

Historicizing the Landscape
Recovering the Aesthetics of the Alhambra

by

Marianne Magdalena de Klerk

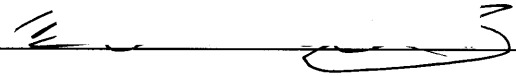
Bachelor of Architecture
University of Pretoria, South Africa, 1995

Submitted to the Department of Architecture and the
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degrees of


Master of Science in Architecture Studies
and
Master in City Planning

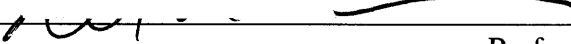
at the
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
June 2001

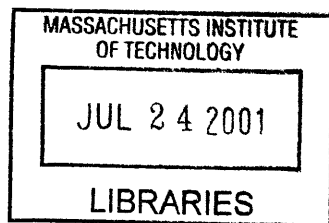
© 2001 Marianne Magdalena de Klerk. All Rights Reserved
The author hereby grants to MIT permission to reproduce and to distribute publicly
paper and electronic copies of this thesis in whole or in part.

Author 
Marianne Magdalena de Klerk
Department of Architecture and
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
May 24, 2001

Certified 
Nasser Rabbat
Associate Professor of Architecture
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by 
Roy Strickland
Principal Research Scientist in Architecture
Chairman, Department Committee on Graduate Students

Accepted by 
Professor Dennis Frenchman
Chairman, MCP Committee
Department of Urban Studies and Planning



ROTCH

Readers

Anne Whinston Spirn

Title: Professor of Landscape Architecture and Planning

Miroslava Beneš

Title: Senior Lecturer in the History of Landscape Architecture, Graduate School of Design,
Harvard

Historicizing the Landscape

Recovering the Aesthetics of the Alhambra

by

Marianne Magdalena de Klerk

Submitted to the Department of Architecture and the Department of Urban Studies and Planning on May 24, 2001 in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degrees Master of Science in Architecture Studies and Master of City Planning

Abstract

The thesis explores the conception and evolution of the Alhambra as a monument during the 19th and 20th centuries. The contemporary monument encompasses a vast landscape complex saturated by nine hundred years of continuous occupation. The fragmented form of the palace complex, adapted and reconstructed for centuries, achieved coherence through the reification of tropes celebrating the landscape in 19th century travel literature.

Travel was a contemplative practice of decomposing and recomposing the landscape through literature and visual representation. Travelers attempted to recapture and reconstruct a coherent image of the palace complex through the documentation and reconstruction of an imagined original. The aesthetic revival of the mythical productive landscape that once enfolded the Alhambra dominated the experience, hence the desire to recapture – and if necessary reconstruct – the landscape of the past is always present in the literature and the restoration and conservation projects of the last two centuries.

Conservation projects were accompanied by the restoration of historic gardens, the design of new gardens, the symbolic revival of the famed irrigation system of the Muslims and the spatial organization of the monumental complex to accommodate its new central function as one of the world's primary tourist destinations.

Thesis Supervisor: Nasser Rabbat
Title: Associate Professor of Architecture

Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

I Literature

- 1.1 Introduction: Travel in the 19th Century
 - 1.2 Literature and Representation
 - 1.3 Modes of Representation: Literature, Painting and Measured Drawings
 - 1.4 19th Century Topographical Artists and Writers
 - 1.5 Construction of Literary Tropes
 - 1.6 The traveler's search for a wholesome experience that combines scenery, kinetic aspects and satisfaction
 - 1.7 An aesthetic recovery of the productive landscape
 - 1.8 A construct of an earthly paradise sprung from the idealized past
 - 1.9 The desire to reconstruct a coherent image of the Alhambra
 - 1.10 The merger of myth and reality through experiencing the site
 - 1.11 Conclusion
- Figures 1.1 – 1.22

II Conservation

- 2.1 Introduction
 - 2.2 Evolution and Conservation of the Alhambra
 - 2.3 The Formulation of a Conservation Policy for the Alhambra
 - 2.4 Role of the Landscape
 - 2.5 The Notion of a Hybrid Mediterranean Landscape
 - 2.6 Mirador: Trapping of the Landscape
 - 2.7 Symbolic Revival of the Irrigation System
 - 2.8 Restoration of Gardens
 - 2.9 Design of Modern Gardens
 - 2.10 Conclusion
- Figures 2.1 - 42

III Tourism

- 3.1 Introduction
 - 3.2 Designed Access
 - 3.3 Intramural Circulation and Archeology
 - 3.4 Modern Access
 - 3.5 Conclusion
- Figures 3.1 – 3.43

Conclusion

Sources of Figures

Bibliography

Acknowledgements

List of Figures

- Fig. 1.1 Alhambra from the Cuesta de los Molinos, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragney, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.2 Los Hornados: Road to the Veleta Peak in the Sierra Nevada, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragney, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.3 View of Granada and the Sierra Nevada, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragney, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.4 View of the Albaicìn with the Alhambra set against the Sierra Nevada, 1836, Oil on canvas by David Roberts, Granada Caja de Ahorros
- Fig. 1.5 Dances and Customs of Granada, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragney, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.6 Modern Christians in the palaces of the ancient Moorish kings, 1870, Engraving by Gustav Doré, Mary Evans Picture Library
- Fig. 1.7 View of the Alhambra and Granada from the Darro valley, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragney, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.8 View of Granada from the North window in the Hall of the Ambassadors, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragney, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.9 Court of the Comares, 1835, Engraving by David Roberts, *Tourist in Spain*
- Fig. 1.10 Court of the Lions, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragney in *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.11 Access road and the ruined fortifications of the Alhambra, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragney, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.12 Ruined Tower of the Seven Floors, 1835, Engraving by David Roberts, *Tourist in Spain*
- Fig. 1.13 Towers of the Alhambra and the Generalife in the background, 1835, Engraving by David Roberts, *Tourist in Spain*
- Fig. 1.14 Sections of the Alhambra, 1837, Lithograph by Girault de Pragney, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.15 Section through the Hall of the Ambassadors, 1842, Color lithograph by Owen Jones and Jules Ghoury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.16 Hall of the Two Sisters, 1842, Engraving by Owen Jones and Jules Ghoury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.17 Alcove in the Court of the Comares, 1842, Color lithograph by Owen Jones and Jules Ghoury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.18 Hall of the Abencerrajes, 1838, Oil on Canvas by David Roberts, Laing Art Gallery, Tyne and Wear Museums
- Fig. 1.19 Tower of the Comares, 1835, Watercolor by David Roberts, Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester
- Fig. 1.20 Hall of the Kings, 1835, Engraving by David Roberts, *Tourist in Spain*
- Fig. 1.21 View of the Sierra Nevada from the Adarve garden of the Alcazaba, 1835, Lithograph by John Frederick Lewis, *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra*
- Fig. 1.22 Court of the Lions, 1835, Engraving by David Roberts, *Tourist in Spain*
- Fig. 2.1 Aerial view of the Alhambra
- Fig. 2.2 Apartments of Charles V overlooking the Albaicìn

- Fig. 2.3 Plan of the Nasrid Palaces (indicated in yellow) and the Apartments of Charles V (outlined in gray), 1842, Color lithograph by Owen Jones and Jules Ghoury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*
- Fig. 2.4 Sections through the Palace Complex, 1780, by Sánchez Sarabia, *Antigüedades Arabes de España*
- Fig. 2.5 Plan of the Alhambra Palace complex showing the fragmented urban structure in the 19th century, 1842, Color lithograph by Owen Jones and Jules Ghoury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*
- Fig. 2.6 Plan of the *Secano* showing the archeological remains of the water channel running alongside the upper branch of the former *Calle Real Alta*
- Fig. 2.7 Section through the Square of the Cisterns located between the Alcazaba and the Palace of Charles V, 1997 by Antonio Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*
- Fig. 2.8 Golden Court, 1835, Lithograph by John Frederick Lewis, *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra*
- Fig. 2.9 Golden Court after restoration in the 20th century
- Fig. 2.10 Alhambra Palace complex seen from the Sacramonte caves
- Fig. 2.11 Reconstruction of the Mirador of the Court of the Comares, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*
- Fig. 2.12 Reconstruction of the Mirador of the Court of the Lions, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*
- Fig. 2.13 Plan of the Court of the Canal of the Generalife before restoration, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*
- Fig. 2.14 Plan of the Court of the Canal of the Generalife after restoration, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*
- Fig. 2.15 Mirador in the northern pavilion of the Court of the Canal of the Generalife overlooking the Albaicín
- Fig. 2.16 Two stories were added to the northern pavilion of the Generalife in 1494
- Fig. 2.17 Court of the Queen Cypressess, constructed in 1494
- Fig. 2.18 A row of double arches were added to the western wall of the Court of the Canal of the Generalife in 1671
- Fig. 2.19 19th Century mirador of the Generalife overlooking the terraced gardens of the Generalife
- Fig. 2.20 Mirador as viewing platform on top of the *Silla del Moro* tower located on slopes of the *Cerra del Sol* above the Generalife
- Fig. 2.21 Alhambra seen from the San Nicolas mirador in the Albaicín
- Fig. 2.22 Alhambra seen from the Carmen of the Alonso Cano in the Albaicín
- Fig. 2.23 Plan of the Albaicín indicating the significant urban spaces and circulation systems, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*
- Fig. 2.24 *Torre de la Vela* of the Alcazaba seen from the Plaza Nueva of Granada
- Fig. 2.25 Plan of Islamic Granada and the Alhambra showing a reconstruction of the irrigation system. Note: Blue circles indicate water wheels, blue lines indicate water channels, blue squares indicate cisterns and green patches indicate royal estates that once surrounded the city
- Fig. 2.26 Remains of the terraces of the villa Dar al-Rusa, located on the slopes of the *Cerra del Sol* above the Generalife

- Fig. 2.27 Plan and section of the cisterns located above the Generalife, 1999 by Pedro Salmerón Escobar, *The Alhambra: Structure and Landscape*
- Fig. 2.28 Water Tower
- Fig. 2.29 Plan of the palace complex indicating the historic water supply system, fountains and pools of the Alhambra, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*
- Fig. 2.30 Diagram of the historic water supply system of the Alhambra, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*
- Fig. 2.31 Pool of the Court of the Comares
- Fig. 2.32 Fountain in the Court of the Lions
- Fig. 2.33 Symmetrical boxed myrtle hedges lining the pool of the Court of the Comares
- Fig. 2.34 Symmetrical layout of the dwarfed orange trees on the Court of the Lions
- Fig. 2.35 Informal garden of the Court of the Canal of the Generalife
- Fig. 2.36 Water Stair of the Generalife
- Fig. 2.37 Plan of the 20th century gardens and theatre of the Generalife, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*
- Fig. 2.38 Plan of the 1930's garden of the Generalife, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*
- Fig. 2.39 Aerial view of the 1930's garden of the Generalife
- Fig. 2.40 Water channel of the 1930's garden of the Generalife
- Fig. 2.41 Trellised walkway overlooking the Alhambra of the 1930's garden of the Generalife
- Fig. 2.42 Open-air theatre of the gardens of the Generalife with the 16th century cypress lined access road in the background
- Fig. 3.1 Plan of the monumental complex indicating the circulation routes
- Fig. 3.2 Plan of the Alhambra indicating the 16th century access roads
- Fig. 3.3 Fountain of Charles V with the Gate of Justice in the background
- Fig. 3.4 Fountain of Charles V
- Fig. 3.5 Detail of ornamental irrigation channels in the Alhambra Wood in the Poplar Grove
- Fig. 3.6 Pathways running alongside the fortifications enfolded in dense vegetation
- Fig. 3.7 Aerial view of the Generalife with the Colonnade of Cypresses in the background
- Fig. 3.8 Plan of the monumental complex indicating the 16th century Colonnade of the Cypresses
- Fig. 3.9 Plan of the monumental complex indicating the extramural circulation complex
- Fig. 3.10 Interplay between the wooded landscape and fortification
- Fig. 3.11 Plan of the monumental complex indicating the intramural circulation system
- Fig. 3.12 Archeological excavations of the Alcazaba
- Fig. 3.13 Alcazaba framed by exotic vegetation planted by French soldiers in 1812
- Fig. 3.14 View of Granada from the viewing platform of the *Torre de la Vela*
- Fig. 3.15 Plan of the monumental complex indicating the Partal gardens
- Fig. 3.16 Palace of the Partal as the Sánchez residence in the 19th century, 1835, Lithograph by John Frederick Lewis, *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra*
- Fig. 3.17 Palace of the Partal restored as a garden pavilion in the 20th century
- Fig. 3.18 Lion next to the pool of the Palace of the Partal

- Fig. 3.19 Plan of the Partal gardens, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*
- Fig. 3.20 Pool and terraced gardens of the Partal
- Fig. 3.21 Aerial view of the Palace of Partal and the contemporary terraced gardens
- Fig. 3.22 Aerial view of the Partal gardens
- Fig. 3.23 Archeological gardens located in remains of the Palace of Yusuf III
- Fig. 3.24 Pool south of the archeological gardens
- Fig. 3.25 Pathway running through the archeological gardens
- Fig. 3.26 Pathway connecting the Partal gardens and the Tower of the Two Sisters
- Fig. 3.27 Tower of the Two Sisters with the Generalife in the background
- Fig. 3.28 Pathway leading from the Tower of the Two Sisters to the Generalife and the *Secano*
- Fig. 3.29 Generalife seen from the ramparts of the Alhambra
- Fig. 3.30 Plan of the *Secano* with a cypress lined route running through archeological excavations and archeological gardens, 1958 - 85
- Fig. 3.31 Cypress lined route through the *Secano*
- Fig. 3.32 Archeological excavations in the *Secano*
- Fig. 3.33 Archeological gardens of the *Secano* with the former Convent of San Francisco in the background
- Fig. 3.34 Elevation of the terraced parking lots, 1992, by Nigst, Hubmann and Vass
- Fig. 3.35 Plan and elevation of new entry pavilion, 1992, by Nigst, Hubmann and Vass
- Fig. 3.36 Section through a concrete irrigation channel that also functions as a walkway for visitors, 1992, by Nigst, Hubmann and Vass
- Fig. 3.37 Aerial view of the monumental complex indicating the area allocated to accommodate new access from the south
- Fig. 3.38 Concrete irrigation channels that also function as covered walkway for visitors
- Fig. 3.39 Model of the new access system for the monumental complex, 1992, by Nigst, Hubmann and Vass
- Fig. 3.40 Axonometric drawing indicating the new irrigation channels and the terraced parking lots, 1992, by Nigst, Hubmann and Vass
- Fig. 3.41 Aerial view of the terraced parking lots
- Fig. 3.42 Bronze model of Islamic Alhambra and the Alhambra
- Fig. 3.43 Tourists in the Hall of the Two Sisters

Introduction

The Alhambra is considered one of the most important architectural complexes in the world of architecture. The monument, one of the most visited sites in the world, is celebrated as the significant surviving remnant of an Islamic presence in Spain. My thesis will explore how the palace complex was conceived and evolved as a monument in the 19th and 20th century.

Today the Alhambra encompasses a vast monumental landscape complex saturated by nine hundred years of continuous occupation. I will argue that the fragmented form of the palace complex achieved coherence through the reification of tropes celebrating the landscape in 19th century travel literature.

In the course of the past two centuries travel literature, conservation and tourism were the three major components that shaped the form, landscape and the spatial organization of the modern monument.

Literature

In the first chapter I will discuss representations of the Alhambra in 19th century travel literature. Travelers attempted to recapture and reconstruct a coherent image of the palace complex through the documentation and reconstruction of an imagined original. The aesthetic revival of the mythical productive landscape that once enfolded the Alhambra dominated the experience, hence the desire to recapture – and if necessary reconstruct – the essence of the past is always present in the literature. Experiences and impressions emerged as tropes in the 19th century literature that enabled the construction of a coherent image of the Alhambra that has persisted ever since. The tropes were critical to the ideological grounding of the conservation policy formulated in the 20th century and the spatial organization of the monumental complex to accommodate its new central function as one of the world's primarily tourist destinations.

Conservation

In the second chapter I will explore the formulation of a conservation policy of the Alhambra. The historical evolution of the palace before the advent of the restoration and conservation movements of the 19th century will be discussed to illustrate the extent of repairs and reconstructions of the palace during the past four centuries to accommodate its ever-changing functions. I will argue that in spite of the fact that almost none of the original fabric of the palace complex survived, representations in the literature enabled a belief in a coherent image of the complex that could be restored and conserved. Large conservation projects of the 1920's and 1930's went hand in hand with the construction of a designed landscape that gave coherence to the monument. Historic gardens were restored, new gardens were constructed and the famed irrigation system that once sustained the complex was restored and displayed in an aesthetic recovery of the mythical productive landscape that once enfolded the Alhambra.

Tourism

In the third chapter I will discuss the spatial organization of the monumental complex, designed to provide a wholesome experience for the contemporary tourist. The palace complex becomes legible through a large circulation system, designed to give access and display the various historical artifacts of the site in the face of the ever-increasing demands of tourism. This is attained through a designed landscape based on historical and modern systems of access and circulation.

I will conclude that the Alhambra as a monument evolved in response to the projections of travelers. In order to understand the modern complex, one not only has to take into account the medieval history of the site but also the responses of those who have been seduced by its beauty since. Their reactions and representations appropriated and shaped a modern monument geared towards the facilitation of a temporal experience of travelers in search of a coherent historical artifact.

I Literature

1.1 Introduction: Travel in the 19th Century

The Alhambra in literature stemmed from a larger literary movement of 19th century centered on travel as an activity of leisure. The establishment of travel as an institution emerged amidst a rapidly changing social and political climate in Europe.

The 18th century attempted to codify a rational structure underpinning a divine order of the world. The contrary happened as the great diversity brought to light resulted in the mechanistic and static conception of the world being replaced by an organic dynamic perception. Attitudes to human nature changed as differences were strongly marked and history and historical character became important.¹ 19th Century Europe was marked by the rise of nationalism, political and social upheavals, rapid industrialization and modernization of cities. The swift transformation of well-known topography induced a widespread nostalgia for the loss of familiar surroundings and ways of life.²

In this climate of heightened nostalgia travel evolved beyond the aristocratic bounds of the Grand Tour into the sphere of the affluent middle classes. In addition to a fascination with the recovery of the classical cultures of the Mediterranean, the ancient and exotic cultures of the Middle East came to occupy a primary place in the European imagination. Travel became a contemplative practice of decomposing and recomposing the landscape through literature and visual representation.³ Familiar and foreign landscapes and monuments were fixed and appropriated through literature, painting and photography as a new generation of travelers recorded their own visions of the Mediterranean and the Orient. They had intimate and extensive contact with their subject matter and recorded the sensations, images and emotions they experienced in drawn and written accounts.⁴ Thus travel became institutionalized through representations of landscapes that were widely published and collected throughout the 19th century.

One of the great discoveries of the 19th century travelers was located in Western Europe. Geographically isolated Spain was regarded as the country of Don Quixote, "... a place where adventures of the spirit might happen."⁵ The country presented a tantalizing ambivalence to the European imagination. It formed a bridge between Europe and Africa, yet never fully belonged to either. Due to its Islamic past and close proximity to Africa, Spain was seen as a gateway to the Orient for many travelers.⁶ Centuries after the Reconquest, Islamic Spain existed only as a visual legacy of physical remains drenched in

¹ Honour, Hugh. *Romanticism* (New York: Harper & Row 1979), 18.

² Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 395.

³ Luginbühl, Yves. "On the Traces of the Mediterranean Landscape." in *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components of a Global Strategy* (Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag with UNESCO, 1995), 292.

⁴ Berko, P.V. *Orientalist Painting* (Brussels: Editions Laconti, 1982), 18.

⁵ De Pragney, Girault. *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra* (Reading: Garnet, 1996), viii.

⁶ Thornton, Lynne. *The Orientalist Painter Travelers, 1828-1908* (Paris: ACR Edition, 1983), 13.

history and myth.⁷ The artists and travelers who visited Spain were fascinated by the relationship between contemporary Spanish and Islamic culture. David Wilkie, Washington Irving's traveling companion, called Spain "...an unexpected territory, the very Timbuctoo of art."⁸

Gradually the Alhambra came to be seen as the repository of the Hispano-Spanish civilization and culture. Within the context of the fascination with Spain it was one of the most closely studied buildings in Europe.⁹

During the centuries following the Reconquest of Spain in 1492, the Alhambra was preserved as the symbol of a conquered power. The victorious monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella designated the Nasrid palaces a *Casa Real*¹⁰ and ordered its preservation.¹¹ However, in the following centuries an ever-diminishing income from the Spanish monarchs in the 17th and 18th centuries ensured the gradual deterioration of the complex. At the outset of the 19th century travelers encountered a palace complex that had acquired an air of remoteness as notions of the victorious faded after centuries of neglect.

⁷ Sweetman, John. *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic inspiration in British and American art and architecture, 1500-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 118.

⁸ Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, 120.

⁹ Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, 130.

¹⁰ Royal House

¹¹ Rosenthal, Earl. *The Palace of Charles V in Granada* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 37.

1.2 Literature and Representation

The representation of the Alhambra through popular topographical images, literary accounts and measured drawings will be discussed to illustrate a process of cultural formation that evolved into the restoration and conservation of the palace.

David Lowenthal states that in order to make relics accessible to the present, they undergo a transformation that is "...indirect, impinging less on the physical condition of survivals than on how they are seen, explained, anticipated and appreciated."¹² I will argue instead that the condition of a relic and its depiction are not necessarily independent. In the case of the Alhambra representations of the palace complex in the 19th century determined the manner and spirit of its later preservation.

The portrayal of the Alhambra in literature made it widely known and also determined how the complex was subsequently perceived and experienced: "... our inheritance includes a congeries of later imitations and commemorations. Thus impressions of the past reflect all subsequent acts of appreciation and derogation, our own included."¹³

The Romantic spirit of the 19th century looked towards a history where writing was seen as a form of speech of the people and the genius of place was acknowledged through its folklore and the strength of its legends.¹⁴ Thus the Alhambra's Islamic past was mythologized as physical traces and the surrounding landscape were infused with a recovered historical spirit. Tales of a heroic past mingled with visitors' personal accounts of the site. Granada acquired some of the trappings of a industrial city with the modernization of its street system and the introduction of a railway line in the second half of the 19th century.¹⁵ The increased accessibility contributed to the Alhambra's status as one of the most visited and documented sites in Europe.¹⁶ Yet travel accounts deliberately ignored current activity by placing the palace and city in the preserve of a romanticized past that overwhelmed the present reality.

¹² Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 290.

¹³ *Ibid*, 290.

¹⁴ Bradbury, Malcolm. *Dangerous Pilgrims: Trans-Atlantic Mythologies & the Novel* (London: Seckler & Warburg, 1995), 54.

¹⁵ Martín Martín, Eduardo & Torices Abarca, Nicolás. *Granada: Guía de Arquitectura* (Granada: Junta de Andalucía, 1998), 45.

¹⁶ Jacobs, Michael. *The Alhambra* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 172.

1.3 Modes of Representation: Literature, Painting and Measured Drawings

The visual and the word formed the poles of the Romantic universe. Literature is fundamentally temporal and visual representation is fundamentally spatial. They cannot not be completely reconciled, but in the 19th century the boundaries between art and literature were partially suspended as the quest for an unrelenting temporality – progression, development, becoming in opposition of all forms of stasis and stability – became one of the hallmarks of Romantic literature and art.¹⁷ James Heffernan argues that Romanticism produced literature that aspired to painting in the intensity that it represented the world and painting that aspired to literature in the subtlety in which the inner world is evoked.¹⁸ Thus the visual became poetic and literature pictorial. Within this idiom temporality was wedded to space. Topographical painting became temporal by recasting it as a moment in natural history, namely the history of the traveler’s relation to landscape. Literature became spatial as writers expounded the landscape as an experienced and personalized environment.¹⁹

Topographical paintings and lithographs were a vivid means of putting people in direct touch with distant lands. Travelers produced no genre or narrative pictures as a strong sense of the visual rather than literary drama was the source of power of topographical art.²⁰ Artists strove to create an effect where total illusion could be experienced, thus emphasizing personal experience.²¹ This concern with the immediate led to an emphasis on exposure to the sensation of light and color outside the studio. The palettes of the travel painters were transformed by the intensity of light and color experienced in the southern climes.²² The use of exuberant primaries and a new vigorous and precise way of drawing did not do away with the strict rules of the Academy as renewal was essentially in the domain of inspiration rather than technique.²³ Artists invested emotionally in the exploration of their subject matter, supplied in abundance by the new territories. These visions went beyond autobiographical representation as landscape was recreated to reflect the relationship between man and nature.

The boundaries between nature and pictorial landscapes were blurred with the emergence of the Picturesque at the end of the 18th century.²⁴ The movement envisioned a nature tamed by art where landscapes are mentally composed with the materials offered to the eye. In referring to wild nature scenes, William Gilpin, a proponent of the movement, stated: “... if in all cases, the imagination is apt to whisper, what glorious scenes might here be made, if the stubborn materials could yield to the studious hand of art.”²⁵ Thus nature came to be idealized as an artfully

¹⁷ Heffernan, James, A.W. *The re-creation of landscape: A Study of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Constable and Turner* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1984), 223.

¹⁸ Heffernan, *Re-creation of landscape*, 226.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 220-221.

²⁰ Sim, Katharine. *David Roberts, R.A. 1796-1864: a biography* (New York: Quartet Books, 1984), 4.

²¹ Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, 158.

²² *Ibid*, 126.

²³ Berko, *Orientalist Painting*, 18.

²⁴ Heffernan, *Re-creation of landscape*, 4.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 8.

composed state of wilderness, a paradise enfolded man's constructs. Together with the Picturesque, the poetics of the ruin flourished. Ruins, as symbols for that which no longer exist, were more valued than completely preserved buildings.²⁶ As objects of nostalgia for a lost past, they provided a framework for recovery and projection.

In the second half of the 18th century architects and archeologists established a system of surveying and documenting sites of the classical world. The ancient monuments were documented both in ruined and fully restored states. Meticulously detailed plans, sections, elevations and details were accompanied by topographical drawings that provided a visual context for the measured drawings.²⁷

The accurate recovery and reconstruction of monuments were not only the preserve of the emerging science of archeology. The documentation and reconstruction of classical and oriental sites informed the great architectural debates of the day in Europe. A recovery of the past through reconstructions was used to underpin new theories on style, ornament and polychromy in architecture. Historicism and nationalism were coupled with the search for the origins of national styles, whether it be gothic or classical. Theories on color and ornament were informed by drawings reconstructing the ornamentation and polychromy of ancient monuments.

The documentation of ancient sites contributed to the emergence of the notion of the monument as a testimony to a treasured past. It became an idealized model to inform future reconstruction and preservation of sites.

²⁶ Jokilehto, Jukka. *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1999), 52.

²⁷ Darby, Michael. *The Islamic Perspective: An aspect of British architecture and design in the 19th century* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1983), 27.

1.4. The 19th Century Topographical Artists and Writers

Numerous artists and writers visited Spain and documented the Alhambra in the 19th century. The 1830's was the catalytic decade that saw the publication of a number of enormously influential works in Europe and the United States. The popularity of the work of the pioneers established Spain as a destination for travelers. Towards the latter half of the century travel accounts of journeys were routinely published, resulting in a rich outpouring of reminiscences on Spain and the Alhambra.

Early publications that focused attention on Spain include Coleridge's *Osario* (1797) and Sir John Car's work in the picturesque style, *Descriptive Travels in Parts of Spain* published in 1811. James Cavanah Murphy, an Irish antiquary, published the fruits of his two journeys in 1815 as *Arabian Antiquities of Spain*.²⁸ The major French work of the early 1800's was Alexander Laborde's *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne* published in four volumes in 1812.²⁹

The most prominent artists and writers of the 1830's specialized in three modes of representation of the palace complex, namely literature, measured drawings, and topographical drawings. David Roberts, Girault de Pragny and John Frederick Lewis were renowned for their exquisite topographical drawings, Richard Ford wrote what is considered to be the first guidebook, Washington Irving was internationally known for his novels and Owen Jones produced a set of measured drawings accompanied by topographical drawings that are still the unsurpassed.

Topographical drawings

David Roberts, the Scottish painter, specialized in architectural and topographical themes. Initially he earned a living as a scene painter in the Scottish theatre and London's Convent Garden and Drury Lane. His first journey in 1832 was to Spain, which also proved to be his gateway to the Orient.³⁰

The outcome of his tour in oils, watercolors and book-illustrations played an important role in introducing images of the Alhambra to a large popular audience who were interested in travel and distant lands. His engravings were first published in 1835 in *Jennings's Landscape Annuals/ The Tourist in Spain* in an edition devoted entirely to the Alhambra and Granada.³¹ He published his book of color lithographs, *Picturesque Sketches in Spain* in 1837, a work that artistically ranks among his most beautiful works of reproductions.³²

John Frederick Lewis work on the Alhambra was published in his books *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra* (1836) and *Sketches of Spain and the Spanish Character*

²⁸ Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, 119.

²⁹ Andreu, Pedro Galera. *La imagen romántica de la Alhambra* (Granada: Junta de Andalucía, 1992), 208.

³⁰ Thornton, *Oriental Painter*, 60-61.

³¹ Sim, *David Roberts*, 63.

³² *Ibid*, 112.

(1834).³³ His work earned him the name of Spanish Lewis in England. After a stint in Spain Lewis left for Egypt where he spent eleven years, adopting the lifestyle of an Ottoman nobleman.³⁴

Girault de Pragny was trained at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris and traveled extensively in Italy before he went to Spain in 1832 and 1833. He published *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra* in 1837. De Pragny was among the first traveling artists to experiment with the daguerreotype. The chalky texture of the medium conveyed a sense of on the spot drawings. His work explored the interdependence of sky, setting and monument and the expressive use of color. De Pragny's maintained his interest in the oriental lifestyle and continued to publish books on the subjects later in his life.³⁵

Literature

Washington Irving, a catalyst in popularizing the Alhambra legend, is considered to be the pioneer of Romanticism in American literature.³⁶

He was invited to become a member of the American legation in Madrid in 1826. Once in Spain he started to work a history, *Life and Voyages of Columbus*.³⁷ After visiting the Alhambra for the first time he temporarily abandoned his history on Columbus in order to work on *The Conquest of Granada* (1828), a work dealing with Christian Reconquest of Spain in 1492. *The Alhambra*, an autobiographical description of his stay in the Alhambra in the summer of 1829, was published in 1832.

Richard Ford's *Handbook for Travelers in Spain and Readers at Home* (1845) was compiled during a three-year stay in Spain. The traveler's guide, considered the first of its kind, became the model for travel guides that followed. It contained five hundred drawings on Spanish buildings and numerous maps of Spanish towns and cities.³⁸ Ford visited the Alhambra for the first time with his wife Harriet in the summer of 1831.³⁹ During their stay in Spain they spent two summers in the tower of *Las Damas* by the pool of Partal. Ford made over three hundred drawings of the palace during his stay.

Owen Jones was an architect and theorist in Victorian England. Islamic art was critical in the development of Jones as an interpreter, theorist and practitioner. John Sweetman argues that "With Jones' publication the shadowy world of Alhambra worship comes into the clear light of scholarly investigation with passion and precision."⁴⁰ Jones traveled in the East before his visit to Spain. In 1832-33 he traveled with Jules Ghoury to the East and Spain where they spent six months

³³ Darby, *Islamic Perspective*, 27.

³⁴ Ibid, p.27.

³⁵ De Pragny, *Impressions*, ii-xi.

³⁶ Bradbury, *Dangerous Pilgrims*, 55.

³⁷ Rubin Dorsky. Jeffrey. *Adrift in the Old World: The psychological pilgrimage of Washington Irving* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 215-222.

³⁸ Trevelyan, *Shades*, 97.

³⁹ Ibid, 90.

