The Great Mosque of Córdoba and the Alhambra: Christian Attitudes Towards Islamic Architecture in Spain During the Reign of Charles V

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B. A. English Valdosta State University, 1995

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A Thesis presented to the Faculty
of the Department of Architectural History
of the School of Architecture
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the
Degree Master of Architectural History

School of Architecture
University of Virginia

May 1998

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I am deeply indebted to the following people for their help and encouragement throughout the thesis process:

C.W. Westfall for helping me begin to understand how architecture conveys meaning, and for explaining that politics is more important than architecture.

Daniel Ehnbom for his enthusiasm, keen editorial eye, and insights into Islamic architecture.

Richard Guy Wilson for his thorough readings, interest, and sound advice.

My parents, David and Eden Dempsey and my parents-in-law, Thomas and Brenda Anderson, for unfailing encouragement, good advice, and support.

For Clay Anderson

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I will examine the addition of western Christian architecture into two Islamic architectural contexts, and attempt to explain why Christians in sixteenth century Spain were able to use and enjoy Islamic architecture despite their hostility towards Islam and its followers. Two projects carried out during the reign of Charles V in Spain may clarify Christian attitudes towards Islamic architecture during the sixteenth century: the renaissance palace that Charles V annexed to the Alhambra palace complex in Granada, and the Great Mosque of Córdoba and the cathedral constructed within it.

The idea for this thesis arose from my interest in the art and architecture of both the Italian Renaissance and the Islamic world, and curiosity about how Europeans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries reacted to the magnificent architecture which they encountered in Islamic lands. Mr. Westfall's suggestion that the thesis focus upon church and palace, two types which rulers are expected to build, meshed neatly with Mr. Ehnbom's suggestion that the Great Mosque of Córdoba and Charles V's renaissance palace might prove rewarding in an attempt to understand Christian attitudes towards Islamic architecture. Most scholarship separates Islamic and European architecture, as if each developed in a vacuum with no knowledge of the other. I hope that this brief consideration of two instances in which Islamic and European architecture are intertwined contributes, in some small part, to a way of considering the two traditions in relation to one another.

In researching the buildings for this discussion, Earl Rosenthal's work *The Palace of Charles V in Granada* has been the single best source of information on Charles's

renaissance palace. Rosenthal thoroughly discusses the genesis of the design, the complex construction history and theories regarding the symbolism of the decorative program, and he provides transcripts of sixteenth century documents that shed light on the history of the building. For scholarship on Islamic architecture, the body of scholarship produced by both Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar is a tremendously rich resource on Islamic art and architecture, as well as insight into the ways in which Christian and Islamic art have interacted. Many scholars have produced valuable work on the art and architecture produced out of the interaction of Muslims and European Christians during the Middle Ages and during the nineteenth century, but there is currently less research devoted to this subject as it pertains to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Cammy Brothers's article "The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra" contributes to scholarship in this area. Several works by Julian Raby also shed light on the artistic interaction between Christians and Muslims, focusing especially upon connections between Italy and the Ottoman Empire during the fifteenth century.[1] The development of this argument entails investigation into the political and religious climate of the sixteenth century in Spain and Italy. For discussions of Christian perceptions of Islam from the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century, R.W. Southern's concise *Western Views of Islam during the Middle Ages* and Norman Daniel's thorough *Islam and the*

[1]See Julian Raby, *Venice Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London: Islamic Art Publications, 1982) as well as his articles "Pride and Prejudice: Mehmed the Conqueror and the Italian Portrait Medal," *Italian Medals*, ed. J.G. Pollard (Washington, D.C., 1987) 171-94; "A Sultan of Paradox: Mehmed the Conqueror as a patron of the arts," *Oxford Art Journal* 5.1 (1982): 3-8; "Picturing the Levant," *Circa 1492*, ed. Jay A. Levenson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991) 77-82. Also see Cammy Brothers, "The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of

West are invaluable.[2]

Before beginning a discussion that will involve buildings created by regimes of differing faiths and historical moments, it is necessary to clarify the use of the term "Islamic architecture." For this discussion "Islamic architecture" will be used as a general term to refer to buildings commissioned by the Ummayad dynasty between the eighth and tenth centuries in Córdoba, and the Nasrid dynasty between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries in Granada.

A brief consideration of Christian perceptions of Islam during the Middle Ages and into the sixteenth century should prove useful in explaining Christian perceptions of the architecture produced by the Ummayad and Nasrid dynasties at the Great Mosque of Córdoba and the Alhambra, and by the Habsburg dynasty at the cathedral and the new palace in Granada. By briefly outlining Christian polemic during the Middle Ages and into the sixteenth century, we may begin to understand how religious architecture fit into the cultural picture of Europe when the two projects were conceived.

Charles V was the last Holy Roman Emperor to be crowned by the Pope, and his activities as the secular defender of the Church are significant to this examination of the architecture he commissioned.[3] As the Emperor of the Christian world Charles had a

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Charles V," *Muqarnas: An annual on Islamic art and architecture* 11 (1994): 79-102.

[2]R.W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Harvard University Press, 1962) and Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: the Making of an Image* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1993).

[3]See Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Charles V and the Failure of Humanism," *Princes and Artists: Patronage and Ideology at four Habsburg courts* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976) 11-46.

duty to defend the faith on several fronts. He faced Martin Luther in Germany and the continuing expansion of the Ottoman Turks into Europe. As the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles inherited the crusading policies of earlier Christian rulers, and his Spanish kingdom was the result of the Christian conquest of the last remaining Muslim-ruled territory on the Iberian Peninsula.

When these issues are brought to bear upon an examination of Charles's palace in Granada and the cathedral in Córdoba, the first built next to and the second built inside a work of Islamic architecture, questions of meaning and architecture become significant. What can the palace and the cathedral tell us about Christian perspectives on Islamic architecture during the reign of Charles V?

In order to lay the groundwork for answering this question, the first chapter of this thesis will describe the Great Mosque, the cathedral, and the palace complex in Granada. The second chapter will attempt a general explanation of how and why architecture can convey meaning. The third chapter will attempt interpretation of the way in which the cathedral within the Great Mosque illuminates Christian attitudes towards the Islamic architectural setting. This chapter will also contain a section that traces Christian perceptions of Islam from approximately the tenth century to the sixteenth century. Chapter Four will contrast Charles's palace with the Nasrid palaces of the Alhambra to explain how the two architectural schemes interact and reveal Christian attitudes towards that Islamic setting.

CHAPTER ONE
SETTING THE STAGE: ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION

The Great Mosque of Córdoba

The Great Mosque of Córdoba, begun between 784 and 786 during the reign of the Ummayad ruler Abd al-Rahman, is located upon the banks of the Guadalquivir River upon what is traditionally believed to be the site of a pre-Islamic Visigothic church. (Fig. 1,2)[4] The rectangular mosque measures approximately 570 feet long by 425 feet wide, and its *qibla* wall, the part of the mosque that indicates the direction of prayer for Muslims, is oriented towards the southeast. Enclosed by limestone ashlar walls, ranging in height from thirty to sixty-five feet, the mosque's exterior appearance is one of a secure stronghold. This impression of fortification is visually emphasized by regularly spaced buttresses capped by battlements with stepped merlons (Fig. 3). Eleven entrance portals punctuating the walls at intervals provide decorative relief to the blank stone walls; the portals, decorated with elaborate carving and blind arcades, are large horseshoe arches set within intricately ornamented rectangular frames (Fig. 4). The main portal to the mosque, the *Puerta del Perdon* (Gate of Pardon) is located on the north wall of the complex, at the base of the minaret (Fig. 5,6). This entrance leads into a vestibule and into the Court of the Oranges, which occupies approximately one third of the area enclosed by the walls (Fig. 7). Parallel rows of palms and orange trees that give the

[4]See Ramirez Y las Casas-Deza, *Corografia Historico-Estadistica de la Provincia y Obispado de Cordoba*, ed. Antonio Lopez Ontiveros, vol. 2, (Cordoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Cordoba, 1986) 452-453; Jerrilyn D. Dodds, "The Great Mosque of Cordoba," *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilyn D. Dodds, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992) 11-12.

courtyard its name shade the fountains which were used by Muslim worshipers for ritual ablutions. A visitor to the mosque, after entering the *Puerta del Perdon* and emerging into the courtyard, sees the *Puerta de las Palmas* (Gate of Palms) directly across the courtyard (Fig. 8). The main axis of Muslim worship in the plan extends from the *Puerta del Perdon*, through the *Puerta de las Palmas*, into the mosque, and ends in the lavishly ornamented *mihrab*, the niche in the *qibla* wall that is considered the holiest part of the mosque (Fig. 9).

The eighth century portion of the interior is defined by aisles formed from parallel rows of columns that extend to the southeast, perpendicular to the *qibla* wall to which they visually lead the visitor (Fig. 10, 11). Varying in composition and appearance, the columns support a double arcade system that has been compared to the structure of the Roman aqueduct in the nearby town of Mérida (Fig. 12).[5] This unique double arcade system allowed Abd al-Rahman's builders to achieve a greater interior height than the columns alone would have afforded. The mosque as built by Abd al-Rahman in the eighth century was expanded by three successive Muslim rulers over a period of about two hundred years (Fig. 13). Though each addition differs in its approach to the treatment of the basic architectural parts and their ornament, the Islamic expansions maintained an architectural unity with the eighth century mosque that may stem as much from the visual power of the original fabric as the ease with which its basic units could be multiplied (Fig. 14-16). The numerous column rows stretching through the space, supporting the

[5]Dodds 13.

red and white voussoirs of the arcades, created an interior space that was admired by Muslims throughout the Islamic world. Despite their antipathy to Islam, Christians esteemed the mosque enough to consecrate it as the cathedral of Santa María Mayor following the thirteenth century conquest of the city.[6]

Christians and the mosque

The Christian community in Córdoba first adapted the mosque for worship by constructing small altars and chapels in the peripheral aisles, additions that were relatively unobtrusive to the Islamic fabric. Beginning in the thirteenth century, however, they increased the scale and visibility of their additions. The *Capilla de Villaviciosa* (Chapel of the Villaviciosa family) of around 1258 and the *Capilla Real* (Royal Chapel) of 1260 were created by enclosing parts of the naves from Al-Hakam II's tenth century expansion (Fig. 17-20). The square *Capilla de Villaviciosa*, famous for its elaborately ornamented ribbed dome, formed an especially important part of the Muslim religious axis that began at the *Puerta del Perdon* and continued through the *Puerta de Palmas* into the mosque, terminating at the *mihrab* of Al-Hakam II (See Fig. 9). Here Al-Hakam II developed the polychrome double arcades of the earliest part of the mosque into an elaborate multi-tiered system of interlaced polylobed arches. Al-Hakam II's architects also placed these arcades perpendicularly to the arcades of the other aisles, so that the elaborate lobed arches act as a visual frame for the *mihrab* beyond (Fig. 21). Skylights in the dome utilized natural light to emphasize this important visual gateway to the holiest

[6]See L. Torres-Balbas, *La Mezquita de Cordoba*, (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1965) 100-105 and Casas-Deza 458.

area of the mosque. Three bays of the aisles to the east and west sides of this gateway space were filled in to create the square *Capilla Villaviciosa*, which was dedicated to the Virgin. The *Capilla Real*, begun soon after the *Capilla de Villaviciosa*, encloses a square area of the nave immediately to the east of the first chapel (See Fig. 9). The *Capilla* was used as a royal sepulcher, and the combination of lavish tilework, intricate stucco carving, and Arabic inscriptions that decorate its walls have been compared to the decoration in the Nasrid palaces at the Alhambra.[7] Both of these Christian chapels utilized the established Islamic architectural forms and lavish ornamentation, suggesting that after Islamic rule gave way to the Christian conquest, the people of Córdoba felt that the Islamic forms were appropriate for Christian use. The Christian appropriation of Islamic forms had a precedent, however, in the twelfth century Norman kingdom of Sicily. Roger II's royal chapel in Palermo, consecrated in 1140, is ornamented with a *muqarnas* nave ceiling, inscriptions in Islamic kufic script, and appears to share similarities in plan and disposition with Islamic palaces in Spain like the tenth century *Mahdinat al-Zahra* near Córdoba (Fig. 22).[8] Known as "Mudejar" architecture, (from the word for Muslims

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[7]For comparisons between the decoration of the *Capilla Real* and the Alhambra, see Torres-Balbas 102.

[8]For a thorough study of Roger II's Capella Palatina, see William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Ernst Kitzinger, "Mosaic Decoration in Sicily Under Roger II and the Classical Byzantine System of Church Decoration," *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions, Forms and Regional Traditions*, ed. William Tronzo, (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoreale, 1989); Slobodan Curcik, "Some Palatine Aspects of the Capella Palatina in Palermo," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 125-147; Eve Borsook, *Messages in Mosaic: The Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily 1130 -1187* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). For a history of the Norman kingdom in Sicily, see John Julius Norwich, *The Kingdom in the Sun* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), and by the same author, *The Normans in the South* (London: Solitaire Books, 1981).

who lived under Christian rule) Islamic forms and decorative language continued to be utilized into the sixteenth century, not only for Christian churches, monasteries, and convents, but also for Jewish temples as well.

These two chapels ultimately did not satisfy the needs of the Christians who worshiped within the Great Mosque; they felt that more extensive modification was yet necessary. In 1489 the Bishop of the cathedral directed a project to create an enclosed nave extending southwest from the *Capilla de Villaviciosa*, cutting across the Muslim ritual axis that led to the *mihrab*. In this fifteenth century nave, the Bishop abandoned the Islamic forms that were utilized in the *Capilla de Villaviciosa* and the *Capilla Real*. The new nave was created by filling in four bays of the aisles in the Al-Hakam II addition with four tall, pointed arches and unornamented walls (Fig. 23, 24).[9]

The most dramatic change in Christian use of the mosque, and the focus of this discussion, occurred during the first half of the sixteenth century when the Bishop of Córdoba, in the face of definite opposition from the city council, requested permission from Charles to begin construction of the cathedral within the fabric of the Great Mosque. The controversy within the Christian community of Córdoba had been so heated that the town council forbade, upon penalty of death, any structural changes to the fabric of the mosque until Charles arrived at his decision.[10]

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[9]See Torres L. Balbas 100-105, and Maria Dolores Baena Alcantara, *La Mezquita-Catedral de Cordoba* (Cordoba: Ruano Giron, 1986) 50-54.

[10]Torres L. Balbas 106.

The cathedral's Latin cross plan is set within a larger rectangle formed by the appropriation of the eleven central aisles of the mosque (See Fig. 9). Like the earlier Christian nave, the cathedral's east-west orientation places it perpendicular to the *mihrab* in the south *qibla* wall of the mosque. Sections of the ninth century addition of Abd al-Rahman III and the tenth century addition of al-Mansur were demolished in order to incorporate the addition to the building fabric. The architectural language of the cathedral is a dramatic departure from that established in the surrounding fabric of the mosque (Fig. 25).

Whereas the ceiling height of the mosque is relatively low (approximately 38 feet), the cathedral's soaring interior space forms a startling contrast to the proportions of the mosque that envelops it (Fig. 26). Elaborate tracery vaulting ornaments the barrel vault of the four-bay nave, the oval crossing dome, the arms and the head of the cross plan, and the ceilings within the larger rectangle that surrounds the cross plan (Fig. 27). The architectural ornament of the cathedral's interior is a uniquely Spanish mixture of densely layered Gothic carving, tracery, and classical architectural framework and sculpture (Fig. 28-30). The pointed arches that define the crossing space are formed of clustered colonnettes, while the architectural framework that organizes the interior of the oval crossing dome utilizes classical orders and sculptural ornament. The southern wall of the cathedral is parallel to and abuts the *Capilla Real*, the *Capilla Villaviciosa* and the fifteenth century nave which together previously satisfied the requirements of the Christian liturgy. Centered within the mosque's fabric, the cathedral visually interrupts the long vistas of columns and arches that characterized the mosque before the sixteenth

century. This desire to change the existing architectural fabric so dramatically in the sixteenth century, and in the face of strident opposition from the citizens of Córdoba, suggests how important meaning and architectural form were in the minds of the Bishop and clergy who prevailed in their desire to build the cathedral.

The Alhambra

Another approach to the appropriation of existing Islamic architectural fabric can be seen in the city of Granada in the relationship between the fourteenth century Alhambra palace complex, built during the reign of the Nasrid dynasty, and the sixteenth century palace of Charles V to which it is annexed (Fig. 31-33). The Alhambra was actually a small royal city composed of palaces, fortifications, and gardens that was separated from the rest of Granada by fortified walls and towers and by the elevation of its site. The northeast section of the royal city is known as the *Casa Real Vieja*, or Old Royal Residence, to distinguish it from Charles's "new" sixteenth century palace. This part of the Nasrid complex, which became for Europeans representative of the beauty and luxury of Islamic architecture following the Christian conquest in 1492, includes the celebrated Courtyard of the Lions and the Court of the Myrtles (also known as the *Patio de Comares,* an adaptation of the Arabic place name *Qumarish*) (Fig. 34, 35).

These two courts make up the easternmost half of the old palace, but they were actually separate palaces during the Nasrid reign. West of the palace complex is a conglomeration of rooms arranged around courts, which may have been used as an entrance complex with various service functions. Until Charles V changed the relationship of the palaces, the Court of the Myrtles was physically and functionally

distinct from the Court of the Lions. While the former was probably used by the Nasrids as living quarters and official rooms of state, the separate Court of the Lions may have provided the ruler with a private pleasure retreat. James Dickie, in his discussion of the Alhambra complex, compares the role of the Palace of the Lions to that of a *villa rustica* where the residents of the Court of the Myrtles could escape the pressures of official life. Dickie explains that the Palace of the Lions did not contain the kind of service quarters that would be required to support lengthy stays, and suggests that the sultan's visits were limited to a single night.[11]

The rectangular Court of the Myrtles, with its rooms of state and private royal quarters, was accessible by an indirect route from the *Patio del Cuarto Dorado* (Court of the Golden Room) to the west, where the sultan judged matters of law (Fig. 36). A long rectangular pool, bordered by myrtle hedges, defines the north-south axis of the palace and courtyard. Arcades at the north and south ends, decorated with carved stucco screens, provide shaded transition from the courtyard into the rooms beyond. The north end of the Court of the Myrtles contained the royal apartments and beyond, the *Salon de los Embajadores* (Hall of the Ambassadors), or royal audience hall (Fig. 37). The arcade at the south end of the court is attached to Charles's renaissance palace.

The palace of the Court of the Lions, located to the southeast of the Court of the Myrtles, was entered during Nasrid rule through an inconspicuous door from an adjacent

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[11]See Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra*, 2nd revised ed. (Sebastopol: Solipsist Press, 1992), and James Dickie (Yaqub Zaki), "The Palaces of the Alhambra," *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992) 135-152.

street, and was separated from the Court of the Myrtles by a party wall. Unlike the Court of the Myrtles, with its strong longitudinal axis, the Court of the Lions has a Greek cross plan, defined by four water channels that issue from the central fountain that gives the palace its name. The channels extend into pavilions to the east and west, into the *Sala de los Abencerrajes* (Room of the Abencerraje family) to the south, and a suite of rooms beginning with the *Sala de las Dos Hermanas* (Room of the Two Sisters) to the north (Fig. 38). An arcade with carved stucco screens surrounds the entire courtyard. The rooms of this palace are distinguished by their complex *muqarnas* ceilings (Fig. 39, 40). *Muqarnas*, also called stalactite or honeycomb work, is an architectural form unique to Islamic architecture. Composed of thousands of individually carved stucco or wooden "cells" layered to create an intricate zone of transition in domes and arches, *muqarnas* work reached an astonishing level of artistic brilliance and complexity in the rooms of the Court of the Lions.

The Palace of Charles V

Whereas the two palaces were maintained as separate complexes by the Nasrid rulers, Charles's building campaign united them as an annex to a new renaissance palace. Construction on the renaissance palace probably began in 1533, but the structure was never actually completed.[12] Aerial views of the Alhambra complex show that the new palace sits heavily on the hill, its large scale and the stark geometry of its plan form a startling contrast to the more random arrangement of the smaller Islamic structures

[12]Earl E. Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V in Granada* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985) 57.

around it (See Fig. 31-33). The plan of the new palace consists of a round, two-story trabeated courtyard set within the square block of the palace, around which rooms and circulation areas are distributed (Fig. 41). The second most arresting element in the plan, after the round central courtyard, is the centralized chapel in the northeast corner of the palace block. With its octagonal plan and two story interior elevation, the chapel forms a visual link to the Palatine Chapel at Aachen, a building intimately connected with Charlemagne, who by founding the Holy Roman Empire, revived the ancient Roman Empire.

Faced in sandstone, the exterior elevation of the palace demonstrates that the architect, identified by Earl Rosenthal as Pedro Machuca, was familiar with contemporary Italian Renaissance palace architecture. The exterior elevation is divided into two stories, a heavily rusticated Doric ground level with a smoother ashlar piano nobile, ornamented with an Ionic order (Fig. 42, 43). Each of the four exterior walls of the palace block contains an entrance portal, more or less centered on the face of the wall. The entrance portal on the west facade of the palace was used as the official entrance, and it consequently displays its importance by a grander architectural treatment and greater ornamentation than that found on the other facades. The west facade is divided into fifteen bays by pilasters, doubled at the ends and on the three central bays, which emphasize the centrality of the composition and provide strong visual termination at either end (Fig. 44, 45). The pilasters of the ground floor are rusticated, distinguishable from the surrounding wall only by their projection from the plane of the wall, and by their Doric capitals. The Ionic pilasters of the second level ashlar walls rest upon bases

ornamented with bas relief symbols of Charles's kingship, such as the columnar device bearing the Habsburg eagle and Charles's motto, "*Plus outre*," and the Emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Fig. 46). Each bay on both stories, save the central three bays, contains a rectangular window surmounted by a round window. The rectangular windows of the second story are further ornamented with alternating triangular and segmental pediments. The central three bays form the focal point of the facade. They are emphasized by their slight projection from the main block, by the doubling of the pilasters, and at the ground level, by a triumphal arch motif composed of a tall pedimented central doorway framed by shorter pedimented doorways. The flat entablature of the main block is developed into an articulated Doric entablature on the central bays of the ground story, and instead of round windows, sculptural roundels surmount all the doors save the largest central one. The palace is attached to the southern exterior wall of the Court of the Myrtles.

The architectural changes imposed on the existing Islamic settings that are described above are important keys to unlocking sixteenth century Christian perceptions of Islamic architecture. Charles's palace, like the cathedral in the Great Mosque of Córdoba, willfully intrudes into an important Islamic space and utilizes forms that deliberately heighten the contrast between new construction and existing context. Sixteenth century Christians viewed the Islamic religion as heresy, and the threat posed by the Muslim Turks resulted in continuing warfare between Christians and Muslims during Charles V's reign (Fig. 47). What can the adaptation of Islamic religious and state architecture by Christians under Charles's rule tell us about the way in which these

buildings conveyed meaning? Before addressing these specific examples, the next chapter will discuss how architecture conveys meaning in a general sense.

CHAPTER TWO
ARCHITECTURE AND MEANING

The first step before beginning an exploration of Christian attitudes towards Islamic architecture is to determine how and why architecture conveys meaning. Why is meaning desired in architecture? The answer lies in the entities that create architecture for the highest levels of authority in a society, the kind of architecture that palaces and great religious establishments typify. Institutions create architecture that makes statements about their identity, power, wealth, and permanence. Ironically, the most powerful expressions of these qualities in institutional architecture are often created during the times of greatest turmoil for the institution, as if by expressing its values in this tangible way it can ward off the forces that threaten.[13] Institutions use architecture to send messages about themselves to an audience composed of courtiers, foreign powers, and the population over which they rule, and the use of architecture to convey an institution's authority is an extension of processes of use and tradition. Every visible aspect of a building, whether plan, elevation, ornament, or the choice of materials, sends a visual message to the viewer about the authority that created the edifice. This thesis will examine what messages about the patrons may lie in Charles V's palace at the Alhambra, and in the cathedral of the Great Mosque at Córdoba.

The second step in clarifying the nature of sixteenth century Christian attitudes towards Islamic architecture in Spain is to discuss conventional symbolism and natural

[13]See Norris Kelly Smith, "On the Relation of Perspective to Character." *Here I Stand* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994) 21-22.

symbolism, two ways in which architecture conveys meaning.

Conventional symbolism is not based upon inherent formal meaning, but on meaning acquired with time and repeated use. For example, the Roman basilica plan had no meaning outside of the secular realm until early Christianity appropriated it and gave the plan meaning based on its relationship to the liturgy. The transmission of meaning through conventional symbolism occurs, not because the architectural form is inherently meaningful, but because the form, through processes of use and tradition, creates associations that have meaning for the intended viewer. Richard Krautheimer demonstrates how this process is crucial to understanding medieval architecture in his discussion of "copies" of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. These copies do not bear the close resemblance to their common prototype, or even to each other, that one might expect. Rather, the churches incorporate architectural elements that were intended to visually link, in the mind of the medieval Christian viewer, the church to the tomb of Christ. Architectural form was not imitated purely for its own sake, but for something else that it implied.[14] For this reason, medieval writers found the conventional symbolism of the Latin cross plan appropriate for cathedral design because of the plan's related associations with the Resurrection and the hope of salvation for the Faithful. The Islamic congregational mosque type may be thought of in a similar way. The plan of congregational mosques like that at Damascus or Córdoba has its roots in domestic architecture, specifically the house of Muhammad at Medina. Like the Roman basilica

[14]Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an "iconography of mediaeval architecture," " *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942) 8.

plan, this type of mosque plan had no meaning outside the secular realm until it gained, through use and tradition, religious association for Muslims. The *qibla* wall, too, with the niche or tablet indicating the direction of Mecca, has meaning not because the wall has an inherent content, but because its reference to something outside of itself creates a religious association.[15] In his discussion of Roman architecture under Nicholas V, C.W. Westfall points out that European ecclesiastic architecture before the Italian Renaissance was described in literature as an abstraction that did not require examination of the building in order to grasp the concepts that the building was being used to convey:

> There is no indication that he [the viewer] will learn more about the invisible Church by inquiring more deeply into the actual stones and mortar or the peculiar relationship between the three dimensions of space. The viewer is not expected to learn anything by studying the relationship of the parts of the building to one another as they exist in themselves. . . [16]

The forms of architecture did not have meaning in themselves, but pointed to an outside concept that the viewer was expected to recognize or be overwhelmed by, such as the magnificence of the Heavenly City that the church building was intended to imitate. During the Renaissance in Italy, however, the conception of architecture changed. Italian Renaissance patrons, architects, and theorists began to broaden their conception of architecture, which they came to understand as inherently meaningful construction composed of forms that were intrinsically symbolic as well as conventionally symbolic.

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[15]See E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950) for a discussion of the symbolism of the dome in the near East.

[16]C.W. Westfall, "Nicholas's Urban Program: Theoretical Background," *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-55* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974) 55.

Both the individual architectural forms and the manner in which they are combined were thought to have content and significance.[17] This concept of natural symbolism characterizes the Humanist understanding of the classical architecture created during the Italian Renaissance. Renaissance theorists like Alberti transferred humanist ideas about the inherent meaning of geometric forms into architecture. The celebrated humanist philosopher Nicholas Cusanus affected architecture through his writings on the nature of God and on how Man could seek the Divine. He described God as a sphere whose center is everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere.[18] Alberti, in his 1452 treatise *de Re Aedificatoria,* wrote of the appropriateness of the circular plan for religious architecture, explaining that "it is manifest that Nature delights principally in round Figures, since we find that most Things which are generated, made or directed by Nature, are round."[19] More than a century later, Palladio also emphasized that round plans are particularly appropriate for religious architecture, due to the circle's inherent qualities of simplicity, uniformity, equality, strength, and capaciousness.[20]

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[17]Westfall 56-57. He argues that this change in the conception of architecture first occurs in Rome under Nicholas V.

[18]For Nicholas's philosophy see Jasper Hopkins, *A Concise Introduction to the Philosophy of Nicholas of Cusa* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978) 16, 149. For a discussion of geometry and theology in Renaissance architecture see Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 4th ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1988).

[19]Leon Battista Alberti, *The Ten Books of Architecture*, Leoni ed. (Dover: New York, 1986) 138.

[20]Andrea Palladio, *I qvattro libri dell'architettvra microform / di Andrea Palladio ; ne'quali, dopo vn breue trattato de' cinque ordini, & di quelli auertimenti, che sono piu necessarii nel fabricare ; si tratta delle case private, delle vie, de I ponti, delle piazze, de I xisti, et de' tempij* ... (Venetia, 1581).

Nicholas of Cusa also suggested a means by which man might come to a knowledge of the Divine: "the unknowable God reveals Himself knowably to the world in imagery and symbolism."[21] Imagery can take the form of any perceivable object, whether it is a building, a painting, or an inscription. The image acts as a signifier for the symbolism, the signified. Imagery and symbolism are inherent in the Christian sacraments, such as the relationship of bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ. In this sense, then, one can also conceive of art and architecture as symbols or signifiers that can link the worshiper to God. Richard Ettinghausen's article about the Persian mystic Al-Ghazzali, who in the twelfth-century wrote about the connection between aesthetics and God, indicates that similar ideas were expressed by the philosophers of the medieval Islamic world. According to Ettinghausen's analysis of Al-Ghazzali's writing, one "can conclude that the love of the manifestations of the inner beauty by the perfect artist leads to God."[22] Architecture, then, in both the Christian West and in the Islamic world could act as image and symbol for the observer, and united with mathematics and philosophy, could be used in the quest to connect man and God.

Italian Renaissance architecture, and European architecture in general, lends itself to interpretation about how its forms convey meaning because writers, beginning with Vitruvius and continuing on into the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, have written on

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[21]Hopkins, *Concise* 149.

[22]Richard Ettinghausen, *Islamic Art and Archaeology Collected Papers* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984) 18-20. Stanley Ferber's essay "Islamic Art and the Medieval West: The State of the Question," *Islam and the Medieval West*, ed. Stanley Ferber, (New York: University Art Gallery, 1975) 67-74, brought my attention to Ettinghausen's discussion of Al-Ghazzali.

the subject. The correlation between form and meaning in Islamic architecture seems less definitely stated. While Renaissance Humanists wrote explicitly about the religious and philosophical role of architecture, the architects of Islamic rulers remained largely anonymous in contrast to the new Italian concept of the Individual artist. Rather, the individual personalities of the Islamic architects were not as important as was their ability to create architecture that expressed the ruler's intended message. Therefore, in order to understand how Islamic architecture conveys meaning, specifically to Christians, we must rely upon an examination of the buildings themselves, the ways in which they were used, and upon records of the building's effects upon Christian viewers.

By assuming that the architectural tradition of the Italian Renaissance was conceived of as the deliberate combination of meaningful parts, we can discuss the specific parts of Charles V's palace and cathedral that convey meaning. What are the formal architectural parts that are expected to convey meaning? In order to answer this question, we should break the formal parts into two broad categories: building type and design. Building types are architectural standards, with variations, for specific purposes.[23] This discussion will center around the palace, church, and mosque types. One question that should be addressed is, "what were the expected architectural expressions of these types when they were built?" Were the palaces, the cathedral, and the Great Mosque unusual architectural examples of their type when they were built?

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[23]See Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, revised and enlarged ed., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987)16-18 for a discussion of the question, "What is the kind of relationship which exists among forms spread all over the Muslim world?"

Under the category of design will fall the visual aspects of the buildings, including plans, the architectural language of the exteriors and interiors, and the ornament, both architectural and figurative, that is employed. The plans of the buildings should reveal how they were used and indicate notions of hierarchy in the relationship of the parts to the whole. The architectural language of exterior and interiors will include the classical orders, as well as traditional treatments that can not be so clearly broken down into orderly categories. The role and meaning of the architectural languages used will be examined in the discussion.

