ANTONIO URQUÍZAR-HERRERA

Admiration & Awe

Morisco Buildings and
Identity Negotiations in
Early Modern Spanish
Historiography

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I think this summer I shall take an eight-day trip to rummage among old stuff, for out of such darkness comes the light I seek.

Ambrosio de Morales, *Letter to Alvar Gómez de Castro*

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Writing this book would have been much more difficult without Leire, who did not need to read it because she already had heard all about it, or without Léa, who learned to read while I was writing it.

Acknowledgements

Preface: The Islamic Stones of Spain, Today

Interest in this book today essentially derives from its aim of recovering interpretations of Spain's Islamic monuments that have been pushed aside by the cultural and ideological power of the modern Orientalist myth. Awareness of those early modern discourses is significant because they did not vanish overnight, but merely became superficially less visible. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were common currency in parallel with other complementary or even contradictory narratives. Eventually, their very ability to integrate guaranteed their survival, however out of focus they might be.

The same ideas are still active today. They re-emerge now and again, reconstituting the readings of Islamic architecture that arose in the wake of the taking of Granada, once the conquest and conversion stories had been told, *Aljama* mosques had begun to be called cathedrals (*iglesias mayores*), and the possibility of their being pre-Islamic foundations had started to be entertained.[1] The endurance of these old Christianizing and antiquarian arguments is probably a consequence of the parallel survival of the agenda that gave birth to them almost 500 years ago.

For the past few decades, Córdoba Mosque has been an ideological micro-battlefield where popular perception of Spain's multicultural Islamic past and the Christian essentialism of the bishops and clergy responsible for the building cross swords. Consciously or otherwise, the latter have echoed, word for word, the Christian appropriation arguments created in the Early Modern Period.[2] The cathedral chapter, for instance, has fostered academic research into the primitive Visigothic church that may or may not have stood on the site of the mosque.[3] In the meantime, tourist information on the monument issued by the Church today refers to the Islamic construction as an interruption in the temple's Christian nature and history. This attempt to interfere with visitors' interpretation of the building, when most of them are precisely seeking encounters with the Islamic past, is usually unsuccessful and many find it preposterous. It can be understood as an example of the staying power of sixteenth-century thinking.

Seville's Giralda, formerly the minaret of the *Aljama* Mosque and today the cathedral's belfry, enjoys an iconic power that goes well beyond its original Islamic identity. This is a consequence of several centuries of narrative emphasis on the metonymic identification of the tower with its patron saints as the visible embodiment of the city. While the Christian *genii loci* incarnate the presumed eternal spirit of a city dominated by Catholic liturgy, the Islamic builders are but a small part of a mythical discourse in which the issue under debate is not religion. Since

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[1] Main mosques were usually known as *Aljama Mosque*s.
[2] See Marcos Pous, 'Moros'; González Alcantud, 'Un locus-axis'; Urquízar Herrera and Haro García, *La escritura*, pp. 35ff.
[3] See Arce, 'La supuesta'; Fernández-Puertas, 'Mezquita', pp. 33ff.

the nineteenth century, Seville's romantic exoticism has never been essentially or exclusively Islamic.[4]

Lastly, in Granada, the sixteenth-century debate on the model of interconfessional religious coexistence is today livelier than ever. Washington Irving's legacy seems to have obliterated all possibility of escaping the city's natural identification with Islam. Even as it benefits from this image, however, local identity has never abandoned the Christianization discourse. Granada holds its controversial celebration of the Christian conquest year after year, and the myth of the Sacromonte Lead Books still thrives in the twenty-first century because some of the population believes that both narratives are necessary to counter the dazzling power of Granada's Islamic heritage.[5] These strategies were designed many years ago because, like other buildings of al-Andalus, the Alhambra was an icon that made it impossible to ignore the nation's hybrid past.

Generally speaking, Spain's Islamic legacy is more alive today than ever as a cultural and tourist commodity for international consumption. It is also at the heart of the multiculturality debate that arose in the wake of September 11, 2001. This background feeds, to this day, the need for ideological negotiation through the monuments that embody our remembrance of the past.[6]

NOTES ON ORIGINAL SOURCES

The rule of thumb I have followed with regard to sources used in researching this book has been to access the original texts in their first editions and in the language in which they were written. In the few cases where it was possible, as in Ambrosio de Morales' *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España* and Rodrigo Caro's *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustríssima ciudad de Sevilla*, both manuscript and printed text were consulted. In the case of works that had several reprints in the author's lifetime, the second or third edition has been quoted, as a general rule, as these tend to be the most complete and widely read versions. This is the case, for example, of the histories of Spain written by Esteban de Garibay and Juan de Mariana, where the edition quoted has been checked against the first (shown in the footnotes as 'quoted from', followed by the publication year). Similarly, in the case of medieval manuscripts given to the press in the sixteenth century, these printed versions have been chosen because they were the most widely read in the Early Modern Period. For example, the quotes from Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispaniae* (*Historia Gothica*) are from the Latin edition printed in 1545, although, on account of their impact on historiography, certain fragments of this work have been taken from the medieval Castilian translation by Gonzalo de Hinojosa subsequently annotated by Jerónimo Zurita.

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[4] Reina, *La pintura*; Méndez, *La imagen;* Méndez, Zoido, and Plaza, *Viaje.*
[5] See González Alcantud, 'La experiencia'; Coleman, 'The Persistence'; Drayson, *The Lead*, pp. 193ff.
[6] See Marzo, *La memoria*; García Cárcel, 'El concepto'; García Sanjuán, *La conquista*. See also Schülting, Müller, and Hertel, *Early*, pp. 167ff.

With regard to manuscripts that did not go to press until recently, both versions have usually been consulted. Quotations refer, where possible, to the manuscript, as in Luis de Peraza's history of Seville. In a dozen secondary cases, such as Francisco de la Cueva's *Relación de la guerra de Tremecén*, the most recent edition has been used (shown in the footnotes as 'ed.' followed by the date). Among the core texts, only the Pablo de Céspedes manuscripts kept in Granada Cathedral were unavailable for consultation due to archive accessibility issues; in this case the modern editions were used instead. Fortunately, the edition by Jesús Rubio Lapaz and Fernando Moreno Cuadro replicates the amendments, crossings-out, and drawings of the original text.

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Introduction

The account of a city given by a native will always have something in common with memoirs; it is no accident that the writer has spent his childhood there

Walter Benjamin, *The Return of the* flâneur

The manuscript collection in Spain's Real Academia de la Historia conserves an important legacy of Spanish historiography. A number of these manuscripts offer striking insights into the process of writing history and the development of historiographical concepts, tropes, and traditions. One significant example of the latter is the manuscript of *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España* (*The Antiquities of the Cities of Spain*) by Ambrosio de Morales, which went to press in 1575. The text's rare historiographical value is apparent from the deletions and insertions on the recto of folio 168. On the page in question is Morales' description of Córdoba's renowned mosque and he makes more amendments to his account of this building than to any other part of the text.[1] A detailed review of the passage reveals the intellectual, political, and moral tensions that the mosque evidently created for the writer. Morales was by no means just any writer: he was the official chronicler of Castile, professor of Rhetoric at the University of Alcalá de Henares, and the author of some of the most important historical works written during the reign of Phillip II. He was also born and raised in Córdoba. *Las antigüedades* laid the foundations for antiquarian literature throughout the Iberian Peninsula. Morales' work is therefore a fundamental point of departure for studying the reception of Morisco buildings and their crucial role in the negotiation of Hispanic identity in early modern Spanish historiography. Indeed, 'admiration and awe', the title of this book, is taken from the words Morales used to express the impact Córdoba Mosque had on him. Yet, apart from admiration and awe, Morales also developed a more complex and critical response to Córdoba Mosque, and to fully gauge his thinking on this seminal example of Morisco heritage requires a close reading of the amendments he made to his own text.

Morales referred to Córdoba Mosque, which had been built by the Umayyad kings, as 'our main church', by which he meant the city's cathedral. In the original text, he went on to say that it was 'one of the largest and most sumptuous buildings ... in the world', but he later added two further adjectives, namely 'strangest' (*más estraños*)

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[1] Morales, *Las antigüedades*. The amendments to the manuscript are reproduced in its facsimile edition by Juan Manuel Abascal.

and 'awe-inspiring' (*espantos*), though shortly afterwards he changed his mind again, crossing out 'awe-inspiring' and correcting the phrase to read 'one of the largest, strangest, and most sumptuous buildings'. The next sentence was originally 'the splendid building of the cathedral of Córdoba is rightly praised and esteemed as one of the most distinctive things in the world', but this was also edited by replacing 'splendid' with 'strange and famous' and 'distinctive things' with 'wonderful works'. He then concluded that despite its 'great grandeur and majesty, it is its strangeness that produces the greatest admiration and awe', although he later changed 'strangeness' to 'diversity'. The next sentence reaffirmed the notion of the building's strangeness, but Morales was apparently not convinced this was the word he was looking for: it began with the 'strange and unheard-of form of the building', but then he deleted the adjective 'strange', only to reinsert it. '*Estraño*', according to Sebastián de Covarrubias' dictionary *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611), meant 'singular and extraordinary', but also 'that which is not ours'.[2] An indication of what prompted such uncertainty over this choice of term is provided further on in the text, where Morales explains that the building's peculiarities are due to its being 'a construction founded by the Moors, and because the two Kings who had founded it had done so purposefully to display their grandeur'. This time he crossed out the two uses of 'founded', replacing them with 'built' and 'erected'.[3] Other amendments explicitly erased the term 'mosque' when referring to the building's original use.[4]

The significance of Morales' revision of his text cannot, in my view, be reduced to the simple correction of style or accidental errors. Instead, it should be read as an indication of his conscious concern as to the best way to word his presentation of the mosque. It should also be noted that the section on Córdoba Mosque was extended onto an extra page in the manuscript on which Morales was clearly deciding how to describe the building even as he wrote; indeed, he crossed out words before he had finished writing them.[5] His amendments point to the intellectual and ideological dimensions of his account. On the one hand, his hesitation on the notions of strangeness, wonder, awe, and diversity suggests a sense of unease about describing such otherness. On the other, his underscoring the opposition

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[2] Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, p. 387r.

[3] '[Deleted: *nuestra*] *La iglesia mayor, y por ser uno de los mayores,* [inserted: *más estraños*] *y más suntuosos* [inserted and deleted: *y espantos*] *edificios, que se halla en el mundo, será mucha razón escrevir aquí della, todo lo que conviene, para que quien no la ha visto, la pueda en alguna manera gozar. El* [deleted: *sobervio*] [inserted: *estraño y famoso*] *edificio de la iglesia mayor de Córdova es con mucha razón alabado y estimado, por una de las más señaladas* [deleted: *cosa*] [inserted: *y maravillosas*] *obra que ay en el mundo. Y aunque su grandeza y magestad es mucha: la estrañeza* [deleted: *y nunca*] [inserted: *y diversidad*] [deleted: *y po*] *pone más admiración y espanto. Y la* [deleted: *estraña*] [inserted: *estraña*] *y nunca vista forma del edificio está en todo junto el bulto y cuerpo del, y también en todas sus partes y particularidades. Y eso es assí por aver sido* [deleted: *fundada*] [inserted: *fabricada*] *para mezquita de Moros, y por aver querido mostrar en ella los dos Reyes que la* [deleted: *fu*] *labraron, muy de propósito su grandeza.*' Morales, *Las antigüedades*, (quoted from manuscript) p. 168r.

[4] '*Y hase de entender, que está agora la iglesia en la misma forma en que fue edificada* [deleted: *para mesqui*] *entonces.*' Morales, *Las antigüedades*, (quoted from manuscript) p. 168v.

[5] On the manuscript-writing process, see Juan Manuel Abascal's introduction to Morales, *Las antigüedades*, 1, p. 15. See also Bouza, *Corre*, and *Hétérographies*.

between the *foundation* and the *construction* of this religious building is perhaps still more significant: what was at stake was the crucial question of whether the building was originally built as a church or as a mosque. Certain authors considered the incontrovertible evidence of Islamic building work as mere rebuilding: the cathedral had been founded as such and was later turned into a mosque; following the Christian conquest it was returned to its original use as a cathedral. Subsequent developments surrounding the mosque's foundation framed the discussion of the origin of Córdoba Cathedral/Mosque within the narrative of the mythical origins of the Spanish nation and the formation of its cultural and religious identity in early modern Spain. The analysis that follows in this book traces the emergence of these ideological discourses, and explores how they underpinned some historiographical strategies used to appropriate Spanish Islamic or Morisco architectural heritage during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This early modern vision had a unique profile which had little in common with the later Romantic image of Islamic architecture.

Why *Morisco* buildings? Whereas today we use the term primarily to refer to former Muslims who were converted to Christianity after the taking of the Islamic kingdoms, as well as their descendants who remained in the Iberian Peninsula until their expulsion between 1609 and 1614, in early modern Spain, it appeared in a variety of contexts.[6] *Morisco* was the Castilian adjective used in the Middle Ages to refer to contemporaneous Islamic buildings. During the Early Modern Period, it was used by antiquarians such as Ambrosio de Morales to invoke the remnants of Islamic architecture that provided a physical testimony of the Iberian Peninsula's multicultural past.[7] This early modern usage covered both the architectural legacy of the early medieval Muslim kings as well as the more recent fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and

[6] As Carrasco Urgoiti has demonstrated the *Cantar del Mío Cid* (written in the late twelfth–early thirteenth century) provides a terminus *post quem* for the medieval use of the word 'Morisco', above all in literature, as an adjective to refer to any object or action associated with the Muslims of the Peninsula, who were then usually called 'Moros'. On occasion, depending on the date, context, and especially the degree of antipathy felt, later Christian sources also referred to the past inhabitants of al-Andalus as Saracens, Ishmaelites, Arabics, Mudejars, and Barbarians. According to Ana Echevarría, the term 'Saracens', taken from St Jerome, was linked to religious contexts; 'Arabs' was used in the ethnic and linguistic sense; 'Moors' was applied to North African Berbers and Peninsular Muslims; 'Barbarians' was used following the influence of classical authors; and finally, 'Mudejars' was used to refer to the Muslim vassals of Christian kings. As Amaro Centeno made clear in his *Historia de las cosas del Oriente* (1595), the term *moros* or Moors was the most widely used and understood in early modern Spain, as elsewhere in Europe. It should be noted that his fifteenth chapter was entitled 'About the Empire and Origin of the Saracens, to whom we Refer as Moors' (*Del imperio, y principio de los Sarracenos a quien llamamos Moros*). Carrasco Urgoiti, 'Apuntes', pp. 187–210; Echevarría, *The Fortress*, p. 103. See also Brann, 'The Moors?', pp. 310ff; Tolan, Veinstein, and Laurens, *Europe*, p. 3. Centeno, *Historia*, pp. 12v ff. On the meaning of 'Moor' in Renaissance English literature see Bartels, *Speaking*, pp. 4ff. According to the comparison table drawn up by Javier Castillo Fernández on contextual usage of the terms used by Luis de Mármol Carvajal in *Rebelión…*, 'Moor' (*moro*) is used descriptively 285 times, as opposed to 1,408 times where it is used in a pejorative sense, whereas 'Morisco' and 'Arab' only appear in a general descriptive sense on 570 and 107 occasions respectively. Castillo Fernández, *Entre Granada*, p. 331.

[7] For example, see Ruiz Souza, 'Le style', pp. 277–86, and 'Architectural', p. 364. For one archetypical example of the use of the term *Morisco* in relation to the architecture of the Alhambra, see Marías, 'La casa', p. 207.

sixteenth-century noble palaces and churches that had traditionally been classified as Mudejar by nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians. This second usage of *Morisco* was at times ambiguous. As has been said, it is unclear, for instance, whether Italian diplomat Andrea Navagero, who served at Charles V's court in Seville and Granada (1526), used the words '*alla morescha*' and '*lavori moreschi*' to refer to architectural form or to a builder's origin when speaking both about the Castilian Alcazar of Seville and the Nasrid Alhambra.[8] Whichever the case, by the time both Navagero and Morales were writing, these medieval Islamic buildings had been given a new Christian use, just as the descendants of their Muslim builders had been baptized. The book seeks to show how historical discourse on these buildings played a key role in the process of Christian transformation of Islamic architecture.

Morisco architecture was just one facet of the visible cultural legacy that survived once the centuries-long Muslim rule of Spain came to an end in 1492. The physical, social, and cultural landscape of Christian early modern Spain was populated with numerous reminders of the Islamic era. Indeed, Spain clearly illustrates Peter Burke's notion of the boundaries of hybridity.[9] Besides the presence of descendants of Muslim settlers, this hybridity consisted of buildings, ruins, words, and a host of cultural practices, such as the use of particular garments, court entertainments, and domestic furnishings.[10] Regrettably, almost nothing is known about the views held by sixteenth-century Moriscos with regard to the Christian appropriation of Islamic buildings. Nevertheless, on entering Seville in 1495, German traveller Hieronymus Münzer was surprised to see that the city was still full of '*infinita monumenta et antiquitates Sarracenorum*'.[11] The survival of these architectural mementoes was in fact a legacy of the protocol the Christians implemented as they captured the Islamic cities of al-Andalus: it concerned such symbolic gestures as flying the flag of the Christian forces from the top of castles, and the purification and consecration of mosques; the reuse of these buildings by the victors was a later phase in this process. Castles and palaces required no major changes to adapt them to military uses or accommodate the symbolic language of their new courtly occupants. A key illustration of this is the careful restoration of the Nasrid architecture of Granada's Alhambra, for which Muslim craftsmen were employed. During the sixteenth century, a number of alcazars were used by the Inquisition, but even this emblematic function did not result in any substantial architectural or decorative transformation.[12] By contrast, mosques were subjected to significant changes in order to adapt them to Christian worship and ensure their suitability for Christian liturgy. Above all, they were given a new symbolic decorative makeover that underscored their conversion. Such practices were soon deemed insufficient and a more stringent approach was taken: most of the mosques were destroyed and new Christian churches were built on their sites. Eventually, only one major mosque survived, the *Aljama* Mosque of Córdoba, although it was by no means

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[8] Navagero, *Il viaggio*, pp. 13v, 18v. See Marías, 'Haz y envés', pp. 107–8. Also see Brothers, 'The Renaissance', and 'Un humanista'.

[9] Burke, *Cultural*, and *Hybrid*.   [10] Fuchs, *Exotic*, pp. 60ff.

[11] Münzer, *Itinerarium*, p. 74. Lleó, *Nueva Roma*, (quoted from 2012) p. 209.

[12] The alcazars of Córdoba, Triana in Seville, and Zaragoza were among these castles.

left untouched. A large Christian nave was built at the centre of it which completely changed its spatial configuration. At the same time, damage to the minaret was repaired with classical-style facings. The general perception of the building was also transformed, both inside and out.

The differing fates of Islamic buildings—survival, architectural palimpsest, or complete or partial demolition—mediated the architectural memory of the period. Córdoba, Seville, and Granada were the cities where it was most vividly preserved in three major monuments: Córdoba Mosque, into which a cathedral had been inserted; Seville's Giralda—a minaret—a remnant of a destroyed mosque, which had been transformed into a Christian belfry; and Granada's Alhambra, which became the site of an exemplary Renaissance palace. Each of these three monuments had been a central feature of cultural imagination in their respective cities since the Middle Ages and have continued to be so right up to the present day. Other cities, such as Toledo, Zaragoza, and Valencia, did not preserve such iconic buildings and the visibility of their Islamic past varied greatly. The memory of Toledo's Islamic period was preserved in the history of its cathedral's foundation as well as in the remaining medieval cityscape, including some minor temples. Zaragoza's Aljafería palace had survived, as had Málaga's Alcazaba, but the most discernible Islamic remains of these buildings were not easily accessible.[13] Of all these cities, it was Valencia that had most successfully erased its Islamic past. Having been one of the Peninsula's major Islamic capitals, barely any traces of its architecture were identifiable.[14]

The vast majority of the corpus of early modern sources about these buildings may be classified as either historiographical or antiquarian in terms of subject matter. Morales' *Las antigüedades* was an appendix to a larger project on the history of Spain, the *Corónica general de España* (1574–1586). In passing, it is worth noting that Morisco architecture was completely absent from emerging art and art-theory writing at the time. As Alicia Cámara has stated, humanist interpretations of Spain's past architecture were based primarily on historical rather than aesthetic interests.[15] In this regard, it is important to clarify that the regional tensions resulting from the union of Castile and Aragon were not a major issue in the historiographical negotiation of the cultural memory of the Islamic past. Although the most prominent Islamic monuments were eventually incorporated into Castile, both Castilian and Aragonese national histories focused on the ideas of conquest and restoration.[16] It was commonplace for accounts of the Islamic period in city histories to be told exclusively as a history of Christian resistance in which Muslims were considered only in confrontational terms.[17] The historiography of all the

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[13] Regarding the latter, see the description of the transformation of the former Islamic royal palace into the new Inquisition building, which is included in Diego Murillo's history of Zaragoza (1595). Murillo, *Excelencias*, p. 182. See also López, *Tropheos*, pp. 330, 343–6.

[14] Arciniega, 'Miradas', pp. 75–7.   [15] Cámara, *Arquitectura*, p. 23; Marías, 'Memoria'.

[16] For an introduction to Aragón and Castile in early modern historiography, see García Cárcel, *La construcción,* and *La herencia.* For the Mudejars of Aragón, among many other references, see Catlos, *The Victors.* For more detailed bibliography about Aragon and Castile, see p. 34 n. 33.

[17] Kagan, 'La corografía', p. 52.

Spanish kingdoms was arranged around the key events of the loss of Spain due to the Arab invasion and subsequent Christian liberation of the territory. The latter was understood by all concerned as the restoration of the natural order that had existed prior to the Islamic invasion. In this sense, it should be noted that, although I frequently refer to the Iberian Peninsula in this book as both a geographical and a historical concept, the notion of Spain also played an important role. Morales made this clear in his book's title (*The Antiquities of the Cities of Spain*), and other sources consulted for this study have also focused on the historical identity of the Spanish state, for which the Islamic past posed a considerable hurdle.[18]

In Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, the historiographical and antiquarian genres played a fundamental political role.[19] Morales has been defined as a forthright nationalist who wrote out of patriotic duty while under protection of the Crown. Indeed, all but a few of the texts studied here are interpreted in the context of the development of a Spanish national identity that took place in the aftermath of the conquest of Granada.[20] Given Spain's blurred historical identity at the time of Charles V, Philip II, and Philip III, official historians related to the Crown systematically tried to build the historical idea of Spain as a nation in contrast to the previous chronicles of Castile and Aragon. They probably did not fully achieve that aim, but their struggle created an ideological frame of reference and interestingly placed the Islamic buildings at the centre of archaeological debate about the origin of the Spanish nation.

The complex process of creating a Spanish polity engaged with issues of self-determination, territorial, social, and political organization, and, finally, imperialism, both in America and in the Mediterranean.[21] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, early modern historians identified a number of topics for discussion in regard to Spain's medieval religious history, such as the definition of Spain as a Christian nation in opposition to the Muslims and the Jews, the negotiation of these minorities' legacy, and the practice of religious conversion.[22] In this regard, see for instance the debate on the expulsion of the Morisco population from 1609 onwards. In the course of these discussions it was claimed that the Moriscos were both Spaniards and foreigners, they were also seen as willing to integrate into society as well as unyielding, and finally, despite baptism, they never ceased to be considered Moors by Spaniards.[23] History was, in Enzo Traverso's words on twentieth-century historiography, a battlefield over memory, violence, victors, and vanquished.[24] Here, as is usually the case, the vanquished were given little room for manoeuvre in the creation of their own historiographical memory. To a significant extent, it may be argued that sixteenth-century Spanish historical writing was entwined with a cultural concern to sidestep the memory of Islam as a feature of national identity. This was achieved through the recovery of the pre-Islamic ancient nation and the

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[18] A classical definition of nations as *imagined communities* in Anderson, *Imagined*, pp. 5–6.
[19] On the political burden of English chorographies see Helgerson*, Forms*, pp. 146–7.
[20] Kagan, *Clio*, p. 109; Cuart Moner, 'La larga', pp. 45–126.
[21] See Johnson, *Cultural*; Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Christians'.
[22] Milhou, 'Desemitización', pp. 35–6.
[23] Among many others, see Feros, 'Retóricas', pp. 67–102.   [24] Traverso, *L'histoire*.

early construction of the restoration narrative. At the heart of these issues is the question raised by Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodriguez Mediano: was al-Andalus part of the history of Spain?[25] In many ways, the main issue addressed by this book builds on that question by asking: Were Islamic monuments understood as part of the history of Spain? Ambrosio de Morales' hesitations as he wrote his description of Córdoba Mosque apparently reveal uncertainty about the historical status of Islamic buildings.

Spain's Islamic architectural heritage is a particularly important example of the complex relationship between historiography and the construction of identity thanks to the physical evidence provided by the buildings. No other social minority was linked to such a powerful reminder of their culture. Although synagogues were also demolished, desecrated, and sometimes turned into churches, Islamic buildings were far more visible and identifiable than Jewish temples. In addition, Islamic architectural patterns were commonly employed in the building and decoration of synagogues. In some Spanish cities, the Islamic royal palaces and the massive main or *Aljama* mosques with their towering minarets were the most prominent monumental structures in the urban landscape. There was therefore an urgent need to control their interpretation. While historians claimed a break with the Islamic past, these physical remains provided testimony of the Islamic legacy and its significance for the construction of Spanish identity. Victor Nieto has rightly pointed out that these buildings, especially religious ones, were simultaneously exemplary monuments and symbols of a vanquished, but still living, heresy.[26] Readings of Morisco architecture were open to a variety of conflicting interpretations, which meant that the process of developing a stable symbolic national identity was problematic and could not be reduced to oppositional stereotypes.[27] Both the arguments against Islam and the favourable reception of its architectural legacy need to be considered. The range of ideological expectations frequently led to a lack of consistency in the descriptions of Islamic monuments, even in the same text.[28]

This book addresses the need to analyse these contradictory perceptions, not only in relation to aesthetics, but above all in terms of historical identity. Central to this approach is Pierre Nora's view of the opposition between memory and history.[29] Nora's ideas offer a framework to develop an understanding of how early modern history writing actively sought to intervene in the architectural memory of the Islamic past in Andalusian cities: for Islamic mosques and palaces to serve as Christian *lieux de mémoire* (realms of memory), their symbolic content had to be transformed and historical writing was used to achieve this. Indeed, Ambrosio de Morales, Alonso Morgado, or Pedro Diaz de Ribas carefully considered Islamic architecture. At the same time, however, Ambrosio de Morales' vacillations are a symptom of a broader process whereby Spanish historians and antiquarians in the

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[25] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*; Rodríguez Mediano, 'Sacred'.
[26] Nieto, 'El mito', p. 134.   [27] Blanks and Frassetto, *Western*, pp. 4ff.
[28] See Marías, 'Haz y envés', p. 105; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 360, (ed. 2013) p. 353.
[29] Nora, *Les lieux*, 1, p. XVff.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries revised the initial reception of these monuments as architectural wonders and exotic trophies. They endeavoured to reappropriate these hybrid architectures by integrating them into a more homogeneous cultural memory focused on Spain's Roman and Christian past. Appropriation, in this case, was not achieved by assimilating influences but, as Fernando Marías has clearly shown, by transforming the interpretation of the buildings through negotiation of their symbolic meaning.[30] The conversion of Islamic monuments by historians was also a process of heritage fabrication which may be understood, in the sense discussed by David Lowenthal, as 'making something up'.[31] In a way, this strategy related to the conditions imposed by the liturgical use of Islamic objects in Christian religious settings, both in Spain and across Europe more widely, as functions had to be altered and biblical associations invoked to guarantee the Christian identity of the object in question.[32]

While previous analyses of the humanist reception of Islamic architecture have focused on its connections to the history of architecture and antiquarian culture, the link between these buildings and the history of the nation has not been addressed systematically. In particular, their relationship with ecclesiastical history and early modern religious forgeries has not been explored to date. In addition to a systematic exploration of the sources, this book's main contribution is to suggest that the new strategies applied to interpreting ancient Morisco buildings ranged from 1) changing a monument's presumed historical origin on the basis of archaeological judgements that erased any possible Islamic identity by appealing to a Roman or Phoenician past; to 2) the use of religious forgeries which promoted claims of pre-Islamic Christian foundation, seeking to cleanse any traces of heresy in the buildings with records of blood spilt by Christian martyrs or through the protection afforded by saints. The insertion of these buildings in antiquarian literature delivered the necessary epistemological framework to support these interpretations. As this book demonstrates, subsequent interconnections between local, national, and ecclesiastical histories favoured a further reading that turned Islamic trophies into antiquarian evidence of ancient Christianity in the Peninsula. The integration of Islamic monuments in the history of Christian Spain was pursued by all these means. Proof of the significance of this early modern historiographical appropriation is that it involved, in a variety of ways, the most prominent antiquarians and historians that were active in Spain in that period. It also identified these Islamic buildings as core evidence to be used in the debates that shaped the early development of archaeology and had a central role in the controversial historical debate that arose concerning the origin of the nation and its ecclesiastical history.

The above contents are structured in ten chapters divided into three parts and a final coda with some concluding ideas. The first part addresses the initial reception

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[30] See Marías, 'Haz y envés', p. 110. On the concept of appropriation, see Ashley and Plesch, 'The Cultural'; Burke, *Cultural*, pp. 36ff, 70ff, and *Hybrid*, pp. 23ff; Robinson and Rouhi, *Under*, p. 4.

[31] Lowenthal, 'Fabricating', pp. 5–25, and *The Past*, p. XXIV.

[32] Shalem, *Islam*, (quoted from 1998) pp. 129ff, and *The Oliphant*, pp. 125ff. See also Serra, 'Convivencia', pp. 55ff.

of Islamic monuments as war trophies. To this end, I have studied the medieval roots of the narratives of the Islamic invasion and the Christian conquest of Toledo, Córdoba, Seville, and, eventually, Granada. The second part explores the creation of an antiquarian interpretation framework by analysing the original formulation of this model in Córdoba, including the methodological debates provoked by this new subject of antiquarian study, its substantiation in Seville, and the model's limitations in the case of Toledo. The third part considers the use of the antiquarian framework for the religious appropriation of Islamic monuments, leading to the rationalization of Spain's Christian restoration on the basis of archaeological tools and forgeries associated with these buildings. For this purpose, I have explored the genealogical approaches that aimed to build bridges with the pre-Islamic past of the temples in question through the proposal of mythical origins relating to the Peninsula's early Christianity, to the Visigoths and Mozarabs, and to the various discoveries of religious icons allegedly predating the Islamic conquest. In particular, this part has focused on genealogical strategies based on the vindication of Christian martyrs in Córdoba, Seville, and Granada. The concluding ideas in Chapter 10 focus on the control of the proposed hypotheses, paying special attention to the reception of the historiographical narratives created around these buildings by their contemporaries. This has required a review of several topics: the circumstances surrounding the dissemination of ideas through literature as well as through their presence in the public milieu of feast days and liturgies; the perpetuation of these lines of thought through intellectual traditions; visual imagery as a selective filtering device for ideas; and the contrast between local ideological agendas and foreign visitors' perceptions. In all these contexts, it has been possible to perceive the interesting complexity generated by the coexistence of appropriation discourses and the enduring notion of trophy in the construction of Spain's national history.

HOW TO STUDY THIS PROCESS: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Although many researchers have shown how historic Islamic buildings played an important role in the creation of the Romantic image of Spain, no systematic analysis has been undertaken to date of the political and cultural significance of the major Islamic monuments in early modern Spain.[33] There is, however, a significant corpus of literature that provides a valuable foundation for this study. Six pioneering articles, written between 1984 and 1995, laid the foundations for research on the aesthetic and ideological values that shaped the humanist reception of Islamic architecture in Spain: Fernando Checa's study of the interpretation of Islamic gardens (1984); Víctor Nieto's analysis of the myth of Arab architecture (1986); Alicia

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[33] On the Romantic reception of Spanish Islamic architecture, see Calvo Serraller, *La imagen*. Among others, see also Méndez, *La imagen*; Méndez, Zoido, and Plaza, *Viaje*; Stearns, 'Representing'; Salas, *La arqueología*; Calatrava and Zucconi, *Orientalismo*; González Alcantud, *El mito*. See also Giese, 'Quand'.

Cámara's survey of the evaluation of Islamic monuments in the context of architectural thinking (1990); Cammy Brothers' examination of Andrea Navagero's perception of the Alhambra (1994); Vicente Lleó's study of Giralda tower (1995); and finally Fernando Marías' analysis of the image of Islamic architecture in historiography and literature (1995).[34] Marías' work is a key text that will be constantly revisited throughout the book.

Generally speaking, the coexistence of different religions has been largely acknowledged as one of the most interesting aspects of Spanish history. In what was, to some extent, a continuation of the Orientalist fascination with the Iberian Peninsula's Islamic past, twentieth-century researchers wrote profusely about its effect on the construction of a medieval and early modern Spanish nationhood. Américo Castro and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz held a famous debate in the 1950s on the contribution of Islamic and Jewish heritage to the formation of Spanish identity.[35] In recent decades, this discussion has been developed by various lines of research on the issue of *convivencia* (or coexistence) in medieval Spain and the echoes of this cultural interaction following the conquest of Granada. On the one hand, extensive literature has been devoted to the study of the Moriscos, which the recent fourth centenary of their expulsion from Spain has further encouraged. Numerous books on this subject have shed light on the social status and living conditions of the Morisco population during the sixteenth century, as well as how they managed to remain in the Peninsula after 1609–1614.[36] Concurrently, the expansion of postcolonial studies has boosted interest in the study of the Muslim presence in Spain in terms of identity and culture. This line of research has focused on the reception of the Moriscos and Islamic cultural forms including Islamic literature. In addition to these, a number of studies on Mudejar architecture have also been published.[37]

In recent years, several studies have been undertaken, from a variety of critical perspectives, on the medieval transformation of Islamic buildings, as well as on the reception of Islamic culture and heritage in medieval and early modern Spain generally. Worthy of special note are Jerrilynn Dodds, Rafael Comes, Vicente Lleó, Fernando Marías, Thomas Glick, Julie Harris, Teresa Laguna, Ana Echevarría, Susana Calvo, Pascal Buresi, Barbara Fuchs, Heather Ecker, Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, Maria Judith Feliciano, Cynthia Robinson, Leyla Rouhi, Felipe Pereda, Borja Franco, Danya Crites, Inés Monteira, Brian Catlos, Elena Díez, Cammy Brothers, Tom Nickson, and Francine Giese.[38] Together, their essays offer an overview of

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[34] Checa, 'El arte'; Nieto, 'El mito'; Cámara, *Arquitectura*; Brothers, 'The Renaissance'; Marías, 'Haz y envés'; Lleó, 'El pasado'. See also Lleó, *Nueva Roma*; Marías, *El largo*, 'El palacio', and 'Memoria'.

[35] While Sánchez Albornoz's idea of Spanish genealogy had a more Christian focus, which he dated back to the Visigoths, Castro pointed out the Islamic and Jewish roots and outlined the consequences of *convivencia* and inter-religious conflict. Castro, *España*. See Linehan, *History*; García Cárcel, *La herencia*; Novikoff, 'Between'; Subirats, *Américo*.

[36] For an overview of recent literature about the Moriscos, see Soria and Otero, 'Una nueva'; Soria, *Los últimos*, pp. 17–23.

[37] See Dodds, 'The Mudéjar'; Ruiz Souza, 'Le style'; Burke, *Hybrid*.

[38] Dodds, *Architecture* and *Al-Andalus*; Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale, *The Arts*; Lleó, 'De mezquitas'; Marías, 'La casa' and 'El palacio'; Glick, *From Muslim*; Harris, 'Mosque'; Laguna, 'La Aljama', and

Christian attitudes towards Islam. Furthermore, selected historiographical narratives developed in response to medieval Islamic buildings have also been examined from two different points of view: Juan Calatrava, Fernando Marías once more, Luis Arciniega, Amadeo Serra, Fernando Martínez Gil, Juan Montijano, and Andrea Mariana have explored the issue of the historical experience of this type of architecture, while Delfín Rodríguez, Amanda Wunder, Heather Ecker, Jesús Salas, and Luis Arciniega have addressed antiquarian interest in the remnants of Islamic architecture.[39] In addition to these, I have engaged with these issues in a number of articles and book chapters.[40]

Another angle on Morisco heritage has been provided by the study of historical and archaeological discourse in the Peninsula.[41] Scholars working in this area have examined the ideological position expressed in both national and local histories. They have also stressed the relationship between issues of identity and the process of historical forgery.[42] Seminal contributions have been made by Richard Kagan, Ricardo García Cárcel, and others on historiography and the process of national-identity building in Habsburg Spain. The work of Albert Mas and Miguel Ángel de Bunes on the perception of Turkish and North African Islam in Spain, as well as Josiah Blackmore on Portuguese writing about Africa must also be mentioned. Significant too is the extensive literature on religious forgeries, including Katrina Olds' recent book on the Toledo forgeries. The study of the Granada Lead Books and their connection to early Spanish Orientalism by Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano is of particular importance, as are the works of David Coleman and Katie Harris on the impact of these forgeries on city identity.[43] The precedent of James T. Monroe's work on early Spanish Arabism must also be remembered.[44] Finally, in terms of antiquarian literature, Miguel Morán's book *La Memoria de las Piedras* provides a central frame of reference for this essay, as it has drawn attention to the contradictory nature of humanist approaches to

'Una capilla'; Echevarría, *The Fortress*; Calvo Capilla, 'La mezquita', and *Estudios*; Buresi, 'Les conversions'; Fuchs, 'Virtual', and *Exotic*; Ecker, 'The Great', and 'How to'; Ruiz Souza, 'Castilla y Al-Andalus', 'Architectural', and 'Castilla y la libertad'; Feliciano, *Mudejarismo*, 'Muslims', and 'The Invention'; Robinson and Rouhi, *Under*; Pereda, *Las imágenes*; Franco, *La pintura*, 'Multiculturalidad', and 'Mitología'; Crites, *Mosque*; Monteira, *El enemigo*; Catlos, *Muslims*; Díez Jorge, 'Arte'; Brothers, 'Un humanista'; Nickson, *Toledo*; Giese, 'Quand'.

[39] Calatrava, 'Arquitectura', 'Encomium', 'Islamic', and 'Contrarreforma'; Marías, 'Memoria'; Montijano, 'Cartografía'; Arciniega, 'Miradas'; Serra, 'La imagen' and 'Convivencia'; Martínez Gil, 'De civitas'; Mariana, *Cultura*; Rodríguez, *La memoria*; Wunder, 'Classical'; Ecker, 'Arab'; Salas, *La arqueología*.

[40] See Urquízar Herrera, 'La memoria', 'Mural', 'La literatura', 'Literary', 'La caracterización', 'Gregorio', and 'El Flos'.

[41] Marín, *Al-Andalus*.

[42] For an early precedent, see Maravall, *Antiguos*. Among others, see Wulff, *Las esencias*; Gascó, 'Historiadores', in particular; Olds, *Forging*.

[43] Kagan, 'La corografía', and *Clio*; García Cárcel, *La construcción*, and *La herencia*; Fernández Albaladejo, *Materia*; Grieve, *The Eve*; Rojinsky, *Companion*; Juaristi, *El reino*; Mas, *Les Turcs*; Bunes, *La imagen*, and *Los Moriscos*; Blackmore, *Moorings*; Harris, *From Muslim*; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*. See also Drayson, *The Lead*; Orellana, 'El concepto'; Álvarez Junco and De la Fuente, 'Orígenes'; García Cárcel, 'El concepto'; García Fitz, 'La confrontación'; Olds, *Forging*.

[44] Monroe, *Islam*.

Islamic buildings.[45] However, despite considerable work on the attitudes of early Spanish archaeologists towards the classical world, little research has been done on their ideological positions with regard to the Islamic past, a topic that was only subjected to systematic scrutiny in relation to archaeology in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[46]

This book undertakes a threefold cultural analysis: first and foremost, it examines the treatment of Islamic architecture in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish historiography; building on this foundation, it addresses the construction of Spain's national identity; and finally, it explores the response to Islam in Spanish thought at that time. To date, the study of the early modern reception of Islam has not engaged directly with architecture, and yet this interaction provides an essential frame for the interpretation of the historical narratives examined over the following chapters. In the past 40 years, the recurrent scholarly point of reference for European responses to Islam has been Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978). The extensive debate generated by Said's book has raised many questions about the validity of his ideas in the analysis of pre-modern Europe, and particularly in the case of Spain, which he did not address in his work. Above all, Said's claim that Napoleon's invasion of Egypt was 'the first time the Orient was revealed to Europe in the materiality of its texts, languages, and civilizations' has been particularly relevant.[47] Since this meeting of cultures had previously taken place elsewhere in Europe, most notably in the Iberian Peninsula, Venice, and the Balkans, criticism of Said's claim has led to a detailed analysis of the contact between Christianity and Islam in the medieval and early modern world.[48] As John Tolan has pointed out, the pre-modern vision of Islam in the West must not be automatically categorized in terms of a Saidian Orientalism *avant la lettre* and, in light of this view, careful attention must be paid to the question of how this cultural encounter evolved in early modern Spain.[49]

To address this issue, it is paramount to assess the validity of defining all pre-nineteenth-century relationships between European and Islamic culture in terms of colonization.[50] In general, the balance of power between pre-modern dominant and subaltern discourses was very different from today's.[51] In this regard, Jerold Frakes has argued that, while a colonial explanation may be used to discuss the Crusades, it does not apply to the case of Christians dwelling under Islamic political rule, or to Christians living in fear of being invaded by Islam, since they

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[45] Morán, *La memoria*. See also Morán and Rodríguez, *El legado*.

[46] Among others see Mora, *Historias*; Díaz-Andreu, 'Islamic'. See also Greenhalgh, *Constantinople*.

[47] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 77, and *Culture*. A first general revision in Hentsch, *Orient*, pp. 12ff. See also Rodinson, *La fascination*, pp. 53ff. On criticism of the lack of historical knowledge and historical scope in Said, see Varisco, *Reading*, pp. 12ff, 247ff.

[48] For an introduction to this literature, see Turner, *Orientalism*; Varisco, *Reading*; Elmarsafy, Bernard, and Attwell, *Debating*; Kalmar, *Early;* Netton, *Orientalism*.

[49] Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 280.   [50] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 7.

[51] See Matar, *Islam*, p. 12; Pick, 'Edward', pp. 8ff; Varisco, *Reading*, p. 123; Dew, *Orientalism*, pp. 5ff; Vitkus, 'Early', pp. 209ff; Malcoln, 'Positive', pp. 197–219; Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism*, p. 1; Sapra, *The Limits*. For the eighteenth century as a turning point in this balance, see Tolan, Veinstein, and Laurens, *Europe*, pp. 257ff.

were in a position of inferiority.[52] However, the question remains of how this applies to the Spanish situation specifically. In the Iberian Peninsula, the Christians annexed large areas of land that had been inhabited by Muslims for several hundred years. This shift in the balance of power has been discussed in numerous recent studies as a colonization process, a form of analysis that is frequently developed in connection with the subsequent conquest of America.[53] Walter Mignolo, for instance—a leading proponent of this approach—has argued that the colonization of the American languages and past had been previously rehearsed in the Iberian Peninsula.[54] However, even if we accept that a process of cultural colonization took place as part of the Christian conquest of al-Andalus, it is nonetheless evident that there is no direct equivalence between this process and the modern relationship between Europe and Islam.[55] The work of Mercedes García-Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, Miguel Ángel de Bunes, and Barbara Fuchs has clearly demonstrated that this difference is due to the particular conditions of alterity experienced in the Peninsula. The Muslims were the 'other within', and this is of central importance if we are to understand the process of Christian conquest and the Moriscos' subsequent situation.[56]

With regard to architecture, Fernando Marías correctly identified the relationship between the issue of alterity and the particular otherness of Islamic buildings in early modern Spain. Marías has discussed how Spanish humanism was first required to address the fact that the people who raised these buildings were 'others within', and then to explain why these foreign buildings were in their own ancestral home. According to him, Spanish antiquarianism endeavoured to forget these monuments or to recover them by undermining their very nature, denying their belonging to the 'other' and their specific and original Islamic nature.[57] In my opinion, de-Islamization was the prevailing aim pursued by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors who sought to define the interpretation of the monuments of al-Andalus, not only in the realm of antiquarian literature, but also in political and ecclesiastical history writing.[58] A clear contrast can be discerned between the situation in Spain and the

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[52] Frakes, *Contextualizing*, p. 171.

[53] Among others, see Fuchs, 'Virtual'; Ecker, 'How to'; Feliciano and Rouhi, 'Introduction'; Marchante-Aragón, 'The King'; Robinson and Rouhi, *Under*; Perry, *The Handless*, and 'Memory'; Remensnyder, 'The Colonization'; Wacks, 'Reconquest'. As noted by Miguel Ángel de Bunes in 1976 Julio Caro Baroja understood Christian early modern Granada as a colonial society. See Caro Baroja, *Una visión*; Bunes, 'El Orientalismo', p. 37. See also two examples of adaptation of Said's proposals to the study of early modern Europe in Avinoam Shalem's works on the Christianization of Islamic objects and the construction of the European image of Muhammad, and Ina Baghdiantz's work on early French Orientalism: Shalem, *Islam*, and *The Oliphant*; Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism*.

[54] Mignolo, *The Darker*, p. 1. See also Coleman, *Creating*, p. 2; Lisy-Wagner, *Islam*, pp. 12ff; Levinson, 'The Imperialist'.

[55] As has been repeatedly pointed out, Said himself stated in his preface to the Spanish edition of *Orientalism* that the relationship between Spain and Islam could not be merely characterized as imperial. Said, *Orientalismo*, (ed. 2003) p. 9. See Fuchs, *Exotic*, p. 146; González Alcantud, *El Orientalismo*, p. 20.

[56] Bunes, 'El Orientalismo', pp. 37–55. For Spanish theoretical reviews of Said in general, see González Alcantud, *El Orientalismo*, pp. 7–34. See also Colmeiro, 'Exorcising'.

[57] Marías, 'Haz y envés', p. 105.

[58] About de-semitization in early modern Spain see Milhou, 'Desemitización', pp. 35–6.

classic understanding of Orientalism. In principle, the nineteenth-century imperial discourse emphasized the otherness of the East, but in early modern Spain, the dominant narrative set out in the sources studied in this book aimed at homogenizing the otherness of the Oriental within. As a result, the Spanish case study is interesting because the Islamic other represented by these buildings was a visible part of Spain's own history, a fact which had to be either denied or else disguised as Christian. It was therefore a wholly different form of colonization.

In regard to the aims of the authors studied in this book, their engagement with the memory of al-Andalus was a process of cultural homogenization based on a narrative of the restoration of the Christian past of the conquered lands. The nation's cohesion did not depend solely on difference from what was foreign, but also on internal cohesion. Therefore, far from seeking to create hybridity or implant alterity, this colonial discourse put forward genealogical myths that enabled the appropriation of the new territories' Christian past.[59] Alternatives to this narrative of de-Islamization—such as lowly Morisco voices—almost certainly arose, but would have been silenced by official discourse.[60] Indeed, the idea of restoration was the primary argument in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century assessments of Spain's Islamic history. One of the opening texts in Ambrosio de Morales' *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España* is a eulogistic poem by historian Gonzalo Argote de Molina. His verse aimed to contextualize Morales' antiquarian work as helping Spain set aside its Islamic history: 'Remove your Moorish garments [*ropaje Mauro*] / and your captive grief, / for you [Spain] are now a triumphant lady / thanks to the sacred laurel.'[61] Historical writing sought to redeem the nation's history. The idea was equally present in other authors and books. It was unclear, as Antonio Mira de Amescua pointed out in his introduction to *Antigüedades y excelencias de Granada*, whether Granada's Christianity owed more to the swords of the Christian conquerors or to the pencil of Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza.[62] This view defined the historical interpretation of the monumental remains of Islamic Spain.

MAUROPHILIA, ARCHITECTURE, AND HISTORY

To some extent the trend towards homogenization of Spanish cultural identity was a response to the cultural hybridity which had for centuries coexisted with anti-Islamic prejudice. The cultural cohabitation of Muslims and Christians did not come to a sudden end in 1492, but its gradual decline was punctuated by

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[59] See Bhabha, *The Location*, p. 67. See also Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale, *The Arts*, p. 65.

[60] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 360, (ed. 2013) p. 353. One example of a Saidian reading of Islamic texts in the analysis of Francisco Núñez Muley's memorandum by Vincent Barletta, *A Memorandum*, p. 27. See also Perceval, *Todos son*.

[61] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, w/p. Argote had placed the text in the portrait of Morales that hung in his own gallery. Morales also inserted it in the opening pages of his *Los cinco libros postreros de la Coronica general de España*.

[62] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, w/p.

the key events of the war against the Moriscos of Granada and their expulsion in the early seventeenth century; nor was there a marked rupture as regards the use of Islamic objects and practices by the Spanish Christian elite. The Christian appropriation of the sumptuous architecture of al-Andalus was one of the most visible manifestations of this cultural hybridity.[63] Many authors have written at length about the integration of Islamic architectural forms in medieval and early modern Christian buildings. Apart from the persistence of vernacular Islamic construction techniques, historians have identified other aspects of a positive reception. They include evidence of praise for Islamic architecture from Christian authors, orders by Christian monarchs that measures be taken to protect Islamic constructions, and the symbolic reuse of Islamic forms and spolia in Christian buildings.[64] Another question that has not been addressed to date is how this hybridity affected early modern historical interpretations of the medieval Islamic monuments of al-Andalus and, related to this, its effects on scholarly study of such interpretations. The chapters that follow deal comprehensively with these matters.

Academic study of the favourable reception of Islam in medieval and early modern Spain has focused on a number of closely related concepts, although at times their distinctive approaches have led to controversy over interpretations. The term *mudéjar* was coined by José Amador de los Rios in the nineteenth century as a categorization for the Christian architecture of the Peninsula which used Islamic forms and construction techniques. Regrettably, Amador's term, which lacked clarity from the outset, led to a long-drawn-out and at times confusing discussion of issues of style and identity.[65] As mentioned earlier, the word *convivencia* was first used in the mid twentieth century in response to the work of Américo Castro. It was intended as a positive account of the coexistence of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity in Spain during the Middle Ages, and was commonly used in the discussion of cultural products.[66] In parallel to this, literary historians formulated the term maurophilia to refer to various literary themes that revealed the cultural interest of the early modern Christian elites in the sumptuary forms of Islam. Above all, maurophilia concerned the literary re-enactment of the chivalric jousts and other such martial displays in Christian literature, which primarily focused on characters such as the *Moorish* knight.[67] Occasionally, it was extended to discuss the use of Islamic monuments as literary topics or tropes, such as the

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[63] See Burke, *Cultural*, p. 14ff.

[64] Nieto, 'El mito', pp. 134ff. On the Christian emulation of Islamic buildings, see Ruiz Souza, 'Castilla y la libertad', pp. 135ff.

[65] See Marías, *El largo*, pp. 9ff; Borrás, *El arte*, and 'Mudéjar'; López Guzmán, *Arquitectura*; Morales, 'Quien'; Marías, 'Cuando El Escorial'; Ruiz Souza, 'Le style'; Urquízar Herrera, 'La caracterización'.

[66] In addition to the literature quoted in previous notes, for the origin of the term '*convivencia*' in Ramón Menéndez Pidal, see Mann, Glick and Dodds, *Convivencia*, pp. 1ff.

[67] A seminal work on maurophilia in Carrasco Urgoiti, *El moro de Granada*. See Kimmel, 'Local'. A critical approach to the possible political characterization of literary maurophilia in Sánchez Jiménez, 'La batalla'. On modern maurophobia, see Bunes Ibarra, *Los Moriscos*.

seventeenth-century play entitled *De la fundación de la Alhambra*, which was set in this Andalusian palace.[68]

Recent postcolonial theory has identified the Iberian Peninsula as a key location for the phenomenon of cultural hybridity in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.[69] The wide-ranging research undertaken as a result has prompted a debate on the core concepts of *convivencia*, Mudejar, and maurophilia.[70] In particular, the concept of *convivencia* has attracted a great deal of critical analysis and the problematic nature of the term itself has been debated with reference to the existence of both creative influence and friction among the different religious communities.[71] In addition, the terms Mudejar, which was formerly limited to the interpretation of architectural models, and maurophilia, which had a mainly literary scope, have also been given a broader cultural characterization. Barbara Fuchs, for instance, has recently discussed sixteenth-century literary maurophilia and highlighted its role in Spanish national identity building. Fuchs has demonstrated that maurophilia exceeded literary tradition and engaged with the 'lived practices, the costume, and the architecture in which the hybridity of Spain emerges most fully'.[72] However, in her discussion of the historical reception of the Alhambra and the use of courtly Mudejar she only touched briefly on architecture. Fuchs acknowledged that this cultural dimension had been given greater prominence in recent literature on the subject.[73] One such example is the work of Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, who has pursued a reorientation of the debate away from the problematic definition of Mudejar as an architectural style towards the wider field of visual culture. According to Ruiz, the Christian use of Islamic artistic resources can be better understood if we discard the term Mudejar and consider instead the existence of a common Islamic and Christian medieval visual culture within which languages of power were deployed.[74] In regard to this historiographical situation, the analysis of the early modern reception of Islamic medieval monuments needs to consider the possible intersection between the commemorative value of these historical buildings and the active continuation of Islamic forms in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century architecture and visual culture.[75] Attention will be paid to whether modern buildings

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[68] *De la fundación*.
[69] Methodological approaches to the study of cultural hybridity in Burke, *Cultural*, and *Hybrid*, pp. 11ff. On hybridity and heritage, see Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge, *Pluralisin*.
[70] See for instance Feliciano and Rouhi, 'Introduction', pp. 323ff; Robinson and Rouhi, *Under*, pp. 3ff; Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale, *The Arts*; Johnson, *Cultural*; Novikoff, 'Between'. In addition, for a strongly conservative position opposed to the modern vindication of *convivencia*, see Fanjul, *España*.
[71] See Mann, Glick, and Dodds, *Convivencia*, p. 1; Soravia, *Al-Andalus*; Robinson and Rouhi, *Under*, pp. 4–5.
[72] Fuchs, *Exotic*, p. 5.
[73] Robinson and Rouhi, *Under*; Feliciano and Rouhi, 'Introduction'; Feliciano, *Mudejarismo*, and 'The Invention'. For an example of the use of the proposed relation between maurophilia and court Mudejar beyond the boundaries of critical theory, see Silva, 'Maurofilia'.
[74] See among others Ruiz Souza, 'Architectural', 'Los espacios', and 'Le style'. For two examples of analysis of the limits of the traditional style debate on Mudejar see González Ramos, 'Los hispano-islamismos'; Pereda, 'El cuerpo'.
[75] Fuchs, *Exotic*, p. 48. On the reproduction of the memory of Islam in Spain through the work of Mudejar and Morisco artisans, see Perry, 'Memory', p. 70. See also Crites, *Mosque*.

that included Islamic architectural ornamentation were identified with the memory of the ancient Islamic monuments and the memory of Islam.

The perception of Islamic architecture in terms of cultural memory was established in thirteenth-century historical literature with descriptions of the monuments captured as spoils of war in Córdoba and Seville. This textual response was perpetuated in the narratives of the conquest of Granada. Finally, retrospective accounts of these events written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries used the same literary figure. However, the reading in terms of cultural memory is less discernible in the case of so-called Mudejar buildings. According to Fernando Marías, the early-sixteenth-century combination of Renaissance novelties and Islamic workmanship at the royal palaces of Granada and Seville should be understood as pragmatic use of existing architectural resources in a context where the differences between styles and languages were not clearly perceived. In his opinion, the analogies between Mudejar art, the positive valuation of al-Andalus' art, and literary maurophilia should not be pursued.[76] In the same vein, scholars like Maria Judith Feliciano have argued that the use of Islamic ornamentation did not imply political or identity considerations.[77] Working from a different perspective, Barbara Fuchs has remarked that sixteenth-century Mudejar palaces could function as commemorative monuments enabling remembrance of the Islamic past. However, she has also made the point that the Christian elites who commissioned these buildings did not intend to celebrate either the Islamic past or the Christian conquest. They simply continued to build in a style that was then considered vernacular.[78]

In my opinion, Marías' view is supported by the fact that there was a difference between the early modern interpretations of early medieval Islamic buildings and more recent Christian constructions built using an Islamic architectural language. Unlike the spoils of the war against Islam, the latter were not explicitly recognized in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as mementoes of the past. Despite the clear existence of architectural continuity, no common interpretation strategies were developed for these old and new buildings. The Alcazar of Seville is a case in point. Founded by the Muslim kings of Seville, like most of their original constructions it was destroyed in the wake of the Christian conquest. By the end of the fifteenth century, its most prominent section was a fourteenth-century palace built in Islamic style by Mudejar craftsmen for the Christian King Peter I, possibly containing, as indicated by Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, some intentional spolia from different stages of the history of Spain. In any case, this historical discourse vanished during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, as explained above, the palace's Islamic forms led to the building being simply identified as an item of Morisco architecture. This Morisco image led many foreign travellers to identify it as a trophy won from the medieval Muslim kings, but Sevillian authors typically asserted that the palace was built at the time of the Christian monarchs in Islamic style. The writer Agustín Rojas, a resident of Seville in the early seventeenth century,

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[76] Marías, *El largo*, p. 196.
[77] Feliciano, *Mudejarismo*, and 'Muslims', pp. 101–32.   [78] Fuchs, *Exotic*, p. 58.

offers an example of how it was praised for its 'strange sumptuosity' and that no mention was made of any connection with the Islamic political and religious past.[79] Local historiography of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries acknowledged that it had been founded by the Muslim rulers, but focused on the more recent Christian history of the visible Islamic construction. Alonso Morgado and Rodrigo Caro, for instance, extolled the alcazar's architectural magnificence by combining descriptions of the Islamic ornamentation and the monument's connection to King Peter I. These and other descriptions reveal how these writers understood that the Islamic appearance of buildings did not cause any conflict with their identification with the Spanish Christian monarchy.[80] Capable of differentiating between the buildings' architectural form and their history, these authors felt no need to deploy strategies of intellectual appropriation, as was the case of contemporaneous descriptions of the Giralda tower. Furthermore, these authors' comments on the dwellings of Seville's nobility reveal how Islamic forms did not inherently lead to problems of identity. Even though the noble palaces were at times described as works belonging to the Islamic period, most of the textual references were limited to discussion of their magnificence and mentioned neither their Christian origin, nor the Islamic identity of their architectural design and decorative patterns.[81] As this had occurred since the Middle Ages, it may be argued that this shared visual culture was integrated relatively seamlessly. Regardless of their form, the history of the buildings could be a problem in itself.

Despite their differences, both maurophilia and so-called Mudejar were living forms of cultural participation. This book does not link them to the ideological concerns that shaped the sixteenth and seventeenth-century historiographical treatment of medieval Islamic monuments. The process of antiquarian appropriation existed precisely in order to challenge any possible historical continuity with those old buildings. In this regard, it is worth remembering that maurophilia coexisted with attempts to expunge Semitism from the history of Spain and to achieve the cultural homogenization of Spanish national identity. During the Early Modern Period, hybridity was challenged by official support for binary narratives of opposition between Christians and Muslims.[82] This strategy blocked the potential emergence of a possible third way.[83] Attempts to integrate the Muslims through

[79] Rojas Villandrando, *El viage*, pp. 8v ff. See Cámara, *Arquitectura*, pp. 228–9.
[80] Morgado, *Historia*, pp. 55v, 92v; Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 56r ff. Both authors took for granted that the palace had been Islamic in the past, but they understood that the visible constructions dated back to Peter I. Summarizing this tradition, Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga acknowledged the Islamic origin of the palace, stating that its architecture was lost, and went on to combine the attribution of its most sumptuous architectural features to Peter I with comments on the Islamic nature of its forms. Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, pp. 15, 222. Three examples of Islamic attribution of the Alcazar of Seville by travellers in Navagero, *Il viaggio*, p. 13v; Bertaut, *Journal*, (quoted from 1682) p. 148; Labat, *Voyages*, I, p. 246. An example of the opposite viewpoint in Münzer, *Itinerarium*, p. 78. An ambiguous Islamic interpretation of the building in Espinosa de los Monteros, *Primera*, p. 128r.
[81] Morgado, *Historia*, pp. 49v, 55v, 92v. See also Caro, *Antigüedades*, pp. 46v ff, 63v; Bertaut, *Journal*, (quoted from 1682) p. 146. Unusually, Bartolomé Sánchez de Feria identified some Mudejar noble houses of Córdoba as former Islamic buildings. Sánchez de Feria, *Palestra*, p. 146.
[82] Catlos, *Muslims*, p. 226. Also see Burke, *Hybrid*, pp. 199ff.
[83] Following Homi Bhabha, see Marchante-Aragón, 'The King', pp. 104ff. On the medieval antecedents of this binary opposition see Echevarría, *The Fortress*, p. 1; Brann, 'The Moors?', pp. 312ff.

a heterogeneous symbolic genealogy of Spain and through the promotion of a Christianity that could admit Islamic cultural forms were not on the official historical agenda.[84] Historiography sought to establish the Europeanization of the Peninsula. While the continuation of Islamic architectural resources was a lively cultural *habitus*, early modern local and national histories expressly aimed to turn medieval Islamic architecture into ancient remains imbued with stories about the Roman and Christian origins of Spain.

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[84] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*; Fuchs, 'Virtual', p. 13; Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale, *The Arts*, pp. 285ff.

PART I

1

Conquest and Plunder

In the course of the sixteenth century, the three main Islamic architectural monuments in Spain—Córdoba Mosque, the Giralda tower in Seville, and the Alhambra palace in Granada—underwent major architectural transformations that influenced popular perceptions at the time. A large Christian nave was inserted in the centre of the mosque, a belfry was added to the Giralda, and a palace was annexed to the Alhambra. Traditionally, as described by Víctor Nieto, the purpose of these modifications was to emphasize Christian domination over valuable Islamic architecture that had acquired mythical status and was felt to deserve preservation as testimony.[1] Although this is a valid idea, it must be noted that such interventions also added new meanings to the medieval concept of trophy.

The first part of this book explores the discourse underlying the medieval interpretation of Islamic monumental architecture. The interaction between the idea of buildings as trophies and the tension surrounding their potential destruction, conservation, and transformation offers a convenient framework for subsequent analysis of the strategies behind the appropriation of the surviving edifices. Chapter 1 sets out the general background by way of a review of the writings of Ambrosio de Morales in relation to the transformation of Córdoba Mosque.

In 1523, some of the naves in the old *Aljama* Mosque in Córdoba began to be demolished in order to clear a space in the heart of the building for the erection of a large late-Gothic transept, which would eventually be completed in Renaissance style. Since the Christian conquest of the city in 1236, the high altar had been located in the southwestern area of the prayer room. A basilical construction was built there in the fifteenth century, but it was far smaller and more inconspicuous than the early-sixteenth-century project. The decision to abandon the primitive Christian nave and to start building a new one was driven by Bishop Alonso Manrique, who thought the location of the existing chancel lacked prominence. The minutes of a cathedral chapter meeting in 1521 mention the bishop's wish to find a new location 'of adequate size in the middle of the church'.[2]

Manrique clearly considered the existing temple inadequate. The issue, however, as far as can be inferred from the sources, was not lack of appreciation for the Islamic architecture surrounding the Gothic nave, but the inconspicuousness of the old Christian construction within the mosque. Today it seems likely that

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[1] Nieto, 'El mito', p. 137. See also Serra, 'La imagen', pp. 40ff.
[2] ACA, *Actas Capitulares*, 9 (23/07/1521) p. 59v. References, though showing the wrong date, in Ortí, 'Oposición', pp. 400ff.

Manrique's goal was to redefine the symbolic meaning of the building by intentionally keeping the Islamic fabric and adding a competing piece of Christian architecture at its core. The central location of the new structure is, in fact, the most recurrent theme in the literature, underlining a process that should be interpreted more as symbolic appropriation than replacement.[3] Later readings of the same events also point in this direction. According to an early-seventeenth-century text, Manrique decided to build a chancel and high chapel 'in the middle of the temple, so proportioned that the existing fabric would embrace the new all around with its naves and columns'.[4]

This initiative was immediately opposed by the local authority. A dispute between Córdoba city council and the cathedral was eventually won by the Church when Charles V authorized completion of the works and the final transformation of the mosque's internal architecture.[5] Contemporary sources make it fairly clear that the local authority's opposition arose from the need to protect the local nobility's ancestral rights to be buried in the temple. City council documents insisted that the new construction would be an affront to the monarchs buried in the cathedral, to the city itself, and, in particular, to the 'local gentlemen and knights who have burial chapels within it'.[6] It was feared that spatial reallocation would cause family chapels to lose their proximity to the high altar. This reason alone was sufficient to justify the conflict between the civilian and ecclesiastical authorities, and the confrontation does not appear to have been for aesthetic reasons or due to the city council's desire to actively protect the Islamic legacy. Nevertheless, it is true that, when defending their claim, they appealed to patrimonial reasons, albeit as secondary arguments, asserting that 'the manner in which this temple is built is unique in the world'.[7] Several early-seventeenth-century records also introduce heritage into the debate surrounding the building, which may have been an echo of earlier discussions, even if these did not directly relate to the city council's true interests.[8] The possibility of erecting a new royal chapel within the old mosque was considered during the reign of Philip IV. One of the reports in circulation at that time, written by Bernardo de Aldrete, praised the Umayyad building, advising against further partial demolition, and suggesting that both Charles V and Philip II had opposed the construction of the cathedral's great nave on the same grounds.[9]

Well into the seventeenth century, and in the course of the eighteenth, some authors tried to add visibility to this confrontation by illustrating the concern expressed by both monarchs in their respective royal visits to the cathedral.[10] Juan Gómez Bravo, historian to the bishops of Córdoba, wrote in 1778 that Charles V, having given the go-ahead for the works, expressed regret for that decision in a subsequent visit to Córdoba. Indeed, Gómez Bravo put into Emperor Charles'

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[3] See Dodds, *Al-Andalus*, pp. 24–5.   [4] Alfaro, *La vida*, p. 104r.

[5] AMC, section 4/1/100. See transcription in Ortí, 'Oposición', pp. 400–6.

[6] AMC, *Cabildo* 29/04/1523. See Nieto, 'El mito', p. 135; Marías, *El largo*, pp. 187ff, and 'Haz y envés', p. 108.

[7] AMC, *Cabildo* 29/04/1523.   [8] See in particular Alfaro, *La vida*, p. 104r.

[9] Aldrete, *Relación*, (ed. 1921–1922) p. 52. See also Ponce de León and Navarrete, *Informe*.

[10] Alfaro, *La vida*, p. 104r; Gómez Bravo, *Catálogo*, 1, p. 420.

mouth the very arguments about the building's uniqueness that had previously appeared in the city council's legal documentation.[11] This anecdote has never been questioned, and ever since it has been closely linked to the building's historical memory. As far as we know today, the words allegedly uttered by Charles V do not appear to have been recorded at the time. Whether this story is true or false, the controversy surrounding the mosque's transformation is clearly reflected in tradition. So, although it is difficult to fathom the real content and scope of the debate that took place in the sixteenth century, there is nonetheless evidence that, on account of the various interests involved, the partial demolition and the new building works caused concern in the city. On a smaller scale, the disappearance of the ancient Umayyad minbar which had been preserved in the church as a trophy, in the belief that it had once been the 'chair of Al-Mansur', was also mentioned at the time.[12]

Ambrosio de Morales was aware of these discussions. He spent the last years of his life in Córdoba and was involved in the cathedral chapter's activities. We know from his correspondence that, even before he retired to his native city, he was kept punctually informed of the most salient events, including Philip II's visit to the mosque.[13] In view of his involvement with both the cathedral chapter and the Crown, it is particularly interesting that Morales should give his opinion on the building works in *Las antigüedades* (1575). He argued that the mosque would not be damaged by the construction of a Christian cathedral inside. The works entailed pulling down a large number of rows of columns and arches, which undoubtedly altered—for better or worse—the space created for Islamic worship. Throughout this period most of the building was under construction and a large section of roof was missing, leaving it exposed to the elements.[14] No witness could seriously agree with his affirmation that the building remained unaltered:

> Let it be understood that the church has the same shape today as when it was built. What has been erected inside has not involved the removal of any parts of the old shell or affected its shape or arrangement. We shall therefore describe herein what the Moors built, as the new additions have not in the least modified or changed the [building as a] whole.[15]

Against this background, Morales' arguments should firstly be interpreted in connection with the local controversy and as a response to any negative reactions that might arise to the redevelopment of the building. Had the unfinished architectural

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[11] Gómez Bravo, *Catálogo*, 1, pp. 419–20.

[12] In Bernardo de Aldrete's opinion the minbar was removed by order of Philip II. If this reference is correct, it can be inferred that the decision was made for the sake of decorum. Aldrete, *Relación*. Also see Córdoba, *Descriptio*, (ed. 1973) pp. 34ff; Morales, *Las antigüedades*, p. 124r; Roa, *Flos*, p. 84v.

[13] Morales, *Varia*, pp. 116ff. A letter from Dr Juan de San Clemente reporting King Philip's visit to the Cathedral is a good indication that Philip II did not express disapproval of the works, otherwise the incident would have deserved a mention.

[14] Among other contemporary references, see Alfaro, *La vida*, p. 104v. The chapter records for these years contain frequent complaints about the condition of the building and the rain pouring into the church.

[15] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, pp. 120r–120v.

transformation not been to the liking of Charles V or Philip II, it is understandable that Morales, as Crown chronicler and as a clergyman involved in the works, should seek to suggest that the trophy remained intact. Should the anecdote about the kings be false, as may well be the case, Morales could simply have used his official position to counter the city council's criticism. Secondly, Morales' assertion, and the Córdoba debate as a whole, is linked to the earlier history of Christian and Islamic temples. It may be related to the different accounts of the demolition and substitution of temples by Muslim and Christian conquerors, as well as to the idea of monuments as trophies.

Morales' strong appreciation for the Islamic architectural style displayed in Córdoba's former mosque happily coexisted with his complicity in the partial demolition and ideological appropriation of the building. In comparison with the images of destruction of Christian temples by Muslims established in historical narratives, the architectural changes to Córdoba Mosque were barely noticeable. Again, in contrast with the earlier demolition of the mosques of Zaragoza, Toledo, Valencia, and Seville by Christians and, more recently, of Granada's *Aljama* Mosque, the erection of a Gothic and Renaissance nave in Córdoba was not seen as a major alteration. By these acts of destruction, both Muslims and Christians sought to encourage cultural homogeneity and to prevent hybridity. From the perspective of the collective memory of the Christian restoration, the partial preservation of the Umayyad temple to some extent meant, as Morales claimed, that it had retained its original appearance, even though half the building was under construction and exposed to the elements, and its spatial hierarchy had been radically altered. Set against mosques that no longer existed, the building that had formerly been Islam's foremost religious monument in Spain could still be perceived as a trophy.

MEMORIES OF RESTORATION

The ever-present memory of armed conflict against Islam is a key element when analysing the initial reception of Islamic buildings in the Iberian Peninsula and, in particular, to understand why the idea of monuments as trophies was so enduring in Córdoba and other towns. According to Sebastián de Covarrubias' 1611 dictionary, a trophy was a mere 'sign for the remembrance' of victory.[16] An extensive search of sources shows that Alicia Cámara is right to suggest that this line of thought was an important element in a building's significance.[17] Memories of the Christian restoration of the Peninsula were a core theme in medieval and early modern Spanish writing. Sixteenth-century literature kept alive the aljamiado ballads in which Muslims appeared as heroes who were full of praise for their Christian conquerors. Spanish histories written in the Middle Ages, such as those by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada or written for Alphonse VII and Alphonse X, were also printed in

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[16] Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, p. 55r.   [17] Cámara, *Arquitectura*, p. 31.

the sixteenth century and became a standard source for humanist historians.[18] At the time of the conquest of Granada and during the following decades, new accounts of the old wars were written and disseminated, notably those by Pedro del Corral (written in the fifteenth century and printed in 1499, 1549, 1586, and 1587), Miguel de Luna (1592, 1603, 1606, 1646, 1654, 1676, among others), and Jaime Bleda (1618).[19] The memory of fighting continued to be present in all walks of life. This may be seen in, for instance, Gonzalo Argote de Molina's history of Andalusian nobility (1588), which was essentially a humanist tally of the medieval exploits, trophies, and spoils that had kept the aristocracy in power.[20] The war discourse pervaded all national and local histories. To a greater or lesser extent, all these texts provided a list of warrior kings or retold the various cities' contributions to the war effort.

