juana the Mad: Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

alliances with his Castilian subjects.[56] A series of unexpected deaths led to his rise to the throne, an outcome that was very much against the wishes of the Castilian court.[57] His imperial symbolism was tied up with reinforcing his Spanish maternal family's hold over 'reclaimed' territory while expanding the borders of his father's empire, which included Austria, the Netherlands, and southern Italy at the time of his crowning as emperor in 1519.[58] He maintained a largely absolutist administration that ran counter to Castilian interests, siding at different times with the Italian predisposition of his advisor, the Imperial Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara, and the opposed councils of the Empress and Juan Pardo de Tavera.[59] Another civil problem presented itself in the form of the *comunero* revolution, which began as a nationalist movement with strong public support and that gradually grew more radical and led to the kidnapping of his imprisoned mother.[60] Despite these pressing issues in Granada and elsewhere in Spain, he spent only a limited amount of time in the kingdom as increasing demands and obligations called him away to other realms of the empire.[61] This earned him the title of 'itinerant monarch',[62] while his

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[56] Tafuri, Manfredo, 'The Granada of Charles V: Palace and Mausoleum', in *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects*, trans. Daniel Sherer (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press in association with Harvard University Graduate School of Design, 2006), p. 183. His unpopularity was not helped by the fact that his younger brother Ferdinand had been raised by the Castilian court and was viewed as the country's natural prince. The failed attempts by Cisneros to wrestle the young king from his Burgundian advisors upon entering Spain had sealed the authority of the alien Habsburgs. A dispatch was sent to the cardinal advising him not to travel to meet the king and relegating him to a secondary role, but it is said that he was prevented from reading it by his collaborators before his death at Roa in 1517. Manuel Fernández Alvarez, *Charles V: Elected Emperor and Hereditary Ruler,* trans. J. A. Lalaguna (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975), p. 23.

[57] The Catholic monarchs had not wished for the union of Spain and the Habsburg empire: the death of their son, Infante Juan shortly after his marriage to Margaret (daughter of emperor Maximilian), ended the direct male lineage of Ferdinand, and the subsequent death of their eldest daughter, Isabel, and her son Miguel in 1500, left power in the hands of Juana, and ultimately Charles (Elliot, p. 125.)

[58] Charles' elevation to Holy Roman Emperor in 1519 seemed to improve relations with his Spanish subjects, adding prestige, giving him the title of 'Sacra, Cesárea, Católica, Real Magestad', and opening up new possibilities for him to wield power within an international arena (Elliott, p. 137).

[59] Tafuri, 'The Granada of Charles V: Palace and Mausoleum', p. 183. Juan Pardo de Tavera was Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo from 1534-1545, who saw the emperor's involvement with Italy as a throwback to the 'Aragonese' foreign policy of Ferdinand, which he feared would lead to European conflict (Elliott, p. 158).

[60] The revolt was finally suppressed in 1521, but not before Juana was captured and held hostage for a short period, effectively stealing the official crown of Castile. The ultimate defeat of the *comuneros* at the hands of the emperor did, however, make allies of the aristocracy, as they had stood to lose much in the potential overthrow of feudalism (Fernández Alvarez, pp. 40-41).

[61] In his earlier absences the government was run by Francisco de los Cobos, a former secretary of Ferdinand the Catholic. After his marriage to Isabel of Portugal, she governed Castile from the position of a nomadic court, travelling between Madrid, Toledo, Ocaña, Valladolid and Burgos (Fernández Alvarez, p. 115).

[62] These demands meant that he was continually under pressure to travel from one realm to another in order to avoid accusations of favouritism (Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V*, p. 4).

Renaissance-style palace was seen as a 'monumental symbol of power by an absent king'.[63] Even more revealingly, the new royal palace was funded by Morisco taxes and its construction was halted and eventually abandoned after a series of revolts, arguably failing to serve as a symbolic counterweight to the Nasrid palaces.

J. H. Elliot describes Charles' ascension following the death of Ferdinand as bringing about the end of a fight for Spanish nationalism, explaining that his victory signified much more than the triumph of the crown over its traditional enemies, or of the forces of order over those of anarchy: 'it represented the momentary triumph of Europe over Castile'.[64] While Elliot claims that Roman architecture was hitherto unknown to Spain, and that the Renaissance monuments of the new regime 'awakened no ready-made response in the Castilian population at large', he at the same time acknowledges that Ferdinand and Isabel had looked beyond their kingdom's borders and that under them a culture of Spanish humanism had already migrated from Italy and Flanders.[65] These points seem contradictory, for the influx of humanist thought set the foundations for a uniquely Spanish return to antiquity, which would have made members of the court, at least to some extent, aware of the Roman architectural tradition. The very fact that the court remained open to international relations (as opposed to being insular prior to its incorporation into the empire) highlights its independence from the Holy Roman Empire and suggests that a Renaissance tradition emerged separately from but in parallel to the the imperial aims of Charles V. This humanist tradition would also determine the nature of Spanish negotiations with the multi-ethnic population of Granada after the conquest, the philosophy of the Romans being brought in to deal with the problem of difference, with varying results that I will explore later in the chapter. The combination of these factors within the unsteady and at times volatile political climate of Granada led to the production of an unusual integration of imperial symbolism (inter-

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[63] Cammy Brothers, 'The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V', *Muqarnas* 11 (1994), p. 98.
[64] Elliott, p. 150.
[65] Elliott, pp. 150-151. Rafael Domínguez Casas notes that one of the main objectives of the monarchy was to integrate Spain into European politics, hence the marriage alliances of their children with the royal houses of the Habsburgs, the Tudors, and the Avís. 'The Artistic Patronage of Isabel the Catholic: Medieval Or Modern', in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. Barbara F. Weissberger (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008), p. 139.

preted by the Spanish court), with the Nasrid style that had shaped (and continued to shape) the cultural and urban fabric of the city.

I argue that Granada's unique conditions in the first quarter of the sixteenth century led to a subtler brand of intervention within the Mexuar. The choice to preserve the Nasrid complex and alter its existing spaces was a tradition that predated Charles, demonstrated by Christian rulers who found that they could not assume power simply by destroying or replacing the remains of the former inhabitants, and alternatively set about appropriating the venerable status of existing Muslim sites.[66] However, it is important to recognise that the post-conquest climate of Granada was different from that of fourteenth-century Seville or Toledo.[67] Monarchic rule had been replaced by a foreign empire that was more interested in territorial expansion than the concerns of a small Spanish region. At the same time, the permeation of classically-influenced thought within both architectural and intellectual circles led to a separate Renaissance tradition in Granada that was informed by multiple perspectives, and only intermittently observed by the emperor himself. As I go on to argue, the 'Spanish Renaissance' did not develop along a single path, and in the absence of the emperor it took on a shape all its own, one nuanced by the plural voices and political tensions that were present in Granada. The involvement of Moriscos in the depiction of the Plus Ultra emblem seems to testify to these unusual circumstances, as does the placement of the emblem within the converted chapel alongside a 'conquered' but no less distinct programme of Nasrid art and architecture.

The relative peace established by Ferdinand and Isabel following the conquest had largely disintegrated by the time their grandson took the throne, leaving him with a conquered, but conflict-ridden populace. Though the years between 1492 and 1499 are often remembered as a period of peace and prosperity in Castile, the frequency of civil uprisings against Jews and converted populations increased with the riots of 1449, 1467 and 1474.[68] The more tolerant ap-

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[66] Brothers, p. 96.
[67] This tradition was well established in the region, with Seville's Alcázar commissioned by Pedro the Cruel, and famously, the conversion of the Great Mosque of Córdoba into a Christian chapel. For more on the subject of Christian assimilation of Andalusi art and architecture see Dodds, et al., *Arts of Intimacy*.
[68] Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979), pp. 134-135.

proach to conversion by gentle persuasion under archbishop Hernando de Talavera (formerly the queen's trusted advisor and confessor), included the training of priests in Arabic and the acceptance of new converts' Muslim dress, customs and language within the church.[69] These initiatives were fully supported by Don Iñigo López de Mendoza y Quiñones, second Count of Tendilla and first Marqués of Mondéjar (referred to hereafter as Tendilla), and helped to establish a certain amount of trust between Christian and Muslim groups. This climate of mutual respect, however, was abruptly reversed by Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo and Grand Inquisitor and Regent of Castile,[70] whose intolerant policies would set in motion a series of rebellions and enrage the remaining Muslim population. Religious and racial intolerance accompanied the rising ecclesiastical power within the kingdom, spreading fear and bitterness among minority groups who felt they had been betrayed. Following an initial rebellion in the Albaicín, Talavera and Tendilla promised the cessation of forceful conversions,[71] but Isabel's eventual acceptance of Cisneros' hardline strategies resulted in the implementation of an even more oppressive conversion programme in 1499, along with a public burning of Arabic manuscripts. Rumours of the use of torture to force Muslims to convert instigated the first major Alpujarras uprising, after which the archbishop decreed the acceptance of baptism as a necessary condition for royal pardon for Muslims accused of rebellion.[72]

The monarchy's consolidation of a new political structure at the Court of Toledo in 1480 also introduced a number of ideological changes that gradually removed power from the hands of long-standing supporters of Moriscos, such as Talavera and Tendilla. The reforms tipped the balance from a more military-ruled council administration led by 'caballeros', to one led by 'latrados', or learned jurists. The letrado historical view of the Spanish monarchy, based on medieval scholastic political theory and Roman law, imposed a rationalising universal order

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[69] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, p. 6.
[70] William Maltby, *The Reign of Charles V* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 14.
[71] As a gesture of his sincerity following an initial Muslim rebellion against Cisneros' reforms, Tendilla moved his wife and children to a house near a local mosque. Nader notes that Tendilla's policy of toleration toward the Morsicos was not a manifestation of a new, open society in Castile but the continuation of a Mendoza family tradition that she traces back to the works of Ayala, Guzmán, and Santillana (Nader, pp. 157, 197).
[72] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, p. 6.

within the political sphere and strict regulation of 'correct' religious practice, which would have devastating repercussions for the remaining minority populations of Granada.[73] In 1501 Isabel issued a decree that all Muslims must convert to Christianity or leave the kingdom, and over the next three decades a series of royal mandates banned Arabic written script and prohibited traditional clothing, food, festive dances, and other elements supposedly representative of the Muslim faith. The 1530s saw the imprisonment, seizure of property, public lashing and occasional executions of 'crypto-Muslims' under the Inquisition.[74] This transformed what had been a relatively peaceful section of society into a 'sullen, suspicious population', provoking guerilla retaliation from outposts in the Alpujarras region and the north coast of Africa, where many persecuted Moriscos had taken refuge. Nader writes that these policies had an 'immediate and permanent effect [that put] an ever-increasing strain on the military and politcal resources of the kingdom'.[75] As a result of these conditions, the Morisco rebellion of 1568 was perceived as part of a widespread political and religious movement against the Habsburgs and Catholic Christendom. Later in the sixteenth century, Morisco rebellions were increasingly perceived as part of a widespread political and religious movement against the Habsburgs and Catholic Christendom, adding to existing pressures from the growing threat of the Reformation and the French-supported Ottoman advance. These factors ensured that Granada remained a political and military frontier long after conquest, as ongoing rebellions stoked fears of a potential Turkish invasion that might mobilize the Morisco population from within the borders of Spain.[76]

Charles V returned to Spain in 1522 after a long period spent in other dominions, showing his commitment to his Spanish kingdoms by making Granada the temporary seat of his vast empire.[77] He married his first cousin, Isabel of Portugal, in 1526 and the couple resided in the Alhambra for a short time before it was decided that a separate palace would be built on the

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[73] Nader, pp. 130-131.
[74] Perry, 'Memory and Mutilation', pp. 67-68.
[75] Nader, p. 158.
[76] Philip II suspected the remaining Moriscos in Spain as making up a fifth column that aided the Ottoman advance in North Africa and the Protestant cause in Europe, an exaggerated claim that would fuel the conflict between Islamic and Christian populations. For more on this subject see Hess, 'The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column'.
[77] Elliott provides a useful and still relevant overview of of Charles V's time spent in Spain, amounting to sixteen years comprised of one long stay of seven years and five shorter visits (pp. 154-203).

same grounds. This resulted in the construction of the Renaissance style palace and royal suite in the Alhambra, as well as the new Cathedral in the lower city.[78] As the kingdom was gradually Christianised, the size of the refugee community of Andalusis increased, and many of them participated in a series of raids on the Spanish coast that continued into the seventeenth century.[79] The Christian population grew increasingly suspicious of the remaining Granadino Moriscos, creating a tense political climate within early sixteenth-century Spain. It also provided a window of opportunity for Charles V to demonstrate his imperial might as he drew upon the resources of his vast dominion to defend the Spanish kingdom from the Turkish empire.[80] The emperor's responsibilities thus included maintaining this political and cultural frontier zone, whilst keeping the growing Protestant threat at bay and simultaneously ensuring the growth of the empire into Europe, Africa and the Americas. During this time it was imperative that he project an image of irrefutable power to the subjects of his many dominions as well as his enemies, to assure them that not only would their individual realms be defended, but that he would also continue to expand the borders of the Christian empire.

The emperor entrusted the management of renovations to the existing Nasrid palace and the new royal building programme almost entirely to the appointed *alcaide* or governor of the Alhambra.[81] The Mendozas presided over both projects throughout the period: under Tendilla until his death in 1515; then until 1543 by his son Luis Hurtado de Mendoza y Pacheco, Capitán General of the armed forces of Andalucia and second Marqués of Mondéjar (hereafter, Luis Hurtado); followed by his son in 1543, Iñigo López de Mendoza y Mendoza.[82] Luis Hurtado followed in the footsteps of his father, who had been a close and dedicated supporter of the royal family since the time of the conquest, and showed a persistent antagonism toward the chancery

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[78] The Cathedral of Granada was built in 1528 by Diego de Siloe and is considered an important monument of Spain's 'Siglo de Oro', a model upon which many subsequent churches were based throughout the empire. See Earl E. Rosenthal, *The Cathedral of Granada: A Study in the Spanish Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

[79] Hess, p. 7.

[80] He drew on the naval power of his allies in Genoa, and borrowed loans from Germany to protect Italy, Sicily and Spain (Elliott, pp. 154-203).

[81] Charles V ordered the continuation of repairs to the Alhambra on 12 October 1516, shortly before he left for Flanders (Ramón Carande Thobar, *Carlos V y sus banqueros*, Madrid, 1943, I, pp. 127-128, in Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V*, p. 4, note 6).

[82] Luis Hurtado left the post of captaincy general in 1543 to take up the position of viceroy of Navarre in, what Nader identifies as a sign of his need for greater financial resources (Nader, pp. 196-197).

after Ferdinand's death.[83] Tendilla had moved his family into the Alhambra following the conquest, where they lived in relative isolation from the rest of the Mendoza family and remained loyal to the monarchs throughout their reign. Louis Hurtado was permitted to stay after winning the favour of Charles V while he visited on his honeymoon in 1526, and while his interest in the classical revival happened to correspond with the imperial agenda, his investment was rooted in a more humanist ideal. He became the sole authority on the Alhambra and acted independently of the royal city council,[84] while the role of designer and primary architect on the project of the imperial palace was given to the Italian-trained painter, Pedro Machuca, who was also responsible for some of the alterations in and around the Nasrid complex. Earl Rosenthal gives a thorough account of the design and building process of the Renaissance-style palace, questioning the emperor's decision to give Machuca full design and supervisory responsibilities, since he was trained in Italy as a painter and showed no interest in architecture prior to 1527.[85] The longstanding association between the Machuca and Mendoza families may have facilitated this arrangement, and there is evidence to suggest that another architect, Juan de Maeda, was frequently called to the Alhambra to assess progress. In addition, a series of changes are thought to have been made to the original design by the Castilian mason Luis de Vega and his patron and secretary to the emperor, Francisco de los Cobos. To add to this list of potential influences on the design of the royal palace, Manfredo Tafuri has speculated that Luis Hurtado may have worked in consultation with Baldassare Castiglione, Papal Nuncio at the court of Charles V, who in turn may have asked the Italian architect, Giuilio Romano for ideas.[86]

Irrespective of how the palace came to be realised, it was Tendilla who first introduced the Renaissance style to Castile and adapted it within the context of Isabelline architecture, a 'flamboyant' style of Gothic that incorporated elements of Flemish, Italian and Mudéjar styles (typified in the Royal Chapel of Granada). He had been impressed by the projects of the papal chancellor and friend of the Mendoza family, Rodrigo Borgia, and returned in 1486 from a two

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[83.] Nader, p. 196.
[84.] Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V*, pp. 9-10.
[85.] This uncertainty is further complicated by a loss of ledgers pertaining to Machuca's work on the Alhambra between 1543 and 1550 (Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V*, pp. 3-22, 78).
[86.] Tafuri, pp. 208-215.

year ambassadorial mission in Rome having acquired a fresh set of architectural skills.[87] In her convincing study, Helen Nader posits that the Renaissance style found in Castilian art and literature was formed on its own terms, and not simply as a diffusion of Italian influence. She describes a continuance of the 'old, particularist view of the Castilian monarchy' through which the Spanish humanists saw themselves as the cultural heirs of the ancient Romans.[88] This tradition grew from a 'relativistic and particularistic' understanding of history that judged societies based on their individual conditions and place in time (what might be likened in linguistic terms to the synchronic approach). The humanist tradition greatly contrasted with the position of the letrados, who saw the past as a record of God's judgement on men, or as a decline from an ideal state.[89] Nader writes that the letrados' intermixing of history and religion led to their becoming the uncontested formulators of religious policy in Castile, usurping the 'eclectic, pietistic, and tolerant' Mendoza policies of the early fifteenth century.[90] During the time of the Christian monarchs, Roman influence showed itself mainly in policy and literature and did not extend to architecture; most of the Mendoza family built in the Gothic style under the leadership of the duke of Infantado.[91] It was during the reign of Charles V that, under the influence of the Mendoza family, Granada came to have Europe's only Renaissance cathedral and one of the largest Renaissance palaces, expressed in a unique Plateresque style.[92] It is important to recognise this architectural legacy alongside the interventions in the Nasrid palaces, as it was this same blend of classically-derived sensibilities that allowed for the acceptance of another kind of anachron-

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87. He also brought back with him the Italian-trained architect, Lorenzo Vásquez. Tendilla had been charged by his uncle, cardinal Mendoza, with the reconstruction of the Roman basilica of Santa Croce during his embassy to Innocent VIII. He had discussed the work of the Romans with Rodrigo Borgia, who showed a preference for Renaissance architecture and who became known to Tendilla as early as 1472 during cardinal meetings in Valencia and Guadalajara. This encounter is though to have greatly influenced the stylistic leanings of the Mendoza family for generations to come (Nader, p. 190).
88. Nader highlights the Renaissance form and substance of the historical writing of the Castilian chancellor Ayala in as early as 1395, despite his ignorance of things Florentine, suggesting that the origins of the Renaisssance in Castile were contemporaneous with, but independent of the Italian Renaissance (pp. 192, 13).
89. Nader, p. 10.
90. Nader, p. 134.
91. Nader, p. 191.
92. The term 'Plateresque' refers to a style of Renaissance ornamentation that renders classical forms in a manner inflected with medieval influences, in this case from the Gothic 'Isabelline' style of the Castilian monarchs. The term originates from the Spanish plata ('silver' or 'silversmith'), as early developments involved the plating or covering of existing Gothic buildings with silver or silver alloy.

ism that lay much closer to the heart of political and social conflict in Granada.

With the absorption of Spain into the empire, these different approaches to the Roman tradition came face to face with the expansionist aims of Charles V and his officials. The humanist engagement with classical models introduces another way of looking at the imperial symbolism of the Mexuar. As historians, we do not always have access to the intention of rulers or makers, but it is nonetheless possible to compare separate historical moments of production in order to trace their trajectories and identify their points of intersection. The Morisco restorations and additions represent an important moment of transcultural intervention that took place in parallel, and was in a sense facilitated by the humanist policies of the Mendoza family. Moreover, classical influence was not confined to the borders of Italy, nor to the Christian tradition, as I have demonstrated in my analysis of Nasrid capitals in chapter one. Antique sources had permeated multiple moments of artistic production long before the period broadly associated with the European Renaissance. It is important to recognise that although the the Greco-Roman tradition provided the primary language for Charles V's imperial symbolism, these same traditions, to varying extents, had a former life in Spanish-ruled Granada, and in al-Andalus before it. Contrary to Elliot's assumption that the Spanish were unfamiliar with these visual codes or the traditions from which they arose, prior to the coming of the emperor, the Castilian court is shown to have possessed a knowledge and interest in the classical forms of the past.

This also helps to challenge Grabar's claim that Spanish conquerers were ignorant of the classical forms that they encountered within the Nasrid palace. The Mendoza family's familiarity with the humanist tradition and their interest in the architecture of Rome could have quite possibly extended to the identification of classical forms within the Nasrid palaces. Following this line of reasoning, the interventions within the Mexuar could be said to reflect a 'consciousness' of influences in a more general sense. Given the longstanding practice of exchanging and stylistically developing styles across Christian and Muslim borders, and the Mendoza governors' prior knowledge of the Greco-Roman tradition, is it not possible that the Nasrid capitals *were* recognised as having classical origins? To assume that the art of the Nasrids appeared too 'exotic' for these elements to be recognised as classical is to underestimate the expertise of the

Mendozas and the level of influence they would have had over the artistic and architectural commissions of the emperor. The classical undertones of the Alhambra may very well have been understood as a previous example of acculturation, albeit much farther removed temporally and stylistically. At the very least, the mixture of humanist and imperialist ideologies at work in sixteenth-century Granada provided a measure of the symbolic efficacy of the existing forms and the subsequent interventions that took place. This might account for the stylistic decisions made by Tendilla and Louis Hurtado, whose sympathies may also have led to the decision to involve Morisco artisans in the redecoration of the Mexuar. The conscious interlacing of both imperial and dynastic styles and symbols reveals a relational form of display in which independent elements must be addressed separately in order to understand their combined significance. In order to better understand the interrelationships found within the Mexuar, it is necessary to first take a closer look at the Palace of Charles V.

Pillars of conquest: imperial symbolism in sixteenth-century Granada

José Tito Rojo and Manuel Casares Porcel argue that a heightened awareness of the past was a product of humanist ideology, and was important for the development of post-conquest Granada and the preservation of its monuments.[93] In a sense, the introduction of Renaissance philosophy by the Mendozas may have helped to ensure the protection of the Alhambra from more invasive transformations. It could also have influenced the crown's decision to build alongside a significant number of Granada's Nasrid monuments rather than ordering their destruction, as was the case with the majority of cities that fell during the earlier stages of the conquest. Charles V's rationale for building his Renaissance-style palace in such close proximity to the Alhambra has long been debated, as has his insistence on having a direct interior route of access to the Lions Palace. It was initially thought that the foundations of the imperial palace

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[93] José Tito Rojo and Manuel Casares Porcel, 'From the Andalusí Garden to the Andalusian Garden: Remnants and Re-Creation', in *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity, Questions, Methods and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007), p. 289.

were built over a large portion of the Nasrid complex, though it is now known that the positioning of the building at an oblique angle to the palace of Comares was to ensure a link between the two, whilst accommodating the nearby Church of Santa María of the Alhambra.[94] Its colossal dimensions and imposing Roman-style colonnades overwhelm the humble exterior of the Nasrid complex, and the pedestals on the lower floor commemorating the conquest of Tunis from 1535 communicate a clear message of superiority and domination. On the other hand there is ample evidence to suggest that the emperor had an affinity with the Alhambra, and was critical of less sympathetic conversion projects in the region (such as the construction of the Gothic church inside the Córdoba Mezquita that he felt was an abomination). He chose the palace as the location of his honeymoon with the empress, and invested in its ongoing preservation under the supervision of Tendilla and his sons, a tradition continued from the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel.[95]

The colonnaded façade of the Renaissance palace, complete with ascending classical orders, was part of a grand, Italian-inspired architectural vision that would not be realised in the emperor's lifetime.[96] The building was largely financed by Morisco taxes, and building work was abruptly halted during the 1568 Alpujarras rebellion.[97] The palace was never used for its ceremonial or residential purposes during Charles V's lifetime, and construction resumed sporadically until it was finally abandoned without a roof in 1637. Due to his many obligations elsewhere, the emperor himself had little to do with its design or construction, and his preoccupation with political affairs resulted in a limited knowledge of art and architecture, at least until the later stages of his reign.[98] In fact, as Rosenthal has noted, Charles was not convinced by the Renaissance trend that was sweeping other parts of Europe, nor did he believe that a noble palace had to be built in the classical style; at no point during his reign did he request an Italian

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[94] Díez Jorge, et al., pp. 95-96.
[95] Tendilla was one of the Mendoza family who served the Trastámara dynasty from 1369 until the death of Ferdinand the Catholic in 1516.
[96] Pedro Machuca died in 1550, after which his son Luis, and later Juan de Herrera continued work on the palace before it was finally abandoned.
[97] Díez Jorge, et al., p. 94.
[98] Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V*, pp. 9.

architect as a designer or consultant for an architectural project.[99] However, under the advice of Machuca, Tendilla and later, Lois Hurtado, Charles V confirmed the plans for the imperial palace when he returned to Spain in 1533. The palace offers numerous insight into the use of the classical orders to portray a Spanish version of Charles V's imperial vision, and his insistence on its connectedness to the Lion Palace reveals something of his conflicted position to the architectural achievements of the Nasrid dynasty, an inheritance from his grandparents who had famously lived in the Alhambra for a short time after the conquest.

The Renaissance character of the palace is immediately obvious: its massy cubic exterior is heavily decorated in stark contrast to its minimal rotund interior court (quite the opposite to the formal arrangement of the Nasrid palaces, an aspect I explore further in the following chapter). On the south and west sides the rusticated blocks of the bottom section are interrupted by elaborate marble portals or *portadas* comprised of colonnaded façades interspersed with carved friezes (fig.'s 22 and 23). The swift completion of the two main façades and their subsequent modifications indicate their importance to the imperial ideal, but the design ignores or confuses some particularities of the Roman model.[100] The west façade was completed in two phases. The Doric columns of the lower level frame a bas relief carving of the Emperor's triumphal battle of Tunisia and allegorical scenes of war and peace. The upper floor, completed by Juan de Herrera in the 1580s, shows a peculiar stylisation of the Ionic order (its volutes resembling 'rolled up' pieces of a thick, flat material such as leather), with far less delicate reliefs depicting the Labours of Hercules.[101] The south façade exhibits a more 'feminine' theme, designed for the empress with ascending Ionic and Corinthian orders and mythological scenes of Neptune and Amphitrite on the upper level.[102]

The asymmetric distribution of columns and crude description of orders have long been the subject of criticism. Tafuri writes that the novelty of the design is the apparent 'symmetrization and subjection of the whole to rigourous axiality', found in the non-coinciding heights of

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[99] Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V*, pp. 9.
[100] Díez Jorge, et al., p. 97.
[101] Díez Jorge, et al., p. 97.
[102] Díez Jorge, et al., p. 97.

the orders throughout the interior and exterior of the building, and the peculiar refinements to the building as a result of its insertion into the Alhambra.[103] The juxtaposition of Doric and Ionic pilasters within the south *portada* is thought to be either the result of a radical approach on the part of the architect, or an incorporation of a number of suggestions from some or all of the previously-mentioned 'consultations'.[104] The whole range of elements is, according to Tafuri, taken from Rafael's repertoire and executed with 'brutal, almost barbaric undertones'.[105] Yet while they may simply reflect an amateurism on the part of the designers (who had limited contact with Italian Renaissance masters), they can alternatively be seen as a new form of Plateresque, intermingling elements to create a certain eclecticism. While it is important not to attribute these innovations to an inflated notion of a 'Spanish Renaissance' (i.e. comparing the achievements of a small number of Spanish '*águilas*' with the legacy of the Italian masters),[106] it stands to reason that in the absence of direct influence from Italy, Machuca and others would necessarily have drawn upon their own creative resources. The result was a series of deviations from the hierarchy of orders and their symmetrical distribution as suggested by the Roman architect Vitruvius.[107] Some inconsistencies of the orders were also related to function (such as to differentiate the entrances of the emperor and the empress from each other), and changes over generations of architects and builders resulted in an overall discontinuity of form such as the uneven height of columns.

The Roman colonnade and its classical orders were imported by Spanish architects and reworked to suit the imperial image of Charles V and the functionality of his planned royal res-

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[103] Tafuri, p. 189.
[104] Tafuri attacks Rosenthal's narrative of the 'Italianizing Machuca locked in a futile struggle with the mediocre and outdated tastes of hypothetical imperial courtiers' (p. 191), however both authors' studies are based on speculative reading of gaps in the historical source material relating to the construction of the imperial palace.
[105] Tafuri, p. 191.
[106] '*Águilas*' is the term used to describe Spanish 'equivalents' to the Italian Renaissance innovators, formulated to distinguish the Spanish tradition from that of the central movement in Italy, but which arguably glosses over the diversity of its own stylistic heritage. As Tafuri has argued, the uncritical use of this myth runs the risk of simplifying what he sees as 'a system of figurative and cultural relationships of exceptional complexity' (p. 183).
[107] Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, the Roman architect under Augustus attributed with writing the only surviving Roman text on architecture, *De Architectura*, established the first three classical orders and acknowledged the Tuscan as a secondary form in the first century BC. The Renaissance writer Leone Battista Alberti (1404-1472) identified the Composite as a major separate order (Chitham and Loth, p. 19).

idence. The reworking of classical tropes does not necessarily indicate a poor execution of original examples: rather it suggests that the Spanish Renaissance, both in form and substance, was pursuing its own formal solutions. The emperor's governors were so strongly invested in a classically-inspired style that architectural plans were at times forced upon Charles. When Italian-trained architect Diego Siloe was appointed as lead architect of Granada's main Cathedral, Charles initially argued that the Roman style would not be in keeping with the Gothic style of their current chapel, but was later persuaded to accept the architect's design.[108] The classical orders as outlined by Vitruvius would most likely have been known to Luis Hurtado and Machuca, as both possessed a passion for the architecture of imperial Rome and had previously undertaken Roman-style commissions, such as the triumphal arches erected for the emperor's entry into Granada in 1526.[109] Nader writes that, in common with the early Italian imitators of Roman architecture, most members of the Mendoza family and their architects, saw the classical architectural orders and their sumptuous decoration as 'the essence of Roman architecture', even though the style would not become popular under the Catholic monarchs.[110]

The extent to which Castilians would have had an awareness of classical orders and their historical significance has also been widely debated. Angus McKay writes that most would have had 'a vague knowledge of the classical past', and an awareness that the frontier formed part of a larger undertaking or *empresa*.[111] It is likely that when the heraldic devices of Charles V became ubiquitous throughout the kingdom, they would have reinforced anxieties around the threat of absorption into the larger empire. This may have led to a number of adjustments to the emperor's heraldry, since his governors and designers were aware of the impact of this symbolism on the people of Castile. In the imperial palace, the Roman imperial eagle is used in the lower palace pedestals (its wings spanning the continent of Asia in the T-O style map), instead of the double-headed Habsburg eagle.[112] Rather than reinforce the Burgundian agenda, the ap-

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[108] Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V*, p. 41.
[109] Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V*, p. 18.
[110] Nader, p. 191.
[111] Angus MacKay, 'Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Grandian Frontier', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 234.
[112] Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V*, p. 257.

propriation of the Roman eagle invites a classical comparison and hints at the expansion of the empire to areas left unconquered by the Romans.[113] Similarly, in the Mexuar, the 'pillars' of Hercules straddle the chapel altar, symbolising not only the extension of the Catholic church beyond the borders of Europe, but also the successful conquest of Granada and the conversion of its Muslim population.

It is important to note that Charles was not personally responsible for his symbolic repertoire. The Plus Ultra motto was invented for the young king in 1516 by an Italian of the Burgundian court in Flanders, Luigi Marliano.[114] Charles was only sixteen years old at the time and held the titles of Duke of Burgundy and King Designate of Spain. Following his election as emperor, his increased dominions explain the variety of symbols showcased between the columns in different instances.[115] While its mythology points to the expansion of the Straits of Gibraltar, its adaptation within the context of sixteenth-century Spain signals a much wider expansionist vision. The emblem serves as a pledge to expand the borders of the empire 'yet further' into the Americas and the continent of Africa, (the latter being a base of Muslim power that had become home to many Andalusi exiles), and thereby surpassing the aspirations of the ancients. It has also been suggested that the emblem refers to the task of carrying Christianity into Africa as a logical extension of the Spanish *Reconquista*.[116] The Plus Ultra motto originated as an inversion of the phrase 'Non Plus Ultra' (loosely, 'nothing beyond'), a reversal of a warning against the perils of the ocean and the uninhabited lands beyond, in accordance with the ambitious aims of the new empire.[117] The inversion of the phrase to mean that there *is* more beyond effectively links the aspirations of Hellenic and Roman societies to those of the modern world, heralding a new age of expansion. Colonial aims were closely aligned with crusader rhetoric,

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[113] Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V*, p. 258.
[114] Marliano invented the device during his appointment to the bishopric of Tuy in Galicia (it can be found in Paolo Giovio's emblem book from 1555). Rosenthal argues that the French version was changed back to 'Plus Ultra' for its use in Spain as of 1517 for political reasons. 'The Invention of the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V At the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), p. 199.
[115] Earl E. Rosenthal, 'Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971), pp. 204-205.
[116] Maltby, p. 29.
[117] In his article 'Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra' Rosenthal posits that the *Non Plus Ultra* calque was not of Latin origin, but a negative inversion of the proverb derived from Charles V's motto, arguing that the proverb only gained currency in Spain during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

and the Plus Ultra motto also carried deep religious overtones. In this way the emblem harnessed the mythology of the ancients as a proclamation of the superiority of the Christian empire.[118] The evocative power of the emblem of Charles V, according to Rosenthal, was its ability to bring together, 'the old prohibitive and the new Promethean significance of the columns and the aggressive religious fervour of the Crusades'.[119] The emblem came to signify the limitless ambition of empire-building and the excitement of discovering unexplored regions of the globe.

In line with this symbolism, the Doric column is linked to Hercules, the strongest and most virile of Greek heroes, making it the most appropriate choice for the representation of the emperor. The style fit the historical narrative upheld by the 'latrados', who traced their Spanish lineage directly to classical antiquity and named Hercules the first Spanish king. Harris writes that this narrative emerged as part of a growing historical belief that Spanish culture belonged to an earlier heritage that predated Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula, a perception that shaped civic identity in Granada in the years following the conquest.[120] However, despite the unique use of the Doric order within modern buildings in Spain, their description and placement within the imperial palace was inconsistent with the Roman model.[121] Alternatively, this innovative and at times 'barbaric' treatment of Vitruvius' orders can be seen as a departure from a 'pure' representation of the Habsburg empire, a conscious manipulation on the part of the Spanish court. Though the final design of the palace was ultimately approved by Charles V, his acceptance may have been nothing more than a recognition of a 'bland Italianism', what was the accepted style for royal palaces at the time.[122] To what extent Charles may have recognised the discrepancies between the Spanish and Italian Renaissance style seems a moot point, for it is clear that even under his commissioning gaze the increasingly fractured voices of Granada's populace found their own form. Before 1530, many of these voices belonged to Moriscos at different stages of conversion, whose aim may have been to preserve the legacy of Nasrid Granada while

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[118] Rosenthal, 'Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra', pp. 215-17.
[119] Rosenthal, 'Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra', p. 222.
[120] Harris, p. xiv.
[121] Rosenthal, 'Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra', p. 249.
[122] Tafuri, p. 206.

integrating themselves into Christian society.[123] The unfinished form of the palace standing on the grounds of the Alhambra speaks to the breaking down of these relations even as the building was being constructed. Moving on from the palace to the Mexuar, I explore the systems of meaning that determined the form and style of the emperor's symbolism in a Nasrid architectural context.

Bearers of meaning: intersecting trajectories of the columnar tradition

In the following section I propose that the the hybrid visualisation of power relations in the Mexuar is the result of both resistance and pliability, as minority groups responded to multiple and contemporaneous hierarchies. In its arrangement of columnar devices it is possible to see between margin and centre, and to consider the tensions that inspired a certain form of boundary-crossing in sixteenth-century Granada. Having fallen to Castilian forces much later than other centres of power in Muslim al-Andalus, Granada fostered a concentrated form of intercultural appropriation that is not fully accounted for by models of syncretism or exchange. As its political infrastructure shifted from a monarchy to a pan-European empire, and the last vestiges of peaceful integration were trampled by the Inquisition, a plurality of suddenly incommensurable cultural traditions produced a discontinuous picture of society. The humanist tradition would in some respects facilitate a sensitivity to previous periods of cultural production, though in the hands of the letrados classical thought was used to reinforce xenophobic attitudes toward minority groups. The divided historiographic models of the Mendoza family and the letrados may also account for the eclectic translation of Roman architectural tropes that simultaneously expressed the aims of the empire and the conflicted political views of the Castilian court. While Charles V's attention was divided across many other dominions, the kingdom was largely left to its own devices, and within the climate of post-conquest Granada, this resulted in an altogether unique fusion of elements. Consequently, the Mexuar, much like the

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[123] Harris writes that the creation of civic identity was formed for remaining Moriscos through a process of 'compromise and cooperation between centre and periphery' (p. xviii).

imperial palace, is the product of an 'offhand combination of innovative aspirations, erudite culture, and archaisms'.[124] It is important to recognise that this tradition intersects within another, more immediate period of influence - that of the Nasrid dynasty. As a final stage of this analysis I turn my attention to the particularities of the late Nasrid columns and the way in which their separate inheritance from the antique past might be seen to intersect with the trajectories of both the imperial style of Charles the V, and the divergent Renaissance architectural trend that is unique to Granada.

The late Nasrid capital is a unique Andalusi contribution to Islamic art, characterised by its cubic shape and streamlined abstraction (fig. 24). It consists of two parts: a lower cylindrical section of abstracted acanthus leaves, and a cubic upper section decorated with floral designs, geometric motifs or inscriptions.[125] Caulicules from the acanthus design form a lip under the cubic upper part, while others extend upward to join at the centre of each face and form the volutes at each corner.[126] Through a tight incorporation of its elements into a clean geometric form, it preserves the original sectioning and arrangement stipulated by the classical orders while incorporating new elements. Its forms are distinctly Composite, combining the decoration and proportions of the Corinthian (particularly evident in the interpretation of the lower rings of leaves), and incorporating the curved volutes of the Ionic in its upper cubic portion.[127] The further appropriation and variation of this classical model shows a visible shift away from the distinctive Umayyad style established during the tenth century, and its imaginative reincarnation within various *taifa* kingdoms (fig.'s 25 and 26).[128]

The Nasrid capital evolved mainly through the Almohad style to become its own unique

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[124] Tafuri, p. 193.
[125] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra, p*. 80.
[126] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra, p*. 80.
[127] Chitham and Loth note that the main difference between the Ionic and the Composite is a slight increase in the diameter of the concentric astragal and ovolvo to allow for the widening-out of the core of the extended shaft, designed to bear the Corinthian leaves. The Composite order requires the substitution of square modillions for the consoles in the cornice or the employment of a pulvinated frieze, giving it a slightly coarser character (pp. 92, 98).
[128] Jerrilynn Dodds attributes this variation of style to the competitive climate of the *taifa* period. In some cases they demonstrate an exaggerated elongation of the capital and the replacement of the volutes by architectural motifs, while others more overtly imitate the rows of acanthus leaves and rounded volutes typical of the caliphal period. *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art, 1992), pp. 5-6, 259.

invention, further conventionalised and refined throughout the dynastic period. Components such as the cubic base and pine-cone motif reflect the styles of preceding sultans, in particular those attributed to Ismāʿīl I and Yusuf I who ruled successively between 1333 and 1354.[129] During the reign of Muhammad V these were further refined and abstracted, possibly influenced by the Merinid style that the ruler came into contact with during his exile in Fez between 1359 and 1362.[130] The evolution of Almohad precedents continued with the reigns of both Yusuf I and Muhammad V, but it is important to note that the latter ruler was seen as an international player in the medieval Mediterranean, 'someone powerful and important enough to have access to the art of other nations'.[131] The quadrant of columns in the Mexuar reflect the erudition of the late Nasrid dynasty, and their use within the administrative seat of the palace is important, as it remained a public-facing space where official council was conducted. Representing dynastic power through the refinement of past forms, these column capitals communicated the ambitions and acumen of the ruling elite.

Classical influence is not only perceivable within the ornamentation of the Nasrid capitals, but also in the fact that the capitals were painted while the marble pillars were left bare in the manner of the Ancient Greeks.[132] Another identifying feature is the shorter and thinner dimensions of the pillars. Grabar notes that these first appeared in the Mezquita of Córdoba in the eighth century, part of an elaborate system of imposts and impost blocks designed to raise the height and widen the bases of support.[133] He notes that concern with imposts may have already begun in pre-Islamic Syrian architecture, but it became particularly marked in early Islamic

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[129] Purificación Marinetto Sánchez, *Los Capiteles del Palacio de los Leones en la Alhambra: Ejemplo para el estudio del Capitel Hispanomusulmán y su Trascendiencia Architectónica, Estudio I* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996) p. 71.

[130] Mariam Rosser-Owen writes that though some of these architectural variations, such as the façade and projecting eaves of the Cuarto Dorado and the design of the Court of Lions, may have borrowed directly from Merinid *madrasas* in Fez, it is also possible that these were parallel developments through the Almohads. *Islamic Arts From Spain* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), p. 59. The theory of Merinid influence originates from Ruiz Souza's 'El Palacio De Los Leones De La Alhambra', wherein he also proposes local Cistercian monasteries and the Patio del Vergel in the palace of Tordesillas as a possible predecessors for the Court of Lions.

[131] He may even have had an awareness of new developments in the art of the increasingly powerful Mamluks, evident in the lotus flowers found in the woodwork of the Lions Palace (Rosser-Owen, pp. 58-60).

[132] Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*, p. 80.

[133] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, pp. 170-72.

times when rapid construction of many new buildings with borrowed columns and capitals required new methods of bringing elements of different origins and dimensions to the same level.[134] The smaller bases of the columns in the Mexuar and their thin, relatively short pillars give an exaggerated dimension to the capitals and the heavy entablature they support. The original second storey and domed lantern would have completed this inverse distribution of weight, giving the illusion of ephemerality rather than structural solidity. Dale Kinney identifies this as a reversal of the classical tradition of ascension, arguing that the upper bulkiness of Andalusi colonnades defies the 'classical anticipation' that lower orders will be sturdier and upper ones progressively more delicate.[135] The increasing elaboration of architectural supports can be seen to have reached its apotheosis in the Alhambra's Court of Lions, where an illusion of weightlessness is achieved through a gallery of columns in groups of twos, threes and fours, which appear rather effortlessly to support an ornate porticoed façade and two large pavilions. The Mexuar columns achieve a similar inversion, giving the impression of the upward extension of forms through a disproportionately delicate structural support.

The return to the Doric order in the symbolic themes of Charles V adds another layer of interpretation in the Mexuar, part of a shifting puzzle of Nasrid, Christian and Morisco elements reassembled over time. Even the Arabic inscriptions remaining in the space speak to the subtle migrations of meaning; an original poem describing the gold leaf and lapis lazuli of the space was replaced in the Arabic translation of the Latin-influenced litany, 'The kingdom, the Grandeur, and the Glory is of God'.[136] The heraldic murals most likely date from the same period as these epigraphic revisions, designed to sit above the chapel doors on either side of the

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[134] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, pp. 170-72.

[135] Dale Kinney, 'Roman Architectural *Spolia*', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145:2 (2001), p. 149. Kinney here uses the example of the Great Mosque of Córdoba, claiming that this inversion is most likely an accidental arrangement on the part of Umayyad architects, describing their placement of architectural forms as, 'willy-nilly' and 'pure bricolage'. Rather than viewing this arrangement as arbitrary, I would argue that it shows a meaningful development of the classic orders through an inversion of their ratios. Dodds observes, conversely, that the inspiration for this design may have been the Roman aqueduct at Mérida (which exhibits two levels of arches), and suggests that the red and white revetments may have been taken from Byzantine, or earlier Umayyad examples. *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), p. 95.

[136] Bermúdez López, pp. 103.

altar. As I have already noted, the star-shaped tiles inserted into the geometric patterns of the ceramic dados bear a variety of symbols dating from both the Nasrid period and the sixteenth century, including the Plus Ultra emblem, the double-headed eagle of the house of Austria and the arms of Cardinal Mendoza, seen intermingling with the Nasrid order of the band (fig.'s 19, 20 and 21). The showcasing of these symbols together on the same wall shows an integration of sorts, but it is likely that the dominant power was here attempting to visually establish itself through the seamless introduction of its iconography. Interestingly, the painted Nasrid phrase, 'God is the only Victor' remains above and below each capital, a motto as ubiquitous in Nasrid Granada as 'Plus Ultra' would become for imperial Spain.[137]

The decorated border of the Plus Ultra murals is also noteworthy, borrowing from a section of Kufic script found in the Comares Hall (fig.'s 27 and 28). The abstraction of the Arabic text is curious, and raises questions about the criteria to which Morisco artisans were expected to conform. The use of the arabesque and the geometric interlocking bands within the scheme also strongly approximates the Nasrid palette, executed in dark and light blue, green, gold and white. This version is quite unlike any others found throughout the palace, such as the bare stone or marble examples found above the fireplace in the royal quarters (fig. 29). Finally, it is worth pointing out that the scattering of elements in the modern period disrupts the lines of symmetry that would have connected the Nasrid quadrant and the Plus Ultra murals (the dismantling of the altar and reopening of the south entrance in 1924 caused the relocation of the left mural midway along the eastern wall, rather ironically leaving its gypsum crown behind).[138] In their original sixteenth-century arrangement, the emperor's represented 'Pillars of Hercules' would have appeared in parallel alignment with the structural columns, looking down the room from the north side (fig. 16). At this time, the two represented Doric columns would have drawn the viewers eye length-wise down the elongated space, through the quadrant of columns and to-

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[137] The Islamic motto is also an integral part of the Nasrid shield emblem, found embedded within the dado tiling of the Mexuar and the ornamented plasterwork throughout other areas of the palace. The Nasrid shield is another important example of a motif that was developed across the Christian-Muslim frontier.

[138] Torres Balbás also removed the Renaissance style door to the south of the alter (Vílchez Vílchez, p. 135).

ward the new focus of the room - the chapel altar. Reinforcing a powerful imperial message, the Pillar murals overpowered the visual programme of the space even while they became an integrated part of it.

