

THE ANXIETY OF INFLUENCE IN MEDIEVAL
SEVILLE: REEXAMINING HIERARCHICAL CONCEPTS
OF STYLE IN THE ALCÁZAR

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Abstract:

Fourteenth-century Iberia was a complicated and intricate place of intertwining cultural and religious entities; this mingling is particularly evident in the architecture of the Kingdom of Castile. In 1364, Pedro of Castile began a new renovation on the Real Alcázar in Seville that included the addition of the famous Courtyard of the Maidens. More than a hundred years after the fall of Muslim Seville to the Christian Castilians, Pedro chose to emulate an architectural style commonly attributed to the Islamic aesthetics of the Nasrid Kingdom. Pedro's allusions to the Alhambra are not only visible in the form of stylistic references; he cites the Alhambra enigmatically as well. One example is the Arabic incantation found on the walls of the Alcázar of Seville: *Wa la ghalib ill Allah*—"There is no conqueror but God." This same incantation is repeated countless on the walls of Muhammad V's Alhambra, as it is the Nasrid motto. This project investigates the overt references by Pedro to the aesthetics of the Nasrid Kingdom; it also explores the Alcázar as a microcosm of political commerce and power in fourteenth-century Seville. More specifically, it challenges previous assumptions that Pedro's designs were "influenced" by Muhammad V's contemporary renovations of the Alhambra. Through an analysis of primary visual and secondary textual material, this project elucidates how the design and construction of the Alcázar reflect the cultural and religious climate of fourteenth-century Seville. Finally, I aim to unravel the intricate and tangled alliance between Muhammad V and Pedro of Castile in order to reveal connections between the stylistic commerce in their renovations and the political commerce present in their alliance.

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INTRODUCTION

Fourteenth-century Iberia was a complicated place of intertwining cultural and religious entities; this mingling is particularly evident in the architecture of the Kingdom of Castile. In 1364, Pedro of Castile began a new renovation on the Real Alcázar in Seville that included the addition of the famous Courtyard of the Maidens, also known as the *Patio de las Doncellas* (Figure 1). More than a hundred years after the fall of Muslim Seville to the Christian Castilians, Pedro chose to emulate an architectural style associated with Nasrid Granada. It has been posited by noted art historian D. Fairchild Ruggles that in order to authentically achieve this coveted style, Pedro likely brought in workmen and craftsmen from the capital of the Islamic Nasrid Kingdom, Granada.¹ These craftsmen had worked for generations on the Nasrid Alhambra under such rulers as Yusuf I and his son Muhammad V. Pedro's allusions to the Alhambra are not only visible in the form of obvious stylistic references, he cites the Alhambra enigmatically as well. One example is the Arabic incantation found on the walls of the Alcázar of Seville: *Wa la ghalib ill Allah*—"There is no conqueror but God." This same incantation is repeated on the walls of Muhammad V's Alhambra, as it is the Nasrid motto.

¹ D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Alcázar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture," *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 91-92.

This project investigates the overt references by Pedro to the style of the Alhambra; it also explores the Alcázar as a microcosm of political commerce and power in fourteenth-century Seville. More specifically, it challenges previous assumptions that Pedro's designs were "influenced" by Muhammad V's contemporary renovations of the Alhambra. In the past, art historians including Mariam Rosser-Owen and Oleg Grabar have declared Pedro's style at the Alcázar an adoption of Nasrid aesthetics.² (In my project, the word aesthetics refers to the visual ideals of beauty and taste in the Nasrid kingdom.) These assumptions are flawed because no architectural precedent can be concretely established. This flaw and others are investigated in Chapter Three. In contrast, I posit the concept of stylistic commerce. I use this term to describe the interchange of ideas, formal qualities, and visual characteristics between these two patrons and their sites. Through an analysis of primary visual and secondary textual material, I seek to elucidate how the design and construction of the Alcázar reflect the cultural and religious climate of fourteenth-century Seville. I aim to unravel the intricate and tangled alliance between Muhammad V and Pedro of Castile in order to reveal connections between the stylistic commerce in their renovations and the political commerce present in their alliance. Ultimately, the shared style of these political allies may speak as much to the broader aesthetic landscape of Iberia in this period as it does their specific relationship.

Because of the expansive nature of each palace's renovations, I focus my attention on Pedro's *Patio de las Doncellas* and Muhammad V's *Patio de los Leones* (Figure 2). By exploring the political climate of this era and comparatively analyzing the style and elements of each palace, I suggest the function of the Alcázar as a microcosm of political commerce and power in

² Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010); Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

fourteenth-century Seville as well as propaganda. This propaganda would have served as a reference to the venerated alliance between Pedro and Muhammad V.

Despite the persistent notion that the Alhambra “influenced” the Alcázar perpetuated by scholars including Grabar and Rosser-Owen, scholars like Ruggles have begun to question the common conception.³ To begin with, Ruggles underscores the difficulty in dating the renovations of the Alhambra; this hurdle leaves us with only rough estimates of construction dates.⁴ For Ruggles, this uncertainty makes it likely that some of the renovations at the Alcázar could actually predate the works at the Alhambra, inverting the accepted conceptions of “influence.” However, this is as far as Ruggles pushes the issue. It is my desire to pursue this investigation, not in hopes of proving the “influence” of one palace upon the other, but in order to reveal an aesthetic commerce between Granada and Seville. As art historian Jerrilynn Dodds has pointed out, the notion of “influence” simplifies relationships and erroneously asserts superiority to the group that is influencing and a passiveness to the group that is influenced.⁵ The context of Al-Andalus cannot be contained in such reductive categories. By pushing past this need to compartmentalize these sites into the category of influence, countless avenues of interaction and exchange open up for exploration. It is my hope that this investigation will ultimately lead to a better understanding of Iberian style in this period.

³ Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 200-201; Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010).

⁴ Ruggles, 91-92.

⁵ Jerrilynn D. Dodds, ed. *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992).

The Alcázar of Seville

The Alcázar of Seville is an expansive garden and palatial complex. This complex is comprised of various architectural styles co-mingling within the palace's confines. This mingling is attributed to the constant destruction, reconstruction, and renovation process that has continued from its conception almost until present day. This study will focus solely on the Palacio del Rey Don Pedro, the section attributed to Pedro's patronage. The layout of the palace revolves around the central courtyard, the *Patio de las Doncellas*, which is labeled by on the floor plan provided at the end of this document (Number 15 in Figure 3). This central courtyard and its adjoining rooms are the focus of this project's research.

Pedro's *Patio de las Doncellas* is surrounded by ornate stucco polylobed archways. These arches frame the porch of the courtyard (Figure 1). Small arches run the length of and accentuate each side of the courtyard. These rows of smaller arches on each side of the courtyard are divided by one large central archway. The archways emphasize three doorways and one large arched niche. The southern side of the courtyard holds a doorway that leads to the *Salón de Techo De Carlos V*, which is visible as on the plan provided at the end of this document (Number 20 in Figure 3). On the northern side of the courtyard, an archway frames the entrance to the *Dormitorio de los Reyes Moros* (Number 21 in Figure 3). The courtyard is divided down the middle by a reflecting pool that runs from the eastern side to the western side of the courtyard. The eastern side of the courtyard is punctuated with an arched niche, while a massive doorway emphasizes the western side of the courtyard. These ornate doors were commissioned by Pedro and crafted by artists from Toledo in 1366.⁶ Both the exterior and the interior sides of

⁶ Juan Carlos Hernández Núñez and Alfredo J. Morales, *The Royal Palace of Seville* (Scala Publishers, 1999), 54.

these doors contain inscriptions that reference both the Christian and Islamic faiths. These inscriptions and their relationship to the functionality of the courtyard will be addressed in Chapter Two.

The inner rooms discussed above are connected to more interior rooms with horseshoe-arched passageways of carved stucco latticework. The walls of each of these interior rooms, as well as the interior walls of the courtyard, are decorated with ornate mosaic dados that follow a strict and repeated geometric pattern. The tiling is crowned throughout the rooms with a detailed and intricate frieze of stucco carving that contain Kufic inscriptions that are framed by the castle of Castile, the lion of León, and the insignia of the Order of the Band (Figure 5). These details are all related to similar elements found in the Alhambra of Granada.

The Alhambra of Granada

Muhammad V's renovations to the Alhambra are most prominent in his *Patio de los Leones* (Figure 2 and 4). Much like Pedro's *Patio de las Doncellas*, the *Patio de los Leones* is a courtyard surrounded by a forest of columns holding up a portico. These columns are topped with ornate organic carvings highly reminiscent of Pedro's Alcázar in Seville. The central focus of the courtyard is the famous lion fountain. Bridging out from the fountain are four streams of water that divide the courtyard into fourths. These streams flow directly towards four rooms that open up into the courtyard. The four rooms include those known as the *Sala de los Mocárabes*, the *Sala de los Reyes*, the *Sala de las Dos Hermanas*, and the *Sala de los Abencerrajes*. The focus on four entrance points or niches mirrors the organization and layout of the Alcázar of Seville. Two pavilions project from the eastern and western sides of the courtyard; this parallels

the emphasis placed by Pedro on the eastern and western arches in the *Patio de las Doncellas*. The eastern pavilion leads visitors directly into the *Sala de los Reyes*, also known as the Hall of Justice. This collection of rooms is known today for the fascinating paintings found on the ceilings.⁷ On the north side of the courtyard sits the *Sala de las dos Hermanas*. Lastly, the southern room is called the *Sala de los Abencerrajes*.

In their introduction to the special edition of *Medieval Encounters* dedicated to the Alhambra,⁸ Cynthia Robinson and Simone Pinet refer to the *Sala de las Dos Hermanas* and the *Sala de los Abencerrajes* that surround the *Patio de los Leones* as “heavily ornamented rooms of uncertain purpose.”⁹ The western pavilion leads to the *Sala de los Mocárabes*, which was a summer room that would have been intended for parties or feasting. A similar function has been attributed to the *Sala de los Reyes*.¹⁰ Unlike Pedro’s *Patio de las Doncellas* which was utilized as the center of court life, Muhammad V’s *Patio de los Leones* would have been used for therapeutic purposes such as pleasure and entertainment, not civic or political purposes.¹¹

The stylistic details of Muhammad V’s Alhambra are also very similar to those of the Alcázar. Mosaic dados found in the interior of the Alhambra closely resemble those found in the Alcázar. These dados consist of reminiscent shapes, patterns, colors, and overall designs. The Alhambra also features the intricate stucco frieze that crowns the tiling at the Alcázar. Lastly, Muhammad incorporated the insignia of the Order of the Band within the Alhambra. Both stylistically and functionally, the relationship between these two palaces suggests a shared aesthetic, or in other words, stylistic commerce.

⁷ See *Medieval Encounters* 14, no. 2-3 (2008).

⁸ Cynthia Robinson and Simone Pinet, “Introduction,” *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008): 153-163.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 153-154.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Terminology

Throughout this thesis, I use the phrase *stylistic commerce* to describe the relationship between Muhammad V's renovations at the Alhambra and Pedro the Cruel's contemporary renovations at the Alcázar in Seville. This term, related to Bourdieu's *cultural capital*, describes an exchange of artistic ideas, concepts, and styles.¹² This exchange of styles and ideas is formal and therefore mirrors the economic exchange of goods, services, and military support ongoing between these two monarchs. Other terms I address in this project include "influence," "appropriation," and "Islamic." Chapter Three investigates these words and their applicability in regards to the relationship between the Alcázar and the Alhambra. "Influence" draws a direct line between two sites and suggests a precedent, and therefore a superior creative work. "Appropriation" brings with it colonial connotations that allude to political motivations. "Islamic" has become an umbrella term in art history that is applied to all art and cultural products created in lands where Islam was the prominent religion. This broad usage of the term negates the individual cultures, styles, aesthetics, time periods and regions within these realms.

Researching the complicated context of medieval Spain brings with it the difficulty of navigating past and current terminology. In order to avoid unintentionally encouraging some existing connotations in relation to terms often used to describe this historical period and region, I define the terms that will be incorporated in this paper and explain the implications of their usage. Throughout this paper I avoid employing the term *Moors*, a term commonly used in past scholarship on medieval Spain, to describe the Muslims living in medieval Spain. The term evolved from a name used to describe a specific group of North African Muslims into a term that

¹² Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. E. Richardson (Greenwood Press, 1986): 241-58. Translated by Richard Nice.

has been used to refer to Muslims in general in a derogatory sense.¹³ Therefore, I will simply describe the followers of Islam as Muslims.

The term *convivencia* is often included in discussions of medieval Spain as well. While the term itself literally translates to “coexistence,” connotations of an idyllic and utopian existence have been associated with the term. In his introduction in the book *Convivencia*, Thomas F. Glick traces the etymology of the term.¹⁴ Glick highlights the etymology of *convivencia* as being traced back to the great philologist and historian Ramón Menéndez Pidal.¹⁵ Pidal used the word to describe the coexistence of variant forms in the early Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁶ Pidal’s disciple, Américo Castro, however, first used *convivencia* as a means of describing the cultural aspects of this period in Iberia, which came to connote a period of tolerance and respect between different religious and ethnic groups.¹⁷ Castro’s meaning of this term reflected his views of intergroup relations within Iberia as being idealized, romanticized, and idyllic. With this view he presented only the positive aspects of the cultural interaction and ignored the negative effects.¹⁸ To avoid this phenomenon, in this paper, *convivencia* will appear only as a descriptor of the coexistence and cohabitation of Muslims, Jews, and Christians in medieval Spain. I do not set out to encourage the connotations that tend to accompany the term. This term is simply a useful descriptor of the cultural and religious interaction occurring within Iberia’s boundaries during this period in history.

¹³ Tariq Modood, Anna Triandafyllidou, Ricard Zapata-Barrero, *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach* (Routledge, 2006), 143.

¹⁴ Thomas F. Glick, “Convivencia: An Introductory Note,” in *Convivencia* (George Braziller, Inc: New York, 1992), 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Finally, the term *mudéjar* is also a staple when working in the context of medieval Spain. Spanish art historian José Amador de los Ríos coined the term in the nineteenth century as a descriptor for an object that “looks Islamic” but was commissioned and used by Christians.¹⁹ Cynthia Robinson has addressed the issues that accompany this term in her essay, “Mudejar Revisited: A Prologoména to the Reconstruction of Perception, Devotion, and Experience at the Mudéjar Convent of Clarisas Tordesillas, Spain (Fourteenth Century A.D.)”.²⁰ Robinson explains that the category of *mudéjar* art, architecture, and ornament has existed since the nineteenth century.²¹ Today, however, the term is utilized to describe the phenomenon of Christian appropriation of Islamic art during and following the re-conquest of Muslim territories by Christian entities.²² Unfortunately, extant scholarship on the term *mudéjar* often suggests that all *mudéjar* art is the same.²³ Therefore, I will not incorporate this term if possible in order to avoid such connotations.

Methodology

Today, many scholars consider Pedro the Cruel to have been a vindictive and inept ruler who died at the hands of his half-brother after alienating all of his political allies. Less known is the fact that Pedro was a dedicated patron of architecture in medieval Iberia. Pedro’s Real Alcázar in Seville is perhaps the city’s most prominent architectural endeavor and rivals the

¹⁹ Robinson cites: José Amador de los Ríos, Pedro de Madrazo, *El estilo mudéjar en arquitectura: discurso* (1872; reprint Valencia: Liberías “Paris-Valencia,” 1996).

²⁰ Cynthia Robinson, “Mudéjar Revisited: A Prologoména to the Reconstruction of Perception, Devotion, and Experience at the Mudéjar Convent of Clarisas, Tordesillas, Spain (Fourteenth Centur A.D.),” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 43 (Spring 2003): 51-77.

²¹ *Ibid*, 51.

²² *Ibid*.

²³ *Ibid*.

extravagant Alhambra additions sponsored by Muhammad V of Granada.