Las antigüedades was written as an appendix to Morales' *Corónica general de España*, which included the Christian conquest. Both publications coincided with the end of the Morisco uprising in Granada and the Battle of Lepanto (1571), two events which were observed at the time in the context of the nation's previous history. Among dozens of examples, the history of Murcia by Francisco Cascales (1621) linked the fall of Spain into Muslim hands to the value of buildings: 'because the war is about Christians against Muslims, about the defence of motherland and religion, about not seeing churches turned into mosques, and about the zeal of praising the house of God'.[21]

In order to interpret Islamic presence in the Peninsula, medieval texts generated a colonial model which focused on the twin ideas of the 'loss' of Spain to the Muslims and its later 'restoration' through Christian victory. This notion, which is the origin of the later term '*Reconquista*', was a historiographical construct that lent a powerful symbolic framework to the discourse on Spain's relationship with Islam, and also with its monuments. Thus, although the modern use of the term Reconquest has been contested by Medievalists, attention should be paid to how medieval and early modern historiographers used the associated narrative of restoration. This is the approach adopted in this book.[22] The idea of recovery of the Peninsula's old Christian monarchy by military means had been active since the ninth century and allowed those buildings that changed hands to become evidence that could then be eliminated, replaced, or valued as trophies. In his retelling of the Islamic conquest of Córdoba, Morales himself was aware of the memorial value of buildings, suggesting that perhaps 'the Moors' decision to build their great mosque on the

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[18] Perceval, *Todos son*, pp. 190ff.   [19] See Grieve, *The Eve*.
[20] Argote de Molina, *Nobleza*. The presence of Islamic heads and trophies in medieval heraldry is mentioned in Monteira, 'Destierro', pp. 140–1. An example of heraldry in Córdoba Cathedral may be found in Molinero, *La Mezquita*.
[21] Cascales, *Al buen*, fol. 10v.
[22] For an analysis of the history of the term 'Reconquista', see García Fitz, *La Reconquista*; Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista*; Valdeón, *La Reconquista*; Ballester, *La identidad*, p. 93; García Sanjuán, *La conquista*. For a critique of the recent interpretation of the Reconquest as a historiographical construction, see Linehan, *History*, pp. 95ff, 205ff. For a defence of the validity of the term, see Benito Ruano, 'La Reconquista', pp. 91–8.

very site where our high church stood was meant as an insult, which is why they knocked down the building we used to have there'.[23]

As we will see below, the origin of this historiographical model is to be found in the chronicles associated with the Castilian Crown that nourished the subsequent early modern 'official history' mentioned by Richard Kagan.[24] The interpretation of Islamic buildings offered by Jiménez de Rada and the chronicles of Alphonse X crystallized in a number of themes around the notions of loss, restoration, and trophy. In the Early Modern Era, these ideas were inherited by both the general Spanish histories and the local histories. The restoration of Christianity and monarchy through armed conflict was understood to be one of the factors underpinning Spanish power. For the humanist chroniclers, what was at stake was the 'recovery of Spain'. Generally speaking, in their search for a national identity, early modern historiographers gave the opposition between Christianity and Islam a momentous role in the history of Spain.[25]

The inclusion of Islamic monuments in the medieval restoration discourse is based on two premises: that the remains belonged to the infidels who had interrupted Spain's naturally Christian journey, and that, after the Christian conquest, they were left standing to bear witness to Christian efforts to recover their religious continuity. Immediately after they were taken, the buildings were seen as memorials to Islamic defeat and Christian triumph. At that point they were not yet regarded as evidence of the nation's primary Christianity, an idea that was promoted by later appropriations of religious buildings in the name of restoration. The initial interpretation incorporated the buildings into the history of Christian Spain, but did not turn them into Spanish monuments.

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo in the early thirteenth century, main driver of the construction of the city's Gothic cathedral, and participant in the conquest of Andalusia by Ferdinand III of Castile, was to a large extent responsible for this historiographical vision. In his *Historia Gothica* (aptly known as *De rebus Hispaniae* and *Historia general de España*), Jiménez de Rada retold the deeds of the Christian kings as a national history of Spain that would stand against the history of the Muslims. His *Historia Arabum* was also set in the Peninsula, but its main feature was the otherness of a population that was considered foreign. It included a small reference to the erection of Córdoba Mosque by the Umayyad kings, which outshone all other edifices built by the Arabs.[26] In *Historia Gothica*, the Christian conquest of Toledo and Córdoba, the main cities in his narrative, included an account of the taking of the mosques, their conversion to Christianity, and their transformation into victory trophies.[27] As Tom Nickson has pointed out with regard to Toledo, memory was a vital incentive in the logic of these conversions.[28]

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[23] Morales and Ocampo, *Los otros dos*, p. 205r.   [24] Kagan, *Clio*, p. 1.

[25] García Cárcel, *La construcción*, pp. 18ff. See also Bunes, 'El enfrentamiento'.

[26] Jiménez de Rada, *Historia Arabum*, Book 18, Chapter 60, (ed. 1993) p. 34. See Richard, 'L'Islam', p. 124.

[27] Jiménez de Rada, *De Rebus*, Book 6, Chapter 25; Book 9, Chapter 26, (ed. 1545) pp. 57r ff, 84r ff. See Richard, 'L'Islam'; Pick, *Conflict*, pp. 21ff.

[28] Nickson, *Toledo*, pp. 7–8, 37ff, 45ff, 59ff.

As in the later case of Seville's conquest, these events were presented as epics with a direct link to the Crown, which thereby took legal possession of them by right of conquest and became the guarantor of their preservation as trophies. Historiographical tradition gradually settled the tensions between destruction, conservation, restoration, and trophy in the form of three exemplary stories that illustrated the value of these monuments. All three narratives were connected to monarchs of unquestionable authority: Alphonse VI for Toledo, Alphonse X for Seville, and, much later, Charles V (or Philip II) for Córdoba.

Chapter 2 explores the relationship between destruction and memory within the discourse of Islamic conquest and Christian recovery, which eventually resulted in the demolition of Toledo Mosque. Chapter 3 approaches the notion of trophy through historical accounts of the Christianization of the Córdoba and Seville temples and the conquest of the Alhambra in Granada. We shall dwell at length on the Alhambra to examine the continuity of this triumphal reading within the humanist model of chorography and urban eulogy.

2

The Notion of the Loss of Spain

The history of Christian perceptions of Islam in medieval and early modern Spain is too complex for a linear explanation involving a confrontation that started in 711. However, this antagonism existed and greatly affected public perception of Islamic buildings.[1] Spanish historians explained away over 700 years of Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula by recourse to a providentialist notion which linked the 'loss' of Spain with past sins.[2] As John Tolan has pointed out, the religious metaphor of sin and punishment was regularly employed in line with biblical tradition.[3]

The first echoes of this view as applied to architecture emanated from early medieval popular tales about the guilt of Roderick, the 'sinful king'.[4] Many of these stories were transcribed and given lasting form by Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in the thirteenth century. His particular version foretold the king's unfortunate fate and attributed it to his sins, which include having 'violated the mysteries of a locked tower'. Like Pandora's box, the tower eventually became an irresistible temptation for King Roderick who, instead of treasure, found nothing but misfortune, loss of innocence, and exile. The tower revealed that the monarch's sinful actions would lead to retribution, and that his punishment would be the 'disastrous forfeit' of Spain. This version later became a popular parable that continued to be influential in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.[5] Roderick's punishment acquired a symbolic architectural projection in the historiographical narratives of the destruction of Visigothic Christian cities and buildings by the incoming Muslims.

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[1] See Urquízar Herrera, 'Literary'.   [2] García Sanjuán, 'Las causas'.

[3] Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 40ff, 76ff. See also Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista. Una*, p. 46. Sources in Thomas and Mallet, *Christian-Muslim*. A gendered interpretation of the connections between the topic of Rodrigo's rape of the Cava, the violence of the Islamic invasion, and Isabel's 'Spanish reintegration' in Weissberger, *Isabel*, pp. 103ff.

[4] For the different tales and their variations, see Menéndez Pidal, *Leyendas*, pp. 11ff and *Floresta*; Krappe, 'La leyende'; Tate, *Ensayos*, p. 95; Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, pp. 161ff; Hernández Juberías, *La península*, pp. 163ff; Juaristi, *El reino*, pp. 21ff; Filios, 'Leyends'; Grieve, *The Eve*, pp. 19ff; Tischler, 'Discovering', p. 159. For the popularization of these stories in early modern Spain, see Kagan, *Clio*, p. 19. For some parallels in Islamic sources see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 216, 289, (ed. 2013) pp. 213, 284. For the American continuation of this idea of the fall and loss of Spain see Gruzinski, *Quelle*, (quoted from 2010) p. 126.

[5] Two fifteenth-century examples in Valera, *Crónica*, Chapter 37; and Corral, *Crónica*, Chapter 28. For a later reception, among many other examples see Beuter, *Primera*, (quoted from 1604) p. 158. For the continuation of this myth at the moment of the Muslims' arrival in Toledo, see Nieto, 'El mito', p. 140. See also Grieve, *The Eve*.

According to early modern theorists, description was a key element of historical narrative. In Spain, Luis Cabrera de Córdoba argued that description 'turned facts into painted images', making the reader think that he had seen, not just read, the stories. Descriptions used the power of imagery to involve the reader on an emotional level. To illustrate his argument, Cabrera de Córdoba turned to the destruction of temples, demolition of buildings, slaughter, and bloodshed that occurred at the fall of Carthage.[6] Along the same lines, the traditional discourse regarding the fall of Spain to the Muslims sustained that it had brought about the extermination of the brilliant cultural legacy of the Roman and Visigothic world, and it did so through visual descriptions of the blood of the vanquished and the demolition of buildings and whole cities. One of the many pictorial and architectural metaphors included in *La restauración de España*, a historical poem published by Cristóbal de Mesa in 1607, is the story of Tariq's dream, just before he crossed the Strait of Gibraltar. In his dream, the Muslim leader saw a castle, which the poem describes in detail, tumble to the ground complete with its columns, cornices, paintwork, and stonework.[7] The image of devastation became dogma and was 'frequently bemoaned by writers', as Jacinto Arias de Quintanadueñas declared in 1661.[8] Repeated references to the violence of the conquest towards buildings had established a common narrative in which destruction followed the shame of surrender and defeat. The devastation argument was expedient for virtually all purposes. It was applied to Musa in the eighth century, to Abd-al-Rahman III and Al-Mansur in the tenth century, and to the Moriscos in the sixteenth, as well as to the fall of Constantinople,[9] and it invariably meant the slaughter of Christians and the devastation of their cities. In Juan de Mariana's words:

> The Christians suffered every misfortune imaginable. Wives were taken from their husbands and children from their mothers' laps; they freely stole fabrics and chattels with impunity. The farms and fields stopped producing because of heaven's anger and lack of farming. They profaned consecrated houses and temples, burned them down and demolished them. Dead bodies were left lying in the streets and lanes. Only the sounds of weeping and moaning could be heard. Finally, no manner of evil can be imagined that did not afflict Spain, a clear case of God's punishment, who thus took revenge, not only on the wicked but on the innocent, for their contempt of Religion and its laws.[10]

The oldest descriptions of the Islamic conquest already included the image of 'Spain's ruination' as a summary of the losers' catastrophist interpretation.[11]

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[6] Cabrera de Córdoba, *De historia*, p. 64v. See García López, 'Sobre la'. The fall of Carthage—the classical archetype of war cruelty and the annihilation of a civilization—was an appealing issue in Charles V's time on account of the conquest of Tunisia. Spanish readers used to identify with the Romans. For a description of the ruins of Carthage during the reign of Charles V, see *Historia de Túnez*, pp. 8r ff. See also Wardropper, 'The Poetry'; Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 66ff.

[7] Mesa, *La restauración*, p. 13r. [8] Arias de Quintanadueñas, *Antigüedades*, p. 107r.

[9] On Abd-al-Rahman II and Al-Mansur see Morales, *Los cinco*, p. 123v; Carballo, *Antigüedades*, p. 296. On the Moriscos, see Mármol Carvajal, *Primera* and *Rebelión*; Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra*. On Constantinople, see González de Clavijo, *Embajada*.

[10] Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, p. 305.

[11] See López Pereira, *Estudio*; Wolf, *Conquerors*; Martin, *Histoires*, pp. 11ff; Bronisch, *Reconquista*, pp. 124ff; Linehan, *History*, pp. 51ff. See also García Sanjuán, *La conquista*, pp. 30ff; Álvarez Junco and De la Fuente, 'Orígenes', p. 4.

The first chronicle, dating from 714, was vague and contained few facts about the Peninsula, but the *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana* or *Crónica pacense*, dated *c.* 754, claimed that, when the Muslims entered, 'beautiful cities were ravaged by fire and burned to ashes, gentlemen and nobles crucified, and youths and babies butchered'.[12] A few years later, chronicles originating in the circle of King Alphonse III of Asturias turned the 'ruination' of Spain into 'perdition' and commented upon the cities' destruction.[13] Later yet, the idea could be found in the medieval anti-Islamic controversy, as written, in particular, by Eulogius of Córdoba, who complained about the destruction of his city's church towers.[14] Finally, Lucas de Tuy and Jiménez de Rada recovered this tradition by turning the 754 chronicle into historiographical dogma, a discourse that informed Spain's collective memory and identity for several centuries.[15] As Norman Daniel found, these ideas fed into the general perception of Islam in Europe, where the conquest of Spain had a decisive impact, on a par with the Crusades.[16] Added to this, Jiménez de Rada had granted the Visigoths a central role in Spanish history, following to some extent the ideas of St Isidore of Seville who, in his *Laus Spaniae* and *Laus Gothorum,* portrayed them as the chosen people and Hispania as their promised land.[17] All in all, the alleged destruction of temples and cities in 711 had a double impact on the nation, affecting both its religious and its national identity. Several medieval texts on the Christian conquest, published by Sancho de Nebrija in 1545, were frequently quoted as authoritative references during the Early Modern Era, thereby perpetuating this version long after the end of the Islamic presence in the Peninsula.[18] Rivalry with the Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth century onwards also helped to preserve the notion of permanent conflict with Islam.[19]

The general chronicles written in the sixteenth century bolstered the archetype set by the *Crónica Pacense* and publicized by Jiménez de Rada. As Martín Ríos has observed, most of their authors had a Church connection: indeed, historians Florián de Ocampo, Ambrosio de Morales, Juan de Mariana, and Prudencio de Sandoval were all members of the clergy. This fact can be inferred to some extent from their support of the medieval providentialist argument, according to which the fall of Spain into Muslim hands was the result of a sinful act, the nature of

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[12] *Continuatio isidoriana,* (ed. 2009) n. 54. See García Sanjuán, *La conquista*, p. 31.
[13] *Chronicle of Alphonse III*. Richard, 'L'Islam'; Bronisch, *Reconquista*, p. 213; García Sanjuán, *La conquista*, pp. 32–3.
[14] This idea can be found in Eulogius of Córdoba. Morales, *Divi*, p. 64r. See Dodds, *Architecture*, pp. 69–70; Barkai, *Cristianos*, p. 27ff; Bloom, 'Mosque'.
[15] Tuy, *Chronicum,* (ed. 1608) pp. 70ff; Jiménez de Rada, *De Rebus*, Book 3, Chapter 20, (ed. 1545) p. 26v. See Linehan, 'La conquista' and 'Dates'; Martin, 'Dans'; Henriet, 'Sanctissima'; Leroy, *L'historien*, pp. 5, 111.
[16] Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 110ff, and *Islam, Europe*, p. 6. See also Southern, *Western*; Tolan, *Medieval*, pp. 85ff; Sénac, *El Occidente*, pp. 27ff.
[17] See Lomax, 'Rodrigo'; Bronisch, *Reconquista*, pp. 17–18; Díaz, 'Los godos', pp. 9ff; Jerez, 'La historia'.
[18] Nebrija, *Habes*. See Fernández Albaladejo, *Materia*, p. 46.
[19] On the consequences of the Ottoman expansion see Bunes, 'Cristianos'; Humayun, 'The Muslim', pp. 3ff; Necipoglu, 'Soliman'.

which determined the eventual punishment.[20] However, Esteban de Garibay (1571), who was not a clergyman, pursued the same basic ideas. Although he offered a particularly pluralistic image of Spain, in which the Muslim kings shared in the history of the various Peninsular kingdoms, the ideas of loss and destruction were nevertheless present in his writings and, as was usual, were projected onto the chapter titles.[21] On the other hand, as mentioned above, Juan de Mariana's *Historia general de España* (1592 and 1601), with its more religious, Castile-centred approach, told of the arrival of the 'cruel and fierce' Moors on the 'fateful', 'sad and tearful' day that brought down the Visigothic Empire.[22] These texts were used by early modern Spanish historiographers as something resembling reference books. Morales was the starting point for all subsequent historical accounts, while Mariana's book—with numerous reprints—was controversial, but widely read and frequently quoted throughout this period.[23] The theme of destruction was endlessly repeated in later treatises on the subject. The devastation wreaked when Spain fell into Muslim hands was seen as comparable to what was understood to have taken place in other parts of Europe upon the fall of the Roman Empire.

This notion of destruction fitted well with the stereotype of the perfidious and barbarous Arab that was prevalent in early modern Spanish thought. It also provided a palatable explanation of the Islamic conquest. Once the sequence conquest–destruction–murder–demolition was established as a 'fact', Christian defeat was honourably justified by a combination of the traitors' sins and the enemy's extreme violence:

> The Moors entered Spain far more furiously than any of the nations that had come previously, their violence exceeded any precedent and brought the greatest loss, devastation and migration that any province in the world has ever seen.[24]

and

> It is remarkable that what Roman power could not achieve in 200 years of continuous and bloody wars, the Barbarians managed in fifteen months (a singular demonstration of God's anger).[25]

This characterization of Muslims as particularly aggressive aided the fabrication of myths about their behaviour after the conquest. Inés Monteira's research, for instance, shows the consequences of military conflict on the moral make-up of Muslims as portrayed in Spanish Romanesque iconography.[26]

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[20] See Cuart Moner, 'La larga', pp. 45ff; Kagan, *Clio*, p. 113; Ballester, *La identidad*, pp. 129ff; Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista. Una*, pp. 43ff. On the medieval roots, see García Sanjuán, 'Las causas', and *La conquista*.

[21] Garibay, *Los XL,* (quoted from 1628), I, p. 376. On Garibay's notion of Spanish history as the addition of the histories of the different kingdoms of the Peninsula see Cuart Moner, 'La larga', pp. 110–18; Kagan, *Clio*, p. 116; Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista. Una*, pp. 45, 59; Rodríguez Mediano, 'Hegira', pp. 233ff. See also Alvar, *Esteban*.

[22] Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, p. 402.

[23] See Cuart Moner, 'La larga', pp. 119ff; García Hernán, 'La España', pp. 127ff; Kagan, *Clio*, pp. 117ff; Ballester, *La identidad*, pp. 191ff, 217ff; Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista. Una*, pp. 68ff.

[24] Horozco, *Historia*, (ed. 2000) p. 47.   [25] Ibáñez de Segovia, *Descripción*, p. 10v.

[26] Monteira, *El enemigo*, pp. 113ff.

Needless to say, Muslims were aware of the symbolic significance of religious buildings. Islamic sources praised the destruction of Christian temples, and mosque building was promoted from the beginning for political reasons.[27] They also banned the construction of new churches.[28] Nevertheless, although devastation did actually occur, the process was neither as swift nor as violent as Spanish early modern historians inferred.[29] The destruction of Tarraco, for instance, should not solely be attributed to the Muslim invasion, but to gradual deterioration during the seventh century. Likewise, we know that the Visigothic cathedral in Córdoba continued with the Christian liturgy for several decades and that many churches remained active for centuries after the Islamic conquest.[30] Christianity was present in al-Andalus for a very long time and historians acknowledged and defended this permanence at their convenience, for instance whenever the ninth-century martyrs were mentioned. By contrast, in their version of the Islamic conquest, the same authors deliberately established as dogma that churches had been demolished to further Islamic political interests. In this context, Spanish chroniclers chose to claim that those churches had probably been swiftly destroyed for symbolic reasons:

> The Moors not only did away with the Catholics, but also destroyed everything that is venerated as holy and estimable by our sacred religion, such as the holy temples where we worship God.[31]

Consequently, when Alonso Morgado wondered about the location of the former Visigothic cathedral of Seville and discovered no trace of it, he settled on destruction by the Muslims at the moment of the conquest as a natural explanation.[32] This notion was established in general historical works as a misfortune suffered right across the Peninsula. Unsurprisingly, the idea spread, sometimes almost literally, with each local retelling. Moreover, since all medieval Peninsular kingdoms had a common history of coexistence with and struggle against al-Andalus, no distinctions were made between them. The issue was excluded from contemporaneous historiographical debate on the convergence of Aragon and Castile: with a few minor differences, both kingdoms shared the loss–restoration narrative.[33] In Castile as in Aragon, historians notably insisted that the Muslims were doubly responsible for the extermination of Hispanic Christianity and for the disappearance of the brilliant Hispano-Roman cultural legacy, using a nationalistic-cum-religious argument to justify the former claim, and a nationalistic-cum-antiquarian one to support the latter. Pedro de Medina, in his description of Spain (1548), and Pere Antoni Beuter, in his chronicle of Aragon (1550), provide examples of this

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[27] Calvo Capilla, 'Los símbolos', pp. 86–110.   [28] Dodds, *Architecture*, pp. 60–4.
[29] Dodds, *Architecture*, pp. 58ff; Calvo Capilla, *Estudios*, pp. 32ff, and 'The Reuse'; Manzano, *Conquistadores*.
[30] Caballero, 'Impacto', pp. 14–58. See also Griffith, 'The Church'.
[31] Ximénez Patón, *Historia*, p. 21r.   [32] Morgado, *Historia*, pp. 118r–118v.
[33] See García Cárcel, *La construcción*, pp. 95–110; Cuart Moner, 'La larga', pp. 103ff; Baró i Queralt, *La historiografía*, p. 117; Sarasa, 'España', pp. 95ff; Kagan, *Clio*, pp. 105ff; Guichard, 'Al-Andalus', pp. 183ff; Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista. Una*, pp. 81ff; Álvar, 'Memorias', p. 32.

discourse in relation to the conquest of Huesca, which was echoed by Diego de Aynsa in his history of that town (1619):

> The spread of this scourge at the time was such that it is said that there was no major cathedral town (and there were many) that was not burned or destroyed.[34]

In short, this approach became an essential and handy historiographical cliché to be applied all over the territory, from Seville, Toledo, Tarragona, Zaragoza, Huesca, and Manresa to Alcántara, Salamanca, Cádiz, Mérida, Valencia, and Carmona.[35] Indeed, the notion of Islamic destructiveness was as good as etched into the DNA of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historiographical thought in Spain. It was also suggested that the perpetrators of such alleged devastation occasionally got their comeuppance: according to Luis de Peraza (*c.* 1530), Abdalaziz, the Muslim king of Seville who built the city's great mosque at the location of the former cathedral, was dealt the divine punishment he deserved when he was knifed to death inside the temple.[36]

ARCHITECTURAL DESTRUCTION AND MEMORY

The primary method used to develop the concept of destruction in relation to identity in historical narrative consisted in recalling the function of buildings as props to memory. As early as the thirteenth century, Jiménez de Rada branded Musa, the Muslim military leader of 711, 'the new Attila' on account of his role in the devastation of towns and places of worship. His first printed edition of 1545 used the term 'memory' (*memoria*) to lament the testimonial purpose of the destruction of buildings by the Arabs.[37] During the humanist period, the relationship between memory and architecture was widely referred to, as a number of studies have shown.[38] Sebastián de Covarrubias (1611) defined 'memory' as the enduring perception of words and things, as well as remembrance, age, and antiquity, but added that 'sometimes memory refers to what is left by our elders', including 'heirlooms and sumptuous buildings'.[39] Among hundreds of similar examples, it is worth remembering that Rafael Martí de Viciana opened the third volume of his history of Valencia (1564) with a sonnet claiming that the city's memory was

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[34] Aynsa, *Fundación*, p. 24.

[35] Among many others, see Morgado, *Historia*, pp. 8v–9r; Pisa, *Descripción*, p. 23r; Rojas, *Historia*, II, p. 558; Ponç d'Icart, *Libro*, pp. 124, 234; López, *Tropheos*, p. 319; Aynsa, *Fundación*, p. 20; Roig, *Epítome*, p. 190; Arias de Quintanadueñas, *Antigüedades*, p. 107r; González Dávila, *Historia*, p. 50; Horozco, *Historia,* (ed. 2000) p. 52; Concepción, *Emporio*, p. 274; Moreno de Vargas, *Historia*, p. 200r; Escolano, *Década*, col. 754; Arellano, *Antigüedades*, p. 149v.

[36] Peraza, *Historia*, (quoted from BUS) pp. 210v ff.

[37] See for instance the narration of Al-Mansur's taking of León. Jiménez de Rada, *De Rebus*, Book 5, Chapter 14, (ed. 1545) p. 43r.

[38] For the link between architecture, humanism, and memory in early modern Spain, see Cámara, *Arquitectura*. For an account of the Spanish humanist view of antiquities as sources of memory, see Morán, *La memoria*.

[39] Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, p. 545v.

supported by 'coats of arms, events, lineages, and buildings'.[40] Antiquarian Pedro Díaz de Ribas claimed that the Visigoths partially destroyed the Roman wall around Córdoba and the Muslims subsequently finished the task. But for the author, regardless of this shared responsibility, what mattered was that, between them, Visigoths and Muslims had 'erased every memory of the Romans'.[41] From this point of departure, the historians and antiquarians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries thought that the destruction of buildings by the Muslims should be interpreted in terms of memory and therefore, in today's historiographical terms, of identity.[42]

    In the context of this study, it is obvious that the relationship between destruction and collective memory was particularly relevant to the disappearance of pre-Islamic temples in Spain. It was understood that churches had been flattened due to their symbolic value, with the aim of lambasting the dignity of their founders so that their memory would fade away.[43] To Pedro de Rojas (1654), the conversion of the original Toledo Cathedral into a mosque and its eventual demolition had meant the transformation of Spain's prime episcopal church into a 'filthy midden' and an affront to the Virgin Mary on the part of the 'Moorish riffraff'.[44] Traditional clichés about the disappearance of ancient cities and their fall into ruin were at the time a useful model to explain architectural destruction during the period when Spain was lost. In the words of an anonymous cleric who wrote a history of Alcalá de Henares (*c.* 1652), the classic concept of time as destroyer of urban memory can easily be transferred to the actions of the Muslim conquerors:

> What privilege escaped the fickleness of time, what building was preserved from damage, what fortress resisted its strikes? [Time] obstinately ravages everything, it brings ruin on famous and populous cities, making even their location uncertain, so that to find them we are forced to make do with shapeless wreckage and records that have stood up for the memory that time sought to efface. The erstwhile beautiful buildings, the gracefully built streets and charming squares are now barren fields that hold the forlorn memories of opulent greatness. The Christians who inhabited our city of Compluto were oppressed by the Moors and many were forced to flee to the mountains and seek protection from the Catholic Monarchs.[45]

In perpetuating the medieval image of churches destroyed by the Muslims, the humanist version added a crucial argument to the religious interpretation of barbarism. The yearning for those pre-Islamic Christian temples was compounded by a sense of loss for the Roman legacy. It was a lament for the memory of the Roman antiquities destroyed by the Moors, as Pedro de Medina wrote in his *Libro de las grandezas y cosas memorables de España* (1548):

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[40] Martí de Viciana, *Chrónica*, w/p.   [41] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 6v.

[42] See Ricoeur, Paul. *La mémoire*. An interesting variant of this process can be found in Luis de Marmol's allusions to the devastation caused by wars between Muslims in North Africa, which also had an intentional impact on memory. Mármol Carvajal, *Primera*, p. 166v.

[43] Among many other examples, see Jaén in Ximénez Patón, *Historia*, p. 21r. In the context of ancient Cádiz, see Roa, *De Cordubae*, pp. 20v–21r.

[44] Rojas, *Historia*, II, p. 565.   [45] *Historia Sexitana*, p. 219.

What were formerly large cities became sparse, and densely populated towns turned into mere hamlets, and many famous things from Roman times were destroyed and ravaged, so that no trace of them remains.[46]

To the humanists, the absence of remains that could vouch for the classical foundation of a city was a crucial issue. It is well known that relics from Roman or pre-Roman times were evidence of a town's status. The physical presence of ancient stones was required to illustrate the nobility of an urban community. Historians complained about the lack of vestiges of urban Roman nobility and blamed the Muslims for it. Thus the old idea was again wielded in local texts bemoaning the impact of the Arab conquest on Roman cities that had been 'so badly destroyed and razed to the ground'.[47] Since most Spanish towns were not as blessed with ruins as Tarragona, Mérida, or Seville, a justification for the absence of such stone fetishes was required.

It was thought that the absence of remains was due to the fact that the different civilizations which had succeeded each other in the Peninsula, prior to the Islamic conquest, had all deliberately set out to destroy architectural relics in order to eliminate memories of the past. The Romans trampled on the Carthaginians, the Barbarians on the Romans, and the Muslims on all their predecessors. As Moreno de Vargas said, with reference to Mérida (1633): 'the barbaric Goths, with their natural ferocity and cruel hate for the Romans, did away with them in every way they could, and the Moors did likewise.' Lluís Ponç d'Icart (1537) blamed Visigoths and Muslims in equal measure for the devastation of Roman Tarragona. This idea had been anticipated in the fifteenth century by Joan Margarit in his *Paralipomenon Hispaniae,* published in 1545 by Sancho de Nebrija. On the other hand, in common with the writers of many other cities' histories, Agustín de Horozco (1591) imputed the destruction of classical Cádiz solely to the 'Moorish barbarians, unlettered, and devoid of curiosity'.[48]

In Italy, the Goths were considered to be directly responsible for the loss of the Empire and the decline of the classical legacy into medieval darkness. Conversely, in other parts of Europe there was a more nuanced view of the Germanic peoples' intervention. In Spain, the debate gained a rich measure of complexity with the Islamic conquest and the subsequent restoration of the Spanish monarchy.[49] Miguel Morán has researched this matter in some detail focusing on antiquarians. He concludes that there was a 'schizophrenic position' among humanists, because their desire to find ancient Roman relics was at odds with their interest in emphasizing other key elements of the past.[50] In Philip II's time, court historians focused on the medieval idea of restoration, with the clear aim of reinforcing the Visigothic Christian monarchs as the current sovereign's predecessors. The Crown itself encouraged antiquarian research into the Middle Ages through such initiatives as Morales' 1572 journey to northern Spain in search of books, royal burials, and

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[46] Medina, *Libro*, p. 22r.   [47] Aynsa, *Fundación*, p. 20.
[48] Moreno de Vargas, *Historia*, pp. 30v, 49v; Ponç d'Icart, *Libro*, pp. 103v, 124r; Horozco, *Historia*, (ed. 2000) p. 52. For Joan Margarit, see Gómez Moreno, *España*, p. 269.
[49] Gómez Moreno, *España*, pp. 279–81.   [50] Morán Turina, *La memoria*, p. 243.

relics from the pre-Islamic past and the Christian conquest.[51] Despite this concern with the past and in contrast with other European countries, the type of archaeology that took an interest in and collected non-classical relics failed to prosper in Spain.

Following Morán's argument, it can be said that the Visigoths were simultaneously blamed for the destruction of Spain's classical heritage—by such writers as Diego de Sagredo, Lázaro de Velasco, Juan de Arfe, and Martín de Roa—and vindicated when the finger was pointed at the Muslims by, for example, Ambrosio de Morales.[52] The coexistence of conflicting cultural and political interests often gave rise to ambivalence, so that the choice of one or the other view was often dependent on the specific interests vested in each text. It is significant that several anti-Visigothic critiques were embedded in literary essays that aimed to transmit the classical tradition of the Italian humanists, whilst others appeared in local texts by antiquarians who were less concerned with the national political agenda than with the competition between cities for classical roots. In the meantime, the initiative for incriminating the Muslims originated in national history books, which were naturally conditioned by the Crown's ideological leanings. Having said that, a single antiquarian could hold more than one opinion. Under the weight of the Italian humanist tradition, Morales, having researched Visigothic relics in Asturias and identified its architecture as Visigothic, virtually ignored the remains and inscriptions he found there in *Las antigüedades* (1575).[53] Rodrigo Caro accused the Muslims of devastation in *Canción a Itálica* (*c.* 1595) and yet imputed the ruination of classical Spain to the Visigoths in *Antigüedades y principado* (1634).

Blaming the lack of classical ruins on Islamic destruction was a successful historiographical strategy. Islamic reuse of existing remains, for instance, was not understood as a mark of respect for ancient heritage, but as evidence of Islamic violence. This was the interpretation given to the incorporation of Roman capitals in Córdoba Mosque, and to the presence of Roman inscriptions at the base of the Giralda.[54] Incriminating the Muslims, as popularized by Pedro de Medina, was undoubtedly a highly productive line of argument in symbolic terms. From this perspective, the fracture caused by the Islamic conquest in every Spanish city's history was both physical and symbolic. The disappearance of Roman stones and Christian cathedrals was more than a gap in the landscape: it also implied the destruction of the symbolic thread joining these cities to their mythical past. From the point of view of sixteenth-century Spanish historians, the devastation inflicted by the Muslim conquerors needed to be placed in a context that related to the memory of their ancestors. Returning to Morales, since the building of Córdoba Mosque had meant the disappearance of the former Roman and Christian temples, a partial demolition of the mosque to give way to a Renaissance cathedral could

[51] Edouard, 'Enquête'; Kagan, *Clio*, p. 113; Ballester, *La identidad*, p. 146; Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 249ff; Marías, 'Memoria', pp. 73ff.

[52] Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 147–8, 243; Marías, *El largo*, pp. 195ff.

[53] On the identification of Asturian pre-Romanesque as architecture of 'Gothic construction', in reference to the Visigoths, see Marías, 'Memoria', pp. 73–4.

[54] Lleó, 'El pasado', pp. 122–3. See also Calvo Capilla, 'The Reuse'. Further references in p. 76 n. 36.

somehow be seen as a restitution of its Latin and Christian heritage. This explained his doubts and second thoughts on the subject of the Islamic or Christian nature of the temple at the point of foundation.

The link between demolition and ancient history becomes clear when viewed in the light of the historiographical counterpoint promoted by Miguel de Luna in *La verdadera historia del Rey Rodrigo* (1592). A descendant of Granadan Moriscos, Luna had worked as a translator for Philip II. He pretended that his text was a Castilian-language version of an ancient Islamic chronicle of the conquest. Today we know that the book's aim was to offer an alternative to the orthodox version of the loss of Spain. The author wished to encourage a revision of collective memory that would help integrate the Moriscos, in connection with some falsifications produced in Granada that will be reviewed in Chapter 9.[55] Since it focused on the core of the Morisco question, the book was a great editorial success and was printed in several cities that were eagerly following the debate, namely Granada, Zaragoza, and Valencia.[56] With misgivings, many late-sixteenth-century and early-seventeenth-century authors, such as Pablo de Céspedes, gave credit to his account.[57] Very interestingly, Luna's integrative aims went so far as to qualify the violence of the invasion and, above all, required that the Muslim devastation of cities be eliminated from the narrative. His account implied that Visigothic Christian churches were not only left standing, but maintained their former cult or were transformed into mosques, just as Christian men were not murdered but decided to convert to Islam, and Christian women willingly married the conquerors.[58] Only one demolition was acknowledged: the Roman ruins of Cástulo, which were used by the monarchs of Baeza to build their own palace. However, according to Luna, since this city had previously been razed to the ground—he does not say by whom—the Muslims' action should be understood as a virtuous exercise in antique conservation.[59]

Luna's counterhistory also underlined the Muslim sovereigns' building initiatives. Granada, in particular, was depicted as an urban paradise, but he did not exploit this argument further because his narrative was set in the early days of the conquest.[60] Clearly, Luna's main concern was to modify the traditional discourse regarding the destruction caused by the invasion. In his view, those responsible for

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[55] See Márquez Villanueva, 'Voluntad'; Bernabé Pons, 'Una visión', p. 116; Carrasco Urgoiti, 'Los escritores', pp. 43ff; Grieve, *The Eve*; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 165ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 155ff; García-Arenal, 'Miguel'; Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista. Una*, p. 76; Drayson, *The Lead*, pp. 68ff.

[56] See Bernabé Pons' introduction to Miguel de Luna. Luna, *La verdadera*, (ed. 2001) pp. XXXIIIff; Márquez Villanueva, 'Voluntad', p. 345.

[57] Among many other examples see Céspedes, *Tratado*. In relation to Toledo, see Pisa, *Descripción*, p. 120v.

[58] Luna, *La verdadera*, pp. 38r, 58r.   [59] Luna, *La verdadera*, p. 150r.

[60] Luna, *La verdadera*, pp. 145v, 150r. A similar lack of interest on magnificence can be found in *Corónica de los moros de España* by Jaime Bleda (1618). However, this book did not aim to reconcile Islam and Christianity, but was simply a project of historical reconstruction of the political history of the Islamic kingdoms of the Peninsula. Following the traditional narrative scheme, Bleda should have echoed the constructions promoted by the Islamic kings, but he did not do so and instead he only recalled the destruction caused by the Islamic conquest in Spain.

the devastation of castles and cities during the conflict were not the Arabs, but King Roderick and Pelagius of Oviedo. By partially correcting Pedro del Corral, Luna asserted that the Muslims had been amazed by the sight of Mérida, and suggested that its collapse into ruins, which were not Roman but Chaldean and hence Semitic, should be attributed to the city's Christian chieftain.[61] This attempt to alter the negative perception of the Muslims' attitude to Christian buildings and pre-Islamic heritage had little chance of success. Nevertheless, the effort itself is evidence of the ideological implications of the image of Muslims as destroyers and its consequences in the realm of memory and genealogical identity.

THE CONVERSION AND DESTRUCTION OF TOLEDO MOSQUE

The armed conflict between Christians and Muslims inevitably became burdened by acts of violence and destruction carried out by both sides, often for economic reasons. Naturally, medieval Christian historiography consistently displayed total sympathy with the demolition of Islamic architecture, both in Spain and in the rest of Europe.[62] Initially, this took the form of references to the frequent incursions across the frontier and related acts of pillage, which often entailed the symbolic destruction of enemy temples.[63] However, with the Christian takeover of the major cities in the central and southern regions of the Iberian Peninsula, the negotiation of Spain's architectural memory affected complex decisions regarding both the conservation and substitution of monumental Morisco buildings encountered in the wake of the conquest. When the Christians entered the newly captured cities, they at once saw the symbolic and economic advantages of taking control of the mosques.[64] Indeed, as a number of authors have indicated, the accounts of the Christian conversion of mosques symbolically underscored the tensions created by the frontier. In the historiographical tradition of the restoration, the opposition between minarets and belfries, each with their distinctive sounds, played an important role in the narrative of cultural alterity and the restitution of conquered cities.[65] Given the importance of these buildings, Christian appropriation of Toledo's *Aljama* Mosque following the conquest of the city in 1085, and its subsequent destruction in the early thirteenth century, provided the first model for this process.

As with a great many other restoration narratives, the archetypal discourse for this process of symbolic appropriation of monuments was established by

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[61] Luna, *La verdadera*, p. 48. See Gómez Moreno, *España*, pp. 282–3; Morán Sánchez, *Piedras*, pp. 58–9. Islamic admiration towards the classical world in Calvo Capilla, 'The Reuse'.

[62] Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 110.

[63] Amongst other examples see the chronicle of Alphonse VII's victories in Andalusia, or Jiménez de Rada's narration of the deeds of Ferdinand I of Leon.

[64] Harris, 'Mosque', pp. 164ff; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest*, pp. 204ff.

[65] Buresi, 'Les conversions', p. 344. On Jiménez de Rada and Lucas de Tuy's discussion of minarets and bell towers, see Tolan, *Sons*, p. 156; Bloom, 'Mosque'; Calvo Capilla, 'Et las', p. 689.

Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in his accounts of the capture of Toledo, Jaén, Córdoba, and Valencia by Alphonse VI, Ferdinand III of Castile, and James I of Aragon. Jiménez de Rada wrote in response to the widespread territorial expansion that had been achieved during the reigns of the latter two sovereigns, as well as to the issue of cultural and administrative integration of the large Muslim population living in major urban centres.[66] The capture of these three cities marked the first occasions on which the Castilian and Aragonese monarchs had had to address the challenge of dealing with Islamic buildings that were significant monuments in their own right and of considerable symbolic value. On the one hand, as has been argued with regard to various examples, the building of new churches was considered an unequivocal display of royal magnificence.[67] On the other, they recognized the value of appropriating the cities' *Aljama* mosques, which were iconic buildings in terms of their monumental scale, aesthetic value, and religious significance. The Christian sovereigns had to decide what to do with these mosques and their chroniclers were then faced with the task of recounting that decision.

Peter Linehan has highlighted how the capture of Toledo by Alphonse VI of Castile in 1085 was a central event in the narration of the history of the Hispanic Middle Ages.[68] As Ana Echevarría shows, it may represent a change in perceptions of Islam in the Peninsula and a shift towards greater commitment to the policy of cultural homogenization that would gradually be imposed.[69] The capture of Toledo was also a defining moment in the transformation of mosques into churches, providing a keystone for historiographical construction of this practice.[70] Earlier Christian expansion had occurred in a relatively underpopulated territory, with new urban centres that became part of the northern kingdoms contributing neither major monumental buildings nor a significant Muslim population. Toledo, on the other hand, was one of the Peninsula's major cities, with a historical significance derived from its status as the ancient Visigothic capital. Alphonse VI, who revived the title of *Imperator totius Hispaniae*, made it known that control of the city meant not only the acquisition of a highly significant military position, but equally valuable political prestige. The city fell after a long siege, without a final assault or battle. The terms of surrender allowed the defenders to remain in the city, stating that their properties should not be seized and establishing a degree of cultural and religious tolerance.

The most significant indication of this model of agreement between the communities was the Muslims' right to continue worshipping in the city's main mosque, which, as the final guarantee of the terms of surrender, was brought under the sovereign's protection. It has been suggested that Alphonse VI's initial intention was to maintain Toledo's Muslim population and avoid creating alarm among the Peninsula's southern kingdoms about the threat of possible attacks.[71] However, shortly after the conquest, probably in 1086, the mosque was assaulted by Christians

[66] Kagan, *Clio*, pp. 21ff; Linehan, *History*, pp. 313ff.
[67] A later echo in Valera, *Doctrinal*, p. 4r.   [68] Linehan, *History*, pp. 204ff.
[69] Echevarría, *The Fortress*, p. 1. See also Catlos, *Muslims*, p. 21.
[70] Buresi, 'Les conversions', pp. 335ff; Hernández, 'La Cathédrale', pp. 83ff.
[71] Reilly, *The Kingdom*, p. 182.

under the command, according to the sources, of Archbishop Bernard of Sédirac and Queen Constance. Once captured, it was consecrated as the Cathedral of St Mary. In so doing, as we will see below, the Christian forces were seeking to recover the alleged site of the ancient Visigothic cathedral.[72] Although the sources denied Alphonse VI's involvement, he shared the archbishop's religious politics and accepted the building's transformation, going as far as to preside over the conversion ceremony. It has been suggested that this change in attitude may partially be explained by the recent departure of many of Toledo's Muslims, and perhaps also by a desire to favour new Christian arrivals over Mozarabs—Christians who had remained in the city throughout the Islamic period. In any case, it seems clear that the King understood that the appropriation of the building would provide an unequivocal advantage as a symbol of the new state being built by the Castilian Crown.[73]

Setting aside the terms of surrender agreed after the capture of Toledo, this act of appropriation served the sovereigns of the Christian Iberian kingdoms as a precedent. After Toledo, appropriating mosques became a common practice in Aragon and Andalusia, where mosques and their property were handed over to the Church and turned into cathedrals, although they continued to enjoy the Crown's patronage.[74] Significantly, the letter of donation issued for Toledo Mosque interpreted this action as a landmark in the history of the Crown and the Peninsula.

Narrative articulation of these events is of great interest. Appropriation of the temple represented a manifest betrayal of the monarch's word and risked creating a minor political crisis.[75] The contrasting version provided by Islamic historiography on this matter is of particular significance, especially as it is also the only strictly contemporaneous source available. It attributes Islamic eviction directly to Alphonse VI, while Christian sources, written at a later date, attribute full responsibility to Archbishop Bernard of Sédirac and Queen Constance. No further discussion of this event is provided either in the accounts of the deeds of Alphonse VI compiled by Pelayo, bishop of Oviedo, or in the *Chronica Naierensis*. It was not until Jiménez de Rada arrived on the scene that a coherent explanation of the appropriation was developed which, according to Bernard Reilly, was probably based on an epic poem by Alphonse VI that is now lost.[76] However, considerable care went into the drafting of Jiménez de Rada's passage 'on how Toledo's mosque was made into a church'. In subsequent medieval manuscript copies in Latin and

[72] Delgado, *Toledo*, pp. 266–8.

[73] Buresi, 'Les conversions', p. 348; Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale, *The Arts*, pp. 45, 77ff; Nickson, *Toledo*, pp. 31, 37.

[74] Valor and Montes, 'De mezquitas'; Calvo Capilla, 'La mezquita', p. 320, and 'Et las'; Ecker, 'How to', pp. 23, 47, 51. See also *Relación de todos los arzobispados*.

[75] The guarantees that had been given by the sovereign signal his involvement in the decision to contravene the agreement in order to evict the Muslims from the building and as a result suggest a degree of betrayal of his word. Likewise, the argument that he was incapable of preventing the Queen and Archbishop, both French by birth, from planning and carrying out this act on their own suggests powerlessness or else disregard towards the obligations he had undertaken. In the light of this complex situation Jiménez de Rada needed to refine his arguments. Linehan, *History*, pp. 216ff; Harris, 'Mosque', pp. 159ff; Buresi, 'Les conversions', pp. 345ff.

[76] Reilly, *The Kingdom*, pp. 182–3.

Spanish, the passage was highlighted.[77] Though writing more than a hundred years after the event, Jiménez de Rada vouched for Alphonse VI's honesty, treating the monarch as guarantor of the building's conservation, while justifying the need for its appropriation:

> And King Alphonse came to Toledo on his way to León, having affairs to conduct in that land, leaving Queen Constance in Toledo, and Archbishop Bernard with her. And the Queen and the archbishop paid no heed to his advice with regard to making the main mosque into a church. And so it was that one night, Archbishop Bernard summoned a large company of knights and entered the main mosque and cleansed it of the filth of the false Mohammed. And he set up altars, and consecrated it, and he put bells in the tower so that they could summon the faithful Christians. And the following morning, when the Moors were awaiting the muezzin, they heard the bells in the tower, and the Moors became very sad. King Alphonse learnt of this, and it saddened his heart, because he had made a declaration that he would never take the main mosque, and this had been agreed with the Moors. And in a great rage, the King came back to Toledo from Sant Fagund [Sahagún] in three days, and he wanted to burn the Queen and the archbishop; and everyone in Toledo, whether grandees or commoners, men or women, all went out to receive the King in Campo de Monga. And when the King saw everyone gathered together in this manner, he thought that they would make a complaint about the mosque, and before they spoke, the King said to the Moors: They have not plucked out one of your eyes, but one of mine, because they have shattered the truth that I had never betrayed until now. From here on I cannot say that I am truthful, nor praise myself as such. But it is up to me to avenge both you and me. But the Moors, being wise and astute, feigned rage and began to wail and raise their voices and beg for mercy from the King and that he should hear them out. And the King reined in his horse and stood before them and the Moors said to him: Lord, we know well that the archbishop is a leader and a prince of your law; and if you, our lord, were to kill him for what he did to us, then the Christians out of zeal for their faith would one day kill us, and even if they do not do so during your lifetime, when you are gone there will be no one to help us. Again, if the Queen were to be killed, all her relatives and friends would want to harm us and they would bring hardship down upon us, and after your death they would take their revenge on us. And so it is best for us to do nothing. And lord, therefore we all ask you to be merciful and that you pardon the Queen and the archbishop, and that you rescind the oath you swore and the warrant you issued. And when the King heard this he felt much happier and his rage turned to pleasure, because he could obtain the mosque without breaking the honour of his word or prejudicing the homage he was paid. And so he entered Toledo joyful and at peace.[78]

According to this account, after the representatives of Toledo's Muslim community accepted the situation as inevitable and asked the King not to return the building to its original Islamic state, Alphonse VI was therefore happy with the outcome. Jiménez de Rada's retrospective vision of events not only saved the monarch's sense

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[77] For example, the section is found in the manuscript copy that belonged to the Marquis of Tarifa and is kept in the library of the University of Seville.

[78] Translated from Jiménez de Rada's medieval Spanish version in Hinojosa, *Continuación*, Book 6, Chapter 25, (ed. 1893) pp. 404–5. Latin version in *De Rebus*, (ed. 1545) pp. 57r ff.

of honour from being tarnished, it also emphasized how the conversion of the building into a Christian temple was in fact a just decision. Preserving and appropriating the architecture of the vanquished also showed the monarch as victor and turned the building, in its new role, into a potent and advantageous symbol. Jiménez de Rada established a medieval model where appreciation of a building's monumental value was dependent on its perception as a trophy for the Crown, in the search for symbolic weapons in the conflict against Islam. As Jiménez de Rada himself no doubt knew, the converted mosque had become an architectural totem in the context of confrontation with the Almoravids, both as an interior devotional space to pray during the defence of Toledo, and as an exterior space for triumphal entry after the Christian victory.[79] As we will see, Jiménez de Rada continued the practice of using mosques as symbolic war trophies, arguing that the mosques that stood in the cities conquered in his own day, in the early thirteenth century, should likewise be appropriated. An adviser to Ferdinand III of Castile, he was directly involved in the maintenance and conversion of Islamic temples following the capture of Jaén and Córdoba—also recounted in his chronicle—and although he died shortly before the capture of Seville, the symbolic and historiographical process which he helped define was followed.

Jiménez de Rada's account may therefore be considered a key text in negotiating the symbolic value of the mosques of Toledo and Andalusia. We know, however, that while he was promoting the conservation of recently conquered Islamic temples in the Guadalquivir valley in his role as archbishop of Toledo and political advisor and writer, he was at the same time actively participating in the destruction of his own city's mosque and its replacement with a Gothic church that embodied a new model of triumphal memory that has been thoroughly researched by Tom Nickson.[80] Jiménez de Rada himself recounted, though much more briefly, the laying of the first stone of this new temple.[81] *Crónica latina de los Reyes de Castilla* (*Crónica de Fernando III*), written by someone close to Jiménez de Rada, probably Bishop Juan de Soria, redrafted and extended his text to provide a fictional anecdote about the sovereign and archbishop walking through the mosque that had been converted into Toledo Cathedral. According to the 1516 edition of this text, during that stroll:

> Observing the building, they thought the fabric looked old and worn [*obra antigua*]: and with this in mind, by the grace of God, he [the archbishop] went to the King with the intention of building a new church, because the present one was made in the Moorish style [*hecha ala morisca*] and had been left untouched since the city was won from the Moors: and he reminded the King that, by richly renovating the holy temple he had been given on overcoming the Moors, he would be doing a good deed in the eyes of God, who had both returned his kingdoms to him and extended them, and given him victory and riches in his war against the Moors, the enemies of his holy faith.[82]

[79] See *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, (ed. 1972) p. 170.
[80] Nickson, *Toledo*, pp. 45ff, 59ff.
[81] See Costas, *Fernando*, pp. 8ff; Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale, *The Arts*, p. 184.
[82] Soria, *Chronica*, Chapter 14, (ed. 1516) p. 9v.

Why would the same chronicle, which followed Jiménez de Rada's model by placing an emphasis on the architectural magnificence of Córdoba Mosque and equally praised the mosque of Seville, view a building in the Islamic style as a problem, describing it as an old fabric rather than as an antiquity? In the seventeenth century, forger Jerónimo Román de la Higuera interpreted this to mean that Ferdinand III thought it 'indecent' that a Christian temple of such relevance and tradition as that of Toledo 'should be built in the form of a mosque and in the style of the Moors'.[83] However, in my opinion, the key issue was not so much the unsuitability of the Toledan temple as the archbishop's ambition to erect a monumental building. The conquest of Córdoba and the proximity of Seville meant that Toledo Mosque had lost its relevance as a war trophy, especially in comparison to other exemplary buildings captured in these cities. Moreover, Juan Gómez Bravo, drawing on his own reading of Jiménez de Rada in early-eighteenth-century Córdoba, recounted how the archbishop and the King had decided to preserve the Andalusian mosques following the classical example of Emperor Honorius's treatment of pagan temples. They chose 'not to extinguish the memory of superstition' that formed the 'public adornment' of cities, and therefore 'no problem was made in Spain about the dedication of mosques for divine worship; and in Córdoba the grandest and most magnificent of these was made into a cathedral'.[84] For Jiménez de Rada, whose main aim was to establish primacy of the Spanish Church in Toledo, the question was a fundamental one because it concerned the symbolic legitimacy of his own archbishopric.[85] The conservation of the mosque had been politically expedient in the Toledo of 1085, as it was in Córdoba in 1236 and Seville in 1248, but with the prospect of the imminent conquest of the latter two cities, it ceased to be so in Toledo. Despite Román de la Higuera's seventeenth-century interpretation, the crux of this issue could not only be addressed in terms of hybridity or cultural homogeneity. Although all three temples were examples of Islamic architecture, Toledo's historic mosque was a much less magnificent example than the River Guadalquivir mosques. Hence the need to create a new building of greater architectural significance, which befitted its role as Spain's principal Christian temple. The proud Christian architecture of Toledo's new cathedral was neither incompatible with the presence of formal elements of Islamic origin nor with the display of flags and treasured objects taken from the Muslims as spoils of war.[86] It is worth remembering that Jiménez de Rada, like other members of the clergy, noblemen, and monarchs of his time, asked to be buried in Arab fabrics.

The Toledan case study reveals how arguments for the use of Islamic architecture as war trophies were dependent on two fundamental elements. Firstly, the location of the frontier was highly significant: as it advanced, the cultural capital of historic Islamic buildings in what became safe Christian territory diminished.[87] Secondly,

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[83] Román de la Higuera, *Historia*, p. 91v.   [84] Gómez Bravo, *Catálogo*, I, p. 248.
[85] Nickson, *Toledo*, pp. 45ff, 77; Linehan, *History*, pp. 313ff. On ecclesiastical primacy in early modern historiography, see Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', p. 361.
[86] Nickson, *Toledo*, pp. 89, 115, 127ff.   [87] Buresi, 'Les conversions', p. 349.

and more importantly, as we have seen, a building's significance as a war trophy was only sustainable over time for the most singularly relevant buildings, namely those considered to have indisputable monumental status. It was for this reason that the major works of architecture in Córdoba, Seville, and Granada were left standing, although they too underwent major transformations when perceptions shifted regarding their symbolic value as war trophies.[88] Córdoba Mosque was partially destroyed, but most of the building and its appearance were deliberately preserved. In Seville, all that was left standing was the courtyard and the tower, although the latter was undoubtedly the most celebrated element of the building. The Alhambra underwent a minor partial demolition to enable the construction of the new Renaissance palace of Charles V, but remained the best example of the magnificence of Islamic architecture in the Iberian Peninsula.

Not long after the end of Islamic rule, most of the architectural legacy of al-Andalus had disappeared. The majority of non-religious architecture had gradually been demolished, dying what could be termed a natural death, as this was inherent to urban transformation. Mosques, which, as we have seen, were a key conquest trophy with a more distinctive architectural form, were demolished for a variety of reasons, ranging from the practicalities dictated by the needs of the liturgy or of larger congregations, to a desire to emulate new, emerging architectural forms and styles.[89] Eventually, in the reign of Alphonse VI, orders were given for the systematic destruction of secondary mosques.[90] After Toledo Cathedral was destroyed, a wave of further demolitions took place in Castile, Aragon, and Portugal. In Valencia, as Amadeo Serra has discussed, James I of Aragon began a programme of replacing mosques with new temples. Pascal Buresi has recorded how the same sovereign wrote a letter to Huesca Cathedral in 1274, exerting pressure to replace the old mosque with an 'honest' cathedral, using the phrase '*modum ecclesiarum more christiano constructarum*'.[91] On this occasion he referred to a building that had been converted to Christianity in 1097 amidst praise for its architecture.[92] In the more recently conquered Andalusia, all mosques were initially preserved, but within a few decades they were largely replaced with Gothic temples (along with some secondary elements of Islamic ornamentation). Only the *Aljama* mosques of Jaén, Córdoba, and Seville remained, although at the turn of the fifteenth century it was decided that the first and the last be demolished in order to raise Gothic buildings on their sites. The minarets of these new cathedrals were initially maintained as steeples, but the Jaén minaret was eventually replaced as part of a full refurbishment in the early seventeenth century, leaving only Seville's.[93] The process was similar in Murcia following its conquest by Alphonse X.[94] After Granada was

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[88] Suberbiola, 'El ocaso'; Almagro, 'De mezquita', p. 40.
[89] A paradigmatic example is the royal Nasrid Mosque: protected, threatened with demolition, and finally left to fall into disrepair. Marías, 'Haz y envés', p. 108.
[90] Harris, 'Mosque', p. 159.
[91] Buresi, 'Les conversions', p. 348. See also Serra, 'Convivencia', p. 50.
[92] Harris, 'Mosque', p. 166.
[93] See Valor and Montes, 'De Mezquitas'; Morales, 'Quien'; Crites, 'Churches'; Jódar, 'De la aljama'; Alonso, 'La catedral'.
[94] Calvo Capilla, 'Et las'.

captured, the destruction process recurred in eastern Andalusia. The terms of the 1491 surrender had included an exceptional clause on the maintenance of Islamic worship in mosques. But by 1500, the situation had changed, as Cardinal Cisneros demonstrated when he wrote: 'All the mosques are churches, and mass and canonical prayers are said in them.'[95] Once again, it was not long before all the mosques across the Peninsula, including the *Aljamas* of Granada, Almería, and Málaga, were totally or partially demolished and gradually replaced with Christian buildings.[96] Writing in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Juan de Mariana described the remains of old Granada Mosque that were still visible and in use as 'built in a coarse manner', unlike the new cathedral replacing it, which was 'a first-class work, built on the same site'.[97] Except for Córdoba, all the *Aljama* mosques that went on to become cathedrals were demolished several years after their conversion and replaced with Gothic or Renaissance basilicas. Only a handful of the dozens of rural and neighbourhood converted mosques survived, such as Toledo's Bab al Mardum.[98]

In a parallel process that has been commented on by a number of authors, after the 1570s, in the turbulent wake of the Morisco uprising, other buildings and urban remains were either eliminated or their Islamic origin effaced. A key example of this was the erosion of inscriptions. In 1575, the remaining Arabic inscriptions in Toledo were replaced with Visigothic ones at the same time as Granada's Moriscos were being forcibly settled in the city.[99] The destruction of buildings that had either lost their symbolic value as war trophies, or failed to gain recognition as cultural monuments was seen as conscious intervention in the city's cultural memory, as depicted by local sources, which reveal just how widespread this view was. Rodrigo Caro, for instance, justified the destruction of the *Aljama* Mosque of Seville as a victor's prerogative derived from the tradition of universal politics; Gaspar Escolano argued that the replacement of the Valencian temple by James I was because 'the King [was] offended by vestiges of the Mohammedans carved into the walls of the new temple, which clashed with the Christian elements'; and Dean Martínez de Mazas explained the demolition of the ancient mosque in Jaén as a Bishop Biedma's decision to 'destroy any record of them [the Moors]'.[100]

As Victor Nieto and Fernando Marías have pointed out, the construction of myths around these exemplary architectural sites was related, in a contradictory

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[95] Letter from Cardinal Cisneros to the chapter of Toledo Cathedral (16/01/1500). Pereda, *Las imágenes*, p. 291, and 'Palladia', p. 209.

[96] Suberbiola, 'El ocaso'. [97] Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), II, p. 398.

[98] Epalza, 'Mutaciones'; Calvo Capilla, 'La mezquita'.

[99] Marías, 'Haz y envés', p. 109; Rodríguez and Souto, 'De Almanzor'; Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', p. 342; Morán, *La memoria*, p. 263. The account of this substitution is provided in Pisa, *Descripción*, p. 21r. In a completely inverse sense, Mármol also recounted the destruction of the Arabic inscriptions in Granada's Albaicín and Alcazaba by the Moriscos themselves in 1526. Mármol Carvajal, *Rebelión*, pp. 4v ff.

[100] Escolano, *Década*, col. 892; Martínez de Mazas, *Retrato*, p. 170. Recently it has been suggested that Jaén's mosque had already been converted into a cathedral when it was destroyed as part of the conflict that raged along the frontier, rather than having been demolished for symbolic reasons. Jódar, 'De la aljama'.

manner, to the ideological submission of the vanquished.[101] The fact that Córdoba's mosque, Seville's Giralda tower, and Granada's Alhambra received legal protection and that maintenance work was undertaken by the sovereigns themselves demonstrates a clear interest in their conservation, but also reveals the tensions generated by and vested interests in the destruction of Islamic architecture that made these measures necessary. Over the period dealt with here, a complex position developed that arose from a process of ideological compromise. On the one hand, this concerned policies designed to conserve or transform the buildings, which, as has been discussed, involved a gradual destruction process that only spared architecture considered exemplary. On the other, this debate developed through the literary recording and representation of these actions, which was concerned primarily with communicating the architectural memory of the Islamic past through strategies that justified the acts of destruction and negotiated the intellectual appropriation of the buildings that were conserved.

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[101] Nieto, 'El mito', pp. 134ff; Marías, 'Haz y envés', pp. 105ff. See also Cámara, *Arquitectura*, pp. 26ff.

3

Islamic Monuments as Christian Trophies

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's account of the conversion of Toledo Mosque into a Christian church is important, not only for the information it yields about the city, but for its relationship with the Córdoba (1236) and Seville (1248) offensives and the narratives these generated. Archbishop Jiménez de Rada, a major political figure during the reign of Ferdinand III, the Castilian king who seized both cities, also retold the taking of Córdoba and strongly influenced the chronicle of the capture of Seville. In contrast to the conquests of Toledo and Granada, where surrender treaties allowed a large proportion of the Muslim population to remain in the city and continue practising their religion in the *Aljama* mosques, in Córdoba and Seville nearly all the Muslim population was expelled. This smoothed the way for the immediate conversion of all places of worship—*Aljama* and secondary mosques—into churches.[1] Thus, the temples played a double role as icons symbolizing change and as headquarters for the new administrative and religious organization of the cities. Heather Ecker has seen a colonial model of urban occupation in both roles.[2]

Significantly, in the case of Córdoba and Seville, the Christian takeover of mosques became the symbolic focus in chronicles and was reported as the reason and primary aim of the conquest, rather than a consequence of victory.[3] The cleansing of mosques was also a demonstration of Christianity's superiority as the true faith, which justified the conquest and appropriation of the buildings erected by the infidels. By establishing this procedure in his chronicle, Jiménez de Rada gave Córdoba a unique role. Whereas his accounts of the seizure of other towns, such as Mérida, Badajoz, Úbeda, or Baeza, were limited to very brief notes containing no information whatever about the management of their architectural heritage, in the case of Córdoba, he reported the conversion of the mosque as the chief event. He first used this pattern in his account of Alphonse VII's brief occupation of the city.[4] He followed the same method later, in his more detailed description of Ferdinand III's conclusive victory in the thirteenth century. In both cases, the mosque's conversion was the only event he reported in relation to the change of sovereignty in the capital. Additionally, as in the Seville and Toledo chronicles, he

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[1] See Catlos, *Muslims*, pp. 163ff.
[2] Ecker, 'How to'. See also Calvo Capilla, 'Et las'; Lleó, 'De mezquitas'; Pick, *Conflict*, pp. 21ff.
[3] Buresi, 'Les conversions', p. 343.
[4] Jiménez de Rada, *De Rebus*, Book 7, Chapter 8, (ed. 1545) p. 62v; Hinojosa, *Continuación,* (ed. 1893) p. 432.

ignored minor temples, limiting his account to the *Aljama* mosques as the focus of symbolic meaning.[5]

In medieval sources of this kind, reports of urban conquests recorded the ritual transformation of mosques through a purification ceremony that included ceremonial cleansing, consecrating the high altar during the first Mass, and furnishing the church with ornaments donated by the sovereign to emphasize the Crown's religious patronage.[6] This explains the cult status acquired by Ferdinand III in Seville's cathedral and former mosque, the most striking instance of the outcome of this ritual.[7]

Jiménez de Rada's focus on Córdoba's *Aljama* Mosque can be partly explained by reference to the building's significance in itself, as well as to its reputation as one of the foremost temples in the Islamic world and one of the most outstanding monuments in the Western Mediterranean. *Historia Arabum*, also written by the archbishop of Toledo, acknowledged its superiority: 'In the Arab year 169, Córdoba Mosque was built as a prerogative to surpass all other mosques built by the Arabs.'[8] The 'strange and famous building' that Ambrosio de Morales referred to in the last third of the sixteenth century had been held in high esteem for several hundred years. During the Middle Ages, encomiastic descriptions of the mosque were frequent, such as the account written by the geographer al-Idrisi in 1154. His careful description begins by asserting that 'among all Islamic mosques, none can match its architectural beauty and the greatness of its proportions and ornament'. He went on to praise its various features, such as the *qibla*, whose 'beauty and elegance are indescribable and whose solidity exceeds everything that human intelligence can conceive as most perfect'.[9] The mosque's fame was not only literary: at the time of the Christian conquest, it was, at first sight, the most impressive building in the Peninsula. Its large surface area and its luxurious interior ornamentation were remarked upon in comparison with Christian cathedrals, from Santiago de Compostela's Romanesque fabric to the old mosque of Toledo. Until the Alhambra was built in Granada, the only Islamic building that could compete in magnificence with Córdoba Mosque was the *Aljama* of Seville, whose tower was likewise viewed as a peerless wonder.

Public recognition of the building's significance naturally increased its symbolic value in the context of the conquest, but events also enhanced its status. In Jiménez de Rada's wide-ranging history of Spain, the conquests of Toledo and Córdoba stood out as two particularly important episodes. Indeed, the taking of Córdoba was the virtual climax of Rada's narrative, which came to a halt on the author's death, some time before the siege of Seville. Given Seville's status as the other great

[5] See Nieto, *Historia*, pp. 61ff; Costas, *Fernando*, pp. 40ff; Ecker, 'The Great', p. 118; Crites, 'Churches', p. 397.

[6] On the medieval roots of the ritual see Buresi, 'Les conversions', pp. 338ff; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest*, pp. 204ff.

[7] On Seville, see Laguna, 'La Aljama', 'Una capilla', and 'Devociones'; Crites, 'Churches'. On Jaime I and Valencia see Remensnyder, 'The Colonization', p. 196.

[8] Jiménez de Rada, *Historia Arabum*, Book 18, Chapter 60, (ed. 1993) p. 34.

[9] García Mercadal, *Viajes*, I, pp. 169ff. See Rubiera, *La arquitectura*, pp. 109ff; Pérez Sáez, 'Córdoba', pp. 27ff.

Visigothic seat in the Peninsula, it would undoubtedly have been very convenient for the general aims of the chronicle to include it. However, since the book ends abruptly at Córdoba, a direct connection between this city and Toledo was unintentionally created which had considerable influence on later historiography. Toledo was the former Visigothic capital, which had been recovered from the Muslims as Spain's prime archiepiscopal see. Córdoba was the former Umayyad capital and therefore a symbol of Islamic domination. The two conquests linked Ferdinand III and Alphonse VI together, foretold the recovery of the whole Peninsula, and added considerable symbolic weight to Castile's new Hispanic monarchy project. The parallel conversion of both mosques turned this cultural legacy into visible architectural trophies. The relationship between the two cities, together with the symbolic vindication implied by the appropriation of their temples, also furthered the chronicler's personal interests. As the archbishop of Toledo directly involved in replacing the old mosque with a Gothic cathedral, Jiménez de Rada was unable to express a favourable opinion on the value of the building he was knocking down in his own city. But as the frontier advanced, he was able to use Córdoba Mosque as an example in order to vindicate the value of these monuments as trophies gained in conquest. This was the underlying idea behind his chronicle.

In the first place, Jiménez de Rada described in minute detail the purification ceremony held in the mosque:

> Once King Ferdinand had taken Córdoba, Juan, bishop of Osma and king's chancellor, and Gonzalo, bishop of Cuenca, Domingo, bishop of Baeza, Adamo, bishop of Plasencia, and Sancho, bishop of Coria, entered the Córdoba Mosque, which was the best and largest in all Andalusia, and the bishop of Osma, acting on behalf of Archbishop Rodrigo, who was at the Pope's court in Rome, cleansed it of Mohammed's dirt, poured holy water all over it, turned it into a church and raised its high altar to the glory of St Mary and he said solemn Mass and preached to the people, and King Ferdinand endowed the church with an appropriate dowry.

He then went on to explain that the bells which had been purloined by al-Mansur were returned to Santiago Cathedral:

> And because, in order to insult our faith and bring dishonour on Christendom, al-Mansur had the bells carried from Santiago to Córdoba and placed in the mosque to be used as lamps, so King Ferdinand had the same bells carried back from Córdoba to Santiago with all the other things that he found there. And as al-Mansur had made Christians carry them to Córdoba, so King Ferdinand had Moors carry them back again.[10]

The purification ceremony was the most direct way to show the world that the political and religious situation had changed. Cancelling out Al-Mansur's plunder, represented by the bells, signalled a major landmark in Jiménez de Rada's discourse on Spanish history. Evidence of this is the fact that, when the text was edited for print,

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[10] Jiménez de Rada, *De Rebus*, (ed. 1545) p. 84r; Hinojosa, *Continuación*, Book 9, Chapter 19, (ed. 1893) p. 507.

this episode featured as the title of the chapter dedicated to the conversion of the mosque. As mentioned above, bells were one of Christendom's identity symbols in accounts of the conquest. Their restitution connected Córdoba Mosque to Santiago Cathedral, which, like Toledo, was one of the most significant Christian sites in the Peninsula. It also gave even greater emphasis to the mosque's value as a trophy.

Echoes of the story of Córdoba's conquest repeatedly crop up in the following centuries. In some cases, the narrative is transferred to the north of Africa as an extension of the notion of restoration.[11] Revealingly, the 1516 edition of the *Crónica latina de los Reyes de Castilla* (*Crónica de Fernando III*) attempted to condense the different aspects of that event in the form of an illustration showing the clerics, who have received the mosque from the king in order to turn it into a cathedral, as they hand the bells over to the king, who will have them returned to Galicia.[12]

Both the cleansing and the restitution of the bells had a clear reading. Taking possession of the temple and returning the bells implied a restoration that was not in conflict either with history or with the building's Islamic forms.

Jiménez de Rada's historiographical project was immediately prolonged in various chronicles dating from the second half of the thirteenth century, after the conquest of Seville, which was the largest city south of Toledo and far more significant in demographic, economic, and political terms than the old Umayyad Córdoba. Its seizure was recorded in the epilogue to Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispaniae* (*Historia Gothica*), written by Gonzalo de Hinojosa, bishop of Burgos, in the *Crónica latina de los Reyes de Castilla*, and also in the *Estoria de España* edited by King Alphonse X the Wise, which should be viewed as a long-term, wide-ranging collective enterprise.[13] In these texts, Seville marked the culmination of a string of conquests and delivered a very substantial trophy that symbolically closed the cycle until the conquest of Granada some 250 years later.

Naturally, the narrative sequence Toledo–Córdoba–Seville had a parallel development in the context of the appropriation of religious buildings and its reporting. The chronicles opened by explaining the initial hesitation in Toledo as to whether to maintain Muslim worship in the mosque or to convert it to Christianity. They continued with a categorical defence of the appropriation of Córdoba Mosque and of its value as a trophy. In a final turn of the screw, the full narrative was transposed to Seville, from the purification of the temple to the patronage of the Christian monarchs. The Crown wished to reinforce the symbolic value of the new trophy taken in Seville in the face of the Muslims' petition to have it demolished. The story goes that the vanquished Muslims wished to ensure that no visible evidence

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[11] Among others, see Cueva, *Aquí*, (ed. 1881) p. 104; Torres, *Relación*, p. 23; Morales, *Diálogo*, (quoted from 1881) p. 258; *Sucesos y cosas*, (ed. 1982) pp. 271ff. See Tolan, *Sons*, pp. 156ff; Martínez Góngora, *Los espacios*, pp. 80ff.

[12] Soria, *Chronica,* (ed. 1516) p. 17r. See José Manuel Lucía's study in the 2008 edition of the chronicle.

[13] See Fraker, *The Shape*; Martin, *Histoires*, pp. 123ff; Linehan, *History*, p. 450; Kagan, *Clio*, pp. 22ff.

Fo.   **rvij**

nos con gran gozo a llamar a dios z su ayu
da. z cõ mucha alegria a alabar y enfalçar
fu fancta fe. Luego el rey mando poner fu
feña real cerca la cruz de nueftro feñor. Co
mençaron luego los obifpos z toda la clere
zia cõ bozes de alegria a cantar en alto q
poz todos los chriftianos fueffe oydo. Te
deum laudamus con el noble rey don Fer=
nando: z con la gloria y fe del rey del cielo q
eftonces entraua alli en aquella cibdad pa=
ra fer enfalçada z augmētada de alli adelã
te poz fus fieles. Affi mefmo todos los chri
ftianos refonauan cõ bozes de alabança a
dios con mucha alegria z lagrimas de deuo
cion a que los prouocaua tan deuoto aucto
De efta manera que oydo aueys gano el no
ble rey don Fernando cõ el ayuda de dios
la cibdad de Cordoua.

C Capitulo. rrvij. Co=
mo la mezquita mayoz de Cordoua fue cõ
fagrada poz los obifpos que con el rey erã:
z como el rey don Fernando la reparo y e=
difico lo neceffario y la doto de rentas.