⁴⁰ Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, 125.

documenting the Alhambra before Ghoury succumbed to cholera. Their documentation of the palace was published under the title *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* in 1842.⁴¹

Jones' analysis of the basic grids of repeating patterns of the Alhambra led to his theory of geometry sustained by a harmonious play of primary and secondary colors published in *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856).⁴² His work was done against the backdrop of a preoccupation with color in painting as natural phenomenon. Jones shared the interest of antiquarians preoccupied with original color in ancient buildings and a modern preoccupation with the optical sensation of color. Jones added to this debate by propagating an order he perceived in the Islamic use of color. Later he advocated Islamic design as a learnable principle, which could be used by manufacturers.⁴³

Spanish Authors

During this period Spanish authors restored the Alhambra to prominence in the national consciousness. The historian Melchor Fernandez Almagro described the Alhambra's ambivalent position in Spain as, a vital part of the national legacy, the most visible symbol of a growing interest in Islamic Spain and the centerpiece of Europe's Oriental obsession.⁴⁴

The poet José Zorilla published volumes of poems that recounted the fall of the Nasrid Kingdom. He added notes on Arabic transcriptions to his poems. He also made a case for Arabic to be taught in Spanish schools. Although Zorilla was not well known outside Spain, he was named Spain's national poet in 1889. The ceremony took place in the Alhambra. The event was reputedly of the same magnitude as the burial of Victor Hugo a few years earlier. The popularity of the poems and the fame of the ceremony secured the Alhambra in the Spanish national consciousness.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ibid, 120-122.

⁴² Ibid, 126.

⁴³ Jespersen, John Kresten. *Owen Jones's The Grammar of Ornament of 1856: field theory in Victorian Design at the mid-century* (Ph.D. Dissertation. Brown University, 1984), 173.

⁴⁴ Grabar, Oleg. *The Alhambra* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 19.

⁴⁵ Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 172.

1.5 Construction of Literary Tropes

The experience of the Alhambra fluctuated between two poles. It was the merger of myth and reality, temporal experience and idealized existence. Visitors lost themselves in the beauty of the palace and the landscape. Yet there was always a competing compulsion to record and analyze, according to Richard Ford: “At twilight it becomes a vision of the past, for daylight dispels the dreamy haunted air, and we begin to examine, criticize measure...”⁴⁶

Detailed descriptions of the palace went hand in hand with romanticized narrations of the past. The exquisite measured drawings of Owen Jones and Jules Ghoury were accompanied by topographical drawings. The commodification and increasing congestion of the site, due to ever increasing tourism, is offset by lyrical accounts of an idyllic and isolated existence in the Alhambra. Hence the desire to recapture – and if necessary reconstruct – the essence of the past is always present in the literature and the restoration projects of the last two centuries.

These varied experiences emerged as tropes in the 19th century literature which enabled the construction of a coherent image of the Alhambra that has persisted ever since. The tropes were critical to the ideological grounding of the conservation policy formulated in the 20th century and the spatial organization of the monumental complex to accommodate its central function as one of the world’s primary tourist destinations.

The five tropes are as follows:

- the traveler’s search for a wholesome experience that combines scenery, kinetic aspects and satisfaction
- an aesthetic recovery of the productive landscape;
- a construct of an earthly paradise sprung from the idealized past;
- the desire to reconstruct a coherent image of the Alhambra

and

- the merger of myth and reality through experiencing the site.

⁴⁶ Ford, Richard. *The Handbook for Travelers in Spain. Part II* (8th ed, London: John Murray, 1892), 353

1.6 The traveler's search for a wholesome experience that combines scenery, kinetic aspects and satisfaction

Travelers experienced the Alhambra simultaneously with the Spanish landscape and culture. Beautiful views of Granada and the surrounding countryside, framed by numerous miradors and an evident fragility of the past were essential to the experience of the palace complex (fig. 1.1).⁴⁷ Washington Irving introduces *The Alhambra* with a reference to the character of the Spanish landscape: "...it is a stern melancholy country, with rugged mountains, and long sweeping plains, destitute of trees, and indescribably silent and lonesome, partaking of the savage and solitary character of Africa."⁴⁸

The travelers to the Alhambra in the early decades of the 19th century described the hardships of a journey to Granada that consisted of crossing mountain ranges in mule drawn carriages with an ever present danger of an attack by bandits (fig. 1.2).⁴⁹ Richard Ford portrayed the journey from Jaen to Granada as "...fantastic scenery with torrents, rivers, brooks, precipices, goats, vines, figs, light and shades, but wanting in good accommodation for man or beast."⁵⁰

Irving described the regional landscape of consisting of:

Vast sierras, or chains of mountains, destitute of shrub or tree, and mottled with variegated marbles and granites, elevated their sunburnt summits against a deep-blue sky; yet in their rugged bosoms lie engulfed verdant and fertile valleys, where the desert and the garden strain for mastery, and the very rocks, as it were, compelled to yield the fig, the orange, citron and the blossom with the myrtle and the rose.⁵¹

At the end of the wasteland travelers would catch their first glimpse of Granada, located where the *vega*, a fertile lowland plain, meets the mountains, a landscape, according to Irving, "... that could rise to the demands placed upon it by poetry."⁵²

Representations contrasting the region with the immediate surroundings of the Alhambra promulgated the notion of a lush and fertile landscape enfolding the city and the palace complex (fig. 1.3). A longing for isolation and escape from the world perpetuated the belief in a wild and inhospitable region isolating city and palace long after Granada became accessible by rail. Romanticized views of the city, focusing on the Albaicín in a state of decay, belied the rapid modernization of the city's fabric and infrastructure (fig. 1.4).

Essential to the beauty of the city was the population of Granada characterized as men in mantillas and woman always dressed in black in contrast with the extreme poverty of the Sacromonte gypsies in their caves (fig. 1.5).⁵³ The anonymous author of *Summer in*

⁴⁷ Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, 126-130.

⁴⁸ Irving, Washington. *The Alhambra* (London: Macmillan, 1921), 1.

⁴⁹ Trevelyan, *Shades*, 89.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 86.

⁵¹ Irving, *Alhambra*, 6.

⁵² *Ibid*, 85.

⁵³ Trevelyan, *Shades*, 99.

Andalucia (1839) imagined a continuity in the temperament of the local populace: "...so much of the Saracen is in his character, manners, costume and amusements."⁵⁴ Washington Irving too, succumbed in his descriptions: "Spaniards even surpass Italians in Picturesqueness; every mother's son of them is a study in pencil."⁵⁵

The travelers were always in search of wholesome experiences and relics. They were inevitably disappointed by the commodification of the experience, due to an ever-increasing number of travelers (fig. 1.6). Richard Ford's *Handbook* illustrates the extent to which the Alhambra and Granada had already been commodified as a tourist destination in the middle of the 19th century:

The gypsy dance is simply an exhibition got up by the guides, with a view of extorting money from travelers, who do well to save their pockets and avoid it. The performance is low rather than disgusting, and more stupid than either. It presents no attraction of any kind, even to the lover of the ballet, and is held in deserved contempt by all well-bred Spaniards, who are not a little astonished at the countenance afforded it by English and American visitors. A Frenchman wittily observed to the writer, 'It has not even the merit of being improper.'⁵⁶

Curiosity Shops – It is not too much to say that there exists at present no genuine Moorish work of any description on sale in Granada. Everything really ancient has been carried off long ago by tourists to England or America, or bought up by London dealers. Many clever imitations may be obtained, but it is scarcely worth to indicate the shops, as they are open today and gone tomorrow. The less the traveler has to do with so called 'antiquities' at Granada the better. The same remark applies to medieval furniture and works of Christian art, except in the very rare instances when their parentage can be distinctly traced.⁵⁷

By the mid 19th century access to Alhambra was already regulated:

Sight Seeing General:

Alhambra: open from 9 to 12, and from 1:30 to 4:30. Moonlight visits have been strictly prohibited since the fire, and the traveler must be at all times accompanied by an attendant, who expects a small fee.

Generalife: card of admission gratis at the Italian Consulate, Casa de Tiros – not always necessary. Fee, 1 pes. ; less in proportion for a party.⁵⁸

Yet, in spite of the ever-increasing commodification of the experience, a yearning for the wholesome experience that captured the past of the Alhambra always predominated:

⁵⁴ Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, 118.

⁵⁵ Rubin Dorsky, *Adrift in the Old World*, 220.

⁵⁶ Ford, *Handbook*, 347.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 346.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 346.

Its degradation dates from the very day of Castilian conquest, for sometimes the rooms were altered that the different kings might lodge there ... at other times the restorations were made to preserve the building itself; in both instances without judgment; although happily the most important portions still exist.⁵⁹

In a room to the l.of the entrance to the Court of the Lions a small museum of Moorish remains has been formed. The most important object it contains is the splendid vase, decorated in the Persian style of Hispano-Moresque pottery enameled in blue, white and gold. There are also several tombstones of Moorish Kings, a fountain ornamented with reliefs representing the deer-slaying lions, bronze medallions from the palace of Charles V, carved and painted beams and other Moorish remains.⁶⁰

Visitors were aware of the multi-layered history of the site, although alterations since the Reconquest were deemed to be a degradation of the original. Yet Islamic artifacts were valued and displayed with built alterations and landscape interventions of later centuries that were mistakenly thought to be Islamic.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 348.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 353.

1.7 An aesthetic recovery of the productive landscape

Ultimately, the relationship between landscape and palace became the defining element in representations of the Alhambra (fig. 1.7). The reciprocal imbeddedness of building and landscape constituted a heightened experience for travelers:

David Roberts celebrated the landscape's most prominent feature: "The Golden Alhambra sparkles against the snow of the Sierra Nevada while at its feet, palm trees sway above orange and cypress trees."⁶¹

Washington Irving was mesmerized by mountain breezes the sound of running water (fig. 1.8):

While the city below pants with the noontide heat, and the parched Vega trembles to the eye, the delicate airs of the Sierra Nevada play through these lofty halls, bringing with them the sweetness of the surrounding gardens. Every thing invites to that indolent repose, the bliss of the southern climes; and while the half-shut eye looks out from shaded balconies upon the glittering landscape, the ear is lulled by the rustling of groves, and the murmur of running streams.⁶²

David Roberts celebrated the abundance of the gardens of the Alhambra (figs.1.9 & 1.10):

Courts, Halls, galleries and fountains out of number are here, and golden fish still disport themselves in the numerous ponds. The gardens are filled with orange and lemon trees laden with fruit, and even in this early season the flowers are in full bloom and beauty.⁶³

Even the particular Richard Ford constantly digressed from practical suggestions for travelers:

The wooded slopes are kept green by watercourses and tenanted by nightingales. Although everything looks the work of nature, it is the creation of man, as the Moor changed the barren rock into an Eden.⁶⁴

[The Generalife] is a villa of waters; the canal of the Darro empties here its full virgin stream; it boils through the court under evergreen arches, while an open colonnade overlooks the Alhambra, no longer seeming like a filigree boudoir, but a grand somber, solid mass of fortress.⁶⁵

and finally Washington Irving:

⁶¹ De Pragney, *Impressions*, p.x.

⁶² Irving, *Alhambra*, 33.

⁶³ Darby, *Islamic Perspective*, 27.

⁶⁴ Ford, *Handbook*, 349.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 357.

It was a vast garden of delight, refreshed by numerous fountains and by the silver windings of the Xenil. The labour and ingenuity of the Moors diverted the waters of this river into thousands of rills and streams, and diffused them over the whole surface of the plain. Indeed they had wrought up this happy region to a degree of wonderful prosperity, and took a pride in decorating it, as if it had been a favorite mistress. The hills were clothed with orchards and vineyards, the valleys embroidered with gardens, and wide plains covered with waiving grain. Here seen in profusion the orange, the citron, the fig, and pomegranate, with plantations of mulberry trees, from which was produced the finest silk. The vine clambered from tree to tree; the grapes hung in rich clusters about the peasant's cottage, and groves were rejoiced by the perpetual song of the nightingale. In a word, so beautiful was the earth, so pure the air, and so serene the sky of this delicious region, that the Moors imagined the paradise of their prophet to be situated in the part of heaven which overhung the kingdom of Granada.⁶⁶

The descriptions of the landscape recovered a highly aestheticized the notion of the lost productive landscape of the Moors that once enfolded the Alhambra. Hence the importance of an idealized past reconstructed to facilitate the completion the fragmented form of the palace complex (fig. 1.11).

⁶⁶ Irving, Washington. *The Conquest of Granada* (New York: Putman, 1975), 5.

1.8 A construct of an earthly paradise sprung from the idealized past

The fall of the Nasrid kingdom came to dominate the literature on the history of the Alhambra. Washington Irving's two books *The Alhambra* and *The Conquest of Granada* were the finest examples of the mythologizing of the Islamic history and of the Alhambra.

The Conquest of Granada deals with the Moor's loss of Granada and their subsequent expulsion from Spain by the Christian rulers Ferdinand and Isabella. It is an attempt at what Irving called a Romantic history, where history and romance are held in creative tension.⁶⁷ The book revolves around the voluntary surrender of Granada by the last ruler of the Moors to the Christians. Irving likened the Moors' inability to retain Granada with Adam and Eve's lost of paradise. The theme is developed with a historicist device that identifies a perfect moment in time: "Once on earth a place existed where people could live in perfect self-sufficiency, harmony, order and as well, a kind of sensual paradise."⁶⁸

For Irving the whole history, all battles, triumphs and defeats have no meaning unless it is viewed against the background of the eventual loss of Granada. The Moors, who created a paradise on earth, lost the only place in earth where they could be content.⁶⁹ Irving considered the Moors to be morally responsible for their downfall as their enormous wealth, gained without great effort, corrupted and weakened them. Their downfall was the result of internal disputes, conceit, envy and greed that led to betrayal and eventual defeat.⁷⁰

Boabdil, the last ruler of the Moors, is the principal character of the narrative. Irving defended his actions by arguing that he was in a world that he could not set right, not because of cowardice but due to an inability to act decisively. Boabdil, for Irving, personified the weakness of will and thus had no chance against his enemies.

The expulsion of Boabdil is the climax of Irving's narrative. The deposed monarch left the Alhambra with his followers. According to myth the gate of the citadel he passed through into exile was sealed off forever in honor of his last request.⁷¹ Irving described the passage in *The Alhambra* where he went to the Slope of Tears (*Cuesta de las Lágrimas*) in the *Alpujarra* Range where Boabdil turned to look back to the Alhambra last more time before going off in to exile:

I spurred my horse to a summit of a rock, where Boabdil uttered his last sorrowful exclamation, as he turned his eyes from taking their farewell gaze: it is still denominated el ultimo suspiro del Moro (the last sigh of the Moor). Who can wonder at his anguish at being expelled from such a kingdom and such an abode? With the Alhambra he seemed to be yielding up all the honours of his line, and all the glories and delights of his life. It was here too, that his affliction was embittered by the reproach of his mother, Ayxa, who had so often

⁶⁷ Rubin Dorsky, 1988, p.223-224.

⁶⁸ Irving, *Conquest*, .3.

⁶⁹ Rubin Dorsky, *Adrift in the Old World*, 230.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Sordo, Enrique. *Moorish Spain: Cordova, Seville and Granada* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1963), 122.

assisted him in times of peril, and had vainly sought to instill in him her own resolute spirit. 'You do well', said she. 'to weep as a woman over what you could not defend as a man;' a speech savouring more of the pride of the princess than the tenderness of the mother.⁷²

In the *Conquest of Granada* Irving imagined the moment of farewell:

Never had it appeared so lovely in their eyes, the sunshine so bright in their transparent climate, lit upon each tower and minaret, and rested gloriously upon the crowning battlements of the Alhambra; while the Vega spread its enameled bosom of verdure below, glistening in the silver windings of the Xenil. The Moorish cavaliers gazed with silent agony of tenderness and grief upon their loves and pleasures.⁷³

Thus, through the recovery of the Nasrid history, the idea of an earthly paradise sprung from an idealized past came to dominate the experience of the Alhambra.

⁷² Irving, *Alhambra*, 168-169.

⁷³ Irving, *Conquest*, 279.

1.9 The desire to reconstruct a coherent image of the Alhambra

The compulsion to describe, analyze and record the palace complex can be ascribed to an attempt to give coherence to the fragmented remains of the palace complex (figs.1.12 & 1.13). 19th Century travelers came upon a site that had been alternately neglected and altered for centuries to accommodate its ever-changing functions. Influenced by contemporary debates in architecture and history, the emerging science of archeology and the practice of documenting and reconstructing ancient sites, travelers reconstructed an imagined complete state of the palace (fig.1.14).

Owen Jones and Jules Ghoury set a new standard for the documentation of monuments with the publication of *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*. No book had ever paid so much attention to Islamic decoration or displayed such an abundance of detail and complexity of a single building. Drawings not only captured the existing condition of the palace, but also attempted to represent the palace in its original state. Jones reconstructed the intricate decorative schemes in color that were derived from his theories on color and ornament (figs. 1.15 – 1.17).

After Jones' second visit in 1837 he started to prepare his research for publication. The book was published in two volumes in 1836 and 1845 respectively. No English printer at the time was able to print his work in color and consequently he decided to be his own printer and publisher. Jones supervised the new color lithographic printing process himself, an effort that revolutionized the publishing business. According to Antonio Fernández-Puertas, Jones' documentation of the Alhambra has not been equaled since and is still used as an aid to study and analyze the palace.⁷⁴

Travelers also gave detailed descriptions of the built fabric, based upon formal, spatial and stylistic analysis within a constructed historical framework of the Islamic past.

Descriptions and depictions of the palace played on the contrast between exterior and interior. The exterior of the palaces was seen as dark and forbidding in contrast to lush and intricate interiors with gardens dedicated to delight (figs. 1.18 & 1.19). The fortified aspect of the Alhambra becomes secondary to the staged entity that visually dominates the city:

Its severe almost forbidding exterior gives no promise of the Aladdin gorgeousness which once shone within, when the opening of a single door, as if by a tap of a fairy's wand, admitted the stranger into almost Paradise. In common with other Moorish Alcazars, it is built on a crest of a hill, and of *tapia*. This fortress-palace, the dwelling of a Oriental, was intended to awe the city below with the forbidding exterior of power to keep out heat, and enemies, foreign and domestic, and to keep in women.⁷⁵

Spatial characteristics and decorative practices were explained by cultural and religious traditions. The spatial fluidity and shifting boundaries of the interior were of a completely

⁷⁴ Fernández-Puertas, Antonio. *The Alhambra* (London: Saqi Books. 1997), 6.

⁷⁵ Ford, *Handbook*, 351.

different nature to the contained spaces of Western Europe (fig. 1.20). Travelers were fascinated by the contrast between the homogeneity of material in Western architecture and the manner in which decoration and wall surface merged in the Alhambra in material and color use:⁷⁶

The prohibition to present animal life caused them to seek for other means of decoration – inscriptions from the Koran, interwoven with geometrical ornaments and flowers, not drawn decidedly from nature, but translated through the loom: for it would seem that the Arabs, in changing their wandering for a settled life, in striking the tent to plant it in a form more solid, had transformed the luxurious shawls and hangings from Cashmere which had adorned their former dwellings, to their new, changing tent pole for a marble column, and the silken tissue for gilded plaster.⁷⁷

With regard to these Arabic inscriptions, these epigrammata are all written in an ornate character, and are decorations of themselves, There are three sorts:- Ayát, that is verses from the Koran; Asjá, pious sentences not taken from the Koran; and Ashár, poems in praise of builders or owners of the palace. Like most Oriental poetry, the import is altogether flat and insipid to European readers; the charm appears to consist rather in the sound of the words than in meaning and of the content.⁷⁸

Although descriptions of the Alhambra are products of 19th century characterizations of the architecture and cultures of the Orient, they are clearly attempts to construct a historical framework for interpretation, documentation and reconstruction.

⁷⁶ Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, 119.

⁷⁷ Ford, *Handbook*, 351.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

1.10 The merger of myth and reality through experiencing the site

The physical reconstructions of the palace complex were supplemented by more imaginative reconstructions. Travelers personalized their experience through an immersion in the mythology imbedded in the site.

Washington Irving's novel *The Alhambra* represents an idealized existence in the palaces. Irving's description of his stay in the Alhambra was a merger of myth and reality, of a temporal experience and an idealized existence. Thus Irving's occupation of the palace fleetingly made him one with the mythical past (fig. 1.21).

Irving spent the summer of 1829 in the Alhambra. As company he had members of a few Spanish families who had lived in the Alhambra for generations. These "sons of the Alhambra" came from the poorest classes of Spain whose lives were bounded by the palace. Through them the Alhambra became an inward-looking mythical world where the tradition endured.⁷⁹ *The Alhambra* contains a series of myths about the Moors related to Irving by his guard Matteo. These tales give a glimpse into the imaginative life created around the fabric of the Alhambra.⁸⁰ The myths, imbedded in the actual topography and history of the palace, blurred the borders between myth and reality for Irving during his stay (fig. 1.22).⁸¹

There exists confusion between fact and fiction in the narrative. Irving laughs at his guide who took the myths as fact. He thereby implies the myths he relates is a fiction, yet insists on the truthfulness of his own narrative. Consequently the novel is underpinned by the tension between romance and truth and illusion and reality:⁸²

It was a dreamy sorjoun, during which I was, as it were, in the midst of an Arabian tale, and shut my eyes as much as possible to everything that could call me back to everyday life. If there is any country in Europe where one can do so, it is among these magnificent but semi-barbaric ruins of poor, wild, legendary romantic Spain.⁸³

During his stay at the Alhambra, Washington Irving became obsessed with the idea of an earthly paradise. Living in the Alhambra became his rite of passage in search for transcendence.⁸⁴ He became one with the building and its history:

The peculiar charm of this old dreamy palace, is its power of calling up vague reveries and picturing the past, and thus clothing naked realities with the illusion of memory and the imagination.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Rubin Dorsky, *Adrift in the Old World*, 238-40.

⁸⁰ Irving, *Conquest*, 230.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p.217-218.

⁸² Weatherspoon Bowden, Mary. *Washington Irving* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981), 132-135 & 232-235.

⁸³ Rubin Dorsky, *Adrift in the Old World*, 234.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 238.

⁸⁵ Irving, *Alhambra*, 241.

Irving then described the realization of his ideal where his imagination could extend itself into the surroundings that mirrored his reflections.⁸⁶

Who can do justice to a moonlight night in such a climate and such a place? The temperature of a summer night in Andalucia is perfectly ethereal. We seem lifted up into a purer atmosphere; we feel a serenity of soul, a buoyancy of spirits, an elasticity of frame, which render mere existence happiness. But when moonlight is added to all this, the effect is like enchantment. Under its plastic sway the Alhambra seems to regain its pristine glories. Every rent and chasm of time, every mouldering tint and weatherstain is gone; the marble resumes its original whiteness; the long colonnades brighten in the moonbeams; the halls are illuminated with a softened radiance – we tread the enchanted palace of an Arabian tale!⁸⁷

Irving found his paradise in a completely passive and sheltered existence in the Alhambra. Life was a completely bounded experience where he was able live only in his imagination. Here he found a temporary refuge from the cares of the world. Jeffrey Rubin Dorsky describes his personal paradise as a “consciousness of continual satisfaction.”⁸⁸

Eventually Irving’s prolonged indolence led to the fear that he would lose himself if he stayed for too long. This state of inactivity at the Alhambra was in stark contrast with his life before that was always in transit. The Alhambra provided a temporary escape from the demands of his American life, but he could not completely give himself up to his paradise.⁸⁹ Irving received an offer to take up a diplomatic posting in London, which he accepted. The Alhambra offered a temptation to Irving that he could never fully yield to. The Alhambra became for him the embodiment of his brief transcendence but at last he left his paradise.

The mythical status of the palace complex, personalized and given immediacy by travelers, has persisted ever since in accounts of experiences. Travelers of the present still expect a unique personal experience of the site that will enable insight into the Alhambra and its myths, thus perpetuating the longing for a coherent vision of the site.

⁸⁶ Rubin Dorsky, *Adrift in the Old World*, 241.

⁸⁷ Irving, *Alhambra*, 61.

⁸⁸ Rubin Dorsky, *Adrift in the Old World*, 244.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 218&246.

1.11 Conclusion

The representations of the Alhambra in literature constituted the palace towards the latter half of the 19th century. Its fame spread far beyond the borders of Spain, attracting a new generation of travelers whose image of the Alhambra had been fixed by widely disseminated images. The ruined state of the palace complex, so idealized by the Romantics, urgently needed repairs to stave off complete degradation and to accommodate an ever-growing number of visitors.

The coherent image of the Alhambra, promulgated by the literature, was underpinned by architectural and historical discourses that also gave rise to the conservation and restoration debates of the late 19th and early 20th century. Representations of the Alhambra constructed a holistic state that ideologically determined the preservation policy of the palace complex in the 20th century.

In the next section I will discuss how the tropes of the 19th century literature were reified in the preservation and spatial organization of the site to accommodate its new function as a monumental landscape complex.

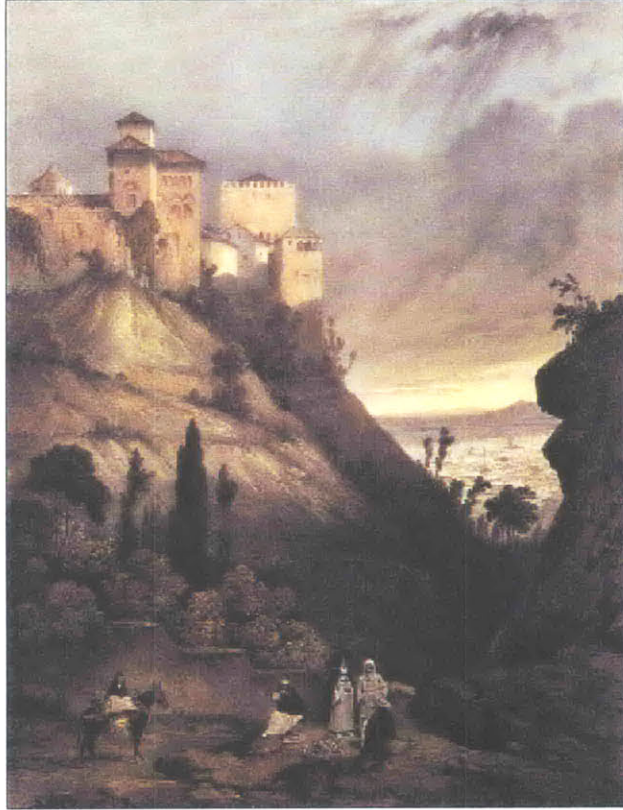


Fig. 1.1 Alhambra from the Cuesta de los Molinos, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragny, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*



Fig. 1.2 Los Hornados: Road to the Veleta Peak in the Sierra Nevada, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragny, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*

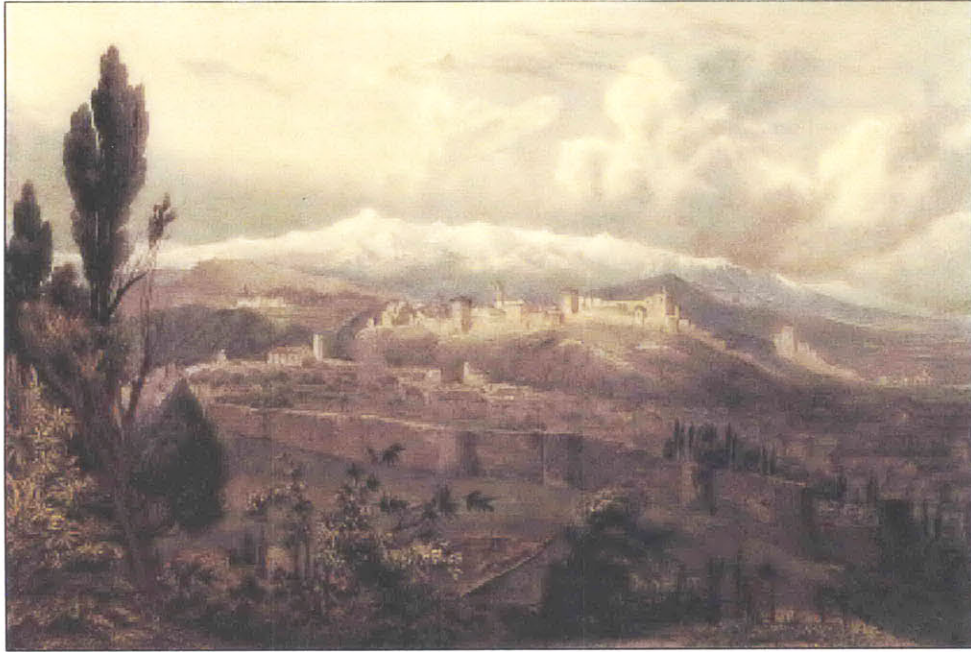


Fig. 1.3 View of Granada and the Sierra Nevada, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragny, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*



Fig. 1.4 View of the Albaicín with the Alhambra set against the Sierra Nevada, 1836, Oil on canvas by David Roberts, *Granada Caja de Ahorros*



Fig. 1.5 Dances and Customs of Granada, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragney, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*

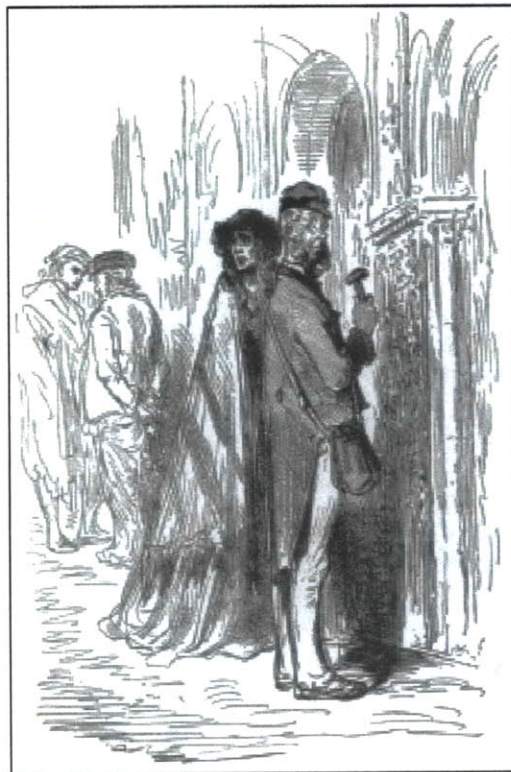


Fig. 1.6 Modern Christians in the palaces of the ancient Moorish kings, 1870, Engraving by Gustav Doré, Mary Evans Picture Library



Fig. 1.7 View of the Alhambra and Granada from the Darro valley, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragney, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*

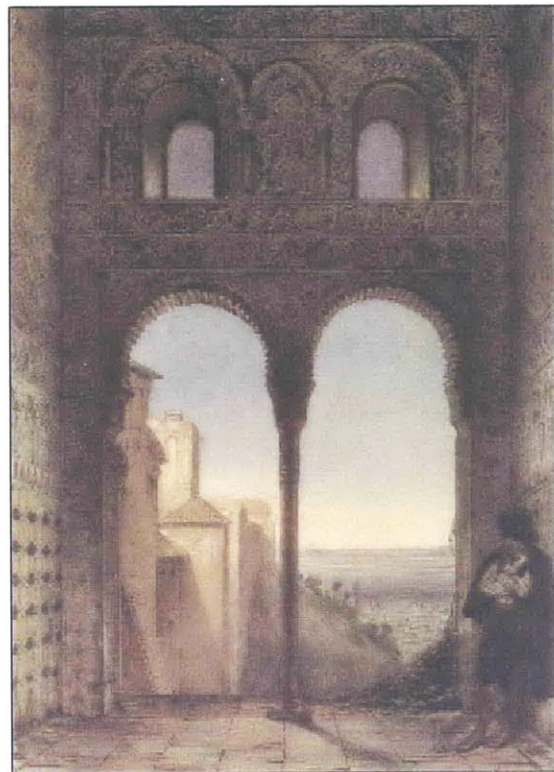


Fig. 1.8 View of Granada from the North window in the Hall of the Ambassadors, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragney, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*