Framed in terms of stylistic commerce, the interchange of ideas, stylistic qualities, and visual characteristics, I investigate the relationship between Pedro of Castile and Muhammad V of Granada through a social historical approach. This approach illuminates how the complicated alliance between these two rulers mirrors the complex relationship between the renovations of the Alhambra and the Alcázar. One model for this approach can be found in Meyer Schapiro's essay "The Social Bases of Art."²⁴ For Schapiro and other scholars after him, the works of an artist and the attitudes evident in an artist's work reveal the intimate connection an artist holds with contemporary society.²⁵ I will push this concept a step further and apply this theory to the creations and attitudes of patrons, in this case, Muhammad V and Pedro of Castile.

This deeper investigation is guided by the work of Cynthia Robinson.²⁶ Robinson's approach to the examination of art and architecture as an extension of the ideological values of the contemporary courtly culture will be key to my project.²⁷ In *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005-1134 A.D.*, Robinson investigates the courtly culture of the Taifa Kingdoms of medieval Iberia.²⁸ While the time period of the Taifa Kingdoms is earlier than the window in which I focus, her approach provides an important model for my project. Robinson's approach to the study of Arabic-speaking sectors in medieval Spain aligns closely with my own considerations. For example, Robinson writes of her book's approach:

²⁴ Meyer Schapiro, "The Social Bases of Art," in *Art in Theory 1990-2000*, 1936, 514-518, Reprint, (Blackwell Publishing, 2002).

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005-1134 A.D.* (Boston: Brill Publishing, 2002).

²⁷ Cynthia Robinson. "Arthur in the Alhambra? Narrative and Nasrid Courtly Self-Fashioning in the Hall of Justice Ceiling Paintings," *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008): 164-198.

²⁸ Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song*.

The point of view is that of a “Medievalist” who conceives of the Arabic-speaking sectors of the medieval Mediterranean world, not as an excisable “intrusion” of the “oriental” into the “occidental,” and thus as an appropriate subject only for separate study, but as an integral—and *integrated*—part of the culture of such places as the region which surrounds the Pyrenées.²⁹

Robinson’s approach follows a recent paradigm in medieval Iberian studies that focuses on cross-culturalism. This approach allows me to investigate Pedro’s renovations at the Alcázar as the extension of his contemporary court culture as well as his political alliance with Muhammad V. By exploring the political climate of this era and comparing the iconography and overall design of each palace, I investigate the question, “How does the relationship between the fourteenth-century renovations of the Alhambra and the Alcázar reflect the political and personal relationships between their patrons or vice versa?” As has been demonstrated by many scholars including Robinson and María Rosa Menocal, remaining cognizant that Arabic inhabitants were integrated and integral to the culture and society in medieval Iberia, I am able to argue that their style was also integral and integrated in this region and crossed religious boundaries.³⁰

My approach in this project is grounded in the method of analysis of primary architectural sources and secondary textual material. I do not intend to make general assumptions about Islamic aesthetic in Christian architecture. I seek only to investigate further the relations between Granada and Seville in fourteenth-century Iberia and to push past concepts of influence

²⁹ Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song*, 1.

³⁰ Works include but are not limited to: María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2002); Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in Al-Andalus and Provence, 1005-1134 A.D.* (Boston: Brill, 2002); Cynthia Robinson, *Medieval Andalusian Courtly Culture in the Medieval Mediterranean: Hadīth Bayād wa-Riyād* (London: Routledge, 2007); Cynthia Robinson, “Mudéjar Revisited: A Prologoména to the Reconstruction of Perception, Devotion, and Experience at the Mudéjar Convent of Clarisas, Tordesillas, Spain (Fourteenth Century A.D.),” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 43 (Spring 2003): 51-77; Cynthia Robinson, “Trees of Love, Trees of Knowledge: Toward the Definition of a Cross Confessional Current in Late Medieval Iberian Spirituality,” *Medieval Encounters* 12 (2006): 388-435; Juan Carlos Ruis Souza, “El Palacio De Los Leones De La Alhambra: Imadrassa Zawīya y Tunba de Muhammad V?” *Al-Quantara* 22, no. 1 (2001): 77-120; Juan Carlos Ruis Souza, “Architectural Languages, Functions and Spaces: The Crown of Castile and Al-Andalus,” *Medieval Encounters* 12, no. 3 (2006): 360-387.

in order to reveal new avenues of interaction and exchange within the context of medieval Iberia and more broadly the medieval Mediterranean.

Existing Scholarship

When researching the state of scholarship related to Pedro the Cruel's Alcázar in Seville, I outlined my field of research into three major areas. These areas include the political climate of fourteenth-century Iberia, architecture of fourteenth-century Iberia, and aesthetics in art of medieval Iberia more broadly. An understanding of the political climate of fourteenth-century Iberia is critical to my research because my intention is to argue a direct and dependent relationship between the political alliance of Muhammad V of Granada and Pedro I of Seville that is reflected in the renovations at their palaces. Sources regarding the state of politics during this period are abundant and easily obtained. One particularly relevant scholar in this field is Ana Echevarría Arsuaga.³¹ Echevarría's work on the Order of the Sash (or Band) is extremely useful in my investigation because of Muhammad V's participation in this Christian Monarchical Order, which was started by Pedro's father. L.J. Andrew Villalon is another helpful scholar when it comes to the study of Pedro the Cruel's rule. Villalon's biography of Pedro the Cruel provides a detailed analysis of the king's reign and its shortfalls.³² Scholar D. Boulton's scholarship, much like Echevarría's, establishes The Order of the Band in the context in which it formed and

³¹ Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "The Order of the Sash: From Alfonso XI to the House of Trastámara," in *Ibn Khaldun, the Mediterranean in the 14th Century: The Rise and Fall of Empires* (Granada: Fundación El Legado Andalusi, 2006).

³² L.J. Andrew Villalon, "Pedro the Cruel: Portrait of a Royal Failure," in *Medieval Iberia: Essays on the History and Literature of Medieval Spain*, edited by Robert A. Lauer, vol. 25, Iberica (New York: Pedro Lang, 1997).

provides valuable details about the organization and its statutes.³³ Other pertinent authors include Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman, Hugh Kennedy, and María Rosa Menocal.³⁴

The architecture of fourteenth-century Iberia is critical to my examination of the relationship between the Alcázar of Seville and the Alhambra of Granada; a broader knowledge of such architecture allowed me to truly comprehend the uniqueness of the relationship between these two sites. Examples of stand out scholars include Danya Crites, D. Fairchild Ruggles, Juna Carlos Ruis Souza, Jerrilynn D. Dodds, Oleg Grabar. Danya Crites work on churches in post-conquest Seville provides detailed discussion of architecture in a religious domain.³⁵ D. Fairchild Ruggles' scholarship on the Alcázar is the definitive discussion of the complex from a cross-cultural medieval perspective.³⁶ Art historian Juan Carlos Ruis Souza has published on both the architecture of Castile as well as the Alhambra. His work serves as a detailed overview for both complexes and their stylistic characteristics.³⁷ Jerrilynn D. Dodd's work on the co-existence of Jews, Christians, and Muslims, their art, while criticized by Cynthia Robinson as being mistaken in its assumptions regarding imagery found in the Alhambra, is important to understanding the scholarship being done now on medieval Iberia and the direction it is moving.³⁸ Oleg Grabar's

³³ D. Boulton, "The Order of the Band: Castile-Leon, 1330-1474," in *The Knights of the Crown* (Boye, 1987), 46-96.

³⁴ Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman, eds. *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay* (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, 2002); Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus* (London: Longman, 2006); María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2002).

³⁵ Danya Crites, "Churches Made Fit for a King: Alfonso X and Meaning in the Religious Architecture of Post-Conquest Seville," *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009): 391-413.

³⁶ D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture," *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 87-98.

³⁷ Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Architectural Languages, Functions, and Spaces: The Crown of Castile and al-Andalus," *Medieval Encounters* 12, no. 3 (2006): 360-387; Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El Palacio De Los Leones De La Alhambra: Imadrassa, Zawiya Y Tunba De Muhammad V?" *Al-Quantara* 22, no. 1 (2001): 77-120.

³⁸ Jerrilynn D. Dodds, *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1992); Jerrilynn D. Dodds, "Hunting in the Borderlands (For Oleg Grabar),"

book on the Alhambra is one of the first detailed discussions of the complex and is useful for its descriptions of the complex and its stylistic details.³⁹ Robert Irwin's book on the Alhambra is also helpful for these very same reasons.⁴⁰ Juan Carlos Hernández Núñez and Alfredo J. Morales' work on the Alcázar of Seville contains descriptions of the complex as well as the more detailed aspects such as tiling and decoration found in the inner rooms.⁴¹

It is necessary to pursue the research area of aesthetic in the art of medieval Iberia in order to thoroughly understand the inclusion of aesthetics in all venues as a comparison for the inclusion in Pedro's Alcázar. The research I pursued in this category led me to the work of Ana Echevarría Arsuaga on the paintings in the *Sala de los Reyes* in the Alhambra and the inclusion of political iconography within the ceiling painting.⁴² Ibrahim Salameh's work on the Alhambra also provides an analysis of the stylistic and decorative elements of the palace.⁴³ Mariam Rosser-Owen's work on Islamic arts in Spain is a survey that offers a strong general background of art being produced in an Islamicate style in medieval Iberia.⁴⁴ Much like Rosser-Owen's book, Markus Hattstein and Pedro Delius's book on Islamic art an architecture overviews Islamic art and architecture, but is not specific to Spain. This source allows for a more expansive understanding of what has traditionally been considered Islamic art and architecture.⁴⁵ Other

Medieval Encounters 14 (2008): 267-302; Jerrilynn D. Dodds, "Paintings in the Hall of Justice of the Alhambra: Iconography and Iconology," *The Art Bulletin* 61 (June 1979): 186-197. Dodds' work on the Hall of Justice in the Alhambra has been criticized and reexamined by Cynthia Robinson in *Medieval Encounters* volume 14.

³⁹ Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

⁴⁰ Robert Irwin, *The Alhambra* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

⁴¹ Juan Carlos Hernández Núñez and Alfredo J. Morales, *The Royal Palace of Seville* (London: Scala Publishers Ltd., 1999).

⁴² Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "Painting Politics in the Alhambra," *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008): 199-218. See entire volume, *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008).

⁴³ Ibrahim Salameh, "Estudio de los Elementos Decorativos de la Puerta del Vino de la Alhambra de Granada," *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval* 5 (1998): 135-151.

⁴⁴ Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain* (London: V&A Publishing 2010).

⁴⁵ Markus Hattstein and Pedro Delius, Eds. *Islam: Art and Architecture* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000).

scholars who have written on this topic include John Hoag who focuses solely on Islamic architecture.⁴⁶

Organization

The structure of this thesis revolves around three integral areas of investigation. In Chapter One, I explore the complicated alliance between Pedro the Cruel and Muhammad V of Granada. As a ruler, Pedro constantly made political decisions that alienated him from England, France, and Aragon. But, throughout the years of his rule he remained loyal to his alliance with Granada. My goal is to gain a more focused understanding of the political and social climate of fourteenth-century Al-Andalus, and a better sense of the possible motives of Pedro the Cruel's political and artistic endeavors. This portrays an Al-Andalus that more clearly reveals and illuminates how the contemporary renovations of the Alhambra in Granada and the Alcázar in Seville reflect this unexpected and valued alliance.

In Chapter Two, I address the relationship between these remarkable palatial renovations in Granada and Seville. This exploration manifests itself in a detailed and thorough formal analysis of each palace. Beginning with the plan and layout of each palace, I work through each space down to minute stylistic details. The information obtained in my investigation of the Seville-Granada alliance is utilized as a context for revealing how the sharing of materials and possibly craftsmen, as well as the design of the renovations themselves, reflect the strong and respected relationship between Muhammad V and Pedro the Cruel.

Finally, in Chapter Three, I investigate the ways in which the relationship between these two palaces has been addressed in the past. I then proceed to point out the issues inherent in such

⁴⁶ John D. Hoag, *Islamic Architecture* (Electa Architecture: 2004).

discourse. By exploring these past discussions and illuminating the issues apparent within them, I allow for a new and fresh examination. It is in this chapter that I propose the concept of stylistic commerce existing between these two palaces, rather than the much more accepted conception of “influence.”

CHAPTER ONE

THE POLITICS OF THE GRANADA-SEVILLE ALLIANCE

This chapter is devoted to an overview of the political climate of medieval Iberia both before and during the time of Pedro the Cruel's reign. Through this investigation, a concise timeline of reigns in both Seville and Granada will be established. In the first section of this chapter, an overview of Christian and Muslim relations before Pedro's rule is provided in detail. This section will form a foundation of historical context that will be built on through the rest of this project. The following section will discuss the history and significance of Alfonso XI's monarchical order, Order of the Band. This vignette will also address the feudal connotations of the Order in regard to both Seville and Granada's association with the Order. In order to be as concise and specific as possible, a discussion of the insignia of the Order and its variations follows. Finally, a discussion of fourteenth-century Seville and Granada establishes the actual historical and political context in which these palaces were conceived. The analysis provided in this chapter contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities that accompany this political alliance. The political state of these realms allowed for the creation of these two architectural sites and an understanding of this state is imperative to truly comprehend

the two sites. Moreover, the history of Muslim and Christian relations before Muhammad V and Pedro is important to understanding the uniqueness of their relationship and the shared aesthetics found in their sites. The relations between the leaders of Granada and Castile-Leon that predate Pedro and Muhammad V's rules differed highly from the relations between Muhammad V and Pedro. These preceding reigns were filled with conflict and tension felt between Muslim and Christian Iberia.

Christian and Muslim Relations Before Pedro (1309-1350)

Six decades before Muhammad V came to power in Granada, his predecessor Nasr (r. 1309-1314) ruled Granada. At this time, Granada was attempting to curtail the crusading drive of the Castilians and the Aragonese.⁴⁷ During the period of Nasr's reign, Granada was also engaged in a hostile relationship with the Merinids of Morocco. Geographically, Granada found itself trapped between two enemy forces.⁴⁸ During this year of turmoil for Granada, the kingdom experienced the loss of Gibraltar to the Castilians. With this loss, the many Muslims residing on Gibraltar were forced to leave; most inhabitants fled to North Africa.⁴⁹

By 1310, the Aragonese had retreated and in 1312, with the death of Fernando IV, the Castilian attacks ended as well.⁵⁰ Fernando IV's son, Alfonso XI, would eventually rule, but as he was only a small infant at the time of his father's death, his mother ruled in his absence. During this time, Nasr had alienated many of the ruling elite and in 1314 he was forced to

⁴⁷ L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain: 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 171.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 171-178.

⁵⁰ Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London: Longman Publishing, 1996), 286.

abdicate the throne of Granada. Although the Christian forces had receded by this time, the relationship between Christian Iberia and Muslim Iberia was still strained and full of conflict.⁵¹

In 1314, Ismā'īl (r. 1314-1325) took over following Nasr's abdication of the throne of Granada. During Ismā'īl's rule, Granada was still involved in deep conflict with the Christian forces of Iberia that were fighting to finish the Reconquest.⁵² In 1319, the Castilians, led by the two regents of Alfonso XI, laid siege to Granada at the Battle of Vega.⁵³ Much to the Christians' distress, the Castilians were defeated in the greatest victory Granada ever won over Castile.⁵⁴ It was at the Battle of Vega that Alfonso XI's two co-regents were killed.⁵⁵ This victory saved the kingdom of Granada from destruction by the Christian forces and signaled what would likely be a long and prosperous rule for Ismā'īl.⁵⁶ However, in 1325, Ismā'īl's cousin assassinated him, and Ismā'īl's son, Muhammad IV came to the throne.⁵⁷ The reign of multiple Islamic rulers, including Muhammad IV, is paralleled by the reign of the Christian ruler, Alfonso XI.

Alfonso XI's reign brought about some change to the relations between Granada and Seville. Alfonso was born in 1311 to King Fernando IV and Constanca of Portugal.⁵⁸ Alfonso XI's father was killed unexpectedly when Alfonso XI was only one year old.⁵⁹ After the death of his mother in 1313, two co-regents were appointed to exercise the rule of the monarchy until Alfonso XI came of legal age.⁶⁰ The death of the co-regents, in the Battle of Vega, served as the

⁵¹ L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 180.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 180.