Ste noble rey dõ Fernãdo del=
que ouo ganado la cibdad d cor
doua z apoderado fe eñlla como
dicho es: hizo luego cõfagrar la
mezquita mayoz q era la mas noble z grã=
de que los moros teniã. E confagrola el hõ
rrado don Juan obifpo de Ofma z chan=
ciller mayoz del rey con otros obifpos que
alli eran z clerezia. Los qles erã: don Do

mingo obifpo de Baeça. don Gonçalo o=
bifpo de Cuenca. don Adã obifpo de pla=
zencia. don Sancho obifpo de Coria: z cõ
fagrola el obifpo de Ofma poz q tenia las
vezes del arçobifpo de Toledo dõ Rodri
go: que en aqlla fazon eftaua enla corte ro=
mana. E yendo en proceffion cõ los otros
obifpos z clerezia cercaron la mezquita ef=
parziendo agua bendita con las otras ceri
monias que al tal aucto fe requieren. z affi
quedo de lugar fuzio hecho templo dedica
do al culto z honrra de dios. Luego el obi
fpo don Juan alço altar a honrra dela glo
riofa virgen madre de dios z la aduocaciõ
del templo es fancta Maria. Effe dia dixo
la miffa el mefmo dõ Juan que la confa=
gro cõ mucha folēnidad: z hizo fermon al
pueblo de aquel faber z gracia que dios le
dio: de manera que todos quedarõ muy cõ
tentos y confolados. z todos con mucha de
uocion hizierõ alli aquel dia fus oraciones
a dios z offrecieron fus dones cada vno fe=
gun que pudo. Defpues defto venido don
Rodrigo arçobifpo de Toledo de Roma
primado delas efpañas: confagro poz pri
mero obifpo de Cordoua a maeftre Lo=
pe de Fitero del rio de Pifuerga. Hecho
efto el rey don Fernando reparo la yglefia
y edifico lo que era neceffario enella: y enno
bleciola mucho z dotola de muchas rentas.
E fallo ay las campanas dla yglefia d fan
tiago de Galizia: las quales auia alli tray
do el rey Almançoz poz defonrra dlos chri
ftianos quãdo entro en aquella tierra: z pu
fo las en aquella mezquita mayoz donde e=
ftuuieron hafta entonces: z feruian fe dllas
delamparas. El rey don Fernando como
era noble z virtuofo é todas fus obras: mã
dolas tornar ala yglefia de Santiago cu=
yas eran. La yglefia defque fe vido refti
tuyda d fus campanas: fue muy alegre poz
ello: z dieron muchas gracias a dios z ala=
bauan al noble rey don Fernando: z roga=
uan a dios poz el. Los romeros que veniã
a Santiago oyendo las campanas: z fabiē

c

Fig. 1. Return of Santiago de Compostella's bells to Ferdinand III. In *Corónica del sancto rey don Fernando tercero deste nombre* (Seville: Jacobo Cromberguer, 1516). Biblioteca Histórica de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

remained of their dishonour through defeat, by pulling down both mosque and tower, as may be inferred from Gonzalo de Hinojosa's additions to Jiménez de Rada's work. His commentary on the Christians' appropriation of the mosque is limited to a passing remark to the effect that, some time after the conquest, 'the King had not yet heard Mass in it because he was waiting for the archbishops and bishops to cleanse it'. He did, however, linger on the old characterization of Muslims as a destructive people and on the protection of the tower by Ferdinand III and his son Alphonse X. According to his account, in the capitulations:

> The Moors asked that the surrender treaty include permission to demolish the mosque. And King Ferdinand replied that they ask his son, Prince Alphonse, and so they asked Prince Alphonse, who replied that if they so much as knocked down a tile off the roof, he would cut the throats of all the Moors in Seville. And they replied that if they knocked down the tower King Ferdinand would build another. And the King sent them back to Prince Alphonse. And the Prince told them that if they so much as removed one brick from the top of the tower, not a single Moorish man or woman would be left alive in Seville.[14]

As sanctioned by the laws of Alphonse X, the King was exercising his property rights over conquered temples.[15] The story of the protection of Seville's tower by Ferdinand III and Alphonse X was a ubiquitous cliché in all chronicles written around that time. It reappeared on a regular basis throughout the Early Modern Period, and is commonly referred to even today. This is the clearest evidence we have of the staying power of the medieval notion of Islamic monuments as trophies of conquest. It looks clear that the monarchs were genuinely committed to ensuring the preservation of the mosques of Córdoba and Seville so as to benefit from their symbolic value. Alphonse X had repairs made to the old *Aljama* in Córdoba and had adjacent shops removed to enhance the exterior.[16] He supervised the religious transformation of Seville Mosque as the city became one of the Crown's major political centres. As a result, from our viewpoint, the building became a singularly interesting space due to the cultural hybridity resulting from its consolidation as a royal burial place, its close attachment to the Crown, devotion to the statue known as *Virgen de los Reyes* (Our Lady of the Kings, who had allegedly accompanied the monarchs in the conquest), and the budding cult of Ferdinand III.[17] As in Toledo, the Islamic fabric of Seville Mosque was eventually demolished to make way for a new Gothic cathedral with loftier architectural aspirations. The minaret, however, was kept so as to profit from its privileged symbolic standing, and the memory of the conquering sovereign was preserved in the new temple.

Among Seville's buildings, the minaret had for centuries been the most conspicuous. Minarets usually had a significant role in the symbolism of conquest.

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[14] Hinojosa, *Continuación,* Chapter 235, (ed. 1893) pp. 5–6.
[15] Echevarría*, The Fortress*, p. 173.
[16] Nieto, *Corpus*, I, pp. 2016ff. See Ecker, 'The Great', pp. 121ff.
[17] See Laguna, 'La Aljama', pp. 71ff, 'Una capilla', and 'Devociones', pp. 132–5; Morales, *Metropolis*, 'Quien', pp. 68ff, and 'Rey Santo', pp. 90ff; Rodríguez Moya, 'Fernando', pp. 99ff; Almagro, 'De mezquita', pp. 31ff; Crites, 'Churches', pp. 393ff; Jiménez Martín, *Anatomía*, pp. 95ff.

When Córdoba was taken, for instance, it was reported that a cross and the royal standards were placed on the mosque's minaret.[18] Thanks to its sheer size, Seville's minaret was commonly regarded with awe and admiration. In addition to recording the tower's protection by the Christian sovereigns, *Crónica latina de los Reyes de Castilla* and King Alphonse X's *Estoria de España* also attempted to register the wonder that must have been felt by conquerors entering the city. To that end, they included a description that influenced all subsequent interpretation of this building as a trophy. The version quoted is from Florián de Ocampo's 1541 edition, which defined early modern reception of the story:

> The main tower, which is now the tower of St Mary, has many noble features and size and beauty and height, being sixty fathoms tall at its widest point, plus four fathoms on top of that. Moreover, so high and flat and well crafted is its stairway that those who wish to do so may ride to the very top. In addition, another tower rises eight fathoms from the top of the main tower and is very well crafted, and on the top of it are four round apples [bronze balls], one on top of the other, which are such a skilful piece of work and so large that there cannot be others like them. The one at the top is the smallest, and then the second, beneath it, is larger. Then follows a third, which is larger than the second, but the fourth apple is beyond reproach, as it is such a massive piece of work and of such strange craftsmanship that it is hard to believe. It is carved all over with channels and the number of channels is twelve, and the width of each channel is five regular handbreadths. And when it was carried into the city it did not fit through the gate so that the gates had to be removed and the entrance widened. And when the sun touches it, it sparkles in the sun's rays the whole day and longer.[19]

This description is revealing from its opening words: the tower 'which is now the tower of St Mary' had been Christianized. This had made it possible to turn it into a victory symbol and to point out its 'noble features and size and beauty' in triumphant mode. Of these noble features, 'height' has been the main ingredient since the reign of Alphonse X. Awestricken perception prevailed throughout the Early Modern Period, as there was nothing in the cities of the Peninsula that could compare to the tower's visual supremacy over the surrounding town houses.[20] This explains the writer's stress on apparently anecdotal details such as the possibility of climbing to the top on horseback. The description also featured an interest in the skills of the Giralda's builders, which is in marked contrast to later generalized criticism, as will be seen below, of the Arabs' 'barbarous' nature and ignorance of Vitruvius. The tower's Islamic authorship was a serious issue from the earliest references.

It is clear, then, that the initial thirteenth-century reading of Islamic monuments as trophies was based on remembrance of their otherness. These buildings stood for victory over the other, and therefore it was important to underline their alien nature. The Christian appropriation of Córdoba Mosque only required a religious cleansing ceremony, without recourse to further strategies to reassign its meaning.

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[18] This event was widely reported in other sources such as Bleda, *Corónica*, p. 432 and Román de la Higuera, *Historia*, pp. 113ff.

[19] Alphonse X, *Primera*, (ed. 1541) p. 425.   [20] Lleó, 'El pasado', p. 122.

Likewise, the architectural greatness of Seville's tower was readily acknowledged, obviating the need for reinterpretation through genealogical or martyrological narratives. Despite the various changes of meaning that were gradually incorporated in later times, and which shall be reviewed in later chapters, the perpetuation of the notion of trophy is particularly clear in political history writing during the Early Modern Period.[21] With some specific variations in focus, it may be said that Islamic buildings continued to have a presence in the standardized account of urban conquest, where the consecration of the great mosque as a Christian temple and as a trophy had pride of place.[22] As we know, Jiménez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispaniae* (*Historia Gothica*) and other coetaneous chronicles, such as that of Ferdinand III, were printed in the sixteenth century and had a momentous impact at the time. Four hundred years after Jiménez de Rada's original writing, Ambrosio de Morales—who had copied Rada's text by hand—Esteban de Garibay, and Juan de Mariana followed his account of the conquests of Toledo and Córdoba almost word for word. As an example, the main changes Mariana introduced to the narrative of the conversion of Toledo Mosque emphasized the event with extended descriptions of the atmosphere and added dramatism to make it more attractive.[23] In Córdoba, Garibay and Mariana expressed slight misgivings about Islam, but nevertheless insisted on the building's superiority and included the purification story and the anecdote of the bells.[24]

With regard to Seville, the description included in Alphonse X's *Estoria de España* became a template, like Jiménez de Rada's had done before. The text was routinely used as an illustration of the city's condition at the time of the conquest. Mariana preserved the idea, adding a certain emphasis on the symbolic Christianization of the tower, which was in progress at the time.[25]

Mariana's enhancements were intensified in other literary genres. Urban eulogies and local histories from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries introduced some interesting variations on the interpretation of otherness with reference to Islamic trophies. As will be seen below, on the one hand descriptions favoured a patrimonial discourse that focused on shared heritage, glossing over the original religion of each monument. On the other hand, local histories written, by and large, from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards were more inclined to reuse the strategies of antiquarian and religious literature in order to promote the genealogical appropriation of the temples by defending their Christian origin. Medieval

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[21] Jiménez de Rada's version was also perpetuated in numerous short references in other books such as Bleda's history of the Muslim kings, or in local texts on other Spanish cities without a significant Muslim past, such as the history of Plasencia by Fray Alonso Fernández. Bleda, *Corónica*, p. 432; Fernández, *Historia*, p. 35.

[22] See for instance, Escolano, *Década*, col. 892.

[23] Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, p. 441.

[24] Garibay, *Los XL*, (quoted from 1628), I, p. 66, II, p. 182, IV, p. 270; Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, pp. 609–10.

[25] While Garibay curiously ignored the tower, Mariana proclaimed it as the foremost monument in the city. His references to the new paintings on the tower walls referred to the programme of symbolic Christianization that the cathedral chapter had promoted. Garibay, *Los XL*, (quoted from 1628), II, p. 193; Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, p. 628.

Morisco buildings inspired such bewilderment that they yielded no homogeneous interpretation. For instance, Rodrigo Caro combined a literal copy of Alphonse X's description, expressing the admiration felt in the presence of such a marvel as this local icon, with a new dual antiquarian-religious interpretation of the building.[26] At any rate, it can be argued that the discourse derived from Jiménez de Rada's writings was ubiquitous throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Rather than erasing its content, the changes made to the buildings tended to incorporate new readings, and in Granada, the last of these additions to the Christian Crown, which would continue to be home to a substantial Morisco population for many years to come, the triumphal reading endured with greater vigour.

POST-WAR MEMORABILIA

With the conquest of Granada in 1492, the Castilian Crown took possession of the last Islamic kingdom in the Peninsula and of the ultimate trophy. Given the events in Córdoba and Seville, the occupation of Granada predictably involved the conversion of the main mosque into a cathedral. This process had become habitual by then and was subsequently highlighted in the chronicles. Evidence of this is the wide circulation enjoyed by written accounts of a specific incident that occurred during the siege of Granada: Hernán Pérez del Pulgar's incursion in 1490, a year before the city's surrender.[27] According to various sources, the soldier entered Granada by stealth, unsuccessfully tried to set fire to the *Aljama* building, and left a note on the main door demanding its conversion:

> Ave Maria. Bear witness to the capture I hereby effect in the name of the King and Queen and to my pledge to return and rescue the Virgin Mary, who is now a prisoner amongst infidels.[28]

In the event, the Granada victory performance could not be staged in the mosque. The surrender terms agreed in 1491 followed the old medieval model applied in Toledo, which established that Muslims would be allowed to 'live according to their law', that 'the removal of their mosques, towers, or muezzins would not be permitted', and that 'Christians would not be allowed in Moorish mosques'. These allowances were offset by the first clause in the capitulation treaty, which announced the city's handover and whose opening lines were a detailed account of the takeover of the Alhambra fortress.[29] Hence, although the circumstances surrounding the treaty forced a change of venue, it had positive consequences from a symbolic point of view. The conquest of Granada implied taking possession of the exceptional

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[26] Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 47v.
[27] This story was still in circulation in 1659 when François Bertaut visited the remains of the mosque converted into a cathedral. He was shown the alleged site of Pulgar's epic action. Bertaut, *Journal*, (quoted from 1682) p. 94.
[28] For other sources of this event see Villa-Real, *Hernán*.
[29] On the surrender of Granada see Harvey, *Islamic*, pp. 314ff; Poutrin, 'Mudéjares', pp. 11ff.

architectural legacy of the Alhambra, which was well known on the Christian side of the border. Like Málaga Mosque a few years earlier, the great Granada Mosque was found to be more modest than its counterparts in Córdoba and Seville.[30] On the other hand, the palace formed by the Alhambra and Generalife was very impressive. Its construction had been closely monitored by the Christian monarchs and had had a strong impact on Castilian sumptuary architecture.[31]

For all these reasons, the various known versions of the taking of Granada ignored the mosque and transferred the symbolic focus onto the Alhambra. In every chronicle the episode was summarized in an account of the hoisting of the Cross ensign, the pennant of St James, and the royal pennant on the highest tower of the fortress. Of the different texts around at that time, Andrés de Bernáldez offered the fullest version, including the story of how, when Boabdil surrendered the keys:

> King Ferdinand took the keys and gave them to the Queen, and the Queen gave them to the Prince and the Prince gave them to the Count of Tendilla who, with the Duke of Escalona, the Marquis of Villena, and many other knights plus 300 men on horse-back and 2,000 gunners, was ordered to enter the Alhambra and take possession of it, and they went and entered and seized it and took possession of it high and low, and they went and entered the tallest tower and on the top of it they displayed first the standard of Jesus Christ, which was the cross and which the King always carried with him on campaign, and the King, the Queen, and all their troops bowed down before the Holy Cross and offered much thanks and praise to our Lord; and the archbishops and clergymen chanted *Te Deum laudamus*; and then those inside displayed the pennant of St James, which the *Maestre* had brought with his troops and next to it the royal pennant of King Ferdinand, and the royal kings of arms cried out in loud voices: Castile, Castile![32]

The usual description of the mosque's conversion was here efficiently replaced by the visual power of the three Christian pennants flying over the building crowning the city that stood for its Islamic character. The image harked back to the reports of pennants flying above minarets in previously conquered cities.

The great mosque itself, with the widespread conversion of the Moriscos, was eventually purified and transformed into a Christian parish church (1500) and, after the death of Archbishop Hernando de Talavera, into the new cathedral of Granada (1507). A portion of its Nasrid fabric remained standing for several decades while the new cathedral's nave was being built.[33] However, testimonies collected by Antonio Fernández Puertas show that it remained out of the limelight throughout this period. Foreign travellers, such as Hieronymus Münzer (1494) or

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[30] For a description of Málaga at the time of conquest see Pulgar, *Crónica,* (ed. 1545) p. 50; Marineus Siculus, *De Hispaniae,* (quoted from 1539) p. 175r. Later descriptions in Pacheco, *Discription*; Morejón, *Historia*, p. 102. Among other local examples of appreciation of architecture see: Vázquez Rengifo, *Grandezas*, pp. 11r ff; San Antonio y Castro, *Historia*, pp. 102ff.

[31] See Ruiz Souza, 'Castilla y Al-Andalus', pp. 34ff, 'Castilla y la libertad', pp. 135ff, and 'Los espacios', pp. 321ff.

[32] Bernáldez, *Historia*, (ed. 1946) pp. 197–9.

[33] See Suberbiola, 'El ocaso', pp. 315ff; Gaignard, *Maures*, pp. 67ff. See also García-Arenal, 'Granada'.

François Bertaut (1659), did not give it a fraction of the attention they lavished on the fortress and the old Nasrid palaces of the Alhambra.[34] In 1596, Cathedral Canon Pedro Guerra de Lorca declared that it was his duty to set down in writing the circumstances surrounding the mosque's conversion, which he had learned by oral tradition, 'because historians do not write about it'.[35] The primary focus of the narrative was always the seizure of the Alhambra. The chronicle of the Catholic Monarchs written by Alonso de Santa Cruz had spread a very similar story to Bernáldez's and, among the general histories of Spain, Garibay's account had followed its predecessors almost word for word.[36] Thus, the Alhambra was seen as the final item in a long sequence of appropriated cities and monuments.

This view of the Alhambra as the final trophy that marked the end of the restoration of Christian Spain kept its momentum throughout the Early Modern Period and was particularly relevant within Granada. This was probably helped by the fact that, for many decades, a large proportion of the local population was of Muslim origin.[37] In 1566, Francisco Núñez Muley, one of the leaders of the Morisco community in Granada, wrote a letter to the Crown requesting an end to the regulations that sought to Christianize the cultural habits of the Moriscos, as well as permission to maintain their traditional practices. The text is very well known today. One of his arguments was that Morisco customs should be treated as the Catholic Monarchs and Charles V had wished to treat the Alhambra, preserving them untouched as a memorial to the greatness of the conquest:

> And it was the intention and will of the emperors and Catholic monarchs to protect the memories of the royal houses of the Alhambra and other such memories so that they would remain just as they were in the time of the Moorish kings, to make patent what was won by their Highnesses and thus make it clearer.[38]

On the side of the *cristianos viejos*, the influence of the religious and political confrontation on the triumphal interpretation of Granada's patrimony is also evident in Luis de Mármol Carvajal's account of the Morisco uprising written in 1600. Having fought in the Granada war, spent time in an Algiers gaol, and travelled around North Africa, Mármol, unlike other authors, had first-hand experience of Islamic civilization.[39] His *Descripción general de África* (1573), which will be revisited below, offered information about the main Islamic buildings in the Maghreb and Spain. Later, using a classic historiographical scheme, Mármol began his account of the Morisco war with a description of Granada that contained a long, complimentary list of Islamic monuments. The text was divided into two parts: an introduction to

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[34] Münzer, *Itinerarium*, pp. 44–8; Bertaut, *Journal*, (quoted from 1682) p. 93. See Fernández-Puertas, 'La mezquita', pp. 47ff.

[35] Guerra de Lorca, *Memorias*, p. 317v.

[36] Santa Cruz, *Crónica*, pp. 457–8; Garibay, *Los XL*, (quoted from 1628), II, p. 673.

[37] Coleman, *Creating*, pp. 12ff; and particularly Soria, *Los últimos*.

[38] Garrad, 'The Original', p. 420; Martín, 'Política', pp. 391ff. See Vincent, 'Las múltiples'; Bernabé Pons, 'Una visión', pp. 99ff; Fuchs, 'Virtual', and *Exotic*, pp. 14ff; Perry, *The Handless*, pp. 21ff, and 'Memory', pp. 69ff.

[39] See García Figueras, 'Españoles'; Rodríguez Mediano, 'Luis de', and 'Hegira', pp. 239ff; Castillo Fernández, *Entre Granada*.

the city's history consisting of a brief look at the urban environment, including information on its foundation—which was Hebrew, as will be discussed below—and descriptions of its most prominent buildings, the Alhambra and Generalife. His depiction of the Alhambra, the most detailed to date, was based on personal observation. Mármol applied himself particularly to the *Comares* Hall (or Hall of the Ambassadors), the Court of the Lions, and the *Rauda* royal mausoleum. He paid as much attention to praising the beauty and wealth of the complex as to explaining the peculiarities of its ornamental and architectural techniques. He dwelt on numerous details, such as the place where the sovereign gave audience or the fact that the *Comares* Hall was named after 'a very beautiful tower whose interior was richly carved all over using a very expensive technique, highly valued among Persians and Syrians, known as *comaragia*'.[40] Mármol's text is very interesting because he combined clear anti-Islamic leanings in his account of the uprising, with a very appreciative, detailed, and systematic description of Morisco buildings. This narrative linked Mármol to the old medieval chronicles and showed that his thinking harked back to the traditional notion of otherness, albeit couched in humanist terms.[41] Besides Mármol's account, a second history of the Morisco uprising, written by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1627), was published around the same time. It is interesting to note that Mármol, who, as has been said, offered a very polarized and combative reading with regard to the Moriscos, gave far more space to describing the magnificence of the Islamic spoils than Hurtado, who appeared to be far more inclined to compromise. At any rate, the Moriscos' rebellion and defeat enhanced contemporary perceptions of the Alhambra as a trophy.

IN PRAISE OF PLUNDER IN HUMANIST GRANADA

The positive reception of the Alhambra by its new Christian masters is well documented, from the interest shown by the Catholic Monarchs and Charles V in its architectural preservation, to their appreciation of the Islamic sumptuary model and the Emperor's curiosity about the Morisco architecture of his Granadan trophy. Fernando Marías has noted that Charles V's Renaissance palace might be interpreted as a response, inspired by the respect in which the Nasrid construction was held.[42] The claim that Emperor Charles was trying to compete was defended as early as the mid seventeenth century by Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia, Marquis of Mondéjar and head of the noble lineage that had been governors of the Alhambra since the conquest of Granada.[43] The earliest foreign visitors, from Hieronymus Münzer to Antoine de Lalaing and Andrea Navagero, shared this appreciation of the building in their comments.[44] Navagero, for instance, offered a reading of the

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[40] Mármol Carvajal, *Rebelión*, pp. 4v ff.   [41] Castillo Fernández, *Entre Granada*, pp. 310ff.
[42] Marías, 'La casa', pp. 201–22.
[43] Ibáñez de Segovia, *Historia*, p. 294r. See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 309ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 307ff.
[44] Münzer, *Itinerarium*, pp. 46–7; Navagero, *Il viaggio*, pp. 18v ff; Marías, *El largo*, pp. 183ff, and 'La casa', pp. 209ff.

Alhambra in classical, or what we might call Vitruvian, terms, but no criticism of its exotic deviation from classicism can be detected in his writing that could be constructed as a projection of moral or ideological prejudice. Moreover, he gave more space to the Alhambra than to any other of the numerous buildings he described.[45] The building was accepted as different, as befitted a trophy that had been wrenched from the enemy's hands. At the same time, as has been said, it was held in high regard: its architectural value appealed to its contemporaries from a position of equality in the present.

Added to the traditional reading of the taking of Granada as spoils of war which was handed down in chronicles of the conquest, this event coincided with the adoption of the humanist perspective in Spanish writing. In the years surrounding this conquest, chorographical descriptions were evolving towards a model that understood the symbolic import of urban monuments in classical terms.[46] This environment produced a major transformation in the concept of trophy centred on Granada. A new kind of relationship between history and geography was created throughout Europe in which references to antiquity and descriptions of monuments took centre stage as indicators of the value of cities and kingdoms.[47] Before chronicles of Granada appeared, the first Spanish local descriptions already offered a clear patrimonial reading. Examples are Jerónimo de Córdoba's account of the old Umayyad capital, unpublished at the time, and Alonso de Proaza's description of Valencia, from the early 1500s, which they compared to the wonders of the ancient world.[48]

As Richard Kagan's research shows, the Spanish geographical tradition represented in the fifteenth century by Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo and Joan Margarit underwent a major revision in the sixteenth century by Lucius Marineus Siculus (*c.* 1496, 1530, and 1539) and his follower Pedro de Medina (1548).[49] Strictly speaking, the new cosmography was not a historical genre, but it frequently leaned towards historiography and its descriptions influenced national and local history writing. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, as noted by the Sevillian historian Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, it was understood that descriptions of buildings were 'inescapable in city histories'.[50] The aim of monument descriptions was to bear witness to the symbolic assets of cities. In particular, the brief words used in medieval chronicles to describe the conquered mosques became whole paragraphs given over to fulsome praise of temples and palaces. An interesting outcome was that this literature reinforced the writers' interest in contemporary monuments. In Granada, the fact that the Alhambra was seen as a recent trophy helped to ensure that, in the humanist reading, the building's description focused on its current status.

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[45] Navagero, *Il viaggio*, pp. 18v ff. See Brothers, 'The Renaissance', pp. 82ff, 94ff.

[46] Kagan, 'La corografía'.

[47] See Hyde, 'Medieval', p. 321; Burke, *The Renaissance*, pp. 25ff.

[48] Córdoba, *Descriptio*; Proaza, *Oratio*, w/p (margin indication to '*Memo. Arabica*'). See Gómez Moreno, *España*, pp. 288ff.

[49] Kagan, 'Arcana', p. 58. See also Gómez Moreno, *España*, pp. 282ff; Tate, *Ensayos*.

[50] Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, p. 22.

De laudibus Hispaniae (*c.* 1496) by Lucius Marineus Siculus is considered the first humanist geography published in Spain and had considerable impact on the genre's subsequent development and on the general image of the Peninsula. The most widely read versions were a revised edition published in 1533 and its 1539 translation under the title *De las cosas memorables de España*.[51] In addition to an introduction to the Peninsula's territory, governance, language, major figures, and other general matters, Marineus' eulogy was mainly a historical account that included descriptions of cities, with comments on their most prominent buildings. He followed the same pattern in his record of the Catholic Monarchs' deeds, with sections dedicated to Córdoba, Seville, and Granada. The first two of these were fairly concise, and ignored the architectural evidence of the cities' Islamic past. The only monument in Córdoba he referred to, and then only in passing, was the 'very long and beautifully built bridge'. As for Seville, although he mentioned its wall, the dwellings of its knights, its 'very large and handsome royal palaces', and its 'very large temple', he did not show any particular interest in its Islamic past.[52]

The Granada section explicitly focused on the Nasrid monuments, to which he paid unprecedented attention. In this case it can be said that the description was arranged according to a classical structure for urban cosmography that was new in Spain: it dealt with, in that order, the city's location, its walls and gates, houses, main monuments, trade, crops, and, finally, the goodness of the land and climate. Marineus fixed an important canon of Granada's merits that was reused by later commentators as a matter of habit. Even his opening words: 'Granada nestles between two hills almost as high as mountains, which are divided and separated by the Darro river which runs through a valley in the middle'—the hills being the Alhambra and the Albaicín—were almost literally copied or paraphrased by Pedro de Medina (1548) and Esteban de Garibay (1571) among others. The same applies to a large portion of the rest of the work, such as his references to the Royal House within the Alhambra. Local authors also faithfully followed his text.[53]

Marineus highlighted seven 'principal' places in Granada. The top three were the Alhambra, Generalife, and the Alixares gardens, 'which I used to call, not without just cause, luxurious and the delight of kings and queens'. Birrambla square came in fourth position, the Alcaicería market in fifth, in sixth place the Darro river, and in seventh the orchards that spread over the valley. Out of this list, Marineus particularly emphasized:

> The bright Royal House, excellent in its greatness, form, and workmanship, which can rightly be said to be a city rather than a house. Because within its walls there is room for over 40,000 men and it is surrounded and enclosed by buildings and tall, mighty towers.[54]

The importance of this description becomes clearer when compared to those of other cities in the text. Granada was by far the most renowned kingdom and city.

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[51] Kagan, 'Arcana', p. 58. See also Rummel, 'Marineo'; Jiménez Calvente, 'Teoría', pp. 203ff.
[52] Marineus Siculus, *De Hispaniae*, (quoted from 1539) p. 162r.
[53] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, p. 15r.
[54] Marineus Siculus, *De Hispaniae*, (quoted from 1539) p. 170r.

Its 'very remarkable things' were treated more extensively and in far greater detail than other locations. Generally speaking, this description of Granada and its Islamic monuments is unique because the time was ripe to inform about a city that had recently been added to Christendom. It is also clear, however, that Marineus' insistence on enumerating the city's wealth, and his vivid assessment of the luxury and excellence to be found in the royal palaces, sought to underline the spoils acquired by the Catholic Monarchs at a time when he was hoping to be appointed royal chronicler. He was therefore more interested in highlighting the architectural virtues of the Alhambra, which had been taken by Isabella and Ferdinand, than such wonders as Córdoba Mosque or Seville's tower, which had been conquered by a remote Ferdinand III. It is also evident that the new descriptive tools provided by humanism gave the trophy a new dimension. The point was no longer to announce the Catholic Monarchs' ownership of the city through the image of pennants flying above the tower overlooking the city, but to make the scope of their victory tangible through an expressive description of the monumental assets that had increased the Crown's patrimony, putting the finishing touch to the restoration of Spain.

This humanist perspective of the Granada trophy as a current asset was enhanced in local adaptations of chorographical descriptions. As stated above, the conspicuous attention Mármol gave to describing the Alhambra in his account of the Morisco war reflected the humanist drive in historical literature. Similarly, *Antigüedades y excelencias de Granada* by Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza (1608), in a more ambitious approach to the same goal, followed the patrimonial trend of describing the buildings of al-Andalus as embedded in his readers' present. This is very significant because, in my opinion, Bermúdez's aim in this book was to communicate that those monuments belonged in the field of excellence rather than that of antiquity, the latter category being reserved to other remains. It is true that the historical and religious appropriation of Islamic Granada through archaeological arguments that linked its vestiges to the city's Christian foundation was already present here. But this idea, which later became the focus of the ecclesiastical history of Granada by the same author published in 1638, was a secondary issue at this point. As far as Islamic monuments were concerned, this volume claimed the architectural trophies as patrimony, even though the argument was framed in a wide-ranging historical background that reached back to the city's origins.

As Juan Calatrava has pointed out, Bermúdez's first book was structured according to the traditional pattern in urban descriptions, including an enthusiastic panegyric of Granada.[55] Specifically, the book's opening passage was organized as a listing of the city's points of interest, such as walls and gates, squares, major monuments, neighbourhoods, and public buildings, rather than a series of references to the past of the various urban elements. On the one hand, Bermúdez was clearly biased towards Christian features. Thus, his commentary on the significance of public

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[55] Calatrava, 'Contrarreforma', p. 424. See also Calatrava, 'Arquitectura', 'Encomium', and 'Islamic'; Harris, *From Muslim*, pp. 60ff.

architecture opened with Granada Cathedral—which he described as 'the world's eighth wonder' and a better building than [the monastery and royal palace at] *San Lorenzo de El Escorial* or St Sophia in Constantinople—followed by a review of other new buildings, such as the *Real Chancilllería* (Royal Chancery).[56] On the other hand, he placed Islamic Granada under the conceptual umbrella of monumental heritage. He underlined the magnificence of the Nasrid palaces, and therefore of their masters, who were not only infidel monarchs but also builders, such as Abil Hexis, 'who ruled peacefully in Granada and built Torres Bermejas and other castles'. He followed Mármol closely, expanding on his descriptions and the scope of his eulogy. It is interesting to note that Bermúdez playfully attributed 'the greatness of its fabric to the likes of Vitruvius' and 'the excellence of its paintings to the likes of Apelles'. Its rich Islamic architecture and Renaissance paintings could only be explained by recourse to classical references. Bermúdez's Alhambra came across as an extraordinary building, containing such wealth that, for example, the Comares Hall is 'the best room for a king, be he Catholic, Arabian, or Barbarian'.[57] This style was well suited to the inclusion of anecdotes that emphasized the mythical nature of the building and placed Bermúdez among the pioneers in the long, legendary literary tradition of Alhambra stories, including, for instance, Boabdil's tears as he gazed at the building on his way to exile, the beheading of the Abencerrages, and the lewdness of its baths.

Crucially, it seems clear that Bermúdez's first approach to Islamic construction cannot be put on the same level as the antiquarian approaches to Córdoba and Seville that shall be explored below and that he himself practised in later writings. Perhaps the most significant element of his narrative was its justification of the Alhambra using the parameters of humanist urban theory. Bermúdez sought to demonstrate that monuments were architectural machines whose purpose was to reinforce a city's political status and, in the process, the Alhambra and the recently built Royal Chancery appeared together in the commentary as the seats of the city's two secular powers, without discriminating between old and new, modern and *all'antica*, Nasrid and Castilian buildings.[58] In a parallel argument, in his humanist interpretation of the Alhambra, he compared its exquisite forms with the works of the likes of Apelles and Vitruvius, and explained their iconography by appealing to Flavius Vegetius and Cicero, to the detriment of more obvious Islamic sources.[59]

Finally, and this was a very common trait in descriptions of Granada dating from that period, Bermúdez also promoted an interpretation of buildings and landscape that today would be called anthropological. Like other authors before him, from Hieronymus Münzer to Luis de Mármol, he was interested in the customs of the Muslim population, in the commercial activity of the Alcaicería, and in the people and wealth of the Albaicín neighbourhood. He emphasized their divergent aspects,

[56] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, p. 40.
[57] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, p. 16r. On classical readings see Marías, *El largo*, pp. 185–6, and 'Haz y envés', p. 110.
[58] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, p. 15r.
[59] See his commentaries about the iconography of the monumental arches. Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, pp. 17v ff.

such as the Muslims' farming techniques and their fondness for gardens, and included the Alhambra and Generalife palaces in his analysis.[60] Bermúdez's vindication of the Alhambra as an urban ornament on an equal footing with the Royal Chancery, clothed in humanist garb and portrayed in anthropological terms, is evidence of the hybrid nature of the trophy discourse in such texts. It is particularly interesting that Bermúdez's 1608 description combined, without apparent conflict, the exotic appeal of the Alhambra with a narrative that aimed to integrate the Christian alterations, emphasizing Charles V's palace as a natural extension of the Nasrid complex. Though not the main interpretation, the antiquarian reading of Islamic architecture that dominated his 1638 text was also present here, coexisting with an appreciation of the trophy in a humanist context.

Nevertheless, the patrimonial reading was a risky one. According to the political theory prevalent at the time, updating the concept of architectural trophy from a humanist point of view meant granting the Muslim kings who built them a symbolic role in the community. As Barbara Fuchs has suggested, the most relevant question about the Alhambra's preservation is what exactly did it mean? 'Does the Alhambra stand for Christian triumph, or for centuries of Andalusian cultural achievement? Can it signal both?'[61] In my opinion, the power of this uncertainty, which applies equally to the triumphal interpretations of other Islamic monuments, must be linked to the exploration of a new meaning for these buildings by contemporaneous antiquarian scholars.

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[60] Mármol Carvajal, *Primera*, p. 124r, and *Rebelión*, pp. 4v ff; Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, pp. 19v, 21v; Münzer, *Itinerarium*, pp. 44ff.

[61] Fuchs, *Exotic*, pp. 49–50.

PART II

4

Historical Dislocation and Antiquarian Appropriation

Antigüedades y principado de la ilustríssima ciudad de Sevilla (1634), written by the local priest Rodrigo Caro, was a noteworthy local application of the historiographical impulse generated by Ambrosio de Morales' *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España* (1575). The main purpose of Caro's endeavour was to rescue classical Seville from oblivion. In the process, he also revisited Morales' interest in Córdoba Mosque and offered a broad account of Seville's former *Aljama* Mosque. Indeed, the twenty-third chapter of his book was explicitly dedicated to the study of 'certain mementoes from Arab times'. Like Morales' words on the transformation of Córdoba Mosque which opened the discussion in Part 1, Caro's are a good starting point to introduce Part 2:

> Up to this point the reader has seen the relics of Roman antiquity and I did not think that what remains from the time of the Arabs deserved omission, since they dominated the city for over 500 years (a calamity that erased and did away with all its greater and older splendour, due to the infinite barbarity of these people).[1]

Caro's interest in Seville's medieval Morisco buildings had precedents in Alonso Morgado (1587) and Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros (1627). Morgado offered an original and very extensive study of these monuments and Espinosa included a section on religious persecution and architectural achievements under the Muslims. In a clever combination of different traditions, Rodrigo Caro chose a reading of Islamic architecture that consigned it to the remote age of antiquity. As established by Sebastián de Covarrubias in his 1611 dictionary, 'antiquarians' were those who were 'curious about Ancient things'. More to the point, 'antiquities' were 'very ancient and old things from another time' that were studied by antiquarians.[2] Shunting Islamic monuments to the realm of memorabilia from a remote past transformed their traditional perception as trophies. In his seminal work on the image of Islamic architecture in Spanish Renaissance and Baroque historical culture, Fernando Marías has shown that in the course of the sixteenth century new attitudes towards the remains of al-Andalus were improvised. A certain amount of manoeuvring took place, designed to sidestep the evidence from that historical period. Indeed, some authors have seen a large portion of the Spanish antiquarian

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[1] Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 42v.   [2] Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, p. 187.

effort as an attempt to anchor the country's cities in the classical world, deliberately bypassing a defeated and rejected Islamic past.[3]

Additionally, Marías argues, in order to appropriate the trophies of that Muslim 'other', various strategies were deployed which implied divesting the monuments of their origin and denying that very otherness. This form of appropriation sought to denaturalize the monuments, thereby altering their interpretation.[4] Rather than assimilating their influences, antiquarian scholars subjected the objects to an intellectual transformation that stripped them of their otherness and made them their own.[5] In my opinion, this was a two-stage process. The first step involved developing an antiquarian perception model whereby the buildings were consigned to the past; subsequently, using antiquarian tools, their religious origin was modified by proposing a pre-Islamic attribution that turned them into historical proof of the Peninsula's primary Christianity. In Part 2 we shall mainly address the first stage of this strategy.

The chapter in Rodrigo Caro's book devoted to Seville's Arab antiquities included translations of inscriptions and descriptions of architectural remains, notably the Giralda tower. How was this explicit inclusion of Muslims in the antiquarian field understood in early-seventeenth-century Spain? What were the implications of conceptually removing the buildings to the memory of 'other times', as promoted by Morales, Morgado, Caro, and others? These questions need to be approached from several angles.

In the first place, we must bear in mind that viewing Islamic remains as antiquities was a conceptual innovation, as proved by the fact that local antiquarian collections in this period paid no attention whatsoever to Islamic relics.[6] Indeed, it was not until the eighteenth century that Islamic objects began to be considered collectors' items, and even then only to a limited extent and thanks to the interest shown initially by Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa in Huesca and Pedro Leonardo de Villacevallos in Córdoba.[7] Prior to that, Islamic objects in collections were either spoils of war preserved by the nobility or religious relics viewed as trophies.[8] Likewise, Arabic inscriptions did not receive a degree of attention comparable to Latin ones, as illustrated by the fact that city councils made no effort to claim them as signs of collective history.[9] Antiquarian scholars normally reserved their curiosity for classical

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[3] Marías, 'Haz y envés'. Also see Lleó, *Nueva Roma*, (quoted from 2012) p. 211; Wulff, 'Andalucía'; Harris, *From Muslim*, p. 51; Arciniega, 'Miradas', pp. 75, 77.

[4] Marías, *El largo*, pp. 185–6, and 'Haz y envés', pp. 105, 110.

[5] Nagel and Wood, 'What Counted', pp. 53ff.   [6] Morán, *La memoria*, p. 246.

[7] Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa had Islamic pieces in his coin collection and Pedro Leonardo de Villacevallos kept inscriptions and one of the metal balls that had formerly crowned the minaret of the city mosque. Villacevallos, *Explanación*, pp. 49ff. See Beltrán and López, *El museo*; Morte, *Vincencio*, pp. 207ff; Morán, *La memoria*, p. 247; Rodríguez Domingo, 'La valoración'.

[8] See Urquízar Herrera, 'Imaginando', p. 210; Serra, 'Convivencia', pp. 55ff; Arciniega, 'Miradas', p. 70; Shalem, *Islam*, (quoted from 1998) pp. 78ff; McKisack, *Medieval*, pp. 50ff; Johnson, *Cultural*, pp. 231, 258ff.

[9] A complaint in this regard in Medina Conde, *Antigüedades*, (ed. 1991) p. 7. Only a few inscriptions were intentionally reused throughout the Early Modern Period. See Morales, *Metropolis*, p. 184. On classical inscriptions and the elimination of Arabic inscriptions in Toledo, see Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 171ff, 263.

remains. The presence of Islamic architecture in books on antiquities can be explained to some extent by the need to manage the tensions generated by its historical meaning. The buildings in question were very conspicuous and open to uncomfortable interpretations in the double context of the first humanist approach to Spanish heritage and the imperial history of the nation that was being constructed at the time.

These conflicting interpretations define the second point to bear in mind in order to understand contemporary perceptions of the displacement of Islamic buildings to the realm of antiquities. The background to this process was the convergence of national and urban pride with the ideological and aesthetic codes of humanism and old historical prejudice in the face of otherness. The cultural, religious, and political reservations existing at the time explain why praise of al-Andalus' buildings tended to be diluted. Favourable comments were usually countered by a general preventive deprecation of Islamic cultural achievements. As discussed above, Caro's section on Arab vestiges opened with a warning about the calamitous Islamic domination that had caused the city's 'most ancient splendour' to be destroyed by the 'infinite barbarity of these people'. Ideological prejudice arising from morally judgemental attitudes towards Islamic culture and from the xenophobia of the authors themselves underlay collective thought on the subject. Quevedo, seeking to weed out Semitic influences, denounced the presence of Arabic etymologies in Spanish and deplored the 'corruption of our language by the Moors when Spain was lost'.[10] Reservations of this kind also appeared in many sources on architectural subjects. Negative assessments dating from the medieval conflict remained and new ones arose regarding the dubious morals and aesthetic ignorance of those 'Barbarians' who were unacquainted with the classical legacy. The fact that the buildings were simultaneously appreciated as trophies, praised as local objects of pride, and condemned on aesthetic grounds gives a measure of the complex mix that informed their value as antiquities.

The third argument is particularly significant and concerns the implications of viewing Islamic monuments as antiquities in terms of their place in time and the collective identity of the towns where they stood. Ambrosio de Morales and his adherents followed closely the trail of books written by Flavio Biondo, namely *Roma Instaurata* (1444–1446) and *Italia Illustrata* (1474), which proposed using archaeology as a research tool in the field of ancient urban history. This application had helped popularize the method in Europe and greatly influenced the interpretation of Islamic architecture.[11] If the antiquarian viewpoint promoted a reading of classical buildings as part of a nation's collective past, what was to be done with all these Islamic palaces and mosques?

[10]   Quevedo, *España,* (ed. 1992) pp. 570–1. See Milhou, 'Desemitización'; Ballester, *La identidad*, pp. 352–3.
[11]   See Mandowsky and Mitchell, *Pirro*, pp. 35ff; Franklin, *Jeam*, pp. 116ff; Burke, *The Renaissance*, pp. 25ff; Weiss, *The Renaissance*, pp. 73ff; Cochrane, *Historians*, pp. 426ff; Momigliano, *The Classical*, p. 57; Grafton, 'The Ancient'; Gaston, *Pirro*; Miglio, *Antiquaria*, p. 44; Fubini, *Storiografia*, pp. 54ff; Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 124ff; Vine, *In Defiance*, pp. 37ff.

Let us try to explain this by contrasting the above view with the dominant reading in those genres where comments on Islamic architecture had hitherto appeared. In these types of writing, acceptance of the use of Islamic architectural forms in Christian courts as normal, admiration for the monuments left by the vanquished, and even their demolition, combined into a perception of the buildings as belonging in the same cultural time as the readers. Medieval chronicles of the conquest spoke of the spoils handled by the victors on taking each city. Urban eulogies from the early sixteenth century described them as architectural wonders that dignified the lives of city dwellers. The foreword to Pedro de Medina's chorography (1548) clearly stated that his readers found pleasure in 'seeing, hearing, and reading about remarkable and memorable things that used to exist in the world and those that exist today' and in particular, 'the great and wonderful things of Spain past and present'.[12] Medina was referring here both to antiquities and to more recent examples of greatness, but in his view Islamic architecture essentially belonged in the latter category.

Comparison with contemporaneous travel writing reveals the consequences of the new antiquarian angle on issues of identity. In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, narratives about North Africa and the East continued to treat Islamic architecture as coeval. As in Chinese, Indian, or American stories, the buildings that stood on Islamic lands were framed in terms of the habits of a contemporaneous other. This applied to both travel and historical narratives.[13] By and large, remarks about mosques in the Near East referred to the liturgies that were practised in them.[14] In particular, descriptions of the powerful Turkish Empire highlighted its magnificent buildings and exotic customs. Evidence of the lasting appeal of such rapturous descriptions is the wide circulation given to medieval texts published in the early seventeenth century in parallel with new accounts and translations from other languages. Ruy González de Clavijo's eulogy of the Great Tamerlan's mosques, written around 1406, was printed in 1582 as a contemporaneous work that included urban descriptions highlighted by marginalia.[15] The Spanish version of Moses ben Baruch Almosnino's description of Constantinople claimed that its portrayal of 'the works carried out by the Grand Turk and his premiers' justified the translation effort and its dedication to the Count-Duke of Olivares.[16] Following this trail, in later texts such as Antonio de Fajardo's *Relación de todo el imperio otomano* (*c.* 1680), the buildings generated more interest on

[12] Medina, *Libro*, p. VI.

[13] For instance Escalante, *Discurso*, pp. 34ff; González de Mendoza, *Historia*, pp. 21ff, 32ff, 76ff; Herrera, *Historia*, I, p. 245, II, pp. 47, 51; San Román, *Historia*, p. 713. See Subrahmayan, 'On World'; Lee, *Western;* and Romano, '(D)escribir'.

[14] Ribes, *Relación*, pp. 37–8; Guerrero, *El viaje*. See Chareyron, *Les pelèrins*; García Martín, 'La odisea'; Pereda, 'Measuring'; Donkin and Vorholt, *Imagining*; Beaver, 'From Jerusalem'; Gómez-Géraud, 'Une Jérusalem'.

[15] González de Clavijo, *Embajada,* (ed. 1582) pp. 56ff. See Mas, *Les Turcs*, I, pp. 103ff; Beltrán, 'Los libros', pp. 137ff; López Estrada, 'Ruy', pp. 529ff; Gómez Moreno, *España*, p. 268; Ceard and Margolin, *Voyager*; García Guinea, *Viajes*; Villalba, 'El viaje'. On Constantinople, see Bunes, 'Constantinopla', *La imagen*, and 'El paisaje'; Lawrance, 'Europe'.

[16] Almosnino, *Extremos*, w/p. See also Busbecq, *Embaxada*, pp. 31v ff; Sessé, *Libro*, pp. 72r ff; Sapiencia, *Nuevo*, pp. 7v ff. See also Fajardo, *Relación*, pp. 179r ff.

account of their wealth than of their status as testimony to the past. The power of this perception of Islamic architecture as contemporary can be plainly seen in the accounts of travellers to Mesopotamia, in some narratives by Spanish Christians in Islamic prisons and, even more clearly, in stories that aimed to promote the continuation of the Christian conquest with tantalizing visions of North African wealth.[17] Significantly, these texts adopted very different tones when they described ancient and Islamic architecture. For instance, there was a marked contrast between García de Silva y Figueroa's archaeological interest in Persian ruins and his rather less historically minded view of mosques (*c.* 1620).[18] Other accounts by travellers to the East tell a similar story.[19]

The perception of Islamic monuments outside the Peninsula as contemporary was patent in texts about North Africa, where the interpretation derived from the notion of restoration excluded their reading as antiquities. The anonymous *Historia de Túnez y su conquista por el emperador Carlos V* (1535), at The Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, is an archetypal example. In this narrative, the Tunis mosque and fortress are perceived in terms of their wealth, and their descriptions follow the traditional pattern of the old military conflict. They are pictured as spoils of war, with emphasis on the value of their building materials and the traditional medieval stories about the recovery of Christian bells feature prominently. Conversely, the same text treated the ruins of Carthage as a venerable vestige of the past and described them in antiquarian terms.[20]

The panorama displayed in travel books and in descriptions of the opposite shore of the Mediterranean was the natural habitat of the notion of otherness that dominated the first wave of Orientalism in early modern Europe. In this regard, Spanish texts were not very different from those produced in other countries and mutual influences were frequent,[21] and the same applies to visual

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[17] Teixeira, *Relaciones*, pp. 120, 174. See Fuente del Pilar, 'Pedro'; Córdoba, 'Un caballero'. Some texts, such as *Relación de la guerra de Tremecén* by Francisco de la Cueva (1542) and *Relación del origen y sucesos de los Xarifes* by Diego de Torres (1586), sought to emphasize the connection between North Africa and the Peninsula by comparing mosques and palaces in the former with al-Andalus' buildings, and repeating the stories of the capture of Christian bells and of the region's pre-Islamic Christianity. See Bunes, *La imagen*, pp. 47ff; Caro Baroja, *Una visión*; García-Arenal, 'Textos'; Fuchs and Liang, 'A Forgotten'; Devereux, 'North Africa'; Martínez Góngora, *Los espacios*, pp. 38ff. See also Cámara, *Arquitectura*, pp. 87ff and, on European captives' descriptions of Constantinople, Bunes, 'Constantinopla'; Merle, 'Récits'; Matar, *Islam*. A similar process may have taken place in one case where mosques are mentioned in an attempt to explain American temples to make them more accessible to the reader. Cueva, *Aquí*, (ed. 1881) p. 103; Torres, *Relación*, pp. 78ff; Díaz, *Relación*, p. 1. See Keen, *The Aztec*, pp. 55–6; Todorov, *La conquête*; Greenblatt, *Marvelous*; Gruzinski, *Quelle*; Cuesta, 'La laudatio'.
[18] Silva y Figueroa, *Comentarios*, (ed. 1903–1905), I, pp. 205–6. See Alfonso, *D. García;* Marías, 'Don García'; Córdoba, 'Un caballero'.
[19] An example of this is Diego de Mérida's travels in Egypt during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. His interest in mosques and in pyramids differed widely. See Lama, *Relatos*, pp. 265ff.
[20] *Historia de Túnez,* pp. 12r, 103r ff. A similar view can be found in a description of Algiers by Melchor de Zúñiga, who considered archaeology to be the realm of pre-Islamic remains. Zúñiga, *Description*, pp. 6r ff.
[21] This applies to the comparison of original Spanish texts both to translations into Spanish and to texts by such authors as George Sandes, Michel Baudier, and Pierre Dan. Sandes, *A Relation*, pp. 30ff, 119ff, 155ff; Baudier, *Histoire*, pp. 83ff; Dan, *Histoire*, pp. 94ff, 148ff. See Bunes, 'Constantinopla', p. 266. See Campbell, *The Witness*; Maclean, *The Rise*; Johnson, 'Buying'; Soykut, *Italian*; Pippidi, *Visions*.

representations.[22] This area could be a suitable environment in which to test whether Edward Said's notion of 'orientalizing the Oriental', with its emphasis on difference and the creation of stereotypes, applies to the Early Modern Period.[23] This is not, however, the thinking we find in writings on Islamic monuments in the Iberian Peninsula. There is a significant difference between the treatment given to these buildings and to those on the other side of the Mediterranean, and it shows that the antiquarian angle, as applied to local narratives, had a primary identity-building purpose in the context of Spanish history.

ANTIQUARIAN WRITING

It has been known for years that the prime mover of early modern interest in the ancient world was the desire to build a national identity.[24] Antiquarian tradition did not necessarily run parallel to history writing,[25] but both disciplines shared an interest in the nation's past. According to Arnaldo Momigliano's classical interpretation, antiquarian scholars provided non-literary evidence as well as new goals and hermeneutical means. Antiquarian methods infiltrated historical scholarship to some extent. Against this background, the old Morisco buildings, whilst retaining their role as trophies, became sources of information on Spain's past and Spanish identity.

Looking back on the early days of Spanish antiquarian literature, from Antonio de Nebrija and Lluís Ponç d'Icart to Ambrosio de Morales and his followers, it is clear that the historical aspect gradually gained strength. Research was mainly the work of historians who resorted to ruins for archaeological evidence.[26] This was, indeed, the role of Morales' *Las antigüedades* as an appendix to his general Spanish history text. The overlap between history and antiquarian scholarship was particularly noticeable in the specific field of city histories, which linked directly to architectural monuments from past times. The Italian model established by Flavio Biondo spread throughout Europe the idea that stones were convenient elements

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[22] Among many others, see Matar, *Turks*; Maclean, *Looking*; Jezernik, *Imagining;* Maclean and Matar, *Britain*; Harper, *The Turk*; Wood, *Western*.

[23] Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 49ff. See Said's discussion from this particular point of view in Lisy-Wagner, *Islam*, pp. 12ff.

[24] See, among others, Strauss, *Sixteenth Century*, pp. 18ff; McKisack, *Medieval*, pp. 155ff; Ferguson, *Clio*, pp. 78ff; Helgerson*, Forms*, pp. 146–7; Miller, *Peiresc's*; Vine, *In Defiance*; Stenhouse, 'Roman'.

[25] From Arnaldo Momigliano onwards, academic literature has usually pointed out the differences between both traditions. We know, therefore, that historians often distrusted antiquarians, as shown by Miguel Morán by reference to several examples from Spain. The antiquarian culture is sometimes portrayed as interested in objects of the past out of sheer curiosity, but lacking in the historian's commitment to historical narrative. See Momigliano, 'Ancient', pp. 285ff; Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 109ff. See also Cochrane, *Historians*, pp. 430ff; Dolan, 'L'identité', pp. 282ff; Haskell, *History*, pp. 159ff; Grafton, *Worlds*, pp. 213ff, and *What*, p. 91; Weiss, *The Renaissance*, (quoted from 1988) pp. 73ff; Levine, *Humanism*, pp. 73ff; Schnapp, *La conquête*, pp. 121ff; Moyer, *Historians*, pp. 177ff; Burke, 'Images', pp. 273ff.

[26] See Morán, *La memoria*; Kagan, *Clio*, pp. 16, 112. See also Tate, *Ensayos*, pp. 27–8; Bonmatí and Álvarez, *Nebrija*; Hinojo, *Nebrija*; Caro and Tomasseti, *Antonio*; Sánchez Madrid, *Arquelogía*; Rallo, *Los libros*, pp. 20ff.

to employ in local chronicles.[27] For instance, William Camden's *Britannia* (1586) had a similar role in the British Isles to Morales' works in Spain.[28] Both authors arranged their antiquarian commentary along geographical routes, which undoubtedly expedited their incorporation in urban historical narratives. The writers that followed this tradition recognized the value of stones as a source of knowledge of the remote past and chose to use them as props to local identity in competition with other towns. One example among dozens is the dedication in *Tropheos y antigüedades de la imperial ciudad de Zaragoza* by Luis López (1639), where the author states that the main goal of his discourse on past magnificence was to ensure that Zaragoza outdid any city that boasted the same qualities.[29] This was obviously the purpose of Caro's *Antigüedades y principado* with regard to Seville.

Ideological appropriations of monuments were frequent in Europe's Renaissance. An archetypal example is the medieval Florence Baptistery, which was interpreted as an ancient classical temple in several local histories written in the fifteenth century.[30] Against this background, what was particular about using Islamic antiquities for historiographical purposes was that it affected monuments which had been left behind by the nation's historical enemy, an enemy that was habitually perceived as the archetype of otherness and of cultural and religious confrontation. This explains why the prime purpose of any written acknowledgement of Islamic stones as antiquities was to give them a new meaning. The antiquarian reading associated mosques and Islamic palaces with the humanist interpretation of the classical world and therefore set them within the province of restoration of the collective past. An understanding of the monuments as heritage was thereby established thanks to which, as David Lowenthal would say, they no longer belonged to others, to everybody, or to nobody, but to ourselves.[31] As Miguel Morán states, Islamic stones became the sources of a memory that was expressed in terms of shared identity.[32] In the texts of Alphonse X, the Giralda tower, as a Christian victory trophy and a superhuman *mirabilium*, was treated as a case of alien architecture worthy of appreciation in spite of its otherness. In Rodrigo Caro's writings, the Giralda tower was viewed as an antiquity, and as such its meaning underwent a complex negotiation that smoothed the edges of its relationship with the enemy and promoted cultural homogeneity. This was also the case when the origins of cultural practices inherited from the Muslims, such as *juegos de cañas* (a courtly jousting game) or lexical borrowings from Arabic, were displaced to the days of classical antiquity. On occasion, this kind of appropriation went so far as to fabricate a mythical interpretation of America's past.[33]

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[27] Burke, *The Renaissance*, pp. 25ff.

[28] See Brayshay, *Topographical*; Mendyk, 'Speculum'; Woolf, *The Social*, pp. 141ff; Rohl, 'The Chorographic'. On France see Ehmke, *The Writing*, pp. 80ff.

[29] A similar example in Pisa's *Descripción* introductory text. See Marías, *El largo*, pp. 52ff; Kagan, 'La corografía'.

[30] Nagel and Wood, 'What', pp. 53ff. This and other similar examples in Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic*, pp. 135ff.

[31] Lowenthal, 'Fabricating', p. 8, and *The Past*, pp. 75ff, 263ff, 330ff.

[32] Morán, *La memoria*.

[33] Fuchs, *Exotic*, p. 114. See Pettinaroli, 'Troy', and *Literary*; Pease, 'Temas'; Cañizares-Esguerra, *How*; Lupher, *Romans*; Vanoli, 'Between'; Johnson, *Cultural*.

Reclaiming Islamic monuments as antiquities implied the existence of a thread that connected them anachronically to the classical period, a thread that was frequently spun out of arguments around the reuse of ancient spoils.[34] According to antiquarian texts, Córdoba's central mosque was a repository for Roman marbles, the foundations of the Giralda lay on Roman ruins, and the monarchs of the Alhambra had Latin inscriptions on display.[35] As we shall see below, the paradigm for this situation was Córdoba Mosque. The debate as to the ancient or Islamic origin of the ashlars that formed the walls went hand in hand with the evidence of a large number of Roman columns in the main nave. The use of ancient supports in Córdoba Mosque soon became a hackneyed argument that spread to other cities. It was claimed, for instance, that the mosque's columns had been plundered from classical remains found in such diverse locations as Cádiz, Mérida, and the nearby town of Bujalance. In Seville, Ortiz de Zúñiga reckoned that the city's lost *Aljama* Mosque must have been similar to Córdoba's and filled with Roman columns.[36]

Such claims about the use of classical spolia went some way towards denaturalizing Islamic architecture. As this strategy was taken even further, there was a tendency to create mystifying explanations of the origin of the monuments. As Heather Ecker has shown, Rodrigo Caro's acknowledgement of Arab antiquities in Seville was limited: with the exception of the Giralda, he described every Islamic architectural structure or toponym as of Visigothic, Mozarabic, Roman, Greek, or pre-Roman origin. This applied to the walls, the Macarena gate, the Almohad mosque, the churches that displayed architectural elements inherited from al-Andalus, the aqueduct known as Caños de Carmona, the toponym Alcalá, and the remains of two Islamic baths.[37]

Sometimes authors simply tried to associate Islamic buildings with ancient times by attributing classical qualities to them. On other occasions, a chain of constructions and reconstructions connecting them to the first classical building raised on that site was claimed. Finally, in some cases, the appropriation was less subtle and their Islamic origin was called into doubt or even denied.[38] 'I would not presume to assert whether it was built by the Moors or it is older,' said Alonso Fernández del Portillo of the fabric of a water cistern in his history of Gibraltar.[39] Since the city's favourite icon was Hercules, the text attributed the Islamic tower that crowned the fortress to him. This idea, already present in Garibay, was adopted by Fernández and delicately balanced against archaeological evidence. Every

[34] See Pavón, 'Las columnas'; Galera, 'Arquitectura'; Arciniega, 'Miradas', p. 70. See also Stenhouse, 'Roman'; Calvo Capilla, 'The Reuse'. On the anachronic connections of buildings in sixteenth-century historiography, see Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic*, pp. 12ff, 132ff, 142.

[35] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 93; Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 49r. A parallel Spanish text on Constantinople in Bunes, 'Constantinopla', p. 273. On Granada, see Guerra de Lorca, *Memorias*, p. 193.

[36] Horozco, *Historia,* (ed. 2000) p. 52; Moreno de Vargas, *Historia*, p. 201v; San Antonio y Castro, *Historia*, p. 8v; Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, p. 21. See also Rus Puerta, *Historia*, p. 68r; López Pinto, *Historia*, p. 538. On the reuse of classical ruins by the Umayyads, see Calvo Capilla, 'The Reuse'. See also Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 23, 30ff; Pavón, 'Las columnas'; Galera, 'Arquitectura'; Arciniega, 'Miradas', p. 70; Greenhalgh, *Constantinople*, pp. 128ff; Stenhouse, 'Roman'.

[37] Ecker, 'Arab', p. 374.   [38] See Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic*, pp. 135ff.

[39] Fernández de Portillo, *Historia*, p. 26r.

antiquarian argument available pointed to its being of Islamic origin—its name was 'Torre de la Calahorra' which, in Fernández's words, 'sounds Arabic to me'; its construction 'looks Morisco'; and there was 'Morisco lettering' on it—but Fernández circumvented the issue by claiming that the tower had been built over a former Phoenician edifice.[40] Despite its Islamic appearance, it was such a magnificent tower that it could only have originated in the ancient world: 'the tower's fabric and form are marvellous and worthy of being dedicated to Hercules. It should be seen and appreciated by all visitors to the city, as is the case, and architectural craftsmen will do well to see it and learn from it.'

In the following pages we shall explore similar arguments applied to Córdoba, Seville, and Granada, linking them both to the Roman classical world and to a mythical early Christianity that was itself related to the Phoenicians and the Hebrews. This second part of the book explores the creation of an intellectual antiquarian space that made it possible to deny the coeval nature of Islamic monuments, and how their obvious cultural hybridity was circumvented in order to maintain their iconic status in cities that combined militant Christianity with a classical vocation. To this end, Chapter 5 explores this hermeneutical model in its original form as expressed by Morales in his commentary on Córdoba, as well as the interesting methodological debate it gave rise to around the use of antiquarian tools in formal research of Islamic monuments. Chapter 6 focuses on three cases: the appropriation of Córdoba Mosque as a classical edifice, the transformation of Seville's Giralda into an antiquity, and, finally, the humanist reading of Toledo. Since the destruction of the *Aljama* Mosque had deprived the latter of major Islamic buildings, it provides a useful example to explore the limits of antiquarian strategy. The third part of the book will focus on the impact of the type of religious archaeology that thrived in the early years of the seventeenth century, when the antiquarian model promoted an interpretation of Islamic buildings as ancient evidence of Christianity and their use as a tool in the service of the nation's religious restoration after the Muslims' departure.

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[40] This hypothesis was supported by some 'Very curious Moors' who read the Arabic inscription and understood that 'those letters indicate the year the tower was rebuilt'. In case there should be any doubts about this mythical attribution, Fernández de Portillo identified the legendary Tartessos in a different group of ruins only one league away from the castle. Fernández de Portillo, *Historia*, pp. 12r–12v.

5

The Foundations of an Antiquarian Literature for Islamic Architecture

Ambrosio de Morales' description of Córdoba Mosque in *Las antigüedades* (1575) was the first time Islamic relics had received full attention in a book on antiquities. It was also the most comprehensive and accurate account of an Islamic building ever produced in early modern Spain. The prominence of this building as the principal spoils of the conquest of the former Umayyad capital made its public presence all the more powerful. The significant literary fame and strong presence of the edifice in the urban landscape, together with recent architectural changes, meant that the memory of Córdoba's Islamic past was made visible in the former mosque. Morales' interest was in part explained by the fact that this testament to the 'glories of Córdoba in the time of the Moors' was the most significant monument in his native city.[1] This author collected the testimony of earlier praise for the building, from favourable comments in general histories to the local description of the temple by Jerónimo de Córdoba, to produce a lengthy analysis in which he attempted to condense what was known about it. The text told the story of the mosque's construction, described its principal features, and analysed its architectural and decorative forms, paying particularly close attention to its classical elements. The need to negotiate the symbolic power of the building explains the difficulties encountered by Morales in this description, evident from the crossings-out and corrections remarked upon in the Introduction. By way of these amendments, Morales accepted and sincerely praised the Islamic construction of the monument, but he took care to remove any references that established its original *foundation* as a mosque, preferring instead to speak simply of the *construction* of the building by the Muslim kings.[2] He thereby opened the door for other authors to postulate a pre-Islamic origin for the building subsequently.

It is important to stress that this description was included in the foundational book of Spanish antiquarian literature. Never before had anyone put forward a comparable theoretical basis or similar systematization of archaeological knowledge on antiquity in the Peninsula.[3] Nor, obviously, had anyone considered until then that Islamic relics might offer clues about the mythical roots of common identity. In this context, the fact that Morales paid disproportionate attention to Córdoba

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[1] 'By the fact of being native to this great city, I also have the common obligation that men have towards the lands in which they were born'. Morales, *Las antigüedades*, p. 105v.

[2] Morales, *Las antigüedades,* (cited from manuscript) p. 168r.

[3] See Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 109ff.

and turned the building into one of Spain's principal antiquities meant that his interpretation had a significant influence on the nation's general negotiation with the past. Morales had explicitly stated that he had no intention of writing a history of the Arabs in Spain, and therefore his general history considered the Muslim kingdoms only from the point of view of the military and political history of the Christian conquest.[4] This makes one wonder why he devoted such a detailed archaeological analysis to an Islamic building. It was something that had no precedent in the humanist tradition. How could he do so, moreover, when the building in question belonged to the age-old enemy of Christianity, a very different entity from the Goths and other Barbarians who could more easily be claimed as national ancestors in other parts of Europe?[5] To understand his audacity, his analysis must be seen as part of the drive to find archaeological evidence for the identification of the Peninsula's ancient towns. Given that the mosque contained classical relics that offered clues to the foundation of Córdoba, his analysis was justifiable within the strictly antiquarian tradition. In an interesting twist, the description of the mosque made it possible to appropriate the magnificence and the public recognition of the Islamic building precisely in order to transform it into proof of the pre-Islamic antiquity of the city and as evidence of its classical affiliation. The obsessive search for the foundational moment shared by all antiquarian studies frequently identified Islamic relics as antiquities, in an intermediate phase on the way back to the classical origin of towns. This is the basic image offered to us by the ideological model of books on antiquities from Ambrosio de Morales onwards. Overall, a large proportion of the issues that determined reflections on Islamic buildings derived from this instrumental view of Islamic antiquities. This is what happened with the demarcation between Roman and Islamic architecture, with the setting of boundaries between classical and medieval formal languages, and with the issue of the foundation of buildings.

Morales' theoretical and methodological reflections are important for an understanding of the implications of applying this instrumental antiquarian logic to Córdoba Mosque and to the other monuments of al-Andalus.[6] The starting point lies in recognizing the contributory role played by *Las antigüedades* in relation to the volume of the *Corónica general de España* dedicated to the Roman period. As stated above, its value came from giving 'full particulars and description of the provinces and cities' and illuminating the thorny issue of the ancient towns of the Peninsula and their relation to modern cities: 'so that the names and ancient sites of the cities that are populated today in Spain can be properly understood, and also many others all over the country that seem to have been destroyed, with the causes of their changes and destruction, and all the other antiquities related to this'.[7] This

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[4] Cobo, *Ambrosio*, p. 22; Kagan, *Clio*, p. 114.

[5] On the humanist reception of the Goths and other Barbarians, see Johannesson, 'The Renaissance'; Schnapp, *La conquête*, pp. 132ff; Burke, 'Images', pp. 282ff; Piggott, *Ruins*, pp. 55ff; Ganim, *Medievalism*, pp. 23ff; Vine, *In Defiance*, pp. 109ff. See also Nagel and Wood, 'What'.

[6] See Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 120ff; Kagan, *Clio*, pp. 96ff; Sánchez Madrid, *Arquelogía*; Rallo, *Los libros*, pp. 40ff. A complementary view in Páez de Castro, *De las cosas*, (ed. 1990) p. 63.

[7] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, w/p.

tracing of toponyms mentioned by classical sources had been the main objective
of humanist archaeology since the fifteenth century.[8] In Spain this discussion
had taken place essentially on philological terms, usually based on a more or less
reasoned approach to the names of towns. Whilst not denying the validity of these
arguments, Morales nevertheless shifted the investigation towards an archaeological
study of the physical remains from the past of cities and brought new evidence into
the debate. He was fully aware of the limitations of archaeological analysis, but
understood that it was to some extent possible to 'do much with stones to certify
and clarify the true names and locations of the cities and ancient places that existed
in Spain in Roman times'.[9] Summing up these intentions, the first chapter of the
book specified the thirteen 'verifications' that illustrated his methodological pro-
gramme for the study of classical cities. In it, the 'signs and traces of antiquity from
Roman times', i.e. the stones, came in emphatic first place ahead of literary sources,
etymologies, and tradition. Ending the list, as a way of emphasizing the import-
ance of archaeology, these signs appeared again in the form of the inscriptions on
'ancient Roman coins' and 'ancient Roman stones'.[10] The significance of these
forms of evidence was demonstrated with the explanation Morales himself gave
of their usefulness: the absence of stones and other Roman remains in Montilla, a
town near Córdoba, should cast doubt on the customary belief in the etymological
identification of this town with the ancient Ulia mentioned in Latin sources.
Although the name of Montilla might derive from Mons Ulia, this genealogy
required archaeological support which Morales found instead in other nearby
towns. Without the support of physical remains from the past, Montilla could not
be classed as an ancient town. Other Spanish historiography theorists, such as Luis
Cabrera de Córdoba, also accepted the usefulness of this archaeological perception
in gaining knowledge of the past.[11]

How did this framework influence perceptions of the mosque's otherness or,
in Morales' terms, its strangeness?[12] The beginning of Morales' description asserted
Umayyad responsibility for the construction of the temple in a context of local
glorification. He compares attitudes to the mosque and to illustrious men, consider-
ing it fitting to glorify Muslim kings, commanders, and scholars, because 'although
they were Moors, they were born in Córdoba, and being infidels does not detract
from their magnificence and elevated status as a natural asset'. It is likely that praise
of his city was complemented by a favourable perception of the political splendour
of the Umayyad dynasty. In part as a result of his incorporation of Arabic sources
(inscriptions and the historic text of al-Razi), Morales celebrated the merit of the
Muslim kings in their work of embellishing Córdoba, and especially in the building

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    [8] See Parry, *The Trophies*, pp. 29ff; Vine, *In Defiance*, pp. 51ff.
    [9] His reliance on the stones was qualified when he himself argued that there were no 'firm reasons
of such force that they make for complete certainty', and that 'in this matter we can do nothing more
than show what is likely and probable, since none of the reasons that can be adduced can do anything
more than proffer a fair chance'. Morales, *Las antigüedades*, p. 2r.
    [10] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, pp. 2r–2v.   [11] Cabrera de Córdoba, *De historia*, pp. 32v ff, 58r.
    [12] As seen before in Covarrubias' dictionary '*estraño*' was something 'singular and extraordinary',
but also 'that which is not ours'. Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, p. 387r.

of 'a mosque that surpassed in grandeur and magnificence all those that the Moors had in their entire empire hitherto'. To this end, Abd-al-Rahman 'undertook with great courage an excellent construction, and he had an architect capable of honouring its greatness'. In this narrative of recognition, the first paragraph of Morales' description established a general interpretation of the building's exoticism in the form of amazement at this 'strange and famous building', which is 'quite rightly praised and held in high esteem as one of the most outstanding and wonderful constructions in the world'. Morales went on to say that 'although its grandeur and majesty are great, its strangeness and diversity are a greater cause of admiration and astonishment', and added that 'the strange and hitherto unseen form of the building is shown in its overall mass and volume as well as in its parts and particular characteristics', and he finished by pointing out that 'this is so because it was made to be a Morisco mosque and because the two kings wished to show that they created its greatness very deliberately'.[13] This early insistence on wonder was something of a tribute to the tradition of medieval eulogies, as shown by his quotations from the favourable description of the temple in *El Conde Lucanor* (1330–1335). Throughout Morales' text there were several separate comments on the 'strangeness and greatness' of the building, on the 'admiration and awe' evoked at first sight, on the celebrated 'strangeness' of the subterranean cistern beneath the courtyard, compared with 'the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, which were considered one of the Seven Wonders of the World', or on the 'strange delicacy of all the workmanship' of the mosaics of the *maqsurah*. The difference in the way it was built was explained by the Islamic and Oriental nature of the construction, in which doorway and aisle arches and the plant decorations in mosaics were described as 'Morisco'.

After his initial recognition of the patronage of the Arab kings and of the wonder of the building, Morales' antiquarian perspective, however, actually adopted quite a different stance. His methodological model led to an archaeological study of the origin of the materials used in the temple, changing the overall perception of the monument. This identification of possible Roman remains became one of the basic lines in subsequent humanist arguments over Islamic architecture. As we will see further on, the debate later took on an interesting technical character in relation to the archaeological identification of classical methods of construction. But post-Morales, it was couched in his ideological terms. Morales never actually asserted that the mosque was a Roman building, but by placing it at the core of a discourse on classical antiquities and focusing the mosque's legitimacy as a monument on its continuity of the classical aesthetic, he steered in this direction. The stones were Islamic, but the way in which they had been arranged, he claimed, was archaeological evidence of the city's Roman roots.

