

**‘Altogether Un-European’: Morisco Decorative Art and Spain’s Hybrid
Culture, 1492-1614**

By

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Abstract

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After the fall of Islamic leadership in Granada in 1492, the entire Iberian Peninsula came under Christian rule. Over the course of the sixteenth century up until the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, the crown and Inquisition officials in Spain worked to eliminate the remnants of Islamic culture, such as clothing, baths, and the Arabic language. Yet, Moorish and Islamic decorative arts were overlooked and even supported by church and state. This thesis argues that many elements of Iberian Islamic arts and culture were adopted across Spain, and the resulting hybrid Spanish culture created an exotic or ‘Oriental’ image to outsiders. Despite Spain’s location within Europe, and the conversion, however superficial, of its peoples to Christianity, Europeans continued to perceive Spain as different. The hybrid culture from 900 years of coexistence with Muslims made it impossible to purge the ‘other’ from Spain completely, despite the crown’s Catholic ideals.

December, 2014

Contents

List of Illustrations	ii
Introduction: Cultural Hybridity in Spain	1
One: Moorish and Islamic Influence in Iberian Textiles	32
Two: Islamic and Christian Influence on Spanish Ceramics	69
Three: Mudéjar Architectural Ornamentation	108
Four: Travellers' Accounts of the Iberian Peninsula	134
Conclusion: Spain's Exotic Image	154
Bibliography	157

List of Illustrations

Introduction

- intro.1 Christoph Weiditz, “The Morisco Dance,” *Trachtenbuch*, woodcut, 1529, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, figs 218 and 219.
<http://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs22474/218/html>
- intro.2 Christoph Weiditz, “Street-dress of Morisco women in Granada” *Trachtenbuch* woodcut, 1529. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, fig. 198. <http://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs22474/198/html>
- intro.3 Christoph Weiditz, “Castilian peasant going to the market.” *Trachtenbuch* woodcut, 1529. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg. Fig. 41.
<http://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs22474/41/html>
- intro.4 Detail of Jaime Huguet, *La Adoración de los Reyes*, Museo Provincial de Zaragoza.
- intro.5 Detail of Jaime Huguet, *La Adoración de los Reyes*, Museo Provincial de Zaragoza

Chapter One

- 1.1. Woven Silk, 1100-1150, silk, weft-faced compound twill, 34 cm x 24 cm, Almeria, Spain, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 828-1894.
- 1.2. Banner of Las Navas de Tolosa, early 13th century, silk thread, Spain, Museo de Talas Medievales, Burgos.
- 1.3. Lampas Silk, 14th century, silk thread in lampas weave, 56 cm x 47.5 cm, Spain, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1312-1864.
- 1.4. Length of Brocaded Velvet, late 15th Century, silk velvet brocaded with metal-wrapped thread, 375.9 cm x 58.4 cm, Venice, Italy, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12.49.8, www.metmuseum.org.

- 1.5. Woven Silk, 1360-1420, Lampas woven silk and silver gilt thread, 62.5 cm x 21 cm, Granada, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, T.285-1978.
- 1.6. Textile, 15th century, Brocade, silk and metal thread, 126.7 × 55.6 cm, Venice, Italy, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 46.156.121, www.metmuseum.org.
- 1.7. Dress Textile, 14th Century, silk, 69.5 cm x 35.5 cm, Lucca, Italy, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1279-1864.
- 1.8. Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina, *Saint Catherine*, 1505-1510, oil on canvas, 212 cm x 112 cm, Prado Museum, Madrid.
- 1.9. Fragment, 15-16th century, silk, metallic thread, 19.2 cm x 29.7 cm, Spain, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, 1902-1-301-a/c, <http://www.si.edu/>.
- 1.10. Fragment, 15-16th Century, silk, 24 x 47.6 cm, Spain, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, 1902-1-300, <http://www.si.edu/>.
- 1.11. Detail of tiling and plasterwork, Salón de Comares, Alhambra Palace, Granada.
- 1.12. Fernando Llanos, *Death of The Virgin*, 1507-10, oil on panel, 194 cm x 227 cm, Valencia Cathedral.
- 1.13. Detail of Fernando Llanos, *Death of The Virgin*, panel 1507-10, Valencia Cathedral.
- 1.14. Cope of Constable, silk made 1330-1450, cope made after 1492, Burgos Cathedral.
- 1.15. Woven Silk, 1360-1420, Lampas woven silk and silver gilt thread, 62.5 cm x 21 cm, Granada, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, T.285-1978.
- 1.16. Dress or Furnishing Textile, 1490-1550, silk lampas, 55.5 cm x 28.5 cm, Granada, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 678D-1896.
- 1.17. Woven Silk, 14th or 15th century, woven silk, 33 cm x 19 cm, Spain, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, T.72-1910.
- 1.18. Textile, 15th-16th century, silk, 32.5 x 42.2 cm, Italy or Spain, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, 1902-1-731, <http://www.si.edu/>.
- 1.19. Carpet with Coat of Arms, 15th-16th century, Wool, 198.1 x 149.9 cm, Spain, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.190.268, www.metmuseum.org.

- 1.20. Joan de Burgunya, *Virgin and Child with St. John in a Landscape*, ca. 1520, panel, 181 cm x 127 cm, Museo de Arte de Catalunya, Barcelona.
- 1.21. 'Holbein' Rug, 16th-17th century, wool, 157.5 x 101.6 cm, Turkey, Philadelphia Museum, 1955-65-3, www.philamuseum.org.
- 1.22. Detail of rug in Joan de Burgunya, *Virgin and Child with St. John in a Landscape*, ca. 1520, Museo de Arte de Catalunya.
- 1.23. Detail of Holbein' Rug, 16th-17th century, Turkey, Philadelphia Museum, 1955-65-3, www.philamuseum.org.
- 1.24. Carpet, 1450-1500, woollen pile on woollen warps and wefts, 228.6 cm x 162.5 cm, Spain, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 131-1905.
- 1.25. Panel, 16th Century, silk, metal wrapped thread; cut and voided velvet, brocaded, 185.4 cm x 66 cm, Turkey, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.22.8a, www.metmuseum.org.
- 1.26. Length of Brocaded Velvet, late 15th Century, silk velvet brocaded with metal-wrapped thread, 374.7 × 59.1 cm, Venice, Italy, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12.49.8, www.metmuseum.org.
- 1.27. Carpet, 1450-1500, wool pile on wool warps, 205 cm x 123 cm, Alcázar, Spain, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 784-1905.
- 1.28. Wheel Rug, 15th-16th Century, wool and possibly goat hair, 248.9 x 135.9 cm, Turkey, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943-40-67, www.philamuseum.org.
- 1.29. Carpet, 1575-1600, wool, Spain, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, T.104-1912.
- 1.30. 'Holbein' Carpet, 15th-16th Century, wool, symmetrically (?) knotted pile, 276 cm x 203 cm, Turkey, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009.458.1, www.metmuseum.org.
- 1.31. Diego Velazquez, *Joseph's Bloody Coat Brought to Jacob*, 1630, oil on canvas, 223 x 250 cm, Monasterio de San Lorenzo, El Escorial.
- 1.32. Lotto Carpet, 16th Century, wool; symmetrically knotted pile, 217.2 cm x 130.2 cm, Turkey, Metropolitan Museum of the Arts, 08.167.1, www.metmuseum.org.

Chapter Two

- 2.1. Tile, 1513-21, white glazed with blue and manganese, 13.5 cm x 13.3 cm, Seville, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1108-1903.
- 2.2. Tiles, 1354, earthenware with lustre, 16 cm x 15.5 cm, Granada or Malaga, British Museum, London, 1802,5-8,1-3, © Trustees of the British Museum.
- 2.3. Tiles, 1492, earthenware with lustre, 16 cm x 15.5 cm, Malaga, British Museum, London, 1802,5-8,1-3, © Trustees of the British Museum.
- 2.4. Tiles with the Heraldic device of the Nasrid kings, first third of the sixteenth century, earthenware, 19 cm x 12.5 cm, Seville, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011.153, www.metmuseum.org.
- 2.5. Tiles, late 16th Century, tin-glazed earthenware, 18.1 cm x 3.1 cm, Seville, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 4791D-1901.
- 2.6. Two Ceiling Tiles, 1525-75, tin-glazed earthenware, 23.5 cm x 13.4 cm, Seville, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1039-1892.
- 2.7. Tile, 1520-30, tin-glazed earthenware, 13.7 cm x 13.5 cm, Seville, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1134-1892.
- 2.8. Fragment of Tile Mosaic, 1330-1400, 29 cm, tin-glazed earthenware, Granada © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 300-1870.
- 2.9. Deep Dish, 1430, tin-glazed earthenware, 6.1 cm x 44.1 cm, Manises, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 56.171.113, www.metmuseum.org.
- 2.10. Jaume Ferrer the Elder, *The Last Supper*, early 15th century, 107 x 36 cm, Museu Diocesia I Comarcal de Solsona, Solsona.
- 2.11. Detail of dish in Jaume Ferrer the Elder, *The Last Supper*, early 15th century, Museu Diocesia I Comarcal de Solsona, Solsona.
- 2.12. Deep Dish, 1410-1480, Manises, International Folk Art Foundation, Santa Fe.
- 2.13. The Medici Valencian Vase, 1465-92, earthenware with lustre, 57 cm, British Museum, Godman 619, © Trustees of the British Museum.

- 2.14. Hugo van der Goes, *Portinari Altarpiece*, 1475, oil on wood, 253 x 304 cm, Florence, Uffizi Gallery.
- 2.15. Detail of jar in Hugo van der Goes, *Portinari Altarpiece*, 1475, oil on wood, Florence, Uffizi Gallery.
- 2.16. Albarello, 1435-75, tin-glazed earthenware, 29.7 cm x 14.3 cm, Manises, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 56.171.92, www.metmuseum.org.
- 2.17. Albarello, 1450-70, tin-glazed earthenware, 23.1 x 14.2 cm, Montelupo, Italy, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 16.154.4, www.metmuseum.org.
- 2.18. Juan de Juanes, *Ultima Cena*, 1560, oil on panel, 116 x 191 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.
- 2.19. Plate with arms of Pope Leo X, 1513-1521, Museo Civico, Bologna.
- 2.20. Dish, 1550-1610, tin-glazed earthenware with lustre, 6.2 cm x 20.5 cm, Muel, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, London, 12-1907.
- 2.21. Bowl for Sausage Making, 1603, tin-glazed earthenware, 10.4 cm x 29.4 cm, Muel, The Walters Museum of Art, 48.1100, art.thewalters.org.
- 2.22. Dish with the Christ child, early 17th century, tin-enamelled and lustre-painted earthenware, 33.3 cm, Reus, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 56.171.145, www.metmuseum.org.
- 2.23. Dish, late 16th century, tin-glazed earthenware, 37.5 cm x 6.6 cm, Reus, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 311-1893.
- 2.24. Bowl, 1611, tin-glazed earthenware with lustre, 4.6 cm x 34.1 cm, Reus, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 826-1877.
- 2.25. Plate, 15th-16th century, tin-enamelled earthenware, Seville, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 69.178, www.metmuseum.org
- 2.26. Wall Tile, 17th century, tin-glazed earthenware, 14 cm x 13.2 cm, Spanish, probably Seville, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 94.4.413a, www.metmuseum.org.
- 2.27. Tile, ca. 1471-1482, tin-glazed earthenware, 21 cm x 21 cm, Pesaro, Italy, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 12-1890.
- 2.28. Detail of a Plate, ca. 1515-30, tin-glazed earthenware, 3.7 cm x 31.8 cm, Deruta, Italy, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 04.9.23, www.metmuseum.org.

- 2.29. Dish, 1580-1650, tin-glazed earthenware, 34.3 cm, Talavera, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1072-1871.
- 2.30. Dish, 1400-1450, tin-glazed earthenware with lustre decoration, 37.8 cm, Manises, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 4783-1858.
- 2.31. Dish, 1575-1625, tin-glazed earthenware, 33 cm, Puente del Arzobispo, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, C.296-1938.
- 2.32. Francisco de Zurbarán, *Still Life with Pottery Jars*, c.1660, oil on canvas, 46 cm x 84 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.
- 2.33. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The Angels' Kitchen*, 1646, oil on canvas, 180 cm x 450 cm, Seville, The Louvre, Paris.
- 2.34. Detail of pitcher in Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The Angels' Kitchen*, oil on canvas, 1646, Seville, The Louvre, Paris.
- 2.35. Dish, 17th century, glazed earthenware, 49.2 cm, Valencia, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 29.100.97, www.metmuseum.org.
- 2.36. Plate, Spain, seventeenth century, Hispanic Society of America. From: Edwin Atlee Barber. *Hispano-Moresque Pottery in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*, plate 67. New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1915.
- 2.37. Plate, Spain, seventeenth century, Hispanic Society of America. From: Edwin Atlee Barber. *Hispano-Moresque Pottery in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*, plate 64. New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1915.

Chapter Three

- 3.1. Cathedral of Cordoba, 1523, Cordoba, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>
- 3.2. Alcázar Palace, built 1364-1366, modified 1540-1572, Seville, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>
- 3.3. La Giraldo, Cathedral of Seville, 1558-1568, Seville, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>

- 3.4. Basilica Cattedrale Patriarcale di San Marco, 1093, Venice, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>
- 3.5. Alcázar, 1540-1572, Seville, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>
- 3.6. Courtyard, Palace of Charles V, Alhambra Palatial Complex, 1526-1550, Granada, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>
- 3.7. Las Huelgas, 1220-1279, Burgos, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>
- 3.8. Detail of plasterwork, Las Huelgas, 1220-1279, Burgos, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>
- 3.9. Casa de Pilatos, 1520-1530, Seville, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>
- 3.10. Detail of Casa de Pilatos, 1520-1530, Seville, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>
- 3.11. Detail of tile work, Casa de Pilatos, 1520-1530, Seville, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>
- 3.12. Detail of plasterwork, Casa de Pilatos, 1520-1530, Seville, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>
- 3.13. Diego Lopez de Arenas, diagram of a star interlace ceiling, *Breve Compendio, dela Carpinteria de los blanco, y tratado de Alarifes, y conclusion de la Regla*

de Nicolas Tartaglia, y otras cosas tocantes a la geometria y puntas del compass, in 1633. Seville, 1633.

- 3.14. Star interlace ceiling, Catedral de Santa Maria de Toledo, 1504-1512, Toledo, Image courtesy of the Eugene Casselman Archive, Dept. of Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison
<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Arts.CasselmaImage>
- 3.15. Star-Interlace Ceiling, Church of San Francisco, 1534-1604, Quito, Ecuador.

Chapter Four

- 4.1. James Cavanah Murphey, *A Perspective View of the Court and Fountain of Lions*, engraving from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*. London, 1815. Plate 33. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London 102.L.5
- 4.2. Unknown photographer, *Albert Frederick Calvert in 'Moorish dress.'* Frontispiece to Albert Frederick Calbert, *The Alhambra*. London, 1904.

Introduction: Cultural Hybridity in Spain

In 1526, over thirty years after the Christian conquest of Nasrid Granada, a Venetian visitor to Spain remarked on how little had changed in Granada since 1492. He found the Morisco population (Muslims who converted to Christianity) of the city particularly striking:

The Moriscos speak their ancient and native language, and there are very few who want to learn Castilian; They are made Christians by force and are taught little about the faith, so they devote little diligence to it, because it is more beneficial to the clergy that they are this way and not in another manner; because of this, in secret, either they are Moors as before, or they don't have any faith at all.¹

It would be another thirty years before the Spanish Crown began to enforce laws against Islamic practices such as the Morisco style of clothing, jewellery, and the use of the Arabic language. Even as anti-Morisco sentiment was building in the early 1500s, state and church officials, encouraged and supported Mudéjar (Muslims living under Christian rule) practices in architecture and the decorative arts.² This thesis examines the official policies and unofficial attitudes of the Catholic Church and the Crowns of Aragon and Castile concerning the Morisco population and their Islamic practices in the years 1492 to 1615. Representative examples of royal decrees, Inquisition documents, and other forms of correspondence demonstrate the treatment of Moriscos, as well as official policy against customs deemed 'Islamic' or Moorish, such as the Arabic language, local dress

¹ 'Los Moriscos hablan su Antigua y nativa lengua, y son muy pocos los que quieren aprender el Castellano; son cristianos medio por fuerza y están, pues s poco instruidos en las cosas de la fé, pues se pone en esto tan poca diligencia porque es más provechoso á los clérigos que estén así y no de otra manera; por esto, en secreto, ó son tan moros como antes, ó no tienen ninguna fé.' Andrea Navagero, *Viaje Por España (1524-1526)* (Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1983), 57. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

² The term 'Mudéjar' refers to a style of art and architecture blending both Islamic and Christian elements, as well as denoting Moors living under Christian rule in Spain.

and costume, jewellery, and baths.³ Yet, while the church and crown officials worked to stamp out the remnants of Morisco culture, the very same people were adapting Mudéjar art and architecture for their own uses. Moreover, Moorish art and architecture, along with many Spanish customs of Islamic origin, formed part of daily life for the Spanish public. The state and the Inquisition targeted perceived ‘Muslim’ or Moorish habits but ignored, and even supported, the Moorish influence in the arts of the Iberian Peninsula. This thesis will argue that many elements of Iberian Islamic arts and culture were adopted into wider Spanish culture, and their continuity into the sixteenth century has been overlooked. This may be why Spanish monarchs, church leaders, and nobility who actively repressed Moorish elements in Spain also appropriated Islamic art and architecture – and this hybrid culture contributed to the exotic image of Spain in the rest of Europe.

Despite Spain’s geographical location within Western Europe, and the complete conversion, however superficial, of its peoples to Christianity during the sixteenth century, many parts of Christian Europe continued to perceive Spain as an exotic, ‘oriental’ nation. Comparing the Christian preservation of Moorish art forms, with outsiders’ accounts of ‘exotic’ Spain provides a new perspective on Spanish Christian perceptions of their own culture, and what Spaniards considered a ‘local’ tradition. Many aspects of Islamic arts and culture lingered in Spain throughout the sixteenth century, but the Spanish people found their ‘Moorish’ customs and traditions unremarkable. These traditions include dance, styles of dress, thousands of Arabic words absorbed into the Spanish language, as well as various idiosyncratic customs such as the practice of eating

³ L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500-1614*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 105.

seated on cushions on the floor. Moorish artistic traditions, used in the decoration of portable objects, like metalworks, woodworks, glass, pottery, and textiles, as well as architectural elements, utilized both Islamic technical expertise and decorative vocabularies. Artisans had passed these artistic traditions down through the Islamic world for centuries before Spanish artisans, both Christian and Muslim, adopted them, and preserved them into the sixteenth century. Employed in the creation of popular pottery, silk textiles, rugs, the tiles covering the walls of houses, and even the architecture of Catholic churches, Mudéjar art and architecture was so commonplace for Spanish Christians that they were not even conscious of how exotic the combined effect of Spain's Islamic and Moorish cultural features might appear to a northern European.

Church and Crown Policies toward Moriscos and Islam

The Emirate of Granada was the last bastion of Islamic rule on the Iberian Peninsula. The Spanish king and queen, Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, waged a series of military campaigns against the Nasrid dynasty in Granada, beginning in 1482. The conquest of Granada took on the status of a crusade in Europe: the pope both blessed and funded the conquest, volunteers came from all over Europe to help, and the troops were led with a huge silver cross. In late December of 1491, Granada succumbed to the Christian siege. One chronicler, Hernando del Pulgar, describes the capitulation that followed in 1492. 'The Moors surrendered their fortresses held by their king,' Pulgar recounts. The triumphalism among the Christian monarchs and their forces is palpable in Pulgar's account: 'They entered the Alhambra; on top of the tower of Comares they raised the cross and the royal banners, and the heralds cried out: 'Granada, Granada for

the kings Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella.’⁴ He makes particular note of the importance of the Alhambra fortress, which Christian kings would preserve in the coming centuries.

Upon completing this ‘crusade,’ Pope Alexander VI awarded the title ‘Los Reyes Católicos’ (The Catholic Monarchs) to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. Despite the Catholic rhetoric surrounding the conquest, the Catholic Monarchs actually allowed the Muslim residents of Granada many concessions. Pulgar recounts, ‘The treaty allowed the Moors to keep their religion and property, as well as other privileges.’⁵ Writing in 1492, Pulgar did not know how short-lived these privileges would be,⁶ as Mudéjars had maintained similar privilege in the rest of Spain for centuries. Similarly, the official capitulation agreement states, ‘Their highnesses and their successors will ever afterwards allow... all the common people, great or small, to live in their own religion, and not permit that their mosques be taken from them... nor will they disturb the uses and customs which they observe.’⁷ The list of capitulation agreements is lengthy and many concern taxation, freedom of movement, and property rights. Some protect cultural practices, however, such as the separation of Christian and Muslim slaughterhouses.⁸ The treaty also specifically proscribes forced religious conversion, affirming, ‘no Moor will be forced to become Christian against his or her will.’⁹

⁴ Hernando del Pulgar, “Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla (1492),” in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 344.

⁵ Pulgar, in Constable, 343.

⁶ Nor would he ever know, since he died that same year.

⁷ “Capitulations of Granada (1491),” in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 345.

⁸ “Capitulations of Granada (1491),” in Constable, 349.

⁹ “Capitulations of Granada (1491),” in Constable, 348.

This generous capitulation agreement was not to last. Just seven years later, in 1499, Cardinal Ximénez Cisneros – reformer, crusader, and later Inquisitor-General of Spain– rescinded one clause of the capitulation agreement.¹⁰ This provision stipulated that ‘nobody would be permitted to abuse by word or deed any Christian man or woman who before the date of the capitulations had turned Moor,’ meaning that if a Christian had escaped to Granada and converted to Islam before the surrender of the kingdom, they would be allowed to remain a Muslim. Cisneros demanded that these heretical renegades return to Christianity.¹¹ This action provoked a Muslim uprising in Granada in 1499, the First Rebellion of Alpujarras, which Christian forces repressed by 1501. The Catholic Monarchs responded with an edict in 1502 forcing Granadan Muslims to convert to Christianity or leave the peninsula.¹² Queen Isabella followed the edict soon after with forced conversions for all Muslims in Castile, in order to avoid ‘contaminating’ the new converts.¹³

After the forced conversions of 1502, an anonymous Morisco poet wrote *Verses to Bayazid II*, the Ottoman sultan, asking him to intercede on behalf of the Moriscos. The author expresses the betrayal the Mudéjars and Moriscos felt at the annulment of their rights. The poet laments that the Christian ‘treachery toward us became apparent for [they] broke the agreement,’ and that some Moriscos were forced to eat pork or meat not slaughtered in the correct manner. Worse, the Christian Spaniards had converted their mosques to churches, turning them into ‘dung heaps for the infidel after having enjoyed

¹⁰ Along with other objectionable actions not protected by the peace treaty: for example, Cisneros ordered all Arabic manuscripts to be burnt.

¹¹ James Tueller, *Good and faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2002), 17.

¹² Olivia Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 364.

¹³ Tueller, 18.

ritual purity!’¹⁴ This particular convert preferred that Christian authorities allow the Moriscos ‘to emigrate from [Spain] to North Africa...’ because ‘expulsion is better for us than remaining in unbelief.’¹⁵



Figure intro.1 – Christoph Weiditz, *The Morisco Dance*, woodcut, 1529.

After the conversions in Castile, the Catholic Monarchs proscribed many Moorish and Islamic cultural practices in the early 1500s, such as certain styles of dress, the Arabic language, traditional dance (depicted by German artist Christoph Weiditz, figure intro.1), and song. However, local officials initially did not enforce these prohibitions. In the Kingdom of Aragon, forced conversions began later, in 1526, when Charles V ordered Muslims to convert to Catholicism or leave. For the first half of the sixteenth century, Moriscos continued to speak Arabic in many parts of Spain and although

¹⁴ “Morisco Appeal to the Ottoman Sultan (1502),” in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 366-367.

¹⁵ “Morisco Appeal to the Ottoman Sultan,” in Constable, 369.

outwardly Christian, continued to practice many of their cultural traditions which authorities could associate with Islam.¹⁶ Charles V recognized the importance of Morisco communities as skilled workers, and valued the Morisco population to some extent, particularly as a source of royal income.¹⁷ The Morisco community negotiated with the king to retain their Islamic practices for 40 years, in exchange for a large sum of money – 80,000 ducats, according to some reports.¹⁸ Francisco Núñez Muley – distinguished Morisco and long-time advocate of New Christians – actually met with Charles V during his first visit to Granada to thank him for suspending the provisions.¹⁹ Later that year, the monarch wrote to Pope Clement VII to justify his leniency, claiming, ‘the conversion was not completely voluntary and since then, they have not been indoctrinated, instructed, and taught in Our Holy Catholic Faith.’²⁰

Philip II did not view the Moriscos with such leniency, or even as a ‘treasure’ to be exploited. With Protestant revolts in northern Europe and the growing power of the Ottoman Empire, Philip II saw the Morisco population as a blight on Spain’s religious homogeneity.²¹ The 40-year grace period had ended in 1566 – shortly after the Council of Trent (1563-64), and the same year as the beginning of the iconoclast upheaval in the Netherlands and the Ottoman *Siege of Szigetvár* in Hungary and advance toward Vienna.

¹⁶ Jon Cowans, *Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 105.

¹⁷ John Boswell outlines how the Muslim communities of Aragon were a source of royal income in the fourteenth century. Chapter 1, “The Mudéjar Population,” discusses the importance of employment of Mudéjars in civil service, local government, butchering, medicine, trades such as pottery, stonemasonry, construction, and many other occupations. (See p. 57.) Chapter V, “Mudéjar Taxes,” discusses how taxes on Mudéjar communities provided revenue. *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

¹⁸ Tueller, 24, L. P. Harvey, 106.

¹⁹ K. Garrad, “The Original Memorial of Don Francisco Núñez Muley,” *Atlante 2* (1954): 201.

²⁰ Charles V to Pope Clement III, as quoted by Tueller, 24.

²¹ Tueller, 26.

In light of contemporary religious and political events, it is not surprising that Philip II reinstated the prohibitions against Muslim customs and language. In response, in 1568, some of the Granadan Moriscos revolted. The Second Revolt of the Alpujarras escalated into a bloody conflict that lasted two years. In 1571, officials rounded up many of the Granadan Moriscos, and forced them to re-settle in other areas of Spain. Although the state expected the migrant New Christians to work in rural agriculture in their new locations, many displaced Moriscos sought better opportunities as traders and artisans.²² The revolt had serious repercussions for all Moriscos in Spain, though – particularly in the form of an increasingly severe Inquisition and increased scrutiny toward new Christian converts.



Figure intro.2- Christoph Weiditz, Street-dress of Morisco women in Granada, woodcut, 1529.

²² There were two times more artisans among the displaced Granadans than agriculturalists. David E. Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 182.

In 1567, the Granadan Morisco nobleman Francisco Núñez Muley again intervened on behalf of his fellow Moriscos and sent a letter to local authorities in response to the stricter regulations against Morisco culture. In this letter, Núñez Muley asserted that the Muslim population had complied with Christian wishes and converted to Christianity. He contended, however, that there had been no stipulation that upon conversion the New Christians would have to sacrifice their traditional clothing, language, or cultural customs such as dance and festivals.²³ This proponent of Morisco culture claimed that these were not religious, Islamic traditions but rather the local customs of the region. For one, he insisted the clothing that the Moriscos wore was ‘not even Moorish clothing’— it was simply the ‘local clothing’ of the region. Núñez Muley cited practical, largely economic, reasons why the Moriscos in Granada should be allowed to keep their customs as well: many Morisco women, for example, could not afford to replace their traditional garb with new, more Western fashions. Additionally, he argued that the artisans responsible for Morisco clothes, shoes, and jewellery would be out of work.²⁴

The nobleman, Núñez Muley, was certainly aware of crypto-Muslim activity to some extent, but his argument that these practices were simply aspects of local culture is probably genuine. Christians who had lived in the region under Islamic rule, known as Mozarabs, for example, had conformed to local ‘Moorish’ customs, such as styles of dress, while retaining their Christianity. Even Old Christians who moved to Granada after the Christian conquest adopted the local styles of dress and habits; accordingly, Queen

²³ Francisco Núñez Muley, “A Morisco Plea,” in Cowans, 105.

²⁴ Núñez Muley, 106-107.