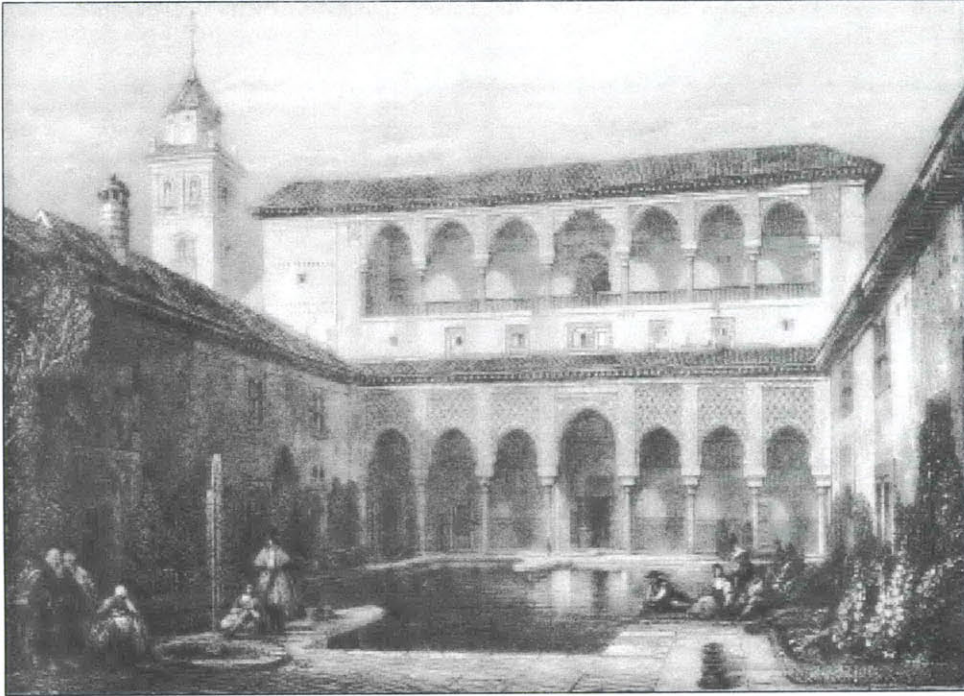


Fig. 1.9 Court of the Comares, 1835, Engraving by David Roberts, *Tourist in Spain*



Fig. 1.10 Court of the Lions, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragney, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*



Fig. 1.11 Access road and the ruined fortifications of the Alhambra, 1837, Color lithograph by Girault de Pragny, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*

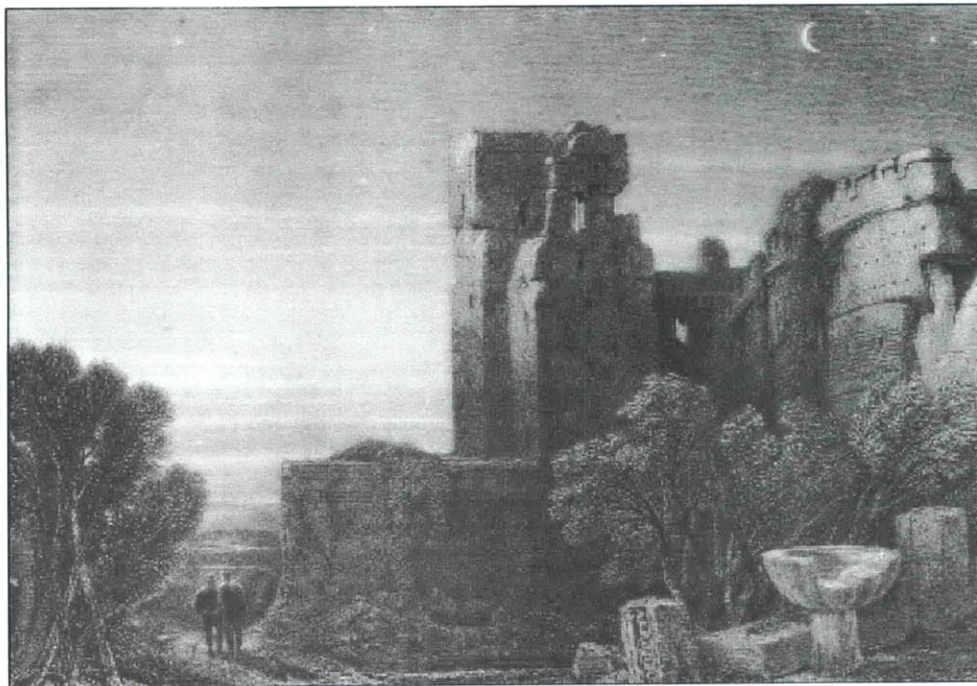


Fig. 1.12 Ruined Tower of the Seven Floors, 1835, Engraving by David Roberts, *Tourist in Spain*



Fig. 1.13 Towers of the Alhambra and the Generalife in the background, 1835, Engraving by David Roberts, *Tourist in Spain*

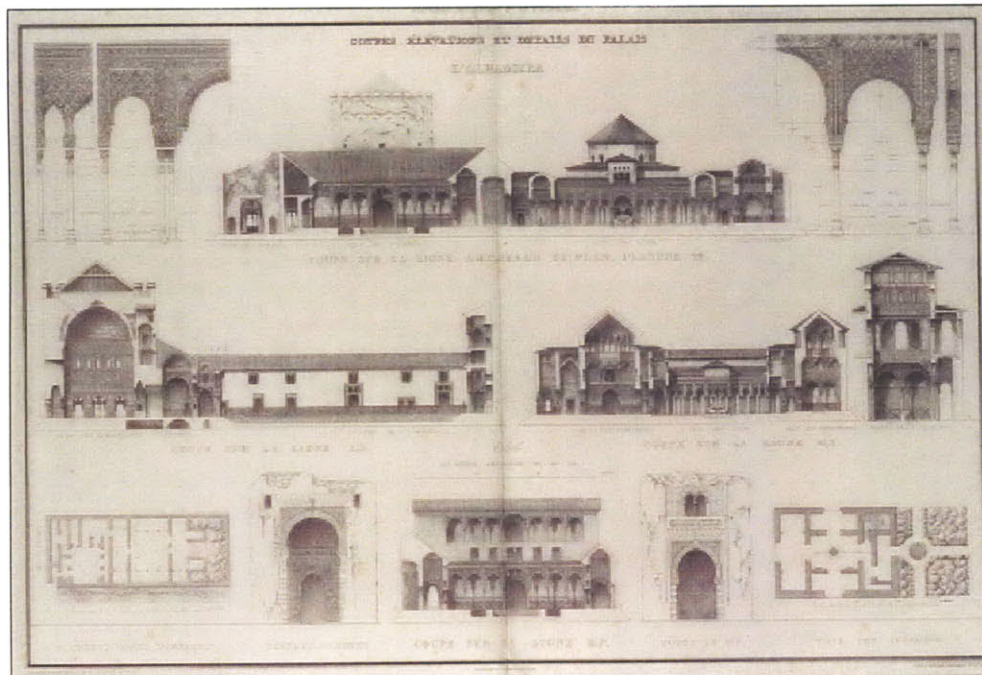


Fig. 1.14 Sections of the Alhambra, 1837, Lithograph by Girault de Pragny, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*

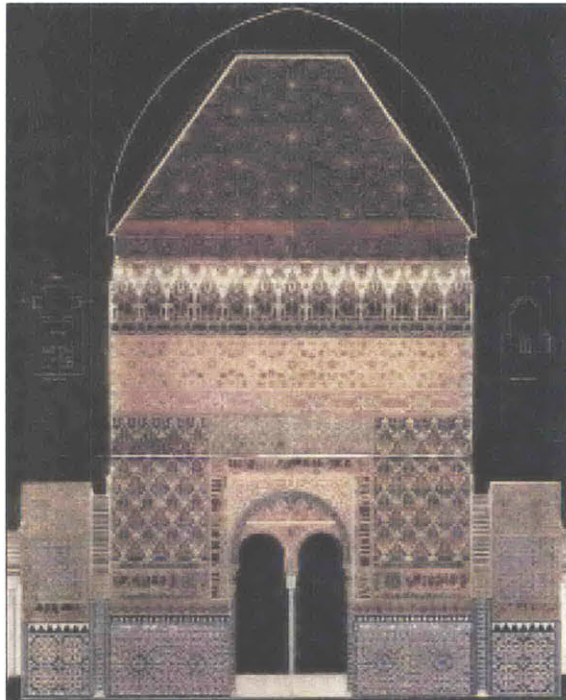


Fig. 1.15 Section through the Hall of the Ambassadors, 1842, Color lithograph by Owen Jones and Jules Ghoury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*

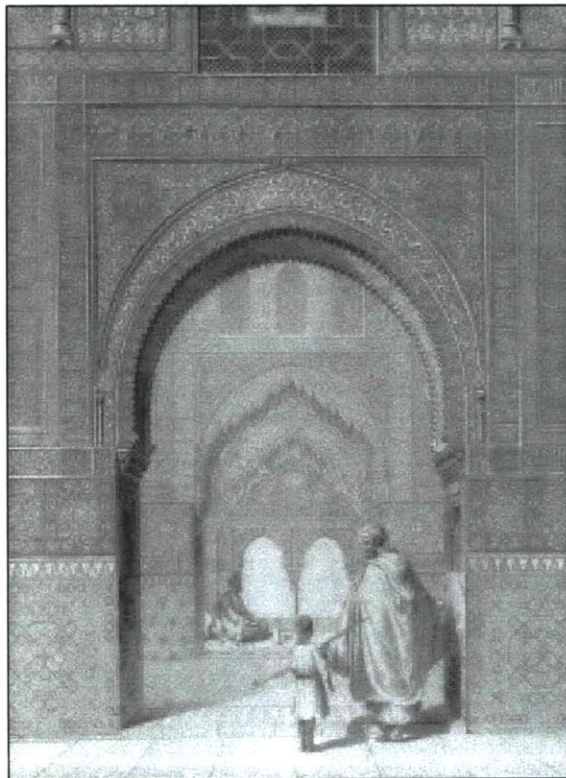


Fig. 1.16 Hall of the Two Sisters, 1842, Engraving by Owen Jones and Jules Ghoury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*

Fig. 1.17 Alcove in the Court of the Comares, 1842, Color lithograph by Owen Jones and Jules Ghoury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*

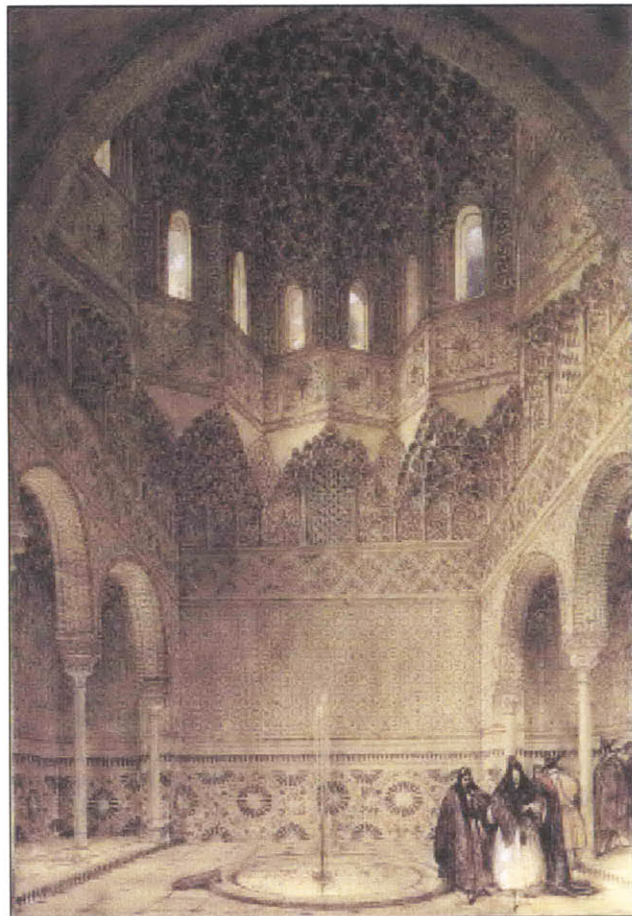


Fig. 1.18 Hall of the Abencerrajes, 1838, Oil on Canvas by David Roberts in Laing Art Gallery, Tyne and Wear Museums



Fig. 1.19 Tower of the Comares, 1835, Watercolor by David Roberts, Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester

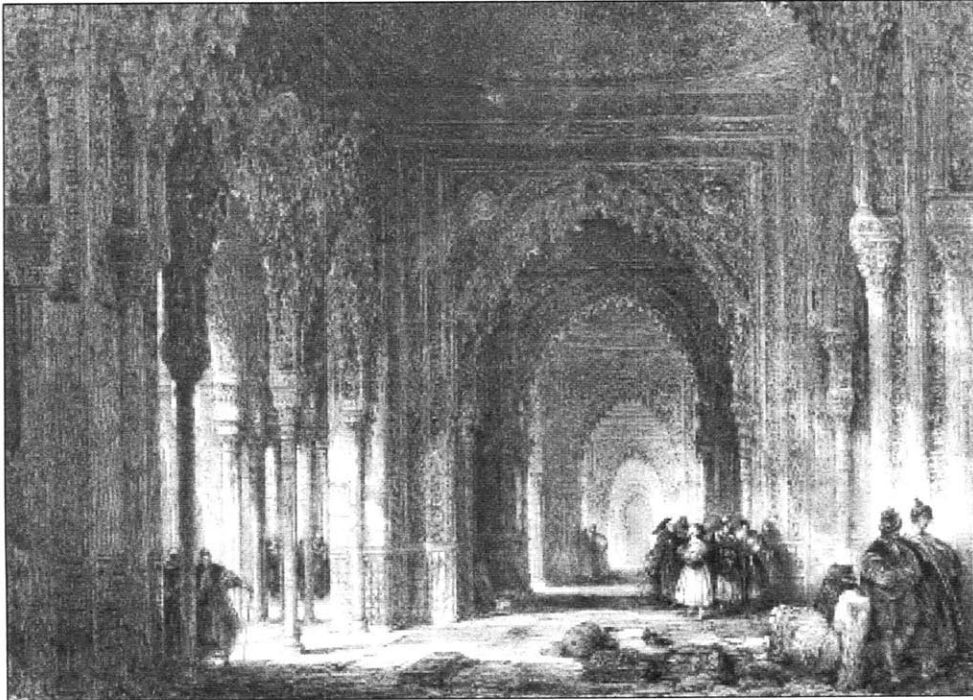


Fig. 1.20 Hall of the Kings, 1835, Engraving by David Roberts, *Tourist in Spain*



Fig. 1.21 View of the Sierra Nevada from the Adarve garden of the Alcazaba, 1835, Lithograph by John Frederick Lewis, *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra*

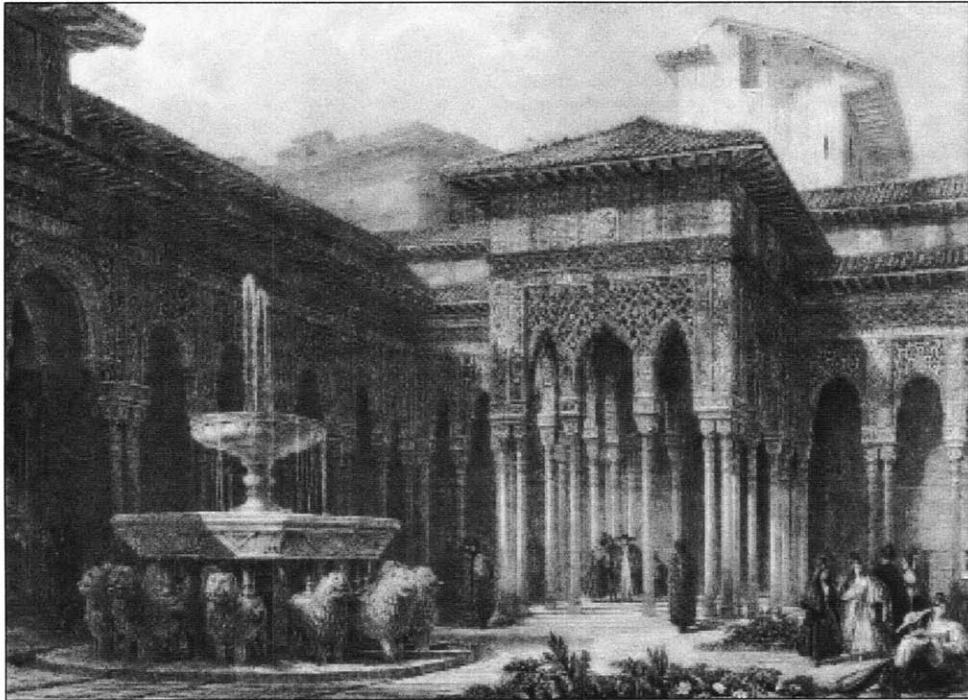


Fig. 1.22 Court of the Lions, 1835, Engraving by David Roberts, *Tourist in Spain*

II Conservation

2.1 Introduction

The Alhambra was declared a national monument in 1870.⁹⁰ The interest in the material heritage of European nations was part of the rise of nationalism the 19th century. The recognition of the site as a national treasure was accompanied by the gradual formation of a policy for the preservation of Spanish monuments.⁹¹

Preservation was an emerging discipline defined by debates on restoration, conservation, the character and value of national monuments, the recognition of history as an organic and varied process subject to multiple possibilities and a new notion of monuments as historical buildings with age value.⁹²

The celebration of the ruin in the 19th century heightened the awareness of the deteriorated state of many buildings that inspired a desire to protect and recover:

Like memories, relics once abandoned or forgotten may become more treasured than those in continued use; the discontinuity in their history focuses attention on them, particularly if scarcity or fragility threatens their imminent distinction.⁹³

According to Jukka Jokilehto, Spain's stance towards restoration went through in three distinct phases:

The Romantic period (1835 – 1864) was marked by an intense interest in historiography and the compilation of inventories of historical monuments. The Stylistic Period (1865 – 1915) followed French models that propagated restoration. The Scientific period (1916 – 1936) adopted the conservation policies formulated by English theorists and scientific methods pioneered in Italy, characterized by a growing concern and respect for original material.⁹⁴

The 1830's in Spain, a decade of careful scrutiny and prolific production by travel writers and artists, saw a growing interest in national history and a gradual concern for the restoration and preservation of historic buildings.⁹⁵ Washington Irving brought national attention to the deteriorated state of the Alhambra with his pleas to the Spanish government for the protection of the palace complex.

Efforts began in 1835 with attempts by the *Academia de San Fernando* to protect suppressed convents and monasteries. The compilation of inventories of national monuments started in 1844 when the government established a Central Commission and a

⁹⁰ Cabanelas Rodríguez, Darío. "The Alhambra: An Introduction" in *Al-Andalus*, ed. Dodds, Jerrilynn D. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 132.

⁹¹ Jokilehto, *History Conservation*, 18.

⁹² *Ibid*, 295.

⁹³ Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 240.

⁹⁴ Jokilehto, *History Conservation*, 249.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 246.

number of Provincial Commissions on Monuments (*Comisión Central and Comisión Provinciales de Monumentos*).⁹⁶ The aim of the inventories was to evaluate the national heritage. Particular attention was paid to cathedrals and Islamic monuments. Subsequently the Alhambra and the Giralda in Seville were among the first monuments to be restored.⁹⁷

Spain adopted the practices of the Restoration movement during the Stylistic period of the second half of the 19th century. An obsession with history and the recovery of a stylistic purity was at the center of restoration's endeavor. This mirrored the debates on historicism and polychromy in architecture and the detailed documentation and reconstruction of monuments.⁹⁸

Viollet-le-Duc, the great French proponent of the restoration movement recognized the dilemma inherent in the ideal of restoration:

The term Restoration and the thing itself are both modern. To restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair or to rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of completeness which may never have existed at any given time.⁹⁹

Restoration practices stress the historical character of each building with a strict adherence to the stylistic integrity of all repairs. In the climate of historicism, restorers identified and reconstructed a specific stylistic period in the life of the building which was considered to be an original state.¹⁰⁰ Interventions ranged from full-scale to conservative. As the century progressed, the extent and intent of restoration was increasingly questioned where the treatment of the obvious signs of ageing in a building was concerned.¹⁰¹

The Scientific period, adopted at the advent of the 20th century, was largely driven by the Conservation movement in England. Conservation developed in reaction to the often arbitrary stylistic reconstruction of historic buildings. John Ruskin, the father of the movement, was against any form of intervention in historic fabric, believing that each organism has a natural and limited life that should not be interfered with. For him any form of restoration or intervention was the destruction of an authentic work.¹⁰² The approach of limited intervention, propagated by conservation gradually became the accepted approach.¹⁰³

Conservation evolved mainly in Italy, where new scientific methods of research, techniques for analysis and documentation of the existing condition of objects and structures, causes of

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 18.

⁹⁹ Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel. *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XIVe Siècle* (1854-68, vol. VIII), 14.

¹⁰⁰ Jokilehto, *History Conservation*, 249.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 149.

¹⁰² Ibid, 175.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 174.

decay, consolidation of original material and policies of maintenance and conservative repair were developed.¹⁰⁴

The most important exponent of the conservation movement in Spain was Leopoldo Torres Balbás. From 1923 – 1936 he was responsible for the Alhambra where he introduced conservation practices at the expense of the restoration of the past century.¹⁰⁵ He defined his approach as follows:

Ancient structures have been fully respected in agreement with their archeological and artistic interests; the essential effort has been to conserve and repair, and using restoration only as the last resort; the aim has been to assure that modern work would never be falsification, and that it would always be distinguished from the original ... The purpose has been to re-establish the main features and masses when ever this has been feasible on the basis of reliable documents; any additions have been left plain. At a certain distance there is an impression that the building is complete in its primitive form; but coming closer, one can well distinguish ancient and modern parts.¹⁰⁶

Thus values such as authenticity, integrity, modern science and technology came to define the conservation process.¹⁰⁷ The strive for authenticity and integrity related not only to technique, but also to the existing fabric of the object.

In the case of the Alhambra the actual practice of conservation followed centuries of additions and repairs in addition to sixty years of restoration (fig. 2.1). In fact, the survival of the Alhambra depended on repairs and interventions before the advent of restoration.

Dawid Lowenthal argues that in order to adapt antiquities for present day purposes they have to be fundamentally altered. He states that without adaptive reuse most old artifacts would not survive the ravages of time. The extreme form of adaptive reuse is preserving artifacts as museum pieces where their function becomes redundant as decorative, pedagogic and nostalgic objects.¹⁰⁸

The appreciation of objects as preserved entities requires alterations to make them accessible and legible to visitors. Additions made throughout the life of the artifacts are selectively retained or removed depending on whether or not it conforms to what is expected of contemporary monuments.¹⁰⁹ In the following section I will give a brief overview of repairs and maintenance that ensured the endurance of the Alhambra since 1492. In order to understand attempts at restoration and conservation in the 19th and 20th century, an understanding of the accumulative character of the complex is critical.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 303.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 249.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 249-250.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 295.

¹⁰⁸ Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 289.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 273.

2.2 Evolution and Conservation of the Alhambra

Nasrid Palaces and Palace of Charles V

The Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella preserved the Alhambra as a trophy of their victory over the Muslims. The Alhambra was placed under special jurisdiction with Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, the Count of Tendilla, appointed as the Governor of the Alhambra. His house claimed this office as a hereditary privilege.¹¹⁰

Ferdinand and Isabella had changes made to the Nasrid palaces to accommodate their living quarters, but their main contribution was the establishment of a family legacy for its continued preservation. Their daughter, Queen Joanna continued the practice. She issued decree, dated 13 September 1515:

The Casa Real, this sumptuous and excellent edifice, shall so remain because the wish of my lords the said king and queen, and my own, had always been, and is, the said Alhambra and Casa be well repaired and maintained, in order for it to stand forever as a perpetual memorial and sumptuous edifice as this not fall into disrepair and be lost.¹¹¹

Morisco craftsmen carried out extensive repairs to the palaces. They proved to be indispensable after an earthquake caused considerable damage to the palace complex in 1522.¹¹² After 1526 the repairs were funded by an annual tax of 80,000 ducados, imposed on the Morisco population in return for permission by the Crown to maintain their customs.¹¹³

The emperor Charles V visited the Alhambra in 1526. He commissioned a Renaissance palace adjacent to the Nasrid palaces (fig. 2.1). The palace was conceived as a villa like private residence for the imperial household.¹¹⁴

Private apartments were added to the two Nasrid palaces, the Court of Comares and the Court of the Lions, while the palace was under construction. Six chambers were constructed between the tower ramparts to the north and the baths and the Court of the Lions to the south (figs. 2.2 – 2.3). The freestanding tower was incorporated into the ensemble and renamed the Tower of the Queen's Dressing Room (*Torre del Peinador de la Reina*). The new chambers effectively joined the Comares Palace and the Palace of the Lions through a series of covered walkways and corridors that enclosed two new courtyard gardens, the Royal Garden (*Patio de la Reja*) and the Garden of Lindaraja (*Patio de Lindaraja*).¹¹⁵ The corridor connecting the Comares tower and the apartments functions as a belvedere providing spectacular views of the Albaicín facing the Alhambra. The royal apartments,

¹¹⁰ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Alhambra*, 132.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 51.

¹¹³ Burín, Antoni Gallego. *Granada: an artistic and historical guide to the city* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 1992), 69.

¹¹⁴ Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V*, 21.

¹¹⁵ Dickie, James. "The Palaces of the Alhambra" in *Al-Andalus*, ed. Dodds, Jerrilynn D (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 146.

decorated with imperial regalia, were completed in 1537. The emperor never returned to Granada, thus never had the opportunity to occupy the apartments in the Alhambra or his new palace.¹¹⁶ Washington Irving occupied one of the chambers, overlooking the Garden of Lindjara, during his stay in the Alhambra.

The new palace was located south of the Court of the Comares. The architect, Pedro Machua and the Count of Tendilla, the Governor of the Alhambra, motivated by Renaissance theory and practices, envisioned an isolated square villa with a circular courtyard. The geometricity of the design was novel in Spain, who still adhered to the Gothic. The pair's persistence with the design strained their relationship with the Emperor and his advisors who expected a more traditional Castilian royal palace.¹¹⁷ Charles V, who wanted private access from the new palace to the Court of the Lions, insisted that the new palace be located adjacent to the Nasrid palaces. In order to accommodate the large rectangular structure in the limited available space south of the Nasrid palaces, a small part of the southern gallery of the Court of the Comares had to be torn down.¹¹⁸

The construction of the palace progressed steadily until 1567 when Phillip II decided to force the Mosrisco population to assimilate culturally, which resulted in uprisings and finally the expulsion of the Morisco population to the interior Spain. These events voided the tax imposed on the Moriscos that in addition to funding the maintenance of the Nasrid palaces, was also the main source of funding for the construction of the palace. After that construction effectively came to a halt.¹¹⁹ In 1581 Phillip II granted a nominal amount of 6,000 ducrats for the continued maintenance of the Nasrid palaces to compensate for the loss of the Morisco taxes.¹²⁰

Phillip III became king in 1598. He was even less interested than his father in the fate of the new palace or the Alhambra. Consequently the income for construction for the palace and repairs to the Alhambra dropped to a third of what it have been during the rule of Phillip II. At the advent of the 17th century work on the palace frequently stopped until work on the palace was completely abandoned in 1637. The Palace of Charles V was only completed in 1923 when Torres Balbás began a large conservation project of the Alhambra. The Palace survived in the intervening years mainly as locked storage house for materials and equipment.¹²¹

In 1590 another major disaster befell the Alhambra. A powder factory blew up in the Albaicín that sparked a major fire in the Alhambra. The damage was not repaired until many years later. The muqarnas in the Mocarabes gallery of the Court of the Lions was so badly damaged that it had to be replaced with a baroque ceiling in the 17th century.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Burín, *Granada*, 116

¹¹⁷ Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V*, 96.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 37.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 124-125.

¹²⁰ Burín, *Granada*, 69.

¹²¹ Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V*, 152.

¹²² Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 58.

In the following years repairs were sporadically carried out to prepare the palaces for visiting royalty. The municipality of Granada paid for some repairs for Philip IV's visit in 1624, however in 1616 the military leaders in charge of the Alcazaba caused a great deal of damage to the palaces when they turned the Court of Comares and the Hall of Ambassadors into an ammunition storage facility. They were obliged to repair some of the damage for the royal visit but money spent on repairs were not sufficient to repair the damage.¹²³

In the years after the monarch's visit care for the palace was once again abandoned. In 1664 the palaces were turned into a debtor's jail and in later years respectively served as a military hospital and prison.¹²⁴

In 1717 Philip V stripped the Marquis of Mondéjar of his hereditary office as Governor of the Alhambra as punishment for his support for the Archduke Charles of Austria in the Spanish Wars of Succession. In retribution the duke demolished his residence, the Palace of Yusuf III, located on the terraces south-east of the Court of the Lions. In 1750, Philip V's successor Ferdinand VI claimed the resources allocated for the maintenance of the Alhambra. In the same year the Governor of the Alhambra, Fransisco José de las Infantadas wrote to the Academy of San Fernando in Madrid, advising then the portico of the Tower and Court of Comares would be lost if not repaired soon.¹²⁵ The academy's only response was to commission graphic records of the palaces before they were lost. The first steps were only taken in 1756 when they asked Luis Bucareli, the new Governor of the Alhambra to commission Diego Sánchez Sarabia to document the palaces. Another set was commissioned in 1776 from an Academy member, José de Mermosilla, who made new drawings and corrected the set produced by Sánchez Sarabia.¹²⁶ Their efforts were published in 1780 under the title *Antiguedadas Arabes de España*, a publication that also documented the Mosque of Cordova (fig. 2.4).¹²⁷

In 1793 Charles III reinstated the practice of funding repairs by allocating a small amount for the most urgent repairs to the Judges of the Chancellery of Granada.¹²⁸ His successor Charles IV continued this practice of levying an annual sum for the most urgent repairs.¹²⁹

Disintegration of the Urban Structure

In the centuries after the Reconquest the urban structure of the former royal city disintegrated as the uses of the area changed. The citadel contained six palaces, five of which comprised a royal quarter in the northeastern quadrant of the citadel and the sixth, the Palace of the Abencerrages, was located in the southeastern quadrant facing the former

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V* 153.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 155.

¹²⁷ Murphy, James Cavanah. *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (Granada: Editorial Turpiana. 1987), 1.

¹²⁸ Burín, Granada, 69.

¹²⁹ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Alhambra*, 132.

Convent of San Francisco.¹³⁰ Between 1492 and 1812 four of the six palaces were destroyed while the remaining two, the Court of Comares and the Court of the Lions, were incorporated as an annex to the Palace of Charles V.¹³¹

Fragments of the Palace of Mohammed II survived in the fabric of the former Convent of San Francisco, established in 1495.¹³² Isabella and Ferdinand ordered the conversion of the palace into a friary a year after the Reconquest. The palace was altered in the intervening years to such an extent that only a mirador, half of the water channel that ran the length of the courtyard and one or two facing chambers survive.¹³³ Three of the four wings of the Palace of the Partal¹³⁴ were destroyed and the surviving northern section was subsequently converted into living quarters and later restored as a garden pavilion.

The street system of the royal medina gradually disintegrated as the two major streets running along the length of complex were continuously interrupted and fragmented by new construction and the deterioration of the different quarters of the royal city (fig. 2.5). The Lower Royal Way (*Calle Real Baja*) ran from the Gate of Justice (*Puerta de la Justicia*) through the Gate of Wine (*Puerta del Vino*) towards the palaces and then turned in an easterly direction along edge of the palace precinct towards the Tower of the Spikes (*Torre de los Picos*) (fig. 2.10a).¹³⁵ The street was severed by the construction of the Palace of Charles V and can no longer be traced after it reaches the Partal area due to excavations in the 1930's. The area now exists only as a series of foundations at various terraced levels.¹³⁶

The Upper Royal Way (*Calle Real Alta*) ran from the Gate of Wine along the ridge of the Sabika hill to the Water Tower, forking at the point where it reached the Palace of the Abbencerrajes and the Palace of Mohammad II (former Convent of San Francisco).¹³⁷ The royal aqueduct, whose distribution system was destroyed in the sixteenth century, ran parallel to this street almost along its entire length (fig. 2.6).¹³⁸ In the southern section of the street approaching the Gate of Wine, the coherence of the civic quarter that contained water cisterns, a madarassa, a mosque, baths and the *rauda* of the monarchs, was fragmented by the construction of the Palace of Charles V and the Church of Santa Maria on the site of the mosque.¹³⁹

The Alhambra became a place of transience due to its status as a tax free zone. In the centuries after the Reconquest the former royal city was relegated to an overnight stop for travelers where they changed horses without passing through Granada, where a travelers tax

¹³⁰ Dickie, *Palaces*, 135.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid, 149.

¹³⁴ Formerly the Palace of Mohammad III

¹³⁵ Bermúdez López, Jesús. "The City Plan of the Alhambra: An Introduction" in *Al-Andalus*, ed. Dodds, Jerrilynn D (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992),159.