Morales' antiquarian logic created fundamental nuances in the treatment of the building's 'strangeness and diversity' which were appreciable in the very language he used. The humanist perspective explains why the author combined, in the same sentence, evidence that 'diversity was greatly sought throughout the decoration',

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[13] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, pp. 119v–120r.

with confirmation that 'there is proportion and correspondence', as two aesthetic attributes dear to a reader of classical treatises. Morales might have paused a great deal longer on the exegesis of the Islamic nature of the construction model, but in relative terms he did not do so. Three or four attributions of the architecture as '*Morisco*', '*Morisco*-style', or 'in the *Morisco* manner' are not much in such a lengthy text. They are particularly succinct given the otherness of the architecture, and they are also insufficient when considering the intellectual effort Morales devoted to analysing the building, both in terms of the archaeological identification of its construction phases and in the conceptualization of its architectural model. His scant curiosity over the original conditions of the construction is striking, and at no point does he speculate on Islamic aesthetic sources, limiting his commentary to brief outlines of mosque liturgies. At no point does he compare it to any similar buildings, as he probably would have done with a classical edifice. As a result, of all the construction elements, only the arches and doorways ended up being '*Morisco*', given that these were the architectural elements in which the Umayyad identity was most evident, while the ashlar walls and columns, of clear Roman resonance for anyone with knowledge of Vitruvius, referred back to the classical world. The same is true for the wall mosaics, which also recalled Roman architecture. The mosque's *maqsurah* was 'the noble room, so-called, as we were saying, for all the columns being made of much richer jasper than those in the rest of the church, and also with their capitals gilded'. Despite the very detailed description of this part of the building, here he made only passing reference to the Islamic nature of the architecture, describing the frieze of blind arches inside the *mihrab* and the style of the fleurons decorating the *qibla* mosaics. Against this background, it is revealing that Morales did not put much effort into commenting on the horseshoe arches 'with buttresses on their straight columns, which causes the mid-point to be lost, and a circle is made, as we see in many arches of the Goths and Moors', or to the pattern of superimposition within the aisles, in which 'on top of the arch is a smaller one, with no more than five-foot clearance to the keystone. The voussoirs that form these low and high arches are stone and covered in white and red.' By contrast, he spoke at much greater length of the classical columns and the ashlar block work which 'is all times two,[14] in the manner always used by the Romans'.

As though echoing Argote de Molina's dedication, in which he asked Spain to cast off its Islamic clothing, Morales' description divested the mosque of its Islamic grammar in a veiled inference that it was a certain kind of Roman building, at least in part of its language of construction. This process can be detected throughout the description, with Morales consciously emphasizing the classical elements of its construction. One example is his praise of the jaspers used, which he compares to

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[14] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, pp. 120r–122v. Here and in his description of Alcántara Bridge, Morales defined 'times two' ashlar work as a construction in which 'each stone was four foot long and two foot wide'. Morales and Ocampo, *La Corónica*, p. 274v. Díaz de Ribas, in a text that we shall return to below, defined this bond thus: 'They used large stones hewn into blocks sized one by two or three and they laid them in such a way that each course contained stretchers alternating with two, three, or sometimes four headers. And the latter were as long as the thickness of the wall.' Díaz *de Ribas, De las antigüedades*, p. 6r.

Italian marbles: 'commonly it is red; but some are yellow, the colour of quince, which is why in Italy they call it *cotoneo*', with those of classical Africa, 'the interior walls are lined with panels of white marble with some red veining, and for this reason I think they may have been brought from that part of Africa called Numidia, since Pliny celebrates the marble from there for these colours', and with those of Greece and the ancient Orient. This closeness with the classical model also appeared in the praise of the temple's thousand columns and their Corinthian capitals 'which is one of the greatest wonders and splendours that can be found in any building anywhere in the world'. Although the patronage of the Muslim kings was made clear, in the same paragraph the descriptive language conceptualized a classical building with columns with bases that were 'all Doric and in white marble'. This approach became especially clear when talking about the stonework. On the one hand, it was generally said that the ashlars were placed 'in the manner always used by the Romans'. On the other hand, the tower 'is more of a Roman work than a Morisco one: as its overall form shows'. It was not just a question of Roman strength of construction. Morales also found evidence of classicism 'in its overall form and the fourteen windows it has: half with two openings, and the other half with three, formed by columns of jasper in a mixture of white and red, all with Roman measurements, correspondence, and proportion'. At that point the minaret looked undeniably Islamic, as contemporary representations show. A few years later, however, its surface was enveloped in an Italian-style masonry covering designed by architect Hernán Ruiz III (1593).[15]

By converting aesthetic and classical solidity into attributes that framed understanding of the building, Morales was performing a conceptual appropriation aimed at cultural homogenization. He did so at a time when the new Renaissance central nave was being built and this classical language deliberately extended, amid clamorous debate over its appropriateness. The potent hybridity produced by the visual experience of the mosque being turned into a cathedral was notably subdued in the written description.

THE FEATURES OF ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE IN ANTIQUARIAN LITERATURE

The main methodological innovation introduced by Ambrosio de Morales in his description of Córdoba Mosque was his enquiry into the 'signs and traces of antiquity' that lay concealed in the building.[16] This research model had been defined by the first Italian antiquarian scholars in their study of classical ruins and consisted of observing the forms, materials, and construction techniques, comparing them with the monumental remains, and checking them against literary and epigraphic sources. The practice of contrasting stones against written classical sources had been introduced in Spain several decades earlier, as has been shown by Ángel

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[15] References in Nieto, *La Catedral*, pp. 590ff.
[16] Morales*, Las antigüedades*, pp. 2r ff. See Morán, *La memoria*, p. 1255.

Gómez Moreno and others, in particular Miguel Morán.[17] Ambrosio de Morales turned this antiquarian procedure into an everyday historiographical tool and, from the last quarter of the sixteenth century onwards, claims on the origins of buildings supported by the phrase 'as its fabric testifies' became commonplace. This was the expression used, for instance, by Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza with reference to the remains of the central mosque of the Granada Muslims.[18]

Alonso Morgado was able to recognize the small church of Almonaster, north of Seville, as a former Islamic temple that had been transformed several years earlier. Rodrigo Caro did not identify the same origin in the church of Villalba, near Niebla, also in the Seville area, which he simply described as displaying 'strange architecture'.[19] The familiarity of Spanish humanists with the monuments of al-Andalus was not in itself sufficient. The search for the 'signs and traces of antiquity' had to be supplemented by identifying the distinctive signs and traces of Islamic architecture. It was imperative to develop an archaeological research method that would provide guidelines to help discriminate among the different periods in Spanish architectural history. Morales' example suggested that these guidelines could be obtained by borrowing from the procedures developed in the study of Roman constructions. From this starting point, the marginal status of Islamic remains in the general context of the search for classical models, the scarce potential offered by the available literary sources, and this methodological subservience itself had a crucial impact on the interpretation environment. Although historians, as a matter of habit, complained about the difficulties involved in antiquarian work, their problems were particularly acute where Islamic architecture was concerned due to the absence of a specific tradition, the weight of prejudice, and the strategies of cultural appropriation. In the words of Pedro Díaz de Ribas,

> Writing about antiquities, unwrapping memories sunk in oblivion that show but small signs that the sharpest eyesight can scarcely spot; walking blindfold without help or teachers to guide one, is a very difficult task.[20]

Antiquarian tradition dictated that specific written sources should be used to identify the distinctive features of Islamic architecture. Historians began to search for such sources by trawling through Arabic historiography and gathering epigraphic evidence from the buildings themselves. While the increased interest in chronicles of Islamic Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries facilitated access to manuscripts and inscriptions—see Benito Arias Montano's interest in preserving Arabic manuscripts in El Escorial and the later historiographical renewal exemplified by the Marquis of Mondéjar[21]—the chances of obtaining accurate information

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[17] Gómez Moreno, *España*, pp. 242ff; Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 109ff; Caro and Tomasseti, *Antonio.*
[18] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, p. 110v.
[19] Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 218r. See Jiménez Martín, 'Notas', p. 132.
[20] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, w/p. See also Gómez de Tejada, *Historia*, pp. 8v ff; Pisa's introduction to *Descripción*; Benito Cano in 'Ocampo', *Los cinco*, (ed. 1791) p. XXII.
[21] Ibáñez de Segovia, *Examen*, p. 7. See Rodríguez Mediano, 'Fragmentos', and 'Al Andalus'; Hänsel, *Benito*; Justel, 'Arias'; Roe, 'New Documents'.

about Morisco buildings from literary sources were always very limited due to the nature of the content and to inadequate linguistic knowledge. Rodrigo Caro quoted five authors of Islamic origin: Avicenna, who was not, as Caro thought, from Seville, Gelver Moro, Averroes, al-Razi, and Abentarique, the imaginary writer fabricated by Miguel de Luna in his false history of King Roderick.[22] Among the sources employed by Ambrosio de Morales, Alonso Morgado, Luis de Mármol, Bernardo de Aldrete, or Pedro Díaz de Ribas we find similar lists. Of the five writers quoted by Caro, only al-Razi could have provided real historical information. In the decades preceding Caro, no useful data was found that could further archaeological research, although new information in Arabic did come to light and the controversy surrounding the Lead Books of Granada led researchers to work more closely with ancient Spanish history texts.[23] Nor did writings about the opposite shore of the Mediterranean supply the literary content required to accompany archaeological research on Islamic architecture. Obviously this flank could not be covered by classical sources on the East, such as Strabo or Titus Flavius Josephus. Although these authors offered architectural information which could be useful, for instance, on the debate regarding Solomon's temple, they gave no pointers about constructions built several centuries after their death.[24] Commentaries by Spanish travellers, al-Idrisi's geography (1154), and Leo Africanus' description of Africa (1550, 1554, and 1563—in Italian—and 1556—in Latin) failed to provide new information that could have produced a radical change in the conceptualization of Islamic architecture. *Descripción general de África*, by Luis de Mármol Carvajal (1573), offered some extremely interesting material for the study of Spanish Islamic monuments, including a few historical items about the Alhambra; but on the other hand, his exegesis of Maghrebi stones, copied to a large extent from Leo Africanus, was very brief. It was of limited use in the study of the Giralda tower thanks to his commentary on the minarets of Marrakesh and Rabat, which was followed by Alonso Morgado.[25] Given the circumstances, *Noticias de los Reyes de al-Ándalus* by the Arabic chronicler Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Razi (*c.* 950) was the prime historical source quoted by Spanish humanists.[26]

Having been translated into Latin and Castilian, al-Razi's history had been known since at least the thirteenth century, when it had been extensively quoted by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Although the text contained few architectural comments, some details about the Muslim kings' building enterprises could be gleaned from it, such as the dedication of Córdoba Mosque by Abd-al-Rahman I, the road- and canal-building campaigns undertaken by the caliphs of Córdoba, a few references to Alcántara Bridge in Toledo, and an interesting marginal note about

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[22] Ecker, 'Arab', pp. 375ff.

[23] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 229ff, 363ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 225ff, 358ff.

[24] See Martínez Ripoll, 'Pablo', pp. 146ff.

[25] Mármol Carvajal, *Primera*, pp. 196v, 206r, 210r; Morgado, *Historia*, p. 92v. See Rodríguez Mediano, 'Luis', p. 377; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 365ff, 378, (ed. 2013) pp. 360ff, 370. See also Davis, *A Sixteenth Century*. Several examples of the limited usefulness of the sources on the East and North Africa from the point of view of Spanish Islamic archaeology in Castanedo, *Relación*; Teixeira, *Relaciones*; Sosa, *Topografía*; Soto y Aguilar, *Historia*.

[26] See Lillo, 'Visión', pp. 33ff.

the removal of classical remains from Mérida to Córdoba Mosque.[27] All these comments were reported by Ambrosio de Morales as indisputable evidence on the subject of these particular buildings, and most of them were henceforth repeatedly quoted in national and local history books.[28] As mentioned above, it is interesting to find that the use of al-Razi had a positive influence on the image of Muslim monarchs in that it meant an acknowledgement of their magnificence. At the same time, it cannot be denied that this source could not fulfil the need for knowledge on Islamic monuments that the antiquarian method demanded, beyond the attribution of certain works to specific reigns. A revealing example is Córdoba Mosque which, according to al-Razi, had been built during Abd-al-Rahman's reign, an affiliation Morales accepted without hesitation. In order to clarify once and for all the debate about a possible earlier origin, further data would have been necessary which had understandably not been the concern of the Arabic chronicler, such as the circumstances surrounding its foundation, with details of the construction process and the materials used. Additionally, Morales' interest in al-Razi lay essentially in the fact that his geographical descriptions and the information he provided on place names in the days of the Islamic conquest were helpful in his quest for the locations of classical cities.

Epigraphy was an invaluable source of knowledge of the Roman legacy. Publishing texts and epigraphic fragments was the first antiquarian contribution to the study of history.[29] The compilation of this type of evidence had been common practice among Spanish humanists since the turn of the sixteenth century, with outstanding exponents like Antonio Agustín.[30] Classical inscriptions were displayed in urban settings by municipalities and were part of the arsenal and everyday concerns of every historian.[31] Morales understood that epigraphy was an essential source in antiquarian work and put a great deal of effort into collecting inscriptions, including a few Islamic ones.[32] After Morales, the practice of copying Arabic characters spread among historians, the most notable results being the interesting transcription anthologies produced in Granada and Seville by Luis de Mármol and Rodrigo Caro respectively. No other similar collection of Islamic references in the context of Spanish books on antiquity existed, although Martín de Roa's 1629 defence of the aesthetic excellence of Arabic inscriptions based on certain samples from Écija

[27] Al-Razi, *Ajbar*, Chapter 160, 33, (ed. 1975) p. 37. Again, for the use of classical spolia by the Umayyads, see Calvo Capilla, 'The Reuse'.

[28] See, among others, Martín de Roa on Jerez de la Frontera; Martínez de Mazas on Jaén; Bermúdez de Pedraza on Granada; the anonymous author of *Anales complutenses* on Alcalá; Gómez de Tejada on Talavera; Pasqual y Orbaneja on Almería; Díaz de Ribas on Córdoba; Morgado, Espinosa de los Monteros, and Caro on Seville; Moreno de Vargas on Mérida; and Escolano on Valencia. See also foreign travellers, such as the German Jakob Cuelvis.

[29] Stenhouse, *Reading*; Cochrane, *Historians*, p. 426.

[30] Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 89–90. See also González, 'Historiografía'; Gimeno, *Historia*; Mayer, 'Antonio'; Alcina, 'Humanismo'.

[31] See Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 171ff; Greenhalgh, *Constantinople*, pp. 217ff. An example of the importance of epigraphy to historians can be found in Zurita's correspondence, reproduced in Andrés de Ustárroz, *Progresos*. See Gimeno, *Historia*, pp. 15, 220.

[32] See Beltrán, 'Entre', p. 114. See also Sanchez Madrid, *Arquelogía*, pp. 97ff. See also Morales' correspondence in *Varia*, pp. 98ff.

is very appealing, even as an isolated instance.[33] It is worth highlighting the prominence Caro gave to the Islamic epigraphs found in Seville, which became the core elements and the main theme of the first section of the chapter he devoted to Seville's 'Arab stones'. Constant reiteration of Marmol's and Caro's texts in later histories of Granada and Seville, such as those by Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera and Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, underlines the importance of these inscriptions.[34] More abundant than literary texts, epigraphs could also provide more accurate and varied information on Islamic buildings, to the extent that in some cases they played a crucial role. Steles offered singular opportunities for conclusive identification and dating on the numerous occasions when there was a need to discriminate between Islamic and Roman stones. The sole presence of an Arabic inscription, even if it could not be read, was an important archaeological argument, as was the case in the classification of the castle in Talavera de la Reina, near Toledo, and many others.[35] As a prime example, Luis de Mármol defended the Islamic origin of a section of Granada's ancient walls, stating that

> A Morisco showed us some Arabic letters inscribed on one of these ancient walls which seemed to have been made during building with an iron rod or a thin stick while the mortar was soft, and containing words from the Koran, which is proof that it was built in the time of the sectarian Arabs and not before.[36]

Nevertheless, despite its advantages, the study of epigraphy failed to deliver the expected flood of information. The main problem encountered in exploiting this source arose from Hispanic scholars' habitual lack of knowledge of the Arabic language. In the case of Christian medieval antiques, historians had literary sources at their disposal.[37] Islamic epigraphy, on the other hand, was impenetrable to the vast majority of their potential users. This is why, from as early as the Granada conquest, we find Arabic translators reading inscriptions for Castilian writers, such as Fernando del Pulgar, who sought historical information in texts on the Alhambra and the central mosque for his *Tratado de los Reyes de Granada*.[38] Morales required translators to uncover the meaning of the inscriptions in Córdoba Mosque and identify the different building stages.[39] Even Luis de Mármol, who had knowledge

[33] Roa, *Écija*, pp. 134v ff. On Mármol see Castillo Fernández, *Entre Granada*, pp. 222–3.

[34] For Córdoba, see Villacevallos, *Explanación*.

[35] This applied to 'that stone which contains the name and memory of the person who built the castle and the time it was built, and the letters suggest that it was built by the Moors, because the characters look Arabic and are in relief, in the manner Arabs write'. Gómez de Tejada, *Historia*, pp. 8v ff; *Historia de la noble*, p. 20v; Fernández de Paz, *Historia*, p. 4v. Further examples in Alcántara and Mérida in Arias de Quintanadueñas, *Antigüedades*, p. 34r; Moreno de Vargas, *Historia*, p. 216v.

[36] Mármol Carvajal, *Rebelión*, pp. 4v ff. See Castillo Fernández, *Entre Granada*, pp. 31–2.

[37] According to Juan de Mariana, the church of St John the Baptist, near Dueñas, was 'of ancient fabric and apparently Visigothic' because it had 'a six-line script from which it is understood that it was built by order and at the expense of King Recceswinth and that the building was finished in the year 661'. Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, p. 268.

[38] Pulgar, *Tratado*, p. 2v. See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 107ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 97ff.

[39] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, pp. 119v ff.

of Arabic, used translators in Granada. In the eighteenth century, local access to this kind of linguistic knowledge appears to have been less straightforward so that we find references to ambassadors being consulted to refresh forgotten meanings.[40] At any rate, the translations were unreliable, and therefore inscriptions were considered untrustworthy sources. The inaccuracies in Caro's transcriptions, closely linked to the environment of the Sacromonte falsifications in Granada, have been studied from this point of view.[41] Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, in a reference to the difficulty of dating the building housing the mint in Granada, which was said to be Islamic by some and Visigothic by others, recognized that the discrepancy was due to 'the discord between interpreters of the Arabic inscription'.[42] It is very significant that intelligibility of Arabic epigraphies offered an ideal opportunity for mystification.[43] This problem also arose in the case of non-Roman ancient remains, such as the alleged temple of Diana in Denia.[44] Since the texts were difficult to authenticate and hardly anyone was able to read them, they could be used as evidence to support any argument whatsoever.

Stones were the second fundamental sign in classical studies. The introduction to *Las antigüedades* offered a set of guidelines for the study of stones that established the point of departure for the methods used by the Spanish antiquarian school and influenced the interpretation of Islamic monuments. The goal of archaeological analysis was linked to the search for the ancient era and therefore the rules were moulded on the distinctive features of Roman architecture. The Roman model determined the tools employed in identification, the conceptual capacity of any analysis, and the status of these buildings within the cultural hierarchy. Last but not least, it introduced a great deal of bias in the legitimization of city identities:

> If anybody wishes to know what exactly these signs and traces from the time of the Romans are, let him understand that they are buildings or ruins, or even foundations of buildings, or any inscribed or hewn stone which, even without letters, by the way it has been cut will declare who cut it. To do this it is necessary to have had experience of seeing many Roman buildings and, above all, judgement, so that having a representation in one's memory as an image or idea of Roman fabric, on seeing a similar one it can be judged for certain to be Roman. The particulars of this skill cannot be taught in words as they are a matter of judgement confirmed by experience.[45]

Locating classical ruins required, first of all, a systematic definition of Roman architecture. Morales spoke of a 'representation as an image or idea of Roman fabric'

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[40] Villacevallos, *Explanación*.

[41] Ecker, 'Arab', pp. 352ff; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 251ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 245ff.

[42] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia*, p. 41v. See also Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales*, (ed. 1987) p. 80.

[43] See Stenhouse, *Reading*, pp. 75ff.

[44] Pere Antoni Beuter claimed that the alleged remains of the temple of Diana were not Islamic, arguing that 'there was still a very thin marble slab with a legend in the Phoenician language and exceedingly old Phoenician letters'. Beuter, *Segunda*, (quoted from 1604) p. 302; Escolano, *Segunda*, cols. 118, 121.

[45] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, p. 5r.

that should help recognize remains by formal analogy. With this idea in mind, Morales first focused on the presence of regularly shaped ashlars:

> Should any part of an ancient building be made of stone, it is easy to tell whether it is Roman for the aforementioned reason, and also because they nearly always built using evenly shaped and sized ashlars.[46]

Given the popularity *Las antigüedades* enjoyed among the Iberian Peninsula's scholars, such a clear-cut statement meant that henceforward the use of regular stone ashlars was considered one of the defining features of Roman architecture. By contrast, although not explicitly mentioned, the Islamic building model was defined by the absence of this material. This criterion is extremely important because it became a rule for the identification of Morisco buildings. Spanish historians, especially those belonging to the thriving Andalusian school, tended to discriminate between Roman and Islamic masonry on the basis of the use of ashlars or bricks and mortar.[47] The stone ashlar defined the archetype of classical construction and all other materials were viewed as lower-quality resources used by Muslim builders. Bricks and mortar were indiscriminately associated with Islam. The link appeared in descriptions of Algiers' dwellings and of Madrid's city walls, as well as in datings of some simple burials found in a small village.[48] It is interesting to note that this idea was applied to city walls, which offered few clues other than the masonry itself.[49] In Elche, Cristóbal Sanz used the rule automatically, although it led him to contradict the opinions of those who chose to attribute the origin of the city's ramparts to the Romans:

> [Although] it is traditionally thought to be a Roman construction, the fact is that we do not know, and in my view it was built by the Moors who were keen on rammed earth walls and so skilled at erecting them that it was frightening to see how quickly they could raise one of these mud buildings.[50]

Despite its simplicity, this rule was not well formulated: historical evidence often contradicted the validity of such an automatic distinction based on building materials. Morales himself acknowledged that archaeological analysis required the 'experience of having seen many Roman buildings'.[51] We do know, however, that this knowledge was mainly literary. Spanish antiquarians had little direct experience of classical vestiges. Not every antiquarian had been to Italy, and therefore many had never had a chance to get to know its huge wealth of classical remains first-hand. Their knowledge of Roman architecture was limited and did not always make use of the lessons that could be learned from Mérida, Itálica, Tarraco, and other notable ruins in the Peninsula. The experiential ideal recommended by Morales was often restricted to studying the ruins, foundations, and carved stones he had addressed in his book.[52] They based their claims on a number of books on antiquities, on humanist architectural theory, and, first and foremost, on Latin writings,

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[46] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, p. 5v.   [47] See Fernández Franco, *Antorcha*.
[48] Díaz, *Relación*, p. 1r; Quintana, *A la muy*, p. 3v; San Antonio y Castro, *Historia*, p. 20r.
[49] See Greenhalgh, *Constantinople*, p. 326.   [50] Sanz, *Recopilación*, pp. 95r ff.
[51] Rallo, *Los libros*, p. 42.   [52] See Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 124–6.

particularly Vitruvius. An interesting example is Pablo de Céspedes who, having spent two periods of his life in Rome, did not resort to the ruins he had seen in that city to support his arguments. Morales favoured regular stonework as an identifying feature in line with his literary sources. Classification on the basis of materials arose from a bookish perception of the classical world which was in marked contrast with reality. Muslims had used ashlars and Romans had frequently resorted to bricks and mortar. This made the identification of ruins more challenging, which led antiquarians to give the matter a certain amount of attention. Interestingly for us, the differentiation of Roman and Islamic architecture was one of the issues under debate.

The materials-based identification model singularly failed to work in Córdoba. The city's Umayyad architecture was, in fact, the most Roman-looking of all Spanish Islamic constructions, featuring extensive use of ashlars and frequent reuse of classical elements brought from other locations. This local variant generated an interesting methodological discussion. The issue initially arose while exploring a field full of ancient ruins close to the city, which was then known as Old Córdoba and has now been identified as the Umayyad court, Madinat al-Zahra. Morales, who sought to establish a parallel with Seville and its nearby Roman Itálica ruins, suggested that it was the ancient city of Córdoba founded by Roman consul Claudius Marcellus. He based this claim on some small objects found there, on the proportions of the construction—so perfect that it could only be the work of Claudius Marcellus himself—and, crucially, on the archaeological rule about use of materials.[53] Fifty years later, *De las antigüedades y excelencias de Córdoba*, by the local antiquarian Pedro Díaz de Ribas (1627), boldly questioned this identification and rightly claimed that the ruins were of Islamic origin. It was not until the nineteenth century that scholarship took these remains seriously.[54] For Díaz de Ribas, however, they posed a veritable epistemological problem, as his own empirical evidence placed him at odds with the authority embodied by Ambrosio de Morales:

> If I sometimes disagree with Ambrosio de Morales, I proceed with a great deal of care out of respect for his authority and I always act on the basis of strong support and proof. When evidence is first uncovered I shine on it the light and clarity of my motherland in everything that relates to human faith. That author says that Old Córdoba was built by Marcellus and that it was founded by the Romans [but] it now looks, on account of the fabric and the ruins, as well as many other signs, that it is a Morisco construction. Whom should we give more credit to, one man's authority or the clear voices of the ruins themselves?[55]

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[53] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, p. 114v. On the reuse of Roman spolia in Madinat al-Zahra, see again Calvo Capilla, 'The Reuse'.

[54] This was a disused field that contained some half-buried ruins and was virtually ignored by historiographers until the nineteenth century. This is why the controversy was nothing but a scholarly disagreement of little import as regards the interpretation of Córdoba's Islamic past. National history writers showed no interest in it and local texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries maintained Morales' view and did not mention the discrepancies found by Díaz de Ribas. On the rediscovery of the ruins in the nineteenth century by Pedro de Madrazo as he walked in the footsteps of al-Maqqari, see Lillo, 'La visión', pp. 47–8.

[55] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, w/p. His uncle Martín de Roa followed him, unconcerned about his rectification of Morales. Roa, *Antiguo*, pp. 5r ff.
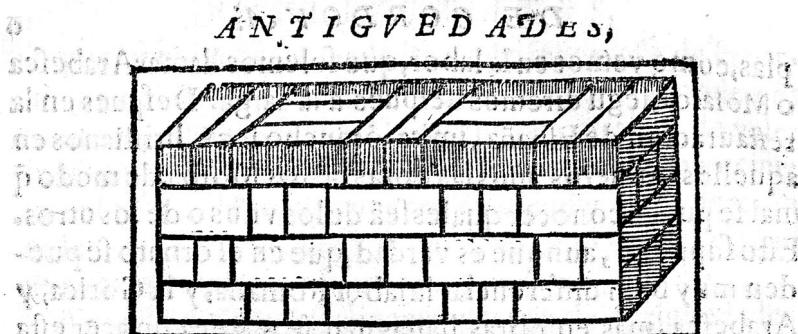
ANTIGVEDADES,

De aqui se infieren algunas verdades bien claras y ciertas, aunque nueuas a los que sin fundamento se guian por su antojo, y a ciegas con la veneracion y affecto a la antiguedad, solo les parece excelente lo de los primeros siglos. Digo pues que en toda la cerca esterior de Cordoua, bien que por si muy buena, y de las mejores de España, yo no hallo muro, ni torre, ni vestigio considerable de obra de Romanos: antes lo mas antiguo della es obra de Moros, la qual està en muchas partes reparada por los Christianos, despues de la restauracion. Esto no affea la antiguedad, y nobleza desta ciudad, antes es indicio dellas: pues es tan antigua la cerca de Marcello, que ya el tiempo la ha hundido, y deshecho. Los Godos arruinaron gran parte desta grandeza. Despues los Moros, poniendo la silla de su imperio en esta ciudad, quisieron ennoblezerla con sus obras: fortalezieronla con nueuas murallas, y ambiciosamente, y con desseo de renouarla mas, borraron todas las memorias de los Romanos. Bien confiesso que la antiguedad haze las cosas mas venerables, y parecer mejores, pero principalmente se califican con su bondad y excelencia propia. Empero, porque mejor conste todo lo que he propuesto, vamos haziendo demostracion particular de las torres y cosas mas señaladas, que ai en esta cerca.

Saliendo pues por la puerta de la Puente, y caminando rio abaxo, se offrece primeramente el insigne edificio de

Albo-

Fig. 2. *Umayyad Ashlars.* In Díaz de Ribas, Pedro. *De las antigüedades excelencias de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Salvador de Cea, 1627). Biblioteca Virtual de Andalucía.

The situation required very detailed argumentation, further historical sources, and fieldwork, including many visits in which he 'measured the site, observed its shape, and the manner of its construction and craft'.[56]

By virtue of this effort, Díaz de Ribas became, in the words of Fernando Marías, 'our first real architectural historian'.[57] He observed that Old Córdoba, 'on account of its fabric and many signs in its ruins', was a Morisco construction. Having 'searched and combed the whole ruin in this site and not found the smallest fragment of Roman stone', he did not think there was any reason to believe that the ashlars were originally Roman, and the 'three or four Roman coins' mentioned by Morales did not seem sufficient evidence.[58] Díaz de Ribas proved beyond doubt that both civilizations had built in stone.

This idea could equally be applied to the mosque. His study of the Islamic handling of ashlars, columns, capitals, and ornamentation enabled him to make an interesting claim of architectural continuity among the successive peoples that ruled Spain:

> The Goths imitated the Romans to some extent, although they also introduced into Spain the building method we know as Modern or Gothic, which differed from the Greek and Roman orders. And the Gothic style continued to be built, albeit closer to perfection in the more recent centuries, until the days of our grandfathers. After the Goths came the Arabs, who also made use of Roman and Gothic methods and forms, although their ornamentation shows some original features, as can be observed in the craft that is usually known as Arabesque or Mosaic, which we shall discuss at length below. In the first years after the Spanish restoration, the Christians imitated the works of the Moors a great deal, so that it is not easy to tell which were built by one or the other.[59]

Although he did not think that the mosque was of Roman origin, Díaz de Ribas pointed out that the temple contained traces of classical—the capitals, Visigothic—more capitals, Gothic—the primary Christian transformations of the mosque, and Umayyad architecture—the fabric of the building itself, as well as later works, namely the Christian additions in traditional Islamic style. In response to the potential confusion this might cause, Díaz de Ribas added that the main difference between Roman and Umayyad architecture lay in the distinctive ornamental patterns used by the Muslims, that is to say, the surface decoration that he classified as 'Arabesque or Mosaic' (*Arabesca o Mosaica*). Since both civilizations had used ashlars, thereby maintaining continuity in terms of materials, it is 'in the ornamentation [that] we can easily differentiate between Roman, Gothic, and Arabesque works'. Classifying architectural and ornamental languages could enable attributions of historical origin to buildings or at least support other sources.[60] In the absence of decoration, the distinction was more difficult: he accepted as

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[56] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 15r.   [57] Marías, 'Memoria', p. 68.
[58] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, pp. 12v–13r.
[59] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, pp. 5v–6r. On this and other similar references, see Morán, *La memoria*, p. 128.
[60] On the topic of the general perception of architectural languages, see Cámara, *Arquitectura*, pp. 29ff. The above paragraph by Díaz de Ribas has also been adequately highlighted in Marías, 'Memoria', p. 68.

Roman the plain walls of the Islamic Córdoba Alcazar on the sole basis of an imperial inscription found in the vicinity.[61]

This idea was not exclusive to Díaz de Ribas. A few years earlier, Gregorio López Madera had made a similar suggestion in a small tract on relics of the Granada martyrs (1601). In his opinion, Morales' guidelines could not be applied across the board because they left out pre-Roman architecture, and to redress this situation he proposed some 'rules to understand ancient buildings' which he emphasized with a marginal note. He suggested that the first rule should be 'the building methods rather than the materials', because each successive nation had its own 'particular ways', although they sometimes used the same materials.[62] López Madera's effort was meant as a contribution to the debate that we shall discuss below on the dating of buildings in Granada, but his methodological proposal to observe building styles did not have much of an impact either among antiquarians or on the content of discussions about that city.

Unrelated to López Madera's work, Díaz de Ribas undertook a more consistent effort in his detailed study of Madinat al-Zahra and Córdoba Mosque. In the first place, the ornamental differences were paramount in the case of Old Córdoba, since its plasterwork patterns were one of the main pieces of evidence for an Islamic attribution in opposition to Morales.

Secondly, it was an important idea in the context of the mosque because it helped set the classical capitals apart, which were one of Ribas' main concerns.[63] Besides, in 'plain work', that is to say undecorated surfaces, Díaz de Ribas proposed that bonds should be studied in detail in order to distinguish Roman from Islamic ashlars. Following Vitruvius, Pliny, and Scamozzi, he embarked on a measuring campaign to try to identify specific criteria to differentiate Islamic ashlars from the variety of types used by the Romans:

> Let us set down some general principles that apply to it [the difference between ashlars], with reference to Roman and Morisco fabric only, because there is little evidence of Visigothic construction in Spain, and scarcely any in this city [Córdoba]. These two types of masonry differ in the mortars and materials they were made of: the Roman was very strong and the Morisco softer and more fragile, but the difference was particularly plain in the structure and order in which the stones were laid out […]. The Moors nearly always followed a particular layout which is recognizable in all their works. They used large stones hewn into blocks sized one by two or three and they laid them in such a way that each course contained stretchers alternating with two, three, or sometimes four headers. And the latter were as long as the thickness of the wall. For the next course they followed the same pattern but in a different order so that the joints between stones did not match the joints below. This technique looked graceful and was very strong due to the variety of bonds used. And although other nations may have used it, this was the common method among the Moors.[64]

[61] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 21v.
[62] López Madera, *Discursos de la certidumbre*, pp. 37r ff. On López Madera as a historian, without specifically mentioning this matter, see García Ballesteros, 'Una'. On his antiquarian proposal, see Urquízar Herrera, 'Gregorio'.
[63] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 32r. See Marías, 'Memoria', p. 69.
[64] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 6r.

DE CORDOVA.   17

luſtradas por cima con vn betun colorado. Y lo ǭ es ſeñal
euidēte deſcubréſe a cada paſſo muchos pedaços de vnas
tablas de piedra, con que ellos encoſtrauan y cubrian las
partes principales de ſus mezquitas, y caſas reales. Tenian
vnas labores y eſcultúras, que noſotros llamamos mal Mu-
ſaico, y ſe ven en el lado Oriental de la Igleſia mayor, y en
la capilla de ſan Pedro, ǭ fue ſu Sanctuario dellos. Y deſte
modo ſe aprouecharon mucho los Chriſtianos, deſpues de
ganada Cordoua, en obras de yeſſeria, quando querian
adornar caſas principales. Y porque hagamos deſto mayor
euidencia, pondrè aqui la delineacion de vnas laborcillas
deſtas, que yo truxe de Cordoua la vieja.

En particular ſe hallā muchos pedaços deſtos en ciertas
ruinas cercanas a vna plaça, que eſtà al lado Occidental del
caſtillo, y quiza ſon ſeñales de mezquita. Pero que nos can-
ſamos ſi el miſmo modo de edificar en los cimientos, en el
enlazamiento de las piedras y en la fragilidad de la obra
pregona que no es de Romanos, ſino de Moros?
     Para probar lo ſegundo, vamos por general haziendo
deſcripcion del Caſtillo: porque penſamos deſpues hazer
particular delineacion de toda ſu planta. Tiene como ya
diximos la forma quadrangula, que llaman los Geometras
Figura altera parte maior: eſtiendéſe a lo largo de Oriente a
Poniente, y por la frente de Medio dia a Setentrion: ocupa
parte de lo llano en el remate de la ſierra, y vaſe luego en-
                                    E   trando

Fig. 3. *Ataurique decoration.* In Díaz de Ribas, Pedro, *De las antigüedades excelencias de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Salvador de Cea, 1627). Biblioteca Virtual de Andalucía.

It is particularly revealing that Díaz de Ribas complemented his discourse with two drawings representing an arabesque-patterned panel and the ashlar bond used in the caliphal period to illustrate his arguments on ornamentation and construction techniques 'for the greater clarity of our efforts and for the pleasure of the curious'. Such illustrations were unprecedented in Spanish antiquity books, which contained plenty of reproductions of Roman epigraphs and where it was not unusual to find images of sculptures and other classical pieces as well as occasional non-classical remains, but no images whatsoever that were explicitly identified as Islamic vestiges.

ISLAMIC ANTIQUITIES AND CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES

In different circumstances, the controversy surrounding the Córdoba stones might have led to a systematic and independent approach to the study of Islamic buildings. This was not the case. The boundaries of antiquarian interest in these relics were clearly defined by the general ideological landscape and by the specific requirements of local and national identity management. These constraints left no room for the development of Islamic archaeology. The methodological consistency of Díaz de Ribas was limited to an enquiry that was still primarily aimed at recovering traces of classical antiquity. As the antiquarian himself suggested, he only approached Islamic architecture as a tool to identify Roman ruins.[65] Although his analysis of Islamic vestiges was necessary, the work he undertook at Madinat al-Zahra only sought to clarify that Córdoba had been founded by Claudius Marcellus in the capital, not in the nearby ruins. This is why he did not seek, for example, to interpret the site of the ruins of the Umayyad palace city. The low status of Islamic architecture in the cultural and political hierarchy dominated by Roman antiquity weighed heavily on the goals of antiquarian research and the development of analytical tools. One argument suggested by Morales to establish the Roman origin of Old Córdoba was that 'such precise and accurate measurements and proportions were truly made by the Romans and not by our Andalusians, who lacked the necessary gracefulness and building techniques'.[66] Similarly, the distinction Díaz de Ribas made between Morisco and Roman columns in Córdoba Mosque was based on the assumption that, although Muslims 'imitated Roman works, they had scarce knowledge of their architectural theory, and their execution was barbarous and graceless', and therefore 'the difference between them is as patent as that between a good, fine piece of craftsmanship and a coarse, imperfect, and barbarous one':

> Recognizing and discerning Morisco columns from Roman ones is easy for those who, having studied and gained some knowledge of both architectures, try to differentiate

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[65] Ribas himself said that he 'had plenty to say about the excellent features [of Islamic architecture], but I shall not mention those that have already been explained by Ambrosio de Morales and my uncle Father Martín de Roa in their writings'. Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 34v. See Roa's description in Roa, *Flos*, pp. 82r ff.

[66] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, p. 114v.

them. In order to make them more beautiful, the Romans used to shape them propor-
tionately, so that they tapered towards the top, and the top and bottom of the shafts
were somewhat in relief and handsome, which the Moors did not do. And so there are
over 200 Roman columns in this church, which I have counted myself, most of which
stand on the left side, between the courtyard and the Arch of Blessing and up to the
Noble Chamber. There are, moreover, almost as many Roman capitals, carved in the
Corinthian order, openly displaying their elegance and gracefulness, which were not
made by the Moors. Because although they imitated Roman works, they had scarce
knowledge of their architectural theory and their execution was barbarous and graceless.
And so we see in this temple that all the capitals that were built by the Moors are of
a composite order, or alternatively Corinthian where they tried to imitate other
capitals therein that had been made by Roman hands. The difference between them
is as clear as that between a good, fine piece of craftsmanship and a coarse, imperfect,
and barbarous one.[67]

At this point it should be noted that the problem with Islamic practices lay not
only in their lack of 'gracefulness', which was attributed to their alleged moral
shortcomings, but also in their insufficient 'building skills' and 'knowledge of
their architectural theory', in other words, their ignorance of Vitruvian precepts.
Such an appraisal ties in with the treatment sometimes given to Visigothic build-
ings. Cosme Gómez de Tejada (1651) defended the claim that Talavera castle was
Roman, providing no proof for his assertion that 'the Moors did not build so
skilfully and, on the same grounds, I therefore declare that it is not Visigothic
work, as testified by other walls they built in Spain'.[68] The small Umayyad bronze
fawn found in Madinat al-Zahra, which Morales praised adding a vague sugges-
tion of Romanness, was considered Islamic by Díaz de Ribas because its shape and
craftsmanship were 'very coarse' and it displayed decorations of a sort 'the Romans
never used'.[69]

  Díaz de Ribas' followers in the Cordoban archaeological school simply assumed
that 'the Moors were unable to understand the subtlety of Roman theory'.[70] His
vision of the mosque revolved around its status as a container of Roman columns.
In a certain sense this was a form of appropriation by means of classical genealogy:
'However, although the whole building may be of this kind [Islamic], there are
nevertheless many Roman spoils in it, such as columns, capitals, and bases.'[71] But
his approach was testimony to the tensions created by scholarly interest in ancient
architecture and how they impinged upon the correct identification of Islamic
remains. Díaz de Ribas included Umayyad pieces in his study of the mosque's
capitals, but his remarks belonged in the field of the classical architectural orders,
which were alien to Islamic ornamental language. Along with constant recourse
to Vitruvian measurements came a lack of understanding of the autonomy of

  [67] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 32r.   [68] Gómez de Tejada, *Historia*, p. 8v.
  [69] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 14r. Morales admitted that the remains found there
belonged to several periods but did not wish to specify whether the fawns were Roman or Umayyad,
probably in order to retain their potential as proof of the site's Romanness. Morales, *Las antigüedades*,
p. 116v.
  [70] Fernández de Mesa, *Relación*, p. 268v; Fernández Franco, *Antorcha,* (ed. 1775) pp. 39–40.
  [71] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 32r.

Umayyad art. These ideas were fashioned in Córdoba and shared as an aid to the analysis of other buildings and cities of al-Andalus. García de Yegros recalled Morales' authority to identify as Islamic the walls of Antequera due to their lack of 'any measurements and proportions'.[72]

The peripheral status of Islamic stones was made conspicuous by the lack of interest shown among antiquarian scholars in defining the terms and concepts that might apply to them. Although humanism had introduced an architectural vocabulary and certain theoretical principles in the culture of historians, their repertoire was exclusively classical. This problem affected descriptions of Islamic, Oriental, and American objects in equal measure.[73] The feelings of strangeness and otherness that Córdoba Mosque inspired in Ambrosio de Morales, or the bizarre beauty Agustín de Rojas saw in the Alhambra, tied in with the challenge of understanding a building when measured against current canonical parameters.[74] The presence of structures that were alien to classical tradition hindered architectural description. Lacking the necessary tools to explain the *sebka* panels on Seville's former minaret, Alonso Morgado felt the need to write a lengthy description:

> From ground level up to a height of 87 feet it is all plain and unadorned. But from that point to the top, there rises up the centre of each wall an order of windows and enough tracery to render them beautiful to look at. The first row of windows on all four walls, which is also the edge of the decorated panels, has another set of windows of the same shape twenty feet above and on the same level, and above this second set there is a third, and above the third, a fourth, at equal distance from one another. Each window is two and a quarter yards wide and twice as high and is flanked by two marble columns on the outer side, plus a third in the centre, slightly inset with respect to the other two, in the best possible arrangement, supporting some very fine arches. And to further describe this very fine construction, it must be noted that each wall is fifty feet wide and divided into five sections that rise as far as the crown of the tower from the windows which, as has been said, mark the start of the decorated panels. The three central sections containing the windows form one and all a harmonious and varied interlacing of beautiful tracery in relief. The two lateral sections that rise on all sides next to the corners [of the tower] also have four windows each which, although blind, make for a handsome windowed appearance, also having three marble columns each and similar presence, proportion, and arrangement. Because between them lies the first, lowest row of open windows in the decorated panels, and the same arrangement is repeated alongside the third row, so that the second open windows are left in between and so are the fourth open ones above the third row. The distance from the fourth open windows to the crown is the same as from the second windows to the first and to the third, and also from the fourth to the third and to the crown, which stands out with its smaller columns, also in marble and 11 in number on each side of the tower, and which together with the ones that frame both open and blind windows add up to 140 marble and jasper columns in the tower. And it should be noted that all four walls have the same manner of windows, ornamentation, and majesty, there being no

[72] García de Yegros, *Tratado*, pp. 193r–193v.
[73] See Cuesta, 'La Laudatio'; Jiménez Martín, 'Notas', p. 131; Johnson, *Cultural*, pp. 36, 258ff; Matar, *Turks*.
[74] Cámara, *Arquitectura*, pp. 29ff.

more on one than on the other. There are also four very large and fair windows on the plain section of each wall, which is 88 feet high up to the lower edge of the first four windows in the decorated sections, all of it displaying the same arrangements, proportions, and measurements.[75]

In the absence of referents for comparison, the resulting convoluted text was exceedingly difficult to read. The tower's decorative features would have been extremely hard to imagine for someone who had not seen the monument, who might even assume it was a classical building. Something similar affected Rodrigo Caro's descriptions of Seville Alcazar and Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza's accounts of the Alhambra.[76] Setting aside the possibility of intentional equivocation, there was still a basic conceptualization problem.

No effort was ever made to define the language of Islamic art that was remotely comparable to the resources provided by contemporaneous architectural theory for the interpretation of the classical construction heritage.[77] Spanish texts rarely mentioned specific concepts in Islamic buildings, such as the terms '*damasquina*' and '*comaragia*' used by Luis de Mármol and Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza to describe the distinctive Islamic decorative model present in the Alhambra's Tower of Comares. Similarly, the word 'mosaic' (*mosaico, mosaica*) was sometimes used ambiguously to refer to either Islamic or Hebrew architecture. As Fernando Marías has pointed out, due to this ambiguity, occasional references to mosaic crafts can be found that relate to Jewish culture. Examples of this usage are an early reference to 'Mosaic and Hebrew' (*musayca y ebrea*) work in Toledo houses by Luis Hurtado de Toledo, Juan de Mora's insistence on 'mosaic' decorations in his defence of the Hebrew origin of Córdoba Mosque, and the relationship established at a later date between the Solomonic order and Mosaic architecture in Solomon's temple which, as we shall see below, also influenced certain interpretations of Islamic architecture. In the eighteenth century, Francisco Ruano proposed the existence of a 'Mosaic order', displayed in Córdoba Mosque, as an Islamic alternative to the classical orders, and the French traveller Louis Meunier used the word to refer to the Alcazar of Seville.[78] As far as Islamic building techniques are concerned, a trawl through the literature seems to indicate that the term might have been first used for the surviving samples of Roman mosaicked work in Córdoba Mosque and was subsequently extended to include Islamic tiles in Seville Alcazar or in the Court of Lions in Granada—'with their small pieces arranged in such a variety of shapes and fine colours'—or even painted and carved plaster panels. The word had been used since ancient times to refer to Roman decorations made out of small tiles. It is found with this meaning in descriptions of classical buildings in the Near East. González de Clavijo and other sources used it in this sense, and he even included a definition of the term to help his readers. As its entry in Covarrubias' dictionary shows, this

[75] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 94r.

[76] Caro, *Antigüedades*, pp. 56–7; Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, pp. 15r ff.

[77] Cámara, *Arquitectura*, pp. 29ff.

[78] Hurtado de Toledo, *Memorial*, (ed. 1963) p. 509; Mora, *Discurso*, p. 120v; Ruano, *Historia*, p. 275; Meunier, *Differentes*. See Marías, 'Haz y envés', pp. 111–12, and 'La casa', p. 207.

must have been the most common meaning.[79] An interesting marginal explanation in Fray Raimundo de Ribes' description of Jerusalem (1629) related 'Mosaic work' to mosaicked craft, highlighting its colours and its similarity to painting and crediting a certain Moses with its invention.[80] Between these two extremes, in Spain's Islamic buildings the adjective 'mosaic' seems to apply to works that stood out for their colourful patterns and impressively detailed craftsmanship. Díaz de Ribas, writing about the plaster panels decorated with *ataurique* patterns in Córdoba, pointed out that these pieces were misnamed as 'mosaic' (*musaico*), thereby admitting implicitly that it was common usage, as can be found in Morgado or Roa for instance.[81] However, he used the word himself as an interchangeable alternative to Morisco when he wrote about a 'craft that we usually call Arabesque or Mosaic' in the context of ornamentation in Islamic buildings.[82] Any attempts at precision were limited and the exception rather than the rule.

Morales had perpetuated the traditional use of 'Morisco work' as a global term used to describe all Islamic architecture and other artefacts without further discrimination. The word was repeated verbatim in the rest of antiquarian literature, in travel books, and in popular usage, sometimes together with 'Arabic', 'Arabesque', or 'Arabian style'.[83] The word 'Morisco' was used to describe Córdoba Mosque, the Giralda tower, the Alhambra, the ornamentation in the alcazar of Jerez, and the lost mosque of Almería as well as many architectural works built in Christian times.[84] 'Morisco style' applied to the fabric of buildings in Aleppo, Syria, and such faraway places as Goa, and even to the works produced in Tunisian plaster works.[85] The streets of Toledo were described as 'Morisco-like' (*amoriscadas*).[86] As conclusive evidence of the word's minimal precision, it was used to describe feathers brought back from America in sixteenth-century inventories and Chinese dwellings in a description of that country.[87] The word was therefore employed analogically to explain other alterities as well.

Managing alterity, as I have insisted so far, was a key factor that influenced the inclusion of Islamic architecture in the discourse on classical architecture. It also affected the conditions of use of antiquarian tools. The general wish to identify Roman ruins, together with the need to manage the memory of Islamic buildings, had an impact on the classification of stones as Islamic or Roman. Such a state of affairs hindered the development of a specifically Islamic archaeology and meant that antiquarian scholars frequently sidestepped archaeological principles in order

[79] González de Clavijo, *Embajada*, (ed. 1582) pp. 55–6; Villalón, *Viaje*, (ed. 1980) pp. 430–2; Enríquez de Ribera, *Este libro*, (quoted from 1606) p. 75; Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, p. 556r.

[80] Ribes, *Relación*, pp. 148v–149r.   [81] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 92v; Roa, *Flos*, pp. 82r ff.

[82] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 6r.

[83] See Arellano, *Antigüedades*, p. 101r; Moreno de Vargas, *Historia*, p. 216v; Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, pp. 15, 95ff; Fernández de Mesa, *Relación*, p. 249.

[84] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, p. 121v; Morgado, *Historia*, p. 92r; Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia*, p. 24r; Roa, *De cordubae*, p. 38v; Pasqual y Orbaneja, *Vida*, p. 127.

[85] Teixeira, *Relaciones*, p. 175; Silva y Figueroa, *Comentarios*, (ed. 1903–1905), I, p. 205; López de Gomara, *Compendio*, p. 175.

[86] Pisa, *Descripción*, p. 23r.

[87] Herrera, *Historia*, II, p. 51. See Cámara, *Arquitectura*, pp. 187ff; Johnson, *Cultural*, p. 258.

to shape the result according to their interests. The perpetuation of Ambrosio de Morales' materials-based guideline offers a multitude of examples of forced applications that sought to Romanize Islamic testimonies. Few cities contained monumental stone ruins attributable to the Roman world. On the other hand, there was an abundance of remains of city walls and other civic constructions of Islamic origin in mud or brick. The most immediate strategy to achieve the appropriation of identity in the case of this type of vestiges without breaking the materials rule was to consign mortar back to a further antiquity than the Roman Empire. This can be seen, for example, in Granada, where a modest classical presence left no remains that could be assigned to that period. We shall explore this idea in detail later, but for now let us say that this was partly the reason why in Granada the legitimacy horizon shifted to an earlier time. Thus, Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza claimed in 1638 that:

> All these buildings belonged to the early pagans, the first inhabitants of the city, as shown by the evidence of its fabric: they were not Roman because they did not use gypsum or lay stones in brickwork arrangements, which is the rule to determine ancient constructions. It was not made by the Moors, who built with lime and in a different manner, as can be seen in Morisco buildings [such as] the Alhambra, the Town Hall, the Mint, and St John's Tower.

On these grounds he was able to assert that:

> These buildings in Granada are so old that, compared to them, the ancient memories of Rome are modern and Arab buildings very new.[88]

A braver strategy, but also less common because it required accurate knowledge, was to go daringly against the flow and attribute the use of mortar to the Romans.[89] In Seville, whose impressive Islamic rammed earth walls were still standing, as was the Roman brick aqueduct of Caños de Carmona, this attribution gave rise to an interesting debate that continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Given that neither of these constructions were made of stone, authors like Alonso Morgado defended their Islamic origin.[90] Before Morgado, however, Lucius Marineus, who had first-hand experience of Roman antiquities, had chosen to identify Seville's wall with those built by Julius Caesar. Luis de Pedraza agreed and thought it feasible to extend Roman identity to the aqueduct on the grounds of proximity.[91] Writing a century later, Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga was more familiar with Latin sources and proposed that the mud that formed the Almohad walls was Roman concrete, suggesting that the bricks that appeared in them were Islamic repairs and additions, because 'it is well known from Roman Histories that the extremely solid material that is known as mortar is tougher, denser, and more solid than rocks; the Moors rebuilt certain parts of it their own way, with bricks, and the

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[88] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia*, p. 24r.
[89] On the use of rammed earth by both Christians and Muslims in the fabric of defensive walls, see Serra, 'Convivencia', p. 45.
[90] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 49v.   [91] Peraza, *Historia*, (quoted from BUS) pp. 81ff.

difference is visible'.[92] Since the author was aware that it was precisely the presence of bricks that made the materials of the Caños aqueduct suspect, he felt the need to argue that such a large and ambitious construction appeared to be Roman. In this sense he followed Rodrigo Caro, who had solved the problem years earlier by obviating the need for an archaeological study of its fabric which, given the state of knowledge at the time, could hardly have supported his claims. As far as he was concerned, the Caños were Roman because they were magnificent, because ancient Seville must have had an aqueduct, and because 'to me it looks like the work of a proud and daring people rather than of Barbarians'.[93] Similar arguments can be found in many other examples.[94] Antiquarian displacement helped ensure that, when archaeological evidence did not deliver, a Roman origin outdid an Islamic one simply on the basis of the prestige which classical architecture enjoyed.

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[92] Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, p. 13.   [93] Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 26v.
[94] In Málaga, for instance. Medina Conde, *Antigüedades*, (ed. 1991) p. 19.

6

The Antiquarian Appropriation of Islamic Monuments

In the seventeenth century, the general debate on the evidence for the antiquity and possibly Roman origins of the Islamic remains continued to focus on Córdoba Mosque. Seville and Toledo, as we shall see below, underwent similar developments that explored the model's expansion and boundaries. As Córdoba's paradigmatic example reveals, an interesting transition occurred that effectively moved beyond the initial aim of providing evidence of the city's Roman past in order to place the cultural and religious homogenization of the architecture at the very centre of historians' interests. As pointed out above, Morales' treatment of Córdoba Mosque deployed a carefully calculated ambiguity that allowed him to reclaim a degree of Romanness, albeit in a cultural sense, by characterizing the temple's building model as classical. Morales gave a clear statement about its Islamic construction based on literary evidence, but, as discussed by Fernando Marías, his archaeological observation helped sow the seeds of uncertainty, enabling others to undermine the building's identity at a later stage.[1] We have already seen that, in the following generation, Pedro Díaz de Ribas maintained this interpretation by combining the view that the mosque was an Islamic construction with praise for the classical remains found in the building's interior.[2] However, the other antiquarians and historians in this new group, led by Pablo de Céspedes, made a significant interpretative leap, claiming that not only were some of the stonework and columns Roman, but so too was the building's origin. Morales had made the most of the classical tradition to place the mosque in an antiquarian framework that modified how it was perceived. This framework provided Céspedes with a tool to transform the building's historical identity. The doubts raised by Morales' amendment to his manuscript, namely the elimination of the reference to an Islamic 'foundation', were converted by his followers into a certainty about the temple's origin, dating back to pre-Islamic Christianity.

The revision of Morales' description of the mosque was essentially provided by Pablo de Céspedes, the cathedral prebendary, a painter, and one of the most celebrated Andalusian humanists of his age. Céspedes dedicated his tract expressly to defending the view that there had been a pre-Islamic temple on the site of the mosque, staking the claim for Christian precedence: *Discurso sobre la antigüedad de la catedral de Córdoba, y cómo antes era templo del Dios Jano* (*t.a.q.* 1608). As we

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[1] Marías, 'Haz y envés', p. 110, and 'Memoria', p. 72.
[2] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 32r.

have seen, it was not by chance that his dissemination of this idea coincided with the final building phase of the cathedral's new nave, with its classical design, in which Céspedes and his contemporaries were closely involved.[3] It is therefore not surprising that Céspedes' manuscript reveals the same cautious approach as Morales' when addressing this subject. Specifically, Céspedes changed his mind and crossed out a remark to the effect that a classical description by Cicero 'closely matches the current state of the city's cathedral'.[4]

Although Céspedes' piece was never printed, it was widely distributed amongst Andalusian antiquarians and was a key to ensuring intellectual appropriation of the building. The original manuscript and the papers inherited by his disciple Bernardo de Aldrete are today preserved in Granada Cathedral and were recently brought to light by Jesús Rubio Lapaz and later by the same author jointly with Fernando Moreno.[5] They were part of the materials Aldrete compiled for his own projected history of Córdoba's main church, which either he never completed or has since been lost. Céspedes' theories must have been known to the members of Córdoba Cathedral Chapter, who were aware of Aldrete's projects, and would therefore have been shared with other local authors. Céspedes' claim that the temple had a biblical genealogy allowed for the establishment of its primacy in southern Spain, overriding the superiority of Seville Cathedral.

Céspedes' genealogical argument was developed on various levels that consistently displayed his closeness to Morales' ideas, adhering to each stage of his archaeological analysis method. The point of departure was two Roman milestones, found by chance around 1534, which referred to a Roman temple in the city dedicated to Janus Augustus.[6] Secondly, Céspedes went on to provide an architectural analysis of the mosque designed to prove that a part of its walls was Roman, according to which not only were the building methods classical, as Morales had said, but so too was its historical origin. Céspedes claimed that the building was a classical temple that had been partially restored and extended by the Muslims. According to the third element of his argument, the building's foundation even predated the Roman period, since its features seemed to be of greater antiquity than the age of Augustus.[7]

Morales knew about the milestones, but he neither linked them to the mosque, nor devoted any special attention to them. In the first volume of his *Corónica general* (1574) he reproduced one of them as a print, and referred to it as evidence of there having been a temple in the ancient Roman city, stating that he would comment

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[3] Pedro Martínez Lara has made a highly interesting attempt to establish a connection between this text and a salomonic programme for the vaults of the cathedral's new nave, but in my view, his evidence is not fully conclusive, although it does demonstrate the concern to assert the building's Christian identity. Martínez Lara, 'Salomonismo'. See also Marías, 'Memoria', pp. 70–3. On Céspedes' involvement in the decoration of the chapel of Our Lady the Ancient in Córdoba in connection to his texts see Martínez Lara, 'Pablo', p. 27.

[4] Céspedes, *Discurso*, (ed. 1998) p. 214r.

[5] Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo*, pp. 242–3; Rubio Lapaz and Moreno, *Escritos*, pp. 79ff, a critical edition of Céspedes' texts and the preferred source for this author. See also Marías, 'Haz y envés', p. 110.

[6] The finding of the milestones in Fernández Franco, *Antorcha*, (ed. 1775) p. 101.

[7] Marías, 'Haz y envés', p. 110; Rubio Lapaz and Moreno, *Escritos*, pp. 79ff.

on the milestones in a later work.[8] One might have hoped that this work would have been *Las antigüedades* (1575), but in this book he practically ignored the milestones.[9] It would seem Morales did not consider them important as evidence. As seen above, he sought to locate the early Roman foundation of the city in the depopulated area of Old Córdoba, which was outside the city walls. It was therefore in his interest that the temple of Janus should have stayed there, rather than been on the site where the milestones had been found. However, appropriation of the mosque was a key issue for Céspedes, and the milestones provided archaeological evidence that this monument was built on the site of a pre-Islamic temple, which he identified with the historical findings on the sanctuary of Janus. At the time Céspedes was writing, at the turn of the seventeenth century, the milestones were 'in the workshop doorway in the main church, where the stone to be used for the new building is prepared'.[10] After years forgotten on the floor beside a wall, they had acquired a new status: they marked the place where the stone blocks used for the construction of the new renaissance nave were carved, and were therefore linked to the renewal of the temple's Christian identity. Given his ties to the chapter and to the building work, it is possible Céspedes took part in these initiatives. We also know that the milestones were later transferred to the main doors of what had been the mosque's prayer rooms and that their inscription was gilded to make it more visible.[11] For Céspedes, the fact that these Roman stones were found in the mosque courtyard was clear proof that 'the cathedral was built where the temple of Janus had first stood'.[12] The milestones are still on display in the same location.

In his formal analysis of the masonry of the mosque, Céspedes adhered to Morales' idea that the stonework was classical. He claimed, however, that its 'Romanness' was not a technique inherited by the Muslims, but because the Romans had actually built a specific zone of the building. He drew on Vitruvius to claim that 'although the whole temple seems to have been made by the Moors with their Arabic method', an examination of the walls proved that a section of the mosque's construction was pre-Islamic:

> the corner that forms an angle with the west and south walls, together with the passage to the bishop's houses along with a good section of the wall, can clearly be seen to have been made during the most skilled periods in the practice of masonry and architecture.[13]

In his opinion, these 'most skilled periods in the practice of masonry' were those of Rome and Carthage. The latter also had had a close relationship with ancient Spain. The corner of the building he referred to was claimed to reveal 'the same antiquity

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  [8] Morales and Ocampo, *La Corónica*, p. 194v.
  [9] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, p. 114v. In 1574, he also referred to them in a short text on the city's history which formed part of his life of St Eulogius of Córdoba, and it included a drawing of one of the milestones with the inscription referring to Janus. However, at no time did he comment on these inscriptions, nor suggest that this temple could have been located on the same site as the mosque. Morales, *Divi*, p. 125v.
  [10] Céspedes, *Discurso*, (ed. 1998) p. 214r.
  [11] Morales Padilla, *Historia*, (ed. 2005), II, p. 1395.
  [12] Céspedes, *Discurso*, (ed. 1998) p. 216r.   [13] Céspedes, *Discurso*, (ed. 1998) p. 218r.

as the two [Roman] milestones' that had been placed in the doorway. For Céspedes, the mosque was initially a classical building that had subsequently been restored and expanded by the Muslims. For one thing, its stonework was comparable to the 'most sumptuous buildings' of Greece, Egypt, Asia, and Assyria, and especially the ruins of Carthage, 'which in grandeur, fine masonry, and carving work were by no means inferior to Rome'.[14] At this point, when he spoke about Carthage, and given the shortage of texts, he did mention 'the accounts of certain knowledgeable men in Tunis who have been considering the ruins of Carthage'. On the other hand, the stone lattice windows were linked with the construction of the temple of Jerusalem, which was said to have been built a thousand years before Augustus. In this way, Céspedes made a connection with the descriptions of the Jerusalem temple written by Benito Arias Montano (1572) and the Jesuits Jerónimo Prado and Juan Bautista Villalpando (1596–1604), as well as with the idea that the mosque had originally been a Hebrew temple, as suggested to little avail a few years earlier by Juan de Mora (1589).[15] Significantly, one of the sketches that appeared among Céspedes' drafts on the reconstruction of Solomon's temple showed a door with a horseshoe arch that did not differ greatly from those in the mosque.[16]

Having established this archaeological proof for the building's date, Céspedes concluded his arguments with an analysis of biblical and historical sources (Luis Vives, Virgil, Macrobius, Ovid, and others), claiming Janus could be identified with Noah, which in turn enabled him to make the definitive leap from classical antiquity to early Christianity. He stated that the temple had been founded after the biblical flood by the patriarch's descendants, who assimilated the Turdetani inhabiting Andalusia:

> with great certainty, it could almost be asserted that the first to populate Spain from amongst Noah's grandchildren, as we have seen, came up the Guadalquivir estuaries, of which there were two at that time; and travelling up the river, being taken with the beauty and pleasantness of the land on either side, they reached what is now Córdoba. And as they thought it would not be easy to navigate further upriver, nor could they have wished for any better sight or benefit after the demands of such a long and dangerous journey and voyage, they sought to settle here and rest, fulfilling the vows they had made by building a temple and an altar to most powerful Janus. It is important to know that Janus was the God of Noah, who served him. This was the beginning of the sanctuary and most magnificent temple that has today been restored several times, and which, for its grandeur and multitude of columns, is a singular building amongst those on which the sun looks down upon the roundness of the Earth.[17]

[14] Céspedes, *Discurso*, (ed. 1998) p. 220v. See Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo*, p. 100; Rubio Lapaz and Moreno, *Escritos*, pp. 89ff; Marías, 'Haz y envés', p. 110. See also García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 223, (ed. 2013) p. 219.

[15] Tomás Fernández de Mesa cited Villalpando as a source for the hypothesis of the city having been founded by the descendants of Noah. Fernández de Mesa, *Relación*, p. 251r. See Martínez Ripoll, 'Pablo', and 'Del arca'; Taylor, 'Juan Bautista'; Ramírez, *Dios*, and 'Evocar'; Marías, 'Memoria', p. 72; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, 'Les antiquités', p. 79.

[16] Céspedes, *Borradores*. It has not been possible to access the original drawing, but it is reproduced in Rubio Lapaz and Moreno, *Escritos*, p. 352.

[17] Céspedes, *Discurso*, (ed. 1998) pp. 243v–244r.

In case anyone was left in any doubt, Céspedes concluded his text with further canonical archaeological evidence, claiming he had a commemorative medal of this Turdetani foundation of the Noah-Janus temple. By using this intricate web of arguments, Céspedes clearly wanted the temple to be considered a 'most ancient thing', as he made plain from the very first line. But above all, he was seeking to establish the precedence of Christian worship in the building by negating its Islamic identity, an identity which he treated as a brief episode in the much longer history of a monument that was essentially classical and Christian.

Though not accepted by all later writers in its entirety, Céspedes' theory definitely established a model which used classical and religious genealogy to efface the mosque's Islamic identity.[18] Few subsequent authors agreed with the biblical origin of the building as Noah's temple that was later turned into a mosque. Nonetheless, the identification of its conceptual parentage as a temple to Janus grew vigorous roots in the early seventeenth century, and during the Early Modern Period became an indispensable addition to the canonical account in Ambrosio Morales' *Las antigüedades*. As we have already seen, this met with a degree of opposition from Pedro Díaz de Ribas. Given the precedent of his honesty in the treatment of Old Córdoba, it is hard to imagine he would easily have been swayed by Céspedes' claim of a Roman origin. On the assumption that the aforementioned milestones were from the time of Augustus, Díaz de Ribas considered how 'for some, the tower and the southern wall seem to be Roman in the way they are built', but reached the conclusion that this was not the case, in view of the building techniques used and the Arabic inscription establishing Muslim authorship. The ornamentation, which, as already discussed, was one of the foundations of Díaz de Ribas' archaeological system, left no doubt about the Islamic origin.[19] However, apart from this exception, other local authors preferred to overlook these problems in order to endorse Céspedes' classical identification, and even in some cases his claim for Noah. The discovery undoubtedly appealed to some writers' antiquarian interests, particularly those concerned to establish an ideological anchorage in the pre-Islamic period. Antiquarian practice was thus paving the way for the mosque's religious appropriation. This will be revisited in greater detail in Part 3.

THE ANTIQUARIAN STUDY OF SEVILLE AND PRAISE FOR ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

The scholarly debate on Córdoba's Islamic monuments found new routes in Seville, where the humanist archaeological vocation came to public awareness through literary academies, aristocratic collections, and the publication of local history books. Rodrigo Caro's poem *Canción a las ruinas de Itálica* (1595 *t.p.q.*) is a good example of this scenario. Antiquarian arguments were particularly well received in

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[18] On the relationship between this initiative and the Granada Lead Books context, see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 371, (ed. 2013) p. 365.

[19] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 31v.

the context of creating Seville's collective identity.[20] Vicente Lleó explained this situation by arguing that literature on Seville's ancient history flourished because it tried to compensate for the city's Islamic heritage. This idea fits in with the aims of Luis de Peraza's *Historia de Sevilla* (*c.* 1530).[21] In a clear attempt to compete with Toledo, Peraza offered arguments to support thriving Seville's ambition to become capital of the empire for the purposes of trade with the Indies. To this end, he established three crucial moments in the city's history: its mythical classical origin, which was attributed to Hercules Lybicus and Julius Caesar; the recovery of Visigothic splendour, as illustrated by King St Hermenegild; and finally, the conquest of Seville by King Ferdinand III.[22] At the same time, he continued to subscribe to medieval praise of the tower as a trophy but, concerning the cathedral, he introduced a pre-Islamic link that identified the mosque with the ancient Christian church of the Holy Cross, which he claimed to have been the first Spanish church.[23] The compensation hypothesis is undoubtedly valid, but to be complete it requires, in my view, an acknowledgement of the antiquarian appropriation of Islamic monuments that was being implemented in parallel. Sevillian writers rebuilt the landscape of antiquity in an attempt to establish the city's identity within it. At the same time, they defended the possibility of developing a classical reading of the grandeur that Islamic architecture put within their reach and tried to put strategies in place to achieve cultural homogeneity. As I pointed out at the beginning of this section, the fact that Alonso Morgado, Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros, and Rodrigo Caro gave space in their books to Seville's Islamic antiquities deserves special attention. Alonso Morgado opened his description of the ancient aqueduct of Caños de Carmona, whose Roman or Islamic origin was disputed at the time, with general praise of Islamic architecture:

> The Moors built many sumptuous edifices in Seville, as it would appear from what we know about the time they inhabited the Royal Alcazar, from what can be seen to remain of their great Mosque, from its superb tower and various other towers, the extension of the city walls, and the other palaces and houses, the magnificence, design, and workmanship of which are still visible today. The single most useful and beneficial amongst them, then as now, must be the famous [aqueduct of] Caños de Carmona, which the Moors themselves built at their own enormous expense.[24]

Helped by the confluence of antiquarian thinking and the acknowledgement of Islamic architectural splendour, early modern Sevillian chronicles addressed the reconstruction of the lost *Aljama* Mosque with quasi-automatic expressions of approval. Given the time elapsed since Christians took the city, and having justified the need to demolish the mosque, it was legitimate to remember it as a sumptuous and architecturally attractive building. Alonso Morgado devoted several pages to

[20] Lleó, *Nueva Roma*, (quoted from 2012) pp. 209ff; Wunder, 'Classical'; Méndez, *Velázquez*, pp. 201ff.
[21] Lleó, *Nueva Roma*, (quoted from 2012) pp. 211ff. See also Wunder, 'Classical'; Morales Padrón, 'La historia', and his introductions to the 1979 and 1997 editions.
[22] On the reception given to St Hermenegild, see Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 263–4; Rodríguez Moya, 'Los reyes', pp. 144ff; Linehan, *History*, pp. 3ff.
[23] Peraza, *Historia*, (quoted from BUS) pp. 209v ff.   [24] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 49v.

the remains of its courtyard, which gave clues to the 'great sumptuousness of the mosque when it was standing'. The size of the cloister and the quality of its masonry, arches, wooden coffering, bronze doors, battlements, and cisterns were praised in a detailed description that predictably compared the wonder of its hanging orchard to the gardens of Babylon and stressed the beauty of its Morisco style, from the battlements to the 'handsomely crafted patterns' on doors. This analytical model was extended to other ancient Islamic buildings, such as the visible remains in the church of St Saviour, the 'parish churches of St Bartholomew and Holy Cross, and the Monastery of the Mother of God, which were Jewish synagogues at the time of the Moors'.[25] Although Morgado restricted his account to the portion of the mosque that had been preserved, Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga brought this antiquarian tradition to a climax in 1677 with a description of the naves that had been demolished. He admitted, however, that he had no proof, as no trace remained of their surface area or volume.[26]

　　This is an important issue because it gives a true picture of the power wielded by symbolic demands based on urban praise and antiquarian texts. Ortiz de Zúñiga justified his interpretation by suggesting that 'certain circumstances lead us to guess what oblivion has stolen', but the fact is that there was little in it but a desire to flatter. First he propounded an arched structure supported on marble columns, 'relics of Roman constructions', like those in the former mosque of St Saviour, also in Seville, and in Córdoba Cathedral, although we know today that the building stood on pillars. He continued with a review of the 'ancient papers' that described a white slab flooring and an elaborate coffered ceiling. He also mentioned that an image of the minaret in its original form was featured in city seals. He ended with a reference to Islamic remnants in the cloister and naturally included a commentary on the tower, which predictably referred the reader to Alphonse X's *Estoria de España*. Finally, he claimed that the *Aljama* Mosque had been built in the time of the 'first Moorish kings, those closest to the beginning of captivity', which gave him a link to the site of the old pre-Islamic Cathedral and allowed him to bring the mosque's Almohad fabric closer to the caliphate, the brightest moment in the history of Islamic Spain.[27] At any rate, besides the tower, which is altogether a different case, the available evidence was insufficient to show what the mosque was like, let alone to allow for a fair assessment of it. Yet the vagueness of the sources was not as powerful as the convenience of giving this building a significance that the history of Seville was thought to deserve. Following in the footsteps of earlier historians, Ortiz de Zúñiga vindicated the contribution made by Islamic buildings to the glory of the city thanks to the monarchs who graced it 'with everything the

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[25] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 118v.

[26] 'The mosque that was consecrated as a cathedral was sumptuous and its architecture beautiful, in so far as the Morisco building style, so different from the Roman, can be considered beautiful, although its size and shape are difficult to deduce since no floorplan or drawing of it has survived.' Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, p. 21. This lament was also present in Morgado but the latter chose to restrict his comments to the visible remains and did not conjecture so much about what had been destroyed. Morgado, *Historia*, p. 96v.

[27] Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, p. 21; Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 48r.

capital of an empire requires in the way of government'.[28] The history of Seville could be grateful that, as in the case of the ruins of Itálica, the written word had transformed the old destroyed mosque into a monument in the eyes of chronicle readers.