⁵³ Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 287.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ D. Boulton, "The Order of the Band: Castile-Leon, 1330-1474," in *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Boydell Publishing, 1987), 46-96: 46.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ D. Boulton, "The Order of the Band," 46.

catalyst for a power struggle amongst those with a stake in the regency of Castile.⁶¹ The chaos that accompanied this struggle and the death of the Queen Dowager in 1321 caused Alfonso XI to proclaim himself of age in 1325 and terminate the regency; Alfonso XI was only fourteen years old.⁶²

It was during this same year that Muhammad IV came to power after the assassination of his father. Muhammad IV's rule was short lived and he himself was assassinated in 1333.⁶³ During his brief reign, the animosity felt between Muslim Iberia and Christian Iberia continued. At this point in history, Alfonso XI had come of age and was attempting to establish himself as a Christian Crusader.⁶⁴ In 1327, during the rule of Muhammad IV, Alfonso XI launched the first of what would become many successful attacks on the Kingdom of Granada.⁶⁵ As a result of the campaigns of Alfonso XI, Granada lost frontier forts to the Christian forces.⁶⁶ While the rule of Muhammad IV was less than fruitful, it carved a path for the beginning of the golden years of the Nasrid kingdom, beginning with the rule of Yūsuf I.

Muhammad IV's brother, Yūsuf I (r. 1333-1354) had a productive and successful reign that is solidified by the referral to his rule by historians as the Golden Age of Granada.⁶⁷ During the course of his reign, Yūsuf made multiple attempts to achieve peace with Christian Iberia.⁶⁸ However, the two entities remained in conflict until March 26, 1344.⁶⁹ Alfonso was in dire need

⁶¹ Ibid, 47.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 288.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 190.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 190-200.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 204.

of financial assistance and therefore accepted the aid of Yūsuf I under the condition of a signed and limited ten-year truce.⁷⁰

However, after only five years, Alfonso XI was once again attempting to take Gibraltar from the Granadans. This endeavor was not achieved because Alfonso died during the Great Plague of 1350. His young son Pedro, who we now refer to as Pedro the Cruel, succeeded Alfonso XI.⁷¹ Upon his ascension, Pedro established an accord with Granada. Yūsuf I's rule ended in 1354 when he was assassinated in front of the Great Mosque of Granada.⁷² His son, Muhammad V took his place on the throne; this began the alliance between Pedro the Cruel and Muhammad V that is so eloquently referenced in the iconography and stylistic design of the Alcázar of Seville.

Alfonso XI's Order of the Band and Its Feudal Connotations

According to the *Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso el Onceno*, the Order of the Band was founded in the year 1330.⁷³ The emphasis placed on Alfonso XI and his relations with Granada in this chapter is due to his foundation of this Christian knightly order, the Order of the Band, which is referenced in the architecture of both the Alhambra and the Alcázar of Seville. The Order of the Band plays a definitive part in the stylistic and iconographical references found in the Alcázar of Alfonso XI's son, Pedro the Cruel and serves as an illustration of the end of the preceding hostilities between Muslim and Christian Castile-Leon.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ D. Boulton, "The Order of the Band," 52.

The most concise picture of the purpose and nature of the Order of the Band may be found in the Order's statutes. Two contemporary reductions of these statutes are in existence today. The first, reduction A, is a fourteenth-century manuscript and the second, reduction B, is an insertion within a fifteenth-century book on chivalry.⁷⁴ Both of these sources are preserved solely in Castilian. While differences do exist between these two reductions, they are the best source historians have for understanding the nature of the Order. The prologue from reduction A is as follows:

Here begins the book of the Band, which King Alfonso of Castile and Leon made. And it was founded for two reasons: to glorify first knighthood, and second loyalty.⁷⁵ The reason why he decided to make it is that the highest and most precious order that God made is knighthood. This is true for many reasons, but especially for two: first, because God made it to defend his faith, and secondly, moreover, to defend each of His regions, His lands, and His states . . . And furthermore, loyalty is one of the greatest virtues that there could be in any person, and especially in a knight, who ought to keep himself loyal in many ways. But the principal ways are two: the first to keep loyalty to his lord, the second to love truly whomever he has to love, especially her in whom he has placed his heart.⁷⁶

In this prologue, it is clear that Alfonso sought to instill values of chivalry and loyalty within his knights. Perhaps more interesting, however, is the emphasis the prologue places on God's role in the creation of knighthood and the reasons behind the formation of this institution. It is clear that this monarchical order was founded with Christian ideals in mind for the defense of Christian lands.⁷⁷ This founding function of defense of land is extremely significant considering Muhammad V, a Muslim ruler, included this band in his own private palace. Art historian Ana Echevarría Arsuaga suggests that it was Alfonso's urge to implement a centralized monarchical

⁷⁴ Ibid, 66.

⁷⁵ In Spanish, this reads: “. . . la primera alabando cavalleria, la segunda lealtad,”

⁷⁶ G. Daumet, “L'ordre Castilian de l'Escharpe (Banda),” *Bulletin hispanique* 25 (1923): 23. Translated by Boulton.

⁷⁷ D. Boulton, “The Order of the Band,” 71.

ideology that led the king to create the emblem of the Band.⁷⁸ In this case, the iconography was a means of identifying the knights of the king's chamber and their sons.

According to the Chronicle of Alfonso XI's life,⁷⁹ the first habits of the Order were given to both knights and their attendants, or squires.⁸⁰ Interestingly, Alfonso was not a knight when he himself founded the Order.⁸¹ Alfonso's son, Pedro the Cruel, was only six years old when he was admitted to the Order, and therefore was not a knight either.⁸² It is highly likely that many initiates into the Order were still at squire status when they were accepted into the Order.⁸³ The question remains, "Why would Alfonso leave this knightly order open to those who had not been knighted?" Considering the initiation of Pedro and his siblings by their father, it seems logical that Alfonso did not make knighthood a requirement for admission in order to admit persons of his choice for his own political or personal purposes.⁸⁴ While Alfonso did not require knighthood as a condition for admittance, he did require that any member be of noble birth.⁸⁵ One final requirement Alfonso instituted was that those admitted into the Order be vassals to the king of Castile or one of his sons.⁸⁶

During the reign of Pedro the Cruel (1350-1369), Pedro utilized his father's order, maintained the statutes established by his predecessor, and may have extended membership to Nasrid Granada.⁸⁷ It has been theorized by Echevarría that Pedro sought assistance from

⁷⁸ Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "The Order of the Sash: From Alfonso XI to the House of Trastámara," in Ibn Khaldun, the Mediterranean in the 14th Century: The Rise and Fall of Empires (Granada: Fundación El Legado Andalusi, 2006), 70.

⁷⁹ *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde Don Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*. Ed. Don Francisco Cerda y Rico, v. 1 (Madrid 1787).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁸¹ D. Boulton, "The Order of the Band," 73.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "The Order of the Sash," 70.

Muhammad V of Granada to support his wars against Pedro IV of Aragon and his brother, Enrique of Trastámara.⁸⁸ Art historian B. Pavón Maldonado has also supported this theory.⁸⁹ Echevarría describes this relationship between Muhammad V and Pedro the Cruel as reflecting the relationship between a royal and a vassal. In the context of the medieval feudal system, a vassal is a person who has entered into a mutual obligation to a lord in a realm. These obligations often included military support or protection in exchange for privileges. In other words, Echevarría asserts that Pedro was attempting to establish Granada as a satellite realm of Castile.⁹⁰

This relationship between Muhammad V and Pedro the Cruel reflects medieval feudalism. Muhammad V and Pedro the Cruel had a relationship based on mutual obligation. While Muhammad V did govern his own realm, he and Pedro were not equals. Muhammad V ruled the last Islamic realm in Iberia, a relatively small realm. Pedro, on the other hand, ruled Castile and León. Considering Muhammad V held the last Muslim realm on the peninsula and the only thing standing between him and the re-conquest was Pedro, Muhammad V's relationship with Pedro may have been the only thing keeping Muhammad from losing his realm to the Christian re-conquest. Their relationship reflects the mutual obligation found in feudalism in other ways as well.

It has already been mentioned that Pedro utilized Muhammad V's military support against Enrique of Trastámara and Pedro IV of Aragon. In return for this support, Muhammad V and Muslim Granada remained undisturbed by Pedro. The inclusion of Muhammad V's men

⁸⁸ Ibid, 70.

⁸⁹ See B. Pavón Maldonado, "Notas sobre el escudo de la Orden de la Banda en los palacios de don Pedro y Muhammad V, in *al-Andalus* 37 (1972): 229-232; "Escudos y reyes en el Cuatro de los Leones de la Alhambra," in *al-Andalus* 35 (1970), 179-197; C. Rallo, *Apotaciones a la técnica y estilística de la pintura mural en Castilla a final de la Edad Media: Tradición e influencia islámica*, (Madrid: 2002), 115.

⁹⁰ Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "The Order of the Sash," 70.

within the Order of the Band likely reflects this feudal bond. For example, Pedro may have allowed Muhammad V's knights to wear this emblem as a privilege in response to the constant military aid Muhammad V provided Pedro. If this is the case, it is also likely that the inclusion of the Order's insignia within both Pedro and Muhammad's palaces also reflects this feudal relationship. The inclusion of this iconography is a bit confusing when one considers the fact that this Order was a Christian monarchical order that is displayed in the palace of a Muslim ruler. However, perhaps the benefits of this feudal agreement outweighed any ideological resistance that would have met the placement of this image within Muhammad's palace. The inclusion of Muhammad V's soldiers within the Order as well as the placement of the Order's seal within his palace suggest that this Order was a large part of his relationship with Pedro and Seville; it is likely important because of its role as a privilege in their feudal relationship.

The Insignia of the Order of the Band

The insignia of the Order of the Band is found in both the palace of Pedro and the palace of Muhammad V. The insignia itself is composed of a standard shield divided in half by a heraldic bend. This heraldic bend runs from the upper dexter (the bearer's right and the viewer's left) corner of the shield to the lower sinister (the bearer's left side and the viewer's right side). On both sides of the bend is a head of a dragon swallowing the end of the heraldic bend. Many of these seals have been rubbed off the interior rooms of the Alcázar, and therefore specific details and variations are hard to recognize. That being said, it remains a device that can be seen within the confines of Pedro's palace (Figure 5). This particular seal shows a black bend being swallowed by golden dragons. The shield is a pure white, but it is outlined in black. The seal is

accented with a golden circular design surrounding it. The use of gold follows Pedro's paradigm to display the castle of Castile and the lion of León in gold (Figure 6). The insignia of the Order of the Band is found throughout Pedro's Alcázar. The order's iconography is found in the courtyard as well as in the courtyard's adjoining rooms, where the insignia is a part of a decorative program that surmounts the friezes that cover the interior room walls. This same band is found in the Alhambra in the stucco carvings that surround the Court of the Myrtles as well as in a ceiling painting found in a room that adjoins the *Sala de los Reyes* (Figure 7 and Figure 8).⁹¹ A more detailed discussion of the band and its variations in the decorative program of the buildings is provided in Chapters 2 and 3.

Fourteenth-Century Seville and Granada

Considering the distinct political and religious path Pedro followed, his unwavering alliance with the Muslim Kingdom of Granada could very well be classified as an anomaly. Pedro came to power in 1350 as the only legitimate heir of Alfonso XI and María of Portugal. For decades before his rule, Pedro's father had maintained successful relations with France, Aragon, and the Avignon Papacy.⁹² By the end of Pedro's rule in 1369, he had successfully dissolved relations with all of his father's allies, as well as England. Pedro even managed to alienate a large portion of Castilian aristocracy by continuing his alliance with Granada. All of these political follies would result in the death of Pedro at the hand of his half-brother Enrique, Count of Trastámara.⁹³

⁹¹ Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "The Order of the Sash," 70-71.

⁹² Clara Estow, *Pedro the Cruel of Castile: 1350-1369* (New York: Brill, 1995), 203.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 201-204.

Muhammad V ruled Granada from 1354-1359 and again from 1362-1391.⁹⁴ In 1359, Ismā'īl, Muhammad's half-brother, overthrew him. Ismā'īl ruled for a short period as Ismā'īl II but was eventually usurped by his cousin who ruled as Muhammad VI (1360-1362).⁹⁵ During this brief hiatus, Muhammad V took refuge in North Africa. In 1361, Pedro and Muhammad V joined forces against Muhammad VI in their attempt to take back Granada.⁹⁶ The exact circumstances of the beginning of their alliance are unknown. Muslim sources claim that it was Pedro that took the initiative and convinced the sultan of Morocco to allow Muhammad to return from exile.⁹⁷ This account implies that Pedro was already motivated to invade Granada and that Muhammad's situation simply enabled this strategic move. According to the Castilian chronicler Ayala, however, it was Muhammad who instead persuaded Pedro to assist in his endeavor.⁹⁸ In this scenario, Muhammad convinced Pedro by promising the Christian ruler that restoration to the Nasrid throne would be easily attained due to the large amount of Grenadians that remained loyal to him.⁹⁹ It is unlikely that Pedro would agree to such an alliance without some tangible gain; Muhammad also allegedly promised Pedro any town or fortress won that was willing to be ceded to the Crown of Castile.¹⁰⁰

On March 16, 1362, after seven months of war between Muhammad V and his usurper Muhammad VI, Muhammad V was restored to the throne of Granada. With this victory, Pedro gained not only a continued friendship and political alliance with the King of Granada; he also received renewed support for his suspended war with Aragon.¹⁰¹ It was shortly after his return to

⁹⁴ Ibid, 206.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 205-206.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 207.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 206.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

power that Muhammad V began his renovations and addition of the *Patio de los Leones* to the Alhambra (1362-1391).¹⁰² This renovation paralleled Pedro's *Patio de las Doncellas*, which began around 1364.¹⁰³

After Ismā'īl II usurped Muhammad V in 1359, it was Castilian troops that aided Muhammad in recovering the throne of Granada. These Castilian troops included members of the Order of the Band.¹⁰⁴ During Muhammad V's hiatus from power from 1359-1362, he took refuge in Fez but also occasionally stayed at the Alcázar with Pedro the Cruel.¹⁰⁵ After Muhammad was restored to the throne in 1362, the aid was reversed and it was Granada that sent troops to aid in Pedro's endeavors.¹⁰⁶ Starting in 1365, Muhammad V proclaimed *jihād* on behalf of Pedro.¹⁰⁷

Pedro's decision to abandon the war with the Muslim state and ally with Granada was unprecedented. By tracing the relations between Granada and Seville back to the rule of Nasr, the constant conflict and peril inherent between these two entities is apparent. While Pedro's father, Alfonso XI, established a truce with the Nasrid kingdom, it was not near the same socio-political alliance that Pedro had with Muhammad V. These rulers echoed their political relationship in the stylistic references found within the architectural sites they commissioned.

¹⁰² D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Alcázar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture," *Gesta* 42, no. 2 (2004): 91-92.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "The Order of the Sash: From Alfonso XI to the House of Trastámara," In *Ibn Khaldun, the Mediterranean in the 14th Century: The Rise and Fall of Empires* (Granada: Fundación El Legado Andalusi, 2006), 70.

¹⁰⁵ María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World*, 232; D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Alcázar of Seville," 91.

¹⁰⁶ D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Alcázar of Seville," 91.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

PEDRO'S ALCÁZAR AND MUHAMMAD V'S ALHAMBRA

This chapter engages in a close reading of the spaces of Muhammad V's Alhambra and Pedro the Cruel's Alcázar in order to illuminate the intimate relationship existing between these two renovations as well as to reveal the relationship between these spaces and the socio-political context in which they were constructed. Due to the complexities that accompany the renovations of Pedro and Muhammad, I will focus my analysis in this chapter on Pedro's *Patio de las Doncellas* (Figures 1,3,5-6,9-14, 20) and Muhammad's *Patio de los Leones* (Figures 2,4, 7-8, 15-19) and their surrounding rooms. These rooms were the center of the court in both palaces and therefore offer the most direct insight into contemporary life. Due to the layering of renovations, many of these rooms and spaces are now known by names that were attributed to them after Pedro's rule. Before delving into the specific exemplary instances of stylistic commerce within these spaces, an understanding of the layout and functionality of each courtyard is imperative (Figures 3 and 4).