¹³⁶ Fernández-Puertas, Alhambra, 167.

¹³⁷ Ibid,164.

¹³⁸ Bermúdez López, *City Plan*, 160.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 159.

was levied. They entered the Gate of Justice in the west and left through the Alhambra's easternmost gate, the Gate of the Outskirts (*Puerta Arrabal*), located in the Tower of the Spikes, thus avoiding Granada completely.¹⁴⁰

The urban character of the area leading to the Nasrid palaces was changed as a public square located at the back of the former entrance, the Gate of Arms (*Puerta de las Armas*), was obscured in 1494 when the Count of Tendilla had water cisterns constructed in the ravine separating the Alhambra and the Alcazaba (fig. 2.7). A new relationship was created between fortress and royal city when the cisterns were covered by a platform that functioned as a new public square. The square and a semi-circular space facing the Palace of Charles V, separated by a surviving section of the Royal Street, redefined the approach to the Nasrid palaces.¹⁴¹ The fortifications of the citadel were also sporadically stabilized and repaired to stave off the worst ravages of time. Haphazard structures sprang up all over the palace complex to house the ever-changing functions and uses of the site. An impoverished population came to occupy the former industrial sector of the citadel, which was gradually reduced to ruins.¹⁴²

19th century

French troops entered Granada in 1808. They occupied the strategically located former citadel where one thousand five hundred soldiers were quartered mostly in the Convent of San Francisco. Although the Nasrid palaces sustained more damage by the removal of the decoration as souvenirs, the military engineers supervised some emergency repairs to the palace complex. They repaired roofs, protected halls and galleries from water damage, cultivated the gardens and repaired some of the watercourses and fountains. However, when they were forced to flee Granada eight fortified towers of the south-eastern section of the walled enclosure and the waterworks were blown up by dynamite, destroying once and for all the complex's military importance. By 1829, the year of Washington Irving's arrival, the Governor of the Alhambra was based in Granada and the remaining garrison's main duty was to guard some of the towers that were occasionally used as prisons.¹⁴³ The Alhambra was left in this damaged state until 1830 when Washington Irving petitioned King Ferdinand VII to fund urgently needed repairs. The king responded by allocating 50,000 *ducales* for the repair of the complex. Consequently Ferdinand VII allocated an annual fixed sum for the upkeep of the palaces, a practice continued by the queen regent María Christina and in turn, her daughter, Isabella II. Cosmetic repairs were again carried out for the visit of Isabella in 1862, but royal support was never adequate to stop deterioration.¹⁴⁴ Due to the 1868 revolution the Alhambra became the responsibility of the state. In 1870 the complex was declared a national monument. A sustained preservation policy was enabled

¹⁴⁰ Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 62.

¹⁴¹ Bermúdez López, *City Plan*, 155.

¹⁴² Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 58.

¹⁴³ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Alhambra*, 132.

¹⁴⁴ Burín, *Granada*, 69.

by an allocation from the National Budget. Since 1828 the architects José Contreras, Amador Romero, Soriano y Pugnare, Rafael and Mariano Contreras supervised repairs.¹⁴⁵

The Generalife was incorporated into the royal patrimony after the Reconquest. The estate was awarded to Don Gil Vasquez Renfigo and remained in the hands of his descendants, the Genoese Grimaldi Palavicinis for generations. Yet, the state argued that property rights were never awarded to the family. In 1921 King Alfonso XIII proclaimed the Generalife a part of Spain's national heritage and in 1924 the state incorporated the property into the Alhambra after prolonged lawsuits with the Italian owners. During the centuries substantial remodeling and restorations fundamentally altered the property.¹⁴⁶ The Catholic monarchs had two stories containing a belvedere added to the northern pavilion of the Canal Court and a new courtyard, the Cypress Garden, on the west side of the Canal Court.¹⁴⁷

20th Century

In 1905 the monument was entrusted to special commission. The palaces functioned as a museum between 1910 to 1912 when it housed a major Hispano-Arabic exhibition.¹⁴⁸ In 1913 the commission was replaced by a *Patronato* within the *Dirección General de las Bellas Artes del Ministerio de Cultura* until it was disbanded in 1985. Since then the Alhambra has been under the auspices of a regional entity, the *Comunidad Autónoma de Andalucía*.¹⁴⁹ Within this organization, an administrative component, the *Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife* was established to control the monument.¹⁵⁰ In 1920 a conservation program began in earnest. Ricardo Velasquez described the condition of the site and outlined essential repairs and structural reinforcements.¹⁵¹ Leopoldo Torres Balbás, who was appointed as the Architectural Director in 1923, oversaw a major conservation program of the palaces and the fortress for the next thirteen years. The program came to an end with the outbreak of the civil war in 1936. Granada was not occupied during the civil war, leaving the Alhambra undamaged. After the civil war ended in 1939, the *Patronado* continued its efforts with the conservation and repairs of the complex. The architect Francisco Prieto-Moreno was appointed as the new Architectural Director who was responsible for the restoration of construction of numerous new gardens in the complex.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 70.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 168.

¹⁴⁷ Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape and Vision*, 170.

¹⁴⁸ Burín, Granada, 70.

¹⁴⁹ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Alhambra*, 133.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles*, 157-158.

¹⁵² Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Alhambra*, 129.

2.3 The Formulation of a Conservation Policy for the Alhambra

When one considers the evolution and constant deterioration of the palace complex, it is difficult to determine what should be conserved:

Of this former Islamic city, there remain only the fortress and fortifications, and a fragmentary palace complex which, though forming the most important survival in the world of a medieval Islamic palace, has been ravaged to such an extent by disasters, alterations, neglect and drastic restoration that comparatively little had been left of the original structure and polychrome coloring and virtually none of the furnishings.¹⁵³

Before theories on conservation and preservation were formulated in the 19th century, no policy existed prescribing the suitability or extent of repairs. Maintenance and repairs were simply seen as a way of saving a building from ruin. These very practices, commonplace for centuries, were condemned in the 19th century, first in the name of restoration and later in the name of conservation. What has to be addressed is how a conservation policy was formulated on a site where it is impossible to determine what is original.

Restoration and conservation practices of the 19th and early 20th century focused on the built remains of artifacts as objects at the expense their surroundings. However, in the case of the Alhambra the preservation strategy must be understood as a two-fold process of conservation and restoration of built fabric and designed landscape. The fragmented built fabric gains coherence only through the experience of the designed landscape that enfolds and structures the palace complex.

After centuries of repairs and adaptations followed by sixty years of restoration, Torres Balbás, the newly appointed director of the Alhambra, adopted a conservation policy in the 1920's that was in line with practices in Italy and England. Balbás argued that the artistic and archeological integrity of the original fabric should be respected whenever possible and restoration must be done only as a last resort when the original could be established through documents.¹⁵⁴ He did so without seeming aware of the irony involved in trying to conserve some notion of an original form of a palace complex that have been reconstructed and adapted for centuries (figs 2.8 & 2.9).

The Nara document of Authenticity of Monuments (1994), published by UNESCO argues that: "the authenticity of a work of art is a measure of truthfulness of the internal unity of the creative process and the physical realization of the work, and the effects of its passage through historic time."¹⁵⁵

The Alhambra, if one takes into account the history of the site and its alterations and numerous restorations, will not pass this test of authenticity in spite of the conservation policies of the last century. David Lowenthal addresses this dilemma when he speaks of the work of Viollet-le-Duc. He contemplates whether Viollet-le-Duc's actions in the 19th

¹⁵³ Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 6.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 249-250.

¹⁵⁵ Jokilehto, *History Conservation*, 296.

century that restored buildings to a conjectured original state should be respected and if so, why can one not allow 20th century additions? Lowenthal concludes that if everything in the history of the relic is respected as part of its history, there remain no criteria to celebrate and identify its past.¹⁵⁶

I will argue instead that the continued existence of the Alhambra does not depend on physical continuity but on the myth of continuity and coherence. This construct came into vogue with the representations of 19th travelers shortly before the restoration of the Alhambra commenced. Both the literature and the restoration and conservation policies had their origins in the same intellectual framework of the 19th century that allowed for reconstruction of ancient sites according to contemporary theories. 19th Century representations aestheticized the notion of the productive landscape of the Alhambra, thus allowing for the restoration of existing gardens and irrigation systems and the introduction of new landscapes that aestheticize and echo the past. The revival of the landscape of the Alhambra in the 20th century altered the character of the complex in two important ways. It not only provided a coherent framework for the interpretation of the fragmentary built remains of the past, but it also constructed a modern experience of the monument, informed by reified narratives of landscape and history.

¹⁵⁶ Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 282.

2.4 Role of the Landscape

The modern landscape of the Alhambra is the unifying element in a coherent vision of the monument (fig. 2.10). It functions as an ordered assemblage of elements and systems that can be traversed and experienced.¹⁵⁷ The tropes imbedded in the landscape encode and communicate information in an "... attempt to make both subjects and objects appear as fixed, codified, reified, to make that is patently cultural appear as if it were natural ...".¹⁵⁸

The 19th Century literary tropes were expressed in a unified designed monumental complex that enables a wholesome experience that combines scenery, kinetic aspects and satisfaction for the modern visitor. The landscape of the modern monumental complex embraces the notion of a hybrid Mediterranean landscape where the unique topographical location of the Alhambra and its relationship with its surroundings are the dominant elements in defining the palace complex. The notion of wholeness is indistinguishable from the imbeddedness of the palace complex in the landscape where the two essential elements that enable the experience, the sensate and the sustaining, are reified in the designed landscape.

The visual relationship between palace, city and landscape were formally expressed in a system of miradors that unify the palace complex visually and frames its relationship with the surroundings. The physical revival of the system that sustains all, the famed irrigation system of the Moors, was formally restored, along with the fountains and pools of the complex, as elements of display symbolizing the abundance of the Alhambra's waters. Lastly, the restored courtyard gardens of the palaces, modern terraced gardens and archeological gardens were integrated in a vast designed hybrid landscape that combines Islamic and Western influences.

¹⁵⁷ Duncan, James S. *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 17.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p.19.

2.5 The Notion of a Hybrid Mediterranean landscape

The contemporary palace complex is enveloped in the hybrid landscape of the Spanish Mediterranean. It is a merger of agricultural and aesthetic, a result of Western and Islamic influences. The sensual qualities of the gardens and landscapes, celebrated by the 19th century travelers, are essential to the experience. The pleasure of sight directed towards expansive views and captured by intimate enclosed gardens, the sight and sound of water and birdsong, the touch of the wind, vegetation and the textures of the earth, the taste of the fruits and produce of the land are still the essential qualities of the experience.¹⁵⁹

The Mediterranean agricultural landscape underpins the structure of contemporary gardens, composed of terraces, fountains and irrigation channels and cisterns – derived from Middle Eastern and southern Mediterranean practices - to conserve and utilize the scarce resource of water.¹⁶⁰ Within this framework influences abound. Gardens are composed of Renaissance gardens, intimate courtyard spaces derived from Islamic gardens, French Classical gardens, Flemish tree lined vistas, English landscapes gardens and the bourgeois gardens of the 19th century.¹⁶¹

D.F. Ruggles argues that during the Islamic rule the aesthetic valuation of landscape was made possible by the transformation of the conception of land as a pure physical entity into a valued cultivated landscape.¹⁶² The ideal of the productive landscape was celebrated in the literature for centuries before it was revived in 19th century literature for its aesthetic qualities. The words of the Nasrid vizier, Ibn al-Khatib survives:

The Alhambra, just like Granada itself, was so densely carpeted with green gardens that the clear colored stone of its many tall towers shone amidst the dark greenery like the most brilliant stars in the midst of an evening sky.¹⁶³

Antonio Navagiero, the Italian Ambassador to the Spanish court in the 16th century observed:

All the slope where lies the part of Granada [toward Cartuja], and equally the area on the opposite side, is most beautiful, filled with numerous houses and gardens, all with their fountains, myrtles and trees, and in some there are large and beautiful fountains. And even though this part surpasses the rest in beauty the other environs in Granada are the same, as much as the hills as the plain they call the Vega. All of it is lovely, all extraordinary pleasing to behold, all abounding in water in water, water that could not be more abundant; and full of fruit trees, like plums of every variety, peaches, figs, quinces, clingstone peaches, apricots, sour cherries and so many other fruits that one can barely glimpse the sky for the

¹⁵⁹ Luginbühl, Yves. "On the Traces of the Mediterranean Landscape." in *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components of a Global Strategy* (Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag with UNESCO. 1995), 291.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 292.

¹⁶¹ Feliu, Carmen Añon. "Aranjuez: Nature, Agriculture and the Art of Landscape." in *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components of a Global Strategy* (Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag with UNESCO. 1995), 303.

¹⁶² Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape and Vision*, 170.

¹⁶³ Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 44.

density of trees. All the fruits are excellent, but, amongst them, those they call *guindas garrafales* (a variety of large cherry) are the best in the world. There are also pomegranate trees, so attractive and of good quality that they could not be more so, and incomparable grapes, of many kinds, and seedless grapes for raisins. Nor are wanting olive trees so dense they resemble forests of oaks.¹⁶⁴

The notion of the productive landscape of Granada survives in the *carmens* of the Albaicín. The small terraced gardens of the old Islamic quarter of Granada overlooking palace complex on the opposite hill mirror are mirrored by the terraced gardens of the Alhambra:

The city and its surroundings were like an enormous enclosed garden sheltering an endless succession of smaller such gardens. The private gardens of the Albaicín were versions in miniature of the greater walled complex of gardens that formed the Alhambra, which in turn was a microcosm of the mountain enclosed *vega*.¹⁶⁵

Oleg Grabar argues that due to its unique topographical location, the Alhambra developed in relationship to its surroundings, namely the city below and the surrounding hills and plain (fig. 2.10).¹⁶⁶ Pedro Salmerón Escobar attributes the Alhambra's unique location to the monument's capacity for self-assertion:

The Alhambra is never seen as a point of reference but as outline which clearly marks the relationship between city and landscape, being a landscape in itself. It is not a castle at the top of a cone in the form of a watchtower; it is the scene of a classical theater that converses with the city.¹⁶⁷

The Alhambra occupies a strategic site on the Sabika Hill, the final spur of the Sierra Nevada which penetrates into the heart of Granada from the east. The Sabika, together with the hills of San Cristóbal and Albaicín, run in a north south direction along the river valley.¹⁶⁸ The hills are autonomous outposts in a mountainous valley where the Darro and Genil valleys divide into two independent sections. The Darro splits the territory into two parts that mirror each other and provide the stage for the development.¹⁶⁹ The city straddles a river outlet at the point where the Genil, Darro and Beiro valleys converge to open up unto the fertile plain of the Vega.¹⁷⁰ Thus the monumental complex visually dominates Granada and is visible from countless places in the city.

¹⁶⁴ Dickie, James. "Granada: A case study of Arab urbanism in Muslim Spain," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. By S.K. Jayyus (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 105.

¹⁶⁵ Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 44.

¹⁶⁶ Grabar, *Alhambra*, 30.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 20.

¹⁶⁸ Escobar, Pedro Salmerón. *The Alhambra: Structure and Landscape* (Granada: La General Caja de Granada, 1999), 14.

¹⁶⁹ Martín & Torices, *Granada: Guía*, 17.

¹⁷⁰ Escobar, *Alhambra: Structure*, 16.

2.6 Mirador: Trapping of the Landscape

The relationship between the Alhambra and the surrounding landscape is imbedded in the notion of the mirador. The direction and entrapment of vision is one of the defining relationships between landscape and palace.

James Duncan, in his discussion of types of tropes imbedded in landscapes, defined the synecdoche as a mechanism where a part invokes the whole narrative of the landscape.¹⁷¹ I will argue that the mirador as synecdoche not only has become the one the most celebrated and defining aspects of the palace complex but that the notion has been expanded far beyond the immediate bounds of the miradors identified as original to the palaces.

The classical definition of the mirador facilitates the incorporation of the larger landscape into enclosed garden courtyard spaces by views framed through windows, pavilions and wall openings.¹⁷²

In his book *Los Jardines de Granada*, Francisco Prieto-Moreno reconstructs two of the miradors of the Court of the Lions and the Court of Comares (figs. 2.11 & 2.12).

In the case of the Court of the Lions Prieto-Moreno illustrated how one of the three the miradors of the palace functioned before the addition of the residential quarters of Charles V. This reconstruction became the defining drawing in texts since to describe the lost relationship of the Court of the Lions to the gardens once built on the terraces below and the surrounding countryside. The section and plan of the Court of the Comares describes the Tower of the Comares that houses the Hall of the Ambassadors as a gigantic mirador. The relationship of the Alhambra to the landscape is symbolized by this mirador. Prieto-Moreno argues that the mirador, centered on the seat of the Sultan, enabled a unifying vision that incorporates the cosmic elements of the architecture, views to the landscape and the courtyard.¹⁷³

The Generalife is a good example of the magnification of the experience of views to such an extent that it constitutes the villa. Two miradors of the Generalife are believed by scholars to occupy the same position as the original miradors of the villa.¹⁷⁴ The internal mirador is located on the upper level of the southern pavilion of the Court of the Canal. The second mirador, projecting from the center of the western wall of the courtyard, captures views of the Alhambra. The third mirador, located in the northern towers of the palace, was reconstructed in 1932 by Torres Balbás, based on comparisons with the mirador of the Tower of the Partal and the Convent of San Francisco (figs. 2.13 – 2.15).¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Duncan, *city as Text*, 19.

¹⁷² Fernández-Puertas, *Alhambra*, 87.

¹⁷³ Prieto-Moreno, Francisco. *Los Jardines de Granada* (Madrid: Arte de España, 1983), 62.

¹⁷⁴ The Generalife has been reconstructed and altered to such an extent that almost none of the fabric is considered to be original.

¹⁷⁵ Vílchez Vílchez, Carlos. *La Alhambra de Leopoldo Torres Balbás: Obras de restauración y conservación. 1923-1936* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 1988), 465.

In the centuries since the Reconquest, changes to the Generalife amplified the relationship of the villa with the landscape. In 1494 the Catholic Monarchs ordered a restoration of the villa when two stories containing a belvedere, were added in to the northern pavilion in addition to a new courtyard located east of the Court of the Canal (fig. 2.16). The Court of the Queen's Cypresses, centered around a dark pool, added sweeping views over the landscape framed by its northern pavilion (fig. 2.17). Additional views to Granada were opened up in 1671, when the Italian owners had the whole of the western wall of the Court of the Canal pierced with double arches, mimicking the mirador in the center of the wall (fig. 2.18).¹⁷⁶

When the villa was restored in the 1930's and again in the 1950's after a devastating fire, this aspect of the villa was retained, even though the layout of the garden was changed according to archeological evidence found in excavations after the fire.

The pavilion at the top of the Water Stair (*Escalera del Agua*) is constructed on the site of a former Islamic oratory.¹⁷⁷ The 19th century addition completed the ensemble of villa and garden terraces facilitating movement of visitors through the Generalife complex. The pavilion, constructed purely out of aesthetic considerations, frames sweeping views of the site and city (fig. 2.19).

Miradors are found beyond the bounds of the palaces and villa. The *Torre de la Vela* of the Alcazaba now function as a viewing platform for tourists, as did the Seat of the Moor (*Silla del Moro*),¹⁷⁸ a tower located on the slopes of the *Cerro del Sol* above the Generalife (fig. 2.20).

The mirador as viewing platform also exists in numerous locations in the Albaicín (fig. 2.21). Squares overlooking the Alhambra have come to be defined as miradors by providing a stage for the display of the Alhambra across the valley, giving to Granada the name of "city of miradors."¹⁷⁹

The carmens of the Albaicín also fall into the category of mirador (fig. 2.22). This type of urban residence which leaves the front part of the plot free, was built on the city's hillsides in the late 19th and early 20th century. A small building occupies the back of the site with a terraced garden combined with an orchard stepping down to the front of the site.¹⁸⁰ The lush vegetation and aromatic plants of the gardens frame views of the Alhambra, giving the mirador yet another sensual aspect.

The miradors are finally constituted as a sequence of spaces connected through a system of movement from one significant viewing platform to the next. This is incorporated in a

¹⁷⁶ Valdés Ozores, Tereza. *Spanish Gardens* (Madrid: Antique Collectors Club, 1987), 44.

¹⁷⁷ Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape and Vision*, 170.

¹⁷⁸ The Silla del Moro towers has fallen into ruin, due to structural problems, but is currently under renovation.

¹⁷⁹ Martín & Torices, *Granada: Guía*, 71.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 146.

larger spatial system linking monument, historical buildings, squares and *carmens*. Prieto-Moreno drew a plan of the Albaicín, highlighting the system of spatial sequences and views that time and again captures and frames the Alhambra (fig 2.23).

The notion of framing significant views was incorporated in the larger fabric of the city. The 1951 Alignment plan for Granada established a perspective from the *Camino Ronda* to the *Torre de la Vela* with a hierarchy of squares located at intersections of the main streets, placing the entire city in a frame (fig. 2.24).¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 246.

2.7 Symbolic Revival of the Irrigation System

Water, in its many guises, is another major structuring and representative element in the contemporary landscape. The current configuration is a restoration of the fragmentary irrigation system that existed at the advent of the 20th century. The revival of the water system of the Alhambra is narrative and aesthetic rather than functional. Aaron Betsky celebrates the Alhambra as a monument to the connective capabilities of water:

The locus classicus for the use of water in architecture is the Alhambra. Here a variety of pools, fountains and irrigation channels enchains the delicacies of architecture in a network of connections, reflections and elaborations that come close to bridging the separations made by architecture. For if buildings divorce us from nature, both to protect us from the elements and to erect a more rational human realm in its stead, and if they then replace our bodies with a second alien form that, though designed in our image, is cold and removed, the sensual play of water reconnects us. In the Alhambra and the gardens of the Generalife the heat is softened by something ephemeral, rather than being cut out by walls. A new Eden surrounds you with trees, bushes and flowers whose presence flows from the water.¹⁸²

When Betsky refers to the Alhambra's water system, one is seduced by the idea that the monumental complex is sustained by the original irrigation system in spite of tell tale signs of a modern water supply. Literary tropes celebrating the famed irrigation system that once sustained the productive landscape were constructed long after the deterioration of the original. The narrative water system was reified through modern restoration practices as a purely aesthetic device of display.

The development of an irrigation system enabled the development of the Alhambra in medieval times (fig. 2.25).¹⁸³ Water was channeled from the Darro River valley at the necessary elevation through a system of water wheels and two aqueducts, the *Acequia del Tercio* and the Royal Aqueduct (*Acequia del Rey*), descended to the Generalife and then the Alhambra through a system of cisterns and reservoirs with galleries and siphons to ponds and fountains.¹⁸⁴ The irrigation system extended beyond the bounds of the walled enclosure. To the east three fortified agricultural estates, the Generalife, the *Alixares* and the House of the Bride (*Dar al-Rusa*), were sustained by branches of the irrigation system which in turn protected the rear approaches to the Alhambra.¹⁸⁵ With the exception of the Generalife only the foundations survived as the two villas located higher up on the *Cerro del Sol* were abandoned in the 16th century once the waterwheels that sustained them failed (fig. 2.26).¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² Betsky, Aaron. Take me to the Water: Dipping in the History of Water in Architecture. *Architectural Design: Architecture and Water* (vol, 65, no.1/2 January-February, 1995), 9.

¹⁸³ Grabar, *Alhambra*, 115.

¹⁸⁴ Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape and Vision*, 170.

¹⁸⁵ Dickie, James. "The Hispano-Arab Garden: Notes Towards a Typology." in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 1025.

¹⁸⁶ Valdés, *Spanish Gardens*, 40.

In the first half of the century Torres Balbàs and Prieto-Moreno had reservoirs constructed next to the surviving Arab reservoir located at the point where water was distributed from the aqueducts to the Generalife and the Alhambra.¹⁸⁷ The two new reservoirs mimic the old in both function and appearance and are mainly used to sustain the new gardens Francisco Moreno designed on the terraces of the Generalife estate in the 1950's. The Arab reservoir was excavated in 1992, enabling archeologists to determine how the water storage and distribution worked (fig. 2.27).¹⁸⁸

Water entered the Alhambra through the Water Tower, located at the extreme eastern point of the complex (fig. 2.28). This tower was destroyed during the retreat of Napoleon's troops in 1812. The tower and a part of the aqueduct were reconstructed, restoring the integrity of the walled enclosure, but the cistern that distributed water to the sluices that controlled the water supply to the rest of the complex was left in a ruined state, effectively restoring the form but not the function of water distribution.¹⁸⁹

Traces of the water supply that once served the former industrial sector remains, but no effort was made to restore the channel that supplied more mundane functions such as the tannery, *hammams*, the mint and glass kilns and ceramic manufacturers.¹⁹⁰ The area's water conduits had been destroyed in the 16th century and consequently became known as the *Secano*.¹⁹¹ After the sector was excavated by Torres Balbàs in the 1930's, gardens, pools and fountains were constructed in the midst of the exposed remains, thus aestheticizing the recovered function of the former industrial remains.

Francisco Pierto-Moreno illustrated the aesthetic recovery of the fragmented irrigation system in his plan of the Alhambra and Generalife (figs. 2.29 & 2.30). The sources of water are prominently mapped on a comprehensive plan of the palace complex. The connection between the sources of water - the aqueducts and reservoirs - and the objects of display - the pools and fountains - are partially restored in the supply to the Generalife but the historical connection to the citadel is severed.

Due to the contemporary taste for archeological recovery the water sources that once functioned as a sustaining mechanism have been transformed into artifacts to be displayed. Pools and fountains in the palaces and courtyard gardens, designed to celebrate the abundance of the landscape and to exhibit the control over water, were meticulously recorded and restored. These devices of display have come to symbolize the mythical waters of the Alhambra for modern visitors and writers: (figs. 2.31 & 2.32):

In the entry court, a small burble of water heightens the clean serenity of small stone pavers. Power and place centers in the Court of the Lions, and distribute beneficence to define the edges of the courtyard. Gravity turns into a narrative of connecting channels and pools that

¹⁸⁷ Escobar, *Alhambra: Structure*, 104.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 108.

¹⁸⁹ Bermúdez López, *City Plan*, 160.

¹⁹⁰ Fernández-Puertas, *Alhambra*, 85.

¹⁹¹ Wasteland or dried out land.

guide you through space. The pool's surface of the Court of the Myrtles doubles forms, muddles distinctions and continues a decorative activity that weaves all together, rather than creating distinctions. It is not just the eye that delights; the coolness of the air, the scents of fresh water and even the implied touch of water on the skin convert the buildings from something seen by expert eyes – the judge in Western architecture – into something sensed by the body.¹⁹²

¹⁹² Betsky, *Take me to the Water*, 9.

2.8 Restoration of Gardens

The restoration of designed landscapes in the Alhambra is more problematic than the built fabric. Two-dimensional layouts may be retained over time but the natural growth and lack of maintenance of vegetation radically altered the nature of the gardens. The gardens, along with the rest of the Alhambra, had deteriorated completely by the 19th century. The once cultivated landscape reverted back to wilderness as centuries passed and the deterioration of the Alhambra became ever more pronounced. As part of their repairs of the Alhambra, French soldiers replanted the gardens in the courtyards of the Court of Comares and the Court of the Lions and repaired some of the fountains, but by 1829 water no longer flowed in the fountains, trees have grown wild and the flowerbeds were overflowing with sunflowers, lakspur and marigolds.¹⁹³ These scenes of deterioration framed by the uncultivated abundance of the vegetation awaited a generation of travelers. The 20th century restoration of the gardens is an aesthetic compromise between archeological evidence and texts, highly romanticized images of abundance that survived from the 19th century and influences from formal gardens of European estates.

Four gardens nominally survive from the Nasrid rule, mostly by the virtue of being framed by built fabric in the case of the courtyard of the Court of Comares, the courtyard of the Court of the Lions and the Canal of the Court of the Generalife or as functioning as a stairway in the case of the Water Stair.

The original vegetation of the Court of Comares and the Court of the Lions were determined from texts and archeological evidence. The Italian ambassador Navagiero saw orange trees and myrtle bushes in the Comares Court and the Generalife. The German traveler, Münzer, who visited Granada in 1494, saw: “indescribable palaces, floored with the whitest marble, most beautiful gardens adorned with lemons and myrtles, [equipped] with pools and marble benches off to the sides.”¹⁹⁴ There is also evidence of flower beds running along the pool of the Court of Comares, framed holes for orange trees near the entrance to the courtyard and of holes for eight orange trees in the courtyard of the Court of the Lions.¹⁹⁵

The Court of the Comares and the Courtyard of the Lions’ restoration was more geared towards an aesthetic interpretation of the original than a genuine attempt at recovery. No orange trees grace the courtyard of the Court of Comares today, in spite of the archeological evidence. Modern sensibility, informed by the formal gardens of palaces and estates in Europe, demands a formal garden to complement the majestic architecture. The myrtle hedges lining the pool is reminiscent of the geometry of the Renaissance garden rather than the sensual abandon found in the Court of the Canal of the Generalife (fig. 2.33). In the courtyard of the Court of the Lions the orange trees were reintroduced, but the number was reduced from the original eight to four and the trees were symmetrically placed at the corners of the four quarters of the courtyard in spite of evidence that the placement in medieval times had been more informal. The growth of the trees is deliberately stunted to

¹⁹³ Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 160.

¹⁹⁴ Dickie, *Hispano-Arab Garden*, 1029.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

maintain a geometrical shape that does not interfere with the visual enjoyment of the space (fig. 2.34).¹⁹⁶

The garden of the Court of the Canal of the Generalife has been altered so often over the centuries by its Genoese owners that a conception of its original form has been lost. The layout of the garden was restored to its presumed original state, based on archeological evidence uncovered after a fire ravaged the Generalife in 1959 (fig. 2.14).¹⁹⁷ The garden was divided into four parts with the addition of two central short arms. The water jets lining the pool, added in the 19th century, were retained as were the cypress trees and the geometrical Italianate gardens laid out on the upper and lower terraces of the villa by the Genoese owners. The Court of the Canal's garden of the 19th and early 20th century was replaced by overflowing flower beds, myrtle bushes and orange trees reminiscent of the description of abundant sensuality founds by 19th century travelers, in spite of textual evidence of a garden consisting of lemon and myrtle trees (fig. 2.35).¹⁹⁸

The culmination of the visit to the Generalife is the Water Stair, maintained and repaired throughout the centuries as the culmination of display in the Alhambra (fig. 2.36). The stair links the Court of the Queen's Cypresses with the terrace containing the 19th century mirador that overlooks the whole complex. The description of the Ambassador Navagiero still runs true:

... in a garden located in the highest part of these grounds, there is a broad stairway leading to a plateau. All the water that runs through the palace flows from a crag here, controlled by means of locks, which allows the water to be released at will in the desired quantities. The stairway is artfully designed, with steps hollowed to retain the water; tops of the parapets are shaped to form a channel that runs from top to bottom, and as the locks that control each part work independently of each other, water can be made to flow down either the parapets or the steps, or both at the same time if so desired so that the whole stairway is flooded, soaking anyone who might be ascending it and thus providing a source of fun and practical jokes.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 1024,

¹⁹⁷ Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 149.

¹⁹⁸ Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape and Vision*, 170.

¹⁹⁹ Valdés, *Spanish Gardens*, 45.

2.9 Design of Modern Gardens

The modern gardens and pathways constructed in the 20th century are integral to a new composition that weaves together the old and new circulation systems into a larger whole that gives coherence to the whole monument (fig. 2.37). The gardens designed in the 1930's by Francisco Prieto-Moreno on the terraces of the former agricultural estate of the Generalife proved to be the catalyst for the aesthetic revival of the Islamic productive landscape (figs 2.38 & 2.39). The terraces, once a working garden with orchards, vegetables, vines and livestock, were encased by a densely wooded landscape by the 20th century.²⁰⁰ The productive landscape of the Muslims was aesthetically reclaimed by a series of terraced gardens, running parallel to the Colonnade of the Cypresses that culminates in an open-air theatre designed by Prieto-Moreno for the international festival of Music and Dance in 1951.

The garden, a Romantic interpretation of the Islamic garden, is divided into four parts by two water channels lined by overflowing flowerbeds and boxed hedges. The crossing of the channels and the culmination of the pools are accented by fountains sprouting water into circular basins, reminiscent of the Court of the Canal of the Generalife. The boxed cypress hedges lining the pools enclose a series of intimate rectangular spaces that recall the intimate courtyard spaces of the palaces (fig. 2.40). The gardens also function as a mirador as the hedges and a trellised walkway, bordering the garden to the west, frame magnificent views of the surrounding landscape and the Alhambra (fig. 2.41). Two circular pools surrounded by vegetation provide the transition to the theatre, reminiscent of the classical *riad* (fig. 2.42).