Juana issued an edict ordering Old Christian women not to wear the Moorish headdress in 1513:

Whereas I have been informed that certain women who are Old Christians and reside in the city of Granada and in other cities and towns of this kingdom, forgetful of the general instructions to the effect that the newly converted should leave aside their Moorish dress and clothing, and should go about dressed in the Christian manner, themselves dress in the Moorish fashion, and cover themselves with *almalafas* so that in addition to the bad example which they set in this way to the newly converted, they, thinking that they are covered up, commit certain excesses and evil actions whereby Our Lord is ill served, and their own honor is jeopardized. From this great harm results. So, because, as Queen and Lady, it is incumbent on me to make provision against it, after due consultation with the King my lord and father, and with members of my Council, it has been decided that this proclamation should be sent out as I have seen fit, whereby... I strictly forbid any Old Christian woman to dress in the Moorish style from this day henceforward, under the penalty for a first offence, of loss of the clothing thus worn, and a hundred strokes of the whip, and, for a second offence, the same penalties together with perpetual exile from the whole Kingdom of Granada, the which sentences I hereby confirm without need of any further declaration...²⁵

²⁵ "Proclamation That the Old Christian Women May Not Dress in the Moorish Fashion, or Go Veiled," reproduced in L. P. Harvey, 72-73.



Figure intro.3 – Christoph Weiditz, Castilian peasant going to the market, woodcut, 1529.

Beyond traditional clothing, state restrictions did not target the decorative arts, such as textiles, ceramic tiles, or metal works. It is clear that authorities wanted the New Christians to assimilate on the cultural as well as religious level, and this meant abandoning Morisco clothing, shoes and even jewellery. What distinguished an item as ‘Morisco’ may have been styles or particular articles of clothing (such as headdresses) but it also may have been patterns, colours, and design choices in the fabric and jewellery. Some articles of clothing were called ‘Moorish’ not because of a particular fashion, but because of their rich decoration including gold thread, decorated silk, embroidery, braiding, and decorative edging.²⁶ A German artist, Christoph Weiditz, visited Spain in 1528 and created a series of drawings of the styles of dress in

²⁶ Ruth Matilda Anderson, *Hispanic Costume 1480-1530* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1979), 92.

Renaissance Spain. In figure intro.2, Weiditz depicts a Morisca in garments made of plain fabric, including a long headdress, with which she is covering her face. The headdress was not unique to Spain's Muslim population though; Christian and Muslim women often wore headdresses, or veils, and men of both religions wore the *toca de camino* or *toca morisca*, a turban-like head wrap, particularly in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Flemish courtier Laurent Vital, in 1517-1518, described the *toca* as a 'Turkish or Jewish fashion',²⁷ and it appears in German artist Christopher Weiditz's image of a peasant (figure intro.3). Other garments of Moorish origin worn by Old Christians include the *quezote*, the *aljuba*, the *capellar*, and the *albornoz*.²⁸ One of the kings in Jaime Huguet's *La Adoración de los Reyes* (figure intro.4) is depicted wearing the *toca morisca* as well as *albornoz*, a type of hooded cape, ornamented with Arabic script (figure intro.5).²⁹ An *albornoz* of this type, made of crimson satin, adorned with fringes, buttons, and spun-gold thread, is recorded in the inventory of Prince Juan (1478-1497), indicating its popularity with the Christian elite.³⁰

²⁷ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 63

²⁸ R. Anderson, 92.

²⁹ Carmen Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria Medieval Española* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velazquez, 1955), 77.

³⁰ R. Anderson, 97.



Figure intro.4 - Jaime Huguet, *La Adoración de los Reyes*, Museo Provincial de Zaragoza.



Figure intro.5 – detail of figure intro.4

A Flemish visitor, Enrique Cock, noted the Moriscos ‘Islamic’ cultural practices in Muel in 1585:

These Moors, from the time that their ancestors ‘won Spain’ [in] the year 714, always retained their own laws, not to eat pork, nor drink wine, and we saw that all the clay and glass cups that had touched pork or wine, later, after our departure, they would break so that they would not smell the odour, nor taste [wine or pork].³¹

With hindsight, we know that some Moriscos practiced their religion in secret, but many so-called Islamic religious practices that the New Christians continued to observe were so

³¹ ‘Estos moros, desde el tiempo que los sus antepasados ganaron á España, año del Señor sietecientos y catorce, siempre han quedado en sus leyes, no comen tocino ni beben vino, y esto vimos allá que todos los vasos de barro y vidrio que habian tocado tocino ó vino, luego después de esta partida los rumpian para que no sentiesen olor ni sabor dello.’
Enrique Cock, *Relación del viaje hecho por Felipe II, en 1585, á Zaragoza, Barcelona y Valencia* (Madrid, 1876), 30.

entwined with their culture and way of life that Moriscos did not identify them as specifically religious practices.

Along with state intervention, Moriscos received scrutiny from the Church in the later sixteenth century in the form of the Inquisition. Although there had been medieval Inquisitions in Europe, the Spanish Inquisition in its new incarnation was established in the late fifteenth century, and tasked with defending the Catholic faith from any deviation from orthodoxy. The Inquisition's initial function in Spain was to tackle the suspected 'judaizing' of converted Jews. Pope Sixtus IV's 1478 bull, *Exigit sinceræ devotionis affectus*, allowed King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella to appoint inquisitors in Castile and Aragon, giving the monarchs unprecedented control.³² The crown established Inquisitorial tribunals in cities throughout Castile and Aragon to address local heresy. Through the early decades of the Inquisition, officials merged or moved the tribunals as needed, but by the early sixteenth the Inquisition established tribunals in Córdoba, Toledo, Llerena, Logroño, Valladolid, Murcia, Cuenca, Las Palmas, Granada, Santiago de Compostela, and Madrid in Castile, and Zaragoza, Valencia, Barcelona, Mallorca, Sicily, and Sardinia in Aragon.³³ Although the Inquisition was never a monolithic institution, the pope did appoint an Inquisitor-General who had power in both Castile and Aragon. In addition, the monarchs appointed a counsel, known as the *Suprema*, which 'corresponded with [regional] tribunals, replied to queries from inquisitors in the field, issued edicts and instructions, and vetted difficult cases.'³⁴

³² Lu Ann Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478- 1614: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2006), xvi-xvii.

³³ Homza, xix.

³⁴ Homza, xx.

Over the next century and a half, the Inquisition addressed a variety of heresies in a series of phases of inquisitorial fervour. After the ‘judaizers’, came the suspected witches, Protestants, and, by the second half of the sixteenth century, Moriscos under suspicion as crypto-Muslims.³⁵ The Inquisition charged Moriscos with everything from questioning Catholic doctrine (the Inquisition punished Mayor Garcia for saying ‘How could a married woman remain a virgin after giving birth?’³⁶), to hiding Qur’anic texts and praying to Allah, to flat out rebellion. In addition to overt challenges to the Catholic faith, the Inquisition persecuted Muslims for things that were ‘more a reflection of Muslim culture in the wide sense than of strictly religious beliefs.’ For example, ‘Muslim precepts regarding birth, matrimony, funerals, and the slaughtering of animals.’³⁷ The Inquisition arrested a Morisco in Toledo in 1537 for ‘playing music at night, dancing the *zambra* and eating couscous.’³⁸

The Inquisition was also suspicious of any book written in a foreign language, particularly Arabic. The Spanish Inquisition issued several indices of prohibited books, beginning in 1551. The index issued in 1583-1584 begins with a list of rules for allowing or prohibiting books. Rule four states that the following is prohibited:

Books of the Jews, the Moors, whose principal argument is against our Holy Catholic Faith: or against the customs and universal ceremonies of the Sacred Roman Church, or against the common expression of the doctrines of faith, in the literal sense of the sacred scriptures, or those that the aim is to teach the Jewish or Mohammedan sect.³⁹

³⁵ Homza, xv.

³⁶ “Account of people who appeared at the auto de fé celebrated by the Holy Office of the Inquisition of Granada on a Sunday, March 18, 1571,” in Homza, 241.

³⁷ Robert Surtz, “Morisco Women, Written Text and the Valencian Inquisition,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 32-2 (2001), 423.

³⁸ Kamen, 186.

³⁹ ‘Los libros de Iudios, o Moros, cuyo principal argumento es contra nuestra sancta Fe Católica: o contra las costumbres vniversales ceremonias de la sancta yglesia Romana: o contra las

The Inquisition did not tolerate any Muslim or Jewish books, particularly those promoting Judaism or Islam. Indeed, Inquisitors regarded anything written in Arabic as highly suspect and forbidden, even if it did not pertain to religion.⁴⁰

By the end of the sixteenth century, the increasing discomfort with the presence of Moriscos, particularly due to their possible involvement with the Ottoman Empire helped galvanize opinions. King Philip III issued a decree in 1609, expelling the Moriscos from Spain.⁴¹ Philip III insisted that Christian Spain had treated the Moriscos well, yet they stubbornly refused to give up their religion, stating that ‘despite the edicts of grace that have been granted to them... we have not seen any of them convert.’ The king allowed three days for the Moriscos to depart with only the belongings they could carry. Several of the provisions in the decree allowed or, in some cases, *required* that young Morisco children remain in Spain. The decree required that mothers of children with Old Christian fathers stay, ‘even if they be Moriscos ... but if the father happens to be a Morisco and the wife is an old Christian, he shall be expelled, and the children under six years of age will stay with the mother.’⁴² Although some of the conditions provided for the well being of the Morisco exiles, Christian officials did not always observe these provisions, and many Moriscos were robbed and mistreated on their journey out of Spain. In all, the Spanish state expelled approximately 275,000 Moriscos. The loss was devastating to

comunnes exposiciones de los doctors y sanctos, en el sentido literal de la sagrada Escripura: o los que propósito enseñan su secta Iudayca, o Mahometica.’

Index et Catalogus Librorum prohibitorum; Index Librorum expurgatorum, (Madrid, 1583-1584) Rare Books & Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

<http://rarebooks.library.nd.edu/digital/inquisition/catalog/RBSC->

INQ:INQ_044?render_search=false

⁴⁰ Mary Halavais, *Like Wheat to the Miller: Community, Convivencia, and the Construction of Morisco Identity in Sixteenth-Century Aragon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 137.

⁴¹ Cowans, 145.

⁴² Philip III, “Decree of Expulsion of the Moriscos (1609)” in Cowans, 145-147.

towns with primarily Morisco populations, and economic consequences followed for Spain as a whole from the loss of a large and dedicated labour force.

The Archbishop of Seville, Don Pedro Vaca de Castro, opposed the Expulsion of the Moriscos. In 1610, he wrote to King Philip III, asking him to reconsider. Castro mentioned several groups of Moriscos in particular, who posed no threat to Spain, such as women, the elderly, and children. Castro expressed outrage that the expulsion might divide marriages:

Morisca women who are married to old Christians and their children are old Christians, like their fathers and grandfathers... And the wives, although Moriscas, must enjoy the privileges of their husbands and fathers. They married in good faith with the permission of your Majesty and according to your laws and those of the Holy Mother church. Why must their wives be taken away, and who can do this? If any of them should go away or be absent, even if it be a Morisco married to a woman who is an Old Christian, it would appear that this is dividing a marriage...⁴³

Certainly, Moriscos and Old Christians intermarried, but to what extent, and how much Castro might be exaggerating this to make his point, is difficult to determine. Castro appealed to the Catholic nature of the monarchy, by emphasizing the dilemma of splitting a marriage. Similarly, Castro worried about the fate of young children, particularly orphans, and stressed the peril of their religion: ‘There is also no danger from the little children. Where must they go? And especially those who have neither father nor mother. Will they not be enslaved and lose their faith and religion?’⁴⁴ Apparently, Castro was not aware that the Spanish state fully intended to keep young children in the country, even if the state expelled both parents.

⁴³ Don Pedro Vaca de Castro, “The Archbishop of Seville, On the Expulsion of the Moriscos (1610),” in Cowans, 149.

⁴⁴ Castro, 149.

According to Castro some of the Morisco population were upstanding citizens who ‘receive positions and benefits in the churches, and I myself have admitted some to the [religious] orders, first investigating their upbringings and customs with great diligence, and some of them hold positions as professors in the university in this city.’⁴⁵ In many places, landowners and nobles vehemently opposed the expulsion because they depended upon Moriscos for agricultural labour.⁴⁶ Castro went on to say that ‘the royal rents and affairs will be badly damaged if they are removed from here; for those kinds of work that old Christians do not know and which they do not do will cease.’⁴⁷ This loss of labour and the specialized skills of the Morisco population posed a valid concern for the Spanish state, but the perceived threat posed by the Morisco population outweighed these concerns.

Castro’s plea indicates the value of the Morisco population as both skilled and unskilled labourers, and as assimilated members of the community who were married to Old Christians and had children of mixed heritage. Moreover, a succession of Catholic monarchs, recognized the Islamic legacy in Spain, and felt it was worth preserving Andalusí culture in the form of architecture and tile ornamentation at the Alhambra in Seville, even as the same leaders restricted Morisco religion and culture. The contradictory position of the state and the church in Spain underlies the following discussion of Moorish artistic production in Spain.

⁴⁵ Castro, 150

⁴⁶ Tueller, 25.

⁴⁷ Castro, 150.

1492: A Historiographical Break?

Scholars have emphasized the cultural division, even opposition, between East and West since ancient times.⁴⁸ Adapted to religious rhetoric in the Middle Ages, the Islamic ‘infidel’ supplanted the barbarous Persian. By the early modern period, the Ottoman Empire was gaining power and evoking both fear and admiration from the West. ‘The West’ has long defined itself against this idea of ‘the East,’ as both its opposite and its competitor. By the colonial period, as the Ottoman Empire declined, this feeling of essential difference shifted from fear and admiration to feelings of Western superiority and paternalism. Westerners held the Orient to be on the one hand a romantic colourful fantasy, and on the other an inferior land of savagery. Despite many criticisms of Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism, it remains probably the most influential theory regarding Christian-Islamic relations.⁴⁹

The Orientalism theory is further complicated by Spain, however. Said’s theory is based upon the romanticizing and misunderstanding of a far off land that existed primarily in the European imagination in the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. Spain’s Islamic people and culture were decidedly not distant and yet, as the following chapters will demonstrate, Spanish hybridity meant the Christian and Islamic cultures on the peninsula were inextricably intertwined. This proximity meant Spanish Christians could not orientalise Andalusí culture in the same way as France and England did with the ‘East’ in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Spain’s Moorish culture was a part of daily life, too familiar for Spaniards to romanticize it as ‘exotic.’⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Fuchs, 2-4.

⁴⁹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 3.

⁵⁰ See Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*.

While some historians suggest Christian use of Moorish customs and artistic forms was a nostalgic and triumphal revival of a defeated Muslim society,⁵¹ this thesis presents a more nuanced understanding of Spanish material culture. In her work, *Exotic Nation*, Barbara Fuchs argues convincingly that the cultures of the Iberian Peninsula were so intertwined that they had formed a ‘hybrid culture’ by the early modern period.⁵² Cultural practices, such as some Moorish styles of dress or the Spanish custom of sitting on cushions on the floor – were so well assimilated into the dominant culture that the Spanish people did not even recognize their Moorish origins.⁵³ This thesis argues that this hybrid culture, which had long incorporated both European Christian and Islamic Moorish customs, continued through the sixteenth century and incorporated decorative arts and architectural ornamentation as well as the customs and habits of daily life. The Moorish influence on the Spanish arts and export of Mudéjar luxury arts abroad may have perpetuated the view of Spain as an ‘oriental’ or ‘exotic’ location within Europe.

The fall of the last Islamic kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 to the Catholic Monarchs is sometimes regarded as a symbolic turning point, when Western Christian culture truly began to dominate the Islamic heritage of the peninsula. According to Fuchs, ‘Even from our... sophisticated historiographical purview, [historians] tend to assume that everything changed in 1492.’⁵⁴ Yet, the fall of Granada did not bring about a radical change. For one thing, the kingdom of Granada had essentially been a vassal state to the Crown of Castile since 1238 and was hardly a threat to Christian Spain. More importantly, Moors and Moorish customs were well integrated into Christian Spain long

⁵¹ For example, Jerrilynn Dodds et al., *The Arts of Intimacy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁵² Fuchs, 2-3.

⁵³ Fuchs, 12.

⁵⁴ Fuchs, 11.

before 1492— Moorish culture was part of daily life, particularly in Castile and Valencia. Even after the capitulation of the last Nasrid ruler, the crown allowed (albeit short-lived) provisions for the Islamic religion and cultural practices in Granada. In the years following the fall of Granada, aspects of Spanish culture changed slowly, if at all, and a definitive ‘break’ with the Islamic past is not easily defined.⁵⁵ As the preceding discussion of royal decrees and correspondence demonstrated, even official bodies reacted slowly with perfunctory initial laws and uneven enforcement for decades.

Even with the efforts of many Spanish state and church officials to eliminate Morisco culture in the later sixteenth century, ‘a culture profoundly marked by Andalusí forms survived in sixteenth-century Spain.’⁵⁶ Although the Inquisition persecuted alleged crypto-Muslims for practicing Islam and hardened policies against Morisco dress, habits and customs -- it would seem that Spain did not move away from its Islamic past, to a distinctly Christian Spanish culture as quickly as historians have assumed. The dominant historiographical narrative is one of conquest, progress, Christianization, and Westernization. Travellers to Spain, however, often noticed that local buildings, cities, and cultural practices had a distinctly Moorish character – whereas for Spaniards these customs were part of daily life. What sets this thesis apart from much of the traditional historiography of sixteenth-century Spain is that it examines the cultural continuity between late medieval and early modern Spain in terms of the luxury arts and architecture.

As the following chapters will demonstrate, this composite culture was also prevalent in many of the art and architectural forms of the Iberian Peninsula. The

⁵⁵ Fuchs, 11.

⁵⁶ Fuchs, 11.

conscious preservation of Moorish art and architecture, along with the incorporation of Andalusian-derived forms into the Spanish artistic vocabulary, only contributed to the exotic appearance of Spain to outsiders. These elements were so well integrated into daily life, however, that the Spanish people hardly took notice of them. Styles of dress, cultural habits, furniture, combined with the arts, architecture, and layout of many Southern Spanish cities, created an unfamiliar and strikingly exotic landscape for European visitors in the sixteenth century and beyond. Spain's enemies perpetuated stereotypes, and demonized Spaniards in propaganda throughout the sixteenth century and many of these perceptions originated with Spain's cultural hybridity in the Middle Ages.

By the eighteenth century, other European nations viewed Spain through an orientalist lens, as chapter four will discuss. Although Spain was ostensibly Western, European, and Christian, many outsiders considered it somehow 'beyond Europe', oriental, and exotic. Echoing orientalist views of the East, Europeans simultaneously disparaged Spanish cruelty and savagery, and romanticized it for its colourful, Moorish culture.⁵⁷ This 'othering' discourse in relation to Spain has antecedents in the sixteenth century and even earlier, as chapter four will demonstrate. Protestant countries in particular seized the opportunity to highlight Spanish difference, and presented Spain negatively, as barbaric, and full of secret Muslims and Jews.⁵⁸ The remains of Spain's Moorish culture may have perpetuated the peninsula's image as 'apart from Europe' and this may have contributed to harsh actions taken against the Morisco and Converso populations.

⁵⁷ Fuchs, 1.

⁵⁸ J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: Formation of a Myth* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 55.

Decorative Arts and Spain

Ceramic tiles, plasterwork, rugs, architectural elements, and furnishings contribute to the appearance of Islamic-influenced palaces and churches, demonstrating the interrelation between elements of Spanish luxury arts, buildings, and cities. This thesis emphasizes the overlap of the Iberian artistic traditions but divides each medium into distinct thematic chapters for clarity. The first three chapters each deal with specific art forms, while the fourth will address foreign perceptions of Spain.

Chapter one examines Spanish textiles — a popular luxury commodity in Spain, the rest of Europe, and the East — which drew extensively on techniques and styles with roots in the Islamic world. This chapter explores the stylistic changes and continuity in the century after the fall of Granada. More than ceramics, textiles retained much of their Islamic decorative origins. Through trade connections with Italy, Spanish weavers came into contact with Eastern motifs. This chapter also addresses carpet weaving, the only medium addressed in this thesis to demonstrate direct links with Ottoman artistic forms.

The second chapter of this thesis focuses on ceramics. By the sixteenth century, Spain had been producing opulently decorated tiles and pottery for 500 years. Merchants traded Spanish ceramics across Europe, and Iberian wares found particular popularity in Italy. As with silk and rug production, after the fall of Granada in 1492, Muslims under Christian rule continued to produce much of the pottery on the Iberian Peninsula. In the late sixteenth century, Italian-influenced pottery became extremely popular but other ceramics, particularly lusterware, retained Mudéjar traditions. Even after the expulsion of the Muslim population, Moorish techniques and motifs continued to be commonplace, indicating that Christian potters were preserving Islamic forms. Successive monarchs even commissioned Islamic tiles with Arabic script for the Alhambra palace. The

Mudéjar forms in ceramics – produced for Christian patrons – provide a stark contrast with official political and religious opposition to Islamic practices, and the treatment of suspected ‘crypto-Muslims’ by the Spanish Inquisition.

Chapter three concerns Mudéjar architecture and architectural ornamentation. Spanish Christians sometimes found public, prominent Islamic architecture problematic for a number of reasons outlined in this chapter. Spanish monarchs had to grapple with existing Moorish monuments in the Islamic territories they conquered during the *Reconquista*. The Christian conquest of Islamic Iberian territories occurred over a number of centuries, and attitudes and practices toward Islamic architecture varied accordingly. Architects also incorporated Moorish elements into Christian buildings since at least the thirteenth century— and not only in areas of Christian conquest – thus complicating the triumphalism argument to which many scholars subscribe. Spanish leaders’ simultaneous admiration for Moorish arts and architecture, and feelings of antipathy toward and repression of all things Islamic often led them to enact contradictory policies toward Moorish architecture, which are outlined in this chapter.

Chapter four addresses foreign impressions of Spain, primarily those of Europeans who visited Spain personally. Scholars note European ‘othering’ and even orientalist views of Spain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but European conceptions of Spanish difference had a long history, originating in the fifteenth century or even earlier with of the Islamic and Jewish heritage of the peninsula. Foreign accounts provide insight into how outsiders perceived Spain’s complex identity and hybrid culture. Stereotypes and preconceived ideas coloured how visitors perceived Spain. For example, traveller Andrea Navagero, Venetian diplomat, humanist, and poet, did not see Seville as

an Islamic city, although historians and other travellers relate the narrow, winding streets and Islamic architecture, which was largely unchanged in the sixteenth century.⁵⁹ According to Navagero, ‘it seems, more than any other [city] in Spain, like an Italian city.’⁶⁰ In Granada, however, he described a Moorish city, unchanged since Christian conquest, perhaps because he expected to find an Islamic city there. Despite Spain’s harsh repression of the ‘others’ within her borders in the sixteenth century, Spain’s Jewish and Islamic heritage was used by other European states in efforts to disparage the Iberian Peninsula. Despite the church and state’s efforts to remove their ‘exotic’ elements, artistic traditions in Christian Spain remained deeply marked by cultural ‘others’ and certainly contributed to Spain’s ‘un-European’ image.

Methodology

This thesis focuses on the ornamentation of decorative arts and architecture. While it addresses written sources in many cases as well, the bulk of the sources are visual.

Historian Karen Harvey encourages historians to see “written documents as just “one available set in a suit of other [available sources], rather than the principal ones.”⁶¹

Likewise, Dan Hicks and Mary Beaudry note that “written sources represent simply another, albeit distinctive, form of material culture rather than a revolutionary change in the human past.”⁶² The focus on material and visual culture provides another avenue to understanding wider society and culture. According to art historian Jules Davis Prown, “the underlying premise [of the study of material culture] is that human-made objects reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of individuals who

⁵⁹ See page 109-110 for a discussion of Seville.

⁶⁰ ‘se parece más que ninguna otra de las de España á las ciudades de Italia.’ Navagero, 34.

⁶¹ Karen Harvey, *History and Material Culture* (London: Routledge, 2009), 5.

⁶² Dan Hicks and Mary Beaudry, as cited in K. Harvey, 5.

commissioned, fabricated, purchased, or used them and, by extension, the beliefs of the larger society to which these individuals belonged.”⁶³ It is in this sense that this thesis examines decorative arts as primary sources. By examining a variety of decorative art objects over the course of more than a century, this thesis uncovers more about the society that created these objects than could be gleaned from documentary evidence alone.

This thesis is primarily concerned with what is known as ‘decorative arts,’ although it also addresses ‘fine arts’ in some cases. Decorative arts are also known as ‘minor arts,’ but could perhaps be more aptly referred to as ‘luxury arts,’ and this thesis will use both the terms ‘decorative arts’ and ‘luxury arts,’ to denote these beautifully decorated, often small, portable objects. Decorative arts, such as clothing, furnishings, and pottery, frequently served a practical function, unlike fine arts, such as painting and sculpture, which serve no utilitarian function in daily life. Architecture is somewhat ambiguous because it is often categorized as ‘fine art’ but this thesis examines the more ornamental details, such as plasterwork, wall tiles, and carved wooden ceilings, which could be deemed ‘decorative.’

Luxury art objects should not be considered less important than fine arts, as they were extremely valuable and highly prized in the early modern world. In fact, some decorative art items were worth more than elaborate Renaissance paintings. For example, a carpet in Florentine statesman Lorenzo de Medici’s collection in 1492 was valued at 70 florins, while some paintings by Uccello were valued at only 50 florins each.⁶⁴ Before the

⁶³ Jules D. Prown, as quoted by K. Harvey, 6.

⁶⁴ Rosamond Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 73.

Renaissance, patrons prized decorative arts much more highly than painting, and this remained true in many non-Western cultures through the early modern period.

According to historian Paula Findlen, by looking at the early modern period through objects, historians can see the cultural hybridity produced by overseas trade and travel in this period. Other objects “do not explicitly connect cultures, but reinforce the particulars of local power, knowledge, and faith.”⁶⁵ This thesis examines objects that demonstrate cultural hybridity within Spain and with other cultures, as well as objects which reinforce the particulars of Spain’s local traditions. Scholars, such as Henry Kamen, generalize about the ‘broad mingling of styles in the decorative arts in Spain.’ Kamen suggests that the wide range of influences apparent in Spanish arts ‘is clear testimony to the limited impacts of the Italian Renaissance and the continuing survival of older forms, notably Mudéjar.’⁶⁶ Kamen is correct in stating that many Spanish art forms exhibit broad influences, but his blanket statement is inaccurate. Certain mediums absorbed Italian Renaissance influence, while others resisted change. Scholars lose this nuance by speaking of the decorative arts as one uniform group. In fact, there were variations between and even within each medium. Textiles, ceramics, architectural ornamentation, and even silk, velvet, and carpet weaving developed differently. By treating the decorative arts as a homogenous group, historians risk missing the intricacies of each medium. While art forms such as lusterware maintained ‘older’ Mudéjar forms, other mediums, such as velvet demonstrate direct correlation with Italian production. This thesis treats luxury art forms individually to allow for an in-depth analysis and a more nuanced approach to Spanish luxury arts.

⁶⁵ Paula Findlen, *Early Modern Things* (London: Routledge, 2013), 5.

⁶⁶ Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005), 61.

The majority of the images of decorative objects in this thesis belong to the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. I examined nearly 1000 examples of earthenware from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century in the Victoria and Albert collection alone, and another 300 from the Metropolitan Museum. A large number of these artefacts are earthenware pottery decorated in Spain's characteristic luster style, although some are polychrome maiolica and the museums have collections of tiles. Collections of silk and woven wool carpets are significantly smaller as few of these objects survived. The Victoria and Albert and the Metropolitan Museum have collections of about 200 pieces each of Spanish textiles from this period. In addition to the Victoria & Albert Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, I examined smaller digitized collections of other museums, like the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Walters Art Museum, the Cooper-Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum, the collection of the Hispanic Society of America, and other smaller institutions.

This thesis relies on digitized photographs of objects from the above-mentioned online museum collections. The photographs available from museums and other institutions that vary in quality, angle, lighting, colour, and size. This thesis has also relied on the museums' online collections for bibliographical information on each object, including approximate date of production. Although many institutions have remarkably large collections of ceramics, textiles, and other artefacts, I recognize that this thesis is based solely on the objects that individuals, families and later these institutions chose to collect and make available to the public through digital online collections, thus limiting the scope of this study.

These museums and collections have similar policies in place for the educational use of images. Reproductions of paintings or hand-decorated manuscripts used in this thesis are public domain. Major museums such as the Louvre, the Prado and the Germanisches Nationalmuseum permit the use of their images for educational purposes or provide a Creative Commons license.⁶⁷ Images of architectural structures in Spain are mainly drawn from the Casselman Archive of Islamic and Mudéjar Architecture in Spain. The University of Wisconsin digitized this vast collection. “The Libraries [at the University of Wisconsin] encourage the use of content in these collections for study, research, and teaching.”⁶⁸

The Metropolitan Museum’s website states, “The Materials are made available for limited non-commercial, educational, and personal use only, or for fair use as defined in the United States copyright laws.”⁶⁹ Likewise, the Victoria and Albert Museum allows the use of their content for educational purposes: “Content in which the V&A owns copyright (or related rights) may be downloaded and used free of charge but subject always to these Terms of Use. The permission granted by these Terms of Use is for ‘non-commercial’ use of the Content only (meaning any use that is not intended for or directed towards commercial advantage or private monetary compensation).”⁷⁰

Documentary sources are also addressed throughout the thesis but Chapter four in particular addresses the travel writing of visitors to Spain. Where possible, I have

⁶⁷ “Creative Commons: Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 Germany,” <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>

⁶⁸ “Copyright and Permissions,” *University of Wisconsin Digital Collections Center*, <http://uwdc.library.wisc.edu/about/copyright>.