The novelty of these 'coexisting' forms continues today, as tourists are often invited by their guidebooks and tour guides to identify the elements that 'betray' the original design and ornament of the Mexuar. I have argued here that a theory of invasive redecorating, or, alternatively, an idealised narrative of a 'multicultural' Alhambra, both fail to address the historical complexities that have come to define the materiality of the space. I suggest that a number of interlocking factors and conditions led to the fusion of imperial symbolism with the style of the Nasrid dynasty, producing an intertextuality that bears its own tensions and contradictions. While this visual arrangement signifies the expansion of the Christian empire into former Muslim territory, it also represents a liminal and unstable space of post-conquest where the centre of power is not easily distinguishable from its margins. Furthermore, tensions in the Castilian court following the ascension of Charles V presented an entirely new set of problems for governors still in the throws of a violent political and religious transition. The emergence of a Roman-influenced architecture in Granada was thus formed within the unstable and at times insular Spanish court, and represented the next phase of a long tradition of adaptation in the region. The unique Renaissance style that resulted was a product of this nexus of competing identities. As Manfredo Tafuri has stated, many of the buildings associated with Charles V tend to elude a legible or consistent presentation of Renaissance mentalities, instead exhibiting 'multiple expressions of incoherence'.[139] The Palace of Charles V, which I have explored in some detail to illustrate this point, demonstrates some of the different ways in which the classical orders were manipulated for symbolic purposes during this period. Also, it must be said that imperial style cannot be easily attributed to the emperor himself, as he was only sporadically present in the country, and that it was the influence of the Mendoza and Machuca families that largely determined the architectural projects and artistic interventions attributed to his reign. The humanist views of Tendilla and his son, Luis Hurtado, undoubtedly played a crucial role in

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[139] Tafuri, p. 182.

the development of a new vision of antiquity for Spain. The philosophical and theological debates of the day often dictated the construction and style of monuments, and correspondingly, are crucial to an understanding of the fluid approach to stylistic interventions in the Mexuar.

If the Renaissance style of the palace of Charles V can be said to reflect the 'architectural anachronisms in a Spain already evolving its own plateresque style',[140] then the placement of the stylised Plus Ultra device within the columned space of the Mexuar must also be seen as part of this development of a regional style. Just as the Nasrid capitals demonstrate a reworking of classical themes, the stylised representation of the emperor's columnar device can be read as an expression of plural influences. The juxtaposition of these columns raises a number of questions around intentionality and authorship as it pertains to the artistic production in the Mexuar, most of which cannot be concretely answered by the available evidence. Luis Hurtado and Machuca were certainly involved (both were resident and dually in charge of restorations), but their precise contribution to the design of the interventions, and the nature of their relationship with the Morisco artisans is unknown.[141] Similarly, the role of Charles V in the remodelling of the Mexuar is not mentioned in correspondence, though it is possible that he oversaw changes to the room during his short residency in 1526. Much more is known of the design and construction of the imperial palace than of the changes made to the Nasrid complex and, apart from the emperor's ongoing commitment to the preservation of the Alhambra, his architectural agenda remains partial and elusive.

Rather than dwelling on inconclusive evidence in order to identify some manner of intention in the making of the Mexuar, I have here focused on the cultural conditions that ultimately determined its material form. Its alterations speak to particular historical conditions, which in this case allowed for a complex interplay of religious and imperial symbolism. The columns of each period act as bearers of meaning, and reveal the historical complexity of changing ideologies when viewed relationally. While purely formal readings can lead to the oversimplification of historical moments, the consideration of objects with respect to the context

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[140] Nader, p. 199.
[141] Nader, p. 199.

of their making can produce potent results. Antoine Picon emphasises the way that architectural objects might inform a study of culture in his study of the Greek column in French churches:

> The major problem in the cultural explanation of architectonic devices lies in the difficulty of finding truly convincing mediations between culture, or at least what can be ascertained about it, and the thing itself. Yet the assumption that these devices are culturally determined is almost unavoidable, given that the recognition of an assemblage of architectural parts as a significant and coherent architectonic device presupposes an education of the mind and eye.[142]

The culturally determined markings of the Mexuar may reflect a climate of tolerance, integration, conflict, repression, or quite simply one of contradiction. According to Dodds, Menocal and Balbale, Castilian culture developed across a series of spaces that were destroyed and redrawn by 'competition, dominion, envy, and assimilation'.[143] They convincingly argue that, 'far from a juggernaut driven by the force of reconquest, Castile was the product of its own countless tensions, desires, and struggles for authority'.[144] The aim of this chapter has been to explore a particular point of intersection during an important period of political struggle and identity formation in the region. The ongoing investment in the preservation of Muslim-built monuments attests to this interlocking of histories, creating a material environment in which both Castilians and Moriscos were faced with the evidence of this history on a daily basis.[145] In this manner, the fabric of the Alhambra acts as a standing record of its own history; its cracks and fissures providing the art historian with vital inconsistencies that break apart the smooth constructs of '*convivencia*', 'post-conquest', or even 'early modern' as they apply to sixteenth-century Spain. Spaces such as the Mexuar reveal curious overlaps and points of resistance as different groups with competing interests combined multiple and conflicting stylistic elements, even while maintaining regional and cultural difference. The formal paradoxes of the Mexuar are important instances of cross-fertilisation within adverse conditions that reveal a complex picture of

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[142] Picon, p. 68.
[143] Dodds, et al., *The Arts of Intimacy*, p. 6.
[144] Dodds, et al., *The Arts of Intimacy*, p. 6.
[145] Perry, p. 69.

plurality in post-conquest Granada.

The contrasting elements of the Mexuar are magnified by the placement of the Plus Ultra murals within a space formerly dominated by the quadrant of Nasrid columns. Their careful integration ensured that the space retained much of its former character, so that royal congregations would have faced the altar surrounded by the ornament and architecture of the former dynasty. The spatial proximity of the Nasrid columns within this arrangement would have served as a reminder of both the military strength and Christian piety that led to the conquest of Granada, and the cultural and architectural achievements of the conquered. The incorporation of the style and colour scheme in the composition of the Plus Ultra murals further recalls this era of influence, and the continued presence of Moriscos within society, however much 'assimilated' by Christian reforms. At the same time, the carved gypsum crowns inserted above each mural are an overt and didactic reference to the conquest, as is the message conveyed by the heraldic device. Quite literally displaying the emperor's promise to expand 'yet farther' into the territories of the infidel, the symbolism of pillar and crown is used to occupy the space of its conquered Muslim adversaries, as Ferdinand and Isabel had done only decades before.

There seems little doubt that the central placement of the classical columnar device on either side of the altar bespeaks the power of the emperor and the dominance of the Catholic empire. However, the way in which this imperial symbolism is integrated into the ornamental programme also works to complicate this vision, to infuse it with the contradictions inherent to the populace of Granada, and of violent political shifts of the recent past. The Plus Ultra columns and their framing within the columnar programme of the Mexuar, function both to integrate a new Christian political agenda into the fabric of the space, and to encapsulate the diverse local identities that were present at this unique point in the city's history. Onians writes that the Romans prided themselves on the reconfiguration of Hellenic forms, 'taking the best features of Greek culture and combining them in their own way to make something superior'.[146] He identifies the Composite order as a distinctively Roman creation, 'an arrogantly imaginative

[146] Onians, p. 44.

fusion of elements that the Greeks had regarded as biologically separate'.[147] Vitruvius disapproved of the Roman tendency to combine elements from multiple orders, proclaiming that the transfer of features from one order to another was an unacceptable transgression, as each order had a distinctive and gendered character which established the particular expression of a building.[148] In taking different elements from the Greek orders and combining them, the Romans jumbled their philosophical and mythological characteristics. In this way, the 'mismatched' elements of the Composite order were seen as a symbol of domination and superiority over not only the Greeks, but the empire as a whole.[149] The Mexuar can be said to exhibit a similar empowerment through the combining and 'jumbling' of forms; both within the Nasrid capital and the mural 'pillars' that introduced the new symbolism in a style reminiscent of the past. Through the selection and use of precedent forms, the Castilian kingdom created its own legacy by collapsing the visual tradition of the conquered Nasrid dynasty into the new imperial style of Charles V.

It was with the eventual expulsion of the remaining population of Moriscos and their descendants in 1609 under Charles' grandson, Philip III, that the era of Christian and Muslim populations 'living together' came to a decidedly intolerant end. The decades leading up to and following the conquest provide some of the richest examples of intercultural interpretation, often challenging the polemic view of conflict and tolerance in the region. As Cohen as written, the uneven structures of power that come into being when cultures meet are often followed by conquest, domination and injustice, however, 'innovation, hybridity and resistance are never far behind'.[150] I have found this to be the case in both medieval and modern contexts, and having discussed these various symptoms in the preceding chapters, I now move to discuss interpretations of form within the nineteenth century. Just as the medieval and early modern periods offer up instances of influence and transformation, so too does the period of colonial expansion that would both shape perceptions, and the material world. Continuing an exploration of changing

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[147] Onians, p. 47.
[148] Kinney, 'Roman Architectural *Spolia*', p. 141.
[149] Onians, p. 48.
[150] Cohen, p. 5.

perceptions of the Alhambra over time, I examine the Georgian and Victorian eras in Britain and the circumstances that designated the monument as both integral to, and separate from, a historical picture of Europe.

Chapter 3

Framing the approach: visualising Granada through the picturesque gaze

> I speak of the interior only, for, from without it, it looks as grim and solid as the rocky hill on which it stands.[1]

I return to the Alhambra after a period of nearly two hundred years and from the perspective of the nineteenth-century British traveller, who encountered an 'Hispano-Moorish' monument significantly altered by the ravages of time and circumstance. Spain's emergence as a popular travel destination coincided with a rediscovery of the Alhambra by European audiences, sparking a Romantic obsession that would come to shape perceptions of both the monument and the country as a whole. These perceptions, documented in travel texts and illustrations, would in turn inform the expectations of subsequent visitors, as well as those who experienced Spain

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[1] William George Clark, *Gazpacho, Or, Summer Months in Spain*. 2nd rev. edn. (London: J. W. Parker, 1851), p. 109.

from the comfort of their homes. The British re-envisioning of the Alhambra impacted strongly on perceptions of Spain and its people, helping to relocate the country outside the conceptual borders of modern Europe. This period sees the monument, the city, and the natural landscapes of Granada transformed by the desires and anxieties of the picturesque tourist. This chapter focuses on the encounter - the moment of 'discovery' that reveals the expectations of travellers through recurring typological readings - as a critical moment in the monument's history, and the wider cultural and historical positioning of Spain. The value of these observations lies in their preconceptions of the Alhambra and its medieval past, which by the end of the eighteenth century were fully and deeply embedded within popular narratives of Otherness. Victorian England, along with France (another key player in the perceptual history of the Alhambra, and which is beyond the parameters of this study), cultivated a taste for the exotic through both their colonial activities as well as recreational visits to foreign countries, of which Spain and its 'Moorish' heritage represented a unique and accessible frontier.[2] As I discuss throughout the remaining chapters, the particular brand of exoticism that grew up around the Alhambra of the British imagination was one caught up with anxieties around industry and progress, setting it apart from its European counterparts. I here discuss the way that the reports and descriptions of visitors reflect the wider ideological concerns of the Industrial Revolution and the expansion of the British empire, factors that I argue led to the collapsing of modern Spanish identity into imaginative readings of its medieval past.

Through the examination of travel journals and handbooks across the long nineteenth century, I here explore how the picturesque gaze operates to create rich, politicised compositions within written descriptions. Victorian Romanticism developed from Neoclassical and Rococo trends in equal measure, while an emerging naturalistic concern with landscape in both domestic and foreign settings informed the moral undertones of many written and visual works. These merging trends shaped the artistic and literary style of travel texts, which in turn coloured

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[2] I henceforth use the term 'Moorish' in accordance with nineteenth-century definitions of Islamic art and architecture found in the south of Spain. See 'Moorish Architecture' by Pascual de Gayangos in *Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, vol. XV (London: Charles Knight and Co., 1839), pp. 381-390.

the experience of travellers for generations to come. The high volume of travel literature in circulation throughout the century meant that many arrived with premeditated ideas about Spain and its antiquities. It is of little surprise that some accounts convey feelings of disappointment at their initial view of the city and its famed Alhambra, while others reaffirm the sublimity of the mountains or the beauty of the monument's red towers at sunset. Its ornamented interiors, which have been the focus of the preceding chapters, were by this time marred by years of neglect, vandalism and forces of natural destruction.[3] This rendered its surfaces less pleasing to some, while the melancholic associations with decay made the palace interior all the more enchanting for others, who were drawn to the monument's fabled history through its damaged surfaces. By the end of the century, views of the landscape from within the walls were specifically recommended within many handbooks, as described in a Baedeker from 1898:

> The first impression of the visitor to the Alhambra is seldom free from a touch of disappointment. It is therefore desirable to remember how much has been destroyed or indifferently restored... We must not fail to advance to the open window and gaze upon the world without, that harmonizes so marvellously with the scene within. Here, where fantasy rules supreme, we must look around us through her eyes.[4]

Not only does this passage demonstrate the genderising tendency that appears within descriptions of the monument during this time, but it outlines in instructive terms the preferred

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[3] From the middle of the eighteenth century when Philip V eliminated the role of Captaincy General (evicting José de Mendoza Ibáñez de Segovia and confiscating his family's property in 1818 out of revenge for lost loyalties during the War of Succession), until 1847 under the Contreras period of restoration, the Alhambra remained in a dire state of neglect and periodic destruction. It was used as a military prison from 1782, and reached its lowest point during the French occupation between 1810 and 1812. A series of individuals then took over with a view to personal profiteering, which led to much of its interior ornament being pilfered or destroyed, a situation that was briefly remedied following Irving's visit in 1829 and his subsequent shock at the state of the monument. Despite intermittent funding from the government, the palace interiors continued to be abused by independent governors who converted its spaces for their own use, including storage and laundry rooms, looms, and stables. Richard Ford's handbook of 1845 provides a detailed mid-nineteenth-century account of alteration and destruction to the monument since the conquest, blaming both the Spanish and the French for the defacing of the palaces and noting the damage sustained by the earthquake in 1821. A more recent publication by Pedro A. Galera Andreu considers the numerous conditions and interventions across the centuries following the conquest as equally valuable to an understanding of its material history: *La Alhambra Vivida* (Córdoba: La biblioteca de la Alhambra, 2010).

[4] Baedeker, p. 357.

method of viewing and the role that the Alhambra played in framing such views. If the unadorned fortress walls of the outer complex evoked a feeling of disappointment, the crumbling inner surfaces sent many into a contemplative stupor that required an element of fantasy to restore the palace to its former state. Due to the fact that the Nasrid palaces were designed to accommodate and contextualise views of the landscape, an important feature explored by Ruggles and one which I discussed in relation to the *mirador* panels in chapter one,[5] this critical focus on the inner spaces has left the exterior of the monument, and the act of viewing from the outside, a largely under-theorised phenomenon. Though a substantial amount of work has been done on the Romantic representation of the Alhambra, the majority of it prioritises the visual legacy of painting and illustration over the written tradition, and places more emphasis on the Romantic glorification of the Alhambra than on the problematising aspects of foreign perspectives.[6] The key moment when travellers first glimpsed the monument within the oasis-like greenery of Granada's Vega reveals a great deal about not only their expectations, but the necessity to make familiar such an encounter. As Mary Louise Pratt has argued, the convention of the 'arrival scene' plays a significant role within travel writing as it reveals, 'optimal sites for framing relations of contact and setting the terms of its representation'.[7] As nineteenth-century travellers approached the monument with the intention of 'capturing' a view of an Islamic palace framed within a dramatic Spanish landscape, their initial responses reveal an interesting process of naturalisation through the picturesque gaze, requiring the repositioning of the monument within the landscape and in accordance with certain aestheticising tropes such as the sublime and the Gothic. A consideration of this exterior view helps to uncover the complex relationship of subject to both the landscape, the city, and the Alhambra.

Borrowing from both fine art and literary devices, the picturesque tradition developed in

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[5] Ruggles argues that the conjunction of framed image and text demonstrates that the architect, poet, and patron were aware of the power of the frame and its potential as a metaphor and 'an instrument of sovereign rule' (2000, p. 184). Also see Bush's work on the Lindaraja *mirador* in 'When My Beholder Ponders'.

[6] Notable exceptions to this are Tonia Raquejo and Diego Saglia, whose work I reference throughout this chapter .

[7] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 79-80.

the eighteenth century as a way to 'make sense' of both domestic and foreign landscapes, working to absorb and position features within the view.[8] For many travellers it was a tool used to manage expectations, and match less familiar features with specific types of architecture or modes of viewing. The fact that many who approached the monument struggled to place it within these categorical tropes reveals something about the inner contradictions of the picturesque gaze, and the gap between expectations and the material reality of the monument and its surroundings. After a long and tiring journey, many express disappointment upon first glimpsing the fortress-like palace, while others distort its proportions within their descriptions as they attempt to 'fit' the monument within a particular typological reading. At different times the Alhambra is either incorporated fully into the landscape, described as a minor feature within the sublime backdrop of mountains, or as a Gothicised monument seen to tower over the surrounding Vega. These contrasting descriptions demonstrate a 'working through' of the view of Granada and its historically and culturally displaced monument within an equally unfamiliar part of Europe.

As international travel grew as a national pastime, a visit to the Alhambra was also seen as a happy compromise between practical and exotic modes of travel. Its neglected, accessible state and manageable distance from Britain (compared to farther flung sites in Egypt and India), allowed more moderate adventure-seeking travellers to make the journey.[9] As Raquejo has observed, a developing taste for lesser-known cultures and artforms made Spain (which was formerly an unexplored location of little academic interest), a new and exciting place for romantic travellers, largely because of its unusual mixture of Christian and 'Moorish' remains.[10] It provided the right mix of adventure and familiarity for travellers eager to stray off the beaten paths to Italy and France, while remaining safely within the confines of Europe. Bradshaw's

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[8] Stephen Copley and Peter Garside explore the extent to which the picturesque, that began as a domestic landscape aesthetic, can be seen to shape British and wider European accounts of colonial landscapes and cultures. *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics Since 1770*, eds. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 6.

[9] Access to the monument was relatively simple given its abandoned state, but an entrance fee was charged some time after mid-century. Richard Stephen Charnock writes that 'a guide and a fee to the conservator is necessary for the first visit, but not afterwards', *Bradshaw's Illustrated Hand-Book to Spain and Portugal. With Maps By Dr. Charnock*, vol. 34 (London: W. J. Adams, 1865), p. 49.

[10] Raquejo, 'The Arab Cathedrals', p. 556.

handbook of 1865 claims that 'few parts of the Continent are so worthy of a visit as Spain', comparing the beauty and variety of its scenery to the Tyrol and Styria.[11] It goes to great lengths to dispel fears about brigands and the unfamiliarity of the language, while acknowledging the difficulty of travelling and obtaining accommodation.[12] At the same time, Spain was still thought of as a less developed and 'wild' corner of Europe that presented certain challenges. Writing early in the century, Sybil Fitzgerald warns that it is not easy to enjoy Spain with 'idle pleasure' as it is for the wanderer through Italy, advising visitors not to look for the beauty, harmony or 'common sense' possessed by the landscape and people of 'fairer' countries, but rather for an individual character 'fiercely contrasted to all other European lands'.[13] She also compares travelling to Spain with travelling back in time:

> Take a seat on the omnibus drawn by jingling mules and the whole modernity of life seems at an end - to fall down the abyss of time with the first crack of the muleteer's whip. This is not our time, our century. The mind slips back to a medieval setting as completely as though it had never left it.[14]

It was through this informative, first person style of writing that many came to learn about Spain as a rugged and uncivilised country that was completely out of step with the progressive reforms of modernity. Hispanist Richard Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845), published in response to the growing British interest in Spain, was authoritative in reinforcing many these opinions. For example, he condemns 'Granadinos' for neglecting the Alhambra, contrasting their ignorant non-appreciation with the 'all-absorbing interest and concentrated devotion' of the foreign visitor.[15] Diego Saglia writes that such texts testify to a general cultural fascination mixed with the reader's desire to explore the 'multiform experience

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[11] Charnock, preface.
[12] The guide reports that hotel accommodation is, 'without doubt, far below that of France, Belgium, Germany or Switzerland, but may compare advantageously with some parts of Europe, where provision is only made for the commercial traveller' (Charnock, preface).
[13] Sybil Fitzgerald, *In the Track of the Moors: Sketches in Spain and Northern Africa, with 63 illustrations in colour and many drawings in the text by Augustine Fitzgerald* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1905), pp. 1, 8-9.
[14] Fitzgerald, p. 11.
[15] Ford writes that familiarity has bred contempt for the Alhambra by the locals, which 'completes the decay of the material fabric, by stripping even the ruins of their abstract prestige' (p. 363).

of Spanish difference', and also their need to need to 'delimit, control, and often demonize such cultural otherness'.[16] At the same time, its Islamic heritage amplified a sense of mystery and intrigue, so that the history of Spain as a whole came to be seen as exotic. This caused travellers such as Martin Haverty, writing in 1844, to refer to Spain as an 'enigma to foreigners', explaining: 'There is about it an obscurity – a dissimilarity to other countries – that have caused it to be more imperfectly known to those who have not seen it, than any other nation in Europe'.[17] The baking summer heat of Andalusia reinforced these exoticised readings, as many described the journey to Granada as if they were crossing a desert. However, it is important to recognise that the geography of the city, with its well-irrigated plains and mountain climate, also made it an anomaly in this respect. After being jostled over dry, rocky terrain for up to two days in a 'diligence' or public stage couch, many a weary traveller saw its irrigated plains and gardens as a kind of pastoral utopia. This Romantic return to greener pastures appears in earlier accounts and recurs throughout the century within descriptions of the Vega, with the fecund agricultural plains used to frame the city and mountains beyond. John Lomas writes in 1908:

> All the way past Gobantes and this eastern skirt of the rugged Ronda country there is a novel and savage picturesqueness of surrounding and then, turning sharply to the right at Bobadilla, we enter again a land of greenery and richest cultivation, which fitly ushers in the Vega of Granada, with its crown of snow capped mountains.[18]

Lomas' transition from 'savage picturesqueness' into cultivated pastures is revealing, for it mirrors the conflicted view of Spain and the character of its people that increasingly featured within journals and guides. But while the soft greenery of the Vega provided some degree of comfort for British travellers, the city and its Alhambra provoke a curious range of responses, from enchanted wonderment to confusion and dismay. Many, as indicated by the opening quote of this chapter by William George Clark, were simply disappointed, finding its exterior too bland to be worthy of mention. Others marvelled at its red hues and grandeur of its fortress

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[16] Saglia, 'Imag(in)ing Iberia', p. 124.
[17] Martin Haverty, *Wandering in Spain in 1843*, vol. 2 (London: n.p., 1844), p. 1.
[18] John Lomas, *In Spain* (London: A. and C. Black, 1908), p. 214.

towers. The varied reactions on approach also reveal the inconsistencies and contradictions of the picturesque, as it applied to everything from the mountainous sublime to gentle countryside. Equally, an encounter with the Alhambra required the negotiation of expectations informed by the raft of descriptions and illustrations provided by travel handbooks and literature. The monument occupied a unique place on the expanding map of travel, and became popularised as a 'repository of Moorish civilisation and decoration'.[19] This 'Moorish' style was seen as having a character distinct from other Islamic countries, particularly that of Egypt. While many Europeans were attracted to the grand mosques of Cairo with their domes and minarets rising from the the desert, the architecture and decoration of al-Andalus set within the greenery of the Spanish hills offered 'a gentler aspect of Romanticism'.[20] The modest concealment of its ornament provoked further intrigue, for many were eager to make connections between modern Spain and its Islamic past, a historical phenomenon that had already attracted unprecedented attention within Romantic literature.[21]

Within this chapter I address a number of approaches taken from travel handbooks and journals written between 1810 and 1910, from which emerge two prominent and relevant themes; the use of picturesque devices to frame, order and transform features of the landscape as travellers drew near, and the identification of the monument with the Gothic, Oriental and Neoclassic ruins, visual tropes within the picturesque tradition whose meanings often overlapped. Firstly, however, it is necessary to provide the historical context for this period of travel, followed by an overview of the development of the picturesque style, both on British soil and abroad. The development of national identity within the context of modern Europe meant that historical styles were being reconfigured, so that an understanding of Spain and its 'Saracenic' influences was read alongside the period of Gothic revival in Britain, complicating an earlier connection between Islamic and Gothic architecture. The Alhambra, and the city of Granada by

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[19] John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture 1500-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 131.
[20] Sweetman, p. 131.
[21] Examples of 'Spanish-Moorish' fiction included Felicia Heman's *The Abencerrage* (1819), Letita Landon's *The Troubadour* (1825), Eliza Nortons's *Alcon Malanzore* (1815) and Lord Porchester's *The Moor* (1825). Saglia, 'The Moor's Last Sigh', p. 197.

association, increasingly came to embody the medieval, the Oriental, and the Gothic, working to further collapse a narrative of Spain within a mythologised Islamic past. This resulted in a fracturing of travel descriptions that ranged from the monumental to the monumentally disappointing. In addressing this phenomenon, I question the validity of a singular, unified Romantic vision of Granada and unearth the many tensions at work within the picturesque gaze.

Travel, knowledge, and vision: 'getting a feel' for the place

The period spanned by these accounts saw the appropriation of the Grand Tour by the middle classes, and the development of a new British nationalism during an era of burgeoning colonial expansion.[22] By the end of the eighteenth century the allure generated by eighteenth century tours, and the expanded map of colonial exploration and conquest, meant that the newly enriched middle classes also began touring abroad, including women and sometimes entire families. Increasingly tours included locations in the Near East, a trend that reached its climax by the middle of the nineteenth century and left a lasting body of travel literature in Europe.[23] This was fuelled by a growing investment in scientific archaeology, which led to the inclusion of Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt in the Grand Tour, as well as expanding colonial prospects in India. At the same time, English travellers' taste for mountain scenery led to the incorporation of Switzerland and the Alps to the Tour and contributed to an increase of travel literature focused on natural landscape.[24] These conditions, bolstered by steadily improving trade and travel routes, resulted in a large volume of picturesque travel literature during the period. Colonial ambition would thus play a crucial role in the articulation of locations, peoples, and monuments

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[22] Judith Adler gives a thorough account of middle-class appropriation of the aristocratic Grand Tour during the eighteenth century and the subsequent democratisation of tourism, resulting in the 'middle-class vogue for pedestrianism and picaresque adventure' of the nineteenth century. 'Travel as Performed Art', *The American Journal of Sociology* 94, no. 6 (1989), p. 1379.
[23] Mohammed Ali Hachicho's 'Near East' includes modern Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey, Palestine, Persia, Arabia, Abyssinia, Egypt and Tripoli. 'English Travel Books About the Arab Near East in the Eighteenth Century', *Die Welt des Islams* 9, no. 1/4 (1964), pp. 7-8.
[24] Hachicho, p. 6.

encountered on journeys to Near Eastern locations.[25]

The Romantic period was in large part shaped by the experiences of individual travellers, writers, poets and artists who described the world beyond Britain as it was seen *and felt*. John Sweetman writes that during this period there was a shift of sympathy away from concerns with classical monumentality and 'the idea of truth enshrined in the formal properties of the ordered object', toward a preoccupation with 'the feelings aroused by the visible world which would themselves become the subject of the work of art'.[26] Evolved from an earlier legacy of travel writing driven by the demands of an enlightened quest for knowledge in a rapidly expanding world of trade and colonising, the Victorian travel journal emerged as a new form of expression. Within this context, the history of Spain (and, to varying extents, other lesser travelled countries on the Grand Tour), was rewritten for British audiences according to the imaginations and prejudices of individual travellers. As David Howarth has argued, for all the intermittent bursts of interest in Spain throughout the Enlightenment and Romantic periods, the British 'never really understood the Peninsula on its own terms', explaining that to the Georgian and Victorian mind, 'Spain was romance, invention'.[27]

It is important to recognise that the Romantic sensibility followed close on the heels of Enlightenment philosophy, in both literary and artistic fields. One of the few earlier attempts to write about the history of Spain was William Robertson's widely respected *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1769), which presented the emperor as a heroic failure and the decline of the Spanish empire as a lesson in international politics for the growing British empire.[28]

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[25] Michael P. Iarocci writes that while there are important differences between a colony and a 'European subordinate' such as Spain, the postcolonial framework can nonetheless be used in thinking about the historically peripheral status of Spain and Spanish culture within the narrative of 'modern Europe'. *Properties of Modernity: Romantic Spain, Modern Europe, and the Legacies of Empire*, 1st ed. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2006), p. 42.

[26] Sweetman, p. 77.

[27] David Howarth writes that Britain and Spain had historically been enemies, apart from a brief period between 1808 and 1812 when they were united against Bonapartism. He suggests that the prejudices that endured after this period were tied up with opposing views on the issue of Catholicism and the traditionalism associated with the Spanish constitution. *The Invention of Spain: Cultural Relations Between Britain and Spain, 1770-1870* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press; Palgrave, 2007), pp. ix-xi.

[28] Howarth has called it 'a profoundly constructive account, as forward-looking as it is retrospective'; presenting Charles V's ultimately failed attempts at creating a balance of power against centrifugal forces as a tale of progress in the development of early modern Europe (p. 5).

Robertson was also an early sympathiser with aspects of Islamic culture, and his rare historical account of imperial Spain helped to draw initial attention to the history of al-Andalus and its relationship to Europe, a theme later taken up with fervour in the nineteenth century.[29] Thomas Rodd's translation of the first part of Ginés Pérez de Hita's 1595 historical novel *Las guerras civiles de Granada* in 1803 was also very influential, and informed a number of later 'Spanish-Moorish prose works' including Washington Irving's *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (1829) and *The Alhambra* (1832), and Edward Bulwer Lytton's novel, *Leila, or the Siege of Granada* (1838).[30] This literary tradition was pivotal to the development of travel writing, particularly in the way that it 'capitalised on the nexus of fact and fiction, or the conflicts and contacts between East and West'.[31] It also built on late eighteenth century travel publications that can be seen as pioneers of the picturesque tradition, namely Henry Swinburne's *Travels Through Spain, in the Years 1775 and 1776 (*1779) and Richard Twiss' *Travels Through Portugal and Spain, in 1772 and 1773 (*1775). Both included numerous sketches and illustrations, and took up a special interest in the monuments and antiquities of Spain. These various visual and literary influences led to imaginative and informative travel publications in the following century, such as *Jenning's Landscape Annuals* (1835), which featured the now famous illustrations of David Roberts.[32] In addition, many of the tales found within historical fiction were liberally incorporated into travel handbooks and presented as facts, as part of the remit to inform its readers about places and monuments.

It was in a similar manner that the picturesque approach to sightseeing during the eighteenth century merged with earlier colonial practices of information-gathering and cartographic mapping. At the start of the nineteenth century, what had began as an industry dominated by

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[29] Howarth, p. 4.
[30] Diane Sieber explains that although Western European literary texts had been inspired by the city of Granada and its history as early as the late 1500s, this period saw a particular and concentrated interest in the period of al-Andalus. 'The Frontier Ballad and Spanish Golden Age Historiography: Recontextualizing the *Guerras Civiles De Granada*', *Hispanic Review* 65: 3 (1997): 291-306.
[31] Saglia, 'The Moor's Last Sigh', p. 197.
[32] The last four lavish volumes of the *Jennings' Landscape Annual* series departed from the Grand Tour countries and focused exclusively on Spain. The publication began in 1830 with a series of volumes on Italy, France and Switzerland, which became immediately popular due to their emphasis on visual artefacts and the 'irresistible pleasures of (virtual) travelling'. Saglia, 'Imag(in)Ing Iberia', p. 126).

wealthy gentleman who travelled to gain 'worldly knowledge', was invaded by a new breed of travellers driven by the desire to experience the world personally.[33] The exotic and distant lands added to the 'moving Academy' or Grand Tour for the benefit of the 'gentleman's education', began to attract the attention of travellers who sought out these places mainly for pleasure.[34] Judith Adler notes that a new 'art' of sensory-inspired travel would gradually replace the science-driven model that had served to 'objectively plot' locations in the service of an 'expanding knowledge economy'.[35] However, this new 'passionate' approach to travel inherited some of the empiricism of the Enlightenment, and still required a certain level of expertise and knowledge on the part of the viewer, similar to that of the art connoisseur. She writes that just as the the well-trained eye of the connoisseur judged works of art, categorised them by style, and made authoritative judgements of aesthetic merit, travel also became an occasion for the cultivation and display of 'taste'.[36]

It was from this complex fusion of private experience and worldly knowledge that the genre of travel writing ultimately derived, combining personal narrative with sensory stimulation. The new turn toward subjective viewing also led to an expansion of style and genre. Travellers began to define themselves and their journeys as 'romantic', 'picturesque', 'philosophical', 'curious', and 'sentimental',[37] while their prose borrowed from a series of pictorial devices such as framing, distancing, isolating and emphasising some features over others.[38] The conventions of picturesque painting supplied the descriptive vocabulary for the picturesque tourist, so that written accounts proved equally valuable visual tools (so much so that images were only

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[33] James Buzard notes that picturesque manner of viewing has been, from its inception, a practice culturally coded 'male', as has the Continental tour and the whole process of acculturation it represents: 'The picturesque retained the assumptions of gender given to it by its founders, who imagined a male art of seeing that could correct and complete what a feminized landscape held forth'. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 16.

[34] Ian Ousby writes that travel was a leading instrument of the post-Reformation spirit which valued empirical knowledge over abstract speculation or traditional book-learning. This spirit of inquiry was driven by a dual interest in the relationship between the 'general and the local', which led travellers abroad for much of the eighteenth century. *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 9.

[35] Judith Adler, 'Origins of Sightseeing', *Annals of Tourism Research* 16, no. 1 (1989), p. 23.

[36] Adler, 'Origins of Sightseeing', p. 23.

[37] Adler, 'Travel as Performed Art', p. 1372.

[38] Adler, 'Travel as Performed Art', pp. 1382-1383.

sometimes included within the texts, often in the form of illustrations 'taken on the spot'), insofar as they left an imprint on the mind and orientated the readers' perspectives.[39] Romantic descriptions of places and things, however, were not expected to be historically or scientifically accurate, and often included moralising tales or opinions about what was worth seeing, or, perhaps more importantly, what was not.

While handbooks and gazetteers attempted to deliver a more holistic picture of a place, including the manners of the people, geography, social history and instructions for travel, journals and travelogues tended to tell a story or give an overall impression, highlighting particular locations or views using emotional responses. These styles increasingly overlapped as the romantic trend toward poetic prose and away from objective reporting shaped a new form of travel writing. Pratt describes this as the 'narration-description duality', explaining that by the late nineteenth century the two modes shared equal weight in travel books, and that it was common for a trip to result in two separate volumes.[40] In a similar vein, James Buzard argues that the adaptation of visual conventions to describe encounters with 'even the most trodden and world-laden places', provided a way for writers to prove their 'imaginative capability'.[41] He identifies a blending of 'mimetic' and 'diegetic' styles within a number of Romantic genres, from guidebooks and travelogues to poems and novels.[42] In travel writing, the mimetic shows itself through a prosaic presentation of directions, advice, and descriptions designed to help readers reach certain locations or sites, while the diegetic provokes appropriate responses. The two styles worked separately or in tandem to establish a relationship between writer and reader, as well as subject and object. Through a blending of mimetic and diegetic prose, travel texts at the turn of the century pragmatically guided their readers through places, while offering speculative historical narratives and subjective responses to certain features. Naturally, this doubling of fact

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[39] Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1989), p. 29.
[40] Mary Louise Pratt, 'Fieldwork in Common Places', in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, eds. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1986), p. 35.
[41] Buzard, p. 169.
[42] Buzard, p. 167.

and personal reflection had a romanticising effect upon the perception of place.

Baedeker handbooks provide excellent later examples of the juxtaposition of mimetic and diegetic styles, often applying the term 'picturesque' with an almost practical efficiency.[43] The Baedeker name became synonymous with a 'full' experience of a place, incorporating useful facts and colourful descriptions, a legacy born of the earlier shift in travel writing.[44] However, its brief description of the Alhambra quoted earlier is necessarily selective, and along with the use of 'annotation' as a view-finding device to orient the reader's steps to specific place,[45] it firmly guides the viewer's gaze outward from the open window of the Alhambra, at the same time that it recommends the use of fantasy in imagining a particular past. This illustrates the way that the 'narration-description' duality was used to determine the tastes and interpretations of individual travellers, while the picturesque gaze was employed as a method for prioritising some sights (or sites) over others. Furthermore, these handbooks provided an authoritative view of the history and character of a place, often in respect to its architecture. Earlier in his description of Granada, Baedeker states the following: 'When the Arabs came to Spain, they possessed no architecture properly so called. As a race, they were as deficient as the Spaniards in constructive ingenuity; their whole strength lay in their ornamentation'.[46] This incredible statement reveals the way in which informative or 'mimetic' descriptions of place were heavily inflected with 'diegetic' opinions or reflections.

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[43] Ousby notes that from the mid nineteenth century onwards, 'information detailing everything that deserves a stranger's notice', was codified into the synoptic, 'impersonal' handbooks of Murray, Black and Baedeker (p. 12).

[44] A passage from E.M. Forster's 1908 *A Room with a View*, reveals the ubiquitousness of the Baedeker in European travel; when the protagonist, Lucy Honeychurch turns to hers for the location of Santa Croce, her guide, Miss Lavish replies, "Tut, tut! Miss Lucy! I hope we shall soon emancipate you from Baedeker. He does but touch the surface of things. As to the true Italy--he does not even dream of it. The true Italy is only to be found by patient observation." Later Lucy observes of tourists that, 'their noses were as red as their Baedekers, so cold was Santa Croce'.

[45] Saglia, 'Imag(in)Ing Iberia', p. 133.

[46] Baedeker, p. xvi.

The picturesque tradition: a room with many views

The term 'picturesque' emerged as an Anglicisation of the French '*pittoresque*' or the Italian '*pittoresco*' in the early eighteenth century, and referred not only to landscape but to any subject suitable for painting.[47] By the middle of the nineteenth century it had been expanded to describe or characterise almost anything that was pleasing or attractive to the eye, often used interchangeably with the descriptive terms, 'sublime', 'gothic' or 'romantic'. This line was further blurred by the view of John Ruskin that the sublime should not be considered separately from other aesthetic categories such as the beautiful, or from sources of pleasure in nature, expanding his own definition to include 'anything that elevates the mind'.[48] These aesthetic categories, however abused, continued to carry separate sets of meaning aligned with the moralising principles and tastes of the day. The fact that anything from a majestic mountain scene to a pleasant view of the countryside could be collapsed under the general heading of the picturesque attests to the flexibility of the term, and the freedom with which viewers could select and position features within the frame. Susan Stewart writes that the picturesque is employed as a taming device for the sublimity of nature, so that, 'the terrifying and giganticized nature of the sublime is domesticated into the orderly and cultivated nature of the picturesque'.[49] Whereas the sublime is marked by a 'potential recklessness (and) a dangerous surrender to disorder in nature', the picturesque is distinguished by 'a harmony of form, color, and light, of modulation approached by a distanced viewer'.[50] These two seemingly opposite elements are neutralised within travel writing during the nineteenth century, along with the terms used to describe them. For many travellers, this provided a way of managing fears and maintaining control over both foreign and domestic landscapes.

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[47] Copley and Garside, p. 3.
[48] John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 1 (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1846), p. 40.
[49] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 75.
[50] Stewart, p. 75.

As Garside and Copley have observed, while the picturesque had originally been set apart from the sublime and the beautiful as its own aesthetic category, its popular use leading up to the nineteenth century led to the broadening of the term to encompass the framing, selecting, or general 'picturing' of scenes, along with a wide range of features associated with the sublime and the Gothic.[51] Landscapes, cities and monuments also took on fresh political meaning through the picturesque gaze as they were framed and positioned in relation to this range of categories, sometimes taking on gendered characteristics. This is demonstrated by Roscoe in his description of Granada as, 'some splendid beauty enveloped in rude attire, but whose dazzling charms and enchantments as you approach more near, rivet the eye and fill the soul of the beholder'.[52] The feminisation of the landscape is another way that views could be 'tamed' by the picturesque gaze, an anthropomorphism further reinforced by identifications of the Alhambra as the jewel or crown of Granada. Its red towers are often seen as crowning the heights of Granada (a feature that recurs in many descriptions), while a number of accounts refer to both the city and the palace using feminine pronouns.[53] At different times, the Nasrid exteriors are seen as possessing masculine attributes, described as dark, foreboding and massy, while its interiors are compared with a fairy place, its rich ornamentation seen as possessing a magical quality that transports visitors into a world of fantasy. For example, in 1833 the American Caleb Cushing writes: 'within the dark walls and lofty towers of this remarkable fortress you find the perfection of Arabian art, and the paradise of Numidian fantasy'.[54] The gendered readings of the monument's spaces are part of the rhetoric of the picturesque, as objects in the landscape are imbued with the hierarchic meaning inherent to such vocabulary. This is strongly illustrated in a passage by Ford, writing in 1845, which segues neatly from a description of the city into a poetic reference to the Alhambra's courtyards and gardens:

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[51] Copley and Garside, p. 1.
[52] Thomas Roscoe and David Roberts. *The Tourist in Spain: Granada. By Thomas Roscoe; Illustrated from drawings by David Roberts, Jennings' Landscape Annuals* (London: Robert Jennings and Co., 1835), p. 19.
[53] Lady Louisa Tenison writes of the Alhambra, 'its crimson towers, crowning the heights, assume an ever-varying outline, according to the direction from which they are viewed'. *Castile and Andalucia* (London: Richard Bentley, 1853), p. 50.
[54] Caleb Cushing, *Reminiscences of Spain, the Country, its People, History, and Monuments*, vol. 2 (Boston: Carter, Hendee & Co.; Allen & Ticknor, 1833), p. 19.

> Although now the mock of Europe, which once grew pale at her name, Granada is still the chosen land of romance, where the present is forgotten in the past, and where, although her harp be unstrung, and her sword pointless, the tale of *Auld lang syne* still re-echoes through her bemyrtled courts, where, although her laurel-leaf be sere, the many flowers which still enamel the neglected Generalife attest that once a garden smiled.[55]

In addition to gender, readings of foreign landscapes must also be considered with respect to the politics of British landscapes and their representation. In his examination of eighteenth-century paintings of the English countryside, John Barrell identifies a contradictory image of a stable and unified society during what was a period of rapid industrial growth and class inequality.[56] He identifies the romanticisation of rural labour within pastoral scenes (or, conversely, the complete omission of figures working the land), as part of an attempt to naturalise a vision of the English countryside as one 'innocent of division'.[57] In recognising the social constraints upon rustic landscape painting and the resulting organisation of the picture space, he reveals compositional unity as a meaningful artifice.[58] Similarly, Ann Bermingham identifies landscape as a 'cultural and aesthetic object' within this painting tradition, the agrarian countryside signifying the relationship between man and nature during the 'rediscovery' of rural Britain in the nineteenth century. She explains that through a recognition of the nostalgic value of the domestic countryside in the wake of the industrial revolution, landscape came to represent the homely and the ahistorical precisely when large portions of the countryside were becoming unrecognisable and 'dramatically marked by historical change'.[59]

The widening gap between an image of pastoral utopia and the encroaching smog of heavy industry created a longing for undisturbed landscapes. What Adler identifies as the 'restorative effects of happily constituted scenes', can be understood in relation to idealised views of

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[55] Ford, *Hand-book*, p. 363.
[56] John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Paintings, 1730-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 5.
[57] Barrell, p. 5.
[58] Barrell, p. 5.
[59] Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1987), p. 9.

the English countryside as well as those lying further afield.[60] Nicholas Tromans, writing of the British Orientalist painting tradition of the late eighteenth century, identifies the panorama as a way of physically elongating the picture in order to absorb as much of the scenery as possible. He argues that by stretching the actual canvas, the painter could challenge the constraints of the picture plane by eliminating the need for framing devices at the sides of the image.[61] Likewise in travel writing, foreign scenes were described using the widest possible vocabulary of forms and visual tropes, as travellers modified the scene to fit their own panoramic views. Both the threat of modernising forces on British soil and the fear of the unknown led to the widening of the picturesque frame and its corresponding terminology. With both agrarian and Oriental elements, Granada required the full breadth of its visualising vocabulary. This is well illustrated by a description of the Sierra Nevada from the Tower of the Vela by Dorothy Wordsworth Quillinan (daughter of William): 'All this sublime beauty in the distance is mingled with much of the stern and bold among the lower heights; and close at hand you have all that is soft, and lovely, and graceful, and delicate'.[62] For the approaching traveller, the fertile plains of the Vega satisfied a hunger for the quickly disappearing (albeit romanticised) pastures of England, in the same way that pastoral imagery in England became particularly consumable because the landscape it depicted was under threat.[63] The mountainous outcropping of the Sierra Nevada also held the additional allure of a wilder and more majestic setting, one absent within rural England.