When one moves beyond the bounds of the courtyard gardens historically associated with the Nasrid palaces and the modern terraced gardens of the Generalife, the designed landscape that encompasses the fortified enclosure and the Generalife is crucial to the experience of the modern identity of the monument.

²⁰⁰ Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 146.

2.10 Conclusion

In addition to functioning as a frame for the conservation of the built fabric, the modern landscape of the Alhambra is an expression of the identity of the monument. The gardens designs are an interpretation of the Islamic productive landscape by modernist Spanish architects who subscribed to a hybrid identity of Granadene gardens - the product of centuries of accumulation shaped by the extraordinary topography of the site.

Torres Balbás and Pierto-Moreno, the two great designers of the gardens of the 20th century, both held the position of Architectural Director of the monument. This position allowed an active role in shaping the form of the monument, in addition to being in charge of its conservation. Thus the aesthetized landscape of display, set against the picturesque wilderness enfolding the palace complex, have come to constitute the monument as much as the architecture.

In the next chapter I will discuss how the contemporary site was conceived to function as a designed monumental landscape structured by a vast circulation system that frame the experience of an ever-increasing number of tourists.



Fig. 2.1 Aerial view of the Alhambra

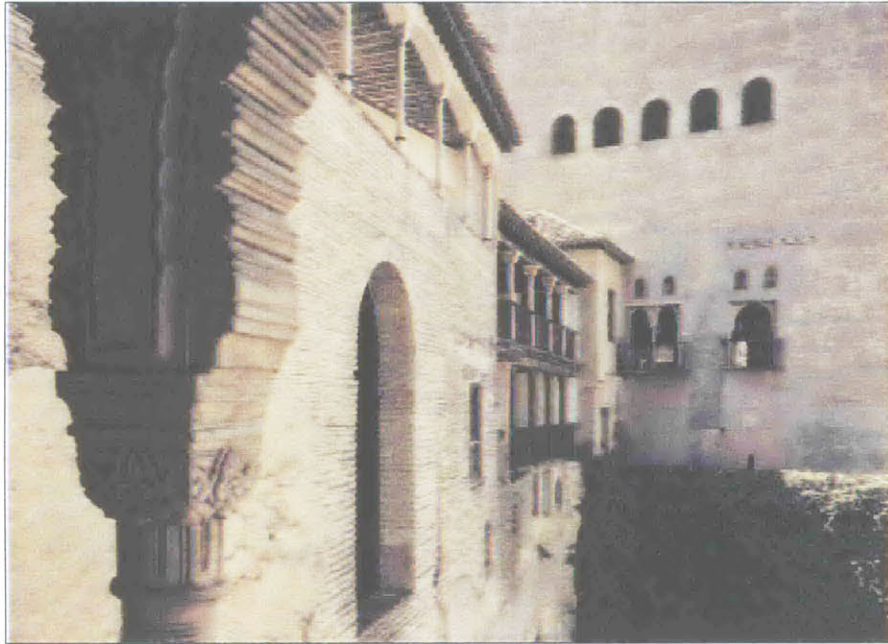


Fig. 2.2 Apartments of Charles V overlooking the Albaicín

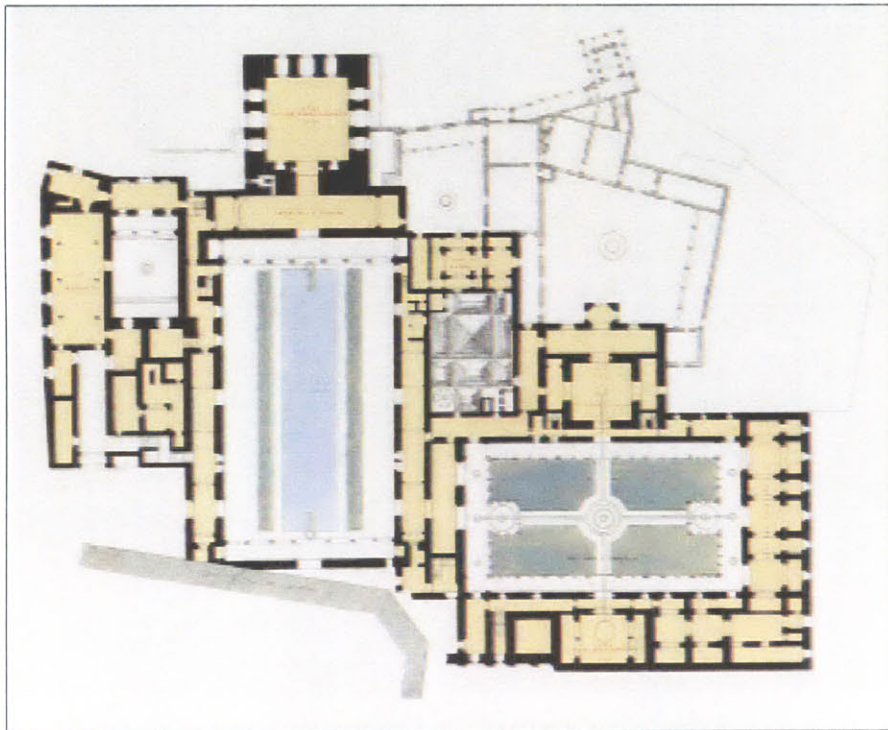


Fig. 2.3 Plan of the Nasrid Palaces (indicated in yellow) and the Apartments of Charles V (outlined in gray), 1842, Color lithograph by Owen Jones and Jules Ghoury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*

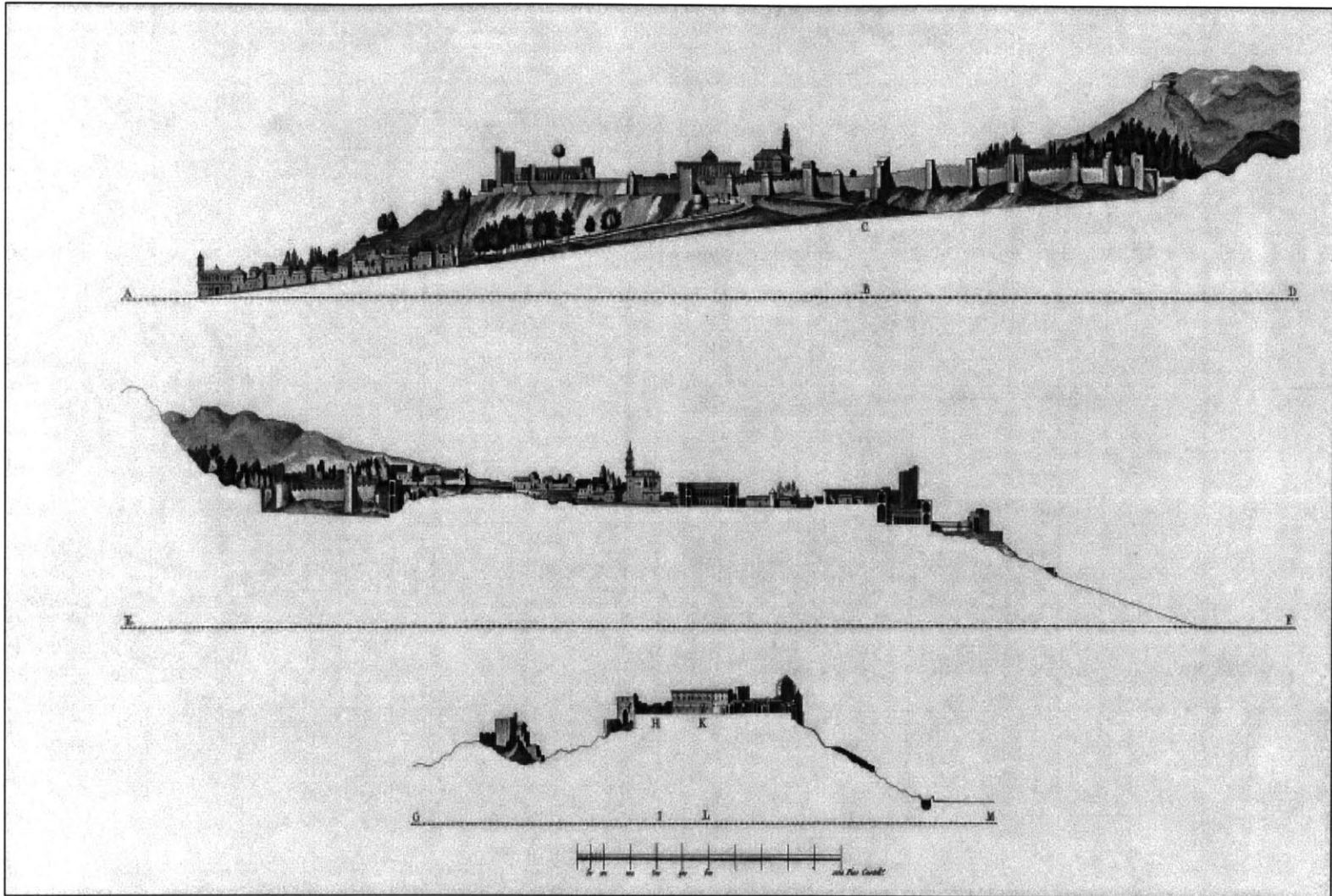


Fig. 2.4 Sections through the Palace Complex, 1780, by Sánchez Sarabia, *Antiguedades Arabes de España*

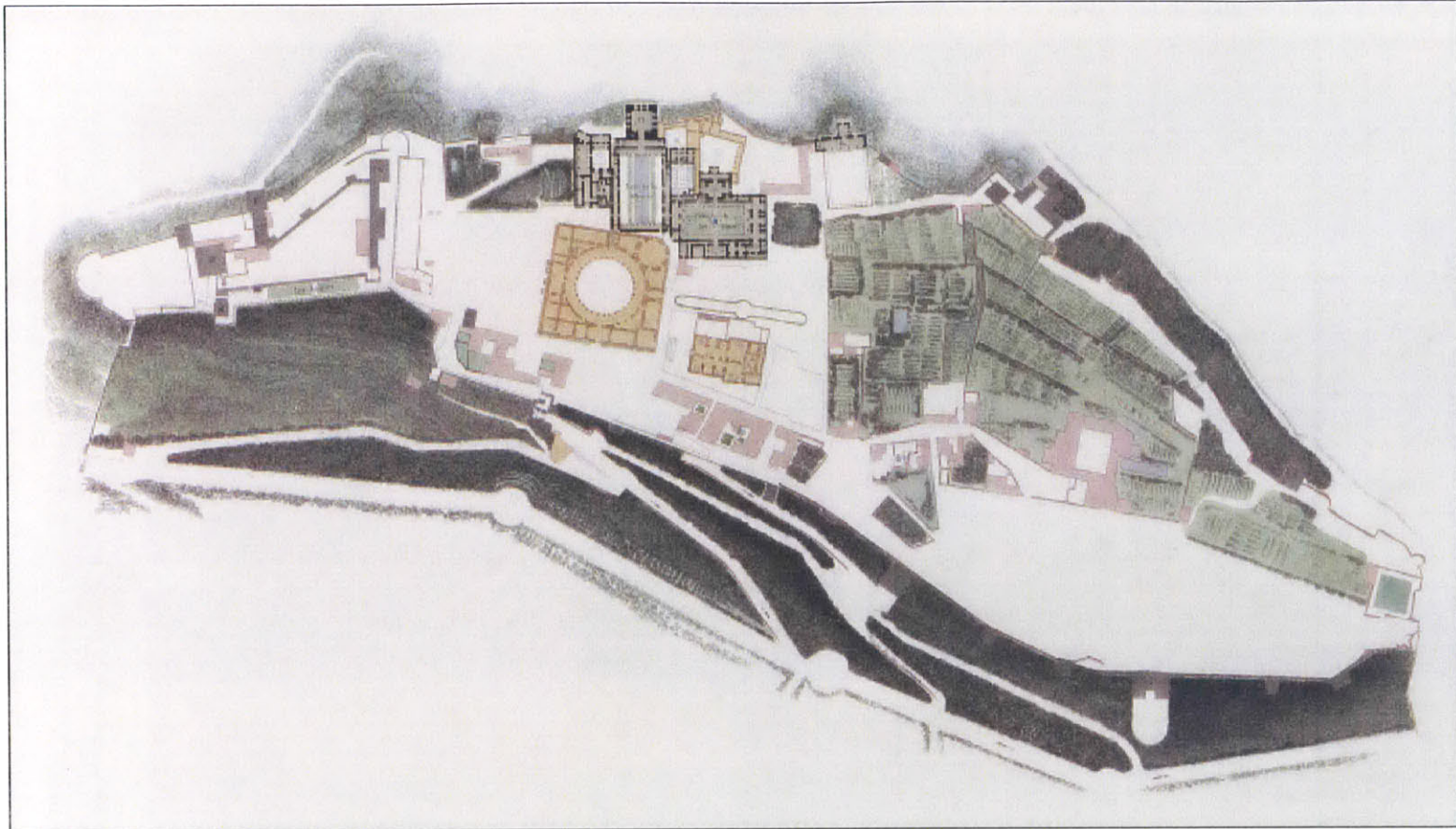


Fig. 2.5 Plan of the Alhambra Palace complex showing the fragmented urban structure in the 19th century, 1842, Color lithograph by Owen Jones and Jules Ghoury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*

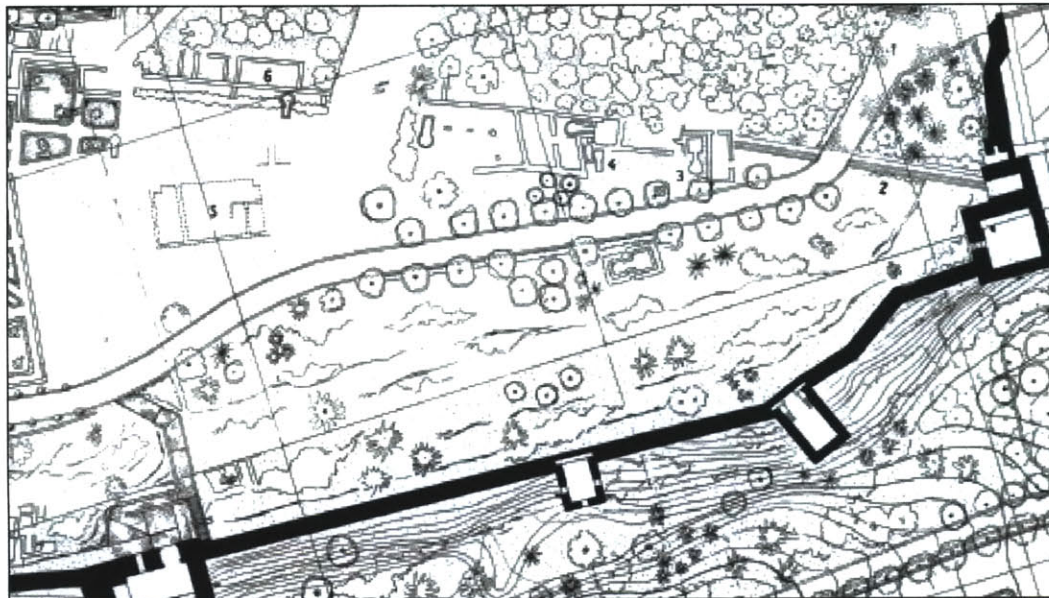


Fig. 2.6 Plan of the *Secano* showing the archeological remains of the water channel running alongside the upper branch of the former *Calle Real Alta*

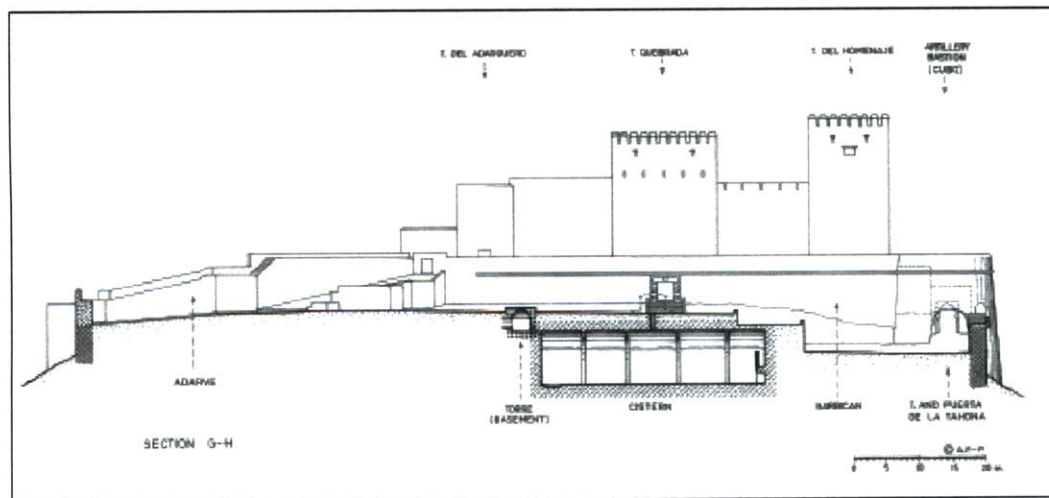


Fig. 2.7 Section through the Square of the Cisterns located between the Alcazaba and the Palace of Charles V, 1997 by Antonio Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra*



Fig. 2.8 Golden Court, 1835, Lithograph by John Frederick Lewis, *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra*

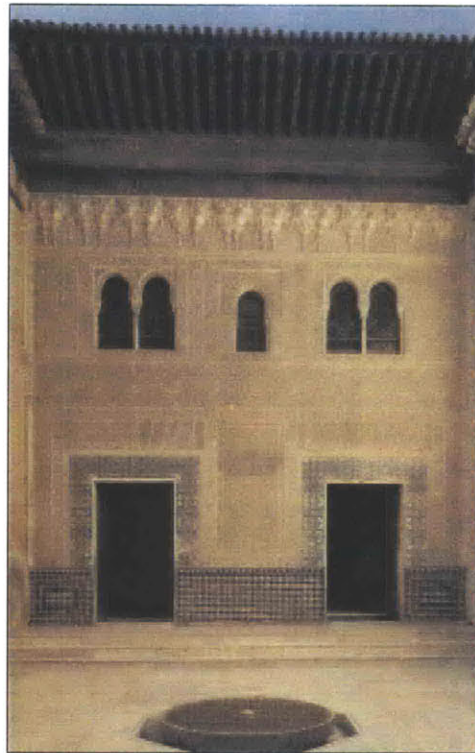


Fig. 2.9 Golden Court after restoration in the 20th century



Fig. 2.10 Alhambra Palace complex seen from the Sacramonte caves

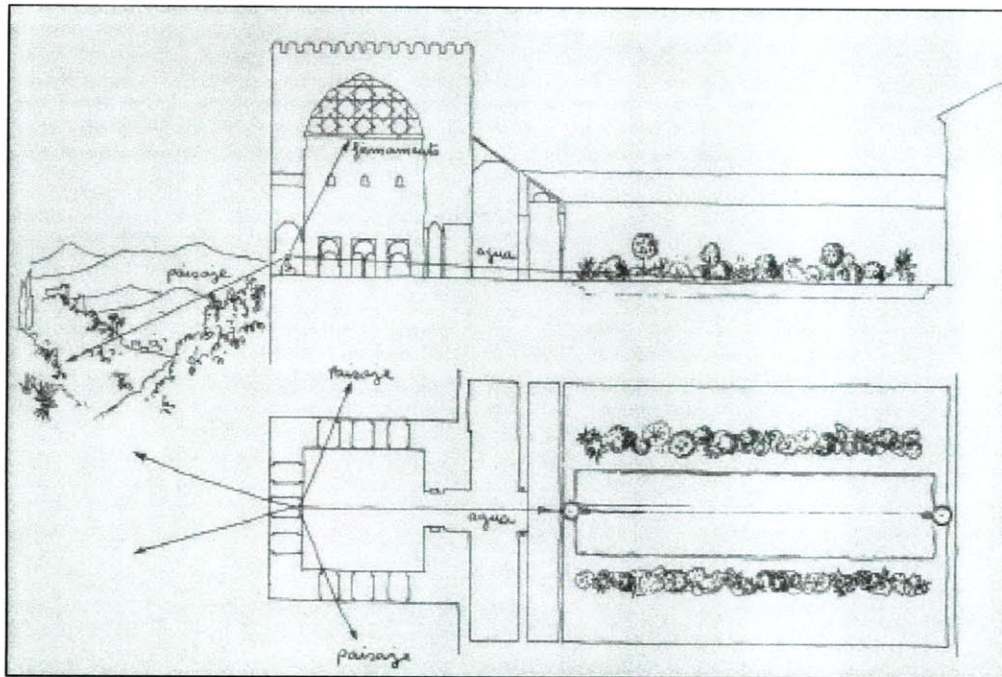


Fig. 2.11 Reconstruction of the Mirador of the Court of the Comares, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*

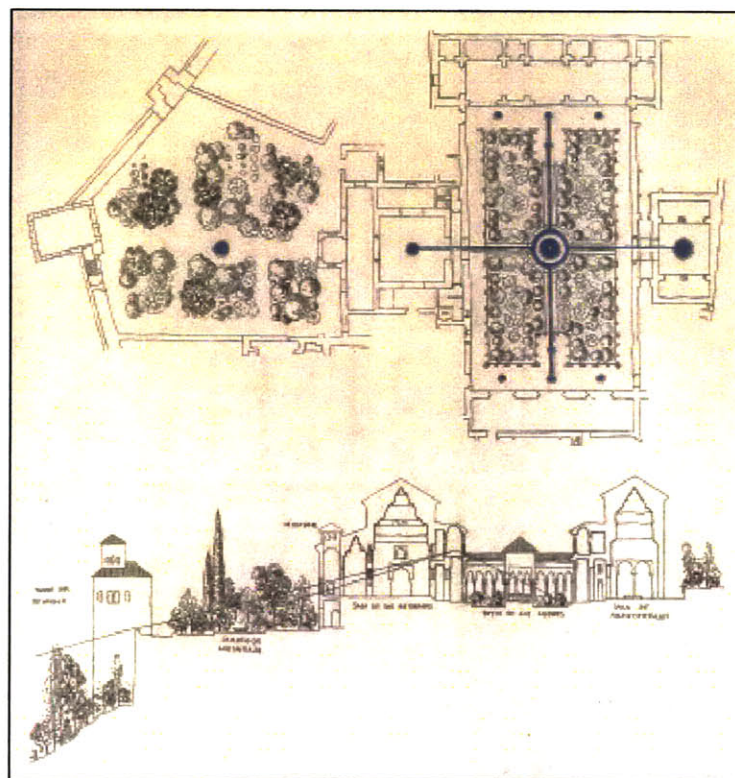


Fig. 2.12 Reconstruction of the Mirador of the Court of the Lions, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*

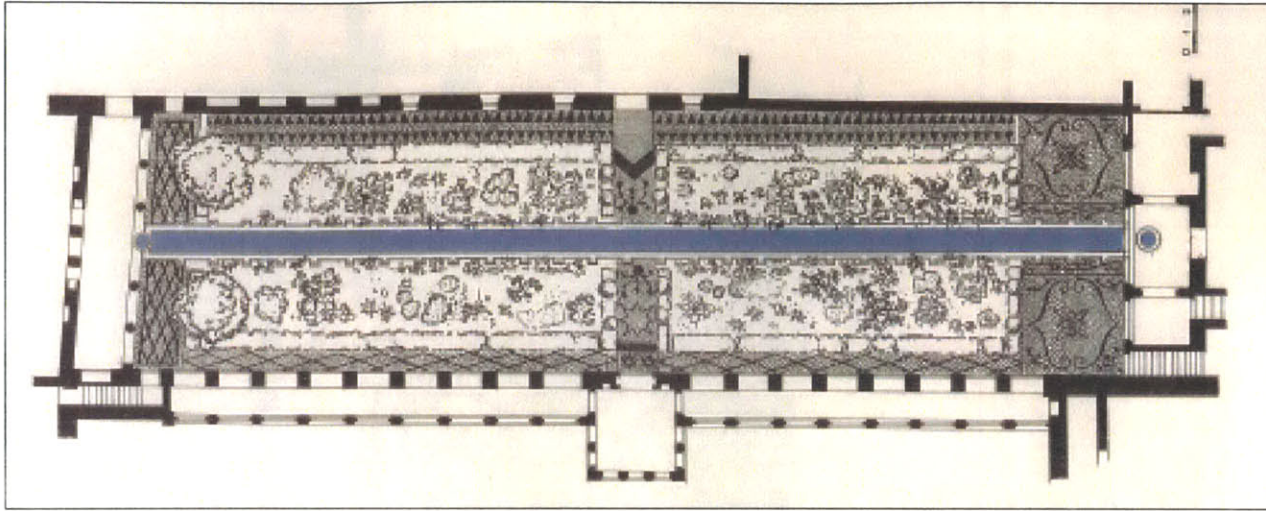


Fig. 2.13 Plan of the Court of the Canal of the Generalife before restoration, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno in *Los Jardines de Granada*

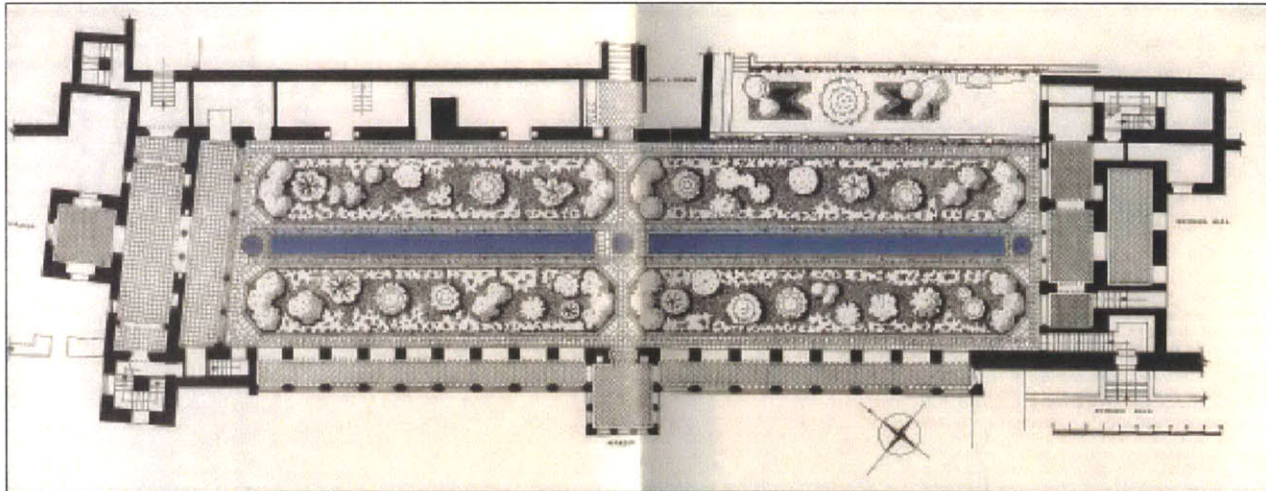


Fig. 2.14 Plan of the Court of the Canal of the Generalife after restoration, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno in *Los Jardines de Granada*



Fig. 2.15 Mirador in the northern pavilion of the Court of the Canal of the Generalife overlooking the Albaicín



Fig. 2.16 Two stories were added to the northern pavilion of the Generalife in 1494

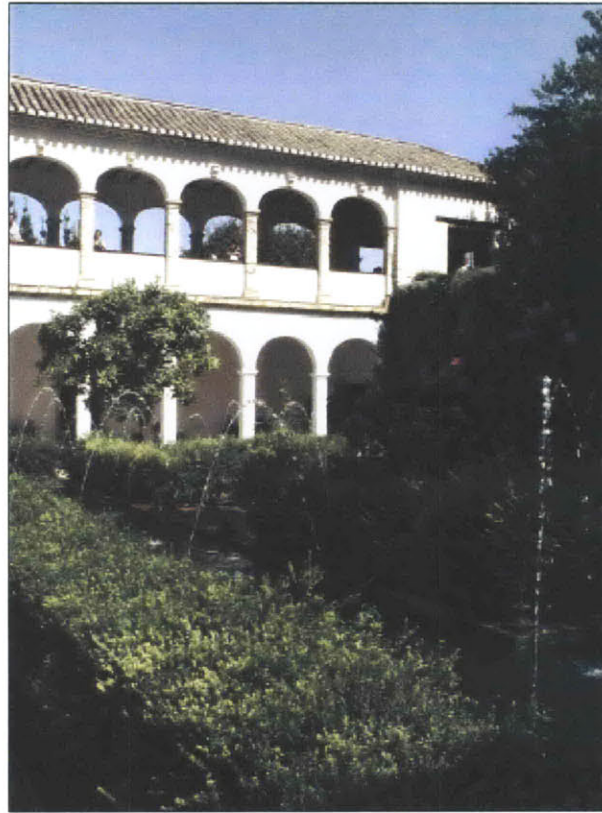


Fig. 2.17 Court of the Queen Cypresses, 1494

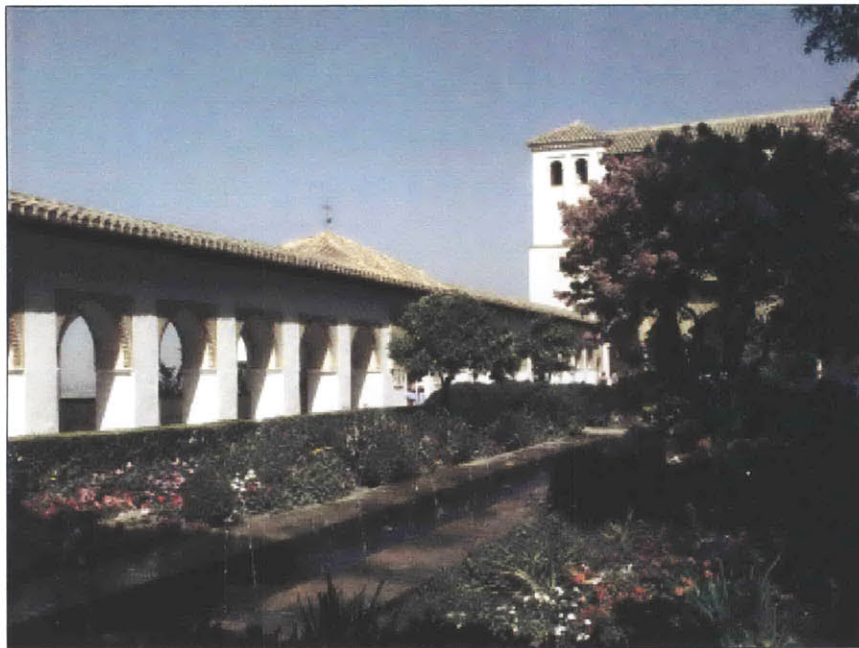


Fig. 2.18 A row of double arches were added to the western wall of the Court of the Canal of the Generalife in 1671

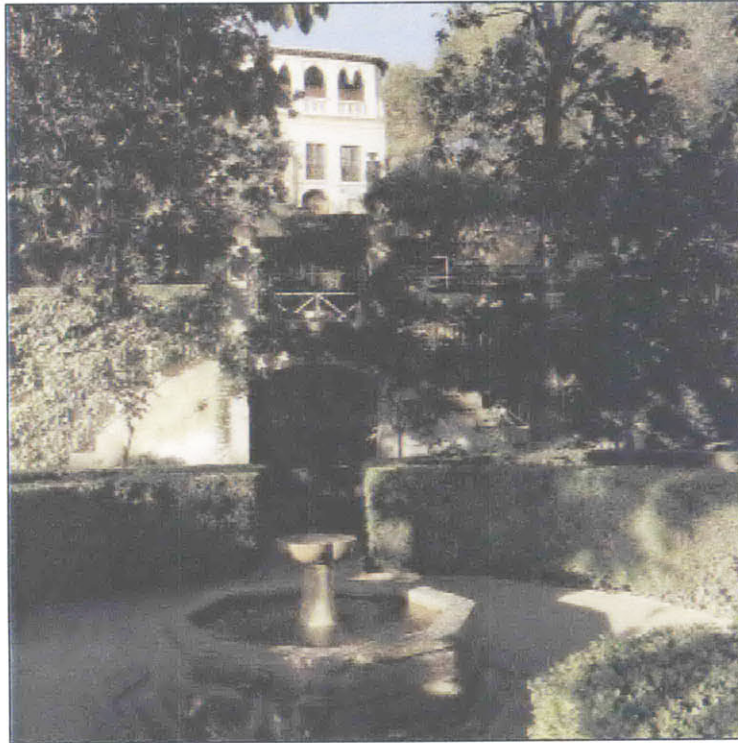


Fig. 2.19 19th Century mirador of the Generalife overlooking the terraced gardens of the Generalife