⁶⁹ “Terms and Conditions,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, <http://www.metmuseum.org/information/terms-and-conditions>

⁷⁰ “Terms of Use,” *Victoria and Albert Museum*, <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/terms-and-conditions/>

translated their accounts myself. In some cases, the accounts of visitors from England, the Low Countries, or Italy are most readily available in Spanish. My translations are as literal as possible, only adding words in square brackets when the literal meaning was unclear.

Defining ‘Islamic’ art

Finally, a note on terminology: This thesis frequently mentions ‘Islamic art.’ It is impossible, and absurd, to speak of a single Islamic artistic style, as Islamic dynasties ruled diverse territories from Spain to India for many centuries.⁷¹ Despite the differences between geographical areas and across centuries, historians still refer to ‘Islamic art’ and the ‘Islamic world,’ as there are commonalities or consistencies between the distinct art forms produced by Islamic cultures.⁷² Decoration of the entire surface remained one of the prevalent and more or less constant features of Islamic decorative motifs through the Middle Ages, and across varied geographical locations. Islamic artists completely covered surfaces with motifs, typically not human-centred, and often employed geometric forms.⁷³ Islamic arts commonly feature vegetal forms and Arabic script. Small, portable decorative art objects were commonly produced by Islamic cultures. Many of the techniques involved in metal works, woodworking, glass, ceramics, rugs, and textiles originate in the Islamic world.

Furthermore, ‘Islamic art’ is a misleading term, as it does not necessarily refer to Islamic religious art specifically but rather the larger culture of Islam. Usually the term denotes art produced in any area in which Islam was the dominant religion. It is not a

⁷¹ Oleg Grabar, *Islamic Art and Beyond* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2006), 247-248.

⁷² See Grabar, *Islamic Art and Beyond*, 247-251.

⁷³ Grabar, *Islamic Art and Beyond*, 249.

comparable term to ‘Christian art’ or ‘Buddhist art’ as it is not necessarily religious in nature.⁷⁴ In referring to Islamic art on the Iberian Peninsula, then, this thesis refers to art created under the rule of Islamic peoples, and occasionally their distinctive influence on Christian material culture. This work will also refer to ‘Moorish’ or ‘Andalusi’ culture and artistic productions as well, to indicate particular forms or motifs that originated in the Spanish Islamic kingdoms. While a ‘Mudéjar’ is the term for a Muslim living under Spanish Christian rule, the term ‘Mudéjar’ in reference to artistic style denotes the ‘decorative arts based on Islamic models’ that became popular in Christian territories after the *Reconquista*.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, “From Secular to Sacred: Islamic Art in Christian Contexts,” in *Secular/Sacred 11th-16th Century: Works from the Boston Public Library and the Museum of Fine Arts*, ed. Nancy Netzer (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), 115.

⁷⁵ Amanda Wunder, “Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains in the Construction of Imperial Seville (1520-1635),” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64-2 (2003): 198.

Chapter One: Moorish and Islamic Influence in Iberian Textiles

Unlike paintings or sculpture, consumers in early modern Spain sought textiles as both coveted luxury objects and as utilitarian necessities. All levels of society required textiles and Iberian artisans produced them in vast quantities to meet the demand. Beyond their practical uses as clothing and furnishings, the wealthy also utilized textiles as important status symbols. Art historian Amanda Luyster explains the function of textiles in medieval and early modern society: ‘Textiles played a role in international trade as cross-cultural symbols of wealth and status, and therein as objects... which – despite or even because of their known origin in a foreign land – could be bought, manipulated, and displayed for various purposes.’⁷⁶ Since the early Middle Ages in both the Moorish and Christian kingdoms of Spain, wealthy elites commissioned opulent textiles woven with gold and silver thread and dyed with expensive fabric dyes. In Moorish and Christian societies, sumptuous garments demonstrated the wealth and status of individuals and courts often presented textiles as rewards to honour individuals.⁷⁷ Christian and Islamic religious orders were patrons of sumptuous silks, velvets, and rugs, as both faith communities prized luxury textiles.

Artisans began producing luxury silk textiles on the Iberian Peninsula soon after the Umayyad conquest in the eighth century. By the early modern period, textiles weavers drew influence from the preceding eight centuries of silk production, and various cultural influences during that time. Textiles were also the most portable luxury artefacts, as they were neither heavy, nor fragile. Domestic and foreign merchants traded textiles easily, allowing artistic styles and techniques to spread across political, cultural, and

⁷⁶ Amanda Luyster, “Cross-Cultural Style in the Alhambra: Textiles, Identity and Origins,” *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008): 360.

⁷⁷ Christopher Spring and Julie Hudson, *North African Textiles* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 19-20.

geographical boundaries during the medieval and early modern eras. Consequently, textiles are the most stylistically fluid of the decorative art forms addressed in this thesis. Weavers from different regions borrowed motifs and designs readily across traditional boundaries. Even within the general classification of textiles, however, there are variations. While silk demonstrates the most eclectic influences, velvet exhibits primarily Italian connections. The European taste for ‘oriental’ Islamic rugs encouraged the Spanish carpet industry to incorporate Ottoman designs.

This chapter will examine the stylistic developments in Spanish textile production after 1492. Very little scholarship addresses the development of Mudéjar textiles after the fall of Granada, leaving many to assume the industry declined, or ceased to exist. Yet, the crown did not repress Andalusí textiles as they did other ‘Islamic’ cultural practices. Fabric with Arabic script, rugs with Ottoman motifs, and traditional Mudéjar ornamentation were popular even in ecclesiastic settings and artists frequently depicted them in religious paintings. The continued use of Mudéjar motifs in silk and velvet ornamentation, and the introduction of oriental-inspired motifs from Italy and the Ottoman empire in carpets and other textiles may have contributed to the continued European view of Spain as an exotic or ‘oriental’ location.

Because textiles are perishable artefacts, however, those that have survived from the fifteenth and sixteenth century represent a portion of the different types and styles of textiles. Historians and museums have identified some of the most popular patterns based on the number of extant pieces. It can also be extremely hard to date fabric fragments. However, sometimes royal or church treasuries recorded the date textiles entered into

their collections or archaeologists can date them based on stratigraphic position.⁷⁸ Usually technique and stylistic characteristics will indicate provenance, but even these indicators can be misleading. This chapter relies primarily on dates ascribed by museums as the closest approximate date available.

Textile production on the Iberian Peninsula

By the sixteenth century, Spanish textiles had already absorbed countless cultural influences of the many civilizations who had inhabited the Iberian Peninsula: Visigoth Christian before the Arab invasion; Arab, Islamic and Coptic Christian elements spread through the Umayyad Empire; North African influence from the Berber dynasties of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; Byzantine and medieval Gothic elements from the Christian world; Islamic influence through the Nasrid connection to the Islamic world until 1492; and Italian Renaissance elements from trade connections. Before 711, Iberian artisans made only wool and linen textiles. Along with other artistic styles and technical knowledge, the Arab invasion brought sericulture and silk weaving to the peninsula. By the ninth century, Spanish silks apparently had an international market: Pope Gregory IV gave fourteen Andalusí silk textiles with silver thread to the Church of Saint Mark in Rome.⁷⁹

Stylistic elements passed easily throughout the unified Islamic world under the Umayyads, which encompassed the Iberian Peninsula, Northern Africa, the Middle East, and the Arabian Peninsula at its greatest extent. Influence from Syria is particularly notable in this period. Motifs used by Coptic Christian artists also travelled through the Umayyad network during this period, according to textile expert Jennifer Harris. She

⁷⁸ Patricia Baker, *Islamic Textiles* (London: The British Museum Press, 1995), 11.

⁷⁹ Jennifer Harris, *5000 Years of Textiles* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 176.

attributes the appearance of human figures in early Islamic Spanish textiles, proscribed by Sunni Hadith, to this Christian influence.⁸⁰ Along with local Andalusí artisans, silk weavers came from Bagdad and elsewhere in the Near East to set up shops in Islamic Spain. Eastern artisans brought with them stylistic trends and ornamentation traditions from across the Mediterranean. Byzantine influence can be seen in some embroidery styles up to the thirteenth century due to the Byzantine Christians' close contact with the Islamic world.⁸¹



Figure 1.1 - Woven Silk, 1100-1150, silk, weft-faced compound twill, 34cm x 24cm, Almeria, Spain, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 828-1894.

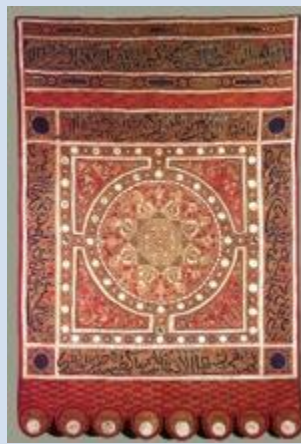


Figure 1.2 - Banner of Las Navas de Tolosa, early 13th century, silk thread, Spain, Museo de Talas Medievales, Burgos.



Figure 1.3 - Lampas Silk, 14th century, silk thread in lampas weave, 56cm x 47.5cm, Spain, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1312-1864.

Almoravid Dynasty 1062-1150 (Spain)	Almohad Caliphate 1150-1212 (in Spain)	Nasrid Dynasty 1232-1492
Common motifs: Kufic script, paired animals, palmettes, fine lines.	Common motifs: geometric or vegetal motifs, including interlace, lozenges, stars, leaves, palms, Kufic, no figural motifs.	Common motifs: architecturally derived motifs, 8-point star, lozenges, interlace motifs, vegetal motifs. Less Common: paired animals and Kufic script

⁸⁰ Harris, 177.

⁸¹ Harris, 200.

From 1062 until 1212, Berber dynasties from North Africa ruled much of Spain. The Almoravids, who ruled southern Iberia from 1062 until 1150, produced beautiful silks known as the ‘Bagdad group,’ or ‘Bagdad imitations’ because of their similarities to silks produced in Bagdad.⁸² Almoravid weavers employed a precise technique that focused on fine woven lines rather than masses of colour. These textiles are so delicate that they resemble a painted miniature.⁸³ Almoravid artisans also often used bands of Kufic script, a type of Arabic calligraphy, popular since the tenth century.⁸⁴ One of the most common ornamentations of the Almoravid period, however, is the ancient paired animal motif with palmettes, used in Persia since the third century.⁸⁵ In Almoravid tradition, the animal pairs (often paired lions, griffins, sphinxes, harpies, eagles, or peacocks) appear in large roundels organized in rows. The fragment in figure 1.1 is an example of an Almoravid paired animal silk, ornamented with peacocks centred on a palm tree and bands of Arabic inscription at the top and bottom.

A new Berber dynasty, the Almohads, replaced the Almoravids in 1150 and remained in power in Iberia until 1212. The Almohads, a pious Islamic dynasty, initially proscribed the use of silk and gold thread in textiles, and did not have a royal workshop for textiles.⁸⁶ Because of the Almohads’ reluctance toward silk production, fewer textiles survive from the Almohad period, particularly opulent ones.⁸⁷ Later in the dynasty, the Almohads lessened their restriction of lavish textiles, but remained strict about figural

⁸² Cristina Partearroyo “Almoravid and Almohad Textiles,” in *Al-Andalus: The Arts of Islamic Spain*, edited by Jerrilynn D. Dodds. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 105.

⁸³ Partearroyo, 105-106.

⁸⁴ Harris, 177.

⁸⁵ Partearroyo, 106.

⁸⁶ Spring and Hudson, 20.

⁸⁷ Partearroyo, 109.

representation, even that of animals.⁸⁸ As a result, interlace patterns, lozenges, rosettes, stars, polygons, asymmetrical leaves and palms, as well as Kufic script replace paired animal motifs in Almohad textiles (example in figure 1.2.)⁸⁹ Interestingly, both Almohad and Almoravid textiles have been found in contemporary or later Christian royal burials,⁹⁰ indicating that even during this early period, before Christian domination was secure, Christian rulers of northern Spain patronized the Moorish textile industry, although they were religious and political enemies of the Almohad and Almoravid dynasties.

By the thirteenth century, the *Reconquista* brought much of Spain under Christian rule. In 1251, James I of Aragon decreed that artisans of any religion could work in the Valencia region provided they pay a tax.⁹¹ Muslim artisans both in the region of Valencia and in Castile produced most of the cloth- particularly silk. Geometric and other non-figural motifs, including interlacing horizontal, vertical, and diagonal lines, stars, and rosettes, remained popular in the thirteenth century. By this time, silk textiles were costly luxury items and the crown began restricting them with sumptuary laws. King Alfonso X (1252-1284) issued a seven-part law code, *Las Siete Partidas*, in 1265, part of which concerned sumptuary laws. For example, the law stated that the clergy of his household should ‘wear conservative clothing except for prelates or the canon of a cathedral.’ The legal text went on to note:

No grandee, knight, or any other man whomsoever may have more than four suits of clothing each year; and those may not bear ermine, drawnwork, silk, gold, or

⁸⁸ Partearroyo, 109.

⁸⁹ Partearroyo, 110.

⁹⁰ Partearroyo lists many examples of this in her article “Almoravid and Almohad Textiles.”

⁹¹ Timothy Husband, “Valencia Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century: Notes and Documents,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29, no. 1 (Summer, 1970): 12.

silver thread, elaborate needle-work, gold embroidery, pelts, trimmings, or any regal or elaborate material whatever except fur and cloth...⁹²

Textiles were also important royal symbols and Alfonso X decreed, ‘The king may wear as many suits of clothing as he wishees’ and:

No one may wear sandal or silk except the King or a noble knight... no one may wear marten fur except the King, a noble, a grandee, or a bridegroom if he is the son of a grandee; no one [except the king] may wear silver, crystal, buttons, long chains, ermine, or otter on their cloaks or robes except around the edges of their mantle.⁹³

Monarchs periodically reissued sumptuary laws from the thirteenth century onward. Notably, Ferdinand and Isabella issued a sumptuary law in 1494, which the monarchy reconfirmed in 1534 and 1586.⁹⁴

From the twelfth century onward, Nasrid artisans in Granada also had a thriving industry. Borrowing motifs from architectural ornamentation was common practice and Nasrid weavers sometimes based decorative patterns on details of Alhambra palace. By the fourteenth century, the animal and bird motifs, as well as Kufic script of earlier centuries were much less common.⁹⁵ Granadan weavers also frequently employed lozenges, 8-point stars, interlace elements, intersected arches, and vegetal forms. As the fourteenth century progressed, arabesques and floral forms, eight-sided circles, gothic trefoils, and quatrefoils became common (example in figure 1.3.)⁹⁶

⁹² “A Thirteenth-Century Castilian Sumptuary Law,” *The Business Historical Review* 37, no.1/2 (1963): 99-100.

⁹³ “A Thirteenth-Century Castilian Sumptuary Law,” 100.

⁹⁴ Vicens Vives, *An Economic History of Spain*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 353.

⁹⁵ Harris, 178.

⁹⁶ Harris, 178.



Figure 1.4 - Length of Brocaded Velvet, late 15th Century, silk velvet brocaded with metal-wrapped thread, 375.9 cm x 58.4 cm, Venice, Italy, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12.49.8, www.metmuseum.org.

By the fifteenth century, influence from Western Europe became more prevalent in Spanish textiles, brought to the peninsula through trade and migrant Italian craftsmen working in Spain. Italian artisans brought the practice of velvet weaving to the peninsula,⁹⁷ and *nué*, a pictorial embroidery technique based on Renaissance painting often used for ecclesiastical garments in the Netherlands, France, and Spain.⁹⁸ Italian and Spanish weavers frequently employed the ogee or ogive shape and central pomegranate or artichoke elements (illustrated in the

Italian velvet in figure 1.4). Spain was becoming more connected to the Christian world in this period but also remained in contact with the Islamic world through Mediterranean trade. Spanish and Italian merchants traded Catalan cloth all around the Mediterranean in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, some even going directly to the Levant. Economic historian Eliahu Ashtor cites records of 400 bales of Valencian cloth brought to Alexandria on Genoese ships around 1400.⁹⁹ By 1495, regular trade was re-established with Egypt for the first time in a half century, and a Catalan consulate was re-instated in Alexandria.¹⁰⁰ Although scholarship on textiles in the sixteenth century is lacking, this was a particularly dynamic period for silk, velvet, and rug production on the Iberian

⁹⁷ Harris, 176.

⁹⁸ Harris, 205.

⁹⁹ Eliahu Ashtor, "Catalan Cloth on the Late Medieval Mediterranean Market," *Journal of European History* 17, no. 2 (1988): 233.

¹⁰⁰ Vives, 301.

Peninsula, as new influences from Italy and the Islamic East combined with traditional Mudéjar motifs.

Christian Use of Islamic Textiles

Historians have argued that Spanish Christians brought textiles and other luxury objects back to the Christian kingdoms as triumphal souvenirs during the *Reconquista*, as Christian crusaders had returned with booty from holy land.¹⁰¹ Certainly, Christian Spaniards acquired some spoils as trophies during the *Reconquista* of the Middle Ages. However, the ‘conquest’ paradigm dismisses the effects of the vibrant trade between Christian and Islamic Spain during the Middle Ages.¹⁰² Historian Olivia R. Constable discusses the medieval trade between Andalusian merchants and northern Christian cities. *Le guide de Pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle*, a guide for pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela from around 1140, mentions Islamic textiles in markets en route,¹⁰³ and Constable posits that these textiles came from al-Andalus. Castile in particular had ‘long-established physical and economic connections to al-Andalus.’¹⁰⁴ The Christian elite in northern Spanish kingdoms certainly sought sumptuous textiles and other decorative objects produced by Moorish artisans. As mentioned, Islamic fabric from the ninth to twelfth centuries has been found in abundance in the tombs of Christian bishops, kings, and other nobility in Spain.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ For example see Blair and Bloom, “From Secular to Sacred.”

¹⁰² According to Constable, there was a shift in Andalusian trade to a north-south axis in the thirteenth century. Olivia R. Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 14.

¹⁰³ Constable, *Trade and Traders*, 45.

¹⁰⁴ Constable, *Trade and Traders*, 46.

¹⁰⁵ See Florence Lewis May, *Silk Textiles of Spain: Eighth to Fifteenth Century* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1957), 1-56 for many examples.

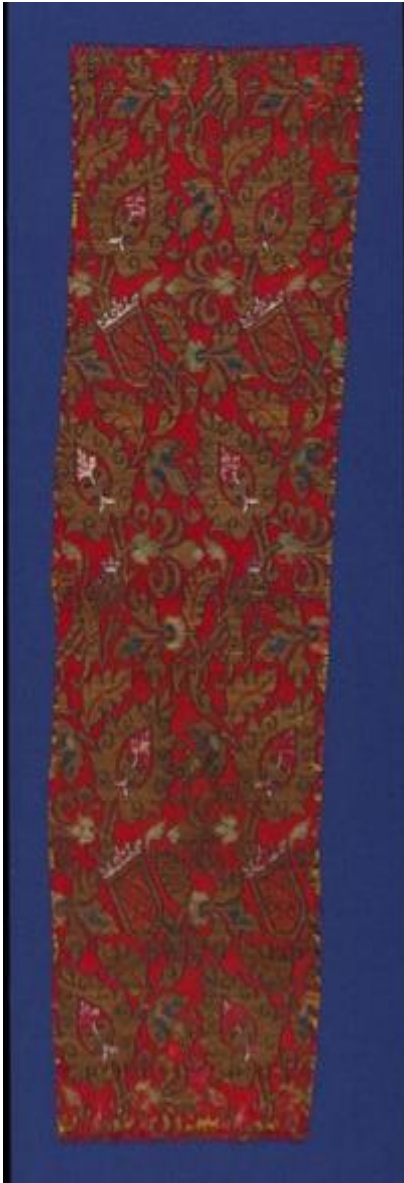


Figure 1.5 - Woven Silk, 1360-1420, Lampas woven silk and silver gilt thread, 62.5 cm x 21 cm, Granada, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, T.285-1978



Figure 1.6 - Textile, 15th century, Brocade, silk and metal thread, 126.7 x 55.6 cm, Venice, Italy, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 46.156.121, www.metmuseum.org

The artistic traditions of the Andalusí Muslim population can be isolated to some extent, although the cross-cultural exchange between the Christian and Moorish populations of Spain make this a difficult task. Christian traditions absorbed Islamic elements from both within and outside of Spain. Moreover, weavers blended indigenous

Andalusi textile traditions with new European Gothic elements. For example, a *Silk Lampas* (figure 1.5), woven in Andalusi territory, includes the Nasrid shield with Arabic inscription but also demonstrates Italian influence.¹⁰⁶ Medieval Italian silk weavers were influenced by imported silks from Central Asia, adorned with lotus flowers on scrolling stems (perhaps similar to figure 1.6).



Figure 1.7 - Dress Textile, 14th Century, silk, 69.5 cm x 35.5 cm, Lucca, Italy, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1279-1864.

Borrowing from Eastern designs was a common practice among Italian craftsmen. Europeans developed a taste for Eastern luxury arts after the Crusades first brought Western Christians in contact with Islamic-made luxury goods on a large scale. Figure 1.7, a piece of Italian silk produced in the fourteenth century illustrates the practice of incorporating Eastern ornamentation into European silks. Italian weavers integrated gold mythical beasts and exotic foliage into symmetrical European designs. These

designs, common in Venice and Lucca, often incorporated animals or other creatures such as dragons. By the fifteenth century, Italian city-states engaged in an active trade with the Middle East. In the sixteenth century, Italian artisans began copying Ottoman

¹⁰⁶ Monique King and Donald King, *European Textiles in the Keir Collection 400BC to 1800AD* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), 60.

decorative styles (as well as other decorative goods coming from the East) in order to compete with imported exotic goods in European markets. Venice, in particular, had strong mercantile connections to the Ottoman Empire and shared artistic influence across cultural and religious boundaries.

Some scholars have interpreted the exchange of textiles between Christian Spain and al-Andalus as ‘cultural appropriation’ of ornamental objects across ‘frontiers,’ similar to patterns seen elsewhere between Europe and the Islamic East.¹⁰⁷ In Spain, however, this cross-cultural exchange did not function in the same way as it did elsewhere in trade between “East” and “West.” Spanish Christians did not view locally produced Moorish silks as foreign, exotic goods. The proximity of these two cultures led to a level of interchange not seen elsewhere in Europe and the Islamic world. Even during the Middle Ages when the kingdoms of Christian Spain were often at war with al-Andalus, trade and artistic exchange continued between Christian and Moorish Spain. Spanish Christians sought luxury goods produced by artisans in al-Andalus and these imported items influenced Christian artisans since at least the twelfth century

Indeed, in Castile and al-Andalus, craftsmen worked in such close proximity and borrowed so much from one another that they created shared culture - a pan-Iberian aesthetic – in the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁸ As the reconquest of the peninsula progressed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a large number of Muslim artists came under Christian rule and Gothic styles further influenced the Moorish crafts. Although artistic styles varied by region, stylistic elements on the peninsula merged to such an extent that

¹⁰⁷ Maria Judith Feliciano, “Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings? A Reassessment of Andalusí Textiles in Thirteenth-Century Castilian Life and Ritual” in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden: Brill Academic Publisher, 2005), 131.

¹⁰⁸ Feliciano, 131.

two separate, Islamic and Christian textile traditions, cannot be identified on the peninsula by the time of the fall of Granada, but rather the styles of textile ornamentation of the peninsula had merged into an eclectic but nonetheless intertwined aesthetic.¹⁰⁹

Spanish Textiles after 1492

In the sixteenth century, silk remained the second largest textile industry in Spain after wool.¹¹⁰ In the period immediately following 1492, Moorish weavers were still responsible for the rugs and silk produced on the peninsula. In fact, when Christian settlers moved into former Morisco villages after the conquest, they often allowed the mulberry trees used in the silk industry to wither and die, because they had little interest in sericulture.¹¹¹ Most of the Morisco peasantry remained after the conquest, however, and Granada continued to be the largest center for silk production in Spain until the Moriscos were expelled from area in 1570.¹¹² The Italian visitor, Navagero, observed in Granada in 1524 that, ‘the majority of merchants trade in all kinds of silk which is later send to all parts of Spain.’¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ See Feliciano, “Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings?,” Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, and Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Art from Spain*, (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), 75.

¹¹⁰ Spain exported large quantities of raw wool to northern Europe: approximately 2,443,750 kilos a year were exported to Flanders in the sixteenth century. See Falah Hassan Abed Al-Hussein, *Trade and Business Community in Old Castile Medina Del Campo 1500-1575* (Norwich: University of East Anglia, 1982), 55.

¹¹¹ Vassberg, *Land and Society*, 179.

¹¹² Smaller silk-weaving centers in this period existed in Toledo and Valencia. Al-Hussein, 55.

¹¹³ Navagero, quoted by Al-Hussein, 55.

Scholarship of Moorish and Spanish textiles tends to focus on the medieval



Figure 1.8 - Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina, *Saint Catherine*, 1505-1510, oil on canvas, 212 cm x 112 cm, Prado Museum, Madrid.

period and emphasize the repression of Moorish elements and inclusion of new European influence in the sixteenth century. According to art historian and archeologist Heather Ecker, ‘all goods and styles associated with the Muslims were repressed in an effort to achieve political unity through cultural homogeneity.’¹¹⁴ This thesis extends the study of Iberian textiles into the sixteenth century, demonstrating that the Spanish elite and even the church actively encouraged Moorish-influenced decorative goods in the sixteenth century. The repression of Islamic heritage was far from uniform,

particularly in the case of silks and Islamic rugs, and to a lesser extent ceramics and architecture, which

chapter two and three will examine.

Elsewhere in Europe, the elite class employed imported luxury arts from the East to articulate their wealth and power. The prevalence and prestige of oriental luxury arts in Europe is suggested by many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings. European artists depicted orientalised human figures, Islamic settings, and architecture in what Julian Raby dubbed the ‘Oriental Mode.’¹¹⁵ Italian artists in particular included oriental

¹¹⁴ Heather Ecker, *Caliphs and Kings* (Washington: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Smithsonian Institution, 2004), 58.

¹¹⁵ Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode* (London: Islamic Art Publications, 1982), 2.

elements in paintings for many reasons.¹¹⁶ Most obviously, Eastern wares symbolized status and wealth, and quantified the prestige of the sitter or patron. Some artists also included goods from the East, as well as Eastern locations in their paintings out of a general interest by artists and patrons in the exotic during a time of global exploration and changing knowledge of the world.

Italian artists frequently included depictions of valuable, oriental goods in paintings in the early modern period, partially due to extensive trade with the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, Spanish painters sometimes depicted Islamic goods in their paintings, particularly luxury textiles, such as silks and rugs. In the early sixteenth century, some Spanish artists also incorporated popular Mudéjar clothing and cloth into their paintings, for example, *Saint Catherine* (figure 1.8) by Fernando Yáñez del Almedina. Yáñez, along with Fernando Llanos (discussed below), has been credited with bringing Italian Renaissance painting to Spain. Both Yáñez and Llanos lived and worked in Italy near the end of the fifteenth century, and may have studied under Leonardo da Vinci. They returned to Spain sometime in the early years of the sixteenth century. While Yáñez remained strictly a follower of da Vinci, Llanos incorporated eclectic Florentine and Venetian influences.¹¹⁷

Saint Catherine was a princess and scholar from Alexandria, martyred in the fourth century. Although she is a Christian saint, her Islamic-inspired clothing in this painting could signify her origins in Alexandria, which was under Islamic rule in the sixteenth century. Indeed, the portrayal of Christian holy lands presented issues for medieval and Renaissance biblically inspired painting, since most Christian holy sites had

¹¹⁶ For a full discussion, see Raby, *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode*.

¹¹⁷ Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain 1500-1700* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 11-12.

come under Islamic rule during this period. Arabic writing gave a biblical subject authenticity—if not *historical*, at least *oriental*. Venetian artists encountered the same issue when portraying their patron saint, Mark, also from Alexandria. In order to give their works a sense of authenticity, artists associated the landscape or figures with contemporary Islamic and Arabic elements. In this case, the Spanish artist used local Islamic garments to add the ‘oriental’ element to his painting, likely painting the textile from life.



Figure 1.9 – Fragment, 15-16th century, silk, metallic thread, 19.2 cm x 29.7 cm, Spain, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, 1902-1-301-a/c, <http://www.si.edu/>.