The Alcázar of Seville

Pedro the Cruel's Alcázar of Seville is an elaborate palatial and garden oasis that is found amongst the concrete and brick-filled city of Seville. The palace's layout is complex and consists of many interconnecting rooms and hallways. The entire palace is unified around a central courtyard, *Patio de las Doncellas* (Number 15 in Figure 3). In Figure 3, the intricacies of the floor plan become apparent. Over thirty different rooms are labeled on this plan; these do not include the upper levels of the palace. The central courtyard is the most expansive of the areas within the palace walls. This courtyard would have functioned as the center of the official life of the court.¹⁰⁸ Upon entering the courtyard from the south, what is known as the *Patio de las Doncellas*, a contemporary visitor to Pedro's court would immediately encounter the row of columns that frame the courtyard. Polylobed arches top these columns and create a dramatic effect due to their intricateness (Figure 9). These arches are carved from stucco in a detailed and latticed organic pattern. They crown the tops of the columns in a web-like manner that gives the viewer a sense of weightlessness, emphasized by the repeating pattern.

Flanking each side of the courtyard, two small arches are followed by one grand arch, and then followed by another set of two lesser arches (see in Figure 1). These four large arches at the halfway point on each side of the courtyard are used to highlight a southern doorway, a northern entrance, a western doorway, and an eastern arched niche (Figure 3). The southern and western entrances have doors attached to them and therefore will be referred to as doorways. The northern opening does not have a set of doors attached and will be referred to as an opening or archway. The southern, northern, and western entrances all lead from the courtyard's portico into

¹⁰⁸ Juan Carlos Hernández Núñez and Alfredo J. Morales, *The Royal Palace of Seville* (Scala Publishers, 1999), 46.

inner rooms of the palace complex. The southern doorway leads to the *Salón de Techo de Carlos V* (Number 20 in Figure 3). The northern archway leads to the *Dormitorio de los Reyes Moros* (Number 21 in Figure 3). The western doorway leads to the *Salón de Embajadores* (Number 16 in Figure 3).

The interior walls of the courtyard are partially covered in a stucco technique, the origin of which has traditionally been attributed to Granadan architecture. This stucco carving mimics the technique used on the polylobed arches that frame the courtyard. The carvings serve as a frieze that trails the walls slightly less than halfway up the walls (Figures 9-12). This frieze runs the entirety of the courtyard and varies from its horizontal alignment only when it encounters a doorway or niche discussed above (Figure 9). As the frieze meets a doorway or niche, it changes directions and continues vertically along the frame of the entryway and forms a mihrab-like shape around the top of the doorway.

The frieze then moves down the other side of the frame. Here the frieze continues its horizontal path until it is interrupted by another entrance. The frieze is composed of vegetal and geometric carvings with inscriptions in Arabic included in a scalloped oval center of the frieze as well as in the frame that surrounds the frieze (Figures 10-12). The central Arabic phrase reads, “*And none is victor save Allah.*” This inscription is, as mentioned in the Introduction, the Nasrid motto. This inscription is repeated over and over along the frieze throughout the courtyard and its adjoining rooms. These inscriptions are repeatedly divided by painted images of three coats of arms linked to Pedro’s rule: the castle of Castile, the lion of León, and the insignia of the Order of the Band (Figure 12). The pattern is as follows: Lion of León, Nasrid motto, Order of the Band, Nasrid Motto, Castle of Castile, Nasrid Motto. The pattern then repeats as the frieze travels the perimeter of the room. Interestingly, some of these images have been removed or

disrupted (see Figure 10). In most cases, the insignia of the Order of the Band has been removed more often than the castle of Castile or the lion of Leon.

The frieze that lines the interior walls of the courtyard crowns an elaborate mosaic program that runs from floor-level all the way up to the bottom of the frieze (Figures 10-12). The tiling patterns vary throughout the palace, even within the courtyard. One example of the mosaic found within the courtyard uses a bottom register of a simple turquoise colored band that runs along the bottom of the wall in the corner where the floor meets the wall (Figure 9). This same band runs horizontally along the bottom of the mosaic around all of the walls and then climbs vertically along the sides of doorways, creating a framing effect (see Figure 9).

Another variation of the tiling is comprised of a bottom register that contains alternating square and triangle tiles in greens, blacks, and whites (Figure 10). In all cases of variation, the second register of the mosaic is elaborate and large. This design encompasses the majority of the mosaic program (see Figure 10). The central mosaic is made up of patterns that create a celestial geometric design based on the twelve-pointed star. The individual tiles are polygons laid at varying angles to create a cohesive design. The design is made up oranges, blues, greens, and blacks with white tiles framing the individual colored tiles like an outline. These colors come together to create small star shapes. In some cases, these smaller stars come together to create one large design (Figure 11). These mosaics cover the walls and emphasize the entranceways to the rooms that branch off of the courtyard.

The southern doorway off of the courtyard leads to the *Salón del Techo de Carlos V* (Number 20 in Figure 3).¹⁰⁹ This room would have likely functioned as the palace's chapel as signaled by the inscription of the Eucharist prayer that frames the doorway when viewed from the courtyard. This room would have remained the palatial chapel until sometime between 1541-

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 57.

1543 when it was renovated to serve new purposes under the rule of Charles V.¹¹⁰ The Eucharistic prayer is written in Latin and its composition has been attributed to St. Ildefonso of Toledo.¹¹¹ Next to this Latin inscription exists an Arabic inscription that reads, “*Oh my trust! Oh my hope! You are my hope, you are my protector! Seal my works with goodness!*”¹¹² As one passes through this entryway and enters the room, the ornate stucco carvings and the detailed mosaic dado found on the walls of the room immediately evoke those in the larger courtyard (Figure 9). Much like the interior of the courtyard, the interior walls of *Salón de Techo de Carlos V* are covered in a stucco frieze that runs horizontally around the perimeter of the room. Within this frieze Pedro’s personal iconography found in the courtyard is repeated: the castle of Castile, Arabic inscription, the lion of León, Arabic inscription, and then ends with the insignia Order of the Band (like those found in Figure 12). This Arabic inscription reads, “*Glory to our lord the Sultan Don Pedro! May Allah protect him!*”¹¹³ The mosaic dado that the frieze surmounts mimics the colors and a selection of the geometric patterns found on the walls in the courtyard. The specific design itself, however, differs at times. More specifically, the exact patterning varies due to a rearrangement of the placement of the individual tile pieces. The use of the same colors and similar geometric patterns create a cohesiveness that exists amongst all of these varying designs. The central register of tiling contains patterns very similar to those found in the courtyard but also contains simpler designs like those visible in the *Salón de Techo De Carlos V* (Figures 10-12).

On the northern side of the courtyard, an archway with three ornate windows leads to the *Dormitorio de los Reyes Moros*. The room’s name suggests its function as a bedchamber for

¹¹⁰ Ibid,

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Translation by Juan Carols Hernández and Alfredo J. Morales. (See above footnote).

¹¹³ Ibid, 57.

Moorish kings and likely other guests to Pedro's palace (Number 21 in Figure 3). The inscriptions that surround the arched entryway solidify the possibility of this function. The Arabic phrases, "*Praise be to Allah for his goodness,*" "*Eternal salvation,*" and "*Praise to Allah; for Allah glory be; the empire for Allah; thanks be to Allah*" surround the windows and archway.¹¹⁴ This main entrance has double wooden doors with an interlacing patterned motif. This doorway is framed by the inscription, "*Happiness and prosperity and fulfillment of hopes.*"¹¹⁵ The interior of the doorway also contains inscriptions. It reads as follows:

O, noble new dwelling! The blessed splendor [of your construction] was increased with the everlasting light of the most perfect beauty. Chosen shelter [where] feasts are held! It [is] the protection and the gift of [everything] that is good! Fountainhead of goodness and sustain of valor! For you..."¹¹⁶

This inner room is divided into two separate spaces (Figure 13). One of these spaces is a hallway that contains similar stucco frieze work as the other interior spaces already discussed. This hallway also features a carved wooden ceiling that dates much later than Pedro's renovations. Three horseshoe-shaped archways resting on two columns with white marble capitals separate the hallway from the second space. The second space is a small sleeping area that boasts an arched alcove that would have held a bed (see Figure 13). The interior of the room follows the same decorative paradigm set by the courtyard and the *Salón de Techo de Carlos V*. A horizontal stucco frieze divides the room vertically, and this same frieze surmounts an elaborate mosaic dado. The symbols of Pedro's rule are again repeated as seen in the two interior spaces discussed previously: castle of Castile, lion of León, and the insignia of the Order of the Band.

The central portion of the courtyard is divided east and west by a reflecting pool, which is flanked on both sides by sunken gardens. The reflecting pool is balanced on the eastern end by

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 54.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

the arched niche mentioned above and on the western end by large wooden doors that welcomes visitors into the *Salón de Embajadores* (Ambassadors' Hall or Throne Room) (Number 16 in Figure 3). This room would have functioned as the official reception room for affairs of state.¹¹⁷ According to an Arabic inscription on them, the ornate wooden doors were commissioned in 1366 by Pedro and created by craftsmen from Toledo (Figure 14).¹¹⁸

The doors are elaborately carved with interlaced patterns of twelve-pointed stars that mirror the designs found throughout the courtyard and its adjoining rooms (Figure 14). When closed, the interior side of the doors faces the *Salón de Embajadores* while the exterior of the doors faces the courtyard. The doors are painted with a dramatic gold that emphasizes the reddish brown and greenish black details. Set into these large doors are two smaller doors. These smaller doors are horseshoe-arched and feature a different pattern from the one found on the upper portion of the doors (see Figure 14). Perhaps the most important aspects of the *Salón de Embajadores* are the inscriptions carved on the exterior, facing the courtyard, and interior, facing the room, sides of these entry doors (Figure 14). These inscriptions will be addressed more fully in Section IV and include both Latin and Arabic Kufic inscriptions that reference the Christian and Islamic faiths. On the interior side of the doors facing the *Salón de Embajadores* is a Spanish inscription that gives the first verses of St. John's Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."¹¹⁹ The Arabic inscription found on the exterior, facing the courtyard, details the doors creation in 1366 by craftsmen in Toledo.¹²⁰

This inscription reads:

Our exalted high lord the Sultan, don Pedro, King of Castile and León (may Allah give him eternal happiness and it may remain with his architect) ordered that these carved

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 58.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ The Bible, New International Translation.

¹²⁰ Juan Carlos Hernández Núñez and Alfredo J. Morales, *The Royal Palace of Seville*, 58.

wooden doors be made for this room of happiness (which order was made for the honor and grandeur of his ennobled and fortunate ambassadors), from which springs forth an abundance of good fortune for his joyful city, in which palaces and Alcázares were raised; and these magnificent abodes [are] for my lord and only master, who gave life to its splendor, the pious, generous sultan who ordered it to be built in the City of Seville with the help of his intercessor [St. Peter?] with God the Father. In its dazzling construction and embellishment joy shone forth; in its adornment, craftsmen from Toledo [were used]; and this [was] in the exalted year 1404 [AD 1366]. Like the twilight at eventide and like the glow of dawn at morningtide [is this work] a throne resplendent with brilliant colors and the intensity of its magnificence ... praise be to Allah.¹²¹

The placement of the *Dormitorio de los Reyes Moros* adjacent to the *Salón de Embajadores*, the center for official receptions and affairs of states, suggests a bold statement about the importance of the Muslim kings to Pedro's court culture. The intimate placement suggests that Pedro would have wanted the visitors to be close in proximity to where Pedro addressed state affairs, and therefore felt the Muslim guests were important enough to be included in such official meetings. This is one of many examples of how Pedro's Alcázar reflects the political relationship between Seville and Granada.

The Alhambra of Granada

Muhammad V's Alhambra in Granada, much like Pedro's Alcázar of Seville, is a grand citadel and garden complex. It is located on hilltops surrounding present-day Granada in Spain. While this complex underwent many renovations, most of what is visible today is the work of Muhammad V (r. 1354-1359 and 1362-1391) and his father Yusuf I (r. 1333-1354).¹²² The plan provided in Figure 4 shows only a quarter of the elaborate complex, but it is the area of the palace most relevant to our discussion. The entire complex is comprised of more than 20 rooms and halls, but the most celebrated area of the Alhambra is Muhammad V's *Patio de los Leones*

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain*, 53.

(Number 15 in Figure 4).¹²³ When entering this courtyard from any of the connected rooms, a visitor encounters a large open area framed by an ornate portico. Repeated columns that are connected by latticework stucco archways create this portico (Figure 2). Two pavilions project from the eastern and western sides of this portico. The columns that hold up the portico are thin and occasionally doubled to hold one side of an arch, rather than the archways being held up by a singular thicker column. The intricate archways that surmount the columns are tall, narrow, and horseshoe shaped, and the areas above them consist of floral patterns of carved stucco. These spaces, much like those found at the Alcázar, are web-like and organic. Vestibules or porches at either end lengthwise and create a sense of weightlessness in contrast to the dark tiled roofs. The interior walls of the courtyard are covered from two-thirds of the way up the wall with stucco carvings. These stucco carvings are similar to those found on the interior walls of Pedro's courtyard (Figure 15). These wall carvings keep with the same web-like latticework found on the archways that parallel them.

The central focus of the courtyard is water, also similar to the Alcázar's courtyard. However, instead of being divided down the middle by a reflecting pool, Muhammad V's courtyard is divided into four sections by two streams that run from east to west and from north to south. These streams begin in the middle at the focal point of the courtyard, the *Fountain of the Lions* (Figure 16). The fountain is made up of a large basin that is surrounded in a circular manner by stone-carved lions. These lions likely date from the eleventh-century and were originally apart of different fountain and then later attached to basin during Muhammad V's renovations.¹²⁴ The central basin holds a large amount of water that is then spouted from the mouths of the lions. The water spouted from the fountain flows into a sunken moat that

¹²³ Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra*, 77.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 34.

surrounds the fountain. This moat is intersected on the four cardinal points by the channels that divide the courtyard into fourths. These streams flow directly into the four focal rooms that rest just off the portico of the courtyard.

On the western side of the courtyard is the *Sala de los Mocárabes*. The *Sala de los Mocárabes* is accessed from the courtyard through three muqarnas, carvings that resemble honeycomb, arches used to describe We do not know what the *Sala de los Mocárabes* looked like in its entirety, because the original ceiling is missing and has been replaced by a Renaissance ceiling.¹²⁵ The room features stucco caving similar to that found on the courtyard walls. The name of the room refers to the muqarnas stuccowork that is found on the archways that frame the entrance to this room from the courtyard, evocative of stalactite or honeycomb. Similar details can be found on the archways that divide the rooms in the *Sala de los Reyes* (Figure 17).

The eastern end of the courtyard is punctuated by the *Sala de los Reyes*, also sometimes called the Hall of Justice (Figure 17). This hallway consists of fourteen small spaces with extravagantly tall ceilings (Number 17 in Figure 4). Three main rooms in this cluster contain high ceilings that are topped with stucco *muqarnas*. These honeycombed domes are carved deeply in create the effect of a forested canopy crowning the tops of the rooms (like those found in Figure 17). A smaller room frames each of these three vaulted rooms (Figure 4). Off of the three main rooms are three oblong alcoves. These three alcoves contain elaborate ceiling paintings, discussed by Cynthia Robinson, Ana Echevarría, Jennifer Borland and others.¹²⁶ While paintings appear in all three vaulted alcoves, the central painting is of most importance to this study (Figure 8). The painting depicts ten men who are shown in *garnachas* (cloaks) and

¹²⁵ Ibid,78.