The placement of man-made objects within the natural landscape is another important function of the picturesque gaze. Descriptions of unfolding landscapes position historical, man-made objects within natural settings to create imaginatively integrated (and in some cases blissfully ignorant) compositions. As part of the traveller's approach to Granada, the Alhambra and the surrounding city were 'built into' the surrounding landscape. Comprised of hard rubble faced with stone and brick masonry, the monument's outer fabric was seen as an extension of the

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60. Adler, 'Origins of Sightseeing', p. 23.
61. Nicholas Tromans, 'Introduction: British Orientalist Painting', in *The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting*, ed. Nicholas Tromans (London: Tate Publishing, 2008), p. 17.
62. Dorothy Wordsworth Quillinan, *Journal of a Few Months' Residence in Portugal, and Glimpses of the South of Spain/ Mrs. Dorothy Quillinan, Nee Wordsworth*, vol. 1 (London: Moxon, 1847), pp. 172-173.
63. Bermingham, p. 85.

rocky outcrop of the Sabika Hill, and the city a white mantle from which it rose.[64] Pedro Salmerón writes that the Alhambra cannot be considered a single point of reference, but is rather a 'silhouette that leaves an indelible mark on the relationships between city and landscape, while it is a landscape itself'.[65] Correspondingly, a typical description of Granada from 1834 combines many elements into one inclusive view, such as in this passage written by S. S. Cook :

> The view of Granada, on the side of the Vega by which I approached it, is on the whole the best; it embraces the entire extent of a place, which in magnificence of exterior will not disappoint the most sanguine expectation. The length of the city, with its numerous spires and domes, from the suburb beyond the gate of Elvira on the east, to the bank of the Xenil, which encloses it to the west, crowned by the red towers of the Alhambra, with the numerous gardens and vineyards interspread, the rugged and broken range which conducts the eye to the eternal snow on the south, form an *ensemble* which scarcely requires the assistance of the romance attached to its history to heighten (*my italics*).[66]

It is clear from this passage that the Alhambra is only one of many elements that make up a view of Granada (interestingly, the 'spires and domes' are identified with the city rather than the palace). The positioning of the monument within this 'ensemble' speaks to an even distribution of natural and cultural elements, wherein each is given equal visual weight. Naturally positioned within a notably rich and varied geography, its walls made from the very earth, the Alhambra lends itself easily to visual incorporation. Its remarkably thick outer walls were formed from an adobe interior and covered by a stucco made primarily from lime, but with the red clay, or 'alpañata' of the Sabika added as a colouring agent.[67] This gives the Alhambra what

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[64] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, p. 41.
[65] Pedro Salmerón, *The Alhambra Structure and Landscape,* trans. Diana Kelham (Granada: La biblioteca de la Alhambra, 2007), p. 43.
[66] S. S. Cook, *Sketches in Spain During the Years 1829, 30, 31 & 32; Containing Notices of Some Districts Very Little Known; of the Manners of the People, Government, Recent Changes, Commerce, Fine Arts and Natural History* (London: Thomas and William Boone, 1834), p. 10.
[67] Salmerón claims that while the eleventh and thirteenth-century structures were red, the outermost surfaces of later structures such as the Comares and Lions palaces may have been white, but were chipped off over time to reveal the intense red nucleus of the walls, thus becoming a point of reference for later restoration work (pp. 50-51).

Salmerón calls 'a special ability to capture the horizon', likening it to the architecture of a cave, full of cavities and chests.[68] Similarly, Grabar remarks on the first impression of the Alhambra as that of a fortified enclosure some 2200 metres in perimeter, 'whose particular shape is obviously determined by the contours and defensive possibilities of the terrain'.[69] Its twenty irregularly-spaced towers present units of different shapes that protrude or lay flush with the fortress wall, making it difficult to distinguish defensive towers from palatial establishments (fig. 30).[70] The seamless integration of the citadel into the rocky spur of the Sabika means that rather than seeing it as an element that stands out or disrupts the harmony of the view, most travellers describe it as an integrated part of a wider, panoramic scene.

However, the view of the fortress-like structure couched within a mountainous region failed to meet the expectations of many travellers, largely due to the fact that these expectations existed in the first place. It is therefore useful to analyse the approach of travellers in more detail in order to reveal a second layer of interpretation, one informed by the accounts of others, as well as the general mythology surrounding the monument. As Ford wrote as early as 1845, the Alhambra had been monopolised by painters and poets for so long that it was 'beyond the jurisdiction of sober history; where fairies have danced their mystic rings, flowers may spring, but mere grass will never grow'.[71] For many visitors, experiencing the monument first hand necessarily involved a process of reconciliation, as the object resisted their imaginings and thus required repositioning. Raimonda Modiano argues that the picturesque, by virtue of its 'paramount insistence on variety and intricacy', confronts the observer with a dazzling multiplicity of objects that 'renders attachment to any one of them impossible'.[72] The observer is hereby placed in a position of mastery; never visually dependent upon any one object and therefore free to

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[68] Salmerón, p. 50.
[69] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, p. 41.
[70] Grabar questions the assumption that the walls and towers are defensive, suggesting the possibility that were simply a formal means of separating or protecting aristocratic and royal areas (the northern structures being the zone of palaces, the south being the city (*The Alhambra*, p. 42).
[71] Ford, p. 368.
[72] Raimonda Modiano, 'The Legacy of the Picturesque: Landscape, Property and the Ruin', in *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics Since 1770*, eds. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 198.

seek 'yet another' sight.[73] The Alhambra was therefore positioned and repositioned within the landscape as travellers approached, taking on different sets of meaning and relationships with other features.

'The approach': putting the Alhambra in place

Expressions of wonder and awe at the sight of Granada can be found within many accounts, and reveal a range of expectations and pre-existing ideas. Writing about the initial encounter between people and places, Caroline Walker-Bynum writes that 'wonder' must be understood as 'a deeply perspectival response', born of an interdependent notion of an 'us' to a perceived 'other'.[74] The process of overcoming difference as travellers encountered the Alhambra necessarily required a reworking of space and the designation of unfamiliar features within established categories. As W. J. T. Mitchell argues, the crucially formative moment of cognitive encounter with a place is accompanied by the need to apprehend its 'spatial vectors', or in other words, determine the position of one point in relation to others.[75] In line with this, the moment of the traveller's approach involves a translation of features and overall impressions according to a culturally and individually specific set of spatial and material understandings. To put these accounts into perspective, it is important to first consider the manner in which most travellers arrived at the city, and briefly touch on the conditions of travel in Spain at the time.

Though transportation improved throughout the century, many reached Granada by a limited number of challenging routes, through what many found to be a dry and inhospitable landscape. The most direct route from Britain even as late as 1865 was a five and a half day steamer trip from Southampton to Gibraltar, with an extended eight day voyage stopping at Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, and Cádiz.[76] From there the journey could take a number of directions, all

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[73] Modiano, p. 198.
[74] Caroline Walker-Bynum, 'Wonder', in *Metamorphosis and Identity*, ed. Carolin Walker-Bynum (New York: Zone Books, 2001), p. 55.
[75] W. J. T. Mitchell, 'Preface to the Second Edition of Landscape and Power', *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell, 2nd edn. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. x.
[76] Charnock, p. 42.

slow and relatively difficult. One traveller notes that there were only two roads from Malaga to Granada in 1831, the first a more direct road through Velez Malaga, and the other passing through Loja.[77] These were taken by omnibus or diligence, constituting a bumpy ride over irregular dirt tracks. This journey involved at least one night's stay, and even with a stopover many travellers arrived at Granada come nightfall the following evening. Writing mid-century, Wordsworth Quillinan describes the road through the Vega at nightfall with no small amount of regret:

> I cannot attempt to describe the face of the country further, for night was now fast closing in, and I could see little more than the outline of the hills; only I know for sometime the bed of the river was our carriage-road... and this within a few miles of Granada! It was mortifying to lose the approach to this city of song and romance.[78]

At that time a journey from Ronda to Malaga on horseback took approximately fourteen hours, though by 1865 there was a branch line of railway 'in contemplation' to join Granada with Córdoba and Malaga.[79] By 1883 Augustus Hare reports an improvement in roads and a branch of railway between Loja and Granada,[80] but nevertheless Granada remained unattainable by rail for much of the nineteenth century. Without railways, the entire journey from Southampton to Granada could take up to two weeks. As a result, many travellers (mainly those with ample time and resources), would have seen Granada as part of a longer tour of Spain and in some cases Portugal and Africa, reflected in titles such as Wordsworth Quillinan's *Journal of a Few Months' Residence in Portugal, and Glimpses of the South of Spain*. As might be expected on such prolonged journeys (about which there are many complaints of less than adequate service from muleteers and innkeepers), views of the landscape and changing scenery are enthusiastically described and elaborated, a sense of anticipation building as travellers stopped in villages and towns along the way. In addition to the exoticism of the Alhambra, the agrarian

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[77] Henry David Inglis, *Spain in 1830* (London: Whittaker, Treacher and Co., 1831), p. 201.
[78] Wordsworth Quillinan, p. 164.
[79] Charnock, p. 45.
[80] Augustus John Cuthbert Hare, *Wanderings in Spain*, 5th edn. (London: George Allen, 1883), p. 141.

richness of Granada promised a reprieve from the rugged geography of Andalucia. Its bountiful plains and refreshing mountain air are used as dramatic foil for the wretchedness of the Iberian 'desert'.

A slightly earlier account given by Henry David Inglis in 1830 describes a change in the landscape at Santa Fe: 'the country becomes rich and populous; for here we are within the influence of irrigation; and now at every step, Granada rose before us with greater distinctness and magnificence'.[81] Most travellers would have approached the city from the south or south-west, as access from the north or west is obstructed by the spurs that extend from the Sierra Nevada and the deep ravine that runs between two of the most prominent. The Alhambra sits atop the Sabika, the highest of the two,[82] and the second, known as San Cristóbal, slopes more gently into the plain and upon which was built the medieval Alcazaba Cadima (*al-Qasbah al-qadima*, 'the old city'), and the Albaicín (*rabad al-Bayyazin*, or 'suburb of the falconers'), portions of which remain today (fig.'s 31 and 32).[83] The steep north-west ridge of the Sabika drops steeply onto the surrounding city, which by the nineteenth century was a mixture of buildings from the sixteenth century onward. Salmerón notes the way that the Darro river (a tributary of the Genil), separates the land into two parts that reflect each other, and the exceptional views of the Alhambra provided by the vertical breaks of the ravines with surround and isolate it.[84] The mountain range lies to the south and south-east of Granada, and the fertile upper part of the Vega, or Genil valley, spreads outward from the Sabika's eastern side. Therefore, travellers approaching from the direction of Malaga would have had a view of the Vega, the city, the towers rising from the steep north-west edge of the Sabika hill (called the Torres Bermejas or Vermillion Towers), and the snow-capped summits of the mountain range in the distance (fig.'s 33 and 34). Thomas Roscoe provides an accurate description of this view from 1835: 'On emerging from the hills, into

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[81] Inglis, p. 218.
[82] The Sabika is separated from the mountain by a narrow ravine that gives the Alhambra its important defensive position, and also required the installation of its complex system of aqueducts and cisterns.
[83] In the eleventh century a city was built on the Alcazaba hill and its surroundings under three Zirid rulers, Habus, Badis and Abdallah (1025-1090). A partial wall and a small bath or *ḥammām* remains today. The north-west portion of the Albaicín was the site of a Zirid palace, which Grabar claims to have been an imitation of al-Mansur's eighth-century palace in Baghdad (*The Alhambra*, pp. 32-33).
[84] Salmerón, p. 38.

the spacious and blooming plain, the old Moorish capital is seen in the distance, and more conspicuously the ruddy light of its Vermilion Towers, high overhung by the range of the snow-clad Sierra'.[85]

The Vega and mountains made a strong impression on the majority of early to mid nineteenth-century travellers, not least of all because they signalled the end of a long journey. For this reason, the initial view was described by many as if a shimmering oasis on the horizon. Arriving from Alhama on route from Malaga in 1811, Sir John Carr describes the view in compelling detail:

> After having ascended for two days, at length, within a league and a half of Granada, we suddenly, upon reaching an abrupt eminence, entered the vast and magnificent plain, called Vega de Granada, nearly ninety miles in circumference, and vegetated with farms, meadow-fields, rivers, forests, woods, and country-houses, and bounded by chains of mountains covered with vineyards, orange, citron, olive, mulberry, and fig-trees, the whole presenting an expanded scene of luxuriance and opulence, rarely to be beheld. In a corner towards the east, arose the walls and towers of that celebrated city, which from boyhood I had longed to visit, placed at the base of a lofty mountain, called the Sierra Nevada, whose summits, covered with eternal snows, presented a brilliant contrast to the prodigal display of all the tints of verdure which nature had assumed below.[86]

Thus Granada, with its irrigated countryside, backdrop of dramatic mountains, and crowning 'Moorish palace', presents a composition that allowed for multiple variations on the picturesque formula, at times combining the familiar with the exotic, or the rustic with the monumental. Carr's view moves freely through his panoramic spread; across the cultivated plains of the Vega, over the towers and walls of the city, and to the mountain range that complements, rather than dominates, the view. All elements are neatly organised within his description, providing a frame for the city of Granada, a place that he claims to have longed to visit 'since

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[85] Roscoe, p. 3.
[86] Sir John Carr, *Descriptive Travels in the Southern and Eastern Parts of Spain and the Balearic Islands in the Year 1809 [With Plates]* (London: Sherwood, Neely & Sons, 1811), pp. 163-164.

boyhood'.[87] The visual and spatial impact of the landscape recurs within the accounts of a number of other travellers. From this distance the fortress walls of the Alhambra are often described as part of the overall view. In 1843 Haverty describes the city 'crowned' by the reddish walls of the Alhambra and surrounded by the snow-capped mountains of the Sierra Nevada and the Vega, 'that renowned theatre of chivalry and romance'.[88] His description echoes that of Cook's, who ten years earlier arranged the plain, city and mountain into a composition of foreground, middle-ground, and background, and chose the word 'ensemble' to describe his view. The use of pictorial devices continued to give writers a way of organising objects and delineating the edges of his or her selected picture plane. By the 1840s this was accepted practice: Haverty goes so far as to reflexively refer to the 'middle distance' of the view, locating the centre of the landscape in relation to 'the remainder of the horizon, to the extreme left'.[89]

Another recurring visual strategy during this earlier period is the interplay between the natural landscape and the urban fabric of Granada alternately positions the Alhambra as a minor integrated feature or a central, dominating element. It is important to recognise that the framing and placement of the monument within the picture plane also reflects changing attitudes toward agriculture, urbanity, and historic monuments in the context of modern Britain. By way of merging mountain, plain, city and monument within a single composition, travellers were able to negotiate the position of the Alhambra within both a view of Spain, and according to a mythologised past to which the monument was seen to belong. As travellers neared the city, the focus on the monument became clearer and less obstructed by the surrounding landscape. In 1830, traveller Henry David Inglis draws closer to Granada from the direction of Malaga and suddenly shifts his attention away from the 'heathy country... wild, open, and covered with aromatic plants',[90] toward the Alhambra. His description of natural features dissolves into an inspired account of the monument as it 'rises up with greater distinctness and magnificence':

The situation of Granada eclipses that of any city that I have ever seen; and

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87. Carr, pp. 164.
88. Haverty, pp. 150-151.
89. Haverty, p. 149.
90. Inglis, p. 217.

> altogether, the view in approaching it, struck me more forcibly than any other view that I could at the moment recollect. As yet, the description would not perhaps be very striking on paper; because the ingredients of its magnificence consist in the vastness and splendour of its Moorish remains - not a single Alcazar, not a few isolated ruins, whose dimensions the eye at once embraces - but ranges of palaces, and castles, and towers, covering elevations a league in circumference, rising above and stretching beyond one another, with a subject city at their feet; and almost vying in grandeur with the gigantic range of the snowy Sierra that towers above them.[91]

Inglis is struck by the outer form of the Alhambra, a feature that increasingly takes precedence over the scenery. Upsetting the compositional balance, his gaze becomes fixated upon the irregular mass of the Alhambra, introducing an entirely new set of descriptors and visual categories. This signals the moment in which the singularity of the monument is addressed, even through the many features that make up its totality. It is at this point that it is tested under the full weight of its perceptions; transformed and contorted through the descriptions of travellers faced with its material form at closer proximity. This would cause many to remark upon its poor condition, plainness, or monumentality, sometimes all at once. However, while travellers such as Inglis saw it as grand and magnificent, 'vying' with the mountain range beyond, others would describe its forms from a diversity of perspectives. It is this wide variation that concerns me here, for although the monument has remained a permanent fixture on the Sabika Hill for centuries, it has been re-envisaged through a number of architectural tropes, with its dimensions and character changing according to the gaze of different viewers. I now turn my attention to these discrepancies as a second phase of 'working through' the view.

Picturing Otherness: the problem of the Gothic ruin

In weaving the act of seeing into personal narratives of place, European travellers would absorb and translate their encounters with difference. As Linda Nochlin has famously

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[91] Inglis, p. 218.

written, the picturesque style would construe perceptions of 'other' places and people, drawing upon a wide variety of visual objects and ideological strategies to create a false sense of realism.[92] She discusses how in the Orientalist painting tradition the picturesque was used to manipulate scenes according to various tropes and stereotypes, such as in the work of Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904). His famous painting of a boy snake charmer performing naked in front of an audience of Arab 'types' who lounge against a wall of crumbling ornament, hints at a once great but now long forgotten past. (fig. 35). In his highlighting of such details as decaying ornament and architecture, and omitting of all evidence of Orientalist subjects actively undertaking labour, she argues that Gérôme represents modern Arab life as idle, atemporal and decadent.[93] The Orientalising potential of the picturesque gaze is that it can work contextually and emotively to draw an audience's attention to certain points of interest while completely absenting others. This became increasingly problematic as journals more frequently included anecdotal passages and arbitrary details which took on an authoritative tone. In the case of Granada, Saglia observes that in order to increase the overall picturesque effect of the Alhambra, 'normal perspectives are modified, distances between objects transformed, and buildings added or subtracted'.[94] These distortions work to gradually displace its historical and material specificity, while mimetic descriptions locate the monument within an 'actual' setting. Across a range of accounts, its dimensions, shape and character were described in relation to perceptions of Otherness, as well Romanticised references to its long-forgotten and lamentable past. Through the 'narration-description duality' the Alhambra was made into a signifier of atemporal Otherness, while simultaneously existing within a modern view of Spain.

At the same time that these interpretations skew a more historically correct picture, they also reveal the cultural preoccupation of the Victorian traveller. The sublime and softer picturesque elements of the landscape could be managed within the tripartite division of space, but closer views of the monument involved a further collapsing of the familiar into the exotic. This

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[92] Linda Nochlin, 'The Imaginary Orient', in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), p. 51.
[93] Nochlin, p. 51.
[94] Saglia, 'Imag(in)Ing Iberia', p. 128.

drew on the picturesque style that had been developing both in Britain as well as foreign destinations such as Egypt and India. Although a large portion of the middle classes had avidly taken up international travel as a pastime, another demographic who lacked the resources to venture abroad was investing in domestic holidays. Advancements in British roads and communications and a 'residual distrust of foreign parts',[95] meant that new travel patterns abroad were matched by a return to local scenery, an obsession typified by the naturalist poetry of William Wordsworth and the paintings of John Constable and Thomas Gainsborough (fig.'s 36 and 37). This inward-looking trend also meant that the neoclassic approach to representing the exotic, made popular by the early Orientalist tradition, became somewhat outdated and undesirable. This is not to suggest that foreign travel abated during this period (in fact the case was quite the opposite), but it is necessary to highlight the ways in which the English picturesque landscape and the representation of the Gothic ruin were transferred onto less familiar scenes abroad.

One of the paradoxes built into this double vision of the domestic and foreign was the renewed Western interest in the Gothic during the nineteenth century, a complicated revival of forms that had previously been associated with the 'Saracenic Other'. A stylistic connection made popular by Christopher Wren in 1750,[96] the pointed arch of the Gothic was thought to have originated through 'Saracenic' influence via the Greeks, some believing that it entered Europe by way of 'Moorish Spain' rather than the Middle East.[97] A few decades into the nineteenth century, however, the Gothic was accepted by many as the official style of 'modern' Britain, which prompted further inquiries into this link to an Eastern past.[98] Kathleen Biddick

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[95] Ousby locates this distrust of foreignness as contributing to English attitudes in 'virtually all periods', giving the example of the denunciation of French and Italian sophistication, in order to praise the character of their native country (p. 10).

[96] Reporting an opinion of a surveyor of the Salisbury Cathedral, he writes that 'what we now vulgarly call the *Gothick,* ought properly and truly to be named the *Saracenick Architecture refined by the Christians*; which first of all began in the East after the Fall of the *Greek* Empire by the prodigious Succss of those People that adhered to *Mahomet*'s Doctrine, who out of Zeal to their Religion, built Mosques, Caravansaras, and Sepulchres, wherever they came. Christopher Wren, *Parentalia: Or, Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens; Viz. Of Mathew Bishop of Ely, Christopher Dean of Windsor, &C. but Chiefly of Sir Christopher Wrens* (London: T. Osborn and R. Dodsley, 1750), p. 306.

[97] Raquejo, 'The Arab Cathedrals', p. 555.

[98] John Ruskin writes that 'all European architecture, bad and good, old and new, is derived from Greece through Rome, and coloured and perfected from the East... those old Greeks gave the shaft; Rome gave the arch; the Arabs pointed and foliated the arch'. *The Stones of Venice* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1851), p. 13.

identifies a period of 'Gothisization of the Gothic Revival', during which the English came to imagine and sustain a 'progressive' vision of the nation through a process of internal colonisation.[99] She notes that between 1820 and 1870, thousands of churches underwent a form of Gothic restoration, alongside domestic structures, universities, and prisons, consolidating a style that was then reproduced through colonial channels.[100] At this point, the former connection of the Gothic style with Islamic architecture was subsequently denied or deferred by a series of new associations.[101] This correlation was further disproved during what John Ganim has described as 'a brief celebration of cultural relativism' in the nineteenth century, wherein a number of comparative philological studies emphasised the creative energy of the Gothic over the relatively static quality of Oriental architectures.[102] He explains that during this time Islamic architecture was re-labelled as unchanging and uncreative, while Gothic architecture was attributed distinct phases and a rich history of development.[103]

It was at this crucial point that the innovative qualities of the Alhambra (a theme I explored in chapter one), were increasingly recast as derivative and chaotic, a style seen in direct opposition to the ordered functionalism of the Gothic. This severance came about just as the Gothic was adopted as a 'new' national style, a movement pioneered by Augustus Pugin, who championed the order and moral principles of late medieval Christian architecture.[104] Despite these associations with piety and functionality, William Ousby writes that the Gothic continued to offend Victorian sensibilities: 'With its complex rhythms, its love of dramatic contrast and its

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[99] Kathleen Biddick, 'Gothic Ornament and Sartorial Peasants', in *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham NC; London: Duke University Press, 1998), p. 29.
[100] Biddick, p. 29.
[101] John M. Ganim, *Medievalism and Orientalism: Three Essays on Literature, Architecture and Cultural Identity* (New York; Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 94.
[102] Ganim, p. 88.
[103] Ganim, p. 88.
[104] Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *Contrasts: Or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste. Accompanied By Appropriate Text* (London: James Moyes, 1836). Pugin was born in 1812, the son of a refugee from the French Revolution who converted to Catholicism and went on to design the London Houses of Parliament in London with Sir Charles Barry. Jules Lubbock has noted his rather contradictory historical title as a pioneer of the modern movement (given his 'backward-looking mediaevalism'), which is based on his enrichment of the essential construction of a building and aversion to 'tacked on' ornament. *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain 1550-1960* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for British Art, 1995), p. 233.

delight in rich decoration, medieval architecture was bound to look "fantastical and licentious" to people whose eyes were trained in the cool harmonies of Neo-classicism'.[105] Nevertheless, as Meyer Schapiro has pointed out, the earlier view of the Gothic as inartistic based on the 'extraordinary caprice and irrationality of its forms', was later completely reversed, and the style was championed as the 'paragon of a completely functional art'.[106] After this point, even advocates of Islamic art such as Owen Jones reinforced the division between the Gothic style and its supposed Eastern roots, contrasting the spirituality of Gothic with the sensuousness of Islamic architecture, suggesting that 'while the Gothic strikes awe, the Mosque echoes the calm voluptuousness of the Koran'.[107]

The confusion surrounding the Gothic and its origins partly accounts for the way that paintings and illustrations of the Alhambra by Romantic painter David Roberts appear, 'both hauntingly familiar and disturbingly alien'.[108] In his *Tower of the Comares* painting of 1835 he depicts the monument with exaggerated vertical proportions, seemingly in agreement with the theory of Saracenic origins of the Gothic style (fig. 38). The Torre de la Pienador and Torre de Comares rise up from the Sabika in tall, narrow projections, while the similarly elongated towers of the Alcazaba loom in the background. The vertical composition of the painting also helps to create a sense of upward movement, with the presence of the monument enhanced by the depiction of small figures in the foreground, what appear to be Spanish locals milling about at the foot of the hill. Saglia argues that its actual dimensions and tactility are interpreted through the intersection of a number of aesthetic codes that include the theatrical, the picturesque and the sublime, as well as Gothic medievalism.[109] The conglomeration of these multiple

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[105] Ousby, p. 104.
[106] Meyer Schapiro, *Romanesque Art* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1977), p. 3.
[107] Ganim, p. 90.
[108] Jones quoted in Saglia, 'Imag(in)Ing Iberia', p. 139. Similar religious metaphors were echoed in travel accounts, such as that of Matilda Edwards who wrote: 'And the Alhambra itself, so gorgeous within, so unadorned and warlike and defended without, may be called an embodiment of the spirit of the Koran, which is at the same time religious, warlike, luxurious, sensuous, aesthetic'. Matilda Barbara Betham Edwards, *Through Spain to the Sahara* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1868), pp. 183-184.
[109] Saglia argues that illustrations of a similar nature where integrated into the 'historical and legendary' text by Thomas Roscoe for the Spanish volumes of *Jennings' Annuals*, they were done so in a collaborative manner that incorporated different artistic media and conflicting representational codes that ultimately speak to 'the complexity inherent in the Romantic rediscovery and inscription of Spain ('Imag(in)Ing Iberia', p. 128).

codes within a single representation reveals a fascinating problem of classification. This Gothicisation of the Alhambra is even more evident within representations of its interiors, as demonstrated in an earlier engraving of the Court of Lions from 1815 by James C. Murphy, where the scale of the court is disproportionately large and the pointed arches are vertically stretched to better resemble that of the Gothic (fig. 39). The Court, which I return to in the following chapters, is here shown from the perspective of the east pavilion looking toward the famous lions fountain across a vast, expansive space; when in reality the court is rather small, measuring only 28.5 by 15.7 metres.[110] The thin columns of the pavilion are extended upwards to an impossible height and support an enormous domed ceiling that disappears out of the frame. Murphy also uses figures to reinforce his imagined dimensions, in this case using turbaned Moorish 'types' to populate the space.

Roberts and Murphy provide strong visual examples of the way that shifting ideological frameworks were reflected through the distortion of material form. These transformations are equally evident within the written descriptions of travel texts, often through metaphor and hyperbole. Descriptions vary greatly across the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; Udal Rhys writes in 1749 that it had 'exactly the appearance of an immense romantic old Castle' (while at the same time possessing the sumptuous qualities of a palace belonging to 'Moorish Kings'),[111] while in 1854 Jones likens the fortress to the Acropolis at Athens.[112] By mid century the palaces were described from a variety of positions and alternately reflected a taste for the stoicism of the Neo-classical or the irregularity of the Gothic. In 1844 Haverty writes: 'Externally, the Alhambra presents the appearance of an assemblage of mean and irregularly built houses, without unity of effect or design; and the walls are for the most part constructed of no better materials than a kind of compressed earth or cement, made of clay, pebbles &c'.[113] His desire for the noble order of the classical here finds itself in the form of criticism, while others admired the exterior for these very qualities. Wordsworth Quillinan, for example, writes in 1847

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[110] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, p. 77.
[111] Udal ap. Rhys, *An Account of the Most Remarkable Places in Spain and Portugal* (London: Printed for J. Osborn, A. Millar, J. and J. Rivington, and J. Leake, at Bath, 1749), p. 130.
[112] Owen Jones, "The Alhambra Court in the Crystal Palace," (1854), p. 23.
[113] Haverty, p. 158.

that 'the stern simplicity of those plain square towers and turrets have an indescribable charm'.[114] Preference and taste ultimately came to shape and define the outer forms of the monument which, not surprisingly, gave its readers a very different set of impressions. These contradictory accounts highlight a peculiar juncture between perceptions of a majestic and imposing monument, and an unimpressive and disordered mess of buildings, making it difficult to imagine such descriptions belonging to the same structure. Many found its outer intactness to be out of step with the Gothic aesthetic that had come into vogue by the middle of the century, its fortress walls more akin to what Ousby calls the 'outmoded harmonies of Neo-classicism'.[115]

I suggest that the association of the Alhambra with the picturesque ruin has little to do with its actual physical appearance, but rather with travellers' preoccupation with fallen civilisations, their enduring fascination with the golden age of Antiquity, or in some cases, both. The idea of returning to these earlier times through the historical and material remoteness of the ruin added further appeal for the Victorian traveller wishing to escape the smog of the Industrial Revolution. It also acted as a potent materialisation of a retaking of culture by nature, which complemented the Romantic envisioning of a lost, pre-industrial era. This may in part explain why the ruin was evoked in descriptions of the Alhambra, despite its fortress-like regularity. Despite its internal decay, with much of its ornament and structural elements requiring restoration or replacement during the latter half of the nineteenth century, its exterior hardly qualified as a dilapidated or crumbling structure being overtaken by the earth. Moreover, its palatial buildings are relatively squat, and however much the irregularity of their placement might refer back to the ruin of the rustic tradition, the long chain of connecting towers is not only complete, but can only accurately be described as a fortress. Nor does the Alhambra meet the expectations of an Oriental ruin, found in more exotic locations such as India. With a marked absence of domes, spires or minarets, the Alhambra offered a blocky mass of reddish stone and predominantly flat roofs, the whole of it overwhelmed by the Roman-style hull of Charles V's palace.

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[114] Wordsworth Quillinan, p. 174.
[115] Ousby that the nineteenth century English tourist generally preferred ruins to intact buildings like cathedrals or parish churches, partly because 'time and decay had created irregularities the builders had not intended' (p. 122).

With with this strange array of elements that fail to lend themselves fully to the Gothic, Oriental or classical form of the ruin, it is revealing that the Alhambra come to be known as the 'Old Pile' in Romantic accounts, or alternatively reframed as an exotic palace through descriptions of its interiors.

I posit that these varied interpretations reflect the debates around the representation of the ruin, and are tied up with concerns about national style and architectural trends. The melancholic associations of the ruin stood in contrast to the aesthetic criteria of the picturesque, and was seen by many to have an antithetical relationship to beauty that made it an inappropriate feature to include within views of the landscape. John Ruskin argued against the depiction of ruins in picturesque representations on the basis that pleasure was an unsavoury and immoral response to the sight of waste and decay.[116] He was not alone in his contempt for what became known as the 'cult of ruins', that saw the remains of ancient or medieval buildings adapted as 'mere fashionable ornament' within pastoral views, no longer evoking feelings of regret or pity for the passing of time.[117] Despite these criticisms, the ruin remained a standard feature in the landscape long after its neoclassic roots had been severed, largely a result of the contradictory emotions aroused by their forms. While representation of fragmented cathedrals and abbeys within pastoral scenery created 'timeless' landscapes that blissfully negated historical meaning or specificity,[118] it also signified the destruction of civilisation by way of its grotesque ornament and morbid signification of death (particularly in the case of the Gothic ruin). This paradox of timelessness and decay created a sense of 'pleasing melancholy' and 'agreeable horror', a complex response that compelled the eighteenth-century picturesque tourist to visit ruined abbeys and castles.[119] The fear and awe evoked by such sublime images of 'monstrous, broken and irregular forms', allowed viewers to ruminate over the loss of great civilisations being overtaken

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[116] Quoted in Modiano, p. 204.
[117] Modiano, p. 204.
[118] Garside and Copley, p. 6.
[119] Andrews associates the preoccupation of the ruin with the indulgence of melancholy and horror in relation to graveyard poetry and Sublime aesthetics. The ruin is reconstructed by the imagination, drawing upon some architectural expertise and antiquarian interests, exemplified by the pleasures of form and colouring. He defines the ruin as having both a decorative nature, as well as moral, political value, as the eighteenth century ruined castle is a potent emblem of liberation from Gothic feudalism (pp. 41-46).

by nature, while continuing to admire the beauty and compositional balance of the view.[120]

It is because of these internal tensions that Raimonda Modiano describes the picturesque ruin as a 'transitory and unstable object'.[121] She explains that the integration of ruins as minor features of the picturesque landscape, which emphasised their 'ordinariness' while maintaining their monumental scale, functioned to 'break the spell of the Sublime object'.[122] Within representations of the Oriental ruin, however, quite the opposite was true, as buildings often dominated the view with their colossal dimensions.[123] Tromans writes that representations such as those of Roberts, work compositionally to pull the beholder's gaze into an alternative Oriental world, and sometimes into the buildings themselves, creating a 'quasi-panoramic sense of being entirely embraced by the view'.[124] Often, Oriental 'types' were incorporated within the foreground to complete the picture of a culture trapped in an ahistorical moment of pre-modernity, the ruination acting as proof that these formerly great civilisations had long since declined. In these two models, both the monumentality of the neoclassic tradition and the ordinariness of the English landscape ruin, show an attempt to negotiate the vestiges of the past within a modern context, thus assigning themselves an active place as viewers of these histories. It stands to reason, then, that both visualising tendencies were drawn upon within descriptions of the Alhambra. The sublime and pastoral elements offered by the view of Granada, and the relationship of the monument to these dual features, meant that travellers saw it as alternately monumental or ordinary. Moreover, the 'Morisco-Gothic' seen in the work of Roberts and Murphy generated expectations of scale and character that were incongruent with its actual dimensions. This resulted either in dismissive accounts of its exterior surfaces, or a further contortion of its forms to suit the imaginings of tourists who had dreamed of an Oriental palace or a Gothic ruin. For others, escaping into a mythologised past by entering the palace walls, was also an uncovering of the 'true' Alhambra shrouded within its cheerless outer surfaces. This Romanticisation of the past, as I will discuss in the following section, involved the invocation of the ruin as a way to re-

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[120] Andrews, p. 47.
[121] Modiano, p. 213.
[122] Modiano, p. 213.
[123] Sweetman, p. 75.
[124] Tromans, p. 104.

create the complicated and overlapping histories of the peninsula, and Spain as a whole, an idea that ultimately encapsulated the modern city and its inhabitants.

Collapsing the view of Granada: the Alhambra and its histories

What becomes clear through the accounts of approaching travellers collected here is that the Alhambra remained a fluid feature in the landscape throughout the nineteenth century, changing according to individual experience and the trends toward Gothic or Neoclassical styles. Through a series of metaphors, allusions and compositional repositioning, it becomes a dynamic site of paradox. Sometimes it is seen as a symbol or embodiment of Granada and its history, while other times it becomes a fully incorporated and even insignificant part of the landscape. As I have discussed throughout this chapter, the picturesque method of viewing was used to organise the features of the landscape so that each was given priority according to the wandering path of the traveller's gaze, alternating between the foreground, background and middleground of the picture plane. This helps to explain the way that within some of these descriptions the city itself is attributed the characteristics of a ruin. This effectively forms a picture of the city untouched by the forces of modernity, its landscape, relics and people assigned a collective identity within an imagined medieval past. When Roscoe describes Granada as a 'mighty relic of vanished empire', it is unclear whether he is referring to the Spanish empire or the Nasrid dynastic period that came before it.[125] After the beginning of the twentieth century, the Baedeker handbook actually describes the whole of the city as a 'living ruin':

> A few of the chief streets are furbished up to a certain extent for the eyes of the visitor from foreign parts, but the side-streets are full of filth and decay, and some of the more remote are not even lighted at night. The local aristocracy prefers to spend its rents in Madrid. A large proportion of the population subsists by begging alone... When all is said, however, Granada still remains as the culminating point of a journey in Spain, not only for its magnificent views of the great snow-clad mountains to the S.E. but also for the glimpse it affords to the past, the remains it

[125] Roscoe, p. 18.

has to present of a strange and exotic culture and art.[126]

This passage reflects many similar observations made in the previous century. Looking out over the panoramic views of the landscape and reflecting on a day spent within the walls of the Alhambra in 1868, Pemberton writes of a certain melancholia: 'The eye never wearies at gazing at this panorama, but the red hues that still capped the Sierra Nevada were fast leaving them cold and grey, and we turned homewards, not joyously, but silent and thoughtful: there is something in these scenes with which we were surrounded, all ruins of the past, their decayed grandeur, the dilapidation and desolation, that is calculated to depress the spirits rather than elevate them'.[127] She similarly aligns the Alhambra's decaying interiors with the melancholic aspects of the landscape, which also appear to lose their beauty and resonance with the setting of the sun. Suddenly it is the whole of the city of Granada, and not just the monument atop the Sabika hill, that take on the quality of a ruin. For many, the city itself provided an opportunity to escape to a Romanticised past, so that simply by entering the boundaries of the city they are able to return to a golden era of medieval exoticism. Many travellers speak of being 'translated out of fact-land into fairy-land' when entering Granada, transported to a place set apart from any real world associations.[128] It is clear from the anticipatory response of many visitors that by the first decades of the nineteenth century there was already a deep sense of nostalgia for the place, along with an expectation of being transported back to another place and time. Inglis, writing in 1830 describes his experience as follows:

> It is impossible to approach and to enter Granada without a thousand associations, - half reality, half romance, - being awakened within us: many centuries are suddenly swept from the records of time; and the events of other days are pictured in our imagination. A page of history is written upon every object that surrounds us.[129]

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[126] Baedeker, p. 334.
[127] Pemberton, p. 214.
[128] Hare, p. 146.
[129] Inglis, pp. 218-219.

He goes on to describe features of the landscape as if suspended in this historical moment, adopting the diegetic style to describe the plains covered with a Christian camp before the famous Battle of the Vega. Inglis was one of many early Victorian 'time travellers' who found a medieval world within the Nasrid palaces. Here, the crumbling ornament and sagging structures are seen to repair themselves before the very eyes of visitors, the past coming alive upon its surfaces. Edwards, likening the Alhambra to a piece of beautiful antique jewellery, writes that although 'some of the jewels have dropped out and the gold is tarnished' (the clasp is broken, the crown is bent, etc.), that if one gazes a little while, 'all becomes as it once was'.[130] This contemplative gaze transports the viewer back into a lost moment that was free from the burdens of modernity and complete with Oriental splendour. This represented another way of viewing that emancipated the weary traveller and characterised his or her experience of Spain. Even more importantly, Granada offered these exotic escapes within the gentle folds of its green hills and fragrant gardens, its scenery triggering a range of picturesque responses. But while natural elements of Granada could be paired comfortably within the pastoral and the sublime, the Alhambra fit uneasily within the category of the Gothic or neoclassic ruin. Nonetheless, it was adopted as a timeless feature with the same set of melancholic associations. As an object of foreign making, however, it is represented as both in and out of place, requiring a persistent refocusing throughout the century and using a series of visual tropes to negotiate its place within the view. Ultimately, this working through of the landscape and its monument resulted in a collapsing of the two into a strangely familiar, but nonetheless exoticised perspective. This re-envisioning would not only inform the experiences of subsequent Victorian travellers, but also concretise an understanding of Spain as an exotic place located conveniently within the borders of Europe.

The prolonged approach to Granada facilitated a sustained dialogue with the landscape and its features, and a process of lining up expectations with the actuality of the place. Given the wide distribution of descriptive and historical material relating to the city and its 'Moorish' past, Granada came as no surprise to many nineteenth-century visitors. As William George Clark re-

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[130] Edwards, p. 176.

marked when he caught a glimpse of snow capped mountains in the far distance, 'I needed no one to tell me that this was the Sierra Nevada'. Similarly, he immediately recognised Granada as, 'the white town lying on the hill-side, crowned with red towers and belted with green woods'.[131] By mid-century it was impossible to approach the city without a plethora of associations being awakened within the traveller; some fact, some fiction. Saglia describes the way that travel texts complicate the reader's perception by inviting them to observe 'what is there now in relation to what was there before', encouraging them to assess the landscape as a 'geo-historical and human palimpsest'.[132] In this way, Romantic travel writing relocated both the Alhambra and Granada into a realm of historical fantasy, and began a practice that continues to shape the experience of visitors today. An 1830 passage by Roscoe illustrates this perfectly, as he collapses time, place, and national characteristics within the landscape:

> Wildly romantic, and strange as magnificent in its solitude, the aspect of Spain combines with the softer features and enchantments of the south, all the stern bleak air of grandeur so characteristic of the eastern desart [*sic*]. With its bulwarks of dark sierras, its sweep of wide cheerless plains, alternating with the most delightful and fertile regions, abounding in all the exquisite beauties of its southern clime; it may be said to resemble the architecture of its singular conquerers, - vast and massy, dark and forbidding in its exterior, but suddenly opening upon all the interior beauty, glory, and refined luxurious taste, which pictured to their eastern imaginations the paradise of the blessed... Thus Granada, like some mighty relic of vanished empire, every where presents traces of her palmy days of splendour [*sic*].[133]

Roscoe's description is loaded, comparing the character of Andalusi Muslims with features of the landscape and architecture. The entire view becomes the embodiment of a hidden secret, a beautiful paradise enclosed within a bleak and uncompromising outer shell. The fertile plains are likened to the palace's inner beauty, while its impregnable walls are seen as natural extensions of the Sabika embankment and the rugged Sierra range. It is Granada *as a whole*, and

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[131] Clark, p. 105.
[132] Saglia, 'Imag(in)Ing Iberia', p. 133.
[133] Roscoe, pp. 17-18.

not just the Alhambra, that becomes a monument to the past. In this way the medieval Islamic palace and the modern Spanish city are consolidated within a singular view, an example of what Michael Iarocci calls, 'Spain's symbolic exile from the modern in a true bourgeoning of alternate historical narratives or counterhistories'.[134] This would have important repercussions on later interpretations of Spain and its people. According to one traveller of the early twentieth century, traits of both historicised 'Moors' and modern Spaniards are compared to that of the landscape: 'Contrast, sharp and bitter, is the underlying feature of Spain; and here in Granada it reaches a kind of climax. What a virile and magnificent setting for a decadent people!'.[135] Those who distinguished between these two cultural types tended to privilege the Muslim past over the Spanish present, and blamed the locals for the shameful negligence of their historical environs. As Howarth has remarked, both the writings of Ford and the illustrations of Roberts, 'expressed a settled condescension toward the Spanish as a racial type'.[136] Within other accounts, 'Moors' and Spaniards were seen as possessing the same mulish and decedent qualities, a lazy stubbornness that produced similar retrograde cultures.

This chapter has explored the way that the Victorian traveller placed the Alhambra, and Spain, within the wider European view, and thus re-envisioned them according to a set of picturesque tropes, each possessing their own set of values and contradictions. Whether described as the crown of Granada (with a notable lack of jewels) or a monumental ruin (however humble and squat), the incorporation of the Alhambra into the surrounding features reflects visitors' attempts to reconcile difference with a familiarising set of visual devices. The exact nature of these readings fluctuates with each individual, and their changing view of the monument as they approach the city. Within these readings, distortions of its exterior make more apparent the inner workings of the picturesque, and the way that it was used to mediate the complex landscapes of Spain and its multiple layers of foreignness. The fluid positioning of the monument across a range of descriptions attests to the difficulty faced by travellers in 'making sense' of the view, and in negotiating the gap between their expectations and the material reality of Granada and its

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[134] Iarocci, p. 43.
[135] Fitzgerald, p. 42.
[136] Howarth, p. 206.

Alhambra. Thus, while its exterior lacked both the dimensions of a colossal ruin and the embellished ornament of an Oriental palace, the Alhambra, and by association, Granada, was nonetheless pictured as a relic of a distant and exoticised past.

Chapter 4

Surface Deceits: Owen Jones and John Ruskin on the principles of architectural ornament

> When the British public shall have had time to study and profit by the marvellous art - collections here gathered under one roof, with the history of the civilisation of the world before them, with an opportunity of examining side by side portions of buildings of every age, they will more fully recognise the good and the evil which pervade each form of art...[1]

Shifting the focus from the exterior to the interior surfaces of the Alhambra, I here continue my material study in relation to debates in nineteenth-century Britain over the moral character of ornament. Just as its fortified walls absorbed a number of associations through travellers' descriptions, its ornamented surfaces entered into critical conversations around the formation of national style. Within the context of early industrial capitalism and colonial expansion, the establishment of 'fine art' and 'industrial design' as separate categories would change

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[1] Owen Jones, *The Alhambra Court in the Crystal Palace* (London: Crystal Palace Library; Bradbury and Evans, 1854), p. 7.

the status of arts in Britain as well as the way that the artistic traditions of other nations were viewed and understood.[2] Efforts to document and reproduce the art of the Alhambra by Welsh designer-architect Owen Jones (1809-1874) within a series of publications and an architectural exhibit at the 1854 Sydenham Crystal Palace placed the monument at the heart of such discussions about the character of Eastern ornament.[3] While he could display only a small selection of objects and artefacts from the monument in the bazaar-museum layout of the first Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851, at Sydenham he was able to build a life-sized architectural environment.[4] Jones welcomed the move, as it allowed him to transform his many drawings and plans of the monument into a three-dimensional model. Jones' dual role as an advocate of 'world' ornament and a key proponent of what became known as the 'design reform movement', gave him free reign over the representation of the Alhambra, which in turn helped to determine its place within an emerging international stage of artistic and technical achievements.[5] Leading writer and antiquarian John Ruskin (1819-1900) criticised Jones' reproductions and deemed the Nasrid style derivative and lacking in human expression. I here posit that Jones' mechanical re-envisioning of the monument formed the basis for opinions voiced by Ruskin and others at a time when new technologies and stylistic agendas were shaping an image of Britain.

This chapter explores a number of moralising principles that determined 'good' or 'bad'

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[2] David Irwin argues for the use of 'industrial design' in place of more diminutive terms such as 'decorative, applied, craft, domestic, useful, minor, necessary, or mechanical design', as it more accurately reflects the influence of the Industrial Revolution and the growing influence of the Royal Academy. "Art Versus Design: The Debate 1760-1860," *Journal of Design History* 4, no. 4 (1991): 219-32.

[3] Flores provides a useful overview of Jones' life and career, though in her focus on the prolific and often underrated value of his contributions she side-steps a more critical engagement with his work. *Owen Jones: Design, Ornament, Architecture, and Theory in an Age in Transition* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2006). John Kresten Jesperson's dissertation offers a more interrogative analysis of Jones' role in the design reform movement: 'Owen Jones's *the Grammar of Ornament* of 1856: Field Theory in Victorian Design At the Mid-Century' (Brown University, 1984).

[4] Crinson writes that objects in the 1851 Crystal Palace were presented within mock-up Islamic environments, loosely associated with their origins but dominated by the technological-Eastern fusion of the palace structure, with Jones' colour scheme an embodiment of this 'abstract orientalism' (pp. 62-63).