Antiquarian scholars became singularly fond of Seville's Morisco buildings once the extraordinary symbolic power of the ancient *Aljama* minaret was generally acknowledged. Vicente Lleó has studied this process in detail.[29] The use of images of Islamic monuments in Córdoba and Granada was far less intense than the exploitation of Seville's Giralda. This imbalance was a result of both the numerous iconic reproductions of the tower in visual media and the frequency and nature of written descriptions. From the very moment of its conquest, it was considered a piece of heritage that was more valuable assimilated than denied. Nevertheless, early modern local appreciation of Islamic splendour did not do away with the need to create strategies that would help accommodate otherness in the context of the cultural homogenization of the past. Historiographical praise was forced to find a balance or to promote a change of meaning for the object in question.

Alonso Morgado's description of the tower and courtyard of the former mosque in his *Historia de Sevilla* (1587) gave a new lease of life to the tradition of medieval praise. Morgado was one of the first authors to place the Almohad architecture of Seville in the realm of antiquities, and moreover he did so with remarkable originality and methodological coherence. As he himself noted, he was writing at a time when interpretations of the tower as being of classical origin were circulating in Seville. Morgado refuted them with a combination of historical and archaeological arguments. Although he suggested that classical marbles from Itálica must have been reused in the former mosque,[30] he declared in a marginal note that 'Seville tower is a Morisco edifice':

> I shall not deny that some of our finest architects will not accept that such a tall, strong, sumptuous, and magnificent building as this famous tower of Seville was built by the Moors, claiming that it is much older and from pagan times, although it is clearly mentioned in [sources from] Moorish times. But since they cannot deny the abundance of Morisco masonry and craft, they choose to conjecture that this was nothing but decorations and extensions. But looking at it in the light of reason, it is not right to say that it is a Roman building, there being no visible evidence of this in its fabric. And should there be [such evidence], the Goths, their rabid enemies (who ruled Spain after them), would have destroyed it just as they destroyed other Roman buildings. And should the Goths (as keen, according to their nature, to ruin strong buildings as they were unskilled at building them) have left it standing, we would see great and magnificent inscriptions all over it, as was Roman custom to leave upon everything they built, including constructions of lower quality and importance, carved stones, marbles, and statues celebrating unto eternal memory the names of their makers,

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[28] Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, p. 2. Seville's status as Islamic capital of the empire was habitually acknowledged in every local history text, including ecclesiastical histories. Bernal, *Razón*, w/p.
[29] Lleó, 'El pasado'.   [30] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 9r.

the people they were dedicated to, the emperors who were in power at the time and to whom they were dedicated, as well as dates and other trifles and details.[31]

One wonders who were the 'finest architects' mentioned by Morgado and, above all, on what grounds they defended the building's Romanness, casting aside Islamic evidence as mere extensions to the Roman foundation. Apparently we cannot directly accuse number-one suspect Hernán Ruiz II (1514?–1569), the Cordoban senior master builder of Córdoba and Seville cathedrals, who erected the Christian belfry on the Giralda tower, since Rodrigo Caro claims the architect had no doubt that the building was Islamic.[32] Be that as it may, for our present purposes, the key arguments in Morgado's discussion related, in the first place, to the lack of 'visible evidence' of Roman construction, adding that the materials and building techniques could hardly be Roman. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that Morgado resorted to a very innovative formal analysis of the decoration that was ahead of Díaz de Ribas' later theorizing in Córdoba. Morgado also compared it to similar towers in North Africa thanks to information provided by Leo Africanus and transmitted by Luis de Mármol.[33] Finally, he ruled out as evidence some column bases that had been uncovered in a building site next to the tower and which encouraged the pretensions of those who defended its Romanness.[34] In our author's opinion, these materials had been brought by the Muslims from a different site to use in the foundations.[35]

An important feature of Morgado's description is that his praise extended to the tower's building processes and decorations. In a context of everyday admiration for the prodigious height and solidity of the minaret, praising the 'perpetual firmness of its foundations and walls' and describing its materials and techniques which are 'yet to be appreciated by the architects of our time' were not particularly original. Conversely, his references to 'lovely decorations' (*galanterías*) and the 'varied and elaborate' decorations that extend upwards on every wall of the tower and make it 'beautiful to look at' were clearly significant. As mentioned above, the detailed description of the *sebka* decorated panels is a sign of the terminological problems involved in describing non-classical architectures. At the same time, Morgado's effort reveals an exemplary interest in this ornamental model although, despite his earlier insistence that the building was Islamic, his description did not explicitly link the beauty of these obviously Islamic decorations and rhythms with autonomous Islamic aesthetics. His persistent enumeration of marble columns and arches, and his assessment of the distribution of the clearance between columns on the basis of their 'arrangement, proportion, and measurements' are reminiscent of the classical terms of architectural appreciation.[36] He did not explicitly acknowledge the frontal opposition existing between the Islamic decorative pattern and the Renaissance ornamentation of the Christian belfry that had been added a few years earlier by

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[31] Morgado, *Historia*, pp. 81v–92r.   [32] Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 48v.
[33] Morgado, *Historia*, pp. 92v–93r.
[34] According to Vicente Lleó, the origin of the myth of the Giralda's Roman foundations may reside in the Roman inscriptions visible in the Almohad masonry. Lleó, 'El pasado'. See also Jiménez and Cabeza, *Turris*, pp. 165ff, 201.
[35] Morgado, *Historia*, pp. 92r–92v.   [36] Morgado, *Historia*, pp. 93v–94r.

Hernán Ruiz II, enthusiastic praise of which ended his description of the tower.[37] In fact, a reader who did not know the building might have interpreted the whole as a classical unit. In contrast with the focus on otherness of the trophy discourse, this narrative sought an appropriation model that, whilst acknowledging the tower's true Islamic origin, thinly disguised its hybrid nature by adding historical distance and cultural displacement. A small but revealing detail is a change introduced by Morgado in the title of his chapter on the tower, which can be interpreted in the above sense. Whereas in the first manuscript version the ancient minaret was referred to as the 'famous' tower, the printed version used the resonant Latin adjective *'insigne'* (illustrious).[38] To some extent, the writer here moved one step forward from the trophy and wonder discourse to project the classical distinction that antiquities enjoyed.

Evidently, Hernán Ruiz II's architectural transformation of the tower was a momentous event as regards the recognition of its identity. The classical style of the belfry sitting on top of the Almohad fabric went well with its traditional function as a trophy and added new readings from a twin humanistic-cum-Christian viewpoint.[39] The addition was closely linked to historiographical strategy concerning the building. Morgado's description of the tower was coetaneous with the building work and both the perpetuation of his arguments and the nuances that were incorporated in later narratives were linked to the message conveyed by the belfry.

Primera parte de la historia, antigüedades y grandeza de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla by Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros (1627) included a few comments on Seville's Islamic edifices. Though based on Morgado, they were placed in a separate section which also included the story of the Christian martyrs in Islamic times.[40] We shall return to this religious strategy in a later chapter. A nuanced repetition of Morgado's account also appeared in Rodrigo Caro's *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustríssima ciudad de Sevilla* (1634). Although this author is usually viewed as a conscientious antiquarian, his treatment of Islamic architecture was not particularly original, except as far as the compilation of inscriptions was concerned.[41] As mentioned above, Caro tried to pass off as Roman every vestige that was not supported by written sources.[42] His treatment of the Giralda was therefore an exception. Caro followed Morgado in dedicating a specific chapter to Arab stones and copied his analysis of the tower. Although he starts by saying that 'we shall now enter its description as well as I am able', he did nothing but paraphrase Morgado, reusing materials, themes, and value judgements, and only branched off to introduce certain subtle ideological points. Caro reiterated Morgado's compliments to the point of hyperbole. Generally speaking, Caro

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[37] See Jiménez Martín, *Anatomía*, pp. 58ff.

[38] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 91v, (manuscript) p. 122v. The definition of '*insigne*' in Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, p. 78v.

[39] Lleó, 'El pasado'; *Nueva Roma*, (quoted from 2012) pp. 250ff. Also relevant is Víctor Nieto's suggestion regarding Hernán Ruiz II's intention to relate his work to the 'tower of the winds' described in Vitruvius' treatise. Nieto, 'El mito', pp. 141ff.

[40] Espinosa de los Monteros, *Primera*, pp. 127r ff. He followed Morgado's Islamic portrayal of Caños de Carmona.

[41] Gómez Canseco, *Rodrigo*, pp. 23ff.   [42] Ecker, 'Arab', p. 374.

described the tower as 'glorious', 'sumptuous', 'wondrous fabric' begotten by a 'superior architect'. It was, he also claimed, an Umayyad tower. The continuity thus provided was of great import. Thanks to the wide circulation of Caro's book, Morgado's themes were strongly projected onto the consciousness of Spanish antiquarians, thereby arousing their interest in the argumentation behind the tower's Islamic attribution and how it compared to certain North African buildings, or their admiration for such an architectural prodigy. The tower's recognition increased with Caro's book thanks to an inquiry into the identity of its architect, the Sevillian-born Geber, who had also systematized algebra. The old quotes from Alphonse X and his description of the golden balls which had crowned the tower in the Islamic period were likewise perpetuated.

From a different point of view, his reference to the old Almohad finial is a good example of the new angle Caro imprinted on the tower. Morgado, Caro, and many subsequent writers before Ortiz de Zúñiga showed their interest by replicating the description of the ancient golden balls that crowned the tower according to Alphonse X's chronicle. In Morgado's time this version of the story was considered a reliable source of information about an obvious symbol of the tower's Islamic nature which had been removed long before Hernán Ruiz II's recent transformation. Nevertheless, from Caro onwards, the description of the balls became a minor anecdote when measured against the attention given to the iconographic Christianization programme promoted by the new Renaissance belfry. On the one hand, Caro may be said to have supported the tower's reception as a classical piece, as proven by his interest in the Roman remains that the Muslims had allegedly placed in its foundations.[43] On the other hand, as we shall see in greater detail in the Part 3, Caro transformed the Giralda discourse by underlining its new meaning as a Christian building. The leap from Morgado to Caro is linked, once more, to the ability of antiquarian discourse to smooth the way for the religious appropriation of buildings by manipulating their symbolic genealogy.

TOLEDO AND THE REMEMBRANCE OF LOST ISLAMIC ANTIQUITIES

The remarkably positive antiquarian valuation of the ancient Morisco buildings in Córdoba and Seville involved a shift in the collective memory of the Islamic domination that enabled the humanist appropriation of the enemy's symbols. This leads us to wonder, however, what happened when the memory of the local Islamic past, no matter how fresh, did not include visible monuments, and therefore the pressing need to manage the identity of architectural hybridity did not arise. The destruction of the ancient *Aljama* Mosque in Toledo led to the erection of a cathedral that quickly assumed the lead role as the embodiment of the city's symbolic identity. Blas Ortiz, who wrote the description (1549) that became the

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[43] Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 49r.

canonical text on this building, one of the best examples of its genre, did not deem it necessary to comment on the former mosque although, generally speaking, he was highly interested in the memory of architecture.[44] The Christian temple had a long history that went back to the remote days of the city's origin, had outlasted Visigothic rule, endured conquest by the Muslims, 'who violated and turned [the church] into a mosque', and was recovered in the form of a new cathedral built in the days of Ferdinand III and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. It was understood that during Islamic rule the Christian basilica 'had the form of a mosque' as if it had retained its former nature despite the architectural reality. Nothing more was said about this stage in the building's life. Authors such as Pedro de Alcocer echoed this idea.[45] Antiquarian literature did not concern itself with the presence of Islamic architectural elements in Toledo's dwellings and churches. Not even Alcántara Bridge, labelled as Islamic by al-Razi and Ambrosio de Morales, was perceived as having sufficient iconic potential to match the great monuments of Córdoba, Seville, and Granada.[46]

It is very significant that the first antiquarian approaches to Toledo showed quite an uncharitable perception of its Islamic legacy. As several authors have found, the general aim of Toledo histories was to defend its supremacy in the Peninsula as it lost its capital city status in favour of Madrid.[47] In consequence, the most pressing matter with regard to the management of Toledo's architectural memory was the need to justify the city's magnificence through appropriate symbols. The issue became evident as early as Charles V's reign, when the imperial capital had little in common with the classical ideal of the seat of power. This may be why the poet Garcilaso de la Vega felt bound to sing the praises of the hilltop where the city sat 'adorned with ancient buildings', without going into detail.[48] This state of affairs influenced the memory of Islamic architecture in two ways. On the one hand, the defence of Toledo as capital of a humanist and Christian empire left little room for a detailed vindication of the sort of cultural hybridity on display in the rich Islamic ornamentation found in the palaces of the city elites, which were not interpreted as antiquities. On the other hand, as Fernando Marías has pointed out, historians tended to blame the Muslims for Toledo's urban deficiencies.[49] The narrow streets were a problem that worried successive city authorities and this was reflected in its historiographical self-assessment and outward projection, as can be seen in the writings of Juan de Mariana and others.[50]

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[44] Ortiz, *Summi*. See the essays in Ortiz's 1999 annotated edition; Nickson, *Toledo*, p. 7.

[45] Alcocer, *Historia*, p. 98v.

[46] Morales, *Las antigüedades*, p. 90v; Garibay, *Libro*, p. 185v; Pisa, *Descripción*, pp. 21v ff; Román de la Higuera, *Historia*, pp. 126r, 220v. Alcántara Bridge in the context of the humanist interpretation of classical engineering works in Cámara, 'De ingeniosas', p. 123.

[47] See Marías, *La arquitectura*, I, pp. 98ff, *El largo*, pp. 55ff, and 'Realidad', p. 41; Díez del Corral, *Arquitectura*, pp. 144ff; Cámara, *Arquitectura*, p. 29; Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', pp. 361ff.

[48] Vega, *Obras*, p. 78. See Marías, *La arquitectura*, I, pp. 98ff; Díez del Corral, *Arquitectura*, pp. 215ff; Dumora, *Toledo*.

[49] Marías, 'Haz y envés', pp. 108ff.

[50] Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, p. 439. See Marías, 'Haz y envés', p. 108; Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', p. 337.

 Since Toledo was the former capital of the Visigothic kingdom, sixteenth-century authors assumed that it must have had a period of architectural splendour in the past and hence they often lay stress on the architectural improvements made by the Visigothic kings.[51] From the antiquarian point of view, Islamic architectural incompetence was to blame for the lack of grandeur in Toledo's urban landscape. Pedro de Alcocer put it clearly in 1554 when describing the city layout:

> Before the Moors spoilt the proper order of the streets in this city, they were wider and flatter and better arranged, because it was the seat of the Gothic kings with their great courts for so many consecutive years.[52]

In his view, the Muslims were only capable of designing narrow streets and buildings. Alcocer's ideological interpretation was based on the assumption that Islamic architecture followed 'barbarous and dirty' methods:

> and building over rubble: [The houses] jutting out in places and sunken in others, and making the streets narrower in their barbarous and dirty way, in the manner that can be seen today in the towns and cities they owned, that all their buildings were small, their streets narrow, and their dwellings meagre and very prone to ruin due to their unsound foundations and worse construction. And this has been seen in the old houses of this city that have been built in our times: that there are four or five layers of buildings below ground level. Which is proof of what we say. And further proof is the order and shape of its short and narrow streets, which are steeper than they need be and have a thousand twists and turns and entrances and exits without rhyme or reason. And, although they reinforce it [the city] they do not adorn or beautify it, although day by day they are being improved and refurbished and made better.[53]

Writers were soon constantly trotting out this platitude because the layout of Toledo's streets was perceived as a problem that went hand in hand with the loss of capital status. In 1605, Francisco de Pisa revisited the question in similar terms and summarized it by describing the streets of Toledo with the words 'narrow and Morisco-like' (*angostas y amoriscadas*).[54] The adjective '*amoriscadas*' was used here in a pejorative sense and suggested an untidy and graceless urban model. These authors acknowledged that steep streets were inevitable given Toledo's hilly terrain, but in Visigothic times, claimed Alcocer, the streets were flatter.

 Toledo serves as a counterexample to the cases discussed above. It confirms that the appreciation of Islamic architecture was contingent upon the requirements of patrimonial memory management. Given the lack of prominent Islamic monuments, ideological constraints weighed more heavily on historians' opinions. Europe's complex perception of Islam combined maurophilia and curiosity with an overriding negative judgement that had deep roots in the Middle Ages and was perpetuated throughout the Early Modern Period in the form of stereotypes of barbarity and immorality, the latter epitomized by the Turkish Empire.[55]

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[51] Alcocer, *Historia*, p. 15r. Among others see Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, pp. 276–7. See also Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', pp. 330ff.
[52] Alcocer, *Historia*, p. 15r. For a similar statement see Pisa, *Descripción*, pp. 23r, 26.
[53] Alcocer, *Historia*, p. 15r.   [54] Pisa, *Descripción*, p. 26v.
[55] On the complexity of hostile stereotypes in Europe, see Blanks and Frassetto, *Western*, pp. 4ff;

Islam had a low status on the humanist cultural scale. Recovery of the classic analogy between architecture and morality meant that ideological prejudice towards the cities' Muslim settlers was transferred wholesale to the cities themselves. Such opinions focused on criticism of the urban layout from which only a few specific cities escaped unscathed where opposing interests were at stake. One example was Fez, in North Africa, which was praised, when convenient, in order to promote a potential Christian conquest.[56] Even then, however, as far as Spanish historians were concerned, any positive feature of North African cities was a consequence of the influence of Andalusian communities and therefore a debt due to the Iberian Peninsula. Numerous examples of this negative urban and moral vision can be found all over the Mediterranean. Constantinople is an archetypal case in point. Spanish historians at the time saw Istanbul as an urban metaphor for the loss of order and classic regulation that had once characterized the Roman Empire.[57] The city was the quintessence of political and moral chaos. Spanish analysts of North African cities attributed their narrowness, filth, and overcrowding to the poor moral qualities they saw in Islam. Even the wealth of their palaces was criticized. It is remarkable that such prejudice extended to specific aspects of people or buildings which might have been praised under different circumstances. Even the luxurious lifestyle that contemporaneous social theory endorsed as a sign of distinction among Europe's magnificent elites could be interpreted as proof of tyranny and immorality when applied to Muslim sovereigns.[58] The sole distinctive feature of Islamic cities that was held in some regard were the gardens. In this context, the baths deserve special attention. Islamic baths were frequently studied from a perspective that combined curiosity, admiration, and moral censure. Spanish historians praised the water management skills of the Muslims and foreign travellers were attracted by the court luxury they cultivated. Antiquarian literature paid scarce attention to the baths, but then, as Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza pointed out, they were suspected as sinful. The reference to the 'curious and lascivious baths of the Moorish kings' tied in with the commonly held and somewhat fictionalized notion of these places as the embodiment of strange and ungodly Islamic culture.[59]

The inadequate Vitruvian sense of Toledo's city planning was therefore viewed as a consequence of the sinful destruction of cities during the Islamic conquest and

Malcoln, 'Positive'; and Rouhi, 'A Fifteenth', p. 23. On anti-Islamic prejudice, see, among others, Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 109ff, and *Islam, Europe*, pp. 6ff; Tolan, *Medieval*, pp. 291ff; Echevarría, *The Fortress*, pp. 7ff; Vitkus, 'Early', pp. 209ff; Perceval, *Todos son*, p. 125; Bunes, 'La visión'; Soykut, *Italian*, p. 206; Maclean, *Looking*; Tolan, *Sons*, pp. 133ff; Brann, 'The Moors?', pp. 312ff; Jezernik, *Imagining*; Maclean and Matar, *Britain*, p. 17; Frakes, *Contextualizing*; Sénac, *El Occidente*, pp. 71ff; Tolan, Veinstein, and Laurens, *Europe*, pp. 105ff.

[56] 'Its streets and buildings are very beautiful because the majority of the streets are very long and straight, with a good orderly layout although many are cul-de-sacs. The houses are made of stone and brick; they are tall, with three or more storeys, solid, and handsome, with bright, spacious interiors, good rooms, courtyards, and orange gardens with all manner of sweet and sour fruit trees and running water.' Torres, *Relación*, pp. 232–3.

[57] Bunes, *La imagen*, pp. 48ff.

[58] For opinions on architecture in Spanish social theory, see Urquízar Herrera, 'Teoría'.

[59] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, p. 15r.

of the Muslims' subsequent 'immoral rebuilding'. The sources show that this idea had been commonplace since the sixteenth century and was embedded in the Christian conceptualization of Hispano-Islamic cities all over the country. Lucius Marineus Siculus described the streets of Granada as narrow; Pedro de Medina and later historians literally copied his description, thereby perpetuating the notion.[60] Juan de Mariana, for instance, used it with reference to Toledo, Granada, and Lisbon; and Garibay, writing about Granada's streets, claimed 'the Christians are forever improving these typically Morisco narrow streets'.[61] In Seville, Luis de Peraza and Alonso Morgado also addressed the issue, taking the opportunity to point out that Sevillian streets had managed to preserve more of their classical straightness and width than those of Toledo or Granada.

In Córdoba, praise of Islamic monuments was combined with grief for lost beauty at the hands of the Muslim kings as a result of their architectural incompetence.[62] In Valencia, modern urban improvements were presented in comparison with the Islamic past.[63] Diego Díaz denounced the narrow streets of Algiers and Antonio de Sosa likened them to those of Toledo, Granada, and Lisbon.[64] Cities vied with each other on this issue. As late as 1794, Dean Martínez de Mazas used this idea as a basic argument to explain the untidiness of Jaén's inner city, complaining that the Muslims were so uncouth that their accommodation was haphazard and overcrowded, with no open spaces, that they built 'narrow and twisted' streets and their houses were 'randomly arranged, uneven, and usually dark', and that this was obviously due to the 'Moors' obscure, distrustful temper'.[65] Such a negative portrayal of the Muslims prevailed throughout the Early Modern Period until the arrival of a new, romantic appreciation of picturesque urban landscapes.[66]

As these examples show, these moral judgements closely related to the precepts of the classical aesthetic canon. In early modern Spain, to be viewed as *anti-Christian* was undoubtedly less comfortable than to be perceived as *anti-Vitruvian*, but sometimes these two labels were connected. The reading of Spanish culture promoted in such books as *Pro adserenda Hispaniorum eruditione* by Alfonso García Matamoros (1553), whose aim was to find roots for Spanish humanism in classical sources, left no room for Islamic aesthetics. Fernando Marías is right to point out that the triumph of the dogmatic vision subscribed to by the admirers of Renaissance architecture helped discredit the Islamic building tradition and hybridity.[67] It was this horizon that bounded the memory of Toledo as an Islamic city.

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[60] Marineus Siculus, *De Hispaniae*, (quoted from 1539) p. 170r; Medina, *Libro*, p. 142v.

[61] Garibay, *Libro*, (quoted from 1628), IV, p. 327; Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, p. 504, II, p. 398.

[62] *Sucesos y cosas*, (ed. 1982) pp. 291ff.   [63] Arciniega, 'Miradas', pp. 88ff.

[64] Díaz, *Relación*, p. 1r; Sosa, *Topografía*, p. 7. See Martínez Góngora, *Los espacios*, pp. 91–2; Sola, 'Antonio'.

[65] Martínez de Mazas, *Retrato*, pp. 37–42.

[66] For similar eighteenth-century references, see Armstrong, *Historia*, p. 271; Canal, *España*; García de Córdoba, *Compendio*; López de Cárdenas, *Memorias*; Martínez de Mazas, *Retrato*.

[67] Marías, 'Haz y envés', p. 109.

Given this point of departure, it is interesting to observe that it was not until well into the seventeenth century, when the city's political aspirations had been left far behind and serious thought was no longer given to its return to capital city status, that it became possible to express appreciation for the constructions of the Muslim kings of Toledo. Against this background, a new historiographical understanding of the Islamic period arose that was less constrained by the interests that had traditionally driven the defence of Toledo's primacy. Additionally, the historiographical forgeries of Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, which will be addressed more fully in Part 3, promoted a different set of ideological interests that favoured the acknowledgement of the Islamic and Jewish legacy.[68] The local chronicle written by Pedro de Rojas, Count of Mora (1654 and 1663), adopted a certain patrimonial and antiquarian view in his approach to old Islamic buildings. Following the historiographical trail left by traditional vindications of the monarchs' building achievements, he claimed that the lost Islamic edifices demonstrated 'the wealth that used to exist in our imperial city'. With this argument he aimed to pave the way for the appropriation of the cultural memory of the kings that ruled the *taifa* of Toledo. Significantly, Rojas reviewed all those Arabic inscriptions that could provide clues about the lost royal palaces.

This state of affairs was substantiated in a new perception of the value of the ancient *Aljama* Mosque by way of a process that closely resembled that which had taken place in Seville. Despite the earlier general notion that the former temple had scarce monumental value, it was now possible to reclaim the building. Be that as it may, as changes go it was a small one. In Rojas' writings, the redemption of Islamic buildings is limited to a few laconic remarks in a very extensive text. In the case of the old Mosque, his comments barely mentioned its various stages of construction and judged it, without any evidence, to have been a 'grand building' decorated with 'precious marbles'.[69]

In contrast with this succinct antiquarian treatment of Toledo's *Aljama* Mosque, formerly one of the most significant Islamic monuments in Spain, it is interesting to observe how a legendary perspective developed in which medieval literary narratives about mythical Islamic buildings were interwoven with the world of Jerónimo Román de la Higuera's spurious chronicles. The delayed symbolic recovery of Toledo's Islamic architecture coexisted with a number of fictional histories, including the stories of King Roderick's sealed tower, Solomon's table, Hercules' cave and temple, the monasteries whose bells continued to peal long after they were buried, and the palaces of Galiana.[70]

When, in the mid sixteenth century, Luis Hurtado de Toledo listed the city's ancient and modern buildings, he omitted the chapel of the Cross in the parish of St Nicholas. This building was visibly the former caliphal mosque of Bab-al-Mardum,

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[68] Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', pp. 347ff. See also Olds, *Forging*; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, 'Les antiquités', p. 81.

[69] Rojas, *Historia*, II, pp. 642, 719, 746ff.

[70] Rojas, *Historia*, II, pp. 583, 588, 591ff. These stories are echoed in sources outside Toledo in Mármol Carvajal, *Primera*, pp. 78v ff. See Hernández Juberías, *La península*; Juaristi, *El reino*, pp. 265ff; Cámara, 'La pintura', p. 40; Olds, *Forging*, pp. 78ff.

but it was only mentioned in a passing remark to the effect that its pillars resembled those of St Genesius. If we understand the comment as a veiled reference to the Islamic fabric of the building, it is not surprising that the author went on to address the recent exploration of the caves under St Genesius in search of testimony relating it to Hercules.[71]

A more literary example was the love story of Charlemagne and Galiana, a Muslim princess and daughter of King Galafre of Toledo.[72] Based on medieval stories of French origin, by the sixteenth century Galiana's tale had made its way into local history books to such an extent that the ancient palaces of Galafre and his heiress were identified among some ruins in the orchards by the Tagus River, where the convent of Santa Fe la Real stood at the time.[73] In the seventeenth century, this story became one of Toledo's iconic narratives and enjoyed literary fame thanks to Lope de Vega, who set one of his comedies (1638) among the gold and topaz ornaments that graced these houses, following the historiographical descriptions written by Jerónimo Román de la Higuera and Pedro de Rojas in which they praised the wonders of that lost monument:

> He built some very sumptuous Palaces in it [Toledo], adorned with peaceful gardens and, within these, some ponds, so cleverly fashioned that the water rose and sank with the waxing and waning of the moon.[74]

Ignoring archaeological methods, these palaces were recreated by straightforward guesswork, bringing pre-Roman myths into play without a shred of evidence or minimal archaeological study of the ruins. At its most extreme, the phenomenon also occurs in *Los Reyes Nuevos de Toledo*, a history of the city written by Cristóbal Lozano in 1667, based on this mythical perception of the local identity. Between a review of the Hercules stories and an account of the cathedral's pre-Islamic genealogy and of the Virgin Mary's miracles therein, Lozano devoted three chapters to a survey of the city's 'palaces and royal houses', including that of the Muslim Abdalá. As there were no written sources or physical vestiges from which he might have acquired knowledge of these buildings, the author himself warned that he would not write about their form but about the things that happened in them. Since there was no point in seeking Morales' signs of antiquity, the writer chose to use architecture as a mythical and literary resource. Given the absence of a monument in Toledo whose memory required renegotiation, literary hybridity enjoyed carte blanche.

[71] Hurtado de Toledo, *Memorial*, (ed. 1963) p. 518. On the exploration of Hercules' cave in 1546, see Ruiz de la Puerta, *La cueva*, pp. 65ff. The building housing the parish church of St Genesius was demolished in 1841. On this building, see Passini, 'La antigua'.

[72] See Ruiz de la Puerta, *La cueva*; Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, pp. 161ff; Hernández Juberías, *La península*, pp. 194ff; Juaristi, *El reino*, pp. 265ff.

[73] Pisa, *Descripción*, p. 27r.

[74] Rojas, *Historia*, p. 602. See also Vega, *Los palacios*, p. 247v. See Case, *Lope*, p. 35; Kirschner and Clavero, *Mito*, pp. 43ff.

PART III

7

The Religious Use of the Antiquarian Model

When Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza published *Antigüedades y excelencias de Granada* in 1608, he was a practising lawyer at the *Real Chancillería*, the main civilian institution in the new kingdom. As mentioned above, in this book Bermúdez revealed the city's classical origin and described its major monuments, including Islamic ones. By the time he published *Historia eclesiástica, principios y progressos de la ciudad, y religión católica de Granada* (1638), he had taken holy orders and been appointed canon of the cathedral. His second account of the city focused on religious identity, the link with ancient Christianity, the Lead Book forgeries, and the local martyrs. Despite the apparent shift in genre, Bermúdez's books had much content in common and combined praise of Morisco buildings with an emphasis on the recovery of pre-Islamic Granada. Specifically, both volumes included a defence of the authenticity of the Lead Books. The two approaches differed in that, whilst *Antigüedades y excelencias* only broached the subject in its final chapters, *Historia eclesiástica* was driven by the presentation of evidence on the martyrs. Juan Calatrava has studied this historiographical progression.[1] As Ambrosio de Morales and Rodrigo Caro introduced Part 1 and Part 2 of this book, so will Bermúdez de Pedraza be our guide to Part 3.

The Lead Books were a recently forged set of relics and metal plates containing texts purportedly written by Granada's primitive martyrs. They were initially found in the minaret of the demolished *Aljama* Mosque, which was then given the name 'Torre Turpiana'. Further fragments appeared in one of the hills surrounding the town, which was known thereafter as Sacromonte. The predominant discourse on the Lead Books in *Historia eclesiástica* lends itself to interpretation as an antiquarian enterprise, in the sense that it was intended as an act of unearthing and resurrecting the past, although in this particular case the target was not the city's Roman legitimacy but its pre-Islamic Christianity.[2] The presence of this idea in Bermúdez's text was a noteworthy innovation with respect to other descriptions of Granada, such as by Luis de Mármol, which did not display such a strong interest in Christianization. This shift and its confluence with the processes of historical falsification surrounding the origins of Spanish Christianity are the central issue of Part 3. We shall focus on the historiographical appropriation of Islamic monuments in Córdoba, Seville,

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[1] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia*, pp. 22v ff. See Calatrava, 'Arquitectura', 'Encomium', and 'Islamic'.

[2] On the idea of the Renaissance associated to revival and acts of unearthing and resurrecting, see Lowenthal, *The Past*, pp. 75ff.

and Granada that was achieved by using the buildings themselves as archaeological evidence of the legitimacy of certain fabrications aimed at reinforcing the memory of pre-Islamic Christianity and its martyrs. The prior development of an antiquarian framework meant that religious genealogy content could be developed extolling the restoration of national Christianity in a historiographical setting.

The recovery of the Granada martyrs and the fabrication of their texts was the most ambitious project implemented in early modern Spain to transform an ancient Islamic city's identity. The historiographical repercussions of this event therefore provide a foothold for an explanation of the general circumstances surrounding this new appropriation model. Firstly, it underscores the direct consequences of such initiatives on the dating of cities and buildings, and particularly on the process of denaturalizing Islamic architectural achievements. As we saw in the preceding chapters, antiquarian scholarship was prone to suggesting a link between the monuments and ancient Spain, yet such claims had often been formulated by assigning a classical reading to Islamic heritage rather than by proposing a different authorship for the buildings.

Taking it one step further, one of the explicit goals of the new sacred archaeology, as the example of Pablo de Céspedes showed, was to establish that Islamic monuments originated in primitive Christianity. The methods used to achieve this shift were either to search for genealogical links with the ancient past that could be applied either to sections of the buildings or to the sites they stood on, or to declare openly that they had been built and founded in antiquity. This new perception turned the monuments into antiquarian evidence of Christianity's first steps in the Peninsula. In 1608, Bermúdez de Pedraza argued that several Nasrid sites had been founded in classical times, linking his claim to the authentication of the relics found in Turpiana tower. He dated this and other former minarets, such as St Joseph's and St John's, to the time of the martyrs on the grounds of their 'Phoenician fabric'.[3] As we shall see below, this had been one of the city's major archaeological topics for almost a generation. The pre-Islamic origin of the city walls proposed by Bermúdez in his 1608 text was developed much further in his lengthy 1638 version, and the brief allusions to the Phoenicians and the council of Iliberris in the earlier book became central elements of his discourse in this second work. Although he did not question the Islamic foundation of the Alhambra, Bermúdez now reclaimed the ground it stood on as the site of Granada's prior Phoenician temple.[4] In the former Nasrid capital, as in the rest of Spain, when it came to consigning these buildings to the ancient world, a Roman attribution was as good as a Phoenician or a Hebrew one, since political and religious historiography related all three groups to the Spanish nation's primitive Christianity. However, whereas a great deal was known about Roman remains, the sources on other ancient peoples were sufficiently precarious to provide an ambiguous territory that fostered the obfuscation of a collective memory of Islam.

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[3] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, p. 111r.
[4] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia*, pp. 22, 33ff.

A further introductory lesson to be learned from Bermúdez de Pedraza's two books on Granada is that the academic differentiation between secular and ecclesiastical history is a conceptual error in the context of urban and national history. The two genres had interwoven goals, similar methods, and a shared literary field.[5] Among many similar examples, Francisco de Bedmar's 1640 history of Vélez-Málaga opened with a sermon celebrating the Christian conquest that included a spurious story about a pre-Islamic Christian icon. This preamble created a general explanatory framework for the city's genealogy and prepared the ground for the learned discussions on the region's ancient history that formed the backbone of the book.[6]

The combination of classical antiquity and martyrology had been present in Spain since the early sixteenth century through the writings of such authors as Lucius Marineus Siculus and Lluís Ponç d'Icart, but it became increasingly frequent from the turn of the century and in the course of the next. The rediscovery of Rome's catacombs in 1578 was a landmark that resonated across Europe.[7] The new sacred archaeology that had evolved in Rome, hand in hand with the search for martyrs and relics by Alfonso Chacón, Pirro Ligorio, and others, had a very close parallel in the Iberian Peninsula. The archaeological tools derived from antiquarian historical studies were also applicable to research on early Christianity. In the historiographical narratives explored in this book, religious appropriation was a form of antiquarian appropriation.

An essential aspect of religious fabrications was their direct connection to antiquarian culture. The critical attitude to sources promoted by humanist historiography always coexisted with 'traditions of invention' which, as Anthony Grafton has put it, sought 'inventions of tradition'.[8] The hermeneutical and archaeological accuracy achieved by historiographical scholarship in the sixteenth century lent itself both to exposing forgeries and to buttressing their defence: antiquarian tools were equally serviceable for either purpose.[9] The ancient chronicles forged at the turn of the century by Annius of Viterbo provided an unprecedented source on the first sovereigns and early Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula, and they contributed to the creation of a sweeping new interpretation of Spain's pre-Islamic period. As anticipated above in the discussion on Pablo de Céspedes and Rodrigo Caro, the national genealogy built around King Tubal was habitually projected onto the Peninsula's Islamic edifices. A case in point is Katrina Olds' recent study of the false

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[5] Aranda, 'Autobiografías', p. 163.

[6] Bédmar, 'Bosquejo'. A further history of Vélez in Bédmar, *Historia*. See Martín, 'Historiografía'. Among many other examples relating to different towns, see also Colmenares, *Historia*; Fernández del Pulgar, *Teatro*; Dorado, *Compendio*.

[7] See Occhipinti, *Pirro*; Díaz-Andreu, Mora, and Cortadella, *Diccionario*, p. 199. On Cassiano dal Pozzo see Osborne and Claridge, *Early*; Herklotz, *Cassiano*. On Spain see Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo*, pp. 43ff; Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 282ff.

[8] Grafton, 'Invention', and *Defenders*, pp. 76ff. See also Lowenthal, 'Fabricating'; Nagel and Wood, 'What'. On Spain see Caro Baroja*, Las falsificaciones*; Gascó, 'Historiadores'; Aranda, 'Autobiografías'; Beltrán, 'El estamento'; Guinea, 'Tergiversaciones'; Olds, *Forging*. False biblical associations were also created around the Christian reuse of Islamic objects in medieval Western Europe. Shalem, *Islam*, (quoted from 1998) pp. 129ff. See also Shalem, *The Oliphant*, pp. 125ff.

[9] Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic*, p. 138.

chronicles written by the Jesuit Jerónimo Román de la Higuera in Toledo, in which she underlines the grey area between rigorous work and manipulation of sources.[10] Whilst they appreciated the value of the Simancas archive as a register of certain knowledge, official historians viewed dubious sources with indulgence where it was expedient to do so. Just as family lineages are fabricated to erase ancestral blots, Spanish cities and the nation itself modified their family tree in an attempt to circumvent the Islamic period, aided by archaeological attributions rooted in biased misunderstandings. The Lead Books of Granada are an archetypal example of a situation in which the religious and urban forgery of the lead sheets ran parallel to the genealogical fabrications of the Morisco elite.[11] Foremost among these were the Granada-Venegas family, who linked their Granadan Muslim ancestors to the Visigoths.[12]

Pedro Díaz de Ribas warned that archaeological critical appraisal was necessary to prevent historians 'talking too freely and selling fictions to a novelty-seeking public, dating three- or four hundred-year-old buildings to Tubal or earlier'.[13] The warning was relevant given the customary misuse of antiquarian tools to date visibly Islamic buildings to an earlier time.

The Lead Books affair is an example of how antiquities, sacred history, and the nation's mythical origin intertwined in the Iberian context. Research by Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano has shown that the authentication of Granada's false relics was a pivotal issue in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish Orientalism, and that this Orientalism was a crucial element in the construction of Spain's lineages.[14] Genealogical mechanisms involved both the country as a whole and its cities. They were, furthermore, a habitual practice across Europe and were even used as Christianization strategies in historical narratives about colonial America and China.[15]

A NEW LOCAL HISTORY MODEL

In a new model of local history adopted during the first half of the seventeenth century, ancient history, sacred history, and martyrs formed the backbone of foundational myths, often related to the Christian conquest of cities. As Nicolás Antonio complained in the mid seventeenth century, new urban histories cropped up every day claiming 'fabulous origins' and 'alleged martyrs carried from faraway lands to bring false nobility to the land that was not their mother'. These histories overflowed with 'poorly fabricated or ridiculous' antiquities.[16] The strategy was particularly commodious whenever the need arose to act on the memory of the Islamic

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[10] Olds, *Forging*, pp. 10, 14, 150ff.

[11] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 78, (ed. 2013) p. 68.

[12] *Memorial*, p. 233v. See Soria, 'Una versión'.

[13] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 5v. On this reference see Morán, *La memoria*, p. 128.

[14] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 19, (ed. 2013) p. 10.

[15] See among others Bérchez, 'Memoria'; Pease, 'Temas'. Examples of Christian genealogical proposals used in Asia for evangelization purposes in González de Mendoza, *Historia*, pp. 32–3, 133ff.

[16] Antonio, *Censura*, p. 4.

past.[17] Patricia Grieve has highlighted the relationship between the recourse to genealogy and the discourse of Spain's fall and redemption.[18] Early modern histories of Toledo followed Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's narrative of the conversion of the former mosque, adding new arguments about the temple's Christian genealogy to justify its appropriation. To this end, some writers, such as Pedro de Alcocer (1554), insisted that the said conversion had restored Christianity to a site that had been temporarily profaned by the Muslims. Others, such as Antonio de Quintanadueñas (1651), dwelt on the Virgin Mary's anti-Islamic miracles and their connection to the temple.[19] At the same time, the recovery of relics of Toledo's martyrs, and in particular the arrival of the remains of St Eugene and St Leocadia during the reign of Philip II, had a momentous role in the cathedral's symbolic reorganization.[20] Similarly, Jerónimo Román de la Higuera's fabrications about St Thyrsus sought to create a new symbolic link with pre-Islamic and Mozarabic religiosity in Toledo.[21] There is no doubt that these events also helped create a sense of continuity between the present and pre-Islamic cathedral and city.

The argument was even more obvious in the case of mosques that had been preserved as Christian temples. The antiquarian Romanization of Córdoba Mosque cannot be dissociated from Morales' silence before the construction of the Christian chapel inside it, or from his direct involvement in the invention of the cult of the Córdoba martyrs at their twin sites: the parish church of St Peter and the Tabernacle Chapel within the cathedral. The eagerness shown by Pablo de Céspedes to affirm pre-Islamic worship at the site of the mosque should be understood along the same lines, as it provided one of the main arguments for the later humanist appropriation of the building in connection with the martyrs.

In Seville, the discourse on the martyrs and on the precedence of Christianity on the site of the *Aljama* Mosque was in full swing in the first third of the sixteenth century, when Luis de Peraza itemized the holy relics held in Seville since the time of the Visigoths and asserted that the ancient pre-Islamic cathedral was the first temple 'there was in all of Spain after the passion of Jesus Christ, and for that reason it surpassed all others in terms of foundational antiquity and of its most ancient faith, religion, and sanctity'.[22] Subsequently, and despite the protracted presence of maurophilia in the eulogies of the Giralda, the tower's interpretation was gradually redirected via the memory of the martyrs St Justa and St Rufina. Its exegesis became a recurrent theme in Rodrigo Caro and other authors. As we shall see in the following chapters, by the early seventeenth century, the same interwoven ideas, arguments, and names flowed between the cities of Toledo, Córdoba, Seville, and Granada.

[17] To a lesser extent, such strategies were also used when the memory of the Islamic past was slight, as in Ávila, where the search was for a link to the Visigoths. Ariz, *Historia*, p. 53v.

[18] Grieve, *The Eve*.

[19] Alcocer, *Historia*, pp. 55r, 71r, 98v; Quintanadueñas, *Santos de la imperial*, pp. 35ff, 511–12. See Martínez Gil, 'Religión'.

[20] See Hernández, 'La Cathédrale'; Llamazares, 'El templo'; Martínez Gil, 'De civitas'. On Nicolás Antonio's criticism of the removal of relics during the Islamic conquest, and on the case of Toledo in particular, see Antonio, *Censura*, pp. 504ff. See also Nickson, *Toledo*, pp. 141–3.

[21] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 207ff; Olds, *Forging*, pp. 31ff.

[22] Peraza, *Historia*, (quoted from BUS) p. 210r.

Although several strategies could operate side by side—such as a combination of invented pre-Islamic cult images and archaeological arguments about masonry— the memory of martyrs was the spindle where the new genealogical narrative was spun. The sources often underlined the symbolic weight of the removal, dispersion, and loss of many relics pertaining to the ancient Spanish saints when the Muslims entered the Peninsula. Since the days of Jiménez de Rada it had been made clear that 'there was nothing left' and only those objects which had travelled with 'the bishops who fled with the relics and sought refuge in Asturias' had been saved.[23] At the turn of the seventeenth century, Juan de Mariana made additions to this story, including the escape to Asturias of Archbishop Urbano of Toledo with all the relics, treasures, and sacred books previously kept in the cathedral.[24] Such disappearances created a gap that the ecclesiastical and secular authorities tried to fill with existing fabrications and narratives thereof.[25] On numerous occasions the absence of relics of ancient saints and martyrs boosted the process of excavation, fabrication, and forgery, for example in Zaragoza, Toledo, and Arjona.[26] Ambrosio de Morales also pioneered this form of sacred archaeology in the course of his search for relics of pre-Islamic Christianity in León and Asturias, under the auspices of Philip II, a journey in connection with his interest in the Christian martyrs of Umayyad Córdoba.[27] This was a common feature in border areas, such as Bavaria—where it was advisable to affirm a Catholic identity in the face of the Reformation—or Jerusalem where, as in Spain, pilgrims journeyed to look for testimony of the former cult hidden under the surface of Islamic cities.[28] In particular, when Spanish pilgrims in Palestine visited the holy places of Christendom that had been converted to Islamic worship, they remembered the profanation of the Christian Visigothic temples.[29]

The need to manage the Islamic past not only contributed to the Peninsular version of the Europe-wide renovation of sacred history that took place in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, but also bolstered its impact on local and national histories.[30] Just as Roman martyrs had helped expurgate the classical world's capital of its pagan legacy, it was thought Hispanic martyrs could likewise with regard to Spain's Islamic period. A consequence of this process was that narratives of the lives of local saints became a necessary element of every urban history, building an essential bridge between the early days of Christianity and the cities' modern identity. By the early seventeenth century, the prevailing antiquarian

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[23] Jiménez de Rada, *De Rebus*, Book 3, Chapter 31, (ed. 1545) p. 27b.

[24] Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, p. 298.

[25] Christian, *Local*, pp. 126ff; Ecker, 'Arab', p. 368; D'Albis, 'Sacralización'. See also Martínez-Burgos, *Ídolos*, pp. 119ff.

[26] On the Arjona case see Vincent-Cassy, 'Los santos'; Olds, 'Ambiguities', and *Forging*.

[27] Lazure, 'Possessing'; Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 233–4.

[28] On Bavaria see Johnson, 'Holy'. An example of this perception of Jerusalem with regard to the successive layering of mosques and churches in Enríquez de Ribera, *Este libro*.

[29] Alzedo, *Jerusalén*, p. 109.

[30] See among others Benz, *Zwischen*; Dichtfield, *Liturgy*, and 'In Search', pp. 328ff. On the Spanish and Andalusian case see also, among others, Beltrán, 'El estamento'; Pérez-Embid, 'La obra'; Mariana, *Cultura*; Olds, 'The False'.

response to architectural hybridity was no longer a classical reading, but religious appropriation by way of the genealogical precedence of Christianity as established by the martyrs. Their blood had a special redemptive value and deserved special veneration, in the opinion of religious writer Sancho Dávila (1611).[31] Moreover, according to the history theoretician Fray Jerónimo de San José (1651), these saints set a better historical example than pagan references.[32] Martyrs' relics were semantic objects that the population undoubtedly welcomed. They had the power to influence collective understanding of monuments as sites of uninterrupted worship.[33] As a complement of the physical space occupied by the city and its buildings, a symbolic space was created by the memory of the martyrs who had stood for their faith on the ancient sites. Religious thinking at the time used to resort to St Augustine's metaphor of the two cities to explain the power of the symbolic city over the architectural one. To the clergyman and antiquarian Bernardo de Aldrete (1614), although the mortal remains of saints and martyrs might be erased, their eternal memory built the foundations and naves of Spanish Christian temples.[34] In Katie Harris' modern reading, political genealogy in Granada was overwhelmed by the conjunction of urban history and devotion for the saints.[35] Reviewing the texts contained in the Lead Books, it is easy to see how Granada's architectural monuments faded into the background as a new sacred city emerged where St Caecilius and the martyrs allied with the Phoenician proto-Christian pagans to transform the symbolic interpretation of Spain's last Islamic capital.

As has been emphasized so far, these narratives about genealogy and martyrs carried an ideological charge that was closely related to the historiographical reinterpretation of the memory of al-Andalus through the idea of restoration. In the volume of his Spanish chronicle dedicated to the Islamic period, *Los cinco libros postreros* (1586), Ambrosio de Morales sought to establish a general interpretation of the value of the Islamic presence in Spain and of the Christian opposition to it. The greatness of the Umayyads was set in a narrative that swung between Asturias and Córdoba, offering, for instance, a description of Covadonga as a natural space that inspired both wonder and dread and could hold its own alongside Córdoba Mosque, just as Pelagius was a mythical alternative to the caliphs. In parallel, he introduced the idea of continuity of the Mozarabic cult and the argument of the relics of martyrs that the Visigoths had collected in Asturias.

The general relationship between genealogical strategies and the management of Islamic memory leads us to ask the following questions: did the memory of the martyrs modify the understanding of Islamic monuments as trophies? What were

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[31] Dávila, *De la veneración*, p. 2.   [32] San José, *El genio*, p. 310.
[33] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 373ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 367ff. On the presence of relics in religious buildings, see Cámara*, Arquitectura*, pp. 148ff.
[34] Aldrete, *Varias*, pp. 274ff, 285. In another example on the subject of the martyr St Stephen, Juan Galvarro declared that the holy prophets and apostles were the tools used by God to polish the stones with which he built his churches. Galvarro y Armenta, *Sermón*, w/p.
[35] Harris, *From Muslim*, p. 84.

the consequences of asserting the existence of pre-Islamic Christianity on the read-
ing of these hybrid architectural works? In contrast with the primitive notion of
trophy, the goal of restoration within this genealogical and religious appropriation
strategy was to insert the buildings into the history of Christian Spain. Part 3 of
this book develops this theme by focusing on the link between archaeological
arguments about the buildings, the concept of restoration, and the genealogical
proposals of the ancient origin of the temples. Chapter 8 opens with a general ana-
lysis of how mythical foundational links worked and closes with a case study that
explores the discovery of pre-Islamic cult images as a narrative resource. Chapter 9
focuses on the specific martyr and relic stories that arose in Islamic architecture's
three major towns in the Iberian Peninsula: Córdoba, Seville, and Granada.

8

Genealogical Forgery and Continuity of Christian Worship

In Part 1, we were able to explore the way in which medieval chronicles turned the narrative of the Christianization of mosques into one of the central topics of the restoration myth. The conversion of temples was the supreme symbolic moment in the capture of Islamic cities. Yet the power of such narratives went well beyond the visualization of a trophy changing hands. One of the reasons for their success was the ceremony's ability to enhance the restoration of Christianity, an idea that gained momentum in the course of the sixteenth century. The purification of Islamic spaces was a symbolic landmark that legitimized the conquered cities by establishing a certain continuity with the pre-Islamic period. As they looked back over the Middle Ages, national and local histories in the Early Modern Period developed a discourse consisting in a steady sequence of conversions that marked the recovery of the various cities' primary Christianity. In his 1699 history of Almería, Gabriel Pasqual y Orbaneja described in very graphic terms how the city's mosque was cleansed to consecrate 'those profaned marbles and alabasters' to God. Despite the evidently Islamic fabric of this long-demolished mosque 'of very fine Morisco work', Islamic worship was viewed as a desecration of what was essentially a Christian temple.[1] The argument thus moved one step beyond the primitive 'cleansed it of Mohammed's dirt' used by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada without any reference to the previous history of the building, in this case Córdoba Mosque.

The idea was applied indiscriminately to every Spanish town.[2] According to Juan de Mariana:

> King Alphonse arranged for every cathedral city that was taken to have a bishop appointed who reformed the customs of the Christians and cleansed the towns of the weeds that had clung to them through their association with the Moors. . . . temples were rebuilt where they had collapsed and those that had been desecrated by Moorish superstition were reconciled or reconsecrated. They repaired the Church ornaments as far as the people's poverty and very exiguous royal funds would allow.[3]

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[1] Pasqual y Orbaneja, *Vida*, p. 127.
[2] In his history of Madrid, Jerónimo de Quintana explained the origin of the church of St Mary, taking for granted that the circumstances he described were applicable across Spanish territory. Quintana, *A la muy*, pp. 58r–58v. On purification narratives in Spain generally and specifically on the topic of cleansing see Harris, 'Mosque', pp. 162–3.
[3] Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, p. 320.

Although it is true that many mosques overlay ancient Christian temples, the new discourse assumed this to be invariably the case and was explicitly insistent on the fact.[4] The very meaning of the word 'reconciliation' (*reconciliación*) used by Mariana to refer to the Christian purification of mosques illustrates the ideological boundaries of its very frequent usage in historiography. This is an interesting notion in itself because it implied a return to the temple's presumed natural status, i.e. Christianity. Not surprisingly, the definition of '*reconciliarse*' in Covarrubias' coetaneous dictionary reads: 'to reunite and make friends once more those who had become estranged' and 'in the Holy Office of the Inquisition, to be received again in the lap of the Holy Mother Church those who had moved away from the faith', as well as the return of a penitent to the confessor on remembering a sin.[5] If mosques were reconciled with Christianity, it is to be assumed that they had previously been Christian. The conquest and the change of hands and of function therefore ratified the return to the logical order of things and the perception of the Islamic interregnum as an anomaly, a dirty distortion, or a circumstantial desecration.

The most remarkable difference between these narratives and medieval conquest stories is that from the mid sixteenth century onwards the idea of restoration did not only imply the return of cities and temples to the moment immediately preceding the Islamic conquest, that is to say, to the Hispanic and Christian Visigothic monarchy. To early modern historiographers, restoration involved the restitution of Christianity as a natural feature of the Spanish nation. This idea was linked with contemporary religious and political interest in the early days of Christendom. The earlier Christianity could be said to have arrived in the Peninsula, the more inconsequent the Islamic parenthesis became. In the words of Rodrigo Caro:

> Those who believe this to have been the site of Seville's Capitol building also believe that the Christians made it their cathedral in the days of Constantine when every city publicly embraced Jesus Christ and raised temples in his name, or having expunged the pagan filth from their ancient temples, consecrated them to Triune God, and this they believe to have been the case in Seville, and that this very church that we enjoy today was built over the ancient metropolitan one, because it is the custom of every victorious nation to take over any temple of their enemy's religion that they find ready built, and consecrate it according to their rituals.[6]

The argument was similarly projected onto the past of individual churches and particularly onto former mosques, which could be considered Christian temples independently of the specific origin of their architectural fabric, masonry being viewed as mere circumstantial wrapping. The buildings wove the various strands of local and national history together, reaching back to the remotest beginnings, as explained by Pere Antoni Beuter in 1660 in the context of Valencia Cathedral:

> In the days of the pagans, this new church was a temple of Diana, who was the Moon, because in the surrounding area the idol Moruedro was worshipped who was then called Sagunto, and Dianio (who was named Dianio after Diana) and now bears the

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[4] See this assumption in Suárez, *Historia*.
[5] Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, p. 4v.   [6] Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 21r.

name Denia. Later, in the time of the Goths and before, once the faith was adopted, it was a church, but we do not know what advocation it had. On the Moors' arrival it became a mosque. At the time of El Cid, it was a church consecrated to the Apostle St Peter. Then the Moors took the city and it became a mosque again, and now it has recently been consecrated as a church to the honour of Our Lady, the blessed Virgin St Mary.[7]

Commitment to Christianity tied the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century present to the Peninsula's pre-Islamic period with an anchorage in the civilizations of antiquity. Just as no urban history failed to date its original settlement to Roman times or biblical antiquity, not a single report can be found of a church in the areas previously covered by Islamic kingdoms that did not claim a mythical foundation rooted in primitive Hispanic Christianity.[8] According to Jerónimo Quintana (1629), the Atocha Chapel in Madrid was 'one of the [most] famous and ancient in Spain, having been founded by the disciples of the Apostle St Peter'.[9] Likewise, it was said that the parish church of St Mary was even older than Atocha, 'being the first of them all and the place where the town's first Christians worshipped God'. The parish church of St John enjoyed an origin that 'is not known with any certainty, it is so ancient', although in the opinion of certain 'master builders who have seen it, its masonry and design seem to date from the time of the Roman emperors'.[10] Seville and Zaragoza cathedrals, erected over the central mosques of their cities, were the descendants of the Roman capitol building and the temple where the Apostle St James had preached respectively.[11] Other cathedral towns, notably Toledo, but also Valencia, Seville, Granada, Córdoba, etc., took part in this competition for the oldest foundation, spurred on by disputes over religious primacy in the Iberian Peninsula.

Side by side with references to Rome, the idea that the Spanish empire had Semitic roots had a fairly strong presence in the official ideology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, since it provided both an alternative to the Italian classical model and a direct link to Christianity as a source of political legitimacy. Any proof of the presence of ancient Hebrews and Phoenicians in the Peninsula could be interpreted as evidence of the territory's protochristianity or of its early evangelization.[12] St Isidore had already connected Spain to King Tubal, a direct descendant of Noah, and Annius of Viterbo's forgery of Berossus's chronicle in the late fifteenth century identified this individual as the first Hispanic monarch. Tubal was thus the

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[7] Beuter, *Segunda*, (quoted from 1604) p. 216.

[8] Even the new Christian religious foundations in the Early Modern Period were commonly connected to pre-Islamic times. Such was the case, among tens of examples, of the Basilica of Our Lady of the Forsaken in Valencia. After its foundation in 1652, an attempt was made to link it to an ancient temple of Asclepius. See Olmo, *Lithología*.

[9] Quintana, *A la muy*, p. 40v. A more sceptical view of the ancient origin of Madrid in Titelman, *Discurso*, p. 126r.

[10] Quintana, *A la muy*, pp. 55v, 66v. See Río, *Madrid*, pp. 108–9.

[11] Peraza, *Historia,* (quoted from BUS) p. 210v; Caro, *Antigüedades*, pp. 21r ff; López, *Tropheos*, pp. 244ff.

[12] A general discussion of this issue and its historiographical repercussions in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, 'Les antiquités'.

founding father of Spain as a nation with the backing of the Bible.[13] Tubalism proposed a Semitic origin for Spaniards, making them, to some extent, God's chosen people. The link to the restoration was also patent. Annius had dedicated his work to the Catholic Monarchs and stated that some of the texts had been found in a hidden tomb that had been conveniently discovered after the taking of Granada. This alleged find confirmed the idea of restoration and added years of antiquity to the new Christian community. Despite the misgivings and abundant critical comments Annius' texts aroused from the outset, Spanish sixteenth-century historiographers were prone to accept them at least partially because they lent support to the new national political programme. Florián de Ocampo based a large portion of his reconstruction of Spain's ancient history on Berossus, and, although later historians were far more critical, they usually adopted any elements that could benefit their own discourse. As Julio Caro Baroja has pointed out, even Mariana, the historian most reluctant to accept the forgeries, acknowledged the arrival of Tubal in Spain.[14]

Annius of Viterbo's texts had several reprints in the second half of the sixteenth century and contributed to the creation of a certain shared consensus on laying down such pre-classical roots as would entitle Spain to compete with the Roman credentials enjoyed by Italy and the Holy Empire. Annius was extensively used throughout Europe. Several Latin editions of his book were published and it had a wide circulation in the vernacular languages. As a result, similar arguments were also discussed in other parts of the continent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His explanations of the genealogy of Crowns and the mythical origin of nations had such a welcome reception that, for instance, several cities in France related their foundation to Berossus' revelations, and in England a certain line of thought developed around the notion of the country's Phoenician roots.[15] Against this pan-European backdrop, just as Philip II could be viewed as Solomon's peer and El Escorial considered on a par with the Temple of Jerusalem, any Spanish city felt entitled to vindicate a Semitic, Christian, and pre-classical origin that would entitle it to compete with Rome.

At the end of the sixteenth century and in the first half of the seventeenth, this was the underlying notion of numerous historiographical initiatives and lay behind a large proportion of the fabrications and forgeries that sought to reshape the Peninsula's ecclesiastical history and religious identity. Both forms of action directly concerned the design of a pre-Islamic genealogy for cities and monuments. Pablo

[13] See Tate, *Ensayos*, pp. 16ff; Stephens, *Berosus*; Grafton, 'Invention', pp. 12ff, and *Defenders*, pp. 76ff; Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, pp. 47ff, 57ff, 81ff; Gómez Moreno, *España*, pp. 256ff; Grafton, *What*, pp. 99ff. On the political uses of Annius in Andalusia and Spain see Kagan, *Clio*, p. 49; González Alcantud, 'Al-Andalus', pp. 27ff; Samson, 'Florián', pp. 348ff; Ballester, *La identidad*, pp. 146ff, 264ff; García Cárcel, 'El concepto', pp. 103ff; Álvarez Junco and De la Fuente, 'Orígenes', pp. 23ff; Orellana, 'El concepto', pp. 81ff; García Cárcel, 'El concepto', pp. 100ff.

[14] Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, p. 95.

[15] On the reception of Annius in French local histories, see Ehmke, *The Writing*, pp. 131ff. On the search for England's Semitic genealogy see Ferguson, *Utter*, pp. 84ff; Parry, *The Trophies*, pp. 308ff; Piggott, *Ruins*, pp. 58ff; Ganim, *Medievalism*, pp. 57ff; Vine, *In Defiance*, pp. 65ff. On Italy see Fubini, *Storiografia*, pp. 291ff.

de Céspedes suggested that Córdoba Mosque had been founded by the Phoenicians or the Hebrews. In Granada, a similar debate arose as regards the origin of various minarets, including Turpiana tower. Similarly, Phoenician lineage was insistently claimed for Cádiz and the search for the temple of Hercules was ongoing. In Jerez, certain Almohad inscriptions were interpreted as symbols from the time of Hercules of Thebes. In Denia, the alleged remains of the temple of Diana were said to be Phoenician, not 'Morisco work because the Moors do not build this way, using such stones'. In Málaga, the city's Islamic appearance did not, it was said, rule out a Phoenician foundation. And in Madrid, some lead plates were allegedly found which proved that the Islamic city walls had been built by Nebuchadnezzar.[16]

During this period, the newly created sacred archaeology consolidated a line of interpretation that sought to set the reference point for Christian monuments in biblical Hebrew antiquity on the basis of religious and historical sources such as the Bible or Flavius Josephus' writings on Palestine. Using these written sources, the design, masonry, and ornamentation of the Temple of Solomon and the city walls and towers of Jerusalem were studied in the same terms as classical architecture had been in the past.[17] Despite the not so distant expulsion of the Spanish Jews, among other Spanish authors, Benito Arias Montano wrote on the subject of Jewish antiquities (1593), the Jesuits Jerónimo Prado and Juan Bautista Villalpando attempted to reconstruct the Temple of Solomon (1596–1604), and Bernardo de Aldrete researched Hebrew etymologies for Iberian toponyms (1606).[18] In this intellectual environment, the possibility of assigning Hebrew origins to cities was a useful resource for the management of Islamic heritage.[19] In the absence of clearly Roman remains in Granada, Luis de Mármol (1600), whose Converso origin is attested, quoted al-Razi as saying that it was originally founded by Jews.[20] The city had welcomed his arguments and, as we shall see in greater detail in Chapter 9, this ready acquiescence was the reason why Turpiana tower was initially assigned Hebrew origin, although it was later revised to Phoenician. Before Pablo de Céspedes established an archaeological relationship between Córdoba Mosque and the temple of Janus, son of Noah, this building provided one of the most interesting examples of Islamic architecture being credited to the Hebrews.

[16] On Cádiz, see Horozco, *Historia*, (ed. 2000) pp. 30ff; Suárez de Salazar, *Grandezas*; Concepción, *Emporio*, pp. 82ff. For the Jerez example, see Pomar, 'Entre el orgullo'. The Denia discussion in Beuter, *Segunda*, (quoted from 1604) p. 302; Escolano, *Segunda*, p. 121; Palau, *Antiguas*. On Málaga see Roa, *Málaga*, p. 12v. The Madrid finding in Quintana, *A la muy*, p 15v. The proposal of Madrid's biblical origin also in León Pinelo, *Anales*. Another model of reconstruction of Madrid's classical lineage in Cock, *Ursaria*. See Cámara, *Arquitectura*, pp. 19ff; Delage, 'Mantua'.

[17] See Arias Montano, *Antiquitates*, pp. 65ff; Prado and Villalpando, *De postrema*, pp. 65ff, 179ff, 463ff; Prado and Villalpando, *Tomi III*, pp. 108ff. See Martínez Ripoll, 'Pablo', and 'Del arca'; Taylor, 'Juan Bautista'; Ramírez, *Dios*, and 'Evocar'; Hänsel, *Benito*; Marías, 'Memoria', p. 72.

[18] Arias Montano, *Antiquitates*; Prado and Villalpando, *In Ezechielem*; Prado and Villalpando, *De postrema*, and *Tomi III*; Aldrete, *Del origen*, pp. 73r ff. See also Céspedes, *Borradores,* and *Tratado*. See Mínguez, 'El rey'; Pereda, 'Measuring'; Beaver, 'From Jerusalem'. A collection of sources on the relationship between El Escorial and Solomon's Temple in Cuadra, 'El Escorial'. See also García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, 'Les antiquités', p. 78.

[19] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 223, (ed. 2013) p. 219. On archaeology and Hebrew forgeries in this context, see also pp. 371ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 365ff.

[20] Mármol Carvajal, *Rebelión*, pp. 4v ff. See Castillo Fernández, *Entre Granada*, pp. 31–2.

Discursos morales by Juan de Mora (1589) included a review of 'the churches and temples of the ancient Romans, Jews, and Egyptians, with their rituals and ceremonies' in which he naturally described the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem in detail. One of these buildings was Córdoba Mosque, which Mora interpreted as one of the great temples of antiquity and an exact replica of the Temple of Jerusalem:

> There is in Spain a very famous building in Córdoba which is an exact replica of Solomon's Temple, as I was informed in Rome by a rabbi who was famous in his tongue and a great enquirer into antiquities. He gave me the following reasons: that the Gate of Forgiveness, which is carved in the Mosaic style, is identical to Solomon's Gate, with two marble or blue agate columns of unfathomable value standing over the gate on the outer side, and then the *Patio de los Naranjos* was [like] the Court of the Gentiles, which they used to leave unroofed, where sacrificial livestock were kept. The Court of the Jews comes next with as many as twelve arches and twenty-five pillars, going straight ahead, followed by Solomon's Court, leading to the Sancta Sanctorum, which is what today is known as the *Quarto Noble* (Noble Chamber), supported by black and white jasper columns and covered with cedar wood, as Solomon's was. And the Sancta Sanctorum was what is today St Peter's chapel, of Mosaic fabric and enormous value. And the place where they kept or placed their ark is a small octagonal chapel, built with white slabs to middle height and from the middle upwards in Mosaic style. This fabric he assured me to have most certainly been built by Jews, although later it was a Moorish mosque. And this is proved because all the old masonry that can be seen today on the outside is of Mosaic style and because, whenever they could, the Jews tried to build their temple and to raise it imitating the one they had lost in Jerusalem—out of obstinacy, because God had never sanctioned its construction— and it is said that once and even twice fire sprang miraculously from the earth and scorched them on account of their futile insistence on building the temple. I am well aware that historians who have written the general history of Spain say that King Abd-al-Rahman, the first of his name, having reigned in Córdoba for a few years, greatly ennobled that illustrious city by reconstructing the royal palace and starting to build the great mosque, as the aforesaid temple is named today, giving them full credit. I do not dispute this opinion because it is not within the bounds of this treatise.[21]

Without contradicting or disputing Ambrosio de Morales' opinion, Mora contraposed the scarcely verifiable declaration of an antiquarian rabbi resident in Rome, fitted this man's description of the mosque to his own account of Solomon's Temple, and transposed the meaning of 'Mosaic work' from classical and byzantine mosaics to the people of Moses. Mora was a clergyman from Toledo living in Córdoba and dedicated his book to García de Loaysa Girón, tutor to his majesty, chaplain and high almoner to King Philip, archdeacon of Guadalajara, and canon of Toledo.[22] Their local connection was not accidental.

Toledo is the most interesting example of this process and, to a certain extent, the place where it all started. Besides the claims of classical lineage and the fables on the subject of Islamic architecture that we explored in a previous chapter, it was often argued that the city was originally Hebrew. Annius of Viterbo's trail helped

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[21] Mora, *Discursos*, p. 120v.
[22] On García de Loaysa and the origin of Toledo Cathedral see Kagan, *Clio*, p. 257.

transform it into a new Jerusalem founded by Noah's descendants before the birth of Christ.[23] In 1524 Álvaro Gutiérrez de Torres recorded such a Hebrew foundation.[24] A few decades later, Esteban de Garibay conveyed this idea in his text on the origin of Toledo, mentioning the building of synagogues and relating the merits of the city's layout to the pioneering Israelites who 'drew up the city's streets in the best manner possible at the time and built a square, which they called in their tongue Çocodober, meaning "square of things"'.[25] This quotation is particularly interesting in the context of the problematic perception of Toledo's urban layout and in vivid opposition to the later chaos of which the Muslims were accused. At the end of the sixteenth century, the city's relationship with a Hebrew past intensified on account of the appearance of new forgeries that pointed firmly in that direction. The Toledo Jesuit Jerónimo Román de la Higuera declared the existence of several ancient chronicles attributed to Liutprand of Cremona, Flavius Dexter, and other authors, which supposedly shed light on the dark corners of Spain's religious history. These texts were connected to his *Historia eclesiástica de Toledo* (*c.* 1595) and to his activity in support of the local cult of St Thyrsus. Román de la Higuera linked the Hebrew funders and the Mozarabs, thereby ensuring religious continuity, whilst also establishing a connection to the Granada Lead Books and to St James' alleged sojourn in the Peninsula. The Jews of Toledo also turned out to be the only ones who had tried to save Jesus Christ by appealing to Pontius Pilate. Many modern authors believe that the purpose behind Román de la Higuera's forgeries was to cleanse, as far as possible, the image of Toledo's *Conversos*, on the assumption that he was himself a descendant of Jews recently converted to Christianity.[26] Whatever the truth of this, the idea was the result of a wider tradition, as Katrina Olds has shown in her analysis of the resonance of these false chronicles throughout Spain.[27] It is known that the manuscripts were widely copied before publication in 1619 and, although they encountered some criticism, the majority of seventeenth-century historians did not refute them completely because they supported the theory of St James having preached in Spain.[28]

These arguments converged with the old medieval myths about the city of Toledo and hence the whole interwoven mesh of ideas remained operational throughout the Early Modern Period. A remarkably explicit version of the link between Jerusalem and the Hebrew foundation of Toledo can be found in the opening lines of *Los Reyes Nuevos de Toledo* by Cristóbal Lozano (1667), which we considered earlier.[29] With a far wider circulation in the Peninsula, Pedro de Rojas'

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[23] See Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', p. 320; Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, pp. 161ff; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 197ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 195ff; Olds, 'Ambiguities', and *Forging*.

[24] Gutiérrez de Torres, *El sumario*, w/p.

[25] Garibay, *Libro*, p. 183v.

[26] Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, pp. 172ff; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 204, (ed. 2013) p. 201; Olds, *Forging*, pp. 57ff, 133ff.

[27] Olds, 'Ambiguities', and *Forging*. See also García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 371, (ed. 2013) p. 365.

[28] Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, pp. 189ff; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 207, 232, (ed. 2013) pp. 204, 230.

[29] Lozano, *Los Reyes*, (quoted from 1698) pp. 1ff.

history of Toledo (1654 and 1663) vigorously defended Román de la Higuera and extended a considerable number of the latter's stories in an attempt to establish Toledo's primacy.[30] He retold, for instance, the story of King Solomon's table, which was a relic from the wise king's temple that had, according to Arabic sources, been relocated to Toledo.[31] Faced with such an extraordinary piece of furniture, any memory of the Islamic past paled into insignificance as Toledo acquired the aura of a new Jerusalem.

RELIGIOUS CONTINUITY: GOTHS AND MOZARABS

The argument that Christian worship had endured uninterrupted through the centuries of Islamic rule considerably enhanced the restoration theory and the drive to establish that the Islamic period had amounted to little more than a ripple in Spain's essential Christianity. This idea affected the memory of both the Visigoths who had taken refuge in the north and founded the Kingdom of Asturias, and those who had remained in the conquered cities and who were known as Mozarabs thereafter.[32] Unsurprisingly, one aim of the continuity assumption was to exercise control over the memory of all those mosques that had been turned into churches. From the viewpoint of the nation's historiographers, extending Visigothic presence beyond the Middle Ages linked the Crown's legitimacy to the political and religious legacy of the Visigothic monarchy. By retelling the Visigoths' muster in the north and their subsequent recovery of the Peninsula, they enabled the rescue of the nation's genealogy using a formula that had been explicitly laid out by Ambrosio de Morales and Juan de Mariana and spread abroad by later historiography.[33]

Be that as it may, as regards the interpretation of individual urban monuments, the notion of continuity clashed with the well-known theme of violence and destruction perpetrated by Muslim conquerors, since these implied a break with the past as a result of the demolition of churches and the murder or flight of the faithful. On occasion, the wish to assert this argument led authors, such as Francisco Diago in his 1603 history of the counts of Barcelona, to state that the churches had not actually been destroyed, 'in order to allow the Christians that remained in the city since the time of the Goths to flock to them, attend Mass, and receive the sacraments'.[34] But generally speaking, in one of those frequent historiographical

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[30] Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, pp. 165, 181–2.

[31] Rojas, *Historia*, II, p. 567. Among many references to the table in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources relating it to the loss of Spain see Corral, *Crónica*, (ed. 1587) p. 144r. On Arabic sources of this story, see Hernández Juberías, *La península*, pp. 208ff; Morán, *La memoria*, p. 44; Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', p. 359.

[32] Although it contains few references to Spain, for an overview of the continuity of Christian worship in Islamic lands see Griffith, 'The Church'.

[33] Morales and Ocampo, *Los otros dos*, pp. 71ff; Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623) pp. 297ff. See Maravall, *El concepto*, pp. 313ff; Lomax, 'Rodrigo'; Cuart Moner, 'La historiografía'; Wulff, *Las esencias*, pp. 51ff; Cuart Moner, 'La larga', pp. 84ff; Díaz, 'Los godos'; Kagan, *Clio*, pp. 113ff; Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 235ff; Ballester, *La identidad*, pp. 146ff; García Cárcel, 'El concepto', pp. 100ff; Orellana, 'El concepto', pp. 82ff.