The function of painting, mosaic, sculpture and other arts in turning the Christian viewer's thoughts to God do not need to be elaborated in this discussion, but perhaps the use of ornament in Islamic architecture needs a brief introduction. The tendency away from representation of human or animal figures in Islamic architecture stems from the Muslim respect for God as the one Creator. Though there are examples of the representation of living creatures in Islamic public architecture, the depiction of humans or animals never attained the fundamental role that they found in Christian architecture.[24] Instead, Muslim artisans created intricate techniques for surface decoration, utilizing combinations of vegetal, geometric, and written elements, which together play a

[24]This is an issue of public versus private and secular versus religious. For example, animal figures appear in the exterior ornament of the palace facade at Mshatta, but are absent from the side of the building that faces the mosque. Human figures are found painted within baths, an acceptable decoration for a private secular space. Human and animal figures also abound in manuscripts which were intended for private use. Christian dependence on figural religious objects like statues and paintings was often interpreted by Muslims as idolatrous. (See Daniel).

fundamental decorative and symbolic role in Islamic architecture. [25]

Inscriptions, because of their role in conveying both the functional and symbolic aspects of the architecture, take on a greater prominence in the Islamic world than in the Christian world, where function and symbolism are usually expressed pictorially. Inscriptions certainly appear in Christian architecture, increasingly so in Italian architecture of the fifteenth century, but they do not play the same kind of role in the conveyance of meaning as they do in Islamic architecture. Writing is considered the supreme art of the Islamic world because of its ability to convey the Koran, the word of God, and therefore the inscriptions used in Islamic architecture function both as ornament and overt messages to the viewer.[26]

John Onians, in his discussion of the classical orders from antiquity to the Renaissance, points out that patrons of architecture in the Christian world may have used inscriptions to resolve a fundamental moral problem: how could patrons avoid the appearance of the sin of pride when they commissioned buildings which were obviously costly, and which would bring them worldly glory? The renewed interest in classical architecture, whose forms were associated with paganism, heightened the dilemma. Patrons had to defend their use of classical forms and demonstrate that they were pious Christians; Onians suggests that architectural inscriptions were meant to convey that the building was intended to give honor to God and to improve the civic realm, rather than to

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

[26]Barbara Brend, *Islamic Art*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 33. See Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970).

bring glory to the patron.[27]

Architectural inscriptions in the medieval Islamic world can be divided into three categories: informative, redundant, and iconographic.[28] Informative inscriptions give factual information about the building, such as the patron, the builder, or the date of construction. Redundant inscriptions are those which occur repeatedly, and which may indicate the intended "mood" of the building. Finally, the iconographic inscriptions are those which describe the purpose of the building or particular areas within the building, and which can convey symbolic meaning about the building to the viewer. Iconographic inscriptions, specifically poetry, play a particularly important role in the Alhambra for instance. Though these three aspects of inscription also occur in Italian architecture, they play a consistently more predominant role in Islamic architecture.

I have briefly alluded to issues of meaning and architecture that can be brought to bear upon the juxtaposition of Italian Renaissance and Islamic architecture in sixteenth century Spain. We can now proceed to the examination of the buildings that form the center of this discussion, and their historical and religious contexts.

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[27]John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)128.

[28]See Grabar, *The Alhambra* 76-77, for these definitions and specific examples from the Alhambra.

CHAPTER THREE:
THE CATHEDRAL IN THE MOSQUE

The Great Mosque of Córdoba, a celebrated building among both Muslims and Christians, was transformed radically in the sixteenth century when Christians decided to construct a cathedral within its walls. This decision, and the manner in which the work was carried out, reveal how the religious, political, and artistic context of sixteenth century Europe affected the Christian treatment of Islamic architecture. A summary of the building history of the Great Mosque before the thirteenth century and the cathedral during the sixteenth century will precede an interpretation of how the architecture reflects Christian attitudes towards the Islamic building.

The Great Mosque of Córdoba before the sixteenth century

Continuing the Ummayad tradition of monumental building that produced the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the Great Mosque at Damascus, Abd-al-Rahman's architects began construction of the Great Mosque at Córdoba circa 784-786. This first incarnation of the mosque consisted of at least nine twelve-bay naves, with a slightly wider central bay, all at right angles to the *qibla* wall which showed the worshiper the direction of Mecca for prayer (Fig. 13). From the exterior the mosque would have presented plain walls, enclosing within its rectangular area a courtyard and the hypostyle hall of the mosque. Earlier hypostyle mosques developed, not as the "conscious mutation of the old models of Persian apadanas, Roman fora, or Egyptian temples," but from the architectural example of the Prophet Muhammad's house in Medina, from the functional

requirements of sheltering large groups of worshipers, and from the availability of reusable architectural elements, particularly columns.[29] Utilizing columns and capitals taken from Pre-Islamic buildings, Abd al-Rahman's architects created an interior space composed of rows of columns surmounted by a double arcade (Fig. 10, 11). The arches are composed of voussoirs of alternating white stone and red brick, and both arcades spring from rectangular piers that rest upon the column capitals. In her article about the Great Mosque, Jerrilyn D. Dodds writes of the Muslim use of Roman and Visigothic architectural elements in the mosque, that "we know that no particular meaning that might inhibit their use in a Muslim context was attached to the appropriation of individual parts of ruined churches and Roman civic buildings. Indeed, early mosque architecture is part of the late antique building tradition in the Mediterranean."[30] It is true that Muslims apparently felt little inhibition about utilizing forms familiar to Christian architecture, but it is important to remember that this was not because Muslims did not associate the forms with religious meaning, but because they interpreted the religious meaning broadly, rather than in a strict sectarian sense. This concept of an appropriate body of forms for general religious use produced Islamic manuscripts that utilize framing devices familiar from Christian Byzantine art, as well as numerous medieval Spanish Jewish temples that utilize Islamic architectural forms. It is not clear whether or not Christians of the eighth century shared this kind of attitude towards Muslim architecture,

[29]Ettinghausen and Grabar 36.

[30]Dodds, "Great Mosque" 14.

but if so, the attitude seems to have shifted in the sixteenth century.

The system of enclosing quadrangular areas with columns and arcades accommodated expansion easily, and the mosque continued to grow under the patronage of Abd al-Rahman I's successors. From 833 to 852, during the reign of Abd al-Rahman II, the mosque was lengthened by the addition of eight bays and possibly widened (Fig. 13). From 951 to 952 Abd al-Rahman III commissioned the addition of a tower minaret which became a powerful symbol of the presence of Islam in the city (Fig. 6). Its role in proclaiming the presence of Islam was probably especially resented by Córdoban Christians, because prior to the construction of the tower minaret at the mosque, Christian church towers had been torn down in response to a surge in religious tensions between the Spanish Muslims and Christians living under their rule.[31] These events may indicate that Muslim and Christian attitudes towards the role of the other's architecture in conveying religious or political meaning were beginning to change.

The reign of al-Hakam II witnessed the most elaborate transformation of the mosque. Beginning in 962 his architects added another twelve bays to the length of the building (Fig. 13). The architects created a rich variation on the earlier column and arcade theme, creating a visually complex series of intersecting polylobed arches (Fig. 15, 21). On the axis provided by the wider central nave, al-Hakam II's architects constructed a series of domes terminating in the three-bay domed *maqsura*, the area near

[31]Dodds, "Great Mosque"17. Between 850 and 860 a Martyrs Movement by Spanish Christians had arisen in protest of what they perceived as the disturbing complacency of their fellow Christians towards the Muslim culture in which they lived. See Southern 19-26 and Daniel 17, 144, 379.

the *mihrab* reserved for the caliph or his representative. The domes that decorate this area are remarkable for the way in which structural elements like the ribs provide the basis for an incredibly complex and rich decorative treatment (Fig. 48). The lavish decoration that characterizes al-Hakam II's additions to the mosque culminate in the ornamentation of the *mihrab*, which is decorated with vegetal and calligraphic mosaic ornament (Fig.49, 50). The inscriptions that form an integral part of the decoration of the *mihrab* are derived mostly from the Koran, and "include proclamations of divine glory on the cupola, statements about ritual obligations, and references to royal rights."[32] The treatment of this most important element of the mosque is unprecedented. *Mihrabs* usually took the form of flat tablets or concave niches, but al-Hakam's *mihrab* forms a circular domed room apart from the main body of the mosque (Fig. 51). Dodds attributes the unique treatment of the *maqsura,* and the use of mosaic and calligraphy to convey meaning, to the dialogue created between Muslim and Christian religion and culture in Spain.[33] The symmetry and longitudinal emphasis established by al-Hakam II's additions were disrupted at the end of the tenth century by the widening of the mosque by eight aisles to the east side under al-Mansur, minister to Hisham II (Fig. 13).

Dodds draws some insightful conclusions about the significance of the forms that each successive Islamic ruler incorporated into the mosque. She interprets the original

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[32]Ettinghausen and Grabar 137.

[33]Dodds, "Great Mosque"22-23. Dodds compares the three-bay *maqsura* to the three-aisled church of San Miguel de Escalada, completed in 913. The church plan terminates in what appear to be three circular chapels, which she compares to the unusual flanking of the *mihrab* by two doors, one to a new treasury and the other to a vaulted passage.

fabric of Abd al-Rahman I's project as the transplanted Ummayad dynasty's architectural dialogue with the great Islamic centers: Damascus, from which the Ummayads had originated, and the Baghdad of their Abbasid contemporaries. Dodds writes that "Abd al-Rahman I used the design of his most transcendentant architectural commission to create a visual symbol of his usurped authority as the last Umayyad and of the survival of his family in a faraway land."[34] He was successful; the Great Mosque of Córdoba was as celebrated in the Islamic world as its venerable predecessors in the East.

The Great Mosque was appropriated for Christian worship when Ferdinand III, king of Castile (later Saint Ferdinand), captured Córdoba on June 29 of 1236 and consecrated the mosque as the cathedral of Santa Maria Mayor.[35] Though small chapels and altars were erected within the building, no major alterations were made until the construction of the *Capilla Villaviciosa* and the *Capilla Real* in the thirteenth century, and the small Gothic nave and choir of the fifteenth century (Fig. 17-20, 23, 24). Significantly, the Christians who used the mosque felt comfortable using it with these relatively minimal alterations, suggesting that Christians shared the Muslim and Jewish attitude about the appropriateness of established religious architectural forms. This inclusive attitude seems to have changed by the sixteenth century, at least in the minds of the Bishop and Canons of the cathedral.

[34]Dodds, "Great Mosque" 15.

[35]Casas-Deza 458. Also, see Dodds "Great Mosque" for a short English language summary, 24-25.

The Great Mosque during Charles's reign

In 1523 Bishop Don Alonso Manrique proposed a project to build a new church within the old, initiating a controversy that placed him and the church Canons at odds with the town council of Córdoba, who ordered work on the project to halt. The town council sought to convince the Bishop and Canons to conserve this "singular and most celebrated antique building," but to no avail.[36] The matter was put before Charles, as Emperor, for judgement and he granted permission to the Bishop to continue the project.[37] The seriousness of the town council's opposition to any change of the Mosque's fabric is evident by the fact that they invoked the death penalty against anyone who altered the structure of the building in any way before the Emperor arrived at a decision. Charles's decision was made from a distance, without the benefit of first-hand knowledge of the local situation in Córdoba. Charles relied upon local officials throughout his Spanish kingdom to ensure control over any possible threats from Islam. As Holy Roman Emperor, Charles's duty to defend and uphold the Church was as much a local issue as an international one, and it is in this context that his decision to support the Bishop of Córdoba should be understood.

Charles is reported to have voiced regret about his decision, however, upon viewing the results in person. In 1526 the Emperor and his new wife Isabel stopped in Córdoba, where the Emperor addressed the Bishop of Toledo and the dignitaries that

[36]Casas-Deza 459.

[37]Casas-Deza 458.

were present for the occasion. Charles's celebrated reaction is less than enthusiastic: "*Si yo tuviera noticia de lo que haciades, no lo hicierades; porque lo que quereis lagrar hallaráse en muchas partes; pero lo que aqui teniades no lo hay en el mundo.*" ("If I had known what you planned to do, you would not have done this; you desired what could have been built anywhere, but here you had that which was unique in the world.")[38]

In order to accommodate the new construction in the sixteenth century, sections of the ninth and tenth century Abd al-Rahman II and al-Mansur additions were demolished.[39] Hernán Ruiz, an architect from Burgos, and his son of the same name designed and supervised construction of the cathedral during most of the sixteenth century. The cathedral's Latin cross plan was constructed in the very center of the mosque, filling in the double arcades of the hypostyle interior to define the walls of the cathedral. The soaring verticality of the cathedral forms a startling contrast to the relatively low horizontal proportions of the surrounding building (Fig. 25). Though it is often simply characterized as "Gothic," the cathedral blends Spain's architectural traditions: the soaring colonnettes and decorative rib vaulting of Gothic architecture are combined with classical orders, Renaissance sculpture, the use of classically-inspired architectural framing to define decorated zones, and the ornamental intensity which Spanish medieval Christian architecture incorporated from Muslim art (Fig. 26, 28-30). Added to the underlying structural components, the complex layers of ornament that

[38]Casas-Deza 458-459.

[39]Brothers 96.

cover the surfaces of the cathedral may be interpreted as "digested Muslim forms, the mark of over seven hundred years of cohabitation with Islamic culture."[40] This mixture of diverse architectural elements has been interpreted as the result of "the lack of a native architectural language."[41] Actually, the combination of what appear to be diverse architectural traditions is the culmination of Spain's long architectural history, which encompasses Visigothic, Roman, Gothic, and Islamic forms. After all, the cathedral could never be mistaken for a French Gothic cathedral, an Italian Renaissance church, or a mosque. Instead, it is recognizable as a uniquely Spanish building.

Whether or not the cathedral can be considered "native" architecture is not the central issue in this discussion, however. Two questions that should be addressed in trying to determine why this fundamental change to the building occurred are: first, why did the Bishop and Canons of the cathedral feel that, after three hundred years of continuous Christian use, it was necessary to alter the building in such a drastic way? Second, what can we determine about Christian attitudes towards Islamic architecture from the forms utilized in the cathedral and the treatment of the Islamic fabric?

The answers lie in the political and religious atmosphere of the sixteenth century. In order to understand the atmosphere in which both the cathedral and Charles's new palace were conceived, it may be useful to trace Christian perceptions of Islam by examining its roots in the theological discussions of the tenth century and tracing

[40]Dodds, "Great Mosque" 25.

[41]Brothers 97.

developments in Christian perceptions of Islam up to the sixteenth century.

Christian attitudes towards Islam

Though most of the earliest European Christian writers hardly differentiated between the Islamic threat and that posed by any of the other hordes of nonbelievers, Spanish Christians in the ninth century began to actively write and preach against Islam, eventually martyring themselves in the process.[42] This rather short-lived Spanish movement was brought on by the fear that the Christian minority would eventually succumb to the cultural temptations offered by Islam, whose presence they believed signaled the apocalypse. The first Crusades marked the solidification of Christian misconceptions about Islam that persisted throughout the succeeding centuries. Christian attitudes towards Muslims covered a wide spectrum, from a bloodthirsty enthusiasm for crusade, to relative political toleration. European Christian criticism of Islam, which had grown out of misunderstood facts, malicious rumors, ignorance, and intolerance, centered around its founder, Muhammad. Christian writers characterized Muhammad as greedy, lascivious, and deceitful, characteristics which they automatically assigned to all Muslims.[43] Christian attitudes towards Islamic architecture were equally intolerant during the early crusades as well. Though the Christian community of Córdoba after its conquest in the thirteenth century admired the Great Mosque and used it with only minor changes, Christians who fought in the earliest Crusades willingly desecrated mosques in

[42]See Southern 16-27 for a discussion of the early medieval and Carolingian writers, and the Spanish Martyrs movement.

[43]Daniel 79-108.

reparation for the Muslim conquest of the Holy Land.[44] Though Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny in the middle of the twelfth century, arranged for the translation of the Koran so that it could be rationally disputed, Christians continued to form attitudes largely based upon misinformation rather than the rational study of Islam.[45]

A more rational spirit of inquiry about Islam developed in the thirteenth century. At this time European Christians were able to study translations of Greek works familiar to the Islamic world, but which had formerly been unavailable in Europe. Scholars also began to read translations of Islamic philosophers like Averroes and Avicenna, and to reexamine theological tenets of Christianity in the light of the Islamic philosophers's commentary.[46] The thirteenth century also marked a more positive change in Christian perceptions of Islam's role in history, as is apparent in Roger Bacon's Christian treatise *Opus Maius*. Whereas earlier writers characterized Islam as a sign of and a factor in the coming apocalypse, Roger Bacon argued that Islam was meant to provide Christianity with the philosophical tools to understand itself. Christianity, then, was supposed to return the favor by giving back to Islam philosophy that was enriched by revelation.[47] Even the marauding Mongols entered into the divine plan of the optimistic thirteenth

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[44]See Daniel 109-114 for descriptions of Christian desecration of mosques and their attitudes towards the Holy Land under Islamic rule.

[45]Southern 37.

[46]Southern 54-56. Scholars have suggested as well that the structure of Dante's *Divine Comedy* may have been inspired by a translation of an account of Muhammad's flight in the heavens. Southern points out that Dante includes Avicenna, Averroes, and Saladin in Limbo with the sages and heroes of antiquity.

[47]Southern 56-62.

century: the Mongol kingdom (converted to Christianity) would join with the European Christians to defeat the Muslims, if they had not already been converted through philosophy.[48] When these expectations failed to materialize, Europeans began to lose their newly acquired faith in the important role of Islam in history.

During the fifteenth century the growth of Islam remained a major theological problem which humanists continued to attempt to resolve. Nicholas of Cusa approached the problem in two treatises shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century: *De Pace Fidei* (On Peaceful Unity of Faith) and *Cribratio Alkorani* (A Scrutiny of the Koran). Nicholas was determined to demonstrate that not only Islam, but Judaism, Hinduism and other religions either contain elements that presuppose or contain the truths of the essential doctrines of Christianity. By using reason and logic to clarify how seemingly disparate religions point to the same Christian truths, Nicholas hoped to convert Jews, Muslims, and Hindus to Christianity, creating a universal faith.[49]

The Turkish forces brought Islam uncomfortably close to Europe in 1453 when the Turkish army, under the leadership of Sultan Mehmed Fatih, conquered Constantinople, the seat of the eastern Roman Empire. Aenius Sylvius (later Pius II), one of the pre-eminent humanists of the fifteenth century, attempted to solve the dilemma of Islam by writing to Mehmed. Aenius Sylvius's letter to Mehmed is a message from one

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[48]Southern 65-66.

[49]For analysis of these two treatises, and Nicholas of Cusa's interest in and experience with Islam, see Jasper Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa's De Pace Fidei and Cribratio Alkorani,* trans. Jasper Hopkins, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Arthur J. Banning Press, 1994).

statesman to another: after emphasizing the strength and power of the European countries, he appeals to the Turkish ruler's sense of reason and pragmatism in the hopes of convincing him to convert to Christianity. If Mehmed would only convert, Aenius Sylvius writes, all of Christendom would acknowledge him to be the greatest of rulers and would place themselves beneath his law. He discusses the similarities between Christianity and Islam and then, through logical argument, explains why Christianity is the superior religion.[50] Of course, his letter had no effect on Mehmed who, though a patron and collector of European art, showed scant interest in converting to Christianity.[51]

The sixteenth century witnessed the culmination of religious feeling against Islam, as the Muslim Turks seemed to be on the verge of conquering western Christendom. The malicious stereotypes that had originated in the middle ages proved astoundingly tenacious, surviving even in the writings of the fifteenth century humanists, and repeated in sixteenth century anti-Islamic literature. One such work of literature, written under the patronage of Charles V, used the established stereotypes in propagandistic descriptions of Ottoman Turks as vicious rapists who preyed upon innocents, virgins, married women, widows, and orphans, and who desecrated religious images.[52] Europeans worried that the Spanish Muslims might join the Turks or the Syrians in an attempt to overthrow Christian

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[50]For a discussion of Aenius Sylvius's struggle with the problem of Islam, see Southern 98-103.

[51]For Mehmed as a patron of Italian art, see Raby, "A Sultan" 3-8, and by the same author, "Pride and Prejudice" 171-94.

[52]See John S. Geary, "Arredondo's Castillo inexpugnable de la fee: Anti-Islamic Propaganda in the Age of Charles V," *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, ed. John Victor Tolan (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996) 291-312.

rule, creating a strained religious and cultural atmosphere in sixteenth century Spain. The religious, ideological, and political tensions that characterized relations between Christian Europe and the Islamic world are architecturally manifested in the relationship between the cathedral and the Great Mosque of Córdoba. The sixteenth century saw the Church threatened, not only from the Islamic danger posed by the Ottomans, but from within the Christian community itself. The rise of Martin Luther and the Sack of Rome in 1527 must have seemed to signal a crumbling from within of Christian power at a time when Christianity needed a unified front to withstand Islam. The seriousness of Martin Luther's effect on the Church is attested to by Pope Adrian's Instruction of 1522 addressed to the Diet of Worms, in which he compared the Lutheran heresy to the theological danger posed by Islam: "consider the danger of rebellion against all higher authority introduced by this doctrine under the guise of evangelical freedom, the scandals and disquiet already aroused, and the encouragement to break the most sacred vows in defiance of apostolic teaching, by which things Luther has set an example worse than that of Mohammed."[53] Considering the fact that Islam was traditionally regarded as the culmination of heresy in the world, the pope's condemnation of Luther's teaching as a greater threat to the Church than Islam indicates the upheaval within sixteenth century Christendom. The Church found itself under attack then not only by the old Islamic threat, but by internal forces, as Martin Luther's defiance of the papacy demonstrates.

[53]Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes, From the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr. 4th ed. Vol. IX. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1950) 133.

When the Turks returned to overrun Hungary in 1542, the king of France allied with them, and many feared that Germany might fall as well. At this point, the aged Martin Luther produced a new translation of an important thirteenth-century anti-Islamic treatise, the *Confutatio Alchoran* (Confutation of the Koran) of Ricoldo da Montecroce. With this work Luther hoped to steel Christians against what he saw as the inevitable Islamic domination of Europe. For Luther, however, the papacy and Islam were both evils which Christians had to withstand in order to finally persevere. Whereas the papacy viewed Islam and Luther's teachings as the two greatest dangers to Christianity, Luther viewed Islam and the papacy as the two greatest dangers to Christianity.[54]

Though the Great Mosque had functioned as the cathedral of Santa Maria Mayor for three hundred years, in the midst of this political and religious turmoil the Bishop and Canons that worshiped in the building decided that it was necessary to place an unquestionably Christian stamp on the building. In order to emphasize the Christian presence in this celebrated Islamic building, the clergy made a deliberate choice to employ an architectural language that contrasts with the Islamic fabric in the strongest possible manner. The construction of the cathedral within the Great Mosque defied the dangers that threatened the Church in the sixteenth century by creating an emblem of the Church's power using, not the classical forms that might have been criticized for still carrying the taint of paganism, but the soaring Gothic forms that had been the chosen architectural expression of the Church for centuries.

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[54]For Adrian's views about Martin Luther's threat to the Church, see Pastor 127-153. See Southern 104-109 for a brief discussion of Luther's response to the Islamic question.

CHAPTER FOUR:
THE TWO PALACES

Approximately a decade after construction began on the cathedral within the walls of the Great Mosque of Córdoba, construction on a palace for Charles V commenced in the city of Granada. Like the cathedral, the new palace was inserted into an existing Islamic architectural context. Though one might at first glance think that the new palace, because it was annexed to the Nasrid palace rather than constructed within it, was a less intrusive project than the cathedral in the Great Mosque of Córdoba, the relationship between the palace and its architectural context is quite similar to the relationship between cathedral and Great Mosque. In both instances the Christian architectural addition, though physically connected, is drastically different in appearance and conception from the surrounding Islamic architecture. Though both the Christian and the Islamic buildings shared the same functions, worship and governance, they exist at opposite ends of the typological spectrum. By examining the Alhambra palace complex and Charles V's palace we may conclude that Christians during the sixteenth century openly admired and enjoyed Islamic architecture, but did not understand it. Unfamiliar with its distinct forms and language, they could understand it only in terms of familiar European architectural traditions, and always subjugated the Islamic buildings to the architectural needs of the Christian conquerors.

The walled Alhambra palace complex, whose name is abbreviated from the Arabic *Qal 'at al-Hamra* or red fort, is located upon a hill formed by a spur of the Sierra

Nevada mountains which border Granada to the east and southeast (Fig. 31-33). The first major building activity on the hill probably dates from the eleventh century, but the Nasrid dynasty that was to build the Islamic palace that survives today came to power in the thirteenth century. In 1238 Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Nasr took control of Granada and became the ruler of the small territory composed of Granada, Almería, Gibraltar, and Algeciras that remained Muslim after the Christian conquest. The Nasrid family ruled the territory under Christian political suzerainty until 1492 when Muhammad XII, or Boabdil, was exiled to North Africa by the Christian monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella. The complexes that envelop the Court of the Myrtles and the Court of the Lions were constructed during the reigns of Yusuf I (1333-54) and Muhammad V (1354-59, 1362-91).[55] These two palaces are all that remain of the five palaces that made up the Nasrid quarter of a walled royal city distinct from the surrounding city of Granada, and it was to these two surviving complexes that Charles annexed his palace (Fig. 34, 35).[56] In contrast to the Renaissance palace annexed to it, the Nasrid palace complex is expansive and irregular. The two remaining sections, the Court of the Myrtles and the Court of the Lions, had most likely functioned respectively as the main administrative and residential palace and as a royal pleasure retreat. Europeans who experienced the intricate decorative program of the palace complex marveled at the richness of the materials, the

[55]For a thorough description and history see Grabar, *Alhambra*, 9, 21.

[56]Dickie 135. Dickie states that four of the six palaces were virtually demolished between 1492 and 1812. Also see Rosenthal and Victor Nieto et. al., *Arquitectura del Renacimiento en Espana, 1488-1599* (Madrid: Catedra, 1989) 101.

colorful tilework, the elaborately carved stucco ornament, and the uniquely Islamic forms of the *muqarnas* ceilings (Fig. 39, 40, 52).

Though Charles initiated building projects throughout Spain after ascending the Spanish throne in 1516, he may have felt especially compelled to build an important royal palace in Granada because of the city's status as the royal center of the last Islamic kingdom in Spain. Not only did Charles appropriate the associations with political power that the site embodied, but a grand royal palace on the Alhambra served as a visual reminder of his royal status and satisfied Charles's duty as a Christian ruler to build a palace.

The imperial court visited Granada in the summer of 1526, the year of Charles's marriage to Isabel of Portugal. The cooler temperatures and commanding vistas of the site, and the lavish architectural setting of the Nasrid complex surely did nothing to discourage Charles from a plan to announce, with architecture, his status as king of Spain and as Holy Roman Emperor. Tradition relates that, upon seeing the Alhambra for the first time, Charles exclaimed, "*desgraciado de él que tal perdió*" ("unhappy he who lost all this").[57] Like his grandparents and other Europeans who visited the Alhambra, Charles was entranced by the architectural wonders of the Nasrid dynasty despite their Muslim origin.[58]

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[57]Karl Baedeker, *Spain and Portugal, Handbook for Travelers*, 4th ed. (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1913) 349.

[58]For a brief overview of Ferdinand and Isabella's connection with Islamic architecture, see Jonathan Brown, "Spain in the Age of Exploration: Crossroads of Artistic Cultures," *Circa 1492*, ed. Jay A. Levenson (New Haven: Yale UP, 1991) 41-49.

After the conquest of Granada in 1492, European visitors to the court of the Catholic Monarchs were struck by the beauties of the Islamic architecture produced by the Nasrids, and often wrote about what they experienced. Andres Navagero, the Venetian humanist and ambassador to the imperial court, visited the Alhambra in 1526 during a tour of Spain. Cammy Brothers's article explains that Navagero's descriptions and commentary on the Alhambra show that, confronted with the unfamiliar forms of Islamic architecture, he used his knowledge of classical literary tradition as a tool to interpret the Alhambra.[59] Navagero's extensive description of the Alhambra follows the sequence used by Pliny in the description of his Laurentinum villa, emphasizing similar points about the interior and the gardens.[60] Navagero's description of the interior of the Alhambra emphasizes the richness of its ornament:

> The Alhambra is. . .a beautiful palace that belonged to the Moorish kings. . . and is extremely sumptuous in its fine marbles and in all other things. . . There are a few rooms with the windows made in a delicate and pleasing way, with excellent Moorish craftsmanship, both in the walls and in the ceiling of the rooms. The crafted parts are in plaster with gold and part of ivory with gold. . .it is all very beautiful, and most of all the ceiling. . .and all the walls.[61]

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[59]See Brothers 79-102. For Navagero's impressions of Granada and the rest of Spain, see Andres Navagero, *Viaje por Espana (1524-1526),* trans. Antonio Maria Fabie (Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1983). Also see James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country House,* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985).

[60]Brothers 81.

[61]Translation from Brothers 80. For the untranslated text see Navagero 46: "*La Alhambra. . .es en verdad bellisimo y labrado suntuosisimamente con finos marmoles y otras muchas cosas. . .hay algunas salas y camaras muy buenas con las ventanas hechas mugy gentil y comodamente, con labores moriscas excelentes, asi en los muros como en los techos; las labores son en parte de yeso, con bastante oro, y en parte de marfil y oro; todas son bellisimas, y particularmente las de los muros y techos.*"

Despite the attention that Navagero pays to the ornamentation of the rooms, he does not mention the Arabic inscriptions that are an important presence throughout the palace; they not only form part of the decorative program, but often describe through poetry the function and meanings of the architectural setting which they adorn.[62] For instance, the extensive inscriptions in the Hall of the Ambassadors indicate its function as the throne room of the palace, and indicate how the seven layers of the *muqarnas* ceiling may work symbolically, creating a microcosm within the room (Fig. 53, 54). The seven heavens are described in Surah 67 of the Koran (the Surah of The Kingdom), which is inscribed in the cupola of the room. The first four verses are here used to comment on the king's rule, as well as the Divine Creator's:

> Bismallah. Blessed is he in whose hand is the kingdom, he is powerful over everything,
> who created death and life, that he might try you which of you is fairest in works, and he is the almighty, the all forgiving,
> who created seven heavens one upon another. Thou seest not in the creation of the all-merciful any imperfection.
> Return thy gaze; seest thou any fissure? Then return thy gaze again and again, and thy gaze comes back to thee dazzled, aweary.[63]

The Hall of the Two Sisters is also inscribed with poetry that utilizes cosmic imagery to compare the dome of the cupola to the rotating dome of heaven:

> How excellent is your beautiful building, for it certainly surpasses all others by the decree of the stars. . .

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[62]Brothers points out Navagero's silence regarding the inscriptions, and it is safe to say that Charles was not aware of their functional meaning either. See Brothers 80. For a description of the inscriptions and their meanings see Grabar, *Alhambra* 75-128. Also see Grabar *Mediation* 47-118.

[63]Grabar *Alhambra* 114.

> In [your dwelling] the portico has exceeded [the utmost limits] of beauty,
> while thanks to it the palace has come to compete in beauty with the vault of heaven. . .
> And how many arches rise up in its vault supported by columns which at night are embellished by light!
> You would think that they are the heavenly spheres whose orbits revolve,
> overshadowing the pillar of dawn when it barely begins to appear after having passed through the night. . .

Just as the heavens constantly changed in appearance depending upon the time of day or physical conditions, so the myriad facets of the *muqarnas* ceiling may have been intended to represent the ever changing appearance of the heavens (Fig. 40).[64] Though poetic and Koranic inscriptions like these occur throughout the Alhambra, either Europeans did not realize their importance, or did not care to know what the inscriptions said.

As early as 1516 Charles continued the policy established by Ferdinand and Isabella for the maintenance of the Alhambra, which was funded by a tax on the citizens of Granada. Leaving theories of Charles's symbolic intentions for architecture aside, the Emperor may have gained impetus to build a new palace because his court found the living arrangements in the Nasrid palace too inconvenient to remedy with minor changes or additions, as had been Ferdinand and Isabella's practice. The new Empress's quarters west of the Court of Myrtles, the *Cuarto Dorado* (Golden Court), were renovated in 1492 after the Christian conquest of Granada. However, Charles's bride did not reside in the Cuarto Dorado long, preferring instead to move with her entourage to a convent in the town whose Order was accustomed to housing royalty.[65] Though the desire for

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[64]Grabar *Alhambra* 118-119.

[65]For a description of Charles's courtier's dissatisfaction with the Islamic quarters, see Rosenthal

accommodations that the European court would find more comfortable probably played an important role in the Emperor's decision to build a royal residence here, the context into which he decided to insert the new structure emphasizes the importance of the Renaissance palace as a symbol of Charles's royal power and presence in what was formerly a vital Muslim space.