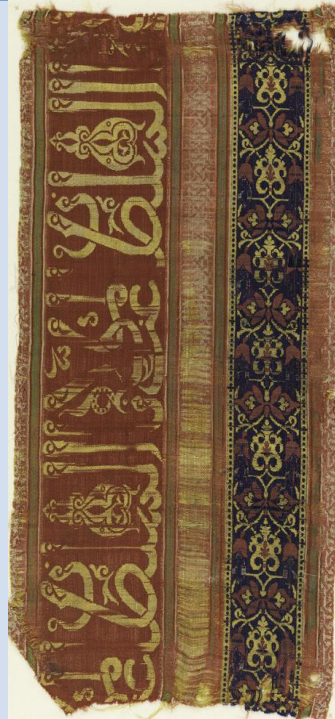


Figure 1.10 – Fragment, 15-16th Century, silk, 24 x 47.6 cm, Spain, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, 1902-1-300, <http://www.si.edu/>.



Figure 1.11 – Detail of tiling and plasterwork, Salón de Comares, Alhambra Palace, Granada.

The Spanish nobility certainly preserved and repurposed existing Andalusí architecture in *Reconquista* territories, but Christian and Muslim artisans in Castile and Aragon went a step further, copying and reproducing Andalusí works. The Mudéjar style became quite fashionable among the Christian elite and weavers incorporated Mudéjar motifs well into the sixteenth century – making it difficult to distinguish between Nasrid art produced under Islamic rule, and Mudéjar productions created under Christian rule.¹¹⁸ Figure 1.9 and 1.10, for example, both have an ambiguous date sometime in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Both silks are of a popular style sometimes called ‘Alhambra silks’ because of their resemblance to mosaic bands on the walls of the Alhambra (figure 1.11), or sometimes known simply as ‘striped Granadan cloth.’¹¹⁹ These silks often employ red and green cloth with gold thread, and were adorned with repeated bands of arabesques, interlacy, and Kufic script. Figure 1.9 is adorned with a simple pattern of interlace motifs in gold, and green stripes, with red Kufic script on a white background. Figure 1.10 features more elaborate cursive Arabic writing in large gold script, with complicated arabesques between the letters. Although both pieces exhibit overtly Islamic ornamentation – linear decorative motifs and, most obviously, Arabic script – the continuity in textile production from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century has led to their uncertain dates.

¹¹⁸ Rosser-Owen, 75.

¹¹⁹ May, 193.



Figure 1.12 - Fernando Llanos, *Death of The Virgin*, 1507-10, oil on panel, 194 cm x 227 cm, Valencia Cathedral.



Figure 1.13 - Detail of figure 1.12.

Weavers in the city of Granada produced the majority of the ‘Alhambra silks’ but other production centers, including Malaga on the southern coast, began producing them in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹²⁰ This type of silk was widespread and well known in Europe as French and English as well as Spanish documents mention it in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹²¹ When Philip the Fair (husband to Doña Juana of Castile) visited Granada in September 1502, he noted silk industry, and particularly the ‘Moorish’-style silk found there:

Granada is strongly commercial, dealing principally with silks, but they trade and buy most of these silks to be brought to Italy, to make silk cloth. The place where they buy is called Zacatín. Beyond this location is an area called the *alcaicería* (raw silk exchange) where they sell silk cloth manufactured in the Morisco style, which are beautiful and in a multitude of colours and diverse styles, and in back there is a large market. These two are the most frequented and large markets in Granada.¹²²

Contemporary Christian paintings often depicted ‘Alhambra’ silks, in a similar fashion to the painting of Saint Catherine (pictured above.) In Fernando Llanos’ depiction of *The Death of the Virgin* (figure 1.12), Llanos includes an ‘Alhambra’ silk funeral pall (detail in figure 1.13) with banded decorations of arabesques and Kufic script. Like Yáñez, Llanos includes an Islamic object in a distinctly Christian religious painting, likely due to his training in Renaissance Italy. Unlike Italian painters, though, who included references to the ‘East’ with their oriental objects, Llanos uses a local Islamic fabric in his biblical

¹²⁰ May, 194.

¹²¹ May, 193.

¹²² ‘Grenade est fort marchande, principalement des soyes, car les marchans y achattent la pluspart des soyes que l’on maine en Italie, pour faire les draps de soyes. Le lieu où on les vendt est nonuné le Sacquatin. Auprès de ce lieu est une place appellée l’Allecasserie, où on vendt les draps de soye ouvrés à la morisque, qui sont moult beaux pour la multitude des coleurs et la diversité des ouvrages, et en font une grande marchandise. Ces deux sont les plus fréquentées et grandes marchandises de Grenade’

Antoine de Lalaing, “Voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne, en 1501,” in *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, vol.1, ed. Louis Prosper Gachard (Brussels, 1876), 205.

scene. Although not a reference to biblical lands, this luxurious silk would still denote status and wealth appropriate for an image of the Virgin Mary.



Figure 1.14 - Cope of Constable, silk made 1330-1450, cope made after 1492, Burgos Cathedral.

The acceptance of Mudéjar style in Spain went far beyond representation of historical Christian subject matter. The *Cope of Constable*, (figure 1.14) is made of ‘Alhambra’ style silk, decorated with Arabic calligraphy, produced under Nasrid rule. The Arabic script reads, “Glory to our Lord the Sultan.”¹²³ This cope was fashioned from Andalusí silk after the fall of Granada, and presented to the Burgos Cathedral by Pedro Fernández de Velasco, the Catholic Monarchs’ viceroy of Castile.¹²⁴ Although strikingly Islamic, this vestment would have been used in Christian religious service. Islamic art expert Mariam Rosser-Owen suggests that Spanish Christians’ repurposing of Andalusí fabric was partly triumphal, but Christians also admired that Nasrid silk as luxurious

¹²³ Cristina Partearroyo, “Pluvial,” in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 336.

¹²⁴ Rosser-Owen, 75.

works of art.¹²⁵ More than simple admiration, and triumphalism, these motivations combined with Christian Spain's proximity and deep familiarity with Andalusí culture, made this an acceptable garment for a religious setting.

High-ranking church officials, such as Abbot Fray Luis de Estrada even deemed Andalusí fabrics from earlier ages acceptable as religious vestments in the sixteenth century. In 1558, de Estrada opened the tomb of Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada (a thirteenth-century archbishop of Toledo.) De Rada was buried in vestments of Andalusí origin that had Arabic script woven into them.¹²⁶ De Estrada does not mention the Arabic script or Andalusí origin of these vestments, but rather describes them as sumptuous, 'pontifical' robes.¹²⁷ Spanish and Islamic art historian Maria Judith Feliciano suggests that the Abbot did not recognize the distinctly Islamic features of the vestments. Most interestingly though, De Estrada used the word 'pontifical' to describe the vestments suggesting an appropriateness beyond Spanish Mudéjar culture, perhaps specifically because they conformed to an 'Eastern' conceptualization of authentic Christian vestments, as seen in Italian painting and even in the Spanish depiction of Saint Catherine (figure 1.8). The use of Islamic fabric in religious vestment and Christian painting points to an acceptance based on trends in Europe rather than a simple integration of Moorish traditions into Christian Spain.

¹²⁵ Rosser-Owen, 75.

¹²⁶ Feliciano, 122.

¹²⁷ D. Vicente de la Fuente, *Elogio de arzobispo D. Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada* (Madrid: Imprente de Jose Rodriguez, 1882), 101-102.



Weavers modified and adapted some Andalusí textile designs under Christian patronage, such as the uniquely Spanish design on a silk fragment (figure 1.16), which is not found elsewhere in Europe or the Islamic world. Many museum collections hold similar pieces and its prevalence among extant fabric pieces indicates that it was a popular design. Some historians have suggested that weavers under Christian rule based the design on the Nasrid lion and lotus design of earlier Nasrid silks (figure 1.15), which

had a lion, shield, and lotus, but in a different composition. Mariam Rosser-Owen suggests that weavers rearranged the iconography of the earlier medieval Moorish textile, to indicate the triumph of Christianity over Islam. A similar silk, dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century (figure 1.17) throws Rosser-Owen's theory and the symbolic intentions of the artist into question. The earlier (albeit ambiguous) dating of the woven silk in figure 1.17 indicates that artisans produced silks with very similar motifs long before the fall of Granada.

If the date of the silk in figure 1.17 is correct, then the artisans responsible for the sixteenth century silk did not modify the design as dramatically as Rosser-Owen suggests; The mirrored lion silks actually show much more continuity with older Nasrid designs than scholars have typically acknowledged. In the newer textile (figure 1.16), the lions stand above an upturned shield and 'trample' on pomegranates.¹²⁸ Although Rosser-Owen posits that this design symbolizes a religious triumph – Christianity over Islam – this textile may actually represent a Castilian (symbolized by the lion) triumph over Nasrid Granada (symbolized by the pomegranate.) A subtle distinction—but although the Catholic Monarch garnered papal approval for their conquest by couching it in religious terms, this textile really expresses political as opposed to religious triumph. The Catholic Monarchs sometimes used the pomegranate in reference to the conquered Granadan state, but not the Islamic religion. Certainly, silk weavers could have chosen other, more appropriate, motifs had they wished to symbolize Islam and Christianity rather than Castile and the Nasrid dynasty.

¹²⁸ Rosser-Owen, 91.



Figure 1.18 - Textile, 15th-16th century, silk, 32.5 x 42.2 cm, Italy or Spain, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, 1902-1-731, <http://www.si.edu/>.

It is also important to keep in mind that although the pomegranate could symbolize Granada, it also had been a popular motif in textiles and other decorative arts for centuries. A piece of velvet (figure 1.18) made in either Spain or Italy (velvet production in regions of Spain and Italy during this period was so similar that provenance of certain velvets cannot be determined.¹²⁹) illustrates one common pomegranate motif.

Spanish Carpet Production

Although carpet weavers were active, and exporting to foreign markets, by the twelfth century, historians know very little about the carpet weaving industry in Spain before the fifteenth century. Only fragments of carpets dated before 1400 exist but patrons in the West already had an appreciation for Moorish rugs by the thirteenth century: Spanish rugs were noted in the streets and at Westminster when Eleanor of Castile married Prince Edward of England in 1255, and Pope John XXII (1244-134) purchased Spanish carpets

¹²⁹ Although, Italian velvet – often made from raw Spanish silk – fetched a higher price on Spanish markets. One source indicates that 1 yard of Florentine crimson velvet fetched 1450 maravedís in 1544, while the equivalent Castilian velvet sold for 816 maravedís in 1539, and 868 maravedís in 1551. See Al-Hussein, 57.

for the palace at Avignon.¹³⁰ By the fifteenth century though, there are many surviving textual references to Spanish carpets and extant examples of rugs.¹³¹

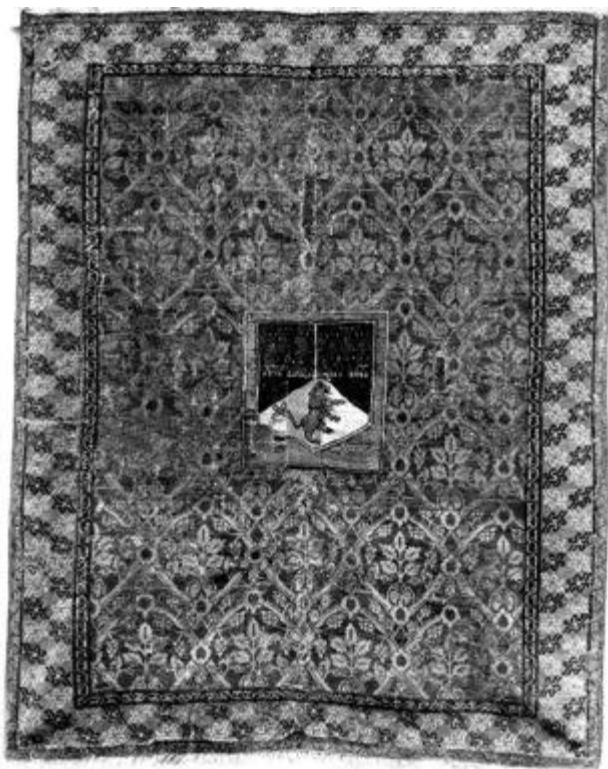


Figure 1.19 - Carpet with Coat of Arms, 15th-16th century, Wool, 198.1 x 149.9 cm, Spain, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.190.268, www.metmuseum.org.

According to Islamic carpet expert Daniel Walker, Mudéjar workshops produced all the carpets woven in this period, and the main centers of carpet production were in the region of Murcia, primarily Letur, Lietor, Hellin, and Alcaraz.¹³² Murcian artisans decorated carpets with a mixture of local Moorish motifs, royal coats of arms, Gothic or Renaissance elements, and themes of Ottoman origin.¹³³ Indeed, carpet weaving was particularly important to the Islamic world because Muslims intended the small, ornate

¹³⁰ M. S. Dimand, "Two Fifteenth Century Hispano-Moresque Rugs," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22, no. 10 (June, 1964): 342-343.

¹³¹ Daniel Walker, "Carpet," in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 342.

¹³² Walker, 342.

¹³³ Walker, 342.

carpets for use in Islamic prayer. Despite the Moorish origins of Spanish carpets as well as the apparent Ottoman influence, most Murcian carpets were purchased by Christian patrons. The carpet weaving industry of Murcia peaked in the fifteenth century and according to Heather Ecker, the commissions from Crown of Aragon and its aristocracy contributed greatly to Murcia's success.¹³⁴ Ecker does not comment on patronage from the Crown of Castile in her analysis, but it seems likely that Castilian nobles would also have patronized the carpet industry, and especially since Murcia became part of Castile from the fourteenth century onward. In fact, Castilian coats of arms appeared frequently on carpets in the fifteenth century (for example, figure 1.19).¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Ecker, 104.

¹³⁵ Walker, 342.



Figure 1.20 – Joan de Burgunya, *Virgin and Child with St. John in a Landscape*, ca. 1520, panel, 181 cm x 127 cm, Museo de Arte de Catalunya, Barcelona.



Figure 1.21 – ‘Holbein’ Rug, 16th-17th century, wool, 157.5 x 101.6 cm, Turkey, Philadelphia Museum, 1955-65-3, www.philamuseum.org.



Figure 1.22 – Detail of figure 1.20



Figure 1.23 – Detail of figure 1.21

Trade with Italy and the Near East brought Ottoman rugs to Spain from the mid-fifteenth century onward,¹³⁶ though they were likely quite expensive and rare. An Ottoman rug must have been available to painter Joan de Burgunya in the early sixteenth century, as he included a rather detailed small pattern Holbein carpet (an example can be seen in figure 1.21) in his *Virgin and Child with St. John and Landscape* (figure 1.20). Burgunya, although born in Strasbourg, was active in Catalonia from 1510 to 1525. His artistic style drew on Flemish and Italian sources and he may have spent time in Naples.¹³⁷ This carpet appears to have been painted from life, as it is quite detailed (see figures 1.22 and 1.23). Although Burgunya may have utilized a Spanish copy as a model, the artist depicted a distinctly Ottoman rug pattern rather than a Mudéjar design—probably because Ottoman rugs were more fashionable and widely depicted in European art.

Murcian weavers copied Ottoman examples, particularly the octagon and star device. Spanish weavers sometimes copied Ottoman designs directly, and modern viewers can only distinguish Spanish copies by the distinctive Spanish knot technique.¹³⁸ Alternatively, artisans incorporated traditional Mudéjar framing and border motifs, like the zigzag stripes used in contemporary Spanish silk ornamentation.¹³⁹ Buyers would not have mistaken local copies for real Ottoman rugs, but would have recognized them as Ottoman ‘types’, giving these Spanish copies a similar exotic appeal.¹⁴⁰ The comparative nature of this study demonstrates that unmediated sharing between the Ottoman Empire

¹³⁶ Dorothy Shepherd, “A Fifteenth-Century Spanish Carpet,” *The Bulletin of Cleveland Museum of Art* 41, no. 8 (Oct., 1954): 189.

¹³⁷ Brown, 15.

¹³⁸ Rosser-Owen, 94-97.

¹³⁹ Shepherd, 189, Rosser-Owen, 94.

¹⁴⁰ Rosser-Owen, 96.

and Spain seems to be unique to the rug industry. In many other luxury art mediums, Italian artisans borrowed motifs from Ottoman and other Eastern artistic tradition but in Spain only the carpets show such direct connections to the distant Ottoman Empire. These cultural connections to the Ottoman Empire may have arrived through mutual trade with Italy – although Spain did engage in some direct trade with the Levant.¹⁴¹

		
<p>Figure 1.24- Carpet, 1450-1500, woollen pile on woollen warps and wefts, 228.6 cm x 162.5 cm, Spain, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 131-1905.</p>	<p>Figure 1.25 - Panel, 16th Century, silk, metal wrapped thread; cut and voided velvet, brocaded, 185.4 cm x 66 cm, Turkey, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.22.8a, www.metmuseum.org.</p>	<p>Figure 1.26 - (detail of figure 1.4) - Length of Brocaded Velvet, late 15th Century, silk velvet brocaded with metal-wrapped thread, 374.7 × 59.1 cm, Venice, Italy, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12.49.8, www.metmuseum.org.</p>

¹⁴¹ Vives, 301.

Spanish copies provided buyers with a more affordable version of an exotic, imported carpet, meeting demand for imported rugs from the Islamic world.¹⁴² While Italian artisans skilfully copied many oriental luxury goods, Italy never developed a native rug industry, giving Spain an economic advantage in this medium. The carpet pictured in figure 1.24 is actually a copy of an Ottoman silk design (illustrated in figure 1.25), which originated as a copy of a common Italian silk (figure 1.26.)¹⁴³ Mediterranean trade connected the artistic traditions of Spain and Italy with the Islamic world. Popular designs could be extremely fluid among luxury adornment; artists shared motifs between mediums – silk and rugs – in addition to appropriating stylistic elements from other regions, religions, and cultures.



Figure 1.27- Carpet, 1450-1500, wool pile on wool warps, 205 cm x 123 cm, Alcázar, Spain, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 784-1905.



Figure 1.28 - Wheel Rug, 15th-16th Century, wool and possibly goat hair, 248.9 x 135.9 cm, Turkey, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943-40-67, www.philamuseum.org.

¹⁴² Rosser-Owen, 97.

¹⁴³ Rosser-Owen, 97.

Certainly, Spain received some of its external Islamic influence through Italian silks, but in the absence of Italian imitations, Iberian rugs demonstrate a direct connection to the Ottoman Empire. Although Ottoman rugs may have arrived through Italian traders, their exotic origins made these expensive and highly coveted rugs particularly desirable to Spanish patrons. Another copy of a common Ottoman design is illustrated in Figure 1.27, a large pattern Holbein carpet (known as a wheel carpet in Spain). Holbein carpets (as in figure 1.28) are an Ottoman design that got their name from German painter Hans Holbein, who frequently included them in his paintings. Spanish artisans continued to produce these carpets until at least the late sixteenth century; yet, the Iberian rug industry of this period is largely absent from scholarship. Another Spanish carpet, produced in the late sixteenth century (figure 1.29), is an imitation of a small-pattern Ottoman Holbein carpet. A representative example of an authentic Ottoman small-pattern Holbein is reproduced in figure 1.30. Spanish weavers modified the design slightly and incorporated Spanish interlace borders borrowed from silk design, but the essential pattern remains consistent with contemporary Ottoman designs.



Although the Spanish state was suppressing indigenous Islamic cultural traditions during the 1500s, Spanish artisans continued to produce copies of Islamic prayer rugs, imitating the Habsburgs' biggest commercial, political, and religious rival – the Ottoman Empire – until the end of the sixteenth century. Italian and Northern European artists frequently depicted luxurious, oriental carpets, in vogue in Italy – and across Europe – during the Renaissance. While Italy never developed an indigenous carpet industry, Spanish weavers had the skills and raw materials necessary to do so because of the Islamic heritage of most of their artists, allowing Spanish craftsmen to capitalize on the European market for luxury goods from the East.

Spanish carpets maintained their status as exotic luxury items throughout the sixteenth century. Even though Spain's converted Muslim population produced most Iberian carpets, weavers employed foreign, exotic motifs rather than local Mudéjar traditions. Spain's Islamic carpets catered to European fashion and taste for valuable oriental wares, rather than serving as an unwanted reminder of Spain's Islamic heritage. Europeans felt comfortable employing the exotic, Eastern motifs adorning Islamic rugs as expressions of personal wealth and Italian merchants imported and traded these carpets widely. Thus, Spanish copies provided an acceptable outlet for indigenous Islamic traditions in Spain. Weavers combined remnants of Spain's Mudéjar aesthetic, particularly the border motifs, almost seamlessly into new designs from the East, which were in vogue in Europe. Spanish merchants exported goods to the rest of Europe that outsiders associated with Spain's Islamic heritage and the Islamic East more generally. While the crown repressed Moorish elements within its borders, and attempted to project an ultra-Catholic image to the rest of Europe, merchants simultaneously exported seemingly Islamic or oriental goods abroad.



Figure 1.31 - Diego Velázquez, *Joseph's Bloody Coat Brought to Jacob*, 1630, oil on canvas, 223 x 250 cm, Monasterio de San Lorenzo, El Escorial.



Figure 1.32 - Lotto Carpet, 16th Century, wool; symmetrically knotted pile, 217.2 cm x 130.2 cm, Turkey, Metropolitan Museum of the Arts, 08.167.1, www.metmuseum.org.

Spanish Baroque painting, influenced by the Italian Oriental Mode, sometimes included oriental elements as well.¹⁴⁴ Diego Velázquez's painting *Joseph's Bloody Coat Brought to Jacob* (figure 1.31) reveals the influence of Velázquez's travels to Italy the

¹⁴⁴ See Raby, *Venice, Durer and the Oriental Mode*.

previous year where he had studied the masters in Venice and Rome. Among another elements drawn from Italian sources, Velazquez included an oriental rug in his painting, a common practice in Italian and Northern Europe. Although not painted with precision (indicating perhaps that the artist did not paint the carpet from life), the carpet appears to be similar to the Lotto type carpet (Ottoman example shown in figure 1.32), named for Lorenzo Lotto, a Venetian painter who frequently included them in his work. The Spanish audience accepted oriental items in artistic depictions even after the expulsion of their Muslim population, perhaps because Islamic motifs were ‘sanitized’ by virtue of being passed to Spain through Italy, making them safe for Christian consumption.

The consensus among historians is that after the fifteenth century, Spanish textiles declined in both quality and prominence and few historical studies of textiles continue into the sixteenth century. Scholars tend to assume that Mudéjar influence ends abruptly in the sixteenth century with the fall of Granada and the rise of the Renaissance aesthetic but, as in all aspects of Spanish society, 1492 did not produce a sudden break with artistic traditions. In fact, Mudéjar, and even outside Islamic influences continued into the sixteenth century. To argue that Italian Renaissance influence simply replaced Islamic motifs would be an oversimplification, as this chapter has shown. Mudéjar elements mixed with motifs drawn from Italian and Eastern, Islamic sources. Italian artisans drew inspiration from oriental arts, particularly Islamic wares from the Ottoman Empire. In Italy, particularly in Venice, the upper class prized oriental goods and artists frequently depicted them in paintings. Spain participated in the Italian (and European) taste for the exotic, while minimizing her own ‘exotic’ element, the indigenous Mudéjar artistic tradition. Interestingly, this trend did not occur in all Spanish luxury art forms. The

ceramics industry, as the following chapter will demonstrate incorporated much less outside influence over the course of the sixteenth century. Although Italian craftsmen copied Ottoman pottery, this practice was not adopted in Spain.

Chapter Two: Islamic and Christian Influence on Spanish Ceramics

Spanish ceramics developed quite differently from other luxury art forms on the Iberian Peninsula. Unlike textiles, which borrowed freely from Italian and Ottoman traditions early in the sixteenth century, Spanish artisans did not borrow from Eastern traditions and only imitated Italian styles in the late sixteenth century, when a large number of Italian artisans migrated to the Iberian Peninsula. Even though Italian ceramic expertise was dominant in the late sixteenth century, this chapter argues that Morisco traditions were still valued and respected in Spain and historians tend to overlook the continuation of Spain's Moorish heritage amid late sixteenth-century Italian influence. Histories of both ceramics and textiles tend to over-emphasize the introduction of Renaissance motifs in the sixteenth century, while ignoring the continuation of local Mudéjar motifs.

Ceramic tiles in particular demonstrate the persistence of Islamic traditions through the sixteenth century. The crown continued to patronize Mudéjar luxury arts while attempting to eradicate the Moorish population from Spain. The Nasrid tiles produced for repairs to the Alhambra palace are a particularly striking example of how successive Spanish monarchs perpetuated Andalusian arts over the course of the sixteenth century. The persistence of Mudéjar motifs and expertise is evident in Valencian and Catalanian pottery centers in particular. Other locations with large numbers of Genoese artisans adopted Italian ornamentation, particularly the later part of the sixteenth century. The assertion of this thesis that decorative arts cannot be treated as a homogeneous group is underlined by the divergent development of different media and pottery centers in Spain through the sixteenth century.

Spanish pottery decorated in the lustre technique achieved immense popularity throughout Europe in the fifteenth century, but waned in the sixteenth as white maiolica

with blue and polychrome decoration gained popularity. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, European artisans in other regions borrowed stylistically from Eastern traditions: Potters in Italy imitated popular Iznik pottery from Turkey and the Portuguese imitated Chinese porcelain in the seventeenth century. Large communities of Italian artisans working in Spain later in the century brought elements from the Italian Renaissance to the Spanish craft, but Iberian craftsmen did not borrow stylistically from early modern Eastern ornamental traditions, such as Chinese or Ottoman— even those adopted by Italian artisans. The high level of Italian involvement later in the sixteenth century may account for the divergent development of ceramics from that of silk and carpets, which remained firmly in Morisco hands.

Ceramic Tiles

In the Middle Ages, Spanish tiles were extremely expensive and only the wealthy elite could afford them, but by the sixteenth century, new techniques of mass production made them more affordable.¹⁴⁵ Ceramic tiles remained an important status symbol and an essential part of any upper-class building ornamentation. Tiles were used on the exteriors and interiors of buildings to decorate walls, ceilings, and floors, as well as fountains and gardens.¹⁴⁶ In Seville in particular, tiles produced in *cuenca* and *arista* techniques of mass production were exported to patrons across Europe. Pope Leo X even commissioned *Arista* tiles (see figure 2.1), decorated with Medici devices, for the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Anthony Ray, *Spanish Pottery 1248-1898 with a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publishing, 2000), 310.

¹⁴⁶ Ray, 310.

¹⁴⁷ Ray, 357.



Figure 2.1 - Tile, 1513-21, white glazed with blue and manganese, 13.5 cm x 13.3 cm, Seville, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1108-1903.

Although the Inquisition and the crown's legislation targeted clothing and jewellery specifically, the official discourse makes no mention of luxury arts, such as the ceramics produced by Morisco artisans and based on traditional Islamic techniques. The crown's continued dedication to restoring the original decoration in the Alhambra Palace is particularly illustrative of this contradiction in policy. Figure 2.2 is an original fourteenth-century floor tile from the Salón de Comares in the Alhambra Palace in Seville. An artisan in Malaga –

the main center for ceramic production at that time

– produced this earthen tile, glazed with white tin and painted in blue and yellow. It displays a combination of foliage and geometric bands and with a shield in the center. The inscription reads, in Arabic, 'There is no victor except God' – the motto of the Nasrid Empire. In the original tiles, the Arabic script is crisp and legible. The artisanship is excellent; the lines are clear and the ornamentation is delicately designed. The tile pictured in figure 2.3 is a replacement, dated to just after the conquest of 1492. The artist used the *cuerda seca* technique, which allowed him to separate the different colours of paint, but did not produce the crisp, delicate lines of the originals.



Figure 2.2 - Tiles, 1354, earthenware with lustre, 16 cm x 15.5 cm, Granada or Malaga, British Museum, London, 1802,5-8,1-3, © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.3 - Tiles, 1492, earthenware with lustre, 16 cm x 15.5 cm, Malaga, British Museum, London, 1802,5-8,1-3, © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.4 – Tiles with the Heraldic device of the Nasrid kings, first third of the sixteenth century, earthenware, 19 cm x 12.5 cm, Seville, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011.153, www.metmuseum.org.

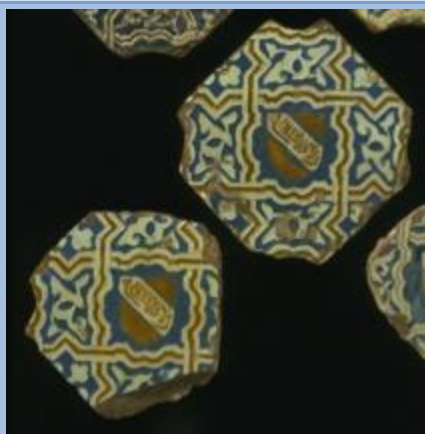


Figure 2.5 - Tiles, late 16th Century, tin-glazed earthenware, 18.1 cm x 3.1 cm, Seville, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 4791D-1901.