[34] Diago, *Historia*, p. 49r. See Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista. Una*, p. 89.

paradoxes, the notions of destruction and continuity led a peaceful coexistence. As we saw earlier, Diego de Aynsa echoed Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's words in his history of Huesca (1619) when he said that, as a consequence of the Islamic conquest, not a single cathedral in Spain had escaped 'fire or destruction'. In the specific case of Huesca, 'throughout the 380 years [the Muslims] were in possession, the temples and streets were in a state of profanation'. But in the same paragraph, apparently unaware of the contradiction, he claimed that Christian worship remained untouched in the 'church of St Peter, which was never destroyed or occupied by the Moors, and the building kept its essence and integrity as can be seen today'.[35] It was obviously easier to claim the survival of Christian temples in the north, where the Islamic occupation had been shorter, as we have seen in the cases of Huesca, Barcelona, and possibly Girona.[36] But in central and southern Iberia the protracted Islamic presence made it far more difficult, as well as more imperative, to defend the continuity of Christianity. The idea that Christian worship had been preserved can be found throughout the territory except in the former kingdom of Granada, where the conquest by the Catholic Monarchs was too recent to sidestep the memory of the absence of Christians at the time the city was taken. Toledo historians, from the safety of a city which, thanks to the Mozarabs, was in the best position to boast such continuity, could accuse Granada of being a new-fangled city devoid of heritage.[37]

Proving the survival of Christian worship required a strong focus on the Christians who had remained in the towns and on the possible architectural evidence of their devotion. This was the case in Madrid. According to Jerónimo Quintana (1629), among the numerous churches founded by the Visigoths were St Genesius' and St Martin's, where the Mozarabic cult had been preserved until 1083, when the city was incorporated into the Castillian Crown.[38] Yet here, as in most of the Peninsula, there was nothing behind such claims but general statements or simple indications on particular buildings. Juan de Mariana's remarks on the subject of Visigothic ruins did not escape this tendency (1599).[39] As Miguel Morán says, by and large, the appeal historiographers felt for the Visigoths did not lead to a parallel antiquarian investigation.[40] Barring a few specific cases, such as the aforementioned search for relics in León and Asturias by Ambrosio de Morales, Visigothic vestiges attracted far less interest than Roman or even Phoenician relics.[41] Mérida is a case in point. The former Roman capital was also an important city in Visigothic Hispania. Consequently, the history of Mérida written by Bartolomé Moreno de Vargas (1633) recognized the appeal of this connection, with its added symbolic value in terms of Christian episcopal power. This claim, however, was not matched by research into Visigothic architecture. While it is understandable that Moreno should have put more effort into the town's outstanding Roman remains, it is surprising to note that he showed no more interest in the city's Visigothic past

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[35] Aynsa, *Fundación*, pp. 25–6.
[36] As regards Girona, see a late record in Canal, *España*, p. 2r.
[37] Horozco, *Relaciones*, (ed. 1981) p. 117.   [38] Quintana, *A la muy*, pp. 55v ff.
[39] Mariana, *Historiae* (quoted from 1623), I, p. 276ff.   [40] Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 233ff.
[41] Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 233–4. See also Marías, 'Memoria', pp. 73–4.

than in its Semitic roots. The cover of his book featured images of Tubal and Augustus as the city's founding fathers, with St Eulalia, the Christian martyr from the Roman period who had been a cult Visigothic figure, relegated to a secondary position. The book barely contained more than a few lines identifying as Visigothic the parish church of St Eulalia, the water cistern in the alcazar, and the temple that stood over it.[42] It is interesting to note that most of the limited antiquarian work devoted to the Visigoths responded specifically to concerns about the Christian lineage of converted mosques, the identification of spaces where Christian worship had been maintained during the Islamic period, and the relics of martyrs.

Córdoba and Seville were the two cities where historians made a more coherent use of archaeological tools with the aim of locating Visigothic churches and reinforcing the continuity thesis. In Córdoba, an interesting by-product of the technical debate on the differentiation of Roman and Umayyad stones was the recognition of Visigothic building techniques. Ambrosio de Morales offered a lengthy list of parish churches in the city that remained open throughout the Islamic era, all of which were linked to the memory of martyrs (1574 and 1578).[43] One of these was the church known as St Peter's. Morales specifically identified this building as the Christian cathedral during the Islamic period, thanks to the discovery of several relics which he authenticated using archaeological arguments based on the Visigothic fabric of its walls.[44] This attribution entailed a revalorization of this particular space with the goal of proving the continuity of Christian worship. As an extension of the earlier debate regarding Old Córdoba, Díaz de Ribas (1627) also disagreed with Morales on this subject—albeit without naming him. Using architectural comparison, he determined that, far from dating 'from the time of the Goths' as 'some would have it', St Peter's and its neighbouring churches had been built after the Christian conquest.[45] The author saved the situation by pointing out that Ferdinand III 'rebuilt the churches in the sites the Christians used to have them in ancient times, giving them more capacity and greater majesty', which allowed him to fall in with the notion of continuity. Díaz de Ribas completed the discussion with the remark that the reconstruction and extension works had used the materials of the ancient Visigothic temples. He added that 'those small ashlars that can be seen in some churches' explained why 'the churches had been presumed by other authors to be far older, from the time of the Goths', and were also a sign of prior Christian presence in these buildings.[46]

In Seville, Visigothic saints had been part of historiographical memory since the Middle Ages and their worship saw a powerful resurgence in the Early Modern Period. This was, for example, the reason for the controversy regarding the location of the tower where St Hermenegild had been incarcerated,[47] as well as the disagreement

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[42] Moreno de Vargas, *Historia*, p. 304v. On Philip II's visit to Mérida, see Cámara, 'De ingeniosas', p. 40.
[43] Morales, *Divi*. On Morales and Visigothic architecture, see Marías, 'Memoria', p. 73.
[44] Morales, *Carta*, pp. 12v ff.   [45] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, pp. 8r–8v.
[46] Díaz de Ribas, *De las antigüedades*, p. 9r.
[47] Peraza, *Historia*, (quoted from BUS) p. 82v; Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 20r. See Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 263–4.

about the site where the former Visigothic cathedral had stood. Opinions varied between St Vincent's church and the plot previously occupied first by the *Aljama* Mosque and later by the cathedral. Whereas Ambrosio de Morales had supported the former option, Alonso Morgado (1587) disagreed, arguing that St Vincent's was of 'the same form and age' as the rest of the parish churches and that the magnitude of Seville's Visigothic episcopal see should be expected to have had a befittingly grand temple. Morgado added that the doors and two bells of this primitive Gothic cathedral remained, having been taken to Marrakesh Mosque as trophies.[48] Many years later, Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga (1677) had collected sufficient archaeological arguments to underpin the Visigothic origin of the Sevillian parish churches of St Romanus, St Nicholas, St Martin, St Julian, and St Vincent, leaving St Catherine's, St James', and St Stephen's in the ambiguous position of former mosques which could still be assumed to have been Christian at an earlier stage.[49]

Toledo, on the other hand, was the city where the memory of the Visigothic legacy had arisen earlier and in a more complete and probably more complex manner than anywhere else due to the Mozarabic question. One of the basic tenets of the city's historiographical identity was the defence of its Mozarabic ancestry. As previously suggested, in its ambition to become the nation's capital, the city sought to legitimize the political and religious legacy of the Visigothic kings.[50] As a result, the Mozarabic argument was externalized not only in religious but in secular contexts. One example of the former was the insertion of inscriptions on the Islamic city gates during the reign of Philip II mentioning the Visigothic kings. Along the same lines, local historians vindicated the mythical constructions and urban works supposedly undertaken by the Visigothic monarchs, and Luis Hurtado de Toledo claimed a similar origin for the town's dwellings.[51] In the religious genre, the main subject was, as usual, the debate surrounding the location of the former cathedral, which naturally also touched upon the memory of the mosque.

When the main Toledo mosque was Christianized in 1086, one of the arguments put forward to justify breaking the terms of surrender was the need to recover the former Visigothic basilica which, according to the city's new masters, lay underneath the Islamic temple.[52] It should be noted that, although this is still under debate, this presumed primitive cathedral may have been located in a different area of the city.[53] At any rate, what is remarkable is that, instead of relocating the episcopal see in the Mozarabic church of St Mary of Alficén, which had preserved Christian worship throughout the Islamic period, the preferred choice was

[48] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 118r.   [49] Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, pp. 95ff.

[50] Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', pp. 361ff.

[51] Alcocer, *Historia*, p. 15r. See also Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, pp. 276–7; Hurtado de Toledo, *Memorial*, (ed. 1963) p. 509. See Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', pp. 324, 330.

[52] According to Pascal Buresi, the fact that the mosque's Islamic form was initially kept after its conversion could be understood as a wish to relate it to the Visigothic period. Buresi, 'Les conversions', p. 348.

[53] See Lop Otín, 'Los espacios', p. 229.

to convert the *Aljama* Mosque into a cathedral.[54] Once the mosque had been demolished and the new church built, there were several initiatives aimed at emphasizing its Visigothic lineage. One such initiative was the implementation of the Mozarabic liturgy in the cathedral's Corpus Christi Chapel. The belief that one of the capitals in St Lucy's chapel was of Visigothic origin added weight to the notion of continuity,[55] as did the antiquarian fabrication of St Thyrsus' chapel in the ruins of a nearby Islamic bathhouse. Indeed, the arguments supporting this involved the sequence formed by the Visigothic/Mozarabic chapel of St Thyrsus, the mosque, and the newly built cathedral. Furthermore, it reaffirmed Christian resistance in Islamic times, as evidenced by the alleged contemporary dedication of a chapel to the saint, next door to the *Aljama* Mosque:

> Due to his great devotion to St Thyrsus, the Holy Primate tried to build him a temple in his imperial city. He chose a place, on the northern side of what had been the central mosque during [Muslim] captivity and, after it was recovered, of our holy primate temple, which was undoubtedly the site of the Saint's home and is today the Tabernacle Chapel and the treasurer's dwelling. He determined to erect this building; its foundations were being dug when the Moors, seeing that a new temple was being built without permission under the very eaves of their central Mosque, were so vexed that they not only stopped the work but went on to arrest the Christians, among them the Primate Cixila, who had ordered the construction. Prison sentences were passed at the request of their judges. The Christians, as sad as can be imagined, appealed before Aben-Ramin, local chief and high minister of those who were thwarting the works. And by entreaties or moneys which despite their poverty they gave him in secret (a procedure that has overcome most difficulties through the ages, and more so among such covetous people), they contrived to be set free and to continue building as they thanked the Lord a thousand times. They persevered and completed it in a short time, as well as their meagre resources allowed.[56]

Conclusive proof of St Thyrsus' chapel's origin was found not only in literary sources, but also in a medal dated to the time of Archbishop Cixila. Following the archaeological model pioneered by Ambrosio de Morales, the claim was also supported by the stones themselves: a letter from Alonso de Cárcamo, Mayor of Toledo, to Philip II informing him of the finding, contained drawings of the floorplan and elevation of the ruin.[57]

The images prominently displayed some 'Arab arches', as well as the alcove which, in Cárcamo's opinion, must have contained the worshipped icon of

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[54] On the church of St Mary of Alficén in the sources see Pisa, *Descripción*, p. 146; Quintanadueñas, *Santos de la imperial*, p. 35. See Porres, 'La iglesia'; Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', pp. 322ff. As Peter Linehan has pointed out, although the Toledo bishopric supported the continuity discourse, it sidelined the Mozarabs, who embodied the continuity of Christian worship and the link to the Goths. Linehan, *History*, pp. 216ff. See also Buresi, 'Les conversions', p. 349. A British example of appropriation using references to ancient ecclesiastical institutions in Scutts, *Perceptions*.

[55] See Harris, 'Mosque', p. 167.

[56] Rojas, *Historia*, II, p. 613. On Román de la Higuera's involvement in the St Thyrsus forgeries, see Martínez de la Escalera, 'Jerónimo'; Martínez Gil, 'Religión', p. 40; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 208, (ed. 2013) p. 205; and fundamentally Olds, *Forging*. See also Quintanadueñas, *Santos de la imperial*, pp. 193ff.

[57] Cárcamo, *Al Rey*. See Olds, *Forging*, pp. 31, 48, 55ff.

En este perfil se vee la mane
ra de fabrica que tenia este
edificio, y lo que esta oy en
pie:y como de los dos arcos
Arabes que tuuo antiguamen
te no ha quedado mas que
la parte, P. La concauidad
N. es el nicho.
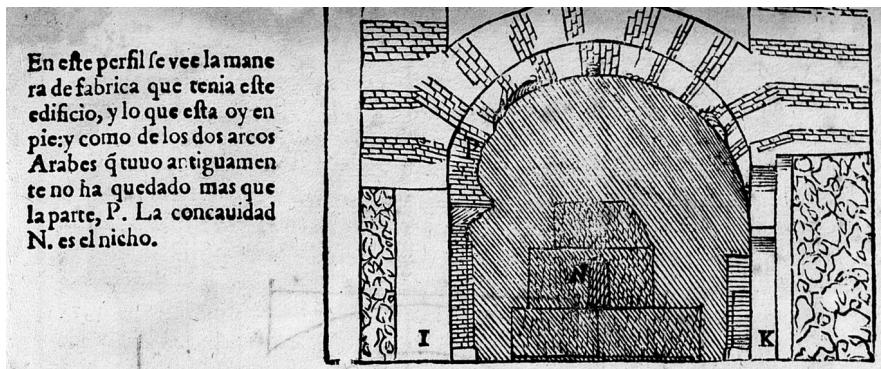
Fig. 4. *Elevation of Saint Thyrsus hermit.* In Cárcamo, Alonso de. *Al Rey Nuestro Señor…y mas larga cuenta à V. M. de lo que se ha descubierto de las ruynas del templo de san Tyrso* (Toledo: Pedro Rodríguez, 1595). Biblioteca Nacional de España.

St Thyrsus. This is interesting because it offers a variation on the examples already examined. The goal here was not to reinterpret an Islamic monument by consigning it to antiquity, but to prove the existence of Christian worship in Islamic Toledo on the evidence of a few stones. In this particular case, it was appropriate to acknowledge the architecture as Islamic because it provided further proof that the Mozarabic chapel of St Thyrsus had been erected in the Islamic period, next to the mosque that stood on the site of the former Visigothic cathedral. The dating agreed with the conclusions of the architectural experts consulted, Juan Bautista Monegro and Juan de Herrera, who believed the stones to be of Arab origin. The arguments supporting the ruin's identification as a chapel related to the function of the building rather than to its masonry, which was readily acknowledged as Islamic. In his letter, Cárcamo wondered if it could have been a Christian church and whether it might enhance Toledo's religious genealogy if so.[58] He even hinted at the possibility of rebuilding the temple as a memorial to St Thyrsus and the Mozarabs. His proposal did not succeed, partly no doubt because of the misgivings this fabrication aroused.[59]

Despite today's scholarly interest in the discovery and justification of St Thyrsus' chapel, the most popular religious link found in the Early Modern Period with Toledo's Visigothic cult was the Virgin's apparition to St Ildephonsus in the seventh century. According to tradition, this had taken place beside one of the pillars of the former Visigothic cathedral, vestiges of which were supposedly identified after the mosque's conversion in 1086. The fact that the earliest known version of this incident dates from a short time after the Islamic invasion provides an indication

[58] Cárcamo, *Al Rey*, pp. 10v ff, 19v, 23r ff. Cárcamo's memorial contained a text contradicting the discovery as a way to enhance the truth of his own arguments. On the author of this information, attributed to Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, see Olds, *Forging*, p. 48.

[59] See Cristóbal Palomares in Cárcamo, *Al Rey*, p. 1. See Olds, *Forging*, pp. 31, 48, 55ff.

of this story's value as an assertion of Christian identity in the context of symbolic competition between the two religions.[60] The recovery of this narrative and its promotion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries during renovation of the chapel of the Descent, where the pillar in question was located, undoubtedly sought to enhance the cathedral's relationship with its Visigothic predecessor. As Fernando Martínez Gil and Tom Nickson have highlighted, the miracle proved that the Virgin Mary herself had chosen this temple, and to make it plain, a representation of the miracle was given pride of place in the cathedral.[61] Blas Ortiz in his history of Toledo Cathedral (1549) and Antonio de Quintanadueñas in his history of Toledo's saints (1651) endeavoured to offer a comprehensive account of the city's religious zeal. Both descriptions of the building gave precedence to the spiritual bonds of the city's Christian genealogy.[62]

THE USE OF IMAGES IN THE SYMBOLIC APPROPRIATION OF ISLAMIC SPACES

Recovering the Christian past of Spanish cities meant dealing with the scarcity of architectural remains dating back to the time of the Visigoths. To some extent, there was an attempt to compensate for this using a historiographical strategy that supported the religious procedure surrounding the invention of historic religious images—a cultural phenomenon that took place across the Peninsula during the Early Modern Period. It drew on religious testimony that had a major public impact, as well as great potential for the symbolic appropriation of architectural spaces, by underscoring the structural nature of Spanish and local Christianity. In this context, it is interesting to note how historical texts worked on these images, constructing a narrative connected with antiquarian debates on the traces of Spain's past.

'Inventions' (*invenciones*) was the term typically used in early modern histories to refer to the discoveries of pre-Islamic images that appeared in a miraculous manner. According to Covarrubias' dictionary of 1611, the word was related to 'a thing invented or recently found', and 'sometimes it means to lie, and we call the forgers of lies inventors'.[63] The coincidence is striking. Authors such as Juan de Mariana frequently used the term in both senses, as discovery and falsification,

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[60] See Ortiz, *Summi*, pp. 35r ff, 79r. An example of the connection between the miracle and the cathedral's conversion in Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, p. 443. See Martínez Gil, 'Religión', p. 42; Lop Otín, 'Los espacios', p. 230; Fernández Collado, 'La capilla'. See also Marías, 'La memoria', p. 115.

[61] Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', pp. 341, 359; Nickson, *Toledo*, pp. 134ff.

[62] Ortiz, *Summi;* and Quintanadueñas, *Santos de la imperial.*

[63] Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, p. 506v. In my view, these meanings of the word taken from Covarrubias are more insightful than the definition cited by Katie Harris: '*sacar alguna cosa de nuevo que no se aya visto antes, ni tenga imitación de otra* (produce something new that has never been seen before, and does not imitate anything else)'. Harris*, From Muslim*, pp. XIVff. On this issue, I agree with the reading offered by Katrina Olds in *Forging*, p. 8. An example of an anthropological study of these inventions in Cátedra, *Un santo*.

even when they spoke of traditions of identity.[64] Besides this ambivalence, the most interesting aspect of these invented images is the way they became historiographical tropes for claims of the continuity of Christianity in the architectural site in question. According to Francisco de Pereda's eulogy (1604), the image of Our Lady of Atocha was more than 1,000 years old and 'devotion to it has since persisted among the faithful who lived amongst the Arabs, and has been conserved without being lost'.[65]

Across Spain, the histories of inventions habitually played a role in managing the memory of the Islamic past.[66] As Felipe Pereda has recently shown, these historical images that were claimed to date from before the Islamic conquest could be presented as symbols that mustered efforts to actively Christianize a recaptured region.[67] A continuation of the antiquarian methodology studied above, these images were evidence of Christian history and lineage. The invention of images, in particular, played a crucial role in preserving the memory of the Christian conquest and in the textual appropriation of Islamic buildings. Doubts were rarely cast on the veracity of these accounts, which were widely taken up in historiography and gained popular acceptance.[68] To the two roles that the Muslims traditionally played in local histories, the conquerors and conquered, another role was added: they had been responsible for the burial of sacred images.

This process continued through the Early Modern Period.[69] The mosque-conversion narratives maintained Jiménez de Rada's old idea of the need to balance preservation of Islamic architecture with an 'effective endowment' that would demonstrate the building's new Christian purpose. This endowment provided a visual reference for the temple's return to its original Christian state. Consequently, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was used extensively in accounts of the provision of such images. Many of the former mosques had been devoted to the Virgin Mary. Amy Remensnyder has discussed how this initiative was clearly intended to purify Islamic architecture given that the Virgin—together with St James and St George—had acted as one of the religious patrons protecting

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[64] An example of the ambivalence of these meanings can be seen in Juan de Mariana's use of the term in his display of neutrality with regard to the histories of King Roderick and the sealed tower: 'Some consider this to all be a fable, an invention and an absurd story; we neither approve it as true, nor dismiss it as false: the reader can freely judge, and follow that which he considers likely. I did not want to remain silent on this issue, given the many and serious authors that have recounted it, although admittedly not all did so in the same way.' Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, p. 292.

[65] Pereda, *Libro*, p. 34r. See Río, *Madrid*, pp. 108–9.   [66] Christian, *Apparitions*.

[67] Pereda, 'Palladia', and *Las imágenes*. See also Remensnyder, 'The Colonization'; Velasco, 'Las leyendas'; Río, *Madrid*; Albert-Llorca, *Les Vierges*; Robinson, *Imagining*; Díez Jorge, 'Arte'; Caballero, 'De la Edad'.

[68] Contemporary criticism of the inventions in Pereda, *Las imágenes*, p. 62. During the second half of the eighteenth century, doubts were more frequently raised. See for instance Martínez de Mazas, *Retrato*, pp. 252–3.

[69] An archetypal example of the temporal projection of this relationship between local cults linked to the restoration and the writing of urban history is found in the history of Lorca by Pedro Morote, who was the guardian of the sanctuary of Virgen de las Huertas (Our Lady of the Gardens). Morote, *Antigüedad*. On the continuity of these modes of relationship with the image as a memory of the Christian conquest see Carlos, 'Imágenes'.

the Christian conquest.[70] For this reason, most of the images adorning the temples involved a Marian advocation.[71] This applied to both official newly made images and inventions of what were claimed to be historical images. The emotional power evoked by the Virgin's role as intercessor in the forgiveness of sins helped set the scene for a territorial recovery which, in typical narratives, meant atoning for the sins that had led to the fall of Spain. Practically all the local histories of the Early Modern Period referred to royal intervention in the bestowal of these 'endowments' and sought to indicate the images' relationship with the restoration and religious protection of the Crown. This was particularly the case in histories on the origin of the image of the Virgin of the Kings in Seville, but there are similar examples in local histories across the Peninsula, from Madrid, where tradition credited Alphonse V with discovering the image of the Virgin of the Almudena, to Granada, where the donation of images by Isabella I was particularly significant.[72] The symbolic liturgy of the final Granada campaign revolved around the Marian cults, and these were given a central role in the management of the relationships between the different religious communities following the city's capture.[73] For instance, as Elena Díez and Sonia Caballero's research has shown, images of the Virgin adorned the city's Islamic gates.[74] In Córdoba, the image of Our Lady of Villaviciosa, which had appeared in Portugal, was brought to that city in the fifteenth century, where it was the basis for much of the worship in the former mosque, while royal protocol required devotion by visiting monarchs.[75] In Toledo, the small mosque of Bab-al-Mardum was turned into the Christian chapel of the Cross and furnished with images of Christ on the cross and the Virgin which in time gave rise to a, probably late, tradition according to which they had miraculously been found by Alphonse VI.[76] Within the Peninsula as a whole, this Marian iconography could be symbolically linked to the Christian conquest; it could also provide a semantic element linked to purification of the temple, as occurred in ancient synagogues

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[70]   Remensnyder, 'The Colonization', pp. 195ff. According to this author, this title could also generate a degree of ambivalence with regard to the name Maryam, which was an object of worship in the Islamic world. Pereda, 'Palladia'; Mariana, 'Leyendas'. On St James iconography see Cabrillana, *Santiago*. See also Monteira, *El enemigo*, pp. 103ff, 293ff.

[71]   Pereda, *Las imágenes*. See also Nickson, *Toledo*, pp. 132, 136ff.

[72]   Nebrija, *De Bello*, (quoted from 1990) pp. 81–3. See Pereda, *Las imágenes*, pp. 256ff; Laguna, 'Devociones'. An example of the prominence granted to these donations in Bermúdez de Pedraza's discussion of St John of the Kings in Granada. Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, p. 111v.

[73]   Pereda, 'Palladia', and *Las imágenes*.

[74]   Díez Jorge, 'Arte', pp. 168ff; Caballero, 'De la Edad', pp. 234ff.

[75]   AMC, section 1/6/4/4-1. See Nieto, *La Catedral*, pp. 450ff.

[76]   According to the traditional story, the Bab-al-Mardum Mosque was turned into a Christian temple by Alfonso VI, or in some versions by El Cid, thanks to the miraculous light emitted by a lantern that had remained alight whilst immured together with two images of Christ on the cross and the Virgin, which were therefore named 'the Christ and the Virgin of the Light'. The story probably originated later than the period covered in this essay, but the example illustrates the purifying power of images. Known as the 'Chapel of the Cross' until the end of the Early Modern Period, it was subsequently renamed 'Chapel of the Christ of the Light' in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources (Hurtado de Toledo, Pisa, Mariana, Rojas, and others). The *Historia de los templos de España* edited by Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer (1857), who had handled the above sources, included it among other stories, with a reproduction of an earlier inscription found inside the church. Bécquer, *Historia,* pp. 44ff. See Benítez, *Bécquer,* pp. 57ff.

such as St Mary the White; or later, during the conflict with the Moriscos, could narrate the role these images played in the conversion of Muslims.[77] In short, the texts underscored the capacity of these statues of the Virgin to generate new experiences of Islamic buildings, cleanse them from Islamic 'contamination', and link them to early Spanish Christianity.[78]

From the point of view of historiographical coherence, the link between the invented images and the pre-Islamic world was not made automatically. It required literary and archaeological arguments and was made within a religious framework in contact with antiquarian culture. As explained in Part 1, discussion of the fall of Spain implied the violent destruction of the temples, so that the dispersal and disappearance of most religious effigies were taken for granted. However, the lack of any precise information about the conquest enabled myths to be constructed on the specific circumstances surrounding individual images. We have already seen how tales of caves filled with riches and relics played an important role in Toledo.[79] In Seville, Alonso Morgado dedicated a chapter of his local history to 'the lack of clarity, and great confusion that is encountered with regard to relics, images, and matters relating to the state of religion in Seville, at the time the Moors captured it', and he acknowledges that:

> it is impossible to know how the Moors bartered over the churches and temples, or what happened to their prelates and clergy, and the other monks, and virgin nun brides of Jesus Christ. Nor can one fully understand what was done with their holy relics and devout images.[80]

However, this 'lack of clarity, and great confusion' did not stop Morgado from devoting an extensive section of his book to the discussion of traditions linked to the pre-Islamic lineage of various Marian cults. In this context, a number of lines of argument were developed throughout Spain to explain the conservation and later resurrection of holy images. On the one hand, writers could allude to the sculptures and relics that, according to Jiménez de Rada, had been taken to Asturias by fleeing Christians. They remained there until the Christian victories permitted their return to their original cities. For example, this explanation was given for the image of Our Lady of the Broom (*de la Hiniesta*) in Seville, which, according to Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, was so old that it prompted 'ponderous debate as to whether it was one of the holy images that the Christians removed from Seville when the city was captured'.[81] On the other hand, historiography discussed the images that had remained hidden in the temples and conquered cities, having been concealed by the faithful who thought that the swift expulsion of the Muslims would allow them to be recovered. This would have been done, for instance, by the 'ecclesiastics

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[77] Seville's synagogues in Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, p. 252. Accounts of altarpieces commemorating the Christian conquest or the conversion of Moriscos in Roa, *De cordubae*, pp. 46v–47r; Mártir Rizo, *Historia*, p. 55. See Pereda, *Las imágenes*; Franco, 'Multiculturalidad', and 'Mitología'.

[78] The religious reception of the patio of the Convent of St Mary of Tordesillas, which Cynthia Robinson has discussed in relation to Marian texts, can also be understood in this sense. Robinson, *Imagining*, pp. 212–13.

[79] See Hernández Juberías, *La península*; Juaristi, *El reino*, pp. 265ff.

[80] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 23r.   [81] Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, p. 243.

and lay community that lived through these lamentable centuries', those who, in the words of Toledan Pedro de Rojas, had hidden the images of Our Lady of the Tabernacle and Our Lady the Ancient, 'with a sign so that Christians could find them at the proper time'.[82] According to these narratives, the unexpected length of Islamic rule meant that many were lost forever, while others were miraculously found once Christian rule returned, whereupon they became crucial icons of religiosity and identity.[83] The third and even bolder historiographical hypothesis postulated the survival of Christian images in full view but protected by divine powers that guaranteed their immunity from Islamic iconoclasm. According to the texts, Our Lady of the Pillar in Zaragoza had been worshipped in the city from the time of the early Church without interruption, and was one piece of evidence for St James' presence in Spain. The sophisticated historiographical effort that was made to lend these events credibility built a new perception of the city's past based on the continuity of Christianity, while shifting the focus away from Islam.[84] There are some differences between these three models. The images presumably taken north and later returned to the south, on occasions as military ensigns and then often donated by sovereigns, were important *semiophores* of the idea of conquest and signs of victory. The images that remained in the cities, the mystery of whose conservation and discovery imbued them with greater power, had a closer connection with the notion of the Christian essence of the spaces, unlike the passing Islamic presence. This offered a much richer angle of analysis to explain the symbolic appropriation of the buildings. It should also be noted that, right from the outset, these became the most successful images in terms of devotion and identity building.

An archetypal example of the narrative structure of the third type of discoveries can be found in Pere Antoni Beuter's explanation of the image of Our Lady of Puig de Enessa. He first introduced the history of the concealment as part of an account of the Islamic conquest of Valencia:

> hearing this, the Christians in Puig de Enessa, where there was a monastery of Basilians, dug a hole in the church and put in it the stone image that had been on the altar, and they put the bell on top, which completely covered it, and then they buried it before fleeing and abandoning the place.[85]

And later, on seeing the progress made by the Christian conquest, he explained how the image miraculously appeared, in this case with the intercession of the king himself:

> Having warned the Castle Governor, Bernardo Guillen Dentença, about what had happened, he went to see the marvel, and kneeling in front of that image, he worshipped the Blessed Virgin, the Queen of Heaven, commending himself to her glory in tears. Later the King learnt of this affair, understanding there had been a monastery

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[82] Rojas, *Historia*, II, p. 556.

[83] A canonical example of this narrative is the invention of Alicante's image of Our Lady of the Angels. Bendicho, *Crónica*, pp. 243r–243v.

[84] Murillo, *Excelencias*, pp. 1ff.

[85] Beuter, *Primera*, (quoted from 1604) p. 162. Se also Guimerán, *Breve*, pp. 125ff.

of friars on the site in the past, on account of the cloister buildings and chapels that
could be seen, which have until today partly remained as they were. And on my sug-
gestion, since the year 1530 they have been somewhat improved. And the King
wanted to build a new church there that should be a religious house of the order of the
Mercedarians…He placed the image on the main altar, and the same bell that was
found there was placed in the bell tower where it has been used for many years, just as
they were found.[86]

According to the way of thinking of Beuter and other authors, the location of the
image guaranteed the new monastery's genealogical link and was endorsed by the
monarch.[87] The architectural ruins enabled an 'understanding' that a monastery
had been sited there, but the symbolic link depended on the recovery of the stone
image that had stood on the ancient altar. The sculpture had been buried and pro-
tected by the bell, which had been silenced throughout the Islamic occupation, a
latent resource waiting to be revealed and to inspire adoration and tears. Both
ideas are important. The image's permanence in this space throughout Islamic
domination demonstrated the continuity of Christianity. The image was hidden,
but always present, ready to provoke an emotional outpouring that would ensure
Christianization of the space.

Interestingly, the antiquarian framework used to construct the invention topos
operated at two historiographical levels. On the one hand, archaeological instru-
ments were useful to provide proof of the images' antiquity. On the other, the
images were archaeological evidence of the Christian past in their own right. It is
not unusual to encounter archaeological analyses that sought to date the statues on
the basis of their materials and forms, or by studying the architecture of the site
where they were found. Ortiz de Zúñiga also addressed the Sevillian image of the
Broom in this way: 'its carved semblance gives a sense of certainty of its most
ancient manufacture.'[88] Finally, the same servile concurrence occurred with regard
to the need for identity that has been seen in archaeological studies of buildings.
For Jerónimo Quintana, the fact that he could not be sure about the date of
Madrid's image of Our Lady of Almudena was 'no minor indication of its great
antiquity': it was taken for granted that its origin was pre-Islamic. This occurred
because to prove the date of the church of St Mary the Great required the antiquar-
ian evidence provided by the invention of this image. This determining factor
unproblematically turned 'the lack of certainty' into 'what is certain and testifies to
the ancient tradition received from the most ancient site of this place', which was
then used to show that the statue of the Virgin, and with it the temple, predated
the Muslims' arrival.[89]

Examples of these inventions and the use of such arguments can be found right
across the territory that had been under Islamic rule, but with regard to the con-
cerns addressed here, this narrative of genealogical continuity became especially

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[86] Beuter, *Segunda*, (quoted from 1604) p. 181.
[87] See also Bleda, *Corónica*, p. 438.   [88] Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, p. 243.
[89] Quintana, *A la muy*, p. 60v. See also León Pinelo, *Anales*, p. 14r. On the rivalry between the
Virgins of Almudena and Atocha in Madrid, see Schrader, *La Virgen*, pp. 35ff; Río, *Madrid*, pp. 98ff.

important when it came to recounting the restitution of the temples that had been mosques. Besides the examples of Córdoba and Granada addressed above, it is Seville where this model can be studied most completely. From very early on, much of the local identity was built around the worship of images of the Virgin.

It is clear that the Marian appropriation of Sevillian Islamic space was undertaken as soon as the Christians captured the city, when Ferdinand III donated the image of the Virgin of the Kings.[90] Teresa Laguna has pointed out that the *Primera crónica general* (Alphonse X's *Estoria de España*) made no reference to the Virgin's intercession in the war, but Marian traditions were soon incorporated through the miraculous participation of this image in the siege of the city. Following the purification of the mosque, Ferdinand III and his son Alphonse X made the sculpture the centre of an elaborate stage set built around the Crown and the conquest of the city, and this had a major impact on perceptions of the cathedral through subsequent iconography, texts, and ceremonies.[91] As time went on, new images were added to this process. First, historical texts linked the Virgin of the Kings to a mural painting in the interior of the new cathedral, which represented Our Lady the Ancient. According to the early-sixteenth-century narratives, this painting had remained visible in the mosque throughout the Islamic period. On this basis, subsequent sculpture inventions were then identified with the Visigoths, leading to a broad literary tradition on the pre-Islamic connections of various temples.

In late-sixteenth-century Seville, a number of Visigothic images were mentioned. Despite his doubts, Morgado referred to various convents in the city that held Virgin images from this period. A more accurate survey was offered by *Licenciado* Pacheco, who consolidated the tradition in his *Catálogo de los Arçobispos de Sevilla* (*c.* 1599) with a precise list of the images and the temples that housed them. One, the parish church of St Nicholas of Bari, contained the sculpture of Our Lady of the Soterraño (the Underground), which was found at the end of the sixteenth century, as Pacheco himself recounted. 'The construction [of the church was] different from all the others in Seville', because it was smaller and more sunken and with 'stone pews while the others are made of brick', and therefore it seemed to be 'very much more ancient than all of the rest'.[92] However, the temple's antiquity, which was considered pre-Islamic, was above all supported by the invention of an image. Across Spain the devotion shown to the Virgin of the Soterraño referred to the existence of underground spaces that had presumably been used during the conquest to hide Christian relics. In this case, Pacheco recounted that a chance demolition caused by some neighbouring nuns revealed one such cave, within which appeared a shining semi-buried crown of the Virgin Mary, which Pacheco himself went down to collect. The crown fitted perfectly on a sculpture of uncertain origin that had also been found in a cave a few years earlier. According to Pacheco, the crown provided archaeological proof for the pre-Islamic date and demonstrated the antiquity of the

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[90] On the involvement of the Virgin of the Kings in the funerary and monarchical programme of Ferdinand III and Alphonse X, see Laguna, 'Devociones', pp. 141ff.

[91] Laguna, 'Devociones', pp. 128, 137ff.

[92] Pacheco, *Catálogo*, pp. 125r ff. This church was replaced in the eighteenth century.

Christian cult and purifying force of the image. The text continued with a discussion of other similar pieces, including some in marble, a material that Pacheco claimed implied a degree of certainty that the image belonged to the 'time of the early Church'.[93] These sculptures served to Christianize, once and for all, those parish churches that had been built on the site of ancient mosques, sometimes using modern Islamic decorations or architectural features.

Though not strictly an invention, Our Lady the Ancient is especially illustrative of the value given to these images as archaeological arguments to support the genealogical Christianization of the memory of Islamic architecture. Alonso Morgado had no qualms about listing this painting amongst other effigies 'that are from the same time as the Goths'. Significantly, he also cited it as the main feature of his explanation and discussion of the 'difficulty of the site and title of Seville Cathedral at the time of the Goths'. In his view, of all the supposedly Visigothic images:

> the highly renowned Our Lady the Ancient is the most greatly revered; it has been given this name since time immemorial due to its antiquity dating back to the time of the Goths; it has remained in Seville (throughout the rule of the Moors) despite their perfidy, and on many occasions they sought to efface and destroy it, but it just became more beautiful and resplendent.[94]

According to the sources, this mural painting had remained visible in the mosque throughout the Islamic period, when it was identifiable as a Christian object. It continued to be worshipped and resisted attacks inflicted on it by the Muslims.[95] Its symbolic contribution resembles parallel examples such as the Golden Gate of the ancient Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, which was miraculously conserved in the face of Turkish attacks.[96] Thanks to divine intervention, the image of Our Lady the Ancient had withstood the destruction of the early Visigothic temple, the subsequent construction of the mosque, and finally its substitution with the Christian temple. As we know today, the fact is that the image was made in the second half of the fourteenth century, given that it was painted in the Christian period on one of the pillars of the historic Almohad mosque, which had been converted into the cathedral following the conquest of Seville in 1248. Having become a major cult object, the image was respected following the demolition of this building in the fifteenth century and was kept in place after the construction of the new Gothic cathedral, before being moved a short distance away in 1578. At the end of the fifteenth century and during the sixteenth, the chapel of Our Lady the Ancient was

[93] Pacheco, *Catálogo*, pp. 140v ff. Some of these notes appear to be subsequent additions by Pacheco.

[94] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 117r.

[95] The only doubt that could be raised about the history of this image was the exact place where it had been displayed during the Islamic period. Drawing on Morgado, *Licenciado* Pacheco admitted that there were two contradictory versions claiming that the image had been visible either within the mosque, or in one of the adjacent portals, but in both accounts the Virgin had ensured its conservation by way of miracles. Pacheco, *Catálogo*, pp. 104r–104v.

[96] Alzedo, *Jerusalén*, p. 36.

a prominent space in Seville Cathedral.[97] Its cult had benefited from the revitaliza-
tion of interest in Visigothic saints such as St Laureano and St Hermenegild, as
well as the more recent awakening of interest prompted by Isabella I during her
stay in the city between 1477 and 1478. As increasing references to Our Lady the
Ancient reveal, the city's devotion to the image grew during the sixteenth century.
The production of copies of the painting extended its popularity beyond Seville
itself. According to the texts, one of them was taken to Granada by the Catholic
Monarchs.[98] Other copies were made for Córdoba Cathedral and for the Corpus
Christi Seminary in Valencia, the first by the hands of Pablo de Céspedes,[99] and
the latter commissioned by the Patriarch Juan de Ribera. All three sites, Granada,
Córdoba, and Valencia, bore the stamp of Morisco presence and the lingering
memory of Islam. Its cult gained importance during the seventeenth century with
the baroque remodelling of its chapel and the writing of new treatises on the
image.[100] The large-scale canvases painted by Domingo Martínez between 1734
and 1738 reflect general perceptions of Our Lady the Ancient during the Early
Modern Period. The Virgin appears in various miracles and in connection with
Seville's Visigothic saints. One example is a shining image guiding St Ferdinand,
resisting the attacks of the Muslims and causing both the destruction of the
mosque's walls and the flight of terrified Muslims.[101]

As far as we know, the first literary elaboration of the myth appears in Luis de
Peraza's manuscript, *Fundación y milagros de la Santa Capilla del Antigua*, which
brought together the different traditions on the painting that circulated at the
beginning of the sixteenth century.[102] Unfortunately this text has not been con-
served, but references made to it by Peraza in his *Vida y pasión de Santa Justa y
Santa Rufina* and his *Historia de Sevilla* (*c.* 1535) reveal how his essay on Our Lady
the Ancient was directly aimed at forging a link between the cathedral's pre-Islamic
past and the city. As explained by Teresa Laguna and Felipe Pereda, its iconography
and mythical characterization as an image of uncertain origin—even said to be of
divine origin—should be understood in connection with various medieval narra-
tives. The *Cantigas* and other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sources repro-
duced accounts of miraculous images that were subsequently modified to link
them to the specific circumstances of the capture of Seville and to connect Our
Lady the Ancient with the idea of Christian restoration.[103] A similar story was later
attributed to other images in the city, some of which were also mural paintings,
like the Virgin of the Coral and the Virgin of Rocamadour, which were presumed
to be Visigothic works.[104] Peraza's insistence on the survival story of a Christian

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[97] See Serrera, *Hernando*, pp. 361–2; Recio, 'Asensio', and 'La llegada'; Pereda, *Las imágenes*,
pp. 145ff; Jiménez Martín, 'Rarezas'; Laguna, 'Devociones'; Martínez Lara, 'Pablo'. On the cult of
Ferdinand III in Seville during the reign of Isabella I, see Carrasco, 'Discurso', p. 319.

[98] Pereda, *Las imágenes*, pp. 191ff, 359ff.   [99] Martínez Lara, 'Pablo', pp. 23ff.

[100] Pereda, 'Palladia', pp. 202ff, and *Las imágenes,* pp. 146ff; Laguna, 'Devociones', pp. 129ff.

[101] Valdivieso, 'Pinturas'; Pereda, *Las imágenes*, pp. 152ff.

[102] Peraza, *Vida*. A demonstration of these oral traditions can be found in the reference made to an
image by Hyeronimus Münzer at the end of the fifteenth century. See Laguna, 'Devociones', p. 128.

[103] Pereda, 'Palladia', pp. 206–7, *Las imágenes*, pp. 166ff; Laguna, 'Devociones'.

[104] Pereda, *Las imágenes*, pp. 163ff.

image like Our Lady the Ancient in the heart of the Almohad building, however improbable, increased the image's iconic value as an agent for the transformation of the mosque's memory; indeed, during the Christian siege of Seville, King Ferdinand III entered the city in disguise, visited the image in the mosque, and was claimed to have obtained its support for the conquest.[105] This account was one of the underlying topoi in the mythical interpretation of the image in the Early Modern Period.

The point of departure established by Peraza in the sixteenth century obscured its origin in evocations of a period prior to the Christian conquest. His successors addressed the problem from an archaeological perspective. Alonso Morgado's account of its transfer in 1578 to another part of the cathedral claims this provided an opportunity to examine the support. This made him think that the painting then seemed to have been transferred from a previous location, because 'its mortar could clearly be seen to have been cut from another wall, which would have been necessary when the Holy Cathedral was built, in order to transfer it to the chapel, where it now shines forth out in the open. And the wall material the image took with it differed from the wall of the chapel, and was the same as the mortar of the walls of Seville.'[106]

As we know, to refer to the mortar of Seville's walls was to allude to an ambiguous past that could be related to both the Roman concrete attributed to Julius Caesar and the Almohad use of rammed earth. Perhaps this was why Rodrigo Caro claimed a Roman origin for the image.[107] The majority of the texts did not make such distant attributions, but they all assumed that the use of mortar placed the image in a period prior to Ferdinand III's capture of the city. The argument that its mortar was different from the material used for the walls of the chapel where it was originally found provided a basis for thinking that the image had been saved at least from the demolition of the mosque and the construction of the Gothic cathedral. The form of the image also became the subject of debate. *Licenciado* Francisco Pacheco noted that, at the end of the sixteenth century, there were disputes between various authorities on the relationship between the image's pictorial style and its pre-Islamic creation, but the matter was not taken up by authors who, like Pacheco, did not question the standard account.[108] In response to these questions, a century later, Francisco Ortiz (*c.* 1682) used stylistic and pictorial analysis methods to date the work's origin to the Roman era.[109] In any case, Morgado clearly defined the limits for future debate: the antiquity of Our Lady the Ancient 'is accepted in Seville for so certain a tradition, that were any one to question this, it would cause a quarrel'.[110]

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[105] On the account of Ferdinand III and Our Lady the Ancient, see Carriazo, 'Un episodio'.

[106] Morgado, *Historia*, pp. 117r–117v.

[107] 'To me it seems that it is even older and is a painting done by the Romans'. Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 53v.

[108] Pacheco, *Catálogo*, p. 107r.

[109] Ortiz, *Discurso*, pp. 16r ff. On the attribution of supernatural origin, see Pereda, *Las imágenes*, p. 150.

[110] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 117r.

Reflecting this spirit at the end of the seventeenth century, Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga claimed that the importance of Our Lady the Ancient for Seville lay in the fact that, although the Muslims had managed to briefly conceal her from sight, the faithful Christians continued worshipping her until a few years before the conquest. In all cases, the main role of these invented images was to guarantee the continuity of worship in the temples. These traditions, stated Rodrigo Caro, indicated that 'the Christian Mozarabs remained in them [the temples]: and this is not only opinion but legitimate proof of the instruments, relics, and graven stones that have been found'.[111] The question was more pressing in the case of the cathedral where, as we know, there were neither traces nor references that vouched for the prior existence of a Christian church on the site of the mosque.[112] This was probably why Our Lady the Ancient was in special need of the emotional power generated by the account of her visibility amongst the Muslims. The different versions of the narrative on the display of Our Lady the Ancient within the Islamic temple, its location in the portals, or its concealment by a wall, offer historiographical cover to help overcome the rational difficulty of assuming the survival of the Christian image and worship inside the building. It therefore provided a genealogical link, demonstrated the temporary nature of the Muslim presence, and guaranteed the purity of the space with the return of the Christian order. Finally, the narrative on the image sought to make it symbolize the superiority of Christianity through a demonstration of strength within the heart of the Islamic cult. The continual visibility of the image provided an opportunity to recount Islamic envy in the face of its miraculous power, their vain attempts to efface it which reaffirmed its resplendence and beauty, and the episode of Ferdinand III's furtive visit during the siege of the city. Challenged by its power, the Muslims had no choice but to allow the Christians to continue their worship, creating a bond between the Visigothic and Gothic cathedrals that ignored the memory of the Almohad mosque represented by the Giralda tower. The narrative was another relevant element in the Sevillian programme aimed at the cultural homogenization of the Islamic architectural legacy. Its symbolic power motivated Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros to begin his *Teatro de la Santa Iglesia metropolitana de Sevilla* (1635) with a print of Our Lady the Ancient. The image was emblematic of a project that sought to weave together the temple's history from the remote past to the moment at which his text was written.[113]

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[111] Caro, *Antigüedades*, p. 21v.
[112] Jiménez Martín, 'Rarezas', and *Anatomía*; Laguna, 'Devociones'.
[113] Espinosa de los Monteros, *Teatro*.

9

Calling on the Martyrs
The Final Atonement of Islamic Architecture

Pablo de Céspedes' version of Córdoba Mosque's ancient history had a powerful impact on the building's memory. Firstly, it was an important ideological endorsement of the humanist architectural transformations, namely the construction of the new transept, the replacement of the top section and addition of new facings to the minaret, and the re-ornamentation of several chapels in the classical style. It should be remembered that the final round of building works and the completion of the new nave coincided with the development of the most militant Christian genealogical discourse. Secondly, the ancient foundation theory had the added advantage of providing historical coverage to the stories of Roman-period martyrs, as well as the required link with their successors under the caliphate. It is no coincidence that the martyrs and the site's pre-Islamic attribution played a part in the iconographical programme implemented in some of the temple's major new spaces, and especially in the newly decorated Tabernacle Chapel.

In the early seventeenth century, Martín de Roa remarked retrospectively that the first Marquis of Priego, Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, Bishop Alonso Manrique, and other early-sixteenth-century prelates had unsuccessfully searched for the remains of the Córdoba martyrs by digging next to St Peter's church-tower.[1] Ambrosio de Morales had taken this apparent tradition one step further with a far more systematic account of the memory of the martyrs and their relationship with that particular church and with the mosque. His writing created a new ecclesiastical history model that had profound consequences for perceptions of the past in most Iberian cities.[2] In his dedication of *Los cinco libros postreros* to Antonio de Pazos, president of the *Consejo Real* (royal council) and bishop of Córdoba, Morales pointed out that, within the greatness of the city, 'having had many and very prominent Martyr Saints at all times' was a rare privilege.[3] In Córdoba's case, the martyrs who died at Muslim hands were the most memorable because of their empowering potential in the face of Islam, but the martyrs of antiquity also made a valuable contribution to the mission thanks to their versatile ability to establish that Christianity had been there first. Around the year 850, the Mozarab Eulogius of Córdoba had written a memorial of the Córdoba martyrs in which he described

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[1] Roa, *Flos*, pp. 164r–164v.
[2] See Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo*, pp. 43ff; Morán, *La memoria*, pp. 271ff.
[3] In Ambrosio de Morales' dedication to Antonio de Pazos. Morales, *Los cinco*, w/p.

how some of the city's inhabitants actively opposed the increasing Islamization of al-Andalus. The means they chose consisted in a voluntary sacrificial campaign intended to lend cohesion to the community and to strengthen its identity.[4] In his narrative he linked these ninth-century martyrdoms with the remembrance of those that took place in Roman times and underlined the genealogical connection between them.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the discovery of Eulogius' memoir, its publication, and the subsequent finding of several funerary remains in the parish church of St Peter led to a public campaign promoting this cult.[5] The very judgement pronounced by the bishop of Córdoba identifying the relics explicitly mentioned the close connection between the finding and the martyrs from both the Roman and the Islamic periods.[6] Ambrosio de Morales was closely involved in the whole process: he found the manuscript in the course of his journey to the north of Spain, he undertook its publication in a careful Latin edition, *Divi Eulogi Cordubensis. Martyris, Doctoris, et electi Achiepiscopi Toletani opera* (1574)—which aimed to promote international awareness of the facts—disseminated the story of the martyrs in *Los cinco libros postreros* (1586), and sought institutional support for the cult. As we saw in an earlier chapter, he also played an active role in the fabrication of the relics found in St Peter's church and was the antiquarian specialist charged with authenticating the remains. Lastly, Morales contributed to the martyrological iconography installed in the cathedral's new Tabernacle Chapel and applied to have several public memorials built in honour of these saints, one of which was a monumental trophy.[7]

An interesting point to consider is that the edition of Eulogius' memoir offered an alternative to the antiquarian discourse Morales had set down in *Las antigüedades*, published only a year earlier. The complementary character of both volumes did not escape his contemporaries' notice. Luis de Fresneda, abbot of Santa María de la Huerta, stated in his preface to the memorial that Morales was to be admired for his combination of 'incredible erudition and piety'. As Martín de Roa said in a later text on the same saints, Morales was both a 'most faithful Spanish historian and a most devout facilitator of devotion to the martyrs'.[8]

Besides his general characterization of the '*Mahometi abominanda perversitas*', Eulogius offered a few brief items suggesting Córdoba's urban splendour in the caliphate's heyday. The text drew a picture of mosques as forbidden territory for Christians, mentioned the dungeons under the *Aljama* Mosque—in reality the water cistern in the courtyard—recorded the destruction of Christian basilicas in his time, and proposed a religious link to the saints of Roman times.[9] Yet neither Eulogius nor his co-religionists specifically sought to Christianize Córdoba Mosque. Indeed, this issue was out of context in the ninth century, which explains why only

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[4] Wolf, *Christians*, pp. 36ff. See also Dodds, *Architecture*, pp. 64–70.
[5] On the discovery in general, see Morales, *Carta*, pp. 12v ff. See also Morales, *Divi*, p. 84v; Roa, *Flos*, pp. 156r, 163r–164r.
[6] Morales, *Carta*, pp. 25ff.
[7] Roa, *De antiquitate*, pp. 39r–39v. On the monument, see Cuesta, 'El monumento'.
[8] Morales, *Divi*, w/p; Roa, *Flos*, p. 39r.   [9] Morales, *Divi*, pp. 17v, 33r, 37r, 50r, 57v, 64r.

one of the martyrdoms in the narrative involved the temple: Rogelius and Servius, ignoring the ban on Christians in the mosque, entered the *Aljama*, began to preach to an astonished Islamic congregation, and were subsequently sentenced to dismemberment and death.[10]

By the sixteenth century, however, Eulogius' text was welcomed for its potential influence on the memory of the mosque. Morales' addenda and scholia modified the original, albeit succinctly, in order to enhance the relationship between the events narrated and the temple, as well as to defend the notion of uninterrupted Christian worship since Roman times. For instance, the published version of the narrative of Rogelius' and Servius' martyrdom underscored the role the mosque had played in the story with a marginal note pointing out the '*Templum Sarracenorum Cordubae*'.[11] In a more general sense, Morales' introduction described the conditions surrounding Christianity in Córdoba under Islamic domination, thereby establishing a relationship between praise for the city's grandeur, the admiration the temple attracted as an architectural wonder, the oppression the Christians had laboured under, and their devoutness. The text made it clear that a large number of subjugated Christians remained in Córdoba and retained their beliefs. True to his antiquarian spirit, Morales examined Eulogius' reports in detail so as to compile a long list of Christian churches that had survived Islamic rule. To a large extent, these churches matched the Roman basilicas dedicated to the primitive Córdoba martyrs, such as the temples of St Acisclus, of St Zoilus, and of the Sts Faustus, Januarius, and Martial. Eulogius had included them in his praise of the martyrs of antiquity and this ideological link was later used by Morales. Significantly, his last addendum to the ninth-century memorial was the essay *De Cordubae Urbis Origine, Situ et Antiquitate*, in which he argued for the city's classical origin using a combination of Latin inscriptions and the memory of the martyrs.

Within the mosque building itself, the martyrological decoration scheme promoted by Morales for the new Tabernacle Chapel, painted by Cesare Arbassia (1585–1586), has been researched.[12] The fact that liturgical matters nestled in a gallery of portraits of martyrs was a bold statement that broadcast their religious resistance in the heart of the Islamic architectural legacy. The backgrounds of some of these frescoes depicted Islamic architectural details that subtly connected the events illustrated to the inner space of the mosque. In particular, the triple portrait of Pelagius, Eulogius, and Leocritia showed views of the temple's exterior and interior in the background.

Indeed, Leocritia was a Muslim woman who had converted to Christianity in childhood thanks to Eulogius. She is portrayed in Morisco garb, surrounded by the mosque's arches and columns. The text specifically mentioned that she was of high birth and noble spirit, 'although her parents were infidels'.[13]

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[10] Morales, *Divi*, p. 50v.   [11] Morales, *Divi*, p. 50r.

[12] See Pérez Lozano, 'Los programas'; Blázquez and Sánchez, *Cesare*; Urquízar Herrera, 'La memoria'. See also Vincent-Cassy, *Les saintes*, pp. 137ff.

[13] Morales, *Los cinco*, p. 129. The identification of Leocritia's attire as Morisco in Blázquez and Sánchez, *Cesare*, p. 116.

Fig. 5. Cesare Arbassia, *Saint Pelagius, Saint Eulogius and Saint Leocritia*. Tabernacle Chapel, Cathedral of Córdoba, 1585–1586.

Despite differences in scope, it was easy to link the stories of these martyrs as standardized by Ambrosio de Morales to Pablo de Céspedes' later hypothesis about the mosque as a former temple of Janus. Specifically, both accounts agreed in shifting attention towards religion and highlighted the antiquity and continuity of Christian worship within it. These two theories were eventually merged by the Jesuit Martín de Roa in the description of the mosque contained in his Cordoban *Flos Sanctorum* (1615), which was an extended version of his earlier book on the martyrs *De Antiquitate et Autoritate Sanctorum Martyrum Cordubensium* (1601). Roa was Pedro Díaz de Ribas' uncle and the author of several ecclesiastical history texts in which he combined his interest in the saints and in urban sacred archaeology.[14] Significantly, the Córdoba text opened with a literal proclamation on the very first page to the effect that the blood shed by those individuals had helped atone for the Islamic conquest and destruction of Spain.[15] On the one hand, Roa extended the Castilian version of the hagiographies written by Eulogius and reproduced by Morales in *Los cinco libros postreros*. This made the new symbolic geography of martyrdom more accessible to the non-Latin-reading public, whilst helping popularize the story of Rogelius and Servius and its relationship with the mosque.[16] At the same time, Roa's combination of Morales' ecclesiastical history

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[14] Roa, *Flos*, pp. 82r ff. See Marías, 'Memoria', pp. 67–8. Martín and Carrasco, 'Datos'; Ordóñez, 'El P. Martín'. Further explanation of Roa's views on the mosque in Urquízar Herrera, 'El Flos Sanctorum'.

[15] Roa, *Flos*, p. 1r. Roa himself anticipated the idea in *De antiquitate*, pp. 2r ff.

[16] Roa, *Flos*, pp. 141v–143r.

and Céspedes' temple of Janus arguments also improved the mosque's status in the martyrdom discourse and reinforced its Christian nature.

The Christian reinterpretation promoted by Roa was not a mere copy of Céspedes' ideas about Noah and the physical Romanness of a section of the mosque. Roa acknowledged the Islamic origin of the present building, which he described as the result of 'the effort and labour of two kings: Abd-al-Rahman II and his son Issen'.[17] In this matter he closely followed Morales' description in *Las antigüedades*, both in his enthusiastic approval of the strange Islamic building that kept 'the essence and form that the Moors gave it, so large, so rich, so sumptuous that it causes admiration in one and all', and in his classical reading of some of the Islamic elements, outstandingly the *maqsurah*, the wealth of which was compared to the excess and luxury of Nero's baths denounced by Seneca.[18] However, despite this admission of the Islamic paternity of the visible remains, Roa included the sequence Janus–Mosque–Cathedral established by Céspedes. This idea stripped the Muslims of the building's symbolic progeniture and legitimized the architectural transformations that were being completed at that time. Roa headed the list of Christian temples in Córdoba compiled by Morales with the following addition:

> The cathedral, formerly a temple of Janus, consecrated later as a church; destroyed by the Moors and rebuilt in the form that we see today. Some Christians are said to have met their martyrdom at its door.[19]

According to Roa's text, Córdoba was one of the first cities in Spain to have erected religious buildings, following the example of Abraham and Solomon in the Orient. The town's Christian vocation was assumed to date back to pre-Roman times.[20] In this sense, it is remarkable that Roa interpreted the supposedly original Christian consecration of the temple in classical times as a similar restoration to that which took place after the Christian conquest.[21] By equating the domination of the two 'strange empires, Roman and Arab, both enemies of the Christian name', he linked the late Roman and Mozarab martyrs. Eulogius himself, according to the biography written by Álvaro de Córdoba and reproduced by Morales in his edition of the martyrology, turned out to be a descendant of 'the Romans and of the highest Roman nobility that founded the first Spanish colony in Córdoba and on account of its dignity named it Patricia'.[22] Roa insisted quite emphatically on the relationship between the martyrs, the mosque's Christian lineage, and its reconciliation after the conquest.[23] In order to underscore this interpretation even further, he added certain folk tales relating to the building, such as the story of the excommunication of some troublesome swallows or the very popular tale of the carved image of Christ on the cross in one of the columns, which was said to have been engraved by a Christian prisoner with his nails while he was tied to the shaft.[24] Revealingly, Roa was not as interested in the Roman origin of the supports, which had been one

[17] Roa, *Flos*, p. 80r.   [18] Roa, *Flos*, p. 82r.   [19] Roa, *Flos*, w/p.
[20] Roa, *Flos*, p. 79v.   [21] Roa, *Flos*, p. 79v.   [22] Roa, *De antiquitate*, p. 15r.
[23] Roa, *Flos*, pp. 81r–81v.
[24] Roa, *Flos*, p. 82r bis. Other early references in *Sucesos y cosas*, (ed. 1982) p. 6; Torreblanca, *Iuris*, p. 24r. See Peña, 'Normas', pp. 129–30.

of the main discussion topics amongst antiquarians, as in the potential usefulness of this legend for the symbolic Christianization of the inner space.

Roa inserted his description of the mosque's fabric in the chapter devoted to the 18 May festivity celebrating the 'Dedication of Córdoba's Church'. This contextualization underlined the Islamic temple's displacement towards specifically religious literature. Roa again reproduced the information and laudatory tone of Morales' canonical text, with the significant new inclusion of a description of the Christian additions. The change implied a subtle modification of Morales' insistence in *Las antigüedades* that the Renaissance transformations were innocuous. Roa had no qualms about recognizing the existence of a new choir and chapel which, while preserving the general 'essence and form' of the building, enhanced its beauty and altered the perception of its memory by recalling its Christian nature:

> Today the building maintains the essence and form it had with the Moors; it is so large, rich, and sumptuous that it is admired by all. Because the new choir and chapel do not impair the beauty of the ancient fabric, but on the contrary improve and adorn it with the wondrous proportion and charm of the patterns on its walls and its gilded ceilings, offering a sight that is not only pleasant but also admirable to the eyes as it awakens people's hearts to recognize, love, and praise the sovereign creator of Heaven and earth, in whose name and presence this temple is consecrated, as well as in the hearts of the faithful who, from this visible beauty, go on to enjoy the beauty of Heaven and of the Lord, which all creatures share in.[25]

In his extensive text, architectural hybridity was compensated by the religious homogenization provided by the martyrs. Thus he commented on the 'fleurons, ribbons, and Arabic letters of the best design and ancient proportion' in the *maqsurah*, which he compared to Roman mosaics. He went on to explain the *mihrab* as a classical marble room 'of much more excellent fabric than anything that has been described before, because it is the principal and most religious part of the mosque, where Mohammed was worshipped'. He then mentioned the Islamic ornamentation made for the first Christian monarchs on the 'doors sheltered by bronze coffered domes with curious vegetable patterns and Arabic letters in praise of God'. Finally, he described the newly built chapels, with special focus on the recently added Tabernacle Chapel and the 'excellent paintwork on its walls' as well as its 'tabernacle housing the holy sacrament, sculpted in a rare and beautiful manner'. By finishing off with descriptions of the chapels, including the Tabernacle Chapel dedicated to the martyrs of both the Roman and the Islamic periods, he compensated for the decorative wonders of the mosque and established its Christian character.

After Morales' *Los cinco libros postreros*, the martyrs became the focal point of archaeological discussion in Córdoba. As we saw earlier, antiquarian tools for the study of building materials and techniques were first used in the discussion about the age of the fabric of St Peter's church, which was presumed to be Visigothic so as to endorse the authenticity of the martyrial remains fabricated on that site.

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[25] Roa, *Flos*, pp. 82r ff.

They reappeared later when some vestiges were found near the river and identified as the tombs of the same saints. The debate about St Peter's between Morales and Díaz de Ribas was followed by a unanimous affirmation by the remaining authors of the pre-Islamic origin of Christian worship in this and other parish churches in the city. This identification was essential evidence for the defence of the authenticity of martyrial relics. Juan Gómez Bravo, biographer to the bishops of Córdoba in the late eighteenth century, summarized the situation with the curious comment that some of these churches had architectural features that could be of 'Moorish fabric' (*fábrica de Moros*).[26] The antiquarian argument sought to suggest that they had been built before the Islamic conquest, thereby attesting the continuity of worship in the days of the martyrs. Díaz de Ribas was the first author to write about the river tombs in 1626. By analysing the typology of the tombs and the building techniques visible in a water reservoir that had also been found, he reached the well-founded conclusion that they were Islamic. Fernán Pérez de Torres, the vicar of the neighbouring parish church of St Nicholas, immediately contradicted him, arguing that the remains had been identified as the lost Mozarab monastery of St Christopher. This change in direction turned the finding into evidence of the martyrdom of Córdoba's saints in the Umayyad period and encouraged him to apply to the bishop for the erection of a memorial column on the site.[27] A short time later, Martín de Roa published another opuscule in support of this theory (1629).[28]

Returning to the mosque, local historiographers after Roa always took for granted the Christian interpretation of the nature of the building on the basis of the twin notions of the temple of Janus and the martyrs. Turning the monument into an antiquity had prepared its slide towards ecclesiastical history. Even Andrés de Morales Padilla, who wrote a history of Córdoba (*c.* 1662) for the city council and therefore had a more traditional antiquarian outlook, literally copied Roa's paragraph, quoted above, about the construction of the new Christian choir.[29] Although Roa's reading of the mosque had a fairly limited circulation outside Córdoba, it received far more exposure within the city. This can partly be explained by the fact that the rest of the authors in this period were usually connected with the cathedral. Their writings created a literary tradition that enabled a stable horizon of expectations that could be sustained within the institution.[30]

The histories and descriptions of the temple written by Enrique Vaca de Alfaro, José Antonio Moreno Martín, and Tomás Fernández de Mesa should be understood as direct cathedral chapter initiatives aimed at the management of the symbolic value of the former mosque in its possession. Most of these manuscripts never reached the press and did not attract much notice beyond the local ecclesiastical

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[26] Gómez Bravo, *Catálogo*, I, p. 249. In the same period, Bartolomé Sánchez de Feria pointed out that these parish churches had been pagan temples in Roman times. Sánchez de Feria, *Palestra*, p. 121. A summary of the whole process of fabrication of the relics in Roa's *Flos Sanctorum*. See Roa, *Flos*, pp. 163ff.

[27] Díaz de Ribas, *Relación*; Pérez de Torres, *Discurso*. See Rodríguez Mediano, 'Al Andalus', p. 17; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 376ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 370ff.

[28] Roa, *Monasterio*.   [29] Morales Padilla, *Historia*, (ed. 2005), II, p. 1396.

[30] See Vaca de Alfaro, *Descripción*; Moreno Martín Velázquez de los Reyes, *Antigüedad*; Fernández de Mesa, *Relación*. See also Fernández de Córdoba, *Historia*, p. 9v; Ruano, *Historia*, pp. 269ff.

and antiquarian scene. They are, however, important because they reveal how anti-
quarian arguments were exploited in order to exert a direct influence on a monu-
ment's interpretation. They were essentially received in later local histories that
repeated, almost literally, whole paragraphs from Morales and Díaz de Ribas,
whilst accepting wholesale the theories of the temple of Janus and the pre-Islamic
Christian foundation of the city explicitly included in the city council texts. For
instance, Francisco Ruano's 1761 history of Córdoba went so far as to provide a
description of the ancient temple of Janus that stretched archaeological tools way
beyond the bounds of rational possibility.[31]

   These chapter-related descriptions assumed from the start that the Latin masonry
issue concerned the Christian origin of the temple and the justification of its martyrs.
Around 1677, Enrique Vaca de Alfaro stated that the mosque had first been 'a temple
dedicated to the god Janus in Roman times', then, 'in the days of the Gothic kings,
the temple of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem', and later still, 'rebuilt and extended, a
Moorish mosque'.[32] Some years later, José Antonio Moreno Martín (1686) took
Céspedes' temple of Janus theory one step further: not only did he endorse the city's
foundation by none other than King Tubal himself, but he also claimed that it had
been converted into a Christian cathedral by the Apostle St James in his alleged
sojourn in Spain. Similarly, although the majority of martyrs had actually had little
contact with the *Aljama*, Moreno placed them symbolically inside it when retelling
their life stories as an introduction to the newly built chapels. Finally, he also brought
into the mosque some supposed late Mozarabs who, according to him, had been for-
tunate enough to be present at the cleansing ceremony.[33]

   The final touches to the antiquarian Christianization model were applied by
Tomás Fernández de Mesa in his summary of the official version of the historical
reading of the temple in a text targeted at visiting travellers (1744). On the one
hand, this author attempted to specify, with presumed antiquarian accuracy, which
part of the building was the original Roman section and which was the Islamic
'addition or extension'. The western section, including the *maqsurah* and the best
areas in the mosque from an architectural point of view, were conveniently reported
as Roman, and the eastern section, where al-Mansur's poorer fabric stood, was con-
sidered to be the Umayyad extension.[34] The Arabic inscriptions, which hitherto
had been read as evidence of the mosque's Islamic foundation, were now given a
twisted interpretation that supported the idea of an extension to the Roman foun-
dation. On the other hand, this author stressed the stories of the presence of saints
and Christian captives in the building and, like Martín de Roa before him, closed
the text with a fitting explanation of the Tabernacle Chapel and the images of
martyrs on its walls. The classical capitals, the milestones attributed to Janus, the

   [31] A continuation of Morales' theories about the Latin origin of Old Córdoba in Sánchez de Feria,
Palestra, IV, pp. 73ff. A continuation of Céspedes' ideas on the temple of Janus in Fernández de
Córdoba, *Historia*, p. 9v; Torreblanca, *Iuris*, p. Xr; Morales Padilla, *Historia*, (ed. 2005), II, p. 1395;
Ruano, *Historia*, p. 274; Sánchez de Feria, *Palestra*, IV, pp. 77ff.
   [32] Vaca de Alfaro, *Descripción*, pp. 346r–365v.
   [33] Moreno Martín Velázquez de los Reyes, *Antigüedad*, pp. 18ff.
   [34] Fernández de Mesa, *Relación*, p. 248r.

enumeration of martyrs—including the stories of Rogelius and Servius and of the cross scratched by a prisoner in a column, as well as various other similar Christian tales—formed a coherent whole.

In the midst of this narrative, the Islamic architectural elements were barely noticeable. In these descriptions, the Islamic building in the material sense practically dissolved into nothingness. Just as the history of Córdoba in the Islamic period was the story of its martyrs, the history of the mosque only figured through the Christian cult, and the Umayyad building as a physical entity only showed through in comments about the classical remains that justified the Tubal thesis, or as the scenario of the deeds of the martyrs. In a thoughtful gesture to his readers, Fernández de Mesa offered an exact dating for the temple: he concluded that 2,384 years had passed from its foundation to the moment of writing. Out of these, only 347 pertained to Islamic occupation. Against the sheer bulk of visible architecture, the mosque's Islamic identity dwindled away into a mere weekend, as we might say today, in the history of a naturally Christian monument.

ST JUSTA, ST RUFINA, AND THEIR RENAISSANCE FRIENDS

The demolition of Seville's former *Aljama* Mosque in the early fifteenth century had paved the way for the erection of a Gothic cathedral which, in the words of the chapter's members, should be 'such and so good that there would be no other like it'.[35] The preservation of the minaret and the cloister surrounding the Patio de los Naranjos provided testimony of the legacy of al-Andalus, which was especially visible in the Giralda.[36] Nevertheless, the major architectural transformation of the tower carried out in the second half of the sixteenth century involved an iconographical reinterpretation of humanist and Christian stamp that sought to alter the general reading of the building. The newly built Renaissance belfry was accompanied by an iconographical programme based on a set of pictorial works by Luis de Vargas covering some of the tower's facings. A sculpture representing Faith Triumphant by Juan Bautista Vázquez the Elder (1568) gave the finishing touch.[37] Ironically, the statue was put in place on the tip of the tower by a team of eighteen Moriscos.[38] Vicente Lleó has written a clear account of the relationship between this project and the religious situation at that particular time. In his view, this exhibition of faith had implications in terms of the Islamic origin of the building and its links to the Moriscos and the Turks, as well as a possible connection to the Protestant conflict.[39]

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[35] From a ruling by the Seville Cathedral chapter dated 8 March 1401, as reported by Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros, *Teatro*, p, 28r.
[36] On the few alterations of the Giralda after the Christian conquest, see Laguna, 'La Aljama', pp. 65ff.
[37] Nieto, 'El mito', pp. 141ff.   [38] Montero, 'La tinaja', pp. 229–46.
[39] Lleó*, Nueva Roma*, (quoted from 2012) pp. 251ff, 'El pasado', pp. 124ff.

Contemporaneous historiography supplied the required arguments for this new reading. Ambrosio de Morales, Pablo de Céspedes, and Martín de Roa had drawn up a biblical, Latin, and martyrial genealogy to establish the pre-Islamic origin and the primacy of the Córdoba temple in the former Roman Baetica province. Historiographers in Seville resorted to similar arguments in order to lay down the city's prior claim to supremacy over all the Spanish bishoprics, thereby rounding off the Christianization of a temple that had previously been a mosque. Literary traditions that attributed the city's foundation to Hercules and Julius Caesar had a part to play in the identification of the cathedral's mythical origin. Thanks to Luis de Peraza's writings, the worship of St Justa and St Rufina gradually acquired an association with the tower and the cathedral, and Rodrigo Caro finally served up an exploration of the origins of the temple with the ultimate goal of demonstrating Seville's superiority over Toledo.[40] As previously mentioned, his reading of the tower had already recorded its Christian appropriation by describing the new iconographical layout and setting forth the necessary antiquarian arguments to support it.

In the course of the sixteenth century, the canonical version of the Giralda narrative underwent a very gradual drift from the memories of restoration to the formulation of a discourse that put a premium on the tower as an autonomous icon. Nevertheless, it should be noted that several arguments coexisted at all times and that the trophy reading was never sidelined. This interpretational diversity can be found, for instance, in Rodrigo Caro who, despite his determined promotion of the shift towards a religious reading, had several appropriation strategies running in parallel: a genealogical explanation based on Roman remains, a trophy interpretation, and the attribution of an essentially Sevillian and Christian identity to the fabric of the building. At all events, the antiquarian discourse diluted the tower's Almohad origin in a narrative that focused on ecclesiastical history.