The history of Charles's imperial palace on the Alhambra is a long and complex one that probably begins in 1527, though construction on the palace was not to commence for another six years. Earl Rosenthal, in his thorough analysis of the building's history, identifies the architect of the palace as the painter Pedro Machuca, based on documentary evidence. However, Rosenthal does not assign sole responsibility for the palace's design to Machuca, but emphasizes a collaborative process that most likely involved Machuca, the Governor of the Alhambra Luis Hurtado Mendoza, and Charles V, a collaboration which resulted in the classical design for the palace.[66] Machuca had spent time painting in Italy, and Rosenthal places him within the milieu surrounding Raphael's school, based upon documentary evidence and visual analysis of Machuca's paintings.[67] Earl Rosenthal credits Luis Hurtado Mendoza with playing an important role in the architectural scheme for the palace, considering the Mendoza

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4 and notes 5-7.

[66] Many people were involved in the complex building history of the palace. For a description of the "dramatis personae" of the project, see Rosenthal 3-21.

[67] For an analysis of Machuca's painting and possible influences, see Rosenthal 223-235.

family's long running interest in classical literature, history, and architecture.[68] The Mendoza family is usually credited with the earliest introduction of Renaissance design to Spain, mostly in the form of decorative art for tombs.[69] In 1527 Luis Hurtado Mendoza submitted palace plans for the Emperor's judgement; Charles regularly entrusted local officials with the tasks of finding architects and choosing designs for imperial projects in his Spanish kingdom. The Emperor had other pressing matters to attend to during this year, however, the most serious of which was the Sack of Rome by his imperial army.[70] This shocking event was brought on in part by the complex political maneuverings of and a series of fateful decisions made by the Emperor, the papacy, and the kings of France and England. The imperial army was largely composed of Protestant soldiers, who, though paid to spare Florence from the looting that was considered a victorious army's due, could not be stopped from pillaging the eternal city. The implications of this event in the realms of art, religion, and politics can not be overemphasized. As the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles's first duty was to defend Christianity, and the attack on the papal city by a Christian army that should have been battling the Turkish menace shocked the Christian world.

Because of the political crises surrounding him, Charles had to settle for planning

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[68]For a description of Luis Hurtado Mendoza's background and interest in classical Rome and architectural matters, see Rosenthal 7-10.

[69]For a discussion of early Renaissance architecture in Spain, see Nieto 29-51.

[70]Andre Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527,* trans. Beth Archer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977) is an excellent account of the Sack and its effects upon diplomacy, religion, politics, culture, urban life, and art.

the palace through correspondence with Mendoza, whom he informed about his primary concerns about the project. In a letter of November 1527 Charles responded to a palace plan, submitted by Mendoza for judgement.[71] The plan that Mendoza submitted to Charles was most likely for a freestanding, square, symmetrical residential structure with a circular courtyard: more of a small residential villa than a palace.[72] This plan would probably have located the administrative functions in the Islamic fabric, most likely the Court of the Myrtles complex. In his response letter Charles specified three changes that he wished to make to the plan.[73] The changes were primarily concerned with functional issues: first, that the entrance chamber (*la sala delantera*) should be large and impressive, and second that within the palace there should be a chapel in which the mass could be recited and heard (*capilla para dezir y oír misa*). The chapel, Charles told Mendoza, should consist of two levels, from both of which it should be possible to hear the mass (*sea la capilla de manera que de arriba y de abaxo y por entrambas partes se pueda oír misa*). The resulting octagonal, two-story scheme visually links Charles's chapel with one of the most celebrated examples of the type: the Palatine Chapel at Aachen, the seat of Charlemagne's reign as the first Holy Roman Emperor. The centralized octagonal chapel type was also an established tradition among Spanish aristocratic families, so the appearance of the type in Charles's palace was appropriate for his status as both Holy

[71]Rosenthal 265.

[72]Rosenthal 26.

[73]Rosenthal 23.

Roman Emperor and King of Spain.[74]

Charles's third request was that the necessary administrative and residential quarters be incorporated into the new palace, making it a bureaucratic governmental center rather than a private royal residence. Charles's desire to centralize all royal and residential functions within the new palace necessitated the destruction of parts of the Islamic palace complex. His decision to build on the site in this manner may seem odd, considering his disappointment with the addition of the cathedral to the Great Mosque of Córdoba. However, Charles's decision to build a separate palace within the Nasrid complex at least resulted in the conservation of the Court of the Myrtles and the Court of the Lions, both of which might have been much more radically changed if Charles had decided to house administrative functions within them, as Mendoza's plan would probably have required.

The Emperor was eager to commence building, and financing was not a problem. The year before, in 1526, the Muslim citizens of the city paid Charles 80,000 ducats in addition to their regular tribute for allowing them to continue speaking Arabic, carrying weapons, dressing in the Moorish fashion, and utilizing public baths.[75] However, instead of making the adjustments and commencing with the construction as Charles was eager for him to do, Mendoza wrote back to the Emperor to ask him to reconsider the original freestanding plan. Earl Rosenthal, analyzing the roles which the Emperor, Mendoza, and

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[74]Rosenthal 27.

[75]For Charles's agreements with the Moors of the city see Rosenthal 24, note 118.

Machuca may have played in the genesis of the palace design, explains the difference in architectural approaches evinced by Mendoza and the architect Machuca on one hand, and the Emperor on the other:

> They differed fundamentally in their approach to architectural design. Luis Hurtado and Machuca evidently thought that the first step was to determine the abstract geometrical and proportional aspects of the ground plan and then at a later stage, to designate certain halls and areas for particular functions. . . Unaccustomed to this peculiarly Italian Renaissance procedure, Charles must have looked in bewilderment at the square plan with rooms of various sizes distributed around a circular courtyard. The governor, for his part, was surely disappointed by the emperor's failure to appreciate the central symmetry and geometricity of the project.[76]

Rosenthal suggests another reason for the difference between the two plans: Mendoza's scheme for a free-standing, relatively small, residential plan for the new palace would have placed the palace southwest of the Court of the Myrtles, where destruction of existing fabric would be less necessary. However, Charles was adamant in his desire not only to incorporate the royal administrative and residential functions within a new palace, but to build the new palace alongside the Court of the Lions, which he wished to be able to access from his private apartments.[77] The siting of the palace immediately south of the Court of the Lions, as Charles hoped for, would have necessitated the demolition of the church, Santa Maria del Alhambra (the former mosque). Charles continued to pursue the destruction of the church despite the unpopularity of the decision with the local Christians. The archbishop of Granada responded in 1529 by informing Charles that only

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[76]Rosenthal 25.

[77]Rosenthal 36.

the Pope could deconsecrate the church site for profane use, and admonished him with the examples of Constantine and Theodosius, Roman emperors who gave their palaces for the use of the Church.[78] Charles received no sympathy from the Pope, Clement VII, who had suffered through the Sack of Rome in 1527. Finally in 1531 Charles accepted the impossibility of building immediately adjacent to the Court of the Lions, and the project was allowed to proceed based on Mendoza's suggestions for siting (Fig. 55). Remarkably, Charles's willingness to destroy a church and suffer the disapproval of the Christian community, merely to gain greater proximity to the Islamic Court of the Lions, resulted in a four year delay of the palace project. So, though Charles built a palace that emphasized his status as a powerful Christian king, he admired the Islamic architecture enough to desire it for his private use and convenience, even when faced with political, religious, and pragmatic opposition. From Charles's behavior, and Andres Navagero's description of the Alhambra, it seems reasonable to suggest that Christians often viewed Islamic architecture, not through the lens of religion, but as buildings that were desirable for the sensual richness and luxury they provided their inhabitants. In the Alhambra's case its similarity to the descriptions of country villas familiar from classical literature, combined with the magnificence of the architecture, made the Islamic palace complex naturally appealing to the Europeans who experienced it.

Construction of the renaissance palace's foundations began in 1533, upon

[78]For a discussion of the delay caused by Charles's desire to build next to the Court of the Lions, see Rosenthal 35-42.

Charles's return from Italy and his approval and funding of the project.[79] The plan and elevations still utilized the rational geometry and the classical orders of the Italian Renaissance, but the plan had been expanded and the structure physically connected to the exterior south wall of the Court of the Myrtles (Fig. 45, 55). The decision to build the new palace in the classical language of the Renaissance was not lightly determined. One might have expected Charles to favor the Gothic architectural language which was the predominant form for monumental architecture in Europe at the time. Charles was not known for his enthusiasm or particular interest in classical architecture; in fact, he first sided with the Canons of the Royal Chapel in the Granada cathedral who resisted the incorporation of classical architecture (*a lo romano*) into the predominantly Gothic language (*el modo moderno*) of the cathedral.[80] The decision in favor of classicism may be understood in relation to the architectural options that were rejected in the development of the palace design.

What were the architectural choices available to Charles for his new palace? First, the architect could have utilized the established local language: Islamic architectural form. Second, the architect could have utilized the architectural language that was predominant in all of Europe, with the exception of Italy: Gothic form. The architecture produced by Charles's contemporaries, Henry VIII in England, and Francis I in France, as well as the predominantly Gothic architecture of Charles's native

[79]Rosenthal 58.

[80]Rosenthal 5.

Netherlands, were all models from which Charles could have drawn. Why then did he choose the architectural language of Italy, specifically of Rome? Part of the answer lies in the enormous prestige of Italian art and culture during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Italy was considered supreme in the world of art and culture, and exposure to Italian artistic developments during those two centuries led French, English, and Spanish nobility to import Italian craftsmen into their countries, where the language of the Italian Renaissance first appeared in the decorative arts.[81]

Francis I, King of France from 1515 to 1547, was instrumental in importing Italian artists to the French court, including Leonardo da Vinci. Francis's royal chateaux at Chambord, remodeled beginning in 1519, and at Blois, built between 1514-1524, illustrate how French architecture, though rooted in the local language of Gothic architecture, combined native forms with the classical orders and rational organizing principles developed in Italy.[82]

Henry VIII, King of England from 1509 to 1547, also imported Italian artists, though his patronage was not as extensive as the French king's. Henry VIII's patronage of Italian classical art in England was limited to the addition of decorative elements to buildings rooted in medieval forms, rather than fully integrated works of classical architecture. The sculptural ornament of Henry VII's tomb in Westminster Abbey, of

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[81]See Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700* (London: Penguin, 1953).

[82]Blunt 9-13.

1512 to 1518, the screen and stalls of King's College, Cambridge of 1533-1536, and Hampton Court palace of 1472 to 1530, utilize elements of classical decoration, but a pervasive and integrated architectural classicism was not truly embraced in England until Inigo Jones's work in the seventeenth century.

The classical Renaissance language was the only appropriate language that Charles could have chosen for this important imperial commission. As the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles's political agenda precluded the use of local Islamic forms, Gothic forms, or even the combination of Gothic and Renaissance forms that characterized the patronage of his contemporaries. Although today we would probably applaud an architectural scheme for the palace that was more sympathetic to the existing Islamic context, the sixteenth century Holy Roman Emperor's utilization of Islamic forms for an imperial commission would have been completely inappropriate in light of the tension between Christians and Muslims. Cammy Brothers addresses this, rightly pointing out that any attempt by Charles to build using the Islamic architectural idiom could only appear "derivative and second rate."[83] A palace that utilized the classical forms of the Renaissance in Rome formed the greatest and most appropriate contrast to the architectural forms that characterized the Islamic kingdom of Granada.

Barring the use of Islamic forms for the palace, then, why didn't Charles choose to build with the Gothic language, or some combination of Gothic and classical forms? Brothers also addresses this point, but simply dismisses these options as ill-suited for

[83]Brothers 87-89.

monumental architecture.[84] Charles opted to utilize the classical language rather than the more familiar Gothic, not because Gothic forms lacked monumentality, but because the Gothic forms would not have evoked the political and religious associations that Charles desired from the architecture of his palace. A Renaissance palace could invoke associations, in the mind of the viewer, between Charles V, as Holy Roman Emperor, and the authority, majesty, wealth, and power of Imperial Rome. Rosenthal, in his analysis of the significance of the palace, points out that the connection between Charles V and the Roman Emperors was already widespread in Europe because of Charles's vast empire, which gave him real power as the Holy Roman Emperor. Part of what distinguished Charles's emperorship from those of his predecessors, according to Rosenthal, was the tangible wealth that he derived from his power base in Spain, then the most powerful of the European countries.[85] The monumental classical forms of the palace emphasized the connection between Charles and the Roman Empire, and the decorative program of both interior and exterior explicitly made the connection with emblems familiar from Roman imperial symbolism, like the imperial eagle and Latin inscriptions that referred to Charles with Roman titles like "*Imperatori Caesari.*" (Fig. 46)

Finally, the classical language of the palace made a visual connection between Charles and the Pope, the spiritual leader of the Christian world. The Pope did not build with Gothic forms, and he certainly did not build with Islamic forms, therefore it would

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[84]Brothers 88.

[85]Rosenthal 246-247.

be inappropriate for the Holy Roman Emperor to do so. The architectural language of the High Renaissance that provided the model for Charles's palace was unique to Rome, and known outside of Italy largely through the presence of the foreign ambassadors and other noblemen in Rome. Whereas Henry VIII's split from the papacy made the use of classical forms that visually linked him to Rome inappropriate, an architectural link between the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope could visually enforce the unity of Christianity, across both the spiritual and secular realms. This message was especially important considering Charles's battle against the Turkish threat, and the location of his new palace in the last Islamic kingdom of Western Europe. The trauma caused by the Sack of Rome in 1527 by his imperial army was also strong impetus for Charles to provide tangible visual evidence of the unity of Church and Empire and his fidelity to the papacy.

Thus the rational geometry, the bold classical forms, and the ornamental program present in the palace all indicated Charles V's status as the successor of the Roman Emperors, and as a Christian Emperor, in direct contrast to the Islamic rule that had only recently been displaced in Granada. The Nasrid palaces annexed to Charles's new palace became an architectural trophy that symbolized Christian triumph over Islam. For most Europeans Charles V embodied royal power and the prospect of the unification and world-wide triumph of the Christian community. His monumental classical palace, particularly in relation to its Islamic setting, emphasizes this message.

CONCLUSION

The examination of the cathedral within the Great Mosque of Córdoba and Charles's new palace in Granada indicates that Christians genuinely admired Islamic architecture. However, the combination of their recognition of architecture's power in the public realm and the political and religious atmosphere of the sixteenth century informed the treatment of existing Islamic buildings. The difference in attitude between local Christian populations and the governing powers of Church and State also indicates that Muslims and Christians in general did not make sectarian differentiations between architectural forms. Rather, buildings and forms that were established as "holy" were respected by both Christians and Muslims. However, those in positions of political and religious power, Charles V and the Bishop of Córdoba, recognized the powerful connection between architectural form and ideology. Faced with the general atmosphere of anxiety about the Turks, and the tumult within the Church, Charles V and the Bishop used architecture as Christian propaganda. The soaring form of the cathedral that rises out of the Great Mosque and the rational geometry and massive fortified appearance of the new palace conveyed two messages: an avowal of the Church's stability and superiority to Islam, and an emphasis on the wealth, power, and ideological aspirations of Charles's reign.[86]

[86]One of the questions posed in the beginning of this discussion concerned the paradox of Christian use of Muslim architecture. It may be useful to briefly mention their attitude towards other Islamic art objects. Beginning in the Middle Ages the Church often put Islamic luxury goods like textiles, rock crystal vessels, and metalwork, spoils of the Christian war against Muslims, to liturgical

Notably, the native Christian population of Córdoba, and elsewhere in Spain, continued to utilize Islamic architectural forms into the sixteenth century. Not until danger to the Church, both external and internal, reached crisis level did the Church and State actively choose architectural forms that would deny the power of Islam in concrete visual terms. The act of inserting the cathedral into the Islamic fabric was the rhetorical culmination of three hundred years of relatively sensitive Christian use of the mosque. Charles V perceived of the Alhambra as a luxury villa - something to be used and enjoyed with little regard for original function, meaning or fabric, but local Christians in Granada, like those in Córdoba, opposed outside efforts to destroy the existing fabric to erect new Christian architecture.

Just as they used Islamic textiles and decorative items, Christians appropriated Islamic architecture for its richness, its foreign beauty, and its trophy status. However, in the political and religious turmoil of the sixteenth century, those in positions of power decided that architecture's powerful symbolic role in the public realm necessitated

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use. The treasuries of churches in Spain, as well as in Italian cities like Venice and Pisa, contain extensive collections of decorative items produced in Islamic lands (Fig. 56). Saint's relics were sometimes wrapped in cloth woven with passages from the Koran, and the use of Islamic-inspired calligraphy in paintings of the Madonna and Child became common. (Fig. 57) Precedents for the Christian use of Arabic inscriptions had already been established at the *Capella Palatina* in Sicily, and in the *Capilla Real* in the Great Mosque of Córdoba (Fig. 19, 22). Christians in the sixteenth century may have grown accustomed to seeing Arabic calligraphy in the sought-after textiles and reliquaries, and may have regarded it as more decorative than meaningful, as the pseudo-kufic inscriptions in renaissance paintings of the Madonna and Child indicate. Christians valued and utilized these objects because they were private luxuries, because the richness of the materials and craftsmanship overshadowed their Islamic origins, and because they were trophies of the Christian domination of Islam. In the same way, Islamic architecture could be used and enjoyed by Christians, but the prominent public nature of the cathedral in Córdoba and Charles V's palace in Granada made some alteration necessary for appropriate Christian use.

obvious physical change to the Islamic fabric, both to mitigate its Muslim origin, and to emphasize Muslim subjugation to Christianity. By erecting a Gothic cathedral within the Great Mosque of Córdoba, and by annexing a renaissance palace to the palaces of the Alhambra, Charles V and Christians under his rule were able to use and enjoy the Islamic architecture, even as they manipulated it to glorify Christianity.

APPENDIX A:
TERMS[87]

maqsura - enclosure near the *mihrab* for the protection of the caliph or his representative; screen enclosing the grave proper in a mausoleum

mihrab - arch or arcuated niche, flat or concave, which indicates the direction of Mecca (the *qibla*)

muqarnas- method of vaulting made up of individual cells or small niches; often used as a visual bridging element between architectural zones

Nasrid - dynasty founded in 1237-8 by Muhammad b. Ahmar in Granada. The Nasrid kingdom was the last Muslim state on the Iberian Peninsula. The last Nasrid ruler, called Boabdil in the West, was exiled to Morocco when Ferdinand and Isabella conquered Granada in 1492.

qibla - direction of prayer, i.e. to the Black Stone in the Ka'ba in Mecca

Ummayad - the first caliphal dynasty; they ruled from 661 to 750 and were based in Damascus. The line migrated to the Iberian Peninsula under Abd al-Rahman I in 756, after the Abbasid dynasty took over the caliphate.

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[87]Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994) and Barbara Brend, *Islamic Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

APPENDIX B:
CHRONOLOGY[88]

1500 - Birth of Charles

1516 - Charles proclaimed King of Spain upon death of Ferdinand of Aragon. He had been proclaimed King of the Netherlands the year before.

1517 - Charles arrives in Spain.
Martin Luther nails his 95 Theses to the door of Castle Church, Wittenburg

1519 - Charles is elected Holy Roman Emperor upon the Death of Emperor Maximilian.

1520 - Alliance with Henry VIII
The *comunero* revolt in Spain
Charles crowned king of the Romans at Aachen
Accession of Suleyman to the Sultanate increases Turkish threat to Europe

1521 - Diet of Worms
Comunero army defeated at Villalar
Milan captured

1523 - Election of Clement VII
Construction of the cathedral at the Great Mosque of Córdoba begins

1526 - Marriage to Isabella of Portugal.
Visits the Great Mosque of Córdoba to inspect Cathedral project
Charles arrives in Granada in June with his bride
Design begun for palace. Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, governor of the Alhambra put in charge of the project.
"Pope Clement VII excludes Charles from attending Mass and denounced him for his ambitions in Italy, where the pope held him responsible for the tumult."(Rosenthal, 10-11).
Louis II of Hungary killed in battle against the Turks; Ferdinand takes his throne

1527 - Sack of Rome
Birth of Phillip

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[88]Political dates from Martyn Rady, *The Emperor Charles V*, ed. Roger Lockyer (London: Longman, 1988).

1528 - Appointment of Diego Siloe, by Archbishop Pedro Ramírez de Álava, as architect of the cathedral of Granada.

1529 - Charles' first trip to Italy, but just the northern provinces. Previous to this, his travels were restricted to areas still faithful to the Gothic style in architecture.[89]

1530 - Charles crowned in Bologna
Death of Gattinara
"Charles' interest in the arts increased after 1530 under the tutelage of two vassal princes, Federico Gonzaga of Mantua and Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara, and their recent convert to the new Renaissance style, Francisco de los Cobos, Charles' most trusted secretary."[90]

1531 - Ferdinand elected King of the Romans

1532 - Charles marches to relieve Vienna from Ottomans, but there is no battle.

1533 - Charles returns to Spain

1534 - Election of Paul III

1535 - Expedition against Tunis

1536 - War with France

1539 - Death of Empress Isabella
Murals commissioned by Luis Hurtado de Mendoza in the Tocador de la Reina, of Charles V's campaign against the Turks in Tunis in 1535.

1541 - Expedition against Algiers

1542 - War with France

1544 - Peace of Crepy with France

1545 - Council of Trent assembles

1546 - Conversion of Frederick of the Palatinate

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[89]Rosenthal 5.

[90]Rosenthal 6.

Death of Martin Luther

1547 - Paul III transfers the Church Council to Bologna
Death of Francis I, accession of Henry II

1548 - Julius III elected

1551 - Habsburg succession pact

1555-56 - Charles abdicates

1558 - Death of Charles

APPENDIX C:
MAP

Map 1: Muslim Spain (Al-Andalus). Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Cordoba al Mudejar.*

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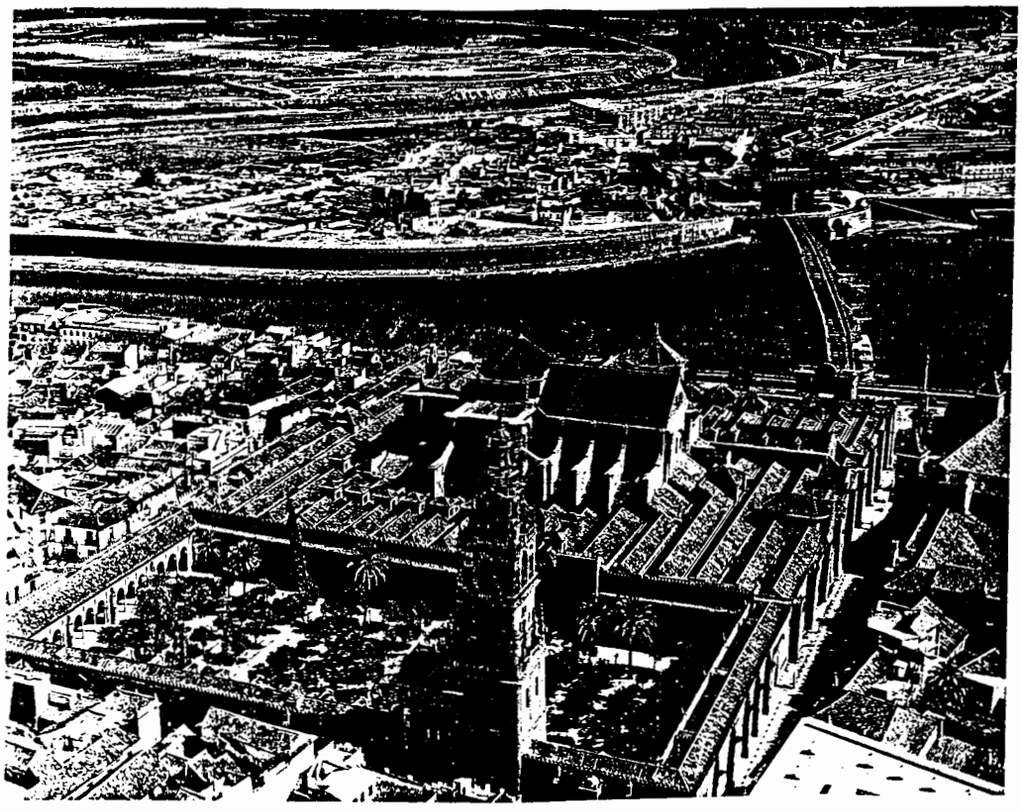


Figure 1. Aerial view of the Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Cordoba al Mudejar.*

Figure 2. View of the Great Mosque as it appeared in 1780. Source: Calvert, Albert F. *Moorish Remains in Spain.*

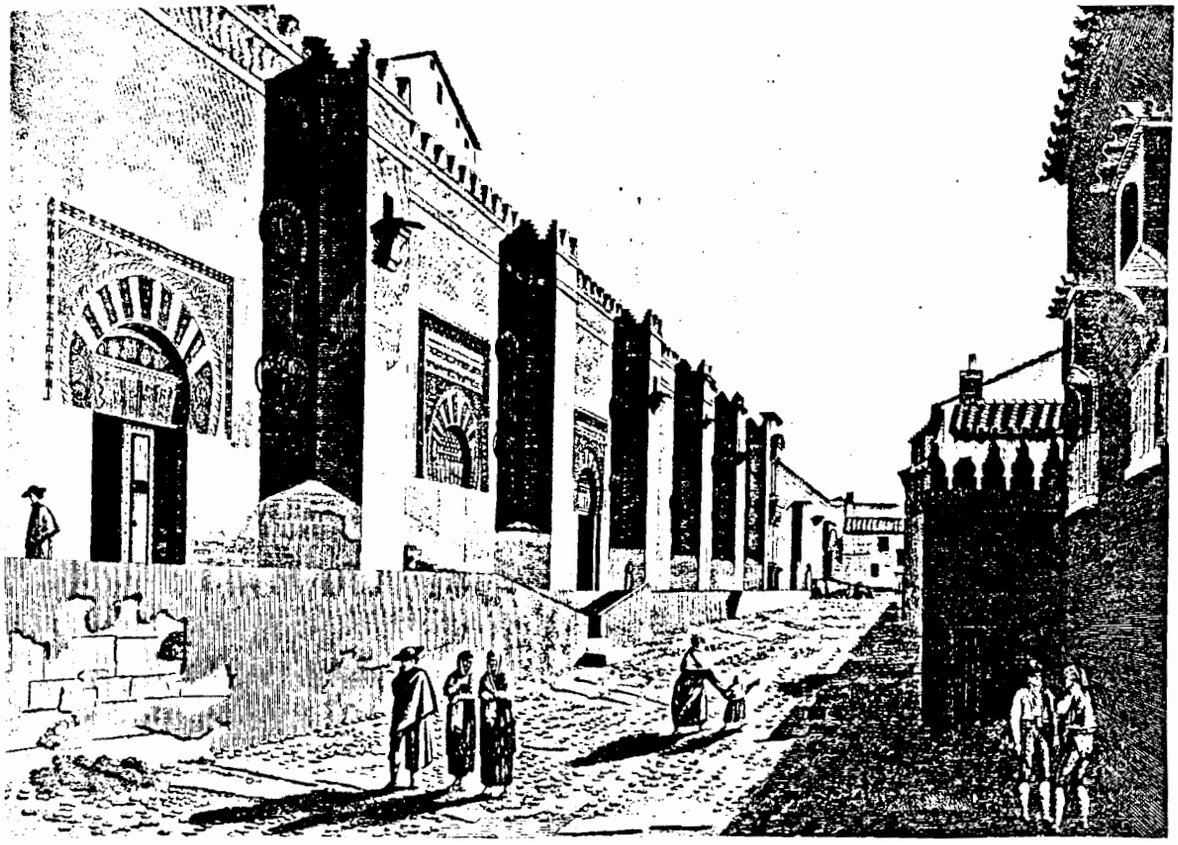


Figure 3. Exterior view of the Great Mosque. Source: Calvert. *Moorish Remains in Spain.*

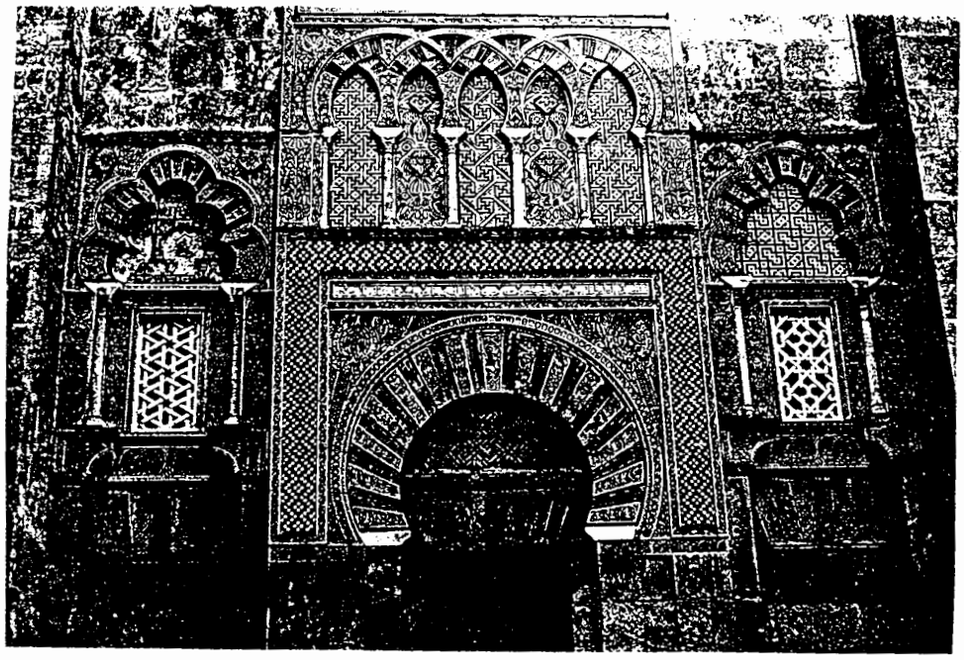


Figure 4. A portal in the west wall of the Great Mosque. Source: Baena Alcantara, Dolores. *La Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba.*

