

FRAGMENTED VISIONS: ARCHITECTURAL AND
RELIGIOUS ENTWINEMENT IN THE CATHEDRAL
OF SEVILLE

By

HAYLA MAY

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University of Arkansas – Fort Smith

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Thesis Approved:

Jennifer Borland

Thesis Adviser

Louise Siddons

Emily Graham

Name: HAYLA MAY

Date of Degree: MAY, 2021

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Abstract: This study analyzes the affectivity of the Cathedral of Seville on its fifteenth and sixteenth century audiences through a phenomenological assessment of spatial experience on its viewer. In so doing, I contend that the space simultaneously influenced and reflected social contentions at a time in Spain that was fraught with religious discord between Christians and Muslims. I trace the history of the site, beginning with the construction of the Great Mosque in the twelfth century, move through its reconsecration as a cathedral in the thirteenth century and reconstruction into a Gothic building in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Through the chronology, I question the role of the cathedral as a symbolic tool that narrated religious conquest and how that function of the space influenced socioreligious relationships. By employing a close formal analysis of the disorienting juxtaposition of Almohad and Gothic aesthetics, I demonstrate that Castilian governance of the space specifically utilized contrasting visual motifs in a system that reiterated Catholic dominion over the once-Islamic sacred space. The demolition of the prayer hall of the reconsecrated mosque in the fifteenth century directly reflected the simultaneous fracturing of Muslim communities in Castilian Spain; customs, behaviors, and livelihoods were regulated by law and their communities became fractured by the entwining of the socioreligious groups in the city. Using the approach of reception theory of the cathedral against the anthropological backdrop of sixteenth century Iberia, I argue that the timing of the cathedral reconstruction was affected by changing sentiment about the threat of Islam to the Catholic kingdom of Castile, and that the newly reconquered cathedral participated in a system of increasing hegemony against Muslims in Spain.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In Seville, Spain rests the Catedral de Santa María de la Sede. The cathedral was built in the 15th century over a preexisting mosque from the Almohad Caliphate, and many Islamic elements of spatial construction and decorative motifs were maintained and incorporated into the Christian structure.¹ I analyze why those Islamic elements were kept and the effect it may have had on the reception of the medieval viewer

¹ Many of the sources on the cathedral later cited in this thesis acknowledge the timeline of architectural changes made to the site. For a comprehensive source that summarizes the timeline and existing scholarship on the cathedral, see Begoña Alonso Ruiz and Alfonso Jiménez Martín, “A Fifteenth-Century Plan of the Cathedral of Seville,” *Architectural History* 55 (2012): 57–77.

This period is particularly significant being that the mosque was begun in 1172 and in 1248 Seville was taken by new government under King Ferdinand III and proclaimed as a Christian space.² From 1248 through the 15th century, the building was slowly redesigned as a more Gothic program of space, while serving as a stage for the negotiation between Islamic and Christian motifs of visuality.

There are three major spaces in the church that were maintained from the mosque. One of these is the Giralda tower, which had been the minaret of the mosque that the cathedral had replaced. Another is the courtyard known as the Patio de los Naranjos, flanking the northern exterior side of the cathedral. It is a unique space that evokes the preceding mosque in many ways, particularly through the arrangement of citrus trees, a feature of many medieval mosques. The third space is the entrance into the Patio, the portal called the Puerta del Perdón. The portal represents a liminal area between the sacred space of the courtyard and the streets outside of it.

Castilian governance of the city of Seville was demarcated by a social dichotomy of religions that was reflected by the contrasting Islamic and Christian visualities of the Cathedral. In this thesis, I explore how the juxtapositions of those religious stylings affected and was affected by religious discord in Seville during the 15th and 16th centuries, a time when the cathedral was rebuilt and socioreligious tensions were at a peak.

² For an analysis of the mosque construction, see Álvaro Jiménez Sancho, "Hallazgo de Un Zócalo Pintado Islámico En La Catedral de Sevilla," *Al-Qanṭara* 20, no. 2 (1999): 376-385. For a more comprehensive assessment of Castilian conquest, see Thomas Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979).

State of the Field

Three major historiographies inform this study. One is that of the scholars who have analyzed the Cathedral of Seville, which has been predominantly studied in terms of archeological dating of Christian and Islamic architectural pieces. Prominent among these authors are Alfonso Jiménez Martín, Begoña Alonso Ruiz, and Alvaro Jimenez Sancho. Another vein is the scholarship that has been done on the architectural and social intersection of Islam and Christianity in early modern Castile. Key authors include Ruth Pike, Louise Mirrer, Jon Cowans, and Olivia Remie Constable. The third vein is that of scholarship which argues for the active affectivity of architecture and the built environment on social perceptions and relationships. Major contributors to this methodological approach are Anne Marie Yasin, Ethel Sara Wolper, and Patricia Blessing. The forms and gaps in these historiographies beckon to be braided together, and thus provide a threshold in which this study takes shape.

Within academic literature, architecture is often a product of utility and technological advancement, a canvas upon which decoration takes place, and an assemblage of cultural influences. As such, medieval buildings across Europe have largely been studied in terms of their capacity to evince stylistic change and accommodate functionality. Those indeed are facets of the role of architecture, and this applies equally to spaces of profane purpose as it does to the more-often studied sacred spaces. John Crook's work typifies this; his surveys of floorplans and shrine design in 12th- 15th c. Christian churches as a method for understanding pilgrimage practices reflects approaches similar to Eugene Kleinbauer, William Clark, and other major

architecture historians.³ Hillenbrand's comprehensive work on Islamic architecture is similarly calibrated in its characterization of architecture as a receptacle of stylistic influences.⁴

However, recent scholars have analyzed architecture with an emphasis on its role as an affecter of cultural matrices as well as an effect of them. Blessing, Yasin, and Wolper have offered strong methodological approaches to the study of architecture as a significant agent in medieval systems of religious perceptions of class relationships and interreligious social atmospheres. Each of them gives primacy to visibility and takes into account the implications of medieval spatial experience. Blessing analyzes funerary sites across Anatolia to determine how spatial arrangement of such sites affected systems of patronage, gender, and conceptualizations regarding death.⁵ Yasin assesses sacred spaces in late antiquity to contend that the visibility of inscriptions and types of people that spaces were designed for shaped perceptions of class.⁶ Wolper discusses dervish lodges in Anatolian cities as mediators of interreligious relationships due to their positions within the city, as well as their transparency via windows, gates, doors, etc.⁷ These

³ John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300-1200*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

⁴ Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning*, Casebound ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

⁵ Patricia Blessing, "Buildings of Commemoration in Medieval Anatolia: The Funerary Complexes of Şahib 'Atā al-Dīn 'Alī and Māhperī Khātūn," *al-Masāq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 27, no. 3 (December 2015): 225-252.

⁶ Anne Marie Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult and Community* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁷ Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval*

scholars are among the few who have looked at the sculptural qualities of architectonic forms, at how the modelling of spatiality controls socio-political perception and relationships.⁸

The majority of scholarship on the Cathedral of Seville has been done in Spanish-language literature (i.e. journals, symposiums, books, etc.), generally with a focus on archeological history. Ruiz has detailed the accounts of the architects who worked on the Gothic structure and how the Gothic designs aligned stylistically with similar designs around Spain, Germany, and France.⁹ The most extensive work done on the building by a single scholar is by Martín, whose work is largely characterized by the dating of the cathedrals floorplans, decorative pieces and structural elements.¹⁰ Similarly, Sancho has worked on formal analysis and dating of elements such as wall paintings and the Puerta del Perdón.¹¹ The work of these authors, and others, is critical in properly understanding

Anatolia, (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2003).

⁸ This is by all means not a comprehensive list; indeed, this method is fluid and can permeate a broader scope of scholarship to some capacity. These authors have simply centered their studies around this methodology. For work similar to Yasin, see Lynda Coon and Kim Sexton, “Racetrack to Salvation: The Circus, the Basilica, and the Martyr,” *Gesta* v59n1 (Spring 2020): 1-42.

⁹ Begoña Alonso Ruiz, “‘El Laboratorio Arquitectónico: La Huella de La Catedral de Sevilla En La Arquitectura Religiosa Del Tardogótico Hispano’, en *La Piedra Postrera. Simposium Internacional Sobre La Catedral de Sevilla En El Contexto Del Gótico Final, Sevilla* vol. 1 (2007): 257-280.

¹⁰ For work on the cathedral floorplan, see Begoña Alonso Ruiz, Alfonso Jiménez Martín, “A Fifteenth-Century Plan of the Cathedral of Seville,” *Architectural History* 55 (2012): 57-77. On the northern courtyard, see Alfonso Jiménez Martín, “Blasones y Colgaduras. Datos Para Una Historia Del Patio de Los Naranjos En La Edad Moderna,” *Archivo Hispalense* (2018): 306-308, 261-290.

¹¹ On the wall paintings, see Álvaro Jiménez Sancho, “Hallazgo de Un Zócalo Pintado Islámico En La Catedral de Sevilla,” *Al-Qanṭara* 20, no. 2 (199): 377. On the Puerta del Perdón, see Alvaro Jimenez Sancho, “Seguimiento Arqueológico En La Puerta Del Perdón de La Catedral de Sevilla,” *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* (1999): 899-908.

what the space looked like at various moments in time.¹² Their research highlights the changing spatial forms of the cathedral from its inception, and begins to address its role in interreligious relationships.

Lastly, there is the broad scope of anthropological work done on Reconquista and Castilian society. Though each of those concepts command their own vast historiographies, those methodologies inform the analysis of sixteenth century reception of the Cathedral of Seville. In order to assess the effects of the cathedral on viewers, we must first understand the viewers. Foremost, then, is the work done on Reconquista, which in recent years has been conceptually called into question.¹³ Some argue that Islamic presence in Iberia was a polemic tool that Castile used to justify Christian subjugation of the peninsula. This is not to tackle the many historical events comprising the dominion of Catholic rulers in Iberia, but rather the ways in which mass conversion took place within Muslim communities in the 15th and 16th centuries. Carr details just that in *Blood and Faith*, as does Catlos in *The Victors and Vanquished*.¹⁴ These texts tell a

¹² Other authors include Francisco Pinto Puerto, José María Guerrero Vega, and Clara Almagro Vidal. For a fuller list of authors who have recently worked on the cathedral of Seville, see *Simposium Internacional Sobre la Catedral de Sevilla en el Contexto del Gótico Final, La Piedra Postrera 1*, ed. Alfonso Jiménez Martín (Seville: 2007) and *Simposium Internacional Sobre la Catedral de Sevilla en el Contexto del Gótico Final, La Piedra Postrera 2*, ed. Alfonso Jiménez Martín (Seville: 2007).

¹³ For more on the theoretical debates on the notion of Reconquista, see Kenneth Baxter Wolf, “Myth, History, and the Origins of al-Andalus: A Historiographical Essay,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 11, no. 3 (September 2, 2019): 378–401.

¹⁴ Matthew Carr, *Blood and Faith: The Purging of Muslim Spain* (New York: New Press, 2009); Brian A. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050-1300*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought; 4th Ser., 59; Variation: Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

story of the Muslim communities that resisted Catholic hegemony and slowly lost rights under the rule of Catholic leaders such as Ferdinand III.

The emotional trauma of such changes would have been amplified by the memories of the relatively more peaceful way of life pre-Reconquista, which overlaps with the scholarship on Convivencia. The concept of Convivencia as an academic model started most predominantly with Américo Castro in 1948.¹⁵ The idea that Muslims, Jews, and Christians lived peacefully in Al-Andalus under Muslim rule has been critically addressed many times, the largest wave in the field coming from Thomas Glick.¹⁶ Though there has been heated debate over interfaith relationships in Iberia pre-1492, Glick's treatment helps nuance the complexities of socio-religious blending while maintaining that religious freedom was much more prevalent in Iberia under Muslim rule than it was during and after Reconquista. The picture of interfaith relationships before, during, and after Reconquista directly affects how the memories, perceptions, and uses of the cathedral space can be understood.

Other historiographies and individual works inform this study as well. One of these is the work, predominantly carried out by D. Fairchild Ruggles, on the allegorical qualities of Islamic architectural designs and gardens.¹⁷ Another is *The Arts of Intimacy*,

¹⁵ On the topic of Convivencia, see Vivian B. Mann et al., *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, 1st ed. (New York: GBraziller in association with the Jewish Museum, 1992). For a more robust historiography on Convivencia, see Maya Soifer, "Beyond Convivencia: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1, no. 1 (January 1, 2009): 19–35.