The first step on this route to appropriation consisted in linking the tower to the memory of the martyrs. Seville had not had a Mozarabic movement comparable to that described by Eulogius in Córdoba, and hence it was not possible to build a humanist discourse around Islamic-period martyrs. Even so, as we saw earlier, Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros, in his general history of Seville (1627), dedicated a full chapter to the 'persecutions and buildings carried out by the Moors'. In it he described Seville's Islamic remains in terms of praise, notably the royal alcazars' and the 'superb and sumptuous tower' of the former mosque, in a discourse framed by the 'Moors' cruelty', the atrocities they perpetrated on the Christians, and the 'holy blood of martyrs' that flowed through the city.[41] This strategy, based on medieval martyrology, was of little consequence and Espinosa himself did not give it much relief in his later works.[42] On the other hand, the link between the tower and the two martyrs from Roman times, St Justa and St Rufina, became the central narrative that accounted for the preservation of the building and its relationship with the city. Significantly, according to tradition, these two saints had saved the tower

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[40] Ecker, 'Arab', pp. 360ff.   [41] Espinosa de los Monteros, *Primera*, pp. 127r ff.
[42] Espinosa de los Monteros, *Teatro*.

from an earthquake in 1504, thereby maintaining the balance between destruction, conservation, and assimilation of a well-known icon since the reign of Ferdinand III. The remembrance of the martyrdom of these two Roman, Hispalis-born, sisters had been part of Seville's religious tradition since the Middle Ages and had spread to other areas such as Toledo, where a Mozarabic church was dedicated to them. Initially, this hagiographical tradition only included the saints' martyrdom in classical times and their early cult in Seville.[43] The significance accorded to this cult is substantiated in *El libro de los milagros de San Isidoro*, written by Lucas de Tuy in the thirteenth century and printed in 1525. In the passage about the transfer of St Isidore's remains to León during the reign of Ferdinand I (*c.* 1016–1065), it is said that the saint himself had pointed out the need to remove his own body from Seville and to leave St Justa's behind because:

> it is not God's wish that you remove the body of that Holy Virgin that you seek, lest the city feel abandoned or be destroyed as a result of the absence of this saint that was given by God for its care and protection.[44]

According to Tuy, the Muslims reused materials from the churches built by St Isidore to raise Seville's city walls and the 'very tall and very perfect' tower that went with one of the mosques. At no point was there any mention of a relationship between the martyred sisters and the Giralda.[45] After the printing of Tuy's text, the connection between the tower and St Isidore was reflected by later authors, such as Alonso Morgado, who reiterated the story, stressing that St Isidore had stopped the muezzin calls to prayer from the top of the minaret.[46] Nevertheless, the connection with this saint had a marginal reception, as shown, for example, by the fact that Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga assigned this story to St Saviour's Tower.[47]

At the end of the fifteenth century, the cult of St Justa and St Rufina was not yet associated to the minaret of the former mosque. As late as 1574, Ambrosio de Morales wrote, in his *Corónica general*, about three sites in Seville that were related to the saintly sisters: St Justa's meadow, Holy Trinity monastery, and the hospital dedicated to the saints on the outskirts of the city.[48] He did not mention the tower in connection with their lives, their miracles, or their subsequent cult. Yet despite Morales' silence on the subject, from the early decades of the sixteenth century the link between the Giralda and St Justa and St Rufina subtly and gradually drew the outline of the tower's genealogical Christianization discourse. Specifically, the cult was, it would seem, plainly driven by the cathedral chapter and the bishopric. In the wake of the 1504 earthquake, the tower was said to have been saved by St Justa and St Rufina. Soon afterwards, the dean decreed that their feast day in the cathedral be upgraded to first category, and Archbishop Alonso Manrique subsequently

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[43] On references to St Justa and St Rufina in old breviaries from Seville and Toledo, as well as in the Mozarabic liturgy see Quintanadueñas, *Santos de la ciudad*, pp. 73ff; Flórez, *España*, (quoted from 1777) pp. 312ff. See Vincent-Cassy, 'La propagande'.

[44] Tuy, *Libro*, (ed. 1525) p. 17r. See Linehan, *History*, pp. 385ff, and 'Dates'; Martin, 'Dans'; Henriet, 'Sanctissima'; Fontaine, 'À propos'.

[45] Tuy, *Libro*, (ed. 1525) pp. 47r ff.   [46] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 42v.

[47] Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, p. 258.   [48] Morales and Ocampo, *La Corónica*, p. 368r.

proposed that their iconography be given fixed form as protectors of the building, so that 'wherever they should be painted by order of the Holy Church, they are to appear embracing the tower'.[49] Manrique was the former bishop of Córdoba who started the works of the new Gothic transept in the centre of the Mosque.

As had previously been the case when the legend of Our Lady the Ancient was codified, Luis de Peraza also played a major part in the transmission of this particular strategy for the appropriation of the site. The event was accurately recorded in his *Vida y passión de Santa Justa y Santa Rufina* (*c.* 1530). Peraza focused mainly on the miracles worked by the saints, among them the saving of the tower, which was retold in a chapter headed 'How in the year fifteen hundred and four the Most Holy Virgins Justa and Rufina came in aid of Our Most Holy Lady the Ancient and saved the Holy Church of Seville from a great earthquake and commotion that occurred in this city'. When the sudden earthquake caused the tower to lean from side to side, threatening collapse, the martyred sisters were seen by many 'holding the tower between them to stop it falling down'.[50] Be that as it may, in Peraza's view, this miracle was not one of the essential deeds of the saints, and on this occasion they had been helped by Our Lady the Ancient, who still appeared to be the sole patron of the Giralda, since the tower was part of the cathedral. Peraza nonetheless lay the foundation for St Justa and St Rufina, orphaned of their original church, to settle in the cathedral with their cult whilst giving the image of the tower a facelift.

The miracle quickly became the most important symbol around which the cult of the two martyrs grew during the sixteenth century. Encouraged by the Cathedral, the association between the building and the sisters became one of the fundamental icons of Sevillian imagery and the most common representation of the tower. As will be discussed below, numerous versions of this iconography were produced during the Early Modern Period, starting with Archbishop Manrique's breviary right through to a well-known canvas by Francisco de Goya (1817). Around the turn of the seventeenth century, the completion of the minaret's top section in Renaissance style validated the relationship between the saints and the building, adding further arguments to its Christianization. This extensive architectural and iconographical transformation had a momentous impact on the image of the tower in terms of both visual representation and written interpretation. Alonso Morgado's accurate record of the changes ended with a description of the statue of Faith Triumphant that crowned the tower. For anyone who still harboured doubts as to the powerful association between the martyred saints and the tower, he noted in the margin that 'the Holy Cathedral's coat of arms depicts this famous tower flanked by the two saintly sisters Justa and Rufina, patron saints of Seville, who sustain and protect it'.[51]

Rodrigo Caro was insistent in his exegesis of the new fabric, which according to him was as good as, if not better than, the previous one. As a point of departure, Caro gave credence to the existence of Roman antiquities in the tower's foundations,

[49] Peraza, *Vida*, (quoted from BNE) p. 294r.
[50] Peraza, *Vida*, (quoted from BNE) p. 293v.   [51] Morgado, *Historia*, p. 94v.

which thus became evidence of the historical context the story of the martyrs required. His narrative noticeably used terms that emphasized the Christianization of the building. In particular, the classical resonance of the word 'Victory' used by Morgado became 'a colossus representing the triumph of Faith' in Caro's account. Secondly, Caro paid a great deal of attention to broadcasting the ideological transformation aims behind the building programme. To this end, he took the trouble to include a transcription of the phrase composed by *Licenciado* Pacheco and inscribed around the spire. In order to ensure that the text was understood by all, he included both the Latin original and a Castilian translation produced by Francisco de Rioja. It is not known whether the meaning of the inscription, as Caro remarked, sought to compete with the grandeur of the building, but what does seem clear is that its intention was to appropriate the tower: 'Once the enemies of the Roman Church had been vanquished and destroyed', the tower 'of African fabric' remained under the protection of the Virgin, the patron saints of Seville, and the 'Virgins Justa and Rufina of untouched chastity and virile steadfastness'. On these grounds, and beneath the 'colossus of triumphant Faith' referred to by Caro, the tower and the new finish 'consecrated unto eternity' became a religious icon that extolled Seville's Christian past and present.[52]

Despite the impact of Caro's attention to 'Arab stones' within the antiquarian literary genre, it is very significant that, in his description of the Giralda, he limited his analysis of the building's Almohad fabric, as we saw earlier, to paraphrasing Alonso Morgado's description, whereas his personal contribution dealt only with the new Christian addition. Other descriptions originating in the same Sevillian circles, such as Francisco Pacheco's, a painter and nephew of the eponymous clergyman and *Licenciado*, and father-in-law to Velázquez, adopted the same approach.[53] It can be ventured that Caro, like the image of Faith overlooking the building from on high, tried to compensate to some extent for the praise lavished on the tower's Islamic architecture by retelling the Christianization programme.

The new tower's visual and symbolic power, described by Alonso Morgado and Rodrigo Caro as an emblem of Seville's Catholic reform, transformed the story of the sisters Justa and Rufina. From that point onwards, their association with the building, narrated by Peraza as one of their many miracles, became the most important episode in their lives. Almost simultaneously with Caro, the Jesuit Antonio de Quintanadueñas composed an anthology of Sevillian saints (1637), on the frontispiece of which these two martyrs appeared in a prominent place, as mentioned above. In his canonical biography of the sisters, Quintanadueñas picked up the narrative where Lucas de Tuy left off, when Ferdinand I sends to Seville for the sisters' remains, linking, with some interesting additions, these circumstances, their status as protectors, and the tower:

> because, when King Ferdinand I sent for them in order to place them in León Cathedral, King Benabet of Seville did not grant his request. And St Isidore appeared

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[52] Caro, *Antigüedades*, pp. 50r ff. On this inscription and its reception see Montero, *La tinaja*. On the iconographical interpretation of the figure, see Lleó, 'El pasado', p. 128.

[53] Reproduced in Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales*, pp. 531–2.

before Albito, bishop of León, an advocate of the cause, and told him that it was not God's will that Seville should be deprived of these treasures and that his [own] body should be taken instead, and so it was taken to León. And the Moors, in order to make doubly sure of their presence in the city resolved to stow them away in the foundations of the tower, which was then being built, by hollowing out urns or sepulchres. Their pious presumption confirms the incident that faithful witnesses have described: that on one occasion a furious and relentless wind tried to destroy this building as it had others in this city. When the storm was at its most violent, some fearsome demon voices were heard shouting: 'Knock it down, knock it down', to which others answered: 'We cannot, because here lie beheaded Justa and Rufina.'[54]

This story, also recorded by later authors, gave the plot a striking final twist.[55] The combination of archaeological literature and the arguments offered by Peraza had its climax in the Christian appropriation of the tower through the saints because their remains were said to be concealed in the tower's foundations. The Roman stones that gave credibility to the Islamic tower for the benefit of antiquarian scholars now turned out to be the remains of two virgin martyrs.

The minaret had been the most important element of the former mosque. Afterwards it maintained its role as the cathedral emblem, becoming Christian Seville's foremost icon. One reason for associating the tower with St Justa and St Rufina was their ability to link the classical and Christian ancestry of the cathedral complex as a whole and the city itself. A few years after writing his history of Seville, Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros composed *Teatro de la Santa Iglesia metropolitana de Sevilla* (1635). This new volume, aptly subtitled *Primada antigua de las Españas*, gave an orderly account of earlier testimonies on the subject of the cathedral in relation to the pre-eminence of the religious seat and of the city itself. Among other arguments, the text contained an antiquarian exploration of the temple's classical precedent and a description of the noble features of the current cathedral, which 'exceeds in greatness and majesty all those we know today and is second to none among the ancient ones'.[56] This chain of values is, significantly, identical to that previously applied by Morales to Córdoba Cathedral. Given the competitive environment, it was advisable to leave no loose ends. In his journey through the temple's history, Espinosa referred to the wonders and sumptuosity of the former Seville Mosque, but his treatment of it and of its presumed Mozarab martyrs was only cursory. He found a more appropriate subject in the endorsement of the cathedral's classical seniority provided by the Roman martyrs and in its connection to the first places of worship in history: the temples of Janus, of Hercules in Seville, and of Solomon, which he constantly compared with Seville's archiepiscopal seat. As a result, the cathedral appeared to have been consecrated in the life of the Virgin Mary. Following the classical pre-Islamic genealogy argument, it was even suggested that Seville Mosque had preserved the Roman fabric of the former cathedral.[57]

[54] Quintanadueñas, *Santos de la ciudad*, p. 78.
[55] See *Memorias eclesiasticas*, p. 129v.   [56] Espinosa de los Monteros, *Teatro*, p. 6r.
[57] 'The building that housed this holy church at the time the Moors profaned it, making it their central mosque'. Espinosa de los Monteros, *Teatro*, pp. 8v, 10v.

Further into the book, Espinosa tells the story of the restoration by Ferdinand III, which he also compared to the restoration of Solomon's Temple in the days of Judas Maccabee. At that point, he gives an extended and very interesting description of the modern cathedral, the highlights of which are the exegeses of the chapel of Our Lady the Ancient and of the main tower. Espinosa added hardly any new content about the Giralda. He embraced the identity shift created by Rodrigo Caro, thereby carrying the tower to Christian territory by describing in detail the new belfry and its iconography. The former minaret had been built by the Muslims, its architect was mentioned and its fabric described, but the narrative focused on the means and themes used in the Christianization process. The mythological link with the temple's pre-Islamic origins that had opened the book tied in with the description of the new religious programme in which the Virgin and the martyrs ruled supreme under the crown of triumphant Faith.[58] The last few paragraphs were devoted to the views of Seville and its surroundings from the top of the tower. Espinosa's commentary on the panoramic view from the Giralda suggested, as did graphic depictions of the city, that both cathedral and city rested under the symbolic protection of the image of Faith that stood on the tip of the former Almohad minaret.

REWRITING GRANADA FROM
AN UNINHABITABLE TOWER

The Alhambra's secular function and the temporal proximity of the capture of Granada underpinned its classification as a trophy throughout the Early Modern Era. Granada never severed its ties with its Islamic past. The sustained programme of new Christian building projects—Charles V's palace, the cathedral, parish churches, monasteries, Royal Chancery, and Royal Hospital—was hindered by the fact that the city's overall appearance was Islamic.[59] Despite the traumatic experiences of the Morisco revolt and their subsequent expulsion, this community did not disappear from Granada's cityscape.[60] To compensate for the palpable presence of Islam, strategies emphasizing the city's early Christian history became all

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[58] Espinosa de los Monteros, *Teatro*, p. 111r.

[59] During the Early Modern Era, Granada underwent extensive building work as part of a programme which sought to create new urban references that would modify perceptions of the Islamic city. The programme was neither as managed nor as planned as has sometimes been suggested, but was undertaken in various phases with distinctive aims: the new hospital built by the Catholic Monarchs, the nave in the church of St Jerome and the Royal Chapel, work started on the new Renaissance palace for Charles V beside the Comares Court, and a new building was erected for the Royal Chancery. Mosques were torn down to be turned into new churches, like the Aljama Mosque, which was completed in the seventeenth century, and numerous monasteries and convents were founded. The first reference to Granada as *Christianópolis* appears in Orozco, *Christianópolis*. On the intentions behind these buildings, see Calatrava, 'Arquitectura'; Marías, 'La casa'; Harris, *From Muslim*, pp. 9ff; García-Arenal, 'Granada'; and particularly Alonso, 'Restaurar'. See also Drayson, *The Lead*, pp. 38ff. David Coleman has rightly suggested that Orozco Pardo's proposal should be extensively revised as in many ways it falls prey to over-interpretation. Coleman, 'The Persistence', pp. 53ff.

[60] Soria, *Los últimos*.

the more necessary. The genealogical programme included the Alhambra, but was targeted in a general manner at Granada's history as a whole in an attempt to transform the memory of the city. As we saw earlier, the local elite turned in particular to the recovery of pre-Islamic martyrs. Curiously, in this case, a collection of martyrs' relics, known as the Lead Books, was fabricated by the Moriscos themselves with the aim of gaining support for their practices of cultural and religious hybridity. However, the religious authorities rapidly took control of the matter and supplanted the Morisco endeavour with an institutional strategy that led to the appropriation of the local past in more orthodox terms. Openly following the precedent of Córdoba's martyrs, as addressed by Morales, Granada's local writers ascribed these inventions a still greater significance in order to convert them into a fundamental episode of the city's history and place them at the core of a new civic identity.[61] Until 1588, the minaret of the historic *Aljama* Mosque had been Granada's main visual landmark.[62] Following its destruction in that year, the tower became a keystone in the Christian rewriting of the city as a result of the martyrs' relics that appeared amidst its ruins. The antiquarian analysis of the building's architectural remains became a new and central cog in a mechanism aimed at the cultural homogenization of this former Islamic capital.

From the start of the sixteenth century, attitudes towards Islam in Granada underwent a gradual change. As discussed above, the terms of surrender stipulated that the Muslims could continue their form of worship and customs, and that the *Aljama* Mosque was to be maintained as a symbol of this cultural diversity. However, this relative tolerance gave way to a less lenient stance during the reigns of the Catholic Monarchs and Charles V, which became still more intransigent under Philip II. The debate on the viability of Christianity being practised alongside Islamic cultural references was ultimately resolved by declaring it necessary to combine the conversion of Muslims with the cultural Castilianization of the city and its inhabitants.[63] As Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano have highlighted, Pedro de Alcalá, in his *Arte para saber ligeramente la lengua arábiga* (1505), sought to bring Christianity to Granada's Moriscos by establishing links between the two religions, by translating 'God' for 'Allah', 'Mass' for '*çala*', 'church' for 'mosque', and 'altar' for '*mihrab*'. But these semantic equivalents were later denounced for putting the purity of conversions at risk.[64] Identifying Catholic temples with their previous names and Islamic use was considered just as dangerous as defining Christian practices and concepts with Arabic terms. Just as, in his 1526 report on the Moriscos, Dr Carvajal insisted that Muslims abandon their amulets and display instead, in a visible place, 'the Cross

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[61] An explicit recognition of the adherence in Granada to Morales' Córdoba-based model in *De los libros*, w/p.
[62] Coleman, *Creating*, pp. 1, 50ff, 70ff, 188ff.
[63] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 45ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 35ff; García-Arenal, 'Granada'. See also Catlos, *Muslims*, pp. 281ff.
[64] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 50–1, (ed. 2013) pp. 40–1.

and Our Lady', so too it was understood that the city had to change its system of architectural symbols.[65]

Pre-Islamic Christianity became a fundamental force in the city's shifting cultural transformation almost as soon as it was captured. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Counts of Tendilla, who were the Alhambra's *alcaides* (governors), referred to this fortress as the site of the ancient Roman settlement of Iliberris (Elvira).[66] Some years later, this idea gained greater ideological currency, for example in the writings of Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza and Pedro Velarde de Ribera. The latter explicitly claimed that the *Casa Real* or Royal House of the Alhambra had been founded in the Islamic period using 'the materials and ancient stones' of Iliberris, and that the new Royal House of Charles V also received materials from this settlement. However, this genealogy was essentially applied to the city of Granada as a whole.[67] Of particular relevance is the fact that the first writings on local history devoted special attention to the mythical revival of St Caecilius and the identification of Granada with the city of Iliberris. The martyred St Caecilius had been the first bishop of Iliberris and one of the disciples of St James the Great, who allegedly had evangelized Roman Spain in the first century. Later, around the year 300, Iliberris was the site of one of the early Church's first Iberian synods. From Pedro de Medina (1548) onwards, the discussion of Granada focused on this early history:

> This city's great age and the fact that it was founded prior to the Moors' arrival in Spain, is well demonstrated by the Church of Granada's celebration of the triumph of the blessed St Caecilius, the first bishop of this city of the early Church; it therefore seems clear that this city was Christian long before the Moors arrived.[68]

Given the scarcity of literary and archaeological sources on the city's early history, this attempt to trace a pre-Islamic genealogy for Granada was no easy matter.[69] Ancient remains were sought in the area surrounding the Alhambra, but the efforts yielded no usable results.[70] It was difficult to base the identification of Iliberris on classical vestiges because the ancient city did not really correspond to the location of Granada, nor did its site contain remains that were comparable to those found in Córdoba and Seville.[71] In this context, the invention of the relics found at Turpiana tower and then in Sacromonte provided alternatives to identifying Iliberris. The local histories of Granada argued that the Lead Books proved the archaeological connection between Granada, Iliberris, and St Caecilius. The extensive

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[65] See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 45ff, 56, (ed. 2013) pp. 35ff, 46. See also Coleman, *Creating*; Poutrin, *Isabelle*. An echo of these measures in Gómez de Castro, *De rebus*, pp. 29ff.

[66] See Rosenthal, *The Palace*, p. 8; Brothers, 'The Renaissance', p. 90; Hernández Castelló, *Don Íñigo*, p. 256.

[67] Velarde de Ribera, *Historia*, pp. 86r, 87v.   [68] Medina, *Libro*, p. 117r.

[69] García-Arenal, 'De la autoría'; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 202, (ed. 2013) p. 199.

[70] On sixteenth-century excavations on the Alhambra hill in search of Iliberris, see Harris, *From Muslim*, p. 52.

[71] One such attempt, from which the author himself subsequently deviated, in López Madera, *Discurso sobre las láminas*, p. 22r.

literature analysing these events has highlighted the significance of these forgeries for developing an understanding of the processes of religious negotiation that took place after the conquest. In particular, research by David Coleman, Juan Calatrava, Katie Harris, and Elizabeth Drayson has endeavoured to identify their impact on the process of Christianizing the city's urban and symbolic dimensions.[72] Furthermore, Harris has sought to reconstruct the new urban identity that the authorities intended to develop by using the Lead Books as a means of forging a genealogical link with pre-Islamic Christianity. The scope of this appropriation project was probably more limited than modern reconstructions have suggested, but in terms of its intentions and the measures applied, it constitutes a highly interesting example of the tentative re-signification of an Islamic city on the basis of sacred archaeology. Ecclesiastical censorship prevented the publication of a number of manuscripts, but despite this, the abundant production of antiquarian, historical, and religious texts on this subject clearly reflects the heated intellectual debate provoked by relic invention, as well as the extent to which Granada's historiographers became involved in the process.

The history of the Lead Books invention dates back to 1588, and was linked from the outset to memory management of the city's architecture. In this year, the minaret of the ancient *Aljama* Mosque was demolished as part of the building work on the cathedral which was being built on the site of the mosque. In the course of this demolition, a lead box was found containing a number of relics and a parchment document, written in Arabic, which was interpreted as St John's prophecy of the end of the world. The narration of these events was repeated with minor variations in the opening sections of almost all the sources on this matter.[73] The manuscript identified the tower with the name 'Turpiana', claimed it had been built in ancient times when the city was founded, and postulated that these items had been concealed by St Caecilius himself. The saint was characterized as a Christian Arab who had reached Spain with the help of St James.[74] Up to this point, the document sounds like an invention similar to those on which we have already commented. However, the issue was actually more complex right from the start. In this case, the aim was not just to use arguments based on Christian martyrs and the site's Christian precedence in order to justify the destruction of the remnants of the mosque and its substitution with a Christian temple. The fact that the manuscript was written in Arabic allowed claims of the existence of a pre-Islamic Arab Christianity. The genealogical justification for Christianity could therefore include the Moriscos, as well as their buildings. The reception of this discovery was initially limited, but between 1595 and 1599, the remains of new

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[72] The literature on the Lead Books has grown considerably since Godoy Alcántara, *Historia*. A study updating events surrounding the Lead Books, with a recent bibliography, in Barrios and García-Arenal, 'De la autoría'. A broad overview of its cultural significance in Bernabé Pons, 'Una visión'; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*. See also Coleman, *Creating*; Calatrava, 'Encomium', and 'Contrarreforma'; Harris, *From Muslim*; Drayson, *The Lead*.

[73] Amongst other examples, see *De los libros*, w/p; Centurión, *Información*, pp. 2r ff; Serna, *Relación*, pp. 4ff.

[74] On the parchment, see Van Konigsveld and Wiegers, 'The Parchment'.

ancient martyrs appeared alongside a series of texts on lead sheets found on Sacromonte hill, to the north of the city, beyond the Albaicín and facing the Alhambra. As on the previous occasion, the texts drew on established Spanish Christian traditions in order to introduce new information that supported the existence of Arabic Christianity prior to the Islamic invasion. Today it is understood that these two undertakings were supported by a sector of the Morisco elite in order to defend a form of syncretic relationship between both religions that would enable the cultural integration of Islam in Christian Granada. During the first phase, Miguel de Luna, author of the counter-history of King Roderick, may even have been involved in these events.[75] However, the Catholic authorities later made use of these finds, altering their meaning to support their project to efface all traces of the memory of Islam. Besides these specific intentions, the city, or at least its prominent social groups, embraced the discoveries with considerable enthusiasm. They had an additional interest in relics from the city's Christian past, as it put Granada on the pilgrimage map devoted to urban martyrs.[76]

The appearance of new Christian remains in Granada gave rise to a major debate between antiquarians and theologians across Spain. The dating of the remains to the first century placed the sacred history of Granada and the memory of Islam at the very heart of discussions on the origins of Spanish Christianity.[77] The initiative brought together many traditions that were current at the time, such as the Semitic legacy of Annius of Viterbo, Román de la Higuera's writings on the pre-Islamic history of Toledo, and the long-established belief in the presence in Spain of the Apostle St James.[78] However, from the outset many authors denounced the fact that these finds were no more than crude forgeries and gave clear evidence to support this view.[79] By contrast, the religious authorities, and archbishop of Granada Pedro de Castro in particular, recognized an opportunity to pursue their own specific interests.[80] Castro realized that this new cult would be useful to ensure the conversion of Moriscos, to establish Christianization in the city through new symbolic icons that diluted the traces of Islam, and to place Granada at the centre of the competitive rivalry between cities regarding the religious significance of their local martyrs. In 1600, Archbishop Castro gave preliminary approval for the findings. However, his support did not silence the debate on their authenticity and in 1648 the Lead Books were taken to Rome to be examined. Finally, in 1682,

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[75] Bernabé Pons, 'Una visión', and 'Miguel'; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 165ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 155ff; García-Arenal, 'Miguel'; Drayson, *The Lead*, pp. 68ff.

[76] On contemporaneous witnesses to this fervour, Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, pp. 29ff, 80, 92ff; Coleman, *Creating*, pp. 199–200; Harris, *From Muslim*, pp. 4ff; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 35ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 25ff.

[77] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 19, (ed. 2013) p. 10.

[78] Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, p. 124; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 197ff, (ed. 2013) p. 195. See also Kendrick, *St. James*.

[79] Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, pp. 29ff; Harris, *From Muslim*, pp. 33ff; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 38ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 28ff. See also Woolard, 'Bernado de Aldrete and the Morisco Problem', and 'Bernardo de Aldrete, humanist'; Ecker, 'Arab'.

[80] Among many other references, see Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, pp. 131ff; Bernabé Pons, 'Una visión', p. 116; Fuchs, 'Virtual', pp. 20ff; Barrios, 'Pedro'; García-Arenal, 'De la autoría'; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 43–4, (ed. 2013) pp. 32–3; Drayson, *The Lead*, pp. 113ff.

their texts were condemned by the Church as an Islamic forgery, while the relics of the martyrs were approved out of respect for tradition. That approval enabled Castro's campaign to continue, and it was to influence the city right up to the present time.

The initial focus of the discoveries made in the ancient *Aljama* Mosque's minaret provides an interesting point of departure to analyse the impact of the Lead Books on the perception of architecture and the participation of historians in the process. In 1588, Turpiana tower was the most notable reminder of the city's historical Islamic religious architecture. Contemporaneous testimonies indicate that it was perceived by the Moriscos as an important symbol of the city's Islamic past. When Archbishop Castro asked Luis de Mármol to analyse the text of the parchment contained in the first discovery, the latter pointed to its similarities with the *Jofores*, Morisco prophecies that foretold the destruction of the tower in the future heralding a Morisco rebellion.[81] According to this tradition, the demolition of the tower would be seen by the Moriscos as the culminating point of the collective discrimination against them and the Christian failure to fulfil the terms of surrender, and therefore a metaphorical sign that would stir up armed opposition in defence of the Islamic faith and traditions. Interestingly, the invention of the relics sought to provide a new significance for that demolition, seeking integration with Christianity.

The parchment found with the relics offered a further prophecy and spoke of the 'uninhabitable and very strong' tower and its role in the transmission of the remains.[82] Earlier sources, such as the anonymous manuscript written in 1600 that recounted the discovery, also insisted that, without the demolition, the relics of the martyred St Caecilius would not have been found.[83]

The archaeological debate on the tower's antiquity became a cornerstone in the discussion on the authenticity of the first relics found. Although modern historians have barely addressed this issue, the theological and philological arguments about the texts were usually accompanied by antiquarian analyses. To verify the date of the discovery, it had to be demonstrated that the building existed at the time of St Caecilius. In his report on the manuscripts, Luis de Mármol had explicitly said that it was a Muslim construction. He considered the finding suspect because, among other reasons, it was 'a Moorish building, raised in their time', similar to other minarets in the city in that it displayed 'the same masonry and building technique as those the Moors usually have in their mosques'.[84] One of the experts called upon to counter this naturally emerging evidence was local architect

[81] Mármol Carvajal, *Carta*, pp. 19r–20r. See Harris, *From Muslim*, p. 34; Drayson, *The Lead*, pp. 75ff; Castillo Fernández, *Entre Granada*, pp. 138–9, 509ff. On the relationship between Miguel de Luna's account of the history of King Roderick and the Toledo tower and cave, and the events at the Turpiana tower, see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 167ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 157ff.

[82] *De los libros*, w/p.

[83] *De los libros*, w/p. See also López Madera, *Discurso sobre las láminas*, p. 22r.

[84] Mármol Carvajal, *Carta*, pp. 21r–21v. See Castillo Fernández, *Entre Granada*, pp. 138–9, 515.

Fig. 6. Francisco Heylan, *Phoenician buildings of Granada*. Detail of the *Torre Inhabitable Turpiana, c.* 1610, Archivo de la Abadía del Sacromonte de Granada.

Ambrosio de Vico. According to a text found by Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, Vico told Archbishop Pedro de Castro:

> The tower seems to be a Jewish building because this witness has been to Oran where he saw some Jewish buildings and they were built according to the design and manner of this tower, and the design and construction of this tower is different to both Gentile

and Moorish buildings [*edificios de gentiles y moros*] and construction methods, because the Moors and Gentiles did not build the same type of building as this tower, which I know after having seen many buildings and having read about many different types of building, as well as being a master of this art.[85]

There is no record of Vico ever having been to Oran but even if he had, the small Jewish quarter briefly described by Leonardo Turriano would not have provided him with sufficient knowledge of the difference between Hebrew and Islamic architecture.[86] Secondly, it is hard to imagine that Vico would have been able to give a wholly independent view to the archbishop, on whom he depended for his position, or that he would have had enough real knowledge of Hebrew architecture to guarantee his claim for the tower's origin. However, he clearly sought to make an identification that was related to some of the theories on the city's origin being circulated at that time, and these would have provided the necessary support for his claim for sufficient antiquity to verify the relics and justify the tower's Oriental style.

The many testimonies on the initial action taken with regard to the relics are indicative of an archaeological debate about the tower. Later sources probably amplified the role played by architects, but it is clear that Vico must have drawn on a more widespread opinion.[87] Pedro Guerra de Lorca was cathedral canon and author of the unpublished *Memorias eclesiásticas de Granada* (1596), written in the wake of the Sacromonte finds. In it, he stated, as 'necessity now demands, this [book] provides confirmation of the ancient buildings that are to be found in this city from the times of the Hebrews, and the experts in the art of building have found that they are not Roman, but Hebrew buildings'.[88] His concurrence with Vico's view was above all supported with arguments based on the materials used, which were in turn related to biblical events. He added, perhaps of his own invention, a number of miraculous histories on the protection that the martyred St Stephen had granted the tower, thus saving it from the 1561 Granada earthquake. In so doing, he most likely echoed the Sevillian accounts of Sts Justa and Rufina.[89]

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[85] Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (Vaticano) Stanze Storiche, R7C, p. 302v. Quoted from García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 223, (ed. 2013) p. 219.

[86] Turriano, *A la Magestad*, p. 17v. See Cámara, Moreira, and Viganò, *Leonardo*, pp. 75ff, 248. On Vico, see Gómez-Moreno Calera, *El arquitecto*.

[87] An interesting reference, albeit at a later date, appears in Diego Heredia Barnuevo's biography of Archbishop Pedro de Castro: 'To this city he called the kingdom's most intelligent architects, who acknowledged the quality of the tower's construction, and thereby declared its antiquity, for which they revealed three yards in depth of earth in the building of the aforementioned tower, which had been forming on the surface of the first floor laid at its foundation, thereby burying its original height, and this was clear proof of its antiquity. They observed the tenacity, hardness, and depth of its base: the thickness and length, or height of the said tower, the erosion and wasting of its stones, the bonds and the extraordinary linking of them, which was so unlike all the uses of ancient Moorish and Roman buildings that it can only be amongst those of the Phoenicians that similar ones are to be found.' Heredia Barnuevo, *Mystico*, pp. 16ff. In the late eighteenth century Sebastián de Gálvez repeated the text almost word for word in *Recuerdos*, pp. 67r–67v.

[88] Guerra de Lorca, *Memorias*, p. 197r. On Guerra de Lorca, see Harris, *From Muslim*, pp. 56ff; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 32, 180, (ed. 2013) pp. 22, 172.

[89] Guerra de Lorca, *Memorias*, pp. 244v–245r.

The archaeological demonstrations made by Guerra de Lorca and the majority of authors writing after 1588 had scarcely any real evidential basis because the tower's demolition meant there were no remains to be studied. Since nobody acknowledged this lack of evidence, discussion of the building materials used in the tower varied from text to text or even between different texts by the same author. As seen above, in 1601 Gregorio López Madera, who was a convinced *Tubalist*, extended Ambrosio de Morales' archaeological theory in order to refine the interpretation of pre-Roman architecture and reinforce the proof given for the minaret's origin.[90] Whereas in a previous text dated 1595 he had limited his comments to describing the tower as a 'Roman work' and loosely relating it to Vitruvius,[91] in his 1601 publication, a far wider and systematic essay that aimed to confront the increasingly challenging response to the findings, he chose to date it as pre-Roman and developed a painstaking argument on the 'most ancient masonry' found in the tower and other buildings in Granada that were claimed to be pre-Islamic.[92] Opposition was offered by antiquarian Pedro de Valencia, who in 1615 defended the view that the tower was of Nasrid origin in order to support his criticism of the veracity of the relics. In conjunction with philological arguments, he pointed out that the tower was 'built by the Moors as it appears to be coated in plaster rather than lime'.[93]

Despite Mármol's initial opinion and Valencia's challenge, subsequent historiography unanimously took up the tradition begun by Vico, although they tended to displace the tower's origin from the Hebrews to the Phoenicians.[94] The manuscripts devoted to the Lead Books, like Pedro Velarde de Ribera's comments and collected documents, the book by the Marquis of Estepa, and general histories of Granada, such as Bermúdez de Pedraza's, preferred a Phoenician attribution because it maintained an eastern pre-Islamic antiquity that could explain the lack of classical features, but at the same time could, they thought, be more easily claimed as Christian.[95]

The Marquis of Estepa, Adán Centurión, paid special attention to analysing the tower and its construction (1632), making extensive use of primary sources, and was probably able to access the original reports made at the time of the demolition. His description of the tower's interior as a building constructed around a central support surrounded by a stairway coincided with the typical structure of many minarets.[96] Estepa's text, like all the public information on the Lead Books, was

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[90] His *Tubalism* in López Madera, *Excelencias*.

[91] López Madera, *Discurso sobre las láminas*, p. 22r.

[92] López Madera, *Discursos de la certidumbre*, pp. 7r, 39v. On the 1601 text see Urquízar Herrera, 'Gregorio'.

[93] Valencia, *Para el Ilmo*, p. 17v. On other early criticism of the Lead Books, see Ehlers, 'Juan Bautista'. See also Magnier, 'Pedro de Valencia'. On Valencia, see Gómez Canseco, *El humanismo*, pp. 174ff; Nieto, 'La identidad'.

[94] A continuation of the Hebrew hypothesis, also suggested for the Alhama baths, in Vergara Cabezas, *Apología*, pp. 18r ff.

[95] Velarde de Ribera, *Historia*, pp. 34v, 72r, 77v ff. Two early examples of this in the documents contained in Ms. 7187 in the BNE (Mss/7187) and the AAS (Box 40).

[96] Centurión, *Información*, pp. 3v ff. Commentaries on various types of expert evidence in pp. 90ff.

commandeered by the censors pending a decision on the disputed origin of the relics and texts in Rome. But antiquarian arguments were insistently repeated as an essential part of the habitual historiographical arsenal. To achieve this, as had been done from the outset, the tower was compared with the other Islamic remains which historians wanted to pass off as Phoenician. The ancient minarets in various parishes, including those of St Joseph and St John, the Elvira Gate, or the remains of the Genil Bridge, all shared the presumed Phoenician use of mortar and plaster. Velarde de Ribera extended the attribution to other testimonies in the village church near Pulianas and the countless old Islamic watchtowers spread across the kingdom.[97] At the start of the eighteenth century, the standard received opinion was that since the time of Pedro de Castro the pre-Islamic identification given by architects was what had determined the claim for this origin.[98] The name Turpiana continued to be used as the usual term for the tower. Pedro de Valencia had argued that this fact pre-empted the success of its supporters' views, given that it meant assuming the name and pre-Islamic origin used in the false manuscript. As a result of this debate, the cathedral was once more placed in a genealogical sequence that linked it to the city's antique Christianity in the customary style, promoting an ideological appropriation of the Nasrid tower that turned its demolition into restoration of early Christian use. This historiographical leapfrogging over Islamic Granada was rendered visible in the ceremony in which the relics were placed in the new building and in the indication of the ancient tower's site on cathedral maps.[99]

The location of the second wave of inventions in Sacromonte (1595) was not linked to the memory of a specific Morisco building, but was used to reconfigure the city's symbolic geography. The construction of an abbey dedicated to the martyrs on that site was promoted as the city's new spiritual centre.[100] As vicar general to Archbishop Pedro de Castro, as well as canon, archdeacon, and dean of the cathedral and abbot of Sacromonte, Justino Antolínez de Burgos, who had been intensely involved in the institutional re-signification of the discoveries, wrote a *Historia eclesiástica de Granada* (*c.* 1600–1610), which offered a new image of Granada's past.[101] The book attached great importance to Phoenician antiquities as testimonies of local Christianity. To add emphasis to this archaeological evidence, he included various illustrations in which Turpiana tower appeared surrounded by other minarets and Islamic ruins which had been the object of discussion in the relics debate. This Phoenician and Christian attribution to the Islamic remains dispersed across the city included the city walls, which engaged directly with Granada's urban identity.[102] Ecclesiastical censorship of the content of the Lead Books meant

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[97] Velarde de Ribera, *Historia*, pp. 72r, 77v.

[98] Heredia Barnuevo, *Mystico*, pp. 16ff; Gálvez López Mercier, *Recuerdos*, pp. 67r–67v. See also Serna, *Relación*, pp. 10ff.

[99] On the placement of the relics in the Cathedral, see Heredia Barnuevo, *Mystico*, pp. 52ff. Plan of Granada Cathedral with the site of the Turpiana tower in Gálvez López Mercier, *Recuerdos*, p. 70 bis.

[100] Harris, *From Muslim*, pp. 47ff.

[101] His involvement in the process is established by a comparison of the signatures on the documents in Box 49 in the AAS, in which he features recurrently in the context of the declarations on the 1595 inventions. Antolínez de Burgos, *Historia*.

[102] On the antiquarian reading of city walls, see Greenhalgh, *Constantinople*, p. 326.

that the text was never published, but Antolínez's proposals were clearly part of the widespread thinking on Granada during this period, and continued to have an impact. The antiquarian endeavour to transform the monumental references is also apparent in the work of other authors published later between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Antolínez's texts were eventually published.[103]

During the transition to the seventeenth century, Antolínez's ideas were common currency. Interestingly, the Moriscos behind the Lead Books and the institutional appropriation designed to emphasize Granada's Christian genealogy continued to converge in this antiquarian endeavour. Phoenician archaeology proved useful both to those seeking a double Arab and Christian identity and to those laying claim to the city's Europeanization. Modern historiography has interpreted Luis de la Cueva's *Diálogos de las cosas notables de Granada* (1603) as an attempt to recover the intentions of Granada's Moriscos in the face of the archbishop's machinations.[104] Although de la Cueva underscored Islamic links to the Lead Books, he also argued that the city had been founded by the Phoenicians. He began by compiling the antiquarian debate on Turpiana tower and its comparison with other minarets considered Islamic, backing this up with historical sources on eastern building methods. To this, he added other remains linked to St Caecilius, which had opportunely appeared in the Generalife, Alcazaba, Alhambra, and Sacromonte.[105] In the opposing camp, the Phoenician identification of Granada's origins and some of its Islamic monuments was accepted as orthodox by the archbishop. In parallel to Antolínez, Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza included this genealogical discussion on the historical canon of the city established in his *Antigüedades de Granada* (1608), seen above, and in his *Historia eclesiástica* (1638). Other later texts, such as Gabriel Rodríguez Escabias' *Discurso apologético* (1645), Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera's unpublished *Anales de Granada* (*c.* 1646), and the *Vindicias Catholicas Granatensis* by Diego de la Serna (1706), followed Bermúdez faithfully on this issue.[106] Bermúdez's final aims were very different from those of de la Cueva and he defended cultural and religious homogenization over Morisco religious hybridity. As a result, although both authors concurred in their praise of the major Islamic monuments and the use of the Lead Books, the antiquarian arguments were ultimately wielded to defend Granada's nobility rather than other cities of greater and more visible classical and Christian lineage. Granada possessed:

> towers, castles, and city walls of such antiquity that they make Rome look modern: because the Roman stones and history that confer antiquity on other cities are modern in this one (given its ancient function) as will be seen below.[107]

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[103] On the reuse of the prints by Diego de la Serna in the *Vindicias Catholicas Granatensis* (1706), see Moreno, 'El grabado en el Sacromonte', and 'El grabado en Granada durante el siglo XVII. I. La Calcografía'; Barrios and García-Arenal, 'De la autoría', p. 36.

[104] Harris, *From Muslim*, p. 64; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 224, (ed. 2013) p. 220.

[105] Cueva, *Diálogos*, w/p.

[106] Rodríguez Escabias, *Discurso*; Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales*.

[107] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedades*, p. 7v.

It was with this aim in mind that, in 1608, Bermúdez drew on the antiquarian debates on the foundation of other Andalusian cities.[108] The use of mortar, which as we have seen was cited as an indication of a building's Islamic or Roman origin depending on what was deemed apposite for each case, became the material used to identify the 'first and most ancient' city wall that surrounded 'the most ancient city of Iliberris, where the early Iberian Church's first Synod of Elvira or Concilium Eliberritanum was held'. There was also a second 'more modern, although ancient [city wall] from the time of the Gentiles like the first one' and a third one that was 'from the time of and built in the manner of the Moors' which supported arguments for the city's growth. The aim of citing this chronological sequence was, on the one hand, to respond to the lack of classical remains, and on the other to address the subtle problem of how to identify Granada with Iliberris and demonstrate its connection with St Caecilius as the main guarantor for the virtues of the city's Christian lineage. As a consequence, and without having to contradict his own eulogy on the Nasrid nature of the Alhambra or Generalife, Bermúdez somewhat blurred the mythical origin of the 'towers, castles, and city walls of such antiquity that they make Rome seem modern', and this allowed him to make a claim, by then considered canon, that the ancient minarets related with the Turpiana tower were in reality of Phoenician origin. As we now know, thirty years later, in his 1638 *Historia eclesiástica* the brief earlier reference to towers, castles, and city walls was then turned into a complete analysis of these buildings.[109] Detailed examination of the materials of ruins encountered in the Albaicín provided both a basis for the claim that this was the site of the Phoenician '*Hezna Roman* castle', which enabled the mythical Christian city to be located on this hill in clear opposition to the Alhambra, and support for the Sacromonte discoveries, which were located nearby. Bermúdez once more resorted to established arguments on the materials and techniques to defend the view that the abundant remains of mortar in the city walls and the minarets of the Albaicín were an indication of their pre-Roman antiquity and not a testimony of their evident Islamic identity.[110]

Having clarified the Christian origin of this neighbourhood, which was the city's main Morisco settlement, the monumental challenge presented by the Generalife and the Alhambra also had to be addressed. The former was Christianized by virtue of its cistern, which was deemed to have been made by the pagans as Mármol had suggested. A local tradition even claimed that it had been built by St Caecilius himself.[111] For the Alhambra, Bermúdez referred to the location of the Natta Capitol, which had been the 'main temple of the Phoenician Arabs' and that had conveniently provided the city's original name. Bermúdez was aware that the demonstration of this new lineage for the Alhambra was a complex one. He acknowledged that he had been 'obliged to think hard how to verify where [the temple] was in this city', in order to find 'that it was in the place that is the Alhambra fortress'. His position was based on three arguments. The first was

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[108] See Calatrava, 'Encomium'.   [109] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia*, pp. 22v ff.
[110] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia*, pp. 13r–13v.
[111] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia*, p. 37v.

the city's Phoenician city wall surrounding this area. The second, endeavouring to be more precise, established that the remains of ancient sculptures had been found in the Alhambra, which had been buried by the pagans prior to the Synod of Elvira, although he did not give much detail on these sculptures. Finally, the third reason added into the equation the antiquity of certain stones found in the structure of the Comares tower, which were, he claimed, earlier remains reused by Islamic builders.[112] With this antiquarian evidence, he established that the Temple of Natta had been sited there and that it 'had been the Capitol of this city'. He also recognized that 'in terms of such ancient material there can be no more proof'. As is to be expected, the importance of this matter was not only linked to this vindication of pagan status. The Temple of Natta was, he claimed, 'without a doubt the one that was later blessed by our Prelate St Caecilius, and the place where the first Spanish Synod, that of Elvira, was held'.

Beyond the two hills, the early Granada of the Gentiles and the martyrs of St Caecilius extended across the plain that unfolded at their base. Bermúdez traced 'the city's second wall and towers' and he focused on the diverse remains of the city wall such as the *Puerta del Sol*, 'which according to tradition was from the time of the Gentiles', although 'others state that it was a work of the Moors, to keep the captives imprisoned in dungeons'. He made it clear that this city wall, as far as the Birrambla, Elvira, and other gates, was 'built in the same way using the same material as the first city wall', and therefore claimed it likewise had a pagan origin. This allowed him to support the pre-Islamic antiquity of the Turpiana tower. As was customary, the Islamic identity of some minarets reused as bell towers was denied, such as the 'Tower of St Joseph, of stone and plaster, and the stones used as bricks in the wall, with their wide section facing out, which was a Gentile building technique'. Even the bridge over the River Genil showed the same Phoenician building techniques and its 'grandeur demonstrates that it was made for such a great and wealthy city'. We have seen that, in Bermúdez's eyes, the contemporaneous Morisco neighbourhood, the Alhambra, the Town Hall, the St John Tower, and the *Casa de Moneda* (Mint) were Islamic buildings, but that did not stop him from simultaneously affirming the site's Christian precedence.[113] The cathedral also acquired a Christian genealogy that was independent of both the building and location: it was claimed to have been located at the site of the Turpiana tower from the time of its initial foundation by St Caecilius up until the construction of the new Renaissance building, and it had been moved for a short time to the neighbourhood of the Alhambra in the years of the Catholic Monarchs' taking of the city.[114]

Bermúdez de Pedraza's claims for St Caecilius, the city's Phoenician past, the Turpiana tower, and the Capitol of Natta as the location of the Synod of Elvira should all be understood as creating the necessary historical context to guarantee the veracity of the relics discovered. It may be argued that both martyrs and stones

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[112] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia*, pp. 22v ff.

[113] On the discussions surrounding the antiquity of the Mint and the supposed appearance of Visigothic remains, see Jorquera, *Anales*, (ed. 1987) p. 80.

[114] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia*, p. 172r.

fed into each other, supporting the programme to redefine the city's overall identity. It meant that Granada, like Rome, was a city with a symbolic lineage of pagan or barbarian ruins that were symbolically transformed by the sacrifice of martyrs. Bermúdez gave the following defence:

> as Chrysostom said of Rome, that it was superior to all the cities in the world, not for its antiquities, nor for the triumphs of its captains, nor for being the lady of the world, but instead for having been the theatre in which Peter and Paul were martyred, and the urn of their relics. Granada can declare to all the cities of Spain that it is above them, not only for the beauty of its sky and land, but in being the first city that witnessed the first martyrs, heard their doctrine, and recognized their constancy and the first city in Spain that was ennobled with their blood, and enriched with their relics. These have been sustained by the Catholic Faith since its first fathers and were not lost amongst the Gentiles and Moors, their light has always been preserved amongst the relics of the Mozarabic Christians that were lost to Spain. Amongst them these martyred saints, buried amongst the cold ash of the infidel, shine like flashes of lightning.[115]

Secondly, and following Bermúdez, the martyrs' relics plotted out a new sacred reading of the city, in this case comparable with Jerusalem, which was a result of the conflation of sacrifices of the early Church and of the death of Christians under Islamic rule:

> (The cosmographers state that) with regard to Granada's form and plan it is the city that is more similar to Jerusalem than any other on Earth; and this is due to the way it extends down the sides and valleys of the mountains to the streams flowing into River Kidron, looking to the east to the Holy Mount of Olives, and to the west the Alcazar of Sion. In the same way, to the east, our city has the Sacred Mount Ilipulitano, consecrated with the martyrdom and blood of twelve martyred disciples of the Apostles of the Early Church: and to the west, from this mountain, there is the Hill of Martyrs, dyed in the blood of countless people, who being captives of the Moorish Kings, were martyred in their dungeons, and the Royal Alcazar of the Moorish Kings in Granada. Mount Lebanon, which means mountain of snow, corresponds with this city's Sierra Nevada, and the Mount of Olives to the Hill of Santa Elena, in terms of proportion and distance from the site.[116]

The antiquarian and theological debate on the Lead Books raged on throughout the Early Modern Period. In the final years of the eighteenth century, it still had an impact on a new wave of excavations and discoveries, although with different interests at stake and framed by enlightened academic archaeological approaches.[117] Prior to this, and as has been said above, in the mid seventeenth century the Lead Books had been sent to Rome to be studied and their case was resolved in 1682 with their texts condemned but their relics legitimized. Negation of the writings marked the end of Morisco aspirations of cultural and religious hybridization, which had, by this stage, already been forgotten. However, affirmation of the tradition of the relics endorsed the new geography defined by the Christian martyrs

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[115] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia*, p. 52r.   [116] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia*, p. 31r.
[117] López García, *Arabismo*; Caro Baroja*, Las falsificaciones*, pp. 143ff; Rodríguez, *La memoria*; Mora and Álvarez, 'Las falsificaciones'; Salas, *La arqueología*, pp. 207ff.

that sought to make Granada's cityscape a site of Christian identity. In the seventeenth century, the definitive account of Granada's history based on Sacromonte meant another turn of the screw in the appropriation of the *Aljama* Mosque minaret that had been the basis for the initial Turpiana narrative. The relic-invention strategy ended up with a specific agenda focused on martyrdoms of its own. Although this idea was not part of the Moriscos' original plans for the Lead Books, Archbishop Pedro de Castro's appropriation of their forgery sought to provide a new symbolic reading of the city in which monuments of Islamic origin were ascribed an alternative identity within sacred Christian areas. The most significant example of this was the discovery on Sacromonte hill, opposite the Alhambra, where the archbishop founded a monastery to commemorate the historical martyrs. This programme had a direct impact on various descriptions of the city that relegated Islamic monuments to lesser prominence. The sacred history texts offered a new image that competed with the eulogy of the Islamic trophies contained in the chorographies. Apart from the pages devoted to the Sacromonte discoveries, the only monument that Antolínez described in detail was the new cathedral. In a similar manner, in Diego Heredia Barnuevo's biography of Archbishop Pedro de Castro (1741), Granada appeared as a Christian city with no other epithets, as for instance in the narration of the reception of his funeral procession in Sacromonte.[118] In the context of the specific expectations generated by these religious texts, the *Aljama* Mosque had been demolished and in its place a new humanist cathedral had been built; when seen from the city, the Alhambra looked like a simple castle, whose sumptuous architecture was reduced to the private realm, while Sacromonte became the new spiritual bastion on the city's third big hill. The writings endeavoured to evoke this reading, but how far they succeeded is another matter altogether.

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[118] Heredia Barnuevo, *Mystico*, w/p.

CONCLUDING IDEAS

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Charting the Impact of Historiographical Texts?

Over the course of this study, the various narratives on ancient Morisco buildings developed in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish historiography have been classified, reconstructed, and subjected to critical analysis. The core focus has been the strategies employed by these texts to articulate responses to potential interpretations of Islamic monuments as an element of Spain's national history. However, as is the case with much research on the history of ideas that draws primarily on literary sources, a degree of uncertainty remains with regard to the results obtained by the discursive approaches analysed. The task of this final chapter is to study evidence for the impact of the themes that were presented in the historical works studied over the preceding pages, and above all to address how real experiences of Islamic buildings were shaped—a complex question but one that merits scrutiny. Peter Burke, in his study on the critical reception of Baldassare Castiglione's *The Courtier*, rightly affirmed that there are approaches to the issue of reception that provide insights into how books were understood and ideas received.[1]

In the context of this particular study, a major challenge that needs to be addressed with methodological dexterity is the limited range of documentation sources in contrast to the wealth of evidence examined in the previous chapters. Nonetheless, a meaningful survey may be pursued across the following discursive spaces: the conditions that shaped the reading of books and the traces of oral traditions; the conventions of authority that operated across the various genres of historiographical writing; the relationship between historical texts and visual representations; and finally, the interpretative strategies applied to these monuments by foreign audiences. The study of these four areas allows us to draw a series of conclusions on the extent of the influence exerted by Spanish historiography's aim of cultural homogenization over the early modern reception of Islamic buildings.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF RECEPTION

The texts that have been analysed over the course of this book sought to construct a specific perception of the past. They sought to intervene in the community

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[1] Chartier, *Lectures*, and *Culture*; Burke, *The Fortunes*. On the Spanish case see Chevalier, *Lectura*; Dadson, *Libros*; Bouza, *Comunicación, Corre*, and *Hétérographies*; Prieto, 'Recibida'.

identity by forming a confluence with their readers' interests. It is therefore relevant to enquire as to who these readers were and what uses they made of these books on Spain's history and monuments. Volumes on history were a fundamental section in the private libraries owned by the Spanish elite during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but what is still more interesting is that these works appear to have been some of the most read. Indeed they were a core cultural element of an eminently historical civilization, at a time which Anthony Grafton has referred to as 'the heyday of history'.[2] This pattern was repeated across Europe.[3] In this context, it is important to underscore that, across the Peninsula, besides this general interest in the history of nations as well as in the origins of cities, there was also a specific demand for books on episodes from the Christian conquest that could be linked to other matters related to Islam, such as information about North Africa and European interest in the Turks. The many Castilian translations of books on such subjects clearly reveal this.[4]

With a specific focus on urban historiography, Richard Kagan's research has demonstrated the involvement of local elites in the production and reception of this genre.[5] Just as national histories were written in continual dialogue with the Crown, the writing of local histories frequently depended on civic institutions. Strictly antiquarian texts straddled both worlds, the national and the local, and were subject to specific interests in each case. Besides humanists' libraries, chorographies were also read at court as well as in secular and religious local institutions. Ambrosio de Morales' *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España* (1575) had a nationwide circulation, albeit monitored by Philip II, and had a direct impact in each of the towns it addressed, above all in Córdoba, the author's birthplace. On the other hand, although Blas Ortiz's *Summi Templi Toletani Descriptio* (1549) was a local text produced by Toledo Cathedral Chapter and widely read in the city for many centuries, its readers also included members of Philip II's court. The arguments used in these works were produced, received, reworked, and disseminated by groups involved in the construction of a collective national and local identity. In 1643, the inventory of the library belonging to Pedro de Granada Venegas, first Marquis of Campotéjar, systematically listed all the histories of Granada and other publications sponsored by his family on the subject of the Lead Books.[6]

Such books were aimed at the oligarchy and were always available to them. Many local histories and treatises on antiquities remained in manuscript form and even those that were published had relatively small print runs. Nonetheless there is clear evidence that people had access to them. For example, Luis de Peraza's unpublished *Historia de Sevilla* (*c.* 1530) was conserved in the library of the Dukes of

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    [2] Grafton, *What*, p. 192.
    [3] England is probably the country to which researchers have paid most attention in this regard. See Woolf, *Reading*, and *The Social*; Kewes, *The Uses*; Cox Jensen, *Reading*.
    [4] Kimmel, 'Local', pp. 24ff. See Busbecq, *Embaxada*, pp. 31v ff; Sessé, *Libro*, pp. 72r ff; Sapiencia, *Nuevo*, pp. 7v ff.
    [5] Kagan, 'La corografía', pp. 54ff. See also Aranda, 'Autobiografías', pp. 167–8; García Hernán, 'La España', pp. 139ff.
    [6] Alvarez and García Luján, 'Las lecturas', p. 163.

Alcalá in Seville, where it was consulted by local antiquarians at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Copies have also been preserved to this day in Seville's cathedral, city council, and university libraries.[7] Meanwhile, many printed history books were sold throughout the period. With regard to the specific issue of the circulation of these volumes, José Manuel Prieto's research on book-collecting in Madrid offers conclusions that are most probably applicable to other places. Of special note is the fact that, in the seventeenth century when the majority of these appropriation strategies were established, the proportion of works on history in inventories rose, and a significant proportion of those listed were local histories.[8] Some of the nobility owned more than ten city histories in their Madrid libraries. For example, in 1616, Juan de Acuña, Marquis del Valle, owned Morgado's *Historia de Sevilla* and Bermúdez's *Antigüedades y excelencias de Granada* along with a further nine titles.[9] At that time, chorographies, urban histories, and ecclesiastical histories were the most widely distributed genres, and these books were also owned by members of lower social strata. A review of Madrid book dealers' stock inventories also raises a number of interesting points: firstly, local histories from around the country were in demand at Court where, for example, in 1624 Juan del Casar stocked various histories of Toledo and Granada; secondly, at that time, mid-sixteenth-century history texts, such as the works of Florián de Ocampo and Ambrosio de Morales, were as keenly sought after as the most recent works by Esteban de Garibay and Juan de Mariana. In conjunction with this general interest in history, antiquities, religious genealogies of cities, and travel accounts from the Orient also prompted special interest.

Other approaches to the study of these books reveal the editorial strategies used by publishers, which in turn yield insights into authors' expectations and the context that shaped their reception by these potential readers. The examples are endless. For instance, it cannot have been a coincidence that the Spanish translation of Alonso de Proaza's history of Valencia (1505), which was originally written in Latin, placed a greater emphasis on the city's Christian genealogy while effacing its Islamic history more thoroughly than the Latin version. Nor was it fortuitous that the marginalia in the printed edition (1582) of Ruy González de Clavijo's *Historia de Tamorlán* (*c*. 1406) underscored the descriptions of cities, or that the marginal notes and contents of Diego de Torres' *Relacion del origen y sucessos de los Xarifes* (1586) highlighted the architectural wealth of Fez at a time when proposals were being aired to conquer the city.[10] In books of a general nature, it was common practice to point out antiquarian and architectural matters in the contents page and margins. It is interesting to note that the library of the Monastery of El Escorial contained a manuscript copy of Luis de Mármol's description of Granada from his

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[7] See Morales Padrón, 'La historia', pp. 85ff.

[8] Prieto, 'Recibida'. See also Chevalier, *Lectura*; Dadson, *Libros*; Bouza, *Comunicación, Corre*, and *Hétérographies*; Chartier, *Culture*, pp. 133ff. Specific examples of the modes of reading historical works in Europe in Strauss, *Sixteenth Century*, pp. 135ff; Popper, *Walter*, pp. 254ff. See also Woolf, *Reading*, pp. 132ff, and *The Social*, pp. 73ff.

[9] Prieto, 'Recibida', p. 910.

[10] Proaza, *Oratio*; González de Clavijo, *Embajada*; Torres, *Relación*.

book on the War of the Alpujarras (1600).[11] The intellectual space in which these negotiations of identity took place was an interesting subject for readers and authors alike, and publishers were aware of this.

The dissemination of these texts went beyond the physical limitations of circulating and reading individual copies of books. They were often echoed in public addresses. For instance, a sermon read in Toledo in the seventeenth century in remembrance of the banishment of the city's Muslims quoted al-Razi via Ambrosio de Morales in order to highlight the city's primacy and its links to Babylon.[12] Richard Kagan has clearly illustrated this phenomenon in his remarks on the publication of sermons delivered at religious festivities during the commemoration of James I's conquest of Valencia. Significantly, many of these works of sacred rhetoric drew on local histories.[13] In particular, as Luis Arciniega has indicated, Pere Antoni Beuter's *Primera parte de la historia de Valencia que tracta deles antiquitats de Spanya y fundació de Valencia* (1538) was published as a consequence of it being addressed in a sermon during the third centenary celebrations of the Christian conquest of the city, and it was then reused in a number of later sermons.[14] In Granada the celebration of the city's Christian recapture was likewise an event in the ceremonial calendar and connected with historiographical programmes, as well as being a recurring subject in sermons.[15] In 1644, in Luis Tello de Olivares' view, the taking of the Alhambra was comparable to the capture of Jericho. Given the special occasion, the sermon preached by Manuel de Natividad on the two-hundredth anniversary of the 1492 entry provided a summary of all the traditional historiographical arguments and presented Granada as a new Jerusalem with two foundations: a material one, that took place in the age of King Tubal, and a second, spiritual one, which arose from the building of churches when 'the yoke of Babylonian Mohammed was cast off'. Naturally, the martyrs of Sacromonte also gave rise to sermons.[16] With regard to this later interest shown in the recapture of the various cities, the focus on Granada and Valencia was by no means accidental given that these two cities had had the largest Morisco communities. As the well-known example provided of Núñez Muley demonstrates, this population understood Islamic monuments as sites of memory and therefore their re-signification was all the more necessary.

Although historiographical texts neither sought after nor could obtain an extensive number of readers, nonetheless their dissemination encouraged other discourses with a wider public circulation.[17] In Granada, for example, the extensive ecclesiastical and antiquarian debate about Sacromonte eventually became one of the basic myths of the city's popular identity. Despite the Church's ban of the theological content of the Lead Books, the relics focused collective ideas about Granada's

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[11] García Figueras, 'Españoles', p. 83.   [12] *Sermón predicado*, pp. 15, 20.
[13] Kagan, 'La corografía', p. 58.   [14] Arciniega, 'Miradas', pp. 64, 74ff.
[15] See Harris*, From Muslim*, pp. 90, 97ff; D'Albis, 'Les fêtes', and 'La tournure'; González Alcantud and Barrios, *Las tomas*, pp. 527ff.
[16] Tello de Olivares, *Ciudad*, pp. 2v ff; Natividad, *Encantos*, p. 5. See also Galvarro y Armenta, *Sermón*; Madrid, *Sermón*.
[17] On the problems of the study of popular beliefs about the past, see Woolf, *The Social*, pp. 301ff.

origin and had a decisive impact on the interpretation of the city's Islamic past and architectural heritage.[18] The historical works of Bermúdez de Pedraza and other authors maintained a connection with the life of the city and provided content for oral traditions.[19] The first assessment of the Sacromonte relics by the Archbishop Pedro de Castro was accompanied by bell-ringing across the city and artillery salvoes fired from the Alhambra fortress. From 1595 onwards, processions were held at Sacromonte in honour of the martyrs, led by the local nobility.[20] These ceremonies were repeated in the archbishop's honour on his occasional visits to Granada from Seville.[21] In one of his letters to Castro, Bernardo de Aldrete recalled the festive mood of Sacromonte, where liturgy and preaching were combined with a feature of the social life enjoyed by the academic humanist community, which was centred around group readings on St Caecilius held in the gardens.[22] Meanwhile, these falsifications also influenced older popular religious cults by absorbing them into the traditions of the martyrs.[23] When Bermúdez set out to narrate the city's history, he was responding to a certain extent to institutional agendas, but also to the expectations of the people of Granada who had taken part in these events, despite the fact that the majority would never read his text.

The public ceremonies and the cities' festive calendars were articulated in relation to the construction of memory and collective identity, and to achieve this they drew on arguments provided by historians. Royal visits afforded invaluable occasions to present the community with theories on the origin and history of a particular place, and these were formulated by circles of humanists and, in parallel, presented as texts. For example, in Toledo, visual representations of the Visigothic kings were displayed during such festivities.[24]

In Seville, the two triumphal arches built to welcome Philip II after the defeat of the Granada Moriscos reclaimed the classical period with an image of Hercules, whilst also displaying Our Lady the Ancient, the Giralda, and Sts Justa and Rufina.[25] According to Juan de Mal Lara's 1570 description, which later authors followed closely, the second arch featured a personification of Seville holding the city's cathedral steeple in her left hand 'to show that her greatest care is Religion, and on her breast a locket with a portrait of Our Lady the Ancient'.[26]

During the festivities held in these cities, as elsewhere, the local population and visitors could contemplate a synthesis of the cities' mythical origins in which the Islamic past was virtually absent and insistently replaced with an early-Christian

[18] González Alcantud, 'El mito'.
[19] Calatrava, 'Arquitectura', 'Encomium', 'Islamic', and 'Contrarreforma'. See also Harris, *From Muslim*, pp. 60ff.
[20] Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, pp. 29ff, 80, 92ff; Coleman, *Creating*, pp. 199–200; Harris*, From Muslim*, pp. 4ff; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, pp. 35ff, (ed. 2013) pp. 25ff. A description of the celebrations and processions in Velarde de Rivera, *Historia*, pp. 24r–26r.
[21] *Recibimiento y fiesta*.
[22] Aldrete*, Collected*, (ed. 2009) p. 163.   [23] Simini, 'Vida'.
[24] Gómez de Castro, *Recibimiento*. See Díez del Corral, *Arquitectura*, pp. 220ff.
[25] See Méndez, 'Antigüedad'.
[26] Mal Lara, *Recibimiento*, pp. 152–3. See also Espinosa de los Monteros, *Segunda*, p. 103r; Collado, *Historia*, s/f.

genealogy. Morisco buildings featured solely in the context of strategies of cultural and religious appropriation, and this was even more evident during religious celebrations.[27] Every city celebrated the founding of their cathedral which, as has been shown, represented the conversion of the former mosque and was imbued with notions of restoration.[28] Furthermore, each city had its own history of local martyrs. On the one hand these histories also gave rise to processions, ephemeral architecture, and even some form of monuments that re-signified urban spaces, and the impact of these initiatives is well documented.[29] According to Francisco de Pisa, a ceremony for the transfer of the remains of St Eugene to Toledo included, as witnesses, Philip II, Prince Carlos, his cousins the Princes of Hungary and Bohemia, Rudolf and Ernest, as well as a large number of dukes, counts, marquises, knights, and prominent individuals.[30] Similarly, contemporary sources on the reception of St Leocadia's relics accompanied their accounts of the procession and ephemeral pageantry with transcriptions of the poetry that was read out on such occasions. These poems emphasized the restitution of the martyr's remains by Philip II, giving closure to a cycle that had commenced with the arrival of the Arabs and the removal of the relics to Asturias 'to keep you, Our Lady, safe from the fury of the African Barbarian'.[31]

In Córdoba and Granada these events gave rise to petitions for the construction of monuments to the martyrs and in response monasteries were built in their name. In 1610, a column was erected in the Alhambra to commemorate the Christian martyrs who had met their fate under the Muslims, and a number of relics were also displayed.[32] In Seville, the conclusion of the building work on the Giralda and the relocation of Our Lady the Ancient were significant events for mass public reception of the communal memory.[33]

On the other hand, the impact of these programmes was replicated inside the churches in the form of readings, sermons, and prayers as part of the established liturgical calendar. Amongst many similar examples, Córdoba and Seville display an archetypal model of behaviour. In Córdoba, the historiographical recovery of Roman and Mozarabic martyrs by Ambrosio de Morales, together with the discovery of relics in the parish of St Peter, led to the transformation of the cathedral's Tabernacle Chapel into a commemorative site for these saints.[34] The calendar included in the cathedral's breviaries listed festivities related to its Christian foundation that echoed Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's historical narrative. Although Arabic ornaments were praised, during this period writers also engaged with the

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[27] Espinosa de los Monteros, *Segunda*, pp. 86ff. See Lleó, *Nueva Roma*, (quoted from 2012) pp. 173, 221ff. See Arciniega, 'Miradas', p. 82.

[28] On Toledo see Quintanadueñas, *Santos de la imperial*, pp. 510ff.

[29] On these festivities and liturgy in Granada see D'Albis, 'Les fêtes', 'La tournure', and 'Sacralización'.

[30] Pisa, *Descripción*, pp. 83v–84r.   [31] Hernández, *Vida*, p. 321r.

[32] On this monument see Heredia Barnuevo, *Mystico*, p. 78. Another reference to this monument, dating it to the era of the Catholic Monarchs in Velázquez de Echevarría, *Noticias*, p. 67. On the Córdoba case see Cuesta, 'El monumento'.

[33] *Memorias eclesiasticas*, pp. 49r, 100v.

[34] Among others see Pérez Lozano, 'Los programas'; Urquízar Herrera, 'Mural'. See also Cuesta, 'El monumento'.

historiographical tradition of the temple's pre-Islamic precedents through refer-
ences to early Christian martyrs. In the final years of the sixteenth century, the
greater part of Córdoba's liturgical calendar became dominated by the cult of saints
who defended their faith in the face of the Romans and Muslims. The 1590 brevi-
ary already contained numerous festivities devoted to each of the martyrs, but the
1633 calendar was completely governed by them and even included a specific fes-
tival marking the foundation of the devotion to their relics, which stated that fol-
lowing the years of servitude under the Arabs, Christian history had been restored.[35]
In Martín de Roa's words, Córdoba Cathedral had been the first to introduce 'the
worthy custom of reading every day the [names of the] Martyr saints that had
appeared in it for the sake of Christ'.[36] The Seville Cathedral breviary promoted
the cult of the saints from an early date, prior to the formulation of their history
by Luis de Peraza (*c.* 1530), who was aware of the major role these texts and the
cathedral liturgy had played in the collective perception of the building: the trad-
itional image of the Giralda tower flanked by its protecting saints was first used as
an illustration in one of these breviaries.[37]

   Amongst all the sources of information on the intersection of historiographical
strategies and their reception, one of the most revealing is a manuscript conserved
in Seville Cathedral's Biblioteca Colombina; it contains a miscellany of texts on the
city's history. The manuscript reproduced notes made by various individuals in their
copies of Alonso Morgado's *Historia de Sevilla* (1587). Two of these authors were
Cristóbal Báñez de Salzedo, Precentor of Seville Cathedral and author of various
texts on the city's bishops, and Juan de Torres de Alarcón, a doctor associated with
Rodrigo Caro. Accompanying their commentaries and additions to the history of
antiquities, noble crests, and descriptions, these readers of Morgado underlined the
stories of concealed images in the days of the Visigoths, Our Lady the Ancient, and
the debate on the mortar used to build the city wall, as well as Sts Justa and Rufina
and the protection of the Giralda tower. In regard to the latter, Báñez noted that
Morgado reported that the cathedral's crest was widely believed to be an image of
the tower flanked by the martyrs because they had been buried by the Muslims
alongside their main mosque, and 'they [then] cast the huge tower that we see today
on top of them'.[38] On this issue Báñez followed Rodrigo Caro, demonstrating the
special effect of martyriologies on the transmission and popular spread of the strat-
egies of historiographical appropriation. The local arguments for homogenization
were clearly at the disposal of the public, and the acknowledgement of this fact raises
one final question: were these arguments received in isolation?

TRADITIONS OF THOUGHT

As discussed in the introduction and established over the chapters that followed, in
sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain the effort of negotiating the significance
of Islamic monuments was focused within the sphere of history. Despite the potential

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[35] *Officia propria Cordubensis*, pp. 127–8.
[37] *Missale divinorum* (1520, 1534, and 1537).
[36] Roa, *Flos*, p. 84r bis.
[38] *Memorias eclesiasticas*, pp. 122r ff.

for engaging with other areas, those equipped to realize this failed to take the opportunity. The first arabists were above all concerned with the Arabic language.[39] Still more significant was the fact that architects did not need to write about these buildings from the perspective of their discipline, nor were they interested in doing so. In the architectural theory published in Spain during this period, Islam does not even appear as a possible opposition to the classical model.[40] Historiography provided a space for reflection on the Islamic past and established clear limits for the development and transmission of ideas about cultural alterity and homogenization: these were subject to the discipline's core interpretive frameworks and the introduction of notions of authority amidst the community of historians. The previous chapters' survey of the channels of transmission that disseminated this historiographical corpus has yielded valuable insight and established how historiographical traditions were created from scratch, as well as derived from specific tropes. To fully gauge this cultural phenomenon it is necessary to think in terms of the formation of a structural framework for ideas about Islamic architecture and national identity. It was essentially this framework that enabled the intervention in the symbolic interpretation of the buildings.