[5] The design reformers were associated with the government-run Department of Practical Art (est. 1852-1853) and the South Kensington Museum (est. 1857), both products of a new attitude toward cultural production that was defined largely by utilitarian and pedagogical interests in supplying British manufacturers with the skills needed to compete with foreign producers (its precursor was the Government School of Design in 1837). It came about largely under the influence and tutelage of Henry Cole, with whom Jones worked closely during the period leading up to and following the Great Exhibition when he was developing his theory of a universal grammar based on the the ornament of the Alhambra. Lubbock provides a comprehensive history of the movement (1995). For a biography of Henry Cole see Elizabeth Bonython and Anthony Burton, *The Great Exhibitor: The Life and Work of Henry Cole* (London: V&A, 2003).

ornament in relation to the critical reception of Jones' representations of the Alhambra. Having never personally visited the monument, Ruskin's view of its art as 'detestable' was based solely on Jones' reproductions, which he believed to be authentic substitutes for the real thing.[6] I argue that this mediated experience delivered its own set of meanings, which triggered existing fears among the naturalist circle that industrial design would replace manual craft, and that the encroachment of foreign styles would contaminate the development of new styles in Britain. As Ruskin fought for a neo-Gothic style based on the pure, organic forms found in the natural world (fig. 40), he increasingly began to link the abstraction of forms with the moral corruption of 'less developed' societies. While he acknowledged and even praised the 'Arabic' contribution to the Gothic tradition in *The Stones of Venice* (1851), he deemed the art of the Nasrids as an inferior branch of this same tradition, describing its forms as derivative and over-refined.[7] While he shows admiration for the Arab craftsman (despite their 'overtaxed invention'), he overtly excludes the ornament of the Alhambra from any such praise:

> I do not mean what I have here said of the inventive power of the Arab to be understood as in the least applying to the detestable ornamentation of the Alhambra [...] The Alhambra is no more characteristic of Arab work, than Milan Cathedral is of Gothic: it is a late building, a work of the Spanish dynasty in its last decline, and its ornamentation is fit for nothing but to be transferred to patterns of carpets or bindings of books, together with there marbling, and mottling, and other mechanical recommendations. The Alhambra ornament has of late been largely used in shop-fronts, to the no small detriment of Regent Street and Oxford Street.[8]

Mark Crinson has argued that it was because of Jones and other design reformers' growing enthusiasm for the conventionalised art of Eastern cultures that Ruskin intensified his

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[6] Ruskin wrote, 'I have not seen the building itself, but Mr. Owen Jones's work may, I suppose, be considered as sufficiently representing it for all purposes of criticism'. *Stones*, p. 409.
[7] Ruskin presents a praising, if not idealising portrait, of the hybrid architecture of Christian and Arab influence in Venetian architecture. He writes that the 'transitional style' of the Venetian work is due to Arabic influence, a style centralised by 1180 and then gradually transformed into the Gothic, 'which extends in its purity from the middle of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century' (*Stones*, p. 22).
[8] Ruskin, *Stones*, p. 409, appendix 22.

Western-centric view, which at the time of *Stones* was still relatively tolerant and even admiring.[9] By the time he wrote *The Two Paths* in 1859, his views on the nobility of some culture's ornament over others had become fully articulated.[10] These debates took centre stage at London's Great Exhibition of 1851, and its reconstruction at Sydenham in 1854, grand international showcases where Victorian society could compare the stylistic qualities of ornaments deriving from different historical sources.[11] Lara Kriegel explains that while the first Exhibition was designed to celebrate Britain's industrial progress, it also cast renewed doubt on the nation's aesthetic prowess, leading to a shift in priorities that brought about the improvement of ornamental in the latter half of the century.[12] However, after 1851 design was no longer the specialised interest of the reformers, but rather 'the stuff of enchantment, edification, and entertainment' for general audiences.[13] While the industrial focus of world exhibitions led to the admission of a number of new 'Oriental' nations on the basis on their technical merit, many of these were nonetheless subjected to an evolutionary position within a dominant narrative of Western progress. Whereas the first Crystal Palace housed only a 'slab from the Alhambra' in amongst other artefacts attributed to Spain, the new building at Sydenham allowed for a life-size architectural reproduction (fig.'s 41 and 42).[14] After a period of campaigning, the designer who

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[9] Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 54.
[10] This is perhaps most evident in his comparative analysis of art and mental disposition in India and Scotland. Ruskin, *The Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art, and Its Application to Decoration and Manufacture, Delivered in 1858-9* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1859), pp. 11-12.
[11] The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations or The Great Exhibition at Hyde Park, was a great commercial success, the result of a collaboration between Henry Cole and Prince Albert. It was moved to an expanded structure set within a park in Sydenham which was later destroyed along with most of its contents in a fire in 1936. For more on the Great Exhibition of 1851 see chapter three of Lara Kriegel's, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, (Durham NC; London: Duke University Press, 2007, pp. 86-125), and for an itemised overview of the exhibits see Nikolaus Pevsner, *High Victorian Design: A Study of the Exhibits of 1851* (London: Architectural Press, 1951).
[12] Kriegel, pp. 2-3.
[13] Kriegel, p. 89.
[14] 'Spain' was located in the 'foreign countries' section that included exhibits of raw produce, minerals, vegetable, manufactured articles (including an octagonal table of inlaid wood), a sword and other specimens from Toledo. *Popular Guide to the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations: With a Plan of the Building, Rules for Visitors, and Suggestions for the Guidance of Large Parties Visiting the Exhibition* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Spicer Brothers, 1851), p. 11.

had by this time been nicknamed 'Alhambra Jones',[15] was granted permission to build a facsimile of the Court of Lions based on his extensive study of the monument in two volumes titled, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* (fig.'s 43 and 44).[16] His authority on the subject led many to believe that his was an authentic replica of the monument at Granada, reinforced by the schematic and diagrammatic style of his prints and drawings. As a result, the Alhambra Court, complete with its 'fanciful covering' of polychrome ornament, came to be seen as 'the most representative Islamic building, both popularly and in architectural circles'.[17]

In addition to introducing the art of this relatively unknown period, Jones intended the court to have a secondary educational function: to demonstrate the way that ornament could be refined over generations, or 'conventionalised', and how the individual parts of its ornament could be borrowed and adapted to create new architectural styles. For Jones, the 'borrowing' of designs and technologies from other cultures would form the basis for his own textiles and ornament, which he presented as part of the wider pedagogic remit of the design reformers. This conception of a 'universal language' of form was outlined in *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), wherein ornamental programmes from around the world were presented in a pedagogic format for use by designers and the general public (fig.'s 44 and 45).[18] Similarly, his selection of motifs from a number of different areas of the Nasrid palaces and their presentation within the Alham-

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[15] Barbara Whitney Keyser, 'Ornament as Idea: Indirect Imitation of Nature in the Design Reform Movement', *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 2 (1998), p. 138. Jones' expertise gave him a perceived ownership of the monument, revealed in an editorial remark in *Journal of Design and Manufactures* (6): 'that great work which is in itself an inexhaustive store-house of information, - a perfect drama of decorative art, - Mr. Owen Jones's "Alhambra"'. Henry Cole and Richard Redgrave, 'Original Papers: Mosaic Work', *Jounal of Design and Manufactures* 6 (1851), p. 69.

[16] The collection of over 100 drawings and prints was created by Jones and French architect Jules M. Goury, who died of cholera during their 1834 stay in Granada. Jones returned to London and commenced the largely self-published volume, returning in 1837 to complete his research following a trip to Egypt. He sold a number of subscriptions to finance the publication process, releasing the first volume in 10 parts in 1842, and the second volume in two parts in 1845 under the title: *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra: From Drawings Taken on the Spot in 1834 by the late M. Jules Goury and in 1834 and 1837 by Owen Jones/ With a Complete Translation of the Arabic Inscriptions and an Historical Notice of the Kings of Granada from the Conquest of that City by the Arabs to the Expulsion of the Moors, by Mr. Pasqual De Gayangos*, 2 vols. (London: n.p., 1842-1845). The text was issued in both a large folio and a smaller, more affordable version, costing 36 pounds 10 shillings and 24 pounds, respectively (Flores, *Owen Jones*, p. 17).

[17] Crinson, *Empire Building*, p. 65.

[18] Director and Scottish painter William Dyce was commissioned to create a textbook on ornament for the Government School of Design, *The Drawing Book of the Government School of Design* (1837), which proved a commercial failure but provided an important prototype for Jones' *Grammar*.

bra Court functioned as a kind of lesson in architectural ornament, its repaired, polychrome surfaces giving it a modern, machine-produced finish. Alongside a historical essay and overview of the monument, including a translation of a portion of its epigraphic inscriptions, it also provided instructions on how to 'read' its ornament according to a set of principles developed by Jones. I argue that the dual purpose of the Court to present an ideal grammar and to raise awareness of the Nasrid architectural tradition ultimately led to the decontextualisation of its motifs and a misrepresentation of its surfaces. Their rendering through the medium of print would lead naturalists such as Ruskin to see the Nasrid style as derivative and 'morally corrupt', and Jones' desire to demonstrate a series of formal principles such as 'flatness' and 'propriety' was ultimately at the expense of an accurate portrayal of its forms.

The decade leading up to the Great Exhibition would bring Britain's politically-charged battle of style to the fore, and in the process inspire mixed reactions to the art of foreign nations in a comparative context. Gottfried Semper believed that the 'synthesis' of cultures within World Exhibitions would allow for a wider field of cultural history to come into focus, thereby rescuing art history from a 'critically divisive and archaeological viewpoint'.[19] However, these same exhibitions would be responsible for the selection, arrangement and ranking of technical achievements within what became powerful, imperial showcases. The display of the most 'advanced' products of world cultures was also a public demonstration of Britain's power to absorb the achievements of other nations. Crinson argues that during this time critical writers such as Ruskin were expected to 'make cultural differentiation meaningful', whether through discourses of ethnicity, or models of natural history, philology, social sciences or religion.[20] The comparative methodology of the mid nineteenth century, despite its arguably inclusive aims, would ultimately place the art of Western European cultures in a direct line descending from classical

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[19] Gottfried Semper, *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, Or, Practical Aesthetics,* trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave and Michael Robinson (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004) p. 70. Jones met Semper and Goury in Athens in 1831, where both were conducting chromatic studies of ancient monuments (Flores, *Owen Jones*, p. 16).

[20] He writes that between 1840 and 1870, critics such as Edward Freeman, James Furguson, Ruskin, and Jones were part of a 'new orientalism', during which a large corpus of material devoted to Islamic architecture was gathered and made available to the privileged architect or architectural historian who wished to study the subject without actually venturing out into the Islamic world. Crinson, pp. 38-39.

Antiquity, with Eastern cultures seen as minor contributors, or even as a detrimental force to this so-called evolution. As Ganim observes, Europe's grand international exhibitions associated occidental architecture with business, industry and progress, whereas the exotic and foreign were offered for entertainment and relaxation.[21] Jones' Court is a fascinating example of the fusion of these two modes, as it presented the Alhambra as both progressive and exotic, boasting the technical achievements of the Nasrids through the language of modern technology while offering an 'authentic' escape into an Oriental, medieval past.

The *actual* surfaces of the Alhambra, as those who travelled to Granada would discover, had been whitewashed and weathered over the centuries and were riddled with rough transitions and overlaps, some of which I have discussed in the first two chapters of this study. These imperfections were 'corrected' in Jones' court, so that a creatively restored version of the Nasrid palace was made accessible to visitors. The ornamental panels were made from moulds and tracings of the originals made by Jones and Goury, however, only 'examples of importance' were chosen for reproduction in the Court.[22] This gave the exhibition a sense of irrefutable authenticity, when in fact it was entirely composed, edited and then painted according to Jones' principles of ornament and polychrome colouring.[23] Believing that the Alhambra's ornament offered the ideal template for modern design, he presented a neat assemblage of selected surfaces that subsequently led critics like Ruskin to see its forms as lifeless and mechanical. I argue that through his 'Moresque' reproductions, Jones (however unwittingly) negated an understanding of the spatial context of the Nasrid palaces, and dislocated its ornament from the historical context of its making. The result was a polished, modern invention that displeased the Romantic sensibilities of Ruskin and others, who felt that the greatest glory of a building was to be found

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[21] Ganim, pp. 103-104.
[22] Jones explains the process as follows: 'The authorities which have served in this reproduction of a portion of the "Alhambra" are, the plates of my published work, and a collection of plaster casts and impressions on unsized paper (which were taken by me in the Spring of 1837) of every ornament of importance throughout the palace of the "Alhambra," the low relief of the ornaments rendering them peculiarly susceptible of this process. From these casts and paper impressions, full-sized drawings have been made with great fidelity, by my pupils Albert Warren and Charles Aubert, and the ornaments carved, moulded, cast, and fixed by Mr. Henry A. Smith and his two sons, assisted by a very intelligent body of English workmen' [*sic*]. *The Alhambra Court*, p. 4.
[23] Owen Jones, *An Apology for the Colouring of the Greek Court in the Crystal Palace* (London: Crystal Palace Library; Bradbury & Evans, 1854).

in its age.[24] As Gill Chitty explains, it was the particularity of buildings that Ruskin most admired; 'the fine grain of distinctive character which is displayed in every historic place and which marks its difference and uniqueness'.[25] Jones' Court rendered wiped clean the historicity of the Alhambra, presenting a homogenised picture of its patterns and 'editing out' the inconsistencies that characterise its forms *in situ*.

The editing process produced a smooth, uninterrupted covering of surfaces that many critics had already begun to associate with '*horror vacui*', an art historical term used to describe the intricate 'all-over' patterning found within the art of certain cultures (Greek and Islamic art especially), and that implies an innate fear of empty space.[26] This reinforced critical responses to the ornament of the Alhambra, such as that of architectural historian Edward Freeman:

> Vast, wonderful, unique both in the nature and the extent of their decorations, reckoning among them the most magnificent, as far as mere enrichment is concerned, of all human erections, they at once attract and enchant the eye; but the critical ordeal at once pronounces them no less faulty than the rude structure of Amru. Lavish splendour, tinsel decoration, walls where not an inch is left unadorned with sumptuous carving, remind us of the subject genii that reared the palace of Aladdin; but the true soul of art, the inspiration which can make the plainest pile of Greece or England replete with the truest beauty, never found themselves a home among the followers of the impostor of Arabia.[27]

Subsequently, the Alhambra came to be seen within the context of the Great Exhibition

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[24] Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co, 1849), p. 172.
[25] Gill Chitty, 'Ruskin's Architectural Heritage: *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* - Reception and Legacy', in *Ruskin and Architecture*, eds. Rebecca Daniels and Geoffrey K. Brandwood (Reading: Spire Books, in association with the Victorian Society, 2003), p. 50.
[26] A term used to describe the concentration of patterns upon the surfaces of sculpture or architectural forms, *horror vacui* has been applied to a wide range of artforms ranging from Greek vase painting to Islamic art and architecture. The derogatory implications of the term were addressed by Gombrich who renamed it 'amor infinity' in *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*, 2nd ed. (London: Phaidon, 1984), p. 80. Richard Ettinghausen posits a number of theories to explain the style, such as the Muslims' visualisation of the contrast between the sparse and desolate desert landscape and densely populated Near Eastern cities, and a tendency in the Islamic world toward 'exaggeration and lavishness'. His now outdated reading typifies the problematic reading of the *horror vacui* as a psychological condition inherent to Muslim society as a whole. 'The Taming of the Horror Vacui in Islamic Art'. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 123:1 (1979): 15-28.
[27] Edward Augustus Freeman, *A History of Architecture* (London: Joseph Masters, 1849), p. 278.

as a 'repository of Moorish civilisation and decoration',[28] praised for its intricacy and mastery of technique while simultaneously criticised as an excessive and unrestrained 'impostor'. The tendency to view its ornament on purely decorative terms detracted from an understanding of its design and construction within the context of al-Andalus. Severed from its relationship to structural form, palatial ornament was emptied of its meaning in relation to the larger architectural programme of the Nasrid palaces, demoted to what Anne-Marie Sankovitch calls, 'a relic, a fetish, a sculptural souvenir, or a memory of a whole object'.[29] Distancing its ornamental motifs from their spatial, temporal and regional specificity, Jones' reproductions validated a conception of the Alhambra as a 'storehouse of legible, classifiable and adaptable ornament'.[30] In reproducing only certain 'important' elements and rearranging them within his Court and publications, Jones confirmed the decorative status of Nasrid ornament even while he attempted to raise public awareness of its historical importance.

Ruskin and Jones were were key players in the development of national character in relation to an expanding world view of cultures and technologies. While Ruskin's steadily growing distrust for the art of Eastern cultures has been discussed by Crinson, Lubbock and others, his intolerant views are too often contrasted with the 'culturally inclusive' theories of Jones and his reformist circle.[31] I believe it is equally important to question the nature of Jones' influence in expanding the field of world cultures for Victorian audiences, particularly with regard to his highly revisionist representations of the Alhambra in both two and three-dimensions. Though Ruskin was later to take a more hardline position to any art that he perceived as out of sync with his ideal of the Gothic revival, his objections to Islamic Spain were directly in re-

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[28] Sweetman, p. 131.
[29] Anne-Marie Sankovitch, 'Structure/Ornament and the Modern Figuration of Architecture', *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 4 (1998), p. 703.
[30] Sweetman, p. 159.
[31] Cornelis J. Baljon writes that while Ruskin has been hailed as a pioneer in exploring interrelationships of art and society, 'it is in this realm that he puts on his most conservative face and presents some of his most outdated views'. 'Interpreting Ruskin: The Argument of the Seven Lamps of Architecture and the Stones of Venice', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 55, no. 4 (1997), p. 412.

sponse to Jones' reproductions, and not the Alhambra itself.[32] At the heart of his criticism was the issue of stylised abstraction, a process that he saw as a corruption of the forms of the natural world. For Ruskin, its conventionalised and highly refined motifs bore the mark of manufacturing processes, of which Jones became a central propagator through his multiple roles of designer, architect, printmaker, publisher and design educator. It is therefore important to understand Ruskin's criticisms by way of Jones' reproductions, in order to reveal the fluid and contingent nature of formal definitions and the moral dimensions to which they became attributed. Such an analysis also recognises the powerful role of representations in shaping of critical opinion, and the authority granted to specialists such as Jones to educate the public.

In their independent approaches to the study of ornament and its relationship to architecture, Ruskin and Jones provide insight into changing perspectives on the formal and ideological role of ornament in modern architecture and the use of the past to inform and develop new artistic traditions. Many of these contemporary debates were amplified through their antithetical positions to the art of the Alhambra, which in turn worked to shape public opinion of the monument and Islamic art more generally. Despite their opposing claims, their definitions of 'naturalistic' and 'conventionalised' ornament fluctuated according to function and individual taste.[33] I will here limit my discussion to their theories pertaining to natural representation and abstraction, and the principles of flatness and propriety as they applied to ornamental surfaces. The following three sections touch on their respective concerns with the representation of the natural world, 'false principles' of decoration, and the dependency of ornament upon structure in accordance with the principle of propriety or 'fitness'. Throughout the chapter I argue that moralising principles played an important role in the critical interpretation of the Alhambra, alongside Jones' development of a universalising 'grammar' of form, and Ruskin's ethnological

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[32] As I have already explored in the preceding chapter, the Gothic shifted in terms of its perceived heritage in the nineteenth century. Ganim writes that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was the Gothic that was uncontrolled, wildly exuberant and 'barbaric' when compared with classical architecture, where as mid-nineteenth century writers such as Pugin and Ruskin regarded the Gothic as an architecture of repose (p. 90).

[33] 'Taste' took on a critically divisive function in the context of nineteenth-century England, what Ousby describes as, 'the application of general tendencies of thought and cultural attitude to the act of judging one aspect of our environment as interesting, beautiful or otherwise worth attention and rejecting others as not' (1990, p. 5).

readings of ornament from an increasingly nationalist perspective. Through a closer consideration of its 'surface deceits' it is thus possible to gain insight into the competing value systems that guided their readings of material form.

Ruskin's 'truth to nature' and the abstraction of crystalline form

Ruskin's devotion to the Protestant church was a major factor in his preference for naturally occurring forms, so that piousness became inextricably tied to fidelity within representations of nature in art and architecture.[34] So strong was Ruskin's belief in the inspirational forms of the earth that he stated: 'No great school ever yet existed which had not for primal aim the representation of some natural fact as truly as possible'.[35] According to this theory, it is not virtuous to warp or simplify the complexity of natural forms, such as in the example of stylised Greek waves (fig. 47), for they fail to capture the natural irregularity and complexity of the sea. 'Truth to nature' was thus paramount to individual expression or style. He writes that when 'devoted humbly and self-forgetfully to the clear statement and record of the facts of the universe (art is) always helpful and beneficent to mankind, full of comfort, strength and salvation'.[36] His orthodoxy in part explains his hostility toward the design reformers, who were interested in stripping plants and other natural forms of their particular details and emphasising their underlying geometrical form.[37] Jones, for example, touted a method of representation wherein forms need only suggest their natural origin rather than resemble them exactly, arguing that resemblance should never compromise the unity of a pattern or effect of a surface. Rather than the 'realistic' imitation of things in the natural world, his conventionalised style *required* the abstraction of natural forms to achieve a greater level of refinement.

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[34] Chitty writes that his ideas were characterised by two orthodoxies: 'a grounding in Protestant religious conviction and a Burkean notion of natural order by which the succession of constitutional liberties was secured' (2003, p. 39).
[35] Ruskin, *The Two Paths*, p. 19.
[36] Ruskin, *The Two Paths*, p. 17.
[37] Margaret Olin, 'Self-Representation: Resemblance and Convention in Two Nineteenth-Century Theories of Architecture and the Decorative Arts', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 49 Bd., no. 3 (1986), p. 135.

As I have previously argued, Nasrid ornament was characterised by its centuries of stylistic influence and the further elaboration of natural forms to create progressively more stylised configurations. Its refined abstraction presented a problem for Ruskin; he saw it as an unfaithful portrayal of nature that emerged from the chaotic realm of the uncivilised mind. Despite this, he makes a number of allowances for abstract lines in Gothic art when it is not possible to render forms distinctly or imitatively (particularly when adapting them to architectural forms).[38] By pointing out that even abstract form is naturally inspired, Ruskin is able to include a number of permissible examples of abstract lines on his list of 'the proper materials of ornament' (fig. 48).[39] He suggests that the architectural mouldings of the 'middle Gothic' style were in fact, 'little more than representations of the canaliculated crystals of the beryl, and such other minerals'.[40] At the same time, in *Stones* he emphasises that these abstract forms were 'not knowingly' inspired by nature:

> I do not suppose a single hint was ever actually taken from mineral form; not even by the Arabs in their stalactite pendants and vaults: all that I mean to allege is, that beautiful ornament, wherever found, or however invented, is always either an intentional or unintentional copy of some constant natural form...[41]

While Ruskin distinguishes between the representation of things visible to the eye and the 'abstract' musings of the mind, he paradoxically maintains that all abstract forms are found within nature and that the mind cannot conjure up any form that does not always, already exist. Interestingly, he traces the source of geometric forms to the subterranean world of crystals. The compositional logic of crystalline forms such as minerals and rocks was seen to be discordant with the organic and curvilinear lines of the plant, with vegetal forms seen as the ideal model for 'aestheticised science'. As Barbara Keyser notes, the mid nineteenth-century marked a turning point between the representational realism of early modern Europe and the extreme

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[38] Ruskin, *Stones,* p. 215.
[39] In his list of proper materials in nature crystal forms are followed by: forms of water (waves); forms of fire (flames and rays); forms of air (clouds); organic forms or shells; fish; reptiles and insects; vegetation A (stems and trunks); vegetation B (foliage); birds; mammalian animals and man (*Stones*, p. 215).
[40] Ruskin, *Stones,* p. 219.
[41] Ruskin, *Stones*, p. 219.

formalism and abstraction of the twentieth century.[42] The inherent contradiction of Ruskin's argument springs from the ideological tug-of-war between industrial and romantic notions of representation at the time. This led to a bias toward organic forms, reflected in Ruskin's claim that 'all perfectly beautiful forms must be composed of curves; since there is hardly any common natural form in which it is possible to discover a straight line'.[43] He argues that in order to find the 'right lined', one must commit an act of violence against the 'finished work of nature'.[44]

Crystalline forms takes on a peculiar anthropomorphic quality throughout Ruskin's writings, indicative of their intermediary place between the representational and the abstract. He states in *Modern Painters* that mineral crystals 'group themselves neither in succession nor in sympathy; but great and small recklessly strive for place, and deface or distort each other as they gather into opponent asperities'.[45] In his curious *Ethics of the Dust* from 1865, he weaves a series of moral lessons through studies of crystal forms with a group of schoolchildren.[46] He describes the quartz crystal as, 'opaque, rough surfaced, jagged on the edge, distorted in the spine, it exhibits a quite human image of decrepitude'.[47] He argues that crystals exhibit the 'same varieties of temper that human creatures might', sometimes yielding to each other to form 'fantastic, but exquisitely finished, groups', while other times fighting furiously for their place, 'losing all shape and honour, and even their own likeness'.[48] The inconsistencies of form in some examples of crystalline growth are compared with the impurity of the human spirit, causing them to lack a noble and clear purpose, a flaw that is made visible in their imbalanced and interrupted forms. The raw, indeterminate character of their growth patterns act as a metaphor for the instability of the human spirit and its destructive potential, while the more perfect (i.e. symmetrical, consistent) crystals reflect strong will and sense of purpose. The arbitrary and irregular forms of nature

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[42] Positing that the Victorian interest in natural and human creativity was sparked by both philosophical and scientific influences, Keyser cites Kant's *Critique of Judgement* for its linking of concepts with sensuous institutions and the conflicting notions of imitation of nature that prevailed in the eighteenth century following the aesthetic proposals of Goethe, Herder and Schiller (pp. 98-99, 127).
[43] Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, pp. 98-99.
[44] Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, p. 99.
[45] John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 5 (London: George Routledge, 1907), p. 33.
[46] John Ruskin, *The Ethics of the Dust: Ten Lectures to Little Housewives on the Elements of Crystallization* (London: George Allen, 1900, first publ. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1866).
[47] Ruskin, *Ethics*, p. 86.
[48] Ruskin, *Ethics,* p. 109.

frustrated Ruskin's aesthetic sensibility, causing him to separate out the deceitful and disordered features from the arrangements that exhibited restraint, regularity and consistency.

Ruskin's division of crystalline and organic forms was also used to support his Gothic ideals of flexibility, spontaneity and diversity, that would in turn colour his view of Eastern ornament. Straight, geometric lines were the product of the 'unrestrained' minds of Arabs and Indians, while the organic curves of flora symbolised the ordered and virtuous sensibilities of the West. He argued in *Stones* that all art is abstract in its beginnings, much like 'the early stages of the ornament of great nations and the work of childhood and ignorance'. At this stage, he explains, 'curved and complex lines are represented by straight and simple ones; interior markings of forms are few, and much is symbolical and conventional'.[49] This evolutionary model was further developed in his reading of the sensual '*aesthesis*' of oriental cultures and the morally perceptive '*theoria*' of the west, philosophical concepts that became the basis for his critique of the ornament of 'cruel nations'.[50] Crystals, with their ability to grow in patterns of great symmetry, beauty and perfection, could also be deceitful and savage, growing over one another and interrupting the calm harmony of virtuous form. Reinforced by these ethical interpretations, Ruskin banished 'aesthetic lines' angular forms to the realm of imaginative invention, and ultimately came to see them as primitive and corrupt.

Ruskin's views on natural representation stood in stark opposition to the conventionalisation of style outlined by Jones in *Grammar*. While both maintained that ornamental forms be based on a set of underlying principles found within nature, Jones championed traditions that were developed through multiple stages of stylistic interpretation. For Jones, the use of abstraction in Islamic art conversely allowed for the complex system of proportions and harmony of surface that he aspired to in his designs. The geometric formulas found within Nasrid ornament allowed for subdivisions of finer elements in such a way that 'the detail never interferes with the

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[49] Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, pp. 120-21.
[50] Crinson makes the interesting observation that the very cultures accused of this artistic transgression (India, Islam, Byzantium, and the South Seas) in Ruskin's *The Two Paths*, were the very ones most favoured in Jones' *Grammar* (p. 60).

general form'.[51] It was the regulation of form that most attracted Jones to the art of the Alhambra, and that informed many of his design principles. Through the geometric organisation of smaller elements, expansive, all-over patterns could be created in such a way that avoided gaps or holes when covering architectural surfaces.[52] The proliferation of ornamental compositions created an even tone or 'neutralised bloom', exemplified by the polychrome colouring of its individual elements.[53] Jones strove to create an overall effect through the repetition of a few simple elements, a harmony he saw perfected in Byzantine, Arabian, and 'Moorish' ornament.[54] He describes the patterns found in 'Mahometan' shawls as follows:

> ...harmonious and effective from the proper distribution of form and colour, and do not require to be heightened in effect by strong and positive oppositions; the great aim appears to be that coloured objects, viewed at a distance, should present a neutralised bloom, - each step nearer exhibits fresh beauties, a close inspection the means whereby this harmonising effect is produced appears to be, that the ornament and the ground occupy equal areas: to obtain this requires no ordinary skill and can only be arrived at by highly trained hands and minds.[55]

The regulation of form and colour was something that Jones felt ought to be learned and adapted by modern designers. Based on principles of natural law, but conventionally treated as not to represent too accurately the forms of the natural world, Jones explains that: 'in the surface decoration of the Moors all lines flow out of a parent stem: every ornament, however distant, can be traced to its branch and root... following the principle of radiation in the human hand or leaf'.[56] Rather than seeing the stylised forms of the Nasrids as disconnected from the forms of the natural world, he saw them as originating from certain laws of nature such as 'equal distribu-

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[51] Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: B. Quaritch, 1868, first publ. London: Day and Son, 1856), p. 68.
[52] Jones, *Grammar*, p. 58.
[53] Jones proposes that, 'The various colours should be so blended that the objects, when viewed at a distance, should present a neutralised bloom' in *Lectures on Architecture and the Decorative Arts* (London: Strangeways and Walden, 1863), p. 14.
[54] Flores, *Owen Jones*, p. 99.
[55] Owen Jones, 'Gleanings From the Great Exhibition of 1851', *Journal of Design and Manufactures* 5 (1851), p. 92.
[56] Jones, *Grammar,* pp. 68-69.

tion', 'radiation from a parent stem', 'continuity of line', or 'tangential curvature'.[57] Like Semper, Jones believed that a mature style of ornament could only emerge through the reworking of forms over generations of tradition. He thus came to identify within the Alhambra 'a Grammar of Ornament as that in which every ornament contains a grammar in itself'.[58]

Ruskin felt that the adaptation of precedent motifs displaced the immediacy of the artist's interpretation and failed to convey a sense of 'human care and labour'.[59] He, along with other naturalists at the time, feared the obsolescence of human agency in the wake of new technologies and standardised modes of production. They insisted that artists follow the rules outlined by the natural world in order to avoid the 'monstrification' of forms that could result from impressions of the mind weighing too heavily on an artist's interpretation. Writing on Indian art, Ruskin sees the representation of a man as an 'eight-armed monster' and the use of spirals and zigzags in place of flowers as an outright rejection of nature and a symptom of cultural corruption.[60] By not representing natural facts, he argues that the Indian artist is left with only the 'doleful phantoms' and 'spectral vacancy' of the mind, producing forms that reflect such desperate reaches of imagination.[61] Similarly, the stylisation of vegetal ornament in Arabic art signified a betrayal of natural beauty and order: the more it looked inward for inspiration, the farther it strayed from the virtuous path offered by the foundational lines and shapes of nature. Ultimately this led him to condemn a wide range of artistic traditions that lay outside his definition of natural representation, so that the perceived evils of industry became aligned with a fear of the Other.

Jones further complicated these issues by presenting the ornament of the Alhambra as an ideal, so that its principles might be adapted to nineteenth-century designs. He insisted on the

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[57] Jones also dedicates the final section to 'Leaves and Flowers from Nature', stating that, 'in the best periods of art all ornament was rather based on an observation of the principles which regulate the arrangement of form in nature, than on an attempt to imitate the absolute forms of those works; and that whenever this limit was exceeded by any art, it was one of the strongest symptoms of decline: true art consisting in idealising, and not copying, the forms of nature' (*Grammar*, pp. 69, 154).
[58] Jones, *Grammar*, p. 66.
[59] Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, p. 48.
[60] Ruskin, *The Two Paths*, p. 11.
[61] Ruskin, *The Two Paths*, p. 11. Gombrich notes that Ruskin had not actually visited India, and most likely derived his ideas on the subject from Hegel's interpretation of the Indian mind, in which the spirit is seen to be 'turned fully inwards' (In *The Sense of Order*, p. 45).

refinement of precedent styles as the basis for developing new ones, and observed Nasrid ornament as being formerly linked to stylistic developments of the past. He saw within it 'the speaking art of the Egyptians, the natural grace and refinement of the Greeks, [and] the geometrical combinations of the Romans, the Byzantines, and the Arabs'.[62] This helps to account for the peculiar positioning of the Sydenham Alhambra Court between the Roman Court and Abu Simbel's tomb, opposite the Byzantine Court.[63] Jones explains that as the 'Mahometan religion and civilisation' copied and reproduced existing styles (as a continuation of more practical solutions such as using Roman *spolia* to build mosques), that they applied to them 'their own peculiar feelings' and thus gradually departed from the original model.[64] As I explored in chapter one, different Nasrid rulers and their courts developed signature styles through the appropriation of pre-existing forms; an aspect that Jones clearly recognised through his meticulous drawings and illustrations. Nevertheless, I argue that this expressive dimension was lost through his mechanical reproduction of the Alhambra's surfaces, which were subsequently seen by the naturalists as exhibiting a purely decorative and over-rationalised style. For those who had never visited the monument, it was Jones' translations that informed their opinions, and none more strongly than his reproduction at Sydenham.[65]

Translating surfaces: Jones' Alhambra Court and the principle of flatness

Surface quality was particularly important in creating a sense of authenticity at World Exhibitions, events that Zeynep Çelik describes as 'idealised platforms where cultures could be encapsulated visually'.[66] He explains that in the design of Islamic sections particular attention

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[62] Jones, *Grammar*, p. 66.
[63] Crinson, p. 64.
[64] Owen Jones, '*An Attempt to Define the Principles which should Regulate the Employment of Colour in the Decorative Arts*' *[Lecture originally read before the Society of Arts, 28 April 1852]* (London: David Bogue, 1852), pp. 454-456.
[65] I here appropriate the linguistic term 'translation' to describe the change in material and medium from the materiality of the Alhambra to Jones' architectural reproductions and print publications. Claudia Heide proposes a similar methodology in her study of 'Alhambrism' as a phenomenon characterised by the 'translation' of its style into a 'domestic language' what was understood in Britain. 'The Alhambra in Britain: Between Foreignization and Domestication', *Art in Translation* 2:2 (2010): 201-22.
[66] Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient Architecture of Islam At Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) p. 56.

was paid to authenticity, not by representing particular buildings, but through the rendering of minute architectural details. While Jones' faithful illustrations in *Plans* strove for accuracy, the 'authenticity' of his reproduction at Sydenham was based on the principle of creating an overall effect. Through his determination to create a 'naturalised bloom' he became less concerned with the exact replication of scale and arrangement, and more with the quality of its surfaces. He thus combined sections of ornament from different areas of the Nasrid palaces, resulting in a hybrid reduction of the Court of Lions, Hall of Justice and Hall of the Abencerrajes.[67] The final product departed so much from the original that he decided to include illustrations of both courts in his guidebook, providing layouts and cross-sections for comparative purposes (fig.'s 49 and 50). In order to examine some of the subtler differences between these two spaces, it is necessary to first consider the original Court and its place within the larger complex.

The Palacio de los Leones or Palace of the Lions is the eighteenth-century name given to a cluster of buildings that was built as a late extension to the Comares palace between 1370 and 1390 by Muhammad V, replacing a garden from the reign of Yūsuf I (fig. 51).[68] Ruggles explains that the sultan's addition transformed the first palace into a sort of antechamber which spatially preceded it, 'much as Ismāʿīl and Yūsuf preceded Muhammad V historically'.[69] The Lions Palace runs east to west, built to accommodate existing buildings and a cemetery, though the adjoining spaces between the two complexes are thought to have been destroyed with the addition of the Palace of Charles V.[70] This mysterious doubling of structures, along with other unique characteristics that set the Palace apart from from Abbasid, Umayyad and earlier Andalusi architecture, gives it a certain novelty that has been remarked upon by many travellers and enthusiasts. The rectangular space of its main courtyard measures 28.5 by 15.7 metres and

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[67] Crinson, p. 64.
[68] Ruggles argues that the addition of the Lions Palace made the complex more crowded and urban in character (Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, p. 191). Excavations under Torres Balbás revealed that its buildings were closely inserted between the Comares Palace and the royal cemetery or *rawḍa* on artificially levelled land. For an overview of these findings and an archeological history of the courtyard see Torres Balbás, 'El Patio de los Leones', *Arquitectura* 11: 117 (1929), and 'El Patio de los Leones de la Alhambra: Su Disposición y Últimas Obra Realizadas en él', *Al-Andalus* III (1935). Fernández-Puertas refers to the complex as the 'Palacio del Riyād' from the Arabic name cited in Ibn Zamrak's *Dīwān*, and which is also found within the poetic inscriptions throughout the palace (it is unclear whether it refers to a garden or cemetery, as the same word could be used for both, *The Alhambra*, pp. 5-6).
[69] Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, p. 192.
[70] Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, p. 192.

is divided into quadrants that are traced by narrow channels of water set in motion by a system of fountains and basins. The streams lead to the adjoining spaces of the Hall of the Abencerrajes, the Hall of Two Sisters, the Hall of Justice and the Hall of Mocárabes. A succession of thin columns form an inner courtyard, supporting an intricately carved arcade and a pavilion at each end. The twelve lions that support its central fountain have been the subject of much archeological and theoretical debate, provoked by Frederick Bargebuhr's claim that they originated from an earlier Jewish palace built by an eleventh-century vizier near the current site of the Alhambra.[71] To further complicate this history, in the second half of the sixteenth century the basin was 'swapped' with another which had a second upper basin and a set of spouts that were added in 1837.[72] This later fountain is visible in nineteenth-century photographs and, significantly, was the version chosen for Jones' reproduction (fig.'s 41 and 52).

As with the majority of the Alhambra's spaces, the exact historical function of the Lion Palace is unknown. Some historians argue it was used as a private or even seasonal palace with the advantage of being cut off from what are believed to be the more public facing rooms of the Comares Palace. Nasser Rabbat, for example, maintains that that it was designed as a nearby escape for the occupants 'from the rigid exigencies of court life'.[73] However, Grabar argued as early as the 1970s that the Court and its surrounding halls were not meant for particular ceremonies or court functions, but rather acted as 'a commemorative monument in honour of a victory, [that expressed] a complex ideology of princely themes'.[74] Ruggles has argued against

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[71] Bargebuhr's *The Alhambra: A Cycle of Studies on the Eleventh Century in Moorish Spain* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968), made considerable waves among Alhambra scholars with the claim that the lions dated from the eleventh and not the fourteenth century, based on his reading of a Hebrew poem by Ibn Gabirol that mentions 'a full sea' supported by a ring of twelve lions (relating to a similar fountain in the temple of the King-Prophet Solomon that is described as a 'molten sea' supported by twelve oxen). A number of Alhambra scholars have since argued that rather than directly correlative, the lions were most probably inspired by a range of princely themes developed in al-Andalus since the Umayyads of Córdoba from a longer genealogy in the Mediterranean and Persian world. (Grabar, *The Alhambra*, pp. 124-130, and Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, pp. 199-200).

[72] The replacement fountain is currently located in the Jardín de los Adarves, where it was installed in 1954. Though there may have been an earlier basin supported by the lions, the current basin is believed to have been constructed in the fourteenth century purposefully for the Court as its poetic inscription bears the names of contemporary Nasrid rulers and refers to the lions themselves (Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, p. 199).

[73] Nasser Rabbat, 'The Palace of the Lions, Alhambra and the Role of Water in its Conception', *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* 2 (1985), p. 64.

[74] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, p. 152.

the theory of divided spaces with respect to the architecture of the Islamic Mediterranean, suggesting that privacy was 'a visual attribute rather than a functional designation permanently ascribed to a room'.[75] Most recently, Luis Souza has convincingly argued that the Court was built as a *madrasa* after the Merinid examples encountered by Muhammad V during his time spent in exile in the Maghreb, a theory that has led many Alhambra scholars to reconsider the use of this and other spaces, particularly in relation to their inscriptions.[76] These debates continue to provoke new questions about the function and role of architecture and ornament within Nasrid court culture, however, it is the re-envisioning of its material form within a nineteenth-century context that I am concerned with here.

The columned perimeter is notable for giving a sense of weightlessness, and for its variation of Nasrid capital ornamentation, as well as the unusual grouping of columns in ones, twos and threes. These are the same delicate features that are also partly to blame for its extensive damage in later centuries. Not only have its many columns and arcades required structural reinforcement over the centuries, but its popularity with tourists resulted in the theft of much of its ornament throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As a result, the Court of Lions has required substantial restoration, evidenced in nineteenth-century photographs that show its tangled network of support beams (fig. 53). It has also been the site of 'creative' restorations, such as the addition of a false Persian-style dome to the eastern pavilion in 1859 under Rafael Contreras, which was subsequently dismantled by Torres Balbás in 1934 (fig. 52).[77] Moreover, its lion statues have been permanently eroded by calcium deposits, weathering, and damage sustained by multiple attempts at chemical cleaning, leaving their surfaces and ornamental detailing greatly altered. A recent project initiated by the Council has seen all twelve lions removed and individually cleaned, with missing or eroded elements 'restored' to what is believed to be their

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[75] She explains that to a relative degree any room visited or inhabited by the sultan was temporarily public, and that even areas that were considered most public, such as the Hall of the Ambassadors, could just as easily be 'made private' by closing off the courtyard of the Cuarto Dorado (Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, p. 192).
[76] Cynthia Robinson, 'Marginal Ornament'; Olga Bush, 'The Writing on the Wall'.
[77] Díez Jorge, et al., p. 139.

original state.[78] During the nineteenth century, however, they were seen in a state of deterioration, propping up a two-tiered central fountain with spouting jets that replaced the calm pool of the original single basin.

Jones' Court capitalised on the popularity of the original court and included only features that he deemed important, such as its false fountain and slender columns. Moreover, his version presented these elements without their layers of decay and in the highly manicured style of his pattern books. His development of *Grammar* and work with the Department of Design Manufactures, increasingly led him to see the exhibit as an opportunity to demonstrate his design principles. Rather than following the carefully plotted floor plans and cross-sections found in *Plans*, he selected certain patterns that he saw as exemplary and worked them into a new programme of ornament. Moreover, he chose to focus on a 'restored' rendering of its surfaces so that the Court became a full-colour staging of Moresque decoration that emphasised the interchangeability of its forms. Jones explains his reasoning for this as follows:

> The limited space at our command, and the necessity to perform in a few months what with the Moors was doubtless a work of years, has prevented our doing more than reproduce some of the interesting features of these remains; and in making our selection, we have endeavored to utilize the space at our command so as to unite as far as possible whatever could best recall the main features of the original, and at the same time convey the most useful lessons...[79]

Another major departure from the original Court is the ornamentation of its outer surfaces. As I have explored in the preceding chapter, the Alhambra's fortress exterior displays a noticeable absence of pattern, which I argue provoked a number of different responses from approaching travellers. It is of particular significance, then, that Jones chose to decorate the exterior façade of the Court, creating an impression that its exterior was also covered with ornate, brightly coloured pattern. Again, the façade was a compilation of different styles taken

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[78.] An accompanying exhibition titled, 'Lions: The restoration of a Symbol' ran from 29 July 2010 to 31 October 2011 in the crypt of the Palace of Charles V.
[79.] Jones, *The Alhambra Court*, p. 30.

from the entrance to the Court of Lions, the walls of the Sala de la Barca or Hall of the Boat, and a mosaic dado from the Patio de la Alberca.[80] Jones' replica exaggerates the proliferation of ornamentation, recalling *horror vacui* in his covering of every possible surface. Even more significantly, the system of proportions that determine precise relationships between structure and ornamentation in the Alhambra is completely abandoned, as the diminished scale of the space required an entirely different arrangement of its features and panelling. Stating in the guide that the ornaments and several features are of the full size of the original, but that 'the general arrangement differs considerably',[81] Jones felt that there was no alternative but to present the ornament within the space available. His selections and arrangements, however, compromised an understanding of the spatial relationships of the Alhambra on a profound level. For not only was the interrelationship of structure and ornament completely lost in his translation, but the displacement of motifs and painting of their surfaces with a homogenising colour scheme stripped them of their historical meaning. The context of their individual design under different rulers for certain areas of the palace was imperceptible in the jumble of his reproduction. In the ubiquitous and indiscriminate covering of of the court, Jones' theory of a universal grammar led to the presentation of Nasrid ornament as purely decorative.

Furthermore, the Court did not reflect any signs of deterioration or neglect, which were strongly present in the Nasrid palaces throughout most of the century. Its surfaces had a similar quality as that of Jones' prints, returned to a version of their former glory through the chromolithographic technique and showing no evidence of imperfections (fig.'s 54 and 55). Like the majority of the illustrations and schematic drawings of Jones and Goury's *Plans*, the Court presented a repaired and perfected version of the original.[82] Not only did Jones re-envision the Alhambra with refined and boldly coloured surfaces, but he also took great pains to separate out any traces of its modern additions and alterations. In his time spent documenting the palaces, he reconstructed missing elements of ornament and architecture, and pointed out discrepancies in

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[80] Jones, *The Alhambra Court*, p. 30.
[81] Jones, *The Alhambra Court*, p. 30.
[82] A single exception must be noted in Pl. XXXVIII of *Plans*, where Jones sketches the faded and crumbling condition of a column to illustrate the 'actual state of the colours'.

wall tiles and flooring levels which suggested later alterations.[83] So while it is important to recognise Jones' substantial contribution to an analytical understanding of the palatial complex and its ornament, it must also be said that his graphic reproductions gave a false impression of its surface quality, not to mention its many layers of intervention. Favouring a version of the monument untouched by the ravages of time, Jones' Alhambra was quite the opposite of the Romantic ruin; it was a modern design object that communicated a set of design principles. So convincing was his creation that some felt his Court was superior to the original, causing one traveller to remark that the Alhambra was 'vastly inferior to the work of Jones'.[84] Henry Blackburn, visiting the monument in 1866, also reflected upon the accuracy of Jones' reproduction: 'There seems as if there were nothing new to examine or discover; and we could not help comparing notes, in our mind, with Owen Jones's restorations, and mentally admiring the fidelity of his copy of this court'.[85] These responses suggest that Jones' many alterations either went completely unnoticed or were seen as a welcome improvement on the original.