¹⁶ Mark T. Abate, *Convivencia and Medieval Spain: Essays in Honor of Thomas F. Glick* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing AG, 2018): i-3.

¹⁷ Ruggles has written multiple texts, including two monographs on the topic. For the most recent study, see D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

which gives an in-depth art historical analysis of interreligious visual culture in Castile.¹⁸ Perhaps the singular most useful text to this thesis is Danya Crites's PhD dissertation, "From Mosque to Cathedral: The Social and Political Significations of Mudéjar Architecture in Late Medieval Seville," in which she analyses the appropriation of neighborhood mosques in Seville after the Castilian conquest of the city.¹⁹

These seemingly separate veins of scholarship are joined here, though other works have tied some of those pieces together. Juan Souza encourages his readers to look at architecture, beyond its decoration, to the social action of the space and discusses the appropriation of Muslim spaces during Reconquista.²⁰ Kroesen surveys the practice of converting mosques to cathedrals during Reconquista, and the effects of those changes on ritual activity.²¹ In her doctoral thesis, Danya Crites studies the changes that the Cathedral of Seville underwent in its development from Mosque between the 13th to 16th centuries and how that reflected tumultuous political patronage.²² With the broader swathes that shape the field, and the singular relevant texts, I assess the active role that

¹⁸ Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abifail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

¹⁹ Danya Alexandra Crites, "From Mosque to Cathedral: The Social and Political Significations of Mudéjar Architecture in Late Medieval Seville" (Ph.D., United States -- Iowa, The University of Iowa, 2010), <http://search.proquest.com/docview/635163713/abstract/5E8F4EFEE01F4838PQ/8>. (accessed April 20, 2021).

²⁰ Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Architectural Languages, Functions, and Spaces: The Crown of Castile and Al-Andalus," *Medieval Encounters* 12, no. 3, trans. Deborah Roldán and Cynthia Robinson (November 2006): 360–87.

²¹ Justin E.A. Kroesen, "From Mosques to Cathedrals: Converting Sacred Space During the Spanish Reconquest," *Mediaevistik* 21 (2008): 113–37.

²² Crites, "From Mosque to Cathedral."

the Cathedral of Seville, previously the Mosque of Ishbilya, had on converted Muslim communities and the division between Christians and Muslims during Reconquista.

This thesis contributes to those three historiographies in different ways. In relation to the research published on the Cathedral of Seville, this paper discusses the building in terms of its reception and offers a reason for the dating of the major reconstruction that goes beyond the archeological assessment in which the cathedral is largely studied. In relation to the work that has been done on the affectivity of architecture and spatial experience on historical event and cultural zeitgeist, this paper provides an example of that affectivity. On the historiography of Reconquista, this thesis addresses one example of how collective mindsets during and after Reconquista impacted changes in the urban environment, and how architecture narrates ideological shifts.

Methodology

With the sources shaping the field on architectural history and anthropological performance within cathedrals, as well as the research conducted on the archeological history of the Cathedral of Seville, this paper aims to build off of the methods and findings of scholars to argue the significance and exemplary qualities of the Cathedral on the reception of 15th and 16th century audiences. In order to do so, detailed formal analysis here clarifies the shapes and arrangement of the space, which provides a framework for conceptualizing the visual experiences of viewers at different points in time. Those experiences provide a basis for a phenomenological analysis of reception during the 15th and 16th centuries, which in turn aids and is aided by an anthropological analysis of the shifting communities surrounding the Cathedral. These pieces are critical

in showing how architectural space played an active role in the process of marginalization of Muslims in Reconquista Seville.

Though those three approaches are braided together throughout this paper, an explication of each of them is necessary, starting with reception theory and phenomenology. My own observation of transformative sacred space is an irreducible experience that can serve as a conduit for reflecting on how that space would have affected medieval viewership. The space is the source; by analogizing the compelling effects of architecture within our own experiences to those of viewers of the past, we can begin to survey the concentric structures that affect those perceptions. In this thesis, that would pertain to associations of political authority, messages of religious power, recognition of the familiar and dissociation with the foreign. Through this, I pose questions around viewer reception regarding what the different viewpoints would have communicated, how the arrangement of space may have reflected hegemonic Christian sociopolitical atmospheres, and what cultural assemblage was produced in the process of keeping and demolishing parts of the mosque.

Working with the facets of reception, an anthropological assessment of those viewer communities contextualizes the structures that affected them as they used the space. Edicts, changes in construction, and the execution of events would have affected perceptions of interreligious relationships of Muslims, and Christians that can be analyzed to interact with the performance of the space. Furthermore, an anthropological approach here involves questioning what the relationship of Christians and Muslims looked like after the reconstruction of the cathedral.

Formal analysis of the Cathedral is necessary in the study of its visual impact. Not only is it necessary, but it is also useful and beneficial in this specific case for understanding the object as it transformed from the 13th-15th centuries. In particular, the juxtaposition of shapes and forms in the courtyard of the Cathedral require clear and descriptive commentary; as such, formal analysis is a backbone in the theoretical analysis of the Cathedral in relation to reception and ritual. Together, these three methodological approaches are aimed to fill a hole that the historiographies leave and buttress an argument for its effective role in Muslim-Christian relations in the 15th to 16th centuries.

Terms

The time period and complexity of religious and social dynamics within the scope of this study require full clarity. For example, three terms are used to signal peoples who hold a connection to Islam: Muslims, Mudéjares, and Moriscos. Studies on Iberian history will often use the term “Muslim” to refer to a follower of Islam, “Mudéjar” to refer to Muslims living under Christian rule in the late medieval and early modern period, and “Morisco” to refer to lineages of Muslims in early modern Iberia.²³ “Morisco” doesn’t necessarily refer to someone who follows Islam, being that Muslims were forcibly converted and expelled from Spain in the sixteenth century, but connotes those who were impacted by stigma around Islam during this time period.

There are also terms used here that signify broad zeitgeists and imply collective ideals across large periods of time. One of these is “Convivencia,” which is used in academic settings to indicate a period of relative peace between Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Iberia while it was under Islamic rule. Though this paper does not engage in the scholarly

²³ Crites, “From Mosque to Cathedral,” 6.

debate that calls the concept of Convivencia into question, the term does appear in this paper. “Reconquista,” or “reconquest,” is used to signal the mindsets and the series of events surrounding the Christian war for Iberia, which took place over centuries and was characterized and justified by the concept that Iberia had belonged to Christianity before it fell under the purview of Islamic rule in the early middle ages. The term “Inquisition” is used in this paper to delineate the ideals that spurred the Spanish Inquisition, a time in which Christianity was hegemonically tied tightly to political forces and heresy was sought out and punished by law. Relevant to this paper, the Inquisition strongly impacted communities and set a precedent for Muslim hate in its attempts to purge any individuals of Muslim descent from Spain. These are not established rules of nomenclature, but rather themes of usage of terms that this thesis utilizes for coherence.

Order of Chapters

Chapter two provides an in-depth assessment of the site from its construction in the 12th century through its reconstruction and use in the 16th century. In so doing, I explicate the specific pieces and moments of architectural development of the site over time. This section begins in 1172 when the mosque was built under Caliph Abu Ya`qub Yusuf.²⁴ Detailed discussion of the layout of the mosque using estimated floorplans and extant mosque pieces goes into detail of the forms that would have characterized the Islamic space. The chapter then explores the role and projected usage of the space between 1248 to 1433, a time period in which the space was designated as a cathedral by Castilian conquerors but remained structurally as the mosque it had emblematically replaced. I

²⁴ Alvaro Jiménez Sancho, “Excavación en el Patio de los Naranjos de la Catedral de Sevilla. Una mezquita amurallada,” in *Anuario arqueológico de Andalucía 2000, Vol. 3, Tomo 2, 2003 (Actividades de urgencia)*, (Consejería de Cultura, 2003): 905–22.

then assess the formal qualities of the space after the Gothic church was constructed over the prayer hall.²⁵

With a detailed assessment of the chronology of the space established, the thesis moves into a thorough visual assessment of the major extant Islamic spaces in contrast to the Christian building in the second chapter. It is divided into sections that analyze the courtyard, (previously the mosque *sahn*), the entrance to the courtyard (the Puerta del Perdón) and the fragmentary views of the Northern sections of the building (where the *sahn* and Giralda are located) from both within and outside of the courtyard. Through this assessment, a close reading of the juxtaposition and complex layering of religious visualities of the site is provided, indicating the impact that those visibilities have on the viewer.

In the fourth chapter, I assess those visibilities in the context of the charged socioreligious atmosphere of Seville in the 15th and 16th centuries. This chapter shows that as the cathedral was constructed and the space changed, so did the city and laws regarding Muslims. The metaphorical narration of authority that was present in the Christian occupation of the mosque became more overt with the reconstruction, and laws restricting Islamic lifestyles (clothing, practices, etc.) simultaneously became increasingly stringent. Communities of converted Muslims and their descendants (Moriscos) were becoming fragmented just as the mosque was in the act of fragmenting. The thesis concludes with a summary of arguments that ties together the chapters,

²⁵ For a comprehensive assessment of the Gothic structure constructed in the 15th century, see Ruiz, Martín, "A Fifteenth-Century Plan of the Cathedral of Seville."

providing a holistic assessment of the material covered; this section reiterates the proposed role of the cathedral on its surrounding city.

CHAPTER II

FROM MOSQUE TO CATHEDRAL

In this chapter, I chronicle the history of the Cathedral of Seville from its construction as a mosque through its reconstruction and use in the 16th century. Due to the many transformations and extensive time period over which architectural changes of the site took place, clarity regarding its status, condition, and use at different points in time are needed. The full time period across which the majority of developments took place spans the late 12th to 16th centuries in three main phases: the erection of the Almohad mosque between 1172-1198, the transitional period demarcated by various patchwork provisional changes from 1248-1433 CE, and the construction of the Gothic cathedral from 1433-1506.²⁶

²⁶ For a comprehensive timeline, see Ruiz and Martín, “A Fifteenth-Century Plan of the Cathedral of Seville,” 57–77.

The timeline of major architectural changes made to the site is generally agreed upon by scholars.²⁷ Archeological dating of foundation stones and textual documentation of its construction by Almohad administration affirm the dating of the mosque.²⁸ Similar documentation from the later Castilian administration and architectural drawings record the reconstruction of the building in 1433.²⁹ Although archeological scholarship has surveyed a variety of architectural pieces installed around those two major moments in time, very little research has been done on the condition of the space between 1198-1433, being that little structural change had happened during this time.

This chapter gives equal attention to the different statuses of the space, providing a proposition of the condition of the space during the transitional late-13th through 14th century to understand how the space may have looked, being that there is very little record of its appearance during this time. Chronicling these changes reveals the overlapping moments of exchange between the Christian kingdom of Castile and the established local Muslim communities as they produced the microcosm that is the Cathedral of Seville.

The Mosque 1198-1248

By 1169 a re-urbanization of Ishbiliyya, later known as Seville, was underway, and in 1172 a new mosque was ordered for the city by the Almohad Caliph Abu Ya`qub Yusuf.

³⁰ These projects were documented by Yusuf's Secretary of Treasury, Ibn Sahib al-

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Alfonso Jiménez Martín, "Notas sobre la mezquita mayor de la Sevilla almohade," *Artigrama: Revista del Departamento de Historia del Arte de la Universidad de Zaragoza* 22 (2007): 131-132.

²⁹ Ruiz, Martín, "A Fifteenth-Century Plan": 57-65.

³⁰ Sancho, "Excavación en el Patio," 905-22.

Salah, who recorded one of the most detailed extant eye-witness accounts of Almohad construction in his text *al-Mann bi l-imama*.³¹ By 1198, the completed minaret, later dubbed the Giralda, rose over the city and its subsequent inauguration initiated its use for decades to come. Although the prayer hall of the mosque now is gone, several preserved and replicated features of the mosque enable us to paint a basic picture of what the mosque would have looked like prior to Gothic reconstruction.

The foundational stones of the prayer hall still exist and provide a sense of what the floorplan of the mosque would have looked like in its entirety. (Fig. 1) The nature of mosques as rectilinear by design indicates what archeologists and historians have confirmed: that the prayer hall was destroyed while the courtyard, or *sahn*, remained.³²

There is little evidence of what the interior space looked like, but among the few pieces are remnants of tiles from the mosque floor (Fig. 2).

Conversely, we do have a better sense of the exterior's appearance, where communal activities and ritual preparation likely took place. Knowing that the courtyard remains largely as it did in the 13th century, we can analyze the space as it currently appears as a way of understanding what Muslim viewers saw of the *sahn* pre-Reconquista. There is a

³¹ Linda G. Jones, "'El compañero cristiano': un tropo retórico en la narración del conflicto intra-musulmán en la época almohade," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 38, no. 2 (December 30, 2008): 795.