Ferdinand and Isabella commissioned tiles with the Nasrid motto in Arabic on them, as they had committed to preserving the Alhambra as a monument to their conquest. The Catholic Monarchs probably felt quite secure in their victory over Granada, and completion of the *Reconquista*; they even allowed the Muslims of Granada to retain their religion, so it is not surprising that they would commission such tiles. Ferdinand and Isabella's daughter, Doña Juana, issued a royal decree ordering the rulers of Granada to preserve the Alhambra (reproduced on page 115-116). Tiles were commissioned again for refurbishments in the first third of the sixteenth century (figure 2.3) under either Ferdinand or Charles V, although the precise date is not known.

Most surprisingly, however, are the tiles (figure 2.5) commissioned by Philip II for repairs to the palace in the late sixteenth century. The tiles display the same Arabic inscription as the original pieces. The artisan employed the *cuenca* technique whereby the pattern is stamped into the tile, allowing for mass production; however, the standard of artisanship is lower than the original tiles. The definition of the foliage and the bands is not uniform, and on some tiles the pattern is stamped too deeply.

In the context of the religious oppression of the late sixteenth century, it is surprising that Philip II would have commissioned such work. Not only is the tile adorned with the script of a prohibited language, it also promotes Allah as victor or conqueror. The crown commissioned these tiles during the same period that the king was beginning to enforce laws against Arabic, Mudéjar dress, and Islamic customs more strictly. Yet, he approved tiles with an Arabic inscription praising Allah. Philip II preserved the aesthetic of the building but he also perpetuated Islamic tradition while

pursuing state policies to eradicate the Muslims within his kingdom. Christian monarchs continued to appreciate Mudéjar art throughout the sixteenth century.



Figure 2.6- Two Ceiling Tiles, 1525-75, tin-glazed earthenware, 23.5 cm x 13.4 cm, Seville, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1039-1892.

Artisans, particularly Italians, in Seville helped popularize *cuenca* tiles in the 1560s and 70s. Sevillian tiles, which incorporated Mudéjar and Renaissance patterns, as well as lustre decoration, were in demand throughout Europe and the New World, even as hollow lusterware fell out of fashion. A pair of ceiling tiles (figure 2.6) dated 1525-75 demonstrate the combination of naturalistic vine motifs with an old Mudéjar star-interlace pattern. In his discussion of the Sevillian tile industry, art historian Anthony Ray notes that ‘the persistence of the interlace in Renaissance Seville may seem strange, but this is one of the commoner Seville designs.’¹⁴⁸ Ray does not propose a reason, but as this thesis demonstrates, Mudéjar expertise and ornamentation was valued in Spain long after the Renaissance aesthetic became the dominant style. Even in a Renaissance center like

¹⁴⁸ Ray, 365.

Seville, artisans perpetuated Mudéjar traditions in tile ornamentation. Tiles from Seville were exported to England, the Low Countries, Italy, and the New World.¹⁴⁹ A tile (figure 2.7) found in the Lord Mayor's Chapel in Bristol, England exhibits the direct influence of fourteenth century tiles found in the Alhambra (figure 2.8). Artisans in sixteenth century Seville reproduced medieval Islamic tile motifs and these Mudéjar tiles were exported across Europe, no doubt reinforcing the association of Spain with Moorish and Islamic artistic traditions in the minds of other Europeans.



Figure 2.7 – Tile, 1520-30, tin-glazed earthenware, 13.7 cm x 13.5 cm, Seville, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1134-1892



Figure 2.8 – Fragment of Tile Mosaic, 1330-1400, 29 cm, tin-glazed earthenware, Granada © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 300-1870.

Lusterware in Spain

The evolution of lusterware in Spain in the sixteenth century provides yet another nuance to the fate of Islamic luxury arts under Christian rule in the sixteenth century. Lusterware was a medium firmly rooted in Islamic expertise and decorative styles. Despite its origins as a traditional Islamic craft, and its continued production by Muslims living under

¹⁴⁹ Ray, 367.

Christian rule, lusterware became extremely popular among the Spanish Christian population. It was included in Christian paintings, adopted by Spanish monarchs, and Christian artisans even adopted the Moorish techniques and styles in their own workshops.

Clay ceramics in their most basic form were developed in Mesopotamia thousands of years before Roman rule.¹⁵⁰ Glazing became popular under the Assyrians, around 1000 B.C. The Romans first used tin to create opaque glass beginning in the second century and potters in Islamic Iraq and Syria adapted Roman knowledge of glass to create a technique of glazing ceramics with opaque white tin in the eighth century. The tin-glaze provided a smooth white surface for colourful painted ornamentation.¹⁵¹ Initially, artisans marketed plain white glazed wares as a cheaper substitute for Chinese porcelain, developed during the Tang dynasty (618-907) and spread through the eastern Mediterranean. By the twelfth century, potters in the Islamic Middle East also developed a method of firing cobalt blue pigment on their tin-glazed earthenware to mimic blue motifs adorning popular Chinese porcelain.¹⁵²

In the eighth century, Iraqi potters adapted lustre decoration from glassmakers, as a sort of ‘poor-man’s’ gilding. To create the lustre appearance, ceramics are first fired, then metal compounds and tin glaze are applied and the pot is fired again. During the second firing, the fire is suppressed through restricted air flow or wet fuel to create carbon monoxide. The carbon monoxide reacts with the metallic compounds and converts

¹⁵⁰ Catherine Hess, “Brilliant Achievements: The Journey of Islamic Glass and Ceramics to Renaissance Italy,” in *Arts of the Fire* ed. Catherine Hess (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004), 7.

¹⁵¹ Hess, 7-8.

¹⁵² Hess, 8-10.

them to an iridescent film.¹⁵³ As lustre is a complicated technique, the tradition had to pass directly from one artisan to another. From Baghdad and Damascus, these techniques spread through the vast Islamic empire to al-Andalus.¹⁵⁴ Spanish potters produced tin-glazed ceramics by 1000 A.D. and lusterware by the early thirteenth century.¹⁵⁵

Malaga became the center for Nasrid lustre pottery production around the mid-1200s. Lusterware became Spain's most renowned and successful Hispano-Moresque ceramic style. Malaga's lusterware had a reputation for quality and was traded widely, including back to the Middle East where lustre was invented, to Christian parts of Spain, and elsewhere in Europe.¹⁵⁶ During this early period, Christian rulers encouraged the Mudéjar artistic traditions in their territories. Ferdinand III (1199-1252) of Castile conquered Córdoba in 1236 and Seville in 1248. His son, Alfonso X (1221-1284), had a particular fondness for Islamic decorative arts and encouraged Muslims to remain in his kingdom. Indeed, Alfonso X ordered that potteries in Córdoba could only produce wares in the Muslim style.¹⁵⁷ At the same time in Northern Spain, medieval potters were producing largely rudimentary wares and relied on the Islamic regions to supply decorated wares to the whole peninsula.

In the early fourteenth century, Christian diplomat Peter Buyl, lord of Manises, encouraged Muslim potters of Malaga to resettle in his territory in Valencia after he travelled to Granada and saw the profitability of lustre pottery. By the end of the

¹⁵³ Hess, 10.

¹⁵⁴ Hess, 8-11.

¹⁵⁵ Hess, 12.

¹⁵⁶ Rosser-Owen, 67-68.

¹⁵⁷ Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics in Spain and New Spain* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1987), 72.

The Listers point out that this was unnecessary because that was the only style known in the region to both Christians and Muslims.

fourteenth century, economic and political instability in Malaga, as well as rising piracy and invasions in the city, led even more artisans to relocate to Christian territory.¹⁵⁸



Figure 2.9 - Deep Dish, 1430, tin-glazed earthenware, 6.1 cm x 44.1 cm, Manises, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 56.171.113, www.metmuseum.org.

Once large numbers of Moorish artisans began migrating to the Valencia region in the fourteenth century, Manises quickly became the leading center for lustre pottery. The pottery made in the early Valencian period is so similar to wares from Malaga that scientific analysis of the clay is usually required to determine the

provenance of these pieces.¹⁵⁹ In the fourteenth century, Arabic inscriptions were accurate and legible and some pieces even bore signatures in Arabic, indicating that the artisans were Moors from the Nasrid kingdom who had retained their knowledge of Arabic.¹⁶⁰ Later pieces would bear illegible inscriptions, as artisans in Christian territory lost their knowledge of Arabic and as inscriptions became part of the decorative aesthetic, not necessarily meant to be read. Manises artisans slowly developed a distinctive style, drawing motifs from Islamic as well as Gothic Christian traditions. Spanish Christian nobles patronized the Mudéjar artisans of Manises, commissioning ceramics with their coats of arms in the center – as pictured in figure 2.9, a dish adorned with the arms of Aragon-Sicily, surrounded by detailed Mudéjar motifs, including pseudo-Kufic Arabic script.

¹⁵⁸ Rosser-Owen, 98.

¹⁵⁹ Rosser-Owen, 67.

¹⁶⁰ Rosser-Owen, 98.

In the fifteenth century, at least, Moorish lusterware was widely accepted by the Christian population. Queen Isabella herself commissioned at least two sets of opulent lusterware, apparently supportive of Spain's lustre industry. Her first commission in 1454 was directly to Peter Buyl:

Noble and beloved. For the use and service of our person, we require some Malaga ware, according to the list thereof which we have caused to be written, and which we send herein. We entreat and charge you therefore, in all affection, that for love and consideration of us, you will have the same beautifully made, of fine ware, and we rely upon you that the whole should form a set. And permit us to avail ourselves thus of you, because we hold you our faithful servant, and because you are at the fount of the said industry, and we trust to God that we shall be mindful of this service and of the others you have done us. And when the ware is made, inform our faithful procurator, Don Cristobal de Montblanch, of it without delay, whom we have charged to inquire and to write to you about it, so that when it is finished he can send it: and we would that it were already made. Given in our city of Borja, on the 26 day of November of 1454

List of the pottery wanted by the Queen, which is to form a set, and to be of fine ware.

First: two lavabo dishes
 Item: large meat dishes
 Item: eating dishes
 Item: bowls or porringers
 Item: fine broth-bowls
 Item: fine water-pitchers, lustred all over
 Item: two-handled flower-vases, lustred
 Item: one half dozen large mortars
 Item: little bowls and small ware
 Item: bowls for . . . broth¹⁶¹

The queen would have known that Manises' Moorish population would produce her commission, and she specifically asked for opulent lustre. Each piece had a specific purpose, indicating that this commission would have had a practical as well as decorative

¹⁶¹ Albert Van de Put, *Hispano-Moresque Ware of the Fifteenth Century, Supplementary Studies and Some Later Examples* (London: The Worker's Quarterly, 1911), 10-11.

use.¹⁶² Four months later, the queen sent another request to Peter Buyl, requesting more pieces, but with even more opulent ornamentation:

(From Zaragoza, 21 March 1455)

Noble and Beloved: we have received your letter and the earthenware which you sent us, for which we give you thanks, asking and charging you to have made on our behalf more of the same, only it should be glazed and lustred inside and outside, that is to say: six pitchers, three of them with a spout and three of them without; and six vessels for drinking water. And we would furthermore say that it is our pleasure that you show affection in serving and satisfying [our need] as befits our good servant; for we ourselves are recognisant of you in those matters which concern your advancement and honour. And convey our greetings to your lady.¹⁶³

As chapter one discussed, artists included oriental and Islamic fabric, clothing, rugs, and other goods in religious paintings during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In *The Last Supper* (figure 2.10) Jaume Ferrer the Elder includes a detailed depiction of lusterware from Manises decorated with the Angelic Salutation, ‘AVE MA/RIA GRA[CIA] PLE/NA,’ around the rim. A detail of one of the dishes (figure 2.11) and example of a dish decorated in a similar manner (figure 2.12) demonstrates how detailed Ferrer’s depictions were. These dishes combined the traditional Mudéjar ornamentation with a gothic inscription of the Hail Mary for Christian patrons. By the sixteenth century, lusterware would appear less frequently in Spanish painting as it fell out of fashion and this omission suggests that Mudéjar ornamentation became less appropriate to appear alongside Christian subject matter.

¹⁶² Alan Caiger-Smith, *Luster Pottery: Technique, Tradition, and Innovation in Islam and the Western World* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), 104.

¹⁶³ Caiger-Smith, 103.



Figure 2.10 - Jaume Ferrer the Elder, *The Last Supper*, early 15th century, 107 x 36 cm, Museu Diocesania Comarcal de Solsona, Solsona.



Figure 2.11 - Detail of figure 2.10



Figure 2.12 - Deep Dish, 1410-1480, Manises, International Folk Art Foundation, Santa Fe.

Lusterware on the European Market

Lusterware was largely assimilated into wider Spanish culture during the fifteenth century, as Christians adopted Islamic wares for their own uses, but it also gained popularity across Christian Europe. On the European market, lusterware was part of the luxury trade of goods originating from all parts of Europe and Asia. The use of Islamic motifs and general exotic appearance of these wares certainly contributed to their prestige

and popularity outside Spain. Before long, Italian artisans attempted to produce copies of Spanish wares to compete on local markets. Lusterware retained its popularity in Europe at least until the early part of the sixteenth century, when demand began to wane – but by this time the Mudéjar wares had certainly contributed to Spain’s exotic image in Europe.



Figure 2.13 - The Medici Valencian Vase, 1465-92, earthenware with lustre, 57 cm, British Museum, Godman 619, © Trustees of the British Museum.

Spanish lusterware was integral to European luxury trade by the fifteenth century. A prized item in itself, Iberian pottery was also used to carry and display exotic goods

and products like dried fruit, Spanish wine, spices, and medicine.¹⁶⁴ Italy provided the largest market for Manises wares outside of Spain. Many Italian noble families commissioned pieces featuring their coats of arms.¹⁶⁵ The Medici family even commissioned Valencian lusterware: a vase (figure 2.13) bears the arms of either Piero de' Medici ('the Gouty') (1416-69) or his son, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449-92). Iberian pottery also found markets in northern Europe. Archaeologists have discovered fifteenth-century Spanish lusterware at 100 archaeological sites in Britain and Ireland, 50 sites in the Low Countries, and even a few in Scandinavia.¹⁶⁶ A northern European example is suggestive of the spread of Spanish lusterware as a symbol of conspicuous consumption. Flemish artist Hugo van der Goes depicted a Spanish drug jar decorated with an extremely popular vine leaf pattern (detail in figure 2.15) along side expensive clear glass and luxury clothing in his *Portinari Altarpiece* (figure 2.14).¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴John Hurst, "Post-Medieval Pottery from Seville Imported into North-West Europe," *Trade and Discovery* 109 (1995): 45.

¹⁶⁵"Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century: An Exhibition at the Cloisters," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29, no. 1 (Summer, 1970), 5.

¹⁶⁶Hurst, 45.

¹⁶⁷ Although Italian potters later imitated these wares, this jar was certainly of Spanish origin, as Italian potters had not mastered the luster technique and could not adequately copy the vine leaf pattern by 1475, when this painting was executed.



Figure 2.14 - Hugo van der Goes, *Portinari Altarpiece*, 1475, oil on wood, 253 x 304 cm, Florence, Uffizi Gallery.



Figure 2.15– detail of figure 2.14, *Portinari Altarpiece*.

Spanish lusterware gained such popularity in Italy that local Italian artisans began to borrow stylistically from imported Spanish wares beginning from about 1450, such as the vase illustrated in figure 2.17, an Italian copy of a common Spanish design (figure 2.16). Artisans in Italy lacked the technical knowledge to produce lusterware before about 1500, but replaced the metallic lustre of Spanish objects with purple or orange pigment. In this case, influence seems to flow mainly from Spain to Italy. The Iberian ceramics industry did not adopt decorative motifs from Italy and the East as readily in

this period, unlike Spanish textiles, in which Iberian artists borrowed motifs and designs freely from Italy and the Ottoman Empire. Although later in the sixteenth century, Italian influence would become prominent in other forms of ceramics, lusterware was a wholly Mudéjar craft, widely accepted in Christian Spain and wider Europe.



Figure 2.16 - Albarello, 1435-75, tin-glazed earthenware, 29.7 cm x 14.3 cm, Manises, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 56.171.92, www.metmuseum.org.



Figure 2..17 - Albarello, 1450-70, tin-glazed earthenware, 23.1 x 14.2 cm, Montelupo, Italy, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 16.154.4, www.metmuseum.org.

Lusterware in the Sixteenth Century

Anthony Ray describes the Spanish ceramics industry in the sixteenth century as ‘confused.’ Certainly, it was a transitional period; some artisans incorporated Renaissance motifs while others continued to rely on traditional Mudéjar designs. This varied by region: particularly in Aragon and Valencia, Mudéjar motifs remain an integral part of ceramic ornamentation into the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁸ In many workshops, Arabic inscriptions became illegible, and in later pieces Latin inscriptions were included. Alan Caiger-Smith argues that after 1492, Mudéjar lusterware diminished in popularity

¹⁶⁸ Ray, 111.

because of the religious persecution of the Spanish Muslims.¹⁶⁹ However, art historians, such as Caiger-Smith, Ray, and the Listers tend to overemphasize the decline of lustre and the introduction of Renaissance aesthetics and motifs from Italy. Spanish styles changed and evolved, and varied by region, but historians have ignored the aesthetic continuity in Spanish ceramics through the sixteenth century.

Pottery produced in Castile betrays much more Italian influence than pottery in Valencia and Aragon. The Catholic Monarchs encouraged artisans from Flanders and Italy to settle in Spain, bringing with them Renaissance techniques and ideas.¹⁷⁰ A community of Genoese potters was active in Seville – but had to compete with Mudéjar potters after the Second Revolt of Alpujarras (1571) when the Spanish state resettled Moriscos throughout Spain.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, in the sixteenth century, artisans began including renaissance motifs, such as human figures and portraits in the ornamentation of ceramics, instead of the stylized animal figures of Muslim tradition.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Caiger-Smith, 125.

¹⁷⁰ Lister and Lister, 97.

¹⁷¹ Ray, 159.

¹⁷² Lister and Lister, 116.



Figure 2.18 - Juan de Juanes, *Ultima Cena*, 1560, oil on panel, 116 x 191 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Scholars, such as Caiger-Smith and the Listers, claim that the industry in Aragon, particularly Manises, was dwindling by the sixteenth century. Certainly, lusterware lost some of its prestige with the Spanish elite and in the rest of Europe as large quantities of gold and silver arrived from the Americas and wealthy patrons began commissioning gold and silver plate, rather than earthen lusterware.¹⁷³ *The Last Supper* (figure 2.18) by Juan de Juanes included luxury gold and silver wares, which indicated greater material wealth, and were suitable for a religious painting. This painting from the mid 1500s evokes a shift in both the colonial economic opportunities as well as the domestic decline and restrictions on the Morisco populations. The plate did not recall Spain's Islamic past.

¹⁷³ Ray, 111.



Figure 2.19 – Plate with arms of Pope Leo X, 1513-1521, Museo Civico, Bologna.

During the sixteenth century, Spanish tastes began to shift toward colourful painted Italian maiolica. Lustre production did not cease though; centers in Valencia, Catalonia, and Seville continued to produce lusterware for markets in Spain and in the rest of Europe. Anthony Ray asserts that the pottery industry in Manises was actually thriving, according to the wealthy dowries and wills in the families of pottery masters, records of raw material bought and stored there, and price lists of Manises' ceramics.¹⁷⁴ Pope Leo X even commissioned lusterware pieces (figure 2.19), indicating that this type of pottery remained fashionable in Italy in the early decades of the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁵ Archaeologists found late Valencian lusterware at around twenty archaeological sites in Britain and Ireland as well as a few in the Low Countries,¹⁷⁶ and the cargo of a sixteenth-century ship, which sank in Studland Bay, near Dorset, England, contained about an

¹⁷⁴ Ray, 111-113.

¹⁷⁵ Ray, 111.

¹⁷⁶ Hurst, 45.

equally large shipment of lusterware for sale in England as it did unlustered, blue and purple maiolica (sometimes called Isabela Polychrome).¹⁷⁷



Figure 2.20 - Dish, 1550-1610, tin-glazed earthenware with lustre, 6.2 cm x 20.5 cm, Muel, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, London, 12-1907.



Figure 2.21 - Bowl for Sausage Making, 1603, tin-glazed earthenware, 10.4 cm x 29.4 cm, Muel, The Walters Museum of Art, 48.1100, art.thewalters.org.

While it is not often clear to the modern eye whether a Morisco or an Old Christian produced a given piece, some towns -- like Muel on the outskirts of Zaragoza --

¹⁷⁷ Alejandra Gutiérrez, "A Shipwreck Cargo of Sevillian Pottery from the Studland Bay Wreck, Dorset, UK," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 32, no. 1 (2003): 24.

had entirely Morisco populations, who worked primarily in pottery.¹⁷⁸ When Enrique Cock visited Muel in 1585, he observed: ‘all of the residents of this town are potters and all the pottery that is sold in [nearby] Zaragoza – most is made here.’¹⁷⁹ Cock also remarked upon the composition of the population:

Muel has few, more or less 200 residents... a church, rarely visited by the residents of the town... In the whole town there are but three Old Christians; the priest, the notary and the bartender, who is also the innkeeper; the others would rather go on a pilgrimage to Mecca than Santiago de Compostela.¹⁸⁰

In the case of Muel ceramics (such as figures 2.20 and 2.21), Cock’s account suggests that a Morisco artisan produced virtually every piece. Certainly, Muel wares show continuity with Morisco traditions, yet they tend not to include overtly Islamic symbols. Extant examples from Muel do not exhibit Arabic script or other obviously Islamic motifs. However, they tend to include various floral and vegetal designs of the Mudéjar tradition. Leaves, large flowers, or scrolling motifs are common, as are stylized animals, often as large central elements. Figure 2.20 is a bowl made in Muel sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century, before the expulsion of the Moriscos. The lustre is a golden metallic colour and the ornamentation is largely linear with some abstract vegetal forms. Figure 2.21 is particularly unusual piece made in Muel in 1603, just a few years before the decree expelling the Moriscos. Although certainly made by a Morisco artisan, the inscription indicates its use, making sausages, indicating that this piece was probably made for an Old Christian patron.

¹⁷⁸ Henri Lapeyre, *Géografía de la España Morisca* (Valencia: Diputació Provincial de Valencia, 1986), 102.

¹⁷⁹ Cock, 30.

¹⁸⁰ Cock, 31.



Figure 2.22 - Dish with the Christ child, early 17th century, tin-enamelled and lustre-painted earthenware, 33.3 cm, Reus, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 56.171.145, www.metmuseum.org.

Old Christians also adopted the lusterware technique. In Catalonia, primarily Barcelona and Reus, Christian artisans began making lusterware in the 1440s and 50s. A distinct Catalan style emerged in the second half of the sixteenth century: neither explicitly Italian nor based solely on Mudéjar motifs.¹⁸¹ Christian artisans in Barcelona and Reus employed Renaissance motifs: heraldry, helmeted figures, warriors, angels, men and women in contemporary costume – but combined these new motifs with the traditional geometric and linear patterns, as well as animal, bird, and vegetal motifs of the Valencian Morisco tradition that patrons had come to expect.¹⁸² For example, a seventeenth-century dish (figure 2.22), painting in a metallic red lustre, is adorned with the usual vegetal and crosshatched border motifs, but in the center the artisan has depicted a figure of Christ – a clear departure from traditional Mudéjar designs.

¹⁸¹ Ray, 134

¹⁸² Ray, 136.



Figure 2.23 - Dish, late 16th century, tin-glazed earthenware, 37.5 cm x 6.6 cm, Reus, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 311-1893.



Figure 2.24 - Bowl, 1611, tin-glazed earthenware with lustre, 4.6 cm x 34.1 cm, Reus, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 826-1877.

Not all Catalan potters employ Christian or Renaissance motifs in their work though. A late-sixteenth-century dish made in either Reus or Barcelona (figure 2.23) exhibits no overtly Christian motifs. Although it was produced in an area with predominantly Christian artisans in the late sixteenth century, it relies heavily on Mudéjar motifs and is not easily distinguishable from pieces made in the Islamic workshops of

Muel, for example figure 2.20. Potters in Reus also produced a dish in 1611 (figure 2.24), shortly after the decree of 1609 expelling the Moriscos (the physical expulsion was not complete until sometime after 1614.) The lustre is the same subdued metallic gold of the Muel dish in figure 2.20. Stylistically, it demonstrates continuity – not a radical break – with previous decades. Vegetal motifs such as ferns, spikey leaves, and vines continue to feature prominently. The crosshatched pattern – extremely popular in Catalonian pottery – covers most of the rim, while the center appears to be a coat of arms, although the paint is damaged. The ornamentations are free drawn and are not symmetrical. For several centuries, artists had included the coat of arms of the patron as a central motif, and this piece, like many others from the expulsion years, does not betray any great transformations.

Although Christian potters in some areas adopted the craft of lusterware, and new Renaissance motifs were introduced, overall the medium exhibits continuity with the Mudéjar pottery tradition. Sixteenth-century Spanish lusterware is often absent from scholarship because these wares declined in popularity in Europe over the course of the sixteenth century. Yet, lustre pottery retained enough prestige to elicit a commission from the Medici pope, Leo X, in the early sixteenth century and Spanish lustre continued to be produced for local markets in Spain, in many cases by Morisco potters, until their expulsion in the early seventeenth century.

Non-Lustre Pottery

After Malaga lost its primacy in the lusterware industry to Manises, artisans in Andalusia turned their focus towards other styles of ornamentation. Andalusians did have some advantages over potters in Aragon and Valencia. During the thirteenth century, merchants

from Genoa, Pisa, and Venice began to trade with – among other places – England and Northern Europe via the Atlantic. On the journey to and from England, these merchants often stopped at southern Spanish ports, such as Seville, bringing luxuries to Spain such as Persian cobalt and tin from Cornwall.¹⁸³ This new trade route provided Muslim artisans in Seville and Malaga with the materials to produce white tin-glazed maiolica with blue decoration, popular in Christian Europe and the Islamic world.¹⁸⁴ Artisans in Seville produced popular everyday wares, known to archaeologists as “Morisco Wares.” These were often plain white but blue on white and various polychrome decorating styles also existed. One of the most popular styles of Morisco Wares with blue and purple decoration (figure 2.25) is known to archaeologists as ‘Isabela Polychrome,’ as shards were found on the site of a settlement in Isabela Bay in the Dominican Republic.¹⁸⁵ Although few complete pieces survive, this type of pottery was popular in Europe, as well as the New World.¹⁸⁶ Mass-produced blue on white pottery from the fifteenth century has been found at archaeological sites throughout Spain and Italy, in the Low Countries, and in London.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Lister and Lister, 74.

¹⁸⁴ Lister and Lister, 75.

¹⁸⁵ Ray, 33.

¹⁸⁶ Ray, 33.

¹⁸⁷ Ray, 45.



Figure 2.25 - Plate, 15th-16th century, tin-enamelled earthenware, Seville, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 69.178, www.metmuseum.org

In the sixteenth century, demand increased for ceramics for domestic use in the Americas, as well as shipping containers for products and goods destined for the New World.¹⁸⁸ Many artisans in Seville abandoned labour intensive techniques, like lusterware, which required three kiln firings, and even polychrome decoration in favour of the mass production of cheap, plain white or monochromatic blue wares.¹⁸⁹ If decorated, these coarse wares from Seville were often decorated with hasty geometric motifs or concentric circles. Mass produced, simple coarse wares became the main product of Sevillian workshops.¹⁹⁰ Archaeologists have found sixteenth-century coarse ‘Morisco wares’ – either plain, white tin-glazed, or with blue, or blue and purple decoration (as seen in figure 2.25), from Triana (Seville) at twenty-two archaeological sites in Britain and six in the Low Countries.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Gutiérrez, 32-33.

¹⁸⁹ Lister and Lister, 127, Gutiérrez, 32, Ray, 32, Hurst, 48.

¹⁹⁰ Hurst, 48.

¹⁹¹ Hurst, 48.

Higher quality luxury wares were produced for wealthy patrons, and heavily influenced by the large number of Genoese merchants and artisans who came to Seville in the sixteenth century to capitalize on increased demand. For these luxury products, Italian motifs such as human figures and busts became common by the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁹²

After Expulsion

Some pottery centers, like Seville, incorporated Italian motifs such as human figures and profile portraits. A seventeenth-century Sevillian tile (figure 2.26) features a depiction of a classical-looking man in profile, mainly using blue and yellow, colouring clearly borrowed from Italian models. Italian artists commonly depicted human figures, particularly profile portraits, as well as complex naturalistic scenes in Italian maiolica, beginning in the fifteenth century. Italian ceramic pieces featuring profile portraits, reproduced in figure 2.27, a tile produced in Italy in the late fifteenth century and figure 2.28, a plate from the early sixteenth century, also in blue and yellow, featuring a profile portrait.