Ambrosio de Morales established the paradigms for this intellectual development. He was the most widely quoted writer and the author whose work was read with the greatest attention to detail.[41] His description of Córdoba Mosque was copied word for word in a number of subsequent books and emulated in many others. It was drawn on by antiquarians, historians, and educated travellers.[42] The full extent of the complex significance of Morales' Córdoba-centred example becomes apparent if we take into account his sustained connections with antiquarians in

[39] Although Arabic was revived as an erudite tool in the face of accusations of barbarism, it seems clear that the horizon of interests of these scholars did not encompass architectural monuments and it had no specific impact on the ruins of the Hispanic Islamic past. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 381, (ed. 2013) p. 375. See also Bataillon, 'L'arabe'; Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism*. The example of Bernado de Aldrete is significant. Although he wrote a report for the Crown on Córdoba Mosque, his studies on Arabic philology and North African antiquities avoided addressing Islamic buildings. See Aldrete, *Del origen*, *Varias*, and *Relación*. In France, a similar situation occurred.

[40] On reports by architects see Cámara, 'La pintura', p. 38; Olds, *Forging*, pp. 31ff. See also Cárcamo, *Al Rey*, pp. 19v, 23r.

[41] The positive reception of Morales' books from Philip II in Kagan, *Clio*, p. 114.

[42] In Córdoba, and throughout the modern era, Morales' description was used extensively by historians: it was copied in full by Andrés de Morales in his *Historia general de Córdoba* (1649); it was used as the key source of information and a model for emulation by Pedro Díaz de Ribas (1625); it was adopted by Enrique Vaca de Alfaro (1677) and Tomás Fernández de Mesa (1744) in their descriptions of the mosque. It was also the model for rehearsing various ideological approaches to Islamic buildings, such as in Pablo de Céspedes' *Discurso sobre la antigüedad de la catedral de Córdoba y cómo antes era templo del dios Jano* (*t.a.q.* 1608) and Martín de Roa's *Flos Sanctorum de mártires cordobeses* (1615). Fray Gregorio de Alfaro used it in his biography of Bishop Francisco Reinoso (1617). Morales' apparent lack of prejudice combined with erudition gave him a prestige that went well beyond both his ideological perspectives and historical period. In the final quarter of the eighteenth century, Enlightenment historian Antonio Ponz, who held the view that there was no better way of explaining the Mosque, simply reproduced the description in full, adding his own comments on the Christian transformations made to the temple. Consequently, Morales' ideas were still available for nineteenth-century travellers and the early development of art history in Spain. Ponz, *Viage*, pp. 278–305. See Calatrava, 'La Alhambra'; Lillo, 'La visión'.

Seville and Granada, as they offer a clearer picture of the referential authority of his texts.[43] Morales provided the arguments for the antiquarian and religious appropriation of al-Andalus' monuments ranging from their pre-Islamic origin to the commemoration of the Christian martyrs. The general framework of the scholarly controversy regarding the foundation of cities, the antiquity of monuments, and the authenticity of relics contributed to the establishment of a model reading amongst other historians. Without Morales' antiquarian proposal it would not have been possible for the next generation to take this process a stage further, putting archaeological approaches at the direct service of a process of religious homogenization based on fabrications that supported the monuments' Christian genealogy. Although on many occasions the genealogical arguments proposed by his followers were wholly lacking in historical methodology, these stories were widely acknowledged in the spheres of historiography and popular belief. An indication of the success of these speculations were the angered attacks launched by the *novatores*, a later group of historians who insisted on a more critical outlook and sought to improve their discipline's method, as well as to eliminate commonplace themes and adulterations.[44] Afterwards, the Enlightenment revival of interest in Islamic architecture took as its point of departure dialogue with this historiographical tradition and concern for the appropriation of identity.[45]

Nonetheless, the process of transmitting the historiographical tradition launched by Morales and the subsequent densification of historiographical networks did not result in a single point of view on the Islamic past. Close analysis shows that there were always complementary and even contradictory approaches, and these were frequently found in the same text. A case in point is the reception of Miguel de Luna's falsification of the story of King Roderick (1592) which, as discussed above, favoured a more hybrid model of Christianization in cultural terms. Many elements of Luna's text were later echoed in a range of different texts, such as the history of Toledo written by Francisco de Pisa (1605) and Lope de Vega's comedies (1638).[46]

One fundamental reason for the complexity of these entwined yet at times opposing discourses was the continuity of medieval narratives that were mainly based on variations of the idea of Islamic architecture as a war trophy. As discussed above, in the early thirteenth century, the archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, became an established authority and his writings went on to be frequently quoted throughout the Early Modern Era. Ambrosio de Morales, who had made a manuscript copy of Jiménez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispaniae* (*Historia Gothica*), drew on his work in both his *Corónica general* and *Las antigüedades*. The persistence of Jiménez de Rada's ideas led to the efforts made to ensure a homogeneous idea of

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[43] See Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo*, pp. 43ff; Gascó and Beltrán, *La antigüedad*; Ruiz Pérez, 'La reconstrucción'. See also Olds, *Forging*, pp. 234ff.

[44] Antonio, *Censura*, p. 4. See Pérez Magallón, *Construyendo*; Botella, 'Los Novatores'.

[45] See Henares, 'Arqueología'; López García, *Arabismo*; Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, pp. 143ff; Rodríguez, *La memoria*; Morán and Rodríguez, *El legado*; Tortosa and Mora, *Historias*; Mora and Álvarez, 'Las falsificaciones'.

[46] Pisa, *Descripción*, pp. 120r ff. On Luna as a source for Lope de Vega in *El último godo*. See Ryjik, *Lope*, pp. 44ff; Kirschner and Clavero, *Mito*, pp. 43ff. On the translation of Miguel de Luna into French in 1680, see Carrasco Urgoiti, *Los moriscos*, pp. 190ff.

Spanish culture in conjunction with a display of the alterity of Islamic architecture as spoils of war. Jiménez de Rada's influence is most conspicuous in the general histories of Spain. In the final third of the sixteenth century, the Christian conquest narratives were included in the chronicles written by Morales, Esteban de Garibay, and Juan de Mariana, who continued to use many elements derived from medieval sources. In addition, these texts did not follow the antiquarian debate on Islamic monuments which was being developed contemporaneously. Morales restricted his *Corónica general* to political and religious history. Garibay, who wrote prior to Morales' *Las antigüedades*, did not pay any significant attention to the Christianization of Islamic buildings. Mariana, writing a few years later, did draw on the discussion of pre-Islamic martyrs in Córdoba and commented on the Christian paintings in Seville's Giralda, but he did not offer any antiquarian perspectives on these issues, nor did he defend the monuments' appropriation as Christian buildings.[47] In contrast, Jiménez de Rada's trophy notion was maintained in these books. It is therefore clearly relevant that these general histories continued to exert a very strong influence on the definition of the memory of Islam in Spain throughout the seventeenth century, and that this coexisted with the distinct concerns of antiquarian literature and local historiography.[48]

In this context, there were also differences in the treatment of Islam in general histories. As discussed above, Garibay was the historian who most openly proposed a reading of the period of Islamic rule as part of Spain's shared heritage. His decision to do so was probably related to his more open approach to writing national history, which he conceived in terms of the combined impact of the Peninsula's various kingdoms. The idea of integrating the Muslim kings into Spanish history was similarly found in other spaces of memory, ranging from the creation of a series of portraits of the Spanish monarchs to the histories of national libraries, but this idea was not shared by all.[49] Furthermore, in general histories this view is more commonly sustained in relation to the more distant caliphs as opposed to the more recently conquered kings of Granada. References to the splendour of the Umayyad period were a central element of historiographical glosses of Córdoba Mosque as a trophy of war. Other city histories sought connections with Umayyad Córdoba, and its mosque in particular, but the favourable reception of this building is particularly noticeable in general histories.[50] Albeit with variations, Garibay and

[47] Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, pp. 341, 609, 628, and II, p. 398. See Wolf, *Christians*, pp. 36ff; Rodríguez Mediano, 'Hegira', pp. 245ff.

[48] See Kagan, *Clio*.

[49] Examples of this integration are provided in Argote de Molina, *Nobleza*, pp. 18ff; López, *Tropheos*, pp. 330ff; Rojas, *Historia*, pp. 565ff. On the polemic about the inclusion of the Muslim kings in the gallery of the Palau de la Generalitat en 1787 see Galdeano, 'La sèrie', pp. 34ff. On the inclusion of Muslim kings' libraries in Fray Diego de Arce's history of libraries, see Arce, *De las librerías*, (ed. 1888) pp. 37ff; Peraza, *Historia*, (quoted from BUS) pp. 119v ff.

[50] See the comparisons made between Córdoba Mosque and the church of St Saviour in Sevilla by Alonso Morgado, and then to Toledo's bridge and mosque, which was attributed to Abd-al-Rahman, by Pedro de Rojas or, on a more modest scale, Fernández Portillo's comparison with the main church of Gibraltar. Morgado, *Historia*, p. 96v; Fernández Portillo, *Historia*, p. 104r; Rojas, *Historia*, II, p. 642. This situation also included the references, commented on above, in which attempts were made to forge links with the prestige of Umayyad buildings by claiming that a part (or a major part)

Mariana extolled the virtues of the supreme sovereigns of the Hispanic Islamic Empire. The classical tradition often included commentaries on architectural magnificence amidst the celebrated facts recounted in biographies, and these historians included the deeds of the caliphs along with those of the Visigothic and Christian rulers of Spain.[51] For this purpose they used the information provided by al-Razi also reproduced by Morales. On this issue, however, Mariana stifled his laudatory flow and, whilst maintaining the idea of the war trophy, his commentaries on the Islamic rulers and the magnificence of their buildings were much more reserved. Moreover, his account of the capture of Córdoba criticizes the Umayyad Kings' architectural taste, expresses disdain for the design of Granada's historic Nasrid *Aljama* Mosque and, ultimately, barely touches on the issue of the origin of that other marvel of Islamic Spain, the Almohad Giralda.[52]

In contrast, Garibay's acknowledgement of the value of architectural war booty was far more generous, and this is clearly illustrated in his account of Córdoba Mosque. In the opening chapters of his book he discussed 'the many sanctuaries and religious houses to be found in Spain' as one of the attributes that attested to the nation's prestige, then, having reviewed the main Christian churches and the evidence for the existence of classical temples, he concluded by stating that during the Islamic period 'the mosque of the city of Córdoba, which is now a church, was the building that, after the unspeakable tomb of Mohammed, received the greatest devotion amongst the Moors of Africa in Spain'.[53] With these words he acknowledged the building's architectural merit and included it in a set of buildings that were primarily 'Spanish' architecture; naturally the survey focused on the Christian eras, but classical examples were also covered in line with historiographical convention.

In regard to these written appreciations of Islamic monuments, the protective measures taken to safeguard these buildings offer an interesting parallel. The early example of the care Alphonse X the Wise devoted to the trophies of the Christian conquest underwent a transformation during the Early Modern Period and evolved into an attitude that defended the conservation of these buildings from a historical perspective that valued Islamic contributions to the nation's grandeur. The perception of the architectural value of these war trophies was one of several factors that led to the preservation of the Alhambra and many other buildings. In Zaragoza, engineer Tiburzio Spannocchi endeavoured to save the Hall of Marbles when the Aljafería was turned into a citadel.[54] In Córdoba, one hundred years after the

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of the columns of Córdoba Mosque was material seized by the Muslims from Cádiz, Mérida, or the nearby, and also more discreet, village of Bujalance.

[51] Garibay, *Los XL*, (quoted from 1628), IV, p. 268; Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, p. 326. An example of this type of acknowledgement in local histories, in Rojas, *Historia*, II, pp. 642 and 719. An identical historiographical perception can be found in Mármol Carvajal's description of Africa, *Primera*, p. 113r.

[52] Mariana, *Historiae*, (quoted from 1623), I, pp. 609, 628, and II, p. 398.

[53] Garibay, *Los XL*, (quoted from 1628), I, pp. 65–6.

[54] On the interventions made to the Alhambra see Marías, *El largo*, pp. 183ff, and 'La casa', pp. 209ff; Vilar, *Los Reyes*. See also Gallego, 'La corte', p. 274; Cámara, *Arquitectura*, pp. 26ff; López Guzmán, *Colección*, pp. 123ff; Brothers, 'The Renaissance'; Marías, 'El palacio', pp. 113ff; Domínguez

controversy regarding the construction of the Cathedral, a new debate arose during the reign of Philip IV on whether to build a new royal chapel inside the mosque. In the face of all the genealogical claims for the mosque being located on the site of the temple of Janus, the Christian martyrs, and the Roman origin of its fabric, Bernardo de Aldrete (1637), a close disciple of Pablo de Céspedes and member of the cathedral chapter, issued a defence of the mosque's value based on the simple, unaffected, and rational recognition of the Islamic building as a monument. In addition to this, he cited a number of arguments taken from historical sources.[55] His use of Morales' description in his report and the success of these explanations to prevent a further partial destruction of the mosque proved that the reception of the appropriation of the identity of these Islamic buildings was by no means linear.

In this context, it is worth pointing out that the narrative defining these buildings as war trophies was a significant development on the old medieval idea set out by Jiménez de Rada. This setting of a new perspective is especially interesting because Rada's idea of trophy was combined with a specific notion of heritage which led to Islamic buildings being incorporated into the community. The general histories played a role in this development as they took up the assessments of these monuments that had been established in the chorographies produced in the first half of the century.[56] Lucius Marineus Siculus and Pedro de Medina classified these war trophies amongst the country's most prestigious laurels. For instance, since the mosque was the only building in Córdoba Medina discussed, he offered an extensive description of it that combined historical erudition and direct observation of its architecture.[57] His appreciation also extended to the Islamic kings and a number of other illustrious Muslims, comparing Avicenna to the Roman Lucian.[58] As we saw in Chapter 3, this historiographical current affected the reading of both the historic monuments acquired during the thirteenth century, and those in the more recently conquered Granada.

Marineus, Medina, and Garibay introduced a mode of interpretation of Spain's architectural heritage that based its arguments not only on the conquest, but on the intrinsic values enshrined in these buildings as architectural works. It was argued that Córdoba Mosque and the Alhambra were already deemed praiseworthy at the time when the former still belonged to the Umayyads—who considered it 'a work of the greatest devotion'—and when the latter was a possession of the Nasrids, who derived 'pleasure and delight' from it.[59] It was therefore possible to praise Islamic building skills as a precedent for the architectural grandeur

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Casas, 'Arte y'; Martín, 'Los inicios'. The fortification of Málaga's Alcazaba in Pacheco, *Discription*. Spanocchi's intervention in Cámara, 'La fortaleza', p. 37. I am grateful to the author for bringing this issue to my attention. On the appreciation and reuse of the Aljafería building in the Late Middle Ages, see Serra, 'La imagen', pp. 40–2.

[55] The debate on the heritage issues raised by the building of the new royal chapel in Córdoba Mosque is discussed in Aldrete, *Relación*, and Ponce de León and Navarrete, *Informe*.

[56] Kagan, 'Arcana', p. 58. See also Gómez Moreno, *España*, pp. 282ff; Tate, *Ensayos*.

[57] Medina, *Libro*, pp. 51ff.

[58] See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient*, p. 360, (ed. 2013) p. 353.

[59] Garibay, *Los XL*, (quoted from 1628), I, pp. 65–6; Marineus Siculus, *De Hispaniae*, (quoted from 1539) p. 170r.

commissioned by the Christian sovereigns. While the appropriation of these buildings' identity was one of the aims of later antiquarian literature, the temporal projection established in general histories raised the possibility of Islamic monuments being understood, in the seventeenth century, as part of Spain's history, on the basis of their alterity. This positive reception occasionally went as far as to include Islamic buildings that no longer existed but were described in local histories of Alcalá de Henares, Ávila, Huesca, Elche, Almería, or Osuna, and viewed as part of the cities' claims to glory, despite the ignominy that was constantly piled upon the very people who had built them.[60]

The complexity of this situation is clearly reflected in the way fictional literature engaged with these messages in this period. The antiquarian appropriation of the pre-Islamic period was echoed in the poetic eulogies of cities, which sought to forge links with their mythical origins and conceal their Islamic legacy. This tendency can be noted almost everywhere and is particularly relevant with regard to Granada as the most recent conquest.[61] A good example of this is the Latin poem Juan de Vílchez dedicated to Granada (*c.* 1540). His verses refer just once to the '*perfidi Mauri*' (perfidious Moors), and in the past tense. By emphasizing the past, he highlighted Christian worship in these temples and, although he singled out the beauty of the Alhambra, he failed to mention that its builders had been Muslims.[62] However, the urban eulogy was not an overly popular genre, whereas during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a taste for the hybridity of the Christian conquest world of chivalry and as a literary subject it was taken up by poets and playwrights, who had a great deal of popular influence.[63]

The point of departure was the re-elaboration of the Christian conquest's cultural legacy in order to deploy it in a literary narrative.[64] This environment favoured, for example, Gonzalo Argote de Molina's sixteenth-century publication of Don Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor* (1330–1335), which led Ambrosio de Morales to quote its comments on Córdoba Mosque in his antiquarian essay.[65] Such frontier-style cultural hybridity also forged a relationship with the models of classical historiography, as demonstrated by the treatment of architecture in the theatre. Monuments featured on the stage as conventional props that were scarcely described

[60] See *Anales complutenses*, pp. 283–4; Ariz, *Historia*, p. 52v; Aynsa, *Fundación*, pp. 54, 504ff; Sanz, *Recopilación*, pp. 45r, 50v; Pasqual y Orbaneja, *Vida*, pp. 51ff; García de Córdoba, *Compendio*, p. 46r.

[61] See Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', p. 340; Carrasco Urgoiti, 'Los escritores'. An example relating to Madrid in Cock, *Ursaria*.

[62] See Luque, *Granada*.

[63] See, amongst others, Carrasco Urgoiti, *El moro de Granada*, 'Notas', *El moro retador*, 'Musulmanes', 'La frontera', *Los moriscos*, and 'Los escritores'; Alvar, *Granada*; Fradejas, 'Musulmanes'; Case, *Lope*; Stoll, 'Una introducción; Díaz Más, 'La visión'; Fuchs, *Exotic*; Romo, 'La victoria'; Burk, 'La patria'; Sánchez Jiménez, 'La batalla'.

[64] For an interpretation of these narratives as a mechanism opposed to hybridity see Marchante-Aragón, 'The King'.

[65] Don Juan Manuel's praise of the extension of Al-Hakam II framed the eulogy in terms of war booty established by Jiménez de Rada. He described the building as 'the largest and most accomplished and noblest mosque that the Moors built in Spain', and he went on to clarify that 'thanks be to God, it is now a church and called [the church of] Holy Mary of Córdoba, and it was given as an offering by King Ferdinand to Holy Mary when he won Córdoba from the Moors'. See Wacks, 'Reconquest'.

because their purpose was to conjure up a vague sense of Islamic wealth and magnificence. For example, in *La fundación de la Alhambra*, attributed to Lope de Vega (1603), it was considered sufficient to explain the huge endeavour required to build the Alhambra along with the interest shown by Ferdinand III of Castile, who desired to see its 'antiquities' and 'curiosities'.[66] Meanwhile, other texts such as the *Guerras civiles* by Ginés Pérez de Hita (1565) and the miscellaneous *El Viaje entretenido* by the dramatist Agustín de Rojas Villandrando (1614) showed an ongoing concern to consider Islamic architectural works as current and contemporaneous artefacts that symbolized cultural encounter.[67] Hybridity and the defence of Spain's intrinsic Christian essence often met on the stage.[68] All these divergent ideas circulated concurrently, with frequent crossovers.

It may be stated that the project of cleansing the memory of the Islamic past, despite the success of falsifications and mystifications, evidently had limitations even within official historiography itself. The authors' continual contradictions reveal the difficulties faced in implementing an overarching authoritative narrative. The divide between literary maurophilia and political and religious maurophobia was nuanced as the need arose for an architectural heritage that supported a narrative of magnificence and antiquity. The persistence of Islamic architectural forms similarly shows the impossibility of isolating Islam from contemporaneous architectural practices. The transformations made to Islamic buildings, far from encouraging their destruction, instead sustained a hybrid perspective as they sought to combine, as Barbara Fuchs has indicated, historiographical arguments with the advantages offered by their wealth and monumental scale.[69] Forty years after the publication of Morales' *Las antigüedades,* a text by Fray Gregorio de Alfaro, a preacher from the Monastery of St Benedict in Valladolid, offered an imaginary description of the official entry into Córdoba Mosque of Francisco Reinoso, the recently elected bishop of this city who was among those responsible for the work recently completed in the cathedral. Alfaro wrote an extensive account of the building in which a description of the new section was combined with discussion of the building as a trophy of the Christian conquest, praise of its Umayyad architecture, debate on the architectural transformations, and an ambiguous suggestion of the temple's twin Roman and Christian lineage. The combination of viewpoints provided by Alfaro was founded on the most medieval aspect of Morales' thought: the bishop 'was greatly awed by the strange construction of that building, which is marvellous in every part and unique in all Christendom'.[70] The historical arguments for homogenization were often interwoven with hybrid traditions.

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[66] *De la fundación*, pp. 24r–25r. See Carrasco Urgoiti, 'Notas'; Case, *Lope*; Sánchez Jiménez, 'La batalla'.

[67] Rojas Villandrando, *El viage*, pp. 69r–69v. See Cámara, *Arquitectura*, pp. 228–9, and 'La ciudad', p. 128. Pérez de Hita, *Historia*, pp. 1ff, 32.

[68] A sample defence of Spain's Christian essence in *El cerco de Numancia* by Miguel de Cervantes. See Álvarez Martí-Aguilar, 'Modelos'.

[69] Fuchs, *Exotic*, pp. 52–9.   [70] Alfaro, *La vida*, pp. 70v ff.

VISUAL STRATEGIES

The study of the early modern images of Islamic monuments offers an additional indicator for the process of dissemination and reception of historiographical narratives. As a starting point, it should be noted that whilst the importance of Islamic architecture was acknowledged in the form of written descriptions and analyses, this was not accompanied by a parallel engagement in the form of images. There are few examples of visual representations of Spanish buildings from this period. It was only in the second half of the eighteenth century that Spanish scholars undertook to produce drawings and prints of interior and exterior views of Islamic buildings as part of an increased Europe-wide appreciation for this type of architecture.[71] However, it is important to note that in the previous centuries the majority of the very few representations of Islamic buildings were connected to historiographical strategies in one way or another.[72] This historiographical bias is even clearer if views of cities are set aside, as they commonly responded to initiatives that were distinct from those of the specific local society.

Another relevant issue is that Islamic buildings were practically absent from illustrations in antiquarian texts, which as a rule were reserved for depictions of classical inscriptions and sculptures. The two drawings of the Torre del Oro and the Torre de la Plata included in the manuscript of Luis de Peraza's *Historia de Sevilla* conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (*c.* 1530) were not explicitly acknowledged as representations of Islamic works.

Although it was accepted that the towers were not from the time of Julius Caesar, this lack of precision could lead readers to assume that they originated in antiquity.[73] Neither was the horseshoe arch sketched by Pablo de Céspedes in his attempt to reconstruct the Temple of Solomon in writing probably presented as an Islamic work.[74] It is not easy to find images of Islamic objects, remains, or buildings that were expressly represented as such, with the exception of the prints made by Díaz de Ribas (1627) of arabesque plaster panels and Umayyad masonry found in Córdoba, and the elevations of Islamic arches found among the ruins of St Thyrsus in Toledo that Alonso de Cárcamo included in his letter (1595) to the king. Although Díaz de Ribas was one of the authors most interested in Islamic architecture, these two images were included in his book because they were considered useful to illustrate his archaeological discourse on the differentiation of Roman remains. Similarly, the Toledan arches were mentioned in the context of identifying the old

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[71] An example of this shift is the inclusion of prints in the *Antigüedades árabes de España* by José de Hermosilla (1766). See Rodríguez, *La memoria*, pp. 113ff; Almagro, *El legado*. On Enlightenment Europe's reception, particularly since the publication of Francesco Milizia's texts, see Montijano, 'Cartografía', pp. 154–61. A precursor of these images, which will be studied below, is Louis Meunier's series of engravings showing views of Spanish royal palaces around 1650. Meunier, *Differentes*.

[72] A study of medieval cartographical representations in Sáenz-López, 'La Reconquista'.

[73] Peraza, *Historia*, (quoted from BNE) pp. 106r–106v. See Cabra and Santiago, *Iconografía*, pp. 48–9.

[74] Céspedes, *Borradores*. As mentioned above, due to difficulties accessing the Granada Cathedral Archive, I have been unable to access the original drawing, which is reproduced in Rubio Lapaz and Moreno, *Escritos*, p. 352.

esta razone, como por la gran multitude, 106
oro, q̃ cada dia al pie della se descar-
ga, q̃ de las Indias se trae con gran
causa se pudo y puede o por mejor dezir
se deue llamar torre del oro. Añudo desta torre
la muralla =
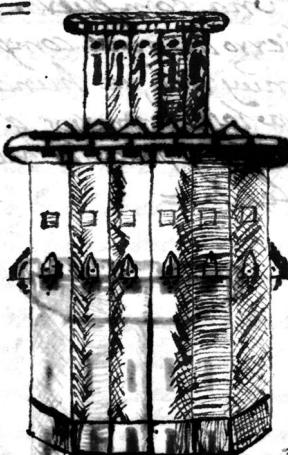
TORRE DEL ORO.

Ay otra torre de mayor grandeza y altura,
q̃ las torres al rededor del muro, a esta llā-   Torre dela
man la torre de la plata, y la causa   plata porq̃
                                                    se llama assi
es q̃ como niros mayores en todo fueron
tan expertos, quanto nosotros somos de
descuidados, en la otra los Reyes guarda-
ban el oro, y en esta la plata, y de aqui
le quedó en memor. de su dignidad an-
tiqua, ser llamada la torre de la plata.
Desta torre por el muro de la mano iz-

Fig. 7. *Torre del Oro.* In Peraza, Luis de. *Historia de la ciudad de Sevilla.* Manuscript, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS/10532, *c.* 1535.

chapel of St Thyrsus. The scarcity of visual representations is a clear indication of the limits of antiquarian scholarly interest in this historical period.

To the eyes of all but the well informed, the majority of the images of Andalusian cities produced locally included no significant references to their Islamic past. A series of paintings commissioned in 1612 by Philip III for Madrid Alcazar depicts the expulsion of the Moriscos from Valencia. The seaside towns from which the exiles sailed are clearly shown to be Christian, as proclaimed by their proud belfries (Vinarós) and the crosses that crowned their towers (El Grau de Valencia, Alicante).[75] Careful scrutiny reveals partial images offering a fragmentary vision which, as has been said, was subject to the filter of the ideological appropriation of identity: for example, the mural paintings of the Tabernacle Chapel in Córdoba Cathedral contain features that include conventional Islamic architecture. This was justified because it was the setting of portraits of martyrs from the Islamic period.[76]

At the lowest level of development, most of these representations affirm, once again, the continuity of the trophy concept that was promoted in texts. Humanist editions of medieval chronicles contained illustrations which highlighted the capture of cities and mosques. The *Crónica latina de los Reyes de Castilla* (*Crónica de Fernando III*) (1516) included a representation of the laying of the first stone of Toledo Cathedral following the destruction of the *Aljama* Mosque, as well as the restitution of the bells from Santiago de Compostela following the conversion of Córdoba Mosque. This tradition was perpetuated as a result of the later codification of the iconography of scenes depicting the handing over of city keys, a vital component in the development of the symbolic image of Ferdinand III which was extended to other sovereigns such as the Catholic Monarchs.[77] Such images were used to illustrate historical texts and as pictorial subjects. One of the earliest representations is a drawing that featured in a manuscript of *Genealogía de los Reyes de España* by Alonso de Cartagena (*c.* 1460), in which the scene is already framed by the mosque and its tower.[78] By the end of the seventeenth century this topic had become such a commonplace that it was said there was no house in Seville that did not venerate this scene.[79] In all its variants, the subject required the Islamic origin of the captured cities to be represented. To achieve this, conventional architectural elements were included, such as the horseshoe arch or else specific views of the most popular Islamic monuments, whether those of Córdoba, Seville, and Granada, or of smaller towns such as Vélez-Málaga, where Francisco de Bédmar's 1652 *Historia Sexitana* reused an old, mid-sixteenth-century woodcut on the frontispiece.[80]

A number of sixteenth-century images of Granada use a similar device to highlight the Alhambra's value as a trophy of conquest as well as the *Aljama* Mosque's

[75] Blaya, Ardit, and Villalmanzo, *La expulsión*.

[76] Among others see Pérez Lozano, 'Los programas'; Urquízar Herrera, 'Mural'.

[77] See Portús, 'Algunas', p. 143; Rodríguez Moya, 'Fernando'; Mariana, *Cultura*, pp. 260, 780ff.

[78] See Cabra and Santiago, *Iconografía*, pp. 38ff, 178ff.   [79] Torre Farfán, *Fiestas*, p. 59.

[80] Various examples of these images are found in the painting *Handing over the Keys of Cordoba* by Acisclo Antonio Palomino, as well as those of Seville by Juan del Espinal. On Bédmar see Martín, 'Historiografía'.

Fig. 8. *Surrender of Vélez*. In Bédmar, Francisco de, *Historia Sexitana de la antigüedad y grandezas de la ciudad de Vélez* (Granada: Baltasar de Bolivar, 1652). Biblioteca Nacional de España.

minaret. Views of Granada are also displayed on the choir stalls in Toledo Cathedral, the high altar of the Royal Chapel in Granada, and the fresco of the Battle of Higueruela at El Escorial.[81]

Finally, other major corpora of images that adhered to historiographical developments were representations of Islamic buildings that depended directly on religious appropriations based on genealogical claims. Again, different arguments coexisted as part of a general tendency towards cultural homogenization. Toledo has been studied in depth in this regard. As discussed above, the city had no clearly visible Islamic major monuments, but did have an extensive Islamic history, and efforts were made to limit its dissemination. Once more, the close ties between historiography and imagery were revealed, on this occasion on the frontispiece of Antonio de Quintanadueñas's history of Toledo's saints (1651): the ecclesiastical history of the city was illustrated by an image of the city as an imperial and Christian seat of power.[82] El Greco's portraits of Toledo (*View of Toledo*, at the Metropolitan Museum of New York, *c.* 1600, and *View and Plan of Toledo*, at the Museo del Greco in Toledo, *c.* 1610) are even more interesting because they explicitly declare their connection with historical narratives.

Recent research has devoted a great deal of attention to the literary sources behind these paintings and their relevance to the historiographical recovery of the city's classical and Christian past within the context of the city's rivalry with Madrid

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[81] See Gil Sanjuán and Sánchez López, 'Iconografía', p. 105.
[82] Quintanadueñas, *Santos de la imperial*. See Martínez Gil, 'De civitas', p. 327.
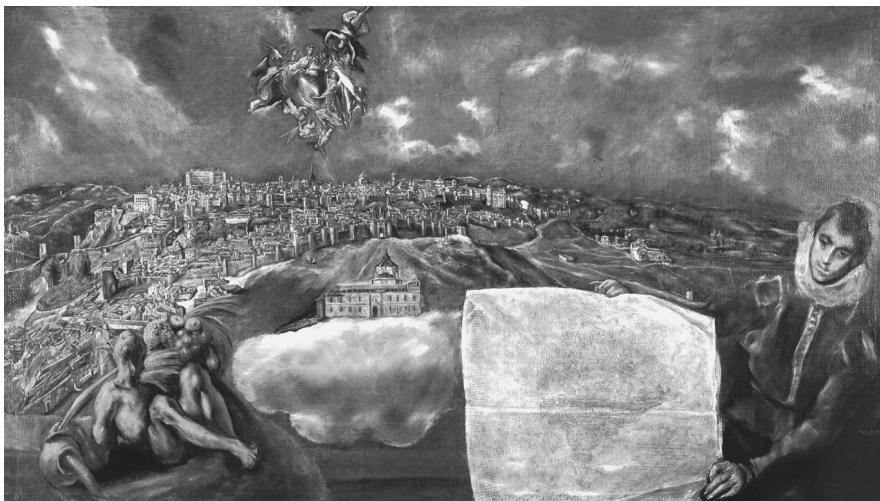
Fig. 9. El Greco, *View and Plan of Toledo*, *c.* 1610. Toledo, Museo del Greco.

as the capital of the Kingdom.[83] El Greco provided a visual representation of the ideas surrounding the history of Toledo and its buildings, both ancient and modern, that were being discussed around the same time by Francisco de Pisa and Jerónimo Román de la Higuera amongst others. Attention has been paid to the alterations made by El Greco to the actual appearance of Toledo in order to highlight the presence of buildings such as the alcazar and the cathedral, which were also key features in histories of the city. El Greco's *View and Plan of Toledo* was probably commissioned by his friend Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, who was the administrator of Tavera Hospital and author of a biography of St Ildefonsus. It has been argued that this explains the privileged position of this building and the fact that the saint, who appears in every history of Toledo, can be seen floating above the city. Similarly, attention has been paid to the sources behind the personification of the River Tagus. This image would have been derived from the proposal made by Alvar Gómez de Castro, which was later followed by Pisa and Román de la Higuera in their descriptions of the river. With regard to the Metropolitan Museum's *View*, it has been proposed that the representation of the group of buildings that appears poised on the grey cloud on the left side of the painting corresponds to the Agaliano Monastery described in the sources on St Ildefonsus.

The interweaving of historiographical appropriations and urban views emerged in paradigmatic form in Granada. In early representations, produced prior to the Sacromonte forgeries, the city's Christian transformations were increasingly highlighted in the form of the monastery of St Jerome and the ongoing construction

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[83] See Cámara, 'La pintura'. See also Brown and Kagan, 'The View'; Díez del Corral, *Arquitectura*, pp. 128–44; Marías, 'Tipologia', pp. 101ff, and 'Imágenes', pp. 100ff; Kitaura, 'Vista'.

of the cathedral's new vault as new and celebrated features.[84] An especially relevant example is the depiction of these spaces in the image of Granada in Pedro de Medina's *Libro de las grandezas*, which was one of the few non-conventional cityscapes included in this book (1548).[85] Later, and as part of the campaign in favour of the Lead Books and the symbolic re-signification of the city, it may be argued that an organized effort was made to transform Granada's visual codification. To achieve this, various prints were produced that aimed to turn Sacromonte into the centre of Christian religiosity and the principal element of the city's urban identity.

These images were produced for the ecclesiastical history written by Justino Antolínez de Burgos (*c.* 1610). Although they were not published at the time due to the censorship of the Lead Books, their very existence signals contemporaneous interest in reinforcing written arguments with visual media.[86] A particularly interesting example of this endeavour are the engravings made by Francisco Heylan to enhance the archaeological discourse on the relics with evidence of the discovery of Phoenician buildings that would support an early dating. Heylan produced a print entitled *Construcciones fenicias de Granada* which includes the bridge over the River Genil, the Hezna Roman and Elvira gates, the 'uninhabitable' Turpiana tower, and the steeple of St Joseph's church, thereby adhering to the book's written arguments that had been repeatedly circulated since the discovery of the relics.

It is curious that, although they concerned easily identifiable Islamic buildings, the representations transformed the appearance of these locations by feigning a form of orientalized style that was intended to support the archaeological arguments. In parallel to this, the urban plan, known as the *Plataforma de Granada*, drawn by Ambrosio Vico and also engraved by Heylan, offered a general image of the cityscape that was dominated by the new Christian structures. For example, Charles V's palace was given special prominence within the Alhambra, and the old mosque was replaced with the incomplete cathedral, represented by a solemn triumphal arch crowned with a dome and a Christian cross. As mentioned above, the ban on Antolínez's publication prevented the initial circulation of these prints, but their later inclusion in Diego de la Serna's *Relación breve de las reliquias que se hallaron en la ciudad de Granada (Vindicas Catholicas Granatensis)* continued, in visual form, Bermúdez's claim for the building's Phoenician origins a century after it was formulated.[87] Today these prints continue to be part of the image of Granada promoted by Sacromonte Abbey.[88]

Other similar initiatives confirm the extent of interest in the visual reproduction of these arguments from the period of the Lead Books onwards. The anonymous

[84] See Calatrava, 'Arquitectura', pp. 204ff; Rodríguez, 'Sobre'; Gámiz, *Alhambra*, pp. 27ff.

[85] Medina, *Libro*, p. 142r.

[86] See Moreno, 'El grabado en el Sacromonte', 'El grabado en Granada', and '…Calcografía'; Calatrava, 'Arquitectura', pp. 204ff; Harris, 'The Sacromonte', p. 517, and *From Muslim*, pp. 125ff.

[87] See Moreno, 'El grabado en el Sacromonte'; 'El grabado en Granada', and '…Calcografía'; Pérez Galdeano, 'La sèrie'; Gámiz, *Alhambra*, pp. 90ff. An earlier reuse of Heylan's prints, but limited to the portraits of the martyrs in González de Mendoza, *Historia del Monte*.

[88] See Henares and Hagerty, *La Abadía*.
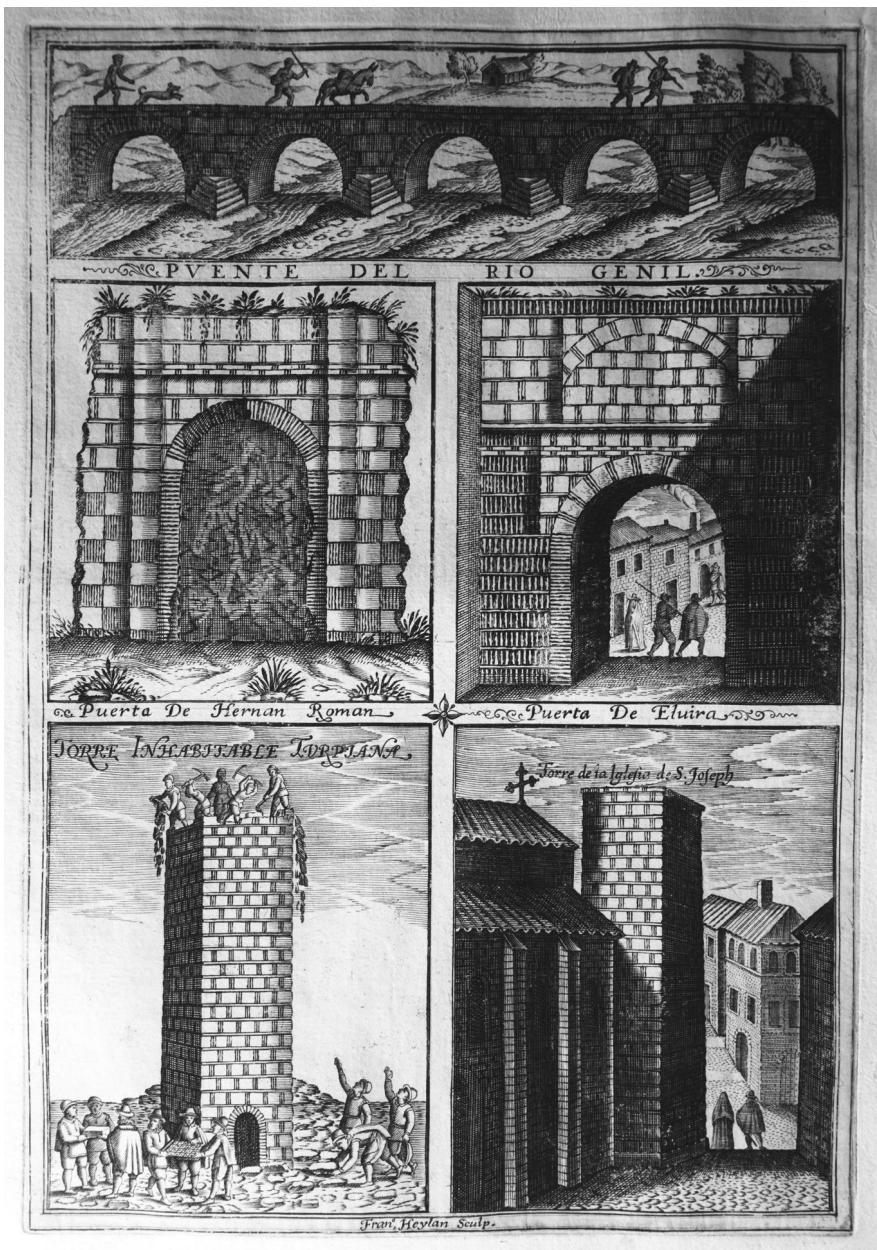
Fig. 10. Francisco Heylan, *Phoenician buildings of Granada, c.* 1610. Archivo de la Abadía del Sacromonte de Granada.

account of the relics published in 1608 included another new map of Granada
that developed these strategies with even greater intensity: Granada was depicted
as a map of churches with a *via crucis* that celebrated the martyrs, drawn as a pro-
cessional route leading to Sacromonte.[89] The efforts to dilute Islamic Granada
within the new city of the martyrs were also revealed in the festive programme for
Philip IV's visit in 1624. In contrast to the central role played by the Alhambra in
Charles V's visit, Philip IV, who also stayed in the Nasrid palace, attended cere-
monial acts at the Abbey of Sacromonte, at the site of the relics of St Caecilius, and
in the cathedral.[90] At the end of the eighteenth century, when a new exotic view
of Islam was being fostered, the recollections of Granada by Sebastián de Gálvez,
a friar and scholar from Valladolid, continued interweaving the city's visual image
with the old written strategies: his text devoted less space to the Alhambra than to
the monument erected to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and in
his map of the city the Islamic palace was less visible than Sacromonte. Travellers
visiting during this period would no doubt have preferred to build a romantic
image based on the alterity of Islamic monuments,[91] but due to the local persist-
ence of the Christian homogenization agenda, old and new traditions existed
in parallel.

Within the broad panorama of the relationship between images and homogen-
izing historiographical strategies employed for the ideological appropriation
of monuments, Seville stands out as a case study. Of the three major cities of
al-Andalus, only Seville's general visual image was linked during the sixteenth and
seventeenth centuries to the architectural remains of the Islamic past.[92] In views of
Córdoba and Granada, the presence of the mosque and the Alhambra is by no
means comparable to that of the Giralda in images of Seville. As has been demon-
strated, the symbolic power and visual presence of this tower were exploited at
length in histories of the city and in the representations that established its urban
iconography. However, the use of this feature did not imply any support for the
history of Islamic rule. Furthermore, the proliferation of images of the Giralda
from the sixteenth century onwards was ideologically framed in terms of its clas-
sical and Christian appropriation, which involved architectural changes to the
building and the production of visual props for the strategies implemented in text-
ual form. In general terms the Cathedral was associated with Our Lady the Ancient,
as shown, for instance, in the opening print of Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros'
text on Seville Cathedral—a clear declaration of principles regarding the temple's
historical genealogy.[93] More specifically, the Giralda tower, the principal Islamic
icon, was particularly linked to the memory of Sts Justa and Rufina, whose vital
role in the symbolic process of Christianization has already been discussed. A par-
ticularly interesting early image of these martyrs is a painting (1553–1555) by the

[89] *Relación de todos los arzobispados*, w/p.   [90] Harris, 'The Sacromonte', p. 517.
[91] See Calvo Serraller, *La imagen*. Among others see also Méndez, *La imagen*; Méndez, Zoido, and
Plaza, *Viaje*; Stearns, 'Representing'; Calatrava and Zucconi, *Orientalismo*; González Alcantud, *El mito*.
[92] See Sancho Corbacho, *Iconografía*; Cabra and Santiago, *Iconografía*; Oliver, Serrera, and Portús,
Iconografía; Portús, 'Algunas'; Mariana, *Cultura*, pp. 172ff.
[93] Espinosa de los Monteros, *Teatro*.
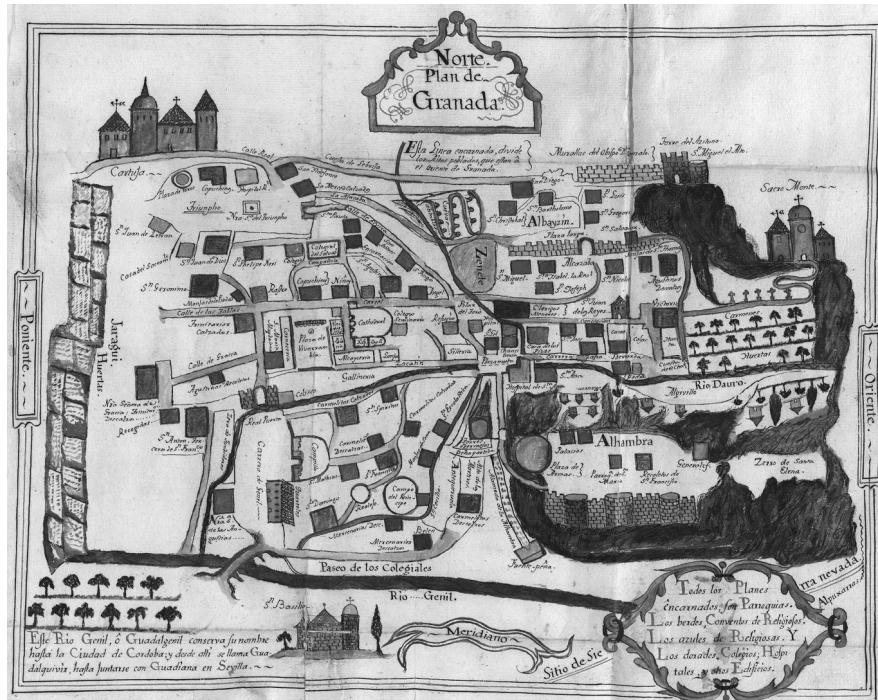
Fig. 11. *Map of Granada*. In Gálvez López Mercier, Sebastián de. *Recuerdos de Granada, que manifiestan la Situación de aquella gran Ciudad, congeturan su Antigüedad. . . .* Manuscript, Real Academia de la Historia, 9/2001, 1795.

Seville-based Flemish painter Ferdinand Storm (Hernando de Esturmio). His work presents the saints and tower set amidst classical ruins, as a way of emphasizing the classical origin of all three.[94] Over the following years, other images of the group were produced, such as that by Miguel de Esquivel (*c.* 1620), which included the new architectural and decorative changes to the tower. Esquivel devoted so much attention to the Christian programme that his depiction of the tower is the best source of information on the lost murals painted by Luis de Vargas.[95] Later paintings such as those by Domingo Martínez, Matías de Arteaga, and on up to Francisco de Goya (1817) perpetuated this iconography. In addition to these paintings, numerous prints reproduced the image of the tower and the saints. Furthermore, as the Giralda and the two saints became part of the cathedral's coat of arms, this image was widely disseminated as a standardized association that appears in the frontispiece of numerous books and manuscripts. It featured

[94] Serrera, *Hernando*, pp. 89ff; Méndez, *Velázquez*, p. 229. See also the 1500–1515 painting of the saints by the Master of Moguer on display in the parish church of St Anne, showing Seville harbour and the Giralda between the two figures. Sancho Corbacho, *Iconografía*, Fig. IV, p. 2; Cabra and Santiago, *Iconografía*, pp. 44ff.
[95] Valdivieso and Serrera, *Historia*, p. 379.

repeatedly in scholarly texts on the cathedral's history published by the chapter, and also became a hugely popular religious icon.[96]

To a certain extent, the images of Seville's main tower reveal the same historical ambiguity as religious accounts. This ambiguity was strong enough to ensure that the tower's inherent Islamic identity would be diluted even in the iconography used in early modern commemorations of the recapture of the city. A paradigmatic example is a well-known account of the festivities organized in Seville to celebrate the canonization of Ferdinand III. In his book (1671), the Sevillian author Fernando de la Torre Farfán included some key images of the Giralda tower as a fundamental space within the symbolic programme created for the celebrations.[97] Engraved by Matías de Arteaga, his print of the tower bedecked with garlands blowing in the wind soon became one of the best-known images of the monument.

The accompanying text offers a brief description of the cathedral in which it was described as 'incomparable though ancient, and a greatly admired object of veneration to all nations' due to its 'gothic' construction and 'cresting'.[98] However, nothing is said about the tower in the exegesis of the festive decorations that appears later in the book. The decorative programme and its description appear to have deliberately shied away from any debate on the Giralda's origin. It was deemed sufficient to refer to its uncertain antiquity in general terms, along with the assertion that its magnificence surpassed the marvels of Italy and Rome. The Muslim builders, who could have been cited in the text and images to conveniently underscore the King's triumph in terms of spoils, were wholly absent from references to and representations of the tower. At the same time, many of the decorations narrated military victories over the *Taifa* kings, their 'Barbarous Moorish booty' (*Bárbaros despojos Moriscos*), and the story of Our Lady the Ancient, which makes the decision to sideline the tower's alterity, along with the old stories of the Castilian monarchs' interest in this particular war trophy, all the more striking.[99] It is thus apparent that the proximity between images and historiographical strategies even repeated the same internal contradictions.

THE EYES AND EARS OF THE FOREIGNER

A great many of the European travellers who visited Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries read many of the texts that have been studied in this essay. Books on antiquities also served as a means to project the nation's identity abroad.[100] During this period the documentation most frequently consulted by travellers were general histories of Spain, local histories, and books on antiquities,

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[96] See for instance, Ortiz, *Discurso*. Other frontispieces relating to festivities in Portús, 'Algunas', p. 142.

[97] See Portús, 'Algunas', pp. 157ff; Rodríguez Moya, 'Fernando'.

[98] Torre Farfán, *Fiestas*, p. 11.   [99] Torre Farfán, *Fiestas*, pp. 33, 85, 180.

[100] Cuart Moner, 'La larga', p. 89. Among other examples, see the reproduction of Marineus Siculus' descriptions in other foreign texts. Botero, *Delle Relationi*, pp. 6–9.

Fig. 12. Matías de Arteaga, *View of the Giralda*. In Torre Farfán, Fernando de la. *Fiestas de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana y Patriarcal de Sevilla, al nuevo culto del señor rey San Fernando el tercero de Castilla y León* (Seville: Viuda de Nicolás Rodríguez, 1671). Biblioteca Nacional de España.

and there are abundant examples of this.[101] In 1599, Jakob (Diego) Cuelvis made numerous transcriptions of Pedro de Medina, acknowledged using Morales' *Las antigüedades* as a testimony on Córdoba Mosque and even reproduced some of the inscriptions in this book. Writing in 1659 François Bertaut referred to Garibay, Mariana, and Morales in his description of Córdoba Mosque, to Rodrigo Caro's *Antigüedades* for Seville, and to Bermúdez de Pedraza with regard to Granada. Around 1720, Étienne de Silhouette also made frequent reference to Caro's book when visiting Seville. Furthermore, travellers were often accompanied by local hosts who planned their itineraries and mediated the interpretation of buildings using these same sources, and this occurred everywhere.[102] The Japanese ambassador who visited Seville in 1613 was lodged in the alcazar and taken on a tour of the cathedral and up the Giralda.[103] Several visitors to the Alhambra palaces, such as Hieronymus Münzer and Antoine de Lalaing, record their having been accompanied by fortress officials, such as the lieutenant of the Marquis of Tendilla, who attended the latter in 1501. The Emperor Charles V, like any foreigner visiting Seville, Granada, and Córdoba (1526–1527), was introduced to the cities' Islamic monuments by locals. The Tendilla household once again took on the role of mediators as, in the words of the chronicler Prudencio de Sandoval, the Emperor observed 'the ancient buildings, the Moorish works and water devices, the power of the place, and the greatness of the people' of Granada.[104] The distinction between 'ancient buildings' and 'Moorish works' is no doubt interesting, although in this case we do not know to what extent it reflects local sentiment, the Emperor's thoughts, or indeed Sandoval's opinion.

Finally, as noted above, in the mid eighteenth century, Tomás Fernández de Mesa began his *Relación de las cosas notables del templo material de la Santa Yglesia de Córdoba* by justifying his book on the basis of the divergent accounts of the cathedral's 'grandeur, antiquities, and marvels' that he had heard from members of the chapter when he was a choirboy.[105] In his endeavour to establish the truth, so as to be of use to the temple's many visitors, he deemed it necessary to write a text that would clarify its history and provide the necessary background. As could be expected, this meant focusing on the classical and Christian appropriation of the building and diluting its identity as a former mosque. Fernández de Mesa's manuscript was never published, but it is clear that this cathedral chaplain, like many other clergymen, had no doubts about the fact that visitors to the monument should be guided. A century earlier, François Bertaut had commented that he had visited Córdoba Mosque along with a canon from St Dominic's church called Games, who had also shown him some inscriptions in his own house and discussed a book on antiquities that he was planning. It is not unlikely that this budding

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[101] See Domínguez Ortiz, 'El Thesoro'; Gozalbes Cravioto and Gozalbes Busto, 'Antequera'; Wagner, 'Viajeros'; Raya, *Andalucía*; Testino-Zafiropoulos, 'Representaciones'. A parallel for this use of historiographical sources is the list of books that Montaigne took with him on his journey across Italy.

[102] Among other references, see Hernández González, 'Los viajeros'; Díaz-Andreu, Mora, and Cortadella, *Diccionario*, p. 679; Beaver, 'From Jerusalem', p. 77; Méndez, Zoido, and Plaza, *Viaje*.

[103] Vega, *Memorias*, p. 151.   [104] Sandoval, *Historia*, (quoted from 1618) p. 741.

[105] Fernández de Mesa, *Relación*, p. 223r.

antiquarian was also responsible for the stories that Bertaut recounted about the location of the temple of Janus on the site where the mosque had subsequently been built.[106]

As has been shown, the mediation of interpretations of buildings was usually aligned with the religious appropriation strategies found in texts and images. However, analysis of travellers' testimonies shows that they did not go on to develop any particular interest in antiquarian and religious debates involving the monuments. As a rule, they displayed an unprejudiced attitude to Islamic architecture and, interestingly, they considered the Christian transformation of Islamic sites as natural. Writing at the time of the conquest, Münzer adhered to this model in his comments on the disappearance of Islamic features in Granada's converted mosques, the beauty of the Alhambra's inner mosque transformed into a church, or the conversion of Almería Mosque.[107] Years later, when the strategies of physical transformation and conceptual appropriation of Islamic architecture were in place, it is striking that hardly any trace of appropriation narratives was noted amongst the responses recorded by foreigners. This is clearly because, as travellers, they were not concerned with local ideological agendas.

In this regard, an analysis of drawings and prints recording views of Spanish cities provides a very insightful reading on this situation. Whether working for the Spanish Crown, like Anton Wyngaerde, or engaged in a publishing project, like Joris Hoefnagel and Louis Meunier, or else travelling with an ambassador like Pier Maria Baldi, in this period the majority of urban views were produced by foreigners who drew sketches on arriving at each city as they made their way around the country. The importance of these images for us today is that, although they did emphasize Granada's Islamic presence, in general terms they seem to offer no indication that their authors considered Spain's Islamic legacy to be an especially important dimension of its architectural image, nor did they reflect the written strategies of antiquarian and religious appropriation. Wyngaerde and Hoefnagel's views were produced at the beginning of the final third of the sixteenth century, just around the time the theoretical development of antiquarian and religious appropriations began to move into a public phase; from what can be discerned, their images mainly related to Pedro de Medina, rather than Morales and his followers.[108] Meunier visited the royal palaces in Madrid, El Escorial, Seville, Granada, and Lisbon around 1650. Baldi was in Spain, along with Cosimo de Medici, in 1668–1669, by which time all these strategies were well established, yet he showed no obvious interest in alterity or genealogical appropriation.[109] Meunier's views of the courtyard in Seville Alcazar and of interiors in the Alhambra are undoubtedly the most significant.

They paid attention to the 'palaces of the African kings' and to their architectural features, but neither the general views of Seville and Granada that went with

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[106] Bertaut, *Journal*, (quoted from 1682) pp. 157, 161. As seen above, he had a similar experience in Granada when he visited the Cathedral and heard about Hernán Pérez del Pulgar's incursion.

[107] Münzer, *Itinerarium*, pp. 38, 66.   [108] See Kagan, *Spanish*.

[109] Meunier, *Differentes*; Magalotti, *Relazione*. See Gámiz, *Alhambra*, pp. 97ff, 114ff.
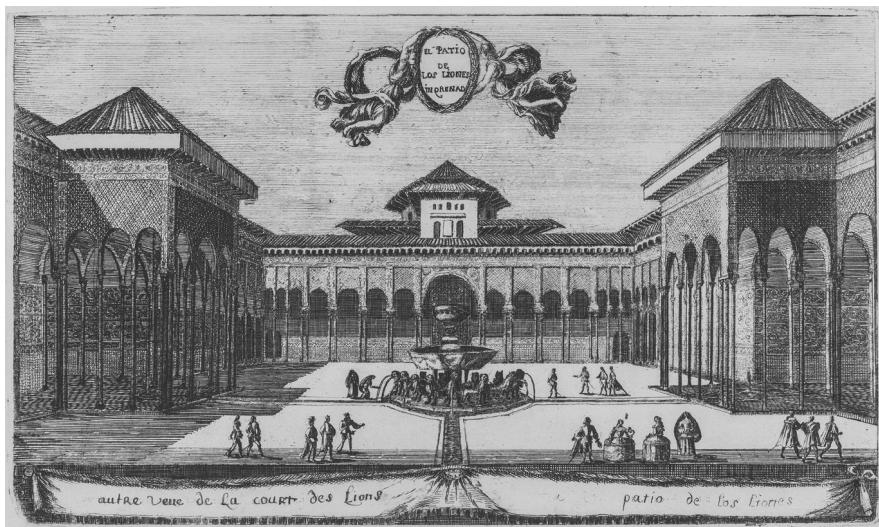
Fig. 13. Louis Meunier, *Autre veue de la court des lions / Patio de los liones*. In Meunier, Louis. *Differentes veues des palais et Jardins de plaisance des Rois despagne dedié a La Reine* (Paris: Chez N. Bonnart, 1665–1668). Biblioteca Nacional de España.

them nor the human atmospheric touches in images of these monuments showed distinctive Islamic cultural features of any kind. They received no special treatment that might have singled them out of the rest of the palaces printed. On the contrary, comparing Hoefnagel's Spanish views to his representations of North African cities, such as what are today Casablanca and Azemmour, reveals a substantial difference in urban characterization. These African cities were depicted very conventionally and were clearly meant to be identified as Islamic. The Hispanic ones also display a certain conventionalism but were not subject to an equivalent sense of identity.[110]

Joris Hoefnagel, whose work was widely disseminated thanks to its publication in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572–1617), is the most relevant example. Anton van den Wyngaerde's 1560–1570 cityscapes, despite not having a comparable public projection, offer similar models of representation.[111] In his drawings of Córdoba

[110] On representational conventions and ideological agendas see De Seta, *Città*. On views of Islamic cities in Western cartography see Sáenz-López, 'La peregrinación'. In particular on Spain see Kagan, *Spanish,* and *Urban*, pp. 1ff; Marías, 'Tipologia', and 'Don García'. Leonardo Turriano's view of Oran, produced for military purposes, is an example of a true vision of an Islamic city. See Cámara, Moreira, and Viganò, *Leonardo*, pp. 75ff.

[111] Córdoba Mosque was not easily recognizable as an Islamic building unless it displayed some key features, nor were the Giralda in Seville, the Málaga Alcazaba, and the Alhambra in Granada. In the latter city, the form of the new Christian Cathedral was given prominence, but there were no visible remains of Turpiana tower. No trace of the Islamic past appeared in images of Valencia and Zaragoza. Only in Toledo could a trace of the Islamic legacy be seen: the view from the north shows the brick apse of a church in the foreground. However, this does not appear to be a deliberate allusion to the city's Islamic features, as opposed to the emphasis given to classical remains in images of Sagunto, Itálica, or Mérida. On the views of these cities by Wyngaerde, see Kagan, *Spanish*, pp. 130ff,

Fig. 14. Joris Hoefnagel, *Corduba*. In Braun, Georg, and Hogenberg, Franz. *Civitates orbis terrarum. Theatri Praecipvarvm Totivs Mvndi Vrbivm Liber Sextvs* (Cologne: Antonius Hierat, Abrahamus Hoghenberg, 1618). Heidelberg University Library.

and Seville, Hoefnagel neither highlighted the Islamic nature of the buildings nor went to any pains to conceal it. In Córdoba, Hoefnagel codified the city's traditional image in a view of the urban centre as seen from the southern bank of the River Guadalquivir.[112]

His drawing gave the mosque, the alcazar, and the bridge a privileged position, but it was only the treatment of the temple that hinted at a sense of the exotic due to the triangular battlements shown on its outer walls and the false appearance of various towers. As the new main chapel was at that time unfinished and as the Islamic tower had not yet been transformed with the Renaissance covering designed by Hernán Ruiz III, Hoefnagel took certain liberties with the mosque's architecture. However, despite this licence the details reveal that it was by no means a classical building, although he did not use any architectural elements that could have been unequivocally identified as Islamic by a Spanish audience, let alone a European one. The mosque, save for the strange shape of its battlements, was not essentially different from other temples represented and it was simply

255ff, 266ff, 327ff. The example of the classical ruins of Sagunto (Murviedro) is especially interesting because Islamic tombs can be seen amidst the ruins. Kagan, *Spanish*, pp. 184ff. On Valencia, see Arciniega, 'Miradas', p. 75.

[112] Álvarez and García, *Córdoba*, pp. 65ff; Urquízar Herrera and Haro García, *La escritura*, pp. 29ff; Mariana, *Cultura*, pp. 172ff; Báez, *Imágenes*.

labelled '*Ecclesia Maior*'. There were other churches, including, albeit without any narrative emphasis, that of the Martyr Saints beside the river. As represented in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Córdoba appeared as a city of Catholic temples that was not too different from the simple parish map kept in the cathedral itself.[113]

Similarly, Hoefnagel's views of Seville offered no clues as to the Giralda's origin, despite its status as the city's most significant building.[114] There was no indication of its Islamic nature either in the images or in the accompanying legend. Curiously, the medieval topos of the tower as a marvel was highlighted by the representation of a horse climbing the tower in one of the prints.[115] In a different drawing, evidence of its Islamic past was scarcer still than in the image of Córdoba, because the battlements of the Almohad courtyard were practically invisible and both these and the base of the tower appear covered with conventional classical columns. A few palm trees distributed around the houses provided an idea, to the informed spectator, of the city's Islamic origin. Evidently hybridity was neither seen as a problem, nor as an especially relevant attraction.

In Granada, however, the situation was different. Although no specifically Islamic features are noticeable in the buildings depicted in Hoefnagel's two views, this legacy receives a more precise treatment. The proximity of the Islamic past is acknowledged by the presence of individuals dressed in Islamic clothing and by references to place names such as the Alhambra, Albaicín, Generalife, '*Goerta del Reÿ Moro*', and the '*Mesquita*'. The latter was used to refer to a building that had served the purpose of a cathedral for some time and whose architectural transformation was in full swing. Hoefnagel thus connected with the stereotypes used in the first half of the sixteenth century by other European travellers such as Christoph Weiditz, who was openly interested in memories of the Islamic past as shown by the appearance of Moriscos.[116] Attention to such details would seem inevitable at a time when the Muslim population still played a central role in city life and the recollection of the city's capture would have been considered as very recent to people from across Europe. Around that time, Granada's printing houses produced texts with histories of the city's conquest that were intended to be sold to travellers as souvenirs.[117] However, Hoefnagel took a broader view and his symbolic map combined the monuments of the ancient Nasrid kings with the representation of the parish churches and other new features of Christian architecture, the most significant of which was the main chapel of the cathedral.[118] Given the proximity of the taking of Granada, the Alhambra, with its Vela tower crowned with a belfry and a cross, would have appeared like a trophy from the conquest to a well-informed reader. More explicit was the separate print devoted to a very particular

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[113] *View of Cordoba*, ACA, Colección Vázquez Venegas. See Urquízar Herrera and Haro García, *La escritura*, p. 33.

[114] See Sancho Corbacho, *Iconografía*; Cabra and Santiago, *Iconografía*; Oliver, Serrera, and Portús, *Iconografía*; Portús, 'Algunas'; Mariana, *Cultura*, pp. 172ff, 780ff.

[115] Marías, 'Tipologia', p. 106.

[116] Gil Sanjuán and Sánchez López, 'Iconografía', pp. 123ff; Hillgarth, *The Mirror*, pp. 241ff.

[117] Kimmel, 'Local', pp. 24ff.

[118] Gil Sanjuán and Sánchez López, 'Iconografía', pp. 104ff; Calatrava, 'Arquitectura', pp. 204ff; Gámiz, *Alhambra*, pp. 59ff.

view of this monument, taken from the opposite hill which later became the site of Sacromonte. Once again the barely Islamic appearance of the palace was compensated by the introduction of Morisco figures nearby, and by three vignettes that placed an emphasis on its history: one of these addressed the issue of the Christian martyrs that had died in front of the building. In the background of this vignette, the outline of the new main chapel of the cathedral is clearly delineated. As discussed above, the relevance of Islam in the city's characterization did not depend on the form of the buildings, but on the notes and the exoticism of the secondary characters. Similar figures had also appeared in views of cities such as Mexico and Cuzco, in order to create an exotic atmosphere. Alterity was present, but not as a display of architectural hybridity.

This treatment was unrelated to Granada's local historiographical strategies which, at that time, prior to the discovery of the Sacromonte relics, sought to offer a humanistic apology for the magnificence of the Nasrid architectural trophy. Although the written description of the *Civitates* drew on Lucius Marineus Siculus, the accompanying images were not conceived as an illustration of this text. From the perspective of this chapter it is important to note that these images of Andalusian cities were not subject to the arguments of national historiography. The contrast between the natural site of the Giralda on Hoefnagel's Sevillian skyline and the hypertrophy of the monument that appeared in other views clearly illuminates the different horizons of national and foreign expectations. The difference becomes patent if we compare Hoefnagel's image with the drawing that appeared in the 1612 manuscript of *Memorial de historia eclesiástica de la ciudad de Sevilla* by Alonso Sánchez Gordillo, where the town nestles under the eaves of an oversized Giraldillo.[119]

Conversely, in Córdoba, Seville, and Granada neither the origin nor the architectural forms of the monuments seemed to be of especial importance to foreign draughtsmen, and therefore the images, although subject to a degree of convention, made no recourse to ideological strategies that had to reconcile their origin and appearance with the nation's history.

The autonomy enjoyed by travellers with regard to local historiographical strategies is clearly revealed in their written descriptions, which facilitate the tracing of their use of literary sources for interpretations of the urban landscape. There is evidence that they had some knowledge of urban historiography, and the oral transmission of its strategies reached them, but normally travellers kept a certain distance from these narratives. On occasion their interests appear to be in conflict with Christian homogenization, for instance when the Moroccan ambassador to the court of Charles II (1660–1691) pointed out, for his own motives, that the Spaniards themselves understood that the Peninsula's Islamic monuments were precedents for El Escorial.[120] There was no automatic adherence to local historiography, and nor was it rare for a lack of confidence to be shown in these attempts at appropriation. Andrea Navagero cast doubts on the efforts to locate an ancient

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[119] Sánchez Gordillo, *Memorial*, p. 3r.   [120] García Mercadal, *Viajes*, IV, p. 336.

Fig. 15. *View of Seville.* In Sánchez Gordillo, Alonso. *Memorial de historia eclesiástica de la ciudad de Sevilla.* Manuscript, Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sevilla, Ms. A 333/011, 1612.

origin for Granada, there being no classical ruins in the city.[121] François Bertaut never abandoned the expressions 'they say' or '[they] believe' whenever he referred to Granada's pretensions to a Phoenician past or the country's ancient Catholicism.[122] In 1705 the French Dominican traveller Jean-Baptiste Labat pointed out that 'some claim that the [cathedral] was the main Mosque of the Moors when they were the rulers of Seville and that they built it. Others claim that it is a work of the Goths who ruled for so many centuries in Spain. If Father Jerome [Román de la Higuera] had written about the antiquities of Seville, he would not have overlooked claiming Hercules as the founder.'[123] Travellers' independence in the face of local arguments can be traced to the beginnings of the sixteenth century, when the predominant tendency was to praise Islamic architecture and combine it with an interest in its magnificence and otherness.[124] This perception was not very different from the attitudes found in international chorographic literature.[125] However, their emancipation is all the more apparent following the spread of genealogical strategies at the turn of the seventeenth century. In response to the campaign to re-signify Granada through the Christian lineage of the Lead Books and its martyrs, the travel account written by Cosimo de Medici paid special attention to Sacromonte, but his description of the city began unfailingly by declaring the alterity and hybridity of the Alhambra.[126]

Although we can find similar examples by other authors, François Bertaut is probably an archetypal example to illustrate the limits of the reception of the historiographical model of appropriation. He is today deemed to be a well-informed traveller who was educated in Spain, knowledgeable on written sources, and meticulous about setting down his impressions in writing. His *Journal du voyage d'Espagne* (1669) shows that, in Córdoba, the story of the temple of Janus could be addressed without sharing the wish to obliterate the memory of Islam that was implicit in this antiquarian discourse. In Seville, this author was surprised to find that the Muslim kings were not included in the alcazar's royal portrait gallery, when it was his understanding that they had actually built this palace. Finally, in Granada he was able to discern traces of the Latin *opus vermiculatum* in Islamic plasterwork without interpreting it as evidence of the building's Roman origin.[127] While Bertaut did sometimes follow the arguments used in local historiography, he

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[121] Navagero, *Il viaggio*, p. 31r.
[122] Bertaut, *Journal*, (quoted from 1682) pp. 74, 78, 104.   [123] Labat, *Voyages*, I, p. 243.
[124] See, among others, Gallego, 'La corte', p. 274; Lleó, *Nueva Roma*, (quoted from 2012) p. 209; Viñes, *Granada*; Marías, *El largo*, pp. 183ff, 'Haz y envés', p. 108, 'La casa', pp. 209ff, and 'El palacio', pp. 113ff; Cámara, *Arquitectura*, pp. 26ff; Checa, 'Poder', pp. 22ff; López Guzmán, *Colección*, pp. 123ff; Brothers, 'The Renaissance', and 'Un humanista', p. 86; Richer-Rossi, 'La vision', pp. 10ff. For an analysis that occasionally lacks historical evidence see also Martínez Nespral, *Un juego*.
[125] An example of this natural perception can be seen in Pierre D'Avity's 1615 description of Granada, which began with a eulogy of the Cathedral and went on to focus on the Alhambra as a Muslim wonder. D'Avity, *Les estats*, (ed. 1625) p. 136.
[126] Magalotti, *Relazione*, (ed. 1933) pp. 196ff. A similar situation can be found in other Andalusian cities. On Medici in Córdoba see Guzmán, 'Córdoba', pp. 109ff.
[127] Bertaut, *Journal*, (quoted from 1682) p. 82. Navagero, *Il viaggio*, pp. 18v ff. See Marín, *El Alcázar*, p. 128.

also incorporated narratives that came from beyond antiquarian circles and that reveal the persistence of legends, such as the histories of the baths in Granada and Seville, which were later revived and widely circulated in the nineteenth century. Bertaut—and through him we can speak in general terms about foreign perceptions of Spain's Islamic past—reveals an exemplary humanistic appreciation that used the eulogies of local literature without its ideological filters, and therefore he even tends towards a form of maurophilia. For example, Bertaut's discussion of Granada's plaza de Bibrambla cited Ginés Pérez de Hita's novel, one of the key texts of literary hybridity.[128] With disarming naturalness, Bertaut would have listened to historical accounts of the temple of Janus and Córdoba's martyrs, Sts Justa and Rufina in Seville, read Bermúdez de Pedraza on the location of the ancient Iliberris, and followed his terminology for mosaic work and comaragia. Yet at the same time he was able to write about Córdoba Mosque, the Giralda, and the Alhambra without the need to resort to the blood of martyrs—blood that enabled the Christians to enjoy these monuments by expiating the sins of Islam.[129] In their intellectual autonomy, Bertaut's descriptions did not greatly differ from the drawings of his countryman and coeval Meunier. Finally, thanks to his familiarity with Spanish historiography, Bertaut did not hesitate to compare the Latin and Castilian editions of Juan de Mariana in order to point out that the latter was more prolific in tales of local ancient Christianity because it was aimed at a national public audience.[130]

The sources give rise to the idea that this unaffected approach to buildings may also be extended to the great many inhabitants of Córdoba, Seville, and Granada who engaged with these buildings with little or no prior reading and who probably experienced them without compartmentalizing them as war trophies or in terms of their religious genealogy. Perhaps the main conclusion to be drawn in regard to the manner in which historiographical appropriation strategies were received is linked to the response on the city streets to the same contradictions and complexities that we find in written texts: popular fervour for the cult of martyrs that fabricated the Christian precedence of temples in order to ensure religious and cultural homogenization was combined with a frank acceptance of hybridity. A short text by Baltasar de Morales published in Córdoba in 1593 opens with a dialogue between three aged Spanish soldiers, veterans from the North African wars, talking about their experiences while walking through the city's mosque. They remark on how foreigners admire its marvels, especially the *mihrab* mosaics, while acknowledging that their own intention in meeting here is simply because it is a good spot to watch the womenfolk on their way to Mass.[131] This, then, was another and rather different way of staking a claim to otherly architecture.

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[128] Bertaut, *Journal*, (quoted from 1682) p. 77. See Wagner, 'viajeros', p. 34; Carrasco Urgoiti, *Los moriscos*, pp. 171ff.
[129] Bertaut, *Journal*, (quoted from 1682) pp. 80ff, 87, 140, 157ff.
[130] Bertaut, *Journal*, (quoted from 1682) p. 104.
[131] Morales, *Diálogo*, (quoted from 1881) pp. 245ff.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Archivo de la Abadía del Sacromonte (AAS)
Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba (ACC)
Archivo de la Catedral de Granada (ACG)
Archivo Municipal de Córdoba (AMC)
Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla (BCS)
Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sevilla (BUS)
Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE)
Real Academia de la Historia (RAH)
RAH, Colección Morales (RAH-CM)
RAH, Colección Salazar y Castro (RAH-CSC)

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