³² For a comprehensive guide to Islamic architecture and mosque layout, see Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning*, Casebound ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994). Scholars such as Sancho, Ruiz, Morales, Martín and others have led the bulk of research on the cathedral. For a fuller characterization of these scholars, see the bibliography of Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 'El Laboratorio Arquitectónico: La Huella de La Catedral de Sevilla En La Arquitectura Religiosa Del Tardogótico Hispano,' in *Piedra Postrera. Simposium Internacional Sobre La Catedral de Sevilla En El Contexto Del Gótico Final, Sevilla*, Vol. 1 ed. Alfonso Jiménez Martín (Seville, 2007): 257-280.

large stone courtyard directly to the north of where the prayer hall would have been. Within the inside of the *sahn*, pointed horseshoe arches line the north and eastern wall. Thin buttresses flank each of these arches, their rectilinear vertical design mirroring the minaret that presides above them. Lining the roofs of the two extant Almohad walls, above the pointed horseshoe arches, are triangular merlons (Fig. 3). This specific form of stepped crenellation appears in other moments of Islamic architecture both in Seville and beyond.³³ (Fig. 4) Directly below the crenellation atop the entryway are ornate *sebka* designs and double arch decorations that signal Islamic ornament and reflect the patterning on the Giralda.

To enter or exit the *sahn*, visitors would have passed through the entryway now called the Puerta del Perdón. (Fig. 5) Outside of the *sahn*, the viewer is greeted by ornate relief vegetal patterning within a rectilinear frame, which stretches up above the broad horseshoe arch. This particular type of design is one that had proliferated in prior Islamic architecture across the Middle East and Al-Andalus and signaled an Islamic façade. Indeed, condensed and complex phytomorphic design was a key quality of Islamic architectural adornment.³⁴ It tightly fills the framing of the horseshoe arch and lines the intrados of the exterior and repeating interior arches. The intricate patterning also reflects the *sebka* of the Giralda and interior Puerta.

The Giralda, standing at just under 320 ft., towers over the *sahn* from both within and outside of it. (Fig. 6) Adorning its façade are rectangular sections of *sebka* pattern and dual multifoil arch decorations. Along the center of each of the walls are balconets of

³³ Crites, "From Mosque to Cathedral," 173.

³⁴ Oleg Grabar, "The Mosque," in *Islam: Art and Architecture*, eds. Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius, Special edition (Germany: H. F. Ullmann, 2015).

varying arch types, including ogee arches, pointed arches, horseshoe arches and cinquefoil arches. The relief lattice *sebka* contrasts the planar walls upon which the pattern is adorned both in its form and in the dark values created by the shadows.

In the center of the *sahn* was a fountain. This piece would have been a critical part of mosque usage; ritual ablutions are performed in the fountain before entering the prayer hall. The original fountain remained until the twentieth century.³⁵ It was used often; archeological evidence of foot traffic and plumbing indicated that the space was not only situated in a bustling neighborhood, but also used by large quantities of people.³⁶ Considering that it was the great mosque of the city, this isn't novel information; however, it demonstrates to a degree the significance of the space to its surrounding community.

The Transitional Period, 1248-1433

The Mosque saw about fifty years of usage before Castilian King Ferdinand III's armies entered the city in 1248, and the mosque was immediately proclaimed as a Christian space.³⁷ The Great Mosque wasn't the only Islamic sacred space to receive this treatment; many smaller mosques across the city were taken and converted as well. In fact, it has been argued that the smaller mosques were structurally changed more quickly than the cathedral because they were on the peripherals: "Because Seville's

³⁵ Alfonso Jiménez Martín, "El Proyecto de Don Félix Hernández Para El Tejaroz de La Puerta Del Perdón de La Catedral de Sevilla," *Archivo Hispalense* (2017): 323.

³⁶ Alvaro Jimenez Sancho, "Seguimiento Arqueológico En La Puerta Del Perdón de La Catedral de Sevilla," *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* (1999): 96-97.

³⁷ This date is known to scholars who have researched the cathedral, but for a succinct dating and overview of trans-religious space conversion in Spain, see Justin E.A. Kroesen, "From Mosques to Cathedrals: Converting Sacred Space During the Spanish Reconquest," *Mediaevistik* 21 (2008): 113–37.

neighborhood mosques lacked the symbolic value of its Almohad and Umayyad congregational mosques, many were replaced relatively quickly by the city's earliest Gothic-Mudéjar churches."³⁸ This statement by Crites suggests that the symbolic value of the mosque was accentuated in part due to its delayed timing of reconstruction. There is little empirical evidence that denotes whether Muslims were let into the space when the Castilian army moved in. Some have argued that Ferdinand III and his successor had promoted themselves to be tolerant kings, and that Muslims and Jews exercised fairly liberal religious freedoms after Castilian conquest.³⁹ The problem with this proposal is that Muslims fled the city in thousands, and the sizeable population drop seems likely to have severely disrupted weekly and daily ritual.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the seizure of Islamic sacred spaces in and of itself points away from religious tolerance. Others have argued that Muslims were expelled *en masse* from the city, leaving very few to practice Islam or observe the mosques: "The population of the city possibly dropped from as many as 83,000 residents prior to the Castilian siege to 24,000 or fewer shortly after the conquest. Documentary evidence proves that some Muslims remained in the city, but the majority fled with what they could carry."⁴¹ However, these estimations are based on censuses that ignored minorities, and large enough Muslim populations remained in the city to catalyze later discord in the mid-fifteenth through sixteenth centuries.⁴²

³⁸ Danya Alexandra Crites, "From Mosque to Cathedral," 60.

³⁹ Kroesen, "From Mosques to Cathedrals," 115.

⁴⁰ Crites, "From Mosque to Cathedral," 59.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Matthew Carr explores these moments of discord broadly in his book. See Matthew Carr, *Blood and Faith: The Purging of Muslim Spain* (New York: New Press, 2009).

Understanding the population during this transitional period is important not only to determining why the structure may have stayed in its mosque state, but also how its signification was formed. Many of the city's Muslims likely fled upon the seizure of the city. Evidence suggests that Muslim communities in post-conquest Seville were fractured and repudiated by Castilian interim decrees, denied proper continuation of ritual and festivity as they had previously been carried out.⁴³ However, the fiscally weak and thin-spread Castilian government wasn't unified or strong enough to fully implement mandates prohibiting practice of or identification with Islam or Judaism. The following decades then marked a phase of liminality where Muslims could retain religious identity to some capacity, but under the threat of nominal laws against it.⁴⁴

This partially explains why the site went for nearly 200 years without major structural changes. Without the monetary power to finance its reconstruction, the Castilians could do little in the way of architectural adjustments. The lack of finances in the 13th and 14th centuries is also reiterated by the continued existence of the Alcázar. Ferdinand III's son Alfonso X made attempts to attract Christian settlers to the city through land grants (*repartimientos*), but it was a slow and difficult process: "Alfonso had to issue three repartimientos (1252, 1255, and 1263) in order to attract and retain enough Christian settlers to occupy one of the largest cities in al-Andalus."⁴⁵ However as those land redistribution pacts were fulfilled by incoming Christians, the new cathedral underwent some provisional changes.

⁴³ Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos*, 1-25.

⁴⁴ Carr, *Blood and Faith*, 62-69.

⁴⁵ Crites, "From Mosque to Cathedral," 59.

The space, still having the complete appearance of the mosque, had been officially reconsecrated as a Christian space in 1248. Individuals and small groups went into the space and made temporary modifications: “Two large areas were defined from the outset: the Capilla Real (Royal Chapel) and the *coro* (choir). These spaces were flanked by a number of family chapels, perhaps fewer than a dozen at the outset, which were delineated by walls, wooden screens and grilles.”⁴⁶ These impermanent fixtures would have been needed to break up the space that would have been an open-floor forest of columns (as Fig. 1 shows). “Although this process of modification was supervised by the Cathedral Chapter, without the bishops’ involvement or royal presence, in practice it was the result of various initiatives by several individuals and groups, leading to a highly complex building whose essential structure and volumes were Islamic but whose interior took on a heterogeneous appearance, in which Islamic, Gothic, and hybrid forms intermingled.”⁴⁷ With an exterior in the form of a mosque, and the interior teeming with Christian religious practices, the space would have very distinct meaning to the Muslims under Castilian reign (Mudéjares) and recently established Christian communities.

Sections of the Prayer Hall were divided with impermanent fixtures such as screens and metal dividers. The early establishment of a choir indicates that the space was being conceptualized and reworked for liturgical use, though few records exist to clarify specifically how the space was used in the transitional period. The stunted population and financial instability of the government can explain partly why such an

⁴⁶ Ruiz, Martín, “A Fifteenth Century Plan,” 59-60.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

important space underwent no structural change right away, however it fails to explain 170 years between *repartimientos* and reconstruction.

Other factors of delayed reconstruction include the repetition of earthquakes, including a particularly destructive one in 1357.⁴⁸ Additionally, the Black Plague had swept through the peninsula roughly 10 years prior. These events help fill in some of the holes for such a long time period, but not fully. However, a fourteenth-century commentary on the conquest of Seville helps explain some of the political sentiment that drove the decision to leave the mosque as is. In the account, it is noted that upon entering the city, Ferdinand III immediately raised his standards over the Giralda, spurring outcry from the city's Muslims. "A fourteenth-century addendum to Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's history of Spain further records that after the Christians entered Seville, the city's Muslims begged Alfonso for permission to tear down the mosque and the Giralda, but he refused, threatening death to any Muslim who would remove even one brick from the edifice."⁴⁹ The tension surrounding the mosque status is speculated to have even superseded conquest of the city; another scholar cites the same manuscript for negotiations of the city's surrender including a Muslim head for every brick torn from the mosque by a Muslim.⁵⁰ Though this exchange may have some historical inaccuracy being that it was recorded some 100 years after the event, it reflects a sentiment towards

⁴⁸ Several scholars of the Cathedral acknowledge the earthquake of 1357. Crites also notes earthquakes in 1374 and 1386, and Sancho notes another in 1431. Crites, "From Mosque to Cathedral," P. 194; Sancho, "Excavación en el Patio," P. 905.

⁴⁹ Crites cites *Chronica de España por el Arzobispo Don Rodrigo Ximénez continuada desde el año 1243 en que la dejó hasta el de 1395 cuya continuacion esta incompleta como manifiesta la ultima foxa*, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, ms. 83-7-21, fol. 255, in her Dissertation "From Mosque to Cathedral," 78.

⁵⁰ Ruiz, Martín, "A Fifteenth Century Plan," 74.

the Christians of Seville post-conquest that individuals were aware of decades later. The retold exchange can help explain why the mosque stayed intact for so long; it points to the notion that the Islamic sacred space was left specifically as a visual marker of conquest over city, people, and religion. It indicated that, as well as a symbol to all of Iberia, it was a stark reminder used against the city's resident Muslims of Seville's new Christian authority and violent domination over the Muslim populace.

The Cathedral, 1506-

After almost two centuries in a liminal state both politically and architecturally, the site underwent reconstruction in 1433. Intrinsic to early modern discourse on the reconstruction of the space was its dilapidated condition due to the many patches and modifications made to the interior by various groups, and doubtlessly impelled by an earthquake that had occurred two years before.⁵¹ The prayer hall was destroyed and replaced with a wide nave and double side aisles, while the courtyard and Giralda were preserved. The nave, supported by dual rows of flying buttresses, towers over the courtyard now called the Patio de los Naranjos. The distinctive cross shape of the nave and transept rises over the grid of side aisles and chapels that fill in the cross floorplan to be an even rectangular shape that fits closely against the Patio de los Naranjos (Fig. 7). This is a unique arrangement of space compared to other Gothic cathedrals; as such, it suggests that the cathedral floorplans were designed to work with the *sahn* and Giralda.

51 On the condition, see Clara Almagro Vidal, "Carpinteros y Albañiles En La Catedral de Sevilla," in *La Piedra Postrera. Simposium Internacional Sobre La Catedral de Sevilla En El Contexto Del Gótico Final*. Sevilla, Vol. 1 (2007): P. 195. On the earthquake, see Sancho, "Excavación en el Patio," 905.