¹²⁶ See *Medieval Encounters* 14, no. 2-3 (2008).

tunics.¹²⁷ The figures' heads are covered with white turbans. Each figure is shown wearing a belt from which hangs a sword. According to Echevarría, these men have been identified in early scholarship as the first ten Sultans of the Nasrid dynasty, but have subsequently been identified as judges, sages, authors, and masters or doctors dressed as kings.¹²⁸ The most important iconographic detail of this painting in relation to this study is the existence of the insignia of the Order of the Band that is found on either side of the ceiling painting (Figure 8). As mentioned in Chapter One, the Order's traditional insignia is a shield with a heraldic band running from the upper dexter to the lower sinister that is punctuated on each end by two dragons' mouths. D. Boulton has pointed out that this insignia could also at times appear as a red shield with a simple gold heraldic bend running from the upper dexter to the lower sinister, as seen here.¹²⁹ The significance of this seal cannot be ignored; this is a Christian monarchical symbol found in the palace of an Islamic ruler, perhaps a diplomatic gesture to visitors as in the Alcázar. The significance of this insignia within this palace will be addressed more fully in Section IV of this chapter.

On the north side of the court is the *Sala de Dos Hermanas* or the Hall of the Two Sisters (Number 18 in Figure 4). This room is crowned with a *muqarnas* cupola that is set over an octagon. This domed room is framed on three sides by long rectangular hallways. The hallways running east and west intersect with unlit side rooms (Figure 4), but the third hallway runs north and meets a small square pavilion. This pavilion is known as the *Mirador de a Daraxa* and overlooks the gardens and rooms below. Coincidentally, this pavilion displays a complex geometric tiled dado, topped by walls decorated with stucco friezes similar to those found in the

¹²⁷ Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "Painting Politics," 203.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ D. Boulton, "The Order of the Band: Castile-Leon, 1330-1474," In *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe: 1325-1520* (Boye, 1987), 46-96: 88.

Alcázar (Figure 18). Finally, on the south side of the courtyard exists the Hall of the Abencerrajes or *Sala de los Abencerrajes* (Number 20 in Figure 4). The intricate muqarnas stucco ceiling is set over an eight-pointed star (Figure 19). The frieze below the windows breaks off into a pointed angle between each window forming the eight-pointed star. This frieze that is surmounted by the windows features carvings of stars that are twelve pointed and closely resemble those found at the Alcázar on the doorway to the *Salón de Embajadores* in the Alcázar (Figure 14).

Stylistic Commerce as Political Propaganda

For earlier Christian rulers, such as Pedro's father, Alfonso XI, the inclusion of an aesthetic traditionally attributed to Nasrid Granada in his renovations of the Alcázar of Seville was not symbolic of exchange, but of triumph. Alfonso's *Salón des Embajadores* was first built with the specific purpose of victoriously celebrating the success of the Christian coalition over the Islamic coalition. According to Ruggles, this is apparent because the room dates to 1340, right after Alfonso's victory over the Muslim forces at Battle of Salado (Number 16 in Figure 3).¹³⁰ During Pedro's reign, after his renovations to the room, the *Salón de Embajadores* would have functioned as the official reception room for affairs of state. The doorway to this room is marked by the two large wooden doors discussed earlier that contain both Arabic and Latin inscriptions. Ruggles cites the triumphalist rationale as a possible motive behind Alfonso's stylistic references to the Nasrid Kingdom.¹³¹ In other words, it is possible that Alfonso seized and appropriated these aesthetics found in this hall in order to demonstrate and publicize his

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid, 91.

seizure and appropriation of Islamic lands. This rationale does not, however, apply to the relationship between Pedro's renovations of the Alcázar and Nasrid Granada. For instance, Granada and Seville came to the aid of each other, and Pedro did not seize Islamic lands from Muhammad V. Therefore he had no conflicted relationship with Nasrid Granada. Pedro did not defeat Muhammad V; they had a relationship of mutual obligation and respect. Because of the nature of this relationship, there would have been no need to seize Nasrid artistic elements as a demonstration of triumph. Art historian Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza suggests that Pedro utilized Islamic aesthetics and layouts simply because the construction fit his needs as a Castilian monarch.¹³² In other words, the layout and design provided by the style commonly attributed to Islamic origin was functionally appealing to Pedro.

Pedro's renovations to the courtyard and its adjoining rooms are propagandistic but not in the same manner as the renovations of his father. Rather than publicizing a triumph or victory, Pedro pushes an agenda of political commerce. For Pedro, his alliance with Muhammad V was more valued than all others.¹³³ This is evident in his lack of political acumen with France, England, the Avignon Papacy, and Aragon in comparison to his lasting relations with Granada. Pedro likely privileged his relationship with Muhammad V because of the assistance Granada was willing to offer Pedro in return for remaining the last surviving Islamic realm in medieval Iberia. Because Pedro would not have included references to Granada as a demonstration of triumph, it is possible Pedro's renovations of the Alcázar instead publicly acknowledge his political and social relationship with Muhammad V. The reflection of Granada and Seville's alliance can be seen in Pedro's employment of both Arabic and Latin inscriptions throughout the

¹³² Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Architectural Language," 365.

¹³³ Ibid.

Alcázar, the inclusion of the Nasrid motto upon the palace walls, and the appearance of the coat of arms of the Order of the Band in the Alhambra and the Alcázar.

The Latin and Arabic inscriptions within the Alcázar serve as a direct reference to Pedro's alliance with Granada. Pedro positioned Arabic inscriptions on the outside of the doors of the *Salón de Embajadores* (Figure 20), which opened to his main courtyard, *Patio de las Doncellas*.¹³⁴ On the inside of this room Pedro included Latin inscriptions that contains the following verse from Saint John's Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."¹³⁵ The outer side of the door contains the Arabic inscription translated on page 43. An excerpt follows:

Our exalted high lord the Sultan, don Pedro, King of Castile and León (may Allah give him eternal happiness and it may remain with his architect) ordered that these carved wooden doors be made for this room of happiness (which order was made for the honor and grandeur of his ennobled and fortunate ambassadors) . . .¹³⁶

Rosser-Owen suggests that Pedro included inscriptions in both languages of his realm as a means of asserting his rule over all peoples.¹³⁷ This motivation seems more likely for the preceding Christian rulers, such as Alfonso X and Alfonso XI, who did not have strong and valued alliances with Muslim Granada.

In the case of Pedro's renovations, considering his political and social relationship with Granada, and more specifically, Muhammad V, this theory seems a bit forced. Pedro valued his relationship with Muhammad enough to assist in the reestablishment of Muhammad V to the throne in Granada and Muhammad clearly reciprocated when he aided in Pedro's numerous war campaigns. More so, why would Pedro include inscriptions in Arabic that exalt and refer to *Allah* as a means of asserting dominance over the religions and languages of the realm? It is

¹³⁴ Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain*, 84.

¹³⁵ Juan Carlos Hernández Núñez and Alfredo J. Morales, *The Royal Palace of Seville*, 58.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain*, 84.

more likely that Pedro sought to publically acknowledge and honor his alliance with Granada through the inclusion of the languages of each kingdom and the reference to the god of Islam. Or, perhaps Pedro felt the inclusion of both languages would make his court a more welcoming environment for both Christian and Muslim allies. There was clearly a distinct motive in doing this considering Pedro's brother Enrique, Count of Trastámara, was turning Christians against Pedro because of his support of the Muslim realm.

The Doors of the *Salón de Embajadores* as a Case Study

When the wooden doors are open, the Latin inscriptions facing the *Salón de Embajadores* are visible to those who approach from the courtyard. However, with closed doors, visitors encounter the Arabic inscriptions upon approaching the entryway. The fact that smaller doorways are cut into the grand wooden doors (Figure 20) suggests the need for easier access into the room. Smaller doors would not have been necessary if the larger doors were left open at most times. Therefore, it is likely that the doors remained closed a majority of the time. If this were the case, then the visitors approaching Pedro's *Salón de Embajadores* from the courtyard would have been greeted with the Arabic phrasing inscribed on the exterior of the doors. Rather than assuming Pedro did this as a means of othering, or segregating, Muslim visitors by placing their language on the outside of his hall rather than on the inside, perhaps it is more likely that Pedro placed these inscriptions on the outside of the door as a means of establishing a welcoming and tolerant atmosphere at his court. This is solidified by the fact that these inscriptions refer to Pedro himself and his relationship with *Allah*. If Pedro meant to other the Muslims reading these inscriptions, he would not likely associate himself with *Allah* so directly. Perhaps the Arabic

inscriptions on the door were included merely for aesthetic purposes as not all who saw it would have been able to read the text. It is well known that some Christians in medieval Iberia wrote and read Arabic, and Pedro may have simply enjoyed the appearance of the detailed Kufic script. Nevertheless, the inclusion of this script aligned Pedro himself and his court with the language and the religion of Granada and therefore reminding his court and his visitors of his strong and valued alliance with Muhammad V.

Other Instances of Visual Propaganda

Pedro also selected Arabic phrases found in the Alhambra to praise the Nasrid Sultans. Rather than appropriating these phrases and substituting his own name as a mark of triumph, the inclusion of these phrases within his own palace signifies Pedro's desire to publicize his alliance with Granada. These wall inscriptions are interwoven with the repeated shield of Castile and Leon a highly popular element of Pedro's personal iconography and found in the *Salas Colaterales al Salón de Embajadores*, an entryway to the *Salón de Embajadores* (Figure 6). The placement and repetition of these inscriptions mirrors the placement and repetition of the shield, a symbol of shared experience of order members, which appears both in the Alcázar and the Alhambra (Figures 5-12). This solidifies Pedro's inclusion of both Latin and Arabic inscriptions not as a method of asserting his authority, but as a propagandistic reference to his alliance with Granada and the power the two kingdoms held together.

The elevation of Pedro's relationship with Granada can be seen in other inscriptions found within the Alcázar. References to the alliance are also visible in Pedro's placement of the Nasrid motto throughout his Christian palace. Pedro displayed the Nasrid motto in the friezes of

the stucco carvings that covered the walls of the courtyard and its adjoining rooms. This motto is the Quranic phrase in Arabic, *Wa la ghalib ill Allah*.¹³⁸ This phrase translates to “There is no conqueror but God” and is found in the stucco band above the mosaic dado walls of the Alhambra (Figure 7). Pedro would have had no motive to include this phrase as a sign of victory; he did not defeat the Nasrids, he aided them. Perhaps the inscription is not about praising God at all. It is also unlikely that Pedro appropriated the phrase for purely aesthetic purposes as an adoption of style, because Pedro could have simply copied the style without using Arabic inscriptions. Clearly, the inclusion of Arabic inscriptions was done on purpose. The inclusion of these inscriptions in the original Arabic form conveys a link between Granada and Seville. Therefore, Pedro could have placed it intentionally with this consequence in mind. This direct reference to the Nasrid Kingdom would continue to elevate the alliance of Seville and Granada and build upon the propagandistic inclusion of Arabic inscriptions on the walls of the Alcázar.

The coat of arms of the Order of the Band found on the walls of both Pedro’s Alcázar and Muhammad V’s *Sala de los Reyes* in the Alhambra serves as yet another signifier of Pedro and Muhammad’s alliance (Figures 5-12). The order was a Christian monarchical order founded by Pedro’s father, Alfonso XI, which was discussed in Chapter One of this paper.¹³⁹ The order was founded in 1330 and may have continued to operate until 1474.¹⁴⁰ According to the Castilian chronicler Pedro López de Ayala, the Order continued to function as a monarchical order throughout most of Pedro’s reign.¹⁴¹ López emphasizes that Pedro instituted the statutes upon the

¹³⁸ D. Fairchild Ruggles, “The Alcázar of Seville,” 94.

¹³⁹ Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, “The Order of the Sash: From Alfonso XI to the House of Trastámara,” In *Ibn Khaldun, the Mediterranean in the 14th Century: The Rise and Fall of Empires* (Granada: Fundación El Legado Andalusi, 2006).

¹⁴⁰ D. Boulton, “The Order of the Band,” 46-96.

¹⁴¹ *Crónicas de Los Reyes de Castilla Don Pedro, Don Enrique II, Don Juan, Don Enrique III por Don Pedro López de Ayala, Chanciller Mayor de Castilla*, ed. Geronimo Zurita, Eugenio de Llaguno Amirola, v. 1 (Madrid, 1779): 447.

Order during his reign. According to López, it was mandated by Pedro that a man who was not a vassal of the King or of his son and heir apparent could not wear the sash of the Order of the Band.¹⁴² During Muhammad V's campaign to take back the throne of Granada from the usurper Muhammad VI, Pedro's Castilian troops, including the knights of the Order of the Band, aided Muhammad V in the recovery of his rule.¹⁴³ After this victory was won, the direction of aid was reversed and it was Muhammad V who aided Pedro by sending soldiers to aid in the ongoing battles in which Pedro was involved.¹⁴⁴ Echevarría posits that the mercenary knights from Granada and North Africa fighting under Muhammad V on behalf of Pedro likely wore the band of the Order.¹⁴⁵

The existence of the Order of the Band's coat of arms in both Pedro's Alcázar and the *Sala de los Reyes* in Muhammad V's Alhambra functions as evidence of stylistic commerce and propaganda of the Granada-Seville alliance. The order's coat of arms is also depicted in multiple Castilian buildings including the fortress of Carmona, the Altamira Palace, the choir in the Monastery of Santa Clara de Moguer, and the Alcázar of Seville.¹⁴⁶ In the *Salón de Techo de Carlos V* at the Alcázar, the escutcheons of the Order of the Band can be found on the frieze that surmounts the tile dado that decorates the room (Figure 12). The frieze alternates between the escutcheons of the Order of the Band, castles, lions, and the Kufic inscription "*Glory to our lord the Sultan Don Pedro! May Allah protect him!*"¹⁴⁷ In Granada, the coat of arms is found in interior rooms as well as in a central ceiling painting in Muhammad V's *Sala de los Reyes*.¹⁴⁸ I am in agreement with Echevarría who suggests that the inclusion of the Order's coat of arms

¹⁴² Ibid, Ch. 8, entire.

¹⁴³ Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "The Order of the Sash," 70.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Juan Carlos Hernández Núñez and Alfredo J. Morales, *The Royal Palace of Seville*, 57.

¹⁴⁸ Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "The Order of the Sash," 71.

could have served as an affirmation of the Nasrid dynasty through supporting Castile.¹⁴⁹ The placement of the coat of arms of a Christian knightly order in a Muslim ruler's palace, in spite of ideological differences, speaks volumes to the weight this political alliance held within the context of southern Spain. Pedro's continuous loyalty to Granada, the stylistic commerce that occurred between the two patrons, and the visible traces of this commerce in the Alcázar contribute to the Alcázar's functionality as propaganda for the power of this alliance. In doing so, Pedro creates for himself a microcosm of fourteenth-century Seville.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE

ADDRESSING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ALCÁZAR AND THE ALHAMBRA

In Chapter Two, I provided an in-depth visual analysis of both the Alcázar and the Alhambra. Through a thorough examination of the layout, functionality, and style of both of these palaces, I was able to point out the similarities between these two sites. After an exploration of the stylistic commerce and its use for visual propaganda, I illuminated that little evidence of “influence” exists. This lack of evidence for “influence” allowed me to explore the possibility of a shared aesthetic. This idea of shared aesthetics led me to attribute the existence of similarities between these two courtyards to stylistic commerce. By thinking of the similarities existing between these two sites as shared aesthetics that are byproducts of stylistic commerce, we discover that this style is much more than an influence. This phenomenon suggests a regional style that is separate from religion and culture.

My conclusion of a shared aesthetic as a consequence of stylistic commerce raises questions about the terms that have been used in the past to discuss the relationship between these two sites and their patrons. Three terms I would like to address specifically in chapter are

“influence,” “appropriation,” and “Islamic.” “Influence” and “appropriation” have connotations of colonialism and power, and although applicable in certain scenarios, they negate the concept of shared aesthetics. I argue for the dismissal of the terms “influence” and “appropriation” when discussing this specific architectural relationship and instead suggest the descriptor of a stylistic commerce existing between the two patrons and sites.