¹⁹² Ray, 157



In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the pottery industry in Talavera rose to prominence in Spain.¹⁹³ By mid-sixteenth century, artisans in Talavera had begun producing Italian-influenced wares in several grades to serve different levels of society.¹⁹⁴ In particular, one type known as three-coloured wares, decorated in blue, orange, and manganese (figure 2.29) inspired by Faenza *compendiario* wares became extremely popular and were soon imitated in Seville and Aragon.¹⁹⁵ The designs of the three-coloured wares demonstrate a clear separation of border and central motif (usually of Italian origin) and manifest a true departure from decorative styles of Moorish origin.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ Ray, 159.

¹⁹⁴ Lister and Lister, 149-150.

¹⁹⁵ Ray, 170.

¹⁹⁶ Ray, 173.



Figure 2.29 - Dish, 1580-1650, tin-glazed earthenware, 34.3 cm, Talavera, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1072-1871.

Another popular style of pottery originating in Talavera was a blue on white maiolica based on Italian models, which became known as “Talavera wares.” Historians have touted Talavera wares – primarily manufactured in Talavera, Toledo, and Puente del Arzobispo – as a craft that was firmly under Christian control. Lister and Lister refer to the white and blue Talavera-style Maiolica as ‘refreshingly different from all that was associated with the Muslim past,’¹⁹⁷ and ‘not hampered by an inbred resistance to change cultivated through century after century of experience in one particular orientation of the craft,’¹⁹⁸ like most Morisco-dominated trades. After the Second Revolt of Alpujarras in the early 1570s, however, Granadan Moriscos resettled throughout Spain. Although they

¹⁹⁷ Lister and Lister, 150.

¹⁹⁸ Lister and Lister, 150.

were expected to work primarily in agriculture, twice as many found work as artisans.¹⁹⁹ Ray suggests that Morisco potters were readily absorbed into local industries, bringing older Mudéjar motifs with them. A dish (figure 2.31) with a central lion motif, produced in Puente del Arzobispo, exhibits clear influence of earlier Mudéjar designs (figure 2.30).²⁰⁰ Even with strong Genoese influence on blue and white maiolica pottery, Spanish artisans still respected Morisco skills and incorporated Mudéjar motifs into their designs. Certainly, some designs had shed most of their Mudéjar heritage, like the three-colour wares, but some artists and patrons, even in Christian ceramics centers, still valued more traditional motifs, and probably considered them wholly ‘Spanish’ designs.



Figure 2.30 – Dish, 1400-1450, tin-glazed earthenware with lustre decoration, 37.8 cm, Manises, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 4783-1858.



Figure 2.31 – Dish, 1575-1625, tin-glazed earthenware, 33 cm, Puente del Arzobispo, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, C.296-1938.

¹⁹⁹ Vassberg, *Land and Society*, 182.

²⁰⁰ Ray, 160-161.

Talaveran artists also produced bright white, undecorated, tin-glazed wares, which gained popularity among the upper class, who praised them for their cleanliness and whiteness.²⁰¹ Humanist and writer Diego Pérez de Mesa lauded the pottery of Talavera in 1595:

This is the finest ware made, not only in Spain but almost anywhere in the world. Such a great quantity of Talavera ware is made that it is incredible, beyond imagining; for, although so much of it is used everywhere and by every class of people, and although it is so easily broken, nevertheless it is still to be found in abundance in houses and shops in every town in Spain, because of its cheapness. Nor is it only in Spain, for huge quantities are exported to the Indies, to France, Flanders, Italy and other parts of Europe, being universally appreciated for its great convenience and its cleanliness. It is remarkable to see the great variety of pieces and vessels which are made, such as plates, bowls, jars, large dishes, aquamaniles, bases for flower-pots, little salt-cellars and a thousand other things. Most of this glazed ware is white, although a good deal is finely painted and excellently coloured with a thousand different designs and curious motifs.²⁰²

Mesa's hyperbolic account hints at the different grades of pottery made in Talavera for varying price ranges. When Philip IV enacted a sumptuary law in 1623 restricting the use of gold and silver in table service, Talaveran maiolica specifically was suggested as a substitution for silver tableware.²⁰³ Francisco de Zubarán often depicted bright white Talaveran pottery in his still life paintings, but in *Still life with Pottery Jars* (figure 2.32) he also depicts a gilded metal cup, demonstrating both types of tableware popular in the early seventeenth century.

²⁰¹ Ray, 159

²⁰² Diego Pérez de Mesa, *Las grandezas y cosas notables de España*, (1590), as quoted and translated by Ray, 159-160.

²⁰³ Lister and Lister, 150, Ray, 168.



Figure 2.32 - Francisco de Zurbarán, *Still Life with Pottery Jars*, c.1660, oil on canvas, 46 cm x 84 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Plain white wares became extremely popular, partially as a reaction to the highly decorated Mudéjar style but also because they imitated milky white Chinese porcelain (although Spanish potters did not imitate the blue designs of porcelain like artists in Portugal).²⁰⁴ According to the Listers, white maiolica “is to be found in at least thirty to forty oil paintings of world-famous baroque Sevillian school.”²⁰⁵ Bartolomé Esteban Murillo depicted plain white glazed Talavera tableware in his *Angel's Kitchen* (figure 2.33), as well as one partially decorated pitcher (figure 2.34). These wares were fashionable in the rest of Europe, and held no remnants of Spain’s Moorish past, thus making them perfectly suitable for Spanish Baroque paintings as the paintings by Murillo and Zurbarán infer.



Figure 2.33 - Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The Angels' Kitchen*, 1646, oil on canvas, 180 cm x 450 cm, Seville, The Louvre, Paris.

²⁰⁴ Ray, 170.

²⁰⁵ Lister and Lister, 160.



Figure 2.34 – detail of figure 2.33,
The Angels' Kitchen.



Figure 2.35 - Dish, 17th century, glazed earthenware, 49.2 cm, Valencia, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 29.100.97, www.metmuseum.org.

Art historians such as the Listers believe the production of Mudéjar style ceramics ended in Spain in 1609 with the expulsion of the Muslims. A small number of Muslim converts stayed in Spain beyond the expulsion but probably not in large enough numbers to produce a noticeable body of work. Some centers of pottery production continued without a break, such as Manises, while others shut down

entirely, as in Muel. Lister and Lister state that Manises lusterware ‘degenerated to the

point that, with the exile of the Moriscos at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it rapidly slipped into folk art.’²⁰⁶ Yet, Christian artisans mastered Moorish lustre techniques and appropriated many of the traditional Islamic motifs used by Morisco artisans and lusterware remained an important product in Catalonia, at least until the middle of the seventeenth century.²⁰⁷ Artisans continued to produce (lower quality) lusterware in Valencia (figure 2.35) as well, even though many artisans there had been Moriscos. Some potters from Reus went to Muel after expulsion to take over empty workshops.²⁰⁸



Figure 2.36 – Plate, seventeenth century, Spain, Hispanic Society of America

Scholarship on the continued production of lusterware into the seventeenth century is lacking, although lusterware pottery from this period shows continuity with

²⁰⁶ Lister and Lister, 150.

²⁰⁷ Ray, 170

²⁰⁸ Ray, 136

Mudéjar designs. Some of these later pieces have illegible pseudo-Latin inscriptions. For example, a seventeenth-century plate (figure 2.36) in the collection of the Hispanic Society of America has quite loosely drawn plant and flower motifs, featuring large tulip designs around the outer band. Tulips were a coveted luxury item in early modern Europe



Figure 2.37- Plate, seventeenth century, Valencia, Hispanic Society of America.

and the tulip motifs perhaps demonstrate a connection to seventeenth-century Dutch pottery, which was frequently adorned with these flowers, and indirectly to the Ottoman Empire where the tulips originated. The band around the center features Latinesque script, which appears similar to Latin lettering but is illegible. A plate (figure 2.37), also in the Hispanic Society of America's

collection and dated to the seventeenth century, features distinctively Islamic plant devices and the tree of life, as well as arabesques, and floral motifs. Like figure 2.36, this piece has a band of Latin script. The letters are somewhat more legible in this piece. Edwin Barber suggests that the inscription was derived from 'Urbi et Orbi,' a phrase which appeared on papal bulls,²⁰⁹ but the inscription has lost its meaning and too many letters are missing or changed for it to be legible. As with Arabic script, artists likely copied Latin inscriptions many times, until eventually they lost linguistic meaning and

²⁰⁹ Edwin Atlee Barber, *Hispano-Moresque Pottery in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1915), 158.

simply became a decorative motif. Despite efforts to Christianize, and take on Renaissance motifs, the Latin script melded into Spain's distinctive style, becoming part of a seamless whole with some of the more Islamic-looking motifs. Combined with strong Islamic motifs, like the tree of life in figure 2.37, the intended Christian and Westernizing effect of the Latin script loses much of its impact.

While Spanish Maiolica in Talavera, Seville, and even in Catalonia was heavily influenced by Italian models, artists continued to produce lustre ceramics for the local market with traditional, Morisco motifs as the dominant style. Lusterware may not have been exported to the international market in the seventeenth century, but it remained part of local traditions, embedded in Spanish culture.

Certainly, the Moorish pottery industry did not abruptly end in the sixteenth century. Although some centers imitated Italian wares, Spanish artisans did not imitate Chinese ornamentation like the Portuguese or Ottoman Iznik ornamentation like the Italians. Lusterware in particular maintained a more traditional appearance, even with the addition of new elements like Latin script. Artisans continued to work in Mudéjar artistic traditions, notably in the production of *cuenca* tiles that were exported all over Europe, contributing to Spain's colourful 'oriental' image in Europe. The Spanish nobility supported the Moorish lusterware industry through commissions in the fifteenth century, and this continued well into the sixteenth century as several successive monarchs supported the use of traditional Islamic tiles to repair the Alhambra, despite efforts to suppress the Morisco culture in other capacities.

Chapter Three: Mudéjar Architectural Ornamentation

Moorish architects built many of the Iberian Peninsula's most beautiful, opulent, and elaborate buildings during the more than 700-year period of Islamic rule. Thus far, this thesis has examined small, portable, ephemeral objects, which patrons could brandish publically or display more privately inside the home if they chose. Architecture, however, is by its nature much more public, prominent, and permanent than the decorative arts. During the centuries-long *Reconquista*, Christian conquerors had to contend with the Islamic structures they inherited. The Christianizing of Islamic buildings was a much more public and meaningful process than the simple repurposing of Islamic textiles and other decorative art objects. More than any other art form, the architecture of Spanish cities helped shape how the citizens regarded the Spanish monarchy, and how outsiders, especially visitors, conceptualized Spain.

According to Renaissance architecture expert Christy Anderson, 'all buildings of political power are integral to the creation and maintenance of rule.' She suggests that architecture acts 'as an active participant in political rule, projecting the identity of those in power and standing for their physical presence.'²¹⁰ This chapter begins by examining a few prominent examples of Christian repurposing of Moorish structures in order to demonstrate the variable and sometimes paradoxical nature of Christian attitudes toward Islamic monuments. Over the course of the *Reconquista*, numerous Christian kings had to grapple with the existing Islamic structures in recovered territories. Christian attitudes

²¹⁰ Christy Anderson, *Renaissance Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 87.

toward Islamic architecture varied greatly over time, depending on the particular monarch, as well as political and social climate.²¹¹

Elite Christian Spaniards appropriated Mudéjar forms for new structures as well, thereby perpetuating the Islamic appearance of Spanish cities. This chapter goes on to examine what came to be known as the Mudéjar style of architecture – a symbiosis of Christian and Muslim architectural traditions – encouraging the preservation of Mudéjar techniques and styles into sixteenth-century Spain. At the same time, the Renaissance rhetoric of returning to a classical past made Spaniards more aware of their civic history and its remains – including their Islamic past. While the state officially repressed Spain’s Islamic past, builders, artisans, patrons, and politicians had to decide how to deal with many layers of Spanish history.²¹² Many Christian Spaniards engaged in the upkeep of Muslim architecture, and preserved the building techniques that kept Moorish traditions alive.²¹³ The crown sponsored the restoration of Islamic ruins, while builders consciously passed on techniques from one generation to the next.²¹⁴

Christian appropriation of Islamic architecture

Historians commonly attribute Christian appropriation of Islamic architecture to a manifestation of Christian triumphalism. Scholars view the redeployment of Islamic buildings for Christian purposes as a symbolic expression of power and victory, similar to the individual practice of publicly displaying booty from conquest.²¹⁵ Cited almost as frequently as triumphalism, is the theory of expediency: Islamic architecture provided

²¹¹ David Raizman, “The Church of Santa Cruz and the Beginnings of Mudéjar Architecture in Toledo,” *Gesta* 38-2 (1999), 138.

²¹² Wunder, 196-197.

²¹³ Wunder, 208.

²¹⁴ Wunder, 208.

²¹⁵ For example, Raizman asserts the triumphalism argument, 138.

Christian rulers with a convenient, ready-made vocabulary for articulating notions of power and kingship. In formerly Islamic cities, beautiful and opulent buildings already existed, manifesting nobility and luxury. Art historian Jerrilynn Dodds expresses a similar but more complex argument: through conquest Christian monarchs inherited a population of Muslims and Arabized Christians and the best way to legitimize Christian rule was to appropriate aspects of the dominant – Islamic – culture.²¹⁶

A secondary tenet held by many historians suggests that Christians increasingly accepted and used Mudéjar architecture as they became culturally and militarily more secure. Art historian David Raizman, for example, argues that Christian use of Mudéjar architecture became prominent after the Christians won decisive military battles against Muslims in the thirteenth century.²¹⁷ Likewise, Dodds contends that the popularity of Islamic forms is connected to the security of Christian cultural identity. According to this theory, Christian kings had long admired Islamic arts but could only safely appropriate them once they felt secure in their dominance.²¹⁸

This chapter demonstrates the long history of transculturation on the Iberian Peninsula. While not dismissing the triumphalism and expediency theories completely, this chapter demonstrates through a variety of examples that this cultural borrowing could not be considered simply ‘triumphal.’ Indeed, a hybrid culture between Islamic and Christian Spain developed over centuries in Iberian culture. Christian Spaniards appropriated Islamic buildings and the Moorish architectural style long before Christian

²¹⁶ Jerrilynn D. Dodds, “The Mudéjar Tradition in Architecture,” in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, edited by Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 593

²¹⁷ Raizman, 138.

²¹⁸ Dodds, “The Mudéjar Tradition,” 592-593.

domination of the peninsula was secure, and used Mudéjar architecture in public and private Christian building projects for centuries.

Great Mosque of Córdoba:

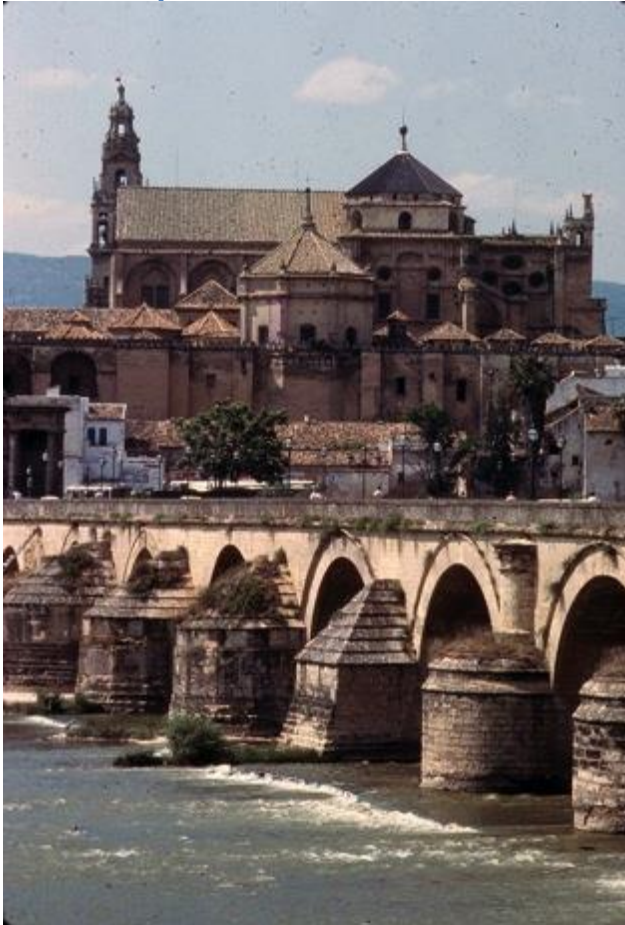


Figure 3.1 - Cathedral of Cordoba, 1523, Cordoba.

The city of Córdoba fell to Christian forces in 1236. Sources indicate, as with many Islamic cities, that the Christians had long admired Cordoban Islamic architecture and crafts. For example, the *Primera Crónica General*, a chronicle written in the thirteenth century, extols Córdoba as a ‘royal city, the patrician of the other cities.’²¹⁹ King Alfonso X (1221 - 1284) preserved the Great Mosque of Córdoba, converting it to the Church of

Santa Maria (figure 3.1), and

proclaiming it a ‘noble church.’ The ‘conversion’ amounted to building a tiny chapel onto it while leaving the rest of the mosque space unaltered. For the chapel construction, the king employed Mudéjar artists to decorate stucco, construct polylobed arches, design geometric ornamentation, and lay mosaic tile.²²⁰ Alfonso X decreed that all carpenters

²¹⁹ Ecker, 6.

²²⁰ Dodds, “The Mudéjar Tradition,” 596.

and builders in Córdoba should devote two days of labour a year to maintaining the mosque.²²¹

Although the Great Mosque of Córdoba had been sufficient for the Christian community for three hundred years, suddenly in 1523, the bishop of Córdoba, Alonso Manrique de Lana, and the canons, backed by Charles V, decided to build a new cathedral.²²² Architectural historian Cammy Brothers asserts that Charles V intended the new cathedral as a gesture of Christian power over the Islamic past, and one that the city council opposed— preferring to preserve the original ninth-century mosque. The church council tore down part of the interior mosque complex to make room for a Christian chapel. Brothers interprets the remodelling as Charles V's 'need to make his sovereignty manifest... in concrete terms.'²²³ The bishop and canons executed relatively minor changes in the context of the entire structure, and in fact, the new architects situated the new structure inside the original Moorish walls. Moreover, Charles V's policy of demolition and modification of Islamic buildings varied case by case and the political context certainly played a role. As discussed below, he situated his own palace amongst the existing palaces of the Alhambra within the complex in Granada. Charles V most likely had tiles made with the Nasrid shield and Arabic script on them when repairing the Alhambra palace, as illustrated in chapter two (figures 2.2-2.5). Indeed, in many instances Charles V displayed remarkable acceptance of overtly Islamic architectural forms.

²²¹ Ecker, 8-14.

²²² Cammy Brothers, "The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Navagero and the Palace of Charles V," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 96

²²³ Brothers, 96.

In earlier centuries of Muslim-Christian co-existence, both church and state felt comfortable appropriating Islamic architecture. By 1523, it seems church officials in Córdoba wanted to subvert references to the Muslim past. In fact, the bishop pressed for this change to the church just seven years after the forced conversions in Córdoba (and the rest of Castile), and two years before the conversions in Aragon. Brothers does not address any underlying causes for the change in policy, whether religious tensions, uncertainty in Christian identity or political rivalry with a Muslim power contributed to the shift. Interestingly, when Charles V saw the new cathedral on the site of the Great Mosque, he is purported to have said ‘I did not know that it was this [that you wanted to do], otherwise I would not have authorized it; you have done what can be done anywhere but destroyed what was unique in the world.’²²⁴ If this apocryphal story bears any weight, keeping in mind Charles V’s rather conservative building policies concerning other Islamic structures, it indicates that he was likely unaware of the drastic nature of the changes he authorized for the Great Mosque of Córdoba.

Seville

Undoubtedly, Christian kings perpetuated the Islamic appearance of the city in the centuries after conquest. In the fourteenth century, Pedro the Cruel built the Alcázar palace (figure 3.2) at Seville in the Mudéjar style with distinct reference to Islamic places, particularly the Alhambra. The king built the Alcázar on the ruins of a thirteenth-

²²⁴ Alejandro Launzina, *Architecture of Spain* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2005), 84.

Although cited in countless publications, the legitimacy of this quote is questionable. Luis Recio Mateo has argued that this passage is spurious. It may come from a mistranslation in Juan Gómez Bravo’s *Catalogo de los obispos de Córdoba, y breve noticia historica de su iglesia catedral, y obispado* (1778). Nonetheless, Charles V’s policies toward Moorish architecture were contradictory enough that the quotation is at least plausible. Furthermore, Charles V travelled to Córdoba a few years after the project began, in 1526 according to Juan de Vandenesse, “Diario de los viajes de Carlos V,” in *Viajes en España y Portugal*, vol 1, ed. J. Garcia Mercadal (Madrid: Aguilar, 1959), 920.

century Moorish fort. According to Dodds, Pedro could not create an image of kingship ‘without reference to the myth of Islamic kingship forged at the Alhambra.’ By alluding to the Alhambra in his palace, Pedro was utilizing the cultural power of the Islamic aesthetic and image of kingship.²²⁵ Indeed, the inscriptions on the wall even refer to Pedro as ‘sultan.’ When Andrea Navagero visited Seville in 1526, he did not recognize the Alcázar as a Mudéjar palace build for a Christian king:

A little way from the Cathedral is the Alcázar, which is a palace, made by the Moorish kings. [it is] very beautiful and richly ornamented in the fashion of the Moors.²²⁶



Figure 3.2 - Alcázar Palace, built 1364-1366, modified 1540-1572, Seville.

This perpetuation of Islamic forms, led to the continued Islamic appearance of Spanish cities. German traveler Jeronimo Munzer stated, in 1495, that Seville ‘still contained innumerable monuments and antiquities of the Saracens.’²²⁷ Indeed, even by the sixteenth century, Seville had not evolved much from the medieval Islamic city with

²²⁵ Dodds, “The Mudéjar Tradition,” 596.

²²⁶ “A poca distancia de la cathedral está el Alcaázar, que es un palacio que fué de los reyes moros, muy bello y rico, labrado á la Morisca.” Navagero, 35.

²²⁷ Ecker, 14.

narrow dead-end streets, and the prominent minaret of the Great Mosque.²²⁸ During the sixteenth century, however, Sevillians consciously constructed a classical past for the city, and an image of the city as an imperial, Renaissance, and commercial center. They built Renaissance-style buildings and ‘exploited, camouflaged, and remodelled the physical remains of the built world in order to project the city’s new imperial image.’²²⁹ During celebrations and when kings visited, ‘ephemeral architecture,’ such as temporary Roman statues and arches, covered the medieval city with a Renaissance veneer. Despite the changes though, the basic urban structure – the streets, layout, and buildings – according to Wunder, was unmistakably Islamic.²³⁰ Yet, Andrea Navagero remarked on Seville’s resemblance to an Italian city, as discussed in the introduction.²³¹ Ecker attributes the change in travellers’ perceptions of Spain not to any physical change, but rather to the ‘Renaissance mood’, which prevailed in Seville by the sixteenth century. This ‘Renaissance mood’ could have related to minor changes or to the attitudes of the citizens themselves – but Charles V also visited Seville in 1526— the same year as Navagero.²³² City officials probably made efforts to emphasize Seville’s imperial Renaissance image for the visit. Ephemeral architecture and remodelling efforts in anticipation of the king’s visit may have contributed to Navagero’s impressions of Seville as an Italian-esque city.

City officials made more permanent changes in the 1570s, by commissioning the Alameda, a beautiful Renaissance park built by draining a swamp and planting poplar trees. They raised two classical columns, which had lain, unmoved, since Roman

²²⁸ Wunder, 195.

²²⁹ Wunder, 196-197

²³⁰ Wunder, 207.

²³¹ Ecker, 14.

²³² “Diario de los viajes de Carlos V,” 920.

times.²³³ After the city raised these so-called columns of Hercules, they mounted statues of Hercules and Julius Caesar on top, evoking Seville's classical origins.²³⁴ Along with a secular Roman past, the church purposely created a Christian past with local saints and relics.²³⁵ In fact, city officials repressed Seville's Islamic past so successfully that nineteenth-century historians attributed Seville's Islamic walls, buildings, bridges, and aqueducts to the Romans.²³⁶

²³³ Wunder, 204

²³⁴ Wunder, 207.

²³⁵ Ecker, 14.

²³⁶ Ecker, 14.



Figure 3.3 - La Giraldo, Cathedral of Seville, 1558-1568



Figure 3.4 - Basilica Cattedrale Patriarcale di San Marco, 1093, Venice.

The Italian traveller, Navagero, whose tour of Spain as ambassador lasted four years, also describes the Cathedral of Seville (formerly the Great Mosque of Seville) and accompanying bell tower (figure 3.3), comparing it to the *campanile* at San Marco (Figure 3.4) in Venice:

Next to the church, there is a bell tower, which is very tall and beautiful with big and lovely bells, and you climb it by [means of] a ramp, like the campanile San Marco in Venice – but the climb is more comfortable [than San Marco].²³⁷

Brothers remarks that the transformation from a minaret to a bell tower must have been convincing because ‘Navagero does not recognize its earlier function.’²³⁸ Actually, the tower that Navagero saw was largely unchanged from its original form. The Renaissance addition of a large belfry to the tower was not completed until 1568, several decades after Navagero’s visit. Thus, the minaret that Navagero saw had hardly undergone a transformation.

Furthermore, even without the Renaissance updates to the tower, Navagero would have no reason to associate the tower with anything other than the campaniles he was accustomed to seeing at home in Venice. Because of Venice’s close trading connections with the Islamic east, they incorporated many distinctly Islamic elements into their architectural vocabulary. In fact, there is often little discernable difference between many bell towers and minarets unless the minarets are topped with a spire or onion dome. Especially considering that Venetian bell towers often exhibit Muslim or Byzantine influence, the distinction, in this case, would have been particularly slight. Brothers goes

²³⁷ “Junto á la iglesia hay un campanario, que es una torre muy alta y muy bella, con grandes y hermosas campanas, y se sube á ella por rampas como al campanario de San Márcos de Venecia, pero subida es más cómoda y clara.” Navagero, 35.

²³⁸ Brothers, 83.

on to concede that Navagero ‘defined what he saw in terms of what he already knew’²³⁹ – Italian, particularly Venetian, architecture. Certainly, it is unfair to expect him to define the bell tower in terms of Islamic architecture he was not familiar with, especially considering the Islamic influence apparent in the architecture of Venice.



Figure 3.5 - Alcázar, 1540-1572, Seville.

In the first half of the sixteenth century in Seville, as in Córdoba, Charles V engaged in remodelling projects, rather than the complete demolition of Islamic landmarks. At the Alcázar he was ‘respectful of the old fabric of the building and preserved its Islamic features.’²⁴⁰ Charles V remodelled to include Roman arches and other Renaissance elements, and his motto ‘plus oultre,’ asserting his dominance over the

²³⁹ Brothers, 83.

²⁴⁰ Brothers, 97.

local traditions and Nasrid past, according to Brothers.²⁴¹ Charles V brought Italian sculptors from Genoa to create columns and other elements but largely executed the new decorations in Islamic plaster and tile. The architect, Luis de Vega, remodelled the Court of Maidens in 1540. Vega raised the central arch to create a ‘grander appearance’ (seen in figure 3.5) but maintained the integrity of the original Mudéjar–style, decorative, polylobed arches. Sculptors incorporated busts, garlands, cherubs’ heads, and other Renaissance elements subtly into the courtyard but Morisco artisans decorated the walls with Mudéjar-style plasterwork.²⁴² More striking than the minimal Renaissance additions is how much of the original Islamic appearance was preserved.

Granada

After the fall of Granada in 1492, memories of the Islamic past lasted longer there than in other Andalusian cities, according to Ecker, who attributes this continuity largely to the presence of the Alhambra. The Alhambra certainly contributed to the Islamic atmosphere of the city, as did the towering minaret of the Great Mosque, which was not destroyed until 1588.²⁴³ The Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand were also instrumental in maintaining Granada’s Islamic heritage when they ensured the preservation of the Alhambra by designating it a *casa real* (royal residence.)²⁴⁴ Ferdinand and Isabella’s daughter, Doña Juana, issued a royal decree in 1515, ordering the rulers of Granada to collect a tax, and use it to repair the walls, towers, and palaces of the Alhambra.

As well you know, by the grace of God, our lord and with his help, the king, my lord and father, and the queen, my lady and mother who have in holy glory won the city of Granada and Alhambra therein, where the Casa Real, which is such a sumptuous and excellent edifice, and the will the said king and queen, my lords

²⁴¹ Brothers, 97.

²⁴² Rosser-Owen, 101.

²⁴³ David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1.

²⁴⁴ Brothers, 79.