Then the question becomes why the courtyard was kept and incorporated into the plans. It was not a typical piece of European cathedral design. If it is to be assumed that the builders worked around the courtyards, which is indicated by the unique floorplan as well as written records from the builders, what exactly was the reasoning behind such efforts?⁵² Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's fourteenth century story of Alfonso X's response to the resident Muslims of the city may partly answer this. If leaving the mosque visible was an indicator of authority, and an especially powerful indicator to have been left for nearly 200 years, then it would make logical sense to preserve pieces of it when restructuring the cathedral. Upon the completion of the reconstruction, there stood a dynamic, complex Gothic structure juxtaposed with an ornate Islamic minaret and courtyard with accompanying garden. Parts of the mosque would therefore remain visible, symbolizing Castilian authority and narrating the conquest.

The Cathedral of Seville wasn't the first to include a courtyard adjacent to the building; several churches across medieval Europe featured cloisters in their floorplans, a prominent example of this being the Canterbury Cathedral. However, Iberia differs in that nearly all of the major city's cathedrals built between c. 1000-1600 include courtyards appropriated from earlier mosque complexes. Indeed, the cathedrals in Burgós, Leon, Coimbra, and Lisbon, each built over mosques in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries post-Reconquista, incorporate courtyards in their plans. So perhaps when the builders drafted plans for the new cathedral, they were working within an aesthetic trend. However, each of these cathedrals had rebuilt their courtyards entirely;

⁵² Vidal, "Carpinteros y Albañiles," 203.

the Cathedral of Seville and the Great Mosque-Cathedral of Córdoba are unique in that their mosque *sahns* were preserved.

In addition to the elements of the mosque that were carefully retained were those that were replicated. One of the main repeated pieces of the mosque are the citrus trees in the courtyard for which the Patio de los Naranjos derived its name. Two factors indicate that trees were planted in the courtyard during the Almohad reign. One factor is that written records indicate that there were trees in the courtyard when the Castilians arrived.⁵³ Though the current trees were planted in the twentieth century, a traveler in 1586 also noted that the courtyard was filled with orange trees.⁵⁴ The nearly three centuries between 1248 to 1586 is an extensive period of time, but the likelihood that orange trees were originally in the space is quite high; for one, very little destructive changes happened to the mosque before it was reconstructed in the fifteenth century.

Secondly, despite the fact that builders broke down the prayer hall, which was likely in quite bad disrepair after decades of provisional patchwork and the disastrous earthquake of 1356, they took great care to preserve and replicate many elements of the mosque.⁵⁵ The courtyard fountain and Puerta del Perdon door handles were significant Almohad pieces that were replicated. This indicates that builders in the mid-14th century were replicating aspects of the mosque that were known to have been there pre-Reconquista and suggests that trees were observed to be there before the Mosque was reconsecrated.

⁵³ Sancho, "Excavación en el Patio" 914.

⁵⁴ D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000): 94.

⁵⁵ Ruiz, Martín, "A Fifteenth-Century Plan," 59-60.

The second factor that speaks to the citrus trees being an important part of the mosque in the 13th century is that mosque gardens across Al-Andalus, and the larger Islamic world, were frequently allegorical for earthly paradise.⁵⁶ The Great Mosque in Seville wasn't the only one that had a garden in its *sahn*; the Great Mosque of Córdoba and the congregational Mosque of Málaga both did as well.⁵⁷ Furthermore, those mosque gardens in Córdoba and Málaga were comprised of citrus trees, argued to be the most common type of garden tree in Southern Al-Andalus.⁵⁸ To be sure, there were also citrus trees in the gardens of other types of architecture as well, including the palatial estates and complexes across the Iberian Peninsula, such as those of the Alhambra in Granada and the Alcázar in Seville.⁵⁹ Being that allegory laced Islamic conceptualizations of gardens, their prominence in pre-Reconquista Al-Andalus is reflective of a unified brand of aesthetics, one that, by design, foregrounded community.

Conclusion

The space changed vastly over the course of four centuries but throughout its transformation it retained qualities of the mosque that the cathedral replaced. The story of the Muslims response as well as the retention of the Giralda also point to the space as a

⁵⁶ D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*. Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008): 89.

⁵⁷ Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens*, 90-94.

⁵⁸ Jonas Benzion Lehrman, *Earthly Paradise: Garden and Courtyard in Islam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980): 91.

⁵⁹ Ruggles and Lehrman both discuss the gardens of the Alcázar and Alhambra in their work on Islamic gardens. Taking Lehrman's assertion that citrus trees had been the most common tree, paired with the existence of orange trees in both sites gardens today, it can be maintained that those palaces mirrored the mosques. See Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens*, 153-158; Lehrman, *Earthly Paradise*, 88-9; For a directory on the current types of trees on those sites, see "Alcázar Gardens," Andalusia.com, February 5, 2020, <https://www.andalusia.com/cities/seville/alcazar/gardens.htm> (accessed November 16, 2020).

point of civic pride that became reappropriated in the fifteenth century. The site seems to have retained some of its position in the collective memory of Muslim and Morisco communities; its usage as a place of market continued into the 16th century and was so prominent that it was noticed by visiting Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero, who in 1526 derogatorily noted that public markets surrounded the whole building throughout the day, accumulating great crowds and rampant fraud.⁶⁰ These crowds, together with the encouragement of Moriscos to observe Christian practices and the civic pride that the mosque held in the hearts of Sevillian Muslims, who revered the tower so strongly that they plead against its repurposing as demonstrated in the anecdote of Alfonso X, point to the presence of converted Muslims in and around the Patio de los Naranjos. What would this have meant? With the backdrop of hegemonic politicization of Morisco lifestyles, what would the juxtaposition of cathedral and mosque visualities have communicated? And importantly, how did that juxtaposition in turn affect those marginalized communities?

⁶⁰ Ruth Pike quotes Navagero in her book, see Ruth Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos in Seville: Greed and Prejudice in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain*, American University Studies. IX, History V. 195 (New York: Peter Lang, 2000): 3.

CHAPTER III

SPATIALITY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF PERCEPTION

By 1506, the construction of the Gothic cathedral was complete, and the site henceforth remained structurally final (Fig. 8).⁶¹ What stood in the bustling city was a complex amalgam of Christian and Islamic architecture. On one hand, the new Gothic church represented the strength of the diocese and the permanence of Christian presence on the site. On the other hand, the extant Islamic minaret and courtyard represented the deep-rooted presence of Islam within the then converted Moriscos of the city, and cultural echoes from the Ishbiliyya period. In the previous chapter, I reviewed the scholarship on the dating of the site, suggesting that what was missing from the extant scholarship is the link between the forms of the space and their effects on viewers. The archeological dating of its components, as well as surveys of the original Gothic additions are well-covered terrain; the effect that the space had on its viewers, however, is not.

⁶¹ Ruiz, Martín, “A Fifteenth-Century Plan,” 60.

It is precisely because of the profound effect that experiencing monumental and sacred space can have on a person that I now turn to a phenomenological assessment of the Cathedral. In his discussion of the hermeneutics of sacred architecture, Lindsay Jones states that “It is essential to realize that, constructed and framed in the appropriate way, sacred art and architecture, particularly in the context of its ritual usage, have the power to *yank* people into involvement, to *insist* upon their participation, to *coerce* their serious consideration of the meanings and messages offered by that architectural event.”⁶²

Surveying the building in the context of its visual impact on viewers turns the conversation to the building’s significance as an agent of sociopolitical change, as a bearer of messages and meanings, and its function as an active participant in larger Iberian zeitgeist. In this chapter, I analyze the fractured and complex interplay between Islamic and Christian design through an ekphrastic analysis of three main facets of the site that have been present since the mosque period: the citrus trees, the Puerta del Perdón, and Puerta del Lagarto. Through these descriptions, I contend that the spatial arrangement of the Mosque-Cathedral administered a powerful impact upon its viewers that, given the historical context, was multifaceted and multivalent.

The Citrus Trees

In Chapter 2, I introduced the textual and archeological evidence demonstrating that citrus trees had been a part of the courtyard since its Mosque construction. Other scholars, such as D. Fairchild Ruggles, have drawn comparisons between the Great

⁶² Lindsay Jones, *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture: Experience, Interpretation, Comparison*,” (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for the Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions, 2000) 84-85; author’s emphasis.

Mosque of Seville and other great mosques with incorporated gardens in their courtyards, such as the Great Mosques of Córdoba and Málaga.⁶³ The *sahn* garden in Seville had already been participating in a specific language of design promulgated earlier in Cordoba, and that was reiterated by the continuous replanting of the trees throughout Christian reign (given the limited longevity of citrus trees). It would be impossible to fully acknowledge the Cathedral without understanding what the garden brought to it; as Jonas Lehrman states: “On the flat sites of Seville and Cordova, gardens as well as courtyards were regarded as outdoor rooms, forming part of the total building concept.”⁶⁴ This quote encompasses not only the Cathedral but the nearby gardens in the Alcázar as well, which would have been in direct dialog with each other given their prominence and proximity. We must consider the interplay of the citrus trees within both the Almohad and Gothic architectural phases in order to understand the ‘total building concept.’ The trees are methodically planted in rows, their bases forming a geometric, grid-like division of the space. (Fig. 9) Due to the nature of the tree genus, and the undoubted upkeep considering their placement within the urban sphere, the tree trunks are relatively straight and smooth. They are reminiscent of columns; the trees are upright, with few extremities, and their branches burst out above their trunks in a likeness of Corinthian capitals. Together, the trees recall the forest of columns found in many mosque prayer halls, such as the Great Mosque-Cathedral of Cordoba. Indeed, for the nearly 200 years before the Seville mosque was reconstructed, the trees would have been a complement to

⁶³ Ruggles focuses on the Mosque-Cathedral of Córdoba and references the parallels to Seville and Málaga. Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens*, 90-94.

⁶⁴ Lehrman, *Earthly Paradise*, 89.

the similarly placed columns in the prayer hall. (Fig. 1) After Gothic reconstruction, they became outdoor proxies for the demolished interior.

The darkness of the tree columns contrasts strongly against the light stonework of both the Almohad and Gothic walls surrounding them. Meanwhile, the rich green of the foliage and vibrant orange of the fruit breathe color into the space. It's quite possible that during the Ishbiliyya period, the Mosque prayer hall would have been adorned with vibrant vegetal mosaics; the Mosque at Córdoba and many others across the Islamic Mediterranean world featured plant motifs that would regularly accompany real gardens.⁶⁵ In fact, the real trees were ancillary to floral mosaics in their dual allegory to earthly paradise: "The living tree is the referent that underlies the signifier (Damascus mosaic) that produces the signified (paradise)."⁶⁶ Ruggles' characterization of the interplay of mosaic representation and real tree indicates that the trees were a substantial part of the production of an earthly paradise metaphor of Islamic gardens in sacred spaces. Perhaps the Mosque of Seville had such mosaics before reconstruction and perhaps not, but regardless, the language produced between real and mosaic trees in Islamic architecture was present even after Christian reconstruction of the site. In Cordoba, which was in many ways a sister site for Seville, that dialog between real and mosaic tree continued in its Christian recontextualization. In Seville, those two-dimensional representations would have been noticeably missing within the Christian recontextualization, *because* the Gothic building blocked it. The conversation between

⁶⁵ Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens*, 94-96.

⁶⁶ Here, Ruggles is using the case study of the Great Mosque of Damascus but she applies this assertion to other moments such as those in Jerusalem, Damascus, Medina, and Cordoba. Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens*, 96.

façade and garden would have transformed substantially, becoming one-sided and uncomplete.

The exchange between the trees and the Gothic building was then one of visual inundation. The multiplicity of leaves competes against the highly decorated Northern transept for the attention of the viewer. As one moves through the space, the intricate abstract designs and copious jamb figures peak through the leaves, and the viewer's eyesight then must oscillate between the near and far depth of field. It is with a disoriented view that the audience experiences the Gothic building through the trees, at least when the direction of the viewer is from outside- in. Taking in the space from the opposite direction yields a much different experience. The visual complexity of the foliage is met with a simpler backdrop; the planar Almohad walls complement the dense leaves. The spaced buttresses mirror the pacing of the trees, and there is a geometric uniformity between the *sahn* walls and the trees that indicates that these pieces were designed for each other. (Fig. 10)

Within the Patio de los Naranjos, there are dual modes of visibility that shift and contrast as the viewer moves through the space. The dichotomy is augmented by the placement of citrus trees, which visually act against their backdrops and carry cultural significations from Islamic sacred space. As living things, they are also distinct from the stones around them. The trees are intercessors for the space, and they activate it not only in terms of living things surrounded by nonliving stones, but also in terms of design. They signal a vitality that was mirrored by the resonances of Islamic heritage in the Morisco communities of Seville.