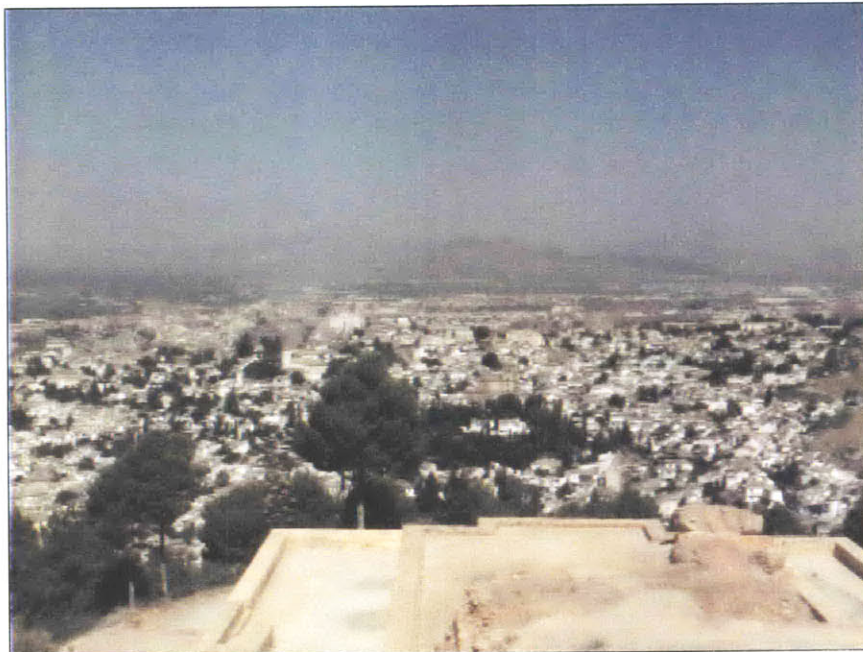


Fig. 2.20 Mirador as viewing platform on top of the *Silla del Moro* tower located on slopes of the *Cerra del Sol* above the Generalife



Fig. 2.21 Alhambra seen from the San Nicolas mirador in the Albaicin



Fig. 2.22 Alhambra seen from the Carmen of the Alonso Cano in the Albaicin

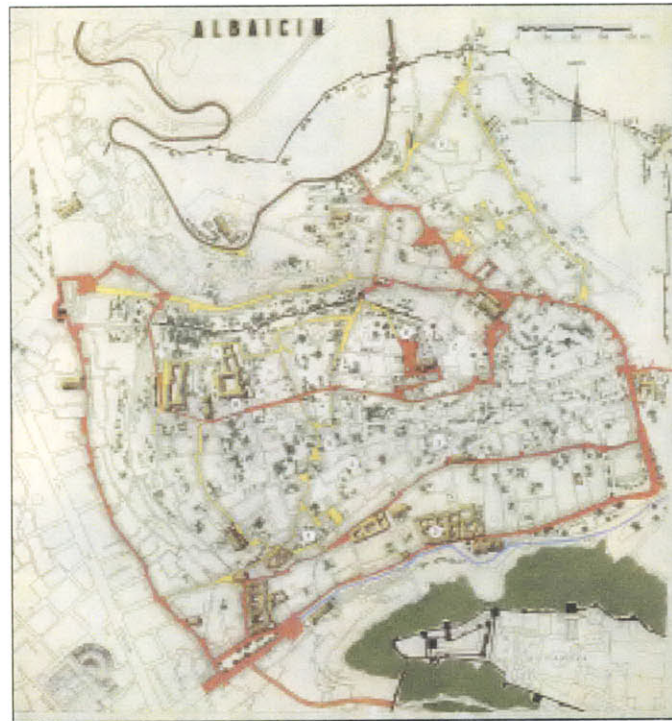


Fig. 2.23 Plan of the Albaicín indicating the significant urban spaces and circulation systems, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Morene, *Los Jardines de Granada*



Fig. 2.24 *Torre de la Vela* of the Alcazaba seen from the Plaza Nueva of Granada



Fig. 2.25 Plan of Islamic Granada and the Alhambra showing a reconstruction of the irrigation system. Note: Blue circles indicate water wheels, blue lines indicate water channels, blue squares indicate cisterns and green patches indicate royal estates that once surrounded the city



Fig. 2.26 Remains of the terraces of the villa Dar al-Rusa, located on the slopes of the *Cerra del Sol* above the Generalife

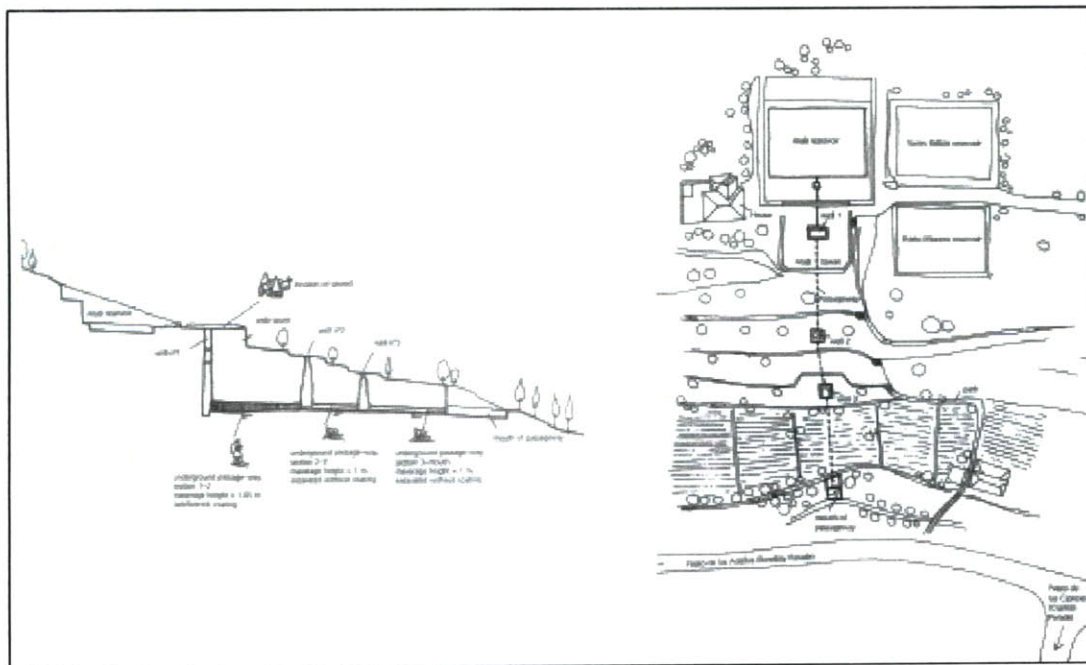


Fig. 2.27 Plan and section of the cisterns located above the Generalife, 1999 by Pedro Salmerón Escobar, *The Alhambra: Structure and Landscape*

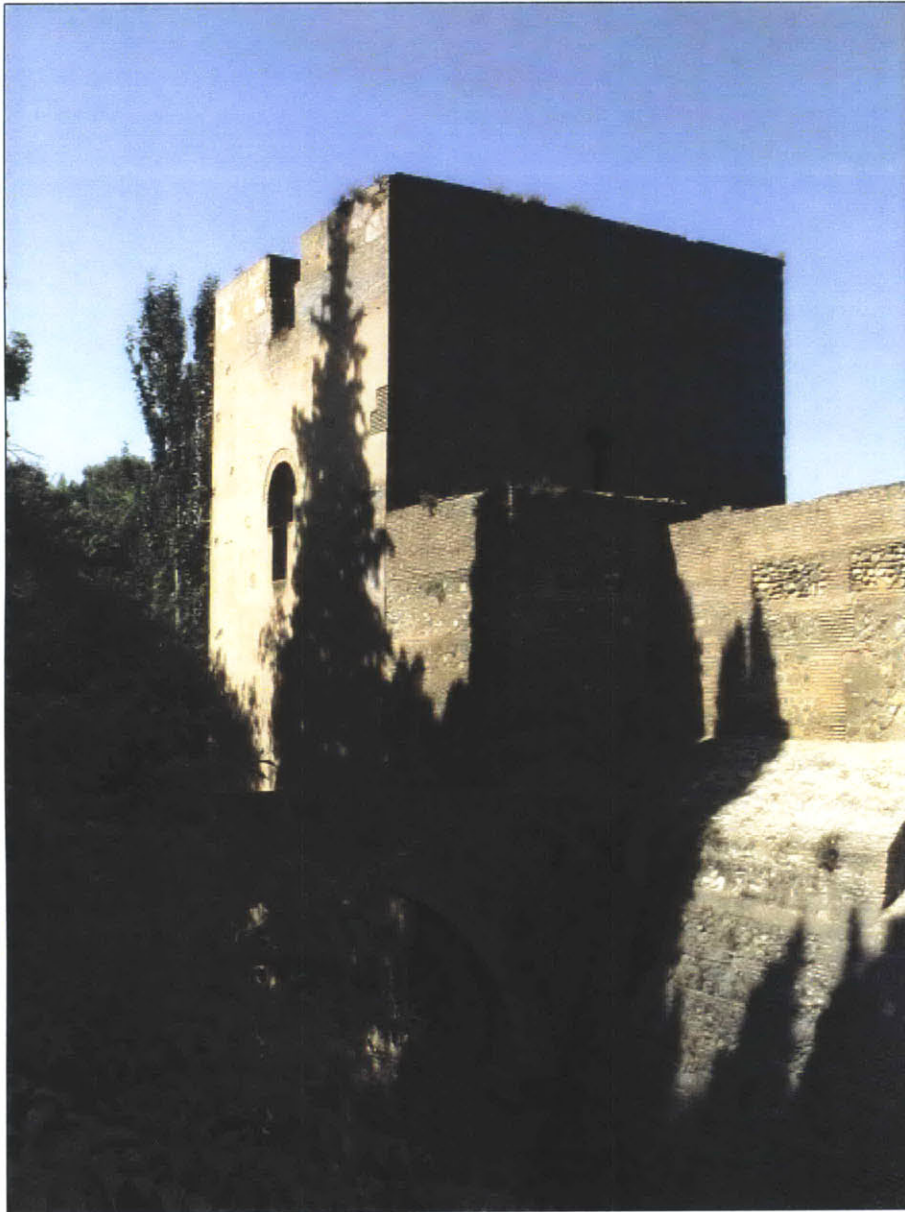


Fig. 2.28 Water Tower

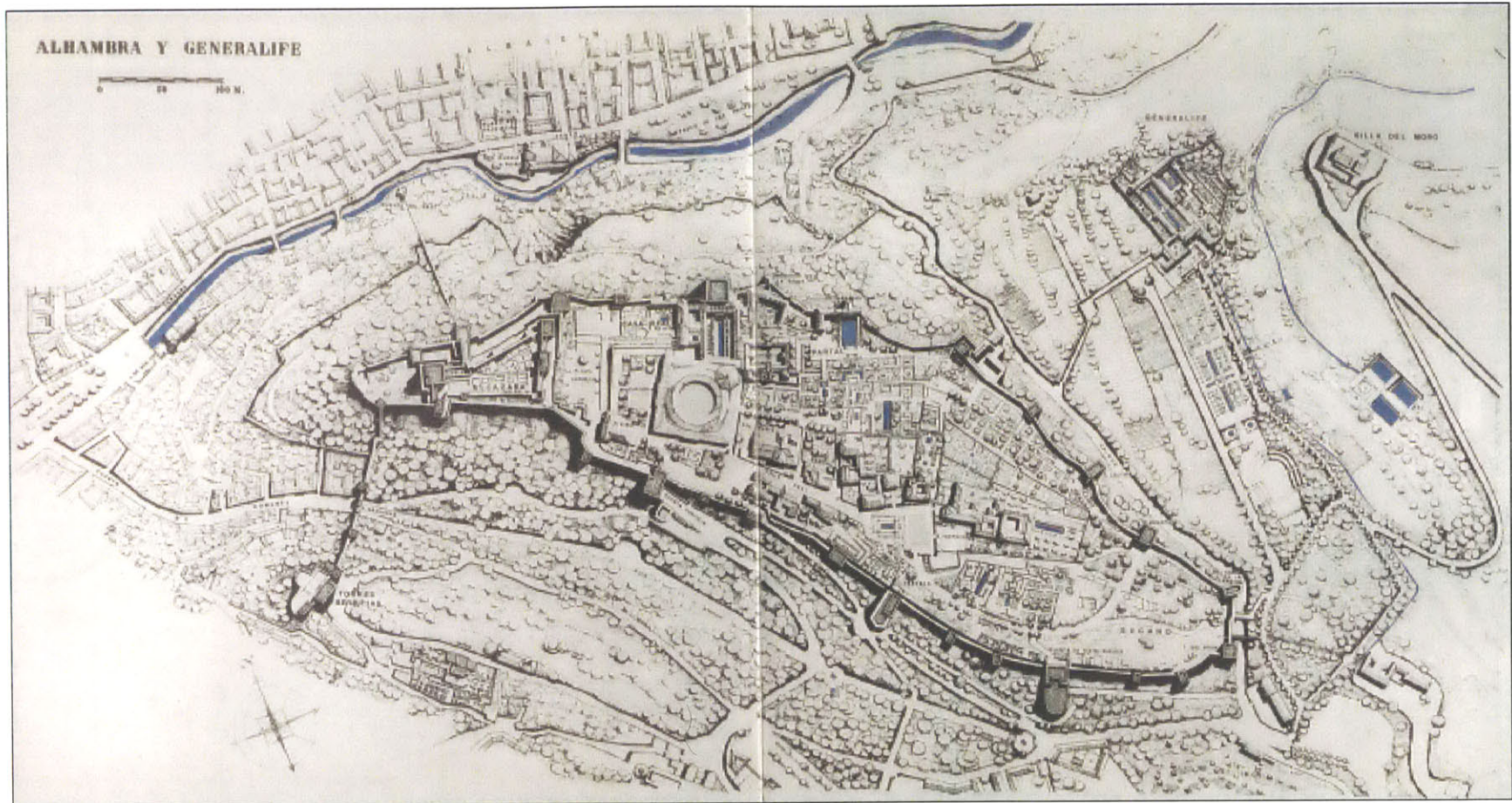


Fig. 2.29 Plan of the palace complex indicating the historic water supply system, fountains and pools of the Alhambra, 1954 by Francisco Prieto Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*

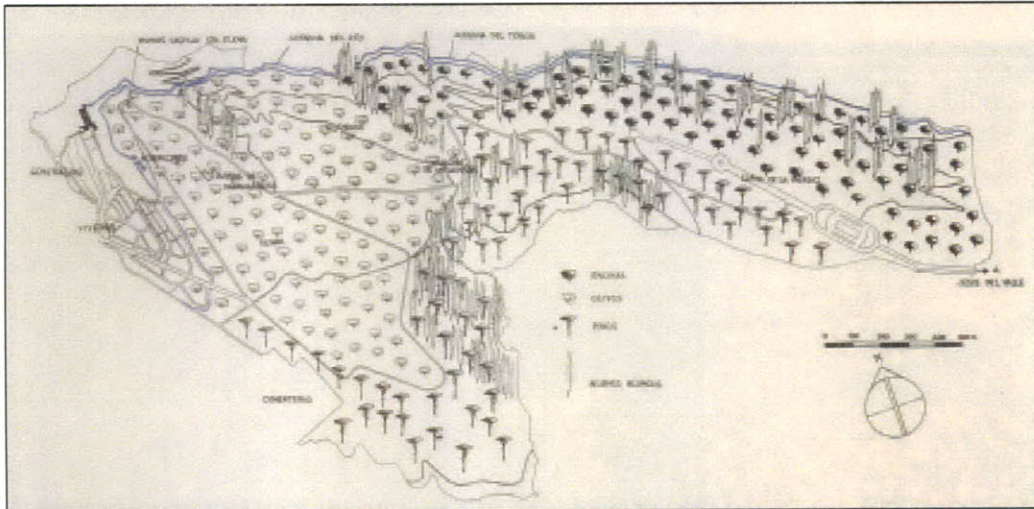


Fig. 2.30 Diagram of the historic water supply system of the Alhambra, 1954 by Francisco Prieto- Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*

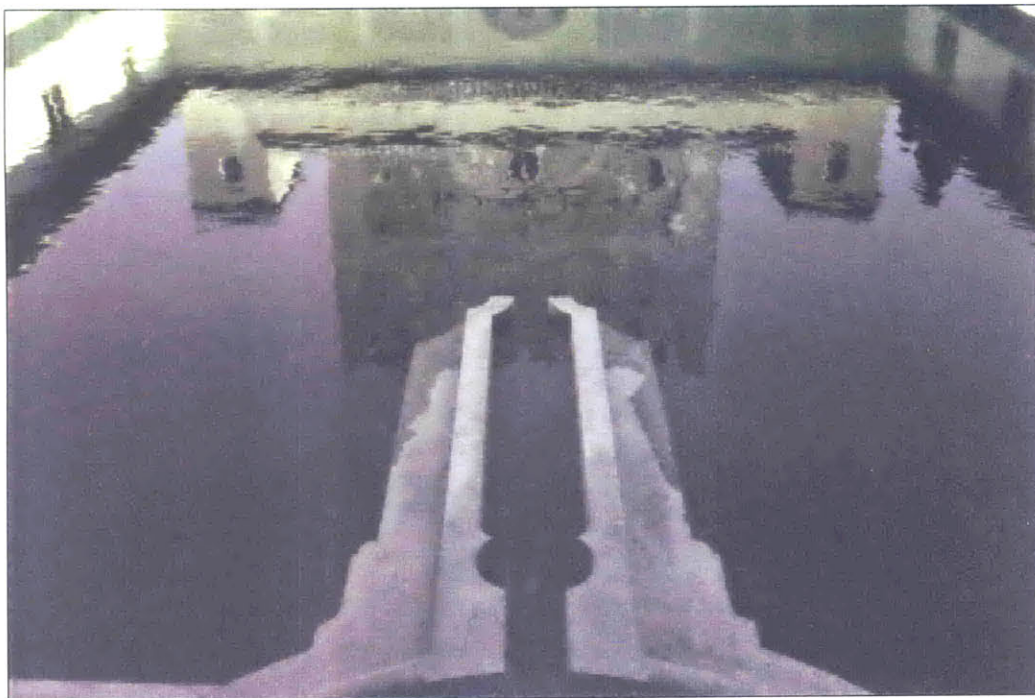


Fig. 2.31 Pool of the Court of the Comares

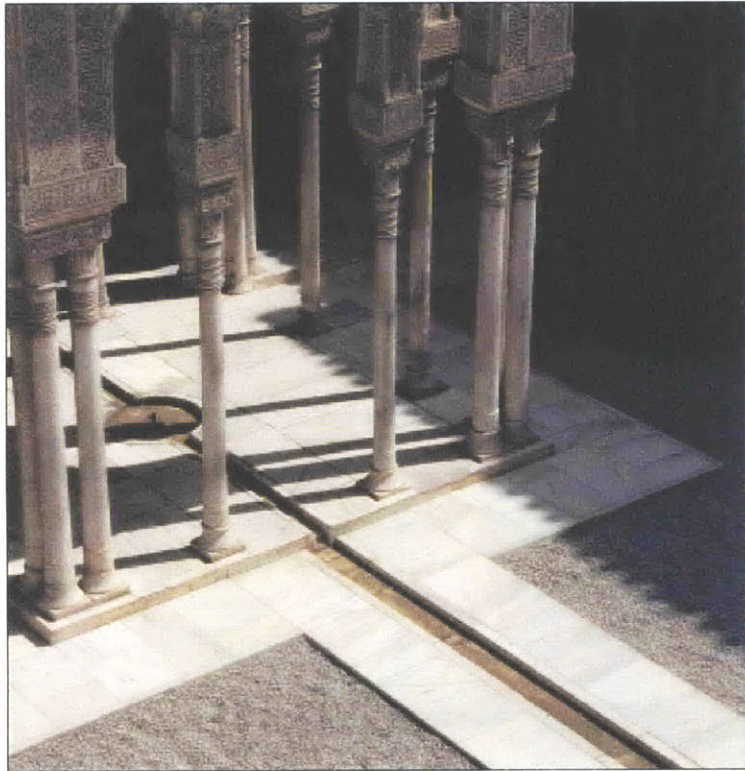


Fig. 2.32 Fountain in the Court of the Lions



Fig. 2.33 Symmetrical boxed myrtle hedges lining the pool of the Court of the Comares

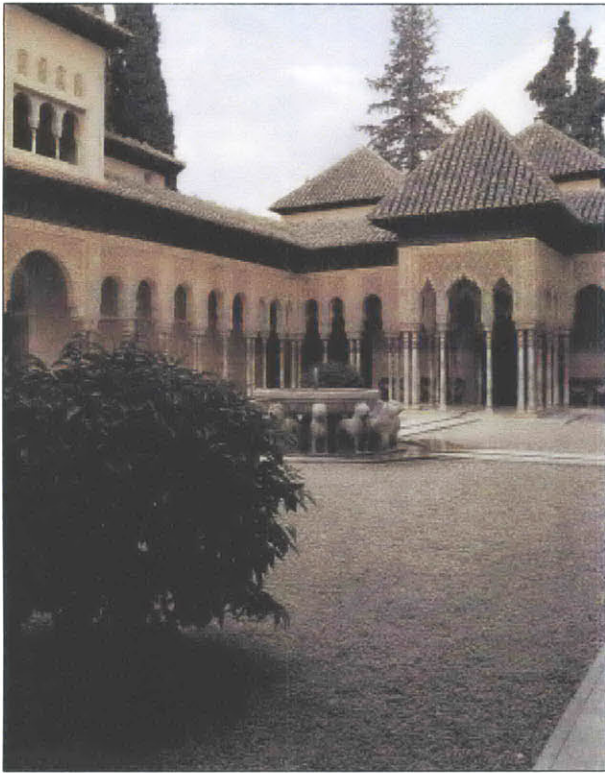


Fig. 2.34 Symmetrical layout of the dwarfed orange trees on the Court of the Lions



Fig. 2.36 Water Stair of the Generalife



Fig. 2.35 Informal garden of the Court of the Canal of the Generalife

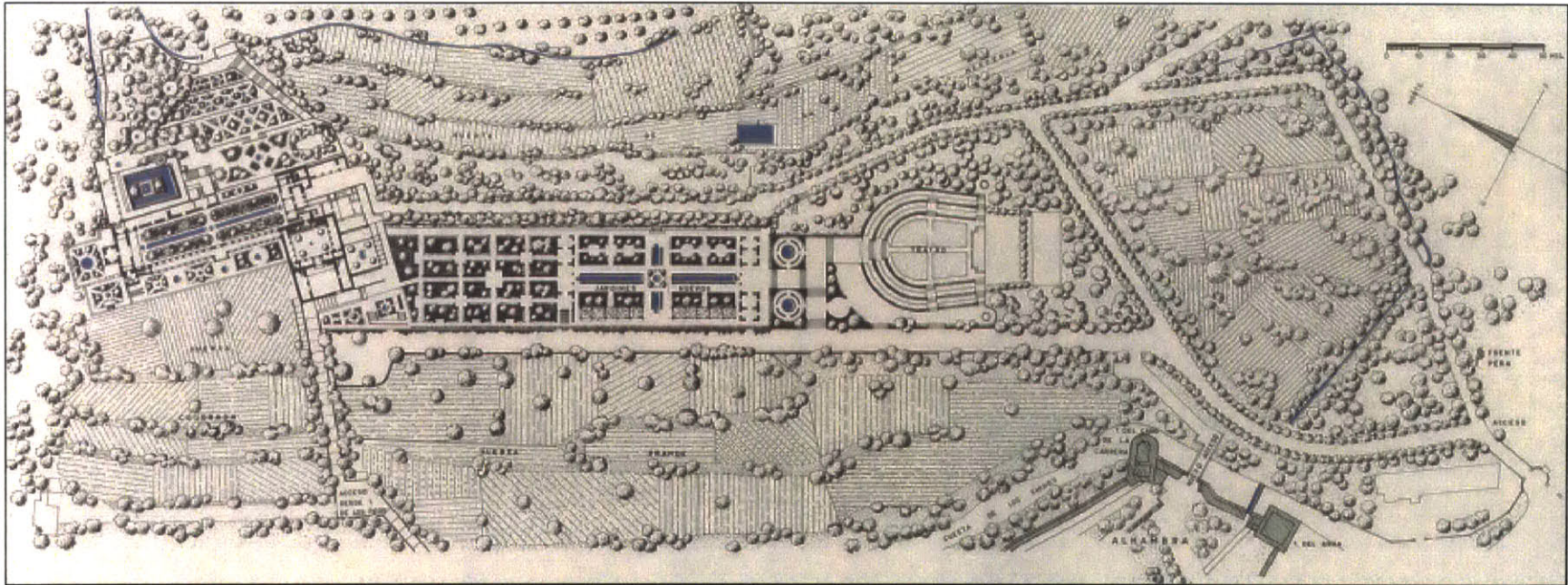


Fig. 2.37 Plan of the 20th century gardens and theatre of the Generalife, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*

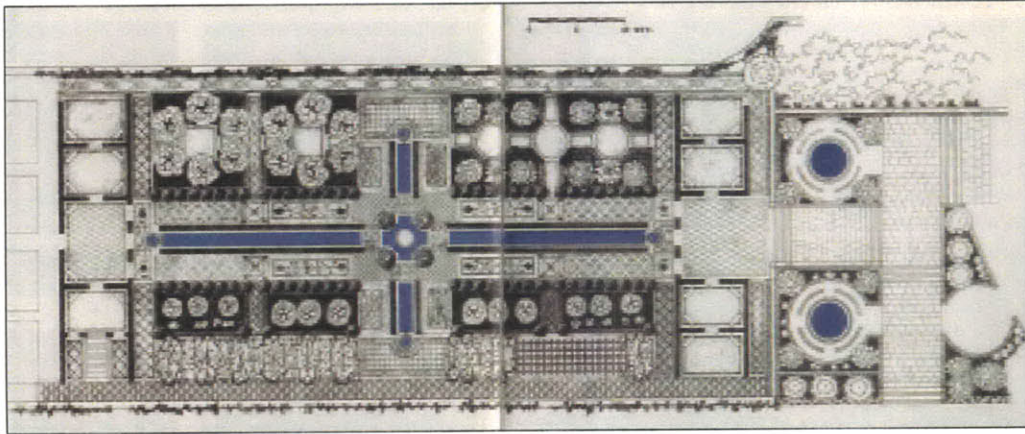


Fig. 2.38 Plan of the 1930's garden of the Generalife, 1954 by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *Los Jardines de Granada*



Fig. 2.39 Aerial view of the 1930's garden of the Generalife



Fig. 2.40 Water channel of the 1930's garden of the Generalife



Fig. 2.41 Trellised walkway overlooking the Alhambra of the 1930's garden of the Generalife



Fig. 2.42 Open-air theatre of the gardens of the Generalife with the 16th century cypress lined access road in the background

III Tourism

3.1 Introduction

In the designed landscape of the Alhambra the cumulative nature of the past is composed through structured display. David Lowenthal argues that unlike history and memory, the tangible past cannot stand on its own: "Relics are mute, they require interpretation to voice their reliquary role."²⁰¹ The Alhambra's fragmented and symbolic form exists meaningfully due to the conflation and hybridization of the historic landscape. This is a means of communication that displays the tropes imbedded in the landscape through a process of regulated movement.

The access to and circulation in the modern monument complex consist of a system of landscaped spatial sequences that facilitate the movement of visitors to the major components of the contemporary site: the Alcazaba, the Nasrid palaces, the Partal and its terraced archeological gardens, the archeological excavations of the *Secano*, the Generalife and the adjacent modern terraced gardens (fig. 3.1).

The present composition of the Alhambra disdains the facilitation of the everyday in favor of elevating the cultural, adorned by history and myth.²⁰² The remote past and the present attain a temporal co-existence in a synthesized landscape that resulted from a continuous spatial reorganization throughout the history of the site.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 243.

²⁰² Haber, Wolfgang. "Concept, Origin and Meaning of Landscape." in *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components of a Global Strategy* (Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag with UNESCO. 1995), 39.

²⁰³ Brinkcerhoff Jackson, John. *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 8.

3.2 Designed Access

During the Medieval period the citadel was primarily accessed from three gates, the Gate of Arms next to the Alcazaba that connected directly to the Albaicín of Granada, the Gate of Justice and the Gate of the Seven Floors that both allowed access to the citadel directly from the countryside.²⁰⁴ Another footpath, the Pathway of the Pebbles (*Cuesta de los Chinos*), once linked the Albaicín with the Generalife and the Alhambra's easternmost gate, the Gate of the Outskirts. The medieval approaches from the Albaicín fell into disrepair over the centuries and survive nominally as links between the two urban entities.

The system of access designed in the 16th century remains the principal approach to the site. After the Reconquest the Catholic monarchs ordered that a new access way to the Alhambra be constructed (fig. 3.2). The new access route established a new axis between the Alhambra and Granada that negated the traditional relationship between city and citadel. The ravine between the Sabika and the Mauror Hills was filled to accommodate the route. The Gate of the Pomegranates, commissioned by Charles V in 1536, provided a starting point for this sequence. The entry through the Renaissance gate built into the medieval fortifications creates the impression that one is entering an enclosed complex rather than leaving the city. The tree-lined three pronged access route consists of a series of hierarchical spatial sequences that culminate at various gates of the southern fortifications of the citadel. The path to the left, running along the fortifications, led to the Gate of Justice where a monumental drinking fountain for horses, commissioned by Charles V in 1545, articulate and appropriate the majestic gate (figs. 3.3 & 3.4).²⁰⁵ The central path, punctuated by three squares and paths that connect back to gates of the Alhambra, eventually terminates at the Generalife. The right path leads to the *Los Mártires* area with a side path branching off to the Crimson Towers (*Torres Bermejas*).²⁰⁶

The access way was renewed periodically with replantings of the trees in 1625 and 1641 by the Marquis of Mondéjar. In 1729 the paths were rebuilt in honor of Philip V's visit to Granada and in the 19th century the whole area was densely planted with trees by the occupying French army and the Duke of Wellington who donated a large amount of Elm trees.²⁰⁷ The approach was beautified by fountains and water channels lined with pebbles that magnify the sound of running water. This carefully staged access traversing the densely vegetated slopes of the Sabika gave rise to the 19th century trope of an earthly paradise enfolding the Alhambra where one is constantly aware of the sound of running waters and the song of nightingales (figs. 3.5 & 3.6). New access to the Generalife was designed in 1584 with the addition of a colonnade of majestic cypress trees that originated at the southern pavilion of the Court of the Canal, ran along the upper terrace of the Generalife's estate and then connected with the central pathway of the new access road to the Alhambra (figs 3.7 & 3.8).²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ Fernández-Puertas, Alhambra, 163.

²⁰⁵ Martín & Torices, *Granada: Guía*, 122.

²⁰⁶ Burín, *Granada*, 74

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 72.

²⁰⁸ Ibid, 171.

The 16th century circulation system forms the spine of the extra-mural circulation system of the modern monument. The Generalife and the Alhambra were linked with a bridge to facilitate the movement of visitors between the walled enclosure and the summer palace. An axis lined with cypresses connects to the bridge that breaches the walled enclosure just north of the Water Tower, the 1584 access route and a pathway built on the eastern edge of the modern terraced gardens of Generalife (fig. 3.9).

The extramural access routes are the modern visitor's first experience of the Alhambra. The approach constitutes a constant interplay between wooded landscape and walled enclosure so essential to the experience of the ruin enfolded in dense vegetation (fig. 3.10). Monumental gates give access to the interior at various points along the route that eventually culminate at the new ticket office, constructed in 1992 as part of a new regional access plan for the monument.