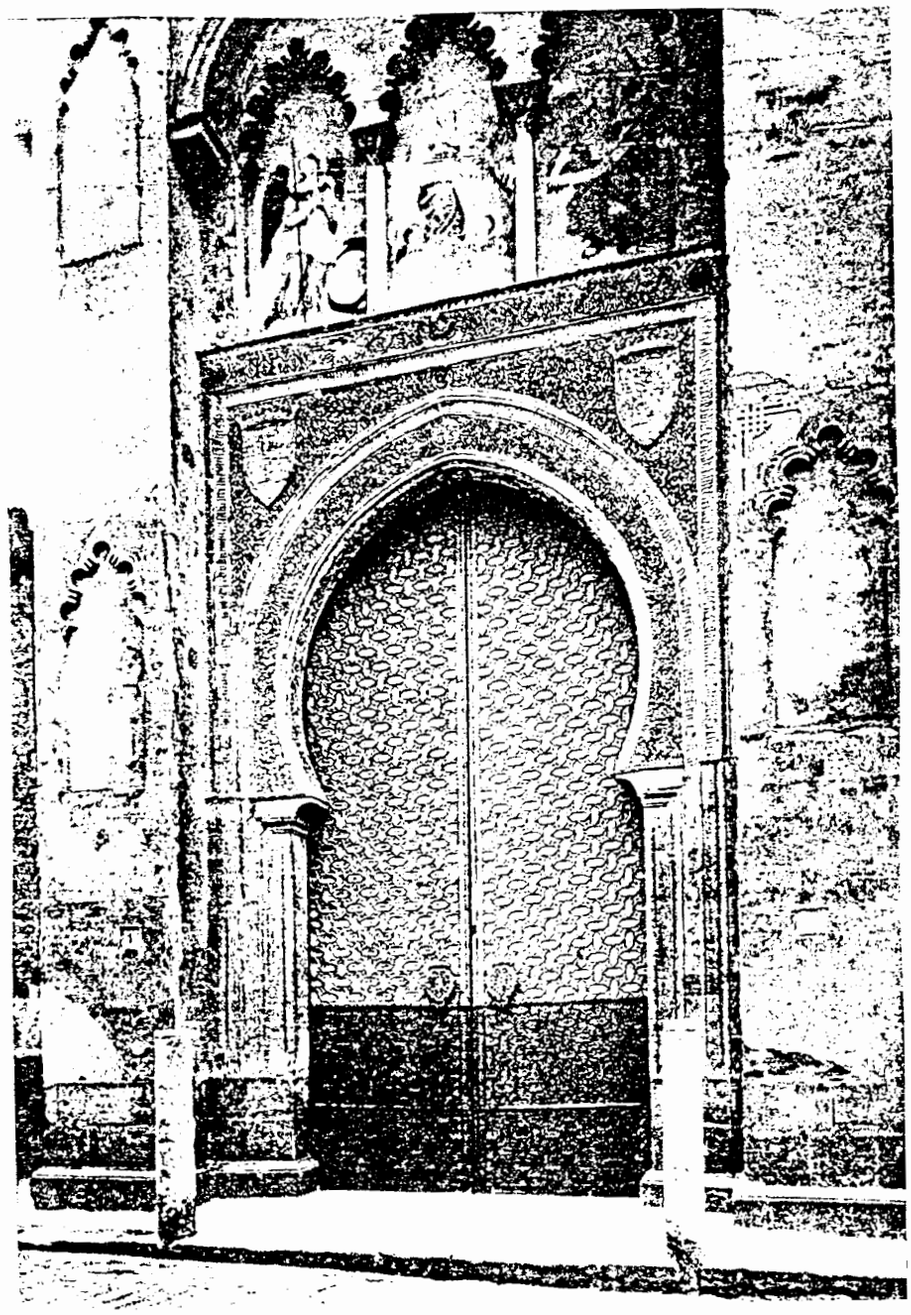
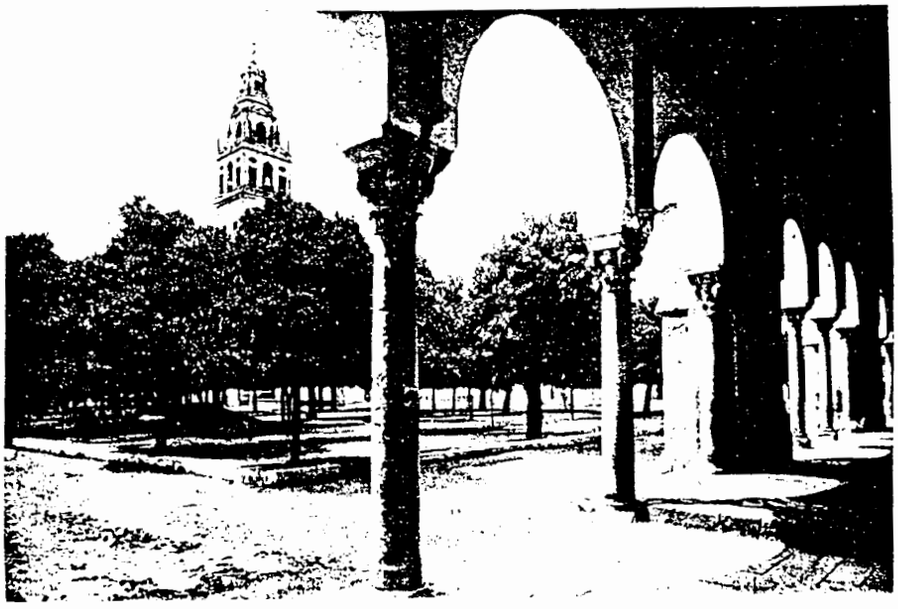


Figure 5. The *Puerta Del Perdon* (Gate of Pardon), north wall of the Great Mosque. Source: Torres-Balbas, L. *La Mezquita de Córdoba.*

Figure 6. View of the Minaret of the Great Mosque from the Court of Oranges. Source: Torres-Balbas, L. *La Mezquita de Córdoba.*



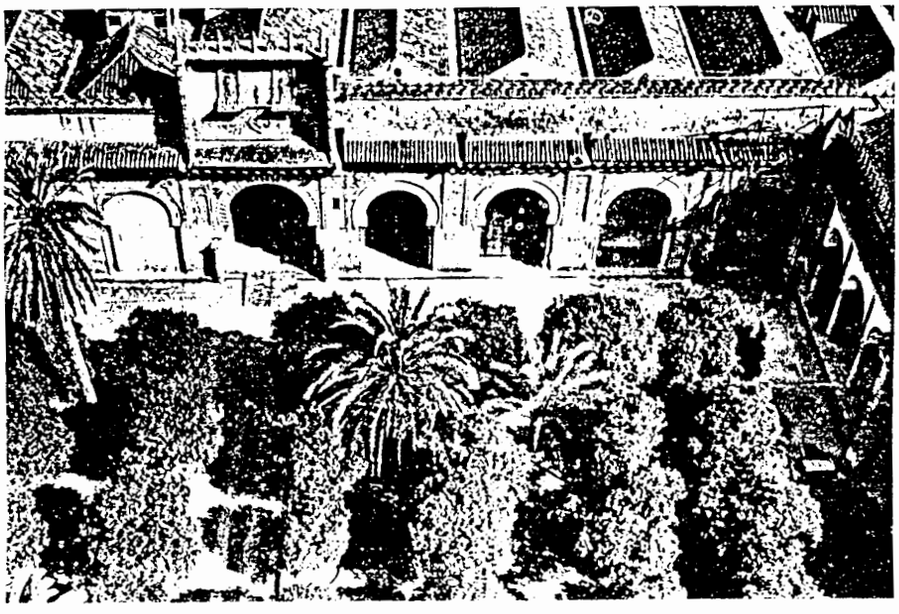


Figure 7. Two views of the Court of Oranges. Source: Torres-Balbas, L. *La Mezquita de Córdoba.*

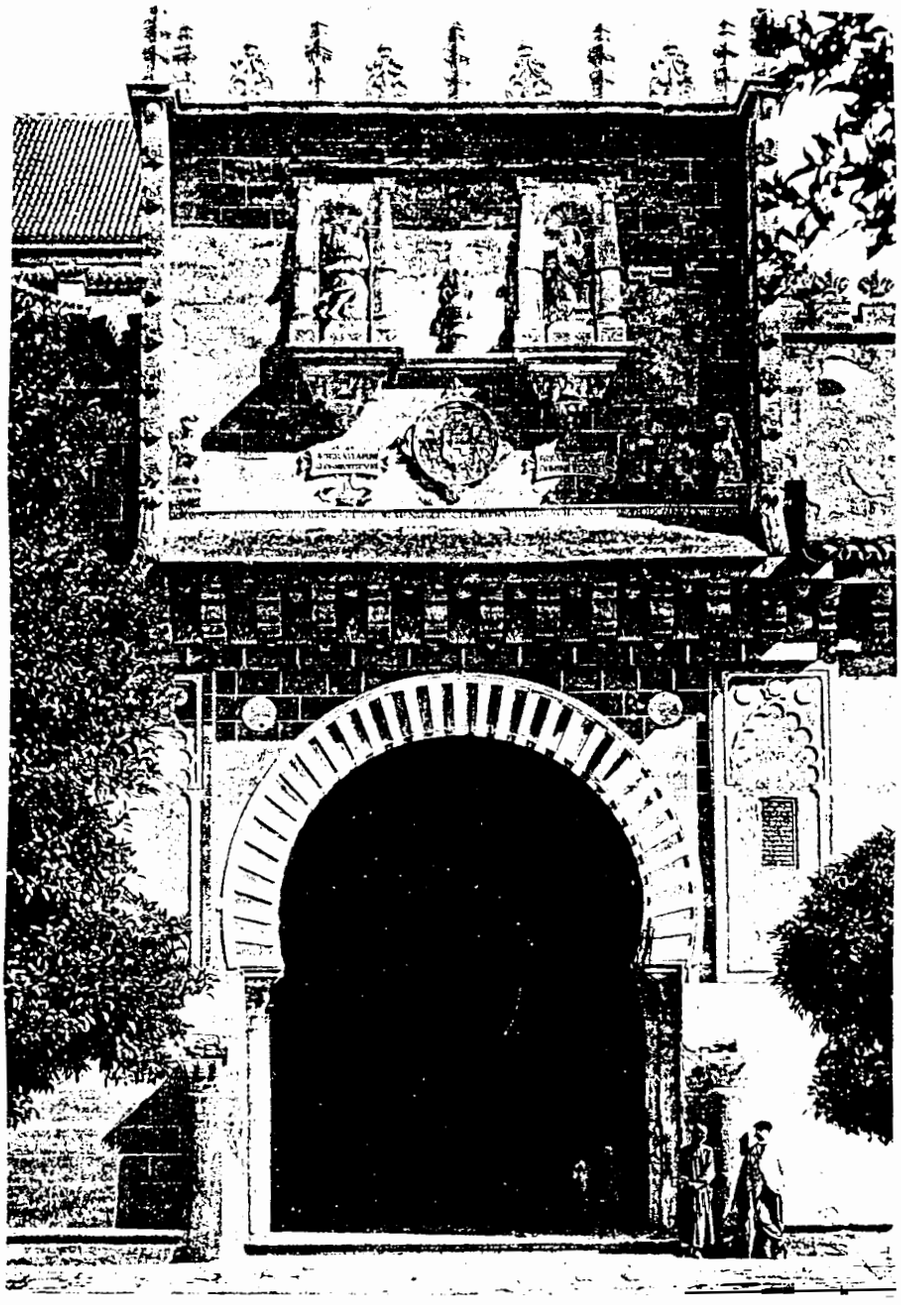


Figure 8. *Puerta de las Palmas* (Gate of Palms). Source: Torres-Balbas, L. *La Mezquita de Córdoba.*

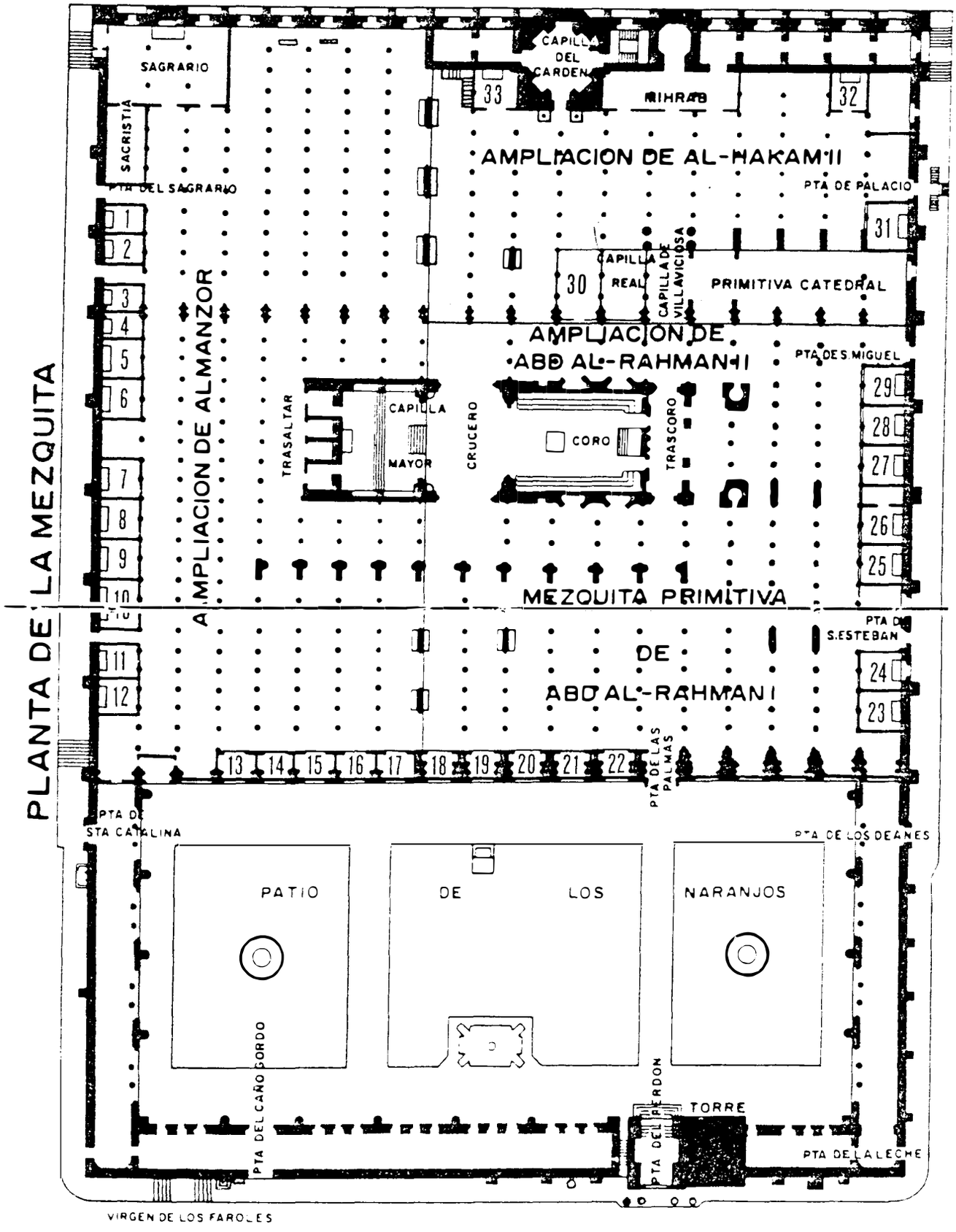


Figure 9. Plan of the Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Baena Alcantara, Dolores. *La Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba.*

Figure 10. Abd al-Rahman I double arcade system at the Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar.*

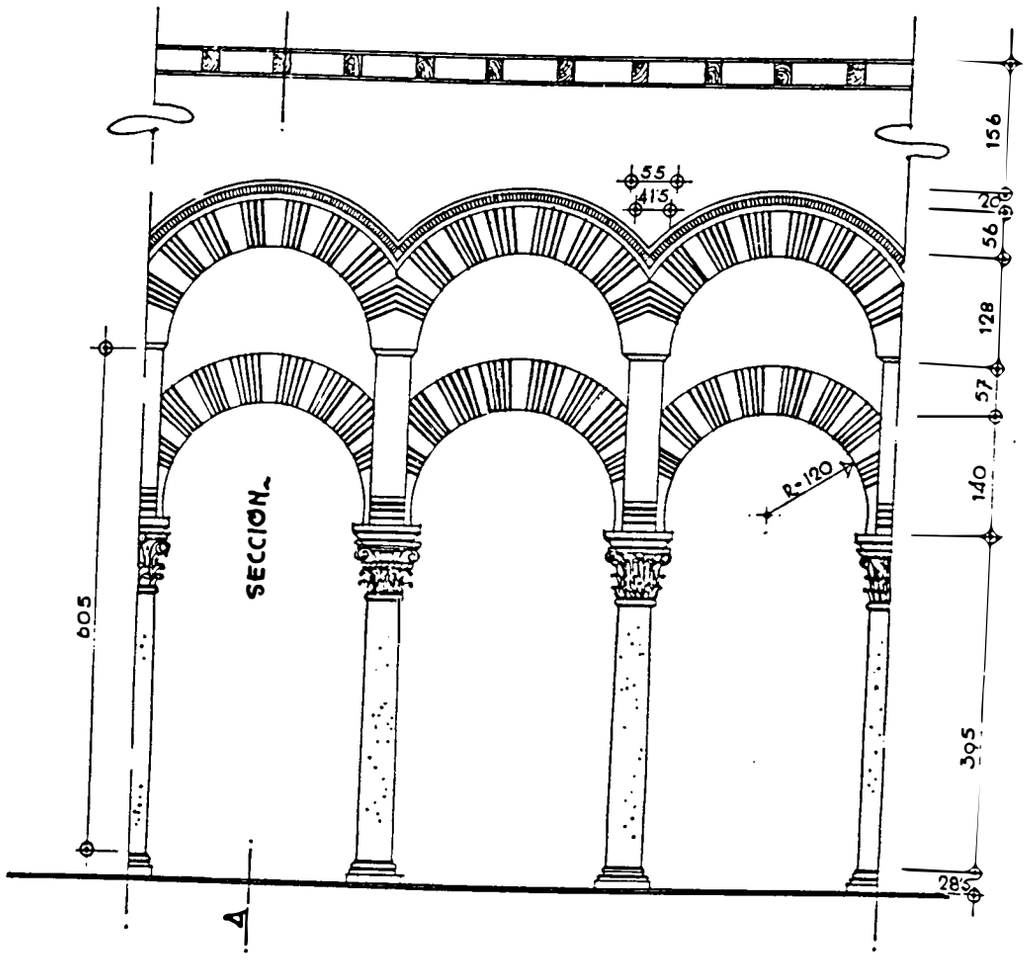


Figure 11. Abd al-Rahman I double arcade system at the Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar.*

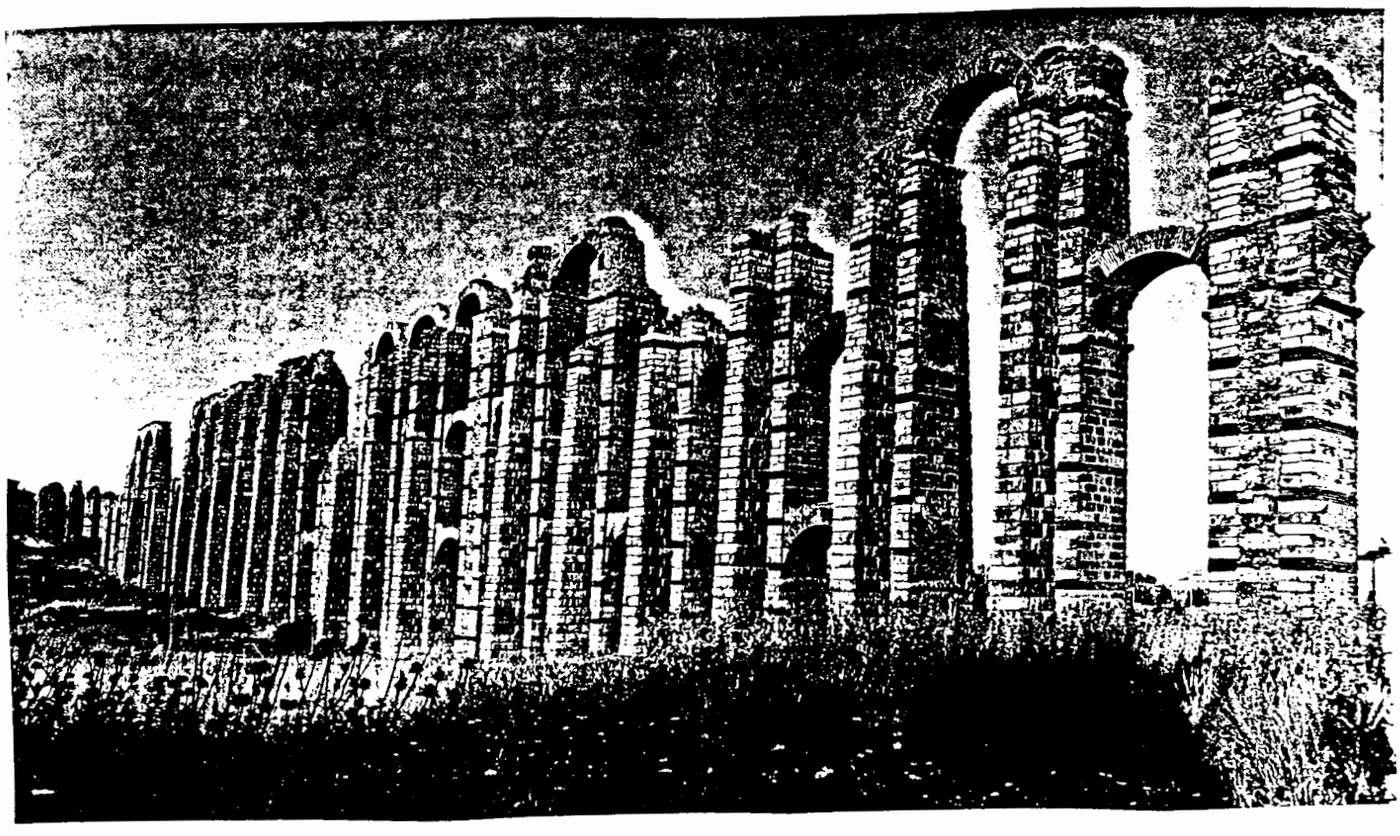


Figure 12. Roman aqueduct in Mérida, Spain. Source: Dodds, Jerrilyn D. "The Great Mosque of Córdoba." *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain.*

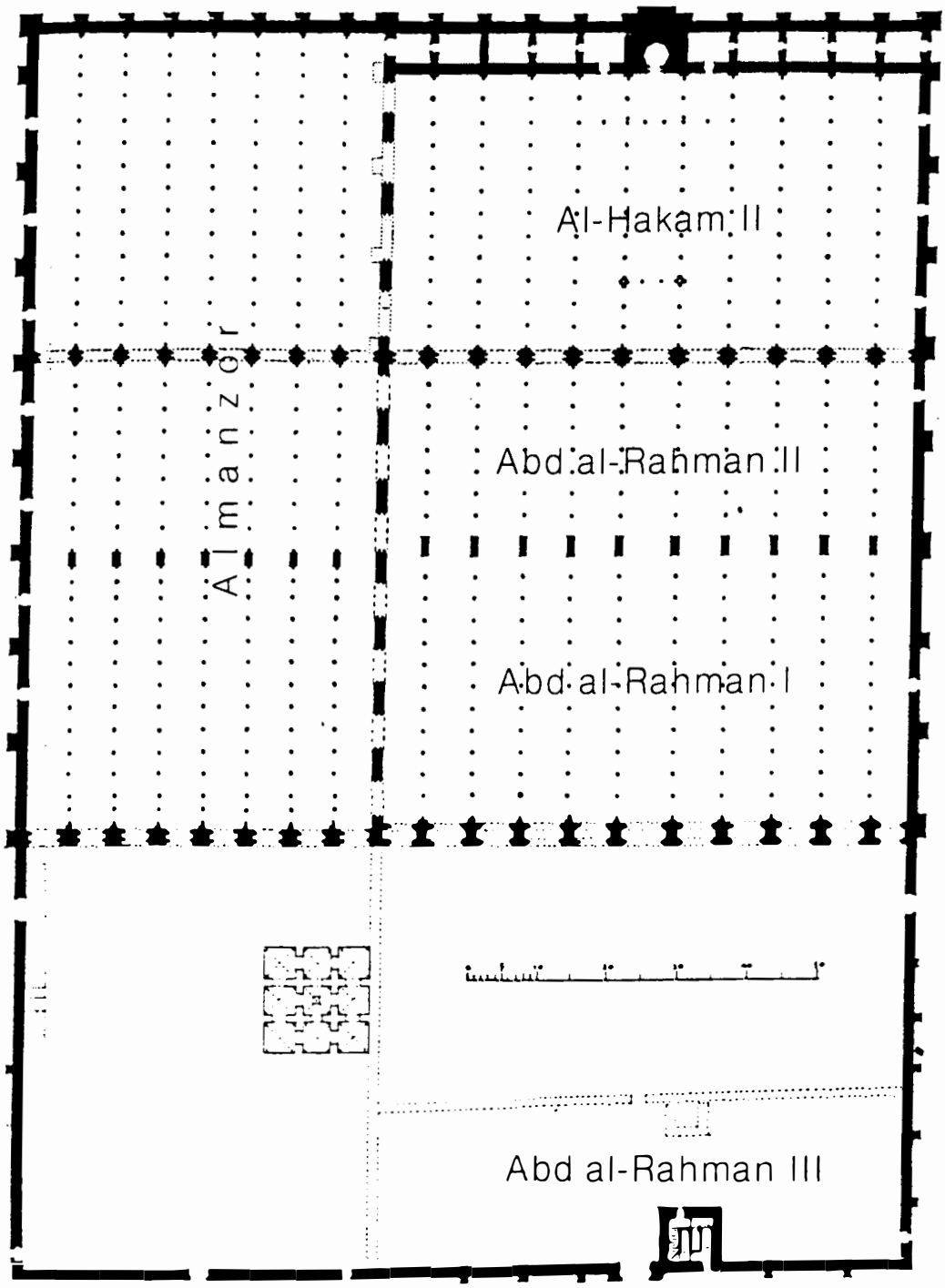


Figure 13. Plan, Great Mosque of Córdoba, showing Ummayad additions. Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar*.

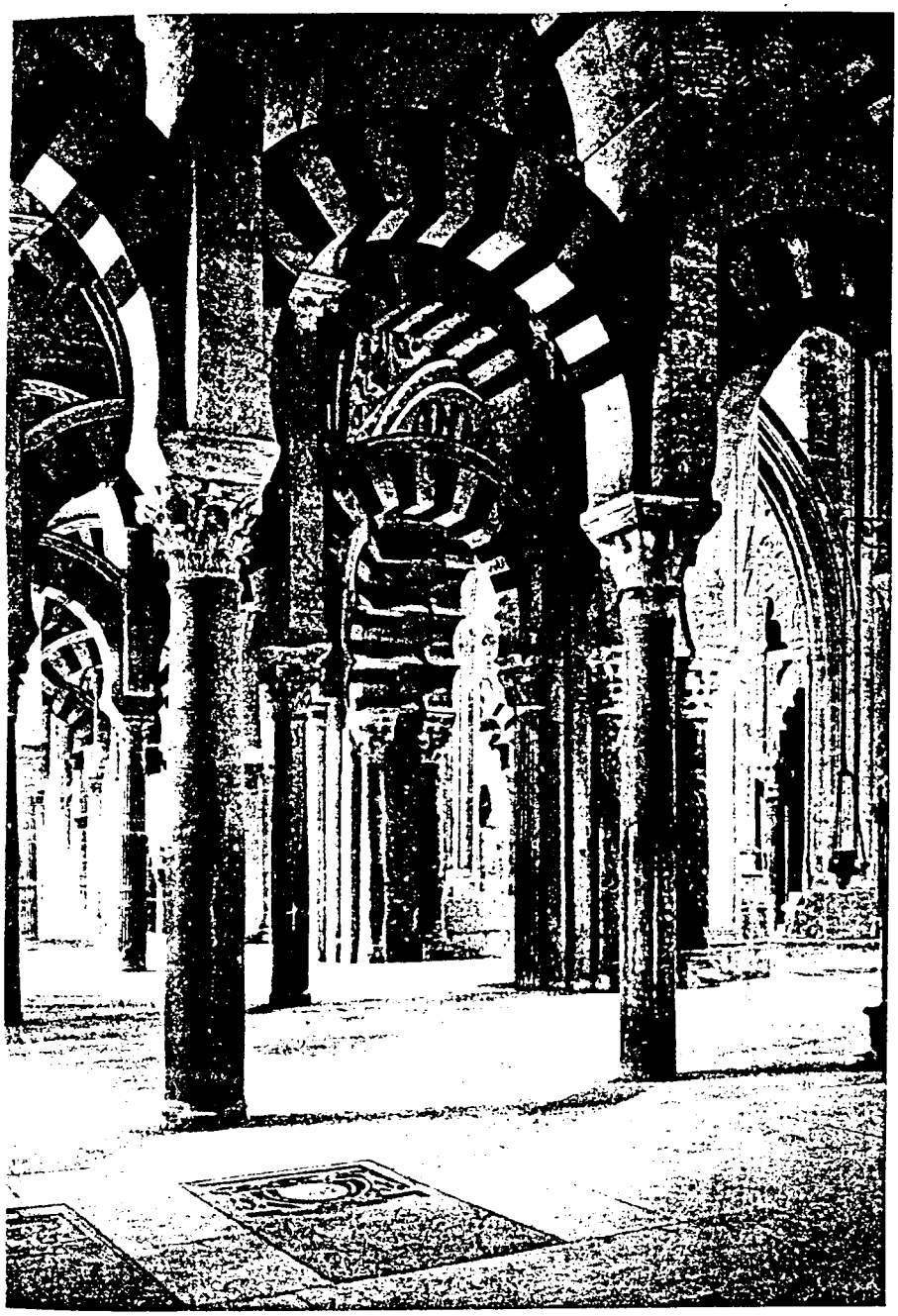


Figure 14. Nave, Abd al-Rahman II's addition to the Great Mosque. Source: Torres-Balbas, L. *La Mezquita de Córdoba.*

Figure 15. Polylobed arches, al-Hakam II's addition to the Great Mosque. Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar*.