The Puertas

The main entrance to the Patio de los Naranjos was the Puerta del Perdón, or Door of Forgiveness, which was directly aligned with the transept portal. (Fig. 5) Looking in from outside the Patio, the Puerta consists of square framing around a horseshoe arch, the entirety of which is tightly packed with ornate vegetal patterning. Flanking the arch are sculptures of St. Peter and St. Paul, and above them sculptural representations of the Annunciation, each of these pieces installed shortly after reconstruction in 1520 (Fig. 5).⁶⁷ Passing through the Puerta involves moving through an interstitial space before entering the courtyard. Valérie Gonzalez explains the significance of such a space in the Alhambra: "...the antechamber and its axial portal underscores both the functional and the rhetorical importance of the entrance, effecting scenographically the sequential unveiling of a succession of spaces."⁶⁸ Gonzalez's description is especially pertinent to a tunnel-like entrance, like that of the Puerta del Perdón which is deep and arranged in a tube-like fashion that commands a visceral experience in its viewers.

The concept of sequential unveiling that Gonzalez discusses at the Alhambra is really applicable in the movement through the Puerta del Perdón, as well as the Puerta del Lagarto, in that each of these passageways are formed by repetitions of the horseshoe arch overhead. Each layer is peeled back as the viewer moves through the passageway, and the dimensionality of this entrance embodies the concept of 'portal': it's not a step

⁶⁷ Luis Martínez Montiel, Alfredo J. Morales, *The Cathedral of Seville*, trans. Isabel Varea. (London: Scala Publishers, 1999): 14.

⁶⁸ In this article, Gonzalez is comparing the Alhambra to a contemporary installation, but it's a strong characterization of the way I'm looking at the antechamber space, and it's one that is close temporally and geographically to Seville. Valérie Gonzalez, "The Comares Hall in the Alhambra and James Turrell's "Space That Sees": A Comparison of Aesthetic Phenomenology," *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 267.

from one side to another, but a process of moving through. The gaze is drawn upward, where the final horseshoe arch frames the towering Gothic transept. (Fig. 11) The passage is complete and the space that the viewer occupied had shifted from the mundane, to the Islamic, to the complex amalgam of Christian and Islamic modes that comprised the Patio de los Naranjos. This movement is further accentuated by the bronze Almohad doors, which work as moderators of the openness and closedness of the tunnel-like interstice. (Fig. 12)

The process is metamorphic in large part *because* of the high contrast between Islamic and Christian forms. The abstract vegetal patterning is quite distinct from the spindly Gothic designs of the church. (Fig. 13) To add intrigue here, the vegetal patterning on the Puerta, which is so characteristic of Islamic sacred space, was not part of the original mosque but added later.⁶⁹ To be sure, the coat of arms of Castile and León is embedded in the plasterwork to either side of the arch. (Fig. 14) This complicates the site, and its numerous significations add to the entwinement of religions there. In one capacity, it speaks to a development of mudéjar style which had been evolving in Seville in the fourteenth century as mosques and synagogues were appropriated and their artforms imitated.⁷⁰ It could also allude to systems of class; some scholars contend that moments of imitation of Islamic design such as this were reflective less of the Castilian designer than the Morisco labor.⁷¹ On yet another hand, it was certainly in dialog with the tomb of Ferdinand III (d. 1252) inside the cathedral, which had been one of the earliest Christian

⁶⁹ Montiel, Morales, *The Cathedral of Seville*, 8.

⁷⁰ Crites discusses the appropriation of mosques broadly after the conquest of Seville in 1248. See Crites, "From Mosque to Cathedral."

⁷¹ D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Alcázar of Seville and Mudéjar Architecture," *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 95.

installments in the reconsecrated space and uniquely displayed epitaphs inscribed in Latin, Hebrew, Castilian, and Arabic. Like Ferdinand's tomb, Islamic forms are appropriated by Christians in the vegetal patterning on the Puerta, and the Puerta indicates that appropriation outside of the space as well as within it.

The fact that the vegetal decoration around the Puerta del Perdón was added by Christian patrons ultimately makes the already dynamic space even more complex. In a way, it is performative of something that it is not; it is not an original part of the mosque, though it may look like it and is carefully positioned as though it could have convincingly been there all along. For this reason, the Puerta's disparity from the Cathedral is simultaneously amplified and collapsed. It was designed by the same socioreligious group as those who had designed the Cathedral behind it, and yet where it could have been made in the same Gothic style, it wasn't. In other words, the deliberate addition of the foliage decoration to the Portal made the juxtaposition of aesthetics even stronger, and the transitory passage into the Patio even more compelling.

Further juxtaposed against the floral patterning of the Puerta are the representations of the Christian figures above and to the sides of it. Perhaps St. Peter and St. Paul were there to protect the viewer as they passed through this discombobulated, Othered space – or to warn them of it. Certainly, the viewer is being warned by the biblical scene above, in which Christ casts out the moneylenders from the temple (a message clearly targeted at Moriscos, a point to which we will return). Taken together, the visual stimuli and conceptual imprint of this is far more charged than the Puerta del Lagarto.

Situated on the *sahn* wall and perpendicular to the Giralda, the Puerta del Lagarto is a far simpler composition. From outside the courtyard, the viewer can see through the portal, equally as deep as the Puerta del Perdón, into the garden (Fig. 15). Unlike the Puerta del Perdón, the Puerta del Lagarto was left largely untouched. Its façade is unadorned and planar, consistent with the courtyard walls around it. The Giralda base, situated close to the Puerta del Lagarto, remained largely unaltered as well. At this point it's useful to recall the signification of the Giralda as it pertained to the Morisco communities; it was a monumental structure that towered even over the Cathedral and recalled the culturally rich period when they were allowed to freely practice their religion. The Giralda and the Puerta del Lagarto are the closest-to-original pieces of the mosque, and through their proximity, the two objects seem to communicate a kind of solidarity with each other. Together they create a corner that is off the beaten path, unaltered and less attention-worthy than the grandiose Puerta del Perdón. The acute absence of Christian architectural interference is definitive of the space, and is reflected by the visual simplicity that cues a congruous bodily shift through the passageway as it enters and exists the doors.

Fragmented Visions

The viewer approaching the Cathedral from any direction, particularly from the north to the courtyard, is quickly directed by the tight urban planning into a close proximity of the building. (Fig. 16) Such was the case for medieval urban design; houses, shops and other secular buildings would closely border the cathedral of the city. Indeed, the close arrangement of buildings in Seville is reflected in prints and paintings from the

reconstruction of the cathedral (Fig. 17). This print produced in 1593 depicts the smaller city buildings pushing closely up against the cathedral; for the viewer, this meant that very few external viewing angles produced a comprehensive image of the building as a whole. Thus, their experience of the space would be fragmentary, and comprised of juxtaposing imagery.

Entering the courtyard through the Puerta del Perdón, the Christian structure unfolds and rises above the tops of the trees. The small detailing on the northern transept is mimicked by the visual complexity of the numerous citrus tree leaves. The vibrant colors of the leaves and fruit contrast the building, but the multiplicity of the minute forms of the leaves and Gothic forms give the eye much to absorb.

Moving through the courtyard, the viewpoints of the architectural and floral forms constantly change. The highly detailed forms of the tree foliage which is amplified by the Gothic transept in turn complements the relatively simpler walls of the Giralda. The Giralda, the viewer can see, rises above the Gothic building. The eye follows an upward movement of the towering transept and Giralda, which is further accentuated by pinnacles atop the flying buttresses. The design of the courtyard is such that the viewer must crane the head to view the top of the Gothic building from within the Patio.

From this standpoint, the viewer can see that the volumetrically dynamic forms of the Gothic structure contrast the planar walls of the rectilinear Giralda. (Fig. 18) It is clear that the same planar simplicity of the Giralda coincides with the original *sahn* walls, and the complex and undulating exterior of the Gothic building makes the similarities of courtyard walls and Giralda stronger. Connecting the transept and Giralda begins a counterclockwise visual direction through the space. The eye follows the Eastern wall,

taking in the rectilinear buttressing that mirrors the Giralda, the geometric crenelation, and pointed horseshoe arches. (Fig. 19) These consecutive forms are grounded, ordered, and robust. The constantly moving foliage of the citrus trees continuously reveals and conceals these details and commands attention. Like the buttresses on the interior walls of the courtyard, the tree trunks stand methodically, their vertical forms passing over each other as the viewer moves between them. (Fig. 20)

Moving through the Patio de los Naranjos, the viewer is inundated with contrasting aesthetics. The complex and formally dynamic patterning of the Gothic architecture juxtaposes the simpler, rectilinear surface design of the Islamic architecture. The pointed horseshoe arches of the Islamic courtyard walls recall Southern Mediterranean architecture whereas the pointed arches of the nave conjure aesthetics that had proliferated north of Iberia in the French Gothic period of the 13th century. The Islamic walls appear grounded and sturdy, while the Christian structure is lightweight and intricate in design. The spindly Gothic flying buttresses contrast the stout buttresses on the Almohad walls.

Conclusion

The tight proximity of buildings outside the cathedral make it so that the viewer receives a fractured view of the whole building, these interplays of Islamic and Christian motifs were plainly visible not only to those who used and attended the space, but also the citizenry outside of it. Clearly, as shown by the Giralda, Puertas, and citrus trees, the site was a stage of competing and coalescing meanings that were activated by the body moving through space. As Gonzalez states, “Sensory perception is therefore the genuine

producer of meaning in the aesthetic experience, by broaching the more elementary, corporeal consciousness of the living being in the physical world.”⁷² What we are left to contend with, then, is how sensory perception was an agent within socioreligious exchange, and how the effect the space had on the viewer translated into social and cultural change.

⁷² Gonzalez, “The Comares Hall,” 260.

CHAPTER IV

FRAGMENTED VISIONS, FRAGMENTED COMMUNITIES

Chapter 3 explored the ways in which the spatial arrangement of the Mosque-Cathedral could discombobulate the viewer and produce juxtaposing visualities that reified their contrasting cultural significations. The ornate phytomorphic patterning, that is, patterning resembling the attributes of plants, of the Puerta del Perdón signals Islamic space that the sculptures of St. Peter and St. Paul on either side mediate. (Fig. 5) The foliage of the citrus trees complicates the highly detailed façade decorations of the Gothic transept, while complementing the planar Almohad walls and recalling the forest of columns of the destroyed prayer hall. The production of space within and around the courtyard invokes highly dynamic visual stimuli that vacillate between cultural codes.

A contextualization of the immediacy of those shifting codes to the early modern viewer is therefore apt. This building was a highly symbolic structure that lay in the heart of the city, supervising the smaller sacred spaces in its periphery.⁷³ Its viewership would have been broad, and the implications of religious visualities close to home for both the Christians and the Muslims who continued to live in the city under Castilian rule, then known as Mudéjares.⁷⁴ During its reconstruction, shifts in population and administration produced highly contentious relationships between the Christians, Jews, and Mudéjares in the city.⁷⁵ As the Cathedral changed, so did the city and its laws regarding Muslims: In 1502, an edict was enforced for all Muslims in Castile to convert to Christianity or vacate the Kingdom – the converts then becoming known as Moriscos.⁷⁶ Muslim communities were becoming more and more fragmented by edicts that increasingly tightened restrictions on individuals of Muslim lineage.⁷⁷ Simultaneously, the mosque building (technically consecrated as a cathedral by then) was being fragmented and reconstructed. Its result, a Gothic-Almohad program of space, produced a visceral visual impact in its audiences that I contend augmented further fragmentation of Morisco communities.

This chapter assesses the social atmosphere that surrounded the Cathedral at the time of its reconstruction, and how the building was an agent on that atmosphere. I begin

⁷³ Danya Crites discusses how the smaller parish churches were built over Ishbiliyya neighborhood mosques that other scholars propose were selected for their vantage point of the Giralda. Crites, “From Mosque to Cathedral,” 68.

⁷⁴ Crites reviews the terms used to describe Muslims in Christian kingdoms. Crites, “From Mosque to Cathedral,” 6.

⁷⁵ Ruth Pike explores the population shifts of Seville and converted Jewish (conversos) position within that milieu. Ruth Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos in Seville: Greed and Prejudice in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain*, American University Studies. IX, History v. 195 (New York: Peter Lang, 2000): 7-8.

⁷⁶ Crites, “From Mosque to Cathedral,” 6.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

by clarifying what laws, edicts, and urban changes happened around the reconstruction of the space in the 15th century, suggesting the socioreligious drivers for the cathedral's reconstruction. Then, the chapter explores the conceptualization of religious conquest of architecture in Castilian rhetoric to propose further support of the reconstruction project, and what that project would have communicated in its 15th century context. The chapter ends by returning to the juxtaposing visualities around the courtyard, discussing the laws that further subjugated Moriscos after the reconstruction of the Cathedral was complete. Through these analyses, I assert that the Cathedral of Seville was produced by, and actively participated in the fracturing of Morisco communities and identities.