The flattening of the Alhambra's surfaces through the medium of print also played a major role in its perception. Another traveller wrote during a visit in 1851 that Jones' illustrations are more than simply 'like' the actual thing - 'they are the very place itself, projected on a plane'.[86] The principle of flatness would play an important role in the way that its bas-relief layers of ornament were rendered for popular audiences. This posited that ornament, in remaining secondary to architecture, should never mimic real, naturalistic forms by being painted in deceptive relief.[87] The principle is reflected in Jones' instructions to mural decorators where he explains the difference in spatial representation within a hung painting and a fresco:

Pictures in fresco should be different to that in oil: in oil, resources of art are

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[83] Jones also claimed that the column shafts found throughout the original palace had been gilded with gold pigment, explaining that the remaining evidence had been removed during restoration to avoid the expense of re-gilding. Carol A. Hrvol Flores, 'From Gilded Dream to Learning Laboratory: Owen Jones's Study of the Alhambra', *Studies in Victorian Architecture and Design: The 1840s* 1 (2008), pp. 22-25.
[84] George Eliot and G.H. Lewes quoted in Rosemary Ashton, *George Eliot, A Life* (London: Penguin Books, 1997), p. 289.
[85] Henry Blackburn, *Travelling in Spain in the Present Day* (London: Sampson Low, Son & Marston, 1866), p. 196.
[86] Clark, p. 109.
[87] Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, p. 41.

> evoked to make, as far as possible, the picture appear a reality; within his frame the painter has to himself a world, but it should be far different with a fresco; the flatness of the wall should never be disturbed; all shiaroscuro [sic] should be avoided, and the figures should be on one plane: in fact a true fresco should be little more than a painted bas relief.[88]

Jesperson notes that flatness was revived as a primary rule for conventionalisation in the late 1840s, motivating designers such as Jones to develop optically charged surfaces without giving the false impression of depth.[89] This marks the stage at which the principle of 'truth to materials' came in direct conflict with 'truth to nature,' so that even when representing natural forms, one should never compromise or obscure the material or function of an object. Similarly, Ruskin argues against the painting of ornaments in deceptive relief, and identifies a number of 'deceits' that lie at the heart of 'bad' or corrupted architecture, including 'the painting of surfaces to represent some other material than that of which they actually consist (as in the marbling of wood), or the deceptive representation of sculptured ornament upon them'.[90] He warns that the deceptive tendency to alter surfaces in this way reveals a deeper corruption within the architect or designer, in agreement with his theory that the spirit or character of a person is the determinate factor in the quality of art that they produce. The association of moral transgression with the creation of false surfaces was echoed within the design education trend of the period, perhaps most didactically in the 'False Principles in Design' exhibition at the Museum of Manufactures in 1852.[91] The exhibition was designed to shape public opinion and act as a pedagogic tool for designers, where visitors could observe examples of 'horrible' designs which betrayed the material form of their surfaces, from wallpaper to carpeting.[92] Textiles and ceramics decorated with lifelike representations of flowers or pictorial scenes were seen as optical tricks which betrayed

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[88] Jones, *An Attempt to Define the Principles*, p. 450.
[89] Jesperson, 'Owen Jones's *The Grammar of Ornament*', p. 32.
[90] He also lists two other deceits: 'The suggestion of a mode of structure or support, other than the true one, and the use of cast or machine-made ornament of any kind' (*Seven Lamps*, p. 35).
[91] The Museum of Manufactures was housed in Marlborough House and was renamed the Museum of Ornamental Art 1883, before relocating and being renamed the South Kensington Museum in 1887 (later to become the Victoria & Albert Museum).
[92] The exhibition was nicknamed 'chamber of horrors', following the publication of a short story by Henry Morley entitled, 'A House Full of Horrors' (*Household Words*, 1852) in which the narrator learns a lesson of 'Correct Principles of Taste' upon visiting *False Principles* and returns home only to realise he had been living 'among horrors'.

the objects' intended function (fig.'s 56 and 57).

In reserving illusionistic space for the picture plane, this exhibition drew a dividing line between the fine arts and technical production. This was not to say that ornament could not contain representational features, only that it should also represent the object in such a way that did not betray its practical use. Olin points out the way that critics of the period did not regard these objects as non-representational, but rather that function became the focus of new theories of representation. She explains that 'functions' can include the structure, the materials or the techniques with which an object is made, as well as its use within a larger context.[93] In accordance with this, the applied artist had to ensure that 'an object should look like what it is'.[94] This dictated that if wallpaper, furniture, tablecloths, and dinner plates were decorated with floral motifs or even pictorial scenes, that they be 'flattened' or stylised in such a way that does not create an illusion of depth. Barbara Keyser writes that this helps to explain why the decorative arts of the late nineteenth century were characterised by curvilinear, stylised plant forms, whether the designer had the 'anti-technological bent of a William Morris or the industrial bent of a Christopher Dresser'.[95] The principle of flatness thus marks the uneasy border between naturalistic and conventional styles of representation which tended to shift in order to suit the purposes of Jones and Ruskin's arguments. As exemplified in the range of pattern work produced by Morris during the Arts and Crafts movement, elements of naturalistic description were often combined with geometric structures and conventionalised vegetal forms.[96] Heavily influenced by Ruskin's 'truth to nature' principle, Morris's use of geometry as a framework for naturalistic ornament would further conflate these formal categories, showing features of stems and leaves in some instances (fig. 58), and flattened, stylised forms within others (fig. 59). Even Jones, influenced by the illuminated drawings of medieval manuscripts and the Gothic style in his later

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[93] Olin, p. 378.
[94] Olin, p. 378.
[95] Keyser, p. 140. Christopher Dresser was a student of Jones in the School of Design at Marlborough House from 1847 to 1854.
[96] Morris sought to counteract the naturalism of his motifs through symmetrical repetition in order to emphasise the structure of the wall. Olin writes that, 'if the proponents of naturalism sought to study nature and abolish the appearance of convention, proponents of the Arts and Crafts Movement strove for conventional appearance and forced motifs from nature into its mould' (p. 380).

career, would turn to more naturalistic ornamentation, making it increasingly difficult to fix a definition of 'conventionalisation'. The blurring of these two modes in the patterns of the Alhambra, with its geometric form and stylised *ataurique*, became a visual manifestation of the conflated principles of natural and stylised forms (fig. 60). For even Ruskin was forced to acknowledge a necessary plasticity of surface when it pertained to function. He advised that when representing natural foliage on walls that they be depicted with less modelling and shading in such a way that they appear flat, so that the artist does not trick the viewer into thinking they are actual leaves and branches.[97]

Jones' 'neutralised bloom' presented a way to deal with this problem, but it would also have a transformative role within his reproductions. As I have already discussed in my analysis of the *mirador* panels in chapter one, the layering of architectural elements and vegetal pattern in bas-relief hints at pictorial space (both in terms of its depth and its relationship to the landscape), and arguably betrays the functional logic of the wall. This can be said of many ornamented spaces within the palaces, such as the Hall of the Ambassadors in the Comares Tower, in which the depth of its surfaces appears to fluctuate with changes in light and shade (fig.'s 61 and 62). These semi-relief carvings must be understood in relation to a long tradition of representing space within both ornamental and painting traditions. Particularly evident within Persian miniatures, depth is represented through the overlapping or layering of two-dimensional scenes and pictorial elements rather than the use of sculptural shading or vanishing lines. Similarly, depth was achieved within ornament by stacking different layers of pattern, epigraphic script and architectural elements upon a single surface. Jones' print reproductions had a flattening effect on these surfaces, for even as the polychrome colour was intended as part of an authentic recreation, the chromolithographic process collapsed its carved layers into a single, uniform surface. The presentation of patterns within the second volume of *Plans,* and the widely distributed *Grammar*, gave an impression of the Alhambra's surfaces in the form of flattened,

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[97] Edward N. Kaufman attributes this principle to Pugin, who described the 'architecturalization of foliage' in which ornament takes on some of the characteristics of the thing it represents. 'Architectural Representation in Victorian England', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46, no. 1 (1987), p. 35.

polychrome swatches. Jones felt that areas of colour alone could be used to represent depth, and rarely used shading or highlighting in his drawings. He eventually set up his own chromolithographic printing press, colour printing from stones to accommodate multiple overlays of colour with precision and accuracy.[98] The production of *Plans* was a departure from the black and white printing at the time, and provided a solution to the costly, labour-intensive process of hand colouring lithographic prints.[99] While the polychrome formula was designed in Greece to 'bring out the constructive features of a building', its translation onto the page resulted in an entirely different quality, explaining the discrepancies between the actual surfaces of the Alhambra and Jones' prints.[100] Despite the alternation of light and dark colours to suggest surface tension, the prints ultimately provide a flat, graphic rendition of the original ornament, which even in its pigmented state would have been activated by changing light conditions within the palace. In the prints it is difficult to distinguish between the represented depth of ceramic tiles and the carved bas-relief of plaster ornamentation. This is even more apparent in his illustrations of *muqarnas* or *mocárabes*, the chromolithographic layers of colour working to flatten the sculpted surfaces of cornices and ceilings (fig.'s 63 and 64).[101] The precision of Jones' colour reproductions cancel out the unique spatial quality of *muqarnas* forms, a problem that I return to in the following section.

It was from this set of prints and drawings that the ornament of Jones' Court was formed, its spatial logic based loosely on the original but with liberal alterations to is dimen-

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[98] After a number of failed attempts to outsource printing for *Plans*, Jones set up his own printing press in 1836, first experimenting with zinc plates and then switching to stone to achieve better results. There is some debate as to where and by whom the chromolithographic process was invented, though the pioneer of lithography, Alois Senefelder, was experimenting with colour in Germany as early as the 1920s. Kathryn Ferry provides an account of Jones' contribution to the process in 'Printing the Alhambra: Owen Jones and Chromolithography', *Architectural History* 46 (2003): 175-188.

[99] Flores explains that previous to Jones' innovation in London, only text could be printed in coloured inks. The method was difficult and expensive (some illustrations requiring up to seven stones) and he was forced to mortgage his Welsh property to finance the publication of *Plans* (*Owen Jones*, p. 17).

[100] Jones learned the polychrome system in Athens during his European tour in 1831. He explains that in the case of Oriental buildings, the constant development of new forms 'would have been altogether lost without it'. He explains the application of colour as follows: 'On moulded surfaces (the Greeks) placed red, the strongest colour of the three, in the depths, where it might be softened by shadow, never on the surface; blue in the shade, and gold on all the surfaces exposed to light' (*Grammar,* pp. 70-72).

[101] Jones' detailed drawings and engravings of *muqarnas* or *mocárabes* shows that he could proficiently render them in three dimensional form, however, such detail could not be captured using the chromolithographic process.

sions and building materials. The selection of patterns and application of polychrome colour were part of his agenda to propagate the forms of the Alhambra, and reflected the wider synthesising objectives of World Exhibitions in summarising the technical achievements of a wide range of cultures. As Crinson observes, the Crystal Palace exhibitions were designed to popularise a certain kind of knowledge about the Orient, not by overtly claiming to be exact replicas, but rather by communicating that, 'reality elsewhere was already understood and objectified, and therefore could easily be comprehended by the exhibition visitor'.[102] The 'authenticity' of Jones' Court was thought to approximate the experience of visiting the actual monument, and it was considered by many to be an adequate substitute for the real thing. Its clean edges and mechanically produced surfaces, however, were equally as much a product of Jones' imagination as the monument itself. The Court was intended as an 'aid' to Jones' studies, what he referred to as 'a fragmentary reproduction of the real Alhambra'.[103] The omission of imperfections and damage, along with any trace of intervention after the Nasrid period, disguised its more problematic aspects of its history. W. H. Dalton describes the differences between the Court and the true Alhambra at the time of the exhibition:

> Between the sharply diapered stucco of the one, with its newly polished marble scintillating with a rainbow fretwork of interlacing colours, and the shivered alabaster, the mouldering cedar, the broken porcelain, and the faded gilding of the other, there will be as much difference as between a flower just ruffled open by the soft violence of the south wind, and the same blossom with its colours flown, its odour lost, hanging yellow and withering with decay'.[104]

At the same time that Jones seemed determined to present a restored version of the Alhambra, he was also invested in educating the public about its Nasrid history. He commissioned an essay by Arabic scholar Pascual de Gayangos (1809-1897) in both *Plans* and his guide to the Court, emphasising the importance of its historical context. Gayangos also translated epigraphic

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[102] Crinson, pp. 64-65.
[103] Jones, *The Alhambra Court*, p. 30.
[104] W. H. Dalton, *The Ten Chief Courts of the Sydenham Palace* (London; New York: G. Routledge & Co., 1854), p. 93.

texts from Jones' paper copies, consulting earlier manuscripts sources that included records of the inscriptions.[105] Carol A. Hrvol Flores writes that Jones' decision to include a history of the palace by an expert seems proof of his serious commitment to scholarship and of 'his conviction that a society's beliefs are reflected in its architecture'.[106] At the same time, his insistence on demonstrating certain aesthetic principles within his reproductions proved contradictory to these aims, and for many visitors his showcase of polychrome patterns overwhelmed any real sense of historical inquiry. Its ornament was abbreviated, reassembled and painted to convey the formal principle of flatness and a 'neutralised bloom', and its ornate exterior façade gave an Orientalised and inaccurate impression. Most paradoxically, the Court proved to popular audiences that the most remarkable aspect of Nasrid ornament lay in the interchangeability of its forms, rather than in its rich inheritance of style or the unique aspects of its history. In demonstrating that its larger programme could easily be broken down into smaller, workable units and rearranged at will, Jones only confirmed the suspicions of Ruskin and others that the art of the Alhambra was purely derivative and devoid of meaning or expression.

Propriety and Excess: 'false' architecture and superfluity of form

Thus far I have discussed the ornament of the Alhambra with regard to views surrounding 'truth to nature' and 'truth to materials'. As a final basis for analysis I address the 'fitness' or suitability of ornament in relation to structural form. Jones and Ruskin agreed on this principle up to a point, as both felt strongly that ornament should be subordinated to architecture and that its material should reflect that of the larger scheme of building materials and techniques. They also defended the idea that ornament should follow the utility of the object, for a similar rationale to that of flatness. Ruskin observed that the only essential distinction between decorative art and other forms of art is the 'being fitted for a fixed place; and in that place, related, either in

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[105] Heide, p. 213. Gayangos was recognised for his rare scholarly work on the subject in *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, 2 vols. (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1840-1843).
[106] Jones also commissioned Gayangos to translate the epigraphs within the Alhambra. Flores, 'From Gilded Dream to Learning Laboratory', p. 21.

subordination or in command, to the effect of other pieces of art'.[107] This would seem to be in agreement with Jones' principles of Moresque style, in which he states that the 'useful' is treated as a 'vehicle for the beautiful':

> The Moors ever regarded what we hold to be the first principle in architecture - to decorate construction, never to construct decoration: in Moorish architecture not only does the decoration arise naturally from the construction, but the constructive idea is carried out in every detail of the ornamentation of the surface... We never find a useless or superfluous ornament; every ornament arises quietly and naturally from the surface decorated.[108]

Ruskin similarly maintained that ornament should remain secondary to architectural composition, and should never be created for its own sake ('or else it had better be all taken down and put into cabinets').[109] However, he also believed that the naturalistic depiction of vegetation was the ideal for surface decoration, in which organic variation and artistic spontaneity should be balanced, always with a view to maintaining the actual qualities of leaves or branches. At the same time, he explains that leaf mouldings should be 'counted, orderly, and architectural' as part of their natural placement upon structural forms, so that they 'nestle and drum up the hollows, and fill the angles, and clasp the shafts which natural leaves would have delighted to fill and clasp'.[110] As Lubbock has remarked, Ruskin often found more value in the exception than in the rule, inasmuch as he would allow decoration to deviate from or even conceal structural elements as long as it could be deemed the result of 'constructive imagination' (even going as far as to say that unfitness could be highly pleasurable).[111] Praising a Venetian example of capital ornamentation, he comments on a 'luxuriant play of leafage', admiring the way that the leaves 'roll, and flow, and bow down over their black shadows' (fig. 65).[112] Once again he felt that it was the naturalistic quality derived from living objects that gave architectural ornament its pro-

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[107] Ruskin, *The Two Paths*, p. 91.
[108] In the ninth principle he observes that even in the most conventional treatment of ornament, 'never was the sense of propriety violated by a too faithful representation of nature' (*Grammar*, pp. 67, 70).
[109] Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, p. 124.
[110] Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, p. 104.
[111] Lubbock, p. 287.
[112] Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, p. 122.

priety. He touches on this formal contradiction in *Stones* when he states: 'Ornament, the servant, is often formal, where sculpture, the master, would have been free; the servant is often silent where the master would have been eloquent; or hurried, where the master would have been serene'.[113]

Jones, too, allowed for exceptions in his theory of propriety. He argued that surface imitations were permissible provided that the imitated material be consistent with the larger material scheme of the object. In this way, the plaster pillars of the Alhambra Court could be painted to appear as gold as long as this was in keeping with the wider programme of polychrome colour. As Olin observes, his 'truth to materials' required only the appearance of truth.[114] Jones heralded the fitness of the Alhambra, noting that even while many of its ornaments are repeated in various places and in different positions, they always appear made for the particular spot in which they are seen.[115] He attributes this to the casting of moulds based on a formula of fixed proportions so that, 'in the compositions of the Moors, the whole assemblage of forms and even each particular member was a multiple of some simple unit'.[116] Jones greatly admired this system, but despite his efforts he was unable to reproduce it faithfully within his Court, a failure which forced him to admit 'bungles or imperfect finishings which no Moorish eye could have endured'.[117] For Jones, however, fitness was not restricted to the realm of architecture. His Moresque patterns were used to decorate everything from playing cards to postage stamps; products of his second career as a designer-printmaker that arguably outweighed his infrequent and troubled achievements as an architect.[118] The universal application of patterns inspired by the

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[113] Ruskin, *Stones*, p. 232.
[114] Olin, p. 378.
[115] Owen Jones, *The Fine Arts' Courts in the Crystal Palace, Northwest Side*, 1st ed. (London: Crystal Palace Library; Bradbury and Evans, 1854), pp. 32-33.
[116] Jones, *The Fine Arts' Courts,* pp. 32-33.
[117] Jones, *The Fine Arts' Courts,* pp. 33-34.
[118] Michael Darby traces the progression of Jones' work from the Alhambra to his later prominence as a tile designer. His patchy reputation as an architect and interior designer was a result of what Darby calls the 'peculiar, Islamic rationale' that informed many of his designs, making his proposals for the National Gallery in 1867 and the St. Pancras Hotel in 1867 as nearly incomprehensible without prior knowledge of the style (both were rejected). It was a result of the shortcomings of his conventionalisation theory that the last fifteen years of his career were more concerned with decorative work, including the making of interiors for Alfred Morrison, pattern designing for Warners, and wallpapers for Trumble, and Jackson and Graham. *The Islamic Perspective: An Aspect of British Architecture and Design in the 19th Century*, The World of Islam Festival Trust (London: Scorpion Pica Ltd, 1983), pp. 42-102.

Alhambra reduced it to a formal grammar that could be disassembled and fused with any number of other styles or applications. Crinson has observed that Jones' rationalised appropriation had a wider homogenising effect on the artefacts of a number of Oriental cultures, and was 'undoubtedly instrumental in increasing the commodification of Islamic goods'.[119]

It is easy to see why Ruskin took issue with this seemingly indiscriminate use of ornamental form, one that stripped it of any individual expression or uniqueness. Jones' reproductions lacked sensitivity and bowed to the demands of manufacture. Through his advocacy of new printing technologies, the Moresque style became synonymous with his ideas of mechanical reproduction and the ubiquitous cladding of surfaces, no matter how commonplace. The value of the decorative arts, for him, lay with versatility and utility, through which forms could be refined and developed as a conventionalised system. To Ruskin, Jones' proliferation of patterns sacrificed the status of ornament to the lower functions of purely decorative art, a degradation that he fought against in his own work. As he states in *Stones*: 'Better the rudest work that tells a story or records a fact, than the richest without meaning'.[120] The ubiquitous presence of printed reproductions led him to further disparage the Moresque style, which he already considered ignoble and bereft of invention. Their disagreement, finally, was with the moral value of ornament at a time when the definitions of function and form were being redefined in relation to technological progress. The Alhambra Court, as I have argued throughout this chapter, was to take centre stage within these debates.

Although Jones and other design reformers maintained that ornament should be 'both sparing in its decoration if complex in the ornamental motifs themselves', and 'possessing due deference to the function which the decorated object was intended to perform', his design of the Court would suggest otherwise.[121] Nearly every wall, column, ceiling, arch and even its exterior façade is covered with decoration. While he intended the Court to be a demonstration of the potential of the Moresque style in developing a 'universal grammar', its all-over pattern

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[119] Crinson, p. 71.
[120] Ruskin, *Stones*, p. 169.
[121] Jesperson, 'Owen Jones's *The Grammar of Ornament*', p. 51.

nevertheless came to signify the sensuality and decadence of the Orient for popular audiences. This effect is perceivable within an illustration by M. Digby Wyatt, wherein he depicts wealthy visitors strolling through the richly ornamented Court as if in a themed Eastern environment (fig. 66). Its ornamental coverings are revealed as superfluous 'dressings' that obfuscate any possible reading of their original meaning or placement within the wider programme of the Alhambra. Echoing a concept put forward by Semper in *The Four Elements of Architecture* (1851), the Court offered a space wherein an 'art of walls' could be considered in relation to a history of primitive building techniques.[122] In this way the ornamentation of the Alhambra was compared to the use of carpets as separating walls within the tents of nomadic peoples of the Arabian deserts. Not only did this conflate Nasrid palatial ornament with an earlier textile tradition, but it also negated a critical understanding of its surfaces, either separately or relationally.

Sankovitch explains that in the Western tradition, structure has temporal priortity over ornament, an enforced hierarchy that determines the way architecture is conceived and built in the modern period.[123] This asserts that ornament is always secondary to structure, and that the latter is usually given priority within historical interpretations. This 'structure/ornament' divide is useful to an understanding of how the Alhambra was interpreted by nineteenth-century audiences. Its ornament complicates this hierarchy of forms through the introduction of a number of intermediary categories. One of the strongest examples of what might be understood as 'structural ornament' is the *muqarnas* device. Originally developed in North Eastern Iran, *muqarnas* were developed throughout the Nasrid period into highly complex systems of structural ornament that are alternately called *mocárabes*. Yasser Tabbaa argues that *muqarnas* must be considered in relation to the architectural forms to which they are applied, and the synthesis that

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[122] Like Jones, Semper posited a number of theories that would help to open a path for a world view of ornamental form, while reinforcing an evolutionary and rationalised view of the progression of artforms from one culture to the next. Later work by Alois Riegl, Erwin Panofsky and Willhelm Worringer would echo many of Semper's observations of 'primitive' cultures, seeing the cladding of walls with surface pattern as merely the first step toward sculpture and painting, rather than the makings of an independent artform. So while he may have established links between Greek and Egyptian style through his theory of polychrome colour and wall dressing, he also helped to lay the foundations of a historically linear view of the progression of artistic form.

[123] Sankovitch, p. 693.

results from their application.[124] He writes that descriptive phrases such as 'architectural form', 'vaulting system', and 'decorative device', fail to adequately describe the technique, and identifies the tendency in scholarship to misinterpret the phenomenon and falsely imbue them with cosmological meaning.[125] *Muqarnas* hover somewhere in between the structure-ornament divide, their intricate compositions creating an effect of weightlessness and indeterminate space, while their collective surface can also play a structural role. The interior coverings of the vast domed ceilings of the Hall of Two Sisters and Hall of the Abencerrajes, for example, are structurally integral but are not coffered or ribbed and do not imitate structural elements, allowing them to fit into either category of 'decorated construction' or 'constructed decoration'. The individual parts can be assembled in an almost infinite number of combinations to fit any particular space, to create a disorienting sense of depth within ceilings, cupolas and cornices.

The *mocárabes* of the Alhambra have been the subject of many descriptions and illustrative attempts, though few have come as close to understanding their design and construction as Jones. His cross-sections and diagrams of their seven individual pieces and their mathematical combinations continue to be used by scholars of the Alhambra (fig. 67).[126] The reproduction of the ceiling of the Hall of Abencerrajes for Jones' Court was a formidable achievement even by contemporary standards. Instead of inserting the individual forms one at a time, he developed a technique using gelatine so that various combinations could be assembled on a table and applied to the surface of the ceiling in large blocks. He writes that it was 'preferable to adopt a more economical and rapid process',[127] a statement that echoes his dedication to the technological development of modern design. This is equally evident in the majority of his drawings and prints, where *muqarnas* are depicted either in schematic profile or in flattened layers of block

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[124] Yasser Tabbaa writes that *muqarnas* result from the application of a new concept to well known architectural forms found throughout a number of Muslim civilisations. *The Transformation of Islamic Art During the Sunni Revival* (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 2001), pp. 103, 104.
[125] Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art*, pp. 103.
[126] Antonio Fernández-Puertas writes of the superior quality of Jones and Goury's reproductions, his first volume acting as a commentary on the plates in *Plans*, to which he adds 'explanatory figures to analyse the architecture and decoration in light of present-day knowledge' (*The Alhambra,* p. 6).
[127] Jones, *The Alhambra Court*, p. 86.

colour (fig.'s 63 and 64).[128] The difficulty in representing the spatial dimension of the domed *muqarnas* ceilings is clear within representations (many artists struggled to illustrate the intricacy of their forms), and although Jones succeeded in documenting their forms with unprecedented accuracy, his were a series of dissections that further emphasised their plasticity.

Arguably, the function of *muqarnas* is not to represent structure, but space itself. The reconstruction of their forms in gelatine to fit the restricted dimensions of the Crystal Palace exhibition layout is thus problematic. The flattening and graphic re-envisioning of these unusual objects places them firmly within the material realm, and deadens the surface illusion created by the *muqarnas* of the Nasrid palaces. This is not to say that Jones purposefully misrepresented these forms, only that the technical language through which they reached British audiences would ultimately distort their spatial properties. Moreover, the principle of propriety upheld by both design reformers and naturalists, would in this instance work to re-establish the structure-ornament divide with respect to these forms. The unique function of *muqarnas* and other intermediary spaces were lost through Jones' his insistence on ornamental fitness, leading him to recreate the Alhambra as a decorated structure. This, however, was not his intention; Jones advised against reading its forms simply for material enjoyment, and hoped they would become subjects for contemplation and study.[129] And yet the medium and quality of his reproductions would tell a different story to his discerning critics. Taken out of context, the ornamented surfaces of the Alhambra were seen as precisely that - ornamental. Their role within a network of open and closed spaces that allowed for the visual interplay of ornament and structure, was lost within the abridged and modernised surfaces of the Alhambra Court.

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[128] There are a few exceptions to this rule in *Plans* in the form of detailed engravings of wider views of interior spaces from a pictorial perspective.
[129] Jones, *The Alhambra Court*, p. 20.

Concluding thoughts: surface values

The principles laid out in Ruskin and Jones' respective bodies of work reflect their concerns about the widening gap between the fine and decorative arts, and their shared determination to privilege ornament within art and antiquarian histories. They both saw decoration as an essential element within architecture and held up its forms for critical consideration. At the same time, I have argued throughout the preceding sections that their dependency upon moralising principles such as propriety and flatness led to the demotion of architectural ornament within a hierarchy of artforms. Inasmuch as the emphasis on fitness and 'truth to nature' was intended to establish a criteria for 'good' ornament, it also verified its contingency on structural form. If ornament no longer served construction, it was at risk of becoming obsolete in a modern era that increasingly discouraged the 'flamboyant' decoration of buildings. It was in the midst of these formal debates that the ornament of the Alhambra curiously came to signify both the excessive and unrestrained style of the Orient, and the conservative rationalism of technical design. This provoked criticism from those who mourned the passing of an era of manual production, concerns that were then further exacerbated by Jones' innovative efforts to document and reproduce its ornament. His reinterpretation of its surfaces according to a series of design principles within his series of prints and reproductions resulted in the creation of a 'Moresque' style that came to stand in for the original monument, a situation made worse by the wide distribution of *Grammar* in subsequent years.

The designer-architects and artist-antiquarians of the period can be seen as essential players in the construction of art and design histories, as well as the prioritisation of some cultural histories over others. Transitions, pauses and continuities of 'world' architectures were defined and evaluated according to clearly defined periods of style, and a strict moral code that was concretised within sets of formal principles. Ruskin's outright rejection of the ornament of the Alhambra arguably reveals more about his fear of industrial progress than it does his racial and cultural biases. As I have argued, Jones' reproductions would fuel many of his naturalist ob-

jections through the highly regulated and graphic style of both his book and exhibition formats. His representations conveyed the conventionalised ornament of the Nasrids in accordance with the principles of flatness and propriety, while papering over imperfections and omitting evidence of historical discontinuity. It is important to recognise Ruskin's criticisms in light of these reproductions, for it was through the combined influence of their views that many members of British society would first learn of the Alhambra.

As I have posited throughout the preceding chapters, the Alhambra is a monument that refuses a fixed place within dominant art historical narratives. An architectural anomaly that entered into the European imagination during the eighteenth century, it became a mixed signifier of Oriental and Spanish otherness during the Victorian period. Ruskin, writing at a time when the very processes of reproduction threatened the honesty and virtue of manual production, deduced that conventionalised styles were produced by creatively bankrupt societies. In the case of the Alhambra, this was explained by the geographic isolation of the Nasrid dynasty from Arabic centres of power in the Near and Middle East. The Great Exhibitions would present the ornament of the Alhambra alongside these 'lost' traditions, simultaneously overlooking its regional specificity and denying its contribution to European art history. For all of Jones' efforts to introduce the art of this period with a sensitivity to its past, his court more accurately communicated his beliefs and principles as a pioneer of the design reform movement. From this perspective it is possible to see why Jones' *Grammar* has been called 'one of the founding documents of aggressive modernism'.[130] For while he adopted the ornament of 'world cultures' based on their noble qualities, his recycling of these models through the reproductive language of technology ultimately left them void of culturally specific meaning. To Ruskin, the ornament of the Alhambra was a product of 'copyism', a practice that denied the individual expression of the artist. He maintained that the reproduction of past styles without 'the expression of thought' could not be considered artistic production:

> ...all noble ornamentation is perpetually varied ornamentation, and that the

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[130] David Brett, *On Decoration* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1992), p. 22.

> moment you find ornamentation unchanging, you may know that it is of a degraded kind or degraded school... The truth of this proposition is self-evident; for no art can be noble which is incapable of expressing thought, and no art is capable of expressing thought which does not change... Apply it to modern Greek architecture, and the architecture must cease to exist; for it depends absolutely on copyism.[131]

Most revealingly, what Ruskin perceived as a stagnant quality in Nasrid art was precisely the thing championed by Jones - the highly conventionalised style that allowed for the breaking down of forms into a 'grammar', that could then be adapted for new and progressive models.[132] Jones saw the 'several phases' of Arabian art (Egypt, Turkey, Spain, and India), as 'constantly in a state of progression', and identified within every building of importance, 'the various phases which art underwent during its progress'.[133] This conventionalisation of style was mirrored in his mechanical reproduction of the ornament of the Alhambra, so that the Moresque style entered into debates around the representation of nature and the role of the decorative at the same time that it exhibited a form of 'copyism'. From the examples provided in this chapter, the tenuous nature of these formal categories is made apparent, and the principles that both Ruskin and Jones alternately challenged and defended are revealed as fragile constructions that often led to contradictions in their work. At different times the surfaces of the Alhambra are seen to conforms to the principles of flatness, propriety and truth to nature, or, alternatively, as defying completely these same principles.

The true contextual and artistic value of Nasrid art would remain dormant through Jones' representations and reproductions, its own rules and principles hopelessly lost in the mechanical reworking of its surfaces. As I have argued here, a reading of the Alhambra's ornamental panels must consider them as integral elements of the architecture to which they are adhered, and acknowledge their important spatial role in the social and political lives of those who occupied the Nasrid complex. The negation of this spatial element leads to the obfuscation

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[131] John Ruskin, 'Lectures on Architecture and Painting, Delivered at Edinburgh in November 1853', (1854), pp. 132-133.
[132] Brett, *On Decoration*, p. 22.
[133] Jones, *The Alhambra Court*, pp. 8-9.

of the social and political meaning built into the overall structure of the palaces and the ornament that was designed specifically for its surfaces. The same perceptual gap that rendered the particularities of an Andalusi artform invisible also helped to justify the discrepancy between the respective 'art histories' that were being consolidated during the nineteenth century; that of the classically inspired canon of Western Europe, and those histories lying outside its boundaries. Viewed as a culture that impulsively covered surfaces and copied already existing motifs from the Islamic Middle East (which were often already seen as lacking in both meaning and stylistic restraint), the 'Moors' were subordinated to a history of purely derivative artforms. The problem of architecture and its relationship to ornament was central to this relegation, as by the turn of the nineteenth century all ornament would be seen as a corruption of 'true' architectural form and expression, a crime of superfluity in a new industrial age.[134] At the same time that these print and architectural reproductions were informing popular and critical perceptions, the medium of photography would serve to validate existing interpretations. As a final stage of analysis within the larger thesis, I now turn my attention to the photograph as a crucial phase in the modern re-envisioning of the monument.

[134.] Austrian architect and theorist Adolf Loos' 1908 essay 'Ornament and Crime' is seen as a marker of this paradigm shift, banishing the decorative from the streamlined forms of early twentieth-century architecture. For a series of perspectives on the modern rejection of ornamental form see: David Brett, *Rethinking Decoration: Pleasure and Ideology in the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Brent Brolin, *Architectural Ornament: Banishment and Return*, 2nd edn. (New York; London: W. W. Norton and Co., 2000); and James Trilling, *Ornament: A Modern Perspective* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003).

Chapter 5

Gitanos in the Court of Lions: re-staging Andalusian identity in the nineteenth-century photograph

> I want a History of Looking. For the Photograph is the advent of myself as other: a cunning dissociation of consciousness from identity.[1]

The transferral of the Alhambra's surfaces across perceptual modes comes to a culminating point with the advent of the photograph, uniting the Romantic and the modern within a single frame. Visual representation would take on fresh authority, and, to an extent, present more realistically the dimensions and scale of the monument, while revealing the advanced state of its disrepair. As within the picturesque, the camera worked to 'capture' a place according to a set of stylistic tropes and layers of subjectivity. The photograph built on this tradition and also surpassed its 'realism', as the view and the objects contained within it were taken to be fact, sup-

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[1] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography,* trans. Richard Howard (London: Vintage, 1993), p. 12.

ported by its use in the fields of anthropology and ethnography. Thus, the structural and ornamental features of the monument were commemorated through a series of moving frames and perspectives, and began to include human subjects within views of the palace interiors. Experiencing the Alhambra became something worthy of documentation, and in the process its ornamental surfaces became a backdrop for imagining the past. So at the same time that the Nasrid complex was made more real, its courts and halls were used to stage the Oriental fantasies and medieval narratives that were already fully developed within other modes of representation. This would have important implications for the perception of Spanish modernity, as tourists could not only visit Granada to be transported into the past, but they could also return with proof of their journey. During the mid-century this photographic boom was accompanied by a peculiar trend that saw 'gitanos' or Spanish Roma posing in and around the Alhambra grounds, insofar as they, like the building itself, embodied a pre-modern moment in history that lacked a clear or direct origin. Thus, the most modern of viewing technologies came to document an imagined construct that placed the ruin and the gypsy in the same picture, so that the materiality of the monument was once again re-envisioned as a relic of the past. This time, however, new technologies of viewing would characterise these visions through a scientific idiom, relegating the Alhambra and its posed figures to an atemporal position within a modern image of Spain.

This chapter discusses two iconic photographs from 1862 depicting a group of Romany performers posed within the Alhambra's Court of Lions, titled ‘Jitanos Bailando’ and ‘Jitanas Cantando’ ('Gypsies Dancing' and 'Gypsy Women Singing', fig.'s 68 and 69).[2] Although Spanish Travellers had a longer history of being illustrated or photographed in rustic or urban settings,

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[2] I here use the noun 'Roma' and adjective 'Romany' to refer to real subjects whom most non-Roma still refer to as Gypsies, and 'Gypsy' or 'gitano' to refer to cultural constructs throughout the chapter. This is taken from Lou Charnon-Deutsch's identification of three discursive and symbolic categories that have developed around the Spanish Gypsy: (1) 'gypsies' with a lower-case 'g' corresponds to the enduring Romantic construction applied to anyone who exhibits nomadic or rebellious tendencies, and who 'inhabit an imaginary Bohemia'; (2) 'Gypsies/Gitanos' as a racialised designation for Spanish Romany groups (often associated with delinquent traits) by non-members of those groups and aligned with the nineteenth-century rise of physical anthropology; and (3) 'Romá'/'Romani', 'Romany', or 'Travellers' as names given to subsets studied by modern social scientists who are considered separately from the fictions, stereotypes or radicalised thinking associated with the other two categories. *The Spanish Gypsy: The History of a European Obsession* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), pp. 12-14.

these were the first examples of a group being staged within one of the most recognisable areas of the Alhambra, thus creating an enduring Romantic link between the Alhambra and the gitanos of Granada within the European imagination. They were taken by Charles Clifford, a British photographer who lived and worked in Spain from 1950 until his death in 1863.[3] In the absence of clear biographical records or personal memoirs Clifford has become somewhat of a historical enigma, though it is recorded that he was photographic chronicler to the Spanish Queen, Isabel II, in the years between 1858 and 1862, and also photographed Queen Victoria at different points during the same period.[4] In addition to the large volume of images produced during his travels he is known for his pioneering work as an aerial photographer and proprietor of a portrait studio that he ran with his wife, Jane.[5] Engravings were made from many of his photographs of Spain to accompany written chronicles of royal trips, published in volumes such as *Crónica del viaje de sus majestades y altezas réales a Adalucía y Murcia, en septiembre y octubre de 1862* (*Photographic Souvenir taken during the visit of the Royal Family to the Provinces of Andalucia and Murcia in September and October 1862)*, in which the two gitanos images are featured. He also independently published *Photographic Scramble Through Spain* in London around 1861, a visual journey with selected commentary, and more general advice for Britons travelling in Spain within a twenty-eight page foreword. This rare example of written testimony highlights his journey through cities such as Madrid, Seville, Granada, Cádiz and Barcelona, and helps to shed some light on his personal and professional interest in Spain:

> It has been the author's object, throughout his extended Tour in Spain, to select for

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[3] Even his birth date is uncertain; he is thought to have been born in either 1819 or 1820 in London, where he resided until moving to Madrid in 1851, though his ballooning activities in the country are recorded as early as 1850. He ran his portrait business until 1853 after which there is no record of his production until 1856, when he began his more focused documentation of Spanish sites. He died in Madrid of unknown causes in 1863. For a biographical overview see Fontanella's *Clifford En España: Un Fotógrafo En La Corte De Isabel II* (Iberdrola: Ediciones el Viso, 1999) and *Photography in Spain in the Nineteenth Century* (Dallas; San Francisco: Delahunty Gallery and Fraenkel Gallery, 1984), and Gerardo Kurtz's 'Charles Clifford, Aeronauta Y Fotógrafo. Madrid: 1850-1852', in *Charles Clifford: Fotógrafo de La España de Isabel II [Exhibition Catalogue]* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educatión y Cultura, Ediciones El Viso, 1996).

[4] Clifford is referred to as the photographer of '*Su Majestad Británica*' in official Madrid records, and during his tenure in the Spanish court he was petitioned by Queen Victoria to photograph her at Windsor, resulting in her 1861 portrait (Fontanella, *Photography in Spain*, p. 16).

[5] Jane Clifford was also known in Madrid as 'Doña Juana', and remained a resident after the death of her husband in 1863 (Fontanella, *Photography in Spain*, p. 16).

> illustration subjects historically interesting, and such as may serve as mementos of an epoch when this naturally favored kingdom swayed the destinies of nearly all the then discovered world - mementos which, owing to the political changes the country has suffered, and still suffers, and to a sad apathy and want of interest for their preservations, are daily becoming more rare, a fact greatly to be regretted, as many of them served as landmarks to the current of historic events that swayed the destinies of the then known globe.[6]

Clifford's investment in the preservation of Spain's historic monuments is demonstrated by his meticulous documentation of buildings and sites, which reflect both his technical prowess and romantic sensibility. The gitanos images stand out as striking social portraits within his repertoire of monuments and landscapes, rare examples of his representation of human subjects. Also referred to as 'types' or picturesque characters in the literature, there are only six of these kinds of photographs within Clifford's substantial body of work (fig.'s 70 and 71).[7] Distinct from those which include a figure in the shot to give a sense of scale, his 'types' depict a group of figures as the central object in the photograph. I suggest here that his preservationist aims extended to the documentation of people as well as monuments, an aspect that becomes especially clear within the two gitanos images. Clifford was not an ethnographer by trade but his 'types' incorporate many of its stylistic devices, and as Elizabeth Edwards has argued, 'photographs not created with anthropological intent or specifically informed by ethnographic understanding may nevertheless be appropriated to anthropological ends'.[8] In this chapter I posit that his choice to represent the Romany performers within a decaying but particularly popular area of the Alhambra was an attempt to rescue what he believed to be 'historically interesting subjects', a project which would inadvertently influence popular perceptions of a modern Andalusian identity for generations to come. I suggest that the Alhambra and its Court of Lions was integral to this construction, and to the larger project of commemoration and identity formation at the time.

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[6] Charles Clifford, *Photographic Scramble Through Spain* (London: A. Marion & Cia, 1861), p. 3.
[7] Other examples include a group wearing wedding attire in Toledo (c. 1857/1858), and groups of people in local costume in Palma de Mallorca and Saragosa in 1860 (Kurtz, *Charles Clifford and the Alhambra*, p. 42).
[8] Elizabeth Edwards,'Introduction', in *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 13.

Gerardo Kurtz argues that the Romany are the main subjects of Clifford's two photographs and that their positioning within a courtyard of the Alhambra is (at least from a graphical point of view), 'of entirely secondary importance, if not quite irrelevant'.[9] While it is true that the group is the central focus of the photographs, a fact supported by their distinctly ethnographic staging (they are shown in traditional dress surrounded by their instruments, and 'caught' in the act of singing and dancing), it seems unlikely that the setting of the Alhambra would be chosen arbitrarily for such a carefully orchestrated scene. It is also possible that the location held significance for Clifford, as indicated by the high volume of photographs taken of the monument, and the Court of Lions, throughout his career. Given the infrequency of this kind of shot, his incorporation of human subjects within this particular setting appears to serve a particular purpose; allowing him to 'salvage' both the gitanos and the Alhambra within the same frame. In this chapter I posit that Clifford recognised the visual potency of the Court of Lions to a 'portrait' of Andalucia, a region formed by the influence of the Other, both past and present. I also briefly consider the legacy of these images within illustrations and tourist accounts, and their legitimisation through the medium of photography. As a final case study, Clifford's photographs illustrate the way that by the second half of the nineteenth century the Alhambra had been collapsed, both spatially and metaphorically, into an impacted portrait of Otherness, paradoxically lifted from its historical context in order to reaffirm its authenticity.

The conflation of the Alhambra's origins with Romany society has had important social and political implications for Spanish identity, resulting in an anachronistic interrelation of its socially and historically marginalised populations. José Colmeiro identifies a 'double bind' of Spanish culture based on its experience of orientalism from both sides: 'as a European Christian culture that has repressed a constitutive element of its historical identity and sees the oriental as its cultural and political other, and as a mirror of oriental culture constructed by other

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[9] Kurtz explains that the Roma are central to the scene, rather than their being used to 'endow the location with atmosphere'. He argues that unlike many picturesque images of the era, Clifford's human subjects are not 'simple decorative elements that are subsidiary to a main perspective'. While I agree with this observation to a point, in placing a singular emphasis on the performers I argue that he overlooks the significance of their setting (*Charles Clifford and the Alhambra*, p. 42).

Europeans'.[10] Foreign perspectives not only acknowledged centuries of Muslim and Jewish influence in Spain, but also exemplified these links to the medieval past, sometimes even employing the gitano as a symbolic representation of a Spanish Orient. In framing a nineteenth-century Roma group against the backdrop of late medieval Nasrid architecture, Clifford similarly homogenises and fixes both Others – 'Moors' and gitanos – within a romanticised and orientalised historic moment that, through its technical import, also acts as an 'authentic' picture of modern Spain. The power of these photographs lies in their ability to 'make real' this imaginary hybrid of cultures, collapsing history and difference within a single authenticated frame. Strengthening an already existing fictional link between the 'Moor' and the gitano, the images were instrumental in shaping perceptions of the Alhambra and its flamenco-playing gypsies for generations to come. Illustrations in travel guides and journals had provided a wealth of imagery portraying singing and dancing 'types' throughout the century, though usually depicted in far less exotic and nondescript locations (fig.'s 72 and 73). Clifford's gitanos, situated within the Alhambra's most popular courtyard, built on this formula and spurred the enduring tradition of tourists being photographed in the same space dressed as Spanish Gypsies or in full 'Moorish attire' (fig. 74). The images are even said to have inspired local Roma to buy into the trend, such as the self-proclaimed 'prince of the gypsies', Mariano Fernández Chorreojumo, who was regularly photographed about the palace throughout the following decades. The popularity of these staged shots even led to the creation of elaborate studio sets that generically resembled areas of the palace, such as that of R. Garzón's located along the Alhambra's Calle Real, in which Chorreojumo is seen photographed in 1880 (fig. 75).

As if to further legitimise Clifford's vision, the 'types' were published within a royal chronicle, for which the terms of commission and selection of individual photographs are uncertain. Of Clifford's allegiance to the Spanish Queen we know even less, apart from from the fact that he was chosen based on his innovations as an arial photographer and skilled talbotype pho-

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[10] José F. Colmeiro, 'Exorcising Exoticism: "Carmen" and the Construction of Oriental Spain', *Comparative Literature* 54:2 (2002), pp. 129-130.

tographer.[11] In addition, his interest in documenting the 'disappearing' monuments and changing landscape of Spain appeared to run parallel to the modernising agenda of the monarchy. This shared agenda is perhaps best realised in the twenty-six views of the construction of Madrid's water supply from 1858, capturing a modern Spanish engineering feat with the most advanced photographic technology at the time.[12] Clifford's pragmatic documentation of a number of construction and restoration projects promoted the idea that Spain, as visited by the queen, was, 'modern, well cared-for and, above all, monumental'.[13] While in some respects Clifford shared the monarchy's modern vision, it is important to remember that he was also a foreigner under royal commission to photograph specific sites and scenes. His feelings about the Queen's patronage are unknown, but may be partly responsible for his long-term commitment to Spain and his interest in the preservation of its history. His foreword in *Scramble* indicates that he was drawn to its many historical sites, which he saw as important to both its countrymen and the wider history of Europe, if not the world. Kurtz describes Clifford's outsider interest in Spain as follows:

> ...an 'enlightened' gentleman who reached Spain, which for him was unknown territory, a land of past splendour, who viewed the country as if it were an archaeological site in which vestiges of a past sprouted up that were as glorious as they were essential for achieving an understanding of Spain's imperial past and of Great Britain's imperial past, not to mention an insight into the universal human condition that was so fashionable among the educated classes of that time...[14]

The Romany population would have at first seemed as strange and exotic to Clifford as they did to many travellers at the time; they were a people residing within Spain, but operating distinctly outside the dominant culture with separate customs and obscure origins. The status of

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[11] After 1852 Clifford produced images using the talbotype process patented by William Henry Fox Talbot in 1841, a process that produced a negative unlike the daguerreotype.
[12] Fontanella, *Photography in Spain*, p. 9.
[13] Kurtz, 'Charles Clifford and the Alhambra', p. 41.
[14] Kurtz argues that there were ideological and intellectual motivations behind Clifford's work, despite there being little evidence to support this theory. He notes that the romantic appeal of the Peninsula may have attracted persons such as Clifford, 'as a destination in which to dream about an historical past', in order to visit sites of importance such as the port from which the Americas were discovered, and the location of the Peninsular War where they could reflect on Britain's role in 'expelling the French invader' (*Charles Clifford and the Alhambra*, pp. 31, 36).