Figure 16. Arcades, al-Mansur's addition to the Great Mosque. Source: Torres-Balbas, L. *La Mezquita de Córdoba.*

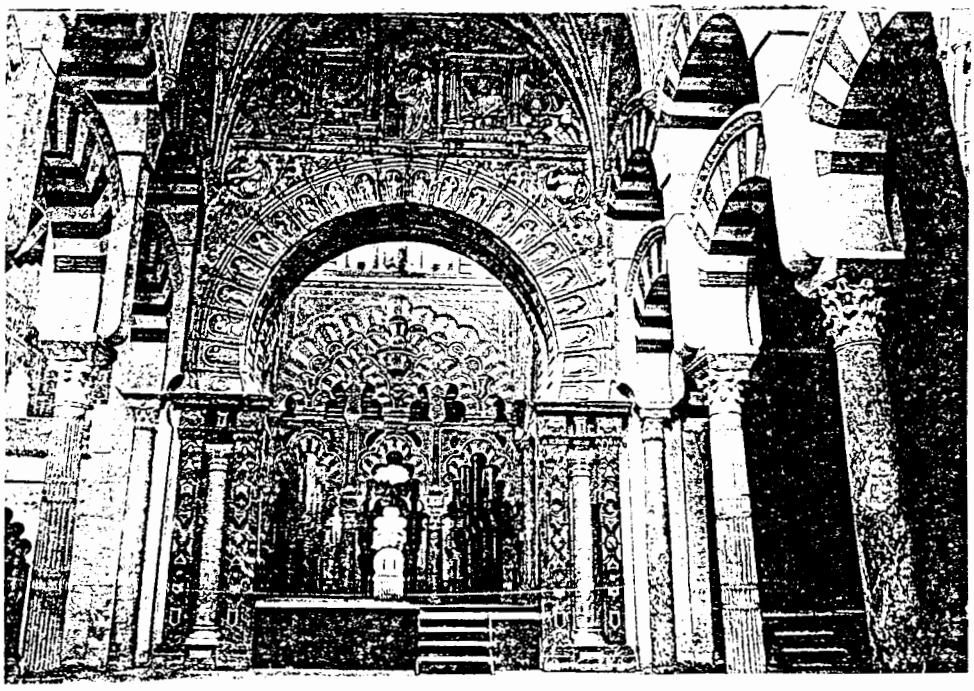
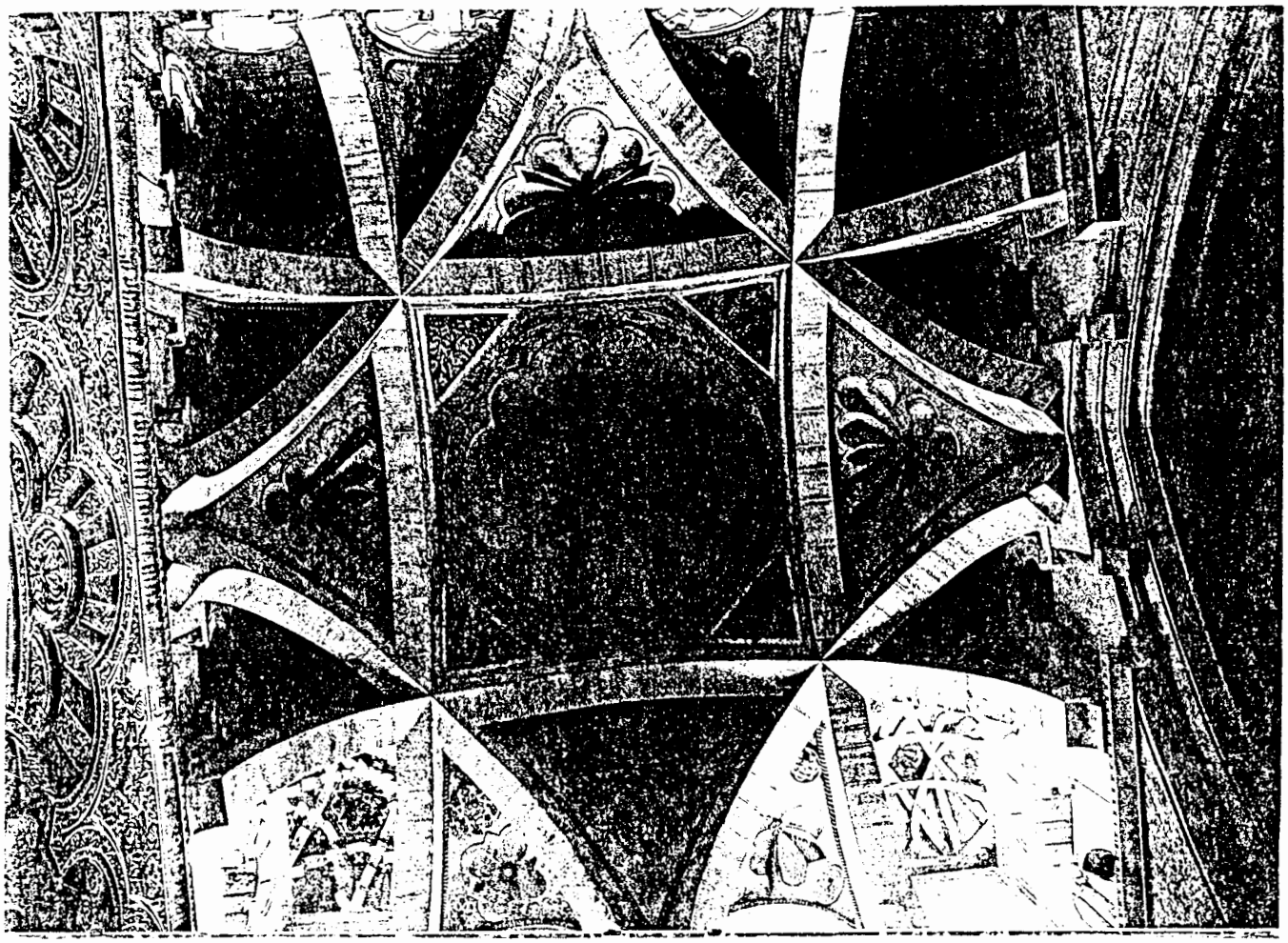


Figure 17. The *Capilla de Villaviciosa*, Great Mosque of Córdoba. Above, entrance to the chapel. Below, the ribbed dome of the chapel. Source: Baena Alcantara, Dolores. *La Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba.*



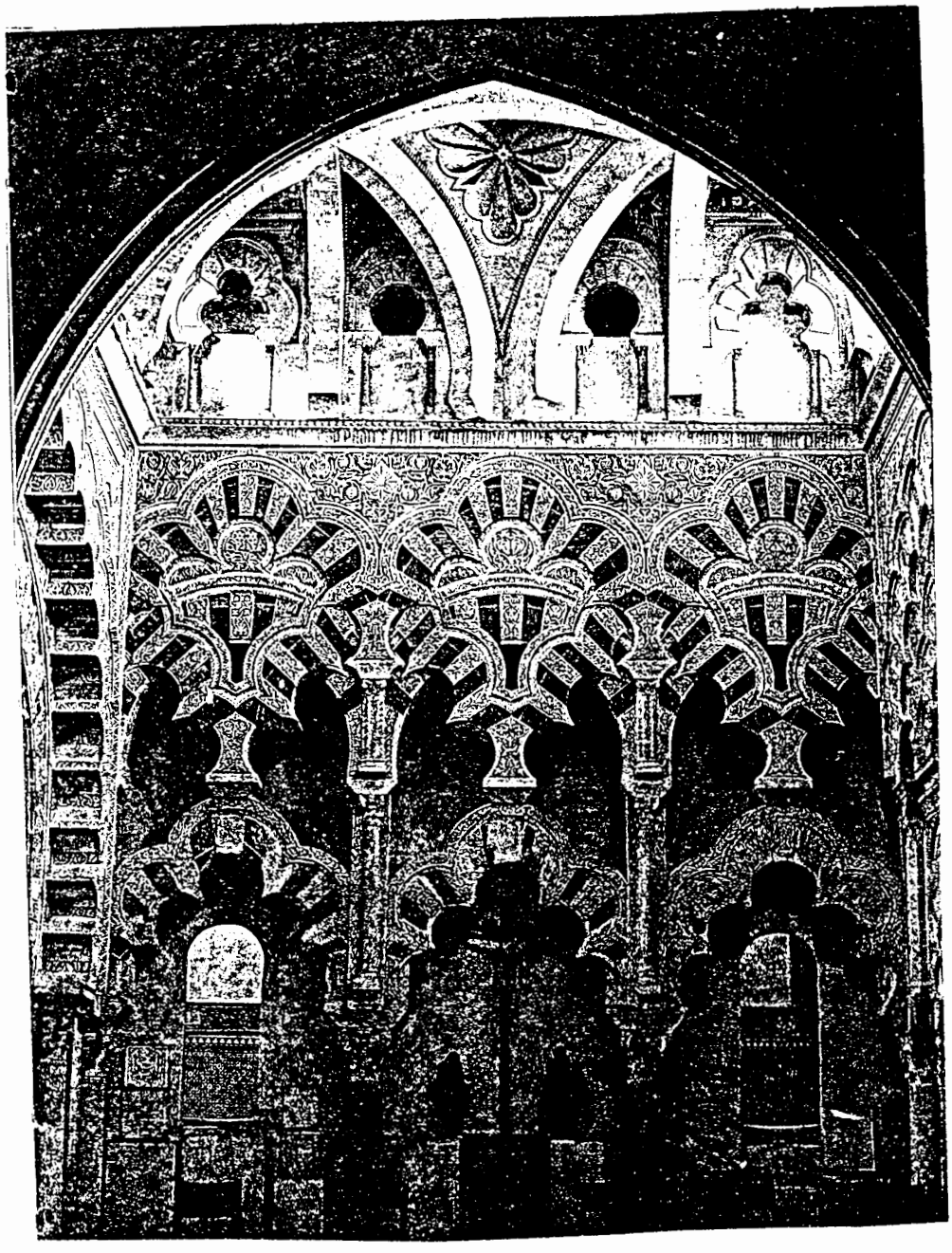


Figure 18. Interior, *Capilla de Villaviciosa,* Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Baena Alcantara, Dolores. *La Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba.*

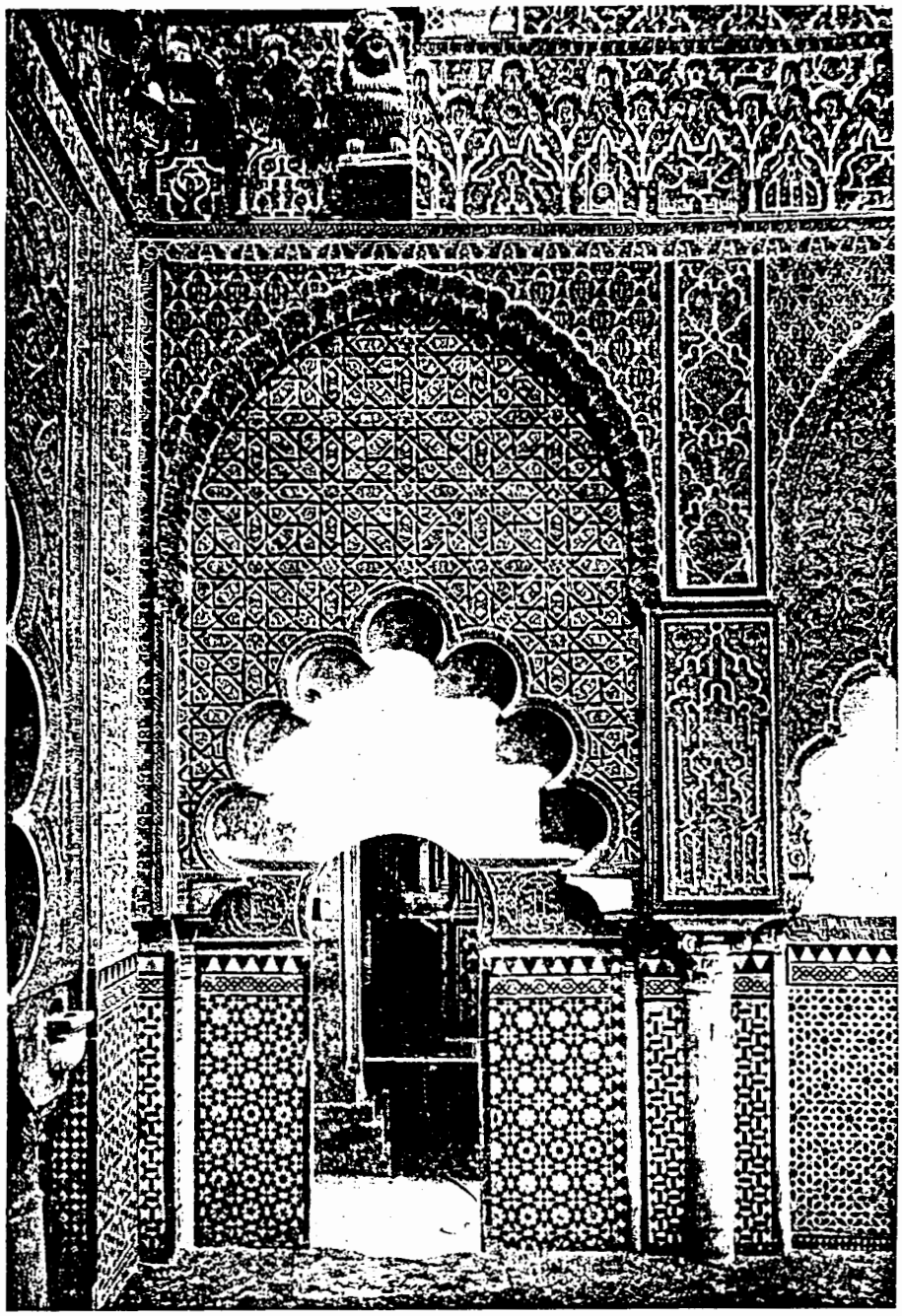


Figure 19. Interior, *Capilla Real*, Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Torres-Balbas, L. *La Mezquita de Córdoba.*

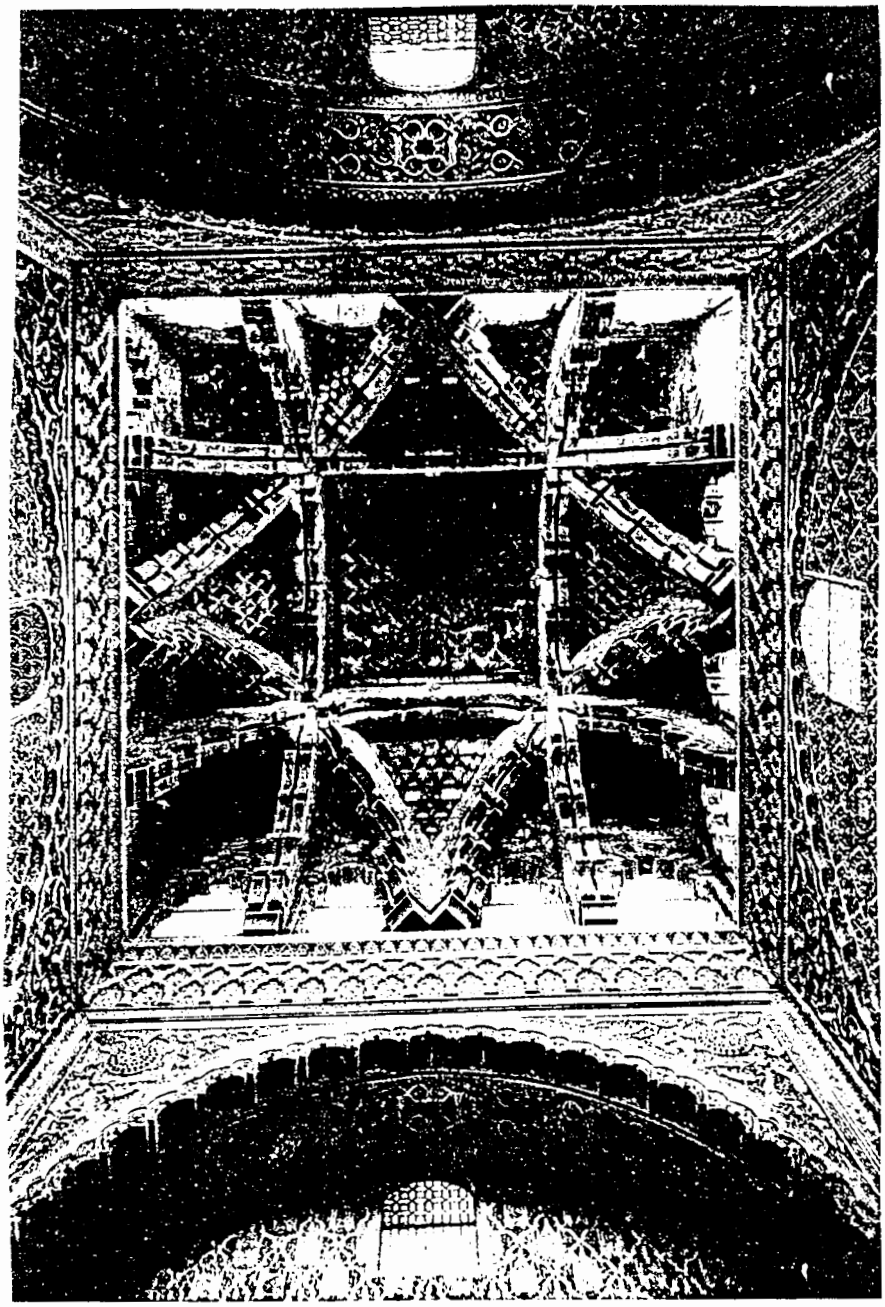


Figure 20. Ribbed dome, *Capilla Real*, Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Torres-Balbas, L., *La Mezquita de Córdoba.*

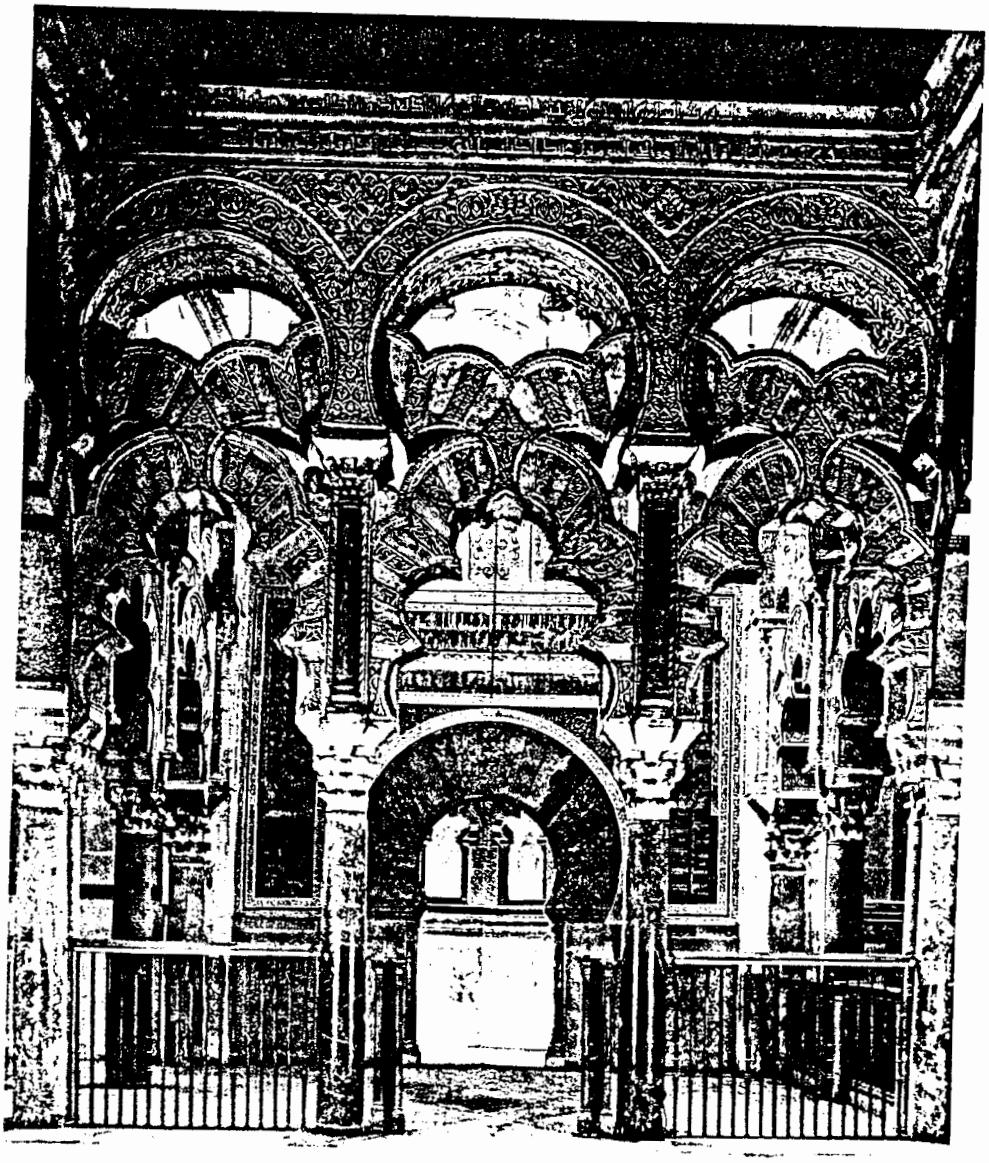


Figure 21. Polylobed arches from addition of al-Hakam II. The arcade forms a visual frame for the *mihrab* beyond. Source: Ettinghausen, Richard and Oleg Grabar. *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650-1250.*

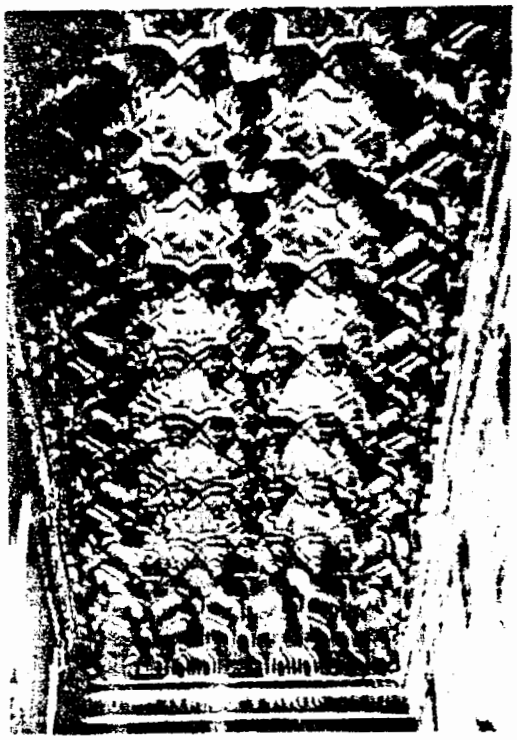


Figure 22. Ceiling of Roger II's *Capella Palatina*, Palermo. The ceiling is ornamented with *muqarnas* and Islamic inscriptions in kufic script. Source: Tronzo, William. *The Cultures of His Kingdom*.

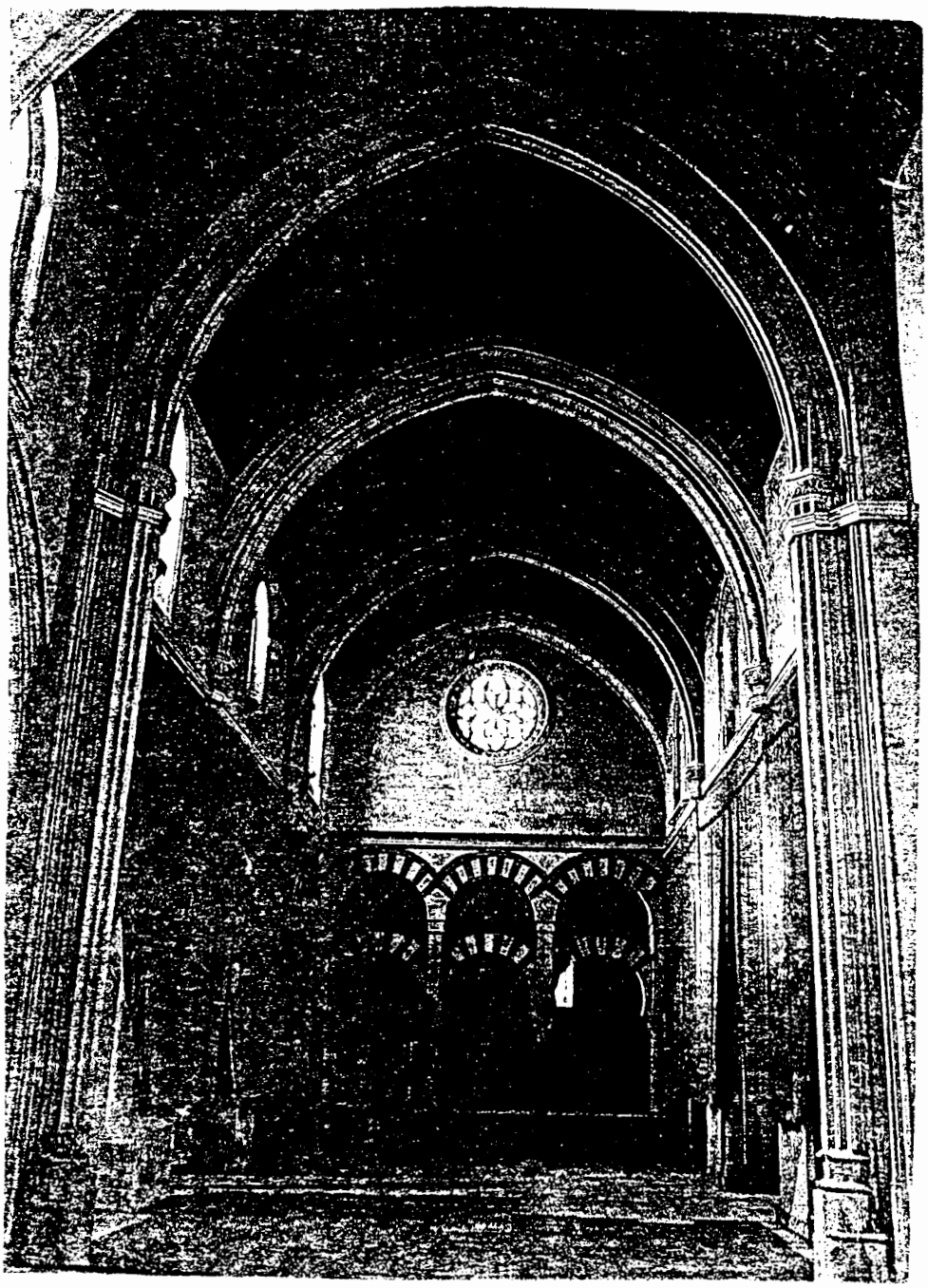


Figure 23. View of fifteenth century nave, Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Baena Alcantara, Dolores. *La Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba.*

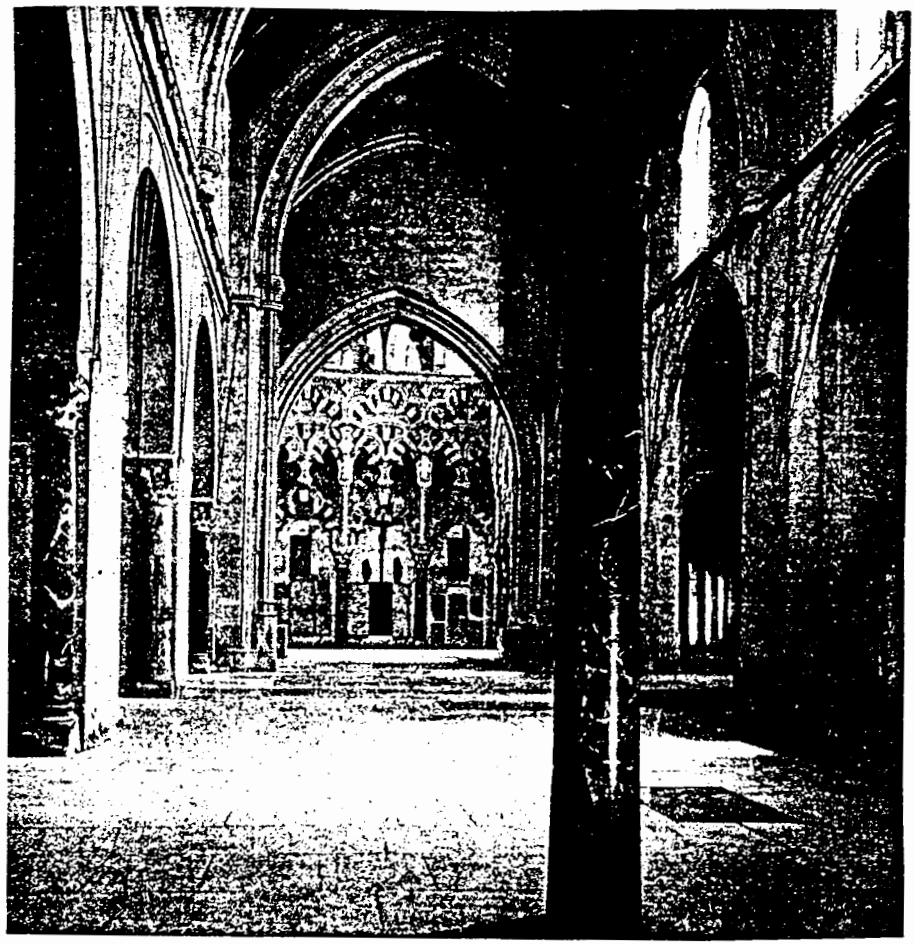


Figure 24. View of fifteenth century nave, Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Torres-Balbas. L. *La Mezquita de Córdoba.*

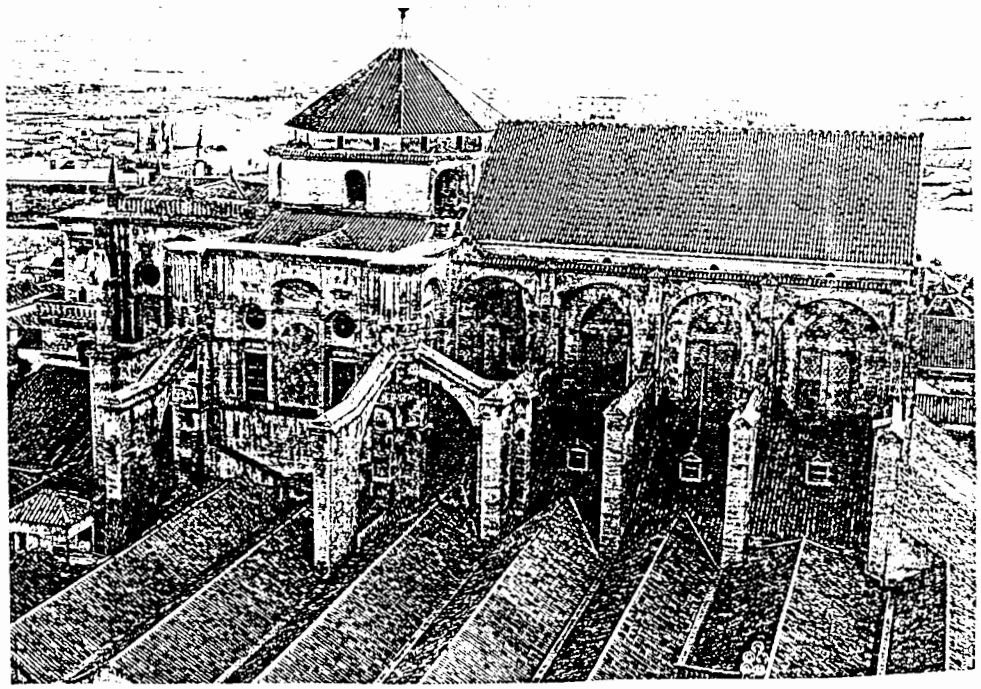


Figure 25. Exterior view, Cathedral of S. Maria Mayor, Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Baena Alcantara, Dolores. *La Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba.*

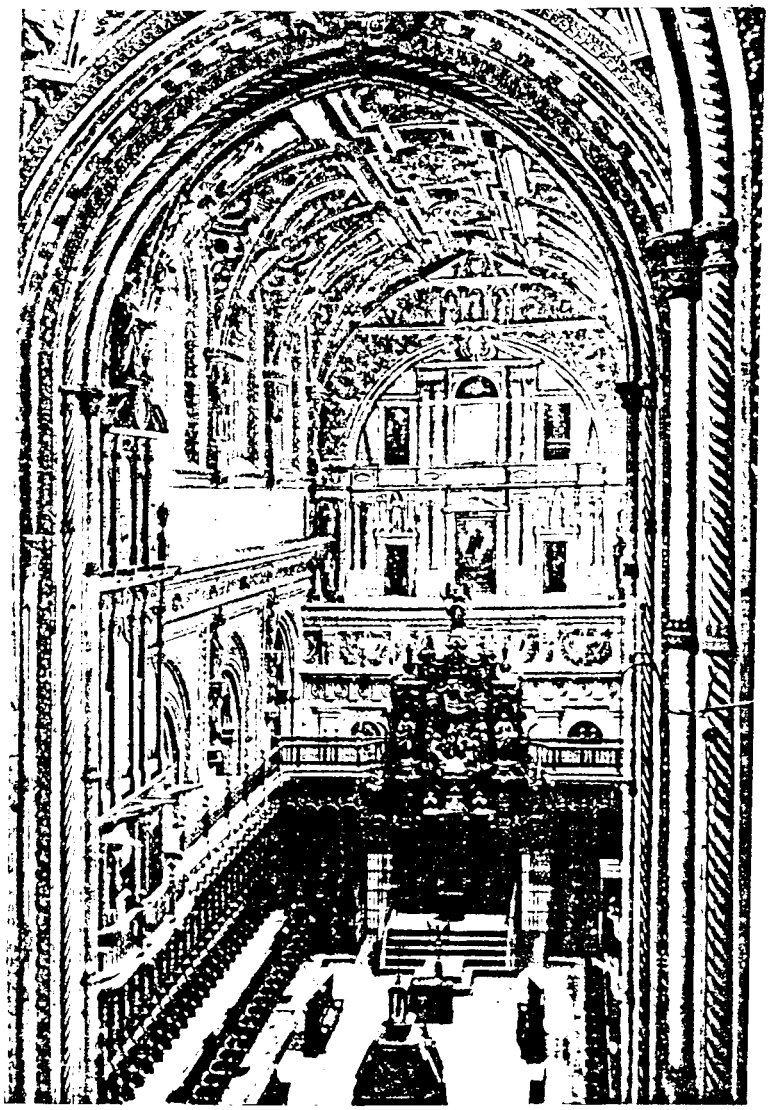


Figure 26. Interior view, Cathedral of S. Maria Mayor, Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Alcolea, Santiago. *Córdoba.*