Changing Ideals in the Fifteenth Century

In order to understand the tumultuous sixteenth century, we need to turn to the century that preceded it. The sixteenth century brought major change to the city of Seville; the discovery of the Americas and subsequent growth of commerce led to a massive population influx and changes to the urban landscape.⁷⁸ At this point in time, the city's major cathedral construction project had come to an end. Around the same time, several events and administrative actions targeting Mudéjares erupted in Castile, many of which were closely tied to the fall of Granada in 1492. Tensions between the Kingdom of Castile and Granada had preceded this transformative period in Seville by several decades, and 15th c. textual references to the war can inform some of the beginnings of those changes to the social fabric of Seville as well. Take for example the following excerpt proclaimed by Yusuf III, ruler of Granada between 1408-1417:

⁷⁸ Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos in Seville*, 1-2.

“Oh brethren, strive to make the *hijra* which . . . God has made obligatory for each Muslim — to flee *yafirru*) with his property and children from injustice and unbelief in God... and in His Prophet. You already know... what is in the Holy Qur’ān regarding *hijra* and what the Prophet decreed and stipulated regarding it. By God, oh Muslims, there is no city like that of Granada and no place like the frontier fortress (*ribāṭ*) during the *jihād*.”⁷⁹

In his commentaries on *hijra* (migration), Yusūf III calls upon Muslims across Iberia to leave their dwellings, particularly those living in Christian dominated areas – “from injustice and unbelief in God” – by appealing to religious obligation and the promise of camaraderie.⁸⁰ His rhetoric propagates a rift between Muslims living in non-Islamic cities and their Christian surroundings, and simultaneously suggests a moral obligation for them to join him in the last major Islamic front of Al-Andalus.⁸¹

The text seems to be indicative of contentious relationships between Muslims and Castilian Mudéjares and collapses the boundaries between them through religious solidarity. We can see how this may have been threatening to the Castilian monarchy. Indeed, the growing antagonism can be seen in Ferdinand and Isabella, whose focus on

⁷⁹ Alan Verskin, *Islamic Law and the Crisis of the Reconquista: The Debate on the Status of Muslim Communities in Christendom* (Brill, 2015): 41-42. Alan Verskin quotes the passage from L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 59–60, which was in turn drawn from J. Ribera and M. Asín, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1912), 259–60.

⁸⁰ Verskin, *Islamic Law and the Crisis of the Reconquista*, 42.

⁸¹ The year of the conquest of Granada is known. For more on Islamic culture that preceded the city’s fall and continued after, see Olivia Remie Constable, *To Live Like a Moor: Christian Perceptions of Muslim Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Robin Vose, foreword by David Nirenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

the conquest of Islamic territory was so strong that it was a line item in their marriage concessions in 1469: “Once we have these kingdoms and domains of Castile and León in our joint power, we will be obligated to wage war on the Moors, enemies of the holy Catholic faith, as the other preceding Catholic monarchs have done; and in succeeding to the kingdoms, I will take on the obligation to pay and I will pay, the expenses for the fortresses on the frontier with the Moors, as other kings have done.”⁸²

I propose that the growing enmity toward the ‘Moors’ of Spain that produced the union of Castile and Aragon was a charged social reality, ushered in by Christian government, that impelled the reconstruction of the Mosque-Cathedral in Seville. Though this enmity was not absolute and held by all, it was a broad prejudice. Several scholars have discussed the circumstances that led to the reconstruction project. Danya Crites references the popular proposition that the cathedral chapter would have had limited funds, but also simultaneously provides the rebuttal that the economic climate of Seville suggests that the chapter had sufficient enough resources to start reconstruction at least 30 years before it had actually begun. Crites quotes Alfonso Jiménez Martín in *Cartografía de la Montaña Hueca* on the argument of cathedral chapter’s financial disparity; Martín noted that the cathedral chapter recorded income seemed “modest” compared to other cathedrals. Antonio Collantes de Terran in *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: fundación y fábrica de la obra nueva* used research on broader economic changes in the city for the argument of Seville’s financial stability.⁸³

⁸² Jon Cowans, *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003): 9.

⁸³ Danya Crites, *From Mosque to Cathedral*, 218-220. Alfonso Jiménez Martín, and Isabel Pérez Peñaranda, *Cartografía de la Montaña Hueca*, (Sevilla: Ediciones de Cabildo Metropolitano de la Catedral de Sevilla, 1997): 38-39; Antonio Collantes de Terran, “Una

The argument for the possibility of an earlier start to the reconstruction project seems to have stronger merit; it is bolstered by the many scholars who acknowledge that Seville was a major metropolitan area well before the turn of the 14th century.⁸⁴ What that means for this study is that there is room for speculation as to what forces compelled and prolonged the transformation of the mosque space. Yusuf's call to Mudéjares in the early 15th century and Ferdinand and Isabella's public attitude toward the Moors of Spain speak to an increasingly charged division between Christian rule and Muslim civilians throughout the fifteenth century. Indeed, edicts such as the Ordinance of Enclosure of the Jews and Moors in 1412 reflect that growing division.⁸⁵ The ordinance, promulgated by Catalina de Lancaster at Valladolid, required Jews to wear specific garbs and live in specified areas.

It would seem that escalating enmity directed at Muslims in the fifteenth century would have impelled the cathedral chapter and/or city administration to reconstruct the space; though it had previously functioned to narrate the conquest of Seville, anti-Islamic rhetoric and the threat of Granada perhaps made the mosque space appear too Islamic. Though its Islamic appearance served to symbolize Castile's defeat of the Almohads, its nuanced visual message was not overt enough to suit the changing ideals.

The idea that the building as a fully Islamic program of space didn't visually narrate power structures overtly enough is perhaps reinforced by the fact that the Alcázar remained so close to the cathedral. The royal palace of the Alcazar, like the cathedral,

Ciudad, Una Catedral," in *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: fundación y fábrica de la obra nueva*, ed. Alfonso Jiménez Martín, (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Vicerrectorado de Investigación, 2006): 135-145.

⁸⁴ Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos in Seville*, 1.

⁸⁵ Louise Mirrer, *Women, Jews, and Muslims*, 9.

had retained much of its Islamic visuality in the centuries following the fall of Seville. It was also likewise a major architectural assemblage that commanded attention. Together, the changing conceptualizations of Islamic space perhaps framed the two architectural spaces to command that section of the city rather than serve political agendas.

It was over the course of the mid-15th century that these ideals, shifting from the Reconquista period to the Inquisition, that the cathedral was restructured. The Gothic cathedral (Fig. 8) was a much more conspicuous visual program of Christian authority than the space would have been in its previous form. It took about 73 years to build; in 1433 the first orders for stones were made and in 1506 the last brick was placed.⁸⁶ It was in the middle of this construction that religious intolerance surged; in 1480, Ferdinand and Isabella established an Inquisitorial team in Seville, and in 1502 following the fall of Granada, the Catholic monarchs published an edict for all Muslims in Castile to convert to Christianity or be expelled from Spain.⁸⁷ Quite literally, as the mosque (cathedral) of Seville was being broken up and fragmented, so was Islam within the city. It is the simultaneous fracturing of the physical mosque space and metaphysical Muslim communities at the turn of the century to which we now turn.

Rhetoric and Reconquest

The theme of conquering Muslims space is one that appeared within Castilian literature; Christian conceptualizations around the conquest of space in rhetoric was packed with meaning and frequently synonymous with the conquest of bodies. Relevantly, the construction of the Cathedral of Seville over the mosque prayer hall was a reconquering

⁸⁶ Ruiz and Martín, “A Fifteenth Century Plan,” 60.

⁸⁷ On the Inquisitorial team in Seville, see Cowans, *Early Modern Spain*, 10-11; on the edict of 1502, see Mirrer, *Women, Jews, and Muslims*, 65.

of the space, and operated within the culture that drew parallels between conquering bodies and spaces. Earlier Castilian literature provides some strong insight into conquest narratives, and as Louise Mirrer explores, framed the control of women's bodies as synonymous with the conquering of architectural spaces: "The *morica*'s [Morisco woman] depiction as an object of Christian desire—an object that must be possessed—is a theme in fact echoed in many Castilian ballads that detail the events of reconquest. In these texts, such spectacular Muslim architectural structures as the Alhambra and the *mezquita* (mosque) and such wondrous cities as Granada—the "bride" king Juan II hopes for in the famous ballad of *Abenámar*—are all subject to Christian appropriation."⁸⁸ Mirrer shows that within earlier Christian literature, Muslim women's bodies were objects to be dominated, and intentional metaphorical parallels were drawn between conquest of Muslim women and Muslim space.

Certainly, a reconquest of the (mosque) Cathedral of Seville was occurring through the construction of the Gothic building. In the midst of Inquisition-era hostility directed at Islam, we can see how the demolition of the mosque prayer hall and rapid construction over it served as a stage in which Castilian aristocracy could reconquer Islam. Not only was this a process rooted in Castilian conceptualization of sacred space as an embodied frontier, it was also a process that served political function: "Campaigning against Moors provided a convenient mechanism for controlling and directing energetic and restless nobles in an incontrovertibly respectable cause."⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Mirrer, *Women, Jews, and Muslims*, 23.

⁸⁹ Christopher Tyerman, *The World of the Crusades* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2019): 303-304.

Later commentaries on the Islamic architecture of Seville demonstrate to a capacity the conception of the Islamic buildings as allegorical for Muslim's bodies. In 1587, Alonso Morgado commented on the appeal of the Islamic buildings: "The Moors built many sumptuous edifices in Seville, as it would appear from what we know about the time they inhabited the Royal Alcazar, from what can be seen to remain of their great Mosque, from its superb tower and various other towers, the extension of the city walls, and the other palaces and houses, the magnificence, design, and workmanship of which are still visible today."⁹⁰ Morgado commends the Islamic buildings in Seville while simultaneously diminishing Islamic presence and production of them.

Morgado's description highlights the beguiling quality of the buildings' exterior – "sumptuous edifice". In the same stroke, Morgado condemns the socioreligious origin of the spaces: "I shall not deny that some of our finest architects will not accept that such a tall, strong, sumptuous, and magnificent building as this famous tower of Seville was built by the Moors..."⁹¹ Implicit in this quote is the absence of Muslims; they are relegated to a long-lost past that is divorced from the existence of the building. In the same vein, it was a framing of the insufficiency of Muslim men that, in literary scenarios, Christian men could justify commandeering women's bodies.⁹² Mirrer states "...male Muslims' failure to properly protect what was theirs — whether young women's virtue or

⁹⁰ See Antonio Urquzar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe: Morisco Buildings and Identity Negotiations in Early Modern Spanish Historiography* (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2017): 107. Referenced: Alonso Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla, en la que se contienen sus antigüedades, grandezas, y cosas memorables en ella acontecidas, desde su fundación hasta nuestros tiempos* (Seville: Andrea Pescioni, Juan de León, 1587) Manuscript, BNE, Mss/1344: 49v.

⁹¹ Morgado, *Historia*, pp. 81v–92r in Tyerman, *The World of the Crusades*, 109.

⁹² Mirrer, *Women, Jews, and Muslims*, 23.

their own territories — legitimized Christian possession...”⁹³ The Cathedral of Seville, likewise, was a space that in the 15th century growing hostility toward the Moors needed ‘saving’ once again.

What’s apparent in the literary and site-survey commentaries is that rifts were conceptually driven between Muslim men and women for exploit by Christian men.

Despite attempts to fracture Muslim communities, and though Muslims experienced quite different persecutions based on gender, there are also several instances where both the men and women suffered the same injustices and would come to each other’s aid.

Muslim men and women alike were dictated in their clothing, grooming, hygiene, and culinary practices in the 16th century.⁹⁴ For example, as of 1526 in Granada, Muslim women could not wear anything to cover their faces, nor henna on their bodies.⁹⁵ Muslim men were required to part their hair down the middle and could not wear green clothes or white shoes.⁹⁶

When submitting their grievances to the authorities of Granada in 1567, Mudéjar noblemen defended their women: “The clothing our women wear is not even Moorish clothing; it is simply the local clothing, like the clothing in Castile...”⁹⁷ In a more

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ For a broad and comprehensive analysis of the day-to-day life of Muslims under Castilian rule, see Olivia Remie Constable, *To Live Like a Moor: Christian Perceptions of Muslim Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Robin Vose, foreword by David Nirenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018). For specifics on clothing, see 17-22.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 21.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 30.