Spanish Roma in the nineteenth-century occupies its own area of scholarship, and I here examine only those elements of that history which are relevant to a study of Clifford's photographs. With the most compelling aspect of the images being their presumed realness, they do not fall easily into the category of romantic or picturesque 'snapshots'. It is their assumed realism, however, that reinforces the stereotypes associated with the gypsy and which negates a more nuanced picture of the Roma and their traditions. In this way the photographs adopt the ethnographic premise that 'realness' can stand in for authenticity or scientific objectivity. Clifford's conscious or inadvertent use of this ethnographic mode of representation ensured that the performers could be, in the words of Edwards, 'dislocated from the flow of life from which they were extracted'.[15] She explains that the tenuous gap between the real and the culturally imagined is closed in the ethnographic photograph, absorbing 'real visual objects engaged within social space and real time' into constructed settings, often with the aim of 'making sense' of the unfamiliar.

It was anthropology, as Ganim has argued, that would answer the uncertainties about the origins of culture in the nineteenth-century. Initially developed in the eighteenth century as a way of understanding the alien objects of empire, anthropological methods were later applied to explore the alterity of the colonisers' own history and customs, at earlier stages of their development.[16] A desire to revisit cultural origins led to an interest in the primitive on more familiar ground. Spain, a country already associated with both latent and manifest alterity through its history of encounters with the Other, offered itself as a prime location for this revisiting of primordial pasts.[17] Whereas the medieval past had once been seen as a 'site of origin and indigenous essence', the Victorian era allowed it to be revisited through the examination of more 'exotic' cultures in the present.[18] Clifford's photographs reflect the perceived underdevelopment of the

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[15] Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), pp. 2, 8.
[16] Ganim, p. 98.
[17] John Hooper observes that although Spain joined the European Union in the mid 1980s with a mixed population of Basques, Catalans, Galicians and at least half a million Roma (suggesting that it was highly culturally diverse), it had almost no 'foreigners'. The word '*inmigrante*' was still used primarily to describe a Spaniard who had recently moved from the countryside to the town, and '*racismo*' meant prejudice against the gypsies'. *The New Spaniards*, 2nd edn. (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 290.
[18] Ganim, p. 98.

Roma, an ethnic group subjected to evolutionary theories that placed them outside the modern present. According to Judith Okely, the European Gypsy has often been categorised in Darwinian terms as a sort of 'hangover' from nomadic times placed at the bottom of an evolutionary scale, in which 'sedentary existence is the mark of progress'.[19] So while in some respects the modern Roma had become emblematic of modern Spanish culture, they were also seen as a symbol of the pre-modern past. I argue that this resulted in the simultaneous absorption of the gitano into a nineteenth-century construction of Andalusian identity, and conflation with the medieval Jews and Muslims of frontier Granada. Then, as now, the Roma's 'historylessness' makes them a vulnerable entity, representative of Otherness in a moveable context.[20]

The ethnographic style of Clifford's photographs also hints at a cultural origin lying outside Spain, as Romany identity and history are generally understood to be permanently unfixed, adjusted to fit inside or outside cultural constructions. As Lou Charnon-Deutsch has argued, Europe's ongoing investment in the Gypsy as a 'quintessential other residing problematically on "home ground"', presents a unique example of 'otherness' and 'othering' within a nineteenth-century anthropological conception of ethnicity and race.[21] The idea of 'pure' origins overlooks the regional and cultural specificity of any given Romany or traveller group, though as Okely has demonstrated in her study of British Travellers, this is an essentialising process that has at times been aided by the Roma themselves, who have been observed to reaffirm dominant perceptions to ensure their secrecy and independence.[22] Cloaked within a myth of origin that has at various stages labelled them as of Egyptian, Indian, Romanian, 'Moorish' or African descent, the 'true origin' of the Spanish Roma has been simultaneously protected while vulnerable to interpretation. The *tabula rasa* of their fragmented and largely unwritten history functions in a similar way to that of the Alhambra, which might further account for their confabulation within Clif-

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[19] Judith Okely, *The Traveller-Gypsies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 24.
[20] Katie Trumpener writes that the 'dream of historylessness' inspired by the Gypsy originates from a western longing for historical oblivion that banishes history while recreating it as idyllic. "The Time of the Gypsies: A 'People Without History' in the Narratives of the West," *Critical Inquiry* 18:4 (1992), p. 853.
[21] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 4.
[22] Okely argues that accounts from Gypsies and the stereotypes that surround them are connected. Though they may be inversions or mystifications rather than reflections of 'reality', images and information given by Gypsies may speak more to non-Gypsy perceptions than to Gypsies themselves (p. 2).

ford's photographs. In other words, both the gitano and the Alhambra became empty vessels for Romantic readings, which were then rationalised and verified as representations of Spanish Otherness through a process of photographic staging.

The negotiation of a unified Spanish character with its changing position to 'threats from within' has been taking place within the grounds of the Alhambra for centuries. My first two chapters discussed configurations conflicts and compromise, and the way the tensions born of hybrid identities were made visible upon the walls of the Nasrid palaces. As a result of such interventions and later restorations, the Alhambra of the mid-nineteenth century incited numerous debates over its 'true' form, while its 'exotic' features grew increasingly archetypal of an Oriental past which stood out as an anomaly within modern Europe. These debates have important links to Clifford's preservationist role. Unlike other monuments which he documented in Spain, the Nasrid complex featured repeatedly, including a number of photographs of the Court of Lions in different stages of 'restoration'.[23] Its advanced state of deterioration appears to have inspired Clifford to return in order to document restorative changes, providing valuable 'before and after' accounts. His decision to photograph the Romany performers in the same courtyard may have sprung from a similar preservationist concern, for despite their increasing role as part of an imagined Spanishness, they remained in reality a politically and economically neglected minority. In the same way that the Alhambra was being reconstructed to fit an exoticised idea of Spain, so too were perceptions of the Roma. Charnon-Deutsch stresses the importance of the collapse of the gypsy into Andalusian identity, which came to stand for Spanishness 'both outside and, to an extent, inside Spain's cultural arena'.[24] It was for this reason that the Court of Lions provided an ideal setting for the performers, even from the perspective of the Spanish monarchy. It was the popular 'heart' of a recognised Islamic monument and a trophy to early modern imperialism, which allowed for the quintessentially exotic to be comfortably couched

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[23] Fontanella writes that a number of Spanish cities underwent major changes during the 1850s and 1860s, including the destruction of the original city walls, and the expansion and beautification of seawalls in coastal areas. He notes that Clifford's series of three photographs of Madrid's Puerta del Sol from 1857, 'concretizes intentionally what was about to be lost forever' (*Photography in Spain*, p. 8).
[24] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 11.

within the realm of the conquered.

The recurrence of the Alhambra in Clifford's photography may be the combined result of his personal sympathy for Spain's Islamic heritage, and an investment in its triumphalist value on the part of the monarchy. It is difficult to ascertain which party had a larger investment in its documentation, and as Kurtz rightly points out, the relatively high volume of photographs of the Alhambra may reflect matters of circumstance (i.e. the frequency and duration of visits on royal trips), rather than personal interest on the part of the photographer.[25] On the other hand, the few examples of 'types', which were taken together near the end of his career, are unique not only for their combined representation of a recognisable monument and human subjects, but also because they are purposefully staged. The gitanos photographs also commemorate Clifford's final visit to Granada, and appear at the end of nearly eleven years of living in and travelling around Spain. His choice of subjects and location shows a perceptive if not manipulative staging of Spain's past within the present, fusing the medieval and the Oriental within an unusual portrait. The Alhambra, which I have argued previously lends itself to a re-imagining of individual and cultural identity, here operates as a stage for Clifford's historical re-interpretation, its restored surfaces operating as a signifying backdrop. The photographer's return to the monument and his positioning of the Roma within its central courtyard unites the Spanish Gypsy and the Alhambra as preserved remnants of a distant and Romanticised past. In the absence of 'Moorish' subjects, the performers appear as suitable if not coeval substitutes, what might be seen as understudies for the part of the exoticised Other.

The separate constructions of the gitano and the 'Moor' are here disentangled for the purpose of discussing their respective identity formations, independently and in relation to nineteenth-century 'Spanishness'. The Alhambra is once again discussed as a vehicle for the shaping and layering of identities, through which the politics of viewing play a central role in the re-

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[25] Kurtz writes that Clifford's early photographic output of 1853 included an extensive series of photographs of Granada and the Alhambra, which he then revisited on multiple occasions between 1856 and 1862. While this may indicate a direct interest on the part of the photographer, he observes that the amount of photographs produced during each visit more probably corresponds to the amount of time the royal party spent in each place and not necessarily with his own photographic agenda ('Charles Clifford and the Alhambra', p. 35).

writing of separate but interrelated histories. Finally, the medium of photography is explored as a crucial turn in the history of re-envisioning, bringing with it a new dimension of subject-object relations which are further complicated by Clifford's outsider perspective. As in previous chapters, an understanding of material form, and its translation through medium, is seen as crucial to a study of content. In other words, the ideological mechanisms working through the photographs are discussed in relation to the surfaces of the Court of Lions and the marginalised groups represented therein. Clifford's are not the first nor by any means the only representations of the Roma dancing or singing in traditional dress; there is a much longer history of illustrations within travel guides and journals, as well as photographs by J. Laurent and José García Ayola, among others, which depict gitano 'types' arranged outside the caves of Sacramonte or amongst the ruins of the city. I have in this instance chosen to focus on Clifford's images because in staging the group within the courtyard of the Palace of the Lions, he effectively collapsed a number of cultural and historical associations into a single frame. Clifford does more than simply document a Romany group in their domestic setting; he here establishes an 'event' through which the fictional connection between the gitano and the Moorish palace of Granada is made real, his photographs acting as what Roland Barthes calls a 'certificate of presence'.[26] He presents the 'types' within the Court of Lions as if they had always lived there and danced within its ornamented walls; presenting living subjects within a heavily mythologised setting so that both became part of an imagined, Other history.

The Court of Lions: setting the stage

The Court of Lions has a strong picturesque quality, without which it may not have gained such a high profile within photographs and illustrations. Its clean lines and neat organisation allow for expanded views across the Court from a number of different positions. Grabar writes that its components were designed to serve a primarily aesthetic purpose, in particular a three-dimensional projection of a complex hierarchy of parts that were normally articulated

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[26] Barthes, p. 87.

within quasi-two dimensional façades such as those found in the Comares Palace.[27] The much celebrated filigree plasterwork and the weightlessness of its structural elements together create a forest of geometrically-pleasing proportions, its pristine quality exemplified by later whitewashing.[28] The latticework of its arcade spandrels accentuate the contrast between light and dark spaces, simulating the effect of a perforated screen or *mashribīya*.[29] These finer contrasts are echoed in the alternation of the open courtyard space with the darkened entrances of subsidiary rooms, directionally indicated by the channels which extend outward from the central fountain. As Grabar has noted, the water system was designed to unify covered and open spaces and visually strengthen the main axes of the composition, creating a 'continuous succession of different exposures to light'.[30] This alternation of light and shade, although common to many of the Alhambra's spaces, is especially sophisticated in the Court of Lions, making it the highlight or 'main event' of many visits to the monument. The 'fairy like interior' analogies within nineteenth-century travel accounts are often in direct response to this area of the palace, as many were struck by the quality achieved by its architectural features and ornamentation, as well as the novelty of its fountain.

Its expansive dimensions allowed not only ample space for contemplation, but also for the photographic line of sight, which could include ornament, columns, fountains, and often tourists, within a single frame. The open plan, joined by the interplay of water, light and shadow, provided a number of positions of vantage from which interesting visual contrasts could be captured. Most importantly for the use of photography, the absence of trees and gardens allowed for clear shots of the Court from either end or from inside the connecting rooms. For most of the nineteenth century its patio quadrants were of bare earth, allowing for an uninterrupted view across the entire length of the court. Recent studies have shown that the layout of the courtyard would probably have been similar in Nasrid times, though there is some disagreement over whether the quadrants were originally paved with marble or planted with flowers which only

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[27] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, pp. 77-78.
[28] Owen Jones observed in 1856 that, more than other ornamented spaces, the Court of the Lions was covered with several thin coats of whitewash. *Grammar*, p. 72.
[29] *Ruggles, Gardens, Landscape, and Vision, p.* 193.
[30] Grabar, *The Alhambra*, pp. 165-166.

grew to floor-level and took on the effect of a carpet, with the exception a few orange trees that rose above the surface.[31] Instead of actual vegetation, the multitude of columns and their ornamented capitals and arcades, originally painted in polychrome, would have simulated the impression of a forest. Some have even likened it to the Renaissance *Villa Rustica* in its emulation of the elements of the picturesque rural environment, though this is not to be confused with that achieved by the more rustic style of landscaping which was introduced into other areas of the complex in the following centuries.[32] Compared with the wild flora of the Court of the Main Canal and the Patio de los Arrayanes or Court of the Myrtles, the Court of Lions offers a wealth of uninterrupted lines of sight.

The imitation of the natural environment using structural forms and strong contrasts between light and dark spaces may in part explain the suitability of the Court for Clifford's photographs. He was recognised for his exceptional ability to capture a wide range of light and shadow, as strong contrasts between light and shade were very difficult to attain using photosensitive material at the time.[33] The Romany performers are placed in just in front of the slender columns on the south side of the court, the entrance to the Hall of Abencerrajes visible to the left of the figures in 'Dancing Gypsies'. In 'Gypsy Women Singing' they are positioned farther west along the same wall, one double set of pillars over, as indicated by the shadows of the support beams across the sunlit arches of the arcades. The ornament is still intact upon the upper walls appears to provide a background for the groups within both shots. While Clifford chose not to include the famous fountain, the location of the photographs is indicated by the telltale groupings of slender columns in ones, twos and threes, a feature that is unique to the Court of Lions. The performers are depicted alone within the court, a staging which required the court to

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[31] Archeological evidence suggests that the quadrants were filled with plant beds that would have grown only to walking level and ensured straight lines of sight, however in 1502 French visitor Antoine de Lalaing described six orange trees. *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, 4 vols, Lalaing in Louis P. Gachard, ed (Brussels, 1874-1882), I: p. 206. Enrique Nuere Matauco offers an alternative theory that the patio quadrants were originally paved in marble based on the testimony of a German traveller, Jerónimo Münzer, visiting in 1494 (*Viaje por España y Portugal: 1494-1495*. Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1991). 'Sobre el pavimento del Patio de los Leones', *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 22 (1986): 87-93.

[32] Rabbat, p. 64. Dickie writes that in the Islamic garden an equilibrium of both rational and natural elements was achieved, 'in a felicitous compenetration where each suppliments the other' ('The Islamic Garden in Spain', p. 105).

[33] Kurtz, 'Charles Clifford and the Alhambra', p. 49.

be closed to tourists for a substantial length of time. This is confirmed by the testimony of Hans Christian Andersen, who happened to be visiting the Alhambra on that particular day and was forced to wait in the entrance to the courtyard. He described his experience as follows:

> When, somewhat later, I also mounted up there, once more to gaze upon its beauty, I, as well as many other strangers, had to wait a long time before we could be admitted. The Lion Court and the hall of the "Two Sisters" were being photographed by a celebrated English photographer, by permission of Her Majesty the Queen. This was in full progress; no one was, therefore, allowed to go in, for fear of disturbing the picture. We saw, through the open arch, what was going on within. The gypsy family who had lately passed our balcony had been ordered to come up here, to give living figures to the picture.[34]

For the great effort required to keep the Court free from tourists (an even more impossible feat in the present day), Clifford, perhaps significantly, chose to photograph his 'living figures' against a relatively unremarkable section of the courtyard. Their authenticity is established by ethnographic evidence, which includes not only their instruments and dress, but also the context and content of their surroundings. In 'Dancing Gypsies' four of the six women appear to be clapping or moving to the sound of the guitar that is being played by the seated man in the middle, while an older woman stands to the far right of the group, facing the camera with her arms crossed in front of her (both she and the seated woman at her feet may be holding castanets). The movement suggested by their positions seems forced, and the disengaged expressions on their faces reflect the artificiality of shot. The second photograph shows a similar stiffness, with three of the younger women positioned around the seated man. One woman plays the guitar and looks out toward the viewer, while the man may be the only one singing (contrary to what the title 'Gypsy Women Singing' suggests). The woman closest to the camera appears mid-clap (though this position would have had to be held still for some time), while the third stands looking distracted or perhaps bored by the experience. The variation of postures and angles within each group reflects a conscious and planned choreography on the part of Clifford,

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[34] Hans Christian Andersen, *In Spain and a Visit to Portugal* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1870), p. 117.

what was surely intended to convey a sense of music and movement. Instead, the Roma man and women give the impression of disparate individuals placed within arranged groups, their actions disjointed and their gazes dispersed. Rather curiously, Anderson's description of the scene does not add up with the characters depicted in the photographs:

> They stood and lay in groups round the court: some of the smallest children were perfectly naked; two young girls, with dahlias in their hair, stood in a dancing position, holding castanets; an old, fearfully ugly gypsy, with long gray hair, was leaning against a slender marble column, as he played the *zambomba* - a sort of kettle-drum; a stout but extremely pretty woman, in a tucked-up embroidered dress, struck the tambourine. The picture, which I cannot give in writing, was finished in a moment. Perhaps I may see it again, but too surely it is the last time I shall ever behold the Alhambra.[35]

While the young girls with dahlias in their hair 'stood in a dancing position' may refer to two of the characters in the photographs, none of the instruments he mentions are visible, nor does the man with the long grey hair or the naked children feature within either. These discrepancies may suggest that more than two photographs were taken and a larger group of Romany present in the courtyard, but they may also partially be the result of Anderson colouring the scene for his reader. In any case the author's final memory of the Alhambra is one merged with the image of traditional gypsies assembled and playing their instruments within the Court of Lions, in the same way that the developed photograph would characterise the place and its 'inhabitants' for those who would never visit it. I posit here that the temporal associations of these subjects and objects are collapsed within Clifford's photographs so that the Court of Lions becomes a naturalised setting for Romany culture. The crumbling structure mirrors the tattered clothing of the group, while the ornamentation of the walls behind them echoes the pattern of the women's dresses. The details of these respective elements come together to create a general effect, binding them in time and space. Taken together the photograph reads: it is not only the Islamic palace that is in danger of extinction, but also the Spanish gitanos and their flamenco

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[35] Andersen, p. 117.

tradition which is part of that same history. Flamenco is shown as not only as an integral aspect of the individuals depicted but also to gitano culture as a whole. Moreover, the synthesis of Roma individuals with the flamenco tradition and the setting of the Alhambra produces what Edwards calls a 'unifying account of culture'.[36] I return to these histories in the following sections, and demonstrate the way that the ethnographic staging of the Romany groups within the Court works to convincingly link these disparate periods and traditions.

Though the majority of Clifford's photographs of the Court focus on its restoration, in the gitanos images he seems to omit any overt evidence of decay or restoration. Kurtz notes that his photographs often avoid aspects that 'recorded in themselves the building's possible decrepitude', which may partly account for why he chose a relatively intact section of the court.[37] At first glance it appears that the area around the performers is fully intact and well preserved, but upon closer inspection the shadows of the supporting beams are visible, cutting across the ornamented wall of the background and acting as a subtle reminder of the unstable structure which surrounds the group. Compared with his more documentary-style images of restoration processes, however, these elements appear toned down in favour of privileging the characters. While this complies with Kurtz's theory that the backgrounds of these shots are incidental, I suggest that his choice of a relatively intact view the monument to present an authentic portrait of gypsy 'types', is in itself highly significant. It may suggest that Clifford was attempting to construct a historical moment that was untouched by the destructive hands of time and human intervention. Nevertheless, the subtle reminders of disintegration in the shadows that fall across the figures draw an interesting parallel between the precariousness of the Alhambra (historically as well as structurally), and the Roma's position within contemporary Spanish society. Recalling Nochlin's reading of decay and ill-repaired architecture in Orientalist painting as a 'comment on the corruption of contemporary Islamic society', it is important to recognise the signifying power of these elements within a reading of Clifford's photographs, especially given the authority granted to his medium.[38] Equally, however, it is necessary to recognise the photographer's

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[36] Edwards, 'Introduction', p. 8.
[37] Kurtz, 'Charles Clifford and the Alhambra', p. 49.
[38] Nochlin, p. 39.

strong preservationist leanings, and his desire to create a repaired, and in some cases reconstituted vision of Spain and its regional heritage. Indeed, an interwoven set of regional associations can be found within these compositions, part of a vision of modern Spain that was very much rooted in the medieval past. This would have important implications for the way the Alhambra was 'reclaimed' by modern Spanish society and subsequently marketed to European audiences.

Clifford's investment in the preservation of 'Hispano-Moorish' monuments was also bound up with ideas of authenticity and a romanticised idea of Spain's exotic past. In *Scramble* he recommends that one should visit the Alhambra before the fully restored Alcazar in Seville, so as not to be disappointed by the crumbling appearance of the former. Heralding its 'Arab workmanship... seen in all its purity', he warns that 'its sad state of decay' will seem all the more glaring if seen after Seville, 'which becomes a painted phantom in the mind's-eye, marring the beauty of the time-worn remains of the true Arab Palace'.[39] He seemed to have approved of the restoration work undertaken at the Alcazar (which created a 'pleasing *coup d'oeil*'), and of the wider aim to preserve the tangible relics left by the 'Moors', who he refers to as 'the last of Spain's foreign visitors'.[40] Many travellers of the day would comment on the Court of Lions with a similar brand of detached sympathy, its neglected state evoking mixed responses that romanticised the ruin while warning of its ultimate destruction. This kind of conflicted commentary is evident in an observation by Clark, visiting in 1851:

> You pass on through the Court of Lions, the Hall of the Abencerrages, &c., names familiar to you from childhood: the whole place, the realization [sic] of many a dream, appears itself scarcely less substantial - so delicate and fragile, that it seems fitted only for the charmed atmosphere of fairly-land; - the fierce storms of this earth will surely crush it to atoms; - the fierce heat crumble it to dust. Indeed, the Court of Lions has suffered from an earthquake, and it is rudely enough supported by beams and held together by cramps. May man and time deal tenderly with the remnant![41]

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[39] Clifford, *Photographic Scramble*, p. 20.
[40] Clifford, *Photographic Scramble*, p. 4.
[41] Clark, p. 112.

Given the substantial number of existing drawings, illustrations and travel descriptions inspired by the courtyard, Clifford's choice to photograph the gitanos singing and dancing within its walls hardly seems a coincidence. The space held value for tourists and travellers who yearned for a time past, or inevitably passing. Barthes suggests that there is a form of recognition evoked by the photographic image that speaks to another time or place, which derives from 'a kind of second sight which seems to bear me forward to a utopian time, or to carry me back to somewhere in myself'.[42] His own response touches on something unique to the photograph which would have set Clifford's images apart from other contemporary representations: unlike an illustration or painting, the viewer could no longer deny that the thing itself *has been there*, and through its very believability, allowed for a superimposition of reality onto the past.[43] Locating the Romany performers within the Court of Lions is more than incidental, it is a constructed moment that is *made real* through the medium of photography. In *Camera Lucida,* Barthes actually describes one of Clifford's photos of Granada (fig. 76), a scene that evokes a similar response within him as a viewer:

> An old house, a shadowy porch, tiles, a crumbling Arab decoration, a man sitting against the wall, a deserted street, a Mediterranean tree: this old photograph touches me: it is quite simply *there* that I should like to live. This desire affects me at a depth and according to roots which I do not know: warmth of the climate? Mediterranean myth? Apollinism? Defection? Withdrawal? Anonymity? Nobility? Whatever the case (with regard to myself, my motives, my fantasy), I want to live there, *en finesse* - and the tourist photograph never satisfies that *esprit de finesse*. For me, photographs of landscape (urban or country) must be *habitable*, not visible.[44]

Barthes' description picks up on the different levels of desire evoked by the photograph, and how the combination of elements (e.g. Arabic ruin, seated man, deserted street, tree), creates a yearning within him to 'live' in this place. This place, however, is a construct, with features assembled within the frame through the talbotype process in such a way that creates a

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[42] Barthes, p. 39.
[43] Barthes, p. 76.
[44] Barthes, p. 40.

certain timelessness at the same time that it asserts its tangibility, its undeniable presence. In the gitanos photographs, the physicality of the monument - its spaces and surfaces and their associated legacies - evoke and reify a sense of place and history that remain largely in this realm of desire. The image of the gitanos would be incomplete as both anthropological subjects and picturesque characters without the architectural environment of the Alhambra; its elegant columns, fine ornament, and subtle, but still visible elements of decay. In colonial representations, Scott McQuire suggests that ruins stand for the 'periphery', as they, 'translate cultural difference into temporal disjunction by virtue of the law of progress'.[45] He points out the way in which non-European races are often represented *as* relics, 'archaic survivors whose creative moment belonged to an irretrievable past'.[46] The subtle but crucial hint of disintegration in the shadow of the arcade confirms the photographs' nineteenth-century moment, while allowing the insertion of the Roma group as marginalised 'types' which hark back to an exoticised and ahistoricised past. Through this evocation of the past within a modernised present - indicated not only by the presence of decay but also through the medium of photography itself - Clifford presents the Court of Lions and its performing gypsies both in and out of time.

The making of myth: gypsies, 'Moors', and the flamenco tradition

The relationship of the Roma of Spain to the Alhambra was established over a long history of mythologising upon which Clifford's photographs were based. Charnon-Deutsch writes that in order to reveal the extent of their constructedness as imaginary Spanish gypsies, one has only to trace the Roma through the inter-determinant fields of visual, literary, musical, historical, and anthropological representations.[47] Representations would not only have a profound effect the perception and subsequent treatment of the Romany population, but would also create a paradox at the heart of modern Spanish society. Particularly in the southern regions of Spain the

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[45] Scott McQuire, *Visions of Modernity: Representation, Memory, Time and Space in the Age of the Camera* (London: Sage, 1998), p. 196.
[46] McQuire, p. 196.
[47] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 10.

gitano became emblematic of what many perceived as the passionate, raw, and unrefined nature of Andalucia and its inhabitants more generally. Because this exoticism was bound up with the Muslim al-Andalus of the medieval past, the Romany subject increasingly became both a catalyst and a receptacle for historical Otherness, which in turn worked to shape modern perceptions of Analusians. External perceptions collapse the past into the present, resulting in a constructed identity in which the exotic became a predominant and ubiquitous feature. Charnon-Deutsch explains that the Spanish negation of its Islamic past is a 'constitutive element of its historical identity', one that was then projected onto the figure of the exoticised Gypsy in the nineteenth century. She also points out that another half of what she calls Spain's 'dual relation with the narrative of Orientalism' is its own exoticisation by its Northern European counterparts since the 1700s.[48] This double movement would assign the Roma a place within a subverted past, while this same exoticism was grafted onto Spanish identity through foreign interpretation.

Eighteenth-century French explorers, for example, tended to align the Roma with the Muslims of al-Andalus, an identification which increasingly became synonymous with the larger Spanish population. The domestically unshakeable divisions between 'Moors', gitanos and Spaniards, was gradually eroded by European travel accounts and printed material, shaping what eventually became known as the Andalusian 'type'. Flamenco became emblematic of this cultural hybrid, an artform that was seen to be as 'passionate and indolent' as the Gypsies themselves, with roots in a similarly vague oriental past. Spanish society has both embraced and rejected this association at different times, claiming flamenco as its own, despite what most believe to be its Romany origin. Similarly, the multicultural heritage of al-Andalus was read into contemporary Andalucia, an association that yielded a deep fascination for European travellers throughout the nineteenth century. As aspects of Andalusi and Romany identity were absorbed into a re-imagined idea of Spain, their respective traditions and histories were distorted to 'fit' such a construction. Granada, the city wherein these cultural legacies supposedly intersected, offered an opportunity for travellers to observe the ruins, as well as living proof of these various histories and peoples within a single place. The Alhambra became central to this perceived

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[48] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 10.

hybridity; it was more than just a picturesque location in which to photograph gitanos 'types', it presented them in an exoticised setting which confirmed their imagined Andalusi origins.

One of the main conditions that aided the rewriting of Roma history is the lack of known or verifiable history on the subject. This is generally seen as a problem rooted in the Romany tendency to negate or undervalue their past. Paloma Gay y Blasco has argued that although they are often described as people 'oriented towards the present', their unique approach to the past helps to illuminate their particular mode of being in the world, a phenomenon which she takes up in her study of Jarena Gypsies.[49] What little is known of the Spanish Roma has been largely mythologised throughout the centuries, and their place as a marginalised and oppressed population has worked to further displace their cultural origin. At the time of their arrival in the early fifteenth century, the Roma were welcomed in Spain as harmless pilgrims of Egyptian origin,[50] but by 1499 the Castilian monarchy ordered their expulsion along with Jews and those Muslims refusing to convert to Christianity in the interest of creating an ethnically and religiously homogenous state. Their language, 'Caló', was forbidden, along with the right to marry amongst themselves.[51] Their transient lifestyles and limited visibility, combined with their mysterious cultural and religious habits made their expulsion more difficult, although oppressive legislation continued to varying degrees until the turn of the nineteenth century when their status seemed to improve. Their recognition for the first time as Spanish citizens by the liberal Constitution of Cádiz in 1812 marked the end of a long history of coercive legislation, but by no means put an end to their discrimination. John Hooper notes that the growing popularity of flamenco music helped to improve the status of the Roma, and many found employment in Andalucia and Estremadura as blacksmiths and horse traders, thus giving up their travelling life-

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[49] Paloma Gay y Blasco, '"We Don't Know Our Descent": How the Gitanos of Jarena Manage the Past', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 7:4 (2001), p. 631.

[50] Ian F. Hancock writes that initially the Spaniards considered the assimilation of the Roma population to replace the lost labour force of expelled Muslims and Jews. *The Pariah Syndrome: An Account of Gypsy Slavery and Persecution* (Ann Arbor: Karoma, 1987), p. 53. For more on this period see Antonio Gomez Alfaro, 'La Polemica sobre la Deportación de los Gitanos a las Colonias de América," *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 386 (1982): 308-36.

[51] By 1499, Fernando and Isabel were ordering the expulsion of 'Egyptians who go wandering about our realms', and that any found without a job or trade after sixty days would be liable to 100 lashes (Hooper, p. 237).

styles for a more sedentary place within Spanish society.[52]

The myth of origin that surrounds Romany people in Spain and other European countries is largely rooted the long since discredited belief of their migration from Egypt (the word 'Gypsy' is taken from 'Egyptian'). Okely writes that the Roma themselves may have initially accepted and reinforced this idea in order to protect their anonymity, for by appearing to conform they were able to retain a certain amount of independence.[53] It was only in the nineteenth century that a theory of their Indian origin emerged based on studies of different dialects, through which a Sanskrit base to their language was discovered.[54] Early 'first hand' studies of the Spanish Roma such as travelling bible translator George Borrow's *The Zincali: Gypsies in Spain* of 1841, and Prosper Mérimée's *Carmen* (published in 1845 and later developed in 1875 into Georges Bizet's famous opera), helped to establish their Indian origin while strengthening the autonomy and uniqueness of the Spanish Gypsy.[55] These works are thought to have been influenced by Aleksandr Pushkin's narrative poem, 'The Gypsies' originally translated from Russian in 1827, which drew on the psychological and moral interpretations of Romany life to produce a Romanticised and bleak picture of the gypsy as a 'noble savage' (a theme arguably introduced in Miguel de Cervantes' novella, *La Gitanilla* of 1613). At the same time, Spanish poet and dramatist Frederico García Lorca became increasingly involved in Spain's avant-garde, publishing poetry collections including *Canciones* (*Songs*, 1928) and *Romancero Gitano* (translated as *Gypsy Ballads*, 1928), which presented strong narratives of tragedy, passion and heroism within gitano culture.

These highly embellished and inconsistent portrayals of the Romany people of Spain transformed them into a sort of 'floating signifier' - they belonged to no fixed place while

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[52] This period is often referred to as a 'golden age' and is the subject of many flamenco songs, though in many respects the Roma continued to be an oppressed population. Hooper notes that the progressive mechanisation of the Spanish countryside brought this relative prosperity to an end, eventually making manual farm labour obsolete (p. 288).

[53] Okely explains that while many of the myths that have grown up around them are founded in little truth, it may well have suited the Gypsies 'to be fascinating' while concealing their own way of ordering their lives. As a result, she argues that many of the stereotypes of Gypsies may speak more to the nature of non-Gypsies than of the Gypsies themselves (p. 2).

[54] Okely points out that the labelling of many overseas travellers from the sixteenth century onward who called themselves or were called Egyptians is 'a matter of considerable conjecture and controversy' (p. 2).

[55] Okely, p. 7.

absorbing different typologies of Otherness to suit the changing tastes of modern European audiences. Wim Willems writes that Borrow's books, far from being scholarly in their observations, were a mix of 'philological excursions, spiritual autobiography, romantic travel journalism, [and] picaresque missionary tales'.[56] Open to a wide range of Orientalist readings, their history and characteristics were combined with those of other exoticised peoples, such as Egyptians, Berbers, and Andalusi Muslims. At the same time, their exoticism relied partly on an idea of 'pure' origin. Despite their so-called contamination by other languages and customs during centuries of migration, the Roma groups spread across the world are usually seen as singular or at least closely related societies unified by their language and tradition. As Okely has noted, the 'original culture' of the Gypsy is often traced to a 'once intact' society somewhere in India that existed many centuries ago, who shared a language, customs and a 'genetic structure hermetically sealed'. She notes that ever since departing from this mythical homeland (as a result of some mysterious event),[57] they are seen as susceptible to various forms of cultural corruption through their contact with non-Gypsies.[58] At the core of the Gypsy myth is the tension between a 'pure' beginning and a romanticised idea of their wandering lifestyle, free from the borders and restrictions of modern day society. The undocumented and peripatetic nature of their movements assists in their relocation outside of both time and space, a people believed to be expelled from their originary home and at the mercy of dominant cultures elsewhere. As Charnon-

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[56] Wim Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution* (London: Frank Cass, 1997) p. 93. *The Zincali* was not as well received as Borrow's subsequent books, *The Bible in Spain* (1843), *Lavengro* (1851), *The Romany Rye* (1857) and *Romano Lavo-Lil: World Book of the Romany* (1874). *The Zincali* was published shortly after *The Bible in Spain*, and follows his journeys in the country during which time he developed a personal interest in Roma culture. Though his account would popularise a more 'factual' portrait of gitanos, his views were largely informed by a missionary objective stated in the introduction: 'I shall here content myself with observing that from whatever country they come, whether from India or Egypt, there can be no doubt that they are human beings and have immortal souls; and it is in the humble hope of drawing the attention of the Christian philanthropist towards them, especially that degraded and unhappy portion of them, the Gitános of Spain, that the present little work has been undertaken'. George Henry Borrow, *The Zincali: An Account of the Gypsies of Spain*, 4th edn. (London: J. Murray, 1905), p. 3.

[57] Hancock offers a number of possible explanations for this exodus from India; some may have left as prisoners of war or 'captive entertainers', while they may also have been a mixed population who migrated westwards toward Iran during the tenth century and were unable to return, thus establishing their outsider status. He notes that the boundaries separating language and caste in India were less rigid than traditional studies have indicated, and that some influences may have been absorbed previous to the Roma's departure from India (p. 8).

[58] Okely notes that the incorporation of words from Persian, Slavic, Rumanian, as well as modern and Byzantine Greek languages into various Romany dialects are often falsely read by Gyptologists as a form of 'linguistic contamination' (p. 10).

Deutsch writes: 'Gypsies were always imagined in permanent exile from some other place beyond national borders, even when, in fact, their Romany groups had been residents for many generations'.[59]

Rather than belonging to dominant Spanish society or constituting their own politically sanctioned group, gitanos are historically remembered as siding with either Christians or Muslims, depending on circumstances of political or economic gain. One historical account places Gypsies at the scene of the Castilian conquest of Granada, responsible for forging the projectiles that enabled the eventual capture of the Alhambra. As a result, the 'grateful people of Granada' named these allies 'new Castilians' and invited them to perform their dances, or *zambras*, at the feast of Corpus Christi.[60] On the other hand, Borrow writes of the fickle nature of the gitanos and emphasises their willingness to exploit Christians in favour of Berber Muslims in North Africa. Offering a theory to explain their supposed theft and trade of Christian children (while trying to unpick the mythology of the 'baby-stealing Gypsy' he utterly confirms its truth), he writes: 'it was a far easier matter, and afforded a better prospect of gain, to plunder the Spaniards than the Moors, a people almost as wild as themselves, they were, on that account, and that only, more Moors than Christians, and ever willing to assist the former in their forays on the latter'.[61] Although Borrow makes important distinctions between gitanos and 'Moors' on the points of race, religion, and lifestyle, he identifies 'wildness' as a shared characteristic. He also suggests that some Bedouin tribes might have been mistaken for gypsies, further blurring the distinction between theirs and other wandering societies.[62] In fact, Borrow's Roma are at different times compared to all three demographics; he goes to great lengths to characterise gitanos through their habits and dress, likening them to the native Spaniard: 'Of whatever it might consist in

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[59] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 11.
[60] Walter Starkie claims that this initial event led to the performance of *zambras* all over Spain. 'Cervantes and the Gypsies', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 26:4 (1963), p. 338.
[61] Borrow, *The Zincali*, p. 84.
[62] Borrow writes: 'There is in Barbary more than one sect of wanderers, which, to the cursory observer, might easily appear, and perhaps have appeared, in the right of legitimate Gypsies... another sect which exists in Barbary... those of the Dar-bushi-fal, which work is equivalent to prophesying or fortune-telling.... their manner of life, in every respect, resembles that of the Gypsies of other countries; they are wanderers during the greatest part of the year, and subsist principally by pilfering and fortune-telling' [*sic*] (*The Zincali*, pp. 91-92).

former days, it is so little to be distinguished from the dress of some classes amongst the Spaniards, that it is almost impossible to describe the difference'.[63] He describes this style as part of a more general 'Andalusian fashion', and even traces their sartorial similarities to a shared bloodline:

> True it is that the original dress of the Gitános, male and female, whatever it was, may have had some share in forming the Andalusian fashion, owing to the great number of these wanderers who found their way to that province at an early period. The Andalusians are a mixed breed of various nations, Romans, Vandals, Moors; perhaps there is a slight sprinkling of Gypsy blood in their veins, and of Gypsy fashion in their garb.[64]

While Borrow supports the theory of Indian origin and discredits previous works that suggest that Roma are the descendants of Andalusi Muslims (such as J. M.'s *Historia de los Gitános* of 1832), he does little to expel other prejudices surrounding their inert thievery, indolence, and primitive behaviour, ultimately succeeding in painting Andalusians with the same brush. Nevertheless, Borrow's works were taken seriously by philologists, folklorists and ethnologists alike, while their literary flare and 'veneer of mystery' ensured their popularity with a wider British readership.[65] His belief that the culture of the 'pure Romani' was in peril drove him to learn the language and travel with a number of Romany groups, making him a first hand specialist on the subject. Borrow, like Clifford, dreamt of rescuing an endangered gitano culture by bringing knowledge of their customs and traditions to British audiences. Both succeeded in popularising their 'real life' accounts by disguising them in the new language of ethnography, while at the same time verifying the centuries of folklore that depicted the Roma alternately as

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[63] Borrow describes male gitano dress as follows: 'They generally wear a high-peaked, narrow-brimmed hat, a zamarra of sheep-skin in winter, and, during summer, a jacket of brown cloth; and beneath this they are fond of exhibiting a red plush waistcoat, something after the fashion of the English jockeys, with numerous buttons and clasps. A *faja*, or girdle of crimson silk, surrounds the waist, where, not infrequently, are stuck with the *cachas* which we have already described. Pantaloons of coarse cloth or leather descend to the knee; the legs are protected by woollen stockings, and sometimes by a species of spatterdash, either of cloth or leather; stout high-lows complete the equipment [*sic*] (*The Zincali*, p. 244).

[64] Borrow, *The Zincali*, p. 245.

[65] Willems accounts for his popularity, observing that Borrow operated at the intersection of multiple disciplines, building on the linguistic and academic achievements of the German historian Heinrich Grellmann, and the wider public initiatives of socially and religiously inspired philanthropy (p. 95).

delinquent rogues or noble savages.

As I have explored in my earlier analysis of travel accounts, the Romantic longing for 'uncivilised' locales free from the intoxication of modern industry produced a new brand of exoticism, distinct from the knowledge-seeking fascination of the Enlightenment. The perceived simplicity of 'less developed' societies became desirable, an aspect which most Europeans could not experience within their own cultures, but could at least experience vicariously. For many travellers it was the Spanish Gypsy's wild and unbridled tradition of flamenco which best embodied a sense of Romanticised freedom from modern civilisation. In its most raw form, flamenco singing is referred to as *cante jondo* or 'deep song', during which a singer drifts into a form of trance, suppressing their emotions until bursting into ecstatic and explosive song sequences. The lyrics are based loosely on a series of folk songs, passed on through oral tradition and transformed through individual performances and improvisation.[66] As represented in Clifford's photographs, the flamenco group is often comprised of singers (*cantaores*), dancers, (*bailaores*) and 'players' or guitarists (*tocaores*), whose collective performance is characterised by a gradual, organic intensification of sounds. A tradition as obscure as the Roma themselves, flamenco is believed to have originated in the provinces of Seville and Cádiz in the late eighteenth century, and although a number of styles such as the 'Moorish fandango' have been absorbed into its repertory, it has remained primarily a practice belonging to the Spanish Roma, at least by reputation.[67]

Much has been written on the history and political context of the development of flamenco and its modern manifestations, far too much to be explored in any depth here. However,

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[66] Hooper writes that the songs, or *coplas*, vary between three and six lines in length but because each word is drawn out by wails and undulations they take several minutes to sing. There are around forty different types of songs and the language used is very simple and direct. Although a small few are intended for specific occasions such as weddings, the majority are agonised laments for the death of a loved one (particularly a mother), loss of freedom, or 'the transience of life's' pleasures and the persistence of its miseries' (pp. 410-411).

[67] Hooper, pp. 410-411. The etymology of the word 'flamenco' has been falsely traced to the Arabic *felamengh*, or 'immigrant peasant', while many believe it refers to Flanders, owing to the Flemish polyphonic music performed in churches and at court during the time of the Spanish occupation of the Low Countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and parts of northern France and western Germany) in the sixteenth century, while others believe that the style was brought by gypsies originating from that part of the world. Ann Livermore, *A Short History of Spanish Music* (London: Duckworth, 1972), pp. 165-166.

it is useful to outline briefly the tradition in relation to the development of Andalusian cultural identity, and thus better understand the deeper connotations of Clifford's gitano portraits. The obscurity and conjecture which surrounds flamenco helps to illustrate the way that the gitano, the 'Moor', and the romanticised history of flamenco are all part of a thin but elaborately woven tapestry of constructed meanings, that when presented together, complete a modern sense of Andalusian identity. Charnon-Deutsch argues that one of the central reasons for the vast discrepancies between theories of the ethnic origin of flamenco is the changing Spanish position to their own identity, particularly with respect to British and French perceptions.[68] The development of a 'gypsy pedigree' in the 1920s by the Spanish classical composer Manuel de Falla (1876-1946), along with a group of Spanish intellectuals, was an attempt to 'rescue' flamenco from what they perceived as its vulgar and illegitimate origins.[69]

Another subject of an ethnographic rescue operation, the popularisation of flamenco became part of what Charnon-Deutsch calls a 'rhetoric of loss' that had reached its peak by the middle of the nineteenth century. Photographers such as Clifford also played a key role in 'capturing' the gitanos in the act of a traditional performance. There is a certain authenticity suggested by these two photographs; the dancers and singers are posed as if in mid-dance and song, and yet, they are very clearly *posed*. There is an urgency about them that seems to speak to Clifford's motivation to 'save' the performers from historical obsolescence. But the visual record doesn't work simply to prove their existence, it also *characterises* it. Though we know little about Clifford's interest in or views on the Roma of Granada, it is evident from his very few examples of 'types' that they were consciously chosen as part of a larger documentation of Granada and its culture. The inclusion of such images within royal albums confirmed an idea of Otherness that had already become fundamental to European perceptions of Spain. The presentation of a mixture of influences was essential to this construct, an essentialised portrait of intercultural exchange which would later manifest itself within the conflicted historical concept

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[68] Lou Charnon-Deutsch, 'Travels of the Imaginary Spanish Gypsy', in *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain: Theoretical Debates and Cultural Practice*, ed. Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 31.

[69] This movement culminated in the 'Concurso (contest) de Cante Jondo' in Granada in 1922.

of *convivencia*. The Alhambra was a monument formerly inhabited by 'Moors' and later by gitanos, two Romantic themes that were recounted within the stories and illustrations of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. To the monarchy it remained a trophy of the *Reconquista*, while it grew in the European imagination as a symbol of a historical 'Golden Age' of cohabitating Muslims, Jews and Christians. The increasing flow of tourists to Spain meant that these conflicting meanings became intermingled, but even while the government catered to the foreign taste for the exotic, it was also determined to uphold a modern image of Spain that was on a par with that of Western Europe. Given its centrality within the Romantic legacy of the Alhambra (and its legacy of technical achievement celebrated by Jones at the Crystal Palace), the Court of Lions could not simply have been chosen by the royal photographer as an arbitrary backdrop for Clifford's photos. Through his selection and placement of figures within the restored courtyard, he was able to 'rescue' the histories of both the Spanish Gypsy and the Alhambra within a modern, but nonetheless Romanticised image. Operating simultaneously as a pseudo-ethnographer and a Romantic traveller, he succeeded in both inventing and legitimising cultural meaning through his gitanos photographs.