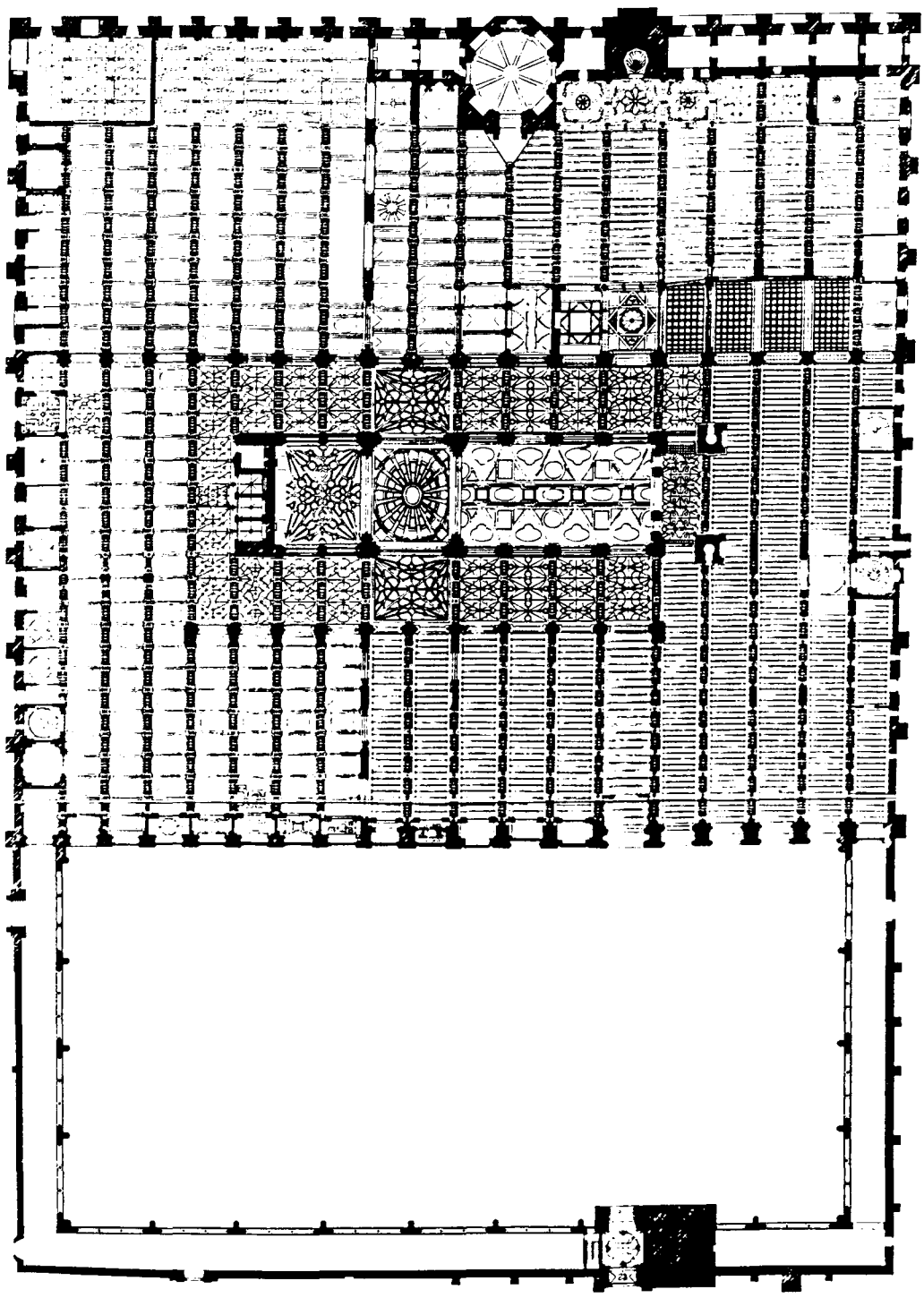


Figure 27. Ceiling plan, showing tracery in vaulting. Cathedral of S. Maria Mayor, Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar.*

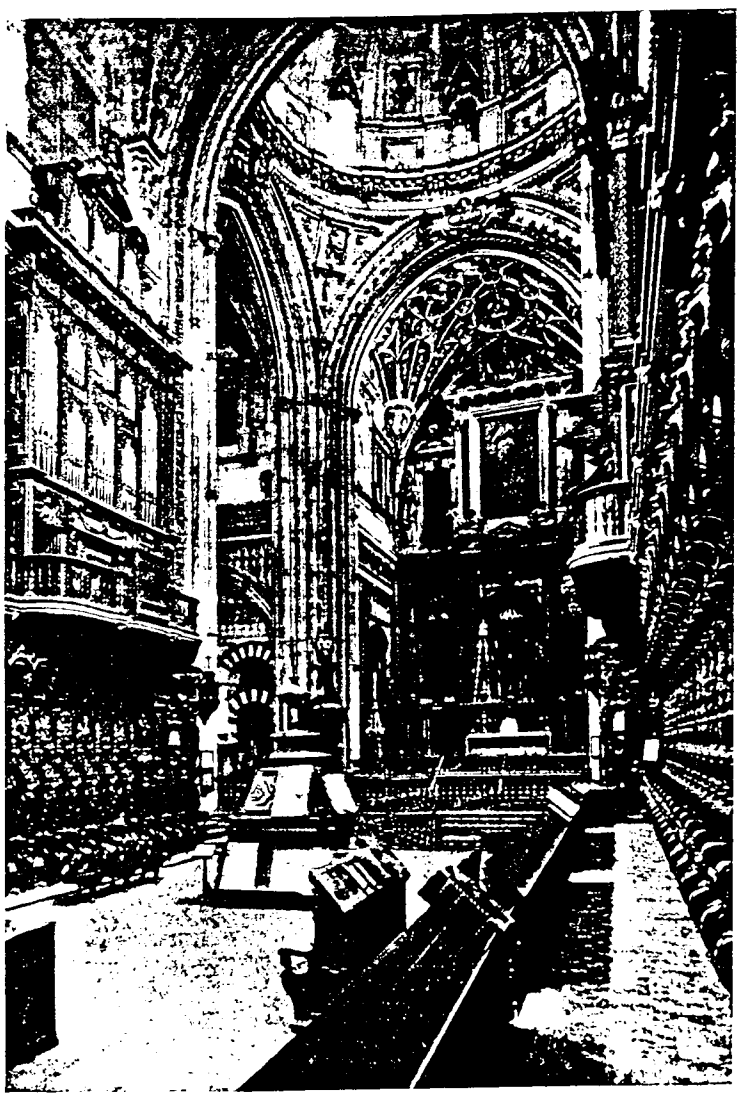


Figure 28. Choir and Presbytery, Cathedral of S. Maria Mayor, Great Mosque of Córdoba..
Source: Alcolea, Santiago. *Cordoba.*

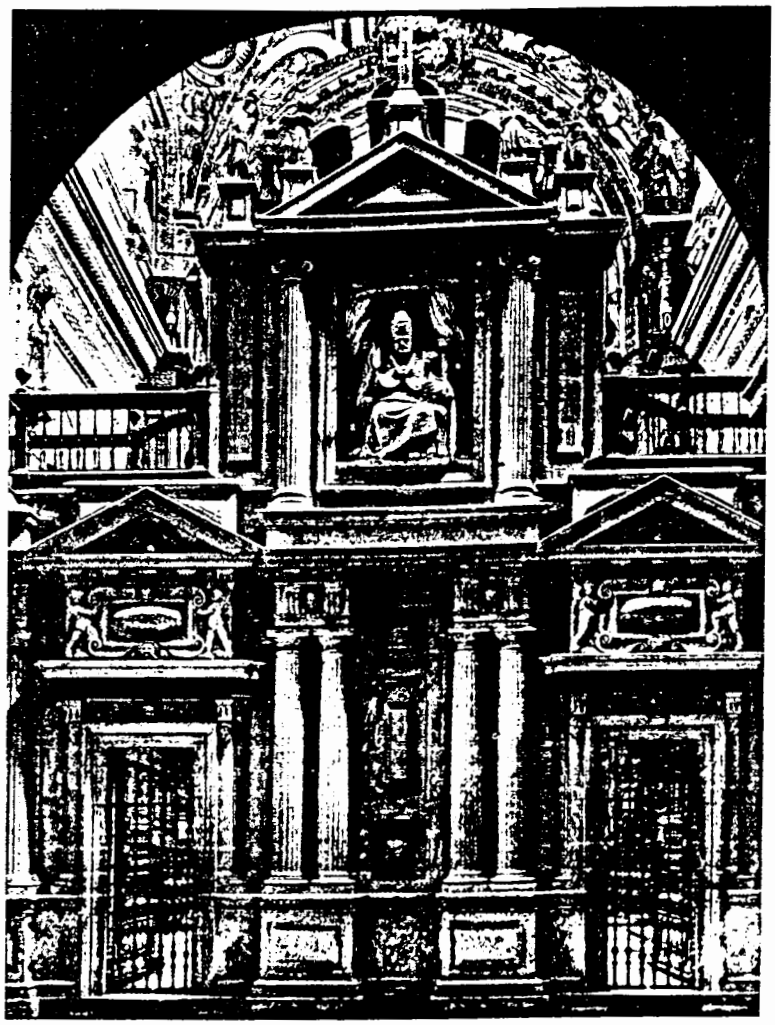


Figure 29. Choir screen, Cathedral of S. Maria Mayor, Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Alcolea, Santiago. *Cordoba.*

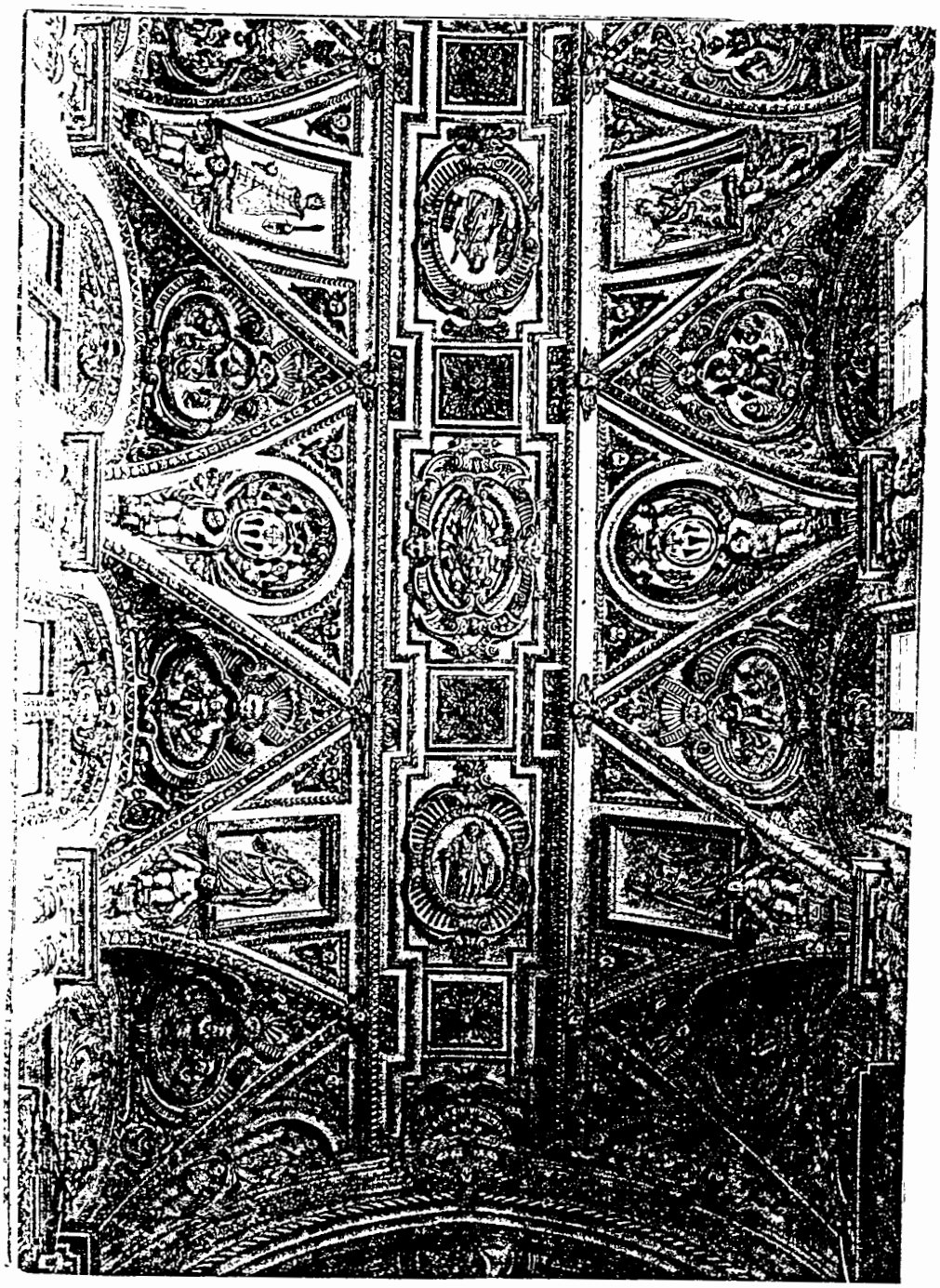


Figure 30. Nave ceiling, Cathedral of S. Maria Mayor, Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Baena Alcantara, Dolores. *La Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba.*

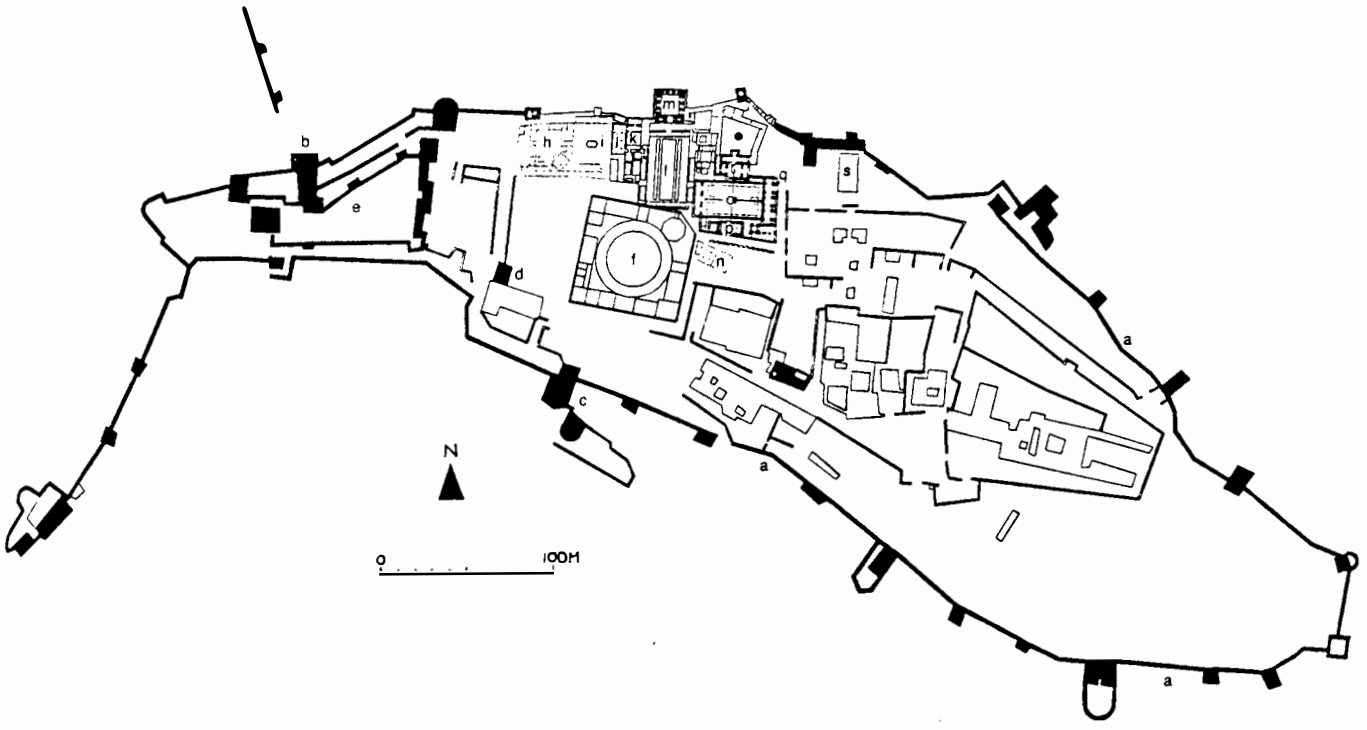


Figure 31. Plan of Alhambra complex, Granada. Source: Blair, Sheila and Jonathan Bloom. *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800.*

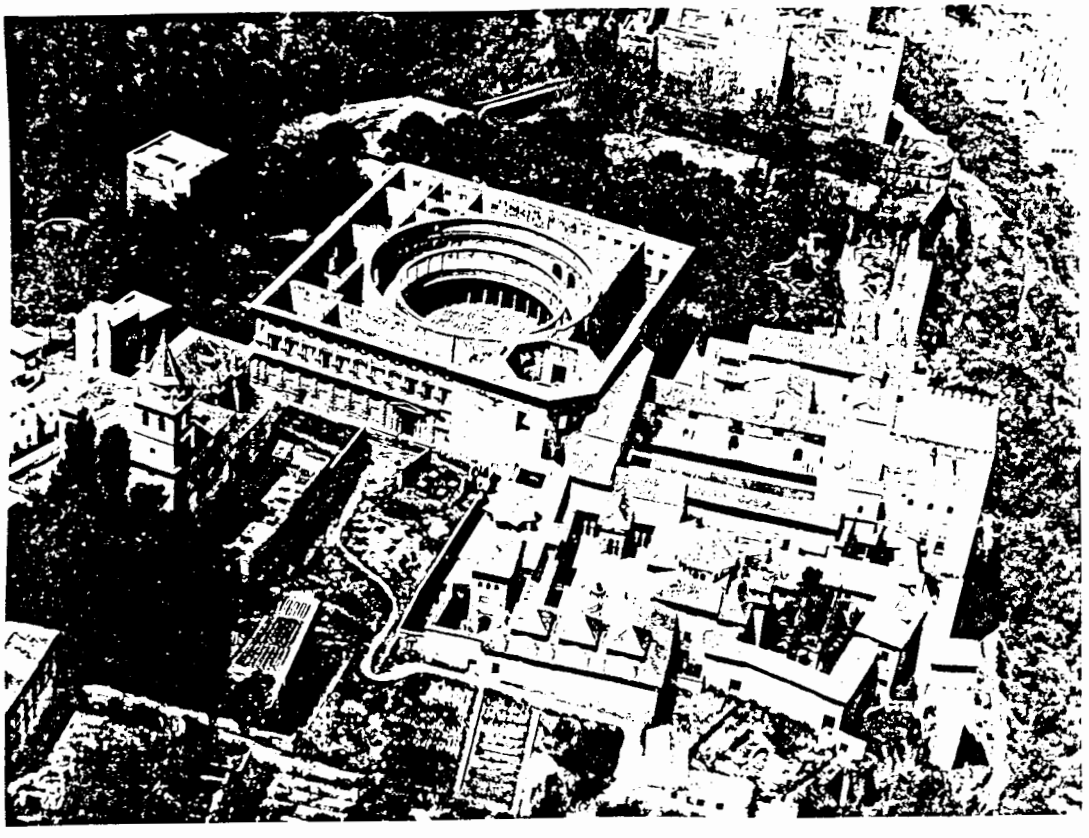


Figure 32. Aerial view of Alhambra complex, Granada. Source: Rosenthal, Earl E. *The Palace of Charles V in Granada.*

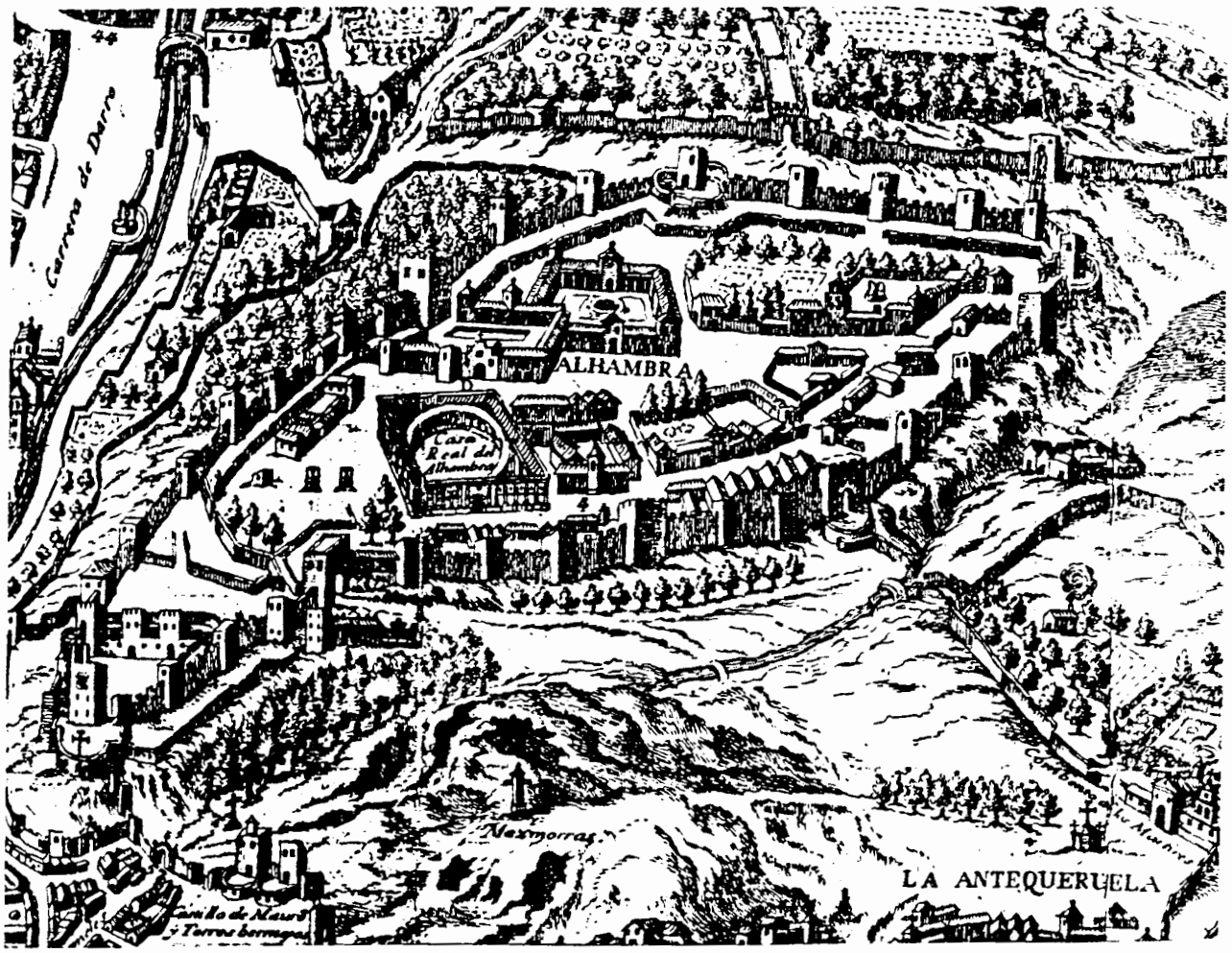


Figure 33. Engraving of 1612 showing Charles V palace within the Alhambra complex. Source: Rosenthal, Earl E. *The Palace of Charles V in Granada.*

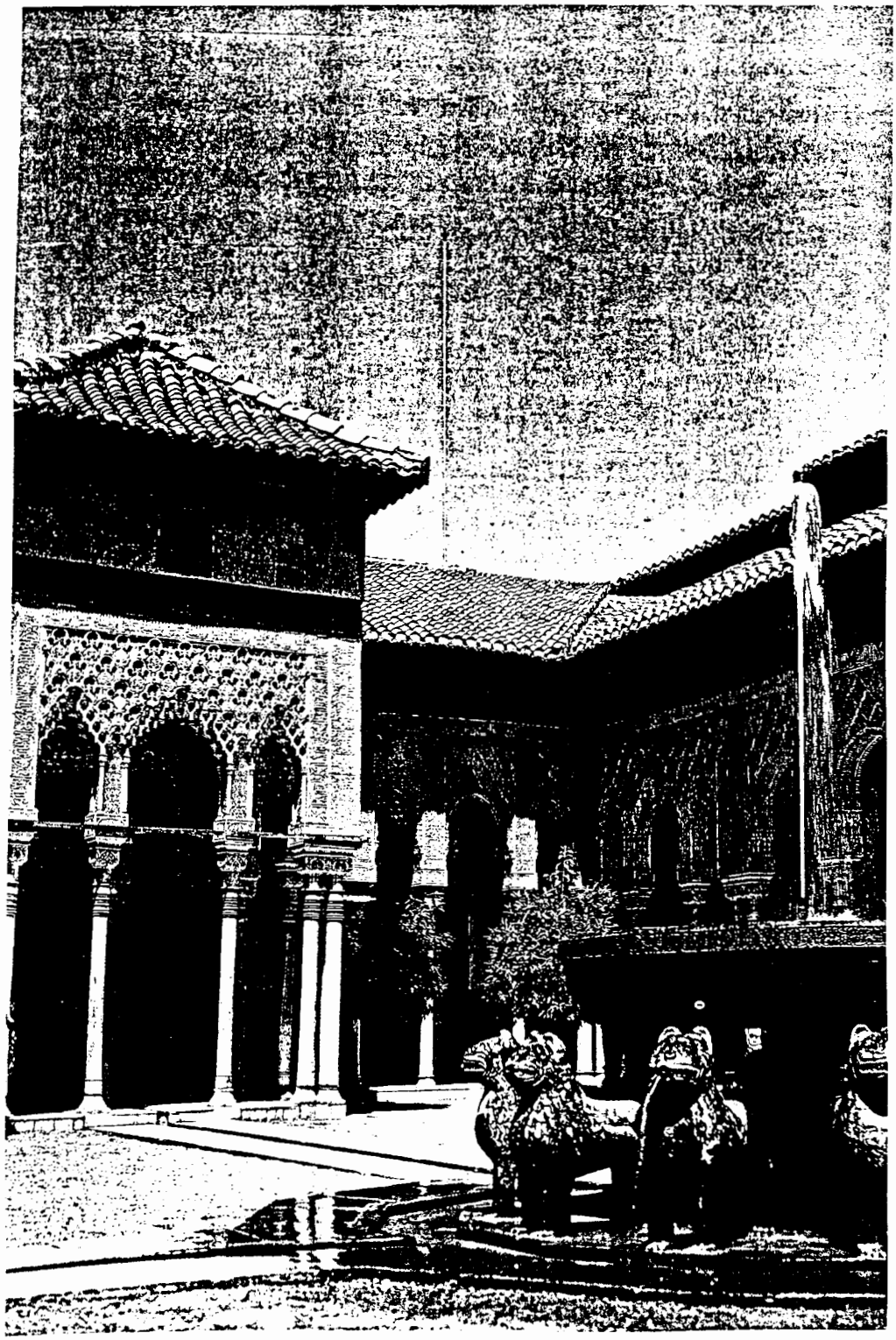


Figure 34. Court of the Lions, Alhambra, Granada. Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar*.

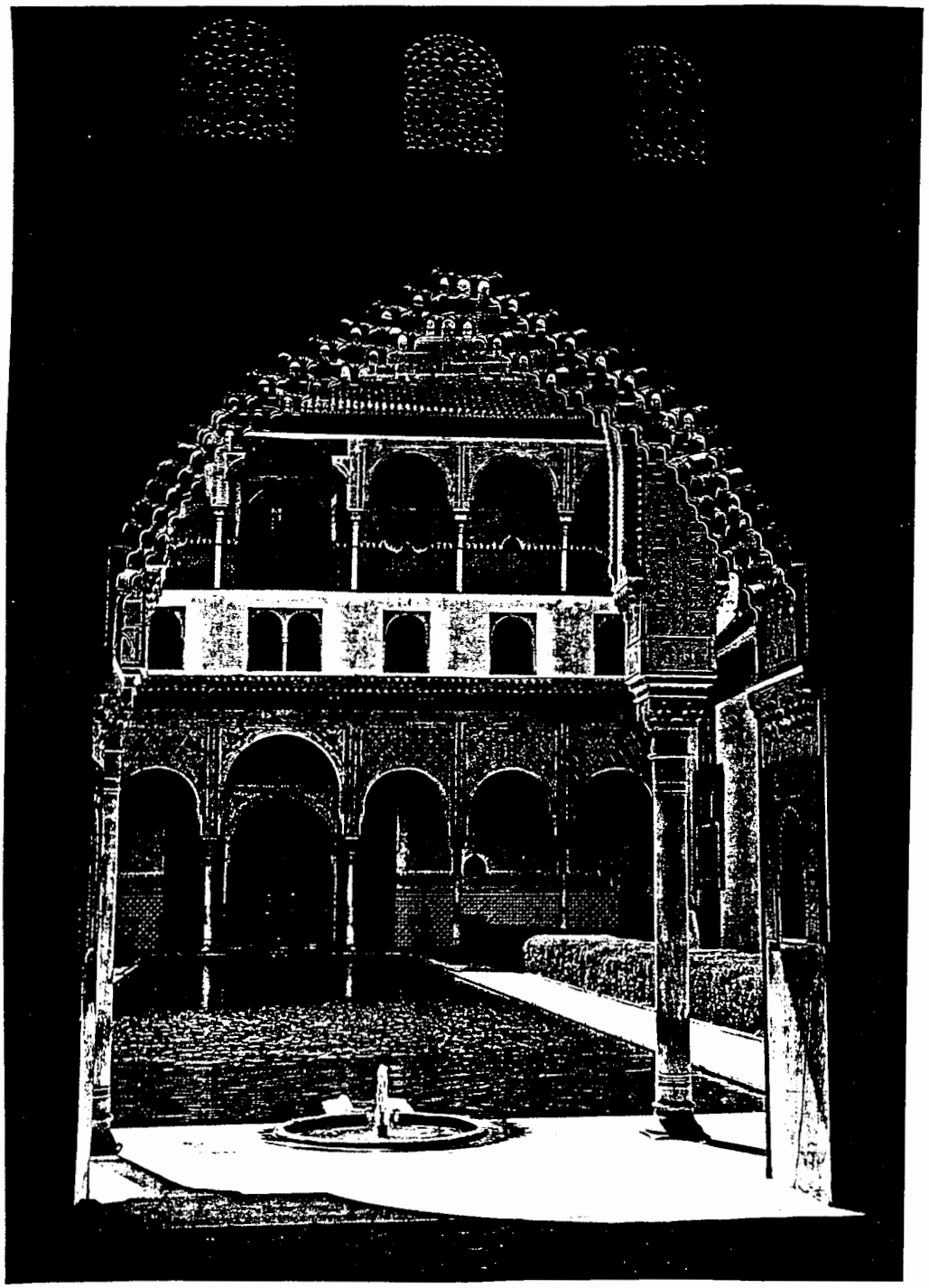


Figure 35. Court of the Myrtles, Alhambra, Granada. Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar*.