⁹⁷ Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Historia del [sic] rebellion y castigo de los moriscos del reyno de Granada* (Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1797), Pp. 152-62 in, Cowans, *Early Modern Spain*, 105-109.

distressing example, a ballad published between 1471-1511 tells of a Muslim woman who is helping a [supposedly] Muslim man escape persecution:

[I was called Moorish Moraima,
young Mooress of a lovely appearance.
A Christian came to my door,
cuytada, to deceive me.
He spoke to me in Arabic,
As one who knows it well:
—Open your doors to me, Mooress,
if you wish Allah to protect you from evil.
—How can I open it to you, wretched me,
if I don't even know who you are?
—I am the Moor, Mazote,
brother of your mother,
I've just left a Christian dead,
and the deputy is coming after me,
If you don't open up, my life,
right here you will see me killed.
When I heard this, *cuytada*,
I began to get myself up;
I dressed myself in a tunic,
not finding my gown;
I went toward the door
and opened it up wide.]⁹⁸

⁹⁸ *Mirror, Women, Jews, and Muslims*, 25-27.

In this tale, the Mudéjar woman's private space and (through implication) body are breached; the ballad communicates that spatial and embodied conquest were well within 16th c. Castilian male purview. Furthermore, it speaks to the reproductive components of Muslim and Christian cohabitation that would ultimately lead to the genealogical fragmentation of Muslim communities in Seville.⁹⁹

The Cathedral, which was being resubjected to Castilian conquest through its rebuilding, was a symbolic part of the fracturing of Islamic heritage in the 15th and 16th centuries. Not only was it a moment when a strong monument of Islamic heritage was disrupted, but so too were the communities of Muslims. Male Christian extortion of access therefore was iterated simultaneously in architectural spaces as well as on the embodied experiences of Muslim communities.

An Unwieldy City and Reiterations of Authority

Seville became rapidly more populated upon the influx of trade spurred by colonialism in the New World, and it transformed into a key trading capital for Spanish transatlantic trade.¹⁰⁰ Simultaneously, laws stipulating the assimilation of Muslim fashion, hair, behaviors, and beliefs into Christian conventions were broadly enforced.¹⁰¹ This quickly became the impetus for reproduction between peoples of varying religious backgrounds in Seville that the Inquisition would seek to trace.¹⁰² By the 1580's, the population had

⁹⁹ Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos*, 21.

¹⁰⁰ Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos in Seville*, 1.

¹⁰¹ See Olivia Remie Constable, *To Live Like a Moor: Christian Perceptions of Muslim Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Robin Vose, foreword by David Nirenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018). Rep of long citation – only needed 1 time in chapter

¹⁰² Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos in Seville*, 6-9.

more than tripled to about 150,000, many of which moving in for trade.¹⁰³ Ruth Pike argues that at this point in time, Seville was more diverse than most cities due to its positioning in the world trade network.¹⁰⁴ Because of this, the city would have been characterized by a strong dichotomy of families who had been established in the city for generations and the influx of foreigners, a dichotomy which was quickly broken up as city dwellers reproduced. Long-established communities of Islamic heritage were fractured both in terms of legalities and procreation. We can imagine that the heirs of the Christian-Muslim schism would have had complex identities that drew from the cultural codes of their parents. In many ways, the Cathedral metaphorically mirrored those complex relationships.

Moving around the Cathedral from the exterior, the shifting viewpoints create multiple connotations. Looking at the space from the East, (Fig. 21) there is a hierarchal scaling; the Gothic apse juts into the viewer's space and takes up a much larger volume than the smaller, humble extension of the Patio de los Naranjos. The Giralda divides the two and mediates them visually — the Patio walls are planar and relatively unadorned, the Gothic building is highly adorned with colonettes, foils, and tracery, and engaged columns, multifoil arches and the Giralda is at once planar and yet adorned with sections of abstract *sebka* patterning that mimics the multifoil arches. The Gothic building dominates this view volumetrically, yet the Giralda towers over it vertically.

Oscillating between the urban environment around the cathedral, pieces of the overall church, including the courtyard, Gothic structure, and Giralda, disappear from

¹⁰³ Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos in Seville*, 1.

¹⁰⁴ Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos in Seville*, 8.

view. The peripheral buildings are in some cases, as they would have been then, so tightly arranged that the Gothic building and Patio that they disappear almost completely, leaving the Giralda the sole focal point. (Fig. 22) Narrow alleyways direct the viewer, for example, from the east toward the space, and the surrounding buildings bookend the tower. The tall, straight walls and ornate decorations of the higher registers of the tower pull the gaze upward, emphasizing power in elevation. But before the eye can ascribe that power to the Islamic motifs, the overtly Greco-Roman stylized Castilian sections that top the Giralda claim superiority over the tower. To be sure, if the roundels, pilasters, ionic capitals, and rounded arches didn't communicate the visual codes of Christendom, then the bronze *Giraldillo*, the sculpture formally titled *Faith Triumphant* at the top of the tower, ensures that the viewer knows which religious program holds vertical supremacy over the Giralda.¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 23)

And yet, from an even farther standpoint, across the Guadalquivir River, the Giralda stands in union with another major extant Islamic tower, the Torre del Oro. (Fig. 24) This watchtower was erected in the 13th century before The Castilian conquest of the city and is one of the major extant Islamic architectural remains from the city under Islamic reign. Again, verticality is emphasized between the two towers which rise above the surrounding city. The towers invoked visual solidarity with each other, as Mudéjares

¹⁰⁵ There are other features, such as inscriptions and decorative iconographic details on the top of the tower and the Giraldillo sculpture that reference various Christian messages, but for the sake of considering the standard viewer's experience, I won't dive into those details here. Those things can be learned about in: Alfonso Jiménez Martín, "El Giraldillo," *Historia*, vol. 16 no. 66 (1981): 99-102.

were doing with each other under hegemonic Castilian rule, but that union could only be witnessed at a distance far from the Mosque-Cathedral.¹⁰⁶

These external viewpoints are critical to understanding the visual effects of the Cathedral on the city. Not only would the Cathedral's large size, historical significance, and visual stimulation have garnered large amounts of Sevillian viewership, but also the space housed the center of Sevillian marketplace. In 1526, Andrea Navajero noted: "Around the whole building (the Cathedral) there is a long marble terrace, enclosed by chains, from which one descends by steps to the street below. Throughout the day merchants and hidalgos congregate in this place...which is a type of public market, there are always great numbers of people and it is here that frauds of kind are committed."¹⁰⁷

Certainly, those markets were in part occupied by citizens of Morisco descent; as previously discussed, the population of Seville was a diverse milieu in which Moriscos and Christians intermingled and procreated. That the Inquisition became so concerned with lineage that they began enacting blood-purity laws prohibiting persons of Muslim descent from certain activities and roles points to that diversity.¹⁰⁸ So, it was persons of complex identities and fragmented religious heritages that used the marketplace around the Cathedral and witnessed the visual inundation of the space's battle for visual and conceptual authority.

¹⁰⁶ Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithica & London: Cornell University Press, 1972): 159.

¹⁰⁷ Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos*, 3.

¹⁰⁸ Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos*, 20-25.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I analyzed the society in which the cathedral transformed in the late 15th and early 16th century. I identified the laws that were passed and enacted around the reconstruction of the space in the 15th century, and asserted that those edicts were a part of systems of change that reflected and influenced the reconstruction of the cathedral. Then, I surveyed an example of rhetorical text that situated the Muslim body with architectural space and contended that the destruction of the mosque structure and its rebuilding was symbolic of the reiterated Christian power over Muslims in the 15th and 16th centuries. I turn in the last section to the fragmented views of the cathedral, and assert that the reconstruction of the space was reflective of the fractured Muslim communities of Seville, and actively affected that fracturing through its symbolism of power.

The Cathedral was then not just a historical monument but also an active agent in the visual experiences of the everyday citizenry of Seville. It was a highly charged space that not only documented historical religious contentions in the city but announced the vitality of those contentions. I argued that shifting Castilian conceptualizations of the threat of Muslims in the 15th century likely informed the reconstruction of the Cathedral into a more overtly Christian visual program. Through the process, the physical space served as a stage where the conquest of the mosque could be relived, and allegorically permit Castilian Christian men to fracture Muslim communities to take that property which Muslim men were unable to protect— physical spaces and women's bodies included. Through this simultaneous fragmentation of Muslim communities and [converted] mosque, a new spatial program was created in the Cathedral of Seville that

vied against itself for metaphorical authority, which in turn invoked a polysemic experience in its viewer.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Societal fabrics in early modern Iberia were subject to tremendous change that, as this thesis contends, were affected by architectural design. The Cathedral of Seville is just one moment of urban reconstruction that was closely entwined with the major social shifts around it. The building participated in the larger trend of appropriating Islamic structures as Christian sacred spaces in Reconquista Spain in order to narrate and announce power and divine right. By closely assessing the space in terms of spatial experience and reception, and analyzing that against the social backdrop of sixteenth century Spain, I assert that the building played a key part in social changes and was a reflection of them.

In the first chapter, I addressed the gaps in the state of the field that provide a basis for this study by identifying 3 main historiographies. One is the work done on the affective properties of spatial arrangement and architecture on audiences. Another is the work conducted specifically on the Cathedral of Seville, which is largely characterized by archeological research. The other is the historical work that addresses the social climate of Iberia in Reconquista Spain. This thesis ties those approaches together to analyze the Cathedral of Seville in a way that it hadn't been before, that is, in terms of its reception in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In chapter two, I detail the expansive history of the cathedral from its inception as a mosque in the Islamic-ruled city then known as Ishbiliyya. I follow the reconsecration of the space in 1248, postulate its use and status in the interim period before the prayer hall was destroyed, and then assess how the space was reconstructed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. I show that, with the given evidence, the space remained largely in the form of the prior mosque in large part due to its functionality as a beacon of Christian dominion over Islam. Though the cathedral chapter and city officials had little financial ability in the fourteenth century to undergo extensive reconstruction, the status of the city as a bustling trade site suggest that the city had the fiscal means to rebuild the cathedral decades before it actually started. I contend that the use of the space as a narration of religious conquest was a strong factor in the buildings relatively delayed reconstruction.

Chapter three explores the spatial construction and juxtaposition of visual motifs between Islamic and Christian traditions. I walk through the multivalent viewpoints regarding the Patio de los Naranjos, the Puerta del Perdón and Puerta del Lagartos, the Giralda, and the exterior space of the cathedral from multiple perspectives. Through these descriptions I assert that the contrast of Islamic aesthetics from the mosque and the Christian aesthetics in the newer Gothic construction produced in the viewer a disorienting experience that facilitated messages of power. By discussing the extant Islamic visualities of the Giralda, and the Islamic-appearing additions made under Christian control of the space, I show that the designers of the new Gothic church specifically accentuated the contrast of aesthetics to iterate messages of power and justified appropriation of the mosque.

In chapter four, I survey the anthropological atmosphere of Iberia during the time of the reconstruction of the cathedral, arguing that social tensions between Christians and Muslims affected the reconstruction of the cathedral, and that the reconstruction in turn amplified those tensions. I begin by detailing the social shifts that preceded the reconstruction project in the fifteenth century, showing that hostility toward Muslims was increasing in the 1400s, and a strong component in the decision to tear down the prayer hall of the mosque. By destroying the main building, the Reconquista could be recapitulated in the fifteenth century while simultaneously restating the political and religious power that the space demarcated. This is further supported by rhetoric circulated during the 16th century regarding Muslim bodies as objects to be controlled and transgressed, synonymous to the capture of Islamic spaces. Christian men in Spain would intervene into Muslim communities, controlling their customs, behaviors, and spaces, and in so doing, entangle together their genealogies and effectively fracture the Muslim and Morisco communities that had persisted in Seville since the 13th century.

The reconstruction of the cathedral visually reflected the fragmentation of the communities; the building itself was partly torn down, and the remaining Islamic elements were framed to contrast the Christian aesthetics in a multiplicity of fractured views. As the building was reconstructed in the sixteenth century, Islamic and Christian visual motifs became closely entwined and produced fractured views that emphasized discord between Christians and Muslims that would ultimately continue to escalate until the Spanish Inquisition swept through the peninsula.