This approach of mutual obligation in regards to style allows for various new stylistic minglings and exchanges to be investigated. The assignment of “influence” to one palace establishes a hierarchy that though unintentional, has significant and adverse consequences. As Dodds has pointed out, “influence” is a loaded and connotative descriptor.¹⁵⁰ The mingling of cultures, political entities, and religions in medieval Iberia make it a complex context to study, a context that does not benefit from being simplified into unilateral cases of influence. By labeling one culture’s architecture as the stylistic predecessor of another culture’s works, a lack of creativity is subconsciously assigned to the appropriator.¹⁵¹ Consequently, superiority is automatically assigned to the precedent. “Appropriation” suggests a strategic and direct use of another culture’s stylistic ideas in for the gain of the culture doing the appropriating. The term brings with it connotations of a calculated and political movement in order to assert power over the culture being appropriated.

“Islamic” has also been used as a descriptor of the style found in the Alcázar and the Alhambra. Features such as horseshoe arches, polylobed arches, muqarnas, stucco carvings and geometric tile mosaics are all included in this descriptor. These elements while certainly staples in Islamic architecture cannot be attributed solely to the Islamic style. The descriptor of “Islamic” also creates a binary with “Christian,” which does not apply in this context. This style

¹⁵⁰ Jerrilynn D. Dodds, “Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art,” In *Art of Medieval Spain A.D. 500-1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994): 27.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

is found in the palace of an Islamic ruler as well as the palace of Christian ruler. “Islamic” associates the style with a particular religion. This style was shared by both religions and in its contemporary time would likely have been seen as a regional aesthetic, not a religious one. For this reason, I propose the use of stylistic commerce and shared aesthetics as alternative descriptions for the relationship existing between these palaces. Stylistic commerce is malleable, flexible, and always changing. It is not something that is static or constant that represents a particular culture. This allows us to see style as something that can evolve and be shared and mingled, not something that is always associated with the culture or entity that created it.

The Problem with Influence, Appropriation, and the Alcázar

There is a distinct conclusion in art history that the Alhambra influenced the Alcázar, and therefore is the precedent of the architectural style found in both palaces. Art historians have described the style of Pedro’s *Patio de las Doncellas* as a near replica of Muhammad V’s *Patio de los Leones*. Oleg Grabar describes Pedro’s renovations as an almost precise copy of Muhammad V’s.¹⁵² Grabar states:

And it is striking that works of *mudejar* art, like the Alcázar of Seville, or later masterpieces of Moroccan architecture, like the Sa’di mausoleums in Marrakesh and the sixteenth-century pavilion, almost directly copied from the Alhambra, in the Qarawin mosque and the Madrasah Bouanania in Fez, picked up the external themes, mostly surface decoration, of the Alhambra but failed for the most part to renew them or to integrate them into original architectural forms. For, whereas Turkish Antolia, Mongol Iran, and to a smaller degree Mamluk Egypt were all able in the fourteenth-century to invent new architectural and decorative forms and to initiate changes (sometimes revolutionary ones) in construction and in planning, Muslim Spain simply summed up in unique and almost perfect fashion several centuries of formal developments.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 200-201.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

Grabar suggests that the style utilized in the Alcázar of Seville is a direct copy of the Alhambra style. He also goes on to say that the Alcázar of Seville “failed to for the most part to renew them or to integrate them into original architectural forms”.¹⁵⁴ In saying this Grabar lessens the achievements of the Alcázar and pushes the Alhambra up onto a stylistic pedestal.

For Mariam Rosser-Owen, Pedro’s architectural projects directly adopted the Nasrid style of Muhammad’s additions.¹⁵⁵ She explains, “Pedro I adopted Nasrid architecture as the model for his court style in the 1350s when, soon after coming to the throne, he redecorated the royal palace at Tordesillas entirely in this manner.”¹⁵⁶ Rosser-Owen goes on to say:

Pedro began his construction in 1364, as recorded in the inscription on the monumental façade he erected in a style copied from the Comares façade at the Alhambra, down to the inclusion of the Nasrid motto. At that time, the Alcázar was a jumble of halls from different periods, built by Seville’s Taifa kings in the eleventh century and the Almohads in the late twelfth-century with a gothic palace, founded by Alfonso X after the Castilian conquest in the mid-thirteenth-century. Pedro incorporated many of these earlier elements when he began an extensive remodeling, making this complex more coherent by the uniform application of the Alhambra style.¹⁵⁷

According to Rosser-Owen, the style utilized in the Alcázar was taken directly from a style she is referring to as the “Alhambra Style.” Rosser-Owen posits that Muhammad V likely sent his craftsmen to Seville to aid in the building of Pedro’s *Patio de las Doncellas*.¹⁵⁸ With this hypothesis, Rosser-Owen and Ruggles are in agreement. Rosser-Owen, however, also suggests the reciprocation of this gesture by Pedro.¹⁵⁹ She writes, “Muhammad V may have sent craftsmen from Granada, just as Pedro probably sent craftsmen to work on the Gothic decoration

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain* (2010), 83.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 84.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

of the Palace of the Lions.”¹⁶⁰ Because scholars have attributed the origin of the Alcázar’s style as being the Nasrid Palace, the style of the Alcázar has been labeled an “Islamic” style. The label of “Islamic,” as a descriptor of an artistic style has a long and complex history that needs to be unpacked and clarified in order to truly understand how to talk about the relationship between the Alcázar of Seville and the Alhambra of Granada.

In art history, there exists a tension in the applicability of terms such as “influence” and “appropriation.” At times, the terms are highly necessary and directly relate to the specific scenario they are being used to describe. For instance, Kirk Ambrose has argued the benefits of using “influence” because of its tentative and conjectural quality as a descriptor.¹⁶¹ Ambrose finds “influence” to still be an effective term for interpreting medieval art.¹⁶² For Ambrose, the term is useful as a means of describing the “constellation of causes, however remote, that coalesce within and inform a work of art.”¹⁶³ In other words, Ambrose sees the term as applicable when describing elements that have been pulled from different sources to inform a new work of art. Ambrose’s understanding of influence is a better definition than the definition offered by others. However, in the specific case of the Alhambra and the Alcázar, influence is not beneficial because of the connotations the descriptor tends to bring with it.

Art historian Jerrilynn D. Dodds offers insight into the term and its usage in medieval Iberia. For Dodds, the term “influence” is too often applied to the relationships existing between various entities of artistic traditions in medieval Iberia. For Dodds, the usage of “influence” places the influenced culture in a passive role that suggests a lack of creativity.¹⁶⁴ However,

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Kirk Ambrose, “Influence,” *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 198.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Jerrilynn D. Dodds, “Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art,” 27.

looking outside of one's culture is very creative and Dodds suggests, courageous.¹⁶⁵ It takes an assertive entity leave their niche to pursue the art and choices of other cultures. More importantly, it takes bravery to reflect those cultures within the art of one's own niche. Considering the long historical record of religions viewing outside religions as different and undesirable, the act of incorporating elements from other religions certainly does not seem passive or weak and in fact could be considered dangerous. It is this precise reason that when discussing the relationship between the Alhambra and the Alcázar one should be hesitant of using "influence" and similar terms such as "appropriation."

The term "appropriation" is easily applied to the relationship between the Alcázar and the Alhambra because we associate the style found within both palaces with an Islamic origin. Because of this association, we assume that the Christian entity adopted this style as their own with minimal changes, in other words, they "appropriated" the style. That being said, "appropriation" is also a loaded term that deserves exploration. Ambrose has also written on the use of the term "appropriation" in studies of the medieval world.¹⁶⁶ Ambrose himself confesses to having reservations about the word "appropriation" and points out the significance of French historian and theorist Georges Bataille's own issues with "appropriation" during in the 1920s and 1930s. In his writings, Bataille pointed out the shortcomings of this term and argued that "appropriation" suggested the existence of a unified and static author working to advance institutional agendas.¹⁶⁷ This connotation suggests a very political and strategic action when appropriating from another source or culture. For Ambrose, the use of appropriation is at times beneficial, for instance when appropriation is used to describe the concept that all artists

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Kirk Ambrose, "Appropriation: Back Then, In Between, and Today." *Art Bulletin* 94, no. 2 (June 2012): 169-171.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 170.

necessarily take from others.¹⁶⁸ However, Ambrose rightly points out the connotations that have recently begun to accompany the term. Today, “appropriation” tends to signal the calculated use of something old to push a new agenda. Ambrose argues that the use of “appropriation” hints at a transgressive act, often political in nature. The implications of the use of such a term are worth considering. “Appropriation” reflects the colonial ideal of a more powerful entity absorbing or taking over the culture of a weaker entity.

Keeping this in mind, the use of “appropriation” to describe the relationship between the Alhambra and the Alcázar implies that Pedro borrowed the aesthetic of the Nasrid palace as an aggressive act meant to assert power over Nasrid Granada. This is a very specific reading of the shared stylistic elements and their nascence, a reading we cannot definitely endorse due to the lack of supportive contextual and historical evidence. For these reasons, “appropriation” is not a fitting term to describe the stylistic relationship existing between the Alcázar of Seville and the Alhambra of Granada.

What Do We Usually Mean By “Islamic Art”?

The history of Islamic Art and Islamic Style is complicated. Recently, scholars in the field have begun to re-examine the historiography of the term Islamic Art and what it has come to mean for the field today. In other words, scholars are questioning the application of this term to art and architecture and the effects of such an application. There are many problems that once encounters in using this term, but challenges also exist in trying to find an alternative descriptor. An example of this type of work is Shelia S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom’s discussion of the

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 169.

state of the field, “The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field.”¹⁶⁹

In the opening sections of their article, Blair and Bloom suggest that usually “Islamic” art refers to “the art made by artists or artisans whose religion was Islam, for patrons who lived in predominantly Muslim lands, or for purposes that are restricted or peculiar to a Muslim population or a Muslim setting.”¹⁷⁰

Because this definition is so general, it encompasses most of the art from lands occupied by Muslims for over fourteen centuries. These lands include Central and West Asia down to North Africa, and up in to Spain. According to Blair and Bloom, in later centuries Islam flourished in tropical Africa, eastern Europe, southern Russia, western China, northern India, and southeast Asia.¹⁷¹ The vastness of the regions and centuries that fall under the umbrella of Islamic Art make the field difficult to navigate. The term becomes a generic descriptor that lacks the specificity found in the study of western European art of the same periods. The encompassing nature of the term is only one issue associated with the study of Islamic Art. A second issue found in the historiography of Islamic Art deals with the connection of Islamic art to religion.

“Islamic Art” contains the reference to the religion of Islam, suggesting a direct connection from Islamic Art to religious purposes. Christian art, for instance, is used only when describing art connected to religious functionality. However, art that is grouped into the category of Islamic Art very often has no religious purpose or connection.¹⁷² Blair and Bloom explain that some historians have attempted to address this issue by coining adjectives like “Islamicate” in

¹⁶⁹ Shelia S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, “The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field,” *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (March, 2003): 152-184.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 152. According to Blair and Bloom’s endnotes, this definition is taken from the introduction to the multi-author article “Islamic Art,” in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (London: Macmillan, 1996), vol. 16.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

order to refer to art of Islamic civilization that is of a secular nature.¹⁷³ These terms, however, have not been widely adopted. Therefore, it is accepted by most scholars that the term Islamic refers multiple cultures in realms where Islam may have been the dominant religion.¹⁷⁴ This action fails to acknowledge the vastly different cultures, styles, aesthetics, time periods and regions in these areas and instead lumps them together. Another issue one encounters in the field of Islamic Art is the definition of Islamic art. The term is used to describe metalwares, luster ceramics, enameled glass, brocaded textiles, knotted carpets, architecture, and manuscripts. Blair and Bloom put it best in saying:

In sum, then, the term “Islamic art,” seems to be a convenient misnomer for everything left over from everywhere else. It is most easily defined by what it is not: neither a region, nor a period, nor a school, nor a movement, nor a dynasty, but the visual culture of a place and time when the people, (or at least their leaders) espoused a particular religion.

This critique is extremely useful in looking at how the Alcázar has been labeled in the past. The style of the Alcázar has been attributed to Islamic origin and therefore labeled an “Islamic” style. Blair and Bloom point out that the descriptor of “Islamic” does not necessarily even refer to art that has any religious functionality.

In art history, the term has become a convenient labeling for anything made in Islamic lands or that resembles art created in Islamic lands. This observation on the part of Blair and Bloom shakes the foundation of “Islamic” art and what the term really means. In pointing out the shortcomings of this term, Blair and Bloom have led me to dismiss the term “Islamic” as a descriptor for the shared aesthetics found within the Alcázar and the Alhambra. The term is too general and does art historians no favors in being applied to this particular case study. By claiming the Alcázar is an Islamic style, we only produce confusion and continue this paradigm

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

of using the term to describe things that don't fit neatly into the categories of Gothic, Romanesque, or Byzantine. It is much more useful to simply remove oneself from the need to categorize the art and architecture of medieval Iberia based on religious grounds and to instead look at the stylistic commerce occurring amongst the entities as a shared regional aesthetic, not a religious aesthetic that has been appropriated or influenced by other religions.

Stylistic Commerce as a Result of Shared Aesthetics

Because of the complexity of each palace and the layering of renovations at both sites, it is nearly impossible to identify dates of origin for many of the renovations that occurred throughout the palaces' histories. That being said, dates do exist for the renovations initiated by Pedro and Muhammad V. An inscription on the monumental façade of the Alcázar cites the beginning of Pedro's architectural project as 1364.¹⁷⁵ While we have an exact date of the nascence of Pedro's construction, unfortunately, we do not have a concrete date assigned to the courtyard itself. Muhammad's renovations of the Alhambra began immediately after his return from exile in 1362; an exact date of the commencement of Muhammad's courtyard is also unknown.¹⁷⁶

No concrete dates of construction exist, and therefore no precedent can be set. Without a definite antecedent of architectural style, influence cannot be absolutely attributed to the Alhambra. Ruggles also suggests the possibility that works at the Alcázar could actually predate comparable renovations at the Alhambra.¹⁷⁷ Aside from challenging the assumption that

¹⁷⁵ María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2002), 229.

¹⁷⁶ Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain*, 53.

¹⁷⁷ D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Alcázar of Seville," 92.

Muhammad's courtyard influenced Pedro's, knowledge of the origin dates of these palaces is not imperative. The lack of exact dates does not hinder investigations but instead allows for wider and more expansive exploration of these palaces and their circumstances.

“Influence” tends to simplify the exchange of aesthetics occurring in medieval Iberia. The concept of “influence” creates a direct path between the two sources that ignores and dissuades the historical and social contexts that cannot and should not be compartmentalized in order to ease our contemporary understanding of the past. By labeling one palace as the architectural precedent for the other, we simplify the exchange occurring between the patrons and their cultures. If we assert that the Alhambra influenced Pedro's Alcázar, we establish that the Alhambra existed first and that Pedro made many of his stylistic decisions based on Muhammad's choices at Granada. This simplified vision does not allow for a mingling or exchange between the two patrons. By claiming “influence,” we neglect to address the highly convoluted political and cultural climate that was medieval Iberia. In this process, we lose the complexities of the tangled relationships and contexts that surround the creation of these palaces. It is unrealistic to assume or conclude that history can be simplified and categorized in a manner to ease our current understandings.

By claiming influence, we ignore vast opportunities to explore the complex nature of the historical contexts in which we investigate. Instead, we should think of the stylistic similarities found within these two palaces as shared aesthetics that are the byproduct of stylistic commerce. By addressing relationship between the Alhambra and the Alcázar as a stylistic commerce in which ideas and concepts are constantly being exchanged and mingled, we avoid compartmentalizing and are rewarded with myriad new avenues of exploration. This allows us to avoid the tendency to make style a concrete and unchanging thing that is always associated with

a particular time period or culture, and instead we can observe style as a changing and evolving phenomenon that can move across geographical, religious, and temporal boundaries.