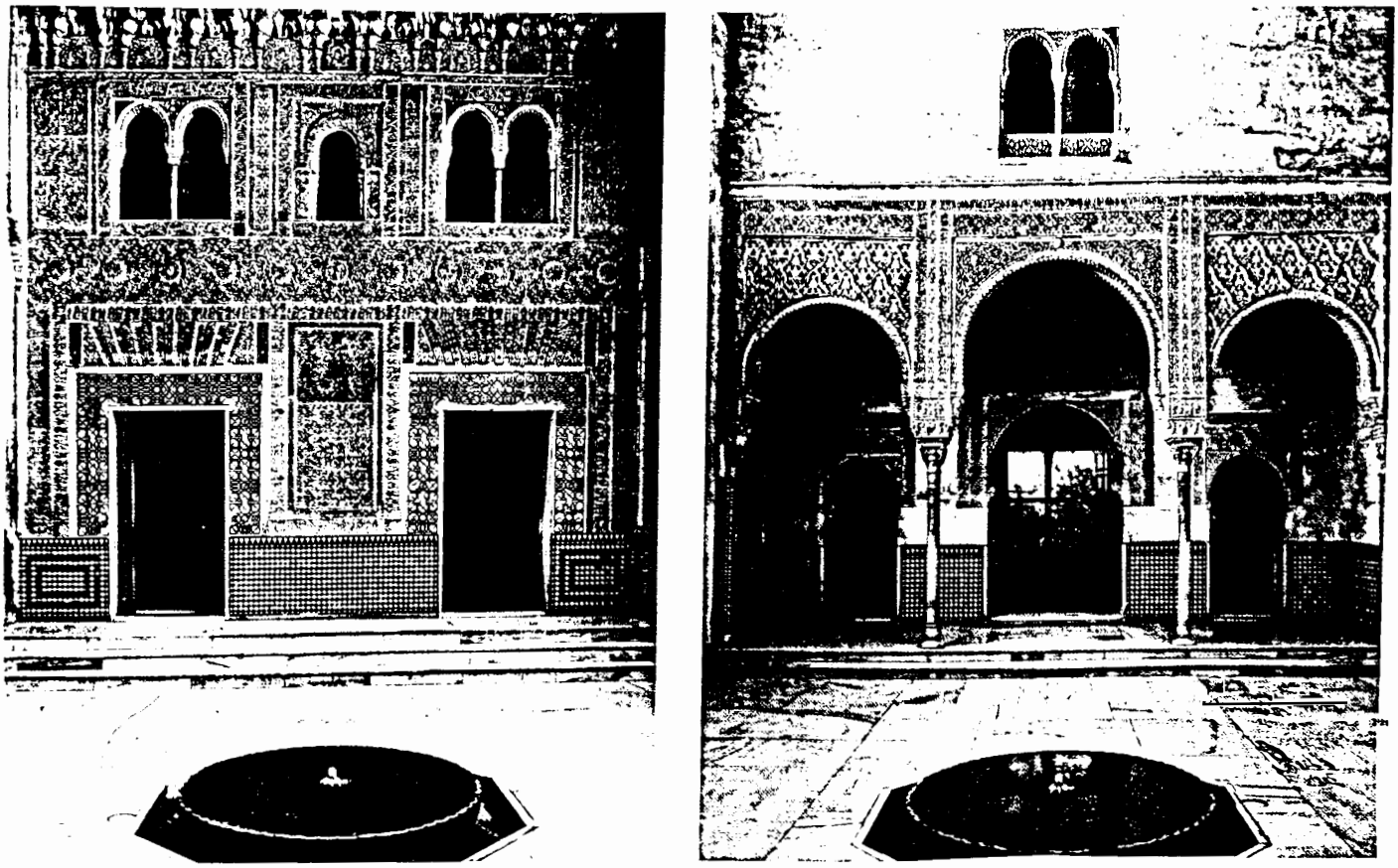


Figure 36. *Patio del Cuarto Dorado*, Alhambra, Granada. Left, south wall. Right, north wall. Source: Dickie, James (Yaqub Zaki). "The Palaces of the Alhambra." *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain.*

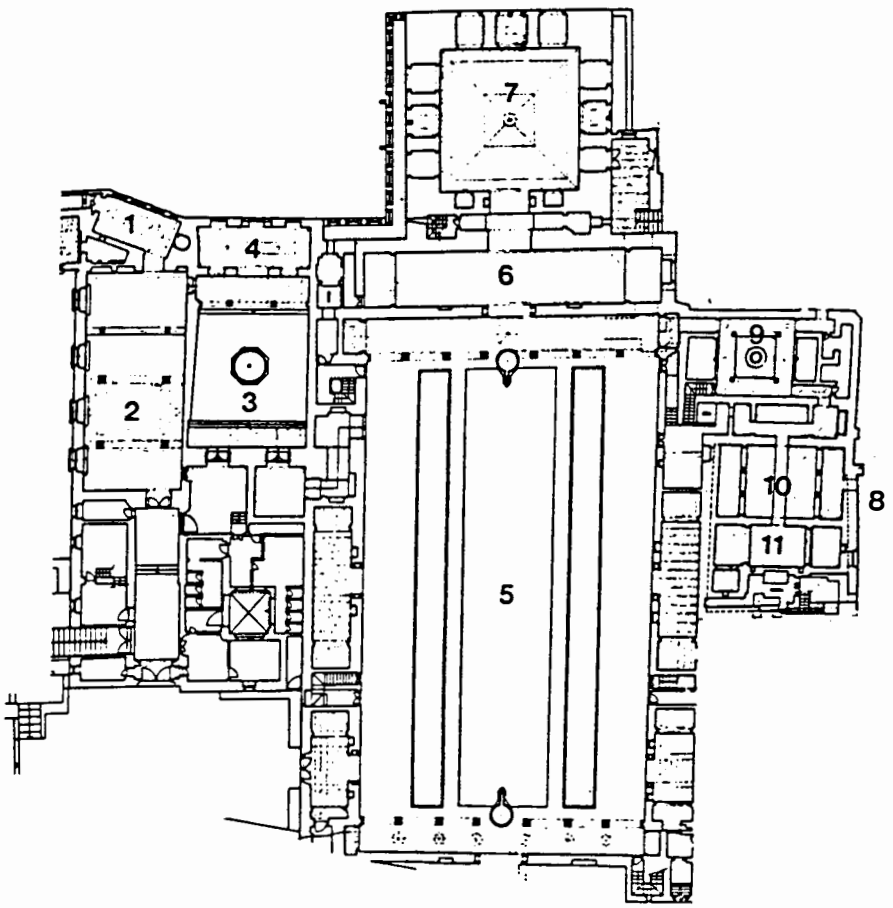


Figure 37. Plan, Court of the Myrtles and surrounding rooms, Alhambra, Granada. 1)Oratory, 2)Mexuar, 3)*Patio del Cuarto Dorado*, 4)*Cuarto Dorado*, 5)Court of the Myrtles, *6)Sala de la Barca*, 7)*Sala de los Embajadores* (Hall of the Ambassadors), 8)Baths, 9)Hall of Repose, 10)Tepidarium, 11)Caldarium. Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar*.

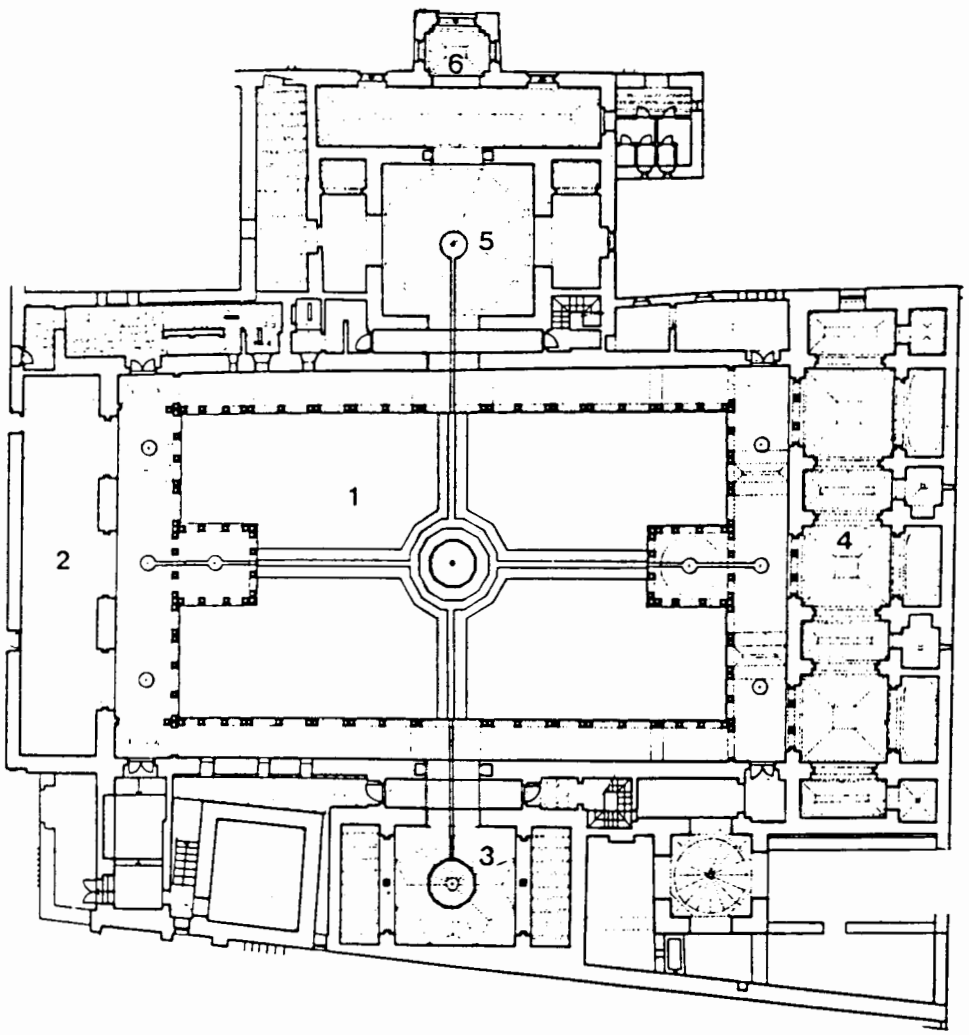


Figure 38. Plan, Court of the Lions, Alhambra, Granada. 1)Court of the Lions, 2)Hall of the *Muqarnas*, 3) *Sala de los Abencerrajes* (Hall of the Abencerraje family), 4)*Sala de los Reyes* (Hall of the Kings), 5)*Sala de las Dos Hermanas* (Hall of the Two Sisters), 6)*Mirador sobre los Jardines de Daraxa* (Tower in the Daraxa Gardens). Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar*.

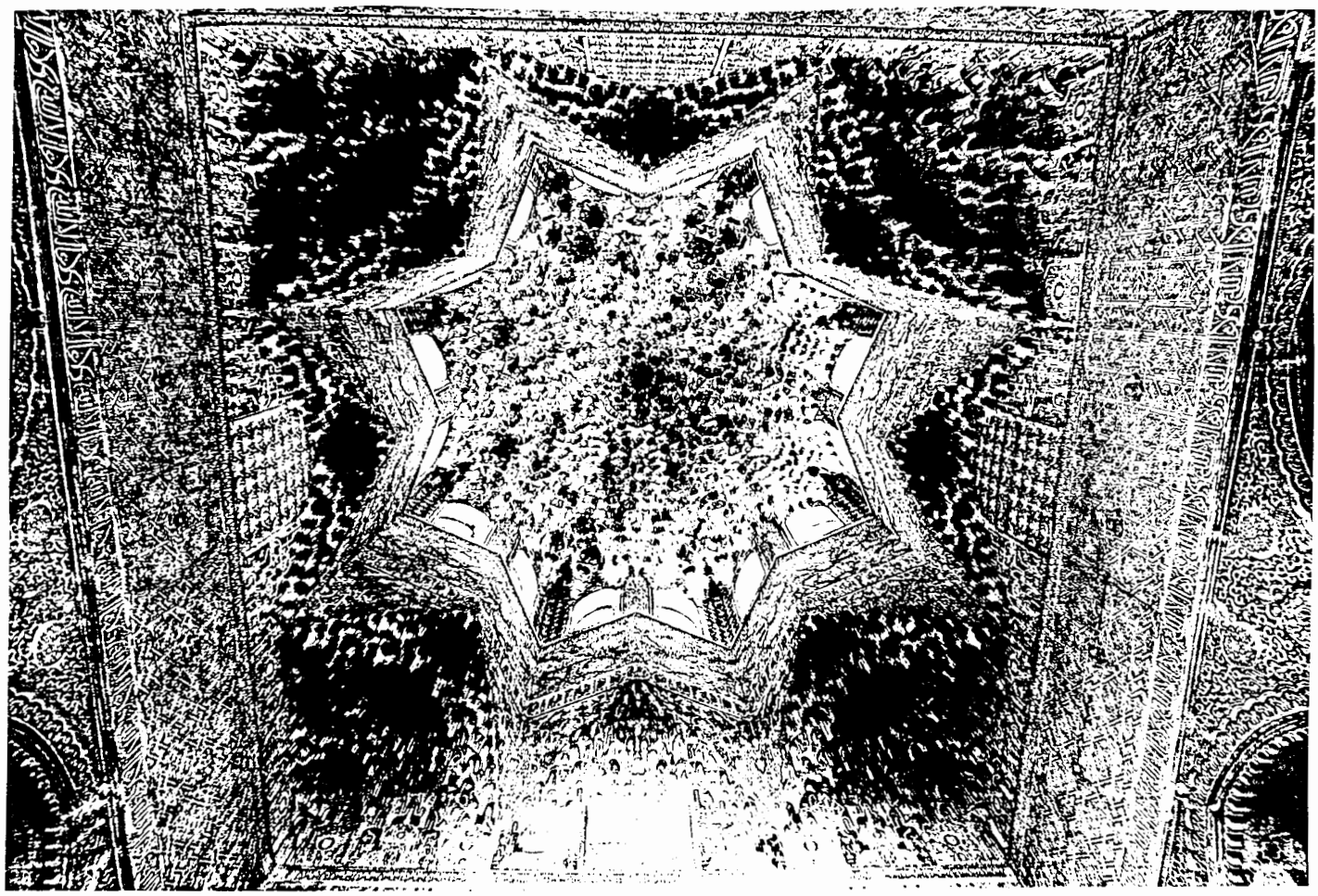


Figure 39. *Muqarnas* ceiling, *Sala de los Abencerrajes*. Alhambra, Granada. Source: Dickie, James (Yaqub Zaki). "The Palaces of the Alhambra." *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain.*

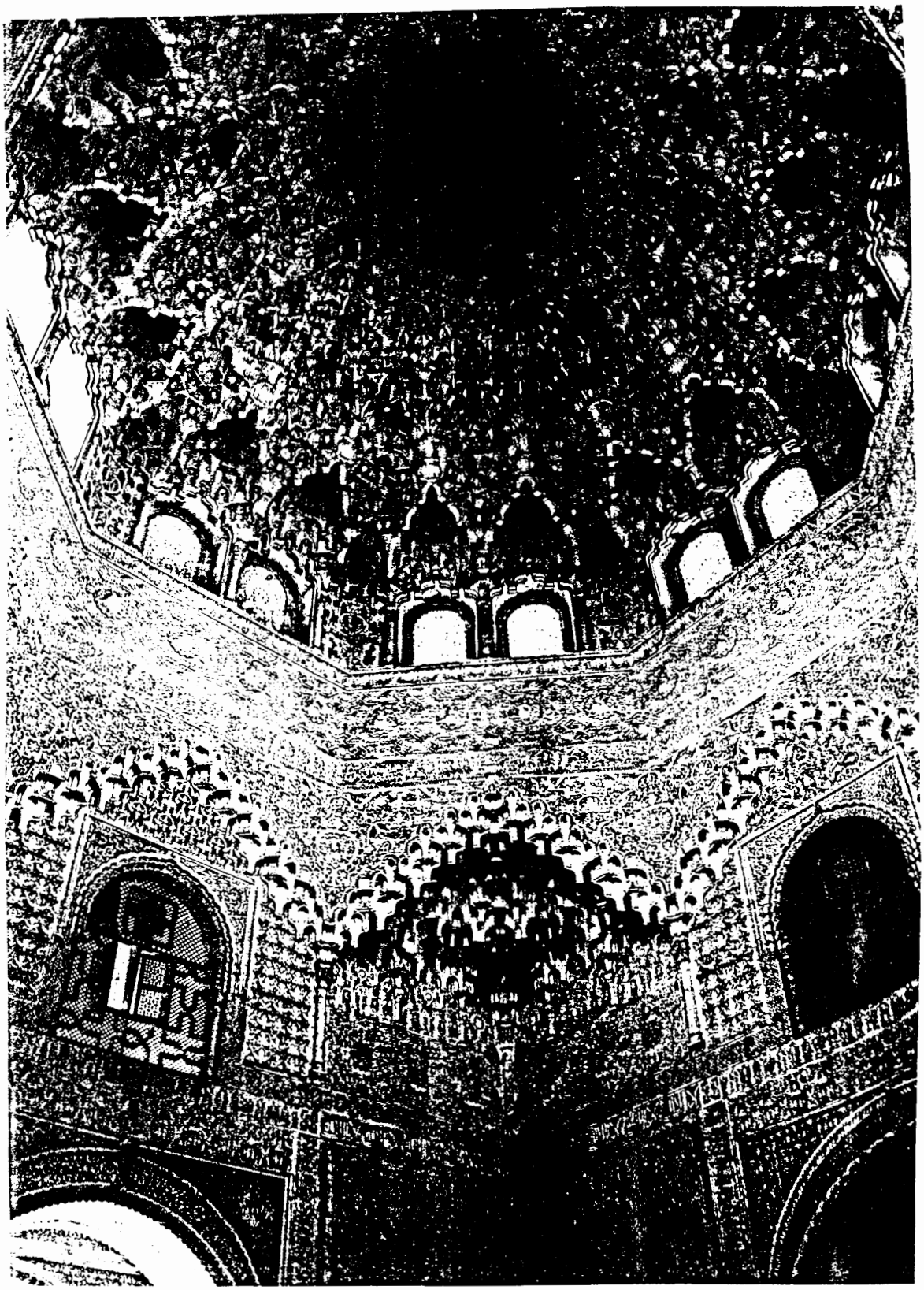


Figure 40. *Muqarnas* ceiling, *Sala de las Dos Hermanas*. Alhambra, Granada. Source: Blair, Sheila and Jonathan Bloom. *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800.*

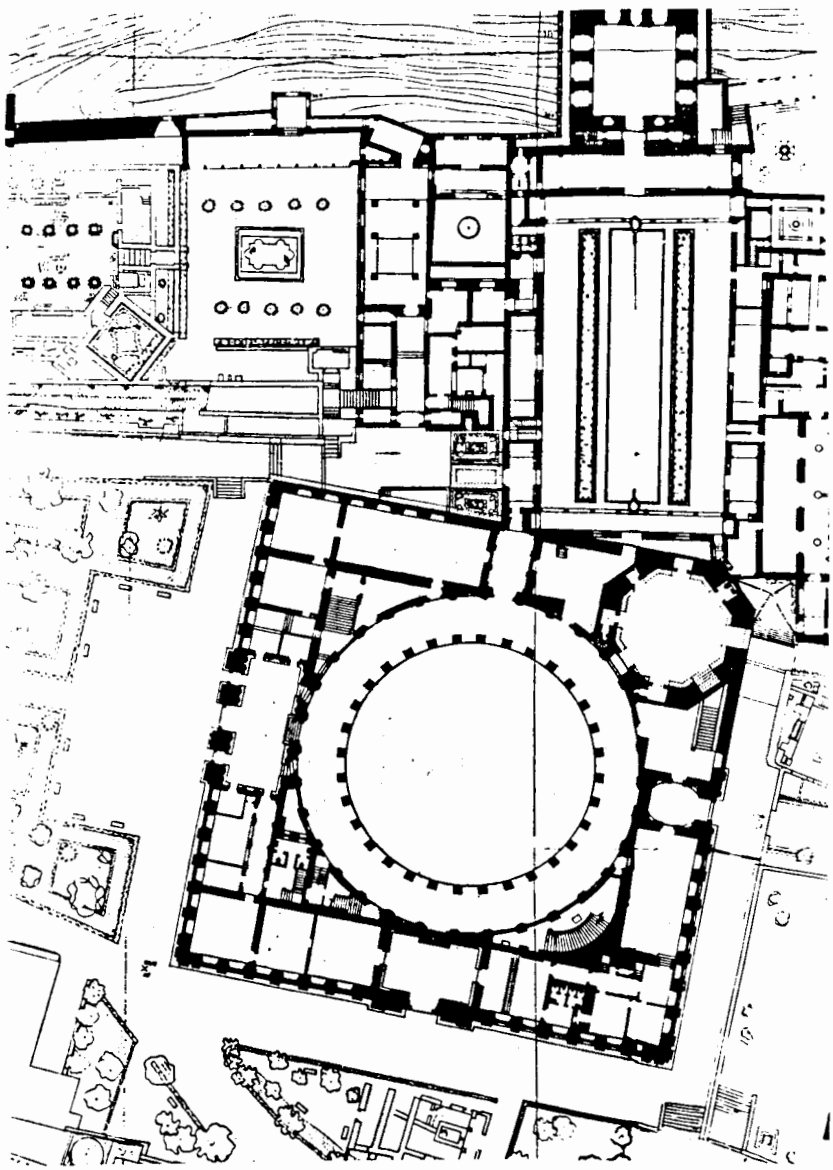


Figure 41. Plan, Charles V's palace. Alhambra, Granada. Source: Rosenthal, Earl E. *The Palace of Charles V in Granada.*

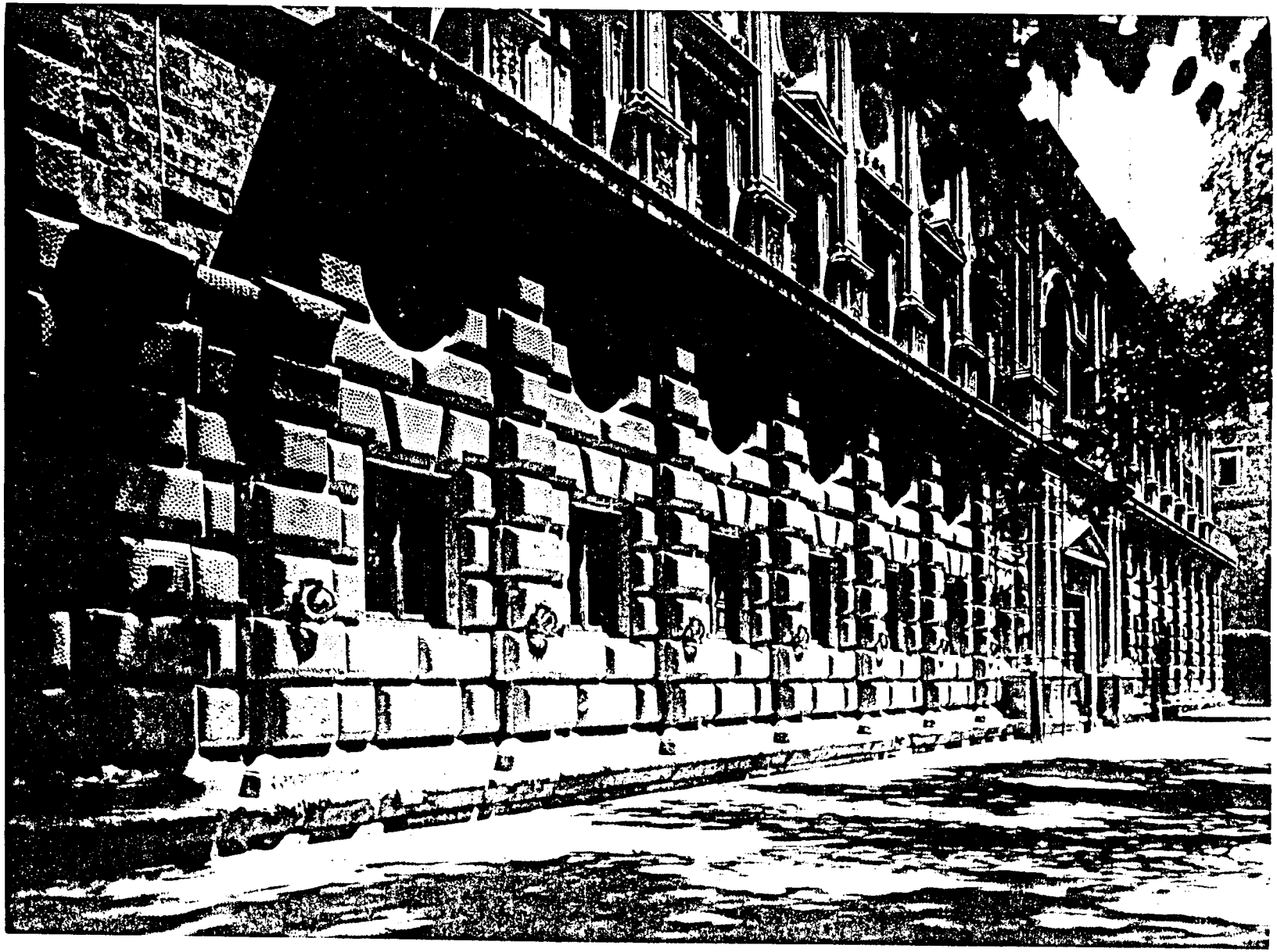


Figure 42. South facade, palace of Charles V. Alhambra, Granada. Source: Rosenthal, Earl E
The Palace of Charles V in Granada.

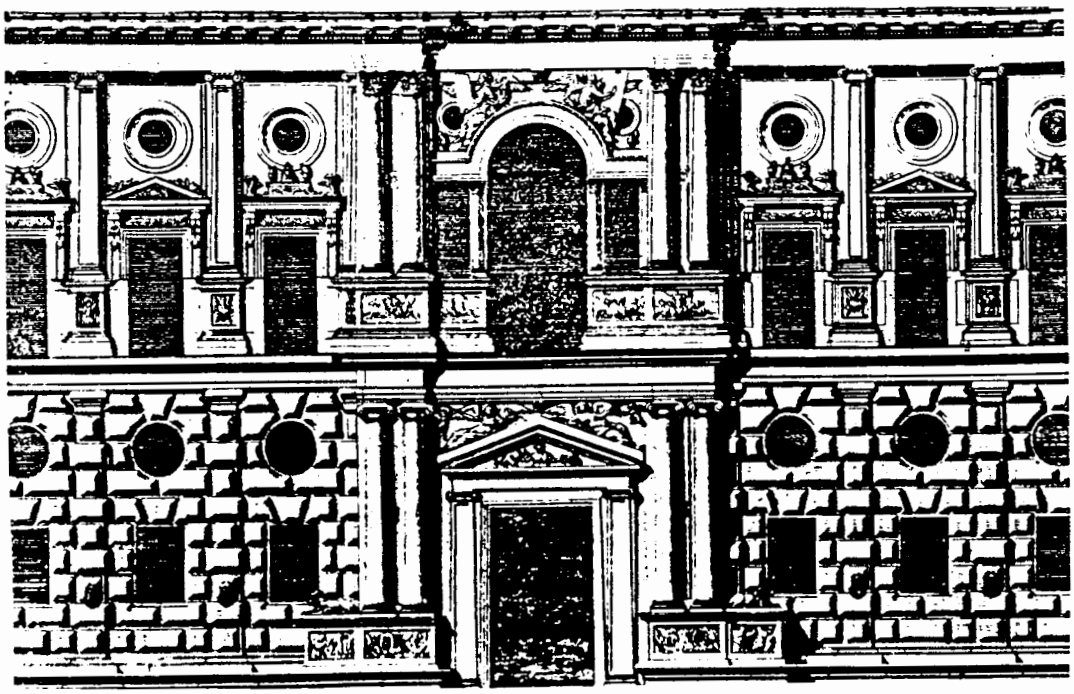


Figure 43. Elevation, south facade, palace of Charles V. Alhambra, Granada. Source: Rosenthal, Earl E. *The Palace of Charles V in Granada.*

Figure 44. West facade, palace of Charles V. Alhambra, Granada. Source: Rosenthal, Earl E. *The Palace of Charles V in Granada.*

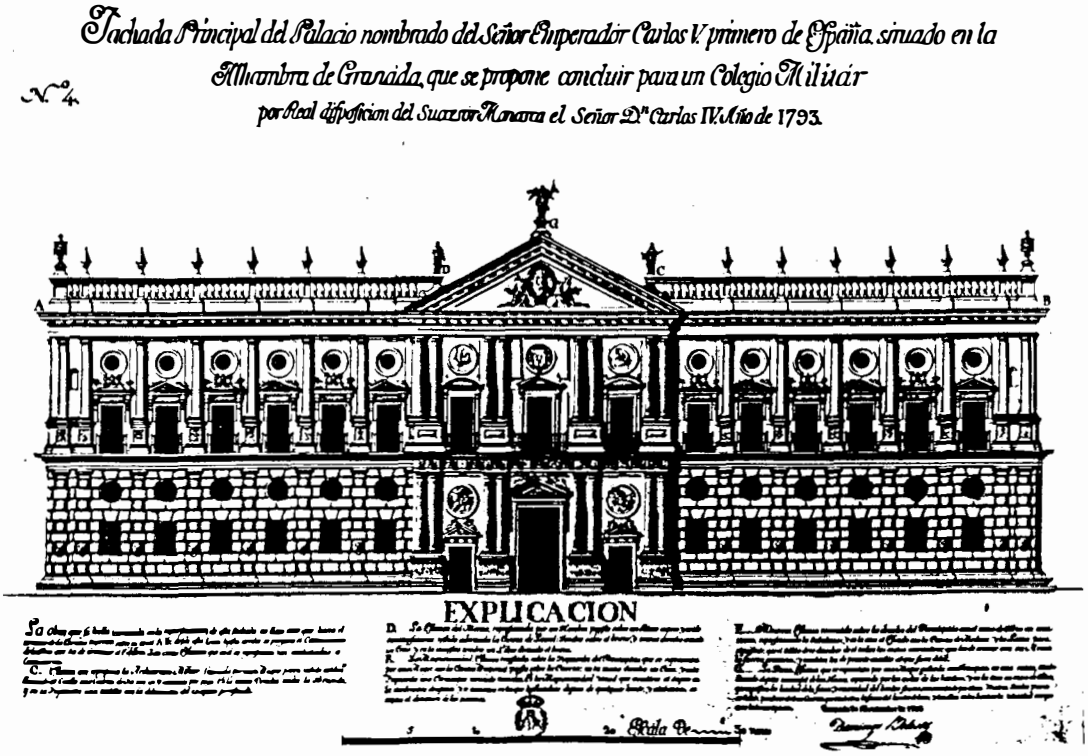


Figure 45. Elevation, west facade, palace of Charles V. Alhambra, Granada. Source: Rosenthal, Earl E. *The Palace of Charles V in Granada.*

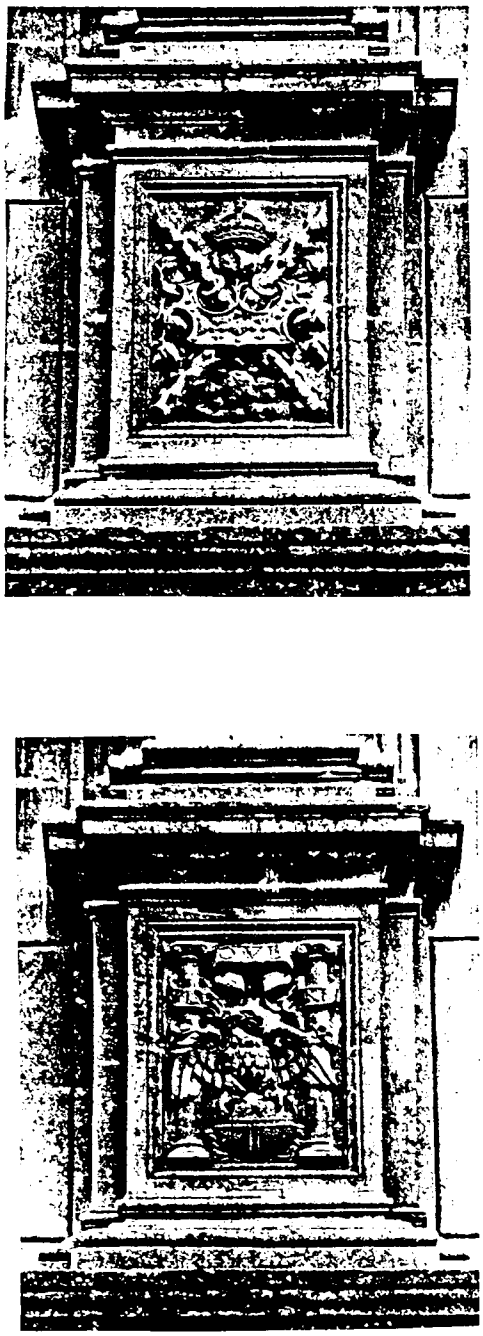


Figure 46. Top, Emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Bottom, Charles V's columnar device, bearing the Habsburg eagle and his motto, "*Plus Outre.*" Exterior pilaster pedestals, palace of Charles V. Alhambra, Granada. Source: Rosenthal, Earl E. *The Palace of Charles V in Granada.*

Figure 47. Miniature from the collection of the Córdoba Cathedral, depicting a battle between Christians and Muslims. Source: Nieto Cumplido, Manuel and Fernando Moreno Cuadro. *Córdoba 1492: Ambiente Artístico y Cultural.*

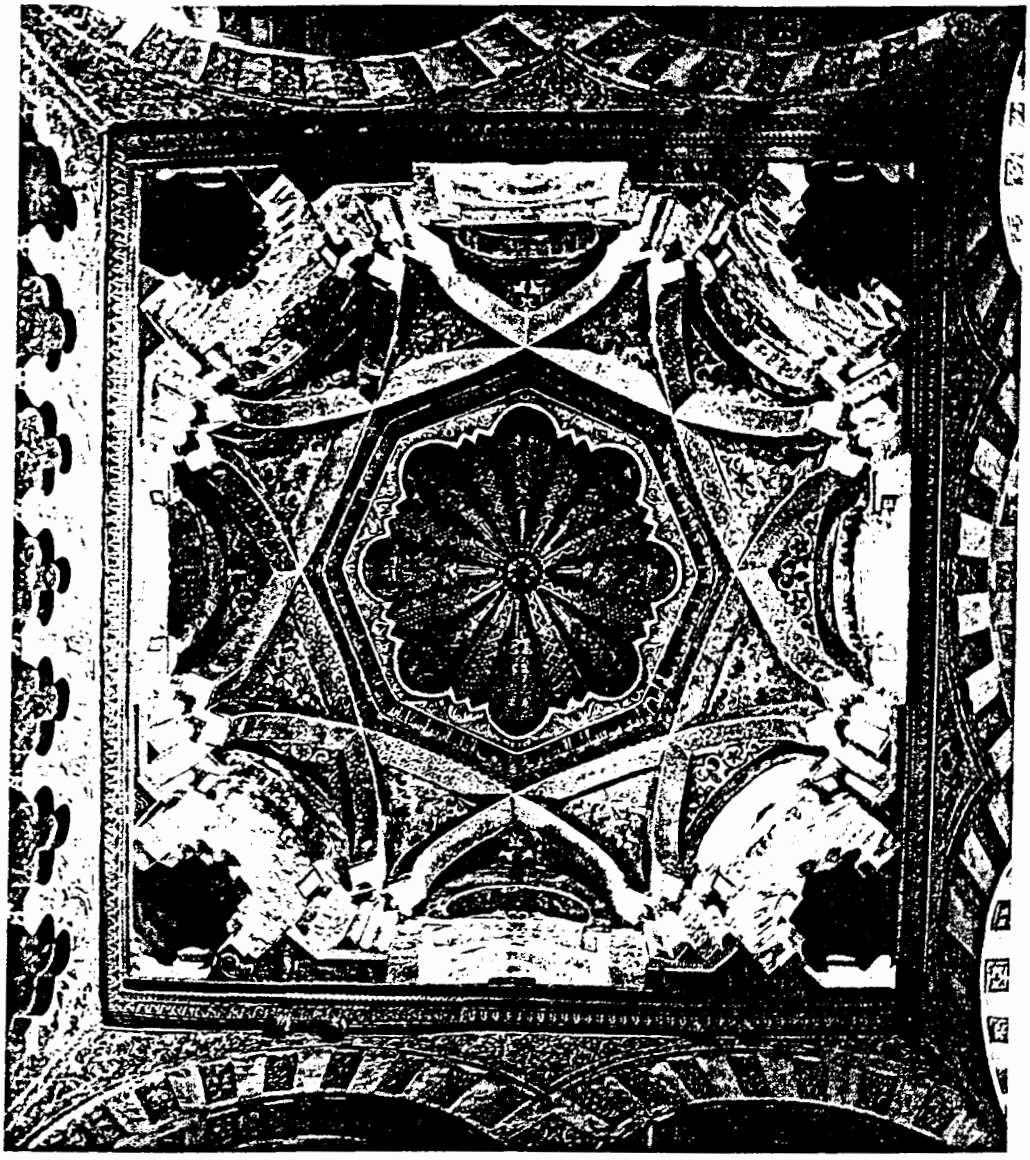


Figure 48. Ribbed dome in the *maqsura*, the area near the *mihrab* reserved for the caliph or his representative. Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar*.