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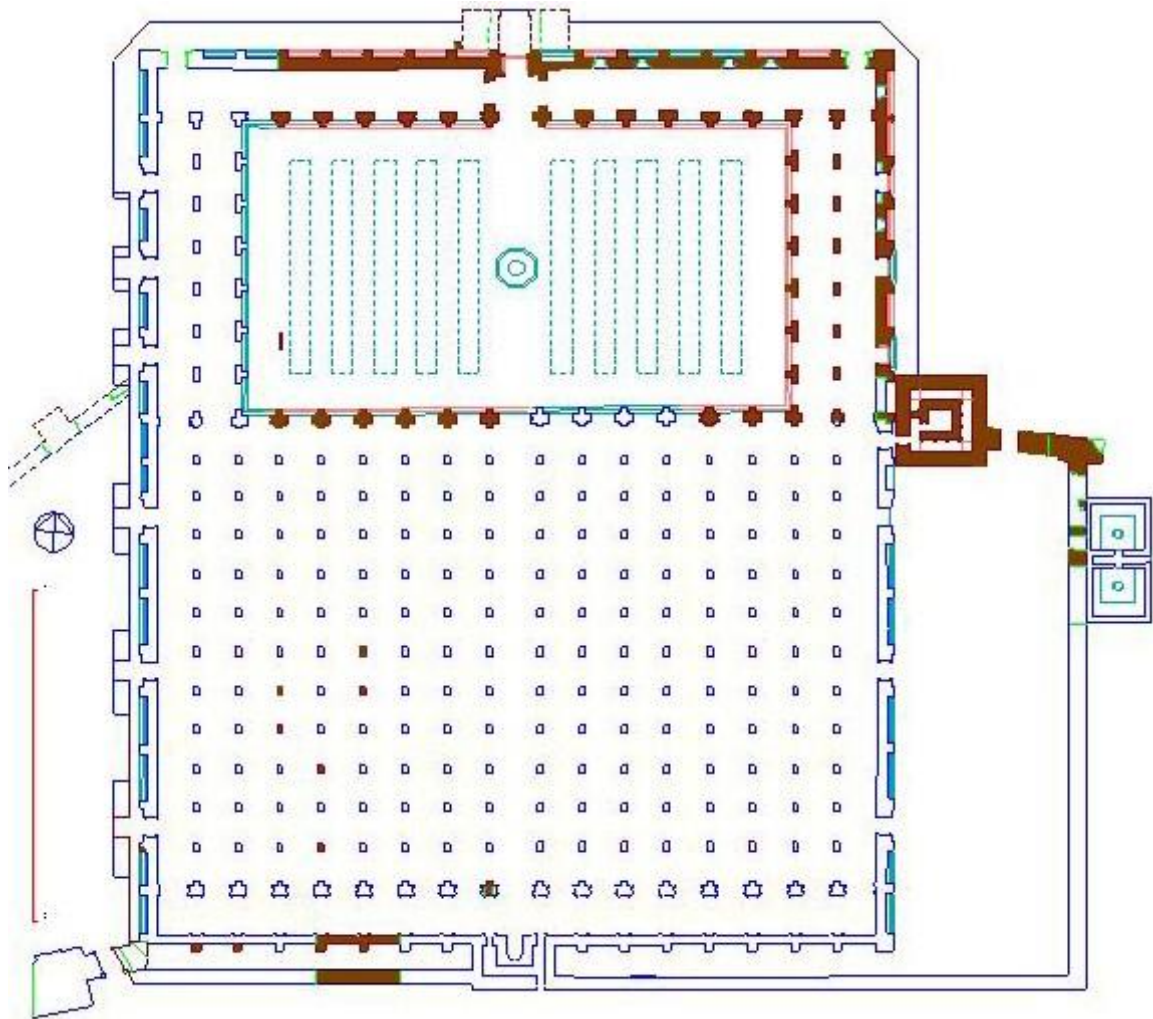
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APPENDICES

Figure 1



Floorplan of Cathedral of Seville (credit: Alfonso Jiménez Martín, “Notas sobre la mezquita mayor de la Sevilla almohade”)

Figure 2



Pieces of interior mosque floor (credit: Alfonso Jiménez Martín, “Notas sobre la mezquita mayor de la Sevilla almohade”)

Figure 3



View of Pointed Horseshoe Arches, Cathedral of Seville (credit: Google Earth images)

Figure 4



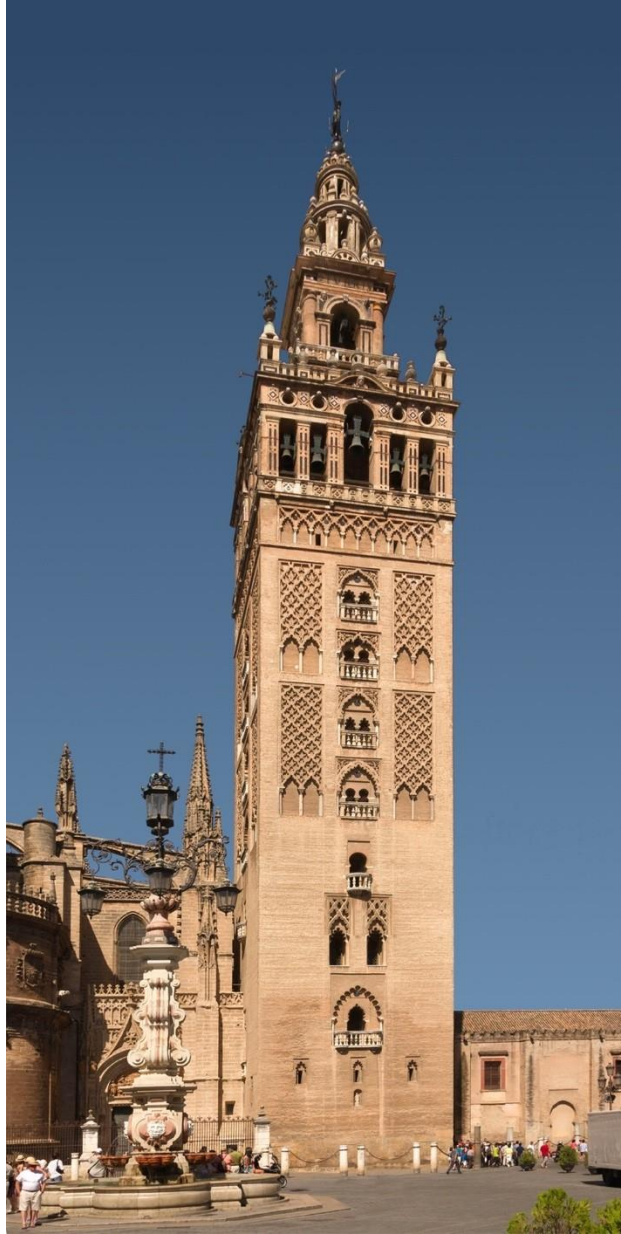
Stepped crenellation above the interior Puerta del Perdón

Figure 5



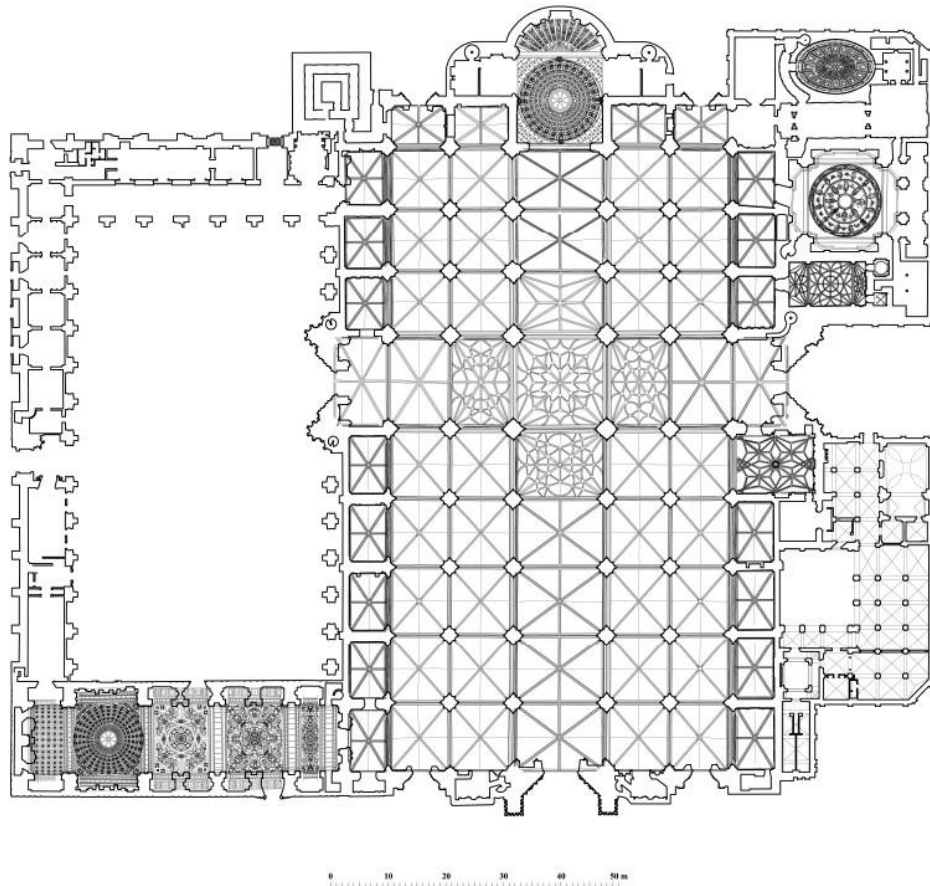
Puerta del Perdón, cir. 1172-1198 (credit: Wikimedia Commons)

Figure 6



Giralda (credit: Wikimedia Commons)

Figure 7



Floorplan of cathedral showing side aisles that fill in cruciform layout

From Begoña Alonso Ruiz and Alfonso Jiménez Martín, "A Fifteenth-Century Plan of the Cathedral of Seville," *Architectural History* 55 (2012): 57–77.

Figure 8



Aerial view of cathedral from Western viewpoint

From Begoña Alonso Ruiz and Alfonso Jiménez Martín, “A Fifteenth-Century Plan of the Cathedral of Seville,” *Architectural History* 55 (2012): 57–77.

Figure 9



View of citrus trees in the Patio de los Naranjos (credit: Google Earth images)

Figure 10



Aerial view of Patio de los Naranjos

Figure 11



View of Northern transept framed by horseshoe arch of Puerta del Perdón

Figure 12



View of tunnel-like passage of the Puerta del Perdón, including horseshoe arches, bronze Almohad doors, and Gothic transept

Figure 13



View of interior of Puerta, showing vegetal patterning of exterior Puerta, geometric patterning of Almohad interior, and Gothic flying buttresses

Figure 14



Puerta del Perdón showing Castile coat of arms

Figure 15



Exterior view of Puerta del Lagarto showing citrus trees in courtyard

Figure 16



Exterior view of Eastern courtyard and Giralda from south-facing standpoint showing tight urban planning (credit: Google Earth images)

Figure 17



Frans Hogenberg, *Sevilla Hispalis*, 1593, print (detail)

Figure 18



View of Giralda and Northern transept from interior of courtyard (credit: Google Earth images)

Figure 19



Panoramic view from interior courtyard showing Gothic building, Giralda, and *sahn* walls (credit: Google Earth images)

Figure 20



View of verticality of citrus trees and Almohad buttresses (credit: Google Earth images)

Figure 21



View of Patio de los Naranjos walls, Giralda, and Gothic chevet

Figure 22



View of Giralda from the north, omitting the main church and Patio

Figure 23



View of top of Giralda (detail) from Eastern standpoint

Figure 24



View of Torre del Oro and Giralda from across the Guadalquivir

VITA

Hayla Grace May

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: FRAGMENTED VISIONS: ARCHITECTURAL AND RELIGIOUS
ENTWINEMENT IN THE CATHEDRAL OF SEVILLE

Major Field: Art History

Biographical:

Education:

Completed the requirements for the Master of Arts in Art History at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in May, 2021.

Completed the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts in Studio Art at University of Arkansas, Fort Smith, Arkansas in 2019.

Experience:

Graduate Teaching Assistant • Oklahoma State University • August 2019 - Present

Instructor (accepted) • Oklahoma State University • June 2021-July 2021

Selected Conference Participation:

37th Annual Art History Graduate Symposium • 2021 • Florida State University • Presenter

2021 Newberry Multidisciplinary Graduate Conference • 2021 • Newberry Library, Chicago IL • Organizer

48th Midwest Art History Society Annual Conference • 2021 • Baylor University & Oklahoma State University • Presenter

2020 Newberry Multidisciplinary Graduate Conference • 2020 • Newberry Library, Chicago IL • Organizer

12th Annual Student Research Symposium • 2019 • University of Arkansas – Fort Smith • Presenter

42nd Annual Mid-America Medieval Association Conference • 2018 • University of Kansas • Presenter