Collapsing space and time in the (ethnographic) photograph

The two photographs discussed here cannot be officially defined as 'ethnographic', as Clifford was a commercial photographer by trade and did not profess any ethnographic or anthropological intentions. They do, however, exhibit a number of stylistic features that strongly align them with the ethnographic tradition, of which most photographers at the time certainly would have been aware. From this perspective, the depiction of a group of unnamed gitanos in traditional dress with their instruments, is designed to give an impression of authenticity. At the same time Clifford's interest in the preservation of historical subjects presents interesting parallels with the 'salvage ethnography' of the same era, generally defined as the documentation of traditional culture under threat of extinction or irreversible change.[70] As Edwards has argued,

[70] Edwards, 'Introduction', p. 10.

the 'realist' or 'documentary' aspects of this practice grow from a nostalgic position to the passing of cultures, exhibiting a kind of 'aestheticized nobility' in the presentation of subjects.[71] She argues that in the process of representing a culture in its entirety, specific aspects and details are brought in to stand in for general truths lying outside the dynamics of the image itself.[72] Objects are often added or subtracted so that an image better captures the 'true essence' of the people represented therein. The illusion of authenticity is normalised through an emphasis on 'real' qualities such as the detail of clothing, gestures, hair, and instruments, that Barthes identifies as elements which make the 'studium' or average effect of the photograph.[73] Evoking a universalised and familiar 'tradition' of exotic style and dress, the objects held by the Roma attest to their status as skilled performers - another 'fact' offered by the photographs.

As these elements are captured contemporaneously, they are also brought into the nineteenth-century present. The use of new photographic technology transports these historical 'relics' into modern day Spain, for in the moment that they are photographed, that experience also becomes part of their history, a sign of what Edwards calls 'their changing existence in a broadening world'.[74] The Spanish gitano was by this time recognised as a regional type within both the written descriptions and illustrations of travellers, a construct that was then validated through the inclusion of the photographs within the royal chronicle. The use of the Alhambra as the location of Clifford's social portraits would have a formative influence on the restructuring of Spanish identity with respect to its historical and contemporary 'otherness' - both the medieval Islamic influence, and the lingering presence of the Roma. The synthesis captured within these photographs was nonetheless included within the royal chronicle, reflecting the monarchy's increasing willingness to bury their internal tensions in the interests of presenting a more 'fascinating' and exoticised view of Spain to the rest of Europe. In this sense, Clifford's gitanos

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[71] Edwards, 'Introduction', p. 10.
[72] Edwards, 'Introduction', p. 10.
[73] Barthes defines the 'studium' not as a 'study' of a thing *per se*, but a 'general, enthusiastic commitment, without special acuity'. The studium allows the viewer to participate in the cultural connotation of a photograph through the figures, faces, gestures, settings, and actions of a particular image. The 'punctum', on the other hand, is the accidental element that disturbs the 'studium' with its poignancy, what Barthes calls 'the sting, speck, cut, little hole, and also a cast of the dice' (pp. 26-27).
[74] Edwards, 'Introduction', p. 12.

'made real' a European stage play of Otherness that had its roots in the preceding century, for which the Roma was cast in the leading role, and the Alhambra chosen as an elaborate stage set. This merger would in turn work to place the monument firmly within the history of Spain, rescuing it from centuries of neglect and re-introducing its architecture and ornament within the context of a newly configured Anadalucian identity.

As in the picturesque gaze, tensions and anachronisms are negotiated within the photograph so that an encounter with Otherness is managed and controlled. Less familiar aspects of Romany culture are in this way overpowered by the carefully orchestrated scene, so that they are instantly recognisable as flamenco performers dressed in a style comparable (if not identical) to that of the Spanish locals. A certain level of apprehension is crucial to the ethnographic photograph, as it must both introduce and normalise Otherness in order to 'make sense' of difference. Anthropologist and theorist James Clifford describes what he calls 'ethnography's narrative of specific differences' as what one 'sees' in a coherent ethnographic account: an imaged construct of the Other connected in a 'continuous double structure with what one understands'. He writes that strange behavior is portrayed as meaningful within a common network of symbols, so that 'a common ground of understandable activity' is established for both observer and observed, which always refers to an abstract plane of similarity.[75] This mechanism is particularly evident in the Clifford's photographs. The Alhambra is not the *actual* home or origin of these subjects, but it had been a favourite setting for the playing out of Orientalist fantasy since the preceding century. A recognisable location of friendly difference, one that visitors themselves felt comfortable enough to dress up and pose within, the Court of Lions had already been established as an accessible and non-threatening place to invent and interpret the nature of difference. By placing the Roma in such a space, Clifford shows us not a re-enactment as such, but a negotiation of Otherness on familiarised ground. This, in turn, facilitated the synthesis of elements to give a general cultural impression of Andalusian culture.

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[75] James Clifford, 'On Ethnographic Allegory', in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, eds. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1986), p. 101.

Symbolising a departure from the non-technological representations which preceded it, the photograph confirmed that people and objects had undeniably existed in a particularly place at the same time, thus facilitating what Barthes called the superimposition of reality and of the past.[76] In the gitanos photographs, Clifford used modern technology to capture a romantic fusion of 'salvage people and salvage objects', at once reifying and authenticating a perceived cultural essence.[77] Jennifer Green-Lewis has pointed out that in a similar manner as realism, 'romance' represented the world in a way that seemed realistic to nineteenth-century audiences, 'expressive of a larger culture of realism which fostered and encouraged certain viewpoints or ways of seeing'.[78] Clifford's photographs perfectly demonstrate the interrelated visual cultures of romance and realism of the Victorian era, their ethnographic elements making them stand out as 'fact' from more subjective modes of representation. It is their realism that ultimately justifies and legitimises exoticised perceptions, and subsequently obscures the histories and origins of Spain's marginalised subjects. In collapsing one marginalised history into another, the specificity of both are lost. The same is true for the reading of ornament within Clifford's representations. While Jones' conventionalised prints stripped the Alhambra's surfaces of meaning, Clifford's photographs recontexualised the art of the Nasrids within a reconfigured and utterly fictionalised historical narrative.

These two photographs captured the popular imagination, as can be gleaned from the number of subsequent images which depict gitanos within the Alhambra, or staged Alambresque settings. For every photograph of a tourist dressed in 'Moorish' attire, there is a Romany 'type' in a similar style and pose, using similar staging and framing techniques which borrowed from ethnography and romanticism in equal measure. In my exploration of travel texts I have stumbled across a peculiar echo of Clifford's gitanos photographs in the form of a sketch. An illustration titled 'Gipsies at Granada' that appears in Henry Blackburn's *Travelling in Spain in the Present Day* from 1866 has almost unmistakably been copied from 'Gypsy Women Singing'

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[76] Barthes, p. 76.
[77] Edwards, *Raw Histories*, p. 164.
[78] Jennifer Green-Lewis, *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 25.

(fig. 77). It shows a cropped vertical section of the second photograph depicting the gypsy man seated next to the young woman standing and playing guitar, their poses and attire nearly identical to those in Clifford's photograph. The woman leans against the same slender column and the two figures are composed in front of the same wall, its upper half ornamented. Across them falls the same shadow of the Court of Lions arcade and supporting horizontal beam. Rather incredibly, in the text Blackburn claims that the figures are drawn directly from models and that the sketch was specifically commissioned for his guidebook.[79] Moreover, he describes the gitanos as being exactly like the ones he witnessed in bolero and fandango recitals in Granada, once again collapsing romanticism into real life experience. By the 1860s visual documentation of gypsy performances predominated, as British readers were thought to prefer a 'faithful artistic rendering' over lengthy written accounts.[80] Blackburn's copying of an existing photograph as a supplement to a real life study seems a bold gesture, and reveals the level of authenticity attributed to the medium. The fact that he felt at liberty to 'draw from life' the figures depicted in a photograph speaks to a belief in the equivalence of the two, as if the subjects of a photograph and those experienced in reality were interchangeable.

Blackburn's example illustrates the extent to which the photograph became integral to the believability of representations, marking a crucial shift in image reception in the nineteenth century. As Jonathan Crary has famously argued, it was also around this time that the subjective viewer became empowered as an active producer of meaning. He suggests that 'rather than stressing the separation between art and science in the nineteenth century, it is important to see how they were both part of a single interlocking field of knowledge and practice'.[81] Crary singles out the 'photography effect' as a new mode and medium for viewing, distinct from the history of painting and drawing:

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[79] The preface to the guide states: 'The Illustrations have all been taken on the spot, but we are especially indebted to Mr. John Phillip, Mre. Lundren, and Mr. Walter Severn, for their studies from life; and also to Mr. Cooper for the care with which he has engraved all our drawings'. Henry Blackburn, *Travelling in Spain in the Present Day* (London: Sampson Low, Son & Marston, 1866), p. vii.
[80] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 106.
[81] Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 1992), p. 9.

> The photograph becomes a central element not only in a new commodity economy but in the reshaping of an entire territory on which signs and images, each effectively severed from a referent, circulate and proliferate. Photographs may have some apparent similarities with older types of images, such as perspectival painting or drawings made with the aid of camera obscura; but the vast systemic rupture of which photography is a part renders such similarities insignificant. Photography is an element of a new and homogeneous terrain of consumption and circulation in which an observer becomes lodged. To understand the 'photography effect' in the nineteenth century, one must see it as a crucial component of a new cultural economy of value and exchange, not as part of a continuous history of visual representation.[82]

This revolution of technological seeing empowered western European travellers in a way that was previously unimaginable, the camera acting as an imperial eye that could be used to both understand and possess unfamiliar places and peoples. As McQuire states, photography became a 'lynchpin in the trade in foreignness' that fuelled new discourses of the Other, 'shaping its apparent shapelessness and instilling form where it was felt to be lacking'.[83] Spain, already viewed as an outsider by more powerful and modernised European countries, became a popular and easily accessible location from which to practice this new mode of representation. These in turn helped to shape a homogenised image of its own marginalised groups, both past and present. Increasingly the image of the 'Moor' and the gitano became emblematic of Andalucia, if not the Spanish nation as a whole, which would have profound repercussions on Spanish identity and also change the way that Roma were understood and treated by society. As Charnon-Deutsch explains: 'If the Spanish gypsy was collectively imagined as passionate, mysterious, physically attractive, bizarre, primitive, tragic, musical, demoniacal, anarchic, lazy, deadly, a symbol for freedom and poetic liberty... Romany groups were bound to be patronized or infantalized, or, when they did not match the ideal, misunderstood, despised, and neglected'.[84] Interestingly, it is a very similar set of descriptive phrases that are used to describe Adalusi Muslims and their fortress-city at Granada, and, within certain contexts, even modern 'native'

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[82] Crary, p.13.
[83] McQuire, p. 193.
[84] Charnon-Deutsch, 'Travels of the Imaginary Spanish Gypsy', p. 32.

Spaniards.

The very fact that these imaginings have endured into the present day suggests a need to revisit their historical currency. Clifford's images are an important affirmation of the Andalusian 'type', which had been constructed through the literary tradition, travel accounts, and the pseudo-ethnographic studies of Borrow and others. The illusion of realness provided by the photograph allowed for the repositioning of 'transient' subjects against the background of a similarly unfixed historic monument. As the history of the Roma is re-imagined and reworked to suit changing historical and Orientalist narratives, so too is the history of the Alhambra and its Romantic associations. The dominant narrative that sees both Roma and Andalusi Muslims as 'invaders' of the Iberian peninsula further blurs the boundaries of these separate histories. Arriving only decades after the conquest of Granada, the Roma shared the experience of segregation and expulsion alongside remaining subsets of al-Andalus. The double signifier of Otherness found within Clifford's photographs reveals itself in the ruin and the way that distinct cultural identities can be transformed and even amalgamated through a signifying process, burying even deeper their obscured or unwritten histories. For this reason it is crucial to recognise that although the presence of Romany performers in the Court of Lions in 1862 is 'certified' by the presence of the photographs, the same images render absent the multiple narratives and marginalised identities lying outside the moment and place they were taken.

In this final chapter I have argued that the Alhambra is central to an understanding of Otherness in relation to Roma and Spanish identity in the second half of the nineteenth century, and that this pairing of people and place is affirmed through a sense of 'realness' that Clifford created through his photographic staging. By examining these layers of identity and cultural meaning separately and with respect to their distinct histories, the nature of each coupling becomes clearer. That is, the organisation of difference through the posing and framing of gitanos within the Alhambra serves as evidence of the highly complex process of identity formation in Europe at the time of Clifford's career, resulting in his 'making real' of existing interpretations and romanticised readings. I have also argued that the Court of Lions, with its own controversial origins and history of alteration and invasive restoration, is an essential part of

such mythologised representations. As the final chapter in my study of perceptual readings of the monument, the history of the Spanish Roma provides another aspect of the elaborate network of associations that make up an idea of Granada and its Nasrid monument. An examination of its transformation throughout the Victorian period, both materially and ideologically, helps to uncover the armature beneath the representational devices that came to characterise the Alhambra for generations of audiences to come. In Clifford's photographs it is possible to see a technological variation on a theme that would collectively come to characterise modern Andalucia. Here these images, as the descriptions and material translations that preceded them, are shown as integral to the re-staging of the history of the Iberian peninsula, and the reshaping of Spain's cultural heritage into an image of hybridity that holds considerable weight, even today.

Conclusion

Alas for Spain! rich, indeed, in ruins and recollections![1]

The preceding chapters have provided a view of the Alhambra along particular points of transition, that when viewed together convey a sense of material and perceptual transformation. The vast historiographic scope of this project, 'from medieval to modern', has proved daunting at times, and context has been necessarily thinned in parts to accommodate the wider methodological aims. However, the freedom to view each study separately (synchronically) as well as transhistorically (diachronically) across cultural and art historical borders, has allowed me to challenge the categories and definitions that accompany such traditional boundaries. In this way, the Alhambra has acted as a sort of fulcrum upon which to balance disparate historical concepts and contexts, and as a platform from which to discuss historical phenomena and test theoretical models. A monument born of these very processes, I have here attempted to extend the practice into the dual realms of the theoretical and the material, and have presented a portrait that is fur-

[1] Ford, p. 372.

ther fractured and disjointed as a result. For, as I have argued throughout the preceding chapters, it is the inconsistency and historical dissonance of the Alhambra that has made it the object of fascination and intervention over the centuries, and that has inspired the recent raft of scholarship dedicated to unpicking the dominant narratives that have impeded a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the art of medieval Iberia. In a similar vein, this study of the Alhambra has directed close attention to some of the 'rough edges' of its materiality alongside its history of perception, in order to further complicate these narratives and to highlight the symbiotic relationship between interpretation and form.

While a number of art historical studies have explored the monument from a range of disciplinary perspectives, few consider multiple periods dialectically or transhistorically. While the work of Raquejo and Rosser-Owen stand out as notable exceptions, there remains a gap in the scholarship in terms of how the monument was continually reconceptualised throughout the medieval and modern periods in their broadest sense; through material transformations, visual representations, descriptive texts and, in Jones' case, a full scale reproduction. For this reason I have attempted rather ambitiously to bring together a wealth of sources across both medieval and nineteenth-century studies of the Alhambra in order to better understand the symbiotic relationship between its material and ideological transformations over time. Moreover, the multimedia nature of my approach highlights the necessity to revisit the Alhambra's many layers, real and imagined, without the fetters of decorative and fine art categories that lead to an uncritical separating out of forms and texts. In this sense, this thesis offers a way into the monument through misperceptions, contradictions and discontinuities, rather than attempting to offer a linear overview of its complex and largely incomplete history. I have here traced a number of tangental paths that follows the cracks and uneven surfaces, and occasionally intersect to reveal underlying networks of meanings and associations. In doing this I have attempted to lay bare the inadequacy of any singular art historical approach to understanding the art of the Alhambra, and other hybrid, cumulative monuments like it. Not only does the discipline require a broader remit than simply the visual to deal with the spatial and conceptual aspects of Islamic art and architecture, but it must also expand its methodological scope to include the translations and

transformations that make up the material histories of such objects. In focusing on the difficult transitions that characterise monuments such as the Alhambra is possible to break down the Western-centric, periodised models that ignore artforms and cultures that fall outside or between its borders.

Chapters one and two have focused on examples of material intervention on either side of the Christian conquest, the nature of which reveals the manipulation of existing styles to develop new, politicised identities. During the Nasrid period, this meant the active and meaningful use of the past through the selection, reinterpretation and arrangement of motifs from preceding periods of rule in the region. I examined the preservation of ornamental panels through the resurfacing of the Generalife *mirador* and proposed a number of ways this might be viewed as an act of preservation, or, at the very least, as evidence of a cumulative building process that had characterised the monument more generally. In the context of sixteenth-century Granada, the building up of its surfaces took on a different, but interrelated set of meanings, as its conquered populations were increasingly at risk of losing their own identities as the kingdom of Castile was absorbed within a larger European empire. The ceramic interventions of the Mexuar speak to the tensions of the hybrid identities of this post-conquest period, and unsettle the simplistic notion of a 'multicultural Alhambra'. Across these two examples of ornamental layering and insertion it becomes clear that the walls of the monument were not only used as a way of displaying these multiple voices, but also as a way of working through identity formations and the politics of exchange and influence.

Exploring the social and historical forces that have shaped the monument and subsequent perceptions of it, has also worked to reveal the underlying systems of value and meaning that inform such processes of seeing, or 're-envisioning' over time. During the medieval and early modern period this meant the reworking of the past in the interests of maintaining power and political control in the present. For representations in the nineteenth century, the past was reconfigured to fit a number of modernising and Romanticising agendas that were often in competition with one another, and that saw the past very differently. For picturesque travellers, the Alhambra was described in a number of ways that alternately saw it as a Gothic ruin or a

portal into an Orientalised past, two historical constructions that were at odds with each other and that in some cases led to the contortion of the form of the monument within descriptions and representations. The testimony of visitors reveal the richness of perceptual frameworks that repositioned and characterised its architecture for popular audiences, who in turn were surprised or disappointed by the material reality they encountered in Granada. A strong moralising dimension was added to these layers of Romantic interpretation through the debates of Owen Jones and John Ruskin, assigning cultural 'traits' to formal properties. The translation of the Alhambra's ornament through the medium of print, and through the synthesis of its motifs in Jones' Alhambra Court, would make Nasrid art the subject of criticism during the period of mid-century World Exhibitions. I have argued that the association of the 'Moresque' style with a homogenised and derivative tradition resulted in the emptying out of its meaning during this time, both in terms of its medieval and early modern contexts, and the historical significance of its changing spaces over time. This process allowed new meaning to be read into its architectural and ornamental forms. Charles Clifford's documentation of its spaces as a background for the photographing of Roma 'types' serves as a testament to this paradigm shift, which further justified a reading of its forms as purely decorative and belonging to an ahistoricised, Oriental past. Incredibly, this allowed representations of the monument to come full circle, so that its medieval past became synonymous with Spain's modern present during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The result of British nineteenth-century representations was that the Alhambra underwent another kind of transformation: its architectural surfaces were re-imagined according to a series of perspectives and visualising techniques that alternated between the naturalistic ideology of the Romantics and the modernising principles driven by new technologies of the industrial age. Seeing the monument through this double-vision shows the way its forms were stripped of their original meaning and reattributed associations with both historical fantasy and technical utility. It was the coming together of these two worlds that characterised Clifford's gitanos photographs, as a staged moment within the Court of Lions 'captured' and made real by modern technology. Thus, the mythology surrounding the monument was validated through the

photograph, helping to consolidate over a century of Romanticised readings of Spain's Oriental palace. The three chapters that focus on this later period of re-envisioning demonstrate the importance of medium to meaning (or message), and the way that the changing practices and technologies of vision determined how the monument was perceived in Europe and beyond. At the same time, this vision was inextricably bound up with ideas of Spanishness and helped to further marginalise the nation and its 'stepchild of history', the Alhambra, within an emerging map of modern Europe.[2] This, as I have argued, has shaped perceptions of Spain and its Alhambra into the present day, and it has been a central aim of this thesis to explore the origins of such myth-making as a part of its history. It is imperative within a study of representation to acknowledge the authority granted to medium, and the transformative power that such processes have on our changing understanding of the material world.

Another recurring theme within the thesis is the use of the past; in each case study a view of the past was used to construct an idea of the present, or, conversely, the conditions of the present were used as tools for rewriting the past. During my initial study of the Nasrid panels I challenged the concept of nostalgia as a way of reading the art and architecture of the period, and called for a more critical engagement with the processes and social conditions that informed their production. In the columns of the Mexuar, the harnessing of classical forms in the development of a new imperial heraldic symbolism was filtered through the humanist perspective of the Mendoza family and within the tense political climate of frontier Granada. Moreover, the existing quadrant of columns in the space speaks to a longstanding practice of borrowing and developing forms of the past, including those of classical Greece and Rome. The difficulty in understanding these different stylistic legacies in relation to one another reveals itself in my second chapter, within the jumbled configuration of meaning that points to multiple interpretations of antiquity. In the Romantic era, the Alhambra became central to a vision of the past that might more accurately be described as nostalgic. Travellers, artists and writers yearned for a return to an 'Other' past that had been irretrievably lost, though this was a past that had

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[2] Dodds writes that the Alhambra became 'a stepchild of history, receiving unsteady attention from both the Islamic world and the European land it had once inhabited'. *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, p. xix.

never actually existed except in the minds of Western Europeans. Again, I see Clifford's photographs (emphasised by Barthes' desire to 'live' within them), as a way to 'returning' to a material reality that was always, already an imaginative construction. Whether a manifestation of the past, or a receptacle for readings of Otherness, the monument operated as a moving signifier of history itself while its very materiality acted as proof that *it had been there*.

The recurring sense of historicity that emerges in each of these chapters has prompted me to continue my critique of the term nostalgia as it applies, or doesn't apply, to an individual or cultural engagement with the past. While the term takes on a very specific meaning in the nineteenth century (describing a longing to return to an imagined past that cannot be recovered), I have found it an insufficient and anachronistic descriptor for Nasrid art and architecture, if not the Islamic tradition more generally. This is because the melancholic yearning that emerged as a stylistic flourish of the Romantic era does not translate directly into a medieval context, nor across cultures that had very different world views and corresponding art and architectural traditions. To quote from a science fiction tale of the twentieth century whose protagonist says of Westminster Abby after the end of the world as he knew it: 'In years to come I expect some will go to look at the old Abbey with romantic melancholy. But romance of that kind is an alloy of tragedy with retrospect. I was too close'.[3] In a similar way I see Nasrid culture as being 'too close' to its recent past to embrace the melancholic tragedy of fallen emirates and caliphates, and that the 'use of the past' was instead, for them, a politically engaged practice very much rooted in the present. It has therefore become essential throughout the thesis to try to identify and distinguish between different 'uses of the past', what Stephen Bann has called the 'historical mindedness', or the heightened ability of a culture to see and reinvent itself in relation to the past eras. For Bann this phenomenon is particularly evident in nineteenth century France and Britain, but I would argue that it was equally present at much earlier points in time, and across a far wider geographic scope.[4] I have proposed the 'past-looking present' as one way to describe

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[3] John Wyndham, *The Day of the Triffids* (London: Penguin, 1951), p. 152.
[4] Stephen Bann first developed his theory of 'historical-mindedness' in *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

this art of the Nasrids, as it addresses the way in which the past is viewed, consumed and reconfigured to suit the needs of a culture that saw itself as having a distinct and significant place within the annals of history.

Finally, an important historiographic problem has emerged within each of these individual studies and has helped to characterise the project as a whole: that of intentionality as it pertains to an understanding of artistic form. While it is not always possible for us, as historians, to gain access to the intentions of artists, writers and thinkers of the past, it is nonetheless crucial that we continue to push the boundaries of interpretation. While this approach may not always produce concrete results, it works to question the parameters of historical inquiry more generally and the way that it shapes an understanding of certain pasts in relation to others. A large percentage of material studies of the Alhambra are concerned with revealing the 'truth' behind its original construction and the intentions of its creators, and while this is a perfectly acceptable line of archeological and archival inquiry, an overemphasis on scientific proof ignores the value of hypothesising as a means to its own end. While some of my observations lie, admittedly, fully in the realm of speculation, I maintain that there is fundamental importance in asking questions and proposing possible solutions as a way of opening up different views of the past and of loosening the shackles of our own, unavoidable frameworks for seeing and understanding the world. Furthermore, the more questions we ask the better we can build an awareness of these frameworks and how they intersect or obstruct readings of other art forms and their histories. It is has been my aim here to create several pockets of inquiry that do not rely solely on the existence of archival or archeological evidence, but that probe the intersecting realms of the physical world and cultural imagination as a basis for understanding multiple, co-existing art histories. From this shifting perspective the Alhambra belongs not to 'us' but to the many instances of the past which have contributed to its current form, of which 'ours' is only one in a long history of envisioning.

Illustrations

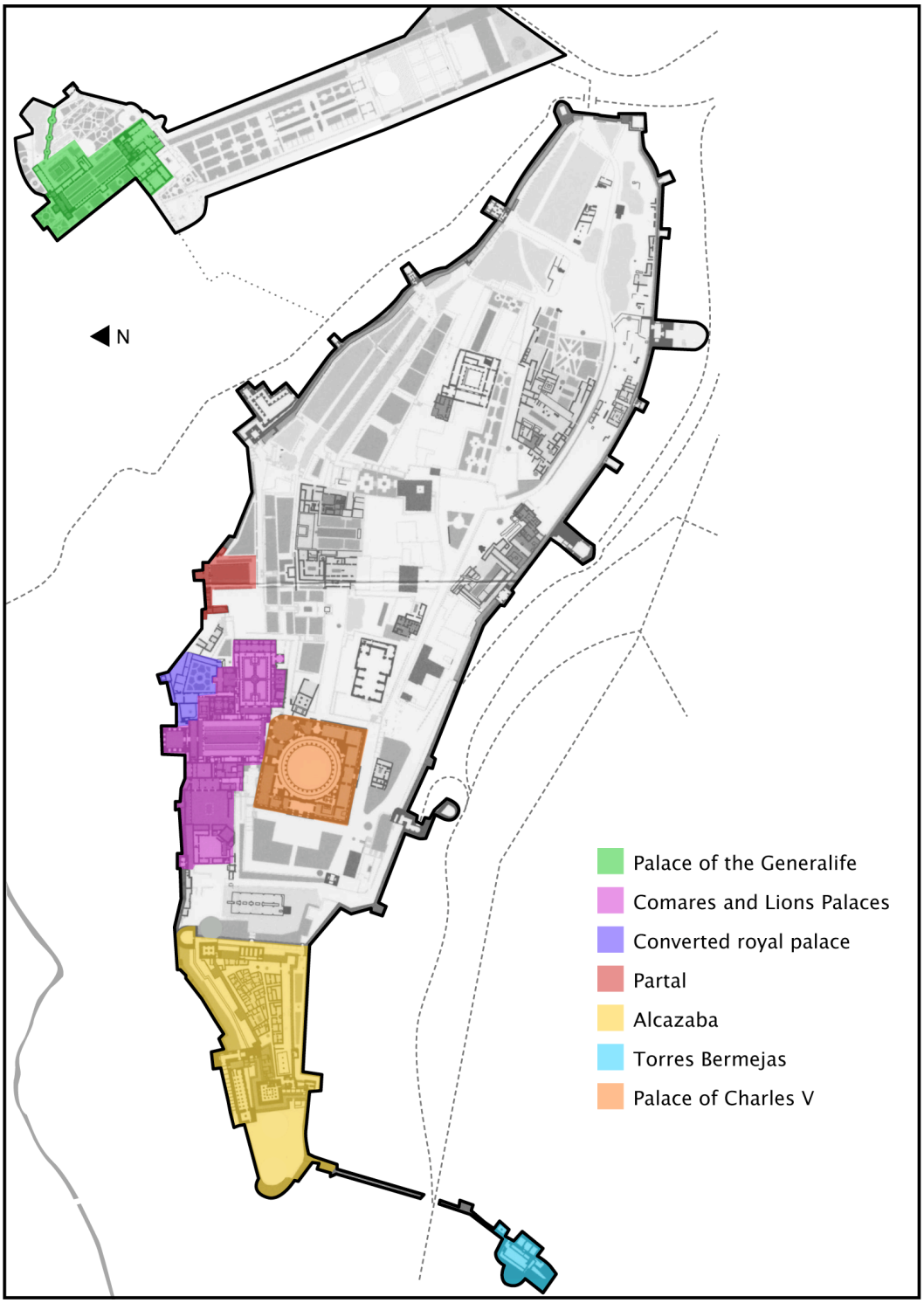


Fig. 1. Alhambra and Generalife site map with relevant areas highlighted.

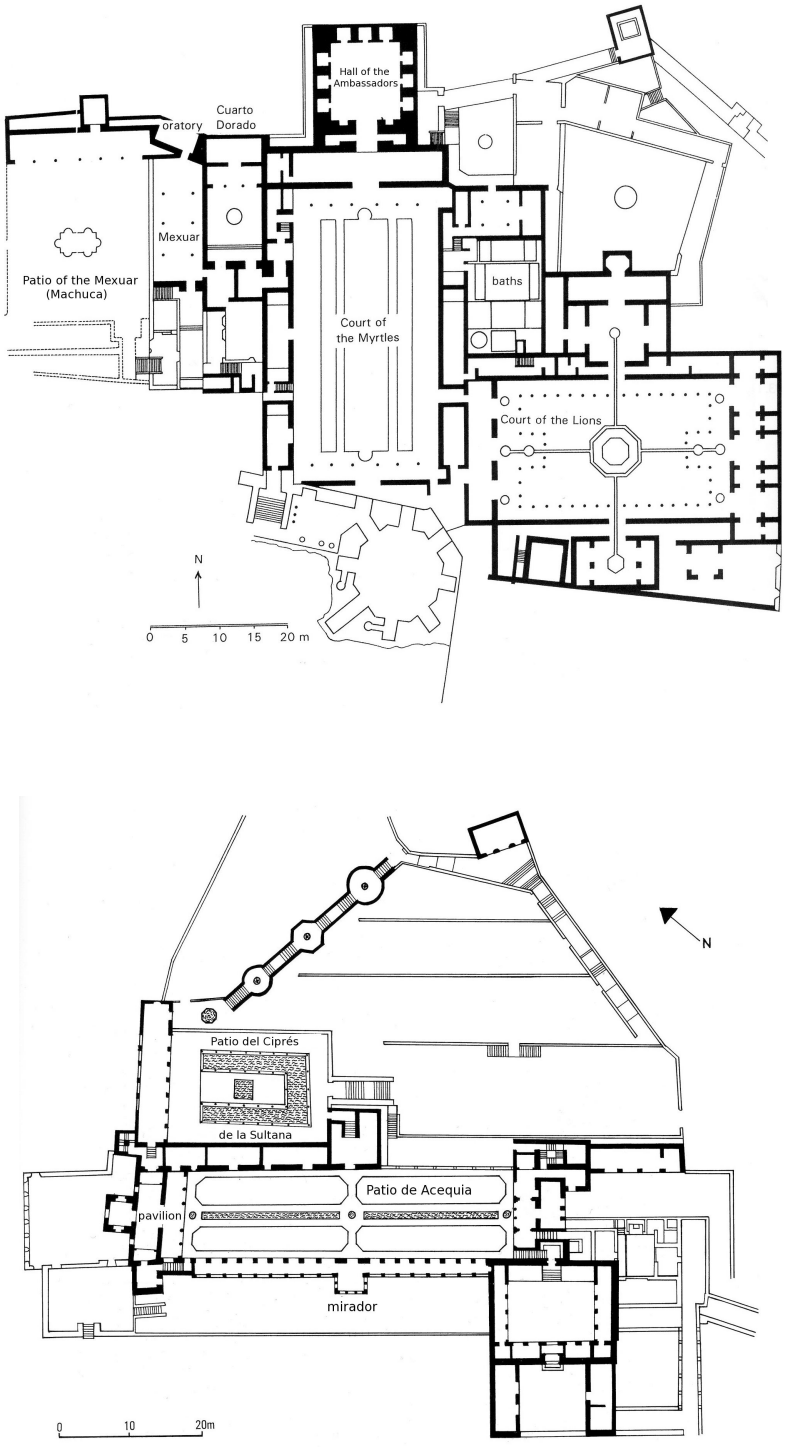


Fig. 2. Detail of main Nasrid complex (Comares and Lions palaces) (top), and Generalife palace (bottom).

Fig. 3. Carved plaster and ceramic patterned surfaces in the north-west corner of the Hall of the Ambassadors, Comares Palace.

Fig. 4. Julio López Hernández, *The Washington Irving Monument*, 2009 (commissioned by the Alhambra Council for the 150th anniversary of the author's death).

Fig. 5. Fragments of panels in the Generalife Palace *mirador*: (left) dating from the reign of Ismāʿīl I; (right) dating from the reign of Muhammad III.

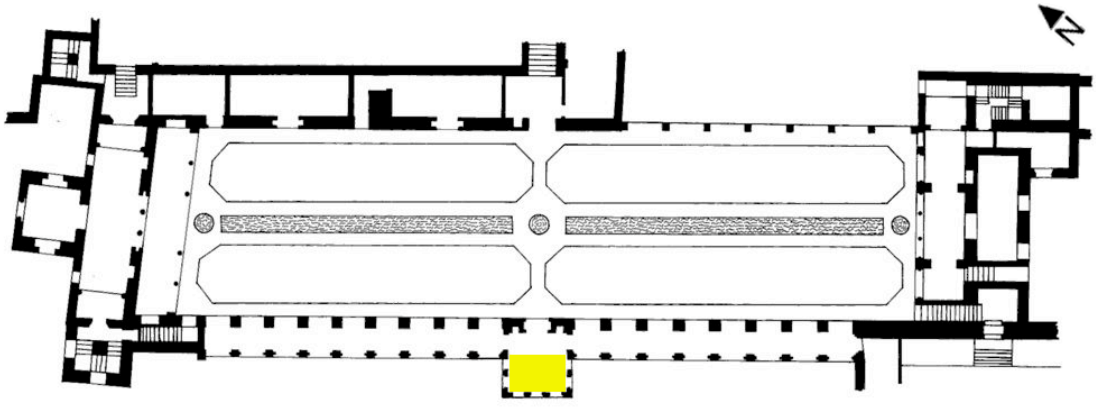


Fig. 6. Plan of the Court of the *Acequía* or Main Canal, with *mirador* highlighted.

Fig. 7. Court of the Canal looking north-west, with belvedere terrace and entrance to *mirador*, left.

Fig. 8. View from the Generalife Palace *mirador* toward the main Nasrid complex.

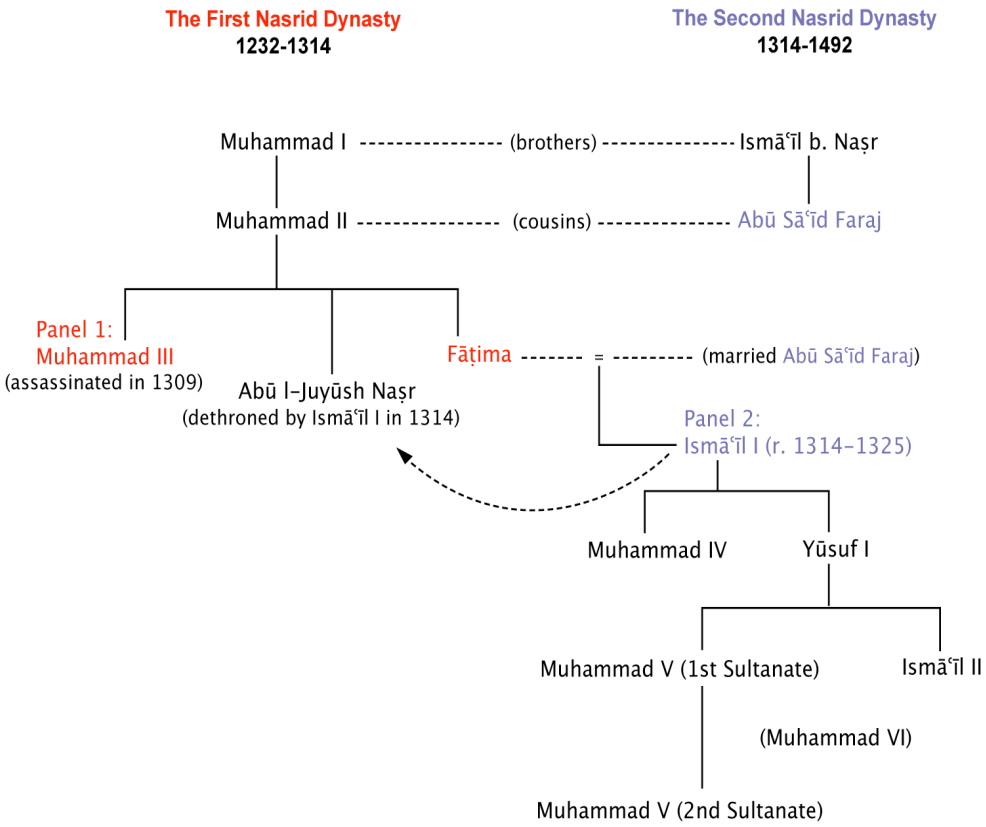


Fig. 9. Nasrid genealogical chart, first and second dynasty bloodlines highlighted.

Fig. 10. (left) Detail of panel dating to the reign of Muhammad III, Generalife Palace *mirador*.

Fig. 11. (right) Detail of panel dating to the reign of Ismāʿīl I, Generalife Palace *mirador*.

Fig. 12. Detail of motif attributed to the reign of Muhammad III, Generalife Palace *mirador*.

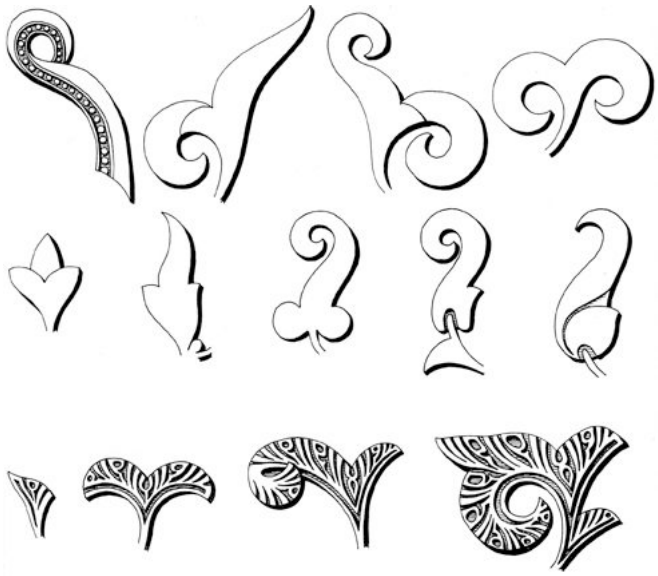


Fig. 13. Examples of plain *ataurique* (upper left beaded and lower row ribbed), exhibiting S-shape or serpentiform shapes.

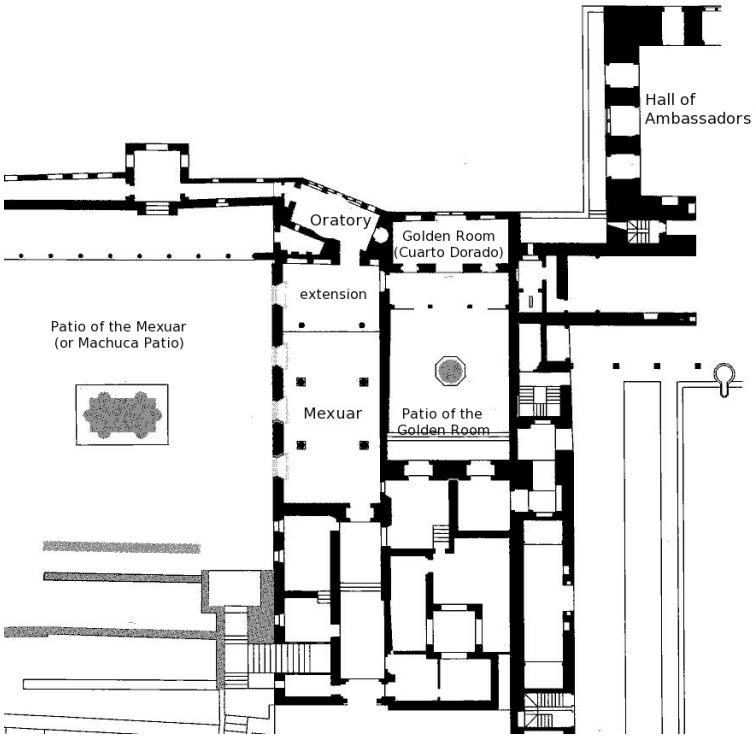


Fig. 14. Floor plan of the Mexuar Hall and adjacent spaces.

Fig. 15. Contemporary photograph of the Mexuar after the excavation of the sixteenth-century floor, removal of the altar and relocation of the left Plus Ultra mural.

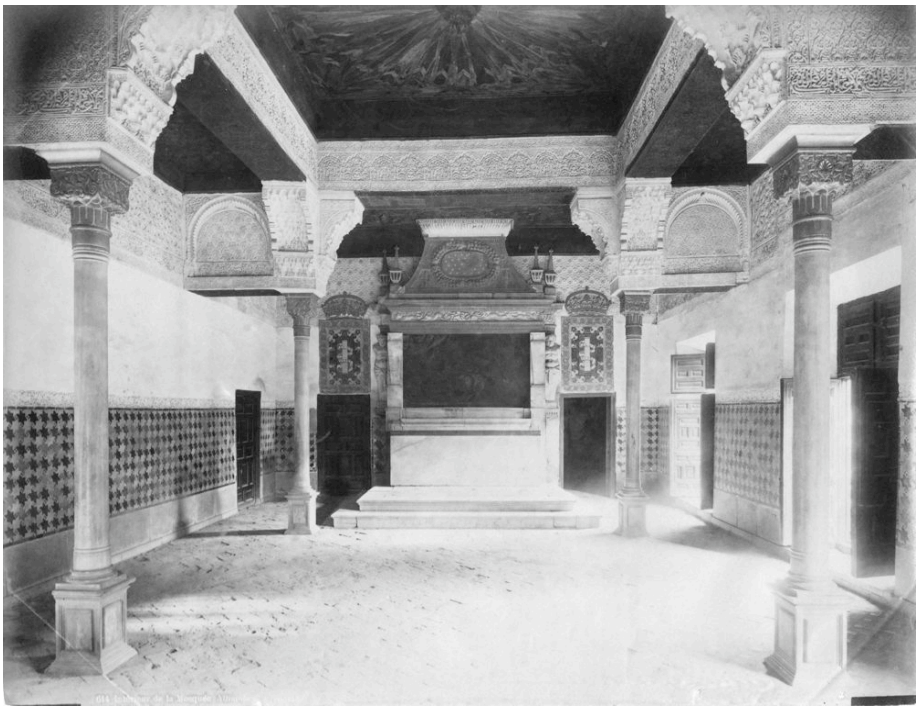


Fig. 16. View of the Mexuar from the early twentieth century, before floor excavation and removal of altar.

Fig. 17: Tiled mural dating from the reign of Charles V (relocated to the eastern wall of the Mexuar), showing Doric column, Plus Ultra banderole and carved gypsum crown.

Fig. 18. Nasrid capital integrating abstracted elements of volutes and acanthus decoration from Ionic and Corinthian orders, Mexuar.

Fig. 19. (left) Nasrid shield *lazo* tile, north wall dado, Mexuar.

Fig. 20. (middle) Plus Ultra *lazo* tile, north wall dado, Mexuar.

Fig. 21. (right) Habsburg double-headed eagle *lazo* tile, north wall dado, Mexuar.

Fig. 22. (left) South *portada*, 'the empress' entrance', with ascending Ionic and Corinthian orders.

Fig. 23. (right) West *portada*, the 'emperor's entrance', with ascending Doric and Ionic orders.

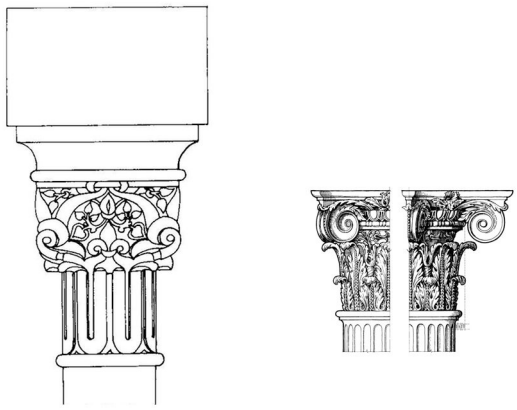


Fig. 24. Illustrations of Nasrid capital (left) and Composite order (right).

Fig. 25. (left) Umayyad Capital from Córdoba (c. 964-965), with identifiable volutes and acanthus leaves from the classical orders.

Fig. 26. (right) *Taifa* period capital, mid-eleventh century with elongated acanthus leaves and further abstraction of upper section.

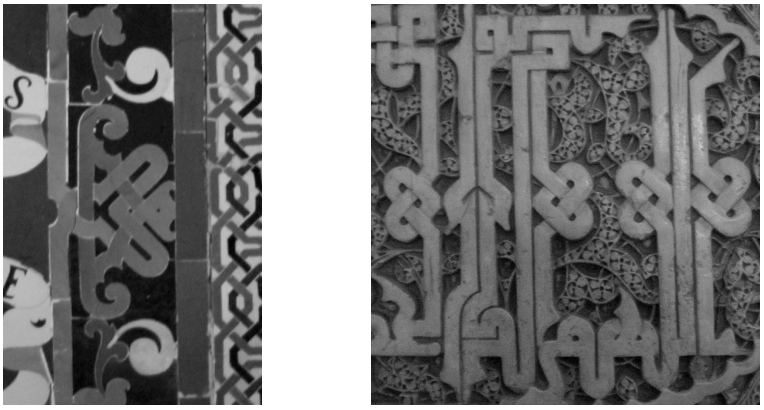


Fig. 27. (left) Detail of decorative inner border, Plus Ultra mural, Mexuar.

Fig. 28. (right) Kufic script pattern, southern wall of Hall of Ambassadors, Comares Palace.