3. 3 Intramural Circulation and Archeology

The interior of the walled enclosure houses three major architectural artifacts of interest to tourists: the Alcazaba, the Nasrid palaces and the Palace of Charles V. These structures are concentrated in the northeastern quadrant of the walled enclosure, offset by a haphazard urbanism resulting from the fragmentation of the Nasrid royal city and the periodic addition of new structures to accommodate the ever-changing functions of the site. Historical fragments in various stages of deterioration, excavation and restoration are made legible through an archeology of display along the two major circulation corridors of the site (fig. 3.11).

As part of the conservation projects of the 20th century a number of excavations were undertaken. The archeology of the site is critical to recover its history, yet it also contributes to its legibility. As the whole quarter was continuously occupied by Spaniards since 1492, the archeology of the Alhambra is complex and multi-layered.²⁰⁹ Large areas of the Alhambra, such as the section east of the Convent of San Francisco to the Water Tower, where private houses still exist, remain to be excavated.²¹⁰

Both the Alcazaba and the Square of the Cisterns were extensively excavated in the course of the 20th century (fig. 3.11). The Square of the Cisterns was covered after the excavations, due to its continued use as a popular gathering place for visitors.²¹¹ Archeological explorations of the former military fortress gave legibility to the structure. Medieval functions are made explicit through the lowering of ground levels and raising of foundation walls of the destroyed military quarters in the central courtyard of the fortress (fig. 3.12).²¹² The former military complex acquired both the role of Romantic ruin and archeological site uncovering the Alhambra's history, with the Gardens of the Adarves, dating from the 17th century, lining the battlements on the approach to the *Torre de la Vela*, the tower of the western apex that is the symbol of the city of Granada (figs. 3.13 & 3.14).²¹³

Other excavations include the area south of the Nasrid palaces where Torres Balbàs explored the sepulchral *rauda*²¹⁴ and undertook a partial reconstruction of the public baths that was destroyed in 1534.²¹⁵ When the Gate of the Sand Bank in Granada was demolished in 1873, pieces were salvaged and later reconstructed in the Alhambra wood by Torres Balbàs in 1935.²¹⁶

Two other areas of major interest are easily identifiable, as they are the sites where Torres Balbàs and Francisco-Moreno created a series of archeological gardens after the areas were excavated (fig. 3.15). The gardens of the Partal center around the remains of the Palace of

²⁰⁹ Grabar, *Alhambra*, 38.

²¹⁰ Fernández-Puertas, *Alhambra*, 167.

²¹¹ Bermúdez López, *City Plan*, 155.

²¹² Ibid, 154.

²¹³ Ibid, 155.

²¹⁴ Garden where the Nasrid sultans were buried.

²¹⁵ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Alhambra*, 129.

²¹⁶ Dickie, *Granada*, 94.

Partial that once served as the house of Richard Ford during his stay in the Alhambra (figs. 3.16 & 3.17). The palace, of which only the northern pavilion and a small oratory remain, is morphologically similar to the Palace of the Comares.²¹⁷ The archeologist Gomez Moreno restored the 19th century house as a garden pavilion overlooking a large pool lined with myrtle bushes shaped as Renaissance *parterres* in the 1920's.²¹⁸ A reminder of Islamic Granada was introduced to the ensemble with the placement of two large stone sculptures of Lions, once located in the courtyard of the Maristan of Granada, on the southern edge of the pool (fig. 3.18). Torres Balbás extended the garden axially to the southern terraces bordering the pool with the addition of a series of pools and fountains lined with box hedges and flowerbeds (figs. 3.19 – 3.22).

To the east of the site are the fragments of the Palace of Yusuf III that served for centuries as the hereditary house of the Tendilla family. The archeological remains were converted into gardens by Torres Balbás after the site had been excavated in the 1930's. Flowers beds are located in former rooms and the visitor is able to walk in the remains of original rooms and courtyards while traversing the garden (figs. 3.23 & 3.24).²¹⁹ The archeology become both a tool for aesthetic enjoyment and a reminder of the layered history of the site. The raised foundation walls indicate the palace's typological correspondence to the Comares and the Partial palaces while the remains of the hypocaust system that heated the baths of the palace are clearly visible.²²⁰

The gardens are an integral part of the larger circulation system of the complex (figs. 3.25 & 3.26). As visitors leave the Court of the Lions they visit the Partial and the archeological gardens en route to the tower residences and the Generalife. The modern terraced gardens overlooking the city serve to unify the historical artifacts, thus giving coherence to the experience of the site for the visitor (figs. 3.27 – 3.29).

Likewise the modern cypress lined route along the excavations and archeological gardens of the *Secano* serves a frame for experience (fig. 3.30). The modern route recalls the Upper Royal Way (*Calle Real Alta*), once a major street of the former royal city. Today it serves as the major spine of circulation between the Generalife and the entry to the Nasrid palaces and the Palace of Charles V (fig. 3.31). The archeological remains of the industrial sector and the Palace of the Abencerrajes can be glimpsed though the vegetation, framed by modern gardens with the former Convent of San Francisco hovering in the background, providing yet another transitional experience on the way to the next artifact (figs. 3.32 – 3.33).

²¹⁷ Dickie, *Palaces*, 147.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, 147.

²¹⁹ Fernández-Puertas, *Alhambra*, 87.

²²⁰ Dickie, *Palaces*, 147.

3.4 Modern Access

The ever-increasing number of visitors to the site necessitated the development of a new regional access system in the early 1990's. During the preceding thirty years of mass tourism the area surrounding the monument was poorly equipped to accommodate the traffic to the site. An international design competition was announced in 1991 that clearly expressed the demands of tourism: "...a new vehicle entrance, namely the rear access converted into the XX-century gate adapted to modern systems of transport and allowing a massive influx of visitors and tourists."²²¹

The upgrading of the infrastructure of the area to the south of the monument was framed as a need to recreate the historic connection between the Alhambra and its sustaining landscape (fig. 3.37). A new access road, parking lots, resting and picnicking areas and a ticket office serving as a new entrance had to be accommodated in the program.²²² All vehicular traffic – except for a shuttle bus for tourists - was banned from the fragile 16th century access roads, thus compromising between fully protecting the experience of the woods surrounding the monument and complying with the burden of ever increasing commodification.

The Austrian firm Nigst, Hubmann and Vass was selected to design the master plan for the site. They based their design on the literary trope of the revival of the productive landscape. When explaining their design concept, Peter Nigst contrasted the abundance of the historical landscape, once settled by farms and summerhouses, with the present deteriorated state where only remnants of olive groves survived.²²³

In response the design proposed a series of cultivated terraces housing parking lots in the hollows of the slopes of the *Cerra del Sol*, surrounded by groves of olive groves (fig. 3.34 – 3.36).²²⁴ The three terraces nearest to the new entrance to the monument are allocated to private vehicles and employee parking while the more intrusive coaches are relegated to the upper terraces further to the east. A system of concrete irrigation channels, a reinterpretation of the traditional irrigation system, attempts to reestablish links with the landscape by drawing on the Alhambra's traditional water sources - the aqueducts and cisterns of the *Cerro del Sol* (figs. 3.38 & 3.39). The concrete water channels, located on the edges of the terraces, unify the new urban system visually and functionally by sustaining the vegetation of the terraces and the surrounding olive groves.²²⁵ The irrigation channels also function as pathways that frame visual relationships with the surrounding landscape and regulate the movement of tourists to the new entrance of the monument (fig. 3.36, 2.40 & 2.41).²²⁶

²²¹ Valor, Jaume. "2 Concursos – 2 Competitions" in *Quaderns d'Arquitectura I Urbanisme* (July-September 1991, no.190), 36.

²²² Nigst, Peter. "Neue Wege zur Alhambra, Granada" in *Topos: European Landscape Magazine* (June 1996, no.15), 80.

²²³ Ibid, 80.

²²⁴ Ibid, 81.

²²⁵ Ibid, 83-84.

²²⁶ Ibid.

The boundary between historicizing and commodification is blurred as the mythical landscape is invoked to legitimize a design that, although rich in intent, fails to rise above its mundane program: “In drawing up our design, we wanted to give the terrain a form that is based on its inner logic, and use this as a means of correcting thoughtless changes of recent years.”²²⁷

At the culmination of the terraced sequences the water channel is transformed into the roof structure of long covered walkway that culminates at a new entry pavilion where visitors now enter the site. As tourists line up to buy entry tickets they are confronted with a display of the historical evolution of the Alhambra and its landscape, captured in a series of bronze models lining the fountains of the covered walkway. Thus at the advent of the visit, the modern tourist is seduced by allusions to a non-existent historical completeness that the planned sequences of the vast landscaped site fleetingly recaptures in the tropes imbedded in the landscape of the modern monument (fig. 3.41).

As the visitor passes through new gate to enter a sequence of cypress-lined paths, movement is guided once again by the ritual of searching for the desired destinations that will encapsulate the meaningful whole imbedded in the notion of the mythical Alhambra (fig. 3.42).

²²⁷ Ibid, 82.

3.5 Conclusion

The richness of the access and circulation system are once again a testimony to the layered history and accumulation of the site. It not only serves as a means of regulating the movement of visitors, but also function as a frame of displaying historical artifacts and the surrounding landscape.

The carefully designed landscape also speaks of the extreme commodification of the site in answer to the mass tourism of the latter half of the 20th and 21st century. At the peak of the tourist season access to the Nasrid palaces is limited to four hundred visitors every half hour with large tour groups, so part and parcel of the modern tourism, dominating. In order to survive and simultaneously accommodate travelers of the new millennium, the Alhambra will continue to be adapted and transformed.

Yet admirers of the Alhambra seem determined to experience the palace on their own terms. Tourists enter armed with guidebooks, official audio handsets narrating the history of the palace complex, Washington Irving's ever popular *The Alhambra*, cameras and sketch books.

Every year Granadene intellectuals gather on the second of January to protest the annual ringing of the bells of the *Torre de la Vela* to celebrate the Reconquest. Anecdotes tell of Arab visitors crying for a lost past and finally in 1992, five hundred years after the Reconquest, a *muezzin*²²⁸ scaled the heights of the Alcazaba at night and called the faithful to prayer from the watchtower at dawn.²²⁹

²²⁸ In Muslim countries, a public crier who proclaims the regular hours of prayer from the minaret or the roof of a mosque.

²²⁹ Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 181.

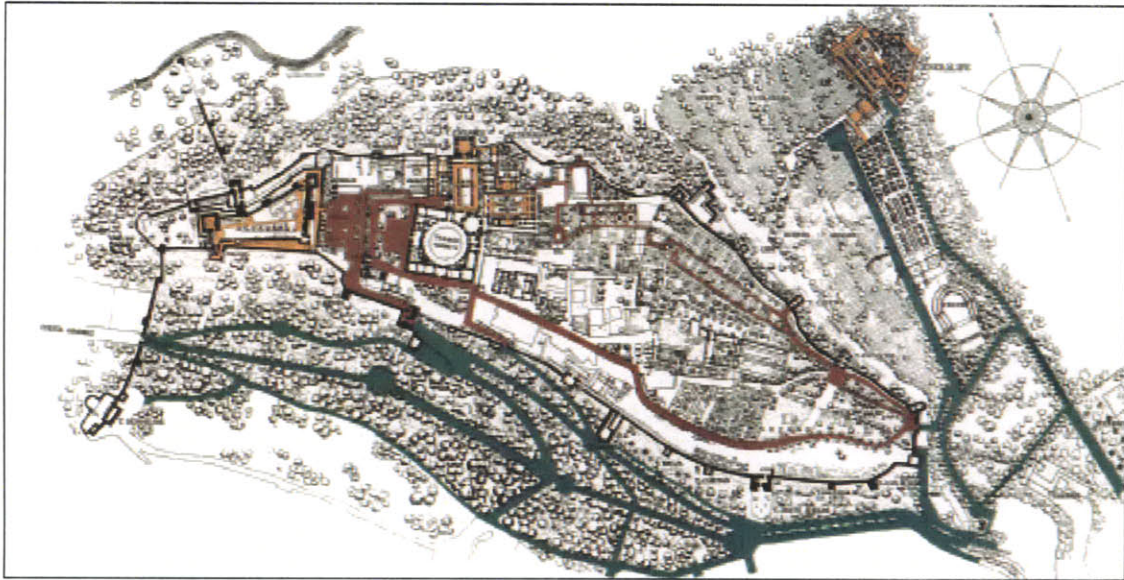


Fig. 3.1 Plan of the monumental complex indicating the circulation routes



Fig. 3.2 Plan of the Alhambra indicating the 16th century access roads

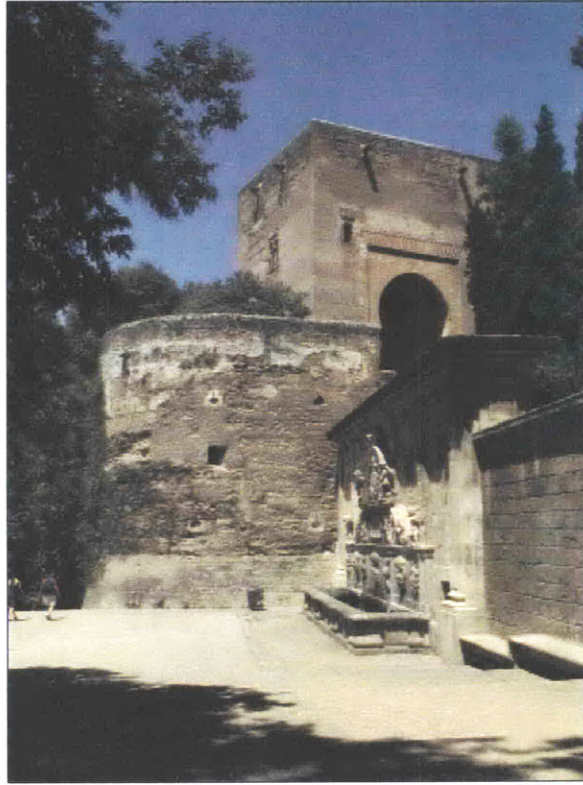


Fig. 3.3 Fountain of Charles V with the Gate of Justice in the background



Fig. 3.4 Fountain of Charles V



Fig. 3.5 Detail of ornamental irrigation channels in the Alhambra Wood in the Poplar Grove



Fig. 3.6 Pathways running alongside the fortifications enfolded in dense vegetation



Fig. 3.7 Aerial view of the Generalife with the Colonnade of Cypresses in the background



Fig. 3.8 Plan of the monumental complex indicating the 16t century Colonnade of the Cypresses

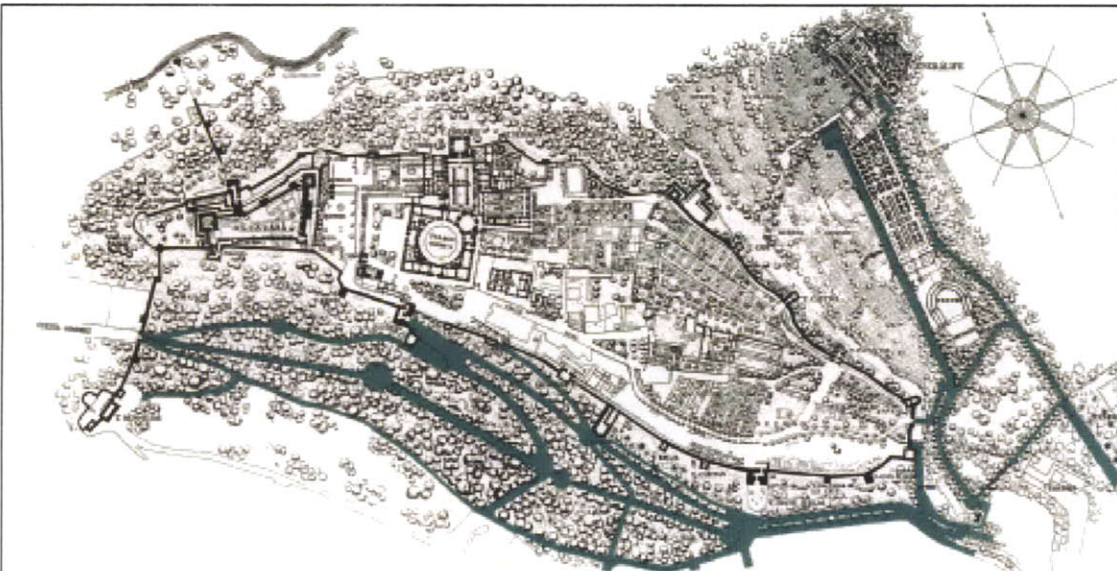


Fig. 3.9 Plan of the monumental complex indicating the extramural circulation complex



Fig. 3.10 Interplay between the wooded landscape and fortification

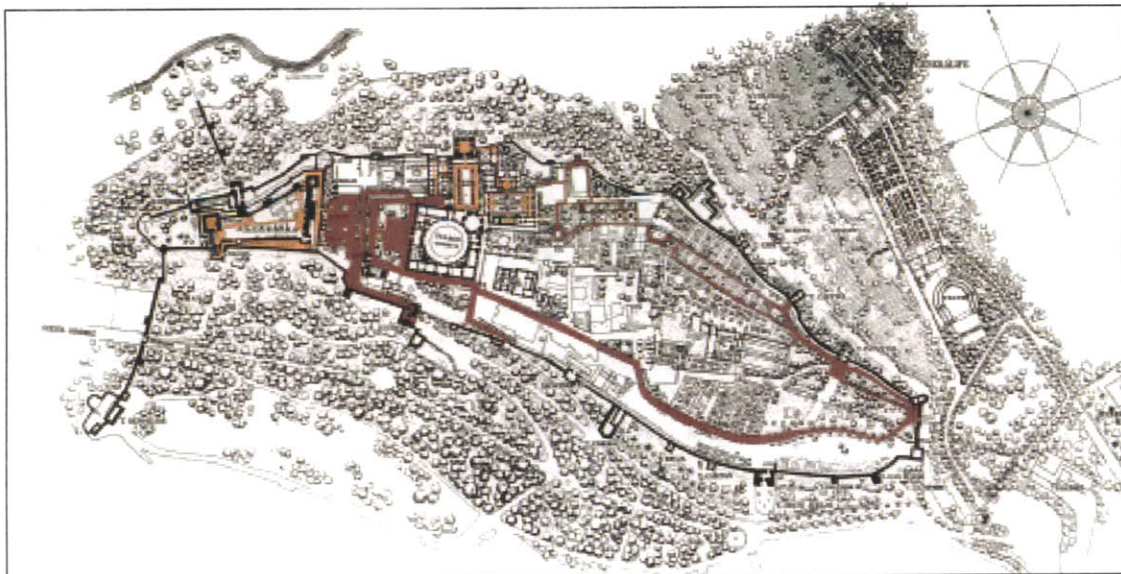


Fig. 3.11 Plan of the monumental complex indicating the intramural circulation system

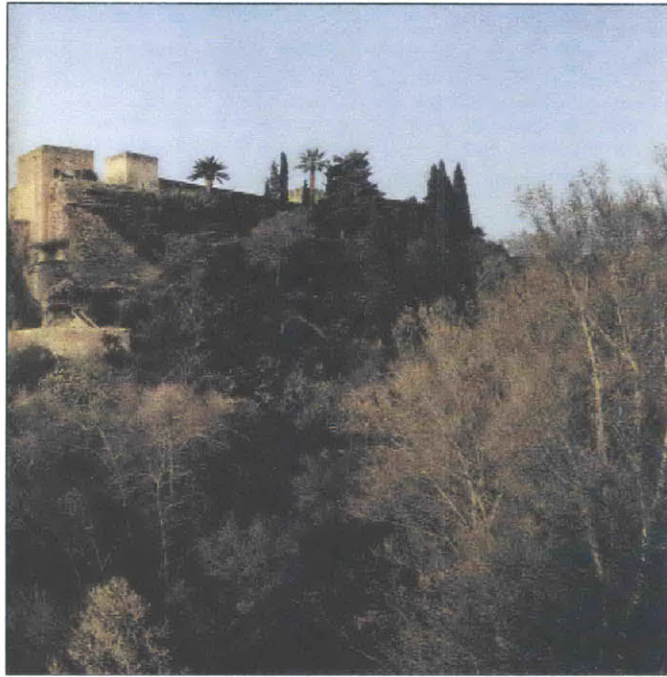


Fig. 3.12 Archeological excavations of the Alcazaba

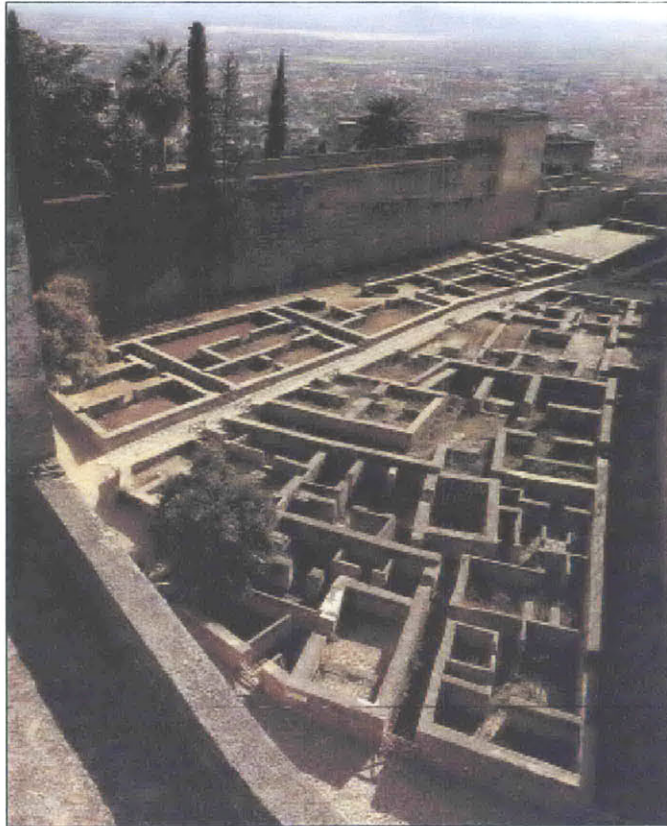


Fig. 3.13 Alcazaba framed by exotic vegetation planted by French soldiers in 1812



Fig. 3.14 View of Granada from the viewing platform of the *Torre de la Vela*

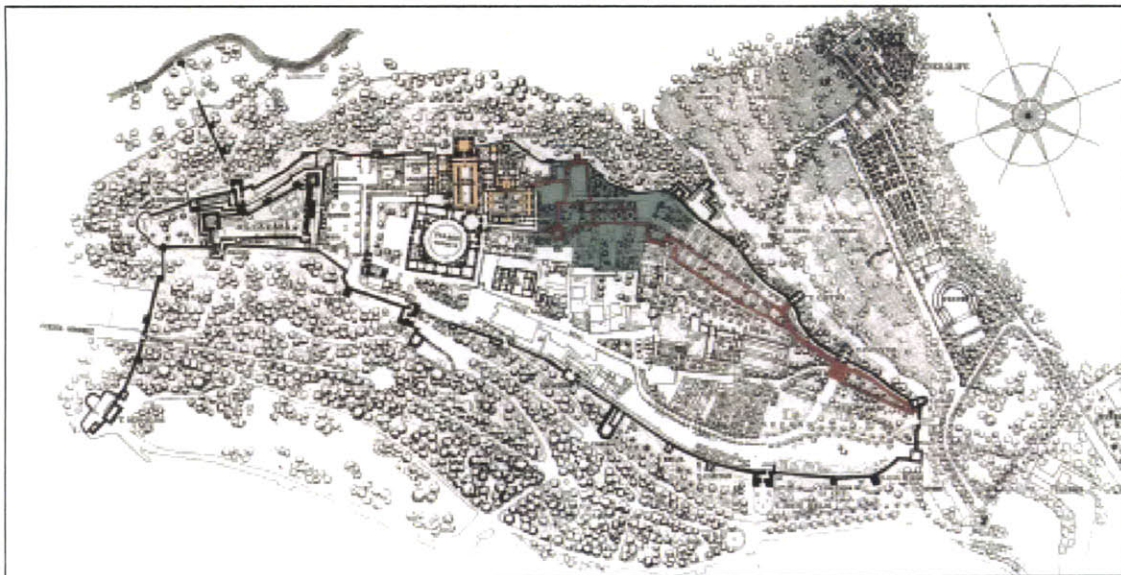


Fig. 3.15 Plan of the monumental complex indicating the Partial gardens



Fig. 3.16 Palace of the Partal as the Sánchez residence in the 19th century, 1835, Lithograph by John Frederick Lewis in *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra*



Fig. 3.17 Palace of the Partal restored as a garden pavilion in the 20th century



Fig. 3.18 Lion next to the pool of the Palace of the Partal

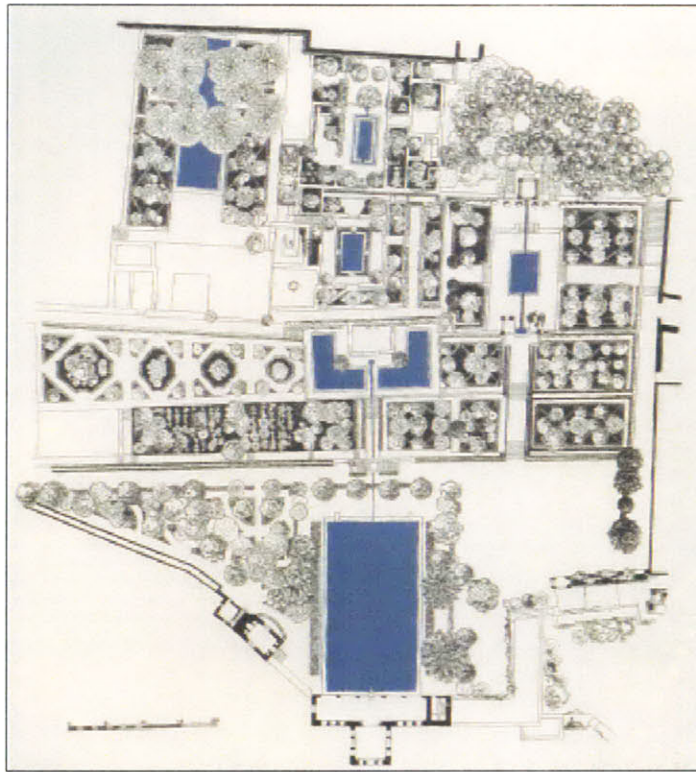


Fig. 3.19 Plan of the Partal gardens, 1954 by Francisco Pietro Moreneo, *Los Jardines de Granada*

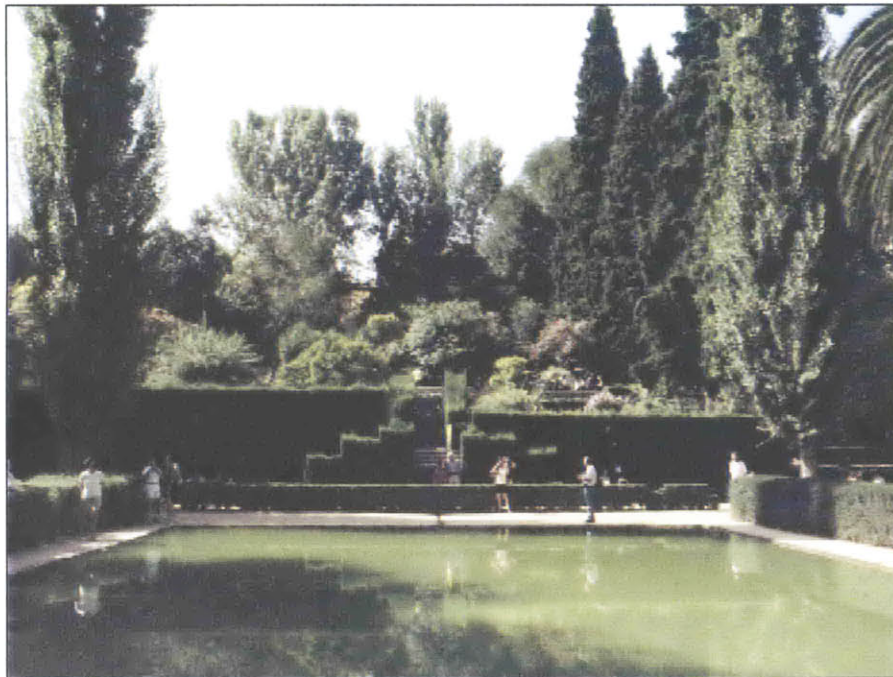


Fig. 3.20 Pool and terraced gardens of the Partal

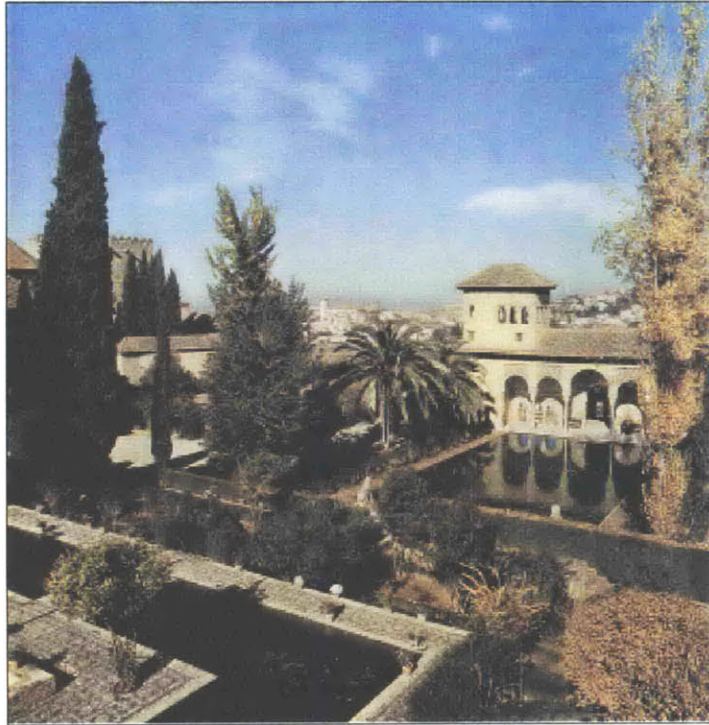


Fig. 3.21 Aerial view of the Palace of Partal and the contemporary terraced gardens

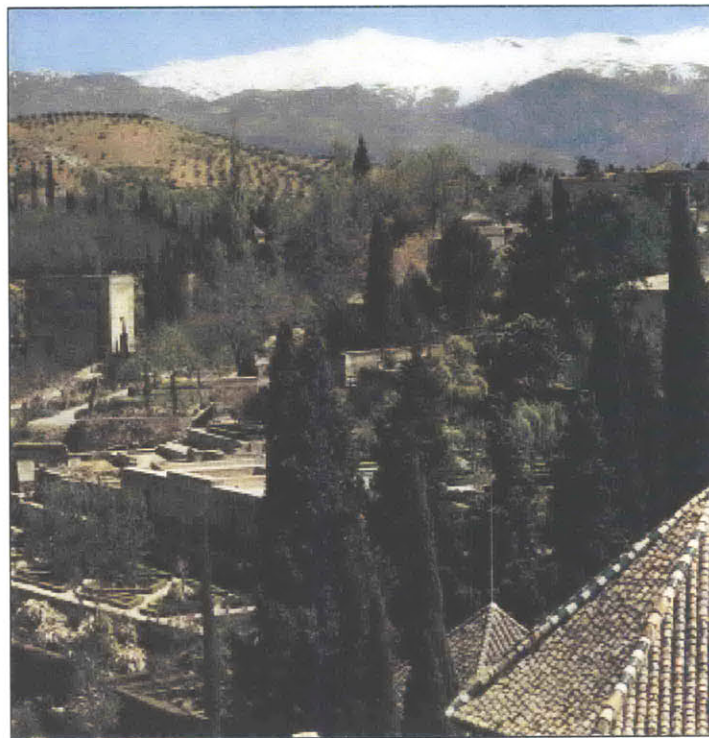


Fig. 3.22 Aerial view of the Partal gardens



Fig. 3.23 Archeological gardens located in remains of the Palace of Yusuf III



Fig. 3.24 Pool south of the archeological gardens



Fig. 3.25 Pathway running through the archeological gardens

Fig. 3.26 Pathway connecting the Partal gardens and the Tower of the Two Sisters



Fig. 3.27 Pathway leading from the Tower of the Two Sisters to the Generalife and the Secano