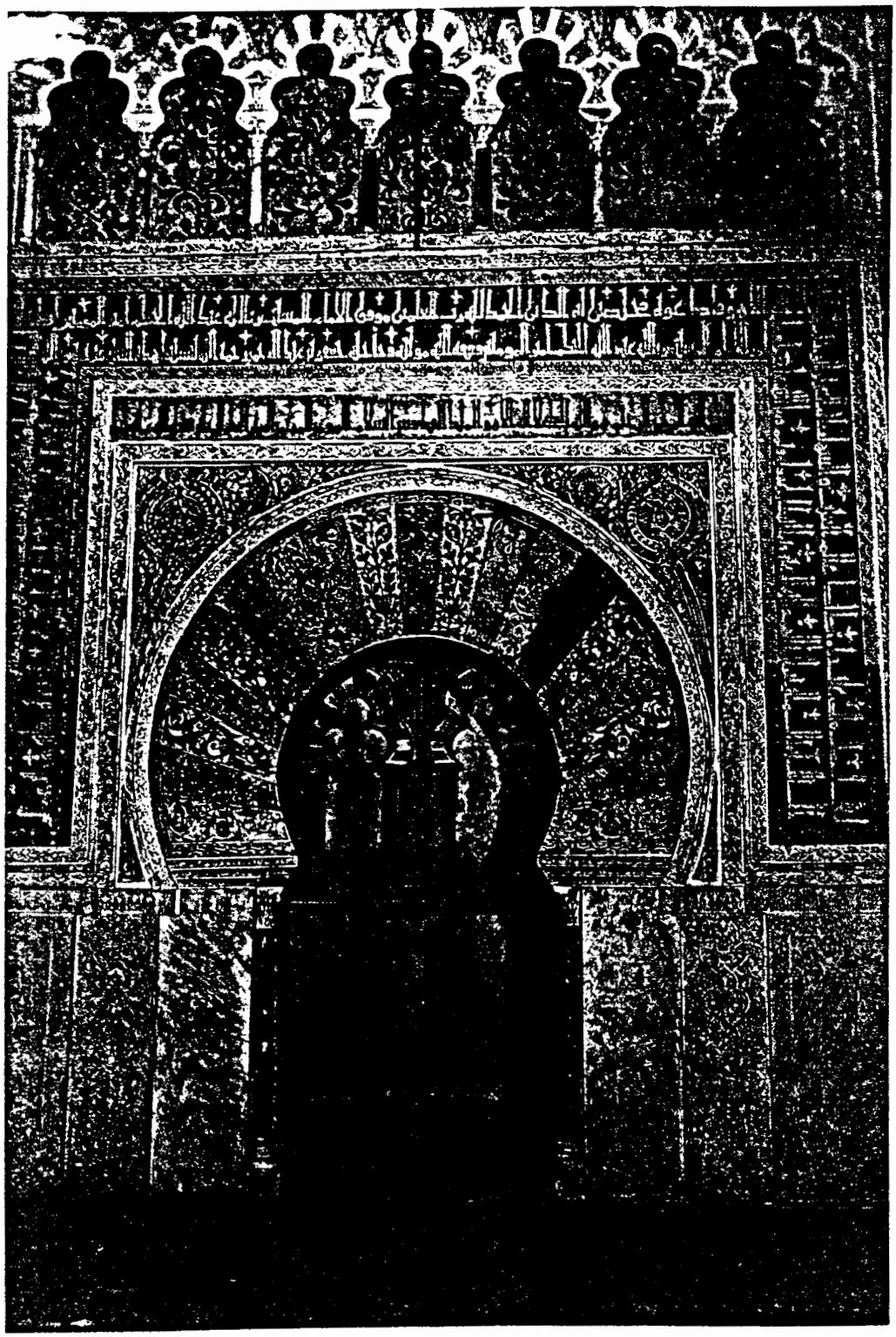


Figure 49. Entrance to the *mihrab*, from al-Hakam's addition. Great Mosque of Córdoba
Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar*.

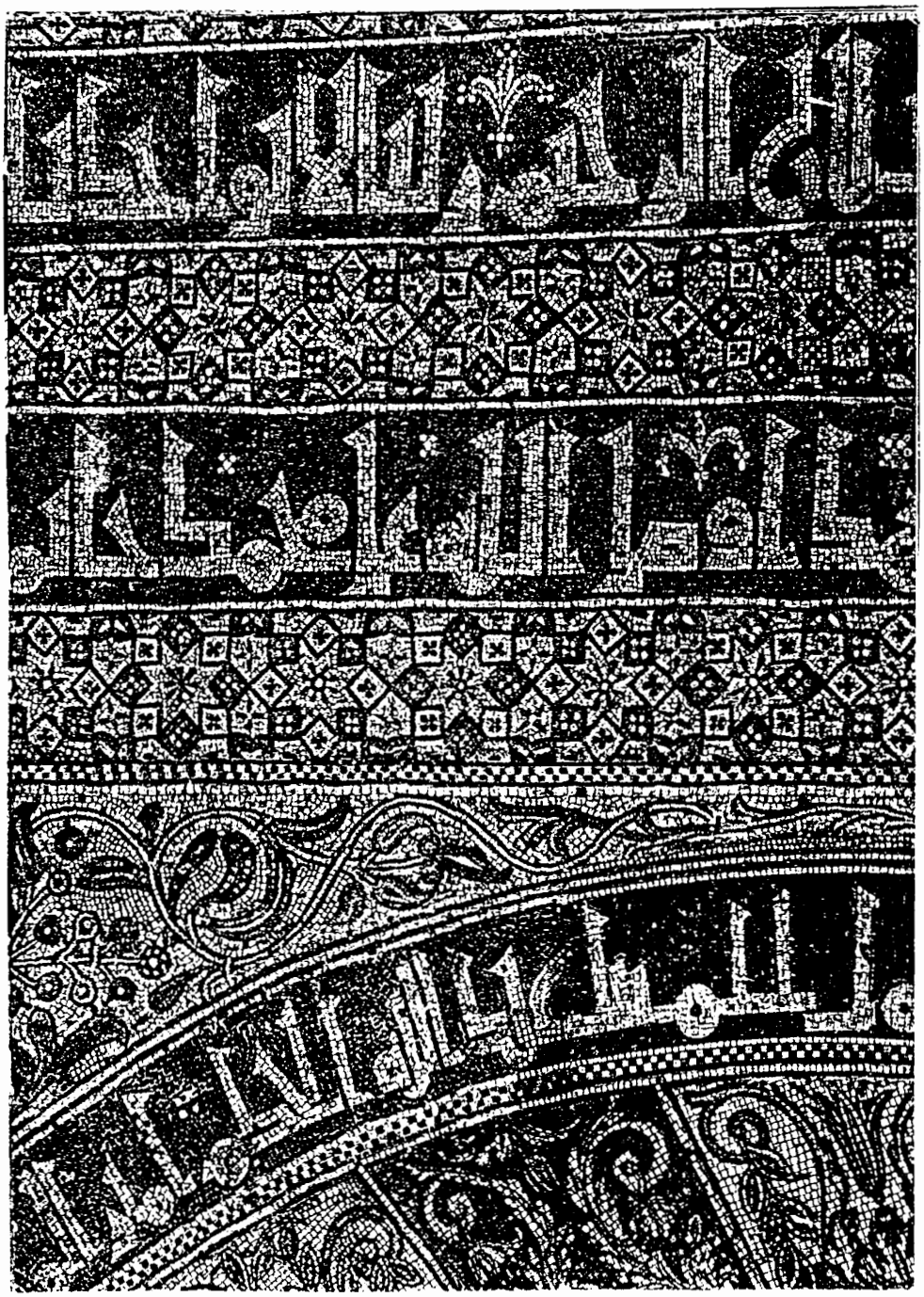


Figure 50. Detail of mosaic ornament, entrance to the *mihrab*. Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Baena Alcantara, Dolores. *La Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba.*

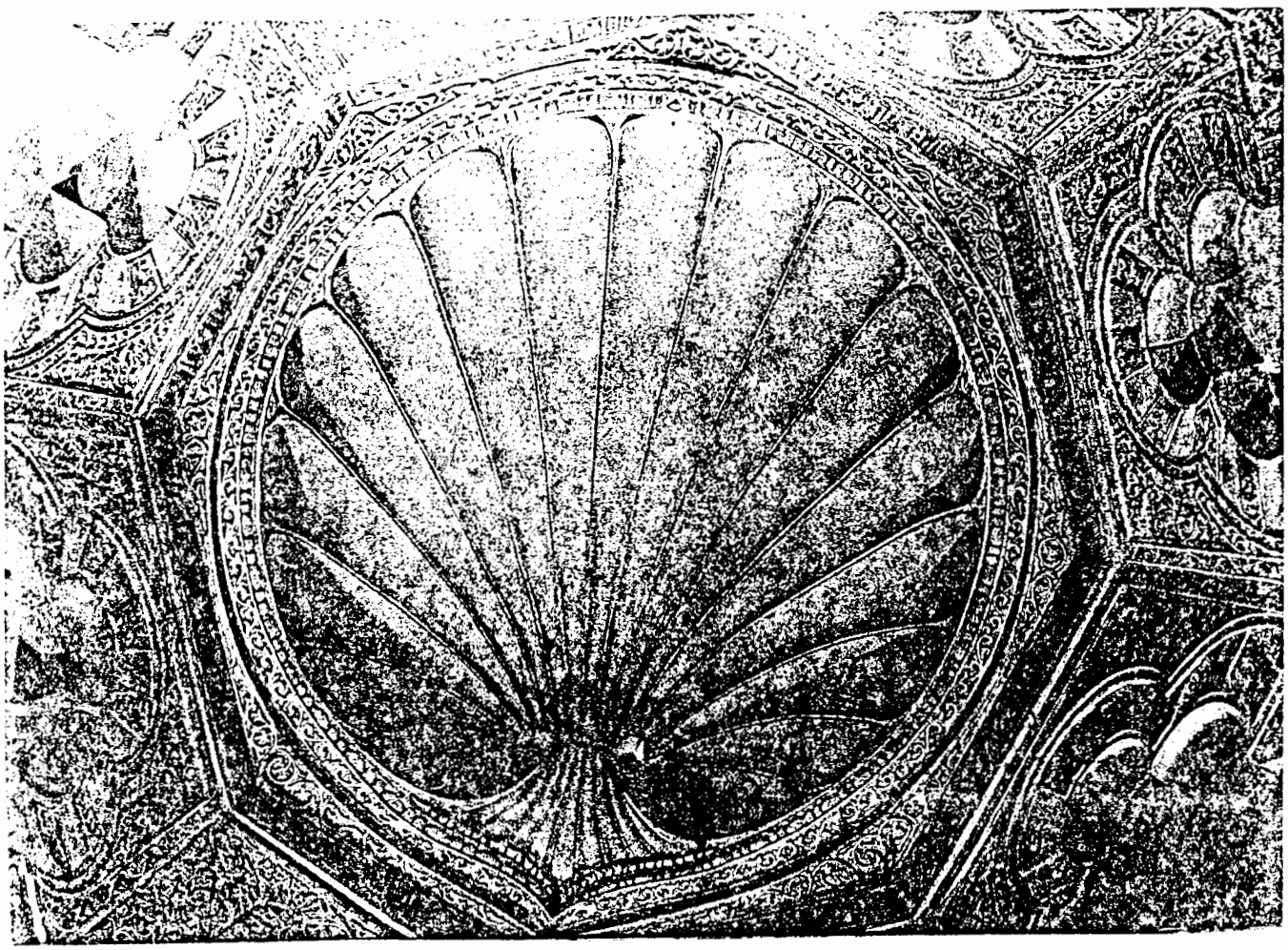


Figure 51. Shell dome of the *mihrab*. Great Mosque of Córdoba. Source: Baena Alcantara, Dolores. *La Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba.*

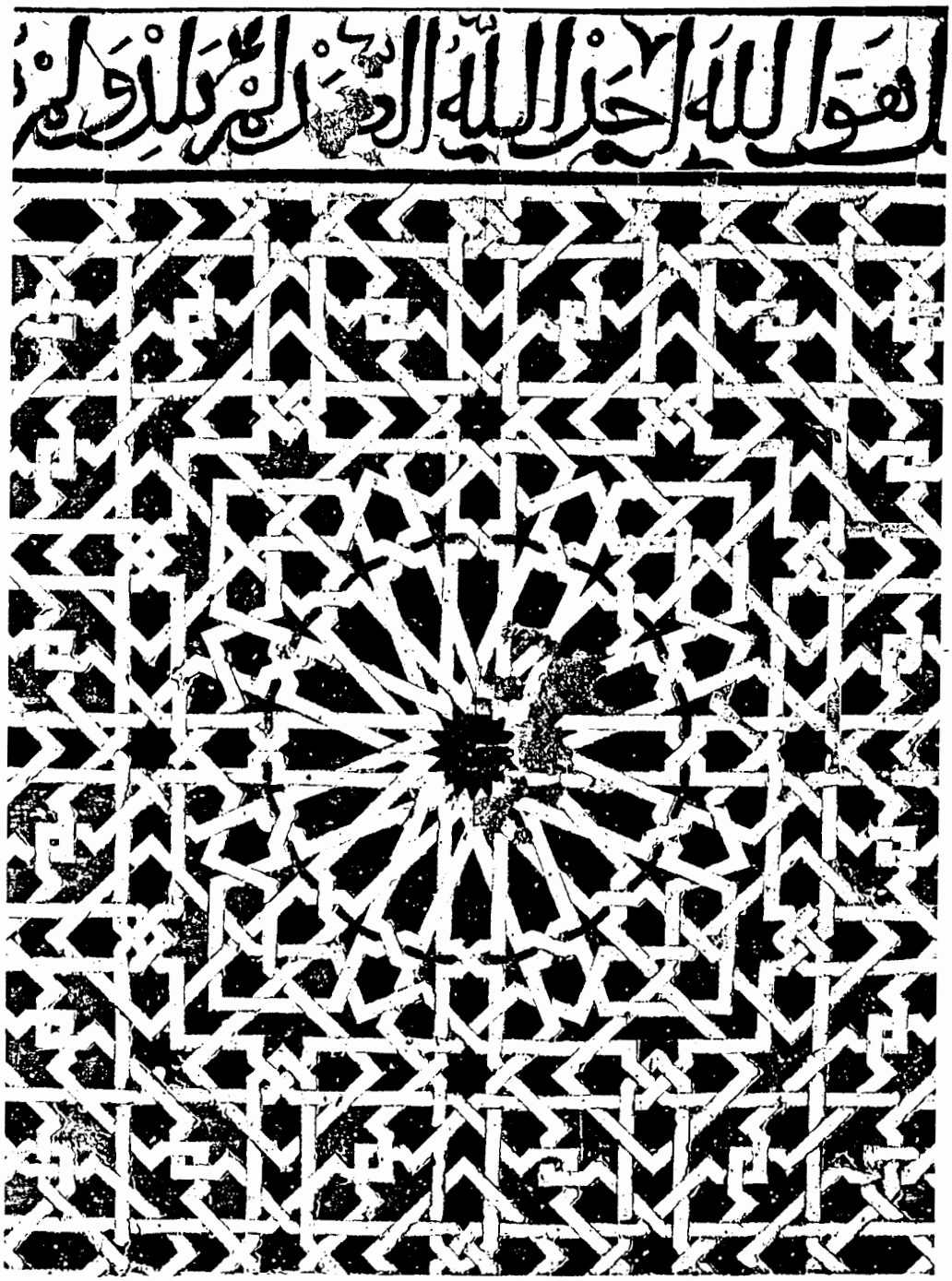


Figure 52. Detail of geometric tile work. Alhambra, Granada. Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar*.

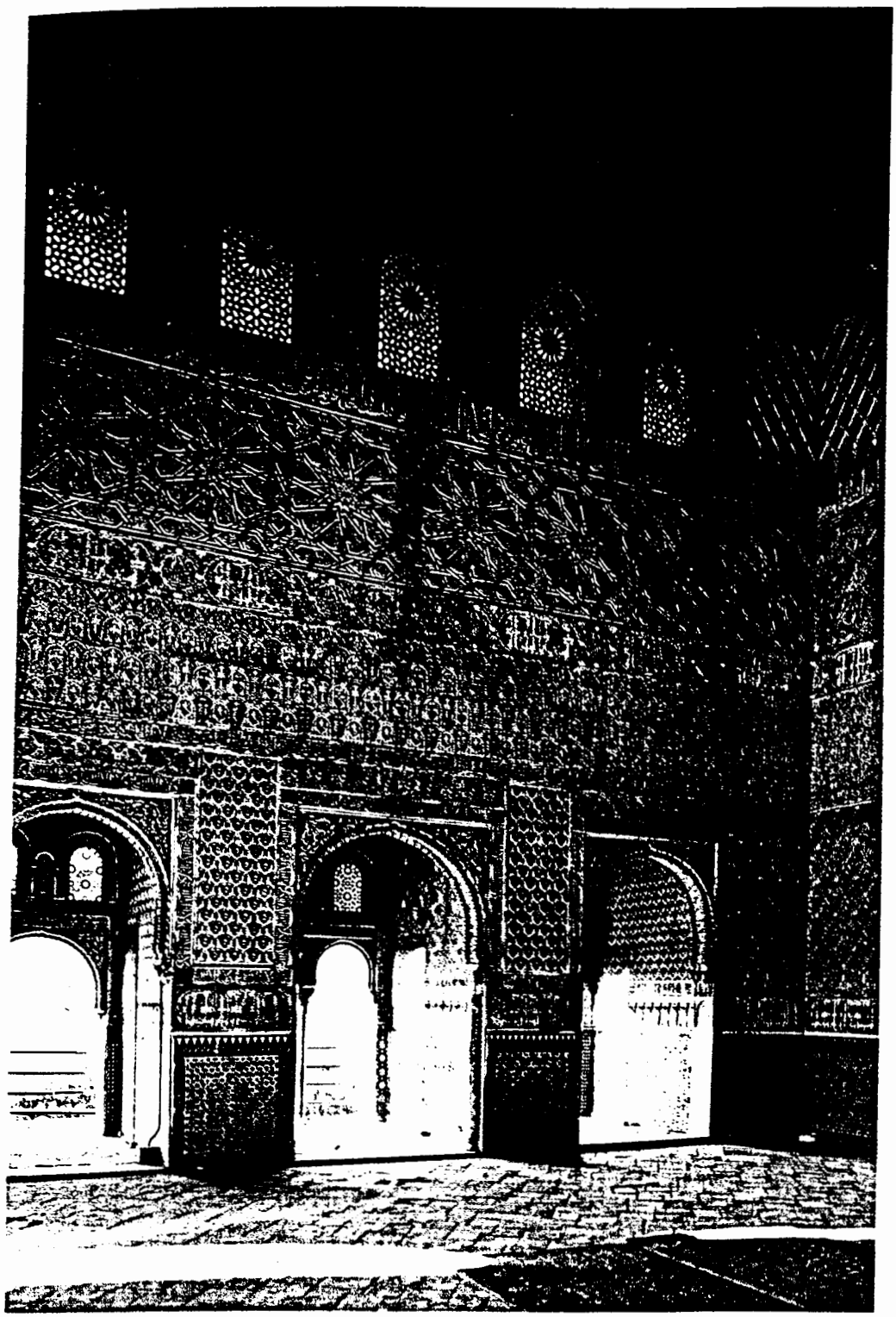


Figure 53. *Sala de las Embajadores* (Hall of the Ambassadors). Alhambra, Granada. Source: Borras Gualis, Gonzalo M. *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudejar*.

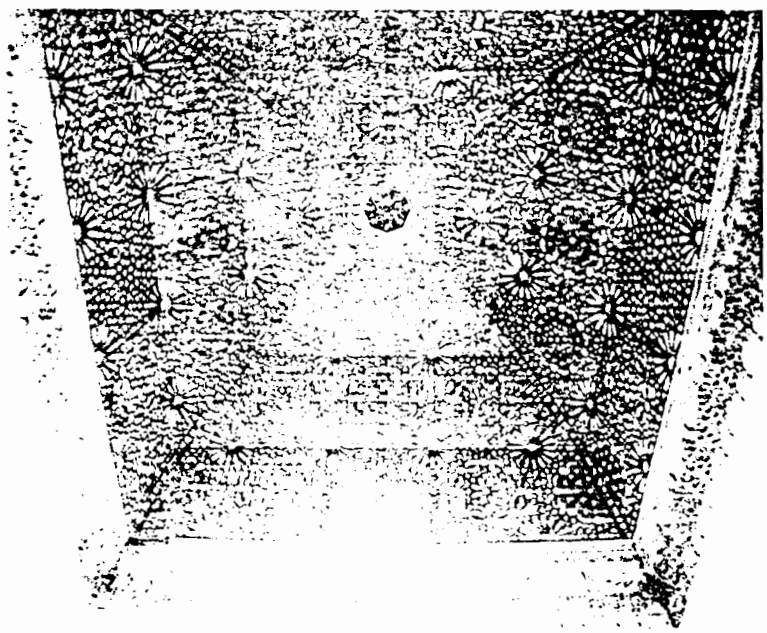
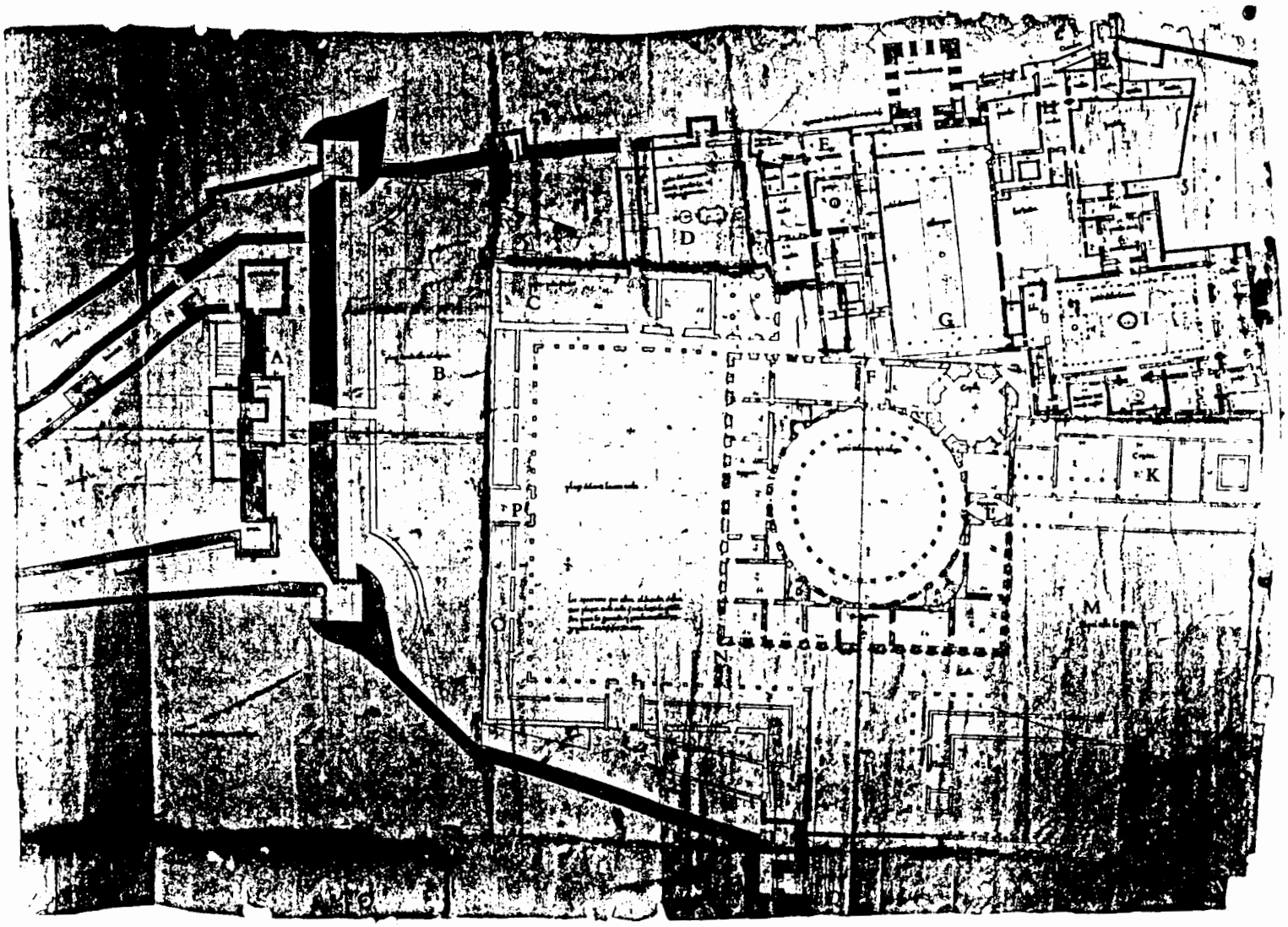


Figure 54. Ceiling, *Sala de las Embajadores* (Hall of the Ambassadors). Alhambra, Granada. Source: Grabar, Oleg. *The Alhambra.*



KEY

A. Proposed fortifications
B. Water storage tank
C. Festival hall
D. Patio de Machuca
E. Cuarto dorado
F. North staircase
G. Court of Myrtles (or Comares)
H. New Quarters
I. Court of Lions
J. Christian entry to Nazaride palaces
K. Kitchen
L. East entry
M. Santa María de la Alhambra
N. Arch connecting two forecourts
O. Location of Puerta Real
P. West gate
Q. Puerta de Justicia

Figure 55. Pedro Machuca's plan of Charles V's palace and the Nasrid palace of the Alhambra.
Source: Rosenthal, Earl E. *The Palace of Charles V in Granada.*

Figure 56. Casket of Hisham II, c.976. Part of the Treasury of the Cathedral of Gerona, Spain.
Source: *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain.*

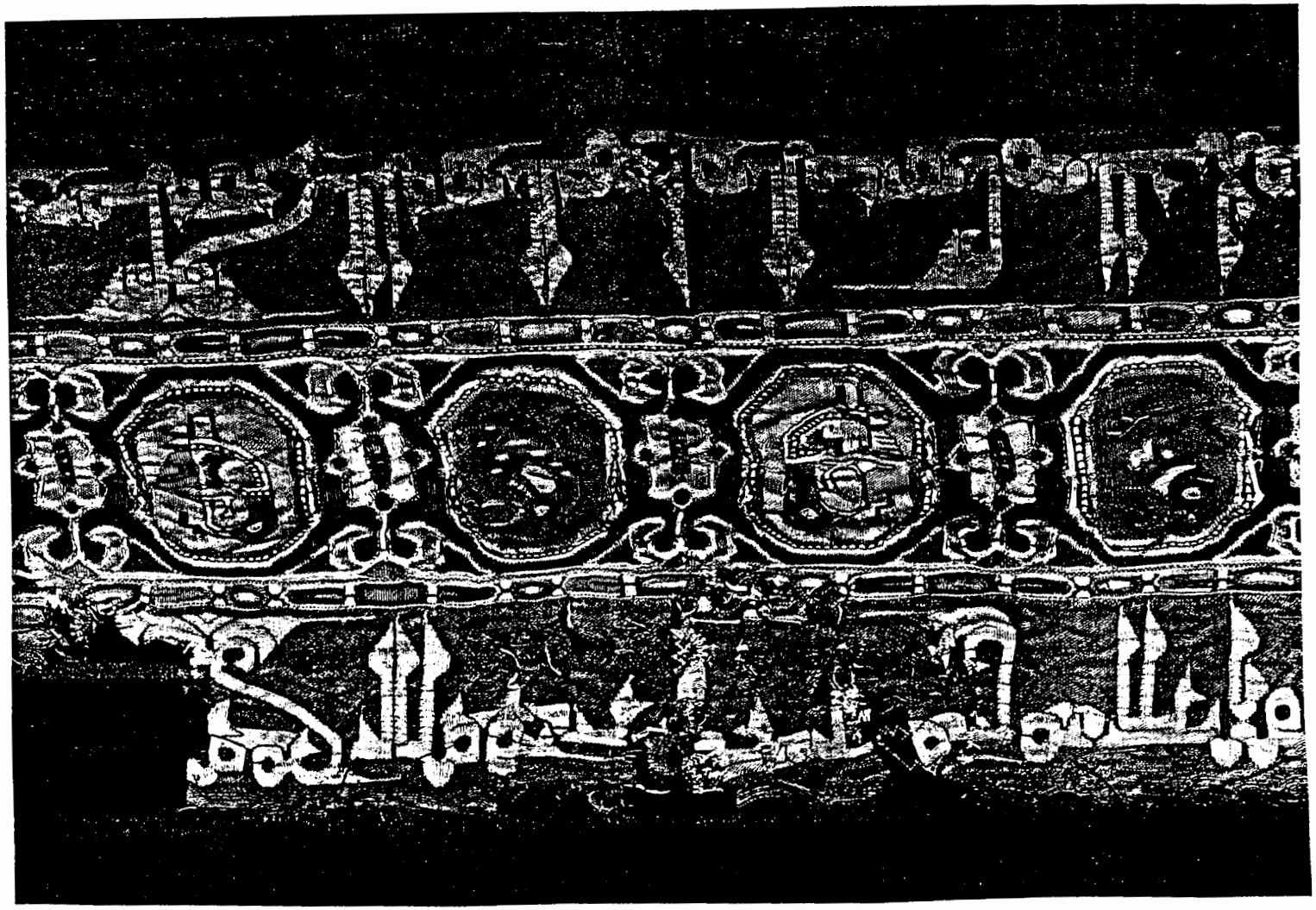


Figure 57. Veil of Hisham II, c. 976-1013. Used to wrap a reliquary in the church of S. Maria del Rivero, Spain. The kufic inscription wishes blessings, prosperity, and long life for the caliph Hisham, "favored of God and Prince of Believers." Source: *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain.*