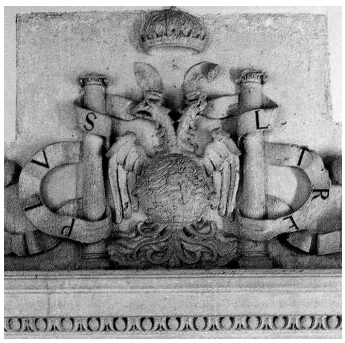


Fig. 29. Coat of arms with double-headed Habsburg eagle and Plus Ultra emblem above a fireplace in the royal residence built for Charles V (early sixteenth century).

Fig. 30. Panoramic view from the Albaicín of palatial and fortress buildings along the Sabika hill.

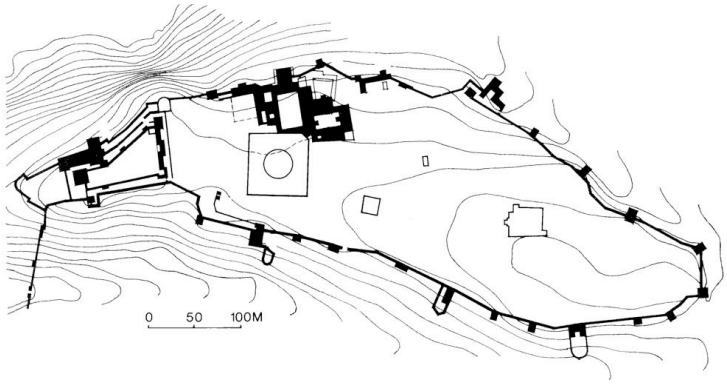


Fig. 31. Topographic illustration of the Alhambra compound showing contours of the Sabika Hill.

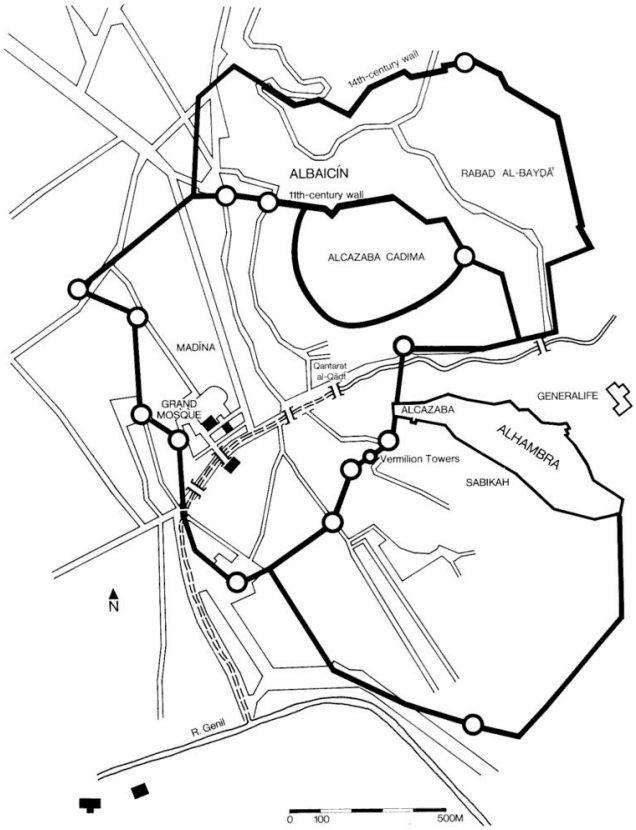


Fig. 32. Granada during the Nasrid period, showing original fortress walls and position of the Alhambra.

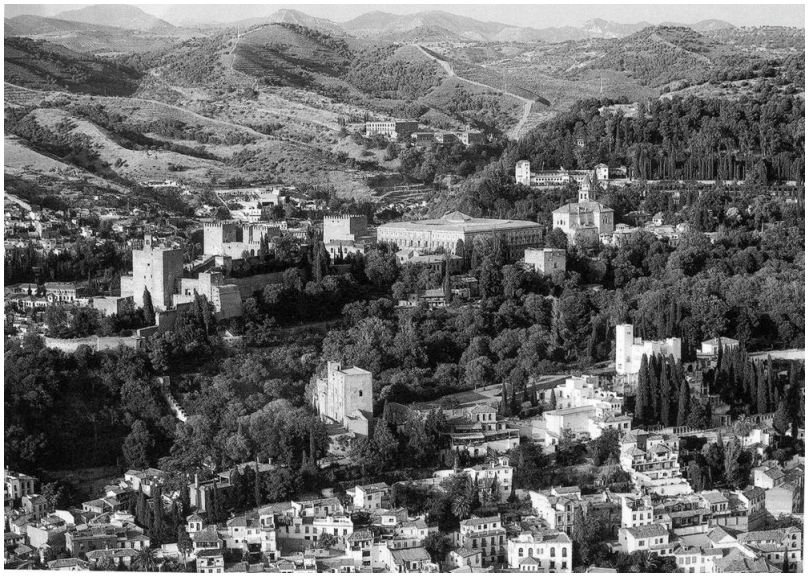


Fig. 33. View of the Alhambra from the south-west, with Vermillion Towers in the foreground and Sierra Nevada in the distance.

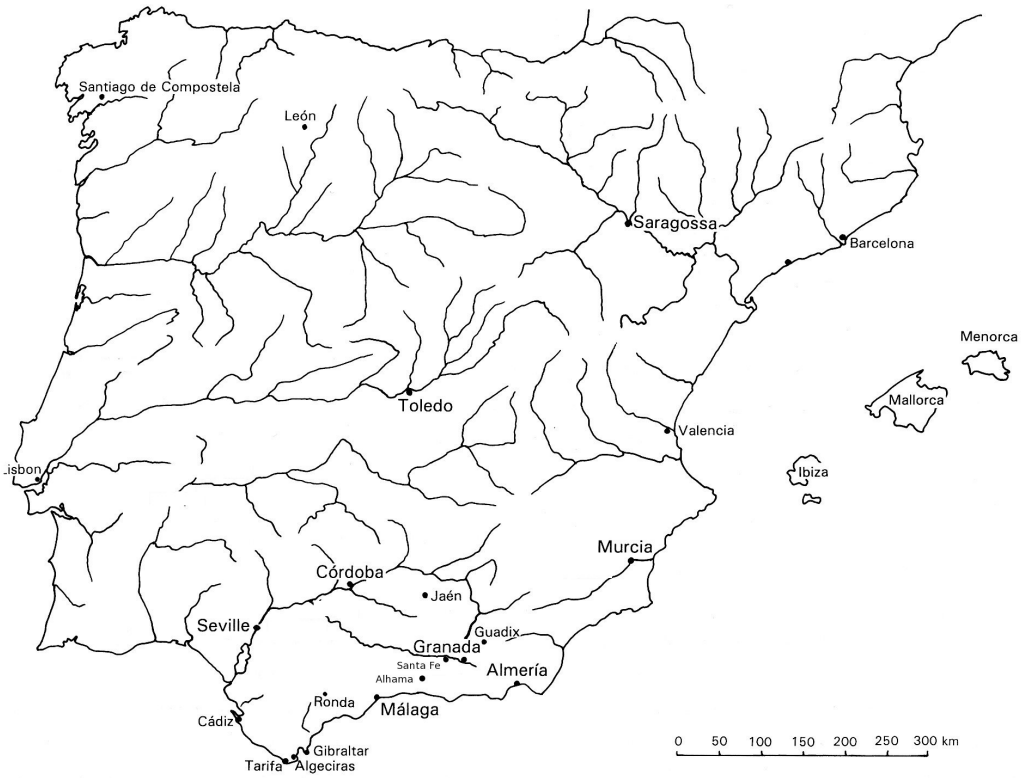


Fig. 34. Map of Spain showing Malaga, Alhama, Santa Fe and Granada.

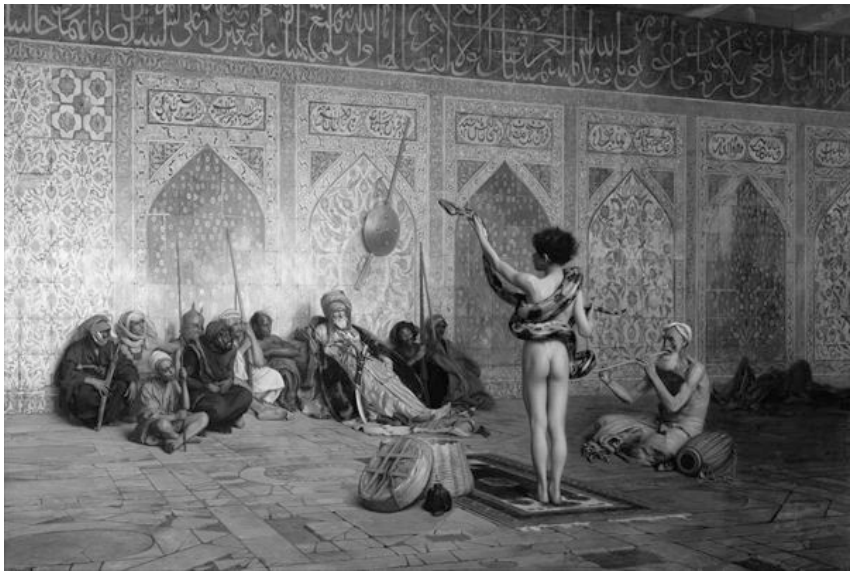


Fig. 35. Jean-Léon Gérôme, *The Snake Charmer*, oil on canvas, c.1870.

Fig. 36. (left) John Constable, *Hadleigh Castle*, oil on canvas, 1829.

Fig. 37. (right) Thomas Gainsborough, *Wooded Landscape with a Cottage, Sheep and a Reclining Shepherd*, oil on canvas, c.1748-1750.

Fig. 38. David Roberts, *The Tower of the Comares*, oil on canvas, c.1835 (illustrated version found in Thomas Roscoe, *Jennings' Landscape Annual, The Tourist in Spain: Granada*, 1835).

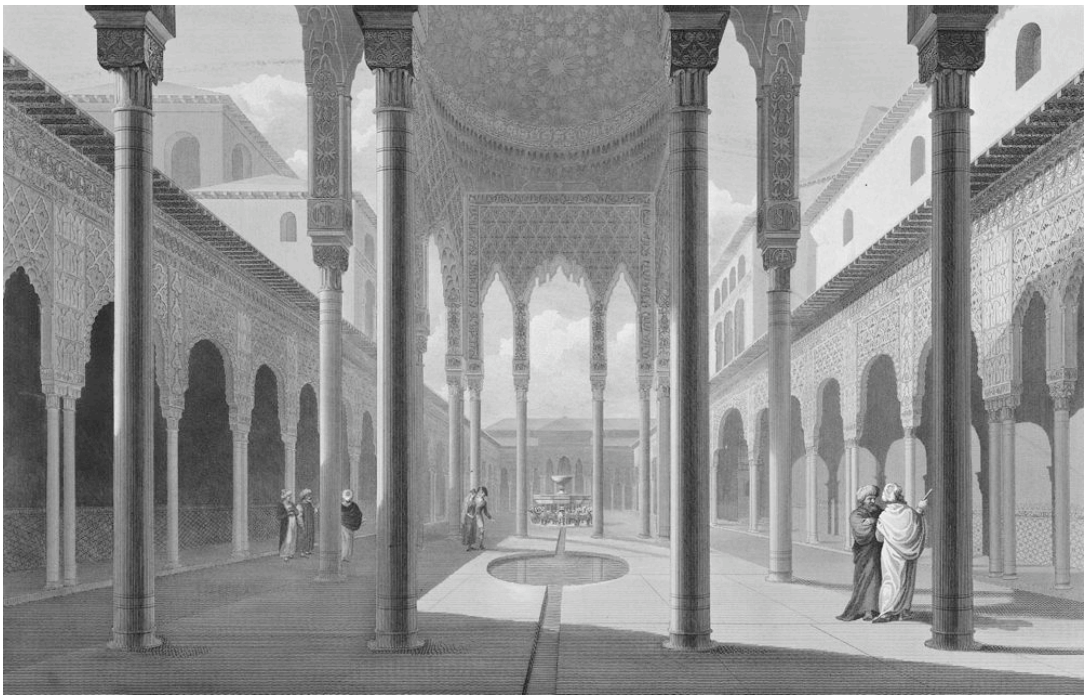


Fig. 39. James Cavanah Murphy, 'A perspective view of the court and fountain of lions' (pl. XXXIII), engraving, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815.

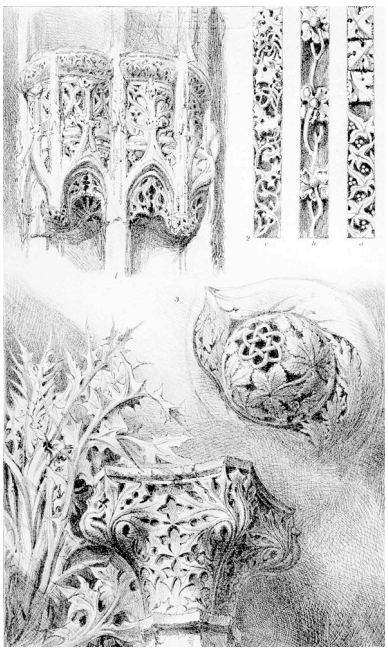


Fig. 40. John Ruskin, 'Ornaments from Rouen, St. Lô, and Venice' (pl. 1), *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 1849.

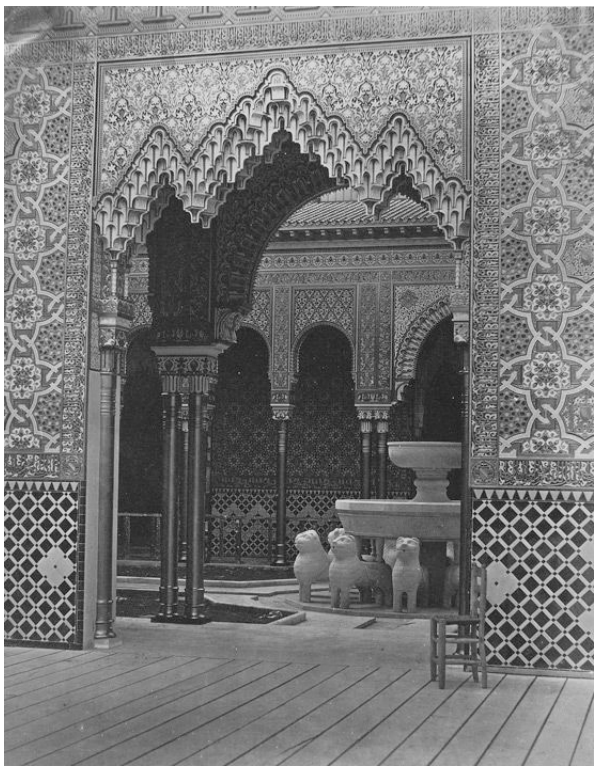


Fig. 41. Philip Henry Delamotte, 'entrance to the Court of the Lions', Alhambra Court, Sydenham Crystal Palace, photographic print, 1855.

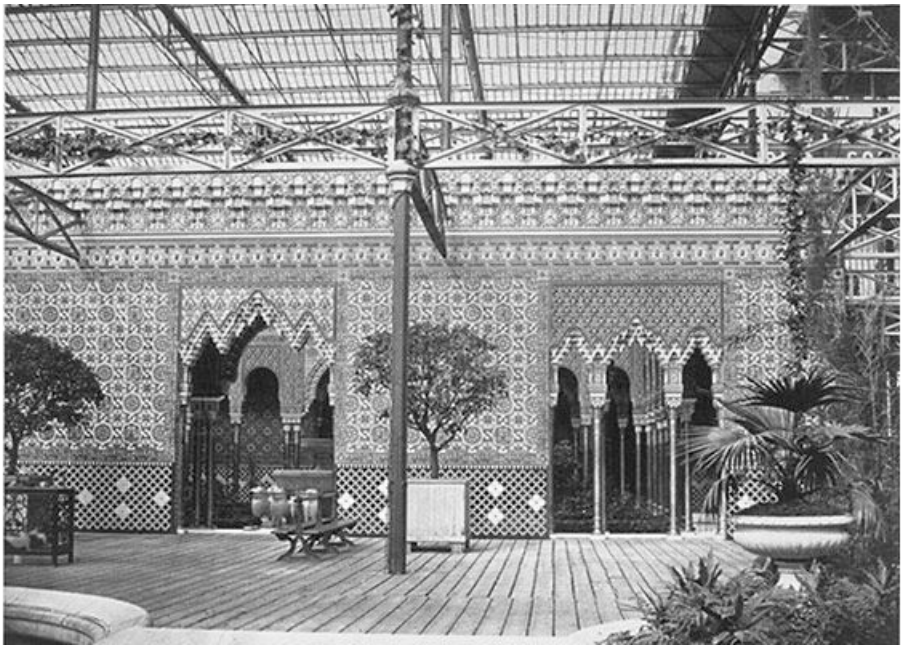


Fig. 42. Philip Henry Delamotte, exterior of the Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace, albumen print from wet collodion on glass negative, 1855.

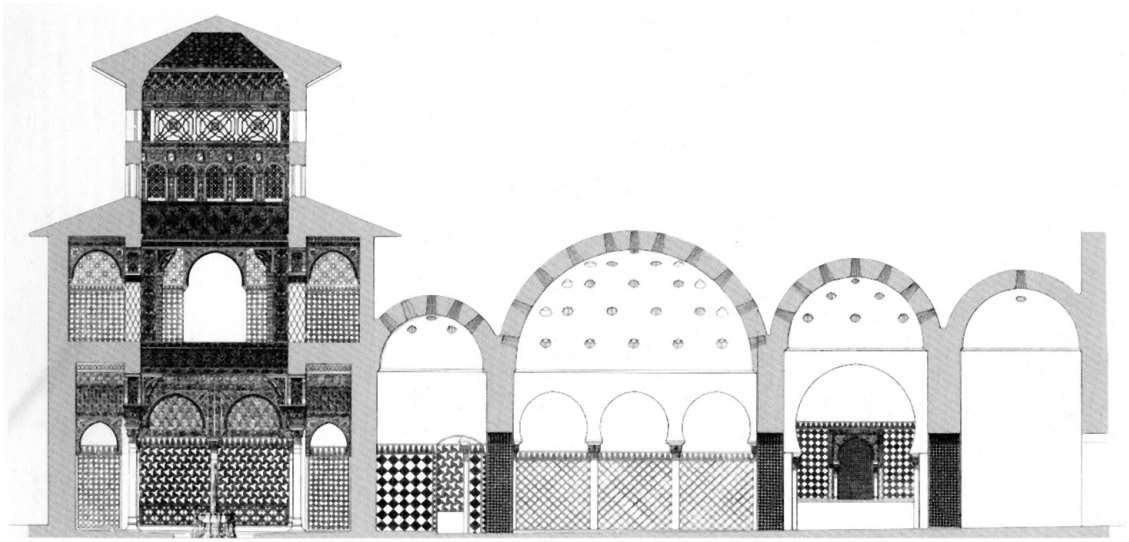


Fig. 43. Owen Jones and Jules Goury, 'Comares Palace *Ḥammām*, N-S Section', *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra,* 1836-1845.

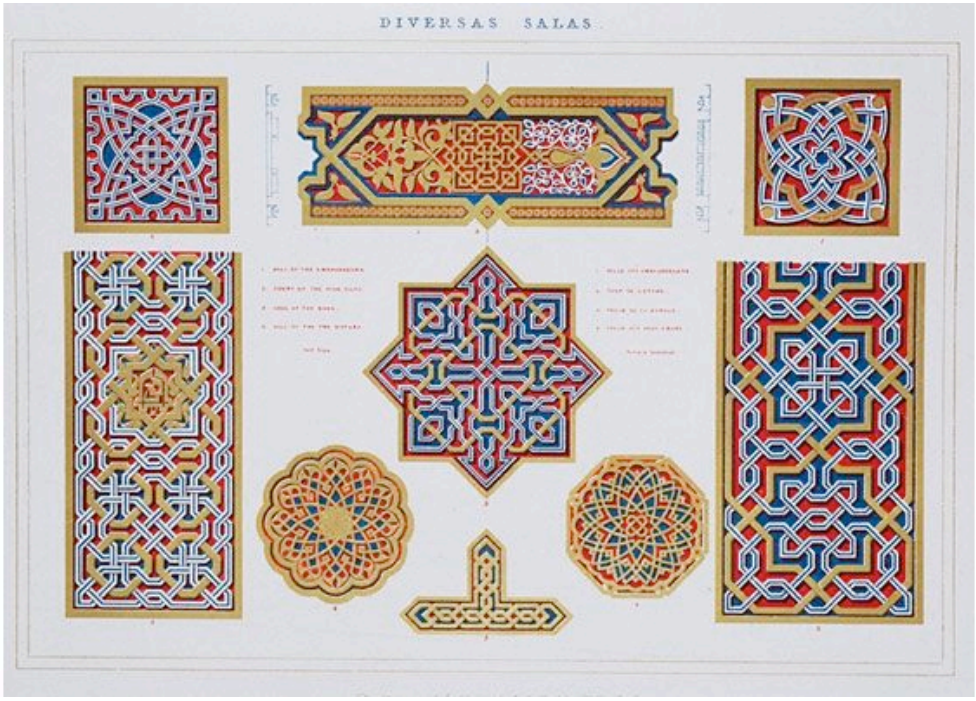


Fig. 44. Owen Jones and Jules Goury, 'Details of woodwork from various rooms in the Alhambra,' chromolithograph, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, 1836-1845.

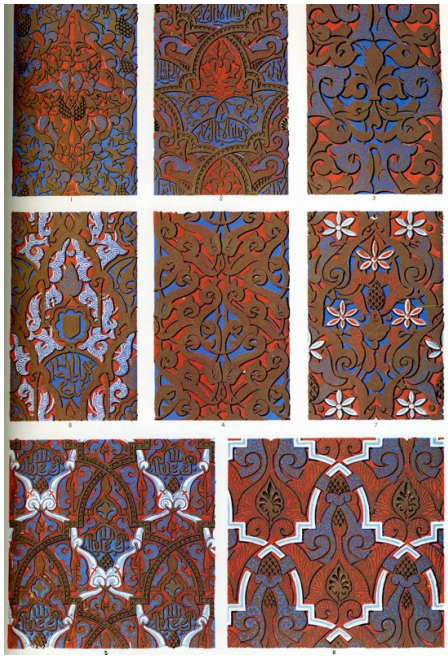


Fig. 45. (left) Owen Jones, 'Greek no. 4', original drawing for *The Grammar of Ornament*, 1856.

Fig. 46. (right) Owen Jones, 'Moresque Ornament No. 3', *The Grammar of Ornament,* chromolithograph, 1856.

Fig. 47. John Ruskin, 'Greek Spiral of the Sea', illustration, *The Stones of Venice*, 1851.

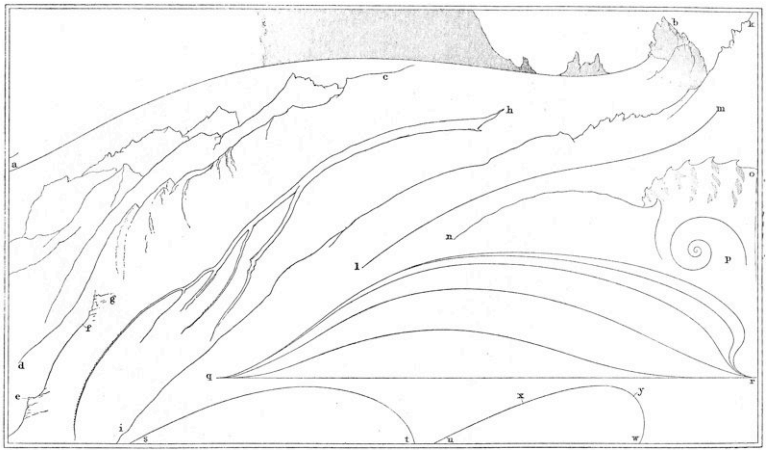
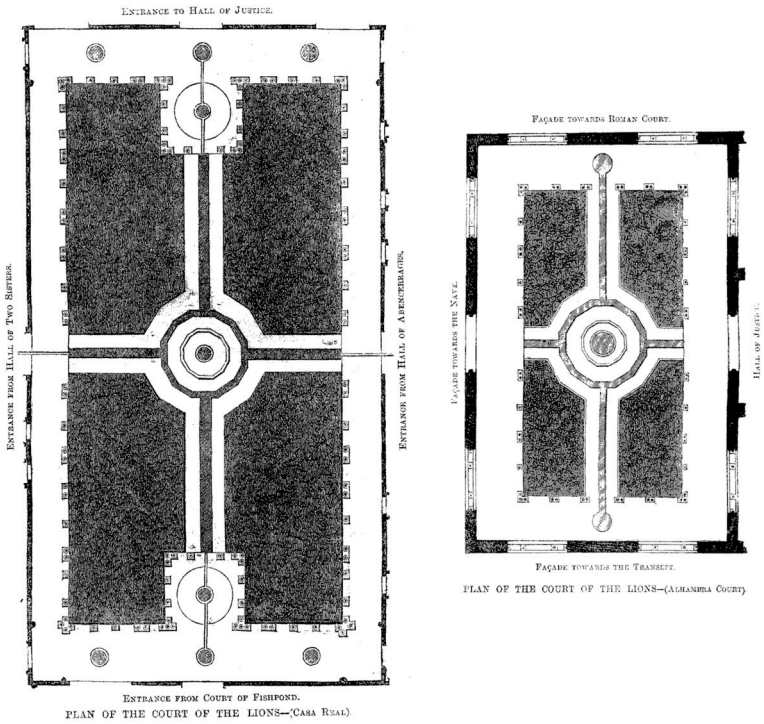


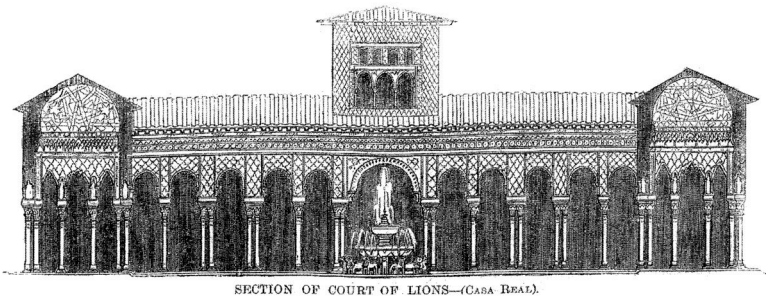
Fig. 48. John Ruskin, 'Abstract Lines', line block, *The Stones of Venice*, 1851.



PLAN OF THE COURT OF THE LIONS—(Casa Real).

PLAN OF THE COURT OF THE LIONS—(Alhambra Court).

Fig. 49. Owen Jones, 'Plan of the Court of the Lions (Casa Real) and Plan of the Court of the Lions (Alhambra Court)', *The Alhambra Court in the Crystal Palace*, 1854.



SECTION OF COURT OF LIONS—(Casa Real).

SECTION OF COURT OF LIONS—(Alhambra Court).

Fig. 50. Owen Jones, 'Section of Court of Lions (Casa Real) and Section of Court of Lions (Alhambra Court)', *The Alhambra Court in the Crystal Palace*, 1854.

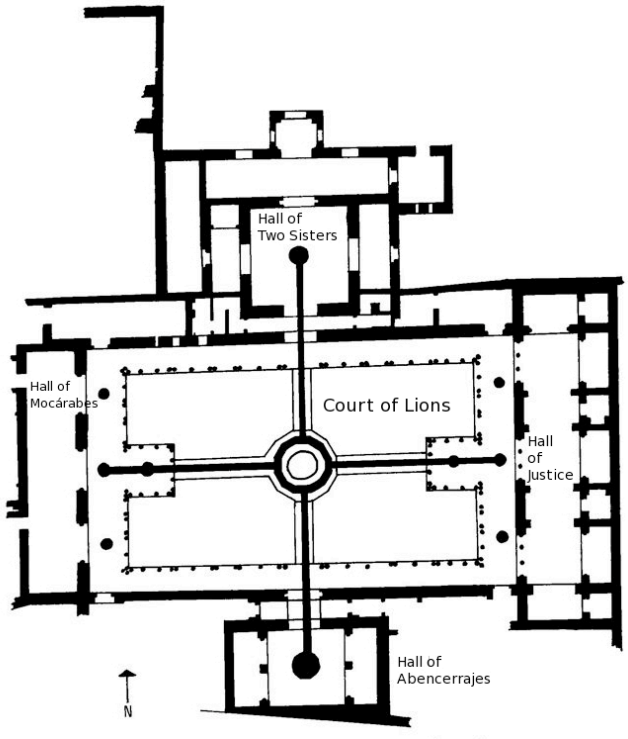
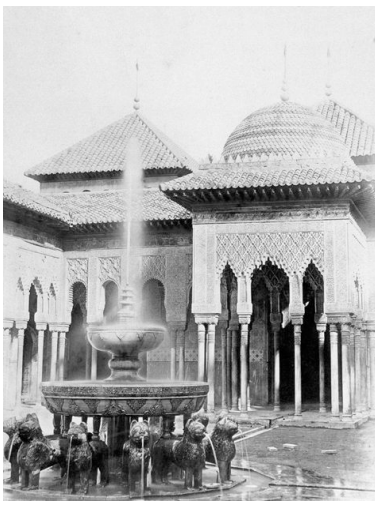


Fig. 51. Plan of the Lions Court and adjoining spaces after the addition of the palace of Charles V.



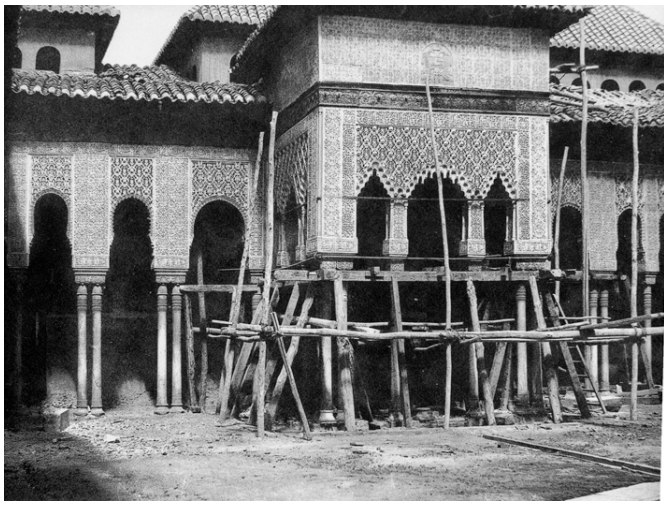
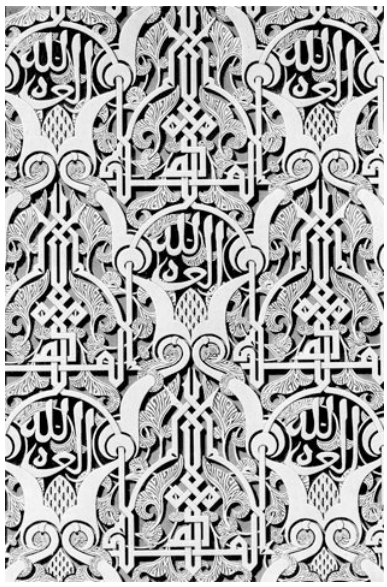


Fig. 52. (left) Charles Clifford, 'Patio de los Leones', *Photographic Souvenir Taken During the Visit of the Royal Family to the Provinces of Andalusia and Murcia on September and October 1862,* 1862.

Fig. 53. (right) G. DeBeucorps, 'Oriental Temple of the Lions Patio during restoration works', calotype, c.1858.



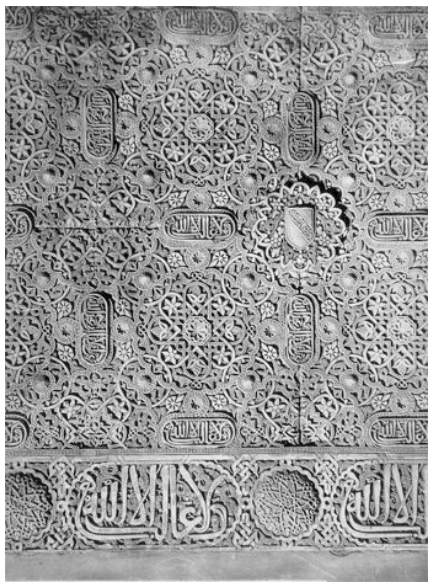


Fig. 54. (left) Owen Jones, 'The Qalahurra Nueva of Yūsuf I' (Tower of the Captive), plaster ornament in the north-east and north-west corners of the main room.

Fig. 55. (right) J. Laurent, detail of the decorative tile skirting board in the Coat of Arms Room, photograph, c.1870.

Fig. 56. (left) Wallpaper with naturalistic floral stripe framed by rococo pilaster motifs, France, c.1850-1860, Colour print from woodblocks (included in the False Principles of Design Exhibition, 1852).

Fig. 57. (right) Wallpaper illustrating the Crystal Palace, about 1853-1855, colour machine print (included in the False Principles of Design Exhibition, 1852).

Fig. 58. (left) William Morris 'Acanthus' Wallpaper, print from woodblocks, 1875.

Fig. 59. (right) William Morris, 'Borage ceiling paper', 1888-1889.

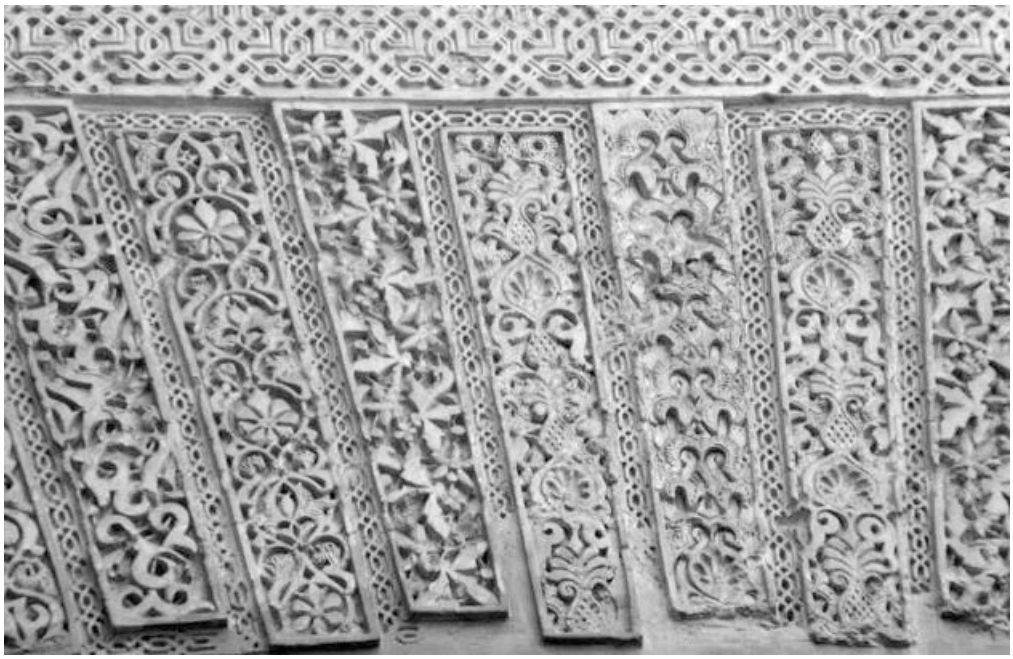


Fig. 60. Entrance facade of the Mexuar (original location in Nasrid palace unknown).

Fig. 61. (left) Section of plaster ornament from the eastern wall of the Hall of Ambassadors, Comares Palace, showing depth with artificial light.

Fig. 62. (right) Plaster and ceramic ornament from the north-east corner of the Hall of Ambassadors, Comares Palace, showing the effect of natural sunlight on the carved surfaces.

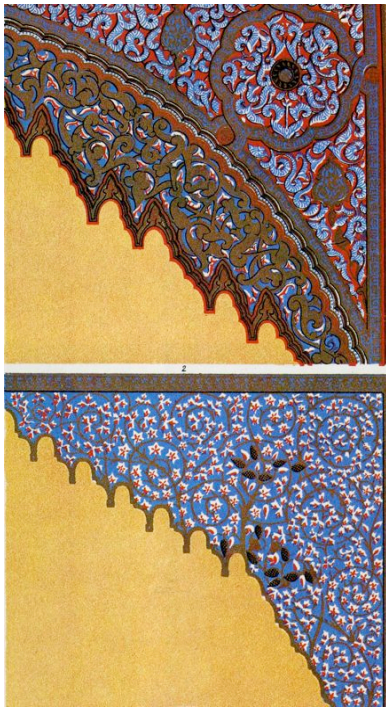


Fig. 63. (left) Owen Jones, 'Moresque No. 2', *The Grammar of Ornament* (pl. XL, sections 2 and 4), 1856.

Fig. 64. (right) *Muqarnas* spandrel in the entrance to the Hall of Ambassadors.

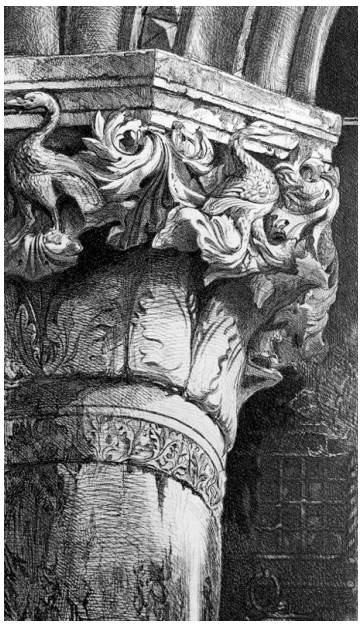


Fig. 65. John Ruskin, 'Capital from the Lower Arcade of the Doge's Palace, Venice', *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 1849.

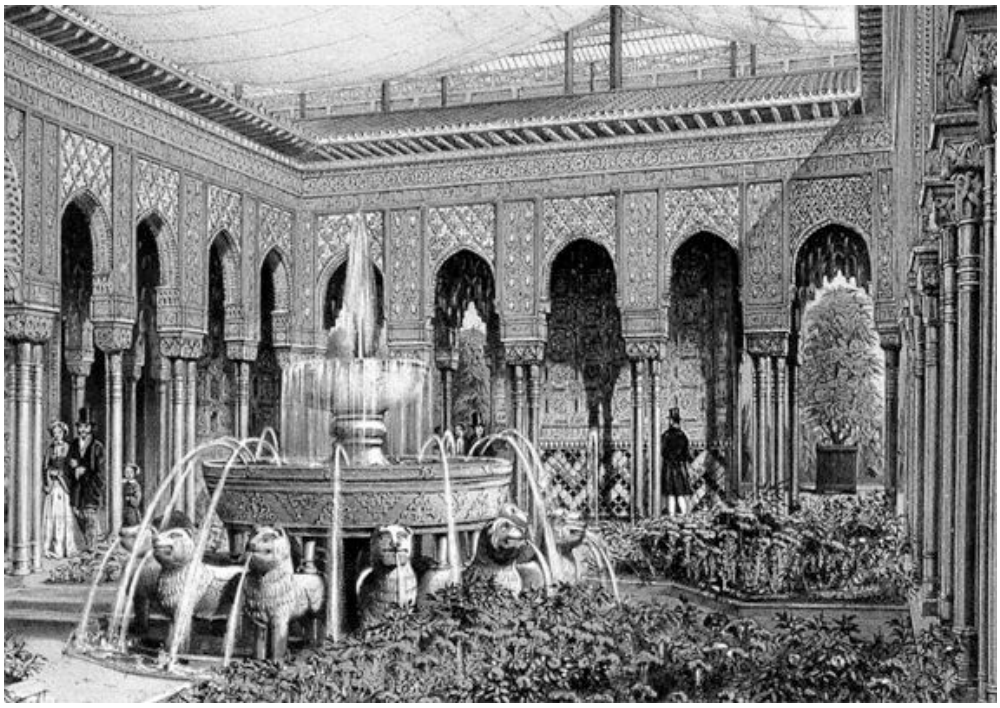


Fig. 66. M. Digby Wyatt, Illustration of the Alhambra Court, *Views of the Crystal Palace and Park, Sydenham*, 1854.

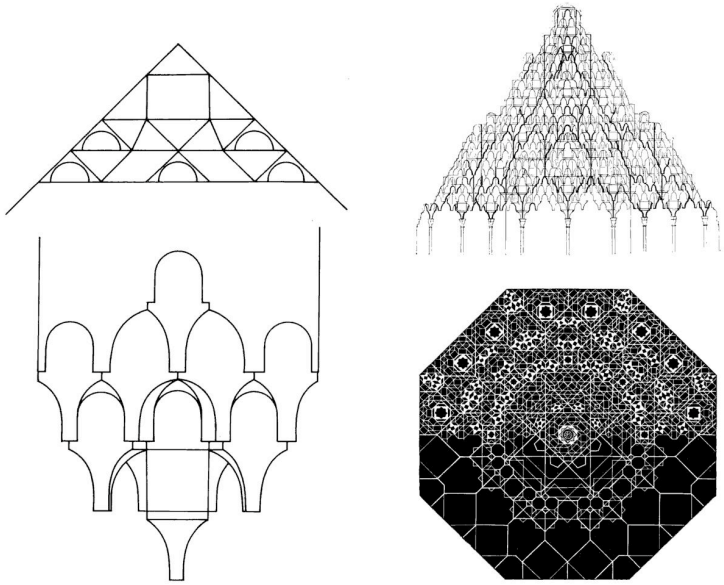


Fig. 67. Owen Jones and Jules Goury, drawings of *mocárabes* (details), and section of the ceiling of the Hall of Two Sisters, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra,* 1836-1845.

Fig. 68. Charles Clifford, 'Jitanos Bailando' ('Gypsies Dancing'), *Photographic Souvenir,* 1862.

Fig. 69. Charles Clifford, 'Jitanas Cantando' ('Gypsy Women Singing'), *Photographic Souvenir*, 1862.

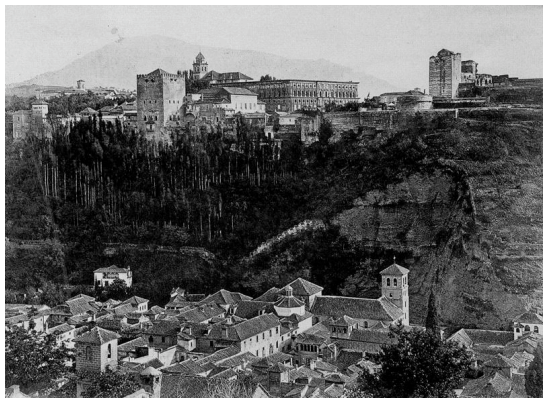


Fig. 70. (left) Charles Clifford, 'Tipos Locales [Local Types]' (Oropesa), albumen silver print from glass negative, 1858.

Fig. 71. (right) Charles Clifford, Panoramic view of the Alhambra from the Albaicín, *Photographic Souvenir*, 1862.

Fig. 72. (left) 'Gitanos bailando ante la Corte', lithograph after anonymous photograph, reproduced in Tubino, *La corte en Sevilla*, 1863.

Fig. 73. (right) Henry Phillip, *Gypsies Dancing the Vito*, in Lady Louisa Tenison's *Castile and Andalusia*, 1853.

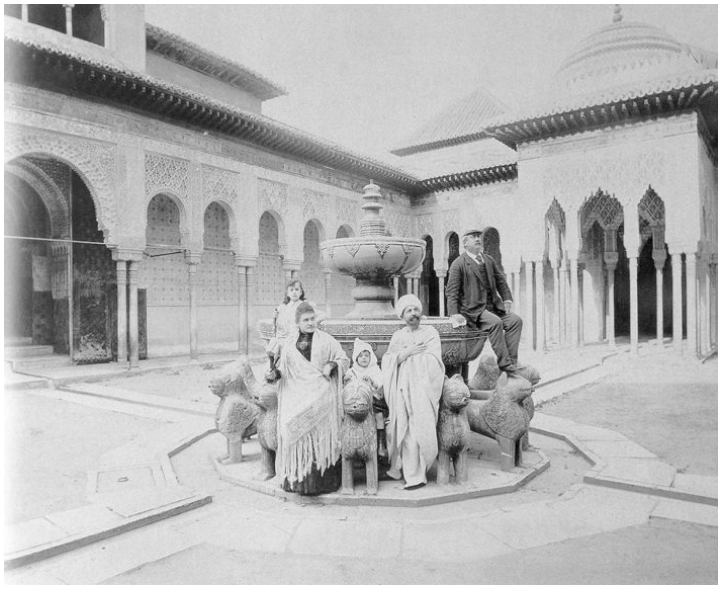


Fig. 74. (left) Photographer unknown, 'Disguised group, posing at the Lions' Fountain', albumen paper, c.1900.

Fig. 75. (right) R. Señán y Gonzsález, 'Mariano Fernández, Gypsy Prince, Fortuny's Model', albumen paper, c.1880.

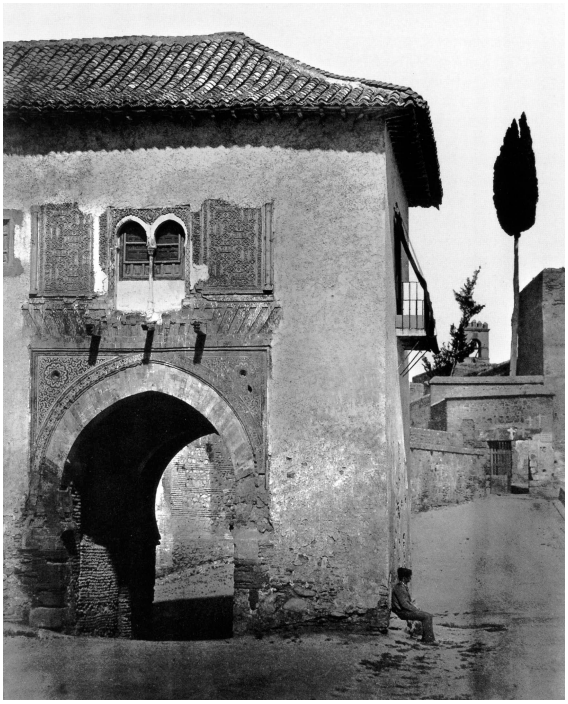


Fig. 76. Charles Clifford, East facade of the wine gate (remarked upon by Roland Barthes), *Monumental Album of Spain: Photographic Collection of its Best Architectural Works*, 1865.

Fig. 77. 'Gipsies at Granada', Unsigned sketch in Henry Blackburn, *Travelling in Spain in the Present Day*, 1866.

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