Fig. 3.28 Tower of the Two Sisters with the Generalife in the background

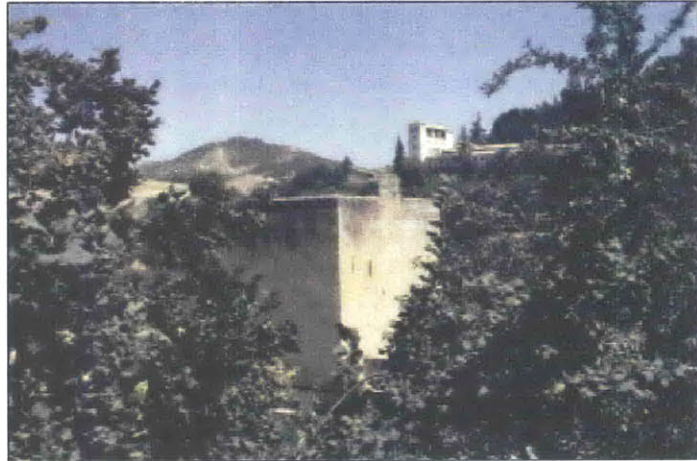


Fig. 3.29 Generalife seen from the ramparts of the Alhambra

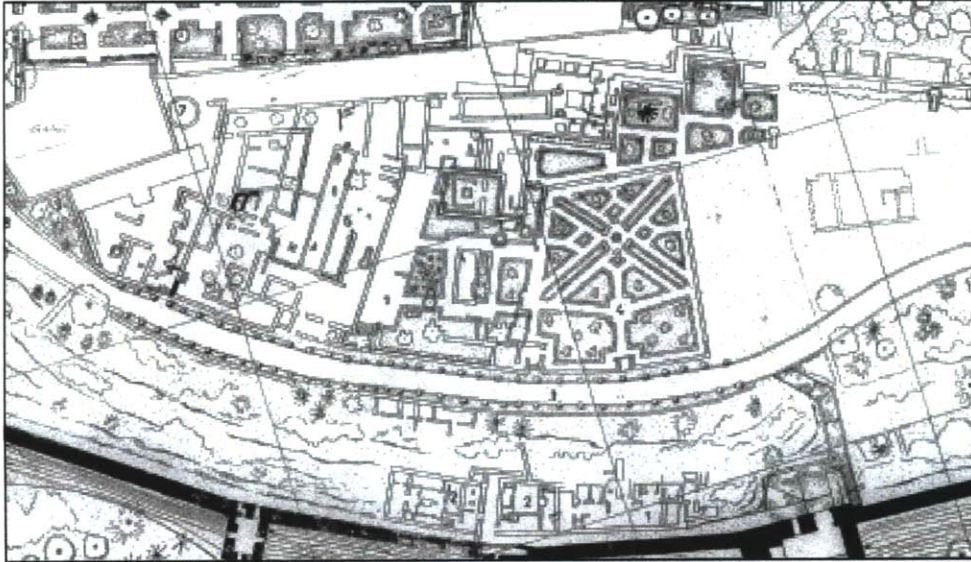


Fig. 3.30 Plan of the Secano with a cypress lined route running through archeological excavations and archeological gardens, 1958 - 85



Fig. 3.31 Cypress lined route through the Secano



Fig. 3.32 Archeological excavations in the Secano



Fig. 3.33 Archeological gardens of the Secano with the former Convent of San Francisco in the background

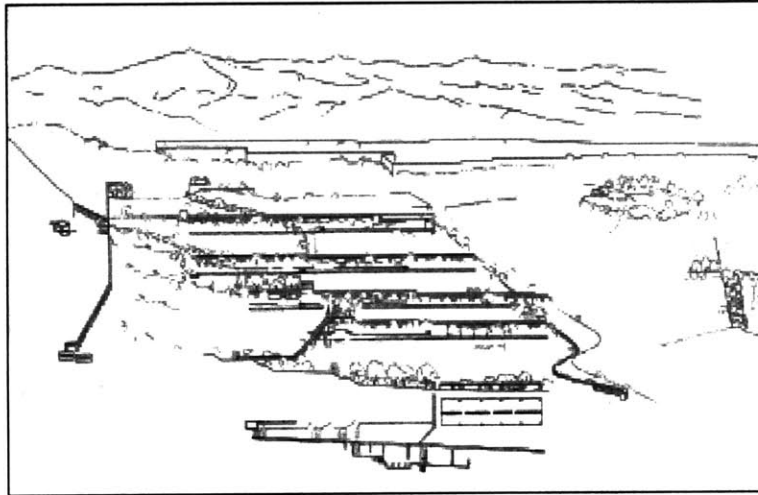


Fig. 3.34 Elevation of the terraced parking lots, 1992, by Nigst, Hubmann and Vass

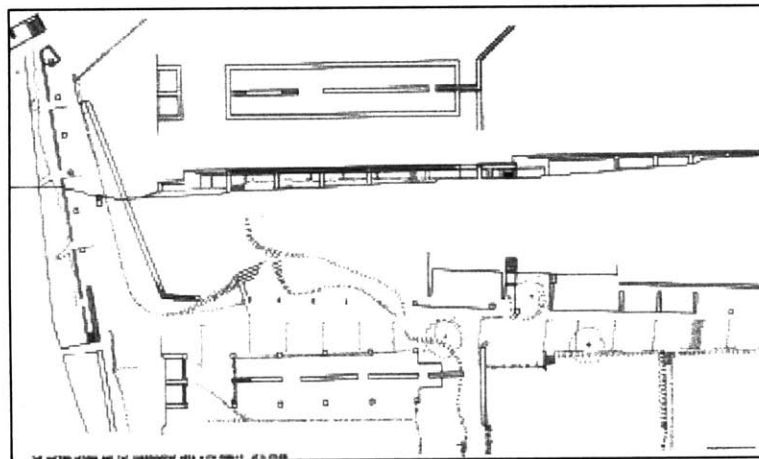


Fig. 3.35 Plan and elevation of new entry pavilion, 1992, by Nigst, Hubmann and Vass

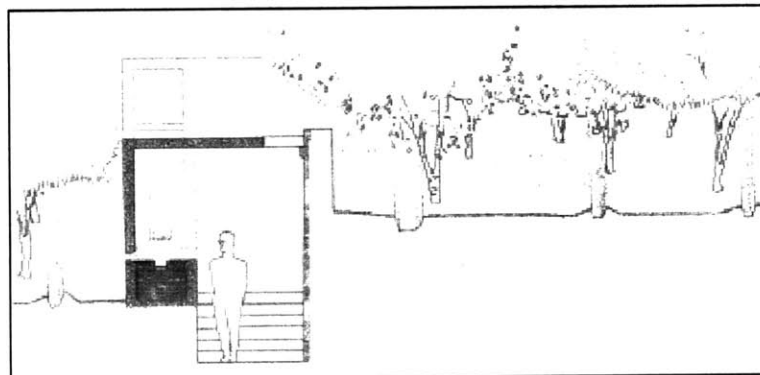


Fig. 3.36 Section through a concrete irrigation channel that also functions as a walkway for visitors, 1992, by Nigst, Hubmann and Vass



Fig. 3.37 Aerial view of the monumental complex indicating the area allocated to accommodate new access from the south

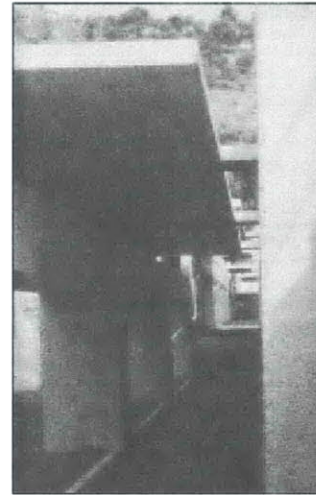


Fig. 3.38 Concrete irrigation channels that also function as covered walkway for visitors

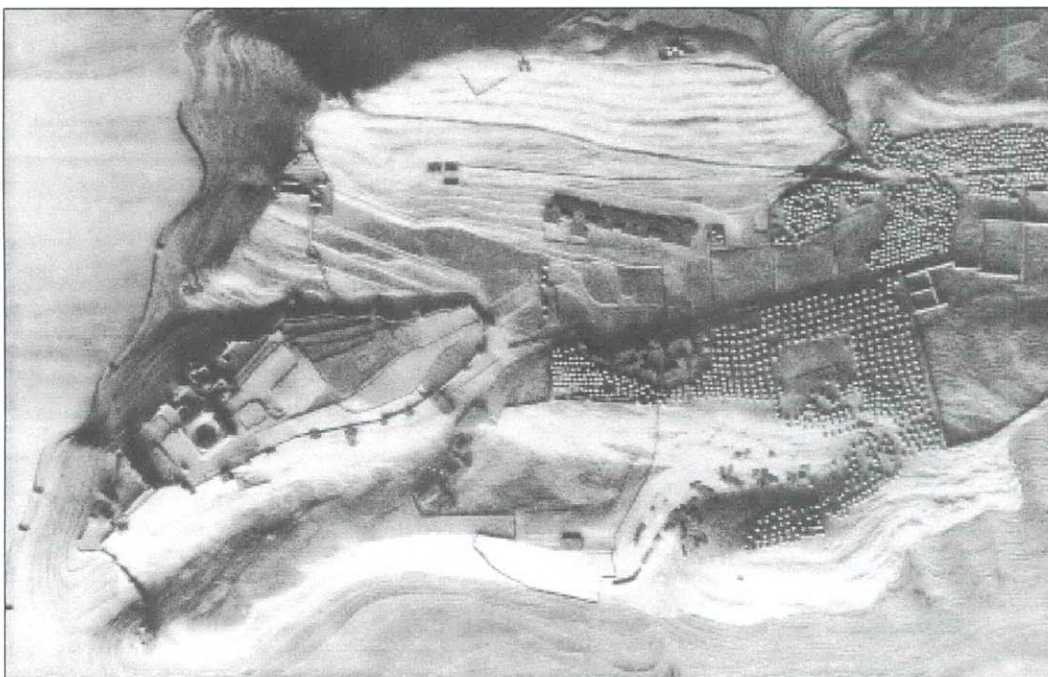


Fig. 3.39 Model of the new access system for the monumental complex, 1992, by Nigst, Hubmann and Vass

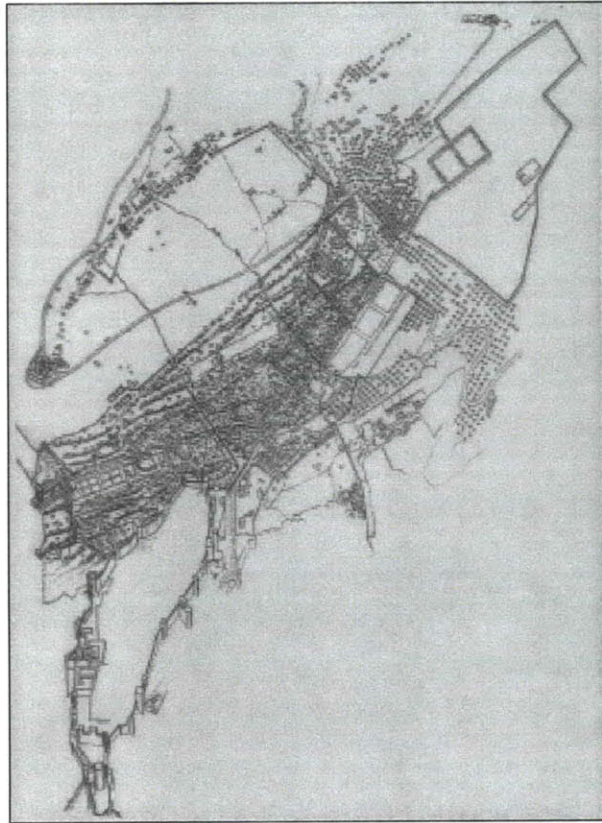


Fig. 3.40 Axonometric drawing indicating the new irrigation channels and the terraced parking lots, 1992, by Nigst, Hubmann and Vass

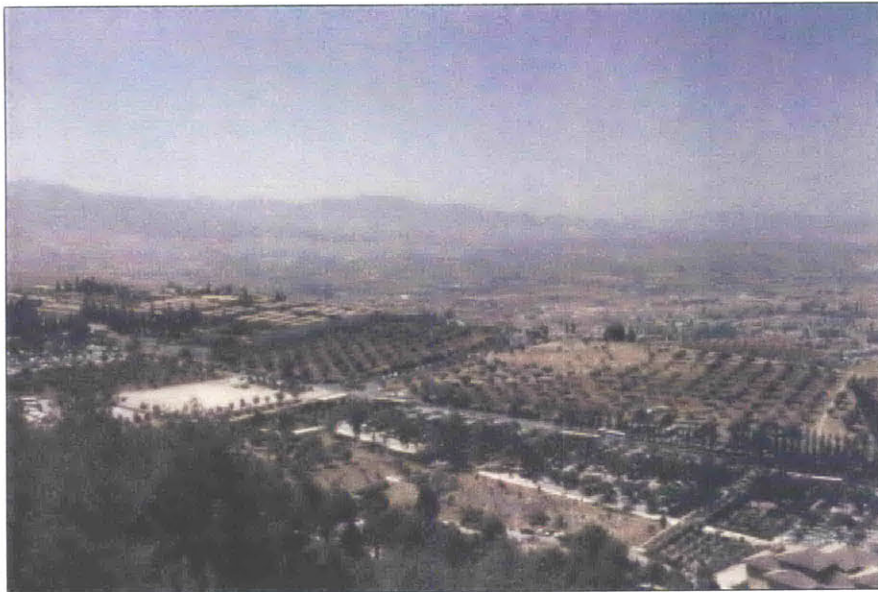


Fig. 3.41 Aerial view of the terraced parking lots



Fig. 3.42 Bronze model of Islamic Alhambra and the Alhambra

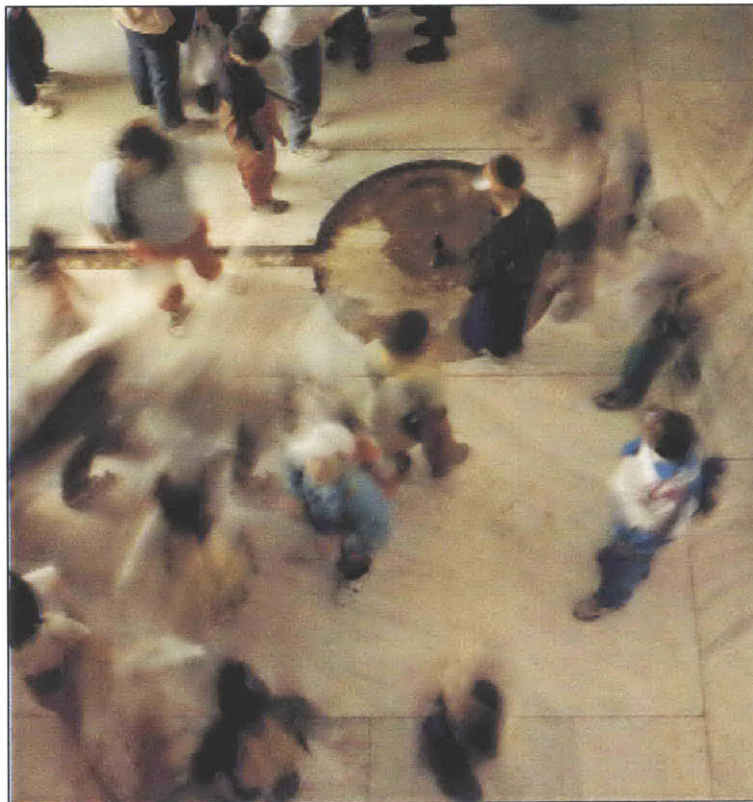


Fig. 3.43 Tourists in the Hall of the Two Sisters

Conclusion

For the past two centuries we know the Alhambra through a translations of experiences and representations of the monument. The facilitation of the temporal experience of the traveler, as once envisioned by Washington Irving and his compatriots, became assimilated in the tangible past of the monument.

The site gained legibility in the 19th and 20th centuries in a seemingly conflicting process of appropriation and reconstruction of a historical artifact in attempt to recover its past. This was due to modernity's obsession with recovering a coherent notion of what once existed during Islamic rule and the emergence of conservation practices that demanded a conception of an original form to be preserved.

The Alhambra's physical form was continuously repaired and rebuilt in the centuries following the Reconquest in order to meet the demands of the ever changing functions of the palace complex. The historical importance of the Alhambra – and the accompanying desire to preserve - only came to the fore during the last two centuries, perhaps resulting in the most radical reconstruction of all - the physical projection of the desire that demands the survival of the Alhambra.

If this is indeed a legitimate view of the Alhambra, the continued conservation, reconstruction and adaptation of its built fabric and landscape resulting from centuries of accumulation is desirable as a testimony to our perseverance to recapture the mythical Alhambra.

This approach is clearly in opposition to the endeavors of historians who strip away the layers of accumulation of the centuries following the Reconquest in order to gain some sense of the Islamic past of the monument. The tension between efforts to recover the Islamic past and the inevitable present state of accumulation cannot be resolved even though both are critical to the continued existence of the monument.

The Alhambra will continue to be shaped by a conservation policy driven by the economy of tourism where all aspects of the complex have to conform to the demands of displayed history so characteristic of modern monuments:

Enlarged or diminished, embellished or purified, lengthened or abbreviated, the past becomes more and more a foreign country, yet also increasingly tinged with present colors. But in spite of its modern overlay the altered past retreats from the present more rapidly than the untouched past, and suffers earlier extinction. Only the continual addition of more recent history prevents the past we revise from becoming marooned in ever-remoter antiquity.²³⁰

²³⁰ Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 362.

Yet the monument remains in the preserve of literature that has sustained and reconstituted the Alhambra for centuries. In 1995 Salman Rushdie once again revived the Alhambra myth in his novel *The Moor's Last Sigh*:

And so I sit here in the last light, upon this stone, among these olive trees, gazing out across a valley towards a distant hill; and there it stands, the glory of the Moors, their triumphant masterpiece and their last redoubt. The Alhambra, Europe's red fort, sister to Delhi's and Agra's – the place of interlocking forms and secret wisdom, and of pleasure-courts and water-gardens, that monument to lost possibility that nevertheless has gone on standing, long after its conquerors have fallen; like a testament to a lost but sweetest love, to the love that endures beyond defeat, beyond annihilation, beyond despair, to the defeated love that is greater than what defeats it, to that most profound of our needs, to our need for flowing together, for putting an end to frontiers, for dropping the boundary of the self.²³¹

Thus finally the Alhambra survives in the guise of our image of what we desire it to be. The monument is an accumulation, a hybrid of the mythical past and our present attempts to recover and adapt. In the centuries since 1492 the Alhambra receded into myth as Islamic Spain faded. In the 19th and 20th centuries the myth was reconstituted as a monumental palace complex enfolded in lush sustaining landscape that will continue to be the recipient of new myths and desires projected upon it.

²³¹ Rushdie, Salman. *The Moor's Last Sigh* (London: Vintage, 1995), 433.

Sources of Figures

- Fig. 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.5, 1.7, 1.8, 1.10, 1.11, 1.14 De Pragney, Girault. *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra* (Reading: Garnet, 1996), plates 2, 7, 13, 14, 18, 24, 26, 27, 30.
- Fig. 1.4, 1.9, 1.12, 1.13, 1.16, 1.17, 1.19, 1.20, 1.21, 1.22 Andreu, Pedro Galera. *La imagen romántica de la Alhambra* (Granada: Junta de Andalucía, 1992), pp.11, 20, 139, 140, 143, 144, 145, 147, 190, 197.
- Fig. 1. Trevelyan, Raleigh. *Shades of the Alhambra* (London: Seckler & Warburg, 1985), p. 81.
- Fig. 1.15, 2.3, 2.5, 2.7 Fernández-Puertas, Antonio. *The Alhambra* (London: Saqi Books, 1997), p. 220, plates 2 and 11 and fig. 154.
- Fig. 1.18, 2.8, 2.19, 2.34, 2.36, 3.12, 3.16 Jacobs, Michael. *Alhambra* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 59, 71, 111, 150, 166, 167.
- Fig. 2.1, 2.11, 2.12, 2.13, 2.14, 2.23, 2.29, 2.30, 2.37, 2.38, 3.7, 3.19, 3.21, 3.22 Prieto-Moreno, Francisco. *Los Jardines de Granada* (Madrid: Arte de España, 1983), pp. 40, 46, 47, 62, 72, 86, 90, 124, 136, 137, 141, 142, 143, 176, 177, 188, 190.
- Fig. 2.2, 2.32, 3.5, 3.13, 3.18, 3.43 Casals, Lluís & Bayón, Félix. *The Alhambra of Granada* (Granada: Patronato de la Alahambra y Generalife, 2000), pp. 7, 37, 83, 95, 108.
- Fig. 2. Loose leaf reprint by the Patronato de la Alahambra y Generalife, Granada, 2000.
- Fig. 2.6, 3.30 Vílchez Vílchez, Carlos. *La Alhambra de Leopoldo Torres Balbás: Obras de restauración y conservación. 1923-1936* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 1988), pp. 367.
- Fig. 2.9 *La Alhambra y el Generalife*. Guidebook. Núñez Guardé, J. Augustin (ed.) (Granada: Ediciones Capitel Granada, 1988), pp. 12, 376.
- Fig. 2.10, 2.16, 2.17, 2.18, 2.20, 2.21, 2.22, 2.24, 2.26, 2.28, 2.31, 2.33, 2.35, 2.39, 2.40, 2.41, 2.42, 3.3, 3.4, 3.6, 3.10, 3.14, 3.17, 3.20, 3.23, 3.24, 3.25, 3.26, 3.27, 3.28, 3.29, 3.31, 3.32, 3.33, 3.41, 3.42 Photographs by the Author.
- Fig. 2.25 Drawing by Marianne de Klerk and Sunitha Raju.
- Fig. 2.27 Escobar, Pedro Salmerón. *The Alhambra: Structure and Landscape* (Granada: La General Caja de Granada, 1999), pp.108, 109.
- Fig. 3.1, 3.2, 3.8, 3.9, 3.11, 3.15 Diagrams by Author.
- Fig. 3.34, 3.35, 3.36, 3.40 Pérez-Escolano, Victor. "La Forza del luogo: il concorso per l'Alhambra" in *Casabella* (September 1990, vol. 54, no.571), p. 34, 35.
- Fig. 3.37 "Alhambra – Acròpoli: reestructurant el passat = restructuring the past" in *Quaderns d'Arquitectura I Urbanisme*. July-September 1991, no.190, p.28.
- Fig. 3.38, 3.39 Nigst, Peter. "Neue Wege zur Alhambra, Granada" in *Topos: European Landscape Magazin* (June 1996, no.15), pp.81, 85.

Bibliography

Aitchison, John. "Cultural Landscapes in Europe: A Geographical Perspective." in *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components of a Global Strategy*. Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag in cooperation with UNESCO. 1995, pp.272-287.

"Alhambra – Acròpoli: reestructurant el passat = restructuring the past" in *Quaderns d'Arquitectura i Urbanisme*. July-September 1991, no.190, pp.28-29.

Andreu, Pedro Galera. *La imagen romántica de la Alhambra*. Granada: Junta de Andalucía, 1992.

Bargebuhr, Frederick P. *The Alhambra: A Cycle of studies on the Eleventh Century in Moorish Spain*. Berlin: Water de Gruyter, 1968.

Berko, P.V. *Orientalist Painting*. Brussels: Editions Laconti, 1982.

Betsky, Aaron. Take me to the Water: Dipping in the History of Water in Architecture. *Architectural Design: Architecture and Water*, vol, 65, no.1/2 January-February, 1995, pp. 9-15.

Bermúdez López, Jesús. "The City Plan of the Alhambra: An Introduction" in *Al-Andalus*, ed. Dodds, Jerrilynn D. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992, pp.153-161.

Bradbury, Malcolm. *Dangerous Pilgrims: Trans-Atlantic Mythologies & the Novel*. London: Seckler & Warburg, 1995.

Brinkcerhoff Jackson, John. *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

Burín, Antoni Gallego. *Granada: an artistic and historical guide to the city*. Granada: Editorial Comares, 1992.

Cabanelas Rodríguez, Darío. "The Alhambra: An Introduction" in *Al-Andalus*, ed. Dodds, Jerrilynn D. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992, pp.127-133.

Casals, Lluís & Bayón, Félix. *The Alhambra of Granada*. Granada: Patronato de la Alahambra y Generalife, 2000.

Cleere, Henry. "The Evaluation of Cultural Landscapes: The Role of ICOMOS." in *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components of a Global Strategy*. Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag in cooperation with UNESCO. 1995, pp.50-59.

Darby, Michael. *The Islamic Perspective: An aspect of British architecture and design in the 19th century*. London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1983.

De Pragney, Girault. *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra*. Reading: Garnet, 1996.

Dickie, James. "Granada: A case study of Arab urbanism in Muslim Spain," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. By S.K. Jayyusi. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992, pp.88-111.

Dickie, James. "The Hispanio-Arab Garden: Notes Towards a Typology." in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. By S.K. Jayyusi Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992, pp.1016-1035.

- Dickie, James. "The Palaces of the Alhambra" in *Al-Andalus*, ed. Dodds, Jerrilynn D. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992, pp.135-151.
- Dickie, James. "The Alhambra: some Reflections prompted by a recent study by Oleg Grabar. *Studia Arabica et Islamica*. Beirut, 1981, pp.127-149.
- Duncan, James S. *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Escobar, Pedro Salmerón. *The Alhambra: Structure and Landscape*. Granada: La General Caja de Granada, 1999.
- Feliu, Carmen Añon. "Aranjuez: Nature, Agriculture and the Art of Landscape." in *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components if a Global Strategy*. Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag with UNESCO. 1995, pp.295-306.
- Fernández-Puertas, Antonio. *The Alhambra*. London: Saqi Books. 1997
- Ford, Richard. *The Handbook for Travelers in Spain. Part II*. London: John Murray, 1892. 8th edition.
- Gausa, Manuel. "Alhambra: demasiados hechizos = too many magic spells" in *Quaderns d'Arquitectura I Urbanisme*. July-September 1991, no.190, pp.30-31.
- Glick, Thomas & Pi-Sunyer, Oriol. Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, no.11, 1989, pp.136-154.
- Grabar, Oleg. *The Alhambra*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Haber, Wolfgang. "Concept, Origin and Meaning of Landscape." in *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components if a Global Strategy*. Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag in cooperation with UNESCO. 1995, pp.38-41.
- Heffernan, James, A.W. *The re-creation of landscape: A Study of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Constable and Turner*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1984.
- Hedges, William L. *Washington Irving: an American study, 1802 –1832*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1965.
- Honour, Hugh. *Romanticism*. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.
- Irving, Washington. *The Alhambra*. London: Macmillan, 1921.
- Irving, Washington. *The Conquest of Granada*. New York: Putman, 1975.
- Jacobs, Michael. *Alhambra*. New York: Rizolli, 2000.
- Jespersion, John Kresten. *Owen Jones's The Grammar of Ornament of 1856: field theory in Victorian Design at the mid-century*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Brown University, 1984. 190p.
- Jokilehto, Jukka. *A History of Architectural Conservation*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1999.
- Jones, Owen. *The Grammar of Ornament*. London: Studio Editions, 1986.

- Jones, Owen and Goury, Jules. *Plans, elevations, sections, and details of the Alhambra, from drawings on the spot in 1834 and 1837*. London: O. Jones, 1842-5.
- Kagan, Richard L.(ed.). *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989.
- Kamen, Henry. *Spain 1469-1714: A society of conflict*. New York: Longman, 1983.
La Alhambra y el Generalife. Guidebook. Núñez Guarde, J. Augustin (ed.) Granada: Ediciones Capitel Granada, 1988.
- Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1985.
- Luginbühl, Yves. "On the Traces of the Mediterranean Landscape." in *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components of a Global Strategy*. Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag with UNESCO. 1995, pp.289-294.
- Macaulay, Rose. *Pleasure of Ruins*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1966.
- Mariás, Fernando. "City Planning in Sixteenth-Century Spain" in *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, p.54-67, 1989.
- Martín Martín, Eduardo & Torices Abarca, Nicolás. *Granada: Guía de Arquitectura*. Granada: Junta de Andalucía, 1998.
- Meinig, D.W. The Beholding Eye: Ten Version of the Same Scene in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*. WY: Oxford, 1979.
- Murphy, James Cavanah. *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*. ? edition. Granada: Editorial Turpiana. 1987.
- Nigst, Peter. "Neue Wege zur Alhambra, Granada" in *Topos: European Landscape Magazine*. June 1996, no.15, pp.80-86.
- Pérez-Escolano, Victor. "La Forza del luogo: il concorso per l'Alhambra" in *Casabella*, September 1990, vol. 54, no.571, pp.34-35.
- Prieto-Moreno, Francisco. *Los Jardines de Granada*. Madrid: Arte de España, 1983.
- Plachter, Harald & Rössler, Mechtild. "Cultural Landscapes: Reconnecting Culture and Nature." in *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components of a Global Strategy*. Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag in cooperation with UNESCO. 1995, pp.15-18.
- Rosenthal, Earl E. *The Palace of Charles V in Granada*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Rössler, Mechtilid. "UNESCO and Cultural Landscape Protection." in *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components of a Global Strategy*. Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag in cooperation with UNESCO. 1995, pp.42-49.
- Rubin Dorsky, Jeffrey. *Adrift in the Old World: The psychological pilgrimage of Washington Irving*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.

- Ruggles, D. Fairchild. *Gardens, Landscape and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.
- Rushdie, Salman. *The Moor's Last Sigh*. London, Vintage, 1995.
- Sim, Katharine. *David Roberts, R.A. 1796-1864: a biography*. New York: Quartet Books, 1984.
- Sordo, Enrique. *Moorish Spain: Cordova, Seville and Granada*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1963.
- Sweetman, John. *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic inspiration in British and American art and architecture, 1500-1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Tabba, Yasser. The Medieval Islamic Garden: Typology and Hydraulics. *Garden History*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992.
- Thornton, Lynne. *The Orientalist Painter Travelers, 1828-1908*. Paris: ACR Edition, 1983.
- Trevelyan, Raleigh. *Shades of the Alhambra*. London: Seckler & Warburg, 1985.
- Valor, Jaume. "2 Concursos – 2 Competitions" in *Quaderns d'Arquitectura I Urbanisme*. July-September 1991, no.190, pp.34-39.
- Vernet, Juan. "The Legacy of Islam in Spain" in *Al-Andalus*, ed. Dodds, Jerrilynn D. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992, pp.173-187.
- Valdés Ozores, Tereza. *Spanish Gardens*. Madrid: Antique Collectors Club. 1987 (English Translation.) 1973 (Spanish edition).
- Vílchez Vílchez, Carlos. *La Alhambra de Leopoldo Torres Balbás: Obras de restauración y conservación. 1923-1936*. Granada: Editorial Comares, 1988.
- Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel. *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XIVe Siècle*. (10 vols.), 1854-68.
- Von Droste, Brend. "Cultural Landscapes in a Global World Heritage Strategy." in *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components of a Global Strategy*. Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag in cooperation with UNESCO. 1995, pp.20-24.
- Weatherspoon Bowden, Mary. *Washington Irving*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981.
- Westcoat, James L. Jr. "The Islamic Garden: Issues for Landscape Research." *Environmental Design*. 2/1986, pp.10-19.
- Wilkinson Zerner, Catherine. "European Convergences: Phillip II and the Landscape of Aranjuez," *Architecture, Jardin, Paysage: L'environnement du Chateau et de la Villa aux Xve et XVIe siecles*. Tours: Picard, 1999.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisor Nasser Rabbat for his unwavering support for the past two and a half years, Mirka Beneš for valuable lessons in methodology and Anne Sprin for her generous input.

Also my thanks to Julian Beinart, my academic advisor, for his advice and support during the past three years, my colleges in the MSArchS and MCP programs who taught me much, Jane Thompson and Pratap Talwar at TDG, and Jeff Shumaker who helped to make thesis a bearable experience.

Lastly and most importantly, my deepest gratitude to my parents, Cornelius and Antoinette de Klerk and my sister Adrienne whose love and support over the years made all possible.