An Iberian Style

Following the definition of Islamic art provided by Blair and Bloom, the labeling of the stylistic details found in the palace of Nasrid Granada as Islamic would technically be accurate. However, this style is found in the Alcázar in Seville, a Christian realm. This style is even appears in the Synagogue of El Tránsito in Toledo, a Jewish site. Therefore, it seems the descriptor of Islamic does not apply to these sites. Scholarship would benefit greatly from removing ourselves from the need to classify art and architecture based on categories such as religion or even influence to see a bigger picture. If instead of focusing on the “Islamic” or “Christian” style of the architecture, we instead simply recognize the shared characteristics of these two palaces, we can begin to recognize something more important than simple a case of a Christian ruler adopting or appropriating the style of an Islamic ruler. If we think of this style as being more malleable and shared, we observe not a religious style, but a regional phenomenon that is the result of the cultural exchange of building and decorative traditions throughout medieval Iberia and its surrounding areas. Rather than seeing “influence,” “appropriation,” or “Islamic” style, we instead see a shared aesthetic, a stylistic commerce that penetrates religious, political, geographical, and temporal boundaries and becomes a common artistic ground amongst the entities living within Iberia.

CONCLUSION

This project began as an endeavor to reassess current academic conceptions surrounding the stylistic relationship apparent between Pedro the Cruel's Alcázar of Seville and Muhammad V's Alhambra in Granada. The goal of this project was to question these conceptions and, in doing so, reveal the function of the Alcázar and the Alhambra as microcosms for the political commerce of Granada and Seville in fourteenth-century Iberia. In my conclusion, I wish to summarize my major points and to explore areas in which this project could be expanded.

Before I delved into the stylistic relationship between the Alcázar and the Alhambra, I provided a context of Muslim and Christian relations in Iberia before the rules of Pedro and Muhammad V. I followed this section with a detailed account of the formation of the Order of the Band and its role in these relations. These surveys of Muslim and Christian interactions allowed me to illuminate the uniqueness of the alliance formed between Granada and Seville in fourteenth-century Iberia.

In Chapter Two, I sought to analyze the two sites and to reveal the parallels between the Pedro and Muhammad V's political commerce and the stylistic commerce apparent in their architecture. I first provided an in-depth overview of both spaces and

their functionality. Next, through a stylistic comparison, the similarities between the Alhambra and the Alcázar were illuminated. Because of the inclusion of Latin and Arabic inscriptions, the placement of the Nasrid motto within the Alcázar, and the repeated iconography of the seal of the Order of the Band, I argued that Pedro avoided the triumphal appropriation of his Christian predecessors and instead publicizes his alliance with Granada..

The final facet of this project involved surveying terminology applied to the relationship between these two sites and investigating the historiography of Islamic art and existing theories applied to the Alcázar and the Alhambra's stylistic relationship. This exploration revealed that in the past, multiple art historical scholars have classified the relationship between these two sites as a stylistic relationship of direct influence. I identified multiple issues with this concept of direct influence. The usage of terms "influence" and "appropriation" create a hierarchy and suggest a lack of creativity within the culture that is being influenced. Also, no exact dates for the construction of these two courtyards exist, and therefore, we cannot establish a precedent. Without a precedent, no direct influencer can be established. Finally, the concept of direct influence simplifies the complicated context of medieval Iberia and closes off many venues of exploration in regards to cultural and artistic exchange.

The investigation into how to talk about the relationship between these two sites led me to pull back from definite descriptors like Islamic, influence, and appropriation. By pulling back, it made much more sense to view the style existing in both locations as a shared aesthetic, that is a byproduct of a stylistic commerce. This stylistic commerce suggests that the style so commonly labeled as "Islamic" in medieval Iberia was more

likely a part of a regional or Iberian aesthetic. In other words, I conclude that this shared aesthetic is not unique to Seville and Granada, or to Islamic realms. Instead I conclude that this style was a regional aesthetic that existed as a common ground for all entities living in Iberia and was not likely viewed by contemporary society as a strictly Nasrid or even a strictly Islamic style. It is impossible to know the motives behind the inclusion of these elements by Pedro; therefore it is possible that he chose these elements to reflect his political alliance with Granada. That being said, through this investigation, I have determined that it is more likely that Pedro was following a paradigm utilized throughout Iberia in the fourteenth century by Muslim and Christian patrons alike.

If I were to pursue this project further, I would delve deeper into the spaces and their possible functions. More specifically, I would like to focus closely on Pedro's use of inscriptions on portals and what this usage would have conveyed to everyday attendants within his court. Ideally, this would be accompanied by more case studies of contemporary commissions in medieval Iberia. For instance, I would like to study El Tránsito closely and the Great Mosque of Cordoba. The inclusion of Latin and Arabic scripts within these sites, as well as countless stylistic similarities in the architectural detailing would enable me to solidify the sharing of stylistic elements was not unique to Granada or Seville. These studies would enable me to truly test the conclusion I have come to in this thesis, that the stylistic commerce between Granada and Seville was not an anomaly, but part of a much larger stylistic commerce that spread across medieval Iberia.



Figure 1: Patio de las Doncellas, Alcázar, Seville, 1364-1369 (photo: author).



Figure 2: Patio de los Leones, Alhambra, Granada, 1362-1391 (photo: author).

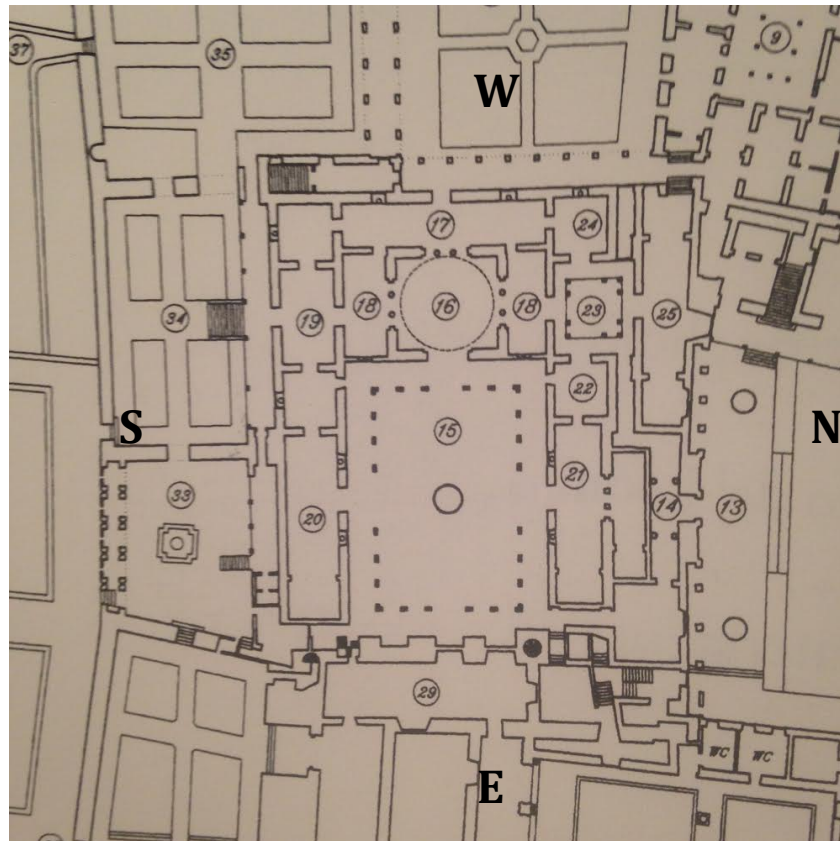


Figure 3: Plan of Alcázar of Seville and key. After Juan Carlos Hernández Núñez and Alfredo J. Morales (1999) 6.

1.	PUERTA DEL LEON	17.	SALA DEL TECHO DE FELIPE II
2.	PATIO DEL LEON	18.	SALAS COLATERALES AL SALON DE EMBAJADORES
3.	SALA DE LA JUSTICIA	19.	HABITACIONES DE INFANTES
4.	PATIO DEL YESO	20.	SALON DEL TECHO DE CARLOS V
5.	CUARTO MILITAR	21.	DORMITORIO DE LOS REYES MOROS
6.	CASA DE LA CONTRATACION. SALA I	22.	SALA DE PASOS PERDIDOS
7.	SALA II OR DEL ALMIRANTE	23.	PATIO DEL TECHO DE LAS MUÑECAS
8.	SALA CAPITULAR OR CAPILLA	24.	SALA DE LOS REYES CATOLICOS
9.	PATIO DEL ASISTENTE	25.	CUARTO DEL PRINCIPE
10.	PATIO DE LEVIES	26.	PATIO DEL CRUCERO
11.	PATIO DE ROMERO MURABE	27.	SALON DE TAPICES
12.	PATIO DE LA MONTERIA	28.	SALÓN GÓTICO
13.	FACADE OF PALACIO DEL REY D. PEDRO	29.	CAPILLA
14.	VESTIBULO	30.	SALA CANTARERA
15.	PATIO DE LAS DONCELLAS	31.	ESTANQUE DE MERCURIO
16.	SALON DE EMBAJADORES		

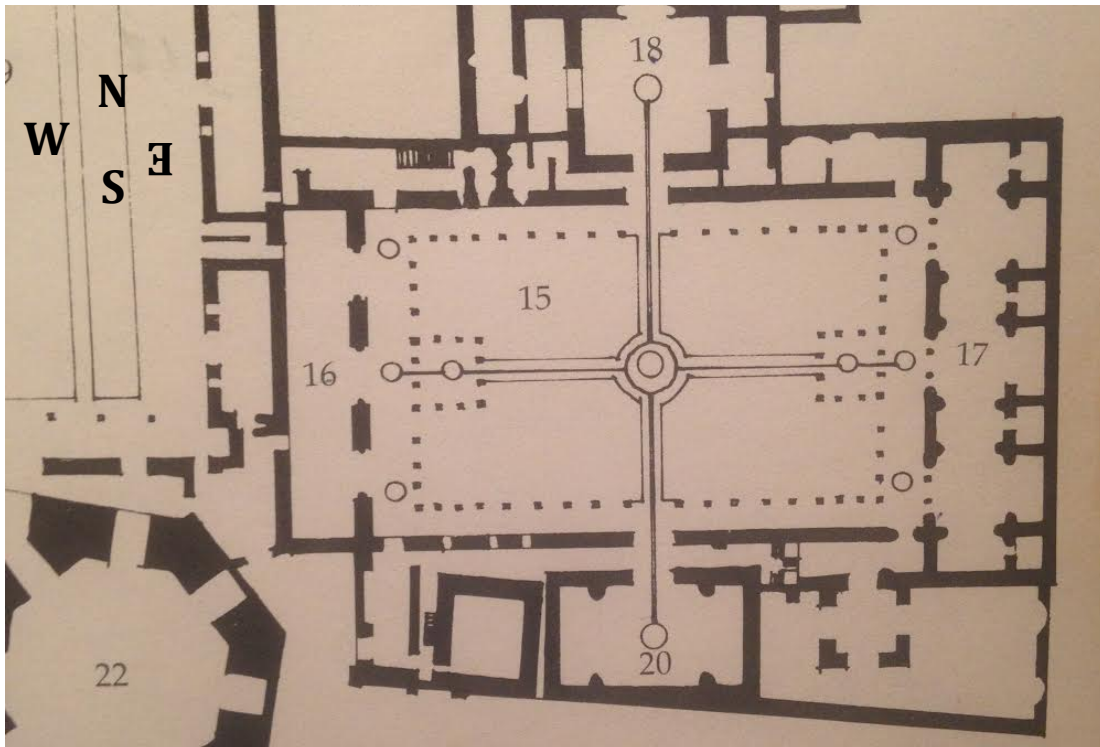


Figure 4: Plan and key of Alhambra. After Oleg Grabar (1978), front interior cover.

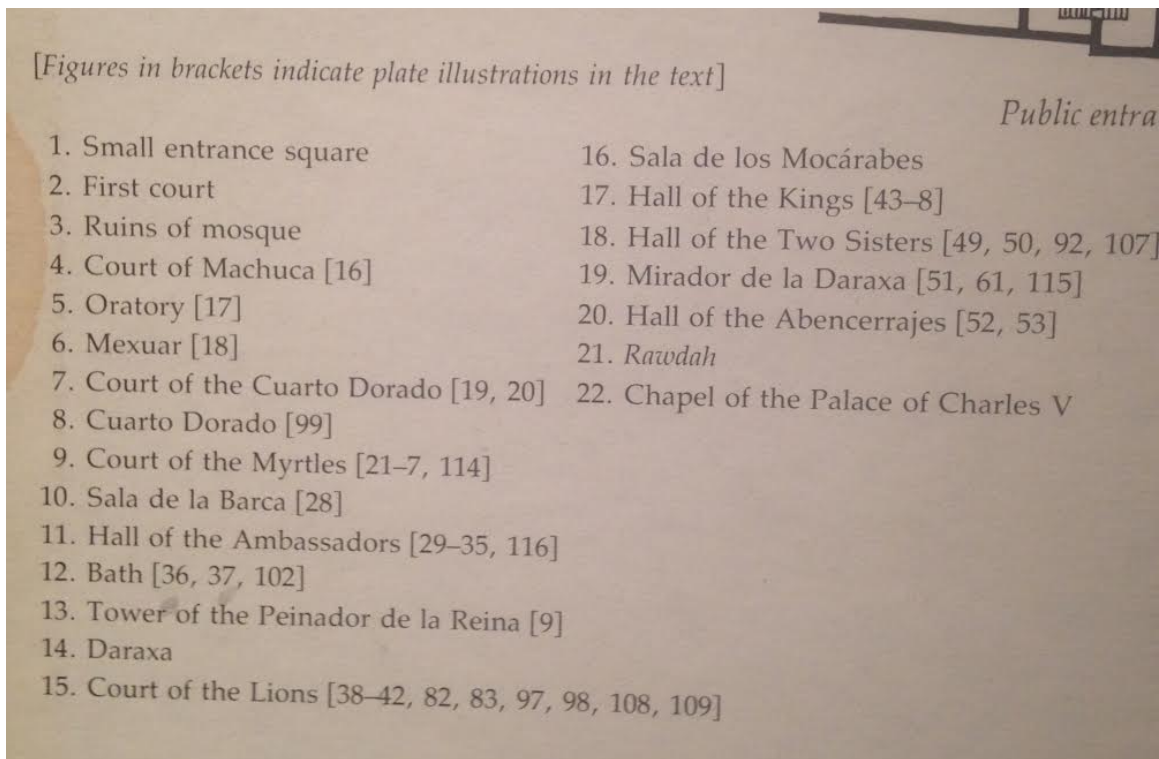




Figure 5: Coat of arms of the Order of the Band, Alcázar of Seville, 1364-1369 (photo: author).



Figure 6: Detail of shield of Castile and Leon alongside Arabic inscriptions (upper right), Salas Colaterales al Salón de Embajadores, Alcázar of Seville, (photo: Jennifer Borland).



Figure 7: Stucco carving featuring Order of the Band, Court of the Myrtles, Alhambra, Granada (photo: Jennifer Borland).



Figure 8: Central vault ceiling painting, Sala de los Reyes (Hall of Justice), Alhambra, Granada, 1362-1391. After Ana Echevarría Arsuaga in “The Order of the Sash,”(2006),

71.



Figure 9: Mosaic dado and stucco frieze, Patio de las Doncellas, Alcázar, Seville, 1364-1369 (photo: author).