[Ferdinand and Isabella], and my own, has always been, and is, the said Alhambra and Casa be well repaired and maintained, in order that it stand forever as a perpetual memorial and so this could be done, I have agreed to give and dedicate some revenues, what a shame if with them and with what more we will send you, to place in the said Alhambra and other buildings therein are well repaired and does not waste away and such a excellent memorial and sumptuous building be lost.²⁴⁵

Many authors assume the Christian monarchs' preservation of the Alhambra was symbolic of Christian triumph over the Islamic empires of Spain, but cite no evidence other than this one decree issued by the mentally unstable Doña Joanna.²⁴⁶ Navagero describes the beauty of the Moorish palace in 1526:

[The Alhambra] is a beautiful palace that was built by the Moorish kings. This palace is truly the most beautiful, and [is] sumptuously built with fine marble and many other materials, but the marble is not on the walls nor the ceiling. It has a grand patio in the Spanish-style, very gorgeous and large, surrounded by stonework, and on one side it has a most singular and lovely [tower] that is called the Torre de Comares, in which there are some nice rooms and chambers with pleasant and comfortable windows made by excellent Morisco workers. In this way on the walls as on the ceilings, the workmanship is partly plaster, with much gold and in part ivory and gold. All are very lovely and particularly the walls and ceilings in the lower rooms.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ ““Bien sabéis como por la gra. de Dios nro. señor e con su ayuda el rey mi señor e padre e la reyna my señora madre que haya santa Gloria ganaron la cibdad de Granada e Alhambra della donde está la Casa Real que es tan suntuoso y exçelente edefiçio e la voluntad de los dhos. Reyes mis señores e mia siempre ha sido e es que la dha. Alhambra e Casa esté muy bien reparada e se sostenga porque quede pa. siempre perpetua memoria e porque est ose pueda facer he acordado de le dar e señalar algunas rentas pa. que con ellas e con lo que mas mandáremos library la dha Alhambra e edefiçios della esten bien reparados e no se consuma e pierda tan eçelente memoria e suntuoso edefiçio como es...”

Manuel Gómez Moreno, *Guía de Granada* (Granada : Imprenta de Indalecio Ventura, 1892).

²⁴⁶ See: Ecker, 15; Brothers, 79; Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, “The Alhambra: An Introduction” in *Al-Andalus: The Arts of Islamic Spain* edited by Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 132.

²⁴⁷ “...es un hermoso palacio que fué de los reyes moros, el cual es en verdad bellissimo y labrado suntuosísimamente con finos mármoles y otras muchas cosas, y los mármoles no están en los muros, sino en el suelo; tiene un gran patio á la española, muy bello y grande, rodeado de fábrica, y en un lado tiene una singular y hermosísima que llaman la *Torre de Comares*, en la que hay algunas salas y cámaras muy buenas con las ventanas hechas muy gentil y cómodamente, con labores moriscas excelentes, así 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 bellísimas, y particularmente las de los muros y techos de la sala baja.” Navagero, 46.

Navagero mentions that Moors built this palace but also refers to it as ‘the Spanish-style’ demonstrating how closely European visitors regarded Spain and the Moorish heritage of Spain. It is also interesting to note how highly Navagero regards the original Moorish and contemporary Morisco workmanship.

Beyond simply Islamic architecture, the city remained in many ways a cultural, religious, and political frontier. The threat of rebellion, or worse, Ottoman invasion aided by the Morisco population remained a real possibility until the 1569-70 expulsion of the Moriscos from Granada.²⁴⁸ As noted in the introduction, ‘few signs of the Christian reconquest of 1492’ were visible by the time of Navagero’s visit.²⁴⁹ Navagero also observes the general ruin happening under the Christian rulers and praises the Moors for their artisanship and beautiful gardens, which were deteriorating in the sixteenth century.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ Coleman, 3.

²⁴⁹ Brothers, 79.

²⁵⁰ Brothers, 83-84.



Figure 3.6 - Courtyard, Palace of Charles V, Alhambra Palatial Complex, 1526-1550, Granada.

Although most historians agree that Spanish rulers maintained the Alhambra as a monument to Christianity's triumph over Islam, Brothers suggests that it also came to represent (paradoxically) the perceived Morisco threat to the stability and security of Spain.²⁵¹ Shortly after visiting Granada several times in 1526 (June 4 to August 20 and October 20 to December 10), Charles V ordered the construction of a new palace. Construction on this new monument (figure 3.6), in a severe, classical, Renaissance style within the Alhambra palatial complex began in the 1530s. Brothers speculates that Charles V wanted to build a monumental palace on the site of the Alhambra in order to assert his authority in the tumultuous region.²⁵²

Historians usually consider Charles V's palace in the context of the Renaissance aesthetic, not in the immediate physical and socio-cultural context of Granada. While the palace was aesthetically very different from the Hispano-Moresque style of the

²⁵¹ Brothers, 95.

²⁵² Brothers, 84.

Alhambra, the primary purpose of Charles V's palace was to rival the Alhambra. Indeed, Brothers argues that Charles V commissioned the palace to be antithetical to the Alhambra, not to revive classic forms.²⁵³ The Renaissance aesthetic happened to be a convenient style to accomplish this goal, and despite following classical principles, Charles V's palace actually bore little resemblance to Italian Renaissance palaces and villas.²⁵⁴ Of course, Charles V did not pick the location of his palace arbitrarily. His new palace did dominate the Alhambra both physically and symbolically, but he also made a choice to preserve most of the Islamic palatial complex. Despite the threat it represented, he deemed it worth saving and placed his own palace within its walls.

Charles V's palace at the Alhambra represents a huge departure in comparison to the policies of preservation of Moorish architecture and Mudéjar silks and decorative arts examined in chapter one and two. Architecture was bound to public image, and much more permanent than decorative arts, inducing the state to enact public policy toward Mudéjar architectural elements that may seem inconsistent. Political and social anxieties could dictate a departure from the crown's normal acceptance of Moorish structures. While earlier monarchs, and even Charles V, often preserved Islamic buildings, the delicate nature of cultural appropriation on the Iberian Peninsula led the king to enact conflicting policies.

²⁵³ Brothers, 93.

²⁵⁴ Brothers, 87-92.



Figure 3.7 - Las Huelgas, 1220-1279, Burgos

Christian structures in Mudéjar style

Christian Spaniards built structures in the Mudéjar style in Iberian cities that had never been under Islamic rule, throwing the ‘triumphalism’ theory into question. The Hispano-Moresque aesthetic had been the dominant style on the peninsula throughout the Middle Ages, and Christian territories adopted it for their own buildings, even as the *Reconquista* progressed. The monastery of Las Huelgas (figure 3.7), built in the early thirteenth century, is located in Burgos, a *Reconquista* center never ruled by Islamic peoples. According to distinguished Islamic art historian and archaeologist Oleg Grabar, ‘the stucco decoration [is] entirely taken from Islamic models’ and there are textiles kept there

which were ‘manufactured by Muslims or imitated Muslim types.’²⁵⁵ The plaster decoration is even adorned with pseudo-Arabic script (figure 3.8.) Las Huelgas was built in the thirteenth century, a very early example of Christians adopting Islamic-style architecture as a pan-Iberian style.



Figure 3.8 - Detail of plasterwork, Las Huelgas, Burgos, 1220-1279

By the sixteenth century, Spain’s Islamic inhabitants no longer held any political power on the peninsula, yet Mudéjar arts and architecture remained fashionable among Christians. As Mariam Rosser-Owen points out, Muslims and Moriscos were not always responsible for Mudéjar arts and architecture. Moorish masters passed on their techniques to both Christian and Muslim students. Arabic inscriptions became illegible because

²⁵⁵ Oleg Grabar, “Two Paradoxes in the Islamic Art of the Spanish Peninsula,” in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, edited by Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 588.

Morisco artisans no longer wrote in Arabic, as the crown had prohibited the use of the language. Perhaps Christian artisans even attempted to ornament with pseudo-Arabic decorative script, because it had become an integral part of the Mudéjar style.



Figure 3.9 - Casa de Pilatos, 1520-1530, Seville.

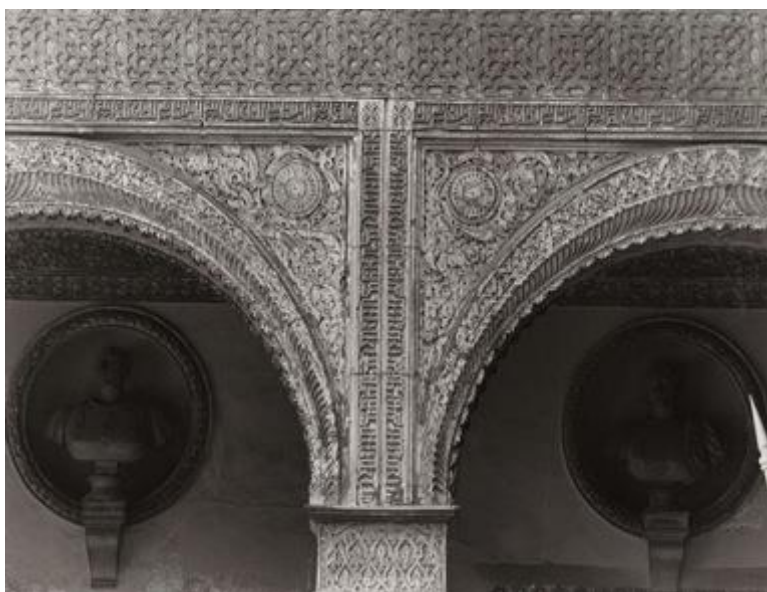


Figure 3.10 - detail, Casa de Pilatos, 1520-1530, Seville.

In the early sixteenth century, after completing a two-year tour of Europe and the holy land, Fadrique Enríquez, Marquis of Tarifa, remodelled his house in Seville. On his sojourn in Italy, Enríquez was inspired to remodel his house based on the Renaissance architecture that he encountered in Venice, Florence, and Rome. Classical and Renaissance elements, like roundels, busts, and Greek and Roman statues (figure 3.9 and 3.10), are interspersed in an overall aesthetic that maintains a Mudéjar character. Enríquez had the palace decorated with thousands of Mudéjar tiles (figure 3.11), lining the walls of the galleries of the courtyard and all the rooms, and he had Arabic script etched into the plaster (figures 3.11 and 3.12), but this is illegible, as the artist probably did not know Arabic.²⁵⁶



Figure 3.11 - detail of tile work, Casa de Pilatos, 1520-1530, Seville.

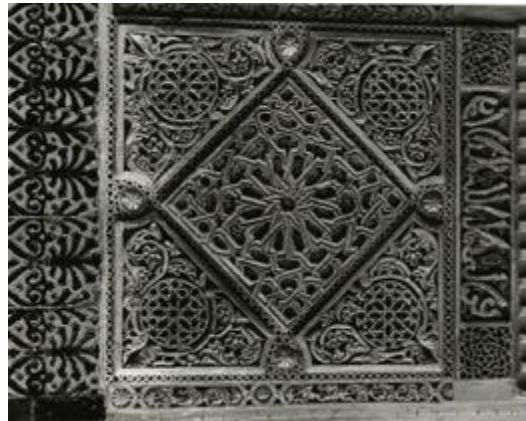


Figure 3.12 - Detail of Plaster, Casa de Pilatos, 1520-1530, Seville.

Enriquez' house later gained the title Casa de Pilatos, leading historians and the public to mistakenly believe that the house is modelled after Pontius Pilate's house in

²⁵⁶ Rosser-Owen, 103-104.

Jerusalem. In fact, the Marquis discovered that the distance between his house and the temple at Cruz del Campo was the same as the distance between Pontius Pilate's house in Jerusalem and the Golgotha (the place where Jesus was crucified). Enríquez created a *Via Crucis*, or Way of the Cross – a symbolic walk between his house and the temple, and consequently, his house became representative of Pontius Pilate's house.

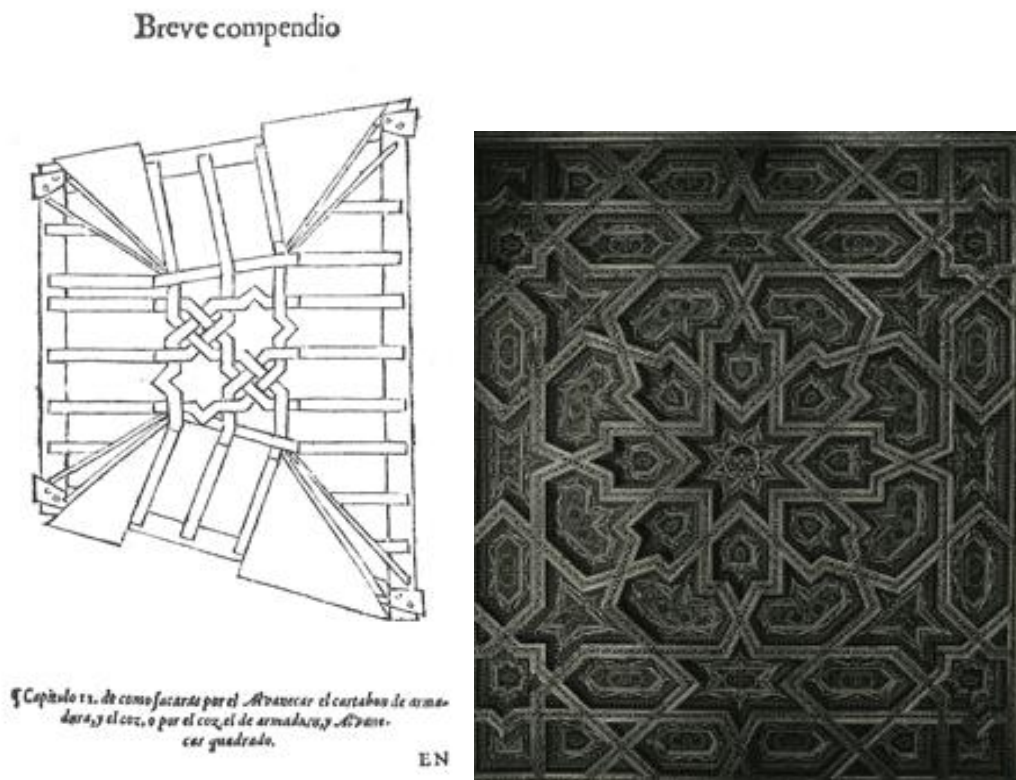


Figure 3.13 - Diego Lopez de Arenas, diagram of a star interlace ceiling, *Breve Compendio de la Carpinteria*. Figure 3.14 - Star interlace ceiling, Catedral de Santa Maria de Toledo, 1504-1512, Toledo.

Other Christians preserved the Mudéjar traditions post-expulsion as well. Master builder Diego Lopez de Arenas wrote a treatise on carpentry and building methods, *Breve Compendio, de la Carpinteria de los blanco, y tratado de Alarifes, y conclusion de la Regla de Nicolas Tartaglia, y otras cosas tocantes a la geometria y puntas del compass*, in 1633. De Arenas outlines the techniques of carpentry because he saw some loss of

skills in the apprentices in his guild.²⁵⁷ This treatise addresses some of the traditional techniques that Muslim masters passed down to their apprentices, but after the expulsion risked being lost to future generations of carpenters. A major focus of the treatise is the complex, interlacing star patterned ceiling (diagram figure 3.13) that features so prominently in Hispano-Moresque buildings (an example can be seen in figure 3.14).²⁵⁸ In the sixteenth century, artists and patrons preserved Mudéjar expertise and traditional Andalusí techniques in stucco, tile, and wood still flourished in Seville. By the early seventeenth century, however, Diego Lopez de Arenas was concerned enough about the traditional craft, to publish this treatise, which would not have been a simple or cheap task. He worried that new Renaissance styles were overshadowing traditional techniques, and that the quality was suffering.²⁵⁹ The expulsion of the Muslims almost 30 years before must have contributed to the loss of traditional Mudéjar architectural skills. De Arenas resisted a shift in building techniques but he also perceived a decline in the quality of work, possibly because of the loss of many dedicated carpenters in the expulsion. This treatise certainly demonstrates how much value Christian carpentry masters placed upon Mudéjar building techniques.

Triumphalism or Indigenous Spanish style?

Art historians such as Grabar have argued that the Islamic or Moorish motifs that Spanish Christians appropriated for their own architecture became disassociated with religion to

²⁵⁷ Wunder, 108.

²⁵⁸ Diego Lopez de Arenas, *Breve Compendio, dela Carpinteria de los blanco, y tratado de Alarifes, y conclusion de la Regla de Nicolas Tartaglia, y otras cosas tocantes a la geometria y puntas del compas*, (Seville, 1633), 8v.

²⁵⁹ Wunder, 210-211

some extent and transformed into an indigenous Spanish style.²⁶⁰ Although conquerors may have initially viewed Islamic monuments as the spoils of war, Moorish buildings along with the techniques and styles of decorative ornamentation became so deeply imbedded in Spanish culture that they developed into a pan-Iberian aesthetic – no longer carrying the same impact of Islamic symbolism. Moorish-looking structures were a daily sight for urban Spaniards, on a level that luxury textiles and ceramics would not have been. Spanish monarchs had been appropriating Moorish buildings for centuries, meaning that the crown, and the Spanish people, traditionally accepted Mudéjar architecture as ‘Spanish.’ Islamic monuments came to symbolize the power and wealth of the crown in many Spanish cities. The Mudéjar style was so deeply rooted in Spanish culture that it was exported to the Americas with Spanish migrant artisans. Details like the star-interlace choir ceiling from the Church of San Francisco in Quito, Ecuador (figure 3.15) show remarkable continuity with Mudéjar traditions in Spain, such as the star interlace ceilings (figures 3.14 and 3.14) and the interlace pattern on ceiling tiles (figure 2.6). All master carpenters in the sixteenth century would have been familiar with Mudéjar features like the star interlace ceiling, but art historian Pál Kelemen suggests that Morisco artisans may have also been active in the New World.²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ See Grabar, “Two Paradoxes,” and Dodds, “The Mudéjar Tradition in Architecture.”

²⁶¹ Pál Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1951), 63.



Figure 3.15 - Star-Interlace Ceiling, Church of San Francisco, 1534-1604, Quito, Ecuador.

However, architects did not incorporate new Islamic elements from outside Spain as artisans did in silk and rug production. While Spain's Moorish past left a lasting impression on her cities, it would have been too much of a concession to rival empires, like the Ottomans, to draw on the contemporary Islamic world for new buildings – particularly during the sixteenth century when Spanish monarchs attempted to cultivate a Western and ultra-Catholic image for Spain. As the following chapter will demonstrate, they did not fully succeed in this endeavour on the world stage. European travellers often

wrote about Spain as an exotic and strange destination, quite different from the Christian image desired by the Spanish Monarchs.

With the backwards-looking ideology of the Renaissance, Spanish Christians became more aware of their Islamic past, and how their cities appeared to outsiders. This led them to modify existing structures and erect temporary statues and arches, which gave their cities a Renaissance appearance, as they did in Seville. By the end of the sixteenth century, Mudéjar elements became less prominent in Spanish architectural vocabulary but the monarchy, city officials, and private citizens maintained existing Islamic buildings, like the Alhambra palatial complex. The Moorish buildings, and Islamic details in Spanish cityscapes helped perpetuate exotic, Islamic appearance of many Spanish cities. This was particularly noticeable to visitors to Spain, as the following chapter will demonstrate.

Chapter Four: Travellers' Accounts of the Iberian Peninsula

Spain's history of religious and cultural pluralism helped create a Spanish hybrid culture since the Middle Ages. Visiting Europeans certainly noted this hybridity and some perceived Spain as somehow 'apart' from Europe. Scholars have focused largely on the cultural 'othering' of Spain by the rest of Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As Spain's empire waned in the eighteenth century, other European powers, such as England, began to view Spain through an imperialist and orientalist lens. Although European observers applied many of the same stereotypes of Eastern tyranny and decadence to Spain, Said's theory of Orientalism is certainly complicated by Europe's 'orientalization' of a Western, Christian state, *Spain*. Scholarship focuses on Spain's image as an 'oriental' land in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the European conflation of Spain with the East had existed for centuries.²⁶² Although Spain was a powerful and influential state in the sixteenth century, many Europeans still noted the remains of Moorish culture there. This chapter traces the European 'othering' of Spain to its roots in the Islamic and Jewish heritage of the peninsula.

There is an abundance of scholarship concerning the 'Black Legend', or the often negative portrayal of Spaniards in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly in studies of English literature²⁶³ and English travel writing or in northern Europe.

²⁶² Michael Crozier Shaw, "European Travellers and the Enlightenment Consensus on Spain in Eighteenth-Century Europe," *Diechiocho* (Spring 2008): 23-44 and Ann Hontanilla, "Images of Barbaric Spain in Eighteenth Century British Travel Writing," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 37 (2008): 119-143 both address English travellers in Spain in the eighteenth century. The Black Legend and English travellers are addressed in: John Walter Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667* (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1968), and E. S. Bates, *Touring in 1600: A Study in the Development of Travel as a Means of Education* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1964).

²⁶³ José F. Colmiero, "Exorcising Exoticism: *Carmen* and the Construction of Oriental Spain," *Comparative Literature* 54 no. 2 (2002), Barbara Everett, "Spanish' Othello: the making of Shakespeare's Moor" in *Young Hamlet: Essays on Shakespeare's Tragedies*, ed. Barbara Everett, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), and Jesús López-Peláez Casellas, "'Paradoxing' the

Historians do not typically connect Spain's hybrid culture with the 'Black Legend' and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century orientalist views of Spain.²⁶⁴ This chapter will demonstrate that the shift to modern stereotypes of Spain as exotic and backward originated with the European perceptions of an Islamic-dominated country and of Spain's 'secret' Jewish population in the sixteenth century. Although Spain attempted to project an ultra-Catholic image in the sixteenth century, and dealt with their Jewish and Muslim populations harshly, paradoxically, these unwanted peoples left a lasting mark on Spanish culture. Spaniards themselves were not even aware of many of their local 'Moorish' customs. This section will connect the Spanish material culture addressed in the preceding chapters with perceptions of Spain as exotic, oriental, and 'other'. The castigation by European visitors and onlookers may have even contributed to harsh action by Spanish monarchs against their own cultural 'others.'

Though earlier travellers did not express their views of Spain in orientalist, imperialist terms - by the early sixteenth century, Europeans already described Spain as an 'exotic' location and visitors to Spain arrived with pre-conceived notions about the country. Despite Spanish efforts to appear as a Christian, Western power, Europeans perceived Spain as 'other' from Europe – an oriental land in the West. Styles of dress, cultural habits, furniture, combined with the arts, material culture, architecture, and layout of many Southern Spanish cities, created an unfamiliar and strikingly exotic landscape for European visitors in the sixteenth century and beyond. England played a

Alien: The Morisco in Early Modern English Texts," *Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies* 46 (2012) concern representation of Spaniards and Moors in English drama and literature.

²⁶⁴ Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain* and Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* both make some effort to connect the eighteenth and nineteenth century "othering" of Spain with medieval and early modern Spanish Moorish and Jewish culture.

particular role in creating prejudices against Spain during the Anglo-Spanish War in the late sixteenth century. Protestant Europe, England and the Netherlands in particular, perpetuated stereotypes, and demonized the Catholic Spaniards in propaganda as cruel, and tyrannical – invoking images of barbarians from the East. Spain’s enemies regarded the Inquisition as a cruel and uncivilized institution and found Spanish behaviour in the New World ‘evident as prooffe, of their perverse, naturall disposition, and tyrannous affection and will.’²⁶⁵ The expulsion of the Jews in 1492, and ongoing issues with the Morisco populations paradoxically brought Spanish racial and religious impurity to the forefront of European conceptualizations of Spain. European portrays of Spain often associated the Iberian Peninsula with the East and with racial impurity and these images originate with Spain’s cultural hybridity in the Middle Ages.

Although European attitudes toward Spain can be gleaned from travellers’ accounts, political and religious propaganda, as well as literary sources, this chapter focuses on travel writing of those who visited Spain and experienced Spanish customs, art, and architecture first hand. Although few Europeans visited Spain before the end of the sixteenth century, an abundance of diplomatic and commercial travellers’ accounts survive. These reports are riddled with stereotypes and biases. It should also be noted that Spanish characters and settings in literary works both stirred interest in Spain and propagated negative stereotypes abroad. While this chapter will focus on the accounts of those who travelled to Spain, historians have studied extensively the literary

²⁶⁵ William I of Orange, “Apologie, 1581,” in Alexander Samson, ““The Colour of the Country’: English Travellers in Spain, 1604-1625”, *Studies in Travel Writing*, 13 no.2 (2009): 113.

representations of Moors in the sixteenth century,²⁶⁶ which contributed to the negative Spanish stereotypes in the minds of Europeans.

Stereotypes and Inconveniences in the Sixteenth Century

For most of the sixteenth century, few Europeans visited Spain, due to the inconvenience and discomfort (real or imagined) of travelling in the Iberian Peninsula. Travellers found the physical terrain difficult to traverse, with the Pyrenees on the border with France and several other mountain ranges dividing the peninsula. The climate was inhospitable at times: in the south, it was often very hot, while it could be very cold in the Pyrenees. Much of Spain was quite poor, and throughout the country, travellers found the roads and amenities to be lacking, as William Lithgow notes in 1619: ‘It is miserable travelling, lesse profitable, in these ten Provinces, or petty Kingdomes, hard lodging and poore, great scarcity of beds and deare.’²⁶⁷ Many travellers also omitted Spain from their itineraries because it did not hold the cultural prestige of Italy or France, not to mention that Spanish was not a language that a ‘gentleman’ needed to be able to speak.²⁶⁸ On the periphery of Europe, the Iberian Peninsula was simply not worth the distance and inconvenience of travel to a country that added nothing to an individual’s status.

Furthermore, Spain’s Jewish and Islamic heritage dissuaded some visitors. Stereotypes of Spanish ‘Jewishness’ and ‘Moorishness,’ as well as assumptions about mixed or tainted Spanish blood proliferated in Europe. Even after the conquest of

²⁶⁶ Hillgarth, 4. See also Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*; Everett, “‘Spanish’ Othello: The Making of Shakespeare’s Moor”; Colmiero, “Exorcising Exoticism”; Luce Lopez Baralt and Andrew Hurley, *Islam in Spanish literature: from the Middle Ages to the present* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

²⁶⁷ William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures & Painefull Peregrinations of long nineteen yeares travayles from Scotland to the most famous kingdoms in Europe, Asia, and Affrica* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1906), 388.

²⁶⁸ Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, 329.

Granada, some Europeans still had the impression that Spain remained under Islamic control in some way. Venetian scholar and historian Marcus Antonius Sabellicus wrote in 1504 that the regions of Spain subject to Islam ‘down to our time’ extend beyond the Emirate of Granada and included ‘the most noble parts of Hispania.’²⁶⁹

Around the same time, Francisco Guicciardini, Italian historian, political writer, and diplomat, led an embassy to the court of Ferdinand in Aragon, in 1512. His observations of the Spanish people are even less favourable. Though he does not mention their Moorish heritage per se, he does comment on their ‘dark’ colour:

The people of this nation are of a sombre character and dour appearance; dark in color and short of stature; they are proud by nature, and believe that no nation could be compared with their own. When they speak, they think carefully about what they say, endeavour to appear better than they are. They place little value on foreigners and are very unpleasant toward them. They are inclined to take up arms, perhaps more than any other Christian nation, and are very apt with them, because of their dexterity. In military matters they esteem honour highly, to the point that rather than tarnish it, they generally prefer to die.²⁷⁰

Other writers comment on the colour and height of the Spanish people as well. Thomas More, English lawyer, statesman, humanist, and later councillor to Henry VIII, wrote about the retinue of Catherine of Aragon upon her arrival in England in 1501 to marry Prince Arthur, calling them ‘ludicrous... hunch backed, undersized, barefoot pygmies from Ethiopia,’ whom he could not bear to look at, as he deemed them black, or ‘non-

²⁶⁹ Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, *Secunda pars Enneadum*, book 7 (Venice, 1504), fol xii-v, as cited by Hillgarth, 160.