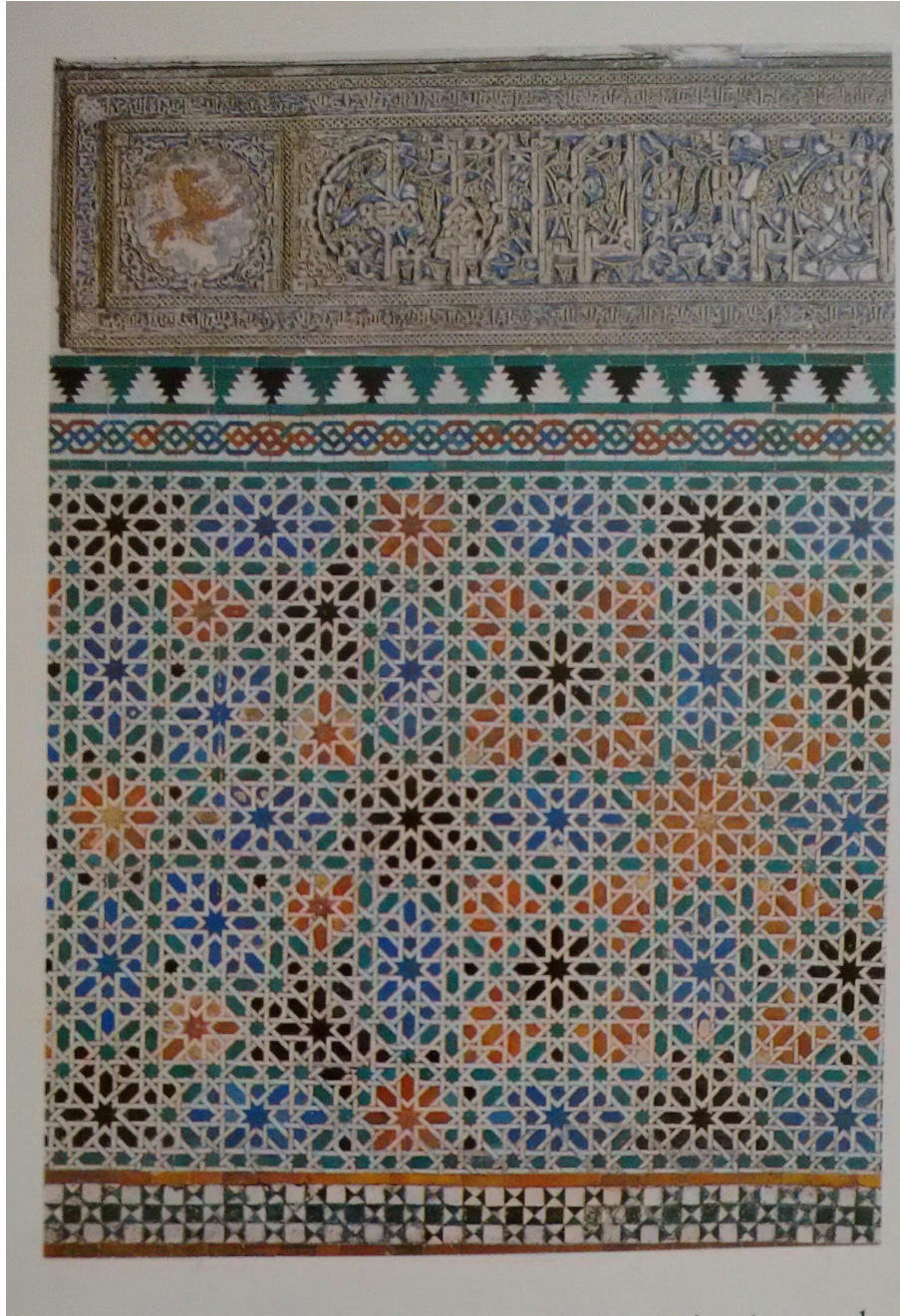


Figure 10: Detail of mosaic dado and stucco carving, Patio de las Doncellas, Alcázar, Seville, 1364-1369. After Juan Carlos Hernández Núñez and Alfredo J. Morales (1999)

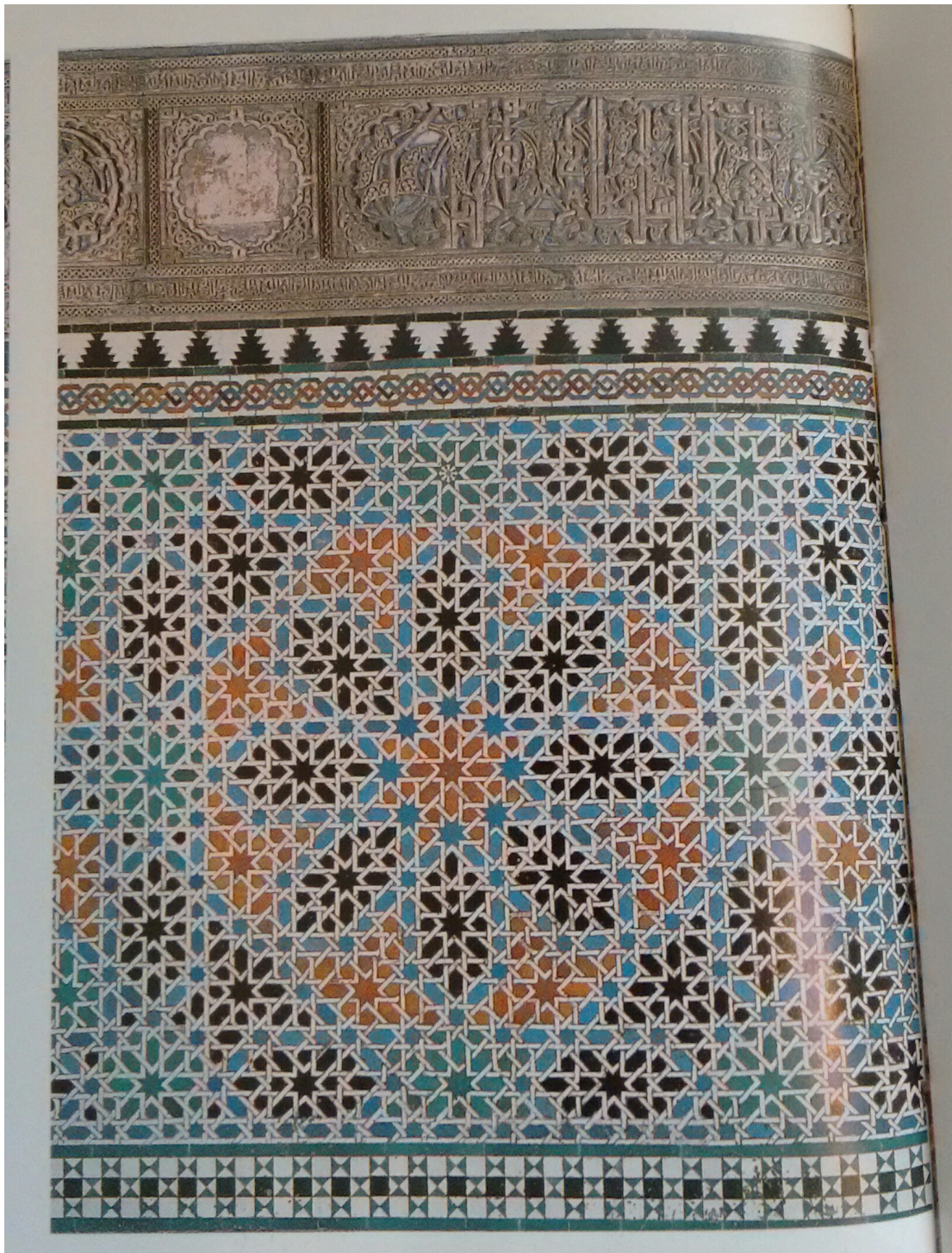


Figure 11: Detail of mosaic dado and stucco carving, Patio de las Doncellas, Alcázar, Seville, 1364-1369. After Juan Carlos Hernández Núñez and Alfredo J. Morales (1999)

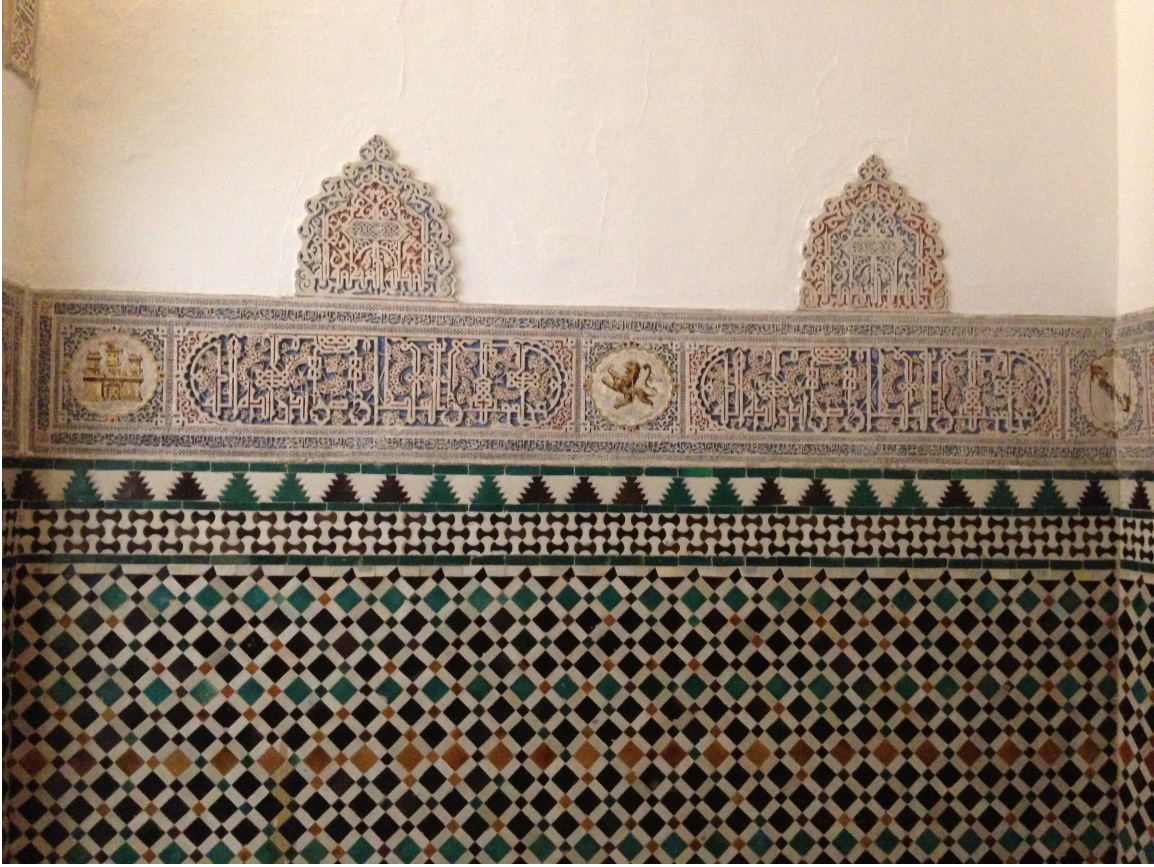


Figure 12: Mosaic dado, Kufic inscriptions and Christian symbols, Salón de Techo de Carlos V, Seville (photo: author).



Figure 13: Dormitorio de los Reyes Moros, Alcázar, Seville, 1364-1369. After Juan Carlos Hernández Núñez and Alfredo J. Morales (1999) 56.

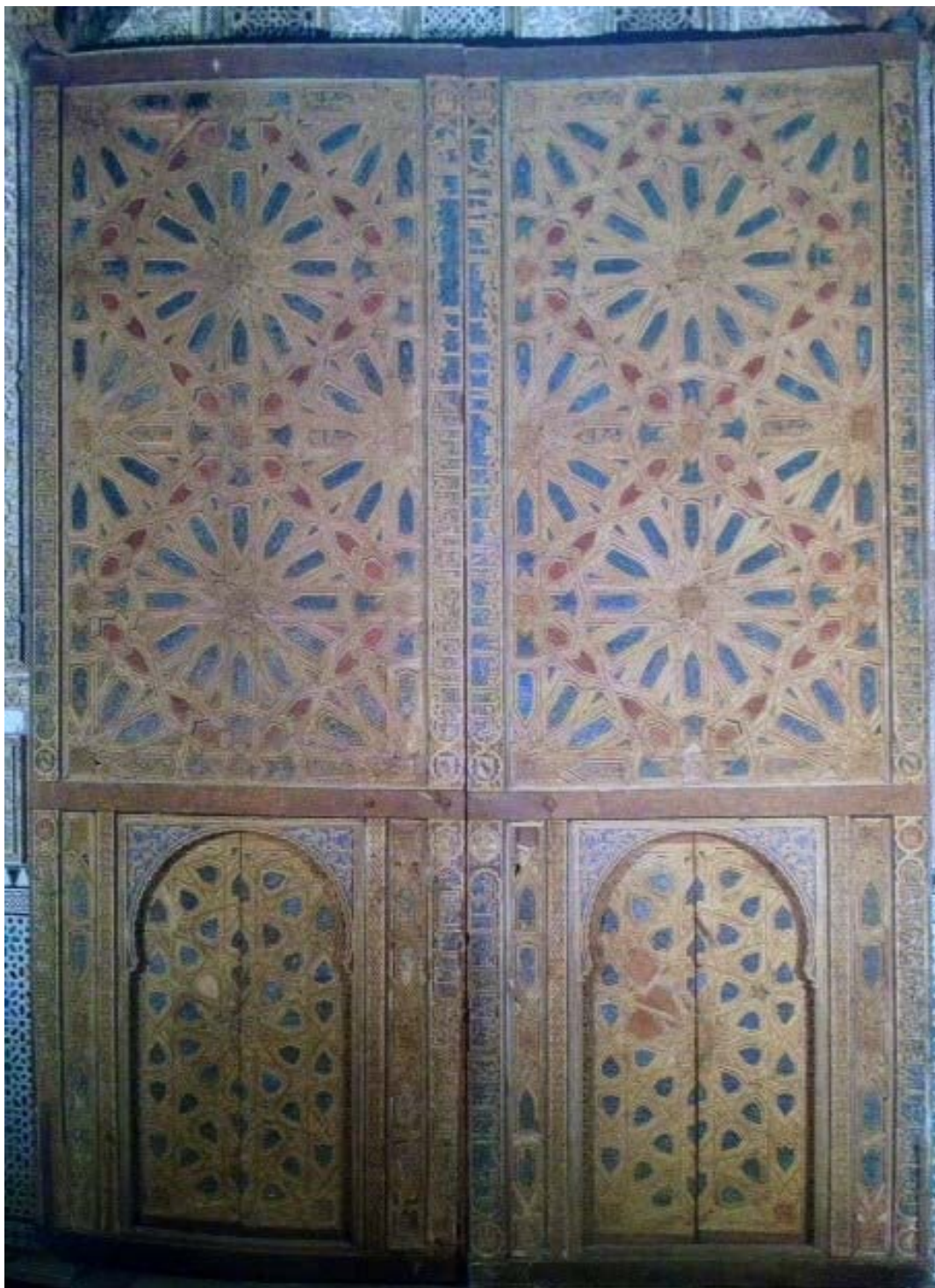


Figure 14: Wooden doors, Salón de Embajadores, Alcázar of Seville. After Juan Carlos Hernandez Núñez and Alfredo J. Morales (1999) 59.



Figure 15: Interior hallway, Patio de los Leones, Alhambra, Granada, 1362-1391 (photo: author).



Figure 16: Fountain of the Lions, Patio de los Leones, The Alhambra, Granada, 1362-1391 (photo: author).



Figure 17: Sala de los Reyes, Alhambra, Granada, 1362-1391 (photo: author).



Figure 18: Mosaic dado, The Mirador de la Daraxa, Alhambra, Granada, 1362-1391 (photo: author).



Figure 19: Muqarnas Cupola, Hall of the Abencerrajes, Alhambra, Granada, 1362-1391 (photo: author).



Figure 20: Detail of Arabic inscriptions on wooden doors, Salón de Embajadores, Alcázar of Seville.

After Mary Ann Sullivan (2005) bluffton.edu.

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