²⁷⁰ ‘Los hombres de esta nación son de character sombrío y de aspect adusto de color Moreno y baja estatura; son orgullosos, y creen que ninguna nación puede compararse con la suya; cuando hablan, ponderan mucho sus cosas y se esfuerzan en aparecer más de lo que son; agrádanles poco los forasteros, y son con ellos harto desabridos; son inclinados a las armas, acaso más que ninguna otra nación cristiana, y aptos para su manejo por ser ágiles, muy diestros y sueltos de brazos; estiman mucho el honor, hasta el punto de que, por no mancharlo, no se cuisan generalmente de la muerte...’ Francisco Guicciardini “Relacion de España” in *Viajes en España y Portugal*, vol 1, ed. J. Garcia Mercadal (Madrid: Aguilar, 1959), 613.

white.²⁷¹ Historian Jesús López-Peláez Casellas suspects that these dark or olive-skinned individuals were likely Spanish Moriscos, and calls them ‘strikingly visible.’²⁷² These European perceptions of miscegenation and religious ambiguity may be why Erasmus turned down an invitation to Spain in 1518, claiming that there were ‘scarcely any Christians in Spain.’²⁷³

Historians have addressed European assumptions about Spanish racial miscegenation, cruelty, and tyranny in the context of The Black Legend. Scholars, such as Anne Hontanilla, assume that some stereotypes – particularly those about Spanish ignorance and lack of culture – came into existence after the Enlightenment.²⁷⁴ Yet, these characterizations too had roots in the sixteenth century, as Guicciardini notes in 1512 that

The Spaniards have not turned their attention to books, and neither the nobility nor others have any idea of Latin, except a very few, who know a little of the language. They are outwardly very religious, but not inwardly. They have infinite ceremonies, which they perform with great exactness, and show much humility in speech, the use of titles, and the kissing of hands. Every one is their lord, every one may command them; but this means little, and you can place no faith in them.²⁷⁵

Later in the sixteenth century, anti-Spanish propaganda pamphlets circulating in the Netherlands, France, and England in the 1580s and 1590s only exacerbated these negative perceptions of Spain.²⁷⁶ The Inquisition was also a source of fear for Protestant travellers, as many felt that inquisitors exercised brutal control over the country.

²⁷¹ Casellas, “‘Paradoxing’ the Alien,” 30.

²⁷² There is some disagreement among historians as to whether the Moriscos were racially or just culturally visible as a group – perhaps from their clothing. Fuchs states that “Moors were not necessarily identifiable” and “whatever visible differences were insignificant at the population level.” Fuchs, 117.

²⁷³ Hillgarth, 161.

²⁷⁴ Hontanilla, 133,

²⁷⁵ Guicciardini, in *Viajes de Extranjeros por España y Portugal*, 614.

²⁷⁶ Fuchs, 119.

Protestant propaganda certainly over-simplified the situation and intentionally demonized the inquisitors, characterizing them as cruel tyrants.²⁷⁷

Visitors and outsiders, such as Camillo Borghese [later Pope Paul V (R. 1605-1621)], the papal emissary at the Spanish court in 1594, took the Inquisition's very existence as an indication that Spain was overrun with Muslims and Jews masquerading as Christians.²⁷⁸ Borghese's description of the Morisco problem at Spanish court, sent to Pope Clement VIII, demonstrates the anxieties surrounding Spain's Moorish population:

Only it seems that no small amount of fear is derived from the view that the Moriscos multiply in all the provinces, none of whom are Christian. [They] still Judaize in many things, being new Christians by force. It is estimated that there are more 300,000 and they multiply so quickly, because none, neither men nor women, live a celibate life nor do they go to war. They have, so it is believed, much money, because they are industrious people and they waste little; and maybe for all these fears, the king has prohibited them to own weapons, because truthfully this is a matter that gives one much to think about.²⁷⁹

Interestingly, Borghese seems to associate the Moriscos' illicit activities with the Jewish *converso* population by saying that the Moriscos 'Judaized' and by invoking the Jewish stereotype of hoarding wealth. The Catholic Monarchs had forced the Jewish population to convert or leave over 100 years before 1594, but Europeans still suspected that many Spaniards secretly practiced Judaism as well as Islam. Borghese conflates one non-Christian population with another, using them interchangeably. He does not mention Jewish converts directly but rather focuses on Moriscos who presented a greater concern at the time for the Christian population, due to their alleged ties with the Ottoman Empire. Borghese writes about the Morisco population as though they were foreigners

²⁷⁷ Hillgarth, 8.

²⁷⁸ Hillgarth, 310.

²⁷⁹ Ricardo de Hinojosa, *Los Despachos Diplomacia Pontificia en España* (Madrid: B. A. De La Fuente, 1896), 381.

living in Spain, rather than peoples who had been there for almost nine centuries. The papal emissary touches on the fear about the number of Moriscos living in Spain, and the rate at which they reproduced, with an implied assumption of promiscuity.

The alarm caused by suspicions of clandestine Muslims or Jews was not completely unfounded, as some did practice in secret. Even as late as 1580, visitors observed remnants of Spain's Moorish culture. Erich Lassota de Steblovo, a German noble who visited Spain in 1580, observed, 'On the sixth of June, we arrived at Hornachos, a beautiful and agreeable village, situated in the mountains, and where they speak the Moorish or Arab language.'²⁸⁰ The Spanish state had long outlawed the Arabic language by the time of Steblovo's visit, although it may have escaped the notice of officials in isolated towns. Hornachos was a Morisco center with a population over 10,000, as well as having the largest population of Mudéjars in Castile by the end of the fifteenth century. Hornachos had been under Christian rule since 1234, however, and the Muslim population had been under decree to convert to Christianity since 1502. And yet to a visitor, the population seemingly had not assimilated.

The Black Legend and Protestant Europe

The English in particular helped create and perpetuate a negative image of Spain. During the Anglo-Spanish war (1585-1604), few Englishmen travelled to Spain and disparaging accounts of Spain, filtered through a wartime lens, proliferated in England.²⁸¹ Spain was exoticized in the collective British imagination, as the foreign, unknown enemy of the

²⁸⁰ 'el 6 [junio] marchamos a Hornachos, hermosa y muy agradable villa, situada en una montaña, y donde se habla la lengua mora o árabe.'

Erich Lassota de Steblovo, "Viaje por España y Portugal," in *Viajes en España y Portugal*, vol 1, ed. J. Garcia Mercadal (Madrid: Aguilar, 1959), 1257.

²⁸¹ There are no real reports of Englishmen in Spain before 1605, according to Stoye, 326.

nation. The hatred of Spain and all things Spanish peaked during the height of the war in the 1590s. Although denunciations of Spain ranged from barbarism, pride, cruelty, tyranny, and ignorance, critics often associated these characteristics intentionally with Moorishness, the Orient, and sometimes Africa.²⁸² During the war, Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy of Ireland to the Queen (1584-1586) observed:

This semi-Morisco nation ... is sprung from the filth and slime of Africa, the base Ottomans and the rejected Jews and which is more infamous, a great part of Spain [was] unchristened until a hundred years ago that Granada was conquered by Ferdinand and Isabella.²⁸³

Other writers pejoratively associated Spain with ‘barbarians’ as well. A pamphlet published in 1599 in the Spanish Netherlands during the Dutch Revolt, *A Pageant of Spanish Humours: Wherein are naturally described and liuely portrayde, the kinds and qualities of a signor of Spain*, notes that the cruelty of the Spanish is known worldwide, ‘not onlie in Europe, Asia and Affrica, but also in the farthest part of America, whereby he sheweth himself to be sprung from the cruell goths and blood-thirstie wandals.’²⁸⁴

After the war ended, Englishmen began travelling again to Spain. Visitors included diplomats, merchants, army officers, clergymen, and private travellers. Modern travel writing, based more on travellers’ observations and less on conventions and stereotypes, was emerging during this period.²⁸⁵ Seventeenth-century travellers appreciated many things about Spanish culture but positive observations were still overwhelmed with familiar tropes of the exotic Spanish ‘other.’ The English defined themselves as Enlightened, rational, and civilized in comparison to the barbaric,

²⁸² Alexander Samson, “‘The Colour of the Country’: English Travellers in Spain, 1604-1625” *Studies in Travel Writing* 13 no.2 (2009): 111.

²⁸³ Sir John Perrot, Bodleian Library, Perrot ms. 5, fo. 23, as cited by Stoye, 326.

²⁸⁴ *A Pageant of Spanish Humours: Wherein are naturally described and liuely portrayde, the kinds and qualities of a signor of Spain* (London, 1599).

²⁸⁵ Samson, 112.

decadent, and uncivilized Spaniards.²⁸⁶ A Scottish traveller, William Lithgow, journeyed to Spain in 1619-21,²⁸⁷ after the Spanish-English conflict had ended, and outlined the mixed heritage of the Iberian Peninsula :

Certaine it is, as the Spaniard in all things standeth mainely upon his reputation (but never to avouch it with single combat) so he vaunteth not a little of his antiquity, deriving his pedegree from Tubal, the Nephew of Noe. But (especially as they draw it) how often hath the Line of Tubal, beene bastarded, degenerated, and quite expelled, by invasions of Phoenicians, oppressions of the Greekes, incursions of the Carthaginians, the Conquest and planting of Provinces, and Colonies of the Romanes, the general deluge of the Gothes, Hunnes, and Vandales: and lastly, by the long and intolerable Tyranny of the Moores, whose slavish yoake and bondage in 800. yeares, he could scarcely shake off.²⁸⁸

Lithgow makes particular note of Spain's Moorish rule, and hints at the remnants of Muslim influence. He is clear to indicate that this mixed heritage is a weakness, saying, 'then it is manifest, that this mixture of Nations, must of necessity make a compounded Nature, such as having affinity with many, have no perfection in any one.'²⁸⁹ Further, Lithgow highlights the Moorish heritage in particular: 'Their Manners are conformable to their discent, and their conditionall Vertues semblable to their last and longest Conquerors, of whom they retayne the truest stampe.'²⁹⁰ Indeed, even in the seventeenth century, Lithgow noticed the remnants of Moorish culture in Spain. He may have noted local Spanish customs, like the practice of eating seated on cushions on the floor, but particularly as Lithgow travelled in Andalucía, he must have noticed the Moorish architecture and abundant decorative tiles and carvings.

²⁸⁶ Sandra Clark, "Spanish Characters and English Nationalism in English Drama of the Early Seventeenth Century," *BHS* 84(2007): 131-132.

²⁸⁷ Lithgow was apprehended in Malaga in 1620 and tortured as a spy.

²⁸⁸ Lithgow, 388.

²⁸⁹ Lithgow, 388.

²⁹⁰ Lithgow, 388-389.

Despite the negative assumptions about the mixed blood and Moorish influence in Spain, Lithgow goes on to praise Moorish architecture at the Alhambra palace in Granada: ‘It hath a spacious and strong Castle, which was builded by the Moores, and indeede a Kingly mansion: Where I saw the Hals and Bed-Chambers of the Moorish Kings, most exquisitly, over-siled, and indented with Mosaicall worke; excelling farre any moderne industry whatsoever.’²⁹¹ Indeed, visitors often remarked on building techniques and the magnificent structures in Spain, as Navagero had done early in the sixteenth century. Also writing in the early seventeenth century, in 1616, English merchant factor James Howell remarked on the Monastery of St. Laurence in El Escorial calling it, ‘the eighth wonder of the world... What I have seen in Italy... are but baubles to it.’²⁹² A few years later, in 1623, Welsh courtier Sir Richard Wynn of Gwydir judged the same building to be, ‘the goodliest monastery in the world.’²⁹³

Looking back and Orientalism in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

In the mid-eighteenth century, Spaniards themselves began looking back to their Islamic past and its monuments, and Spanish officials took an interest in preserving Islamic heritage.²⁹⁴ During this period, European tourists began visiting Spain in greater numbers. For many artists, they found their first taste of the ‘Orient,’ safely – in Spain.²⁹⁵ Art historians, such as Mariam Rosser-Owen, find it useful to speak of an orientalization of Spain during this period. Tourists and artists actively orientalised Spain, adding anachronistic Arab figures to painted landscapes (figure 4.1), posing in Arab costume for

²⁹¹ Lithgow, 390.

²⁹² James Howell, *Epistolae Ho – Elianae: The Familiar Letters of James Howell*, 4 vols (Boston, MA and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1907) as cited in Samson, 119

²⁹³ Samson, 119.

²⁹⁴ Rosser-Owen, 109.

²⁹⁵ Rosser- Owen, 111.

photographs (figure 4.2), adding exotic Moorish characters in literature, and in person as they visited Spain's Moorish architectural monuments.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁶ Rosser-Owen, 112.

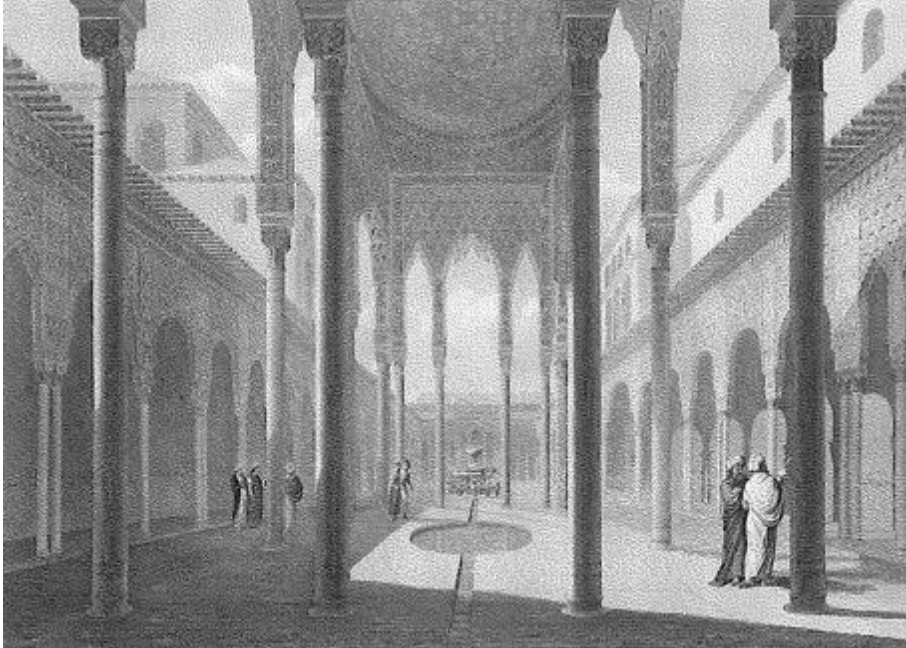


Figure 4.1 – James Cavanah Murphey, *A Perspective View of the Court and Fountain of Lions*, engraving, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London, 1815), plate 33. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London 102.L.5



Figure 4.2 – Unknown photographer, Albert Frederick Calvert in 'Moorish dress' Frontispiece to his book, *The Alhambra*, (London, 1904) NAL 18.C.52

For Europeans, the romantic appeal of an oriental land in the West, however, was intertwined with assumptions about Spanish ignorance and backwardness. Although a shift from the sixteenth-century prejudices, British travel writing had helped produce this image of an oriental, decadent, and backward Spain.²⁹⁷ According to Hontanilla, Protestant accounts of Spanish Catholicism and the Inquisition in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were highly fictionalized, full of ‘exaggeration and unchecked fantasy.’²⁹⁸

Even non-Europeans had a sense of this Spanish ‘difference.’ Near the end of the seventeenth century, the Moroccan ambassador to Spain, Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wanha, claimed he felt very at home in Andalucía. J. N. Hillgarth states that al-Wanha was ‘naïve’ to think that most of the inhabitants were either Muslim or descended from Muslim, when the expulsion had removed ‘all traces’ of them.²⁹⁹ Hillgarth is quick to dismiss the Moroccan visitor as naïve, but in reality, many European visitors held the same assumptions about Spain, especially Andalucía. In fact, visitors could have seen traces of Spain’s Muslim inhabitants in the arts and culture of Andalucía, even into the seventeenth century, as the preceding chapters have shown.

Visitors maintained a romantic interest in the country. Europeans romanticized Spain’s colourful ‘Arab’ culture – believing it to be the source of Spanish guitar, bullfighting, and flamenco, and often conflating Spanish with Gypsy culture.³⁰⁰ An anonymous writer in 1764 explained the mystery of Spain:

It has been justly regretted that we know little more of the inland parts of Spain, than the inland parts of Africa. Except the Spanish novels, and *The Ladies* [sic]

²⁹⁷ Hontanilla, 121.

²⁹⁸ Hontanilla, 131.

²⁹⁹ Hillgarth, 67.

³⁰⁰ Rosser-Owen, 111 and Colmiero, 132.

Travels into Spain, there is scarce a book yet extant from which we can form any idea of the manners of the people, or the produce, or the curiosity of the country.³⁰¹

While this account manifests a relatively positive tone, the mention of Africa here is not incidental – writers frequently linked Spain to Africa in an attempt to further condemn Spain. The author’s curiosity about Spain’s the exotic ways is deeply rooted in assumptions of Spanish backwardness, and essential difference from Europe:

There are, besides, in the interior parts of Spain, many curious remains of Moorish antiquity, many traditions of unwritten events, many opinions which have been driven from the rest of Europe, and some amusements and employments which are known no where else.³⁰²

In alignment with the image of Spaniards as primitive and barbaric, British travel writing associated Spanish religious practices with ancient paganism.³⁰³ Rhetorically, some accounts conflated Spanish “Popery” with not only Roman paganism, but also Islamic rule. Reverend Edward Clarke, visited Spain in 1760-61 as chaplain to the Ambassadors Benjamin Keene and George William Herrey. As a Protestant minister, Clarke was adverse to Catholic practices in general, but he takes issue with Spanish religious practices in particular, seemingly associating them with Moorish influence during the years of Islamic rule. According to Clarke before 711, the Spanish church was pure:

Till after Moorish times, it had no image-worship; no prayers addressed to saints, or angels; no purgatory; it did not maintain sacraments; it knew not transubstantiation, which certainly is of no older date than the time of Pope Innocent III in the Lateran council, held after the year 1200; by consequence the cup was always given to the laity, and never refused till after that doctrine prevailed in the beginning of the eighth century. There was likewise no adoration

³⁰¹ Anonymous introduction, “Account of the Sheep and Sheep Walks of Spain,” *Annual Register for 1764*, 77.

³⁰² *Annual Register*, 77.

³⁰³ Hontanilla, 120.

of the host, no auricular confession. They had no prayers then in an unknown language.³⁰⁴ However, after the Moorish invasion, paganism, and popery corrupted the Spanish church, according to Clarke:

The Spanish Church certainly remained pure, uncorrupted, and unpapistical till towards the 8th century; so from that period downwards, Paganism artfully, and by almost imperceptible insinuations, gradually stole in, wearing that mark or vizor, which we now call Popery... When you enter a Roman catholic, apostolic, papistical, christian temple, at your first view you see that all is Pagan.

Clark denounced Spanish Catholicism specifically as paganism, but seems to connect the downfall with Islamic rule in the eighth century. Like the Spanish race, Catholicism on the peninsula was also contaminated. Some outside observers imagined Spain to be far behind the rest of Europe in religious, cultural, and intellectual affairs. As the anonymous writer notes in the *Annual Register for 1764*, the Spanish were:

A people who are, in many respects, what the rest of Europe was five centuries ago. They have no intercourse with other nations, either for pleasure or for profit; their superstition has suffered very little from the advancement of general knowledge, and they have preserved the ancient habits of life, which in other places have been changed by the improvement of arts and the establishment of manufacturies.³⁰⁵

The alleged backwardness and superstition of the country provoked curiosity in some visitors. Travellers found an exotic appeal to the ‘ancient habits of life’ one could find there. For others though, Spain’s out-dated institutions, uncivilized people, and barbaric practices did not hold any romantic appeal. They saw the Inquisition as a dangerous institution, not suitable for an enlightened, civilized country. Indeed, the anonymous *Polite Traveller* summarized the distaste that some Europeans held for Spain in 1783, claiming that:

³⁰⁴ Rev Edward Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation: Written at Madrid During the Years 1760 and 1761* (London: 1763), 11-12.

³⁰⁵ *Annual Register*, 77.

Nothing but necessity can induce a man to travel in Spain: he must be an idiot, if he make the tour of this country from mere curiosity, unless he has a design to publish memoirs of the extravagancies of human nature. In that case, he cannot do better, for he will every where find pride, baseness, poverty, ignorance, bigotry, superstition, and ridiculous ceremonies. This is a faithful abstract of the character of the Spaniards.³⁰⁶

Spain was no longer an imperial power, but a culturally regressive and economically dependent land. ‘The progress of knowledge in this country must be very slow,’ noted Dalrymple in 1776.³⁰⁷ Compared to their own commercial, scientific, and intellectual progress, British travellers, in particular, found Spain’s progress to be lacking.

Some historians note a marked shift in European stereotypes of Spain from the cruel, tyrannical, prideful barbarian in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to an ignorant, uncultured savage in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³⁰⁸ Post-Enlightenment, European critics shifted their focus to Spain’s supposedly uncultured populace, but similar stereotypes had existed since at least the early sixteenth century, as Guidicciardini’s account of 1512 clearly demonstrated.³⁰⁹ The repeated portrayal of Spaniards as backward and uncultured became a convention of eighteenth-century travel writing. These narratives reinforced the idea that Spain was un-enlightened and un-intellectual – a land of barbarism and superstition that did not contribute to European knowledge.³¹⁰

³⁰⁶ *The Polite Traveller: Being a Modern View of Part of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Africa* (London: John Fielding, 1783), 92.

³⁰⁷ Mario Ford Bacigalupo, “An Ambiguous Image: English Travel Accounts of Spain (1750-1787),” *Dieciocho* 1, no. 2 (1978): 120.

³⁰⁸ See Hontanilla, 133.

³⁰⁹ Many visitors comment on this in the seventeenth century as well: Baltasar de Monconyoys in 1645 – 46 dismissed Spanish learning while visiting the University of Salamanca (Shaw, 30) and Francis Willughby stated in 1664 that the University of Valencia was 100 years behind the rest of Europe, teaching Logic, and Thomas Aquinas (Stoye, 368.)

³¹⁰ Shaw, 23.

Similar prejudices against Spain continued well into the nineteenth century. French writer, Alexander Dumas, père (1802- 1870) famously stated that ‘Africa begins at the Pyrenees.’ Europeans conflated Spain with Africa and the East in an attempt to disparage Spanish society. Several nineteenth-century French Romantic writers also commented on the Spanish situation, emphasizing Spain’s status as the oriental ‘other’. In 1826, Alfred Vigny said ‘un Espagnol est un homme de l’Orient, c’est un Turc Catholique.’ and Victor Hugo echoed this sentiment soon after, in 1828, saying, ‘l’Espagne c’est encore l’Orient; l’Espagne est à demi africaine l’Afrique est à demi asiatique.’³¹¹ Finally, in a similar vein, in 1838, Chateaubriand dubbed Spaniards, ‘Arabe Chrétiens.’³¹²

These sentiments were echoed by eighteenth and nineteenth-century American racial theorist William Zebina Ripley (1867-1941), who suggested:

Beyond the Pyrenees begins Africa. Once that natural barrier is crossed, the Mediterranean racial type in all its purity confronts us. The human phenomena is entirely parallel with the sudden transition to the flora and fauna of the south. The Iberian population thus isolated from the rest of Europe, are allied in all important anthropological respects with the peoples inhabiting Africa north of the Sahara, from the Red Sea to the Atlantic.³¹³

Ripley was again associating Spain with Africa in addition to the Orient, as writers had done since the early sixteenth century to imply that Spain was not a part of Europe. Many nineteenth century European travellers similarly felt that Spain provided a ‘gateway to the Orient,’ an exotic –but safe – destination. *The Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* claimed one could see the ‘altogether un-European’ sites of ‘Islamic

³¹¹ Colmiero, “Exorcising Exoticism,” 131.

³¹² Colmiero, 132.

³¹³ William Zebina Ripley, *The races of Europe: a sociological study*, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1899), 272-273.

antiquities.’³¹⁴ A mid-nineteenth-century travel text, *The Land of the Saracens or, Pictures of Palestine, Asia Minor, Sicily and Spain*,³¹⁵ written in 1855, focuses mainly on the Middle East, or ‘Land of the Saracens,’ as the author dubs them. Taylor includes Spain in this grouping- implying that it is an Islamic land. Indeed, according to Rosser-Owen, many British travellers in the eighteenth century assumed that Andalusians were ‘living incarnations of Muslims.’³¹⁶

Conclusion

European observers and visitors imagined Spain as exotic and ‘other’ for centuries before the colonial period, although the focus shifted from religious concerns to cultural and intellectual denunciations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many European perceptions of Spain originated with assumptions about the Jewish and Muslim populations of the Iberian Peninsula. While the stigma of having non-Christian peoples within their borders during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may have contributed to Spain’s decision to expel their Jewish and Muslim residents, the ejection of these peoples did not change Spain’s image as ‘apart’ from Europe.³¹⁷ In fact, the expulsion and conversion of the Jews and Muslims only brought these heterodox populations to the attention of wider Europe. Europeans saw remnants of Spain’s Morisco culture in Spanish religion and customs and indeed, the Moorish contribution to Spanish visual culture, discussed in the preceding three chapters, left a lasting impression on the arts and

³¹⁴ Richard Ford, *The Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* (London, 1855), as cited by Rosser-Owen, 110.

³¹⁵ Bayard Taylor, *The Land of the Saracens or, Pictures of Palestine, Asia Minor, Sicily and Spain* (New York: Putnam, 1855).

³¹⁶ Rosser-Owen, 111.

³¹⁷ Fuchs, 10.

architecture of the peninsula – perpetuating Spain’s oriental image abroad into the nineteenth century.

Conclusion: Spain's Exotic Image

According to Mariam Rosser-Owen, Spain's Islamic past was 'deliberately forgotten' after the expulsion of 1614,³¹⁸ although many marks of this past remained for centuries. Production of Mudéjar art forms did not abruptly end with the fall of Granada. Scholarship has largely neglected the continuity in the arts during the sixteenth century. As this thesis has demonstrated, Spain preserved Mudéjar forms well into the seventeenth century, although the arts did not develop uniformly across all mediums. It is important not to generalize about the arts, or even the luxury arts, as each evolved differently. Silk weavers incorporated stylistic elements from Mudéjar traditions, as well as the Christian and Islamic worlds, while carpet production relied on local motifs combined with designs imported from the Ottoman Empire. Lusterware ceramics remained relatively stagnant, employing largely traditional motifs, while painted maiolica often imitated Italian models. In architectural forms, Spanish monarchs enacted seemingly contradictory policies regarding existing Islamic buildings, while private citizens incorporated the Mudéjar aesthetic into new constructions. Treating Spanish decorative arts as a single homogenous group risks overlooking these intricacies within each art form.

Many factors contributed to Christian Spain's repression and eventual expulsion of their Moorish population: the Alpujarras rebellion, the belief that the Moriscos could not be assimilated, as well as the desire of the Spanish state to confiscate land and wealth. In addition to these factors, however, Protestant propaganda and literary accounts of a Moorish Spain – particularly in England and the Netherlands — actively questioned Spain's religious and racial purity. Although many elements of Spanish culture which outsiders perceived as exotic were so well assimilated into daily life that many Spaniards

³¹⁸ Rosser-Owen, 109.

were not even aware of their origins, the stereotyping by the rest of Europe may have contributed to the attempted repression of all things Moorish – and to the eventual expulsion of the Moriscos. For example, courtier Antoine de Lalaing wrote in his account of the first visit of Philip the Fair (Duke of Burgundy and husband to Doña Juana of Castile) to Spain in 1501, that the duke

[W]as advised of the multitude of white Moors who lived in the Spanish kingdoms. Surprised at this case, he inquired why it was suffered, and was told that the great sum of tribute that they paid was the cause: because each head great and small paid a gold ducat a year. And my Lord replied that someday they might do more damage to the realm than their tribute was worth, as they had once done and could do again.³¹⁹

According to Lalaing, Philip the Fair's musings provoked action from his mother-in-law Queen Isabella of Castile:

To please my Lord, and knowing also that he spoke the truth, the Queen ordered that within the four or five months that followed, [the Moors] should leave their lands or should have themselves baptized and hold our faith; which many of them did, some of them more, I believe, to preserve their property than for the love of God. The others went back to *their lands* and many were robbed and looted on the way.³²⁰

Notably, Lalaing states that the Moors returned to their lands, presumably North Africa, despite being Spanish residents for generations.

Similarly, another tale alleges that Spanish forces captured and held Francis I of France in the Castle of Benisan in Valencia after the Battle of Pavia. The French regent observed the Moors working in the field on a Sunday, and this embarrassment spurred Charles V to initiate their forced conversion.³²¹ While these examples are anecdotal and likely fictitious, their authors thought the opinions of elite outsiders directed influenced

³¹⁹ Fuchs, 21.

³²⁰ Fuchs, 21, italics mine.

³²¹ Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1968), 81

Spanish policy, and in all likelihood, on a larger scale, the general perception of Spain in travellers' accounts and throughout Europe, may have actually affected Spanish policy toward Moors and Moorish culture.

Certainly, the art forms addressed in this thesis - silk, velvet, carpets, earthenware and tiles, architectural monuments, mosaics, carvings, and plasterwork – had a cumulative effect on the appearance of Spanish cities and contributed to Spain's 'altogether un-European' image. The extent to which this image contributed to the expulsion Morisco population is debatable, but the ongoing European perception of Spain as 'other' from Europe without a doubt contributed to their repression of 'Islamic' elements in Spanish culture, as evinced by the timing of Philip II's re-enactment of the laws against Arabic and 'Moorish' culture in 1566. The official repression of Islamic elements outlined in the introduction seems incompatible with the continuity in the arts demonstrated in chapters one to three. Spain's hybrid culture made it difficult to purge the 'other' completely, despite the crown's Catholic ideals.

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